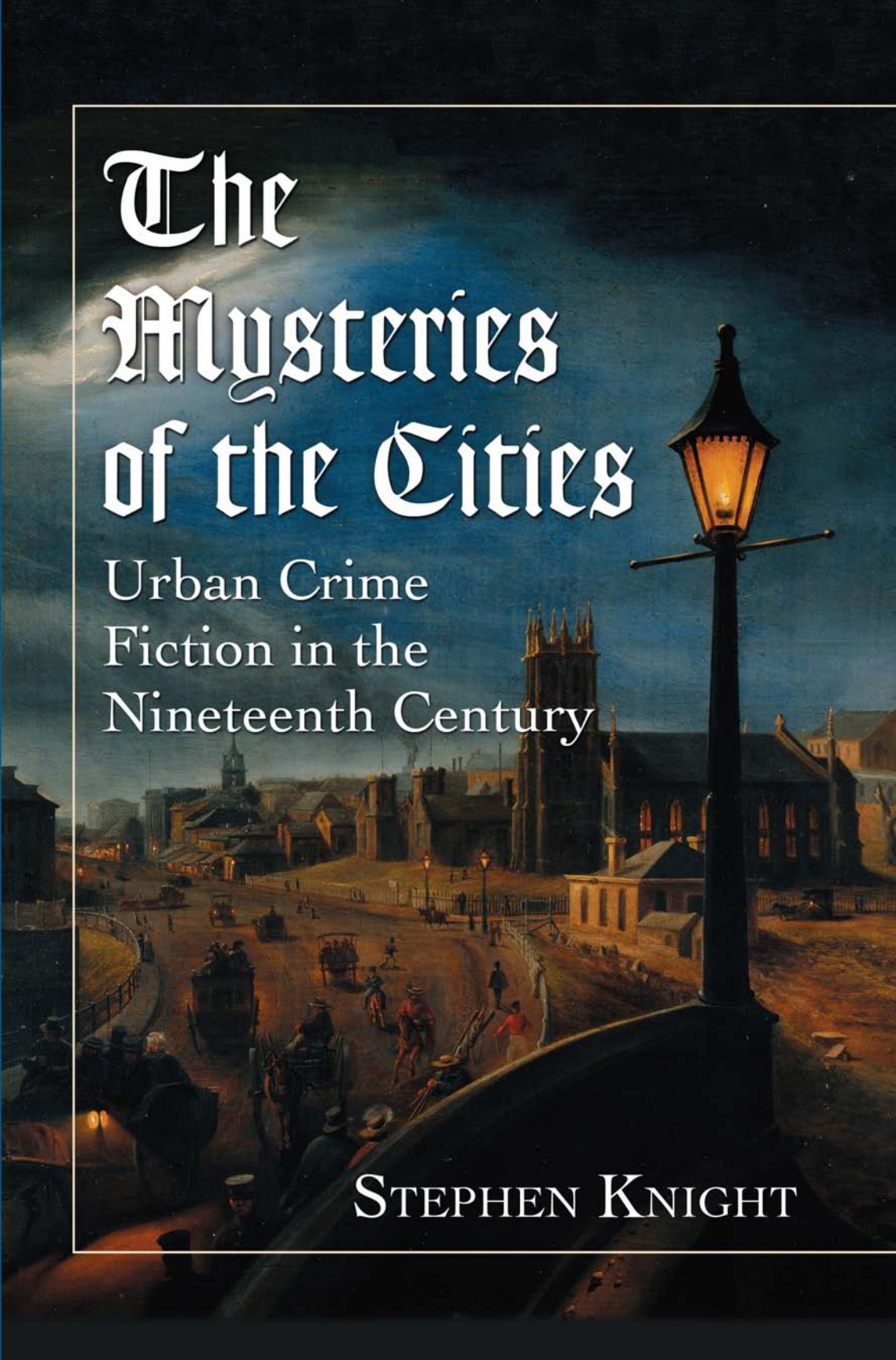
The Mysteries of the Cities
Urban Crime Fiction in the Nineteenth Century
Stephen Knight

The Mysteries of the Cities

This page intentionally left blank

The Mysteries of the Cities

Urban Crime Fiction in the Nineteenth Century

Stephen Knight

McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers
Jefferson, North Carolina, and London

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Knight, Stephen Thomas.
The mysteries of the cities : urban crime fiction in the nineteenth century / Stephen Knight.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-7864-6341-1
softcover : 50# alkaline paper ♾

1. Detective and mystery stories — History and criticism. 2. Crime in literature. 3. City and town life in literature. I. Title.
PN3448.D4K57 2012
809.3'872 — dc23 2011037376

British Library cataloguing data are available

On the cover: *Old Prince's Bridge and St. Paul's by moonlight*, 1857, Ludwig Becker (Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria)

Manufactured in the United States of America

McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers
Box 611, Jefferson, North Carolina 28640
www.mcfarlandpub.com

For Elizabeth

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

This page intentionally left blank

Preface

Some books take longer than others to develop. Over 30 years ago scholars, including myself, started working on the emergence of detectives and a new sort of crime fiction in the early to mid nineteenth century. That is a development with its own importance, still being ignored by the literary imperialism that prefers as criminographical originators Poe and Chandler, and perhaps Conan Doyle and Christie, to the street-level fictional doctors, lawyers, humble men (and some women), and even police detectives who actually set up the challenge of a single, diligent, intelligent person against puzzles of real and threatened disorder. Yet even when working on the emergence of the detective, I was aware that, fascinating as that development is to the modern reader, alone with a book and a single viewpoint on the world, there were other forms of early crime fiction which we scholar-critics were avoiding.

Even though we were avoiding the "Mysteries of the Cities," an appropriate move was to insist that "crime fiction" was the proper term, not "detective fiction." That allowed into discussion the power of the crime novel, honed in Depression America but long present from the days of Bulwer Lytton and the early Australian convict sagas; the broader term also included the psychothriller, a British sophistication of golden-age myopia which found its full power in the Americans Margaret Millar and Patricia Highsmith, the Australian Pat Flower, and returned to Britain with Ruth Rendell writing as "Barbara Vine." But our renaming the genre crime fiction was still not projected back far enough to embrace the powerful, popular yet almost forgotten texts that actually re-shaped the old-style *Newgate Calendar* mode of communal crime prevention to make it have relevance to the teeming world, and the teeming readership, of the new mid–nineteenth century cities.

Aware that this topic was lurking, casting a shadow over a shoulder as I wrote about detection before Poe and the range of authors who led up to Conan Doyle, I did what you do when cognizant of an issue but unable to

resolve it: I started gathering the books. A Paris bookshop readily gave up Eugène Sue's *Mystères de Paris* in a new reprint and gratifyingly straightforward French; for citational use I soon found a high-quality American translation from the turn of the century, spine-shaky but good value: evidently not many were interested. Much costlier but cheaper than a page-by-page photocopy at current library prices was the original 1846 two-volume issue of Reynolds's *Mysteries of London*, which pointed back towards Sue. Other masters of the *Mysteries* came more slowly and surprisingly: Féval revealed himself through his title in one of those date-restricted title-keyword searches that are among the electronic gifts to serious research. The same process produced *The Mysteries of Melbourne*, which my longtime co-researcher Lucy Sussex traced in its home city. The Americans were the last to arrive: Judson simply emerged through his title, and was then selected as the best exemplar from all the other American mysteries, and Lippard was tracked down, despite his titular elusiveness, through the work of Michael Denning, one of the few serious scholars of popular and radical American literature. A disappointment was the failure to be completed of the 1846 *Mysteries of Montreal*: no researcher minds a visit to the transatlantic Paris, but a session back in Melbourne's Italian quarter, a few tram stops from the public library, provided compensation.

Though the preparations had taken, on and usually off, some twenty years, the final work on this book was concentrated. Of principal importance was Cardiff University's benign decision to appoint me to a distinguished research professorship and also the British Academy's continued support for old-style, single-researcher, concept-driven research without immediate value to industry or commerce — as pure as the driven intellect. But what institutions enable has to be personally mediated, and I have many thanks to many individuals who have all offered specific enhancements and elevations of this work as it developed. Maurizio Ascari, Claire Connolly, Gavin Edwards, Rob Gossedge, Kevin Harty, Louis James, Laurent Milesi, Elizabeth Morrison, Rebecca Munford, Thomas Nixon, Nikko Nonni, Eisha Prather, David Skilton, Sue Walker, Michael Wilding, have all done much for this book — especially the Sue-eurs, they know who they are. As ever, at our domestic research center Margaret has shown a mixture of curiosity and rueful tolerance and Elizabeth has added to her usual high-tech instruction the unique feature of Donald Cameron's birth certificate. For that alone, if not also for her contextual commitment to at least London, Paris and Melbourne of the Mysteries cities, she deserves the dedication.

The materials in this book are all distinctly elusive, even ephemeral, and that has been one major reason for undertaking the study. It has also meant that I have been heavily reliant on the resources, the custodial skills and the reproductive services of some of the world's finest, oldest and sometimes most

baffling libraries. I am especially grateful to the people who have helped me at the university libraries at Cardiff, Melbourne, Western Michigan and the labyrinthine Senate House of the University of London. But much of this material is before or outside the purviews of universities, and my major resourceful debt is to the magnificent public institutions that preserve and transmit our global heritage: long may they resist the know-nothing forces of the painful present. I have depended especially on the holdings and the staff at the splendid, stately New York Public Library, the richly and newly elegant British Library and, preserving the grandeur of the British Museum Reading-Room, the Melbourne State Public Library.

It is a pleasure to appear now in volume form, not merely in occasional feuilleton-like essay appearances, with McFarland, and there I thank warmly the staff for their welcoming professionalism and for their valuable, indispensable, contribution to editing. It is appropriate that the book and the research going into it have, like the genre of the Mysteries of the Cities itself, crossed the world. Such multiple travel has enabled this first comparative interpretation and assessment of the remarkable, ground-breaking and — notably in television today — still reverberating mysteries, miseries, crimes and times of the great cities that, in the mid–nineteenth century, suddenly became the basis of modern civilization, as people knew them, suffered through them, and, for their fellow citizens and their descendants, wrote about them.

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

Five times in the 1840s the streets of a major city throbbed with excitement about a new popular publishing venture. Eugène Sue, Paul Féval, George Reynolds, George Lippard and Edward Judson generated enormous public excitement, and some literary resentment, with their lengthy, serially published stories of crime, mystery, and revelation. They were all set in the vivid present of the complex and alarming new cities that suddenly emerged by the mid–nineteenth century, as international peace, mechanization and rapidly increasing trade created the modern megalopolis for the first time, in Paris, London, Philadelphia and New York. Donald Cameron would be the last to re-create the full form of the Mysteries of the Cities in post–gold rush Melbourne.

The writers were remarkably young — Sue, the most experienced, was in his late thirties, Reynolds only thirty, Cameron less, Judson less again, and Féval and Lippard just in their twenties. The stories themselves were creatures of modernity, starting in Paris on the front page of that radically contemporary medium the daily newspaper, and most of the others appeared first in cheap serial booklets. Their stories realized the world of the newly massive conurbation, where people no longer lived in well-established rural communities in which everyone was known and where social hierarchy and popular tradition acted as forces of control. In the city you would not know who your neighbors were, what they did or might do; people would travel long distances for work or pleasure; there would be whole sub-classes, the agents of both violent and white-collar crime, who did no productive work but preyed on the activities of those earning incomes; there would be no-go areas in the city where the violent criminals would lurk, and there would be dangerous encounters at the interfaces between criminal areas and those of the respectable earning folk; equally there would be mysterious establishments of law and finance where crimes of exploitation and extortion were silently committed. The city itself would be growing beyond comprehension or control: within its bounds,

systems of public order, moral order, health, sanitation and even sanity were all at serious risk, and needing massive new systems of regulation and supervision. The city kept growing in size, both with internal over-population and reaching out to stain the countryside with new and disturbing marks of this dubious thing, urban civilization.

Unguarded by the old-style extended families, people, especially young women, could fall into danger, both physically — the vile cellar is both the literal and metaphorical emblem of harmful bodily constraint — and morally, suffering degradation and despair at the hands of exploitative men and women. Young men might with less resistance be seduced into gambling and its inevitable partner, crime. The new forces of mercantile profit-making could exploit such people, as seamstresses or clerks, and those with the skills of law and finance might abuse their powers to drag down not only the innocent lower classes but also the heedless, if not innocent, aristocracy, as well as gentry and middle-class people aspiring higher in wealth and status.

These dramatic events had not been represented before in literature in any coherent and extended way. Early stories had, as Stuart Blumin remarks, sometimes realized "the country hero's adventures in the city,"[1] but it was a passing encounter. Tom Jones survived his excitements in London and Wordsworth returned to the lakes after writing his half-admiring sonnet "On Westminster Bridge." Both behind and throughout the dramatic, often melodramatic, narratives looms the city itself, the streets that are so often traveled on foot, in cabs, in horse trams; and then the rivers — surprisingly dark highways, mostly controlled by criminals. In the context of each of the texts there is a central scene that focuses on the dangers of travel and each of the chapters in this book will privilege such a symbolic, synoptic moment. Along the streets appears an extraordinary range of buildings where the action occurs: mansions just outside the cities, themselves often sources of corruption; well-furnished homes of the respectable or would-be respectable; rough refuges of hardened criminals, sometimes in their own protective warrens or, as the Londoners called them, "rookeries"; and the dreadful unsanitary homes of the desperately poor, for whom all the writers have pity and urge some program for improvement.

The Mysteries of the Cities genre was not only immediately successful in the streets of the major transatlantic cities. It spread rapidly across Europe, especially across the self-consciously new world of America, and went even further: its last authentic realization was after the 1850s gold rush and mass immigration had established the one great antipodean metropolis of the period in Melbourne, where Donald Cameron, another young journalist-author, produced a story whose themes and techniques consciously look back to the classic Mysteries format but also bring it into the now-developed pattern of

the one-volume novel and, as this study will finally discuss, connect the Mysteries genre forward, through Fergus Hume and Conan Doyle, into the mainstream of crime fiction itself.

Hugely popular though they were and strongly responded to by the public — typically selling ten and twenty thousand copies a week, astonishing numbers for the period — the major texts of the Mysteries of the Cities genre are now remarkably little known. Only Sue's text is in print today: his prestige makes him a special case, as well as the strength and range of literary learning in France (which has also led to occasional Féval reprints), but compared to his contemporaries Dumas and Hugo, his works, especially the *Mystères de Paris*, are very rarely discussed by scholars. Lippard was in 1995 republished in a U.S. academic edition with little impact. There was in 1996 a much-abbreviated single-volume university press version of Reynolds,[2] but his full text, as with Féval, Judson and Cameron, only resides in major libraries (and none I have encountered has all the Mysteries authors); booksellers' websites reveal rare 1840s survivors in battered volume form — the serially published versions, on cheap paper, in flimsy jackets and with weak bindings, seem to have all disappeared.

That lack of surviving interest essentially derives — with the partial exception of Sue — from the hostility of the literary and academic elite in the past and present to such essentially popular fiction. For such people, both meanings of the word "popular" disable the texts: these narratives are enjoyed and valued by the masses, but even more threateningly they explore in varying ways a politics that makes central the people and their concerns, so displacing the self-interest central to a narrow canon that was long defined by, and serviced the interests of, an elite that was white, bourgeois and predominantly male. Not all commentators have been so disdainful: it might give even some literary critics pause to note the names of those who have indicated a sense of the interest and inherent importance of the Mysteries of the Cities — Marx, Baudelaire, Gramsci, Benjamin, Moretti, Eco, and Fiedler are not a bad team to appear in the notes.

More surprising has been the parallel lack of interest in the Mysteries of the Cities demonstrated in the special and now quite well-developed genre of crime fiction scholarship and criticism. As one of those authors myself, it is inherently my purpose in this study to correct a limitation that has, for example, privileged Poe over his benevolent friend Lippard, and Dickens and Collins over the rival they recognized, with some hostility, in Reynolds. While there are still people, both tyros and ignorant seniors, who believe that crime fiction started with Poe and then leapt nimbly onto the desk of Conan Doyle, a number of scholars have over the last generation shown there is a broader and more varied generation of the genre.[3] But they — I might say we — have all

worked primarily on the formation of detective fiction, that genre where, unlike in *The Newgate Calendar*, there is a single figure who acts as the focus of the narrative and bears the values of individualist intelligence that, in this fiction at least, resolve the threat of disruption. Such a model evidently relates to the new rationalist idea of a disciplinary specialist (which Foucault explored in *Discipline and Punish*, 1975) but also to the inherent individualism of the novel itself where author, hero/heroine and reader form a self-realizing triangle of security. The Mysteries of the Cities resist this reductivism, deploying multiple narratives without a dominating intelligence, either character or author, in their effort to give an account of a strange new world more various and more challenging than can be contained by the simplifying condensation of the novel form.

Long multiple texts with very little secondary commentary available set in four different countries at times of rapid change present a topic that might well threaten to become over-extensive if treated fully, or superficial if compressed. This study seeks to select the most illuminating elements from the stories themselves, which were first carefully synopsized — a process that revealed a surprising number of errors of detail in existing commentaries — and then analyzed. It then meshes those findings with the most revealing features of the contextual study which has been the other major part of the research for this study. Combining the signifying elements of several parallel plot strands of the novels with the social, economic and frequently topographic assumptions and explorations they make in relation to the context has been the central method of this study, though at times text and context are separated to be understood more fully. One area of separate textual study focuses on the literary techniques, especially of structure and style, that are deployed, and these analyses consistently contradict the notions bandied about by high-culture critics that this popular material is in formal and technical terms rushed and clumsy. Written at speed though the Mysteries were, they have their own systems of emphasis and focus, combining multiple narratives and varying tones in measured and skillful ways, just as they have their own structures of analysis, both moral and political. The authors of the Mysteries of the Cities knew what they were doing, which was not writing romances or consoling the powerful, whether aristocratic or bourgeois. Their forms and themes realized dramatically and often insistently the problems and the possibilities of life in the new megalopolis, especially the elements of crime and disorder that threatened the newly metropolitan women and men, and to which those citizens could themselves contribute, as a result of the pressures they now faced.

The Mysteries of the Cities were a massive, if almost totally overlooked, element in the vigorous and varying response to modernity made by crime

fiction. The communal and rural security blanket of *The Newgate Calendar* was certainly inappropriate to the cities, and it can be seen fraying at the edges as the Calendar revisions enter the nineteenth century.[4] But not all crime fiction replaced it with a central, admirable intelligent figure: the Mysteries of the Cities were in fact a massive updating of the *Calendar*'s "threatened community" model, adapting it to the "lost community" situation of the new cities. Much of the characteristic and often formally striking work in the Mysteries texts shows this: there will be parallel plot strands, sometimes about people living in one house, as in Sue, or one area, as in Judson or Cameron, or visiting one place like Lippard's fantastic site of evil "Monk Hall," or linked into one master scheme as in Féval. The temporal range of the stories will also be both precise and very condensed — Reynolds stretched his story over 12 years, but there are lengthy gaps and most of the action is very limited in time, as in all the Mysteries: Lippard manages his whole action in just three days. This urgently compressed action will, fascinatingly, often overlap across scenes to express the kaleidoscopic effect of city life: an event happening in one part of Paris is motivated by something that happened just before, somewhere else in the city, and we sometimes see the second sequence first, to emphasize the fact that events are amazing and explanations hard to come by. The Mysteries consistently tell us that urban life is simply that, a mystery, and they also, just as powerfully, find it very hard to offer any resolution as narrow or naïve as just believing in the Chevalier C. Auguste Dupin's ability to think up an answer, or having faith in some brave amateur like Collins's Walter Hartright.

When they have been noticed, the Mysteries of the Cities have at times been described as "urban Gothic," as if they are some late re-formation, and so reduction, of Gothic fiction, notably by Robert Mighall, whose comments in *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction* represent Reynolds's London as "an urban sublime."[5] But Jerrold Hogle's influential summary of the Gothic mentions as major features old and foreign location, secrets from the past, supernatural possibilities, aristocratic and gentry control weakening, and a middle-class audience.[6] None of these elements has any substantive presence in the 1840s Mysteries: Mighall misreads archaisms as structural forces.

The authors certainly use the Gothic tradition at times to attract attention — Reynolds's potent opening scene of a cross-dressed woman at risk on a stormy night looks back to Radcliffe if not the more lubricious M. G. Lewis. But this is West Smithfield in desperate London; the opening illustration (Fig. 4) shows the haggard local poor behind the cross-dressed beauty: she is at risk from real tough criminals, and it is into the filthy Fleet sewer they plan to throw her, not some romantic Italian castle dungeon. In the same way Lippard is certainly drawing "Monk Hall" from the tradition of seductively violent

antiquity, reaching back to de Sade, a tradition in which he has himself previously published, and Féval will offer an even more spectacular underground site of feasting and cruelty, but the villains who enjoy these sado-masochistic caverns will tomorrow be out on the streets of Philadelphia and London, seducing seamstresses, conducting business frauds, planning modern crimes and urban conspiracies. Turning fantasy thrills to real threats in the same way, the women of the Mysteries face not crazed old Italian aristocrats, but poverty and pimps, wealthy brutal seducers, weak and untrustworthy husbands. The Mysteries of the Cities retain from the Gothic the central struggles and sufferings of women but parallel them with the moral challenges faced by the heroes of later male Gothic and foregrounded in the new male-focused stories of Lytton, Ainsworth and the young Dickens, as well as Stendhal, Balzac, Brockden Brown and the Australian Marcus Clarke. The women's stories tend to be darker, from Sue's saintly Fleur-de-Marie to Judson's martyred Angelina, to those who are consumed by the vice around them but still go down fighting, like Judson's Big Lize or Lippard's enticing but aggressive Dora, though there are also women who win through like Sue's resilient Rigolette or Reynolds's sturdy beauties Ellen and Eliza, who end as a happy single mother and a widowed Duchess.

Gothic motifs redeployed, plot structures from romance like the recurrent "lost child" theme, interspersed songs, low-life comedy, city tourism, direct moral harangue, these are all elements of earlier modes of writing from which the Mysteries authors assemble their new structures and to which they add what is distinctly modern and disturbingly real — all the authors assert the actuality of their stories and in several cases revert to newspaper sources for verification: Judson's subtitle "A Tale of Real Life" is particularly appropriate. Like Chaucer sophisticating medieval romance via Boccaccio or Shakespeare loading Baconian intellectualism onto revenge tragedy, these writers construct out of popular and outmoded forms, through a newly mediated mode, a vehicle for their absolutely innovative message — that the cities are new, are different, that people are behaving in uncertain and unguided ways, and that a chronicle on and about these modern streets can speak directly to the citizens of the cities themselves.

Scott had looked back in time to speak about modern forces of fidelity, morality, identity, and nationality, and Hugo followed that path in his medieval city mystery *Notre Dame de Paris* (1831), though having read Sue's *Mystères* he would write something like a Mysteries of France in *Les Misérables* (1862). Novelists like Lytton and, especially, Balzac were focusing in on the cities but not in structurally social terms: their explorations recoiled into family puzzles. The very popular *London Life* (1821) by Pierce Egan (Senior) drew attention on both sides of the channel and sounds like an urban social story — but it

was essentially two gentry figures enjoying patronizing tourism in an old-fashioned London, always quaint, even when a little alarming. All the Mysteries texts retain some element of such a downwards-reaching view of society, even the deeply democratic Australian Cameron, but that positioning was all the more exposed because from Sue on the writers' purpose was to tell the story of the cities themselves through the people — and all the people — who lived in them. Sue's hero may be a Prince, but he first appears in a dark street outside a vile bar; it is the interrelation of the rich and the very poor, and also the people awkwardly in the middle, for the good and ill of all parties, that is the recurring dynamic of these stories and the succession of their interweaving narrative threads.

All the characters are part of the economy of the cities, of its social interactions, its topographical interconnections, and, not coincidentally, the conflictive drive to make money in this new world of the cash nexus. Large sums of money keep changing hands: cash loans for the poor is one of Sue's major recommendations for reform. Each of the cities had passed through very difficult economic times and was now emerging from them: that is why the newspapers and other publishing modes were beginning to boom, and that is why the possibility of using money for charity is also a recurrent idea, one being resisted by many of those who govern and make profit from the cities.

From the Rue aux Fèves in the dark heart of mostly splendid Paris to Little Bourke Street just off the fashionable "Block" of gold-rich Melbourne is nearly as far as you can travel on this planet: both are threatening social and moral crevasses in the prosperity and peacefulness of the new proud worldwide cities. From the 1840s urban development would soon assault the rookeries around the world: the texts just precede that process and also in part rationalize it. In the same sanitizing spirit, in all these countries there would soon be authors who would deal in a more controlled version of the city — including Dickens (*Bleak House* is *The Mysteries of London* with enhanced middle-class values) and James (*Washington Square* admits none of Judson's leering, cavorting real New Yorkers from farther downtown nor indeed much city context at all). But our fortunate inheritance is that the authors of the Mysteries of the Cities were there to describe the great centers of the sudden emergence of modern mercantile nationalism — and those forces of often disastrous modernity are both inscribed and interrogated in these stories — in all the mystery and in all the conflicted splendor of the new metropolis. To know how the great cities came into being, who shaped them, and how they suffered for it, to read the histories of the cities as well as their mysteries, we can still go to these great and greatly overlooked authors.

This page intentionally left blank

1

Master of the Mysteries: Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*

Mobility and Conflict

Two tragic events outside Paris characterized the changing world that Sue was the first to catch in fiction.

On May 8, 1842, a railway train, one of the first in France, was returning to Paris packed with sightseers from the royal birthday celebrations of King Louis Philippe. The engine derailed near Versailles, another train hit the carriages, and they caught fire; the doors had been locked for safety: 55 people burnt to death.

On July 13 the King's oldest son, the much admired Ferdinand-Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, was traveling old-style in a carriage at Neuilly-sur-Seine near Paris. The horses bolted and the carriage careered out of control. The door not being locked, he jumped free, only to hit his head on the ground and die a lingering death.

In the absence of the popular liberal Duc, the forces of labor and industry — which generated both railways and massive attendance at spectacles — were to grow more and more assertive, until the bloodstained June days of 1848, the fall of Ferdinand's father, and the resumption of that dialectic of resistance and conservatism that has marked French politics to this day.

Across the complex force field typified by these tragedies, involving both the rural, feudal, yet possibly liberal aristocracy and the urban masses who were themselves potentially loyalist, there would operate a sequence of world-heard novelists who were at once extremely productive and dramatically responsive to their contexts: Balzac, Hugo, Dumas (the older) and Sand were the best-known among them. Yet the initiator of the new novel which sought

to account for the complexity of modern urban totality, with more breadth than Balzac and Sand, more modernity than Dumas and Hugo (*Les Mohicans de Paris* and *Les Misérables* lay in the future), was the often overlooked but strikingly inventive Eugène Sue. His *Les Mystères de Paris* is the first of the host of novels, plays, films, radio and television dramas that have tried to account for the nature, complexity, threat and possible control of that dramatically new world, the modern megalopolis, and it appeared in June 1842 in the cauldron of modernity, at the bottom of the front page of a cheap daily newspaper, *Le Journal des Débats*— the high-profile typical location for that new publishing phenomenon the feuilleton.

Rodolphe and Fleur-de-Marie: The Aristocratic Family Drama in Les Mystères de Paris

Les Mystères de Paris is at basis a lost child story. Prince Rodolphe of the German state of Gerolstein married unwisely the acquisitive beauty Sarah Seyton, now known as Countess Sarah Macgregor. His father the Grand Duke was enraged and had the marriage annulled, but there is a child, named, we will much later discover, Amélie. Sarah, dispossessed of her Prince and prospects, stole the child to use her as a bargaining instrument, and then consigned her to criminals who for their own exploitative purposes led Sarah to think the child is dead. Rodolphe also believes that, but she is alive, brutally degraded in situation, if not in spirit.

The lost child concept triggers many stories in world culture, with quite different outcomes and meanings. In medieval romance the son is taken — by raiders, usually — and after many adventures, which often include a possible sexual union with his mother, his innate (and genetic) qualities earn him the grace to be restored to his inheritance. That is a myth of aristocratic survival and, with less divine help and more stress on personal charm and external charity, is found to still have potency in more recent times, as in *Tom Jones* or *Oliver Twist*. But the lost child can have darker outcomes: in nineteenth-century Australia it usually leads to death in the bush,[1] asserting the terrifying mystery for the white invaders of a deeply hostile environment. In Europe at the same time the child who is cast on the waters of chance and crime is often consumed by her experiences — it is now normally a passive female beauty, expressing both for the character a sense of real danger and for the reader a gratifying aftermath of the climactic sadism that the Marquis himself created in Justine. From Little Nell to Tess of the d'Urbervilles, heroines cast adrift are destroyed by their own desirability, but the archetype is surely Sue's heroine who, for all her beauty, innate purity and generosity of spirit, and in spite of

the wishes of her otherwise all-powerful princely father Rodolphe, is not finally able to cast off the stain of her urban degradation, and dies in a nunnery.

The tragic arc of Fleur-de-Marie's story is the major structuring principle of *Les Mystères de Paris*: she appears in the first scene, she dies in the last. As will be explored later, there are multiple ramifications in her relations with contexts and characters from her father to her companions in jail. Looking first at how her narrative is deployed will draw attention to the substantial elements that Sue adds to this tragedy — a fable of aristocratic exhaustion is made to accommodate the liberalism he had personally recently espoused. The father-daughter story preoccupies at most the first quarter of the novel, with many connections to the criminal and social context: then the wider Parisian criminal and social context takes over the central section of the narrative; in the final quarter the father-daughter story returns and, with its social and criminal filiations operating strongly, continues to the end.

The first two phases of the father-daughter story are told after the dramatic opening scene where they meet. Rodolphe, in disguise as an artisan to seek information about the missing son of the noble Mme. Georges (a submerged parallel to the story of his own daughter, but one that will have a happy outcome), saves a young woman from the tough Chourineur, who has met her in the Rue aux Fèves outside the rough *tapis-franc* run by the "ogress" Ponisse: he says he will make the girl "dance without music" (1.13),[2] that is, have sex. This alley in the heart of the old city was named by Parent-Duchâtelet in his contemporary analysis of inner Paris and its crimes as a known haunt of prostitutes.[3] Though the text is reticent, it is clear that the young woman has been forced into this trade. She tells Rodolphe that, brutalized as a child by the criminals with whom her mother left her, she ran away and was then jailed as a vagabond. She was released when 16, an adult who could earn a living — all too often on the streets: ogresses were waiting as such girls left jail. After working honestly as a seamstress, she gave away her limited money as charity (a little like her father, it would seem), fell into an ogress's hands, was given brandy to drink and pressed into prostitution. This degradation haunts her through the story, and to her death.

Rodolphe rescues her in the street through his courage and prowess: the mighty Chourineur announces he is beaten to the whole bar as they enter to drink, at Rodolphe's expense. The three make friends, and the next day Rodolphe goes for a walk in the country with La Goualeuse (her name from jail, based on *gueule*, "throat" — she has been a singer of the streets). She has also become called Fleur-de-Marie because of "the maiden sweetness of her countenance" (1.2): the name connotes the Virgin Mary. The next day he takes her in a carriage from the Quai des Fleurs, where she sold flowers as a child, out towards St Ouen, on the Plain de St Denis, a symbolic setting of

natural beauty, with the abbey bells to indicate supernature. She loves the country and picks him flowers; she tells more of her story, stressing her sadness at the death of the little rose tree she loved, a symbol for her virginity that both she and the text will refuse to forget.

The same day Rodolphe takes her in the carriage to Bouqueval, not far from Paris in the valley of the Oise, where Mme. Georges runs his model farm, and where the girl, now consistently called Fleur-de-Marie, will stay. She is immediately happy. Her story and her beauty have made Rodolphe think of his own daughter, lost at six, and the reader is surely already on the scent of their connection, especially as Fleur-de-Marie now resides with Mme. Georges, mother of a lost son.

Other characters are involved. Sir Walter Murph (English translations naturally call him Murphy), an "Englishman" who tutored Rodolphe in manly sports, was waiting protectively outside the tapis-franc disguised as a giant charcoal seller. Rodolphe's opponents have also appeared, Countess Sarah Macgregor (Count Macgregor has conveniently died) and her brother Thomas Seyton. She too is called English — Paul Féval in his *Mystères* will be more appreciative of the role of the Celts in British history. The history of Rodolphe and his daughter is mostly revealed when the prince's chief aide-de-camp, Baron de Graün, reports on inquiries by Badinot, a disbarred lawyer who lurks through the story as detective and part-criminal. He discovered how Sarah passed the child into the hands of a criminal called, because of his comparative learning, the Schoolmaster, who gave her for exploitation as child labor to his partner La Chouette — the Owl. Most of the bad characters have these dehumanizing, even bestial, names: only with the Schoolmaster, for reasons we will discover, is there an implication of class treason in his cognomen.

We have already met this alarming pair: they came into the tapis franc looking for a criminal friend Gros-Boiteux (Big-Lame); they did not at first recognize La Goualeuse — it is over ten years since they saw her — but Schoolmaster was interested in her, presumably to put on the streets. They follow Thomas and Sarah and rob them; Thomas arranges to buy back his pocketbook the next day, but the Seytons also plan to hire them to kill Rodolphe; Chourineur, who now admires Rodolphe for his courage and fair treatment — he has praised Chourineur for having "heart and honour" (1.220) — hears this and follows the criminals to their house. Some complicated plotting follows: Rodolphe sets up a robbery at his townhouse, Murphy and Chourineur between them capture the Schoolmaster, and Rodolphe himself is flung into a cellar rapidly filling with water — sewage-fouled water, it can be assumed — and is rescued by Chourineur. The notion of the redeemed working man meshes with Chourineur's cry of "Vive la Charte" (1.5), recalling the 1830 July Days in Paris when absolutism was dethroned. Soon after Rodolphe takes

Fleur-de-Marie to Bouqueval, he presents Chourineur with a rural butcher's shop. Resettlement for the good-hearted poor constrained into crime is the Prince's mission of charity, but neither program works: Chourineur cannot bring himself to return to his animal-slashing ways; Fleur-de-Marie is recaptured by the criminals.

By deepening the story of the abduction of Fleur-de-Marie to encompass in some detail the agents of the villainous aristocrat Sarah and their autonomous criminal activities, Sue has effectively extended his story into the world of criminal Paris and somewhat outside: the Schoolmaster is fretting about a failed burglary in Nantes and has recently murdered a carter on the road to Poissy. However, Sue draws a line between the inveterate criminals and others. Dedicated enemies of society like the Schoolmaster, the brutal Gros-Boiteux, Bras Rouge the smuggler and police spy, and his son the malevolent Tortillard, vividly captured by Daumier in the first book edition (see Fig. 1), will reappear through the story, threatening the honest poor, the aspirant lower-middle class and the indigent gentry, and often acting as instruments in the criminal plans of more elevated villains. But readers have already seen that there are redeemable criminal poor. The most notable is Fleur-de-Marie herself, but also in this category is the rough-and-ready Chourineur. His name is a dialect form of Surineur, "Stabber," and his own story shows how he was brutalized as a child and saw the knife as his only self-expression. He became a good soldier who murdered a bullying sergeant but avoided execution by saving a woman from a fire; he has responded positively to the manly respect that is shown to him by Rodolphe.

Fig. 1. Tortillard, the young street criminal in Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*, 1843.

This sequence, Fleur-de-

Marie's rescue to the country and Chourineur's parallel relocation, is completed early in the story: she is at Bouqueval by 1.chap.10, one-tenth of the way in, and Chourineur is also in the Val de l'Oise by 1.chap.18, about one-eighth of the whole. We have also by then heard most of the backstory about Rodolphe, Sarah and the loss of their child. This is like the first act of the drama and then in the long middle section devoted to the cross-class confusions of Paris we merely hear how Fleur-de-Marie was abducted from Bouqueval (2.chap.9), because Seyton saw her closeness to Rodolphe as a threat to his sister's planned re-seduction of him. She went back to jail, again as a vagrant (though this is not established till 3.chap.9, when from jail she explains what happened to her). After three chapters mostly about Fleur-de-Marie in prison (3.chaps.10–12), she is off stage until her release in 4.chap.14. In prison she was at first threatened by prisoners like the wild La Louve (She-Wolf), from a criminal family and herself (though this is discreetly communicated) a prostitute. The inmates dislike Fleur-de-Marie for her delicacy, but soon her generous and supportive nature has its effect, and La Louve becomes a loyal, even loving, friend. In prison Fleur-de-Marie meets Mme. d'Harville, an aimless aristocrat now directed into a life of charity by Rodolphe and in love with him; but she is, unlike the reader, unaware of his link to Fleur-de-Marie (the narrator has revealed this much earlier, 1.322). Fleur-de-Marie has also met again, through jail visits, Rigolette, who is to be the girlfriend and savior of Germain, Fleur-de-Marie's lost child parallel. Rigolette was in jail with her as a child vagabond and is an important moral signifier in the story as a *grisette*— usually meaning near prostitute — who escapes her contextual destiny into happy petit bourgeois marriage. But these connections between Fleur-de-Marie and the larger city plot appear to be set aside when she is freed from jail by the wish of the fiendish lawyer Ferrand, who plans to have her killed because her "existence, once known, would compromise him fatally" (4.46). Her story is developed until 4.chap.17, where she is safe in the hospital, and then she quits the story, though her parents meet again and marry, until she is reunited with Rodolphe in 6.chap.6 and, after some narrative tidying up, they leave together for Germany and the Epilogue.

Her story in these later stages — the last act of the narrative drama — is powerful in narrative and emotion. When freed from jail, she is taken downriver, round the city to Asnières and the fearful Île des Ravageurs ("Isle of Scavengers" — "Ravageurs" is often translated as "Fresh-Water Pirates"). She is headed for murder, on behalf of the evil lawyer Ferrand, by the ferocious Martial family, themselves linked to what Parent-Duchâtelet called "the savage tribe of stevedores": the Chourineur is a benign version of this social force, and they are linked by Parent-Duchâtelet to the prostitutes.[4] She is saved by one of those extreme coincidences, and also moral resonances, that melodrama

often uses and Sue tends to deploy rather sparingly. La Louve, herself freed because of her newly mollified personality (so giving the coincidence a moral basis), sees Fleur-de-Marie floating in the river and saves her with considerable courage and skill (see Fig. 2). She is then tended by the locally living Comte de St Rémy and his friend Dr Griffon: aristocracy, professionals and redeemed

Fig. 2. La Louve rescues Fleur-de-Marie from the river in Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*, 1843.

proletariat combine in generosity against the plot of the fiendish bourgeois lawyer and his malign aristocratic client the Countess Sarah. Fleur-de-Marie very slowly recovers. Rodolphe, who now knows she was his daughter, is in a highly dramatic scene reunited with her through Mme. d'Harville — who will soon enough become a loving stepmother (having briefly in jail visits been jealous of Fleur-de-Marie's evident love for him). Emotionally exhausted by these events, and feeling his charitable mission is fulfilled in Paris, Rodolphe leaves for Gerolstein with his daughter and servants, but there is one more encounter with unredeemably criminal Paris.

As their carriage approaches the Barrière de St Jacques and the execution of the Martials, two women and one man, a huge crowd is assembling and carnival activities, with more than a hint of riot, are being led by the Skeleton. We know him from the men's prison at La Force where poor Germain has been incarcerated — he is an unregenerate criminal, worse than the now-insane Schoolmaster, but has escaped and, wearing the costume of Robert Macaire, a highly popular mythical rogue of the period, with his gang, including Tortillard, stops the carriage. Rodolphe leaps out and commands order be restored: they attack with knives. Suddenly — another morality-backed coincidence — the Chourineur appears: he wanted to see his beloved lord one last time, and gives his life to save him from Skeleton's weapon. He is carried dying into a tapis franc. The ogress recognizes him and also Fleur-de-Marie, who is horrifically reminded of her past. Her father sweeps her off to Gerolstein, the princely life and her original name, now revealed as Amélie. There she is courted by a German prince of the blood; but her guilt is too great; only spiritual perfection attracts her; she becomes a nun and, on the day she becomes an abbess, dies: it is the same day that her father years ago, in a passionate rage over his relations with Sarah being curtailed, threatened his own father with a sword. The aristocracy has been flawed and has suffered for it in the ferocious context of the urban underworld, in spite of the help given by loyal sub-aristocrats like Murphy and enlisted proletarians like Chourineur. The absence of a happy resolution is striking, and marks Sue off from earlier romancers who simply re-generate aristocratic power after their pain. Peter Brooks sees Fleur-de-Marie's death as "a sign of a certain realism about the limits of redemption," while Paolo Tortonese sums up: "[T]his innocent girl who condemns herself while everyone else absolves her clearly represents the resistance of moral tragedy to the offensive of social comedy."[5]

The turbulence of urban crime has struck into the heart of aristocratic order, allowed in by the evil Sarah, and she pays directly for this. Chouette visits her, ostensibly to make some arrangements about Fleur-de-Marie, but seeing fine jewelry stabs her to gain it. Sarah lingers long enough to re-marry Rodolphe and re-legitimatize their daughter, and to receive his last words of

vengeful abuse — a notably uncharitable moment (see Fig. 3). That harsher side of the usually generous Prince has been seen earlier in the story: after he has been trapped in the cellar by the Schoolmaster, Rodolphe has him brought bound to his own study, when he pronounces judgment and has him blinded by his own doctor: Prendergast calls it "legitimized sadism."[6] The generosity

Fig. 3. Rodolphe rebuking Lady Sarah in Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*, 1843.

that made him free David, the American slave, to be his own physician finds its reflex as he condemns the Schoolmaster to a darkness where he can contemplate his own guilt — a reverse Panopticon of torment, which does in fact drive the criminal mad, though he will finally murder Chouette in his own miming of Rodolphe's cruel justice.

The aristocratic lost child romance both touches on and opens up for inquiry the dark reality of urban modernity — and in more ways than have been summarized here: in jail Fleur-de-Marie meets other victims like the abused mother Mont St Jean; her friend La Louve struggles against her destructive context to achieve working-class respectability with her lover, the oldest and most honest of the Martials. But *Les Mystères de Paris* goes much further than this in realizing the conflicted city: between the opening and final "lost child" sequences is a lengthy set of adventures which hardly involve Fleur de Marie at all, and in which Rodolphe plays the role not of anxious and guilty parent but a sort of nineteenth-century Haroun al Raschid, lordly overseer of the Arabian Nights, as was noted in Théodose Burette's introduction to the first novel version, dated 1st July 1843. Linnie Blake has seen this basically observing role as being an early version of the flâneur and Mary Gluck has linked this figure to the rise of the feuilletons,[7] but Rodolphe's role is less passive: he recurrently intervenes beyond his own personal interest to ameliorate the chaotic and violent social interchanges of this interrelating and mutually destructive city. To understand how and why Sue amplifies his dark "lost child" plot in these somber ways, it is necessary to trace his path towards the *Mystères*.

Towards Les Mystères de Paris

Eugène Sue was born in 1804 into a successful professional family: his father was high in the medical profession, and Sue had some limited medical experience, mostly at sea. Committed to writing fiction, he, like so many in the early nineteenth century, started by avoiding his own context. But where Scott, Hugo and Dumas sought a manageable environment in the past, he responded more to the very popular American James Fenimore Cooper and made distant locations, and especially the means of arriving at them, his initial metier, winning some success with maritime romances like *Kernok the Corsair* (1830). From the early 1830s, especially with *Père Goriot*, Balzac insisted on modern France for the proper setting of a serious novel, asserting in the preface to *Le Peau de Chagrin* (1830) that the adventures described by Scott in the past and Stendhal abroad are to be surpassed by his own account of a modern France — though what follows uses elements of magic to realize that contem-

porary critique. Sue cautiously approached Balzac's position: *Arthur* (1839) and *Mathilde* (1840) retain a "silver-fork" fascination with the lives and problems of the nobility but begin to recognize the social and contextual forces of the new world. Closer to Balzac's satirical eye on modernity, and quite often comic, are three plays, "Comédies Sociales," from 1838, dealing, as Sue says in his preface, with the failings of authority figures, Judge, Legislator (i.e., parliamentarian) and Priest, but they also mock the merchant class.

Just as Balzac remained personally conservative for all his modernity, Sue's politics and fiction do not take a simple path towards reform. While his writer friends included idealist liberals like George Sand and committed leftists like the playwright François Pyat, he lived in a sumptuous townhouse in the Rue de la Pépinière (both house and address will appear, not unironically, in *Les Mystères*). He still held many of the views then called "legitimist"— regretting the deposition of the restored monarchy of 1815, and while he acknowledged Louis Philippe as in the royal line, Sue deplored the fact that his policies were tempered towards some elements of democracy and accommodation with bourgeois interests. In personal style and official politics Sue was a model of the appropriation by the *haute bourgeoisie* of the behavioral and attitudinal habits of the aristocracy, that underlying sociopolitical tension of nineteenth-century society and fiction between Tories and Whigs, lords and lawyers, governments and writers. Though Sue's interests and politics were to alter dramatically, he would, as is clear in *Les Mystères de Paris* and many of its followers, be slow to abandon the idea that nobility of behavior may well overlap with nobility of blood.

Sue's writings realize the forces and tensions of an extraordinary period which remains somewhat overlooked by commentators and yet is the basis for so much of modernity, in terms of social and urban development, political realignments, and, not least, the development of the novel as a major domain of critique of the ambient world. In the period when Sue emerged as a writer, France, and that means Paris above all, is not only in the process of constructing a new form of government after the parallel excesses of both royal and revolutionary systems. It is also developing very rapidly a new urban world, focusing at first on artisanal and small industry and then the swiftly expanding major industries, enabled by capitalist forces focused on banking, and relying on completely new levels of both the production and the mobility of goods. *La France profonde* is still ancient, far-off in time, space, even language, and especially in the modes and social relations of production, but Paris, like to some extent Lyon and Marseille, is one of the new world cities that are confronting modernity.

Arnold Hauser, reading art through the social forces that both constrain and stimulate it, states that the nineteenth century in Paris begins in 1830, as

the restored monarchy is routed, Louis Philippe takes the throne as a compromise with bourgeois interests, and the aristocracy is effectively excluded from management of history.[8] At the same time, the power of the church, which, interrupted during the revolution, had tried to re-assert itself, is substantially weakened and the state will take over many of its functions — still a marked feature of the preferred path for the majority of French people. With God and the King relegated, two major forces can with hindsight be identified: the market power of capitalism, and the not exactly related notion of rational ordering, that enlightenment principle that is the most positive of the bourgeois instincts now coming to power.

It is by no means a propitious context: there were still dangerous memories of the hostilities of bloodstained years not far away, and French writers had to be much more careful about giving offense, with serious consequences, than their British colleagues. The world in which the writers live had an infrastructure far from appropriate to modernity. In 1830 a third of French men and three-quarters of French women were illiterate. Paris was still effectively a medieval city, with narrow streets filled with mud, and worse; its central areas were basically the preserve of ill-provided workers whose problems often pressured them towards crime, so joining the substantial population of hardened criminals. A few autonomous elegant *quartiers* acted as reservations for the gentry, and the extra-city spaces near and beyond the *barrières* belonged to neither lords nor people: as a site of social negotiation they will play an intriguing role in *Les Mystères de Paris*.

Three main responses were available to problems both old and new. The aristocratic voice was adopted by some arriviste bourgeois who, as legitimists and often also churchmen, spoke for conservatism, with its morally focused concepts of loyalty and fidelity and offering only limited charity as a means of social improvement on earth, and faith in heaven as a passport to better times. A conservative writer like Saint-Beuve was content with this view, and the historical work of Dumas did not contradict it, as he, like Scott, remained essentially the constructor of a historicist bourgeois appropriation of aristocratic values.

The July monarchy of Louis Philippe would move towards the conservative legitimist position, and destroy itself in doing so, but it originally took note of the second main position of the period, bourgeois interest in interclass negotiation with the aristocracy and some limited forms of government-led liberal reform. This diluted enlightenment mode of management offered limited forms of co-option to the poor provided they shared middle-class values of duty and order. Unlike Britain, where Thackeray, Dickens and Lytton powerfully disseminated this medial rationalism, the major French social writers seemed little interested in anything so calm — from Balzac right on to Zola

in the 1870s, the interactive conflicts of the context were the prime interest, not any reformist recipe for problems. Whatever the novelists' own politics, they worked with what Lukacs called "critical realism"[9]: their stories were imbued with an imaginative force that could perceive and realize the genuine politics of the period, and so a mediating liberalism was hardly of interest, offering neither political conflict nor fictional drama.

The third force in the politics of the period was the newest, the most innately disruptive, and the one attractive to many writers. France in the 1830s also saw the forming of a range of radical movements, at once the dialectical product of industry — workers forced together became united in resistance — and also a more firmly reform-oriented outcome of enlightenment. The major figures in France were Saint-Simon, an aristocrat who died in 1825 and argued for reason-based forms of collaboration, and Fourier, who lived till 1837 and projected Rousseau's romantic radicalism into dreams of social co-operation in large utopian communities he called "phalansteries." Proudhon's anarchist socialism was also to be heard, and there were some further to the left — almost all of these positions, as well as German liberal idealism, received fierce criticism from the Paris resident Karl Marx, who in 1844 wrote two swingeing chapters of *The Holy Family* on Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* as too readily providing support for neo–Hegelian liberal mysticism, or conservatism, as Marx saw it.[10]

As Marc Angenot comments, Sue's biographers tend to stress the explicit influence of Fourierism: Perrot and Guerrand say he "was the writer who did most to spread Fourier's ideas."[11] Sue and Fourier may share the basic idea of a fraternal bond between owners and workers and an overall reconciliation of classes, but this is a slender link. Disraeli's medievalizing Tory "Young England" movement had the same improbable dream. But while Sue preferred to find authority in a wise leadership that just happened to be aristocratic, rather than Fourier's innovative socio-economic fantasies, what he did not envisage was the contestative reshaping of social patterns that Marx already had in mind. Angenot comments that Sue found it impossible to conceive "a counter-power, another legitimacy beyond that of the bourgeoisie or capital"[12] — indeed it is not clear that he, unlike Reynolds, had any concept of an actual domain of legitimacy of the bourgeoisie itself.

Sue was clearly influenced by contemporary critiques that sought to shape a better world for the poor, even though he also has recourse to both aristocratic values and bourgeois moralism, and the plan to produce *Les Mystères de Paris* itself clearly owes much to his recognition of the force of the new radical politics. This force could be backdated to the older world: Victor Hugo's very successful *Notre Dame de Paris* (1831) reads class conflict and urban corruption in medieval Paris and gives a strong voice to the poor,

though he does somewhat caricature them in the hunchback — who curiously, even negatively, became a permanent feature of the title in the English translation. Later, Hugo would powerfully update this class conflict into the present world of social change through personal aspiration in *Les Misérables* (1864), with some influence clearly deriving from Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*. Maxwell's view in *The Mysteries of Paris and London* that Sue and also Reynolds are merely "popular derivatives" from Hugo's *Nôtre Dame de Paris* slights their innovative force from a canonical literary viewpoint. His book may borrow their titles for its own but gives very little treatment to the actual Mysteries: it is yet another literary plod through Dickens, with some reference to Hugo.[13]

Sue meant something new in his *Mystères*. An often-repeated story, well-known at the time and never contradicted by Sue, speaks of a dinner arranged by his friend the radical dramatist François Pyat at the house of a leading worker-politician, an engraver called Fugères.[14] He was keen to follow up Sue's argument, in his first full-length novel, *La Vigie de Koat-Ven* (1835–7), that the Enlightenment had dispossessed the workers of their religious faith without giving them anything in exchange: the gift Fugères proposed was to re-organize society. He explained to Sue the plans of the radicals, focusing on representation, enhanced working conditions, and an effective share of the value produced by labor. Sue was convinced and with typical flair said that by the end of the evening he had become a socialist. Commentators, both right and left wing, have been skeptical or belittling about this conversion, but Sue remained consistent in his announced position. He supported the revolution in 1848, including by writing pamphlets,[15] he was elected as a socialist deputy in 1850, and, after the *coup d'état* later that year that initiated the second empire of Louis Napoleon, he was exiled for his views. His behavior confirms the conversion story. He certainly remained a socialite as well, being widely known as "un dandy," and it is hard to see much strength of socialism in *Les Mystères de Paris*, though that is not the case with the later *Les Mystères du Peuple* (which was as a result banned by Louis Napoléon's agents). But it is clear that Sue's engagement with the radical cause was real and lasting, greater than the links Reynolds was to have with Chartism in mid-century London.

Major literary innovations, critics often point out, combine intellectual and artistic vigor with formal innovation, from Chaucer's Europeanized English narratives through Shakespeare's character-intensive five-act drama to the multi-plot social novel of Dickens. Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* also has a double impact in form and content — and one that partly shapes Dickens's major mode. One striking feature of the turbulent development in Paris in the 1830s was a new form of fiction, the *feuilleton*. As Nora Atkinson notes,[16] in the period the growing number of newspapers, mostly attached to some

socio-political outlook, would often print at the bottom of the front page some form of special feature — typically about travel, news analysis, or increasingly fiction. Newspapers were also beginning to print serials, and it was daily-installment fiction that became the archetypal feuilleton.

Atkinson outlines key features that emerged as successful in this new form: the plot would use disguise, sudden appearances, mysteries and melodramatic events, techniques often looking back to the Gothic and the lasting influence of Ann Radcliffe; corrupt aristocrats were popular, but unlike in the Gothic there would also be middle-class and artisan characters.[17] Naturally there would be tensions and deferred resolutions to encourage continued buying, but these need not be the somewhat hysterical ups and downs of the British and American penny dreadfuls, as the usual practice was for customers to take a three-month subscription to a paper.

Balzac's first feuilleton was *La Vieille Fille* in 1836, an early title in his "Comédie Humaine" series; Dumas was adept at the form, as was the largely forgotten Frédéric Soulié. Sue started with feuilletons in 1837 and published seven novels in this mode by 1841.[18] While he worked mostly for *La Presse*, he also contributed to the fairly serious *Journal des Débats*: Bory describes it as "governmental and moralizing" and "very bourgeois"[19]: Hauser called its editor, Bertin, "the incarnation of the bourgeois litterateur."[20] Sue's *Arthur* and *Mathilde* appeared here, with considerable success, and his contemporary Ernest Legouvé later recorded that one fateful day Sue was shown a copy of an English illustrated publication with text and illustrations describing "les mystères de Londres."[21] Sue is reported as saying, "It scarcely tempts me ... I will think about it."[22] Even more enigmatic is what he was responding to. Legouvé uses a descriptive phrase, not a title: it seems very likely to have been *The Mysteries of Old St Paul's* (1841), which is on the title page attributed to "The Author of *Legends of London*," namely, Richard Thompson. The *Legends* (1831) were historical narratives, in their banality closer to Ainsworth than Scott, largely fictional, about figures like Dick Turpin, and linked more or less firmly to London scenes depicted in handsome plates; *The Mysteries of Old St Paul's* is a fictional novella set in the seventeenth-century plague, told with sub–Ainsworth clumsiness and illustrated just by rough half-page woodcuts. It obviously plays on Ainsworth's *Old St Paul's*, appearing in series form in 1841— Louis James calls it "a travesty of Ainsworth's romance."[23] A shrewd editor might well have thought Sue could run up something like this in the tradition of Hugo's massively successful *Notre Dame de Paris*.[24] James suggests Sue was "prompted" by *Life in London* by Pierce Egan (senior).[25] This had been popular since 1821 and does have resemblances to Reynolds, as will be explored in chapter 2, but although the central figure is an aristocrat, "Corinthian Tom," who like Sue's Rodolphe visits many sordid sites, the plot has

none of the aristocratic drama or reformist interest that Sue combined, and it seems more likely that a text which provided the key term "Mysteries" was the source.

Apart from the cost of his lifestyle, other forces stimulated Sue. Writing about the newly huge cities was established, but not in fiction. Fanny Trollope, mother of the future novelist, published in 1835 *Paris and Parisians*,[26] a set of scenes from fairly high life with admiring urban description and recurrent anxiety about serious radicals. Thackeray's *The Paris Sketch Book* of 1841,[27] a tourist book which means to learn little from its journey, is both more amusing and more jingoistic. Its reverse was *Promenades dans Londres* by Flora Tristan (1840),[28] a strong-minded radical and feminist, who gave searching accounts of London's physical and institutional structures from a committed socialist viewpoint — she creates a leftist tone that will appear in Reynolds in only dilute form but was well-known in Paris. Urban realism had been brilliantly achieved in the past, but through the euphemizing medium of history, as in Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* — though Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* (1818), Lytton's *Paul Clifford* (1830) and Ainsworth's *Jack Sheppard* (1839) are effective parallels as city narratives and in *Pelham* (1828) Lytton had combined noble Paris with criminal London in a silver-fork novel-turned-mystery.

If Sue was contemporary in his concerns to deal with the present, and radical enough to plan a social critique, he also had the technical skill and the strategic wisdom to see the shape that would suit his project. Brynja Svane has written thoughtfully on ways in which both *Arthur* and *Mathilde* look forward to *Les Mystères de Paris*. Though *Arthur* is a Scott-type "discovered diary" story about a member of the gentry who is mobile both socially and geographically (especially by sea), it includes an interest in "the little people" and "the misery of the Paris streets,"[29] and Arthur himself shows the charity and philanthropy that will be central to the responses of Prince Rodolphe in *Les Mystères de Paris*. In the case of *Mathilde*, though this too is a gentry romance — Svane calls it "legitimist"[30] — where the heroine suffers with a bad husband until a happy outcome with a second (the story of the Marquise d'Harville in *Les Mystères de Paris*), the novel is set in the present, pays some attention to the link between work and money, and introduces characters from the middle classes: the honest Duvals, ruined by a crooked bankrupt, the vulgar factory owner Secherin who is good-hearted and somewhat reformist, and the monstrous Lugarto, international capitalist and sexual predator against the heroine.[31] Interesting as these thematic prolepses are, more formative are the technical preparations Svane sees as already in place: *Mathilde* has a multiple story with parallel plot lines focusing on varied characters, and as will recur in *Les Mystères de Paris*, it mixes traditional narrative focused on hero and heroine with "exemplary fictional discourse" and didactic sequences.[32]

Skilled as Sue was in producing a lengthy story on a daily basis — which did not always work: there were some days without an installment—and committed as he was to working in harmony with his new radical sympathies, it is not hard to feel with hindsight that it was natural, even inevitable, for him to create his new form. But it was still an extraordinarily inventive and authoritative move, like conceiving personalized revenge tragedy (*Hamlet*) or ironic romance (*Pride and Prejudice*). Dickens's *Sketches by Boz* had only realized London through journalistic description; his *Oliver Twist* merely mixed urban caricature with pallid gentry fiction. Hugo's recent triumph *Notre Dame de Paris* had restricted urban social critique to a few tormented characters, but this does seem a partial model for Sue's city, modernized, elaborated, and brought under the control of a hero who combined the heights of aristocratic power with the breadth of liberal sympathy. Hugo's city updated by Sue was supervised by a fantasy nobleman who came not from France, home of a tainted aristocracy, but from far-off Gerolstein in Germany, Gothic not only in its distance and mystery but also in the eighteenth-century sense that the Gothic system could be thought of as providing a fairer, nobler and more genuinely free world than Rome or southern Europe, or even France, had been able to realize.[33]

The power of Sue's text would depend on many things — its bold structure, its range of representative characters, its collocation of parallel activities in the city, its charting of the modern metropolis, its linked realization and resolution of contemporary anxieties. But one clear dynamic, from the very beginning, which is very hard to re-imagine now, is the sheer force of that Moretti calls "that fantastic title."[34] It seems so right: the great city, and its many mysteries. But that collocation was new. When Thompson published *The Mysteries of Old St Paul's* he was using the word in its old context: a title-word search reveals that, before Sue, "mysteries" is almost always used in a religious context — it refers to the mysteries of divine or saintly power. With one stroke Sue secularized that: though his hero also has something approaching omniscience and omnipresence, he is definitely mortal and can come close to sinning. In linking title and inquiring hero Sue also tapped into a burgeoning genre: crime fiction scholars have shown that the old world of *The Newgate Calendar*, where the crime is easily exposed and the criminal ceremoniously executed in the mode that Foucault calls "sovereign power," is by the 1830s being replaced by a specialist who inquires into contradictory evidence, multiple identities, baffling possibilities, all in the anonymous, enigmatic, threatening, modern city. The crime story is now becoming structured on a mystery that will acquire resolution only through an expert guide — a Foucauldian master, sometimes mistress, of discipline not unlike Prince Rodolphe, with his assistants.[35] But Sue avoided simplifying everything into the mythic power

of explanation that was already consecrated in Poe's first Dupin story, "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" (1841).

Sue's title, to be so obsessively and so reverently imitated around the world, is a focal emblem of the visionary power that he combined with a genuinely popular form — so popular that most commentators have not been willing to credit its subtlety and imaginative range. The text he published in 147 episodes between June 1842 and October 1843 would in many ways live up to the special position created, as its brilliant title intersected with the opportunities Sue claimed as the first true narrator of the modern megalopolis.

City Life in Les Mystères de Paris

The Rue du Temple

In its central section the novel has limited contact with the aristocratic family drama that has been discussed earlier and instead develops in their own right many of the elements which link that story to the dramas of Parisian life. It also generates a set of new stories which have either minimal or no contact with the saga of Rodolphe and Fleur-de-Marie. This activity ranges right across the classes of contemporary society and in locations from the heights of splendor to dire deprivation, but it is almost all linked in some way, often closely, to the house at 17 Rue du Temple, in the heart of the old city: Rodolphe goes there "on a gloomy November afternoon" and finds "the house in question had nothing remarkable in its appearance; it was composed of a ground floor, occupied by a man keeping a low sort of dram-shop, and four upper stories, surmounted by attics" (1.258). The small inner yard was "a pestilential receptacle for all the filth thrown by the various occupants" and

> [a]t the bottom of a damp, dismal-looking staircase, a glimmering light indicated the porter's residence, rendered smoky and dingy by the constant burning of a lamp, requisite, even at midday, to enlighten the gloomy hole, into which Rodolphe entered ... [1.259].

This street is mentioned early when Chourineur tells Sarah and Thomas that Bras Rouge is said to own a house at 13 Rue du Temple. He is then said to be the lessee of the multi-tenanted house at no. 17: Mme. Pipelet later tells Rodolphe he lives at 13 Rue aux Fèves, but he plays very little part in either place. The area is poor, but the residents and especially their connections link across the social classes and the personnel of the story.

Though there is a clear sense that this is not a natural place for aristocrats to be, their own social mobility and the vicissitudes of the story involve them

in the house: it is central to the interactions of both the city and the story. At the same time the house is a means for Sue to explore the considerable variations of life and attitudes in the lower-income levels. Each apartment tells its own social and moral story, and each connects with the wider plot in often complicated ways: Sue uses the multi-dwelling house as a narrative device to encapsulate the changing, mysterious and overlapping life stories of the metropolis. Balzac's use of the lodging house in *Père Goriot* is presumably a model for this urban multi-level realization, but Sue's social range is a good deal greater; Zola will follow the same path in *Pot-Bouille* (1882), with a deliberately narrower bourgeois group of people. Behind Sue's concept seems the renaissance urban model, best known in Italy, of the multi-level building with the poorest and the servants on the top and the gentry in the *piano nobile*, the first floor, but neither the house nor Sue's vision of Paris is as static as that.

Rudolph's presence links the house to the lost child theme, but not directly. The reason he goes to 17 Rue du Temple and hires a room in his disguise as M. Rodolphe, artisan fan painter, is because inquiries made by Badinot the quasi-detective have shown that Germain, Mme. George's missing son, was living there. This parallel to the Fleur-de-Marie story starts what will be a major independent exploration of the social levels of the city and their interactions, and with considerable plotting skill generates a range of links to the overarching family drama of Rodolphe, Sarah and Fleur-de-Marie. The essential structure of the great city novels is both startling disparity and underlying connections, and Sue both conceives and achieves this before Dickens in *Bleak House*, Dostoevsky in *Crime and Punishment* and, more directly, Reynolds in *The Mysteries of London*.

The multiple narrative begins socially fairly high, and then moves downwards in class and upwards in the house. As Rodolphe engages in the first of many lively conversations with Mme. Pipelet, the garrulous and interfering concierge — a figure so potent that "un pipelet" remains a colloquial term for this figure — he hears about a lady who has sent a note indicating she is about to visit M. Robert, the first-floor (therefore good-class) lodger. She has called before but, changing her mind, returned to an address Rodolphe recognizes: she is Clémence d'Harville, beautiful, noble, unhappily married to a Marquis, and related to Mme. Georges. M. Robert, he learns from the information-rich concierge, is wealthy and lavish in taste but also mean. Despite his pretensions he is not an aristocrat, not even the military commandant he claims to be — he is only in the National Guard, not the army. Though he moves with nobles and will fight a farcical duel with the foolish Duc de Lucenay, he is no more than a functionary upstart and will fade back into nonentity.

Rodolphe learns more about the residents. Mme. Burette, who occupies

the second floor and therefore has some real income, is a fortune-teller and pawnbroker who is paid visits by very dubious characters, including Bras Rouge and Chouette: after they call, the smell of melting metal comes from her apartment, probably silver, conceivably gold. Disappointingly, we will hear little more of her. On the third floor lives the mysterious Bradamanti, officially now a dentist but having many more roles. He is really Polidori, who operates right through the plot, past and present, an all-purpose villain who makes both plotting and blame attribution simpler. His assistant is the young but chilling Tortillard, son of Bras Rouge. There are many mysteries about Bradamanti, some never explained, such as the handkerchief "of the finest cambric" Rodolphe finds dropped on the stairs by someone "who had just quitted" his room: it appears to belong to the Duchesse de Lucenay.[36] Farther up, and so poorer, to share the fourth floor with Rodolphe, is Rigolette, a seamstress who represents the Parisian grisette in firmly moralized form. She will be both a down-classed avatar of Fleur-de-Marie and the means of resolving happily the Germain story: her name means "turtledove" and they will be true lovers. But she signifies more, and audiences understood: American readers took *rigolette* to mean a head covering indicating respectability, a young working woman who is not, and does not want to be taken as, sexually available.[37] Rigolette was herself jailed as a vagabond child and was Fleur-de-Marie's friend there. She is both her opposite and avatar, having through her mix of purity and great determination redeemed herself: in a study of the grisette, Michelle Perrot and Anne Martin-Fugier called her an "improbable subversive."[38]

In the attic at the top, poorest of all, live the Morels: the father is a jewel cutter who, though a skilled artisan, works for tiny wages — his labor value is very clearly appropriated and massively exploited: this is the only piece of Sue's social representation that Marx does not criticize in *The Holy Family*.[39] Morel's wife and most of their six children are weak and ill; his wife's mother is deranged, and her theft of a diamond that pleased her has made him borrow money he cannot repay from the lawyer/money lender Ferrand. Morel's beautiful daughter Louise has, through the shadowy Mme. Burette, gone to work as a maid for Ferrand, which brings its own grief. The Morels have no link to the Rodolphe-Fleur-de-Marie story, and this part of the novel has been seen as Sue's insertion, or at least expansion, of the liberal reformist strand, as some of his readers responded enthusiastically to his exposure of contemporary social exploitations and demanded more — a topic to be explored later.

In a fine moment of plotting, which links thematically these separate social levels and also at least has contact with the overarching aristocratic family drama, on his second visit to the house Rodolphe waits for Mme. d'Harville, knowing her husband has been warned of her adventure and will himself

arrive (the Countess Sarah, a keen exponent of anonymous letters, is jealous of Rodolphe's apparent interest in Mme. d'Harville). Rodolphe hurries the amazed woman — she recognizes him — upstairs, thrusts a purse in her hand and turns her potentially adulterous trip into the alternative aristocratic activity of a charitable visit to the poor. Rodolphe has been spoken of by both Eco and Bernheimer as a proto–Superman,[40] but he is never superhuman: as this archetypal sequence shows, he is well informed, socially mobile, good at deception, carefully attentive to his surroundings, has reliable assistants when needed, and crucially is quick to act decisively and well provided with money. Structurally he is more like the gentleman amateur detective such as Lord Peter Wimsey or even the Saint, but closer is Ponson du Terrail's Rocambole in his later period in the 1880s. Others have read Rodolphe differently: Gramsci saw a link between his attitudes, being those of a "Romantic ruling class," and the pretensions of fascist squads in Italy in 1919–22; Bory simply felt he resembled Jesus.[41]

Mme. d'Harville's honor is saved; her husband on his arrival is overwhelmed by her goodness, especially later when he eavesdrops at their house (with another anonymous letter in his hand) and hears Rodolphe giving her detailed advice on her new, and seriously undertaken, career of charitable action — which is to lead her into the Fleur-de-Marie story in more ways than one. A further narrative filiation will arise from her charity: in an impressive linking of urban disconnection and underlying social connection, when Rodolphe is out shopping with Rigolette for furniture for the Morels at the Marché du Temple (a notable sequence of street-level urban activity), they buy a chest of drawers derived from ruined gentry. In it he finds a letter denouncing the evil Ferrand, and he passes the puzzle to Mme. d'Harville: the distressed people turn out to be her own relatives, Mme. de Fermont and her daughter Claire. They have been ruined by Ferrand, and Claire's brother has killed himself in despair. They settle in the house of the criminal receiver Father Micou, who appears later, in the final resurgence of the criminal activity plot. The de Fermonts are a parallel to the Rue du Temple stories and the effect is to show that the bourgeois brute Ferrand attacks all classes, not just the exploitable artisans and workers.

Ferrand will have a much fuller role in the story, but that will be in his own house, itself a site of complex interactions, that depend on morally various issues rather than the social variety of 17 Rue du Temple. This house's only other engagement with the middle classes is that M. Robert is routed as both a lover and a presence in the story: he soon leaves without anything to show for his purposeful slumming. There are some traces of comedy around his posturings and demands — the last we hear is him complaining that someone has taken his firewood (Mme. Pipelet was interested in it, but suspicion must

rest on the ever-alert Tortillard)—and in the same spirit the house is also the setting for what is, in this whole genre and indeed the early French novel in general, an unusually comic sequence. M. Pipelet is less than active and intelligent. He tends to be out buying drink and tobacco most of the time, or resting in his concierge's bed while his wife engages in lengthy dialogue and often misguided actions. A former lodger, Cabrion, was an artist who painted the door to Rigolette's room: Germain admired it when he was there. We never quite see Cabrion, but he torments Pipelet in lively ways, sending a man to ask for a lock of his hair and later two underdressed girls to dance around him and cut it all off; he has comic placards placed through the streets reading "Pipelet and Cabrion: Dealers in Friendship and Similar Articles" (3.308). Curiously out of keeping with the normally earnest tone of the text as this is—even looking forward in its lively interrogative comedy to Situationism—it is not only highly entertaining but also seems to have personal meaning: Bory says that Cabrion is a mix of Sue himself and the satirist and artist Monnier, who had been his illustrator and created the popular witticism "They should build towns in the country, the air is purer there."[42]

But the central action at 17 Rue du Temple is very serious. Morel is arrested for debt, the 1,300 francs owing on the moneylender's bill from Ferrand. Germain honorably stole that amount from Ferrand for Louise, but there are also extortionate fees of 1,140 francs. Rodolphe pays all—in fact 2,500 francs (presumably adding a *pourboire*)—and keeps the 1,300 (which the Morels still have) to return to Germain. Worse yet, on the same day Louise is arrested for the murder of her child. The jewel cutter, who has seen her as real support, is shocked by the accusation of infanticide, but Rodolphe defends her as a brave woman who has sacrificed herself for him and her family: there is a link with the end of this chapter, where Sue speaks critically about the French tendency towards masculinist judgments and ends ironically by asserting that France "is still the most gallant nation in the world" (2.107).

Rodolphe provides the shattered family with money and better accommodation—and soon with superior furniture. The jewels Morel was working on are returned to Mme. Mathieu: Tortillard is watching, and a future plot strand begins to emerge. These experiences are too much for the harassed artisan's mental stability and he will spend until nearly the end of the story in the mental hospital at Salpetrière, also used for condemned criminals. Ferrand has brutalized both Morel and Louise, and the novel responds. Much of this middle section of the story between the two parts of the Rodolphe/Fleur-de-Marie narrative will expose and then punish, both mercilessly, Ferrand, this single representative of the mercantile classes—who were in reality so much a feature of Paris after 1830 that Louis Philippe was himself seen as a sub-aristocratic monarch. Sue may have become genuinely sympathetic to the

poor, but his old legitimist hatred of the bourgeoisie seems to have survived his radicalization: when the great actor Lemaître played Ferrand on the stage, the Paris notaries forced him to moderate his negative gusto.[43]

Ferrand

Ferrand is, like 17 Rue du Temple, linked to the Rodolphe-Fleur/de-Marie story, but he, also like the house, develops a separate and substantial role as a focus of urban crime and social complexity. It is to him that Sarah comes when she is seeking a teenage girl to pass off as her child in her plan to re-engage with Rodolphe, but Ferrand then operates parallel to the 17 Rue du Temple material so Sue can realize middle-class villainy in modern Paris. There are two major strands to this exposé, both aspects of the mysterious and disturbing new power of the bourgeoisie. The more innovative involves money: as a notary Ferrand is involved in the selling and financing of estates for the aristocracy and he also lends money to them and to people of all classes, including an artisan like Morel. This is largely done through the relatively new device of broker's bills, agreements to repay a loan on a certain date and at a certain interest, which were themselves used as transferable financial instruments and played a large part in the emergence of capital-based industrial and mercantile development in the early-mid nineteenth century — Sue and especially Reynolds are the first to recognize this new structural force of modernity in fiction, to show it can be corrupted, and can even, they both suggest, be of itself corrupting.[44]

Ferrand's second area of menace is sexuality. This has a double impact: in one way it expresses a destructive force of masculinity, a drive both instinctive and individualist. But because it is also a familiar threat, sexual aggression is an area in which the bourgeois are all the more easily, even facilely, defeated and humiliated, though it is notable that Sue does also offer financial alternatives (to be discussed later) to Ferrand's violent capitalism, however much Marx was to denigrate them.

To take finance first: Ferrand is an economic insurgent against the aristocracy. He, it will be revealed, ruined the de Fermonts, those relatives of Mme. d'Harville who end up wretchedly in Micou's house, impoverished, seriously ill and assailed by Gros-Boiteux. Ferrand has been indirectly involved in the rise of Mme. d'Harville's governess to be her cruel and money-grubbing stepmother as Mme. d'Orbigny; he is the basis, through various intermediaries, including the enigmatic Badinot, for the enormous debts run up by the Vicomte de St Rémy which lead to disgrace and eventual exile: he has cheated Morel into madness and has framed Germain for theft. The old world, however, can defeat the new: de St Rémy's father clears his debts, if only for the

family name; Rodolphe more generously deals with the rest, right down to the level of the Morels and including, through Murphy, the d'Orbigny problems.

As a sexual predator Ferrand picks on Louise, though there are some hints that his assistant in evil Mme. Seraphin might have filled a similar role in the past. His treatment of Louise is textbook sexual harassment: he moves her into his quarters, does the usual staring and touching, finally drugs her wine so that she wakes up in bed with him and, it soon appears, becomes pregnant. True to this mode, she is victimized when she complains. A chillingly sustained account of sexual oppression, this is pressed to a cruel end: Louise eventually bears the child dead, buries it in the garden, and is then accused of murder and goes to jail. Sue draws on his maritime novel contexts to plan an appropriate revenge, deploying Cecily, the beautiful mixed-race wife of Rodolphe's personal doctor, the black ex-slave David. She has herself suffered similarly: the plantation owner in Florida took her for his own and imprisoned her lover, David, but the story makes her more villainess than victim: she is represented in a distinctly sexist way as an over-sexualized woman who cannot leave men alone, and she has been essentially imprisoned in Germany by Rodolphe on behalf of David. She is deployed like a weapon against Ferrand, and a devastatingly effective one, who is glad to see him suffer, presumably, but not overtly, in response to her own previous treatment. She is installed at Ferrand's house by Mme. Pipelet, as a service to Rodolphe, her "Prince of lodgers," and she swiftly goes to work as "the instrument in working out this just and avenging reparation" (5.51). Physically very tempting, she is relieved of all housework, permits Ferrand to gaze at her through a small window in her bedroom door, and rapidly makes him abandon his work and behave with complete folly — the medieval fabliau of Aristotle being saddled by a girl is inherently reiterated. With deep pleasure, both she and the narrator increasingly humiliate Ferrand and when she escapes into a waiting carriage, with his incriminating pocketbook, he tries to follow but collapses in the garden, on the spot where Louise buried her child.

This savage account of the bourgeois mercantile professional is not set against any redeeming view of this class in the whole long narrative, beyond a few glimpses of efficient doctors and kindly prison supervisors. The story realizes with relish Ferrand's defeat, and his enforced, and very expensive (10,000 francs), creation of the Bank for Unemployed Workmen and support of the Morels and the de Fermonts. Then he himself dies a hellish death, crying, "Fire — flame — agony — Cecily" (6.79). Rodolphe's agent in this is Polidori, making forced compensation for his crimes; he is himself a multiple caricature of the professional classes: he was Bradamanti the fraudster dentist from 17 Rue du Temple, and before that Rodolphe's own tutor in bookish matters,

who helped turn his own father against him, aided Sarah in her malign activities and went on to assist the incursive Mme. d'Orbigny: he even introduced her to Ferrand and may, it is suggested (2.218), have murdered Clémence's mother. Justice comes to him in a strange guise and from his own class: Ferrand stabs him; it is only a small wound, but from Cecily's poisoned dagger.

If 17 Rue du Temple was a multi-level view of society largely outside the Rodolphe/Fleur-de-Marie story, the Ferrand episodes provide an in-depth account of professional class villainy. Overall it is an even darker treatment of the bourgeoisie than Balzac offered, and seems less sympathetic to the new urban forces than the limited account found in *Mathilde*: Reynolds will prove both more wide-ranging and essentially more sympathetic in his account of the middle classes.

From Aristocrats to Criminals

The Ferrand story does connect with the overarching saga through Sarah's search for a child as well as Chouette's threatening visit to Ferrand to remind him of his Fleur-de-Marie–linked activities. But the fullest link from Ferrand back to the overarching story is to its parallel narrative, the story of Germain. Taken from his mother, Mme. Georges, by his father's criminal friends, he was eventually placed in a bank at Nantes, so he could admit thieves. He informed on them and was pursued, so he lodged incognito at 17 Rue du Temple and worked as a clerk for Ferrand, who disliked his honesty, and eventually, when he for the best reasons stole 1,300 francs for Morel, Ferrand was able to inflate the crime and hound him to jail.

But at no. 17 Germain had met Rigolette. They would go out together, literally for walks, not metaphorically as lovers, and she found him the only man who did not take advantage of her. In return she does not desert him in his trouble: when he left for a secret address to escape Ferrand she would not even tell Rodolphe where he was, and when he is in jail she visits him. In a way they are improbably innocent: he would just read to her — a favorite was *Ivanhoé* (the French version has a flamboyant final syllable). A grisette was assumed to be sexually available, but she not only has a determined purity, symbolized by her head covering; she also demonstrates a restrained but real power of agency. It is she who eventually coaxes him to admit, on a jail visit, that they love each other. Their admirable story endures: as Rodolphe faces his daughter's unredeemable guilt and her decision to enter a nunnery, Rigolette writes him an unsophisticated but endearing letter about her happiness as a petit bourgeois wife and mother, with a husband who runs the charity bank Rodolphe founded. The social positioning of this couple who shadow the tragedy of Fleur-de-Marie is both interesting and, with new urban realism,

hard to define. Germain's mother may have been a d'Orbigny, but his father was the dreaded Schoolmaster, when he was simply Anselm Duresnel, an educated upwards-mobile young man. Germain the social hybrid and Rigolette the self-improver make an intriguing, socially-mobile, morally focused pair against the unproductive princely line of Gerolstein as if, while accepting the pressure to write about aristocrats, Sue is also showing the exhausted nature of their power in the new arriviste world of the great city.

Equally unproductive are the careers of the other aristocrats who cluster in this central part of the novel and who scarcely relate to the Rodolphe/Fleur-de-Marie structure. The senior ones are the Duc and Duchesse de Lucenay. He is a clumsy idiot, saying stupid things and knocking over furniture. She is a woman of some character: the mistress of Vicomte de St Rémy, she is deeply in debt to Ferrand; when she tells him she is desperate he takes this as a sexual offer, and she laughs in his face. She has helped de St Rémy in his debt, arranging secret living quarters on the farm she owns next door to Bouqueval (Mme. Georges takes over re-furnishing the rooms), and probably has sought Polidori's secret help for de St Rémy (hence, it seems, the dropped handkerchief). But when she realizes he has used her for financial purposes, especially when he seeks to recover gifts he has given, she treats him with haughty contempt.

The Vicomte has become disgraced through Ferrand's exploitation of his weakness in a bill-broking crisis, including some bills he has apparently forged — though this may be another Ferrand deception, like inflating Germain's theft. He is reluctantly rescued by his father, though he doubts the Vicomte is his own son. A male aristocrat who definitely fails to prolong his line is the Marquis d'Harville, who is an epileptic: two engagements have foundered when this was revealed, but the impoverished d'Orbignys pressed on with the match. A sickly daughter has been born, but Clémence feels estranged from him. They make up after the Rodolphe-organized charity masquerade at no. 17, but the Marquis realizes he can never make her happy. In a well-managed scene, he invites his friends round to breakfast and, in a way that makes an accident seem possible, blows out his brains.

If the aristocracy or, at least, its men are shown to be in serous decline, at the other end of the social scale the criminal classes are looking to have a limited future. They are central from the very start: the short lead-in that Sue originally provided (and that is very often omitted) alerts the reader to the vile setting, language and behavior of characters whom he likens — appealing both to literary fashion and popular frisson — to the people James Fenimore Cooper has depicted, "with the ferocious manner of savages, their picturesque language, the many tricks they use as they flee or pursue their enemies."[45] Sue's conservative critics like Saint-Beuve were disgusted that literature should stoop so low, but in fact the criminals, at first at least, have a hard time of it,

worse than the aristocrats. Rodolphe's fiercely personalized justice ends the blinded Schoolmaster's criminal career. Chouette keeps going as well, or as badly, as she can, but Sue seems to balance the ebbing of the Schoolmaster's activity with his creation of the ferocious Martial family, who operate like a negative parallel to the deserving poor like Morel.

The Martial family's father has been executed, the mother, daughter and third brother finally will be (the second is in the galleys). They engage in many kinds of crime, from scavenging theft to hired murder, and as the final scene before execution shows, the women at least (rather like the aristocratic women) have a steely commitment to their cause — in this case against the moral citizens. The Martials are part of the ominous forces of the river that remind us the Seine — like the Thames — was a dangerous urban highway. The eldest son, Martial himself, while tough, prefers an honest life and with his stalwart woman, La Louve, will eventually find that, through Rodolphe's help, in colonial Algeria. Particularly interesting are the younger pair, François and Amandine, who, though rejecting the horrors of criminality, like the dead hand sticking up from the woodpile, are also, the boy especially, attracted to a criminal life. But they too are rescued in one of the more purposefully reformist elements of the book, suggesting that Sue uses the Martials in parallel with Morel as part of his class-based politicization of the text. The sequence imagines the possible depths to which the poor can be forced to sink by their contexts but also suggests ways of escape. Where Rodolphe was the *deus ex machina* who saved Morel, the Martial children are redeemed through the self-rescuing efforts of Martial himself and La Louve — though she is in this to a large degree conditioned by the admirable, and ultimately aristocratic, model of Fleur-de-Marie's generosity of spirit.

That Sue's increasing interest in the lower class includes criminals is also suggested by the development of the criminal plot against Madame Mathieu, the jewel matcher who was basically the exploiter of Morel. Her wealth becomes known to Tortillard and a plan is hatched; the Martials are in the gang and to be there they hurry from, and so botch, the planned drowning of Fleur-de-Marie. Gros-Boiteux and Bras Rouge are involved but also inform against them; they are all, with the planned receiver, Father Micou, arrested. It is a well-organized piece of sub-plot that, understandably overlooked in so rich and multiform a novel, would make a good novella in its own right, and there is a proto–Maigret watching and waiting to pounce in Narcisse Borel, the police officer who was on the watch for offenders in the very first scene at the Lapin Blanc.

In the lengthy sequences in the La Force prison, when Germain is put under serious pressure — the men take much longer to respect decency than the women did with Fleur-de-Marie — the theme of criminal behavior is

developed, especially the interlocking processes of informing, or "nosing" as Reynolds's Londoners will call it. This is also the scene for a heroic return for the reformed criminal Chourineur: there was interest among Sue's letter writers to hear more of him.[46] To save Germain he has had himself jailed — with considerable difficulty, he wryly reports — and once there he faces down the formidable "lion" of the jail, the Skeleton, tall, thin, and deadly, much like a cartoon character. The two will meet again as Chourineur gives his life to save Rodolphe from the Skeleton's attack, and though many criminals are jailed and some executed, the Skeleton, Tortillard and others finally fade into the crowd. The story of Paris and its conflicts comes to an end with their menace unabated. Unlike the aristocrats, they seem to have some future to look darkly towards, and some real anxieties to generate among the audience: Sue finally offers a more open and continuing view of urban criminality than Reynolds will permit.

From the Rue du Temple, through the aristocratic mansions, and into the criminal hideaways, Sue has purposefully gone well beyond the overarching family saga of Rodolphe and Fleur-de-Marie: the social forces of the city are charted in a challenging and interrogative way. But the map is not only social: Sue more than any French contemporary takes us across, through and deeply into the city itself. *Les Mystères de Paris* is also a study of the structures of Paris the contemporary megalopolis.

Charting the City

Of all the great European cities Paris physically changed the most in the nineteenth century, altering from "very little different from the Ancien Regime"[47] to the streamlined model left by Haussmann, who drove wide boulevards through the huddled city. Famously, the new roads made it easier to move troops and police around the city and much harder for citizens to block the street with barricades and threaten the state, as they had in the revolutionary June days of 1848, which many felt had been inflamed by the social critique embodied in *Les Mystères de Paris*. Bory says: "The first realizations of the republic seem directly inspired by Sue's novels."[48] But Haussmannism was also a major social change, connecting up the city and dissipating the old transport difficulties "that had kept Paris divided into an archipelago of largely autonomous isles."[49] Sue's narrative has a strong sense of the different areas of the city and their social ownership — urban spaces that provide positions of power and safety, but sometimes neither, in the conflicts that are embodied in the narrative.

Like London and Rome, old Paris had some of its poorest and most dangerous quarters right in the center. Before Haussmann's changes central Paris

"remained the preserve of workmen, artisans and the poorest layers of society."[50] The Rue aux Fèves, the sordid setting of the first scene with Fleur-de-Marie and the Chourineur, no longer exists, demolished like much of old inner Paris, but it was right in the center, just north of the Hôtel de Ville and near the tripe market.[51] Rodolphe's missionary courage is marked by his presence there, just as it is when he ventures into Bras Rouge's evil drinking den and its cellar, in the Place de la Madeleine around the corner, as part of the purported robbery with the Schoolmaster. Nearly as much courage is needed for Rodolphe to enter the Rue du Temple, which still runs north from the Hôtel de Ville, past the old Temple itself, through the third arrondissement to the Place de la République. There was a famous murder there in 1839 that may well have influenced Sue,[52] though he would have known the area well enough: he lived a short distance north in the much more respectable Rue de la Pépinière and would have often walked this way down to the *cité* and the river.

Both the banks of the Seine are bases for the working poor — Fleur-de-Marie sold flowers on the Quai aux Fleurs, on the northern side of the Île de la Cité, and Chourineur hauled timber like a "beast of burden" (1.58) through the water from barges at Port St Nicholas, also on the Île. This center is also a cross-class meeting place. For good in Rodolphe's case: in addition to his adventures in the slums, he meets Fleur-de-Marie at the Quai aux Fleurs for their country trip in a carriage. But malice breeds there too: it is outside Nôtre Dame — perhaps with deference to Hugo's great novel — that Sarah and her brother, again in the security of a carriage, meet Chouette and the Schoolmaster to develop their dastardly plans.

The aristocrats live on islands in the archipelagic city. Then, as now, the Faubourg St Germain is the smartest (and the name of Mme. Georges's son may be a hint of his part-noble connection). Sarah and Thomas live south of the Luxembourg off the Boulevard de l'Observatoire, where Chouette visits on the mission that will end Sarah's life — a reversal of the equally cross-class judicial violence by Sarah's husband, Rodolphe, against the Schoolmaster, Chouette's own partner. Rodolphe's own real home is also there on the corner of Rue du Plumet and the Boulevard de l'Observatoire, but he has another base in the less securely aristocratic area north of the river. This is the house he arranges to rob in the Allée des Veuves (now the Avenue Montaigne), in the eighth arrondissement, between the Champs Elysées and the river. The Vicomte de St Rémy lives nearby in the Rue Chaillot, running between the Avenue d'Iéna and the Avenue Marceau: his unstable social and financial position is implied by his separation from the other aristocrats in St Germain, though, in a probably deliberate jest, he lives in a house that Bory suggests is remarkably similar to Sue's own dandy mansion, which was located even closer to the pullulating heart of the city.[53]

The Duc and Duchesse de Lucenay, true aristocrats for all their limitations, live as might be expected in the Faubourg St Germain in an unidentified house but one like a royal palace. Interestingly, Mme. d'Harville and her epileptic husband live unhappily at the edge of the Faubourg St Germain on the corner of the Rue St Dominique and the Rue Belle Chasse, which cross at what is now Solferino Station, too close to the smelly and dangerous river for real social comfort — much like Clémence's position at the start of the story, they are between the grandeur of the Observatoire and the disgrace of the Rue du Temple.

There are other urban settings. As is proper, Ferrand is near the city at 41 Rue du Sentier, now crossing the grand boulevards, and interestingly close to Sue's own house; nearer yet to the author is the notorious rookery "La Petit Pologne," scene of the story "Gringalet and Cut in Half" that Pique-Vinaigre tells in jail. A little south, in what was then the slums off the Rue St Honoré, lives Father Micou with his dubious house full on the now-lost Rue Traversière (its name has migrated eastwards to near the Gare du Lyon).

Just as a certain urban tension is marked in these locations, and the risk of penetration across class lines, so there is a dialectic between city living and life outside. One element of this seems simple: the country is seen as an ideal situation, as in the model farm at Bouqueval where Fleur-de-Marie is so happy and in the nearby village on the Oise where Chourineur is to take up his butcher's knife and a new existence. And yet these places of rural peace do not work: the criminals abduct Fleur-de-Marie; Chourineur's nightmares prevent his artisan resettlement.

There is an intriguing, unclassed space of negotiation around the city, about and beyond the *barrières*. In an early sequence Rodolphe, Fleur-de-Marie, Chourineur, Schoolmaster and Chouette are involved in an almost balletic set of negotiations on the plain of St Denis, where the abbey and its bells are heard, where the road leads to St Ouen and on to the distant valley of the Oise. This unowned space can be even more dangerous: the Schoolmaster murdered a carrier before the story starts on the Poissy road to the northwest of Paris, and finally, at the place of execution at the Barrière de St Jacques — the diametrical opposite of the idyllic St Denis — the Martials are guillotined and Rodolphe faces and eludes the forces of crime because of the cross-class and cross-locational link that has been formed with the Chourineur. This is a link back to Rodolphe's brave early visit through this area to the Porte de Bercy and the cabaret Panier-Fleuri in a cheap bar (drink was untaxed outside the barriers) to plan the burglary on his own house (1.137).

A parallel location of both threat and charity is on the Seine at Asnières, also in extra-*barrière* territory, round to the west of St Denis, making another structural contiguity across the narrative. Asnières is at first an entirely hostile

location as the story exposes the brutal life of the Martials, culminating in them nailing up the eldest son's bedroom so he cannot interfere in their vicious plans, which include murdering Fleur-de-Marie for Ferrand and, particularly cruel, his faithful accomplice Mme. Seraphin as well. But through the mixture of coincidence and moral rectification that is common in these stories, the Comte de St Rémy lives nearby at the rural house of his friend Dr. Griffon, who as a professional is both socially and topographically unplaced. The Comte, as the old aristocracy facing the dramas of modernity and a link to Sue's old legitimism, encounters not only the dishonesty of his son (or his putative son) but also the near tragedy of Fleur-de-Marie, and she is saved by his concern and the care of Dr. Griffon, though the emergent virtue of La Louve and Martial is a crucial element in this purging of the threat of the extra-*barrière* space. In a similar dialectic, where the Île des Ravageurs was dark and threatening, Dr. Griffon's house is in beautiful country, but very close.

In what many non-metropolitan French would think a typical Parisian response, the only role of the country as a whole is its impact in the city: Germain's problems in Nantes come to Paris with him — he does not return to Rochfort. "Pique-Vinaigre" (or "Sharp-Vinegar"), the skilled and sometimes bitter storyteller Fortuné Gobert, is a small-town man from Beaugency, southwest of Orléans, whose misfortunes have led him to the city and to jail: another storyteller, Sue himself, settled in this Loiret area at his country retreat. Pique-Vinaigre's sister Jeanne, who will towards the end receive Mme. d'Harville's charity, has also been forced into the city, as was Chourineur — his mother lived at La Mandé, just outside Paris to the east. In much the same way the aristocrats from their country estates have almost all ended up parading their problems across Paris: only Mme. d'Harville's father, d'Orbigny, remains off-stage, but we find that his dire second wife is closely linked to the ultra-urban Ferrand.

Where the story begins with a fairly simple set of locations and conflicts in the city labyrinth, the open land beyond the barriers, and out to the country, it both moves away from that simple structure and makes much more complex both the topography and the evaluative pattern of the narrative. The Rue du Temple is itself a focus for multiplicity in both modes, and through de St Remy, Polidori and Ferrand the story spreads through locations that are much less easily categorized in physical and moral terms. This diversification continues: late in the story it embraces Dr. Griffon's hospital and the stories of the characters it contains — new ones like the abused wife Jeanne, Pique-Vinaigre's sister, the dying laundress La Lorraine, and also the last of the de Fermonts — and other action like the attack on Mme. Mathieu the jewel handler, a new location for criminality in Father Micou's house, and the offstage adventures of Murphy in resolving the d'Orbigny problem.

These new story strands and locations may in part be used to maintain the forward movement of the narrative and the reader's urge to subscribe to the feuilleton-bearing newspaper. But they also have a powerful effect in making the story less simplistic, in asserting that there are more problems and more areas of tension to consider, and that while this narrative does use coincidence and recurring characters to manage and focus the multi-stranded story, it is nevertheless not operating in an unacceptably simplistic way. This pattern will recur in Reynolds in terms of both characters and locations, and it seems he learned this forward movement of both story and analytic argument from Sue's rich and consistently inventive treatment of both characters and locations.

Though the city is focal, and entirely French in its Napoleonic centralism, there is a curious contradiction in the fact that many characters, especially the elevated ones, move away from the city in the end. Rodolphe returns to Gerolstein with his wife-to-be, Clémence, and what he hopes will be the start of a new family, with Fleur-de-Marie to marry Prince Henry. The Vicomte has left for misery and death in a duel. The Duchesse de Lucenay is still in the city, living simply with her worthless husband — he alone appears as a witness at the wedding of Rodolphe and Sarah. To M. Pipelet's relief, Cabrion, presumably by Rodolphe's intervention, has been sent away. Almost empty of aristocrats, the Paris of the story seems now only inhabited by the happy petit bourgeois: Rigolette and her husband, Germain, have settled into the lower end of bourgeois life; Pipelet — "a new character in the human comedy"[54] — has risen as far as uniformed concierge and became the archetype of this function. Some of the minor recipients of charity like Pique-Vinaigre's sister and, befriended by Fleur-de-Marie in jail, the sadly oppressed mother Mont St-Jean, are also surviving in the city. The Morels are thriving: he has now gone into the jewel cutting business for himself and Louise is to be married. But if it sounds as if Paris has been deserted by all but the deserving artisans and petit bourgeois, the final scene at the Barrière de St Jacques reminds us that also surviving are those dialectical partners of the deserving poor, the unregenerate criminal classes: Skeleton, Nicholas Martial and Tortillard are out there somewhere; Gros-Boiteux and Bras Rouge still haunt the interface of criminality and law-enforcement. Perhaps the youngest of the Martials are playing exciting games with Tortillard. It is as if, after his tremendous incursive effort to chart the city and its places Sue like Rodolphe, withdraws, leaving it to be battled over by its indigenous inhabitants.

To take a negative position, in theory at least, this withdrawal of the characters could be read as a failure of nerve and analysis on the part of the author. The argument could be that, first, Sue makes central the aristocrats but has no strong use for them beyond paternalistic (and maternalistic) charity; second,

he has interest and sympathy with the poor, even some of the criminal poor, but has no structural political analysis to see possible organization for structural reform at that social level; and third he only sees the bourgeoisie to condemn it. Such political absences might make the story a lively narrative without hectoring and thematic manipulation, but they may also leave it curiously without any foreseeable future or systematic plan of improvement.

But this argument not only is somewhat smug and privileges later liberal political analysis (which may itself not be visibly very successful at the present) but also can be read as under-representing the layers of response and creative analysis that Sue offers in his text. Though he is often dismissed by soi-disant "critics" as being naïve, sentimental and at best populist in his thematic attitudes — in his praise of French realism F. W. J. Hemmings found Sue's work "immature and melodramatic"[55] — and overlooked as he is by literary scholars like Maxwell (but not Moretti), in favor of the traditionally major novelists of the time, there is a case to be made that in terms of political analysis as well as in the richness of his narrative and the power of his impact, Sue was capable of creating a narrative with an underlying argumentative structure that is complex, subtle, and rooted in the social and topographical realities of the Paris he is the first to describe on such a scale. In this reading, the city has, as in reality, wriggled free from aristocratic power: its tribes, bourgeois, petit bourgeois, artisan, criminal, face each other across the urban space in a way that has not before been realized. Reynolds, and many others, will work in those spaces, and in that spirit.

Structure and Meaning in Les Mystères de Paris

Structural and thematic analysis of the *Mystères* tends to treat it like a naïve, packed (or over-packed) narrative which is in thematic terms either taken simply as a good yarn or as a good yarn hijacked for a political purpose — a process starting very early with the neo–Hegelians, then with Marx, and continuing in recent left-populist claims that the workers themselves redirected the text in their own interests. Both these readings bear little relation to the text itself and that suggests that, like most of the long city mysteries, the stories have not been closely read: errors of detail are common among the commentators, not only political ones. Hemmings, for example, reports with confidence that Sue's "characters often lacked all consistency and were apt to change, without warning and without prompting, from treacherous brutes to large-hearted philanthropists."[56] Presumably he refers to the Chourineur, whose change of heart is carefully explained, and in an early chapter: La Louve's later conversion is just as meticulously sourced. In spite of such prejudicial accounts, a close

and thoughtful reading shows that the structure of *Les Mystères de Paris* is certainly more complex than a ramble through Parisian stories, and its politics, while showing an increasing concern with the conflicts faced by the poor, are neither simplistic nor out of keeping with most of contemporary radical thought.

To look first at the structure, the preceding analysis has shown that Sue with some skill inserts a cross-class and cross-city story into the overarching Rodolphe/Fleur-de-Marie family drama, with many links between the two domains and surprisingly few uncompleted ends — the minor figures Mme. Burette and M. Robert are unusual in not having their stories worked out. Sue himself described what he was doing as "a multiple narrative" ("un recit multiple"),[57] and Svane has called it "a sort of collective novel" with "many equally important intrigues," noting that he has already moved towards this, without the emphasis on the city and on class complexity, in *Mathilde*.[58] Umberto Eco also felt Sue knew what he was doing, and described the structure as "sinusoidal,"[59] by which he means a series of curves in the narrative which appear above and then disappear below its horizon — a clearer image of this type of structure is Eugène Vinaver's famous description of Sir Thomas Malory's interwoven Arthurian narratives as a "tapestry technique."[60] Other commentators have felt that Sue is using a deliberately selected structural approach to render comprehensible a set of complex experiences: Alfred Nettement, a contemporary commentator on feuilletons, said the form was "nomade et vagabonde" just like the people of the new city,[61] while Tortonese speaks of the way Sue's plot both recognizes and reduces the randomness of the city.[62]

That this interwoven, overlapping, interrelating kind of narrative is not easy to bring off is indicated by the clustering about two-thirds of the way through of occasions when Sue feels it necessary to provide his readers with recapitulations. The daily serial form may well make this more necessary — feuilleton readers cannot flick back to refresh their memory, though some people did cut the pages out and keep them together. These reminders can go back a long way: the narrator recalls to readers that Rigolette had met Fleur-de-Marie in prison as we heard at the start; we are reminded who Badinot is and that Madame Mathieu shared a house with Germain; recapitulating a later episode, Sue reminds us that Mme. Pipelet placed Cecily with Ferrand after Mme. Seraphin died. Another effect of scale is the recurrent narrative condensations: in the first volume (1.299) Sue offers only a summary of what Rodolphe gets up to finally at number 17; in the same way Mme. d'Harville's letter (5.37) to Rodolphe economically explains the assault on her father, and elsewhere the narrator steps in to clarify that it was Ferrand that Nicholas Martial met to arrange murder on the riverbank (4.71) —

"Bradamanti" was only his password, suggesting a surprising moment of humor on the notary's part. A similar intervention clarifies that Sarah wants to pretend her child with Rodolphe is alive (4.307).

These are not many signs of difficulty in managing a very long text, and there is also a technique that gives the narrative a sense of both multiplicity and simultaneity through a new mode of retrospection. Some forms of this are familiar: epics like the *Iliad* or *Beowulf* routinely go back in time to explain a current context in terms of tradition and the novel in the hands of Fielding and Scott often requires characters to speak of their past. Sue uses both these familiar techniques, especially early on when the story of Rodolphe and Sarah is communicated and Fleur-de-Marie and the Chourineur tell their stark stories. But he also does something new.

Especially in the middle of the novel, as people and storylines mill around Paris, it is common for a fresh sequence to begin a little retrospectively — sometimes back at the same time as the previous sequence started, and they will then link up in time and action in a following piece of narrative. The lengthy sequence concerning Fleur-de-Marie at the prison (3.chaps.9–12) comes to an end when, after Mme. d'Harville has learnt the sad story, she suddenly rushes off, having heard of her husband's death — which occurred several chapters before. The next scene begins earlier that same day and develops a parallel story at 17 Rue du Temple which sets up Ferrand's meeting with Cecily, the early stages of his attack on Fleur-de-Marie and the increasing role of Rigolette as Fleur-de-Marie's avatar. This parallel timing often permits a thematic paralleling of the roles, active and passive, that women play in the story. Such simultaneity through retrospection is matched by merging narrative strands through partial retrospection: at the moment that Fleur-de-Marie and Mme. Seraphin have fatefully entered Nicholas Martial's boat, the story goes back to the release from the prison of La Louve: it will bring her to Asnières just in time to save Fleur-de-Marie in a finely moralized coincidence. Sue is manipulating narrative to present inextricable interconnections of time, space and theme: city life is too multiple, too overlapping in time and motivation, for a single mono-explanatory time line. His successors will often deploy this innovation for the same purpose.

Multiple actions and motivations cause surprisingly few improbabilities of character, partly through Sue's skill but also through the inherently two-dimensional nature of the characterization. Marx made an unusually literary complaint when he remarked that Sarah's original motivation to become a crowned head is "stupidly" based just on an old nurse,[63] but this may be more fairly seen, like Rodolphe's unending remorse for drawing his sword on his father, as the kind of fairy-tale donnée characteristic of the aristocratic romance that is the underlying structure — and no doubt an underlying irritation to

Marx. What might be seen as less than realistic features, such as the Cabrion farce, the totality of Chourineur's reform and the virulent menace of Schoolmaster and Chouette, can also be traced to popular generic patterns, both melodramatic and simply theatrical.

An apparent formal flaw is that it sometimes seems as if Sue is padding — perhaps linked to the fact that he did not always have copy ready for his publisher: the scene when the criminals visit Bouqueval seems unnecessarily extended and immobile, as does the earlier ballroom scene, as well as the lengthy explanatory debate between Murphy and the aide-de-camp; the Schoolmaster's dream also seems long. Some of the episodes surrounding the Duc de Lucenay and the story told by Pique-Vinaigre also feel extended. Yet these sequences can also have both structural and thematic force. The last is clearly used as a way of ratcheting up tension — the intercutting to the reactions of Skeleton, Chourineur and the warder is well-handled. There are several important threads of narrative and meaning running through the ballroom scene and the long explanatory debate, while the Bouqueval sequence does realize at least some sense of compassion for the Schoolmaster — as does his dream (2.8), with its lake of blood and haunting scenes of his own crimes — as well as providing the first of the more overtly contemporary reformist sequences.

These political moments are the major passages that have been linked by Chevalier and much more fully Prendergast to the influence of the readers' letters Sue received in large numbers. They see lower-class readers as having recognized their concerns through the fairly early "description of the artisan Morel" and urged more of the same.[64] A major instance of Sue responding is taken to be the establishment of the Bank for the Poor Unemployed. It is quite credible that Sue, with the influence of the readers' letters and the strongly favorable reaction from almost all the reformist press, saw an increasing need to debate these issues, but it is also true that the Bouqueval sequence, a devotedly reformist model farm project (which Marx called "a fantastic illusion"[65]) drawing more on Owen the British proto-socialist and St. Simon, a French aristocrat who advocated rule by science-based managerialism, than the utopian socialist Fourier,[66] comes only a quarter of the way through the book, before the weight of the letters arrived.[67] Chevalier, supported by Prendergast, sees the people's response as "transforming this book of the dangerous classes into a book of the labouring classes,"[68] but this view is simplistic and undervalues Sue's own political concerns.

There is more criminality in the second half than the first, and it represents the dark side of the life of the pressured poor: it is in fact part of Sue's increasing interest in the problems of the poor. The discussion of male convicts' recidivism (4.50) links criminality to the condition of the poor working

man and Sue's engagement with working-class reformist voices is clear in the growing number of serious footnotes in the text — which are not always translated, sometimes embedded in the text or even, especially in French reprints omitted along with the political "digressions."[69] A particularly serious note is found at 4.50–52, responding to public statements in which the novel's "moral aim is attacked with so much bitterness": the long note resumes the Bouqueval lessons, invokes Comte and the modern "work of charity," and debates in some detail the processes of "corruption" in society and the possibilities of "rescue." This seems to usher in the growth of footnotes and indeed of polemical comments by the narrator. The frame story of Fleur-de-Marie only emphasizes this dark double vision of poverty and crime being interconnected, a theme that Reynolds will both repeat and develop.

These growing concerns about the poor do not deform the novel's structure: rather they thematically strengthen it, fulfilling and moralizing Sue's opening — and often overlooked — focus on the savagery at the heart of the city. Sue appears to recognize some dangers caused by his seriousness when he apologizes for the way his descriptions of the jail may be "injuring the unity of our story by some episodical pictures" (5.99), but this may well merely be another guard against critics of the story's recurrently dark and serious tone. There is, as has been argued here, evidence for a planned unity, structural and thematic, and other commentators would agree: Roger Bozetto speaks of the "relative coherence of the novel" and Svane, who has studied the novel and Sue's other work with great care, judges that "each theme evolves logically in a manner which seems premeditated, decided in advance."[70]

In organizational terms the novel is, especially if considered as a feuilleton with 147 episodes, a remarkably well-managed affair. It brings off a number of striking structural effects: it is the Chourineur who remarks how the final scene at the execution uses the same characters — including himself — as the opening encounter outside the Lapin Blanc, and as we find from Fleur-de-Marie's reaction, this is a serious thematic link as well as a stylish structural one. There are numbers of well-hidden but thought-provoking structural and thematic doublings in the text — Clémence and Sarah; Rigolette and Fleur-de-Marie; Germain and Fleur-de-Marie; Polidori and David; de St Rémy and Ferrand; Louise and Cecily; Morel and Pique-Vinaigre; even Rodolphe and Chouette. There is a steadily developing set of filiations between people and places at the Lapin Blanc, the Rue de Temple, Bouqueval, Asnières (including Dr. Griffon's hospital), and even in the two jails, St Lazaire and La Force.

Moretti comments that for a great city there are not many people in the plot — it is "depopulated, almost,"[71] — but this concentration is how the writer manages the megalopolis, both representing its multiplicity and also marshal-

ing it into a meaningful narrative of contiguities. Reynolds and Dickens will draw heavily on Sue's approach here but will not therefore manage so many subtle connections across the classes and the city, making structure point consistently towards theme.

Like its structure, the politics of *Les Mystères de Paris* has been treated by some commentators less than respectfully. The idea of a rich prince bringing charity to the deserving poor has seemed a distinctly limited response to modern urban problems: Gramsci called the basis of the novel "Christian philanthropic socialism" in his reflections on the meaning of Sue's story.[72] This type of criticism focuses on the speech by Morel where he states that the rich just do not understand the misery of the poor and, if they did, they would act to remedy it (2/272–3): "if the rich (only) knew" became the catch-phrase for this optimistic and morally based idea of reform. As might be expected, Marx was severe on such a notion, identifying the remark with the hopeful maxim used by those below the aristocracy in the time of Louis XIV, "si le roi le savait."[73] He mocks Rodolphe's reliance on his royal status and his unlimited money and is particularly cutting on the scene where Rodolphe persuades Mme. d'Harville into charity, seeing this as a form of aristocratic amusement:

> ...human misery itself, infinite abjectness which is obliged to receive alms, must serve as a plaything to the aristocracy of money and education to satisfy their self-love, tickle their arrogance, and amuse them.[74]

From both Marx's position of revolutionary materialism and that of the recent welfare state, it is easy to see Sue's views as optimistic and paternalistic to the point of naivety, but it is also true that in his period he was regarded as a serious commentator: the liberal and reformist press were strongly in support, with the single exception of the hard-line *L'Atelier*— the name of the journal expresses its sense that the workers plan to create their own liberation, without beneficent help from above.[75] The conservative writer Saint-Beuve saw Sue as "le romancier proletaire" but then maliciously claimed he was "enslaved to his public,"[76] and it is well-recorded that many felt Sue's story was part of the propaganda buildup to the 1848 revolution. Atkinson, very familiar with the feuilleton as she was, felt that Sue's mission was "to reveal the miseries of his time and propose remedies for them" and Pierre Chaunu, who wrote a short book on Sue for the centenary of 1848, though having limited admiration for Sue's politics, admitted that he had been "seizing the tides of the time" and "helped his contemporaries to become aware of the confused aspirations carried inside them."[77] The serious intention of his work as reformism is implied by the subtitle which, according to Bory,[78] appeared in some early editions, "Le Convertisseur," which has an evangelistic sense about it, presumably referring to Rodolphe as an agent of morally driven social change.

Sue certainly starts with this in mind, as Rodolphe not only defeats the fearsome Chourineur physically but also inspires him to better things by recognizing his strength of spirit in the repeated "heart and honour" remark. Marx saw this sardonically, saying Rodolphe "kills Chourineur by robbing him of his human independence and debasing him to a bulldog,"[79] so picking up Chourineur's own comment that he was faithful to Rodolphe as a dog to his master, and seeing this as the dehumanizing impact of both class society and money. The story itself hardly contradicts Marx in this view, as Chourineur does not prove a natural leader for his class towards either morality or self-sufficiency: in the plot he merely saves the life of two aristocrats, Germain, about to be murdered in jail, and Rodolphe, about to be murdered by criminals recently escaped from jail. In the same way La Louve, who is clearly shown as being redeemed from violence by the good model of Fleur-de-Marie, only acts in the story to save Fleur-de-Marie's own life. These are hardly the natural leaders of the people who are depicted in the British Chartist novels, or even George Eliot's *Felix Holt* (1866).

Where figures do manage to redeem their situation, some show quality of character and then receive substantial help from Rodolphe, like Germain and Rigolette; others like Morel, Claire de Fermont and Pique-Vinaigre's sister receive help after they have done no more than suffer, fairly bravely. Where Sue goes substantially further is in his statements about the need for better systems of moral guidance. These remarks tend to be general, like his sense that young women are pressured into prostitution, found in 3.240–1, the impassioned account of the conflict between remorse and recidivism for male prisoners, 5.10–13 and the sensitive representation of poor women's horror of dissection after death, 6.4. But he does also devote effective narrative sequences to this issue, as in the struggles of François and Amandine Martial to avoid the pressures towards criminality that surround their family, and Rigolette's determined resistance to avoid falling into the usual exploited role of a grisette as "a working girl, sexually available."[80] By being dramatic, memorable and conceivably imitatable these figures may be more politically effective than the somewhat idealist notions Sue offers on reformist institutions. The model farm at Bouqueval and the Bank for the Poor Unemployed that emerges towards the end are both mocked by Marx. He suggests there are not enough cattle in France to feed workers at the Bouqueval rate. On the bank he not only draws attention to the difference between the small loans and the large salary for the manager, but also suggests with some credibility that the process of taking such loans will only immiserate the poor more severely: "They will certainly starve if they do not resort to the means that the bank is intended to obviate — the pawnshop, begging, thieving and prostitution."[81]

But that is a special and political position of its own — Marx is in a way

the dialectical reflex of Rodolphe, both German exiles beset by challenges rebuilding a life in Paris on the basis of their (somewhat different) inheritances. Svane disagrees with Marx's view that Sue has in *Les Mystères de Paris* no serious social engagement — she notes that the idea for the Bank for the Unemployed Poor comes from both Owen and Proudhon, and feels that Sue in fact fits well with the "quite blurred socialism" of the period.[82] She also suggests that all Marx's examples come from the long review published June 1844 by the German neo–Hegelian "Szeliga" he is attacking, not from reading the text (it might indeed seem odd for the serious Marx to consume a feuilleton, and intriguing to think that the tradition of judging Sue without reading his text carefully may have a long history).[83] Overall, Svane sees a "conciliating spirit" in *Les Mystères de Paris*, but one that considers the rich as well as the poor: "for Sue the rich also have their miseries, vices, crimes."[84]

In transition as he is between his gentry romances and the serious — and controversial — social analysis of *Les Mystères du Peuple*, Sue in *Les Mystères de Paris* sees problems much more clearly than solutions, and there is an inevitable lack of real social strategy to the text. This is certainly conservative in effect but is so more through an absence of the structurally progressive than any will for the past. His roundup on the value of moral reformism is admittedly Utopian, but is not therefore unmeant:

> Does society encourage resignation, order, probity, in that immense mass of artisans who are for ever doomed to toil and privation, and almost always to profound misery, by benevolent rewards ? No...
> ...
> Let us go on with our utopia. Would it not be otherwise if almost every day the people had before their eyes some illustrious virtues greatly glorified and substantially rewarded by the state ? Would it not be to encourage good continually, if we often saw an august, imposing and venerable tribunal summon before it in presence of an immense multitude, a poor and honest artisan, whose long, intelligent and enduring life should be described ... [3.11].

There is another area of theme to consider, and one that may for Sue be more interesting than class politics. It is likely that the ultimately passive nature of the text's social issues arises not so much from Sue's strategic naivety in political terms as from the fact that his novelistic imagination is much more focused on issues of gender difference than class difference — the emerging social interest in *Mathilde* was largely gender linked. While the overarching story of Rodolphe and Fleur-de-Marie has clear social aspects in the descent of a noble woman and the final tragic incompleteness of her return to her class, it is also a story drenched in sexuality. Rodolphe is unable to resist the alluring Sarah; Fleur-de-Marie becomes a prostitute; her lost virtue is symbolized recurrently, even obsessively, by the little dead rose bush she carries with her, even

to her grave. The sexualization of woman, willing and unwilling, is a major topic in the period and had been so since the eighteenth-century novel, from Richardson's *Pamela* through to the melodramatic and scopophilic impact of de Sade's *Justine* and *Juliette*. The oscillation between sexualized and innocent women dominates fiction — two of Elizabeth Bennett's sisters are negatively categorized in this way, and Dickens routinely has a fair, pure woman and a dark, lustful woman in dialectical relation.

The focus on Fleur-de-Marie's sexuality is there from the start: Chourineur wants to "dance without music" with her and when Rodolphe visits the next day the ogress assumes this is a business call and sends him upstairs. At a deeper level of sexualization, the novel clearly plays with the attraction between Rodolphe and Fleur-de-Marie: she calls out to him in her sleep (3.237), and when she discovers he is her father she expresses thanks to God for "permitting me to indulge that love for my benefactor which with my heart was filled" (6.133). Bernheimer discusses the "oedipal dimension" of the story,[85] and this may link with the Gothic novel, which commonly offers missing fathers and substitute male authorities who may well invoke the shadow of incest. It might be argued that the tapis franc in an area described as a "filthy sewer" (1.11) and the foul cellar where Rodolphe is trapped and Fleur-de-Marie is meant to be immured are no less than actualizations of the darkness of the unconsciousness.

Austerely economic as he centrally is in his approach, Marx nevertheless has some interesting proto–Freudian comments. He sees the blinding of the Schoolmaster as a castration of this enemy to Rodolphe — he is also the abductor of Rodolphe's daughter and indeed, in his marriage to Mme. Georges, is a bourgeois and so socially criminal defiler of aristocratic women. Marx also has an original reading of the treatment of Fleur-de-Marie. He asserts that as a self-sufficient young woman who defends herself against the Chourineur and demonstrates a lively wit she "gives proof of vitality, energy, cheerfulness, resilience of character."[86] For Marx, the priest at Bouqueval puts an end to this independence and she is loaded down with guilt and effectively dehumanized, so that she cannot become the wife and mother that her physical presence makes her so well fitted to be. In a memorable conclusion, where others have seen the death of Fleur-de-Marie as moral rigor (see p. 20), Marx identifies a pious destruction of a vigorous human spirit: "So Rodolphe first changed Fleur-de-Marie into a repentant sinner, then the repentant sinner into a nun, and finally the nun into a corpse."[87]

But not only the Rodolphe/Fleur-de-Marie relationship realizes a sexuality that the text and contemporary morality have to contain. When we first meet Mme. d'Harville she is on the point of an extramarital affair in rejection of her enervated husband; Rodolphe sidetracks her into both charity and a

respectable love for himself, which is never given any emotive let alone physical realization — even in Gerolstein she is absent. In parallel constraint the distinctly lively Duchesse de Lucenay, very much mistress of her own riches, financial and physical, is apparently reduced to her husband's distressing company. Among the lower orders of women the same pattern of approach-avoidance to sexuality is observed. Rigolette's presentation is an almost teasing refusal to sexualize the grisette; the beautiful Louise is forced effectively to prostitute herself for her family interest, and the result is her child's death, prison and her consignment to the margins of the story. The actively sexual Cecily, Louise's reflex, is used by Rodolphe as a weapon against Ferrand, who is both sexually and financially predatory — so being an avatar of the Vicomte de St Rémy. Throughout the story and the characters, sexuality is both fascinating and forbidden, and this may be all the more potent by not being revealed in the illustrations, as it will be in *The Mysteries of London*. In the original sophisticated steel engravings — not the stark wood engravings of Reynolds's text — the women are demure apart from La Louve, who is shown as a handsome woman with one bare breast, but this is more a version of innate national vigor like Marianne, the symbol of France, than woman as threat or victim like Reynolds's pinups.

First of the Mysteries

A massive best-seller in its day, dominating both reading and literary conversation in France for well over a year as it appeared, the first text to attempt to confront the modern megalopolis, in its over half a million words of interwoven stories *Les Mystères de Paris* is both an initiator and an enigma. In its day it was taken as both a revolutionary and also a deeply conservative text; it can seem both slapdash and extremely artful; it has both a surface validity as unreflective urban chronicle and a deep structure about conflicts of class, morality and sexuality. Only the great artists have the power to assemble texts which both appear to represent contemporary ideologies and also include the means of deconstructing those passing certainties — Chaucer, Malory, Tennyson, Melville, and both Patrick and T. H. White have had this contradictory power to command both naivety and subtlety. The audience tells us that Sue's text lived powerfully in its time and indeed that it still lives — *Les Mystères de Paris* has remained in print to the present, and not merely through French literary loyalty.

Only a close, thoughtful reading of this rich and ever-changing text has the power to explain the systems by which it constructs its simultaneous processes of symbiosis and simplification. Eco's word "sinusoidal" has the right mix of

rigor and mystery: like many major works, the text both avows and doubts its own constructing strategies. Rodolphe, for all his power and value, will have no inheritor — he is like King Arthur in that. The people of Paris may have been shown to be capable of enlistment into aristocratic-led order — Svane argues that the gripping story of "Gringalet and Cut in Half" (for which Poe improbably accused Sue of plagiarism[88]), so compelling to prisoners and guards alike, is a conservative fable preaching patience to the oppressed.[89] But all of a sudden at the end the criminal elite are out of jail, rioting around the *barrière*, brandishing weapons, demonstrating simultaneously the spirit of carnival, the threat of revolution, and the capacity to merge into the populace. Rodolphe is glad to escape Paris, but it is not to a happy ending, for all his power, money and morality. The letters he receives indicate that life is better for some and that his charity has an afterlife, but also still active are a substantial number of the worst criminals, with Skeleton at their head and Tortillard to look after their alarming future. Structural and thematic irony strikes as Tortillard makes the same cry, "Vive la Charte" (6.11), as did Chourineur in the opening sequence: Tortillard's radicalism will not be enlisted on the side of princes. As the unruly forces of Paris are seen in final action, also lurking in the dark spaces of the city are the shadowy officials and manipulators like Badinot the middleman, Petit-Jean the dubious financier, Boulard the corruptible magistrate. Germain, Rigolette and Morel have set their feet on the ladder of petit bourgeois independence and morally focused mercantilism. But Paris is still a human labyrinth; its people are Minotaur, Theseus and Ariadne all at once. Zola and Gaboriau and many writers to come will powerfully exploit Sue's sense that the megalopolis embodies huge new potential for conflict across class and gender. To this day Sue retains his pre-eminence as the master of the city mysteries.

2

The Voice of the People: George Reynolds's *The Mysteries of London*

London as Mystery

At the opening of chapter 37 of *The Mysteries of London*, George Reynolds signals not only that he is challenging the classical canon of English Literature exemplified by Shakespeare, but that he is speaking about the great city today and how ordinary people move around it — in an omnibus: "Shakespeare said 'All the world is a stage:' we say, 'All the world is an omnibus.'"[1]

By the 1840s everyone recognized the huge growth of London, the biggest city in the world by far; at about two million people, including outer suburbs, its population was well over double that of Paris. Not a manufacturing city like Manchester nor an artisanal center like Birmingham, it combined the distribution of goods and services, management of civil and governing activities, and the huge personal support system needed by workers in these newly massified urban worlds.

As docks were built along the Thames for more and more international and imperial trade, as rail terminals around the inner city provided bases for the national movement of freight and personnel (suburban rail travel was a later development), the people of the great city aspired to better housing than seedy inner-urban apartments of the kind Sue had realized at 17 Rue du Temple. London spread rapidly, and while working men and women still walked to work — often for as much as an hour in all weathers[2] — those with sixpence to spend would travel on the new omnibuses which supplanted the long-used hackney carriages and were much cheaper than the private "hansom" cabs, themselves dating only from 1834.[3]

"Omnibus," in that time of Latin-dominated education, was a joking name,

the ablative plural of *omnis*, "all," so meaning "for, by, and with all (people)." The first omnibus ran in London in 1829 from Paddington to the city, and routes rapidly multiplied, bringing white-collar workers and their womenfolk in from new semi-respectable suburbs like Bayswater, Islington, and Camberwell, to the West End for female shopping and to the City for male work. By 1841 Charles Knight reported 700 omnibuses working within ten miles of the General Post Office.[4]

But like much else in self-consciously English London, the omnibuses were international: George Shillibeer, a carriage maker specializing in hearses, had moved to Paris with the Bourbon restoration in 1815 to provide transport for the surviving and developing elites but had done best with large public horse-drawn transports, which he now brought to London.[5] What Eugène Sue did not notice in his still aristo-led cityrama, Reynolds picked on as an archetype of innovative modern mobility.

Having dispensed with Shakespeare, Reynolds took over:

> Away — away thunders the World's omnibus again, crushing the fairest flowers of the earth in its progress, and frequently choosing rough, dreary, and unfrequented roads in preference to paths inviting and even pleasant [1.102].

But if Reynolds in canon-challenging mood can write in mythic metaphor, he is as always aware of class and conflict:

> So goes the World's omnibus! None of the passengers are ever contented with their seats, even though they may have originally chosen these seats for themselves. This circumstance leads to a thousand quarrels and mean artifices: and constant shiftings of positions take place [1.103].

Where in Sue's Paris everybody basically returned to their place, or failed to maintain it completely, Reynolds's London is, as he suggests here, a city of "constant shiftings of positions," both on a personal level and, if the author had his way, on an institutional level as well. His first two-volume collection of *Mysteries* offers a completed set of interrelating stories, over twice as long as Sue's *Mystères*, with more than twice the characters, and while they are less finished, less measured, less consistently controlled than Sue's great original, the *Mysteries* have a vigor, a pace, a confrontational excitement that matches their location, and, like the omnibus, a melodramatic mobility for a cross-class personnel that travels right through the great city of modernity.

English writers had long known the contradictions of London, from Chaucer's use of it as both a point of departure for his pilgrims and a multi-layered access to his own modern England. Shakespeare's London is only a shadow, but his less allusive colleagues, from the sonorous Jonson to the pragmatic Dekker and Heywood, realized their capital's conflicted social and economic cultures. As mercantile power grew and governmental authority engaged

with it for both benefit and constraint, some writers dealt more directly with London — Defoe's Moll Flanders passes through the city in a miasma of gleeful menace, Tom Jones is not deceived by its mendacities, though he pauses over the ladies, but the growing city itself attracts little attention. As Marilyn Butler comments in a wide-ranging consideration of London and literature in the early nineteenth century:

> It seems puzzling that London as an environment, a society, an idea, received so little written attention at a time when the London printing industry and those who lived by it were fashioning themselves so successfully.[6]

Wordsworth, the most thoughtful of the Romantics, saw London's stately grandeur — "Earth hath nothing to show more fair" he said of Westminster Bridge, remarkably, for the poet of the Lakes — but in Book VII of *The Prelude* he represents London in a Bartholomew Fair scene described by David Skilton as "overwhelming and alarming," to justify what Butler calls his "renunciation of the metropolis."[7]

The city for which Wordsworth felt such approach-avoidance was trying to cope with a massive surge of population. From about 1770 to 1820 Britain had seen major rural depopulation, as international trade and industrial development boomed, a process substantially fueled by a 20-year war economy — nails and cannon for ships alone were a major cause of the surge in the iron industry around the country. In 1750 London had over half a million people; a recent estimate is that it grew by 1800 to one million and by 1841 to two million.[8] Its physical size had more than trebled as people with better jobs and incomes, smaller families (parents and grandparents were usually left behind in the country), and larger aspirations wanted more space to live in. By the 1840s the old City of London, for long about half of the conurbation, was only 20 percent of the metropolis, and what had seemed distant suburbs, now reachable by omnibus, before trains and underground, were under massive development — Collins's *Hide and Seek* (1854) opens with a vivid, horrified account of how the country is being absorbed into the city.

A whole range of social and cultural phenomena followed from this huge demographic change, which was recognized at the time as being entirely new in scale. Old familiarities had disappeared: you lived among strangers, who might well be threatening. The village and small-town control systems of kinship, intimacy, church and magistrates could no longer be credible as control systems. The eighteenth-century *Newgate Calendar* stories where a criminal is apprehended by being identified, or just being conscience stricken, belonged to the old organic world (however inefficiently), but as crime fiction historians have shown, they are replaced in the early to mid nineteenth century by stories where a specialist — a doctor, a lawyer, and soon

enough a detective — works out from evidence where the guilt for crime might really lie.[9]

Urban distances seemed enormous, and few could tell anyone else where to go. The city map and the visitor's guide spring up in the 1830s, with the commercial benefit of needing to be updated all the time as London grew and changed its roads and its centers of activity. Distance and defamiliarization stressed developing class attitudes. E. P. Thompson has shown how class consciousness among the lower orders was a flourishing idea by 1830,[10] and the booming city increasingly separated itself into social levels. No longer accepting the old model of the multi-class building, which Sue still offers with some credibility, there now appear single-class suburbs[11] — the wealthy in the new, and sometimes still marshy, Westminster extensions in southwest London like Eaton Square and Belgravia; professionals in Mayfair, semi-professionals in Bloomsbury, handy to the city but not quite tainted by it; the rise of the clerical dormitories in Islington and Camberwell, waiting till 1888 for their apotheosis in Charles Pooter, the office-worker "Nobody" of Holloway.[12]

All of these people joined in the new mercantile order in some way, but there were also those beyond the system. There were what had been, in a time dominated by religious discourse, called sanctuaries, no-go areas for the law like Southwark and parts of Westminster — also known as Alsatias.[13] The lowest level of society had constructed its own sanctuaries, known as "rookeries" — implying noise, dirt, unruliness and thieving. St Giles, lying between the British Museum and modern theater-land, was the best-known, but attached to the city was the dangerous estate of West Smithfield, along the open sewer of the River Fleet. Farther east were whole new suburbs devoted to unsurveillable workers and non-workers: the core of the East End around and Bethnal Green and, just to the east, Globe Town, built quite recently for immigrant weavers who were soon impoverished by mechanization. Reynolds calls it "a sink of human misery," while its residents preferred the deep irony of "Happy Valley" (1.298). It was these areas, by their apparent permanence a more serious threat than the rookeries, which led to the growing perception that there was a "criminal class" which, like the bourgeois and petit bourgeois social levels, had separated itself from the previous model of an interrelated social and hierarchical matrix. J. J. Tobias shows that this idea is established by the mid–nineteenth century and the threat of the perception is conveyed by the term "dangerous classes," in common use by the 1840s.[14]

Right across its expanding space, this was a deeply mercantile city. Goods delivery was being clerically managed in London as well as shipped through its docks, and increasingly on around the country via the railways; the orders for goods were posted and passed around locally and nationally. London had scores of small service industries, many to do with urban growth (metalwork-

ing, brick making, carpentering, laboring); and also manifold urban services — dressmaking, laundering, serving in houses, shops and cafés. Roy Porter reports that in 1841 over 240,000 people, mostly women, worked as domestic servants, dressmakers, milliners and laundry keepers.[15] Huge numbers of men worked at the docks, and women and other men attended them in pubs and cafés. Then there were brothels: estimates of the number of prostitutes are usually about 80,000; many would have been part-time, but they too had their service workers, madams and maids, pimps and, for security, "bullies." Less extreme forms of entertainment flourished: not many theaters were licensed yet, but pub entertainment occurred everywhere, to become part of the triumphant music-hall tradition, and there were increasing numbers of communication workers in printers and booksellers — including the semi-pornographic trade — and newsboys everywhere. Enormously busy as the city was, it remained almost completely unmechanized. One estimate is that there were 100,000 horses in London, and they needed drivers, ostlers, feed providers, stable hands, and equipment makers.

The constantly growing city seethed with activity, all of it in many ways inherently mysterious, because no one could know many people or many places in the extraordinary new megalopolis. By the early mid–nineteenth century there were writers who, like, if not equaling, Balzac, wanted to give a fuller account of their world. In the past characters from novels had visited London and been excited or scarred by it — a notable exception is Jane Austen's sketch of the Bennett girls' modest sensible bourgeois uncle, who receives first the courtesy and then the respect of the wealthy nobleman Darcy. The city might be, as for Blake or De Quincey, an exotic powerhouse of threatening innovation, but as Butler shows, by about 1820 the city started to come into focus for its writers. The initiator was Pierce Egan's very successful *Life in London* (1821), in which the gentry have come to town. The West End gentleman "Corinthian Tom" escorts around the sights of the city his wealthy country cousin Jerry. It is a narrative guide, with visits to major locations from palace to prison, from the would-be smart vulgarities of Almack's dance-rooms through to the crude frissons of boxing matches, dog fights, East End pubs and similar excitingly dangerous locations, all seen in vivid illustrations by the young George Cruikshank.

Several non-fiction writers made efforts to describe the complexities of the new metropolis in a more serious way than Egan: *How to Live in London or The Metropolitan Microscope and Stranger's Guide* appeared in 1828, with some emphasis on criminal exposé, *Sunday in London* from 1833 offered rather gentle satire and more Cruikshank images, while John Duncombe's *The Dens of London Exposed* (1835) was a radical low-life account, consciously rejecting Egan's gentry positioning.[16] But it was the writers of fiction who handled the

new world most boldly. Egan's lively illustrated tourist text surely guided the even younger Dickens to his *Sketches by Boz* (1833), itself illustrated by "Phiz," Hablot K. Browne. The opening series of descriptive accounts in the *Sketches* is called "Our Parish": Dickens uses an old-style social model as the norm, and much of his commentary treats areas of London like small towns undergoing threatening changes, including noise, social stress and unmanageable, even unconfrontable, crime. The stories tend to resort to sentimental lament in the absence of any techniques to encounter the alienating innovations of modernity. The city itself is only described through absence, by studying the empty buildings at night. In *Oliver Twist* (1837–9), Dickens deployed a lost heir theme, with Oliver falling first into the workhouse and then among London thieves. The parallel with Sue's future Fleur-de-Marie is visible, but it seems unlikely that Sue needed a model.

Dickens's developing power to realize London is predicted in two sequences: early on Sykes takes the young Oliver on a long walk right from edge to edge across the city's many varied areas, from Bethnal Green in the east to Brentford in the west, and then out into the country for criminal purposes — a mythic version of the sort of journeys Dickens himself undertook, at night, and realizing in terms of personalized experience the massive urban impact. Just as powerful is the climax, when the city itself, embodied in the urban crowd, pursues Sykes through the dark streets and causes his self-execution, as he hangs himself while trying to escape from their eyes over the rooftops with a rope. But *Oliver Twist* has only a narrow and sensational range of urban settings, withdrawing its plot to an upwards-mobile "lost heir" story.

Without a narrative framework to embrace the city, Dickens went back, in *Barnaby Rudge* (1841), as Hugo and Scott had done, to the past, there to imagine urban conflicts of the present through the model of the Gordon Riots of 1780. Then in two novels often thought to be unfulfilled, he made elements of the new urban world provide a context for plots still not yet able to narrativize new urban forces: in *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843–4) the hero's return from America — another displacement of modernity — operates against a background of city workers, and in *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840–1) the shop itself, lower-middle-class London and the nighttime city are elements of urban realization that both the narrative and the main characters escape from in their national wanderings. It was only in *Dombey and Son* (1846–8) and *Bleak House* (1852–3) that Dickens was able to mesh the plot into the city and its forces, and both of these can be read as his response to the structure of the *Mysteries* which Reynolds developed on the basis of Sue's innovative *Mystères*.

Dickens was by no means the only English writer to be attempting to square the circle of the great city and the shape of the novel. The past of London had enabled Bulwer-Lytton to write about crime with both a sense of its

social generation and also its frightening fascination, using London as a partial setting in *Pelham* (1828) and a major one in *Paul Clifford* (1830). Harrison Ainsworth had given the London criminal world of a century past a memorable presence in *Rookwood* (1834): though the plot was crucially about Dick Turpin, it gave him an urban origin complete with thieves' cant as celebrated in "Jerry Juniper's Song" — to be a triumph on the popular stage. Ainsworth's *Jack Sheppard* (1839) gave crime and London a stronger interweaving, though also in the past, and that distanced representation of the city was the basis of his great success with *Old St Pauls* (1841), indirectly the probable stimulus for Sue. It was Ainsworth's historical emphasis that stopped him from also being the London successor to Sue: what sounds like a deliberate parallel, "The Revelations of London," was appearing in his own *Ainsworth's Magazine* in 1843–4, but it has the double displacement of starting in the seventeenth-century past and then moving to modern London through what is effectively a science-fiction re-birth plot: Stephen Carver suggests that Ainsworth changed the title first to *Auriol*, after its re-born hero, and later to *The Elixir of Life* to avoid it seeming linked to "the notoriety of Reynolds's epic work."[17]

There was another British mysteries precursor, who did take note of the new formations of the city but, like Dickens in *Sketches by Boz*, only to deplore them. In 1830 Samuel Warren first published stories from "The Diary of a Late Physician" in *Blackwoods*. The series would last till 1837 and sell well in volume form. Each story resolves an outrage or a crime done against, or sometimes by, his patients. The path to Sherlock Holmes seems open, but this innovative doctor-cum-amateur detective series contradicts its own bourgeois disciplinary basis, seeing only the problems of the upper class: an author also skilled at deploying for *Blackwoods* Gothic anxiety in the "Tales of Terror" mode of hyper-sensate masculine individualism, Warren restricts his investigations to an equally limited social world and gentry sensitivity. The late story "The Merchant's Clerk" might sound focused on city service workers, but the flute-playing clerk left Oxford when his military-officer father killed himself over gambling debts. He works for and is tyrannized by a brutish merchant boss, who gets his desserts when his daughter, whom he exiled when she married the fallen gentleman, loses her mind after her husband's suicide, in the New River at Hornsey where the main clean-water supply for London arrived: so Warren, who had real power at times, imagines the fatal impact of urban innovation on a whole family.

Though at times the criminal class and untrustworthy city servants are perceived by Warren, they are only seen as disruptive threats, not as formations of the city itself. Warren was taken as a major writer and until the later 1840s thought a rival to Dickens. He was very successful with *Ten Thousand A-Year* (1838), a reflex of "The Merchant's Clerk": it does deploy a figure who typifies

the social forces of modern mercantile London, but only in a hostile and dismissive way. The central character, never a hero, is the ridiculously named Tittlebat Titmouse, a drapery salesman (the glass-fronted draper's emporia were the flagships of urban consumerism), who inherits money, imitates his betters embarrassingly, and is eventually made gratifyingly penniless and humiliated by all. A novel against modernity, with no understanding of the forces of the new city, only a sense of their hostile existence, it indicates how wide were the sympathies needed, how flexible was the literary technique required, to give an account of the new world of London.

Reynolds was apparently not the first to deploy an English version of Sue's title. There is a short comic guide to the city illustrated with many amusing illustrations called *The Mysteries of London*, written by "Father North," an otherwise unknown pseudonym. It is undated but was accessed by the British Library on June 28, 1844. The light city guide was a common genre in the period, and in no way does this example undertake any of the serious and imaginative analysis that Sue had offered — though it is tempting to think that Reynolds was inspired by the title, or even that he produced it himself, now living "farther north" than Paris, before seeing what more could be done with Sue's powerful achievement and beginning his own *Mysteries* in October 1844.

Cometh the Hour, Cometh the Man

George William MacArthur Reynolds was born in 1814, son of a ranking naval officer, and sent to Sandhurst, the English army-officer academy. In class and military terms it was a background much like that of Sue, and also Shillibeer of the omnibuses. Like them, the century, and the city, Reynolds opted for change. He left Sandhurst early and went with limited funds (not the inheritance of £12,000 from his mother that used to be reported[18]) in 1830 to Paris. There he worked in journalism, with limited success, read widely, and ran up debts, and by 1837 he returned to London, a self-declared bankrupt (the last would happen twice more). The details of Reynolds's life are unclear, which seems strange for a man so much in the public eye and so ready, even compulsive, a writer: autobiography seems the only mode he avoided. In Paris in 1835 he married Susannah Pearson (also recorded as Pierson): she had firm radical views and would write novels on her own and with him. After her death in 1858 Reynolds wrote no more fiction and his career seems to drift: it is likely that he depended very much on Susannah, and she may well be reflected in the enduring, positive and strong-minded women who appear from the start in his *Mysteries*.

Where Sue was treated badly by the state, died young, but was and is widely

respected in his country, Reynolds was successful and rich and became almost entirely forgotten. A massive best-seller — *The Bookseller* obituary in 1879 said he had the biggest sales of the whole century[19] — and founder of a newspaper that, as *Reynolds's News*, was bought, especially in leftist households, until the 1960s, he has only in the last two decades been the object of serious study: one very recent book of essays is all that has been gathered, and his masterpiece, the 1844–6 *The Mysteries of London,* remains out of print.[20] The difference from Sue is in part to do with national attitudes — France accommodates critique and dissent more openly and generously than England and has a much less class-based evaluative view of literature — but also with the fact that Reynolds combines, even embraces, forces that are deeply disturbing to the middle-of-the-road liberal bourgeois settlement that has dominated English cultural and political life from 1688 to the present. Berry Chevasco sums up: "Reynolds's work as a whole came to represent the fears and distaste of the literary and journalistic establishment for certain types of popular fiction and for its producers." Ian Haywood is sharper: "From Dickens onwards there has been a critical orthodoxy that somewhere along the lines Reynolds's motives were dishonest and his politics superficial."[21]

Complex and argumentative as Reynolds was, often falling out with colleagues, he was before all else a radical. He and Susannah, after recognizing parental male names in the first two sons, called their third and fourth Ledru Rollin (after the French radical leader of 1848) and Kossuth Mazzini (linking the names of two other European radicals). Reynolds had in the early 1840s doubted the value of the Chartist movement, seeing it as an unstructured crusade, but in 1848, as European capitals were ablaze with revolutionary change, it was he who addressed impromptu a lackluster Trafalgar Square meeting, was chaired home to Covent Garden by the crowd, and assumed a major position on the "physical force" — that is, revolutionary — wing of Chartism. He soon fell out with other leaders and this is usually put down to his lack of commitment or personal vanity, but his criticism of the others, which led to the problems, has been supported by many later commentators.[22]

What many of his contemporaries and later commentators have found disturbing is that Reynolds was also an entrepreneur, a media magnate and — this may be the worst thing for the English literary gentry — a populist who was very popular. He deployed melodrama, sentimentality, even something approaching (for the timid) pornography, all interwoven with a fierce and rigorous critique of the aristocracy and the mercantile production of wealth, which he clearly understood as what Marx sees as the theft of labor value. In spite of (or perhaps because of) this convergence, Marx treated him as negatively as he did Sue: though he respected the Chartist connection, he called Reynolds's writing the work of a "rich and good speculator," so both stressing

and dismissing the mercantile element.[23] Dickens attacked Reynolds in 1850 in the first issue of *Household Words* as one of "the Bastards of the Mountain, the draggled fringe on the Red Cap," belittling and rejecting the radical side in this reference to the 1848 French radical party that re-used the revolutionary party name "The Mountain."[24] Marx and Dickens are not known to have agreed on any other topic, another Reynolds first. He did not accept Dickens's comment in respectful silence, soon describing him as "that lickspittle hanger-on to the skirts of Aristocracy's robe."[25]

It is not clear that populism and radicalism must be separate, or self-canceling. Iain McCalman's absorbing book *Radical Underworld* shows how, around 1800, dedicated dissent expressed itself with ferocious and wide-ranging liberty—an Irish Archbishop caught having sex with a soldier was in 1822 cartooned and identified as "The Arsebishop."[26] However, McCalman ends his study in 1840, and there is by then a clear shift from genuinely radical and fugitive popular publication. In the period of cheaper paper, more efficient printing presses, decreasing taxes on publication, and above all a much increased lower-class readership, profit-oriented popular and sometimes semi-pornographic writing flooded out of Smith Square and Holywell Street in London in formats like *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* and early cheap novels from Reynolds's first *Mysteries* publisher, George Vickers.[27]

Readership in Britain had grown very rapidly: James estimates that while the population had doubled between 1780 and 1850, literacy had quintupled.[28] One major response in the period was the attempt to direct the rapidly growing lower-class readership into morally guided paths in a range of Christian publications like those sponsored by the Anglican Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and the non-denominational, scientifically oriented Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. As Marie-Christine Leps comments, this was a widespread attempt to use education to control the effect of a popular press which was seen as both morally and politically dangerous, especially as in the 1830s and 1840s forms of social realism became a major mode of what had previously only been melodrama and semi-pornography.[29] Leps comments: "In the 1830s and 1840s, although gothic novels continued to be ever popular, 'social realism' invaded popular fiction, and dark German dungeons were exchanged for dark English or French criminal ghettoes."[30] Patrick Joyce has described the rise of "populist radicalism,"[31] and the well-known description of the new publishing by John Wilson Ross as "economic literature" indicates both its place in the market—the first public libraries were not established until 1850—and its concerns with the operations of the new mercantile world.[32] James speaks of a new "readership concerned not just about poverty but with the economic structure of society that lay behind it."[33]

Many were concerned with the new social situation of the cities, especially

in London, and non-fiction writers were at work: Charles Knight's series of documentary accounts, *London*, came out in 1841–44; Edwin Chadwick's Home Office *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Poor* in 1842; Friedrich Engels's *Condition of the Working Class in England, in 1844* which for all its emphasis on the industrial regions includes early on a treatment of London, especially its filthiness, was published in German in 1845, and Charles Mayhew's very influential accounts of *London Labour and the London Poor* began to appear in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1849 and were published in book form in 1852.[34] But the most widespread critique was in the mode of fiction. Some authors on the respectable end of the mass market — Lytton and Ainsworth included — retained some of the liberal instincts of past dissent.

Reynolds, with his radical instincts, his broad knowledge of France and its literature, and his very substantial gift of fluency, was able to offer a combination of profit-making populism and searching, offense-giving, structure-attacking radicalism. That is why Dickens is so hostile: the only institution he ever seriously attacks is the law, and only one part of it, the invented "Circumlocution Office" in *Bleak House*. Sue at least criticized some institutions, even though he felt that sufficiently good people could simply improve the existing ones, but change of heart was all Dickens had to recommend. Reynolds, far more than Sue, has something to say about the necessary reconstruction of almost every institution from the Parliament to the prisons, though he admires some professionals, at least those in the madhouses, praising Bedlam in particular for its treatment of inmates (2.316).

The contemporary who seems most disposed to respect or at least not criticize Reynolds was that other gentry drop out, and original multi-generic talent William Thackeray. Always more patriotic and less courageous than Reynolds — his Paris guide has little admiration in it and he tends to work by irony and parody rather than direct aggressive statement[35] — he nevertheless pre-empted Reynolds's dislike of capital punishment in his 1840 article "On Going to See a Man Hanged,"[36] mocked the aristocracy and spoke up for women in *Vanity Fair* (1847–8), re-using Reynolds's double-character central structure, but changing gender and favoring the bad one in Becky Sharp: James comments on the links between the two authors.[37] Reynolds and Thackeray seem to offer related responses to the experience of the megalopolis in London. Nevertheless, there is a crucial difference: James comments: "Reynolds wrote for an audience that, suffering the hardships of the 'hungry forties,' could not afford Thackeray's urbane balance."[38]

Apart from radicalism and populism, another mark against Reynolds in his period and afterwards has been his use of sources. His French experience had some high-art elements: he wrote a serious and interesting book about the contemporary French novel, *The Modern Literature of France* (1839), an

achievement not matched by English novelists or editors since. His interests in French literature were also radical: he translated Victor Hugo's poem "Outside the Ball-Room" about wealth and poverty and *The Last Day of a Condemned*.[39] But his interests were also distinctly popular and led him in his desire to make money from his writing into something close to, and sometimes actually being, plagiarism, as in *Robert Macaire in England* (1840). Macaire — whose persona would be adopted by the Skeleton to attend the executions at the end of *Les Mystères de Paris*— was a modern French rogue, a Parisian Mohican blended with Robin Hood.[40] Here Reynolds has him come to England and live in London, encountering areas and people who will in varied forms reappear in the *Mysteries.* Described by James as an "interpenetration of English and French popular culture,"[41] it is amusing, episodic, but was only moderately successful in either capital.

The next literary borrowing caused the real problem. After Dickens's huge success with *The Pickwick Papers*, Reynolds led the pack who exploited the position. His *Pickwick Abroad*, serialized in *The Monthly Magazine* from 1837 to 1838, is the best of a group of texts which lack a precise name: copyright laws were too loose for them to be called plagiarisms; they resemble modern fan fiction but had an overtly exploitative profiteering purpose. In the looser early context, when international copyright did not exist, when it was usual to have exploitative works like *Oliver Twiss* appearing, Reynolds's maneuver basically demonstrates the energy and hopeful engagement with the market to which he was dedicated, and which was sometimes to fail him. When Dickens began *Master Humphrey's Clock*, a story series which was to generate *The Old Curiosity Shop*, Reynolds embraced the initiative in his *Monthly Magazine*, with *Master Timothy's Book-Case* (1841–2). His more original response to Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* was to bring him huge success, but that triumph also brought the contemporary hostility of hegemonic opinion making and imposed unthinking but long-lasting oblivion to this committed, fluent and always energetic writer, who gained enormous response from ordinary people for his intertwining of intriguing story lines and highly critical political analysis.

New Mysteries for Old

Both in the period and since, there has been a recurrent opinion that Reynolds's *The Mysteries of London* is a version, even an adaptation, of *Les Mystères de Paris*. This might well have seemed likely, with his record of paralleling, at the very least, previous successes. But the commentators who opt for "adaptation" or even, like Chevasco and Milbank,[42] "plagiarism" as a description of what Reynolds created seem to base their views on expectation rather

than any extended acquaintance with both texts. In keeping with such misjudgments are the misrendered names and misreported pieces of plotting that appear regularly in such discussions as do appear of *The Mysteries of London*.

The first book version of the *Mysteries*, the subject of this analysis, published in two volumes in 1846, was originally produced in eight-page weekly numbers with one illustration, selling at a penny, and reprinted each month for sixpence. Together they form a complete story which has both substantial differences from Sue's narrative and a number of intriguing resonances and reworkings of it. After this Reynolds produced another two years' weekly work, which was published by Vickers as Volumes 3 and 4. Then he fell out with Vickers, a semi-pornographer of Holywell Street (though for the *Mysteries* he used a different address[43]). Vickers kept the series going with a capable fifth volume by the radical novelist Thomas Miller, but the sixth was a feeble assemblage by E. L. Blanchard, better known for pantomimes. With the publisher John Dicks, Reynolds moved on to produce *The Mysteries of the Court of London*, running to eight volumes (1848–56), and remarkably successful in America, where, perhaps because it had an anti-royal focus, it was usually regarded as Reynolds's major work.

Though Sue was extremely popular and there were, Chevasco reports, six translations in English available by 1844,[44] Reynolds would have read Sue in French, like many others in London — there was a remarkable amount of French work being published there, including Flora Tristan's searching critique of English institutions, and just as many English writers were also published in Paris; translation was not then essential for intercultural relations. There are some clear general structural lessons Reynolds learnt from Sue, which distinguish his *Mysteries* from his often rambling earlier novels. *Robert Macaire in England* (1840) and the teetotal propaganda story about a bankrupt writer, *The Drunkard's Progress* (1841), both start in France and then explore London, but they lack the flexible strength of Sue's model of interwoven stories operating within an overarching frame.

Reynolds's first two volumes use like Sue a framing narrative about a family and its problems, worked out through recurrent encounters in the city. The story begins on a hill overlooking the city: the standpoint mirrors that of the Mysteries genre itself. Markham Place is between Lower Holloway and Kentish Town (1.5), with a view "over the mighty metropolis" (1.11). This is undoubtedly the narrow summit on Camden Road (between Middleton Grove and York Way), just west of Copenhagen House — later the site of the new Smithfield Market but then a large and popular pub which Reynolds had surely visited, itself famous for its commanding view over London.[45] Markham Place, just at the hilltop as the action makes clear, must have stood between modern Brecknock Road (then Maiden Lane, running from Highgate to St

Pancras) and Camden Road, on Hill-Drop Crescent: by 1855 there were still only six homes with that address. Below the hill drop ran the River Fleet, down to Smithfield, where it was an open sewer and where the first events occur.

The social level of the frame story starts lower than Prince Rodolphe. White-collar housing would soon surround the hill top villas of the London-observing gentry, and the Markham family seems already on the verge of urban engagement. They may live in an "old family house," but the family has no title and no extended influential set of relations to identify them as even untitled aristocracy: Markham's best friend is "an opulent City merchant" (1.11). The Markhams seem between gentry and city people and the story will interrogate the values of both those domains. The two sons are separating: Eugene, the older, is leaving home as his father will no longer sustain his debts: he has been in the army, is a gambler and a spendthrift (presumably his name is a mischievous glance at Sue). Richard, the younger, grieves: they carve their names on a hill top tree in July 1831 and agree to meet there again in 12 years.

The story first follows Richard, the good-hearted young man, with some money and the expectancy of an inheritance when he turns 21 in three years. He soon has misfortunes, becoming inveigled into a group of men-about-town, exploitative minor and fake aristocrats. They use him to pass forged notes, disappear when trouble looms, and disavow him in court. He serves two years in jail and when he comes out his father is dead and the family income is almost all lost: his father's friend Monroe has been misadvised by a devious financier. Richard turns to his skills, writing a successful play (under the pseudonym "Edmund Preston") and becoming a tutor, so adopting the path of the self-made bourgeois rather than the inheritor of wealth — an overlap with Reynolds's own career path.

It begins to look as if mysterious London is to be mastered by the worthy values of the disciplinary middle-class expert. But that figure is not yet potent enough for a hero, not even flawed ones like Dickens's David Copperfield or Pip in *Great Expectations*— and the point of the latter plot is that Pip thinks he is not a minor bourgeois but a gentry lost child. In *The Mysteries* Richard and Eugene are both gentry of a sort and true middle-class life and challenges have no mainstream realization. Monroe, a city man, is shadowy; Tomlinson, a banker, comes from a family in vulgar trade (selling domestic oil) and is only present to enact and ultimately elude the commands of the insurgent banker-businessman Mortimer Greenwood (i.e., Eugene Matkham). Diana Arlington's father was a tradesman (whom Greenwood ruined), but she ascends, with a few slips on the way to the aristocracy. Stephens is a skilled farm bailiff, who masterminds a quasi-gentry plot (involving the cross-dressed

Eliza), and those aspirational activities cause his transportation; Mr. Gregory, who acts like a bourgeois, having his children tutored by Richard, is actually a small landowner come to town. By reverse, Anderson, the gambling army officer who appears late in Volume 2, has stepped out of his father's merchant class to his own serious detriment, and Egerton, an outfitter's son, seeks to ascend socially, with potentially serious consequences.

Not wanting, or perhaps not yet contextually able, to develop a bourgeois hero, Reynolds turns to a version of continental romance to resolve his hero's problems. In jail Richard meets the radical philanthropist Armstrong, who introduces him to a liberal Italian Count living in exile in the extra-urban comfort of Richmond, whose daughter Isabella Richard immediately loves. In Volume 2 in an extended and well-handled military sequence (Reynolds apparently paid at least some attention at Sandhurst), Richard becomes first an aide-de-camp and then the bold and triumphant leader of an invading army which liberates Castelcicala, a coastal state between Rome and Naples, from its tyrant. He establishes the liberal Count as Prince, marries his daughter and himself will inherit — startlingly like Rodolphe — the role of a generous European monarch.

If this not entirely improbable action — Garibaldi will soon appear on the world stage — elevates Richard, we should of course expect its dark opposite to be imposed on his errant brother. This doubling of the hero is, from Schiller's very well-known *Die Räuber* (1781) on, a motif that persists through the nineteenth century as a way of handling the conflicted forces found in the Romantic individual, both noble and also savage, and it also responds to the dialectical force of modernity, its necessary mix of disciplinary liberalism and acquisitive capitalism. The double is used, as Robert Rogers suggests, to construct in the narrative the elements of a "psychological whole," but as John Herdman notes in his treatment of the formation it is not particularly common in Gothic fiction itself: it appears to have primarily social rather than personal meaning.[46] As Sue did with Ferrand, Reynolds realizes through Eugene the threatening financial forces of urban capitalism, but in much greater detail, with a fuller understanding of the processes, and an insistence that they are in fact structural to modernity. Eugene follows the path of new urban man, through devious business practices and money management, and, in some of Reynolds's finest satire, he exhibits dedicated and skillful corrupting of the emergent forces of democracy, especially as he becomes a member of Parliament.

Just as readers soon enough work out that Fleur-de-Marie is Rodolphe's lost daughter, it cannot be long before the darkly threatening "city man" Mortimer Greenwood is understood to be Richard's disappeared brother. But Reynolds does not give in and admit his plot basis, as Sue does, and he maintains

a series of veiled clues to Greenwood's identity. Though we know Eugene is about because his name appears carved, and dated, several times on the hill top tree, the plot separates them still and Greenwood is unaware that the Monroe he has ruined bore with him the Markham wealth; there are recurrent moments when Greenwood starts at Richard's name; he is moved to hear of his successes, and he even rebukes in a general way the gentleman crooks who have sent his brother to jail.

Not only does Reynolds plot his hero/villain brother-doubles' non-relationship with theatrical skill; he also shows in impressive detail the world of bill broking, founding crooked companies, outfacing bankruptcies (Reynolds spoke for himself there), and inveigling unwary investors — after Monroe Montague takes on the Count who supports a mythical steam packet to run to Castelcicala (ignoring Richard's advice). This is in many ways contemporary: recent decades had seen both instability and considerable exploitative profit in the banking industry: François Crouzet comments, "British banking history is rather calmer after 1844,"[47] and Greenwood exemplifies this mobile profiteering, notably through manipulating bank bills, with an insistent energy and even charm that makes him much more than Sue's stage villain Ferrand. He remains the hero's brother and his crimes are part of the dialectical reality of the modern city. Reynolds gives vivid detail of schemes such as the insider-trading scam of the "Algiers, Oran and Morocco Railway." Greenwood sums up:

> "Of course, milord and gentlemen, when they are at a good premium we shall all sell; and if we do not realise twenty or thirty thousand pounds each — *each,* mark me — then shall you be at liberty to say that the free and independent electors of Rottenborough have chosen as their representative a dolt and an idiot in the person of you humble servant" [2.96].

However, Reynolds adds a lengthy note defending "fair, intelligible and reasonable" capital ventures, notably in railways, which are "connected with the progress of civilisation" but are not such bubble enterprises.

When Greenwood fails it is in part because he cannot sustain the very complex and demanding balancing act of business and parliamentary activity; he falls into poverty and is himself brutally treated in the city. He has a traffic accident — the city strikes again — and is finally fatally wounded as he tries to capture one of his own instruments of crime, his thieving French valet Lafleur. He expires at the moment of making his long-awaited return to the hill top rendezvous with Richard, and can only regret his crimes and praise his brother's noble — indeed now princely — nature.

If Reynolds massively expands Sue's model of the frame story, doubling Richard as both bourgeois aspirant and eventual aristocrat and making Eugene a much richer realization of urban financial corruption, he also goes much further with the women, deploying them in larger numbers than in Sue and

giving them the strength to endure and amend their misfortunes. They range from the women of "hardened appearance and revolting language" (1.37) who appear in court and the "horrible females" (1.202) who drink and riot in the criminal pubs through to the pure and aristocratic Isabella. But by far the fullest treatment is of women who fall between those extremes, who face real problems through misfortunes, mostly to do with poverty or manipulative men, but manage to come through to calm, happy, and generously interactive conclusions.

There is no "lost child" story central to the frame story, though Eugene could be seen as a "lost brother" and Richard will have a lost half sister whose story bulks out the second volume around the adventure where he becomes a Prince. But the *Mysteries* do, like the *Mystères,* begin with a young woman in distress in a very sordid part of town, a dramatic and tonally Gothic scene which will lead us to the frame story, if less directly than in Sue's hands. Reynolds's opening scene and the splendid initial illustration (Fig. 4) touch the high points of melodrama, printed and theatrical, with the fine figure of Eliza Sydney dressed as a young man in the dire surroundings of West Smithfield. Almost at once she, as he, is trapped in a criminal den — in a rare historicist moment Reynolds says it was a haunt of Jonathan Wild (1.5). To keep their secret the criminals throw "him" through a trapdoor over the Fleet River, by then no more than a sewer. She escapes without a vile drenching and returns to her out-of-town villa at Upper Clapton: she is cross-dressed to impersonate her dead brother to keep his inheritance away from an earl. She was talked into this by the semi-criminal Stephens, with the support of Greenwood — whose sexual advances she spiritedly resists, with a dagger — and she will when the plot fails spend two years in jail, exactly coinciding with Richard. She will later resume contact with him as the wife, then widow, of the Castelcicalan dictator — Reynolds does not fear bold plotting. She will help Richard in his efforts against her husband and finally return to Upper Clapton, a little plumper, much richer, and dispensing advice and assistance in friendly parallel to the now-ennobled Richard.

If Eliza is a positive reflex of Fleur-de-Marie, without the guilt or the religion, a structurally more important enhancement of Sue's heroine is Ellen Monroe, daughter to the Markhams' failed financial adviser. When she and her father are destitute and she can no longer support them by sewing, her beauty is exploited by the "old hag," a neighbor in Golden Lane, a slum just north of the City. She is Reynolds's equivalent to Sue's ogress, but when she tells her own story she is seen with some sympathy in spite of her troublemaking malice. With her insistent guidance, the beautiful Ellen becomes an artist's model, first of head, then of bust; then she bares all for photographs — these texts are right up-to-date — and the illustrations share her exhibitionism in a

Fig. 4. Eliza in male costume in West Smithfield in Reynolds's *The Mysteries of London*, 1845.

way not found in Sue, or indeed in later reprints from the more respectable publisher Dicks, where nipples tend to be concealed, though as Cyril Pearl notes, the interest in heaving bosoms remains a fixture of the texts.[48] In telling her story Reynolds sympathetically identifies the destructive power of the male gaze, saying "the innate chastity of her soul had dissolved like snow in the mid-day sun's effulgence, beneath the glance of the statuary, the artist, the sculptor and the photographer" (1.258). When all these exploitations are exhausted, the "old hag" eventually achieves her goal and sells the desperate Ellen's virginity.

It is only later that Reynolds reveals the purchaser is Greenwood himself, and Ellen bears his child. He supports it but insists on secrecy — their encounter was a commercial one, he insists, fully in character as a city man. But where commercial sexuality destroyed Fleur-de-Marie, Ellen is less sensitive: she also has a Rigolette-like practicality. Richard takes her and her father in — he remains ignorant of the child — and she like him exercises her talents to support herself. The "old hag" (we never know her name or much more about her until three-quarters of the way through Volume 2 when she tells her own fairly sad story) finds her work as a mesmerist's assistant. After some amusingly satirical scenes Ellen cannot keep a straight face anymore and moves on to dancing and acting: she is a huge success onstage and she stars in Richard's play.

But public exposure has dangers — Reynolds, often pilloried by rivals, knew that well. As Richard takes his bow on the opening night he is denounced from the audience as a jailbird; Ellen herself is the same night abducted by Greenwood's hired thugs. He still admires her, especially in her stage glamor; she is not impervious to his attraction, but again Rigolette-like, insists on marriage and is able to escape. Eluding their public activities, Ellen and Richard retire to the Lower Holloway hill top, he to gain fame invading Italy, she to keep his house, eventually bring the child home, and even manage to force Greenwood into marrying her, after she finds evidence of him forging bank bills. A twentieth-century plot — by Galsworthy, for example — might have brought Richard and Ellen together after Eugene's death, to raise Richard's nephew and their future children, both having learned wisdom from their past. But even Reynolds is not as realistic as that, though when Ellen responds "almost wildly" when Richard calls her "sister" (1.199) there seem whispers of the incest that gave the final frisson in Lewis's *The Monk* and is briefly hinted between Rodolphe and Fleur-de-Marie, though it may perhaps just refer to her liaison with Eugene.

Late in the story Ellen teams up with the former Grand-Duchess Eliza and another gallant ex-fallen woman, Diana Arlington, fraudster's moll and Richard's first love (platonic only), who survives much to become Countess to the Earl who hung on to the inheritance Eliza was cross-dressing to preserve — Reynolds can do cross-plot links as crisply as Sue. All three women are generous, irrepressible and still very handsome; they bear some resemblance to Mme. d'Harville but have more fun and a greater sense of community: they indicate that Reynolds can write about women without the nervous sentimentality of Dickens or the prurient intimacy of Thackeray.

But Reynolds also has a darker treatment of women, though one that still involves considerable agency. The parallel to Sue's Cecily is, presumably not accidentally, Cecelia, Lady Harborough, who is a forceful and sexualized woman: Reynolds says she is "without those principles which are the very basis of

virtue" (1.144). She gains her husband by becoming pregnant, then has a liaison, for both money and sex, with Greenwood. When he tires of her she casts her net over the Reverend Reginald Tracy, a brilliant but self-important Anglican preacher. With some help from the "old hag," she causes him to become enmeshed in crime, through which he dies in jail; she, frustrated in her plans to gain his estate, throws herself to her death from the top of the Monument.

If Cecily is effectively out of anyone's control, including her own, another figure plays her in reverse: Lydia Hutchinson is, with the connivance of a woman friend, seduced by an aristocrat, discarded, and left on the streets, as first prostitute and then beggar. A vengeful version of Fleur-de-Marie, in a long sequence in Volume 2 she returns to haunt and taunt her oppressors in the role of a housemaid. Her one-woman revolution does not succeed, though Reynolds makes something of its class aggression. She is herself murdered, but through her death as through her life she brings down those who have abused her — most of all, a little unfairly, the treacherous woman friend: the man gets away with repentance.

Lydia's death, like many of Richard's embarrassments and Greenwood's nefarious activities, including Ellen's abduction, are brought about through the activities, usually for money, of some of the criminal characters. Just as Sue showed the Countess Sarah and her brother, and Ferrand, deploying professional criminals as instruments of evil, so this cross-class conspiracy against order is recurrent in the *Mysteries*, and not simply so. Two criminals are highly amused that one night they robbed the Count on the Richmond road on behalf of Greenwood and the next night they are hired by Stephens the inheritance fraudster to stop Greenwood from raping Eliza up at Clapton. For an extra 30 guineas they cheerfully free him, but he still has to walk the six miles back to London.

Richer though Reynolds's criminal canvas is than Sue's small group of recidivists, it follows the main structures of the *Mystères*. The worst of the criminals is the Resurrection Man, whom we first meet when Richard is in jail: just as the Schoolmaster is always hostile to Fleur-de-Marie, so he soon comes to hate Richard, starting when he eludes a blackmail plot — it is the Resurrection Man who denounces him at the theater, and he attempts Richard's murder several times. He is involved in many other dark deeds, several of them, like the Schoolmaster, involving cellars — he has his own detention cell in his Globe Town house, having blown up his previous Bethnal Green one to elude arrest and killing in the process police, fellow criminals and his own mother.

Unlike the Schoolmaster, the Resurrection Man — his real name is Tony Tidkins — is not gentry gone wrong and he also survives actively to the end of the story, engaging in a range of private operations as well as providing criminal services to the malevolent gentry. Particularly fine is a complex grave-robbing

sequence that exposes the trade secrets of the "Burkers" who, while no longer seriously active, still dominated the public imagination, and he also cuts an imposing figure as a fake valet in the very elaborate action at Ravensworth Hall, where Lydia launches her assault on her upper-class abusers. The Resurrection Man, like a number of Reynolds's dubious characters, tells his own story at some length, in this more like Chourineur than the Schoolmaster, and Reynolds clearly means us to understand there are elements of social construction in his menace: he was treated with contempt and treachery by the powerful in his part of Kent. He also has a dark sense of humor: he laughed when his mother seeks a fine funeral for his father, asking, "For a body snatcher?" (1.197). And though he can be a secretive bully at home with her, the woman who hides him after the explosion, Meg Flathers (also known in Sue-like bestialized pseudonym as "The Rattlesnake"), asks for him not to be punished because "[h]e has been more or less good to me"(1.363).

The Resurrection Man's end is a hard one, with some Schoolmaster elements: he blinds himself trying to explode his way out when another criminal vengefully locks him in his own cellar to starve to death. Closer yet to Sue, his nemesis is Crankey Jem, a reformed villain like Chourineur, who also avoids colonial resettlement: he escapes from transportation to Australia to punish the man who gave him up to the police at the start of the long story. Like most of the criminals, including Meg Flathers and Lydia Hutchinson, Jem tells a story that explains his career, from minister's son to major villain. Where Sue deplores only generally the social construction of criminality, Reynolds exposes its mechanisms in much more detail, combining in this the melodramatic and even sado-masochistic attraction of horrors with a decidedly radical approach to exposing the causes of disorder in class and financial exploitations.

The city of London itself is explored in similar detailed ways, again following Sue's lead but varying and amplifying it substantially. In part this is because London is much bigger and more widely class-separated than Paris was so far: the true gentry are in the southwest around and behind Buckingham Palace from Belgravia to Mayfair; north of Oxford Street are the dubious professionals, including the people who believe in Ellen's mesmerist and most of the chancers for whom she models; Greenwood lives exactly between the two sets just on the palace side of Trafalgar Square in Spring Gardens. More volatile is Bloomsbury, with city-linked people and dubious gentry: this is the area closest to the social mix Sue presents in 17 Rue du Temple, but it is both narrower in range and itself disseminated through the squares and streets, not focused in a house. It is really like the area where Ferrand lives — and so did Sue: Dickens and eventually Reynolds were early Bloomsburyites as well. Reynolds gives much more time and detail than Sue to the criminal districts — over half the locations in Volume 1 are no-go areas and these range from the

inner-city rookeries around the old city of London (St Giles to the west, Smithfield to the north, the Mint across the river to the south, mostly dealt with in Volume 2) and the newer, very dangerous criminal-class suburbs (not just enclaves like the rookeries) to the east like Globe Town.

A major difference from Sue's topography is the absence of any rural idyll: the story only once goes right out of London, when we hear Meg Flathers's story of her upbringing in a Staffordshire coal village, but this is retrospection, and brutal in its revelations. In the present she stays closer: when she escapes the Resurrection Man, with his money, and heads northeast out of London through Hackney, she ends up accidentally circling back and is only outside Hornsey, on the northerly hills that were already becoming occupied. It is just out of London in those peripheral areas that many of the people better in class and income, if not always in morality, live: Eliza's villa at Upper Clapton, clearly between the Mount and Springfield Park; the Markham house, older and a little closer in at Lower Holloway; Ravensworth Hall up in still rural Willesden/Kilburn; the Count's home at elegant Thames-side Richmond. These people all live within easy carriage or cab journey into central London, but in fresh air, on a hill or by the river. They may seem away from the hubbub, but they are not sacrosanct: the criminals recurrently journey out on missions of malice (like the visitors to Bouqueval), but each house also faces some sort of internal disruption through the misbehavior of its residents. In the Count's case his dissent is on good liberal grounds and the worst he does is misjudge the Markham brothers — at one stage he favors Greenwood as husband for Isabella. At Richmond the river is peaceful — much more so than at Sue's Asnières, where lives his own Count — but through the city the Thames runs as dark and troubled as the Seine: there is a vigorous "river pirates" sequence in Volume 2 where the Resurrection Man and his cohorts try, and fail, to rob a plague-afflicted ship. The sequence notes the grandeur of the river setting and the energies of its sailors but also "how many souls have found a resting-place in the depths of those waters" (2.86).

The last feature that Reynolds adopts from Sue, and again substantially magnifies, is the series of direct statements by the author to the readers about social institutions and attitudes. These are often made directly political: Reynolds is savage on the royal family in the past, and just cautiously polite about Victoria and Albert. Through Greenwood's career he lampoons the Parliament, and there is an especially powerful sequence about "The Black Chamber," where letters are opened and reported to the Home Secretary. Useful as this data is at times for plot management, its main purpose is to expose repressive manipulation, and Reynolds's frontal assaults on the law, on prisons, and especially on the imbalances of wealth in Britain are much stronger than Sue's ever become, and are recurrent: a bitter passage shows the

Home Secretary endorsing the "silent system" in jails, as only 19 out of 200 prisoners have gone mad (1.287). Reynolds even goes into what would now be called crusading journalism, with telling exposés of how food and drinks are dangerously adulterated for profit (see below, p. 91), but only for the poor. Meg Flather's account of life in a coal mine chimes with liberal agitation about work conditions and was no doubt suggested to Reynolds by discussion of the reforming Factories Act passed in 1844, which dealt with women's and children's conditions in industry. Like Sue, Reynolds attacks prostitution, but he goes further, setting out, without prurience, in the sad experience of Lydia Hutchinson and also the procuring activities of the "old hag" (targeting the just nubile) how young woman are embroiled and mistreated, turned into "unfortunate, lost, degraded girls" (2.203). In his first treatment of this theme (1.205) Reynolds uses a footnote to validate and extend his political statements, a technique apparently picked up from Sue.

Combining as he does the radical inheritance of criticizing exploitative power with the commercial interest in attracting an audience, Reynolds has much to add to the structure Sue created. But comparatively speaking, Sue also deserves credit, both for his very important innovativeness and also for his own radical vigor. Reynolds was operating in a much freer context, and though he annoyed and angered people, he did not face the threats — or the eventual exile — that Sue received for his own in many ways more moderate statements. And there remain areas in which Sue is the more radical. All the criminals are dead at the end of the *Mysteries*, except the reformed Crankey Jem: there is nothing to match Sue's final sense that Skeleton, Tortillard and others are lurking out there on the margins of the text and the city. Also dead is the multiple agent of malpractice Eugene: Ellen mourns him, but sexual sin has not destroyed her; Eliza's folly has led her to royal comfort, Diana's to a Countess's coronet. The cruel tragedy of beautiful Fleur-de-Marie is not found here: Lydia's death was instigated by her own vengeful ferocity — she had already been rehabilitated, with charitable help. The now-princely Richard does not look forward to a childless life in the aura of tragedy, as does, for all his power, wealth and moral assurance, Rodolphe of Gerolstein. More detailed, more political, more outspoken, Reynolds's *Mysteries* is in the end more romantic and even, it could be said, more self-satisfied than Sue's great and ultimately troubling original.

Within the Frame Story

Reynolds varies and amplifies many of the main structural features that he adapted from Sue, but he also adds a whole series of other story threads,

both to entertain his audience and to raise issues of importance to him and the radical context in 1840s Britain. This variety occurs especially in Volume 2: after Richard's withdrawal from writing for the stage, which is only a quarter of the way through the story, all he really does is conduct his successful expedition to Castelcicala and observe other action from a benign distance. Equally, Greenwood's activities thin out remarkably in the second volume, though there are a couple of splendidly busy chapters (2chap.171, 2chap.209) that show him in full manipulative mode.

One of the first thematic strands that have a special London interest starts halfway through Volume 1, when the ever-inventive Resurrection Man and Tom the Cracksman, the latter to die in the house explosion, send young Henry Holford over the wall into Buckingham Palace to spy out how they can steal the plate, or at least some of it (Fig. 5). Three lengthy chapters pass on palace gossip and the conversation of the young royals. Holford is too interested, even obsessed, to undertake his criminal spying. The Resurrection Man fetches him angrily and demands he explain himself that night at "The Dark House," a thieves' kitchen in Brick Lane, then as now the heart of Bethnal Green. Holford avoids the wrath to come, and probably murder, by seeking a job with Richard and telling him all. Richard plans to capture the villains with police help, and the sequence ends with the explosion at the Resurrection Man's house.

This sounds as if Reynolds's encounter with sensational anti-monarchic populism has been smoothed away by liberal charity, but resistance to royalty is not so easily elided. After he separated from Vickers, Reynolds returned to royal themes aggressively, signaling them in his series title *The Mysteries of the Court of London*— the court is very clearly a royal one, not criminal. That was back-dated to the time of the widely despised Prince Regent, and in the *Mysteries* much is made of the incapacity and wickedness of George III as well as his notorious brothers: like most liberals Reynolds was strongly supportive of the memory of Queen Caroline, savagely treated by her husband, later to be George IV, and the royal family in general. In *The Mysteries of London* there is little criticism of Victoria herself— Reynolds notes her "noble bearing" but dilutes his respect by adding that it "compensated for the shortness of her stature" and commenting that she knows little of "the humbler classes" (1.181). Nevertheless, he communicates a sense of secrecy and alarm about problems in the royal bloodline.

What Reynolds is doing here is recalling, if also euphemizing, the ferocious traditions of previous anti-royal satire, which often merged with the semi-pornography of early nineteenth-century radical publishers. Reynolds and others, McCalman says, managed "to keep alive a tradition of plebeian unrepeatability and irreverence in the face of powerful countervailing forces."[49]

The text will later return to moralized sensationalism in the story of

Fig. 5. The Resurrection Man and Tom the Cracksman hoist Henry Holford into Buckingham Palace to steal the plate in Reynolds's *The Mysteries of London*, 1846.

Lydia Hutchinson, and, in a displaced way, Richard's half sister Kate Wilmot and her mother, but it will also revisit royalty: in Volume 2 Crankey Jem, seeking to use Holford as access to the Resurrection Man, becomes suspicious of his intentions when he asks to borrow a pistol. Holford has become obsessed with royalty and seeks to shoot the Queen in the Mall; Jem saves her — another Chourineur-like moment for him — and Henry is condemned in some misery to a madhouse. Melodramatic as this may seem, it is, as James notes,[50]

clearly based on the very similar real story of Edward Oxford, who shot at the Queen in June 1840 when she was out driving with Albert. But the even more improbable palace break-in was also modeled on reality. Also in 1840 Edward Jones, known to the press as "Boy Jones," was caught several times in the palace, and while Oxford and other obsessives — whom John Plunkett calls, using a contemporary term, "the Queen's lovers" — were put in asylums like Holford, Jones was sent to work at sea.[51]

This royal sequence is accessed at first through the Resurrection Man's private entrepreneurism, and another fine sequence late in Volume 1 starts when the dedicated criminal, resettled after his house explosion, becomes involved in a criminal affair almost entirely restricted to lower-class life. The Buffer, a regular criminal (so named because he likes to strip his assault and robbery victims — all male, apparently), and his wife share lodgings with a frail elderly man, who is found dead. They are keen to access his life savings and through Mr. Banks, an unctuously comic undertaker (who will recur in Volume 2 for minor activities such as selling off the rope used for hangings — many times for the one event), and a sparkling appearance by the Resurrection Man as a fake clergyman (his physique gives him away; the text never lets on directly), the landlady agrees to bury the man's residual estate (after their charges) of £41 in his coffin. The Resurrection Man then enacts his eponymous craft — he and the Buffer only dig a hole narrow enough for the body to be drawn up, and in a fine moment typical of Reynolds's detailed observation the two grave robbers lie down with what Banks likes to call "the blessed defunct" (1.331): three men traveling in a cart at night would be automatically suspect.

Reynolds's researches go further. The grave digger recounts at some length to Banks the state of graveyards in London, with appalling revelations: near Lincoln's Inn the sewer runs through the coffins, and all through the city bodies are excavated and thrown away to maintain burial turnover and income. In post-mortem entrepreneurship the grave digger even recycles the coffin nails and furnishings back to the undertakers. Finally, in a neat reference to the world of body-snatching fiction, as the Buffer is alone with the corpse, trying to work out what might be a third of £41, he feels the supposedly dead man grasping his hand.

Equally skillfully, this links to a flourish in the core plot: the not-so-dead man is Martin, the loyal clerk, who agreed to arrange a fake robbery that enabled Tomlinson the banker, Greenwood's stooge, to go bankrupt without disgrace, when he could not repay the Count the £15,000 that he had been forced to cover for Greenwood, who had filched it from the Italian in the fake steamship company deal. That this chain of dubious financing ends in a failed body snatching is part of the deep ironic humor, and also the angry politics, of Reynolds's rich and massively extended cityrama.

There is a parallel filiation of urban crime. The revived Martin steadily gets better, though Greenwood would like him under control in the Resurrection Man's cellar cell. But it is at present occupied by the wife of the Hon. Arthur Chichester, the fake gentleman who had, with Sir Richard Harborough, gotten Richard Markham into jail many chapters before. The Hon. Arthur — actually the son of an East London pawnbroker — has managed to marry a widow with £16,000 to her name and, being short of cash as ever, has followed the ever-resourceful Greenwood's advice to have her certified insane, and will only set her free when she signs over her money.

Viola Chichester is one of the story's minor mistreated but enduring women, and she holds out bravely; finally the Resurrection Man's menaces and his *ad hoc* mental asylum break her down, and she signs up. But female agency is not easy to defeat in this story: the same night, when the Resurrection Man is out digging up Martin and the £41, Meg, his disenchanted partner, gets the keys to the cellar where she knows he has been up to no good and liberates both Viola and his substantial treasury. They take off, Meg just to leave London, and Viola not to the dangers of her villa in Lower Clapton, where Chichester came to prey on her, but to the very center of the anonymous city.

Apart from royalty, grave diggers, marital crime, and sturdily surviving women, the story sees much other varied action. The intricate interchanges between Greenwood and Harborough take on a vengeance stage as he seduces Cecilia, Lady Harborough, and enmeshes Sir Rupert in debt and forgery — so in a dramatic-irony sense avenging his treatment of the absent brother Richard. The always volatile Greenwood loses interest in Sir Rupert's lady, but she, an exponent of negative female agency, does not take this lying down. Not merely filching a £1,000 note which was meant for her husband — Diana Arlington, now the Earl's mistress, had sent it because he was once good to her (presumably when he took her on after Greenwood dismissed her brutally, though the text leaves us to guess this) — Lady Cecelia in self-validating anti-male action sets her highly attractive cap at the Reverend Reginald Tracy, Anglican minister of St David's Church, set between Russell Square and Tavistock Square. At his church the beadles and the attendant police deal with the lower classes with just the same oppressive discrimination as the courts have been shown to do (1.382).

If elements of early nineteenth-century culture have given added weight to both royal glimpses and graveyard action, the narrative that follows also has a popular source for its energy and its involvement of readers in complicity about sex and violence. Reynolds draws on M. G. Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) for the story of Tracy and Cecelia, and he must have expected his literary friends to recognize the borrowing. The sensation of the eighteenth-century *fin de siècle*, *The Monk* both masculinized and supernaturalized the Gothic

tradition led by Anne Radcliffe, in which women held a strong and shared viewpoint and mystery was always ultimately explicable in terms of anxiety and confusion. In *The Monk*, though, women are only desirable or dangerous, or both; men are brilliant but temptable; the atmosphere both is genuinely supernatural (with real devils and real magic) and breathes a more northerly, colder Gothic than the engaging Mediterranean contexts of earlier novels.[52] The ferocious anti–Catholicism of the story both exacerbated and validated its near-pornographic detail, and both survive in Reynolds's hands as an exposure of Anglican hypocrisy, itself also in tune with the earlier radical tradition explored by McCalman.

The Reverend Tracy is a charismatic preacher and the charming and dangerous Lady Cecelia targets him by appearing weakened by the power of his sermon; he visits her; she sadly alludes to her domestic misery; she tearfully says she needs passion and, striking while the iron is hot, declares her love, at his knees. After some steamy encounters, interestingly not illustrated—perhaps only a voyeur's gaze is expected among readers, not one which shares real sexual passion—Tracy becomes bored with her, but she wins him back when that servant of illicit sex the "old hag" invites him to see a fine new statue. It is Cecelia, naked, and he cannot resist when she embraces him.

This aura of enchantment and the malign presence of the old woman relate to the inner story of *The Monk*. The hero Ambrosio, handsome, brilliant, devoted to the church, but also dangerously proud, cannot resist the charms of Matilda, who presents herself at first as a young monk, Rosario. She has surprising skills, including saving him with her mouth from a poisoned bite, and it transpires at the end that she is an agent of the devil, sent to take Ambrosio's soul through his mixture of pride and sexual weakness. Cecelia is more human than that, a genteel version of Sue's Cecily. But some aspects of Reynolds's story are closer to the original. Ambrosio tires of Matilda and becomes interested in the noble and beautiful Antonia. Matilda knows this and helps him, now a friend, not a lover (another diabolic sign): in a magic mirror he sees Antonia undressing to bathe. He enters her house when she is drugged so he can enjoy her body, but her mother, who has always loathed him, is awake, and he kills her. Reynolds passes on the final sequence in which Ambrosio rapes Antonia in a torture cell, discovers she is his sister, sells his soul to the devil to save his life, and finally falls to his death from a mountain. Though Cecelia's fatal fall may recall that ending, Reynolds adapts the voyeuristic sadism back to contemporary banality.

Tracy, growing bored of Cecelia even after her nude show, visits Richard Markham on charity business. He becomes entranced by Ellen and watches through a keyhole as she undresses for a bath. When he sees her with her baby and realizes she has a secret he, now a knowing seducer, plans to exploit his

knowledge: always frank, she criticizes him for having double standards (2.35). Worse yet, his housekeeper has seen him with Cecelia early in the morning and disapproves: she is sending away to safety Kate Wilmot, a beautiful new housemaid, who is also on his list. So, deploying the trickery of crime fiction, Reynolds has Tracy murder the housekeeper with poison and pin the murder on Kate herself, who is arrested.

But this is not the world of devils and the Inquisition: Richard, who knows Kate, hires in her defense a police officer he trusts. Detective fiction continues: in a very early instance of procedural policing, with a court scene, a last-minute witness and a focus on circumstantial evidence, she is acquitted and Tracy arrested. He will die in jail from poison brought by Cecelia, who then, her own plans for his inheritance frustrated — he leaves all to Kate, kills herself by jumping from the top of the Monument, concluding her career as a troublemaking but not entirely unsympathetic character, and by no means as deadly as Lewis's Matilda.

This engrossing narrative runs from late in Volume 1 into the start of Volume 2 and is followed by and overlaps with another major borrowing from past fiction, Reynolds's version of the "lost child" story. This focuses on Kate Wilmot, who operates in a way Sue might well have structurally admired, in three different story lines. Apart from the innocent enmeshed in the Tracy melodrama, she is also first presented, at the very start of Volume 2, as the niece of none other than the official hangman. Smithers and his disabled son, whom he calls Gibbet — Kate knows him as John, live deep in St Giles, where Richard and his policeman friend meet them when hunting for the Resurrection Man. The boy is very reluctantly becoming his father's assistant, while the beautiful Kate keeps house for them and is often criticized by the clearly troubled executioner. Tensions at home and her own wish to better herself lead her into service, but after the court exoneration, as Smithers tells his own life story (another account of unwilling lower-class involvement in criminality, if now against it), it becomes clear that the name "Markham" is somehow linked to her dead mother.

We learn that Kate was not Smithers's niece but the child of a dying neighbor. There is an extensive investigation involving Richard, the "old hag," and even the revolting roué the Marquis of Holmesford. Kate is relocated to a farm northwest of London, where Richard visits, and Ellen becomes her firm friend. The mystery of her origin rolls on till quite late in the story, when eventually the Resurrection Man steals from the "old hag" the papers about Kate she wants to sell and it transpires that Kate was in fact the daughter of Richards's father in a secret second marriage. The lost sister rejoins the family in a role that has already through their benevolence become her own, and this is also the occasion when Richard, through determination and his police help, has

the Resurrection Man arrested in a dramatic ambush and sent to jail. Reynolds's ingenuity in plotting thins out when Kate, still in the country, is seen and admired by a mysterious handsome stranger: he turns out to be Mario Bazzano, a Castelcicalan who helped Eliza escape from her husband's anger, and he further Europeanizes the happiness of the Markham family by marrying Kate.

This chain of adjacent rather than interweaving stories of punishment and happiness — the hangman becomes a successful small businessman with his son — is followed by another substantial narrative thread that extends the story almost until the frame can close, has its own elements of the Gothic, and turns the satirical fire of the text onto the aristocracy and their manipulative lackeys. A quarter through Volume 2 begins the very dramatic story of Lydia Hutchinson, daughter of an Anglican curate, who becomes a schoolteacher and is drawn by the precocious student Lady Adeline to cover for and then participate in her sexual adventures.

Not surprisingly, things go wrong: Adeline becomes pregnant; Lucy helps deliver the child dead, conceals its body — and is sacked when it is discovered. Nevertheless, she continues in the sexual life, becomes Lord Dunstable's mistress, and when he and his noble friend Lord Cholmondeley go overseas she is alone, without Adeline's level of family support. Lydia obtains a place as a governess but is sexually harassed and then sacked, and soon descends to the streets. A lengthy and powerful sequence describes, not voyeuristically, just how these things happen to young women and how they are mistreated — a far more detailed and reform-oriented account than Sue's slight engagement with the entrapment of Fleur-de-Marie. Escaping from her brutal treatment in the brothel, Lucy becomes a streetwalker, then a beggar. One day, she passes a St James Street club where Cholmondeley and Dunstable are at a window: they recognize her, in spite of her destitution. Then down the street she begs from carriage folk: it is Lady Adeline and her current beau. They spurn her and drive off; she is hit by the carriage and collapses in the street.

A kind passerby helps her — it is Viola Chichester, recovered from her mistreatment by her disgusting husband. She cares for Lydia until she can seek work in service. It is a complete coincidence — though also a judgment — when Lydia turns up as stand-in housemaid for Lady Adeline, who is Lady Ravensworth at Ravensworth Hall, standing on a hill in Kilburn, now embraced by the flats and terraces of NW6: Reynolds is probably referring ironically in this story of aristocratic malpractice to the well-known Tory politician of the day Lord Ravensworth. All is already not well at the Hall. Adeline has, through her class position, survived the earlier problems that have destroyed Lydia, and has married the less than young Lord Ravensworth to provide him with an heir, and is indeed pregnant. However, his brother,

known as Vernon, is conspiring against him and has already had contact with the Resurrection Man as a useful instrument. For reasons that never become clear, except that he knows Vernon, Greenwood is also aware of his plans.

Vernon has been in the east for some time and has hit on the idea of sending his brother poisoned tobacco, which is steadily debilitating him. Odd as this may seem today, at a time when many men smoked Turkish tobacco laced with opium — notably Tennyson — the notion seems closer to the banality of Agatha Christie's mechanical crimes than wild orientalism. Vernon plans to inherit title and money. If Adeline bears a son the Resurrection Man will deal with that; he has already obtained from Vernon a signed bank bill bearing a stamp that will permit him to write in a sum over £3,000.

At Ravensworth Hall, Lydia identifies herself, to Adeline's horror, and refuses to be bought off. She is visiting for vengeance and will make Adeline serve her, including making the fires, doing her hair and accepting her abuse. Coincidence goes further in its corrective path: one day the two men who seduced the pair of them arrive, seeking sanctuary after a duel. Lydia's seducer is injured, and her nighttime care is splendidly vengeful, though she lets him survive in misery. In a fairly extended sequence (Sue seemed at much the same time, before his climax began, to be padding his story with the adventures of secondary characters like de Rémy and the d'Orbignys), we observe rather slowly the birth of a son and the death of the husband. But Adeline is also, like many in this story, a woman of some force. She overhears a conversation between Vernon and the Resurrection Man in the gardens — they seem to be spying. She does not know Vernon yet but realizes these are desperate men: the criminal has said he will do anything, and she learns his address. Shortly afterwards, as the Resurrection Man is peacefully smoking and dreaming of money in his Globe Town house, Adeline, allegedly on a shopping trip to town, arrives and engages his services. Efficiently, she meets him that night in Edgware Road with a cab, blindfolds him and has the cab travel a roundabout route to confuse his sense of direction. To order, he murders Lydia and flings her body and a case of jewels in a pond — he has no idea this is the household Vernon is interested in: crime in Reynolds's world can be free-floating as part of its menace.

This is a striking story, recycling for a wide public the ferocious female revenge motif found in Eugénie in de Sade's *Philosophy in the Boudoir* and, with only a little less improbability and fantasy, in the *vengeuse* Victoria in Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya* (1806): she is an orientalized version of de Sade's brutal Juliet, mixed with the destroyed innocent Lilla, who is herself a version of de Sade's Justine. Just as in the Tracy-Cecelia story Reynolds made a cruel high Gothic fantasy both more banal and more political, here he brings credible class anger into the story of Lydia's furious vengeance, though it might

be thought her seducer might have paid a larger price than one uncomfortable night and Adeline suffers much more for mere complicity. Lydia, without the otherness of a classical deity, a crazed easterner or whatever de Sade's demented sexual liberationist Eugénie might be called, is more like the working people pressed into crime, such as the Buffer or Crankey Jem, and she like them tells her own story; she is an Ellen, Diana or Eliza who had no luck and so her energy and agency were diverted into darkly aggressive paths. Reynolds also borrowed from *Zofloya* a slow murder by poison story but adds the tobacco. It is more puzzling whether this novel is where he found the name Montoni for Richard's princedom — it also appears in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* but has little prominence in either novel.

Adeline, herself not without agency, puts it about that Lydia has left after stealing the jewels and plans to bring up the young lord herself. But Vernon arrives to stay, and has with him as valet the unusually neatly dressed Resurrection Man, who alarms everybody, especially Adeline, whom he blackmails about Lydia's murder (still unknown to Vernon). He arranges an event to deal with the heir: itinerant entertainers come to perform outside the house. The staff gather on the balcony to watch, especially when fireworks start going off. The nursemaid with the young heir steps out and at a particularly loud bang she is jostled by Vernon and drops the child over the edge.

But all is not lost. Morcar the Romany, who has been Richard's right-hand man in Castelcicala and has done other services to the plot, is there, and knowingly: he has overheard Vernon and the Resurrection Man plotting and has joined the entertainers. He catches the child; Vernon jumps to his own death and the Resurrection Man takes to his heels for East London, very annoyed his bank bill is worthless. The former Grand-Duchess Eliza is present: it is her shouting, "Murderer — vile — detestable assassin!" (2.342) at Vernon that prompts his suicide. She has for some time been interested in these events, hearing of them through Greenwood, or rather his Italian servant Filippo, long loyal to her. She sympathizes with Adeline and like Greenwood dislikes Vernon, though she too knows nothing of Lydia's murder. She decides Adeline must go into exile in France, as Mary Braddon's not dissimilar Lady Audley will in her turn.

This fine melodrama of the gentry and their varied crimes has one more twist, and one that adapts this dark silver-fork material to urban modernity. As if returning to the start of Volume 1, we have for a while seen the egregious Sir Rupert Harborough and Chichester, still claiming to be the Hon. Arthur, picking up a new "flat," as they call him, Albert Egerton, son of a successful outfitter. As they did with Markham, they engage him in gambling and the high life, but they have learnt their lesson about forging and stick to loaded dice and marked cards.

Egerton's very humble family is annoyed that he is seeing less of them. He has told them the money that has disappeared has been spent on a country house. They want to see it, and so, at Dunstable's suggestion, he takes for a day, by bribing the caretaker, the now-empty Ravensworth Hall. They have lunch there, and survey the property: Egerton's gentry friends and bloodsuckers are charming to the monied lower class. They are all intrigued that the house is haunted, according to the caretaker. Again, coincidence and moral justice coincide. Lady Adeline turns up, having tired of France — she is angry with the caretaker over this intrusion, but Sir Rupert smoothes things over. Not so easily resolved is the next moralized coincidence. A rambler and his dog have just discovered a body in a grave: it is Lydia. The Resurrection Man put her there when he took the jewels. The body is brought in: Adeline is forced to see it — and dies of a heart attack on the spot. The domestic ghost has been the Resurrection Man, who has been hiding there from Crankey Jem. Again he speeds away, now planning to leave for America.

Egerton has learned his lesson: he hurries back to town and the next day arranges a lunch at which he abuses his fair-weather friends and says he will rely in future on his true supporter, Richard Markham: the Prince, as he is now known, arrives to abuse them all himself. Lydia's seducer, Lord Dunstable, sees the error of his ways and returns to his father's country estate — the rest racket off into the London they know and disturb so well.

One other non-frame narrative sequence is deployed late in Volume 2. In a parallel to the opening of the Lydia Hutchinson story when Viola Chichester saved her in the street, as Egerton and his so-called friends are going into Crockford's to gamble a figure approaches to urge them to stay away. Egerton tries to give him £5, but the man is brutally driven off by a waiter, who then obsequiously ushers the gamblers in. Richard — in a Rodolphe-like moment he is passing, wearing a cloak — gives the man money and insists on seeing him again to help him. Then in a long chapter we hear the story of Major Anderson. Son of a wealthy merchant, he entered the army. His snobbish colonel disliked him on class grounds but accepted him, or at least his money, into the officers' gambling group. When the colonel owed him a fortune but could only give him an IOU, he gallantly destroyed it, but — or so — the colonel became his enemy. By now Anderson loved the colonel's daughter, but it all ends badly. He is forced to resign his commission, tries to support his family on his skills — a brief version of Richard's efforts at bourgeois life — but keeps falling back into gambling. Now his wife and child are dead from the effects of poverty and illness; he is a desperate beggar who hopes to reform people. Richard of course helps him, and he is, while much weakened by his experience, restored to grateful respectability.

Just as clichés express widely held views, if clumsily, so the themes of

melodrama express real social problems, in headline terms. Disgrace through gambling is a major theme in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Warren's gentry "Merchant's Clerk" was indirectly a victim; the first serious police detective, "Waters," produced by the still pseudonymous "William Russell" from 1856 on in London, lost all and had to join the force; gambling among the gentry is a major theme in Disraeli's *The Young Duke* (1839), *Coningsby* (1844) and *Sybil* (1845), is a theme in *Nicholas Nickleby* and will be important in *Vanity Fair*. It begins to operate outside the aristocracy in Lytton's very successful play *Money* (1840) and in *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1841). As in the Anderson story, a major concern seems to have been the spread of gambling outside the leisured classes, so causing bourgeois and working men to be less reliable. The general and class-based dangers of gambling were a highly contemporary issue: the Select Committee on Gaming was sitting through 1844 and the Gaming Act of 1845 would restrict gaming houses, with special attention to controlling the social spread of the practice. [53]

While it might be tempting to see these chapters as a substantial filler to get Reynolds to the end of his two volumes at about the right time, and its sheer length may well derive in part from that cause, this story addresses what was seen as a serious structural and social problem — perhaps the only danger a rich young gentleman faced, apart from falling off a horse or being shot in a duel. Jane Moore and John Strachan comment on gambling as an important feature of late Georgian society, famous for its many "rakehells"[54]; Mary Robinson's *Modern Manners* of 1793 has a substantial satire of gambling, and she returned to the topic in "The Gamester" in 1800. There were famous suicides like John Damer in 1776, heir to Lord Milton, who would not pay his son's debts, and especially after the ending of the State Lottery in 1826 private enterprise did very well from the passion to risk losing and gain much. Crockford's gambling club, which opened in 1828, is now thought of as a classy West End site of power and influence, but Reynolds shows it to be a brutally effective and essentially vulgar way of parting weak men, especially young men, from their money: Michael Flavin describes it as a scene of "ostentatious display of wealth"[55] and many of the leading politicians and aristocrats (often the same thing) were seen there.

The whole story started in that world, with Richard being conned by Harborough and Chichester, and it has finally replayed this at a lower social level with Egerton: identifying the structural forces of gambling is characteristic of Reynolds's method of outlining a theme by using two characters as a varied double, here Anderson and Egerton. The product of surplus exchange in a cash-based economy, rather than one reliant on mutual services and commodity rewards, gambling was also a mode of individualist self-development, with the person risking by himself and gaining for himself. Gambling and

investing on the stock exchange were seen as very similar activities, with a class difference but also possible overlap — and so gambling has an appropriate place at the very end of this story as we see how the innately noble, now-princely, version of the gentry has survived and indeed profited, while his mercantile shadow, the double Eugene, is now severely weakened and cannot have long to go. By saving the bourgeois men who wandered into the wrong class and a false version of money gathering, Richard is redeeming people damaged by the contradictions of a still valued but now inappropriate past and the powerful and damaging force of modernity. The saving of Egerton and Anderson, though too late for the latter, is itself a reflexive double, realizing the dangers faced by those at risk from the non-city version of wealth accumulation.

These narrative strands, loosely attached at best to the frame story, have brought readers through to the final stages, the downfall of Greenwood and the climactic rendezvous of the brothers. Each narrative sequence has its own vigor, often reaching back into the popular and satirical traditions of the past, and also exploring in the mode of fable the Wealth/Poverty dialectic central to Reynolds's overall vision and various themes. But there is still more to the *Mysteries*: through the narrative of both the frame and its elaborations, there is also a series of thematic strands where Reynolds, much more than Sue, interweaves political analysis, often of a radical and sometimes impressive quality, into the narratives, and these elements deserve to be disentangled and examined in their own right.

Political Themes

While Sue imagines a world where "if only the rich knew" how the poor suffered, things would improve, and Prince Rodolphe is a model of this plan to adjust systems through charity and a noble heart, Reynolds from the start, and recurrently, insists on the opposition of Wealth and Poverty, on the exploitation of the poor and the protection of that system by entrenched privilege. In story after story poor people who have gone astray show how their movement towards crime was a natural, indeed rational, response to the pressures put upon them. This is particularly strong in Volume 1, where in order we hear from the Buffer, the Resurrection Man, the Coal-Heaver, Meg Flathers and her first and eventual partner, Skilligalee. In Volume 2 the reminiscences are not just criminal memoirs: we hear how Smithers became a hangman, how Lydia was driven towards prostitution and vengeance, how "the old hag" steadily sank in life, Crankey Jem fell from being a respectable grocer's son, starting with his father's business failure, and about Major Anderson's gamester

career. The most striking memoir is that in Volume 1 by the Resurrection Man, where we learn how this most savage of criminals, having been humiliated and betrayed by the powerful locals in his part of Kent, developed his father's moderate forms of lawbreaking, body snatching and smuggling, into the basic war on civil society which he, like the Schoolmaster and the Skeleton, has become determined to wage.

The careers of Reynolds's criminals leave the audience uncertain how to respond, in part sympathizing with their dark conditioning, in part seeing the savagery of their crimes — the genial-seeming Buffer was the cold-hearted murderer of his sister's soldier lover. Pathetic Lydia is a vicious figure of Nemesis against the essentially weak, if also determined, Adeline. This is one of the unresolved conflicts in Reynolds: he both deplores and exhibits the horrors of crime, much as his distaste for the forces of capitalist development do not prevent him using them as the media through which his writing reached the public. Where Sue confronted the aporia of modernity in leaving his worst criminals free at the end, Reynolds's less distanced view of right and wrong seems to embody its own contradictions. Reynolds is less enigmatic or excitement-seeking on matters of secret public activity which is directly against the interests of a democratic people. In a powerful sequence, characters express their own experience of corrupt malfeasance. One outlines ways in which drink is adulterated for greater profit before being made available to the public, from landlords collecting drains of spoilt beer to sell as "allsorts" and selling leftover spirits back to the manufacturers who also "jiggered" gin with "molasses, beer, and vitriol" (1.203). While it might be thought that gin drinkers invite such treatment — the dives of Reynolds's London, like those of Egan's earlier *Life in London*, look back directly to the spirits-drinking panics of the later eighteenth century — the savagely memorable account of abuses in the meat trade (1chap.61) is something that could affront everybody's senses, especially these of smell.[56]

Widespread and populist as is this journalistic exposé through the mouths of complaining Londoners — quite often themselves criminals — more searching is the far-reaching criticism Reynolds levels at governmental repression. At his most aggressive he asserts that an "oligarchy" has created the repressive trio of Poor Laws, Corn Laws, and Game Laws: the oligarchy thinks the masses' patience is "a bow whose powers of tension are unlimited," but, he insists, "the violence of the recoil" must come in time (2.156). Most of Reynolds's critique is more specific: he is particularly insistent on the dangers of censorship and interference with the mails. He introduces his first "Black Chamber" chapter early in Volume 1, suggesting this is a score he really wants to settle. Here sit civil servants, in secret, deep in the Post Office, working for the Home Secretary. They open, not too expertly, letters thought to be of

interest: they tend to be from overseas, from the industrial districts, and also to and from Members of the Houses of Commons and Lords. Information is passed on directly to the appropriate government departments. They are also policing events in Castelcicala, and there is clearly a link to the 1843 scandal about letters to and by Mazzini, then resident in London, being opened and information passed to the Italian authorities. Reference to domestic repressive policing is made in the second sequence when, armed with information from the "Black Chamber," the Home Secretary himself addresses magistrates (1.286–8) and gives them direct advice on favoring the gentry and making sure the lower orders keep their places. This pattern of socially repressive activity has already been exposed through Richard's experiences when under arrest — a poor man goes to jail, a lord is merely fined for much more serious assaults. Richard himself is treated better when they find he has a butler, and his fellow prisoners tell him much about the random nature of conviction and sentencing. The Home Secretary's address to the magistrates is one of the rare direct statements of systematic interference against class resistance, but in the same sequence he also arranges for two police to infiltrate as *agents provocateurs* a radical meeting in Bethnal Green (where Reynolds had lived), and this looks back to the account of how, when the Coal-Heaver's boy was mistreated by a publican, union-style resistance had been defeated and a government minister did not reply to an appeal for help (1.203).

Reynolds spreads his criticism of these repressive forces, and suggests that it is in fact hostile to many true British traditions, when the Earl of Warrington realizes that the letters to Diana from Eliza in Castelcicala are being opened; he goes angrily to the Home Secretary, who insists that letters need to be opened for security reasons but promises that his will be of course sacrosanct, and then offers him a promotion to the grade of Marquis. Reynolds makes the Earl reply cuttingly:

> "Her Majesty's government," replied the Earl with chilling — freezing *hauteur*, "would do well to reserve that honour in respect to me until it may choose to reward me when I have performed a duty that I owe my country, and exposed a system to express my full sense of which I dare not *now* trust my tongue with epithets" [1.290].

Linked to this specific invasion of privacy and democratic rights is Reynolds's treatment of Parliament. The story begins just before the parliamentary reforms of 1832, but when Greenwood starts his drive to enter the house for the added influence it will give him, it seems as if little has in fact changed. His constituency is called Rottenborough, referring to the "rotten boroughs" with very few voters that were meant to have been extirpated in 1832. He first goes to Lord Tremordyn (father of Lady Cecelia and another "Black Chamber" victim) to seek his support as a candidate. Tremordyn is

reluctant, but when Greenwood's servant comes in, as previously arranged, with a message purporting to be from the Duke of Portland he changes his tune. When Lady Tremordyn negatives Greenwood's mission because she wants "a man of rank and family" (1.143), Greenwood decides to steal the election by setting up in the constituency as a Liberal, splashing money about and both charming and effectively buying the electors (1.210–2). After the election (1chap.69) he promises his vote to first the Liberals, then the Tories; he arrives in Parliament to take the Tory whip and make a rousing speech about how well-off the poor actually are, to receive a smile and "a patronising nod of most gracious approval" (1.220) from Sir Robert Peel himself.

Reynolds also shows that Greenwood's role as a legislator gives added leverage in generating his series of entirely fraudulent companies, with dedicated support from greedy London City Council members: he says being an MP is "worth thousands and thousands" (1.211). If, as seems the case, Reynolds was still at this stage at some distance from Chartism, that may simply be because its origins were in parts of the country foreign to him, though Bleiler suggests he thought its merely representational program fell short of real economic change.[57] Reynolds's hostility to the alleged representatives of the people, shared with the Chartists, is never qualified, and is part of the detailed and insistently radical politics of the text which go much further than the generally *bien-pensant* character of Sue's *Mystères*.

Reynolds treatment of the aristocracy is satirical, but he does not represent them as being core figures in corruption or repression. Bleiler overstates the case when he says of Reynolds's writing "in all probability never before or since has the British aristocracy undergone a more violent, more sustained, and systematic attack."[58] He refers primarily here to the later *The Seamstress* (1850), and in this and *The Mysteries of the Court of London* the aristocracy are more closely in focus as damaging, but in *The Mysteries of London*, where the interest is primarily in the structural Wealth versus Poverty conflict, the aristocrats do not play a leading role. Lord Tremordyn is neither unduly hostile nor servile to Greenwood; the Earl of Warrington, while proud and innately a bully, is capable of admitting his faults, and his love for Diana and standing up against state malice. The two young aristocrats who seduce Adeline and Lydia are selfish layabouts, but one at least does reform. Never admirable, unlike the Italian Count, the English aristocrats waver between some value and uselessness, much like, apart from Rodolphe himself, the aristocrats in Sue's *Mystères*.

Even less of a target for Reynolds is the church. While the Reverend Tracy is a corrupted and ultimately vicious clergyman, the church itself is not attacked in general — in fact, this is an area where Dickens and Trollope are distinctly more negative than Reynolds, though *The Mysteries of the Court of London*

will attack religious institutions more than here. Reynolds does in passing note the hypocrisy of overseas missions (1.202), but his point is that help is needed more at home for the poor and uneducated. There is some positive Christianity: Martin the faithful clerk, the most simply good character, who suffers for others and does indeed arise from the tomb, if more like Lazarus than Christ, passes on to Tomlinson his otherworldly experience of God's "warning voice" (1.340) and Reynolds does in this context give a supportive comment on the need to remember in "the rough and craggy places of the world" that there is "another sphere beyond ... where the sound of grateful harmony shall never cease — a sphere, whose name is HEAVEN!" (1.351).

The thrust of Reynolds's critique is consistently structural. In Volume 1 he sees the city of London as at the core of the problems. In the middle of two sequences that exhibit Greenwood's worst manipulations, Reynolds comments:

> ...every kind of social, domestic, political, and commercial intrigue grows more into vogue: human ingenuity is more continually on the rack to discover the means of defrauding a neighbour or cheating the world;— the sacred name of religion is called to aid and further the nefarious devices of the schemer;— hypocrisy is the cloak which conceals modern acts of turpitude as dark nights were trusted to for the concealment of bloody deeds of old [1.148].

He speaks of commercial intrigue, fraud, forgery, speculation, the interlinked corruption of politics, the press and business: he sees in the city many like Montague Greenwood coming from universities and great public schools who are in his trenchant words "the reptiles produced by the great moral dungheap" (1.21), and after a similar critique later on, he asserts: "London is filled with Mr. Greenwoods. They are to be found in numbers in the West End. Do not for one moment believe, reader, that our portrait of this character is exaggerated" (1.148). Reynolds implies in his moralized language that the solution is fuller attention to responsibility — the value is stressed in a similar passage dealing with bankers (1.166). Later on, Reynolds's views seem less moral and more structural and his recommendations bolder. In Volume 2, speaking at and about the beginning of another year, he attacks the combined effect of legislation which places greater weight on the poor. He links the Poor Laws, which in 1834 created the workhouses to make social dependency both invisible and very harsh, the Game Laws that linked the natural sources of food to the owners of the land, and the Corn Laws, which deliberately drove up the price of corn to benefit other landowners.

In this context Reynolds has a more instrumental concept of impending change: he here relies on "the self-instructed mechanic" and feels "no tyranny can arrest the progress of that mighty intellectual movement which is now perceptible amongst the industrious millions of these realms" (2.156). Though

he is speaking of self-education, he uses a revolutionary rhetoric, if one looking forward to Raymond Williams's concept of "The Long Revolution" achieved through participatory and educated democracy: the same idea is evident in the way Reynolds sees Lydia's attack on Adeline at Ravensworth Hall as vengeance because "[t]he aristocrat conceives that it may insult the democracy with impunity" and Lydia's actions typify the day when every one of the "suffering millions" shall see "your tyrant crouch at your feet" (2.237–8).

Focused as Reynolds is on the great city and distant as he must be from the industrial politics that Engels saw at first hand in Manchester and which fed so much into the writings of the early Marxists, he nevertheless makes his story for one major sequence leave the city and expose some of the worst aspects of the industrial system. The loose nature of the serial story permits Meg Flathers's personal memoir to be an account of her horrible upbringing as a mining girl. At the age of seven she went down the pit with her mother; half-naked, they dragged trays and trolleys of coal and rock, while the miners themselves worked mostly naked. Carting loads, the women ascended ladders and used insecure lifts: that is how Meg's mother murdered her rival and how, it seems, she later died. Reynolds does not politicize or moralize, or indeed sensualize, the horrific circumstances of these women and their men. It was common for exposés of mining life to depict half-naked women colliers, but the text just recounts the terrible events and lets Meg move on, as if in release, to a life of petty crime with another mining escapee, the boy bearing the Irish name Skilligallee. This "condition of England" sequence will link into the contemporary narrative when, years later, Meg, on the run with the Resurrection Man's money, meets up with Skilligalee and his traveling companions from the north. They all return to London, and the text looks no farther outside the city, though through the memoirs of people like the Resurrection Man and Lydia Hutchinson it does venture into the fairly distant hinterland of London itself, especially Kent, where Reynolds was born and later lived: in general he views the country, in his limited treatment of it, more searchingly and with a greater sense of conflict than Sue.

A recurrent theme for Reynolds is the politics involved in both crime and crime prevention. Like many in the period, he is critical of the death sentence. He had translated Hugo's powerful *The Last Days of a Condemned* in 1840, and he makes the hangman comment on the move for abolition: at this stage the character Smithers feels his position is safe, saying, "The Old Tories and the Clergy are my friends" (2.16). But in his critique of the law Reynolds seems more interested in the inequitable outcomes of legal practices and attitudes: Richard's arrest and imprisonment are the basis for a critique, including the comment, made through the ironic mouth of the lawyer McChizzle: "*Law* you can have in welcome; but whether you will obtain *justice* is another

consideration" (1.61); there is also a lengthy discussion of the attitudes of lawyers and magistrates that shows them strongly biased in favor of property and against the working and especially the non-working poor (1.91).

Reynolds is critical of the treatment of criminals in jail. In Volume 2 when Kate Wilmot is in the very old (though still called "New") Clerkenwell prison, soon to be demolished, its terrible state is exposed, but then the more modern prison at Coldbath Fields, where the Resurrection Man is briefly contained, is shown to be even more brutal: "The food is scanty;—and yet the labour thus forced upon the poor, sickly, half-starved wretches is horribly severe" (2.305). New barbarism is exposed—nursing mothers give up their babies for a while to mount the treadmill—and Reynolds links this to the brutalities of "the despotism of Turkey, Russia, Austria or Prussia" (2.305) and in Britain the continued flogging of sailors and soldiers, whipping in prisons and the semi-starvation of the poor whether they are formally under the state's devolved authority in workhouses or just left alone to wither away in their own garrets.

Reynolds has limits to his liberalism: while he does, both in his own voice as at the end of the Buffer story (1.310) and in the voice of Crankey Jem in his memoir, speak of the need to prevent crime and make it possible for prisoners to be reclaimed, he also speaks of "the hideous free-masonry of turpitude " of convict society (2.179) and sees them as being both ferocious and competitive. In his lengthy realization of the criminal association at "The Mint" in Southwark in Volume 2 there is a sense that this is a mirror of the organized repression by the established social forces, and Reynolds seems to have some reservations in his hopes for reformation of criminals—the contemporary views of J. C. Platt, endorsed by the influential Charles Knight by including them in his multi-volume *London*, were a good deal more liberal.[59] This is not to be taken as a covert conservatism in Reynolds: rather, like his wholesale critique of the city with hardly any suggestion that men of good heart could make this system work, Reynolds's underlying argument is that only wholesale structural change can have any real effect, a feeling that came to the fore in 1848 when he responded to the apparent revolutionary developments across Europe and the possibilities that the Chartists offered for radical structural change in Britain.

In another way Reynolds's politics go further than others in his period. Very unusually, he has a positive stance on ethnic issues. In a simple but important way he is more a European writer than anyone since Coleridge, and though George Eliot and A. C. Swinburne will surpass his internationalism, linking with Germany and France as they respectively do, nobody working at a popular level will have anything like his sense of international values as a way of critiquing England in the period—and it is hard to think

of any English writers who have done that until the modern presence of post-colonial writers of international origin like Salman Rushdie. Reynolds's years in France seem to have made him sense the possibility of an ideal, even utopian system and see the limited pragmatism and timid adjustments of the British approach. Where Sue uses Gerolstein as both a source of value that is not compromised by French politics and also a final retreat from conflict, Reynolds sees the battle for a democratic state in Castelcicala as real and winnable one, and a struggle in which beneficent English radicals like Armstrong and, learning as he goes, Richard Markham have a part to play. The end of the second series will show him as General Markham, who leads his people to defeat in battle and freeing themselves from the corrupt Kingdom of Naples, and then Richard "had the honour of founding a purely democratic government in the finest state belonging to the Italian peninsula" (4.397).

As he ends the whole series, Reynolds, writing in mid–1848, can assert: "But thank God, the tide of liberal sentiments is rolling rapidly over Europe" (4.416). Reynolds deploys the Italians as leaders in this liberal crusade. There are very few bad people in Castelcicala: even the dictator is merely misguided, not cruel, and his soldiers are themselves honorable. The archetype of loyalty in the whole story is Filippo, the Italian who becomes Greenwood's servant on behalf of Eliza, who wants to control his villainy. He saves Richard from the canal, rescues Ellen from abduction and helps Eliza find evidence against Vernon for the tobacco murder. It is as notable, and presumably relates to mixed memories of Reynolds's time in France, that the faithless and greedy manservant of the story is the French Lafleur — though it is suggested that Greenwood has corrupted him, this seems to have been a very easy process. In general Reynolds avoids referring directly to France as a model of political or social value, though he does praise its pawn broking system (1.244) and, generally, its education system (2.156).

If continental Europe, led by Italy, set the standard for a modern republican and democratic state, Reynolds also shows considerable interest, of various kinds, in Turkey and the Islamic east, though less in *The Mysteries* than in later work. The Islamic world provides not only the poisoned tobacco but a cure; in an early forensic moment Eliza and Filippo obtain a sample of the fatal tobacco itself, through a Georgian dancing girl who is one of the Marquis of Holmesford's harem, an institution of some interest to the text — with full descriptions and several illustrations. However, in Reynolds material reality is never far away: though Holmesford is a figure of "unbounded licentiousness" (2.95) this is a by no means exaggerated representation of the Marquis of Hertford — who famously died early in 1842 after a session of debauchery with prostitutes (and so could not sue for libel). He appears as the much more authoritarian and politically active Lord Monmouth in Disraeli's *Coningsby*

(published in May 1844, before the *Mysteries* started) and as the more purposeful Marquis of Steyne in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*. Though a rake and sybarite in the story, the Marquis is in fact not represented in wholly negative terms: his death scene is almost positive (Fig. 6): he did at least refrain from raping Kate Wilmot's mother because of her great distress and tried to support her afterwards (Richard's father saw her leaving the Marquis's house, assumed she was his mistress and broke off with her); he is frank with Richard about the whole affair and is quite supportive of Greenwood. It may well be that Reynolds had some sympathy for Hertford, who, like his heir, in spite of

Fig. 6. The Marquis of Holmesford dies in comfort in Reynolds's *The Mysteries of London*, 1846.

being a scandalous Paris-based wastrel, was also a great connoisseur — the two of them found time among their many pleasures to assemble the magnificent Wallace Collection, still on show in London's Hertford House.

Reynolds, like many contemporary writers, is aware of America, but both he and Sue, like Balzac and the later Dickens, seem to have so much to say about their local context that they tend to use the Atlantic passage just for discarded characters. Tomlinson disappears there, escaping the manipulations of Greenwood more than the threat of the law but also taking some of his money, as well as the ever-loyal Martin. The inheritance fraudster Stephens goes there too, after escaping from Australia, and more positively John Smithers, former hangman's assistant, after the death of his reformed but still traumatized father becomes a businessman on the new frontier, in Ohio.

Australia also figures as an imaginary land of more threat and less opportunity than America. The returned transport is a common figure in English fiction of the period, and some were released and returned after serving their time. Novelists preferred the sensation of escape, which in fact never happened, though many are recorded as having died in the attempt. Evidently familiar with James Backhouse's 1843 description,[60] Reynolds makes an excellent job of Crankey Jem's convict memoirs (especially compared to Féval's vagueness, as discussed in the next chapter) and clearly has some sense of lower-class comradeship as a feature of life in the various colonies of what was not yet called Australia. Apparently unknown to Australian scholars, apart from the ever-curious Cyril Pearl, the Crankey Jem sequence seems very likely to have been read by Marcus Clarke, and there are a number of sequences, such as the Macquarie Harbour brutality and the escape from Norfolk Island, which appear to be have been worked into his great novel *His Natural Life* (serialized in 1872). By the same token it seems very likely that Dickens, for all his coolness towards Reynolds, draws on Crankey Jem to some degree in his later representation of Magwitch, another mistreated and good-hearted returnee, in *Great Expectations*.

There are encounters with ethnic variety in England, but they are not the obvious ones. Though Skiligallee's name is evidently Irish, there is nothing in the *Mysteries* dealing with Irish figures, nor any Welsh, either criminal or respectable. The Scots might be taken as being passingly represented by Mr. McChizzle, the dubious and eventually transported lawyer who feels it is not worthwhile defending Richard on forgery charges, but none of these British ethnic identities is of interest to Reynolds, unlike Féval. The major local ethnic variation is the pro–Romany strand of the *Mysteries*. Skilligallee and Crankey Jem have the good fortune to fall in with King Zingary himself ("Zingari" is the Italian for "Romany" — then more commonly called "Gypsy") and his traveling family is generous, in their tradition, to good-hearted

vagrants. Most important they meet his son Morcar, who is the major positive Romany figure. It is Morcar who overhears Vernon and the Resurrection Man plotting heir murder and knows how to infiltrate an entertainer troupe and catch a falling baby. In Skililgallee's improbable adventures, it is Morcar who repays fair treatment of him and his wife by impersonating a police carter to abduct him from the hands of the law. Most of all, and a striking response to those then or now who regard Romanies as a non-contributing menace, when Richard Markham and his friend Morcar have escaped from the Castelcicalan dictator's jail — thanks to the elusive but always good-hearted Eliza Sydney, now, if briefly, Grand Duchess — they separate for security, Morcar knowing he has kin in the hills. When they meet again, Richard, who has met radical friends of his dead mentor Armstrong, is determined to fight on, but that is just words. Morcar has with him 400 armed men, and their military élan permits Richard's capture of the important fortress at Estella, where he can liberate the rebel captives and deploy an army, with an elite Zingari corps, to advance on the dictator's base in Montoni. The recurrent action thoroughly supports King Zingary's proud account of Romany history and values (2.74).

Less extensive than this pro–Romany position, pragmatic and politically structured in comparison to the future pro–Romany romanticism of Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* (1847) and George Borrow's *The Romany Rye* (1857), is a series of minor details which show Reynolds does not share the common anti–Semitism of the period. Haywood says he was "one of the few radicals of the period to outspokenly attack anti-semitism."[61] While Dickens dealt somewhat illiberally in the caricature of Fagin, only redeemed 30 years later in Riah in *Our Mutual Friend*, and Scott's attractive Jewish heroine Rebecca, rejected by Ivanhoe himself, would be reinstated as heroine in Thackeray's parodic *Rebecca and Rowena* (1850) only after she turns Christian, when Reynolds deals with Jews it is merely as capable citizens. None of his money-grubbing city types have Jewish names or bulbous noses, as was normal right around the literary world until the 1940s: the Jewish moneylender Goldshig, who late in the story causes trouble for the gambling Major Anderson, is in fact misled and manipulated by a malevolent English gentleman. When Ellen is buying male clothing so she can defend her friend Richard at a meeting alleged to be with his brother but which she suspects is a dangerous fraud — and she is right, her determined courage is equal to any man's, like her costume — she goes down to Holywell Street and, avoiding the pornographers and the shops that sell the *Mysteries*, buys a neat suit from an efficient, pleasant and uncaricatured Jewish woman shopkeeper. Reynolds's views were noticed, and the *Jewish Chronicle* would reprint a scene from the 1847–8 second series which is firmly philo–Semitic.[62]

Reynolds's politics range from detailed complaint to national and structural attack, but he can move into less serious mode such as the bravura opening

thunderstorm scene or the showy metaphorics of "The World's Omnibus," or the comic voices and slangy resistance of the low-life personnel like Mrs. Buffer or the Coal-Heaver. Humor as such is not a common offering in Reynolds, though it is more frequent than in Sue. In comic mode, Reynolds tends to look back to the jokes and asides of the older pamphlet tradition, and this is basically a lighthearted element of the recurrent satire. Richard's jail acquaintances the Russian nobleman Count Pitchantoss and the excellent preacher the Rev. Henry Sharpere (1.98) could come straight from Pierce Egan, as might the clownish gentry Sir Cherry Bounce and Captain Smilax Dapper. The comic stage is a likelier source for the verbosity and mangled vocabulary of Richard's faithful butler Whittingham and also dubious politicians like the Liberal whip the Hon. V. W. Y. Sawder (the joke is on "solder," hinting at both trade and political repair jobs) and the hunting and minatory implications of the name of the Tory whip Sir T. M. B. Muzzlhem (1.213). Directly theatrical are stage names: while Ellen chooses something that sounds like a royal mistress, Selina Fitzherbert, her colleague Betsy Podkins becomes Lucinda Hartington and plain Jane Storks ascends to Jacintha Runnymede (1.265). Sometimes Reynolds cannot resist crasser jokes: Greenwood's most devious business accomplice is Alderman Sniff (1.337), who is helped in fundraising by the Reverend Beganuph (2.145).

Reynolds adventures little comic action, but he does quite successfully mock the gentry numbskulls Dapper and Bounce in both dialogue and behavior and brings this to a conclusion at Bounce's ludicrous wedding party at Ravensworth Hall, which includes the formidable Miss Blewstocken and the German philosopher Baron Torkemdef (2.227): the appearance of the vengeful Lydia makes a fine contrast. Similarly the embarrassments of Egerton's cockney family on their visit to Ravensworth are created with some skill, notably his large and forbidding Aunt Betsy Bustard and her would-be son-in-law Tedworth Jones, an aspirant writer whose experience seems to express Reynolds's own authorly irritations. Tedworth's poem to his beloved has been printed very clumsily: the last stanza, beginning: "Yes — dark as seemeth this wide world to me," comes across as "You bark as smelleth this vile work to me" (2. 379). A larger comic-satirical set piece much like Dickens or Thackeray is the sequence about Greenwood's manipulative triumph as a would-be MP (1.chap.68), and this is matched as farce by the recurring craven ambitions of Mr. Banks, undertaker and very petty criminal.

Reynolds does not offer himself as a recurrently comic writer, and he never consciously uses humor to offset and so emphasize the sentimental or tragic shadows of his work, as Dickens does so readily, but as well as farcical names and actions, there is a recurrent spirit of comedy and ironic resistance about his characters, notably some of the criminals, including the fairly evil

Buffer and the much worse Resurrection Man, who on many occasions grin grimly at their surroundings and the authorities' attempt to control their dynamic forms of resistance. In this deployment of various forms of humor Reynolds has a wider range than Sue, and his fairly infrequent but often surprisingly effective comedy is best seen as one of the positive elements that commentators have failed to identify. In this case just like Sue, Reynolds offers many features of structure, parallelism and narrative interweaving that help make these massive stories consistently interesting and attention-claiming.

Structuring the Mysteries of London

Two critics who have looked carefully at Reynolds's work have come up with positive judgments on his structure: Ann Humpherys identified a "brilliant narrative structure" and E. F. Bleiler, extremely knowledgeable about nineteenth-century crime writing, thought he had "one of the most remarkable structural abilities in English letters."[63] A close study of the structure and style of the text supports these views.

When Reynolds published the *Mysteries* originally in weekly numbers there was rarely any effort to create cliff-hangers — sometimes the issue would end in the middle of a paragraph. Other elements of interruption occur in the narrative, even in volume form. The pace at which Reynolds changes story strands was faster than that of Sue — early on he rarely keeps one strand going for more than three chapters and it was quite normal for two of the strands of the narrative to appear in one weekly issue, so creating the sense of a multiple story dealing with different social classes and locations. This may be partly because Reynolds probably planned from the start to have more story strands, as in the multiple narratives he had already produced like *Pickwick Abroad* and *Robert Macaire*, but his notion of social conflict also suits the form. Each month a 32-page booklet would be offered for 6d, the increase in price from the penny weekly and the more expansive format suggesting a slightly more elevated audience. The collected volumes were not, unlike Sue's *Mystères*, reset and re-illustrated in luxurious style but kept the double-column magazine format and the original illustrations (no doubt using the original stereotype plates), though the volumes had a rather handsome binding, a full contents page and a list of illustrations, suggesting that, whether they admitted it or not, middle-class and gentry readers were also interested — Reynolds himself commented that there were stories of people borrowing their servants' copies of the weekly issues to read.[64]

But though the plot strands interweave, the narrative structure is far from random. While Reynolds uses the phrase "the mazes of our narrative" (1.75)

this does not imply that the reader should expect to be lost. While several commentators have chosen to talk about the "labyrinth" of Reynolds's London,[65] this is a concept which, like that of the *flâneur*, is essentially personalized, not social, and generates the image of a passively horrified, if also Gothically excited, reader. Reynolds's "maze" comment continues in the text to suggest this is not in fact a labyrinth: rather there is a political path through "many strange places," seeing them in two modes as "hideous haunts of crime, abodes of poverty, dens of horror, and lurking places of perfidy — as well as many seats of wealthy voluptuousness and aristocratic dissipation" (1.75). There is a comprehensible social conflict being expressed, elaborating the Wealth-Poverty theme of the opening, and this discussion in fact leads to the most fiercely analytic chapter of all, the first episode of the "Black Chamber" exposé.

In the same spirit of comprehensible conflict, Reynolds interweaves from the start the dens of lower-class crime and the dens of upper-class vice. His first three leading characters, Eliza, Richard and Ellen, all move from one to the other, so substantially elaborating the cross-class effect that Sue only offers in tourist mode for Rodolphe and in separated forms, slum and security, for Fleur-de-Marie. Reynolds's socially mobile characters will survive through their strong characters, their good fortune, and the support of some good people — in Eliza's case an Earl, in Ellen's Richard himself, and in his own case a grand radical philanthropist and his friends (including in Italy). So there is a strongly cross-class possibility of beneficence, where Sue just sources it from the nobility, with lower-class assistants like Rigolette and, after he is touched by nobility, Chourineur.

Reynolds likes to offer startling juxtapositions of story to insist on both the dramatic — or more usually melodramatic — variety of social life in London and also the underlying insistence that somehow these events are all related if we understand them in correct political terms. So in Volume 1 there is a jump from Richard's risky adventures in the West End among gentry and fake gentry to his butler's low-life companions (who, with a glance at the new popular literary world, include a writer and a bookseller) at The Servants' Arms in the "New Road" — that is, Euston Road (1chaps.10–11). There are more dramatic shifts to come — from Bolter's savage crime to Greenwood and "Walter" (i.e., Eliza) at dinner (1chaps.19–20); from the Bethnal Green house explosion to Richard in Richmond (1chaps.45–46); from Diana and the Earl to Ellen's miserable poverty (1chaps.54–55); and most extreme of all, from Buckingham Palace to the Saffron Hill "Boozing Ken" (1chaps.60–61).These polarities continue, and while in Volume 2 Reynolds tends to stay longer with a narrative thread, and quite often filled a whole weekly issue with three or four chapters on one topic — such as the Ravensworth Hall events or the Thames pirates — he does retain his basic method and there are still some

startling jump cuts — between, for example, Richard's military triumph and Crankey Jem in Drury Lane (2chaps.189–190), or between the Resurrection Man's escape from jail and the widow Eliza's return (2chaps.228–9). Some juxtapositions are a riot of variety: Ellen forces Greenwood to marry her just before Richard ambushes the Resurrection Man (2chaps.223–4); the Marquis of Holmesford bathes in milk just before the Resurrection Man experiences jail and inspects the tread-mill (2chaps.226–7).

Because he is consciously exploiting an interchange of plot strands to generate a sense in the audience of both multiplicity and mystification — Humpherys oversimplifies this by saying the various plot strands intertwine to make what she calls a "rope plot"[66] — Reynolds does not deal in the elegant underlying connections that both link Sue's narrative and also shape it towards a single viewpoint from which the Prince can supervise and control. Nor does Reynolds use much the limited retrospection by which Sue increasingly links his multiple events into a single line of action. He does occasionally employ this method to indicate the multiple and contemporaneous forces operating around Richard — as with his butler's evening out (1chap.12), and intercutting between his malign experiences with the law and events back at Markham Place (1chap.16, 1chap.24). There is some retrospective intercalation to relate Richard's experiences with those of Ellen and her father (1chap.55 and 1chap. 135), then with Isabella (2chap.202) and the Resurrection Man (2chap.227). But even with Richard, Reynolds seems to settle early into a basic narrative which jumps over time (one four-year and one two-year jump, 1chap.5 and 1chap.37, and several of some months) to achieve the 12-year span set at the start, rather than multiplying events within a short time frame as Sue prefers to do.

Central to Reynolds's lack of a convergent narrative is the doubling of Richard and Eugene, bright and dark possibilities of the new skilled urban man. With some skill Reynolds keeps them just apart throughout. On one occasion Greenwood avoids Richmond when he knows Richard will be there (1.117), and his knowledge of his brother is frequently referred to, especially in his encounters with Ellen and her child, Richard's nephew; at one point he is moved by thinking of "[m]y child beneath Richard's roof!" (1.373).

The fact that the dark double ends by acknowledging his error and the good double ends as a member of the aristocracy — albeit by his own merits and loveableness — is a feature of that bourgeois hankering for aristocratic standing that is structural to the nineteenth century (and in Britain still exists in the bizarre institution of a "life peer"), but there is a strong parallel in the women. Eliza goes from delicious semi-criminal cross-dresser to a generous Grand-Duchess; Diana's beauty and sterling character take her through the Earl's rejection and then serious facial burns to the happy estate of Countess. That they all have to go through some personal underworld may attach the

notion of bourgeois deserving and personal strength to the aristocratic dream, but the recurrent paralleling of their careers is also part of this journey through contrast to security: Reynolds's bravura paralleling of the jail terms served by Richard and Eliza is a clear statement that he knows just what he is doing here, as is the dangerous twin triumph of Richard and Ellen in the theater and the convergence towards the end of Eliza, Diana and even Ellen as genial villa-based versions of the classical Friendly Ones. Reynolds's summary of Diana suits all three: "a woman naturally inclined to virtue: circumstances had made her what she was" (1.155).

If the narrative structure is built around a set of parallels and deliberate contrasts, the link is quite often coincidence. Any multiple plot must depend on such events, while in a single plot a writer as clever as Jane Austen can conceal them as a donnée — Darcy visits his friend Bingley; Sir Thomas is called away from Mansfield Park. Sue, working for his single-viewpoint plot, both deploys and tries to explain away coincidence — with the single location of 17 Rue du Temple offering both a logical basis and a morally justified explanation for most of them. Reynolds extended the use of moralized coincidence, partly because his mode includes melodrama but also because they have meaning in this world without a Christian or aristocratic order, looking for a substitute set of values in a moralized democracy.

He recurrently suggests that the characters deserve the impact of a coincidence, whether for good or ill. Richard's possibilities are summed up by meeting in jail both the noble Armstrong and the dastardly Resurrection Man; the latter, who was pleased when the Zingari entombed Meg (for not protecting his money, which they had now taken from her), is finally entombed himself by Crankey Jem, who takes the money. Diana's face is badly burned in an accident caused indirectly by her generosity to Harborough, but she is healed by the coincidental passing of the surgeon who served Ellen so well — and then the Earl regains his generosity to recognize her value and his misreading of events. These are all coincidences that seem somehow to bring justice and be deserved by characters. Richard runs into Isabella first at Richmond, after he has been thrown out by the Count, and then again in the London streets after the Count has been ruined by Greenwood. With the power of melodrama the coincidences can operate across a distance, and the fact that readers have sometimes forgotten the character who suddenly, and rightly, appears can be part of the morally valid understructure of the narrative. Eugene used Lafleur to arrange a dubious currency-exchange carriage trip to Paris, and he receives his fatal injury when Lafleur crashes another carriage and Eugene tries to detain him. The dog walker who discovers Lydia's murdered body is Pocock, the vulgar craftsman-forger of the long-past opening chapters: he chose Richard over the corrupt gentry in an East End pub chance meeting, but at

Ravensworth Hall he is the agent of coincidental justice against a more wide-ranging and now murderous corrupt gentry, still including Harborough and Chichester. He is, as when he denounced the corrupt aristocrats to Richard in the Dark House, the voice of the average decent man, one more of Richard's saved individuals who go on to help him, knowingly or not, order the world. The narrative structure deployed by Reynolds reveals the world of the narrative to be multiple, mysterious and insistently threatening but also a world that moral steadiness, mutual support and real personal endeavor can, the *Mysteries* eventually argue, make somewhat more acceptable.

Reynolds the Writer

Reynolds is frequently called a phenomenon, but this comment refers only to his popularity, or perhaps his productivity. A mere 10,000 words a week was evidently nothing to him — he could produce a weekly segment in seven hours' work on one day, he says with some pride in the "Postscript" to his massive *Mysteries of the Court of London*,[67] so leaving plenty of time for editing, writing other novels and engaging in business activities, not always successfully. The four volumes of the *Mysteries of London* and the eight of *The Mysteries of the Court of London* make over four million words produced over 12 years, and there were 16 other books then as well: Bleiler estimates he wrote in that period between 35 and 40 million words,[68] and the mass seems to have overwhelmed any investigation of quality in Reynolds's writing. Bleiler goes on to comment that he "has never received formal treatment from a literary point of view."[69] It seems, however, likely, that the mastery of materials — narrative, melodrama, satire, moralism — which carries his narrative along so effectively and which is used to assert both an entertaining hold on the reader and also a constantly questioning account of modern society is also to be found at the level of tone and style.

Margaret Dalziel may not have read Reynolds too closely when she said some years ago that he had "a fluent, luscious polysyllabic style which never fails him"[70]: it sounds like a comment based on an opening and an ending where he writes up. His usual style is not as elaborate as that. Essentially, Reynolds writes fluently and effectively, in that neutral style that is looked for in journalists or educational writers to carry readers along without being detained by bafflement, annoyance or an excess of aesthetic admiration. The opening of Volume 2 is fair average quality Reynolds, linking the narrative back, moving it forward, assembling the cast and distributing appropriate descriptions:

> Richard Markham, though perfectly unpretending in manner and somewhat reserved or even sedate in disposition, possessed the most undaunted courage. Thus was it that, almost immediately recovering himself from the sudden check which

he had experienced at the hands of the Resurrection Man, he hurried in pursuit of the miscreant, followed by the policeman and the people whom the alarm he had given had called to his aid [2.1].

Bleiler describes this default style well:

His clear linear style, which carefully avoids entanglements of thought, while preserving an exceptionally large and colorful vocabulary, carries the reader along easily. Reynolds conveys information neatly, economically and with complete clarity. He also had the ability to work through the most tangled relationships and intricate developments — often incorporating extraneous stories or little essays — without losing narrative speed or the original concept of the story.[71]

But Reynolds can vary his usual measured tread for various effects. There is the Gothic mode, not without some politics, with which Volume 1 opens, sketching in writing the image (Fig. 4) of Eliza prancing in a top hat against St Paul's dome, lowering clouds, a hungry family and threatening loungers:

That canopy of dark and threatening clouds was formed over London; and a stifling heat, which there was not a breath of wind to allay or mitigate, pervaded the streets of the great metropolis.

Everything portended an awful storm.

In the palace of the peers and the hovel of the artisan the windows were thrown up; and at many, both men and women stood to contemplate the scene — timid children crowding behind them.

The heat became more and more oppressive.

At length large drops of rain fell, at intervals of two or three inches apart, upon the pavement.

And then a flash of lightning, like the forked tongue of one of those fiery serpents of which we read in oriental tales of magic and enchantment, darted forth from the black clouds overhead [1.3].

Between mundane narrative and heightened melodrama, the story winds its long but formally varying way, with strongly marked descriptions ranging from splendid Buckingham Palace to the vile Dark House, Ellen's beauty to Lydia's rotting corpse, Richard's battle glory to East End body snatching. There can also be linguistic variation: in the mouths of some lower-class characters Reynolds, like Egan and Ainsworth, as well as Sue, uses the language of the criminal world — including in one sequence the Australian criminal world during Cranky Jem's account of transportation (1.397–8) — though the narrator does suggest that the obscene language used by the Buffer in his story has been somewhat ameliorated (1. 310). Some striking songs appear: Tom the Cracksman's "The Thieves' Alphabet" (1.60), both in and about flash language, and "The Man of Many Pursuits," sung by Jovial Jenkins (2.140), are both evidently inspired by Ainsworth's "Song of Jerry Juniper" from *Rookwood*, which became massively popular on the stage. Just as the Resurrection Man brings

out the best in Reynolds for plotting, dialogue and sadism, so his own "The Incendiary's Song" (1.196) has real force, only matched by the singing of "The Body Snatcher's Song" (1.125) by his mother, wryly known to the text as "The Mummy." There are also, a fair way downstream from Scott, poems scattered rather less successfully through the text. One at least is deliberately ironical: the glum love paean of Tedworth Jones, mangled by the typesetters. A poem by Richard that Isabella reads, a reworking of Wordsworth's sonnet (moved from Westminster to Waterloo Bridge and including "hideous Want" in "The ceaseless hum of the huge Babylon," 1.135) seems presented seriously, though "The Poet to His Wife," which her father asks her to read from her album, is merely sentimental and presumably not meant to be by Richard (1.253); equally emotive is the scene where the destitute Ellen reads to herself the workhouse poem "I had a tender mother once" (1.170). A different kind of variation is Reynolds's use in his polemical passages of what James calls a "disrupted style,"[72] which derives from magazine and newspaper-style layouts for impact.

Though he can write an effective routine style and also vary it with impact, no one would suggest that Reynolds is one of the great stylists — though his contemporaries Thackeray and Dickens might challenge for that title, seeking as they do to construct a knowing and sophisticated authorial voice that enacts itself through stylistic subtleties and manipulations. But Reynolds does manage some verbally memorable sequences: the early scene in a gambling hell where a young officer plays his last hand, and then shoots himself next door, is highly colored but movingly well handled; particularly effective in a different mode is the ironic interchange when both Sir Rupert and Lady Cecelia are trying to let their partners of the night out early in the morning, but the chain and key are entangled (perhaps symbolically); the Resurrection Man's escape from Coldbath Fields is an exciting and well-developed action sequence, as are several of Richard's extensive battles in Italy; the set piece describing the false beggars and fake amputees who inhabit Rat's Castle in St Giles early in Volume 2 is more vivid than anything in Knight or Mayhew. As a writer Reynolds is both effective and at times memorable. Variation in a limited range between mundanity and occasional highlights may itself be a part of producing literature for the mass market in this as in other periods, and as a stylist Reynolds may well be judged as highly successful in terms of his authorial strategies.

"One Good Man"

Reynolds ends his journey of two years and a million words with an Epilogue claiming: "Virtue is rewarded — Vice has received its punishment" (2.424). The evil have died or are under arrest — Mr. Banks in London, the

corrupt gentry in the French galleys for forgery; Lafleur has been transported for manslaughter. Some of the deserving minor characters are thriving in trade — Pocock in the city, Skilligalee and Meg in a little shop in Hoxton, John Smithers in comfort in Ohio; the ever-manipulative Stephens is deservedly less happy in New York, where Tomlinson and Martin may also be, or at least somewhere in America. Figures of major virtue have done very well. Morcar is, after his father, king of the Zingari and keeps in touch with the Prince and Princess of Montoni (Richard and Isabella), and their friends the lordly Warringtons; Eliza is back in charitable comfort in Upper Clapton, and Ellen, still lovely but commitedly single, is bringing up her son, Richard — it sounds as if he will inherit the Markham estate. All is well, and all ultimately through the efforts, honor and deserted good fortune of "one good man" (2.424), Richard Markham.

But there is also an uneasy note. Reynolds says some might have "an aversion to peruse this work" as either from its title or from "fugitive report" they might feel it improper. He insists this is unfair, that while he has indeed exposed "the hideous deformity of vice" his purpose has always been "to develop the witching beauty of virtue" (2.424). At the last Reynolds is haunted by that specter of the popular that in his own time, and for his reputation ever since, has been so damaging. He seems to be placing more stress here on the semi-pornography of some of the material, notable in Volume 1, but continuing in the Holmesford House scenes in Volume 2, rather than the violence and sado-masochistic material which, while present early as in the Bolter murder scene, seems to gather in Volume 2. Notably, and elusively, Reynolds does not here merge the popular with the political as in earlier radical writing but insists on the masking power of morality. His thematic doublet here is Vice and Virtue, not the Wealth and Poverty with which he started and to which he has mostly adhered throughout.

On his best, or at least most cautious, behavior here, as he bids farewell to his readers but also wants them to return for the next series, Reynolds is elsewhere more rumbustious in asserting his political theme as the dynamo of his popular text, and it is quite clear that the large numbers of new readers appreciated both what he had to say and the way he said it. Mayhew reports that the costermongers, people directly concerned with street-level London trade, loved him,[73] and there is evidence of a lower-class readership: he even apparently received letters, but unlike many of those to Sue, they have not survived.[74] Reynolds clearly gave a voice to the people, especially in his unrelenting attacks on the authorities, including, but by no means only, the aristocracy. In the context of a new mass audience and the inevitable drift towards market forces in publishing (not just the old small coterie readerships), he nevertheless maintained some of the radical vigor of the old popular press: Bleiler has a summary

with a 1960s ring to it, seeing him as the "de facto leader of the official 'counter-culture' of mid–Victorian England."[75] Louis James, historian and critic of so much early popular English literature, sees Reynolds's politics and formal methods operating creatively together, identifying his use of melodrama as "a symbolic consciousness of social reality,"[76] and this expounds Bleiler's instinctive coupling of Reynolds with Gustave Doré, the realizer of starkly moving scenes of outcast London.[77]

Reynolds was the first great condenser of the popular and the political. Rohan McWilliam comments that he "embraced mass culture and appropriated its force for radicalism."[78] Like Brecht and Chaplin he spoke in a voice that the masses could both understand and see as being deeply, even darkly, relevant to their own condition. Both more demotic and more demonic than Sue, his work was much harder to appropriate and neutralize from an establishment position than was Sue's generous-hearted liberalism. It is striking how close Reynolds's plotting and assertions come to the writing on London by Friedrich Engels in his *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, and the recurrent anger of Reynolds's text, and the way it is marked regularly by his strong views about inequality, may well have caused much of its negative reception. In its own day he was remembered with distaste by those like Dickens who saw him as a vulgar (i.e., successful) rival claimant on the attention of the popular audience, and he was also kept at a distance by many who were either vaguely or too accurately aware that Reynolds was really challenging for actual social change, not merely an alteration in the hearts of men and women, as were, and are, most literary moralists. He was very excited by the events of 1848, when it seemed that such change might be about to come, and his work grows decreasingly radical as that prospect passed, but a deep and energetic radical instinct was lastingly realized in the *Mysteries of London.*

It may well be that the sheer length of Reynolds's *Mysteries*— the narrative unit of Volumes 1 and 2 is over 800 pages — was against it having major influence. Few have read it to this day: a couple of chapters and the contents page have seemed enough for any but the real scholars, and few of even them mention events in Volume 2 before its ending. But it must also seem in retrospect that the deep-seated tendency of this massive text to be radical, both in a sense of necessary structural social change and also in the even more challenging sense of combining real popularity with real resistance, was a major reason for the limited influence in his own period, and to the present day. Too radical for the literary, his work was too fictional to be of interest in serious Marxist circles around the world, and the growth of interest in working-class fiction in the twentieth century never looked back so far, especially to a work so massive, just seeing as predecessors novels with a middle-class viewpoint like Dickens's *Hard Times* (1854) and Elizabeth Gaskell's *North*

and South (1855) and at times the Chartist novel, itself well after Reynolds. In his own decade, however popular at home, Reynolds's masterpiece was of limited impact elsewhere. As the genre of the "Mysteries of the Cities" spread rapidly around the world in the 1840s, it was Sue's pattern that was to be dominant—and indeed there was already in place a French challenger to Reynolds on his own terrain, Paul Féval, with his *Les Mystères de Londres*.

3

Across the Channel: Paul Féval's *Les Mystères de Londres*

From Rennes to Londres

Two forms of traffic accident frame the story of *Les Mystères de Londres*, produced in 1843–4 by Paul Féval for the Paris newspaper *Courrier français*. In the opening chapter, smugglers quietly sail up the Thames on a dark November night; a customs boat rams one of them; the smugglers swim ashore and with the other boats find safe criminal haven near the Tower of London: they are later revealed as part of a criminal army led by the Marquis de Rio-Santo, a man of many secrets. It is he who causes the final accident: galloping up Islington Road to escape from London to the north, he kills Paterson, a butler wandering aimlessly because the Earl, his master, hostile to many in the story, has been sent to an insane asylum.

Low-level crime, aristocratic intrigue and error, the power and mobility of one man, these are central to the complex and condensed plot Féval developed as a parallel to Sue's *Mystères de Paris*. It would open a career through many stories, including his masterpiece, the multi-volume *Les Habits Noirs* (1863–75); he would employ as editorial assistant Émile Gaboriau, who in his turn would inspire Fergus Hume's Melbourne-based *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab* (1886), the first true best-seller in crime fiction, which would even more influentially stimulate a young aspiring doctor to turn his pen to crime — Arthur Conan Doyle.

Long overlooked or misinterpreted, *Les Mystères de Londres* is more than a first whisper of classic crime fiction: it transfers Sue's excellent idea about urban mystery to London, but does it with so strong a French viewpoint, so far from the pre-existing developments of London-based criminal fiction that

it is an intriguing one-off, a sport of crime writing, and even of the "Mysteries of the Cities" genre. It can be admired for its vitality, imagination and inherent Gallicism, but its eventual limitations of reference and critique make it most useful in this study as a contemporary contrastive indicator of how ambitious and serious, and in their different ways socially responsible, were both Sue and Reynolds.

Born in Rennes in 1816, with a lawyer father and a Breton mother — a Celtic interest can be detected in some of his fiction, including *Les Mystères de Londres* — Féval turned away from provincial law, came to Paris by 1837 and sustained himself with white-collar work until he attracted notice with his first novel, *Le Club des Phoques* ("The Seals' Club," 1841), and began writing for the journals. Anténor Joly of *Courrier français*, for which he had just written *Le Loup Blanc*, asked him to match the just finishing *Les Mystères de Paris* and his response first appeared on December 20, 1843. A range of misinformation is available about this process: several French sources still think Féval was translating Reynolds — there is even a canard that this (chronologically impossible) translation was a failure and so Féval started something more interesting. Others (including Walter Benjamin) feel it was Sue who imitated Féval, fantasizing a London priority.[1] Jean-Pierre Galvan, who has looked carefully at the matter, reports that the *Courrier* advertised a translation from English to be called *Les Mystères de Londres*, obviously responding to the just finished *Les Mystères de Paris*, but it was "unpublishable" (if it existed) and Féval helped out.[2] This seems itself doubtful: the idea of translation from English was probably suggested because Féval's *Mystères* originally appeared as being written by "Sir Francis Trolopp," a socially elevated and re-gendered version of Frances Trollope, an English novelist and commentator well-known in Paris, long before she gained the honor of being mother to the author Anthony Trollope.[3] The time of the novel's action is also often misinterpreted: modern French reprints offer an editorial preface setting it in the 1840s, but in the story William IV is on the throne (149), so it is before mid–1837, and ends in 1841 after "a long lapse of time" (481).

Sue Renewed

Les Mystères de Londres was a considerable success, including in America, and, Galvan comments, this led Féval to "abandon very quickly his encumbering pseudonym."[4] While he shared something of Sue's reception, his story was in both setting and structure a strong reversal of what Sue had offered. Some structural resemblances are clear: the central figure is a charismatic, powerful, determined, and resourceful aristocrat with a strong mission in life,

which is to be enacted in a great European city. He has gathered trusted supporters on his mission, including, like Rodolphe, a former criminal and a stalwart knight of the realm (or the appearance of one). He too is supported by a skilled doctor, and the context of his activities is occupied by a range of urban criminals, including some on the river. There is also a birth mystery about a beautiful young woman who is at the start of the story found in a degraded inner-city situation. The supporting cast is broadly comparable to Sue's, with mistreated young women, corrupt older women, aristocrats noble, foolish and deranged, as well as corrupt bourgeois professionals.

But just as the setting has been radically re-located, Féval has meticulously varied, usually reversed, the nature and role of each element that derives from Sue: *Les Mystères de Londres* is more a mirror image than a copy of *Les Mystères de Paris*. To start with the margins, the corrupt professionals are in fact on the Marquis's side, bought by him for his great purpose; the mistreated young women are damaged mostly through elements of his own designs; the corrupt old woman is in his service; the urban criminals are, even in what seem their own entrepreneurial activities, always acting under his control — the Marquis commands the loyalty of the entire criminal family of London. The doctor is the opposite of Rodolphe's faithful David, using his skill not to deal hard justice but to rescue a forger from execution by slitting his windpipe so he will be able to breathe below the noose. The deranged aristocrat, his strangely eccentric brother and the noble young gentry are not, like Rodolphe's lofty colleagues, either supporters or clients — they turn out to be the only real opposition to the great central figure.

Closer to the Marquis himself, but not as close as Fleur-de-Marie to Rodolphe, the beautiful Susannah is shown to be not, as at first appears, the degraded daughter of a Jewish criminal but, after a long series of elusive clues, the daughter of the girl the Marquis once loved, cast off by the Earl her father because he thought she was the Marquis's daughter. This was not the case and, though she loses her beloved, because he has turned out to be her uncle (the whisper of incest is also displaced from Sue's positioning of it), unlike Fleur-de-Marie she lives on beyond the end of the story with other survivors of the Marquis's massive conspiracy.

Féval's most radical reversal is that where Prince Rodolphe sought to heal all social wounds, the Marquis, through his great conspiracy, is the dedicated enemy of English society as a whole. The first half of the text steadily builds up a sense of a massive mysterious scheme. One hint comes early when, listening to an Irish song, the Marquis feels "a melancholy joy" (21); another is the fact that his Belgrave Square mansion is called "Irish House" (221); a darker clue comes when two young men seem, if uncertainly, to recognize the Marquis from the past through the scar that is sometimes evident on his forehead. But

revelation is deferred: halfway through, the narrator says this is "not the place" to explain the plans "to which the Marquis de Rio-Santo had devoted every hour for fifteen years" (227). The whole plan is revealed in the third book, and then both deployed and frustrated in the fourth and last. It is extraordinarily far from Rodolphe's noble if patronizing strategies — the Marquis de Rio-Santo is in fact planning the violent overthrow of the entire English governmental system. He intends to destroy the Bank of England, the Houses of Parliament, Buckingham Palace, any of their occupants who get in the way, and even kill the King (427). This is all for another loyalty. He predicts: "Antiquated England shall disappear — young England — Ireland — shall extend her sceptre over regenerated London" (428). It is a world-conspiracy story of the kind that in the later twentieth century became routine fantasy, a staple of airport bookstalls. But here it is closer to political reality: in the early nineteenth century the forces of Irish and Catholic emancipation were seriously moving against English colonial oppression, with real sympathy and some support from France.

The Marquis is no born aristocrat. If Reynolds was to generate a Prince from the modest and bankrupt gentry, Féval's transformative imagination had already gone further. The Marquis was born Fergus O'Brian, as the translator sensibly has it, where Féval calls him O'Breane (presumably a phonetic spelling of the French pronunciation of O'Brian, rather than a simple deformation like Sue's Murph). The name seems likely to be Féval's linking of two well-known anti-government London activists of Irish origin, Feargus O'Connor and James "Bronterre" O'Brien.[5] Fergus's parents were Gaelic-speaking Connaught gentry driven off their land by the brutal steward of a Protestant landlord. They came to London and lived in the St Giles rookery. They both died, and Fergus's only sister, Betsey, was swept up in the corrupt world, last seen by him in a lord's carriage. Fergus vowed his life to avenge his parents on England as a whole. He bravely saved a couple when their horse bolted after an accident: it was Angus MacFarlane and his sister, whom Fergus soon loved. Her admirer, the future Earl of White Manor, after challenging him to box and losing, had him arrested for attempted murder, and false evidence from bribed witnesses resulted in him being condemned to transportation. But Fergus led a band that escaped from Australia (a theme not only beloved of the English), and as a world-ranging pirate he amassed a fortune and international connections that brought him to London in the early 1830s with the support of Russian, Brazilian and Portuguese governments — or at least dictators: he has a personal letter from the Czar, and "H. M. Don John of Braganza, Emperor of the Brazils," has given him titles (428).

Fergus's connections and plans are massive: he is involved in anti-colonial agitation around the world, being behind the revolt in "Scinde," Sindh in

India (433). He has dealings with French interests in Canada, with Boers in South Africa, and attacks on the East India Company in Afghanistan — and "Wales is ripe for an outbreak," he comments (455). Through the Russian ambassador to London, Prince Tolstoy, he is starting a rumor about a European "interdict on British manufactures" (340) to damage the economy. He has a bevy of supporters from across Europe to circulate in society and aggrandize his reputation, and powerful English agents including a colonel of a regiment (heavily in debt), a major banker ("a singular and brilliant rogue," 348, who would later be hanged for forgery), a probable future Anglican bishop, the debauched son of a Marquis, the superintendent of the Metropolitan Police, the under-cashier of the Bank of England, senior civil servants, a judge and a major aristocrat. The entire London criminal class are his foot soldiers, managing fund-raising robberies and even a tunnel assault on the vaults of the Bank of England — dug by a Belgian man-mountain called Saunders the Elephant. Most remarkable and political of all, as the time of the coup approaches, 10,000 armed Irishmen have infiltrated London, and there is high-level Irish backing: though Daniel O'Connell, the great "Liberator" (whom Féval apparently met[6]) both writes to Fergus and appears in the action to state that his plans are too extreme, there is unequivocal support from a "reverend lord" who has "in him something of the tribune and the apostle" (453), apparently representing the major figure of John McHale, Archbishop of Tuam.[7]

The Marquis has the plot ready for operation one winter evening. The tunnel has breached the bank; the criminals are on the streets to cause disruption; the Irishmen are posted through the city. But the whole grand plan fails. The signal is never given. Only the Marquis can give it, but he is under arrest — and not through the forces of the law, or the government. His remarkable plans are frustrated for entirely personal reasons and the novel never stigmatizes or even rejects the idea of a massive anti–England revolutionary attack. The personalizing humiliation of the Marquis's grand plans could be read as an implicit critique of politics itself or even a condign approval of his scheme — his hatred of England is never itself deprecated: though it might also be seen as a novelist's neat way out of an impossible and fantastic military revolutionary conclusion.

What Féval has done is turn Sue's moralized and modernized Arabian Nights into the flag carrier of an enormously popular genre in French nineteenth-century fiction, the revenge melodrama. The plan to destroy English power no doubt appealed in a France recently humiliated by Waterloo and its aftermath, but the revenge story was also in the period successfully generalized: Dumas would very shortly in *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1844–5) and the *Musketeers* stories (first appearing in 1844) domesticate the pattern that Féval shaped here and would Gallicize in *Le Bossu* (1858). Marc Angenot

has commented that a central figure in this material is a "promethean hero," a justice bringer "one of whose tasks is to reconstruct a mysterious past."[8] Angenot is speaking primarily of Rodolphe as a positive version but also notes Féval's Marquis as an example of the negative, Byronic version. Dolorès Jiminez develops this view to show that his Napoleonesque figure is not only the decoder and rectifier of the past crimes imposed on the honorable sufferers — and by extension the French audience — but also, with some flair, himself made a mystery before he attempts to rectify the threatening situation.[9]

Fergus and the Plot

To trace the causes for the Marquis's failure it is necessary, as the novel does, especially in Book 3, to go back in time into Fergus's developing years before and after he was transported and comprehend his engagements with a Scottish landed family and then the aftermath of those engagements in an English aristocratic family. When he is on the convict transport on the Thames, waiting to leave for Sydney, Fergus makes the acquaintance of Randal Graham, a cool-headed Scottish bandit. Many convicts and some guards are involved in an escape plot: a few (including a guard) will reappear in Fergus's future London-based criminal army. But as he knows Mary has been pressured into marrying the future Earl, he stays on the boat with Randal, who is looking forward to the rich pickings to be made in Australia. Féval's account of the convict colony has technical errors, like the spellings "Sidney" and "Parametta" (for "Parramatta") and a tropical forest just outside Sydney. It is also an improbably benign world: when the convicts arrive they see that the "population appeared to be in the full enjoyment of all the material blessings of this world" (400); they find that "the laws in this happy colony are infinitely more protective than in the mother country" (400) and "the life of a convict is happy and uniform" (401). The account differs substantially from that Reynolds will give, and indeed from historical evidence. In spite of this near-paradisal setting, Fergus and others escape and seize a navy ship: in the fighting he is wounded on the forehead and he will bear a scar, only visible in some lights, to the end. The 18-gun sloop, renamed *La Sournoise* ("The Sly One," 415), ranges the world for four years: this is evidently a magnified and triumphant version of the famous but ultimately unsuccessful escape of convicts on the brig *Cyprus* in 1830.

Fergus amasses both a huge fortune from piracy, especially against English East India Company ships, and also information and contacts that he uses to destabilize English rule around the world. For the French author and readers, the crucial moment of inspiration is when Fergus calls at St Helena: after he

visits the great exile, his "features were lighted up with a grave enthusiasm, and his eye still retained the expression of earnest and religious respect" (417).

At last *La Sournoise* reaches Scottish waters and Randal and Fergus settle in Randal's territory on the borders. Combining Scott and the grandiose Gothic, the text shows Fergus creating a base at Crewe Castle: its massive underground caverns provide space for forging banknotes and holding feasts where those who steadily accrete to his mighty plan bond together and are instructed — they come from all over Britain, especially London. The feasts involve, for Fergus at least, female company: here as later he will masquerade in "the brilliant cloak of a Don Juan" (433), using his success with ladies to defer any possible suspicions about his other motives for gaining fame and prestige.

Angus MacFarlane, whose life the young Fergus so dashingly saved and whose sister he so much admired, is a local landowner and friend of Randal Graham. Fergus always loves Mary and, for all his Don Juan–like behavior, will keep her portrait in his bedroom. Angus buys Crewe Castle for Fergus, develops it as a secure base and becomes a local magistrate, which enables him to deflect criticism, notably by his brother-in-law McNab, an honest lawyer who resists Fergus's growing power. Eventually Fergus will have McNab abducted and then murdered, when his son Stephen was with him, at Randal Graham's house: Féval deploys the Gothic touch of a stone staircase that turns back into wall. Angus also protects Fergus when his men have, for his pleasure, abducted for him Harriet Percival, twin sister of Frank, Stephen's friend and heir to the Earl (to Féval, Count) of Fife. In a vividly Gothic sequence, told to Stephen in reminiscence, Frank, tied up, watches his sister's degradation; when they are freed she remembers all, and dies. Angus is troubled by these events: afterwards he both loves and hates Fergus and has difficulty controlling his reactions.

A parallel problem, with equally long-lasting impact, is that Mary MacFarlane has, when Fergus was transported, been married to the evil-living, though at this stage still just about sane, Earl of White Manor. When he hears Fergus has returned to Britain, he assumes that Mary is pregnant by him and casts her off: he tries to sell her at the Smithfield market but fails and with her soon-to-be-born daughter she falls into the tolerant (if also exploitation-planning) hands of Ishmael Spencer, Jewish moneylender, forger of bank bills, and very tough criminal Tyrrel (and the quasi-noble Sir Edmund MacKenzie): he names the child Susannah.[10] Angus also has two nieces Anna and Clara (in French, Clary), and they have moved to London with his sister: in the days to come they will play major, if passive and painful, roles.

At the opening of the story in the present, a malign coincidence occurs. Fergus, as the Marquis, is at a fashionable church on Sunday morning and he sees Clara, the older of Angus's nieces. He admires her and sends a criminal

aide, Bob Lantern, to find out where she lives. She has seen the Marquis, and becomes fixated on him. Things get worse for the young women. Bob, aware of the market for beauties, sells Anna's address for 30 guineas as a treat for his master to White Manor's butler (the one the Marquis's horse will kill). He also hears, from Bishop the Burker (part of Féval's British local color[11]), that Dr. Moore needs a girl to experiment how to save the life of the noble Mary Trevor, who has suffered a catalepsy on hearing that the Marquis, who says he wants to marry her, murdered a man in Paris. So both Anna and Clara are taken: they end up drugged at a riverside inn. Bob is coming in a boat to deliver them to appropriate lucrative locations.

Coincidence in Féval is not moralized as in Reynolds or exploratory as in Sue: it is just grand melodrama and plot device. At the inn, who should arrive but Angus, suddenly in London to visit his family: he always stays here. The girls are upstairs and, his second sight leading him to the right room, he catches a sight of Clara's lovely hair as they, bound up in bundles, are dropped to Bob Lantern. This is no inactive laird: a fine swimmer, he takes off after the boat. The innkeeper barks a warning — the gangsters use animal communication codes, rather than bestial names as in Sue — and eventually Bob contrives to beat Angus off with an oar and land his human cargo.

Angus manages to stagger right across London to the Marquis's splendid house in Belgrave Square. Knowing what Angus knows about his crimes, the Marquis himself sits in his bedroom, overlooked by Mary's portrait, with the semi-conscious man for six days, while the story takes a break after the river chase. When he comes round, Angus will be torn between loyalty to his brother-in-arms Fergus and the wish to avenge on him his brother-in-law's murder. Melodrama rules: Angus attacks the Marquis and he seems dead, but like several others in this vertiginous narrative he returns to life; Angus takes off into the night. He will return at the climax.

More Scottish involvement follows. Angus's nephew Stephen McNab (whose father Fergus murdered, we will later discover), cousin to Anna and Clara, is a London-based doctor. Stephen likes Clara but is not yet a man of very strong feelings. His friend Frank Percival, twin of the girl Fergus ruined, has been overseas for a year while he and Mary Trevor can consider their relationship.[12] The Marquis, in London after five years in Paris, where "he had reigned paramount king of fashion" (19), steps in to claim Mary for the sake of her father's influence as a Tory Lord. Frank objects; the Marquis arranges a duel; Frank is shot. Dr. Moore tries to murder him, but a faithful butler and Stephen save him. Then Mary's father is manipulated into seeing a mysterious beauty (Susannah, under the Marquis's control) in a staged scene kissing Frank, and decides that the Marquis can have Mary. This rapid action sets up Frank's hatred of the Marquis, and Stephen's suspicion of him — though

they do not know he is having Clara operated on as a medical-research proxy for Mary, nor that White Manor has Anna as a potential new plaything.

The Scots vigilantes keep a careful eye on the Marquis. The Countess of Derby — appropriately named Ophelia — is a cast-off mistress, part of his Don Juan cover story, and, in sympathy for the loss of Mary, she offers to tell Frank the Marquis's deep secret, though in fact she knows nothing of the full conspiracy — all she knows is he shot a rival lover in Paris, but this is enough to make Mary cataleptic. When Frank and Stephen finally detain Fergus and have him arrested (460–1), it is because they have now pooled their reminiscences and realize Fergus organized the murder of Stephen's father and the rape and ultimate death "from the recollection of her shame" (296) of Frank's twin, Harriet. It is simply their familial anger, the personalized quest for retribution against what they see as an arrogant and dangerous self-willed aristocrat, that leads them to surround the Marquis's house with disguised men and — completely by coincidence as far as they are concerned, as he moves out to give the watchword to start the attack on the entire English hegemonic world — detain him, and call the police to arrest him. Politics then emerges: Angus tells the police about Fergus's plot; they send a battalion of soldiers to guard the Bank of England and the assembled criminals disperse.

So Fergus's downfall is caused by what he would see as minor transgressions along the way. In one way this looks forward to surprisingly narrow-based resolutions like Hercule Poirot fussing over some misplaced spills[13]; in another way — also like the spills — it asserts the easily overlooked power of the ordinary, a form of narrative democracy that Sue and Reynolds deploy (as with Louise Morel and Filippo). The ultimate personalization of Fergus's defeat could be seen in one way as leaving his political conspiracy as unrejected — the Napoleonic myth remains, and in that England-hostile mood Féval finally explains that the Crown drops the treason charges against Fergus because "[g]overnments do not like it should be imagined possible, that anyone can dare to conspire against them" (475). Personalization even attends Fergus's death. He does not die in glorious battle or as a martyr to English justice: as they pause in their flight just outside Crewe Castle and safety, the hallucinating Clara shrieks he has rejected her for her sister; her hand falls by accident on one of his pistols and she shoots him in the chest. He dies unrejected, even honored, by the text: Mary McFarlane, who is present, wonders, and the narrator seems sympathetic: "Had he, in his last ecstasy, seen the gate of heaven opening to receive him?" (481).

The story ends with the usual years-later roundup. The grander of the criminals have prospered best: Randal Graham is laird of his old house again; Tyrrel is a banker, with Féval's own "old hag" Maudlin to run his house; O'Chrane runs a pub. But Bishop the Burker has been executed, and Bob

Lantern is in an asylum, thinking he is Lord Mayor. Dr. Moore has died there, apparently mad, but retaining scientific honor; in the same asylum White Manor has succumbed to "one of his terrible attacks" (482); Paterson has died under the hooves of Fergus's horse. Clara's presence on the horse, the text suggests, indicates vengeance for Paterson's betrayal of her sister. For the gentry, the prime sufferers in the story, a sort of life continues in Scotland, back at Crewe Castle. Frank and Mary are now Earl and Countess of Fife; after some time the Marquis's Maltese supporter Bembo comes to claim the sad Anna he has long admired. Stephen cares for and eventually marries Clara, who is still in the grip of "a profound and unconquerable melancholy" (482). Susannah, their cousin, joins them in a glum retirement, and is consoled by the presence of her mother (who reappears, in a radical coincidence, just as Clara shoots Fergus, Mary's "first and only love," 480). Susannah sees Brian, her former beloved, once more, when he calls to announce his inheritance and kisses her hand "cold, and white, as alabaster" (483). He enters the House of Lords, where with "sudden bursts of eccentric eloquence" (483) he "assuages his own misery, by contributing to the happiness and comfort of his fellow-creatures" (483)—the final worlds of a novel which has had little concern throughout with either happiness or comfort.

Elaborating the Frame

This well-handled plot of world-political threat, and local human reaction to it, is, like the overarching narrative of both Sue and Reynolds, studded along the way with other material, though it is notable that Féval makes his set pieces and direct statements much more fully integrated with the plot than either of his coevals. Their central structure is a family narrative (father-daughter, brother-brother) which has substantial social and, especially in Reynolds, political meaning, but both use a good deal of parallel activity to amplify the text and extend the social analysis—for example, the Ferrand sub-plot and the Lydia Hutchinson story. Féval, though, has very few instances of social comment or even major events which do not derive from or lead directly back into the central Fergus conspiracy.

There is some critique of the police: "a policeman is always a very stupid inutility" says the narrator (72); Stephen McNab finds the only efficient police officer, Robin Cross, both "a sort of living spectre" (264) and very keen to prise money out of him; while in a view of the Wych Street rookery (the base for the criminal "Family") the thieves and the police "live together on perfectly good terms, and evince towards each other those delicate attentions which command reciprocal esteem" (274–5). Though Fergus does have the police

superintendent among his lackeys, he has no ultimate control over the police systems, and so this institution does emerge with some credit. There is a recurrent and inherently republican critique of primogeniture and aristocratic privilege, but the nobility rather surprisingly emerges through Frank Percival and Brian de Lancaster as an English institution which eventually frustrates the poor Irishman who becomes an international aristocrat. As a modern Frenchman Féval is recurrently skeptical about the value of aristocracy, but as a conservative he sees that class's enduring value, as Sue has already done and Reynolds, with a difference, will also do.

Another London institution is presented with some force. The opening scene on the river is a fine piece of melodramatic writing, creating with energy and threat the boisterous villainy of London criminals: "Down the stream the smuggling fleet now steered; the tide ran with them; the oars were plied by vigorous arms, and they soon glided beneath the monumental arches of London bridge" (9). But this strong and elusive group is brought under control when they shortly appear at the warehouse-cum-offices on Cornhill in the City from which Fergus exercises his power as chief of the criminal-controlling "Lords of the Night." They are unruly at first, but they all fall silent as the Marquis himself appears to give out commands and rewards.

Some freestanding set pieces have only tenuous links to the Marquis's mighty plans, like the brutal arranged fight in the pub — Bishop the Burker attends to collect the loser — or when Stephen visits Bishop's own grisly cold-room to check if the MacFarlane sisters might be there. But much of the most memorable action remains linked back, often in secret and surprising ways, to the central narrative and its controlling mind. The Marquis's influence, and that of the plot he controls, is steadily revealed in the fine sequence at Covent Garden. At first onlookers and criminals gather; pick pocketing is rife, with Bob Lantern in the lead, and the Viscount de Lanture–Luces (a version of Sue's Duc de Lucenay) loses both his wallet and his spectacles. The hoi polloi enter the theater, and then the gentry arrive; this is good period reportage, but steadily the filiations with the main plot gather: Paddy O'Chrane, leader in the opening smuggling sequence and a survivor of the escape from Australia, pays the teenage criminal Snail £15 to dress up like a gentleman; in a well-planned move they steal a ring from a royal mistress, and the next day it will be ransomed for the huge sum of £20,000 to swell the treasury for the grand attack on English power. Two other plot strands emerge and interweave here: the beautiful Susannah is on display as the Princesse de Longueville, and receives the stolen ring; she is also visited by Brian de Lancaster, whom she has long loved, ever since he visited her putative father for a loan, but in this scene he is making public fun of his despicable older brother the Earl of White Manor.

The Brian-Susannah strand will run through the story to the end, but

Brian operates here as a comic and anti-aristocratic figure — he hates his brother mostly for taking the whole inheritance, and the author clearly shares this democratic position (84). But Brian's guerrilla war on orthodoxy also distracts attention from the conspirators' operations, and this is basically why Fergus has been funding Brian at £100 a month secretly (even Tyrrel cannot understand it) — though Fergus also knows and respects the fact that Brian was kind to Mary McFarlane. Central is the diverting sequence where Brian rides into Kew Palace to steal an orchid for Susannah, is suspected of an attack on the future Queen's life, and this becomes the talk of London — one newspaper reports an attack with 27 poisoned arrows. Royal sensationalism will recur with Holford in Reynolds, but here it is without the class element or indeed the wretched outcome of that sequence. Brian is identified as a figure of that eccentricity that is given "in England the highest possible value" (85): his behavior is both amusing in its own right and also a distraction that assists Fergus's plans.

The corrupt nature of respectable institutions is explored by Féval more than Sue, but this is not Reynolds's sense of the invisible exploitations of capitalism: corrupt officers and officials are brought together by the single purpose of Fergus and it is the rewards directly stemming from him that are the major attraction for these respectable villains, just like their avatars, the London criminals. When, late in the story, the Countess of Derby uses her political influence to have Brian released from the insane asylum, this is a unique piece of manipulation not controlled by Fergus or one of his agents. But her powers are limited: she is unable to have his death sentence commuted and he has to mount an exciting escape from Newgate, with the guards distracted by the skill and daring of Randal Graham, who gallops down a stairway and manages to avoid breaking his neck.

Another area of direct textual comment is both politically incisive and aligned with Fergus's conspiracy. The narrator recurrently uses a voice that is officially English, speaking of "our last war with France" (222), or more amusingly "our talented countryman and brother writer Mr. Charles Dickens" (243), or even, when speaking of theatrical tastes, how "we detest the French" (65). But this voice is that of an unreliable narrator, because the extra-textual narrator has much to say about the malignity of the English and their institutions.

Some of this critique is simple humor — a jumped-up vulgarian called Sir Marmaduke Twopenny (53) or the genteel, but farcically named, Lady Margaret Waverbembilwoodie (231: the translator's somewhat Anglicized version of the comic French "Wawerwenwilwoowie"). Then there are Anglophobe jibes like the description of the Earl of White Manor as "completely bound up in the armor of English aristocratic egotism" (94), or mockery of the London law courts as "grotesque," with lawyers "who are often as ridiculous as their

costume" (210). More searching is the accusation that London has no real charities, that "there is no pity shown to any sign of distress" (156) or that wife selling was "a barbarous and cowardly custom, known only in England" (424)—both of which assertions are contradicted in a note by the American translator.[14] Criticism can be more generally hostile to real institutions like aristocratic primogeniture, which is seen as "a law, magnificent in its barbarism, which is a portion of the strength but which may become, perhaps, the ruin of Great Britain" (86) or, in the spirit of Napoleon's "shopkeeper" jibe, to English mercantilism: "But even out of business, an Englishman always remains a trafficker. There is something of the usurer about even their lords." This goes on, asserting that "the respect due to the man of millions" is "profoundly engraved on the heart of every Englishman" (232), and later a general hostility is stated: "If England should at last attain the end of her desires, and succeed in governing the whole world, the universe would soon die of spleen" (278).

All this narratorial negativity implicitly supports Fergus's attack on England when he says to Angus:

> "...all here is decayed, worn out and old. Pauperism, environed by vice, extends its withering influence over the whole country. There is no work for the poor: heaps of gold are accumulated, but no bread" [455].

There is evident French approval behind seeing Fergus as "a terrible poet who dreamed of the fall of an empire" (399), and recurrent reference to the excellence of French institutions and practices: "'I am French and live to laugh'" (33) says the "Duchesse de Gêvres," her words having apparent value even though she is really Maudlin Wolf, escaped convict. The Countess of Derby is described physically as having "that beauty which is emphatically denominated English ... the defect of which is perhaps a want of expression," but luckily her "feet were as small as those of a French woman" (63–4) and so she can in part match the standards of the Faubourg St Germain, which is "the first place in the world for meeting lovely women" (75); speaking of true gentlemanly lovers the quasi–English narrator says: "The French emigration sent us, half a century ago, the last models of that race" (256).

The French viewpoint of the text supports the notion that Fergus's plot is in some way a replay of the Napoleonic wars, with the blessing of the Emperor himself. Links between Ireland and France, as Catholic countries hostile to England had long existed, with eighteenth-century features like the "The Wild Geese," Irish aristocrats fleeing English aggression, or the Irish soldiers who served France. The connections gave rise to popular fiction that Thackeray would, characteristically, both ironize and exploit in *Barry Lyndon* (1844: the first edition is a good deal more ironic than the 1856 revision). After the Romantic period there developed a strong French interest in Ireland's

culture as well as its politics. Jacinta Wright has discussed a series of French scholarly and creative works on which Féval builds in *Les Mystères de Londres*.[15] He continued in this vein in his Ireland-based novel *La Quittance de Minuit* (1846), but his treatment is consistently more political than most French Hibernicism. Flora Tristan's comment that there were at least 200,000 Irish in London may also give some credibility, or at least context, to the idea of an Irish coup at the heart of English power.[16] Féval's Breton lineage may be an element in the interest in Irish and Scottish rights and traditions — though they were familiar enough in France — but he is hardly expert: Mary Trevor's cousin is Lady Diana Stewart, an improbable surname for a young woman of what the text tells us is north Welsh origin and who sings Welsh songs to her admiring audience.

The topography of London also exhibits a French viewpoint. It is said, apparently with some basis, that Féval started the story from Paris and when he visited London in the course of it was pleased with what he had done.[17] He has a few locations in mind: the river below London Bridge, the center of the city around the Bank and Cornhill, and the area where the Marquis lives in Belgrave Square, but these are merely addresses for internal action. Only the conspirators' houses at 9 and 10 Wimpole Street are seen in any urban detail, in a lively scene with the nearby newspaper distributors (4chap.1), which then moves to White Manor's nearby house. Some similar urban realism attends the end of the conspiracy, first as Fergus is detained outside his own house and then as the Irish, the criminal Family and the opportunistic rookery dwellers of St Giles gather in Grosvenor Place for their attack on the Palace.

But this is all tourist London, readily available in the thriving genre of city guide-books and contemporary descriptions, as may be the location of Bishop the Burker and other "resurrection men" in the Finsbury Square area north of the City. There is none of the sense that both Sue and Reynolds deliver of the social and professional meanings of different areas, nor any of Reynolds's idea of the extra-city areas and their significance. Lower-class characters are almost never seen at home. Bob Lantern makes one visit to his drunkard wife, but they, like the consumptive 13-year-old prostitute Loo and her teenage brother Snail (both grotesques, as are Loo's fighting husband, Mike, and Snail's giant pipe-smoking wife, Madge), are normally found in the caricatured setting of a pub; unlike the Resurrection Man or even the Schoolmaster, we are never at home with Paddy O'Chrane. This does not mean Féval does not localize his action: Fergus's Maltese follower Bembo sees and loves Anna when she is imprisoned in White Manor's house across the lane from the Marquis's mansion, and there is some detailed coming and going before he rescues her. In the same way the house where Anna and Clara live with their mother in Cornhill is right opposite Edward's headquarters in

the city and here too there is emotive window gazing, as Clara becomes increasingly fixated with the mysterious owner. But in both cases the approach is that of an inter-active theater set, not politicized topography.

Essentially, the city and those other parts of the world that are represented, notably Scotland and Australia, are, like so much in the story, locked into the details of the complex plotting that focuses insistently on Fergus and his extraordinary story. This strength of focus is the single most striking thing about the novel, and it is realized through a very successful literary coherence, developed in spite of the fragmenting influence of the feuilleton form: Féval's structural powers deserve their own consideration and admirations.

Structuring the Plot

Where Sue and Reynolds construct narratives that deploy parallels and contrasts within an embracing frame, Féval does in fact produce what Humpherys called, referring to Reynolds, a "rope narrative" of interwoven strands, and this can be usefully laid out in structural terms (Fig. 7). There are effectively three groups of characters, familial and social affinities which interact and whose survivors are left at the end of the novel. The principal agents of the story are in the affinity led by Fergus/Rio-Santo, supported by his lieutenant Ishmael Spencer/Tyrrel/Sir Edmund Mackenzie, the saturnine Dr. Moore, the group of European friends and agents such as Bembo, Major Borougham. Dr. Mullen (in French, Muller) and the regiment of London criminals with Tyrrel as their colonel and O'Chrane as sergeant-major. The corrupt London professionals, the overseas contacts like Prince Tolstoy, the Czar's untrustworthy ambassador to London, are attached more loosely to this potent group of villains — or, to take a Napoleonic viewpoint — heroes.

The second grouping is led by Angus MacFarlane, and includes his vulnerable nieces, his nephew Stephen, Stephen's friend Frank, Frank's fiancée and her noble relatives. They have some supporters like the impoverished Irishman Donnor of Ardagh, who plays a major role at the end: he could be seen as a reflex of Fergus himself, redeemed for English hegemony by the liberal kindness of Stephen McNab. People in this group often suffer from the actions of the Fergus group, both physically and mentally: Mary is distressed and then cataleptic; Frank is wounded and outraged; Anna and Clara are both seriously brutalized, though in Anna's case Fergus is only indirectly guilty, as her abduction is as a victim of Bob Lantern's personal criminality, not part of the political scheme. But this group is also generous: Clara and Anna gave money to the destitute Susannah, and she recalls this as she rescues each of them; Stephen's generosity to Donnor makes him an extremely useful

Groupings in Féval's London

The Marquis and Supporters	The Opposition	The Counter-Opposition (at times Marquis supporters)
Fergus O'Brian/Marquis of Rio-Santo	Angus MacFarlane	Earl of White Manor
Ishmael Spencer/Tyrrel/ Sir Edmund	? McNab	Brian de Lancaster
Dr. Moore	Stephen McNab	Mary MacFarlane
Bembo	Frank Percival	Susannah Spencer/Princess de Longueville
Prince Tolstoy	Clara MacFarlane	Paterson
Gentry friends and agents	Anna MacFarlane	Ishmael Spencer
Paddy O'Chrane	Donnor	Reoboham
Randal Graham	Lord Trevor	
Maudlin Wolf/Duchesse de Grêves (etc.)	Lady Campbell	
Bob Lantern	Mary Trevor	
London criminals	Diana Stewart	
London corrupt professionals	Countess of Derby	

Fig. 7. Character groups in Féval's Londres.

ally in the final action. Frank and Stephen, though nervous and sometimes even suspicious of each other, remain honorable: they seek redress through the authorities, not personal violence like everybody else, and this process will eventually defeat Fergus and his mighty plot. Angus is both laird of this honorable family and also by persuasion an accomplice of Fergus, whom he both hates and loves, and he remains a divided figure of great power: he eventually rejoins his own group by turning against Fergus, foiling his plot and indirectly causing his death. He is more directly ferocious when he kills the innkeepers who mistreated his nieces. But he too will be destroyed by the contradictory forces of the two groups: as he identifies Fergus he feels like Judas, and in a final act of remorse drowns himself in the Thames — in spite of being a very strong swimmer.

The third group is the White Manor family: the Earl, his brother, and Susannah, who turns out to be the Earl's daughter. Ishmael has a role as Susannah's foster father here before he transfers to Fergus's group as Tyrrel/Sir Edmund. There are other contacts, positive and negative, between the groups: Susannah herself rescues Clara from Dr. Moore, and while White Manor is Fergus's opponent as both a rival for Mary and a brutal aristocrat, it is Tyrrel

who, for £4,000, enables the Earl to imprison his brother in an insane asylum towards the end (presumably so the conspirators can maintain control of Susannah). Brian's love of Susannah might seem to place him against Fergus, but he fails to save her from the Wimpole Street house where they are effectively keeping her prisoner, and his hostility to his brother usefully covers some of the conspirators' activities, as at the opera.

The coherence of Féval's overall structure is the more impressive when it is noted that although his text is not half as long as Sue's in words, a synopsis, written in the same mode as that of Sue and Reynolds, turns out almost as long as theirs. Féval offers nearly as many events, and fewer scenes with little action. The very long conversation between Brian and Susannah (2chaps.8–23), overheard by Tyrrel and, when she is not sleeping, by Maudlin Wolf, is rich with retrospective narrative, especially about Ishmael Spencer's history and the mysterious medallion that conceals Susannah's origin: the sequence is quite unlike the elaborate conversations with which Sue and Reynolds sometimes fill out their pages.

Another remarkable source of coherence in *Les Mystères de Londres* is the very short period of time which actually elapses in the action. This is increasingly obscured by the extensive flashbacks which occur as first Susannah, then Frank and Stephen tell their own backstories and in Volume 4 the narrative itself goes back to establish just what Fergus and indeed Angus and White Manor had done before the action starts in a November of about 1833. There is early on the gap of one week when Angus recovers after trying to rescue his nieces, but apart from that the action proceeds in what seems like eight days, until the six-week wait after Fergus's conviction. In that condensed period Féval works carefully through each day, running action often late into the night and beginning it again very early the next morning. With some pride he notes his achievement: "up to this time, our history has continually revolved in the narrow circle of one week" (353)—but then, with some apology, he has to start the sequence of major flashbacks that will explain Fergus and his story.

If the plot, its present and its multiple past, is the major focus for Féval, this leaves little room for the kinds of humor that Sue develops with the Pipelets and Reynolds deploys through Whittingham and the darker comedy of some criminal scenes. There is a little genteel farce through the Viscount de Lanture–Luces, and some unsubtle humor attends the semi-diabolic figure of Bob Lantern as when posing, in costume, as a Scots friend of Angus, or gulling tourists: with some feeling the text tells how when offered a shilling for telling a Frenchman where St Paul's is, he just points a hundred paces away. Brian's assaults on his brother's dignity have some bitter humor and there is a final wry joke that the skeleton of Saunders, found years later beneath the Bank, will be thought a mastodon and his gin jar an ancient amphora.

Féval deploys neither the poetic nor song fillers that Reynolds uses, beyond Angus's plaintive ballad about the loss of two Scottish maidens, and he does not match the romantic and moralistic elaborations that Sue develops, especially from Fleur-de-Marie and Rigolette. Nor is there linguistic variation: he gestures towards Sue's use of argot when at the Crewe Castle feast they speak in "a species of slang language" (291)—but without examples. The most striking absence is the moral, social and political direct commentary that Sue was famous for and that Reynolds presented in substantially elaborated form. For Féval the corrupt professionals and uncontrolled criminals are all merely elements in the action, not structures to be analyzed and evaluatively assessed, with recommendations for improvement and reform. When there are socially relevant footnotes in Féval, they are not citations of data in support of the arguments but comments by the American translator suggesting that the author has been inaccurate in his criticism of England.

A Tale of Three Cities

Paul Féval would go on to write very successful novels: *Le Bossu* (1857) is a classic of what the French call an adventure with "cape and sword," with the avenging hero disguised as a hunchback, and it has remained a favorite, especially with film makers; *Les Habits Noirs* (1863–75) becomes a multi-novel series about and against villainous conspiracies (including later on a version of *Les Mystères de Londres*) and *Jean-Diable* (1862–3) is with some credibility regarded as the first formal detective novel.[18] It was set in London, and Féval also returned to the theme of England versus Ireland seen from a cool French viewpoint in *La Quittance de Minuit* (1846) and *Les Ouvriers de Londres* (1848).

Féval long combined the flair for fanciful material and elegantly condensed plotting that he first revealed in *Les Mystères de Londres*, where he had the rare distinction to match and in some ways surpass the achievements of Sue and Reynolds. French in language and often attitudes, especially in its underlying hostility to England and its political and social institutions, *Les Mystères de Londres* suggests that for all his apparent ignorance of the country when he started, Féval had read widely in French treatments of their neighbor and rival.

But while his London is far from Paris, it is still in no way like the London of Egan, Lytton or Dickens in the near past or Reynolds, Thackeray and again Dickens in the near future. The topography is touristic; the politics are essentially Gallic; this and the lack of any real sense of British class conflict and class resistance, or any radical tradition beyond Irish nationalism, bespeak the fact that this is not really the English London. What Féval produced, deploying what Baudelaire called his gifts "for the grotesque and the terrible,"[19] was a

brilliant realization of the French concept of *Londres*, a city which was to them interesting, intriguing, even appalling, both overcrowded and undermanaged, without that dominating power of centralization that still both fascinates and outrages the French. It is an exotic but ultimately gratifying Parisian Other, a foreign locale of self-validation which is still a central feature of the tourist experience, and a formation which Dickens would reverse in the Paris of his *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859).

The three cities of Paris, Londres and London gave the international mysteries of the cities genre a tremendously energetic and compelling start in 1842–5: here in varying degrees were crimes from petty to enormous in scale; nobilities of both birth and simple honesty; degradations and self-renewals; bourgeois malice and professional probity; urban decay and social reconstruction; European self-obsession and world wide possibilities; sadistic cruelty and gentle cooperation; love; courage; hate; lunacy; corruption beyond control; and purity beyond defilement.

And all of that in absolutely modern cities, with palaces, cellars, dark streets, grand prospects, threatening rivers, lighted windows, prisons, asylums, courts for kings and courts for criminals. If Gothic inwardness, Scott's pastness, Cooper's expansiveness had excited early nineteenth-century readers with the distant, the exotic, the imaginary possibilities of the human consciousness and unconsciousness, as modernity became more pressingly present, for good and ill, the Mysteries of the Cities genre reversed that mechanism of displacement and spoke potently of the threats, fears, hopes and possibilities of the absolutely present world. Because of that challenging immediacy, it was no wonder that the ordinary reader was transfixed, nor indeed that the established, comfortable writer did not want to be involved in such troublesome and troubling material. But around the world there were new and young writers who saw the point, and accepted the challenge, and located the Mysteries of the Cities in their own time, their own concerns, and above all their own cities.

4

The Philadelphia Version: George Lippard's *The Quaker City*

Across the Delaware

At the climax of *The Quaker City*, on Christmas Eve two men, one tall and handsome, one short and agitated, hurry down to the river at the end of fashionable Walnut Street in Philadelphia. They have missed the ferry across to Camden and beyond that Baltimore, but a fisherman agrees to take them across. As they are about to leave, two others join them, a tall, elderly, dignified Quaker and a heavily muffled man with a few locks of white hair and a voice "harsh and shrill" (564). It is very cold; the clouds are very heavy and, though it is just before sunset, "a dense gloom covered the face of the waters" (564). It begins to snow.

As they come to land in New Jersey, a red sun breaks out and the river "quivered in floods of voluptuous light" (564). The tall handsome man stands up, "the incarnation of manly glory and pride," and mutters, "The prophecy is false." The heavily muffled man throws away his cap and white hair and speaks in an "awful and deliberate" way: "In the name of Mary Arlington — die!" He shoots the tall man, then, kneeling, shouts, "Here is blood, warm, warm, aye, warm and gushing." Finally he cries, "This, this is the vengeance of a Brother" (564).

George Lippard, said one early commentator, "daubed all his canvases red,"[1] and this is the full-blown climax, both dramatic and melodramatic, to a story of crime, passion, corruption and vengeance, set in an America that is falling far short of its ideals. The old Quaker must represent the noble spirit of Penn himself; and the journey into New Jersey surely recalls Washington's winter crossing of this same part of the Delaware, his crucial first move towards

founding the American Republic. But the boatman is more like Charon ferrying people over the Styx, and much of the story has shown how people like Lorrimer, the tall man, and even the muffled avenger, Arlington, have turned the city of brotherly love — the meaning of Philadelphia in Greek, as Penn well knew — into something like a modern hell.

Like Sue's *Mystères*, George Lippard's novel was issued in monthly parts, from August 1844 to May 1845, but without the previous daily feuilleton publication. It is both the first response to Sue's initiative outside France and also the first American fiction to deal in detail with the complexity and corruptions of the modern city. Though there had been a certain amount of American urban fiction, as David Reynolds shows,[2] its modes were basically romantic, either stories of love and marriage or the adventures of a troubled hero, as in the Philadelphia-set *Arthur Mervyn* (1799) by Charles Brockden Brown, whom Lippard admired. The *Quaker City* story absorbs the marital romance — with its opposite in betrayal and seduction — and the troubled-hero story also weaves through the pages, but Lippard is clearly also responding to his own radical, anti-corruption instincts, and generally to the model that Sue had provided of a massive interwoven set of narratives capturing the dangers and anxieties of life in the contemporary great city.

Far from Paris

A clever boy of German-American origin, rejecting what he felt to be the hypocrisy of a Methodist training school, Lippard came to Philadelphia at 15, drifted into journalism and worked on Philadelphia's *The Spirit of the Times* (its slogan was "Democratic and Fearless"), where, with a prophetic mission, he wrote "fictionalization of police news."[3] His ambitions to write on a larger scale led to novels like the historical romance, with some horror and much emotion, *The Ladye Annabel, or The Doom of the Poisoner* (1842), and he seemed set in the mode of Ainsworth and Hugo to deal sensually and sensationally with the past. He was contemptuous of much low-level sentimental modernity, but he greatly admired, and was genuinely supportive of, that other young Philadelphia writer Edgar Allan Poe. Some of Lippard's satires of other writers, and his own early moves towards Gothic melodrama, have a flavor of diluted Poe, [4] but reading Sue must have made him see how to condense his daily work and his political anger with his very substantial literary aspirations.

His own preface to *The Quaker City* reveals Lippard's own dualism, a version of Sue's stance as both traditionalist and liberal. He starts by saying he was himself "the only Protector of an Orphan Sister" (1): the capital letters

and the sentiment bespeak melodramatic moralism; the story immediately looks towards "the seduction of a poor and innocent girl," combining sensual sensationalism with a self-validating sense of moral rectitude. But, unlike Sue with La Goualeuse, he immediately generalizes the sexual threat, promising to address "all the phases of a corrupt social system as manifested in this city of Philadelphia" (2). He goes on — as Reynolds will at the end of his second volume — to insist that his text is "destitute of any idea of sensuality," and then speaks almost as a literary sociologist, linking his mission to the material present of "the social system of this large city in the Nineteenth Century" (2).

Having laid out his strategy both moral and political, and his appeal both sensual and satirical, he then nods to his substantial literary ambition with an opening frame straight from Scott: the young author has through his legal work met an aging, honest lawyer, who passes on to him his files of 30 years that reveal "vice in high places," "gilded crimes" and "how miserable and corrupt is that pseudo–Christianity" (4) in the city. So the author can head towards an exposé of "the life, the mystery and crime of Philadelphia" (5) — which was in some editions deployed as an additional subtitle.

This is as close as Lippard comes to using Sue's title — most American followers in the "Mysteries of the Cities" genre would just replace Paris with another place-name. As he started his serialization, Lippard went for the deeply Gothic, even Poe-like, title *The Monks of Monk-Hall*, foregrounding the story's central location of crime and vice, as well as deploying the memory of "Monk" Lewis's *succès de scandale*. But when the novel was complete, and no doubt bearing in mind its overall allegorical critique, as well as the symbolic Quaker in the final scene, he gave it the powerfully referential and deeply ironic title *The Quaker City* — he appears to have been the first to use this name for Philadelphia.[5] Under that brand-name, and through its social critique, both potent and sensational, it sold and sold: Michael Davitt Bell reports sales approaching 200,000 in five years, involving 27 editions by 1849.[6]

If Lippard appears to have deliberately avoided referencing Sue in his title, the original back wrapper likened his work to Sue but claimed precedence as having been worked on for 20 years: Samuel Otter comments it "is more likely that Lippard asserts priority to avoid the charge of imitation."[7] In structuring his complex story he appears, like Féval, to have both accepted and also reversed Sue's patterns, sometimes because his American context required that, and sometimes because of his different approach. His own reversal is the opposite of Féval's: there is no single central conspiracy in *The Quaker City* and while class is a recurrent issue, and race is sometimes a theme, Fergus O'Brian's kind of dynamic resistance is never approached, nor even spread across a number of characters. What is shared with Sue and his successors is the idea of a multiple narrative where the plot strands are contiguous and

sometimes overlapping; where the locations of events are set with some care across the city; and where different characters represent different versions and intensities of the forces of conflict that underlie the modern city. That is, like Lippard's story itself, the city is projected as a complex set of interactions, mysteries and desires, with the forces of order and law strained to their limits to try to bring some elements of order.

As his initial title indicated, and as a number of modern critics like to emphasize — to the obscuration of the actual citywide nature of the story and its meaning — the place called Monk Hall is where almost all the characters appear and where the plot strands are all in some way enacted or influenced. Described like that, it sounds like 17 Rue du Temple enhanced, and there are other links to Sue, if often those of reversal. Where Rodolphe was the central figure in the Rue du Temple, intervening for good in almost everybody's affairs, and with his own plot strand about a missing daughter who would be found and, it is hoped, redeemed, Lippard creates a focal figure who is in every way Rodolphe's opposite. A poor ill-educated boy, who grew up through his own energy into crime, is the doorkeeper and more of Monk Hall — he admits people, supervises their activities, avenges on them his disapproval, and sometimes rewards them for his rare approval. "Devil-Bug" refers to a type of moth, and both the folkloric cognomen and his full name, Abijah K. Jones, suggest a southerner — he is helped by two strong, often cheerful, former slaves (with perhaps a glance here towards Sue's Dr. David). His involvement in the action and his reactions to it will be discussed later, but relevant here is not only that he is in many ways the manager of the story, like Rodolphe, and has a secure base for social interaction, also like Rodolphe, but he even turns out also to be the father in a "lost child" story.

Through the complexities and linkages of Lippard's plotting, attention is steadily drawn to a young woman we first know as Mabel. Papers are found relating to Mabel, or Ellen as she also seems to be called; she has an apparent father, the Rev. Pyne, and an alleged actual father, a rich if somewhat unstable businessman, Albert Livingstone. But through an intermediary, Luke Harvey, who plays a role somewhat like an amateur detective, though he too is far from perfect, we discover that Livingstone actually fathered the girl's slightly older sister, and when the mother took refuge in Monk Hall, Devil-Bug fell in love with her, and he himself was Mabel/Ellen's father: in lost child mode, father and daughter share a birthmark (332). In the final stage of the story he emerges as her ferocious protector against various degrading exploiters, and he dies having satisfied himself that she will live in good style; in fact she inherits money and, renamed Izolé, emerges at the end as the wife of Luke, as close as this dark story comes to an acceptable male.

So Devil-Bug appears to be an almost meticulous reversal of Rodolphe,

with all his functions in place but turned upside down — even being able to save his lost daughter, which the Prince could not achieve. Such a radical but surely not accidental relationship with *Les Mystères de Paris* has not been noted by Lippard critics, being like so many others not familiar with Sue's story, but the connection seems to go no further than this. Fitz-Cowles, the strong-willed fraudster who claims to be a wealthy gentleman businessman, has claims to an English title, and is the lover of the beautiful Dora Livingstone, whose hostile husband eventually dies, might just be seen as a partial reversal of Rodolphe in his relations with Mme. d'Harville, but the fraudster figure is already well-known in American fiction and Dora, herself from lower-class stock, is both more aggressive and more available than Mme. d'Harville might ever be. Equally, while Fitz-Cowles in his business activities clearly overlaps some of Ferrand's dubious territory, he is by no means alone in this — Dora's husband is a less than creditable businessman and worse are the clutch of unpalatable media magnates who hang around the town: here, as with fraudsters, America has its own sources.

If Lippard's context rather than Sue's story provides most of the models for the personnel, there is a shared interest in criminal milieux. At the bottom levels of Monk Hall, filthy cellars and cells are reached through trapdoors, and there is an underground stream, resembling Sue's dangerous cellars filling with river water and worse. However, this is a familiar routine — Stout describes Monk Hall as "among the sinister castles of gothic tradition"[8] — and it seems better to see the two as having a common source, and one that Reynolds will share. It is curious that the closest parallel to Monk Hall is the massive development underground at Crewe Castle in Féval's *Mystères de Londres*. The *Courrier français* was known in America and even had early imitators there, and while there is no sign Lippard was familiar with French, he had friends, including Poe, who could have explained the story to him: it began to appear before Lippard published. However, the likelihood is that Lippard has developed a version of the Gothic castle in local urban form, with distinctly un–American aspects — it was probably founded by "a wealthy Englishman" and then may have been a Catholic monastery (47).

Lippard's own lost child story is closer to Féval's than Sue's in a number of ways (like Susannah, Mabel has fallen among criminals, has an exotic re-location, and will survive), and other instances of contiguity between the texts will be mentioned later in the context of style. But overlaps were not rare among these authors: several of Lippard's projections of the mysteries model will look remarkably like those certainly developed separately, and a little later, by Reynolds — notably the mix of the sensual and the radical, the interest in urban business corruption, the role found for distressed workers, the sense of a deeply unregenerate criminal class, and perhaps most strikingly the similarity

in fraudulent manipulation between Fitz-Cowles and Mortimer Greenwood. Lippard and Reynolds, both radical populist writers, could think remarkably alike in a number of ways; Sue himself and even Féval were at times not far away from them.

While there seems an underlying conscious reversal by Lippard of the pattern of authority that Sue transmitted, converting Rodolphe into Devil-Bug, it seems that the rest of Lippard's story came from his own teeming imagination, powerfully connected as it was to the dynamic, dramatic, strongly conflicted and under-controlled massive conurbation that was contemporary Philadelphia — and like the other Mysteries of the Cities this story is itself happening in absolute modernity: it is Christmas 1842.

The Changing Quaker City

For long the largest city in America — not surpassed in size by New York until around 1820 — a major port for both goods and immigration up and down the east coast and across the Atlantic, the main hub and interchange between the rural South and the increasingly industrial and commercial North, Philadelphia was, Larzer Ziff comments, "the first city to show the stresses of American urban life."[9] Much of this development was parallel to that of Paris and London: its population increased hugely in the first half of the nineteenth century. Inwards migration from rural areas was very substantial, especially during the serious depression from 1837 to 1842, the problems of which were exacerbated as the city was after 1830 losing trade to New York, Boston and Baltimore.[10] But unlike the European cities, Philadelphia also grew massively from overseas. Notable incomers in the 1840s were Irish avoiding desperate circumstances at home: by 1850 there were 80,000 in the city, 20 percent of its population[11]; the long-established Dutch and German communities continued to grow at a lesser rate. All of this immigration was fueled not only by difficult economic circumstances in Europe but also by the technological advances that made social mobility so much easier, with steamships crossing the Atlantic and ranging the American coast, and the equally new railway, which came into Market Street Station, Philadelphia, by 1838.[12]

The effect of such urban growth was, as elsewhere, communal disintegration: David Reynolds comments that in Philadelphia people "lost social knowledge and physical contact with each other for the first time."[13] But where in Paris and London the forces of alienation were primarily social and mercantile and criminality thrived in that new anomie, in Philadelphia and America in general there were other even more powerful forces of separation, which easily led to dissent and disorder. Its geographical position as well as its Quaker

and liberal traditions made Philadelphia the obvious center for the growing movement for the abolition of slavery, and also for former slaves themselves. By 1830 about 10 percent of the population were African Americans, many of them freeborn, but there was also a substantial number of former slaves who had been freed or had freed themselves and their families.[14] White support for the abolitionist movement came from Quakers and liberals, but it also faced resistance, which at times expressed itself in demonstrations and threats: in May 1838 occurred the notorious burning of the abolitionist headquarters, Philadelphia Hall. White versus black riots and communal violence followed for a decade. African Americans were often threatened with violence and fire: at times they organized resistance and at others were driven from their neighborhoods. The racist marauders were often in effect supported by the authorities, who were usually slow and inefficient in restoring order, and if the aggressors were arrested, which was unusual, they were very rarely convicted.

Parallel communal disorder was generated by the influx of Irish workers, many into the weaving trade — by the 1840s Philadelphia was "the most highly industrialized city in the nation."[15] They were resisted by some of the previous white residents who felt jobs were under threat, and Philadelphia became in the 1840s a center for what is called "Nativism" and "Native Americans" — at this time meaning American-born whites, not the indigenous people who were later to use the term. This led to some serious rioting: like the African Americans, the Irish fought back with some success, though the authorities still tended to side with the white "Natives." Major communal battles took place, like those during the weavers' strike of 1842 and the serious Irish-native encounters in 1844. The major anti-black attacks took place in Southwark, the poor and industrial southern part of the city, and some anti–Irish attacks took place there as well. Nash sums up his account by saying that from 1838 to 1844 there occurred "the worst violence in Philadelphia's history."[16]

Lippard lived through these stark times, and like Sue and Reynolds he is aware of the political issues involved. He first dedicated his work to Augustine Duganne, a prolific local novelist and Fourierist, and while he switched his dedication to Charles Brockden Brown after finishing the book, perhaps because he now wanted to claim literary status, he remained very respectful of Fourier, writing in 1849 that his work "*harmonizes* Capital and Labor" (his emphasis).[17] He also later stressed his political admiration of Sue, just elected to the Paris Assembly, commenting: "He has said to wealth your superfluity is a crime — and to Poverty your Right is Labor and the full fruits of Labor."[18]

The story's politics have direct material sources. Lippard sets Monk Hall in Southwark, where occurred much of the racist violence against African Americans and Irish, and he discusses church-burning mobs and poor workers under pressure. The central figures of Gus Lorrimer and his avenger Byrnewood

Arlington are based on a notorious recent event in high and corrupt Philadelphia society. On February 20, 1843, Singleton Mercer shot and killed Mahlon Hutchinson Herberton on the Delaware ferry, because he had seduced Mercer's sister. In a famous trial he was acquitted: his attorney had pleaded insanity, but the verdict expressed consent to his action.

Using this event to open and end his story, Lippard weaves in between a complex set of narratives that cross the classes of Philadelphia society, reveal corruption and crime as the product of selfish aspiration, and oppose to this malign force not the conservative liberalism of Sue, nor yet the bold, if simplistic, Wealth-Poverty opposition that Reynolds will offer, but a more complex, subtle strategy suggesting that at least some people can control the worst in themselves and form some kind of coalition against social evil — though the prospect of true order and equity remains doubtful and the great aspirations of Penn and Washington remain a distant, possibly unrecoverable, ideal.

Monk Hall and Beyond

Monk Hall is a crucial location in the story, earning the first title of the novel. It obviously has links to the Gothic: Ehrlich calls it "a contemporary castle."[19] But in American literary terms it is not backward-looking: David Reynolds comments that to select such a site is itself a "studied reversal of domestic fiction" in that Monk Hall is "the hellish opposite of the home of domestic fiction."[20] The role of Monk Hall in the story is complex. Michael Denning called it "a figurative reduction of Philadelphia,"[21] but its function operates outwards rather than inwards. Ziff sees this as an operational vision, "a metaphor of the city and its connections," with a functional impact: "[w]hat goes on in Monk Hall directly affects the way in which the masses of Philadelphia are manipulated."[22] Almost all of the plot threads pass through Monk Hall or are directly affected by events and relationships occurring there. The narrator tells us who is there, celebrating orgiastically: lawyers, doctors, judges, a parson, a magazine editor and proprietors, tradesmen, merchants, married men, hopeful sons, clerks, poets, authors and gamblers (55–6). It is a list of Philadelphia's hegemony, with a sting at the end: Lippard had little time for most writers, so sets them beside gamblers.

Activating these characters and their moral and political meanings, the novel's complex narrative has by two thoughtful commentators, David Reynolds and J. V. Ridgely,[23] been separated into three main plots:

> The Gus Lorrimer/Mary Arlington seduction plot and its outcome in her brother's murder of her seducer.
>
> The interaction of Dora Livingstone, her husband, her present lover, the fraudster Fitz-Cowles (the social leader at Monk Hall), and her former lover, Luke Harvey.

The complex between Mabel, her putative father, the Rev. Pyne, her actual father, Devil-Bug, her admirer and eventual husband, Luke Harvey, and her proposed seducer (apart from Pyne), Ravoni the self-proclaimed prophet, finally stabbed by Devil-Bug.

Ridgely also sees five related sub-plots: these essentially extend or service the action in the three main plots, and these interactions help weave the story together.

Emily Walraven, now called Bess, helps Gus seduce Mary, having herself been seduced at Monk Hall and stayed there as a procuress, but she will recant, to rescue Mary, help Luke rescue Arlington, and eventually die, perhaps by her own hand, at her father's grave.

Luke Harvey has been Dora's lover in the past, works for her husband and advises both, Dora more personally; he operates as an investigator against Fitz-Cowles, helps Bess rescue Arlington, and is also involved in uncovering the mystery of Mabel, who becomes his wife (Luke's story could be seen as a fourth main plot, but his major activities are secondary involvements across all of the three main plot strands).

Fitz-Cowles is behind the $100,000 fraud against Livingstone's firm, which Luke also investigates, and his tool in this, Von Gelt, is (with some difficulty) hanged on his instructions by Devil-Bug; Fitz-Cowles is finally revealed as Juan Larode, the illegitimate son of a Creole slave and a "great personage," either "a Canadian statesman, or a British lord, or a Mexican prince" (533)—powers potentially hostile to American interests (his name suggests the last: the implication in his alias that he might be the son of a cowled monk is presumably a playful semi–Gothic touch).

The only basically separate sub-plot is in the chapter early in Book 4, which tells the story of the starving mechanic who is refused charity by a Bank President, goes home to his destitute daughter and her illegitimate child, and cuts his throat. By a stark moral coincidence, the Bank President has a heart attack in the street outside, is brought in and dies. But even this links to a main plot strand, and the connection is given by Ridgely as the fifth sub-plot.

After his escape from Monk Hall Arlington wanders into the mechanic's house and recognizes the mother as Annie, the girl he himself seduced and abandoned. After the revenge-murder and his acquittal they will be finally together in an idyllic Wyoming setting, with his still bemused sister and their mother.

Complex and multiple as the action is in the three main plots, they are all focused on different particular areas of social corruption that Lippard wants to attack: the Lorrimer/Arlington plot deals primarily with the use of male power and wealth by "a corrupt libertine" (84) to seduce innocent women and destroy their lives; the Dora/Livingstone/Fitz-Cowles plot deals primarily with business corruption and social pretensions; the Mabel/Pyne/Devil-Bug/Ravoni plot focuses on religious hypocrisy and its chain of damaging corruptions. That all of these involve exploitation of women is both an occasion for and also a justification of the recurrent presentation of women under threat, with heaving bosoms, and male sexual violence promised.

The Lorrimer plot opens and closes the book by linking masculine bullying of women to social corruption. The opening scene is at the heart of Philadelphia and its grand traditions. Tall, muscular, with "a brilliant dark eye," a "slightly aquiline nose" and a "massive gold-headed cane" (6), Gustavus Lorrimer is the American equivalent of a European Prince. He even has a court of entertainers, one "pursy" with a "pear-shaped nose," one "a little man" (5), and one unknown to him. They are out late at night enjoying the center of the city but also through their drunken visions of it — a double steeple and a mobile fireplug — expressing their own distorted relations with urban reality. This is projected morally as they cross classes into an oyster-cellar dive and Lorrimer makes a bet with his new friend, whose name he thinks is Byrnewood, that the "creature" he will take in a "pretended marriage" at three that morning is a lady, not, as "Byrnewood" thinks and bets, "some 'slewer'" (14).

The arrogant corruption of the wealthy Lorrimer, the apparent connivance of Arlington (who is in the import business), the degraded support of the "pursy" Colonel Mutchins, hanger-on of wealth and power, and the small Sylvester J. Petriken, corrupt newspaper editor: these features sketch the nature and misdirection of the highest echelons of power in the American city. They all go to the dark pleasure palace of Monk Hall where Mutchins and Petriken, with the procuress Nancy (a "vile old hag," 76), pretend to be a wedding party and Lorrimer woos his notional bride, Mary Arlington: relations are fraudulent throughout. As the fake ceremony is in progress Arlington rushes forward, and Mary shrieks, "MY BROTHER" (96) (see Fig. 8). Arlington is shocked, and Lorrimer too. But Devil-Bug, here a criminal supporting villainous gentry like the Schoolmaster and the Resurrection Man, knocks out and imprisons Arlington. Lorrimer tries to enchant Mary with talk of rural bliss and her brother's consent. She sees in him "an evil spirit" and begs him to stop, but he rapes her; the watching Devil-Bug is amused; the narrator calls it an "unpardonable crime" (133).

Dishonesty, manipulative power and inauthenticity run through this whole opening sequence — and the narrative devalues the future brother-avenger, because as he has walked towards the oyster cellar with Lorrimer he reads a letter from "Annie," begging to meet him. He ignores her message and Lorrimer will not fail to chivvy him (100–1), both for his own mistreatment of women — Annie is a serving girl pregnant by Arlington — and for his complicity in his sister's seduction when he calmly placed a bet on the event.

Lorrimer throughout will be seen as a failed ideal: Lippard tells us there are really two Lorrimers, "a careless, dashing handsome fellow" and his "inner man," the skillful and dedicated seducer who called himself "Lorraine Lorrimer"

Opposite: **Fig. 8. The original allegorical jacket of Lippard's *The Quaker City*, 1844.**

GREATEST AMERICAN ROMANCE EVER PUBLISHED.

COMPLETE IN TWO VOLUMES.

THE QUAKER CITY.

PHILADELPHIA

by Geo. Lippard, Esq.

THE AUTHOR'S REVISED EDITION.

Philadelphia:

T. B. PETERSON & BROTHERS, 306 CHESTNUT STREET.

VOLUME ONE. PRICE FIFTY CENTS.

☞ WE ADVISE ALL PERSONS TO READ CAREFULLY THE THREE OTHER PAGES OF THIS COVER.

(89), the name the never-awakened Mary will use of him to her dismal end. He is open to regret — when he and Arlington hear the Astrologer prophesy that one will kill the other, he "stood silent, thoughtful, pale as death" with a message "of warning spoken to the soul" (32); after the rape he is "[s]tricken with remorse" (146) and is aware of the "sudden derangement of intellect" that has haunted his family since they arrived with Penn himself (147). He suddenly foresees his doom on a blood red river (148), but Devil-Bug arrives and Lorrimer returns to his normal mix of authority and corruption, setting in motion a plot to imprison both Arlington and his sister at Monk Hall.

Sexual malpractice mediated through power and deceit, with the support of the city's hangers-on, is also the pattern in the second main plot strand. It starts with Fitz-Cowles being suspected by Luke of involvement in a $100,000 fraud against the business he works for, owned by Livingstone. At the same time Luke has evidence in a dropped letter to show that Dora, a lower-class girl on the way up, who has discarded Luke for marriage to the wealthy Livingstone — she suffers from "the Canker of Ambition" (250) — is herself having an affair with Fitz-Cowles, believing his stories about being wealthy and heir to an English title (he has forged documents to prove it). Luke takes Livingstone to Monk Hall and shows him the guilty pair in bed but prevents their murder, saying they deserve worse. Livingstone merely takes evidence, two locks of hair cut off with Fitz-Cowles's own Bowie knife, a weapon that suggests his rough background.

This plot strand develops the roles of both the illicit lovers. We see Fitz-Cowles in a comic series preening himself with his black boy-servant Dim — Endymion, in the higher register that Fitz-Cowles pretends to inhabit — then with comic cunning he outwits his business partners in a scene that is not outshone by Reynolds's representation of Greenwood's business operations. Fitz-Cowles is assisted by Von Gelt, a hunchback called "the Jew," whose name may also refer to the well-known New York and Philadelphia business family of Dutch origin Van Pelt. Though he is the recipient of racist responses, rather than being an anti–Semitic stereotype he is spirited and brave, and it takes all Devil-Bug's cunning and force to fulfill Fitz-Cowles's order to hang him down in the pit in the bowels of Monk Hall.

This plot strand is recurrently hyperbolic: Dora agrees to elope with Fitz-Cowles, and is equipped with a male costume for the purpose, much like Reynolds's Eliza and Ellen. But when Luke threatens to expose her, she uses the costume to go in disguise to Monk Hall and arrange with Devil-Bug to have Luke murdered. This fails — the seduced girl turned procurer Bess saves him: she says, "I've sold myself to shame, but not to Murder!" (108). So Luke is able to witness the first grand climax of the story as Livingstone, aware of Dora's treachery, takes her off to his estate in New Jersey, named Hawkwood

(and occasionally Hawkewood). A Gothic tone flourishes: they are followed by a coffin which bears her name; he poisons her, taunts her with the antidote, but withholds it, then appears to mutilate her body (which is perhaps not dead). Much more happens: Luke arrives in time to fight and wound Fitz-Cowles in a vengeful duel in the chapel; Devil-Bug, planning to help his daughter be adopted by Livingstone for a better life, arrives and sets fire to both the chapel and house; Livingstone dies a hellish death there. He is a man who might seem more sinned against than sinning, but he has been from the start ferocious and merciless, with "dark and fearful elements of his being" (37), and is revealed towards the end as actually the heir to an English title — not a position of value in this context.

Against this startling sequence, in volatility and violence quite beyond anything Sue or Reynolds venture, the third plot strand seems rather reflective. We first meet Mabel as a mysterious fugitive at the house of Mrs. Smolby, an elderly fence, who thinks the girl is Von Gelt's accomplice in the theft of a valuable watch (205). Luke is very attracted to her — he is, it appears, Mrs. Smolby's nephew and she, it also eventually appears, is Mabel's grandmother, so they are cousins (in presumably accidental similarity to Poe and his bride, Virginia). Mabel has been brought up by the Reverend F.A.T. Pyne (Lippard is not above childish jokes), a grotesque figure of religious hypocrisy: Shelley Sheeby describes him as "a hypocritical nativist."[24] In several scenes at his church Catholicism is attacked with the venom and self-satisfaction of the "Nativist" onslaught on the Irish. Pyne is in part modeled on Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk, who in 1844 was proceeded against for interfering with a woman worshiper (his brother Henry, Bishop of Pennsylvania, was at the same time under investigation for drunkenness).

Clerical satire is politicized when an old man who was a boy soldier under Washington says we need missionaries not abroad but here at home, to deal with our own "hideous moral sores" (268), but he is abused as a Catholic and ejected from the meeting. Pyne's hypocrisy gets worse: he lusts after the girl who thinks he is her father, and having inveigled her into Monk Hall, where he is a regular, he drugs her and is clearly planning to act just as Lorrimer has done in another part of the building. But Luke has provided the grotesque castellan with papers which prove that this girl is in fact his own child. Unlike Arlington, he can save his own, and deals firmly with Pyne. Bess, horrified by Mary's rape, and now faithful to her gender, rescues Mabel and Mary from Monk Hall: the text calls her "a holy thing in the sight of the angels" (346). Fitz-Cowles manages to obtain Mabel from Pyne for a forged hundred-dollar bill, and sells her on to Ravoni.

Clearly drawn from Lytton's novel *Zanoni* (1842), about an immortal psychic who becomes mortal for the love of a woman, Ravoni is a pseudo-

religious charlatan who claims to be 200 years old, having experienced both the French and American revolutions (421–2). His "New Faith" involves quasi-medicine and rationalism as well as sensationalism and sexual display, and, depending on "Popular Credulity" (435), he claims to resurrect a dead girl — it is Arlington's Annie, drugged. His followers acclaim him: "Ravoni is a God"; among them, indicating further his serious limitations as hero, is Byrnewood Arlington. Ravoni plans to use Mabel as priestess in a major ritual while she is in a drug-induced coma. Clearly parallel to Pyne, Ravoni is shown as a representative of sentimental and fantasy-ridden humanism, as Ehrlich notes,[25] and the text firmly dismisses such an irreligious stance — as Ravoni dies a voice within him "speaks to his soul words of deep and awful interest" about the "Eternal Nothingness" that awaits him (535–6).

He is dying because Devil-Bug realizes his plans to make use of his Mabel in his ceremonies, and no doubt his personal life, and stabs him. In some moments the text approaches sympathy with Devil-Bug, not unlike Sue's treatment of the Schoolmaster and Reynolds's of the Resurrection Man: the original cover illustration of him is not as a monster (Fig. 8). He had a dire, illiterate, upbringing, and is one of those who "have never heard that there is a Bible, a Savior, or a God" (223–4). His memory of the girl who had sought shelter in Monk Hall — Mabel's mother — was "like a withered flower blooming from the very corruption of the grave" (223). Evil and vicious though he is, his first murder haunted him (of the man who seduced Emily Walraven, to become Bess), as does his guilt for killing for money the widow Smolby. In some compensation, Lippard gives him a dark sense of humor: he is amused that Arlington "falls" through the floor just as his sister "falls" from her maiden state (123), and as he plays with a knife at Luke's throat the narrator says: "There was a great deal of the philosopher in Devil-Bug" (367). But he returns to his savage state after Mabel has escaped, and is seen by the text as "a grim monster" with "iron hands" (523) at Livingstone's house and at Ravoni's death: his better possibilities are remembered in his self-immolation. He deliberately stands under the rock which he orders his black servants to push down onto Von Gelt's body. Most positive of all, it is to Devil-Bug that Lippard, evidently drawing on Sue's concept of the Schoolmaster's dream, gives the power not just to dream about his own sins but also to channel for the whole novel the past crimes and terrible future of the whole city.

At the end of Book 3, exhausted by excitement and activity, he sleeps and dreams the central imaginative sequence of the novel: his vision boldly decorated the original cover (Fig. 8). It is the year 1950. He sees "the Theatre of Hell" and "The Last Days of the Quaker City" (370). The old state house is ruined; a palace is being built; there are dukes and counts everywhere. A busy gallows is run by preachers. The agonized dead, walking the streets, warn

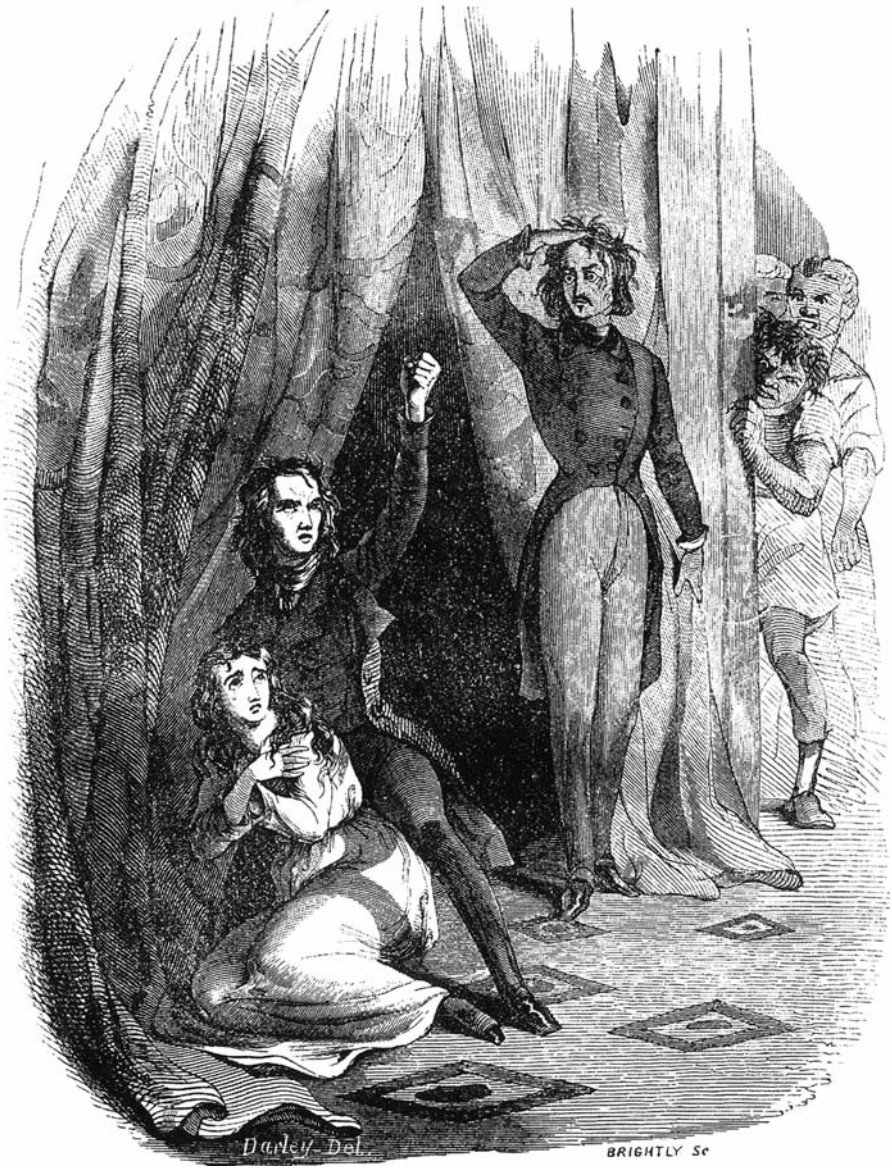

Fig. 9. Byrnewood Arlington recognizes his sister at the fake marriage in Monk Hall in Lippard's *The Quaker City*, 1844.

their friends and relatives, but they go unseen and unheard. In the sky are flaming letters: "WO UNTO SODOM." A ghost tells Devil-Bug the city will end tomorrow. The dead, led by a spirit, chant: "Wo Unto Sodom." Ten thousand coffins float on the river and then columns of dead march along it. The palace sinks and, in sunshine, a coffin passes with Lorrimer's corpse in it.

Devil-Bug cheers and laughs. A ghastly corpse faces the King; an old man says it is the funeral of Liberty: America is gone, "massacred by her pretend friends Priest Craft, Slave Craft and Traitor Craft" (388). The dead march with the people, "the slaves of the cotton Lord and of the factory Prince" (389). The King dies; the city sinks and burns. The spirit speaks again about the wreck of the doomed city and cries, "Wo Unto Sodom."

As a grand climax to the moralistic satire woven into the three plots driven by sexual exploitation, this draws together potently the threads of the book, but Lippard has also expressed them at times in closer political detail. Though race was a major issue in Philadelphia, with both African Americans and Irish under pressure, Lippard does not foreground this area. Devil-Bug's two assistants, "Musquito" and "Glow-worm," and Fitz-Cowles's "Dim" have patronizingly comic names and clear elements of stereotypicality, though they also have strength of character and the capacity to observe white people with a real sense of irony. There are few other African American characters either here or in Lippard's other work. He is well aware of the racial issues: at Monk Hall Petriken and Mutchins discuss the latter's paper, *The Daily Black Mail* with what he calls a "comic" engraving of a "Nigger church on fire, with the Sheriff and Court looking on, to see that it is done in an effective manner"(277). An author's note refers to a local Judge recently claiming a hall used by African Americans "endangered surrounding property" (277) and linking this to the burning of Pennsylvania Hall. But Lippard does not weave this material into his story lines: as David Reynolds observes, he "was more concerned with the white slavery in northern factories than with the black slavery on southern plantations."[26]

This kind of political analysis is recurrent and strongly contextual: David Reynolds also says that "Lippard's social criticism was rooted in the militant labor protest and widespread union organizing of the decade between 1827 and 1837."[27] Philadelphia was a leading center for early trade resistance, as Bruce Laurie notes.[28] Challenges are made to corrupt authority when Lippard denounces the newspaper editors, "these Courtezans of the Press" who are "the boon companions of blackguards "and earn "the loathing of all honest men" (427). Judges are attacked directly by Luke, calling "Justice in the Quaker city" a "solemn Mockery" (206–07). The author ironically dismisses such views in a lengthy footnote that actually specifies major offenses like the scandal of the Girard bequest,[29] and discusses how mob rule in the city is tolerated by the judiciary, which led to the burning of Philadelphia Hall and also black and Catholic churches. The problem of authority is seen as national: Ravoni is used as a climactic critic of modernity—"a pitiful craven lurks in the chair where Washington once sate" (423), and a note insists that the date is 1842, to nail the attack on President John Tyler (1841–45).

Some political criticism is directed at the practices of modern capitalism, so seeming more like Reynolds than Sue. Luke attacks bank directors as well as judges; the story of John Davis, the Mechanic, sets a leader of capitalism whose bank has just gone broke but who himself is still wealthy against the hardworking skilled workman, a traditional representative of Philadelphia, who is reduced to total poverty and despair. This melodramatic allegory is one extreme of Lippard's modes of contemporary politics; the other is comic debate. As Arlington, drugged after his escape from Monk Hall, lies asleep in the street he is found by two comic watchmen, Worlyput and Smeldyke, who have been debating idiotically about the major contemporary issue of Tariffs and problems of the banks, in which they have somehow involved the Florida Wars, feeling the Seminole Indians attacked the Bahama Banks, actually a geographical feature. A later and more extended parallel occurs when Luke, disguised as the layabout Bricktop, meets some of the vagabonds Devil-Bug has freed: they discuss legal corruption in a farcical manner, but Lippard's notes link this to recent corruption (483).

Later critics who are sympathetic with leftist critique, like Denning and David Reynolds, have seemed disappointed by Lippard's lack of serious and searching political analysis, but this is the essence of his popular art. He invents stories, scenes, allegories and speeches to both entertain and appall, and neither his direct statements nor his footnotes are as somber or merely moral-political as those in both Sue and Reynolds — nor will he be in his later political journalism. While there is recurrent criticism, especially of the banking and justice systems but also about church burning (524) and corrupt medical and mental health practices (527–8), these comments tend to be engulfed by more rhetorical and melodramatic fictions or statements. Not unlike the early nineteenth-century English radicals that Iain McCalman deals with in his book on popular radicalism, Lippard creates a theater of dissent, rather than a primer of political process. Denning comes close to grasping this when he suggests (105) that the general absence of artisan male characters in *The Quaker City* is in fact a gap which is filled by the readership: it may indeed also extend to thoughtful and morally focused women. The mainstream audience, trained in chapels and theaters to respond to high-pitched discourses ranging from religious allegorical rhapsody to melodramatic and farcical exaggeration, is not, unlike the implied reader of the bourgeois novel, actually realized in the text. The novel as a whole in its political assault is apotheosized in Devil-Bug's dream: there is a recurrent awareness of the everyday political realities, that people are "the slaves of the cotton Lord and the factory Prince" and so, a little more analytically, "the Slaves of Capital and Trade" (389). But the text is excitable, allegorical, more denunciatory at a higher level than such politico-economic discourse will permit.

More fully linked into the multiple story than social politics, and also recurrently given direct authorial statements, is the politics of gender. Some commentators see Lippard, as Reynolds was attacked, as a semi-pornographer: this was a routine response by conservatives in his time, and in the 1940s Cowie felt he "exploits the female form (with 1844 freedom) far beyond the needs of a moral crusader." Denning is a little less severe, feeling he is merely "voyeuristic," but Fiedler called him a "sub-pornographer."[30] Yet the central passages are not so simple. The basic realization of woman's beauty under threat can seem repetitively automatic and not discordant with the tone of American semi-pornography of the period[31]: "[H]er bosom rose no longer quickly and gaspingly, but in long pulsations, that urged the full globes in all their virgin beauty, softly and slowly into view" (130). But here the voyeurism is identified as such: "her fair breast was thrown open to his sensual gaze" (132), and the consequences of voyeuristic excitement to the woman are not handled lightly. Mary is changed drastically, tragically: "that bosom, a moment since, heaving with passion, now still and motionless; those delicate hands with tiny fingers, which had bravely fought for honor and virtue, for purity, an instant ago, now resting cold and stiffened at her side" (144). The effect of Mary's rape is conveyed in powerfully moral denunciation: "She had sprung from the maiden into a woman, but a blight was on her soul forever. The crime had not only stained her person with dishonor, but, like the sickening warmth of the hot house, it had forced the flower of her soul, into sudden and unnatural maturity" (145).

This is the first of these scenes, and later ones show sexuality having different impacts, depending on the strength of character of the women, but still being presented in heightened and stressed style. Bess's ravishment leads her into becoming a procuress, in part because her father abandoned her. Dora, the most recurrently inspected of the female bodies, is treated in terms that could easily seem voyeuristic, and neither her watchers nor the reader is warned of any danger in their gaze: it appears that her ambition and cunning make her impervious to shame and not deserving defense. Mabel, as she is threatened sexually by the Rev. Pyne and then made a potential sacrifice by Ravoni, is through her innate purity shown as suffering deeply, and so seems to deserve her happy ending. The exploited Annie is almost entirely offstage, but, in return for her miseries the text provides her, like Mabel, with a husband — neither of them of great value, but this is a story without any golden endings. The different treatment of the women is not, it seems, linked to their varying class but to the amount of energy they have themselves put into sexual malpractice: Dora the enthusiastic sinner is murdered, Bess the accomplice of sin apparently kills herself, and the innocent Mabel and Annie survive. Where Lippard has been most criticized is because he ventures so far as to suggest

women are capable of sexual arousal — routinely with the corrupted Dora, misguidedly with Bess and Mary, and only under drugs with Mabel. Ridgely interprets this negatively, saying Lippard shows "the release of woman's animality" because of his "personal fear of the unloosing of a woman's sexuality."[32] But it can also be seen as, especially for its period, a bold attempt to deal openly with sexuality and emphasize both the natural physicality (Ridgely's "animality" seems itself curiously negative) and the unnatural restraints that women dialectically experienced at the time: a topic that others were also exploring, as David Reynolds discusses in a chapter entitled "The Erotic Imagination."[33]

Feeling the need to defend himself against charges of voyeurism as he does in his preface (see p. 133), Lippard clearly operates, like many modern mediators, in that dubious territory where popular taste and popular politics seem to be involved in some contradictions, particularly in terms of masculinist attitudes. But while his language on gender oppression remains more stilted and moralistic than his passionate and direct language on social oppression, it seems clear that he is at least attempting to voice elements of contemporary ideas that tend in terms of gender towards liberalism, if not liberation. In terms of social and economic politics and also in terms of gender politics, though not markedly in terms of racial politics, the double structure of a powerful moralized narrative and a recurrently politicized analysis drives on through the massive story, and their impact is made all the more potent by the remarkable condensation and detailed interaction of the powerfully organized narrative structure.

Three Days

Like the other Mysteries of the Cities, *The Quaker City* has at times been described dismissively in terms of its structure and writing: Oberholtzer called it "wild and headlong" and more recent negative judgments are Leslie Fiedler's comment that Lippard has "slapdash style and open form" and Michael Davitt Bell's reference to its "lurid sensationalism and stylistic sloppiness."[34] None of these critics shows a close knowledge of the text, and those who have looked at it thoroughly tend to have a different opinion: Denning speaks of "the relative symmetry and coherence of the novel" and Cowie, the first modern commentator to recognize Lippard's importance, says he "had a quite extraordinary gift for organization."[35] The novel's structure is remarkably condensed and is consistently proclaimed as such: the action all occurs in thee days between just after midnight on the morning of December 22 and sunset on December 24; it ends with three of the four characters from the opening scene

and two of them have just re-visited the oyster cellar. The fact that the fatal ending is predicted — but without indicating who will do what to whom — in the second scene of the novel emphasizes the double pattern of tight control and continuing mystery. The sense of a bitter falling-off in the land of Washington and Penn is dramatically realized when the short and final Book 6 — really just a catastrophic conclusion — begins with a rhapsodic scene. At first explorers make landfall, evidently in America, and "white doves, bearing green leaves in their beaks, glide through the air, and fruits and flowers, all from the land, float on the surface of the deep." But the next morning there are only "ravens, black and gloomy. They shriek a mournful death-note on the air — their beaks are filled with leaves, sad, wintry, withered leaves, spotted with blood" (539).

That Lippard's masterpiece of large-scale but also tightly condensed plotting seems to have gone generally unnoticed — in spite of his footnoted praise of Ainsworth as one who "understands the art and theory of the *plot* of a story" (260; his emphasis) — is in part because of the structural complexities that Lippard introduces to his overarching shape. One is the interweaving plot strands that have already been discussed; another is introducing material as either a digression, like most of the political statements in the text, or a flashback to explain situations. For example, Bess's tragic past is a lengthy inset early on (60–70), and later ones explain the complex past of Mabel and the origins of Devil-Bug himself. But if the story can move from its ongoing narrative into both general commentary and flashback, it also makes substantial surface-disrupting use of recent retrospection, the technique by which Sue and Reynolds were able to manage their multiple and often parallel narrative sequences.

The second chapter, telling how Mary went to Monk Hall with Bess, starts several hours before the first, as her predator is out celebrating his forthcoming pleasures; the same technique shows, at the beginning of chapter 8, that Mary has been waiting expectantly for her "marriage" from before the previous story of Bess's downfall. It is evidently deliberate practice for a new scene to start before a previous one. In Book 1 Luke and Livingstone act in temporal parallel to the implied previous scene between Dora and Fitz-Cowles, and this is also found when Devil-Bug maneuvers around Monk-Hall at the start of Book 1, chapter 11. The most striking instance is at the start of Book 4, when the narrator, dealing with the Mechanic's suicide and the developing story of Arlington and Annie, says directly, "It was an hour previous to the scene which we will shortly depict" (401).

This mix of tight forward motion and disturbance of the narrative surface is usually highly effective in realizing a multiple story and building tension in specific strands of it. It can operate less successfully on occasions, as when

Luke, as "Bricktop," seems to take too long to explain how and why he got into a somewhat extended lowlife scene as he is waiting to entrap Von Gelt (481–5), and he is the subject of another awkward flashback to explain how he, again in disguise, is persuaded by Bess to save Arlington (312–14). More frequent are signs of conscious and skillfully varied plot control. Book 3 follows directly on the end of Book 2 and builds up incrementally to its stunning climax in Devil-Bug's dream, but Book 4 begins deliberately with two parallel sequences, one of mystery and gloom (the Ravoni story) and one of poverty and death at the Mechanic's story.

The well-planned mix of structural control and mystifying surface variation is made credible in action partly by Lippard's skilfull interweaving of action and character and partly by his direct, often dynamic style. He starts the whole book with a man speaking: "I say, gentlemen, shall we make a night of it?" (5), and there is a very large amount of dialogue, including at different social registers, through the book. In a similarly lively way Lippard can remind us of his underlying intelligence and wit as a writer, for example describing Mutchins as "a personage whose cheeks blushed from habitual kisses of the bottle" (57). He can speak potently on direct political matters, but, as has been argued earlier, his preferred style is emphatic, rhetorical. He felt that approach was appropriate, demanding: "As if one could exaggerate in regard to the evils of the Factory Acts of the Nineteenth Century."[36] David Reynolds agrees, commenting: "A committed radical democrat, Lippard exaggerated sensational rhetoric for the dual reason of exposing the rich and satisfying the poor."[37] This is a politicized version of the inherently excitable style that Lippard himself calls "the grotesque sublime" in defending it against a "Shallow pated critic" (305). The horrors of the Pyne-Mabel drugs and incest scene; Devil-Bug carrying Arlington over his shoulder down into the Pit of Monk Hall; the vile dissecting room where Ravoni's subject for evisceration is revealed as having died of smallpox with a face "one hideous ulcer" (441); the hyper-grotesque events at Hawkwood, with poison, guns, fire, and mutilation: these are all Lippard's street-level political equivalent of the high-end Gothic sublime that his fellow writer Poe was to make so successful in depoliticized, aestheticized form.

To examine the text solely in terms of style is to see how regularly and potently Lippard varies his pace and effect: the constantly changing action is itself constantly varied in terms of its mediation, and this may well be what Denning has in mind when he said that "the novel is structured like a newspaper": Ehrlich puts it perhaps more simply and less searchingly by saying that Lippard consistently "breaks the flow" of the Gothic sensationalism "with comic episodes."[38] Reynolds sees the central impact of Lippard's style as deriving from his consistent "brevity" and links this to his journalist experience,

but the overall effect links that local impact of intensity with overall modal and stylistic variation, especially with the intense impact of so much action so tightly condensed and interwoven. It is curious that Féval's narrative management of the Mysteries form is (like some of his content details) similar to Lippard's in style, especially the use of short time span, flashback and short-term retrospection, and it remains tempting, though not provable, yet at least, to think that Lippard learnt about intensifying Sue's somewhat languid approach through appreciating Féval's textual intensity.

Elaborating the Narrative

If Lippard's story were not rich enough through its mix of multiple plot strands, characters' past experiences and a satirical-political projection of their failings, and the range of stylistic variations, there is also a substantial amount of added material to amuse, intrigue and generally detain the reader's attention. A character not yet mentioned plays a recurrent part, minor and only supportive in terms of plotting, but richly effective in tone and variation. This is Easy Larkspur, an ex-policeman now employed as doorkeeper by Mrs. Smolby the fence (the reason for his leaving the police is implied). To entrap Fitz-Cowles, he is persuaded by Luke to impersonate a wealthy southern plantation owner, Major Rappahannock Mulhill. Both the action and his language are comic: he addresses Fitz-Cowles: "May I be cussed, Curnel, if I don't think you've got the real allegator eye, which give such wiwacity to the phizzes of us bloods, from down South" (218). In a fine scene he capers down the street on the way to Monk Hall, waving jubilantly a slip of paper which, unknown to Fitz-Cowles, his companion on the journey, is a warrant for his arrest, and Larkspur returns to his policing role towards the end. Similar theatrical comedy emerges from the bricklayer-turned-dentist Auguste Pilpette (a name sounding like the concierge at 17 Rue du Temple), and minor comic figures like Dr. MacTourniquet, Artichoke the gardener, Alderman Tolldocket (one of the Rev. Pyne's faithful like Brother Augustus Billygoat); such comedy also spreads into the city corruption of Busby Poodle and Petriken, the latter representing that fine newspaper with a title that sounds like a music-hall joke of dubious taste, *The Ladies Western Hemisphere and Continental Organ*. More bizarre, perhaps even pushing the boundary of acceptability, is the scene where having set out to torture the truth out of Pyne, tied up, with his feet bared and the pincers white-hot, Devil-Bug achieves his end by tickling the soles of Pyne's feet.

Rich, or perhaps ripe, though his comic surface often is, Lippard does not, unlike Sue at first and Reynolds throughout, deploy criminal argot — a note comments that he does not use the "'slang' peculiar to the various tribes

of the vagabonds in the Quaker City" (478). Just as his language and comedy is theatrical rather than in the mode of reportage, so in his rhetorically unbridled mood he creates from the slang-free vagabonds an extraordinary, almost apocalyptic scene at the beginning of the final book as Devil-Bug descends to his subterranean cells and lets out the "Heathens and Outcasts of the Quaker City," men and women unjustly convicted or fallen through their own vices all jumbled together in this visionary condensation of the city's underworld, a past to match against the dark future of Devil-Bug's dream.

Both Sue and Reynolds spread those dangerous classes, and those unfairly drawn into their ambit, through the city, but Lippard's instinct is structurally, as it was stylistically, to concentrate and allegorize, not give a disseminated sociological account of the topographized criminal city. Monk Hall is a highly effective focalizing medium for this purpose — it is as Ziff notes "a vision of the city,"[39] and largely as a result Lippard does not venture as much topographical detail as do the contemporary Mysteries authors. The opening in the heart of the city, the placing of Monk Hall in Southwark, the final scene crossing the Delaware, these are all powerfully symbolic locations, not real Philadelphia mapping. The text does differentiate between Chestnut Street, with The Ton Hotel, as a "fashionable promenade" (33) and the bulk of the city as being "an unvarying sameness of dull red bricks" (396), but this too is a moralized analysis. Characters' journeys are sometimes traced, but they tend to be short — Philadelphia was "still a walking city," notes David R. Johnson,[40] and the text merely mentions the names of streets through which they pass without elaborating the tangible contexts or the lived contexts of the cities, as do Sue or Reynolds — and as will "Ned Buntline" in New York. When at the start Bess and Mary are off to Monk Hall they merely go "down Third Street towards the southern district of the Quaker City" (21), and even these mechanical directions fade away as the emotive evaluations of the story are increasingly located in interactions between people, with little or no symbolic value placed on their settings: we know nothing about the location or the context of Mrs. Smolby's house, but we see in detail the symbolic context of her murder in "The Ghost Room," the title for Book 2, chapter 10. Though Lippard has a strong sense of writing about the city itself and what it has become, the domain of this discussion is moral and apocalyptical, rather than topographical and sociological as in his contemporaries.

Democratic Mysteries

The novel was enormously popular in its day, both in America and abroad: in London, Lloyd, the leading low-level publisher, republished it, much reduced and sensationalized, as *Dora Livingstone* (1845), and the German

popular writer Franz Gerstäcker translated it as *Die Geheimnisse* ["The Mysteries"] *von Philadelphia* (1845) and even put his name on it as author. Lippard's *The Quaker City* was both a powerful continuation of the new Mysteries tradition and also a radical re-imagining of the story without aristocrats, without patronization, without the touristic element lurking in the work of Sue, Féval and even to some extent Reynolds. Most important, it is without their range of improbable positives, from aristocrats to noble, even saintly women. Lippard avoided writing for the excitement of travelers and the self-validation of moral optimists. In his America there were no clean-skin heroes: David Reynolds comments that "no character in the novel is flawless."[41] The avenger of his sister, Byrnewood Arlington, is much less than a saint, and the agent of inquiry through the story, Luke Harvey, is vacillating and opportunistic. There is also a much stronger, even tragic, sense of evaluative loss than in the European stories: for Sue mercantilism and alienation have ruined the city; for Reynolds it is the combination of the long-standing viciousness of aristocratic oppression now allied with the new forces of capitalism. But for Lippard there is the pain of seeing the American dream almost vanished. Nearly dead, he feels and argues in some anguish, are the 60-year-old vision of a Christian republic and the 200 years of Philadelphia's aspiring to be a city of moral and fraternal responsibility.

Lippard had the power to make these dark anxieties into memorable visions: Ehrlich has commented that there is a good deal of visuality in his work,[42] and the opening and closing scenes, the grand city made unreliable by its scions, and then the bitterly ironic crossing of the Delaware, are two magnificent evocations of American corruption and also — and this may be the novel's finest achievement — of determined and deep-seated American self-interrogation. Lippard raised the stakes in the new Mysteries of the Cities genre, in excellence of plotting, in the rhetorical passion of his statements, and in the desperately sad outcome of the story lines: the few survivors at the end, out in the wilds of Wyoming, seem almost beyond hope, frail survivors of the American continental adventure.

It is a sign of the power of the new genre that others would match his achievement: one of the fascinating simultaneities of literary history is that as Lippard saw his first episode in print, Reynolds was just preparing to create his own massive relocation of the mysteries to his own city. The only achievement that comes close to matching Sue's staggering originality was the reciprocal energy with which English-language writers on both sides of the Atlantic responded to his initiative, creating the massive texts of Reynolds and Lippard that in varying modes of form and content both realized and decoded the mysteries of their own cities.

In his own country Lippard would have an impact like that of Sue inter-

nationally. There was a *Mysteries of Philadelphia* almost immediately, and the title and genre spread like wildfire across the country — mysteries emerged from Rochester up near the Great Lakes right down to warm-water New Orleans. Naturally enough, Philadelphia's great rival needed its own version, and, with less grandiose plotting and less rhetorical insistence in 1848, another young journalist, E. Z. C. Judson, used his popular pseudonym "Ned Buntline" to produce *The Mysteries and Miseries of New York*.

5

"A Perfect Daguerreotype of This Great City": Edward Zane Carroll Judson's *The Mysteries and Miseries of New York*

Carriages in Greenwich Street

Isabella Meadows, 16 and beautiful, believes the carriage is driving to her wedding with handsome, rich New York playboy Harry Whitmore: the text says "where woman loves, she is all confidence" (19). In fact, they are heading for a brothel where his friend will pretend to be a clergyman and Maria, a prostitute who has for $100 pretended to be his sister, will be a witness: E. Z. C. Judson is evidently re-working the "fake-wedding" story from Lippard's *Quaker City*. Isabella, like Mary Arlington, will survive, in a much reduced condition, but there is worse to come for another young woman.

As they arrive, "another carriage drove rapidly past." It was "close-curtained" and "had but one occupant ... who had a sad and heavy heart" (19). This is Mary Sheffield, "the pretty cigar girl" (45) from a well-known Broadway shop, who has been seduced by a wealthy married man. She is pregnant and on her way to an abortion clinic farther down Greenwich Street. Mary will die, and her story will reverberate through the novel

The subtitle of Judson's *Mysteries* is "A Tale of Real Life" and bleak reality will often be at the basis of his plotting, stressing the brutality of men against women, even more than the exploitation of the poor by the rich. In the introduction to the first single-volume edition he called his work "a perfect daguerreotype of this great city." The reference is up-to-date and scientific:

Louis Daguerre patented his method in 1839 and it was disseminated in America in the early 1840s by Samuel Morse. This mix of a modern, rationalist approach with international sources, both Sue's Paris and Reynolds's London, also seeing the harsh realities of the new American cities with considerable influence from Lippard, is shaped by Judson to create a fast-moving, localized and judgmental narrative, the first of many where New York has self-consciously interrogated its own construction and its own values.

The city was ripe for such treatment. It was growing enormously, from 300,000 people in 1840 to at least half a million in 1850. The streets were surging north up the island of Manhattan: in 1820, 10th was the farthest you could go; in 1860, plans were laid for development beyond 155th Street. The most detailed early account of the city says New York was in this time "upon a course of expansion in population, wealth, and commerce that has scarcely been equalled by any other city before or since."[1] The man who explored its mysteries and miseries is better known as the creator of the myth of Buffalo Bill, but that was not his first engagement with American identity, and complexity.

Towards New York's Mysteries and Miseries

Writers' lives can contradict their authorial selves. Shakespeare worried about property; Collins led an uxorious private life; Swinburne settled to bachelor domesticity. But the gap between Judson's publicity biography as the hard-riding, Civil War colonel and frontier author "Ned Buntline" and the thoughtful, liberal, morally acute, gender-aware observer who wrote *The Mysteries and Miseries of New York* seems an extreme example in the long history of misfit between authorial image and textual reality. It seems likely that Judson played to a populist gallery in the self-image that was disseminated by allegedly biographical accounts like Fred Pond's *Life and Adventures of Ned Buntline*[2]: this has no mention of the New York novel or journalism, and it seems a very different person who constructed the darkly critical account of modern America that is his resonant, consistent and remarkably fresh-feeling *Mysteries and Miseries of New York*.

Born in upper New York State in the small rural town of Stamford to a bookish family — his father was a teacher, then a lawyer, including in Philadelphia — Judson early on became an adventurer: as a teenager he went to sea (a curious resemblance to Sue), and then he had experience in the Seminole Wars in Florida, in Cuba, and up and down the American western frontier. Always adventurous, if also unreliable — he claimed to have been a colonel of Northern Scouts in the Civil War but was actually an infantry sergeant who deserted[3] — he was always a writer and his first and lasting genre was popular adventure. The year 1847 saw titles like *The Red Ravager, or the Pirate King*

of the Florida, and *The Ice King,* a drama of the northern Hudson Straits, mixing maritime melodrama with "Red Indian" material. But Judson was not immune to the idea of realism, even if in his hands it kept odd company, as in another 1847 title: *Love at First Sight, or The Daguerreotype, A Romantic Story of Real Life*.

He would re-use the last part of the subtitle and the daguerreotype idea in *The Mysteries and Miseries of New York*, but while the influence of Sue, Reynolds, and Lippard directed an approach to New York life, he was not the first to offer an account of the city. Dickens's factual *American Notes* (1842)—patronizingly subtitled "For General Circulation"—had been severe on New York, focusing on a dive, a prison, an insane asylum, and the pigs that roamed the streets. Residents not surprisingly responded with "chagrin and resentment"[4] and would soon offer their own accounts of their city.

Cornelius Matthews's *The Career of Puffer Hopkins* (1843) was not a new start. Though a full-length fiction about New York life, written by a well-connected man-about-town, it reads as if ghosted by Dickens. The language and plotting come almost straight from *Pickwick Papers* with characters like Fob the tailor, a writer named Bulfinch Twaddle, and, a nod to German-Americans, a Mr. Fishblatt. There is a sketchy plot about Puffer's unlooked-for political success, and some Pickwickian legal problems, but it is basically a set of comic events, with British literary references to confirm its status as a part-colonial hybrid. It offers itself as "a book in some slight degree characteristic and natural in its features,"[5] but Judson was to produce something where a genuinely American "characteristic and natural" voice would be powerfully deployed.

He was familiar with Lippard's work, as will become clear, but he also diverged from it—partly in the direction of the *Mysteries* authors. But he combined this, as Reynolds had, with experience in urban journalism, and this marks his book off from a slightly earlier effort to relocate Sue in New York. This was apparently by the unseriously named "Tom Shortfellow," as his brief "Red Indian" romance *Eva Labree or The Rescued Chief* was in 1847 printed with a fairly short novel, *The Mysteries of New York*. This uses a "lost child" story, both feeble and strained, set between Poughkeepsie, New York, and, eventually, Canada, as a frame for city set pieces focusing on prostitution and gangs, dealing with how both women and men are easily driven to crime and disorder in the city. Poorly constructed and plotted, this may well have stimulated Judson, as almost certainly did the very short but vice- and mystery-focused *The Mysteries of New York* (1845) from the Boston "Yankee" newspaper office, a publisher Judson knew well, and he was influenced at least by the title of *The Miseries of New York* (1844) an even shorter city-linked nautical melodrama by J. H. Ingraham, whom, like another rival, Lippard, Judson had reviewed critically.[6]

Judson both was part of and further stimulated the strong, witty and often conscience-bearing tradition of New York journalism. There is a notable parallel between his *Mysteries and Miseries* and the short, lively essays which George Foster was to publish very soon after in 1848 in the *New York Tribune*, part of what Stuart Blumin calls "the new literary genre of nonfictional urban sensationalism": to have many successors, they were collected as *New York in Slices* (1849), then *New York by Gaslight* (1850).[7] The essays quite often appeared on the paper's front page, a link to the Paris feuilletons, and Foster deals like Judson with characters from "the snobbish Ten Thousand," "the parvenu shop-keeping aristocracy,"[8] as well as the New York street-level gang members called "b'hoys." In keeping with Judson's themes, Foster has pieces entitled "Needlewomen," "The Gambling House," and "Omnibuses," and he also emphasizes strongly the extent and the damaging nature of prostitution and gambling — pithily, and almost summarizing Judson, he says "gambling is the synthesis of crime."[9] He offers powerful local observation sequences like "The Points at Midnight" and "The Dance House," which, while less deeply revealing than Judson, contain much plainer speaking than Dickens. Foster's immediate response to Judson's initiative would be refracted through later accounts of New York like George Thompson's *City Crimes* (1849) and James D. McCabe's *Lights and Shadows of New York Life, or the Sights and Sensations of the Great City* (1872).

Confidently introduced and evidently successful, *The Mysteries and Miseries of New York* first appeared in five 50-cent novella-length volumes, longer than Lippard and Reynolds had used. The first volume was published in December 1847 by Judson himself and was then picked up by the publisher Berford.[10] The first two volumes had small in-page illustrations, but these, the third issue says, proved hard to obtain and were dropped. Though, as will be shown later, the text is skillfully and confidently structured, there is a textual enigma: the fifth volume is short; at page 83 Judson says he will stop here and will continue the story later. This is also found in the early one-volume editions of the five parts. In *Three Years After*, published by January 1849, he does develop some story threads, especially about the wealthy woman exploiter Harry Whitmore, but does not complete any of them. *The B'hoys of New York* (1849) drifts back into maritime and Caribbean adventures, with hardly any mention of the titular street heroes. These are too slight and rambling and varied to be regarded as sixth and seventh parts of *The Mysteries*, though that format does appear in one 1850 collected edition. The slightly later *The G'hals of New York* (1850) is a different set of stories, rather better structured but also veering off towards maritime melodrama.

Loose and poorly focused, these three succeeding texts are no more than inferior parallels to the well-organized *Mysteries and Miseries*, but Judson's

attention wandered before reaching a rounded conclusion — or wandered again: he apologizes at the start of Volume 3 for a delay in production. From July 1848 he was running the revived journal *Ned Buntline's Own* and was involved with Nativist political activities — as a result of his involvement in the 1849 Astor Riots, *The G'hals of New York* was written in jail. Because of these problems, the strongest textual entity is the single-volume version published in London by Milner, apparently in 1850, in which a chapter of "Conclusion" following the end of the five-volume narrative summarizes the outcomes for the characters — with hardly any contact with the three apparent sequels.[11] Well-written, ending with a confident farewell, and not drawing on the alleged sequels, this appears in vocabulary and tone to be Judson's own work, presumably produced early for the overseas small-format but full-text edition which also sold widely in America, and it provides an effective completion to the interactive dramas of *The Mysteries and Miseries of New York*. This narratively complete one-volume version is therefore the text which will be used for this analysis.

The Conflicted City

Judson's title avows the impact of Sue, as was true of the substantial number of North American "Mysteries": by 1860 there had been at least 13 that simply replaced Paris with a transatlantic location. When Judson added "and Miseries" (borrowing from Ingraham but rarely followed by other writers[12]), he indicated the dark nature of his story and linked his title to the strong reportage element of the text. This was itself an up-to-date form — the U.S. papers were more oriented towards news and "muck-raking" than those in Paris or London. The original five-volume edition has a lengthy appendix detailing accounts of and responses to crime in the city and the failure of corrupt and inefficient policing to contain it — though the long letters may be meant to fill this volume up to the usual length, and Jay Monaghan suggests Judson wrote at least some of them.[13]

Both the title and the tone of reportage moved away from Lippard's allegorical radicalism, but the opening page of Judson's *Mysteries* proclaims a clear link. A group of wealthy "drunken libertines" (7) are on their way to an oyster cellar. The seduction of the innocent theme foregrounded in Gus Lorrimer and present in Byrnewood Arlington is here direct and aggressive: they toss a coin for a poor and pure seamstress, appropriately named Angelina. The name of the man who wins her is Gus Livingstone, condensing the names of two woman exploiters from *The Quaker City*.

Not only Angelina and her aggressors link with Lippard. Judson's version

of Mary Arlington, the beautiful innocent sister of a part-corrupt central figure, is Isabella Meadows: both suffer from a false promise of marriage, from rape and imprisonment, and both come to more or less accept their roles and live out a sort of half-life. With Isabella, the role of Gus Lorrimer is played by Harry Whitmore, a harsher version of Gus Livingstone, who is merely "a genteel sponge" (22), while her brother Charles Meadows is a weaker and also more tragic version of Byrnewood Arlington.

In *The Quaker City* professional crime was a minor feature, almost comic relief, but New York already had serious professional criminals, and Judson involves them in many of the plot strands, acting in their own interests, not merely serving amateur villains as they often do in the other *Mysteries*. They are linked to Reynolds's London: Jack Circle, leader of the gang, and several colleagues are from St Giles, some arriving via Botany Bay. There is also a leading French pick pocket and fraudster, Julian Tobin. When Charles Meadows, despairing at his gambling losses, tries to shoot himself, this resembles the suicide Richard Markham encounters early on, and Reynolds also has in Ellen Monroe a poverty-ridden honest seamstress under sexual pressure, though her outcome is very different from Angelina's. An apparent link to Sue is "Big Lize," tall, strong, capable of glamour, she has been reduced to prostitution like Fleur-de-Marie — but so was La Louve, and as the two-fisted rescuer of Angelina Lize resembles her, though her fate, like that of most of Judson's characters, will be darker than that of the redeemed tough girl from Asnières.

Though Judson knows his international predecessors — perhaps including Féval, as will be discussed — his voice is not as strongly, or financially, political as Reynolds's, nor as benignly paternalist as Sue's. Not unlike Lippard, Judson sees urban crisis as essentially based on a sense that many people fail to live up to the appropriate standards of behavior. He develops Lippard's idea that there are hardly any heroes to be found, and like him finds positives in a few figures who can find a way to bring some succor to those whose lives have become miseries because of the human malice that is hidden in the city's mysteries. But he also has, in a less insistent or theorized version of Reynolds, a clear sense of the politics of corruption and degradation.

A major feature of *The Mysteries and Miseries of New York* is Judson's sense of class interaction and class exploitation. Lippard's Gus Lorrimer preys on a woman of almost his own level, and class-based gender exploitation in the Quaker City is basically offstage in the Arlington-Annie story, which has in any case a moderately happy resolution. But Judson immediately foregrounds class-based gender aggression as "sons of the 'first families'" (6) form a predatory ring around the virginal seamstress Angelina. Where the great channel of Broadway crosses Park Place, playground of the wealthy, and where

prostitutes line the streets in mercantile provision of cash-nexus sex, the innocent worker is detained and for the first of many times in the novel cash is instrumental in manipulative relations. Harry Whitmore tosses a silver dollar for Angelina, wins, and offers her the dollar: she rejects it, and his values. He will abandon his claim to her, having better prey in mind, and Gus Livingstone takes up the pursuit, inveigling himself, also through money and the appearance of charity, into her mother's good graces. Angelina — who says he pursues her "as the hunter seeks his game" (104) — will be hounded until even true charity, in the hands of the honest merchant Peter Precise, cannot save her.

But from the start she is not without support. As Angelina screams in Harry's grasp there appears a "tall form" who knocks down all three men. It is "Big Lize": she calls Harry a "lushy swell" (7) and, as he lunges at Angelina again, knocks him down the stairs of the oyster cellar, reversing the comfortable slumming of Lippard's gentry libertines. To an extent Lize links with Lippard's Bess, the fallen woman who retains some values and helps the threatened heroine, but Judson adds to Lize's La Louve–like physical power a strong sense of class combat: she defeats them as "swells" as well as rapists, she is "Big Lize of Thomas Street," a rough area down on the West Side, and she immediately goes off to her illegal work with the low-class "Charley, my chum" (8). Lize's own story will emerge as that of a young woman who was herself misled and was, like Angelina, one of a poor, pressured family. Big Lize is both a gender and class warrior, and when there was a real "Hell-Cat Maggie," who fought with the famous Dead Rabbits gang (with filed teeth as one of her weapons),[14] she is not a fantasy of male masochism or feminist revenge but a credible figure of the New York social politics on which Judson bases his narrative.

Class figures in another major seduction narrative. Harry Whitmore gives up his toss-of-a-coin rights to Angelina because he has become interested in Isabella Meadows, the beautiful 16-year-old sister of Charles, a young accounts clerk in a large dry-goods store whom the libertines meet gambling, and losing. Her seduction, with no thought on Whitmore's part of marriage, bespeaks his social arrogance. The family are at best middle-class and Charles is a white-collar self-improver, a figure not really represented by the other *Mysteries* authors, not even Reynolds — Lippard's Luke Harvey comes closest. Charles is a "tall, fine-looking fellow" (14) who is steadily sucked into destruction by the owner of a gaming house and by the gentry swells: both lead him on. He is, by manipulation of the cards, led to lose more, all stolen from his employer, and so has to accept money from the gamester, who then demands copies of his employer's keys and also a large forged check. Charles is like a weak combination of both Richard and Eugene Markham, but his story is without the hope or vigor they exhibit. Neither Meadows sibling is dragged down by

improper social aspirations but by the sheer malice of others working on the naïve greed of Charles and the innocence of Isabella.

In previous writers, as Flavin has shown,[15] gambling was the means for basically innocent, if foolish, gentry to be brought low. Judson's version is more class-conscious: Charles just cannot resist the chance of money to match the idle gentry, in spite of his better self, and with remorseless and Reynolds-like credibility the added conclusion shows his steady descent into criminality and eventual suicide in jail.

Little better is the outcome of the gentry raid on his sister's middle-class innocence. Harry insists he must marry her secretly because of his ferocious mother, and flatters her own mother to permit her absence, allegedly looking after his mythical sister — actually Maria Deloraine, formerly herself respectable, now a fairly high-class prostitute, a version of Lippard's Bess. The fake wedding, with him in the role of Lippard's Lorrimer and Gus Livingstone as fake clergyman, is disrupted by Big Lize, but the aftermath is unpityingly realistic. In spite of her brave attempts to escape and the sympathy of other already fallen women, Isabella is imprisoned in a brothel, more than once in a cellar, and before long comes to miserable terms with her fallen state as Harry's plaything, simply begging him not to humiliate her too much in public. The conclusion reports that after he meets an appropriate fate — killed in a duel by an angry father of a new and wealthy young beauty — Isabella finds her way to the city's Magdalen Hospital, but with brother dead in jail and mother insane through grief rehabilitation will be very limited.

If Charles and his sister represent the dangers faced by the upwards-mobile from both criminality and privilege, other figures show contemptible paths based on business success. In an amusing sequence that suggests Judson knew the satire of both Lytton and Dickens — and favored the robuster style of the former — the story explores the present claims to social status of Monty Lawrence, former grog-shop keeper transformed as Montague Fitz Lawrence and his lady wife: they now have a coat of arms on the family plate and their coach's door panel. But their servants have thick Irish accents and Mrs. Fitz Lawrence, "built on much the same principle as a Dutch galiot" (a cargo boat), speaks of inviting people to a "suwaree" (129). At this event leading figures are "the real up-towners" (141) Mr. and Mrs. Smith Klawke, a name evidently suggesting an English-style pronunciation, omitting the *r* from the American "clerk," though their wealth is in fact related to kitchens (144). Rough justice appears in the person of the French Count Delamere, actually Tobin, confidence-man and pickpocket, who helps himself to the wallet and watch of Mr. Smith Klawke and is attracted to the wealth rather than, as she feels, the person of his lady. But these parvenus are not simply comic: later in the story the Fitz Lawrence children will coldly refuse alms in the street to

the dying Angelina, reversing Féval's account of the innate generosity of the MacFarlane sisters to Susannah in a similar condition.

Urban merchants are not all dismissed. Peter Precise, who tries to help Angelina and others, is a former soap and candle merchant who has retired in his fifties, with a fortune of $50,000, to live in his "very neat" (35) mid-town two-story brick house. He has just advertised for a secretary to handle his personal correspondence, especially relating to his alleged connection to English nobility (much like Lippard's merchant Livingstone). Unfortunately, the advert attracts criminal attention, and his new secretary, Frank Hennock, though an avid reader, is also in the criminal gang and instigates a later robbery at the house. To validate his own ingratiating claims to be interested in charity, Frank shows Precise the appalling slums of the Lower East Side around Five Points, and especially the sordid, dangerous "Old Brewery" (Fig. 10), a lodging house for over a thousand desperate people: a near contemporary, William Bobo, called it "this notorious rendezvous of crime and poverty"[16]: it was recreated for the film of *The Gangs of New York* (2002). Precise, a corpulent, fussy bachelor, hastens to help the very poor, including a desperate old Irishman and soon Angelina and her mother: Frank intervenes to stop him giving the Irishman a gold coin because he will be mobbed for it.[17] For as little as 45 cents they find food, firewood, candles and clothing, and then they arrange

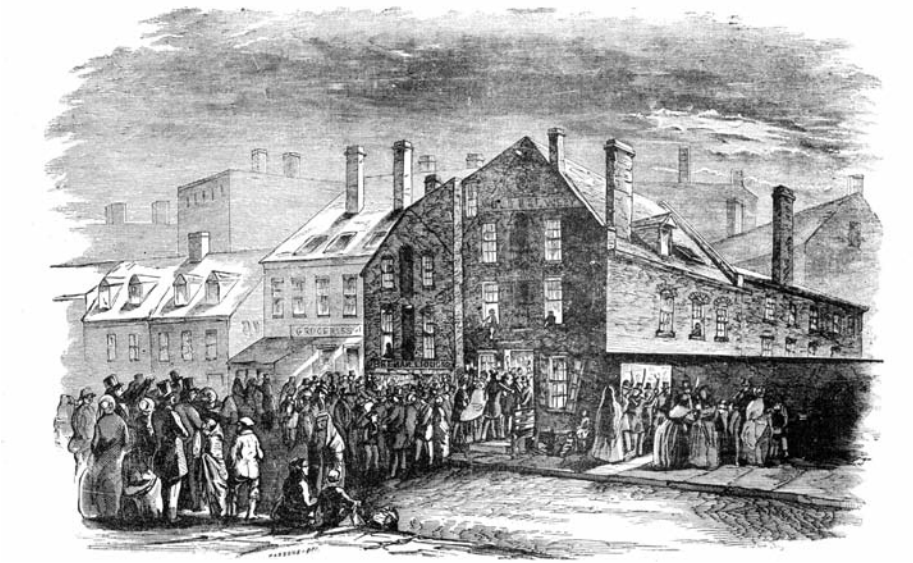

Fig. 10. "The Old Brewery at the Five Points, New York," December 1852, as in Judson's *The Mysteries and Miseries of New York* (by permission of the New York Historical Society).

lodging at the Brewery. Precise also shows generosity and courage in helping a woman dying of smallpox, and a capable doctor provides assistance. Out of these experiences the retired merchant nobly decides to return to his business in order to make money for the poor. Frank remains on the side of the criminals — and will steal Precise's watch and wallet with $500 in it.

The criminal class is a substantial force in the novel and, Judson asserts, in the city. The professional criminal was a new perception of the urban nineteenth century, whether seen, as by Reynolds, as a perversion of business practices or more generally as part of "the dangerous classes"; here Judson augments the accounts of Sue and Reynolds rather than Lippard, who saw crime as being very largely the amateur activity of greedy and immoral people. In fact, Judson's idea of a central criminal organization, with active connections to all the range of life from Five Points through to the up-town gambling dens, is closer to Féval's sense of a criminal "Family" under central control, and this may be overtly indicated when, late in the novel, the ringleader, Jack Circle, suggests that Tobin is challenging to be "Captain of the Society" (257).

Jack and most of the others come from London and they are joined by other international menaces in the lively but malign Tobin and the subtle but even more dangerous Genlis,[18] international Romany fortune-teller and kidnapper. This might suggest that as in many Hollywood films, the only real criminals are un–American, but though Judson was personally strongly in favor of the Nativist cause, his plot is less simplistic than that. The London imports tend to be marginal in the story: the wealthy young men who deliberately harm their fellow citizens, especially women, are native-born Americans and so are central criminals like Frank Hennock and Henry Carlton, the controller of the gambling activities, who also advises the gang on several major burglaries.

With his "cold-blooded, fiendish nature" (108), Carlton is directly behind the plan to fleece Charles Meadows at the tables and then, in return for the money that restores his robberies, he uses him as an instrument in a much more lucrative forgery and robbery — at least Carlton offers Charles an extra $5,000 for the murder of his own wife's lover. A major villain, but without the social base of the Schoolmaster and Skeleton, the politics of Fergus O'Brian, or the repressed goodness of Eugene Markham, Carlton is an early model for an American crime boss. He has information everywhere, he acts with savage cunning to avenge his wife's infidelity — implicating both her and Charles Meadows in her lover's murder — and he sums up the positive operations of criminality by saying to the newly arrived Tobin, "There never was a better coalition in the world than our gang forms, if we only work together" (128).

But although he is a figure of fiendish evil, Carlton and his activities are also involved in the web of class conflict that spreads over Judson's New York.

Carlton himself deeply feels a social stigma. His assistant, the slippery Selden, one of the few to make his escape at the end from the story and the city, praises Carlton's skills, and says, "[Y]ou should have been a king — you would have lorded it nobly on a throne." Carlton answers bitterly that here he is

> "...spurned, hated, scorned ... simply because I am a *gambler*. I can't go into the best society; why? because I am a sporting man. Men, merchants, and aristocrats will come here to my rooms and okay with me — they will drink wine and eat at my table, they meet and shake hands with me *here*, but then I meet them in the street the *gentlemen* cannot recognise me" [181].

All the *Mysteries* stories exhibit a very wide range of social levels: what Dickens and Zola became famous for was already in place in the *Mysteries* pattern, because the authors perceived social conflict as part of the articulation of the city. The Europeans all have key points of value: for Sue, Rodolphe's aristocratic Christian liberalism, for Reynolds, Richard Markham's democratic moral values, and Féval offered Fergus's apocalyptic Irishism. Both Lippard and Judson have no faith in prior structures of value but show their characters painfully finding their way among paths of often partly doubtful value. Judson is aware of class and political exploitation — he calls Angelina's sewing work "an extortion of labour" and notes that the city merchants have an interest in forcing down wages (19), but his interest is still more on human and moral error than the structural forces of the mercantile world. Most of the characters die as a result of their mistakes, directly or by some indirect form of fateful justice — the man who impregnated Mary Sheffield and caused her fatal abortion is the father of the girl whom Harry Whitmore goes on to aspire to marry, for her money, and both die in the conclusion through a duel. As that sequence shows, a recurrent theme in Judson, even more than in Lippard and the European authors, is that the first to suffer from error and greed, and their projection through social conflict, are usually women.

The Miseries of the Women of New York

The story starts on a bitter wet, windy night, January 1, 1841, and a poor, thin, beautiful girl is out in the worst of it. Angelina's context predicts the situation of many of the women in this story. She and her mother are hounded by Gus Livingstone, who pretends first to be charitable and then, to the mother, to be interested in marrying Angelina. The strongest-minded of all these vulnerable heroines — "I can bear poverty but not degradation" (106) — she insists on leaving the apartment he provides and takes her mother into the depths of the Old Brewery. A bullying neighbor first demands money and then, it seems, when Angelina is away, robs and murders her mother: it is

characteristic of Judson's complexity that the neighbor is a woman. Lize tries to help by relocating Angelina, but it is on Greenwich Street, the house where Maria lives, and when Livingstone calls to see her Angelina flees again, to collapse in Precise's doorway. He takes her in and in spite of the housemaid's suspicious response she is made comfortable, but even with a doctor's good attentions dies, apparently of tuberculosis.

Angelina's connections with Fleur-de-Marie go beyond isolation and sexual pressure. Big Lize recognizes the ring she wears because it bears a coat of arms, and there may be an "aristocratic lost child" thread here that is not pursued: what is established is that they are cousins. In return for Precise's kindness, cousin Lize — actually named Kate Lindsay — tries to protect him from being robbed by the criminal gang she knows so well. Where Angelina is the passive heroine, Lize is all action: she goes to Circle to demand the planned theft on Precise be stopped; he uses a trapdoor to imprison her in a cellar, like many women in Gothic fiction and these urban mysteries. But she digs her way out — this is not Reynolds, where cellars are poorly maintained and Eliza just has good luck. Effective as ever, Lize arrives in time to disrupt the burglars but is stabbed in the chest as she attacks them. An active force of true-hearted womanhood, always regretting her life of sin and remaining faithful to what she can see of morality, Lize seems Judson's image of a lower-class daughter of the Revolution.

Other women, though less courageous and active, are basically parallel to her. Similar to Lippard's Bess is Maria Deloraine. Beautiful and thoughtful, she passes for an embroiderer with a private income, but (for reasons we are never told) she now belongs to "that better class of 'the fallen,' known in Paris as the grisettes" (68). She gives in to Harry's demand to pose as his sister to ensnare Isabella because he offers her $100; revulsed by his behavior at the mock wedding, she resists more firmly, and it takes the massive sum of $1,000 to compel her reluctant compliance, after which she leaves both the house and the story. Maria's co-worker Emma is also sympathetic to Isabella, but Harry outwits her. Apart from the little-discussed madams, only one of the novel's prostitutes seems content with her lot, the skillful Kate who early on relieves Charles of his money by pretending distress at her situation.

Another strong and errant woman is Hannah Carlton, beautiful and educated wife to the leading gambler and criminal. She is having an affair, it would seem out of boredom, or even desperation, with Charles Cooly, a Broadway bar owner clearly not worthy of her. She is also wooed in a brusque manner by her husband's assistant Sam Selden, who has been watching her and vows vengeance for her dismissal of him (his name may come from "Sam Suydam," a well-known city gambler). Her husband is the agent of the vengeance. When he indicates he knows all, she appeals to Cooly to run away with her and gives

him $2,000, but weakly he withdraws from their relationship. Angry, she agrees to set him up for murder by Charles Meadows — who is, by Carlton's brutal control, dressed as a woman, looking much like her. Judson may have been setting up a story thread about her trial for murder, but this is not pursued; according to the conclusion, after her husband's murder by a cheated gambler, she dies after she has become insane, as has Charles's mother when she hears about her daughter being abducted and her son committing a murder.

An opposite form of resourceful wifehood is represented by Annie Abingdon, married to a rich man who lives on property rents. Their wealth attracts the attention of both Jack Circle's gang and also a group of kidnappers led by the Romany fortune-teller Genlis: both proposals are brought forward for approval by the gang, and Genlis goes first. The Abingdons' young son is kidnapped by the gang. A leading member is a woman described recurrently as "Indian," which appears to mean Native American — another dilution of the international criminal threat. When Willie Abingdon's mother pays for news of him, she sees him at play through what seems a magic mirror but is in fact just a steam-obscured glass with scenes being faked behind it. Anxious and unwary, she commits thousands of dollars to a rescue, but her husband, learning of it when she speaks the name Genlis in her sleep and he suspects her of infidelity, immediately realizes this is a crime and brings a friendly magistrate into the scene — which leads to the flight of the criminals and the eventual return of the boy. That might seem a happy ending for a devoted if gullible wife, but the professional criminals are persistent. Before the boy is returned the Abingdons are one night robbed of all their possessions, in a raid so highly professional they sleep right through it.

A number of other women appear in the story — the big and tough bar owner Kate Buckley, Jack Circle's efficient, saturnine daughter Harriet, and the mysterious, or perhaps just underdeveloped, Matilda Horton who suggests Frank's secretarial job and seems his girlfriend. They fill out the novel's sense that women play a large and knowing role, for good and ill, in the city, but the trials they face and the courage demanded from all the major women characters have their climax in the story behind the mysterious carriage in Greenwich Street.

Mary Sheffield is spoken of by the gentry louts as "the pretty cigar girl" (49), and the story first presents her at the mysterious house of assignation, meeting Albert Shirley, a wealthy merchant whom she loves, and by whom, she now tells him, she is pregnant. He hesitates about the marriage she expects, and finally writes to say he is married and recommends an abortionist. Mary, deeply distressed, faces the irony of a young man arriving at her house to offer marriage: she says sadly he should return in three months and see what her answer will be.

The hurrying carriage takes her to a surgical abortionist — she is too far advanced for the abortifacient pills that were widely advertised in contemporary New York. Later, the Shirleys are at home, husband, wife and loving daughter. A message comes, and Shirley rushes out. His wife reads the note, and follows: they both arrive at Mary's deathbed. Shirley confesses his guilt; his wife accepts his plea for forgiveness; Mary just asks that her mother be cared for. Starker than anything in the other Mysteries, and moving in its representation of the beautiful victim, the story will turn to vengeance when Harry Whitmore woos Shirley's daughter, which Judson develops in *Three Years After*. The father discovers Whitmore's reputation and according to the single-novel conclusion they both die in a duel, masculine violence mutually avenging the violence of masculine gender oppression.

The pathos and tragedy of Mary's story has a larger place in the overall meaning of Judson's story of the mysteries and miseries found in New York. The subtitle "A Tale of Real Life" is justified. Mary Sheffield, early readers would know, was modeled on Mary Cecelia Rogers, the actual beautiful cigar girl. Her death in 1841, the year in which this story is set, was discussed widely in New York newspapers and magazines, and inspired other artists who wanted to communicate the crimes and meanings of contemporary American life.

Mysteries, Miseries and Real Life in New York

Mary Rogers's body was found on July 28, 1841, floating in shallow water on the New Jersey side of the Hudson near Hoboken. She appeared to have been raped, beaten and tied up, before being strangled or drowned.[19] The press paid close attention: in addition to the sensational nature of the events, she had been a well-known figure at John Anderson's store at 119 Broadway, opposite City Hall Square, and the position itself was a form of sexual exploitation: William Bobo comments that attractive girls were used here as elsewhere "to entice young men to frequent the shop."[20] The young men she knew were questioned and variously suspected, but it was in 1842 that a Mrs. Loss of Hoboken gave a deathbed confession indicating Mary died from a failed abortion, concealed by the appearance of rape murder. Poe, with some difficulty, as John Walsh relates,[21] wove this into the last sequence of "The Mystery of Marie Roget," a story based on the Rogers tragedy. Other writers would follow: Amy Srebnick describes how the Mary Rogers story was reworked before Judson in both J. H. Ingraham's *La Bonita Cigarera; or the Beautiful Cigar Vender* (1844) and Charles Burdett's *Lila Hart: A Tale of New York* (1846), and the story reappeared frequently after *The Mysteries and Miseries*.[22] Judson, who may have chosen 1841 as his year in order to make the case central, not only focuses on the abortion as part of his recurrent theme

of serious exploitation of young women but (as others had suggested) links it firmly to another scandal. The abortionist is called Mrs. Sitstill, which is evidently a demeaning reference to Mrs. Ann Restell, an English emigrant whom James Mohr calls "preeminent above the new abortion specialists."[23] Her center for surgical abortions was 148 Greenwich Street and according to one report Mary was last seen heading in that direction.[24] Mohr's chapter titled "The Great Upsurge in Abortion" begins in 1840 and Restell was regularly in the news, both for being summonsed and for arranging strong legal defenses: the *Police Gazette* waged a campaign against her,[25] and she was jailed for a year in 1847 as Judson was writing — only to emerge and thrive.

Other elements of *The Mysteries and Miseries* do not have the high profile and detailed factuality of Judson's combination of the Rogers and Restell cases, but they frequently mix searching moralism with a modern context. The assault planned on Angelina by wealthy, leisured young men and the general behavior of Harry Whitmore is reminiscent of a notorious case from 1836 when Helen Jewett, a prostitute, was murdered. The suspect, Richard P. Robinson, was a well-connected city worker, one of the new breed of men on the town: Patricia Clive Cohen discusses them as "clerks and young merchants" who rejected conservative middle-class values.[26] The trial attracted much newspaper coverage: Robinson was eventually acquitted because the evidence of prostitutes, which firmly inculpated him, was deemed by the judge to be unacceptable and a slender alibi was preferred. The events, Burrows and Wallace comment, "injected the issue of class into the debate about sex in the city."[27]

A similar menacing veracity is behind the stress Judson lays on gambling as a vicious force in the city, both cheating confirmed gamblers with stacked decks and crooked dealers and also deliberately tempting foolish men, especially young ones, into losing far more than they could afford. Judson deploys symbolism — Carlton's luxurious casino overlooks a graveyard, "a field of bones" (61) — but the reality was powerful. Gambling had developed especially strongly in New York in the 1830s and faro, the rapid turnover game played in the story, was introduced in the early 1840s: in 1850 the *Herald* called New York "the great center of the gamblers in this country."[28] Carlton is shown to be the worst of the gambling bosses: the wealthy loungers originally go to Pat Hisen's, an Irish-run gaming house, but they take Charles to Carlton's because "they will skin him better there than at Pat's" (78). Although Carlton is angry about his inability to enter the highest social circles, he is in no danger of trouble with the law: when he is briefly arrested after the murder of Charles Cooly, the narrator says he pretends "apparent surprise, knowing that of course *here*, in this most *moral* city (God forgive me for that lie), he never would be arrested for mere gambling" (269). James D. McCabe in 1872 devoted a whole section of his study of mid–nineteenth century New York life to discussing

"The Ring" of corrupt officials and gamblers.[29] Carlton's evident dominance over the whole criminal class in the city places him at the center of the ebb and flow of money that runs right through the story: like a malign master of the cash nexus he both claims and later denies that the $17,000 he gives to Charles to cover his theft is forged.

Equally prominent in real New York were the brothels where the nefarious action often occurs. Sue made them a marginal part of Paris lowlife and Reynolds is quite reticent, loading this guilt onto "the old hag," but Judson extends Lippard's treatment of sexual vice from the allegorical focus of Monk Hall into the real streets of New York. By 1830 there were some 200 brothels in the city, and in 1849 Foster estimated 10,000 women were employed in this way.[30] Greenwich Street was notorious for brothels: lower mid-town Broadway was, as the opening of the story shows, thronged with street walkers, and the streets down to the Battery, where Lize goes desperate for money to pay Frank for telling her where Angelina is, were an operational base for lower-class prostitutes. A map of the period shows brothels clustering west of Broadway around Greenwich and Chatham and then farther east around Gold and Frankfort.[31] For young women to live alone like Maria and Emma was itself suggestive because, as Christine Stansell comments, "Prostitution and casual sex provided the resources for girls to live on their own in boarding houses or houses of assignation."[32] McCabe noted how common houses of assignation were, with a separate sub-chapter on them.[33]

Judson avoids more scrupulously than the other *Mysteries* authors any sense of voyeurism in his treatment of prostitution. The text asserts that a place like Julia B's, at 355 Leonard Street, both exploits young women—"[m]any a poor girl, possessing nothing save beauty" (32)—and services the rich and immoral in parallel with the gamesters: "quite a number of '*gentlemen*,' some of them gray-haired men, but all having the appearance of being *monied* individuals, for here, as well as in the gambler's hell no one is wanted, who is not the possessor of all-powerful gold" (31). While Judson surely draws on Lippard for the name of one of his leisured brutes, Gus Livingstone, it must have also pleased him to deploy the surname of John R. Livingston, a leading citizen who has been described as a "de facto whoremaster."[34]

As with the other *Mysteries* writers, Judson does not give the officers of law enforcement much of a part to play. Plots focused on policing, like the detective story, were to develop on a narrower, more intellectual and subjective basis: Dickens and Collins would also use police and detectives only as minor figures even in semi-formal mystery stories like *Bleak House* and *The Moonstone*. Judson represents "The Watch" as being both inefficient and open to corruption—they are bought off by Livingstone and Whitmore readily enough, and are reluctant to believe Big Lize in the fake wedding scene, though they do listen

to her, and it is not clear whether they partly believe her charges against the gentry or just think this is a useful lever for a better payoff. During the 1840s a political struggle was going on over the New York watchmen. The state legislature approved plans in 1844 for a London-style police force, but the city fathers were able to delay this on behalf of the simpler and cheaper watchmen, even though they were largely incompetent and known, officially because of their protective caps, as "leatherheads."[35] This situation did not last, and stronger policing emerged under the leadership of Henry Matsell, a bookseller turned magistrate who organized new patrols in 1841 and who appears in the text when Livingstone fears him as a "keen-eyed magistrate" (119). Another figure is "old Hays" (26), referred to anxiously by Harriet Circle: Jacob Hays, a former patrolman, was High Constable of New York since 1801. The post was abolished in 1844, but he was still active. Consistent with these figures, Abingdon is able to take the abduction case to an obviously competent "Police Justice" (238) and his men.

A comparable force of urban improvement was the substantial effort that was going into mid-century charity work to alleviate the situation of the poor and needy. The Old Brewery at Five Points, Frank tells Precise, houses more than a thousand very poor people (Fig. 10): this was simply true, and the 1850s saw action to improve this infamous site. Judson's representation of Peter Precise, a city merchant, committing himself to real investment in charity is both a prediction of coming events and also, it seems, a recognition of the kind of work that had been done for some time by men like Anson Phelps, a very rich city merchant, evangelist and social activist who was behind the 1854 transformation of the Old Brewery site into "The Five Points Mission," a work center for the poor. Liberal efforts through charity were considerable: in 1844 the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor was an umbrella organization for forty charities.[36] An earlier effort was the founding in 1831 of the Magdalen Hospital in Five Points, where the conclusion says Isabella Meadows eventually found her way.

One contemporary force that the novel represents seems to hover between vice and virtue. Judson mentions a group of "B'hoys" who are both charitable (they try to help Charles Meadows find Isabella and seem to visit a brothel in something like a vigilante spirit) and also destructive (they leave the brothel and its fittings in ruins). Their leader calls himself "Mose" and has, he says, been at school with Charles: the imprisoned Isabella has thrown him a message from her window. These improbable-seeming sequences realize a very well-known element of New York social reality and also its theatrical life: Monaghan argues that Judson took the character straight from the stage after his novel was appearing.[37] "The Bowery B'hoys" were the best-known of these gangs and their leader, in the very popular theatrical versions discussed by

the ethnologist Richard Dorson,[38] was known as Mose — Sykes or Sykesy was a supporter. Mose's partner was Lize, who seems to have mutated into Big Lize in this novel, which suggests Judson knew the story before the stage play of 1848. Basically working-class, and from the lower end of Manhattan, the "b'hoys" were inherently hostile to the idle wealthy, and this seems the motive for the quasi-vigilante behavior exhibited in the novel and elsewhere. But though their name is originally an Irish-accented version of "boys" they were also in this period strongly Nativist, often (as also happened in Philadelphia) challenging the rights of immigrant labor, at this time mostly Irish, to take their own work and, they believed, lower their wages.

Foster spoke well of the "b'hoys," saying they were "cheerful and patient" at work and that "independence" was their "governing sentiment, pride and passion," while Dorson called Mose "the Bowery's Robin Hood."[39] Judson employs the "B'hoys" in this story as a force for potential good. Though they do not find Isabella when she drops the message and they miss saving her on their previous brothel visit, the conclusion says they were in later years "many times successful" in saving "a victim from the clutches of the procuress and the libertine" (287). At no stage does Judson bring their strong Nativism into the story. This may be because he is telling a story about crime and exploitations of class and gender, but the reticence is all the more notable because Judson himself was an avid Nativist, a leading figure and ideologue in the notorious Astor Riots of May 1849. Gangs of Nativists, with "b'hoys" well to the fore, disrupted performances at the Astor Theatre by the visiting English actor Macready, who was supported by the New York wealthy as part of their own sense of international values. "Shall Americans or English Rule in the City?" was the Nativist slogan — and Judson was regarded as "chief assistant" to the leader of resistance, Captain Isaiah Rynders.[40] In the major disturbance, as troops fired to restore order, over 20 people were killed and many injured. Another 117 were reported as arrested, and Judson, seen by the court as a ringleader, even an arsonist according to some reports, was to serve a year in jail.

Nativist or not, Judson presents relatively little racialized social hostility in the story. Irish people are among the very poor, for both good and ill, as corrupt watchmen or suffering paupers, and there are no Irish among the criminal immigrants. In this period there was limited racist hostility to Jews in New York, largely because their major immigration, a response to pogroms in Germany and Austria, would begin in the 1850s. The reference to Circle's follower Sheney (which the text explains means "Jewish") Bill might seem only casually racist, as when Harriet speaks of a jeweler with poor stock as "a broken down sheney" (25), but the narrator's comment that the comic lawyer Tarhound had "a kind of sheneyish expression in which avarice, cunning cowardice, and licentiousness were all so mixed together that they could not be separated"

(72) is much further from Reynolds's even-handed treatment of Jewish characters and close to attitudes expressed several times by Foster, notably in his discussion of Five Points. The most focused anti-foreigner aggression is shown when the criminals go out looking for profit to a Dutch-German dance. Tobin, Lize and others rob and humiliate a fat Dutchman and a very tall, clumsy German: racial stereotypes flow in the only sequence of racist action in the whole novel.

African Americans are not represented in a negative light, unlike in much contemporary commentary, notably in the southern commentator Bobo. Hannah Carlton's mulatto maid Eliza, one of the very few African Americans to have a role in the story, is discreet and educated; the "negroes" are among those who would like to have Precise's gold at the Brewery, but they are not the most aggressive: they show sympathy when Angelina's mother is murdered — but vanish when Lize calls the Watch. As George Walker comments, there were relatively few African Americans at the Brewery, but they shared "housing and general living conditions [that] were simply appalling."[41] African Americans had, as in Philadelphia, very poor rates of employment in skilled trades, and even unskilled work had been taken recently by new immigrants.[42] This story shows them suffering with unaggressive dignity, and also as having their own communal life and vigor: in a vivid sequence the text visits Pete Williams's African American nightclub at Five Points. But where in Dickens's *American Notes* this is merely seen as a fine place to visit and admire spectacular dancing — like William Henry Lane, the great "Master Juba," who invented tap dancing — Judson shows how the rich hooligans team up with violent white boxers, including the gang leader "Butcher Bill," to burst in, beat up the bouncer, demand drinks, call the customers "soot bags" (123), grab girls to dance with and leave at 4.00 A.M. "striking down and trampling over every negro whom they met" (126).

Consistently exposing forms of exploitation and oppression as he does — though he seems to enjoy the Dutch-German humiliation and does transmit limited elements of anti–Semitism — Judson both realizes the modern darkness of the city and also offers some hope for its improvement. In his Prefatorial, he starts by saying this story is "drawn from *life*, heart-sickening, *too-real* life." (1848, Vol. 1, 5). Like all the other *Mysteries* writers Judson has shown that "vice and profligacy abound on every hand" (288), and he has, also like them, located this drama firmly, interpretatively, in the real contemporary city.

The Streets of New York

Approaching half a million people, so a little smaller than Paris and much less than London, Judson's New York of 1848 is not represented as a federation

of separate zones with substantial journeys to be made between them, socially and physically, as in Sue and Reynolds. Like Lippard's Philadelphia, but in a more detailed way, it is a set of adjoining zones where poor and rich cross paths with some risk to each other: the city's topography enacts a mix of democracy and conflict that is essentially American.

The action never leaves the island of Manhattan, and it is a much more confined city than today: Judson always calls the Hudson the North River, now only its name from mid-town down. But the city was surging in extent. As industry grew downtown and immigrants flooded in to provide labor, the genteel and would-be genteel moved away: the place for people with money and status in this period was "above Bleecker," and the farther north the richer: some building was taking place around 40th Street in 1848, but unlike in the European *Mysteries*, we hardly visit the very rich areas. The Abingdon house, "one of the up-town palaces of our merchant kings" (74), is vaguely located up Third Avenue, probably around 30th Street. The Fitz Lawrences are lower down, living "in one of those large and elegant houses" which are "not a mile from Astor Place" (128), perhaps as far up as Madison Square, and suitable to their new wealth, as only built in 1847. Only a little farther down is Peter Precise, who is on a street like Bank or Charles, "one of those beautiful streets which stretch across from Broadway to the north river not far from Union Square" (35)—interestingly just where Judson lived with his wealthy in-laws at 16 Abingdon Place (did he ironically re-use the name for his richest couple?). Carlton's gaming house is about the same level as Precise—Hannah Carlton gets on the down–Broadway omnibus just before he and Frank do. As his casino overlooks a cemetery and there were then very few this far uptown, it is likely to be where St Mark's old church stands with its graveyard facing Second Avenue between 10th and 11th. Hannah is going to the house of assignation on a street parallel to Broadway—she gets off just before Leonard. She travels down in several ways: this is also close to the bar owned by her lover, on Broadway near Leonard. A little farther down the city than Precise is where the Meadows family lives off Broadway, near Canal, but surely still north of it because of their respectable status.

Canal Street marks laterally then as, for many people still,[43] the start of the lower part of Manhattan, the home of poverty and crime, and the site of most of the action. It runs down to the Lower East Side, past the massively ominous prison, the Tombs, the Brewery on Cross Street, now renamed Park, and Five Points, ominously located only three blocks from Broadway at the crossroads on Mulberry: the site was flattened for Mulberry Bend Park (reopened in 1897 and euphemized as Columbus Park). Here Angelina comes in desperation and her mother is murdered: they have crossed town in fugitive despair to the terrible Brewery, through which ran "Murderer's Alley" (130).

This is where the generous Precise helps the very poor and the smallpox-ridden, and near here the gentry thugs and their boxer friends invade the Pete Williams all-black nightclub

Down to the west and parallel to Broadway, Greenwich Street with its wealth of brothels ran right beside the North River, with its many docks and sailors — landfill has produced the modern embankment, expressway and riverside apartments. Angelina and her mother live in a cellar down here by the North River, liable to flood with water like so many other hovels in the *Mysteries*. She is hurrying home with her work when she meets the bullying revelers where Park Place meets the great white way. Livingstone re-houses them in Laight Street, just up from the North River and she will return to the area after she escapes from the Brewery. Lize rescues her again from the louts in Broadway, and takes her to a Greenwich Street house, but when Livingstone visits the house to see Maria Angelina flees up the west side, collapsing at Precise's house about a mile north.

In the beginning of the story when Angelina first escapes, her aggressors go from Park Place up Broadway to Pat Hisen's mid-town gaming house. Downtown was much less fancy entertainment: the criminals go on business to the Dutch dance on Elizabeth Street near Grand in the heart of the Bowery, then there is Ma Buckley's bar on Frankfort near Gold close to the water at the tip of the city, and down off the eastern part of the cross-town Leonard Street are the real dives like Cherry Street near Cathedral Market, where the criminals meet.

Male journeys for both pleasure and bullying go to the southwest and southeast of the city, including the southern reaches of Greenwich Street, where Maria lives, Mary is aborted, and Isabella is imprisoned — and also where Poe lived briefly in 1844 when he first came to the city.[44] But the rampaging males can also stay closer to Broadway: Harry advises Gus he should have forced compliance from Angelina in "the Leonard street dens" (118) or, as he himself does with Isabella, stay parallel to lower Broadway and visit Mrs. Swett's at 100 Church Street, another famous site for brothels. Even farther down from lower mid-town is where Lize goes in search of money to help Angelina: in full bold glamor she starts in Center Street at "the Park" with a fountain (239–40) — City Hall Park, evidently: Poe discusses it and the fountain in one of his *Doings of Gotham* letters[45] — then drawing a blank she goes past the Astor Hotel, occupying a city block on the west side of Broadway between Barclay and Vesey, then down lower Broadway past two more hotels, the American and Franklin, right to the Battery and Castle Gardens, where she finds not a rich client but her impoverished father just landed from a ship from Europe.

The bravest of the women has come to the very edge of the city, and will

turn back to do her best in a very difficult situation. The whole southern tip of Manhattan throbs with action in this densely charted narrative. Like Reynolds's vigorous, thronging East End, or Sue's insurrectionary city center, lower Manhattan is rich in both misery and energy. But it does not actually cause most of the mysteries: the exploitations and manipulations of the story tend to come from farther up Manhattan. Up and down Broadway run the surging tides of the hectic city in a cavalcade of events and interactions that Judson has managed and handled with both insistent speed and remarkable skill.

Managing Manhattan in Fiction

Judson's *Mysteries*, first appearing in five short volumes, had very short chapters, more even than the single-volume text, which has 60 of them in a total of some 160,000 words: the pattern is closer to Reynolds than the other *Mysteries* writers. This mix of pace and simplicity is emphasized by Judson's rarely extending a narrative sequence over two chapters — exceptions are the opening two chapters, Precise's visit to the Brewery (chaps. 9–10) and Lize's second rescue of Angelina (chaps. 27–9). Narrative strands can multiply inside a short chapter: three appear in chapters 15 and 55 and two are more common (e.g., chaps. 16, 22, 23, 24, 42, 56, 58, 59). In parallel to this montage effect, Judson's routine style is brisk, combining action and new characters with brief dialogue and making single points crisply about people. When Frank is taking Precise to see the slums, an omnibus appears on Broadway:

> A nod of assent from Mr. P. brought the omnibus close into the side-walk, and our two friends were ensconced inside in a moment. When they got in there were but two persons inside, and one of those recognized Frank in a moment. He did not, however, see Frank's sign for him to remain unknowing and unknown, but reached out his hand quickly and said:
>
> "Ah, ha! my young fren, I ver glad to see you!" And then Captain Julian Tobin looked at Frank's companion. At a glance he saw that he was well dressed — he saw also, as his cloak was open, that a gold chain around Mr. P.'s neck betokened a gold watch to be in the fob, and his dark eye sparkled while he gazed.
>
> Frank saw that it was too late to deny the acquaintance, and with perfect composure said:
>
> "Good evening, Captain Delamere! I'm glad to see you!" [48].

Judson deftly creates interactive movement around the city, undercurrents, connections, but also separations — the other passenger is Hannah Carlton on her way to an assignation and events that involve none of the others.

Parallel actions like these, or like the two carriages in Greenwich Street, are sometimes given sudden intersections. Coincidence is used not just as in

Reynolds's fate-oriented and morally justified way but at times as part of the normality of interactive life in a busy but not enormous city — though also implying an evaluative edge. Big Lize intervenes credibly for Angelina at the start. Hurrying from the Brewery to her employers near the North River, the innocent young woman is seen and chased by Livingstone and his cohorts, but Lize is there and fells him. Angelina feels heaven is behind this, but she is crossing Nassau and Broadway, the heart of the streetwalker district, so it is quite appropriate that both Lize and the gentry louts are nearby. The same likeliness appears in Lize's intervention to stop the fake wedding on Greenwich Street: the two parties are present through differing involvements in the sex industry. In the same way, when Lize rehouses the orphaned Angelina it is not improbable that she uses the Greenwich Street lodging house where Maria lives, and when Gus visits, no doubt for professional purposes, Angelina thinks he is pursuing her and escapes.

But as the sequence that ends Angelina's flight shows, Judson is not afraid to use a fuller form of coincidence, as when she collapses on Precise's doorstep and, later, when Lize runs into her father down at the Battery. The recurrent moralizing in directly narratorial voice validates such providential moments, especially when they are rather few and set among well-charted interactions of people, place and plotting.

Like Sue and others, Judson at times makes use of a slightly retrospective narrative to emphasize moralized interactions — chapter 5 makes it clear that it is picking up the story of the gentry thugs from the end of chapter 3 after a view of the criminals and their plans (29). Story threads can be broken up by intervening action as when chapter 16 picks up the story of the criminal assault on the Dutch dance from the end of chapter 14 (81), or when Tobin's engaging villainy at the Fitz Lawrences's is split between chapters 30 and 37. But the general feeling of the story is a rapid and intense flow of action. Later on some intercutting and acceleration of action occurs as if to hurry towards the end, and a gap of a month precedes the final scenes and concluding roundup (again curiously like Féval). There are a few loose ends, like the coat of arms on Angelina's ring and how Gus Livingstone discovered where Angelina and her mother live, and Jack Circle never does, regrettably, deliver the stories he promises about the comic, incompetent (and Lippardesque) lawyer C. Agrippa Tarhound (73).

The generally brisk and varied flow of the narrative is colored in various ways. One, close to Reynolds, is the use of slang: the criminal gang and their vocabulary have mostly come straight from underworld London. Jack Circle addresses them as "vel, my covies," and they use familiar slang terms like "glim" for light, "prig" for steal, and "crib" for house (24). There are none of the explanatory footnotes found in Reynolds and Sue, though the original

first volume did have a full appendix giving a glossary. London slang appears only familiar in New York among the criminals: Lize apologizes to Angelina for using "flash patter" (163–4) and offers an in-text explanation. Frank himself talks to his girlfriend about slang being "mighty useful at times," apparently for secrecy. (27) There are also signs of newly Americanized slang — Lize also has to explain to Angelina an American expression when she says the old man she picked up looked as if he "toted dimes," that is, had money about him (161), and Circle shows some localization when he calls Frank "one of the b'hoys" (79).

Judson makes limited use of the diversionary devices that Reynolds especially deploys: there are only two songs, very early on, as Angelina comforts her mother. A few amusing moments occur towards the end, as if offering comic relief. Precise's maid thinks Frank is reading about the Roman leader July Sneezer (258), and when Lize meets a sexton near her mother's grave he gives a droll account of his business and recommends a reliable undertaker (apparently drawing on the body-snatching sequence late in Reynolds's first volume). A more elevated form of variety emerges from Judson's occasional literary references. It is not surprising that Gus Livingstone reads a sensational Paul de Kock novel (166); greater intellectualism and independence is suggested when Hannah Carlton reads the letters of Lady Montague, a basically feminist travel book published in 1837. Appropriately, Frank Hennock reads Lytton's *Paul Clifford* (27), about another criminal with some elements of nobility.

The narrator's voice is often most effective when simply offering reportage, a parallel inside the text to the original factual introduction and appendixes. The whole novel opens with a vivid account of the mid-town streets at night, and the account of the situation of Angelina and her mother is movingly objective. Equally effective in a more sensational style is the account of one of Pete Williams's "most fashionable hops" (122), to be disrupted by the white hooligans, high and low class; the major set-piece in chapter 10 when Frank takes Precise to Five Points is strongly developed. In both sequences Judson's style is more active, more character-involving than the narrator-privileging style of Dickens's "New York" chapter in *American Notes*. The characters themselves are aware of the power of contemporary reportage: Carlton, when threatening Charles Meadows with exposure, says, "What an item it would make for Bennett" (244), referring to James Gordon Bennett, founder of the New York *Herald* and very influential mediator of his day.

In general, as in the dramatic opening where Angelina is challenged by the wealthy males, the narrator lets action and value-laden description make his points but does not hesitate to add his own evaluative implications — the prostitutes on Broadway on the opening page are both "tinselled creatures"

and also "miserable females" (5). These implied judgments can surface in Reynolds-like direct statement, as in the early passage showing how "lawless, heartless, God-forsaken libertines" take advantage of "fond, trusting, all-confiding woman" and a woman can be "fallen into the rut whence no hand amid all our Christian city will attempt to raise her" (32).

The substantial amount of data about criminality and corruption with which Judson originally framed his texts supported this strongly reformist tone, making a powerful counterpoint to its racy but insistently dark and never merely titillating action. The author speaks directly at the end of his seven chapters of setting up characters and strands of action: "We have a hard task before us, in following *real life*, instead of imitating some great *predecessors* in foreign cities, and giving a clear scope to fancy" (43). The terms "foreign" and "fancy" appear to reject Sue rather than Reynolds, but a little later Judson speaks in a mode very similar to Sue's preface when he says:

> We speak of what we have seen; for many a sickening hour have we spent in studying these scenes. We have gone within these hells — we have remarked looks, expressions, and characters, until the book is one committed to memory, a memory which holdeth all that it has gained [61].

Real Life

Judson's claims to avoid the foreign and the fanciful and to have studied closely the operations of his own city seem essentially justified. The remarkable success in the period of his *Mysteries and Miseries* testifies to its effectiveness as a story, and from a modern viewpoint it appears to set out some of the major forces of mid-century New York, dominated by social and gender conflict and almost overwhelmed by the attractions of money. With a tone hovering between the reportage and the moralism of the best contemporary press writing, Judson seemed in these pages to achieve something of much greater contemporary and lasting value than his later simplistic celebrations of adventuring men like Buffalo Bill, Wild Bill Hickock or Texas Jack.

It is a bleak narrative: by the end, according to the conclusion, ten characters have died, one woman is mad and one, her daughter Isabella, is not far off; two men are in jail, three villains have fled the country (Selden, Circle and Livingstone) and of the main characters only the Abingdons, Precise and his maid Jenny survive in the city, all of them victims of major robberies — Frank stole Jenny's savings as well. The fussy but actively honest Precise is the best of the survivors; of the dead only Angelina, her mother and Mary Sheffield (yielding to Mr. Shirley aside) were innocent.

Judson, like Reynolds, seems to provide a voice through which the city

can speak with all its contrasting and overlapping voices and express its citizens' dialectical quest for both money and dignity. In his Preface Judson called himself "a Friend of the Working Man," and although the story hardly represents any male worker — criminals, boxers, bar owners, gamblers and destitute people can hardly belong to that category — he has nevertheless charted the powerfully negative forces of the city against which the honest working man, and woman, struggled to make headway. Combining, as in so much of the best of American writing, a cold-eyed view of reality with a stubborn affiliation to an ideal of simple cooperative goodness, Judson, like Lippard, but in a much more realistic way, reconfigured European concerns and techniques to realize an entirely American accent and viewpoint. Both writers should, if there were literary-critical justice, properly be regarded as central elements of the often-discussed American renaissance of creative writing in the mid–nineteenth century. They are both writers whom high-culture critics, including in America, have found of very little interest — even passing references to Judson and especially to the *Mysteries* are rare in the scholarly literature[46] — but they were acclaimed by their readers as speaking directly and truthfully about the new cities that would direct so much of the future for American life.

6

Mysteries Across the World: Donald Cameron's *The Mysteries of Melbourne Life*

Disseminating the Mysteries

The sequence of city mysteries from Sue to Judson is a strong and varied development as the new genre explores, reveals and sometimes conceals the forces at work in the new conurbations at the heart of the self-consciously developing nations of an increasingly interactive world. But the new genre was not so simply focused: there were exploiters, appropriators, failures, and even frauds claiming membership in the Mysteries family.

Eugène François Vidocq, author and hero of the rogue-turned-detective *Mémoires* (1828) that generated many imitations, not least Balzac's Vautrin, attempted to trump Sue with *Les Vrais Mystères de Paris*, a seven-volume production in 1844. As with his own memoir there were no doubt other hands involved, and perhaps not entirely serious ones: the rambling adventures including a robber-turned-policeman named Fanfan la Grenouille ("the Frog"). Simpler exploitation came in *Les Nouveaux Mystères de Paris* in three volumes from 1853, a naïve melodrama, and another with the same name appeared in 1867 by Aurélien Scholl, which opens by disavowing any interest in "social discussion."[1]

Other French authors shifted the potent Mysteries title sideways to help publicize very traditional narratives, as in *Les Mystères de l'Inquisition* (1845) by "M.V. de Férèal" (the multi-pseudonymous Mme. Suberwick) and the six-volume *Les Mystères des Vieux Châteaux de France, ou Amours Secrètes des Rois et des Reines* by Alexandre Bailly (as A. B. Le François) in 1848 — this is basically legitimist tourism: the inquisition has the livelier narratives and much more gripping illustrations. Closer to Sue, at least in personal terms, was

Frédéric Soulié's *Les Mystères des Landes ou la Château de Chevaline*— as usual with Soulié, it is an aristocratic melodrama, diluted Gothic set in the northern "landes" between the Loire and the Sarthe: this was translated quickly into English in New York, as *The Mysteries of the Heath* (1844). A more distant appropriation of the generic title was *Mysteries of the Neapolitan Cloisters* (1845), which in spite of its stimulating title, and perhaps through that popular in three languages, turns out to be a thoughtful critique on convent life by Enrichetta Caracciolo, ex-nun of princely blood.

In England imitation and exploitation seem rarer than in Europe. Reynolds was his own major diluter in the royalty-focused *Mysteries of the Court of London*, though Thomas Miller and E. L. Blanchard made the model increasingly dull and ragged in their continuation of *The Mysteries of London* for George Vickers (1849–50). When F. E. Smedley produced in 1849 *The Mysteries of Redgrave Court* it is not only merely a novella at the end of an anthology, and a banal gentry parody, but looks towards Ann Radcliffe rather than Reynolds.

The German language responded more vigorously to the new genre: Paul Thiel's *Die Geheimnisse von Berlin* ("The Secrets of Berlin," 1844) was immediately translated in New York as *The Mysteries of Berlin* (1845) with the business like subtitle *From the Papers of a Berlin Criminal Officer*. This was issued in ten parts at twelve and a half cents, and at a full 300,000 words was better value than Judson — it is also a strongly developed multi-stranded story with its own confidence. Several survivors head off to New York at the end and the cover blurb asserts the book has been "universally pronounced far superior to M. Sue's *Mysteries of Paris*." There was also, as part of the strong German-language culture of early America, *Die Geheimnisse von St Louis* by Heinrich Börnstein, serialized in a St. Louis German-language newspaper. It was also published in Germany in 1851 and had an English version by Friedrich Munch in book form in 1851–2.[2] Baron Ludwig von Reizenstein also followed Judson with his setting of *Die Geheimnisse von New Orleans*, also in a newspaper, 1854–5, but not translated until 2000 by Steven Rowan.[3] By making it a lurid, even semi-pornographic account of urban life, as well as espousing radical politics, von Reizenstein not only attracted criticism but also seemed closer in spirit to Lippard, though his critique was of slavery and corruption, not social exploitation. Directly opposite Lippard is James Rees's *The Mysteries of City Life* (1849), a post–Lippard set of vignettes of Philadelphia society, heavily moralized in Christian terms. This was at least still urban, as was the earlier but very short tee-totalist *The Mysteries of Worcester* (1844), starting in an oyster cellar, or the short, lurid account of New York life, preserving only the gambling dens and brothels from Judson, *The Mysteries of Bond* Street (1857) by George Thompson, as "Greenhorn." But America had its own Soulié-like rural appropriation in T. B. Thorpe's *Mysteries of the Backwoods,*

or Sketches of the South-West (1845)—"south-west" here means the lower Mississippi region and the text ranges between beekeeping, alligator chasing and buffalo hunting for its mysteries.

Of these only *The Mysteries of Berlin* uses the new genre to explore social and criminal life in a revealing way, but that is also found in the two-volume *I Misteri di Milano* (1857), in which Alessandro Sauli uses family-focused problems and situations to construct an account of Milan at a volatile time between the failed "five days" resistance to the Austrians in March 1848 and the developing national liberation that began in 1858, but also a time of "growing liberalism" and "social equality."[4] These texts show how the Mysteries genre could work powerfully outside its original languages of French and English, but *The Mysteries of St Petersburg* (1880) credited to a Mikaël Gortschakov was actually written by Henry Llewellyn Williams Jr., a very prolific Welsh-American who would translate Sue's *Mysteries* in 1892 with considerable success. One generic journey was abortive: *The Mysteries of Montreal* that appeared in 1846 only ran to nine chapters, and the failure seems explained by the lackluster writing and plotting. Charlotte Fuhrer's *The Mysteries of Montreal* would emerge in 1881, but it reduces the Mysteries genre to the lively memoirs of a midwife.

The furthest journey of all extended the new tradition with real impact, though it is the least known of all these texts. Even in Australia Donald Cameron's *The Mysteries of Melbourne* (1873) is almost completely unknown and yet unreprinted, but this is the last authentic appearance of the Mysteries of the Cities. True to the leading examples discussed here, it deploys a multiple narrative in the context of social and urban change, taking note of new challenges in class and gender and enduring threats from the past. It creates a new story to analyze a new world, retaining a strong link to journalism but showing its location in time and publishing practices by replacing serial publication with the newly developed format of the single-volume popular novel.

The Melbourne Mystery Novel

When the Mysteries of the Cities genre started in the 1840s, Melbourne, on its large protected bay fed by the sluggish river Yarra, was still just a town exporting wool around the world, importing immigrants, from optimistic to desperate, and absorbing the spin-off of convictism elsewhere in what was still a set of ill-matched colonies rather than a country. The gold rush of the 1850s re-founded the Victorian colony with "a torrent of immigration,"[5] bringing new wealth and new aspirations, both towards grandeur and towards radicalism. The colony, like others in Australia, soon adopted all but one of the Chartists' six points (annual parliaments never proved attractive), but

Melbourne was also a booming business city: the largely neo-classical downtown was constructed as the business capital of the huge resource center that Australia had rapidly become. Suddenly it developed an art gallery, a public library of world standing, a university for professionals. The brilliant, errant Marcus Clarke and his followers, including Donald Cameron, realized in vibrant newspapers and periodicals the dynamic, disorderly life of the thronging city. This was where the ships stopped — they sailed south about the great continent, surfing dangerously before the gales of the roaring forties and while they would pause for supplies at Fremantle, the western colony was then so small, and so far from anywhere else, all journeys led to Melbourne. Not much international shipping struggled into the wind up the Pacific coast to Sydney: most goods were transhipped overland to the older colony by coaster, bullock team, and eventually interstate rail.

Melbourne's mercantile and artisanal inner city stretched out, and trams, cabs, omnibuses, and very soon railways linked up across barren heaths, steep gullies and alarming swamps. It was the home of newspapers, magazines and publishers as well as gamesters, shysters, gold merchants, stockbrokers and the other appurtenances of burgeoning mercantilism, and also the resting place of many personal shipwrecks of convictism and the brutal early settler days. Melbourne was, like San Francisco, both frontier town and emergent capital. What had happened in Paris and London over 200 years took in Melbourne one generation, and the Mysteries of the Cities form was an appropriate mode to both chart what had happened and also explore ways of coping with, sometimes by concealment, the worst elements of that sudden change — or development, as most preferred to think of it.

Donald Cameron was born in 1844 in New South Wales, the son of an immigrant Scottish teacher. Though working mostly as a Melbourne journalist, as Alfred Deakin later said, "His heart was in his fiction,"[6] which he produced from the late 1860s to his death in 1888. He wrote about his experiences at what was then called Sandhurst, the English military-oriented name of what had become a gold-boom center: it later, by vote, re-adopted its original name, Bendigo, referring to a local man who took the name of a famous English boxer.[7] Cameron's writing was also adaptable to the new context: his novella *Scripopolis* (1872) is a semi-factual story of life in a rural center: a meandering narrative with some crisp writing, it was surpassed in many ways in his well-shaped, highly condensed *The Mysteries of Melbourne Life* (1873), written when he was slightly younger than Reynolds had been. This was only ever published as a novel; it is in the double-column format of the local magazines, and serialization was still common, but the single *Mysteries* edition merely lists a printer as publisher, and it seems Cameron produced it himself, like *Scripopolis*. Busy though publishing was in Melbourne, it was also precipitous:

the high-quality *Colonial Monthly* failed in the late 1860s and Marcus Clarke's *His Natural Life* nearly ruined *The Australian Journal* when he edited it in 1868–9; under George Walstab the magazine relied heavily on low-paid contributions — among them the first work of the enduring and often brilliant very early woman crime writer Mary Fortune.[8]

But though Cameron's relative brevity at 80,000 words and novel format vary the Mysteries tradition, in both his title and his structure he showed he was familiar with the form and its possibilities, especially what Reynolds and Lippard had achieved. He uses with some skill the interchange of melodramatic present and retrospective narratives to condense emotional drama with retrospective urban documentary, notably in part 9, the longest, which is itself called "Melbourne Mysteries."

In order to actualize in human terms the forces that the mysteries explore, Sue focused on a ruptured princely family and its lower-class avatars; Reynolds deployed an "opposing brothers" pattern linked to fragile nuclear families; Lippard used an interlocking series of socially varied broken families; Judson juxtaposed families and friendships, all uncertain of stability. Cameron, both more focused and more structurally condensed, possibly influenced by the city men found in Lippard and Judson, concentrates on a male triptych, three onetime friends now variously at odds, both with each other and over the one available woman; and then, interfering with their fortunes, he introduces a double-gendered "vengeance from the past" story.

Focal at the start and finish are three young men, Hugh Hanlon, Robert Wilton and Harry Robertson, working in a Melbourne bank. They all love Linda — she has no unmarried surname and little identity beyond that of responsive womanhood. She chooses Robert, who throughout is represented as having outstanding physical and personal "magnetism" (58). Hugh takes this very badly — his is "a cruel, sensual, idolatrous love" (51) — and he spins off into drink, gambling and determined hatred, sinking to the lower depths of Melbourne life. Harry takes his rejection nobly and remains a friend, suffering with reticence: but both providence and his own inner strength (also class-based) link up when a relative leaves him a grand income and a fine house.

The secondary plot emerges when Hugh is met in the street by the glamorous *nouveau riche* Marian: she has always loved Robert and funds Hugh as an agent to destroy his marriage to Linda. Through Hugh's semi-criminal acquaintances in "the ring" of gamblers and dubious financiers, he is able to make Robert's bank tally fall short — white-collar crime fiction emerges; a check for £400 turns to one for £100 through the use of self-fading ink. Robert, however charming, is never the strongest character: he begins to worry, and drink, and is easily swayed by Hugh into gambling with the corrupt ring, and on into the arms of Marian.

Linda suffers and laments to Harry; Hugh presses her to no avail, in the process singing appropriately, if also menacingly, "The Tempest of the Heart," from *Il Trovatore* (53). Robert ends up massively in debt; a final "ring" coup to fix the Melbourne Cup fails and Robert, Marian and all the ringers are ruined. Faced with Robert's embezzlement of £6,700, Linda appeals to Harry. For his love of Robert, rather than of her, the noble Harry saves Robert financially, so he can become a repentant husband, father of two and thriving city merchant. Hugh, frustrated in both lust and vengeance, is run over by a suburban train. Marian, whose last act is to save Robert from prosecution when, the money re-paid, she uses power from her past to neutralize the hostile bank inspector, ends up a beautiful suicide in her beautiful St Kilda home.

Gender, Class and Race in the City

Brisk and shapely as this double-plot structure evidently is, there is much more, both in terms of story and also recognizing issues and forces in contemporary Australian life. The history of the city of Melbourne and that of the Victorian colony are both realized and occluded; the structures and dangers of social and personal life in this newest of worlds are explored but also elided; a quest for a valid and functioning set of values is recurrent but not always successful.

Cameron's underlying pattern of gender tensions has special meaning in a country where men had long seriously outnumbered women and where past attachments proved an embarrassment for many social aspirants. That conflicted model seems to lead to male-male relationships being treated in a positive, even eroticized, way. Harry is especially valued: he has a "sweet expression" on his mouth and a "gentle light" in his eye (5) and he has exercised "noble self-sacrifice" (8) over his loss of Linda, all of which shows his "personal and mental superiority" (12). It appears fitting then that "this noble man" (39) should both inherit wealth and property and also spread his generosity to the lower-class youth Billy, and especially to Robert. Harry's faithful action arises from what the text does not hesitate to call his "true and constant love" (30) for Robert, and the point is emphasized: Harry "hungered and thirsted for the love of this dear foolish fellow" (47).

The text seems to pull back from celebrating male homosexuality by stressing "the pure and holy affection he felt for Robert" (57), but that does not restrain the insistently seductive representation of Robert himself. He has "a beautiful person and a winning way" (30), and when he is on the town, gambling and drinking, "his form seemed to have even more elasticity, even greater grace" (47). His young co-worker Freddy is a "handsome, dark-eyed youth, who worshipped Robert, and had been awfully annoyed at his marriage, as he was deprived of his company" (31). Readers might put this down to the

homosociality of single-sex schools and Victorian domestic gender separation, but more seems implied when Harry turns up with the money to save Robert from jail: "There was a dead silence for a few minutes, and then Robert rose, and clasping Harry in his arms, printed a passionate kiss on his face" (79). Robert, realizing his disgrace, offers to "rid the world" of himself as "unfit for such love," but first he is calmed by Linda "embracing him" and then "Harry's arms were soon around his neck" (79). The threesome survives: Robert fathers two children by Linda, and as for Harry, "[t]he most perfect love subsists between the two" (82).

It seems a classic case of what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has called the "between men" role of the heroine: she acts as both conduit and cover for homoerotic feeling.[9] We never know what Linda looks like: the gaze of the text avoids fetishizing her body, unlike Robert's. We learn she has a "little hand" (37), and almost immediately Hugh observes her "matchless beauty," which is both "rounded" and "filled up" (37): it seems she is only physically potent to his degraded eye. Marian, however, has strong physical presence. As well as the "white arms" (28) that euphemistically enfold Robert in his first dereliction, we see her powerful, strongly made-up face at the start, and we hear her seductive singing voice (27); but against those attractions stand her vigorous rejection as a form of Lamia by Harry the saintly male:

> ...that woman is as cold and calculating as she is beautiful; she has none of the foibles that bring her sisters to an ill end early. She is in her way a philosopher, and while not disdaining love and pleasure, looks on money as the great aim of existence. Cold and heartless and cruel, she resembles one of those terrible demons who, the better to ruin their victims, assume a fascinating human form [47–8].

Her final letter speaks of the "passion" of her love, a quality Linda never offers to trouble the masculinist processes of the text. Marian may be active, splendid, cunning and enduring, but like her sister Bella and her unnamed mother, she is in a male-oriented world and is finally a victim, as few women were in the earlier fictions of Sue and Reynolds: she experiences a sexualized switchback of love and pain like women in Lippard and Judson.

If on the issue of gender Cameron's text seems both traditional and underscrutinized, in terms of class it operates within a narrow social stratum, focusing on professional city life, with some socially lower comparators. But while Australia lacks both the peaks and depths of European structures of class and those of income indicated by Lippard and Judson, that does not mean it is, or ever was, without serious socio-economic tensions. One sub-plot deals with Billy Dawson, the small, thin inner-city boy met on the first page. His father was an artisan carpenter in Collingwood, a working-class suburb that was respectable, even radical: Clarke spoke of the "fierce democracy" of its residents.[10] But first father, then mother were seized by drink — a real problem

in mid-century Melbourne[11]: Billy's baby sister died, his eldest sister, like so many ill-fortuned young women, became first a seamstress, then a prostitute. He falls into bad company and is close to jail. Through a chance meeting, and her own passive saintliness, Linda employs him as a house boy; when his old acquaintance catches up with him, Harry takes him under his patronage, and he will by the last page become part of Robert's thriving merchant business. Harry changes his name to the more respectable Willy quite early (48), but the text, less decisive about altering lives, only adopts this for the final section of narrative (67).

What Billy separates himself from was called "larrikinism," though the text, language-aware like all the city mysteries, says this term was not used ten years before (18). Of Irish origin, and later used in a relatively positive way for the spirited young, in the period the term referred to teenage gang members who would harass, rob and threaten respectable citizens and were always able to disappear into the lanes and passageways of the city: the problem was much discussed, including by Clarke in the essays collected under the title "A Colonial City."[12]

The inner Melbourne warrens the larrikins inhabited were where Billy's parents sank: Graeme Davison comments that "as early as 1857 ... the worst parts of Melbourne had been identified as 'the back slums' and compared to 'the most crowded parts of Spitalfields and St Giles.'"[13] Melbourne literature, from Marcus Clarke in the 1860s to Fergus Hume in 1886, explores with Reynolds-like vigor and some scopophilia the lanes of inner Melbourne that thread behind the grand streets. These lanes were homes to the gamblers, drinkers, streetwalkers and thieves who operated along the fine mercantile boulevards of Collins and Bourke Street. Also fallen into this world is Will Slabang, formerly cashier at the bank. In a crucial scene on his own way down Robert declines manly sports with his fellow workers, then by accident meets Will, and they walk down Collins Street and round into Elizabeth Street for a drink at a sordid bar.

They are going downhill and west, in more than a literal sense. Ahead of them lay the West Melbourne Swamp; near where Elizabeth Street joined the Yarra River was the Immigrants' Home, the sink for the desperate, including Hugh Hanlon at his nadir. On the bank nearby is where the swamp people meet, and drink, and fight. Much contemporary commentary focused on the dark edges of Melbourne society, the marginal people who, in a Victorian version of a shantytown, basically lived in the wattle groves along the river — the local climate was usually benign enough. Cameron's contemporary John Stanley James discusses the phenomenon in "The Outcasts of Melbourne," one of his *Vagabond Papers*, and Davison edited a collection of historical essays with the same title.[14]

Robert never falls so far, but Slabang does, and is eventually fatally wounded in a fight on the bank as the swamp people try to rob the now wealthy-seeming Billy. Worse happened there to Billy's sister: the novel starts with him unknowingly witnessing her murder. A key plot sequence, deep in the novel, tells how Bella, with her sweet nature and good looks, became Hugh Hanlon's girlfriend. Her innate virtue, even in her fallen state, made him marry her, but when he fixed on Linda and was unable to dissolve his earlier connection, he murdered Bella. But not all the humiliated poor are tragic like her or lucky like Billy. Polly, his oldest sister, rose through her beauty and force of character to be rich, powerful — as Marian Lee, dark female force of the story. She too loves Robert and, like her sister, will be faithful to love until death. Through Polly/Marian and her suggestively named Eros Villa the story offers its version of the sexualized narrative that Reynolds and Lippard often deploy, though without their explicitness.

Much is made by Cameron, like Judson, of the dives and license of inner Melbourne, and this was a widely noted feature of the city: Robert and Marian alight from a cab at a dubious hotel on Swanston Street, dwelt upon by the text as a haunt of "fast characters" and "splendidly dressed sirens" (47). The block between Bourke and Lonsdale Street just north of the smart center of town was long a notorious location for houses of assignation and quasi-brothels: a 1860s map shows 20 of them clustering around there.[15]

If class hostility and possible mobility, both down and up, is a clear theme of the novel, some historical formations are touched on more lightly, indeed euphemistically. Convictism was a direct inheritance in New South Wales and what was only recently being called Tasmania — formerly known by the forbidding name of Van Diemen's Land. But the penal system cast its shadow in Victoria; much of the urban underworld in the novel has links back to the convictism that lasted until a generation before Cameron's time. Patsy Quinlan, the unregenerate larrikin who harasses Billy Dawson and both acts for and reveals the secrets of "the ring," speaks in a slang that reaches back to the convicts; Granny Truckler, a servile-seeming inner-city shopkeeper with surprising wealth, also reveals her connections by speaking like a cockney. The most assertive link with the bad old days is the figure of "Metallic Megatherium" — one of Cameron's many allegorical names (a feature shared with Reynolds, Lippard and old-style moralist melodrama): a megatherium was an atavistic giant sloth. His shadow, as a convict turned entrepreneur, money-lender, gambling fixer, falls heavily across the activities through which Robert ends up massively in debt. Megatherium and his ring symbolize corrupt finance, the unproductive monetary capitalism that Cameron, like his ideal character Harry Robertson, wishes to see dissolved in favor of productive business — as the weak but at least honest bank accountant, "that mild old

man" (29), recommends: "[P]atience is of all virtues the greatest and when you see other men make sudden fortunes, learn to control yourself and be patient. Time, industry, and perseverance are the stones which build the edifice of fortune" (30).

If convictism is in the wings and can morph into modern larrikinism and corruption, other destructive forces are observed, but with a racist rather than a guilt-conscious eye. Unlike the genuinely liberal Reynolds, but very like Clarke,[16] Cameron offers a clear and repeated anti–Semitism. He represents a range of Jewish financiers in hostile stereotype: the worst is Mahaleel Methuselah, whose name conveys unnerving antiquity as well as foreignness: both are offered as un–Australian. Jewish caricatures appear at Megatherium's elbow as he gambles and jokes, and money lending is improbably seen as an exclusively Semitic practice. There may be some wider critique of banking in the name of the Collusive Bank, the young men's employer, and even Mr. Overdraw the earnest accountant, but Cameron's inquiry into financially unrespectable dealings is basically held at the level of a simple racist response. Equally common in its period is the representation of the Chinese as fugitive and dangerous inner Melbourne citizens — they suborn even the larrikins into losing money at fan-tan, and "fat oily Chinaman" (42) is as automatic and hostile a response as the heavy-accented caricatures of Jewish financiers. Slabang's name is certainly Germanic but also non–Semitic. It seems, like the name of the dirty but kindly Irish cook-shop owner, Mother Hash, a routine semi-racism used to delegate weakness and disorderliness outside the realm of true Britishness, and so Australianness.

Racism can operate through silence as well as being unacceptably vociferous. Like most of Australia's other delightful and fertile areas, what became known as Port Phillip Bay had supported a large and prospering Indigenous population, but their numbers were reduced even more drastically than in other contact areas, both through introduced disease and also through imposed life disruption which led to social separation, lower birthrates and destructive lifestyles. At least 10,000 Kulin people were in the Melbourne area at first contact in the 1830s, but by the gold rush — only 20 years later — their numbers were reduced, it is estimated, to less than 2,000.[17] The Victorian settlement encounter lacked the earlier period's attempts at conciliation, clumsy and finally unsuccessful though they were, and operated directly in the developed hostile mode. Unlike in the Sydney and Hobart regions, Indigenous names were rejected for city areas. The only Kulin place-name used in early Melbourne was Yarra for the main river, and this is itself an error: the actual name was Birrarung, meaning "ever-flowing."[18] A generation on, in Cameron's text there is only one mention of the former landholders, when the Yarra Bank is remembered — interestingly, with a translation of the correct Indigenous

name — as having been once a location of "the deities of the dead race that peopled the banks of the 'Everflowing,' ere great Melbourne had risen on its banks" (43). The recognition is scarcely positive: that race is pronounced firmly "dead" and the successor city is very much alive and firmly, or perhaps anxiously, "great." And yet there also seems a self-critical semi-awareness of forced and doubtful supplantation, as what had been a social and productive center of Indigenous life is shown as the location for murder, strife and desperation in the white community, for what the text calls "all the sin and shame the river has seen and will see" (43).

This is where Billy at first watches his unrecognized sister being murdered: this is where a sacked hangman, a former larrikin gang leader and Bess, "the terror of the Melbourne swamp" (43), attack Billy. Only the magisterial intervention of Harry Robertson and his rowing friends, like Rodolphe arriving with backup in a Paris *tapis-franc*, can save the life of the socially redeemed Billy from this site of what seems very much like reverse evolution among the whites.

Equally negative in method and impact is the way the novel writes land taking out of its story and so out of Australian history. Harry's distant relative rewards him for his excellent character by leaving him money and property. But there is a euphemizing shuffle: he was an "old colonist," which means he had taken a great swathe of land and somehow had his seizure legitimated. The wealth appropriated from that land taking, through dispossession of its previous possessors and, not by the way, the exploitation of convict and cheap labor, as well as the support and legitimation of colonial governments at both ends of the world, has now been separated from its embarrassing origins. The old colonist built himself a mansion in St Kilda, and that is where Harry lives, by the water, in easy reach by train and cab of the emergent sophisticated metropolis. The radicalism of the gold period and the quest for land rights by small settlers had, under the slogan "unlocking the land," put great pressure on the massive seizures of terrain by the early squatters,[19] but the novel elides that substantial social and political tension into a moralized transition to a sea-side lifestyle. The world that Cameron realizes is not only a world of conflict; it is also a world of change, change that can permit the disavowal of past activities, both heroic and brutal.

The City and Beyond

These ideological processes are marked on the topography of the narrative, locating its modes of interrelation and interaction. As in all the city mysteries, the characters and events are carefully charted throughout the

megalopolis. Here, where growth has been so recent, there is an unusual stress on both achievement and also incompletion: though "Collins Street was now in all its glory" (7) and its upper eastern end boasts the banks and the regional parliament, it goes all the way down towards the swamp. The presence of urban water, and mixed with it sewage, was an issue right through this period: when in the 1880s the city preened itself with the name the English visitor George Sala provided, "Marvellous Melbourne," Sydney answered with "Marvellous Smellbourne."[20] As the degraded bank clerk Hugh Hanlon walks into the narrative, the text reminds us of the recent floods when "the channels had overflowed and filled the shops of too patient ratepayers" (4); Elizabeth Street had been a watercourse and its floods could be huge: a horse drowned there in the 1850s.[21] But the effects were also noxious:

> All the fetid and putrid liquid of the town, a noisome cocktail of urine, chemicals, blood, manure, dyes, unnameable decayed and decomposing matter, lay stagnant at the street's edge, seeped through the foundations of adjacent buildings, and oozed and gravitated in ever greater accumulation through gutter and culvert.[22]

The citizens have confronted their difficult context with energy and physical statement, but their project is not complete: it was still in some ways an open site as in Louis Becker's nighttime painting of the city center (Fig. 11) Trollope noted: "Between the palaces there are mean little houses,"[23] and Cameron makes the bank "a fine building" with "a massive stone front" (5), which rises "over the pigmy shops on each side like some noble nature towering over its vile, insignificant earth-grubbing compeers" (5). The description predicts both the moral supremacy of the Harry-focused success story to come and also the dubious ground on which such triumphs build — as well as in the images of "pigmy" and "earth-grubbing" both suggesting and concealing the earlier Indigenous civilization that the colonial city excludes.

Marcus Clarke's journalism had surveyed much of the ground Cameron covers in his narrative — male interaction, gambling, eating and drinking, dubious stockbroking, lower-class irruptions, bourgeois display. Clarke also speaks of the new divisions of Melbourne living. As Grant and Serle note,[24] outside the center it was an agglomeration of small towns with large spaces in between, tending to cluster around some focal point — Flemington round the racecourse, Collingwood round the factories, Williamstown and Sandridge where ships made landfall, and to the south beach resorts like Brighton. These were in the 1850s all being linked up by the trains that the flat and readily purchased land made easy to develop. By the 1860s it was normal for professionals and businessmen to live out of the city, which for all its liveliness was beset by problems, notably noise, traffic, larrikins and noxious floods: "Hardly any of the wealthier citizens, except the medical residents of Collins Street,

Fig. 11. "Old Prince's Bridge & St Paul's by Moonlight" by Ludwig Becker, the center of Melbourne as in Cameron's *The Mysteries of Melbourne Life* (by permission of the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne).

live in the city."[25] The ideal for the wealthy and semi-leisured was the beautiful bayside St Kilda, named after a fine ship that moored there in the 1840s.[26] What was originally the "Terminus" hotel, banally named for being a railhead, was soon royally aggrandized to the "George," and kept developing through the period.[27] This area is where both Harry and Marian live, enjoying the equally exploitative but differently evaluated riches of land taking and brothel keeping. As in the story, they are in touch with the next class down: Davison comments that "Melbourne's infant business class settled a little nearer the city on a hill overlooking the sea at St Kilda."[28]

Aspiring to the business class, but in social terms not that close, live Robert and Linda in a villa near the station and another swamp — they may have a garden big enough for a cow, but this is in expansive Australian terms humble white-collar territory. It is at first identified as, just, in "East St Kilda" (9),

but several people, including the authoritative Harry, call it Balaclava.[29] From this humble base Robert can "in the bitterness of his heart" (25) feel jealous of wealth, and Billy's ascent from Balaclava houseboy to St Kilda protégé crosses a social gulf as substantial as the move from city larrikin to the petit bourgeoisie.

Transport is not only a means of linking the multi-focal city: it bears its own elements of evaluation. Hugh in his high but meretricious mode uses a cab to whisk Robert to his fine house for dinner. The dubious space of the cab is an idea to be developed by Fergus Hume only a few years later in *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab* (1886), a novel whose links back to Cameron's work seem to have gone completely unnoticed. But Hugh is not only a cab traveler: his moral mobility seems marked by his modes of transportation. After the dinner gambling party, he and Robert, miming grandeur as they are, use his own carriage to hurry back to St Kilda to Marian's — others going to the party use cabs or the train. Harry of course, with his social elevation, travels consistently on the highest level, by carriage, and that facilitates his charity to other classes, as when he and Billy hurry back to see the distraught Linda and when he finally races with her to save Robert from disgrace.

There are also transport absences: nobody travels by omnibus, nor yet by steamer, common enough though they were in greater Melbourne. But then the city Cameron depicts is surprisingly restricted — to the banking and business world, also the world of a journalist and writer. Quite absent are the national gallery and the state public library, among the public grandeurs strongly present in the slightly later accounts by Henry Cornish and R. E. N. Twopeny,[30] and equally invisible is the well-established Melbourne University, principally training those professionals in law and medicine who operated as a social elite in a world managing to survive without aristocrats. Geography is equally restricted. Though Fitzroy and Collingwood are briefly mentioned, the narrative never goes north of the city into those artisan and lower-middle-class areas. More surprisingly, and unlike most Australian fiction of the nineteenth century, it never goes into the country, which Cameron knew well and had previously written about. Through its provision of food, employment and wealth the rural domain was still of major importance, and it was to be the site of most of Mary Fortune's fascinating and very long-lasting series of crime stories in *The Australian Journal*. To emphasize the city in this book seems to be for Cameron an urgent and exclusive activity.

Apart from the romance-vengeance plot that oscillates between the eastern city and St Kilda, the focal action takes place in the banking and parafinancial world where Hugh thrives, among "that great body that preys successfully on that booby the public" (24) — it can do that, he claims, "because all men are at heart cheats" (25). Hugh once buys some gold shares,

but little else is even sketchily linked to actual productivity. The personnel of this parasitic fiscal world meet "Under the Verandah," outside the Theater Royal on Bourke Street. There they exchange tips, contacts, bets, and hopefully profit: Clarke wrote about this exotic but all too real scene and Trollope called it "a morsel of pavement ... on which men congregate under a balcony and there buy and sell gold shares"[31] (Fig. 12). The scene and the name are intriguingly opposite to the traditional "verandah" sequences in early Australian fiction, where the squatter and his family, sitting in shelter from the rigors of the climate, gaze over their productive acres — and occasionally disruptions arrive, to be explored and resolved in the narrative.[32] The urban and solely fiscal Verandah reverses that pattern, but any emergent structural anxiety about Australian society is sidelined: where Reynolds showed the threatening character of dubious financing, Cameron's anti–Semitism enables this bizarre arrangement to be both criticized and side lined. Less easily avoided in the text is the central issue of gambling, emphasized as much here as in Judson and both historically and to the present a major and potentially threatening force in Australian society. Apart from the financial dealings of "the ring," risking huge sums at the simple and rapid card game Loo, and mutual suspicion of each other, the major activity in the novel is the projected Melbourne Cup fix. Huge sums are involved and so is almost everybody, including Hugh, Robert and Marian.

As Clarke had in the "Colonial City" series,[33] Cameron celebrates Cup Day as a great urban early summer festival (in November), and all Melburnians have this graven on their hearts — even the morally named Scrupell holds to honesty only for the sake of vengeance, albeit against those who have previously caused him huge losses. Patsy, the lower-level disruptive agent, is arrested for petty theft, and others are also taken up: it is a day of retribution all round for the dark side of the city. This implicit social self-criticism goes so far as the police. The figure of Detective Meddle has loomed through the story. He faces both ways, being involved in ring activities, but also eyes Hugh Hanlon with speculative law-enforcing interest. One of the constables who failed to take Billy said in his disappointment, "'I'll set Detective Meddle on your track, I will, and he'd catch the divil himself.' 'Yis,' replied his companion, 'an' let him go agin if he gave him a sovereign'"(20).

Police have only in recent decades become positive figures in Australian crime fiction,[34] and Meddle's mix of cunning and corruption as well as his mostly negative name bespeak that anti-authoritarian attitude. He has a "mean, treacherous face" (54) and he has been "[r]aised from the very lowest grade of the police force by his subserviency and Paul Pry activities" (25). Throughout the story he maintains both functions: Hugh asks him to look into Marian's family, and he does initiate Robert's arrest but is at the same

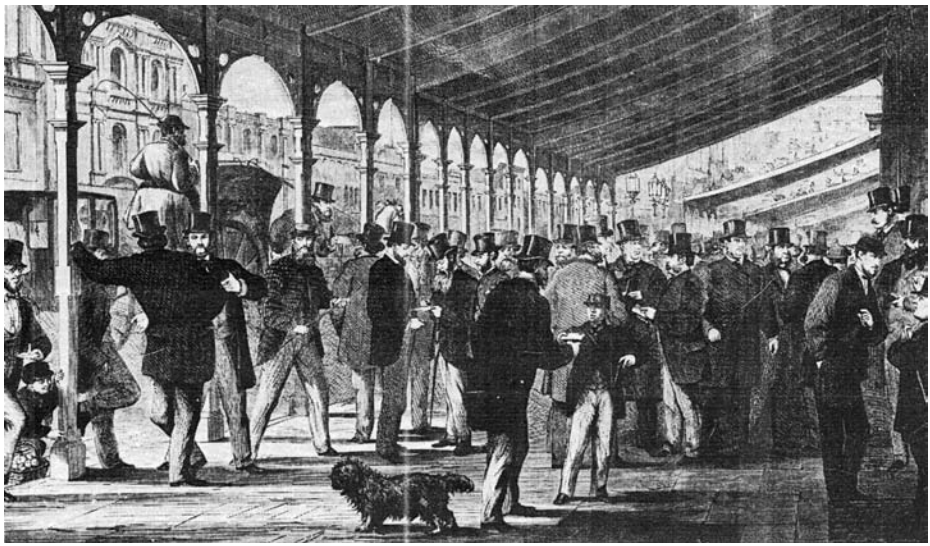

Fig. 12. "Under the Verandah" by Samuel Calvert, Melbourne share and loan trading, as in Cameron's *The Mysteries of Melbourne Life* (by permission of the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne).

time himself arrested by "the highest police functionary in Victoria" (79). The comment indicates Cameron had some faith that the famously corrupt days of Police Chief Robert Standish were over.[35]

Policing, Cup Day, financial business, even the physical city itself are all realized by Cameron as disturbingly double, both thriving, communal and valuable, and corrupted, negative and alarming. He does not perceive the same kinds of doubleness and exploitation around issues of race and gender — though he does represent those forces well enough for us to read into his detail the patterns of exploitation that are effectively silenced in his representation of Indigenes, Jews, women and, it may be, homosexuals.

Like Sue, Reynolds, Lippard, and Judson, Cameron's view of his world is not essentially positive: on the first page he envisages the moon that has shone on all peoples from "the grand Chaldeans" to "our British forefathers," but her unchanging beauty only shines here on "the great city with its sin and shame, the country with its toil and wretchedness" (3). The first action is a brutal murder of a beautiful and guiltless woman among the once idyllic Yarra wattle bushes; the city is first seen as the setting for a desperate middle-class human failure; at the end the wonderfully handsome hero wants to disappear and kill himself.

Within its urban setting the novel re-creates the common Australian drama of deep misery among great natural beauty. The almost overwhelming mix of

physical challenge and limitless possibility in the new continent is a basic response of early Australian literature—"her beauty and her terror" as Dorothea Mackellar put it in her poem "My Country." As Linda confronts Robert's infidelities, Cameron restates this contextual melodrama:

> The sun rose in glory in the eastern sky, dissipating the shadows of night, waking the world into life and activity, brightening the face of nature, warming the earth and dispelling the mists and the shadows, and making everything clear. Man arose to pursue his daily tasks, the human of the great city filled the air, ships sailed to and fro on the azure Bay, life was once more begun. But in the great city there was many a wearied soul that had watched the dawn irradiating nature, the sun growing into morning strength, and yet knew no comfort, felt none of the cheerful spirit infused not nature by the luminary ... [34].

Against these dramatic negatives and this sense of shortcomings, the novel can only offer as value not aristocratic leadership like Rodolphe's, nor aspirational grandeur like Richard Markham's, nor the mix of chance and multi-class resistance that Lippard recommends, nor yet the personal moral intervention that Judson depicts as coming from a few people who are good, or mostly good. Rather, the text espouses a determinedly middle-class ethic. The bank accountant recommended to Robert "[t]ime, industry and perseverance" (30) and the major practitioner of this position, and recipient of its rewards, is Harry himself. He inherited because his distant relative had noted that "instead of foolishly depending upon expectation, he has set to work with a will to build his own fortune" (9). Land taking and racial displacement are written out of the success story as, for Australia in this period, they apparently urgently have to be. And there are resources for validation beyond mere secular profit: as in middle-class ideology at large, the accumulative approach to success is heavily buttressed by Christian ethics, and the text recurrently deploys a fairly austere regime of spiritual validation.

The title page prints a sentimental, hymn-singing Heaven and Hell image—"Here's a power whose sway / Angel souls adore, / And the lost obey, / Weeping evermore"—alongside the more austere personal acceptance of that system in Latin "Justo judicio Dei judicatus sum; justo judicio Dei condemnatus sum" ("I am judged by the just judgment of God; I am condemned by the just judgment of God").[36] This is later quoted by Harry, noting that Robert "has brought this judgment on himself" (51), and when Billy (now Willy) looks at Hugh's train-mangled corpse he hears the same words as "a voice not of this world, seemed to whisper in his ear" (80). It is not discordant with this that Robert is actually redeemed from the austerity of this justice and judgment through the self-sacrifice of the saintly Harry and Linda, and indeed by the fidelity of the sinner Marian.

The text repeatedly offers a religious viewpoint. Hugh's situation is seen

as one of sin in terms of the last judgment (4), and his rejection from the bank is likened to a sinner "watching afar off the happiness of heaven" (7). Harry in his generosity to Linda exercizes "the beautiful doctrines" of Christ himself (35); in an emphasized sequence Slabang's death is prefaced by remarks about "the wearied soul trembling on the edge of an Awful Eternity" (64), and that chapter is prefaced by and named for a somber hymn, "Into the Silent Land." Marian herself is buried, after her life of passionate excess and suicide, under the legend "Implora Pace" ("Pray for Peace"), and — positively opposite to the Justice tagline — "The mercy of God is infinite."

The novel ends with the emphatic assertion of a moderate middle-class Christian message in all its sentimental self-assurance:

> The end has come. Dear Reader, let not the lessons we have endeavoured to inculcate be lost. Believe that society, regularity and conscientiousness carry their full rewards in this life; that dissoluteness, gaming, betting and the following of strange women result in dishonour, ruin and death. And know that, of all blessings in this world, pure disinterested love is supreme.
>
> "There's a power whose sway
> Angel souls adore,
> And the lost obey,
> Weeping evermore" [82].

Over the Swamp

In all the major Mysteries of the Cities text, transport in the city is a crucial element both in the management of the interlocking plot strands and also in the evaluations the stories offer. Where the 1840s authors were hardly aware of rail, even though their metropolises were already being radically changed by its manifold implications, for Cameron this is the key factor, as both the city of Melbourne and the colonies of Australia were increasingly linked and changed by this newest form of social mobility. Rail travel energizes three major dark turns in the story.

Robert first strays seriously when, having walked out on Linda in a selfish temper, he meets Hugh and Marian at Balaclava station, on a train returning from a leisure trip to bayside Brighton. Then when Hugh takes Linda off to see Robert at his shameful play, their somber rail journey is "over the black river, by the gardens and dreary swamp" (20). Early train travel was notorious for thrusting people of different social levels into embarrassing contact,[37] and it was also notorious for accidents, but not usually as firmly evaluative as in the final rail-linked action. When Hugh, that figure of dangerous volatile modernity, is finally frustrated in his quest for both revenge and Linda, he is, as he was at the start of the whole story, on foot: it is the train (and by impli-

cation its weight of middle-class respectability) that kills him, in what seems a conscious reference to the death of the businessman Carker, also sinfully aspirant in *Dombey and Son*.

Against the conflicts of the megalopolis, Sue offered aristocratic leadership, Reynolds upper-middle-class moral energy, Lippard responsible social interaction, Judson moral intervention. Cameron's Christian mercantile quietism is neither less credible nor more persuasive than the positions offered by his predecessors, and as with them the seething, dynamic life of his text and his city outlives its ideological closure. But there is something else in Cameron, a sharper sense than even in Judson of the city as being new in terms of international inflow, though he is like most in Australia in this period (he lacked Clarke's European interests) seeing the shaping of Australia from the multiplicity and the changing historicity of its origins in the British Isles. He has almost hidden convictism and settlerism away in his narrative, and just as he has deployed aspects of racism to both stigmatize and euphemize some of the urban forces of Melbourne, so too there may be a very Australian racialism, or at least stereotyping, in his three heroes.

Hugh Hanlon is certainly Irish in name and appearance, and it would seem the text, racist again, but now subtly so, links that identification to his volatile unreliability. Harry Robertson is almost as certainly stereotypically Scottish in his name, his resolute nature and, of course, his great success — the touch of a Cameron as author. Robert Wilton is the most interesting: very appealing, a little weak — he really does not want to reject Hugh's initial appeal for money, but Harry makes him be stern — and both desirable and crucially in need of support. He is named for a middle–England market town but is said to have "no parent" (30). Desirable and vulnerable, needing guidance and getting it for both good and ill, yet finally buckling down to work, business and fatherhood, he seems to be an image of the Australian citizen as he could be for worse and might be for better. It is a more aware and anxious representation than Marcus Clarke's shallow, ironic image of the future Australian business success as a swindler, needing no more than a working knowledge of law and commerce and some luck.[38]

Parallel to the Australian idea of its society being a mix of somewhat uncertain British and Irish elements, there is also encoded in the text an important concept of social change. The influx of finance from the 1850s gold rush and sudden urban development redefined the idea of a central Australian identity from rural — owning land and working on the land — to urban trade and professionalism, as Stuart Macintyre and Penny Russell describe the process.[39] The novel enshrines this mercantile world both in the predicted success of Robert and Willy and, just as forcefully in its own peritext, in the advertisements that throng around the story: after the novel's waspishly racist

dismissal of financial trickery it is notable that its first end-page advert is for the Victorian Permanent Property Investment and Building Society offering only 3 percent for quarterly deposits, but with the solidly Scottish-named James Munro in charge.

Inside the novel, the historical and ideological transition from bush to bank is mediated through Harry, the colonist's relative and elegant suburb dweller who acts as midwife to Robert's career as a city merchant. Harry's crucial value is, like those of Rodolphe and Richard Markham, validated by his role in the crime plot. The opening murder offers some prospect of being solved through clues and detection: the dead Bella holds brown curly hair in her hand, and Meddle does look into Billy's family. But while a crime reader might think that the police will trace the Dawson family's multiple role in the plot and that the hair is a clue (or a red herring: it is Robert whose hair seems to match), the issue is only resolved, like an action thriller, in and by Harry's hands. He takes the dying deposition from Slabang, which makes Hugh a likely criminal, but it is only when, leaving on his final mission of mercy to rescue Robert, he punches Hugh to the ground that Hugh is identified by Willy as the murderer seen on the first page. It is improbably late in the plot for this to happen, but that climactically ratifies Harry as the agent of all value, and of all validations.

Wherever they come from and whatever they do, the characters have all arrived in Melbourne, and they all have aspirations. Only the weakest actually live in the Immigrants' Home, down by the swamp, but as the rail journey over the swamp indicates, there may be a similarly unstable, unwholesome foundation to all the lives of all the immigrants. Just as the swamp is to be soon enough drained, all these immigrants aspire to grander homes than poor public accommodation down by the swamp, or the wattle scrub along the Yarra, made by the white incomers into a degraded location; and they all aspire to avoid a social and moral condition parallel to that physical degradation. From Hugh with his flashy east Melbourne mansion to the inhabitants of the St Kilda triangle — humble Balaclava from which a mercantile fortune will eventually grow, Marian's ill-fortuned Eros Villa, Harry's mansion of urbanized respectability for land taking — they are all immigrant stock, and they will all have a home. The sustainability of each home depends on the residents' own inner values and also their ability to sustain each other with affection and support within the bounds of human value, not by forces arising from passion or vengeance. For Hugh and Marian, a final home will be the graveyard, already stretching north in its new location beyond the university: its former site, changing like Robert's life, is now thriving with lively business — the city markets.

The Mysteries of the Cities all focus ultimately on change, and Cameron

does this most of all. Sue asserted that the only change needed was in the human heart. Reynolds and Lippard both saw the need for institutional and political change to match real liberalization; Judson returned to Sue's personalized moralism. The world Cameron outlines, and this is where he links strongly with the earlier rural fictions and Marcus Clarke's historical saga, is the only one where massive change is central to experience. The British and Irish have moved to a very different country, with a major physical and social impact. They believe — as Americans and Australians still do — that they can welcome and exploit the possibilities of change, especially personal and social, and avoid its dangers. Billy can go from desperate larrikin to favored young professional, with elevated language and above-stairs name; Slabang can slip from bank employee to derelict. Through her misery, Linda's face becomes "pinched," her eyes "dark and sunken" (49), though she will surely change back in happy post-narrative motherhood. Hugh and Marian are spectacularly volatile in both physical setting and personal form. They all change, as do the city and the country. The land has been settled, the city has been established, in an extraordinary short period. The luxurious theater whose verandah is used by the financiers was only a while before a livery stable (32); the swamp will be drained.

So change can — must — be seen as positive, but its processes demand caution. Australia can seem "the land of rapid fortunes, of transformations, of which even Oriental visionaries never dreamt" (24), but those were the words of the unreliable Hugh spreading his net for the gullible Robert. More trustworthy, the text insists, was what Robert had previously said to Hugh, refusing when he begged for yet more charity because he was hungry:

> "This is no country for you to plead that," he said calmly, though it was easy to see he had to struggle with his naturally kind heart. "You cannot starve if you like to work, and work you must to bring you back to your senses" [6].

The really beneficent changes, the true riches of the new country, are reserved for those who are responsible, diligent, true at heart, and true to each other. The mysteries that make up the life of Melbourne, Cameron asserts, can be resolved from a Christian middle-class viewpoint. But, as in his predecessors, the ultimate implausibility of his solutions shows the city and its changes and challenges to be more mysterious, more energetic, more dialectical than its moralized narrative management can reach. Yet that narrative can also point to those underlying mysteries. Reaching back, with all its innovative differences, to the 1840s in this, the power of *The Mysteries of Melbourne Life* is that its energy, its imagination, its textual and sub-textual veridicality, can tap into the dynamic complexity of yet one more of the world's great, and strange, and potent, and unique cities.

The Mysteries Aftermath

The mid-century Mysteries genre had no real continuation except Cameron: Zola's *Les Mystères de Marseille* (1867) is an early melodrama with, for him, not much politics, nor even much about Marseille. Occasionally the genre has jerked back into hybridized life. Victor Joze's *Les Nouveaux Mystères de Paris* (1901) is a Gaboriau-like police drama, with amusing and enticing illustrations: George R. Sims's *The Mysteries of Modern London* (1906) is a capable journalistic account of real crimes in the city. A more imaginative redeployment was Léo Malet's use of the American thriller form in the Nestor Burma mysteries. First appearing in *120, rue de la Gare* in 1943, this figure of French liberty was used by Malet in the series called *Les Nouveaux Mystères de Paris.* Starting with *Le soleil naît derrière la Louvre* (1954) and running till 1959, this acknowledged the genre's sense of topography by setting each of 15 novels in a different *arrondissement* of the city.

But Cameron was more than a terminus. His account of Melbourne has a striking forward link to the absorption of the Mysteries genre's urban concerns into the mainstream of crime fiction. The English-born New Zealander Fergus Hume, working in Melbourne as a lawyer, decided to try the new genre for some income. He reported that he modeled *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab* on Gaboriau, but while he evidently adopted detection as a central feature and a surprise ending, both from Féval's former employee, he also followed the social and emotional geography of Cameron's Melbourne. Hume's novel, condensing mystery, detection and urban complexity as it did, was a bestseller in 1887 in London, and that was the year that Arthur Conan Doyle, seeking to match that sort of success, started to write the great series which would absorb the urban explorations of the mystery genre into the individualistically consoling frame of the hero detective.

The rest is crime fiction history: Chesterton in his first Father Brown story, Hammett and Chandler in their West Coast urban sagas, John Rhode and J. S. Fletcher in their mundane London puzzles, all acknowledged that the city was the basis of modern crime writing. The focus on a single detective permitted authors to elude full social and urban responsibility: Philip Marlowe's sensitivity is the vanishing point, not the dark complexity — including class and race — of Los Angeles; Ruth Rendell's sense of London's intense tension, especially in her detective-free Barbara Vine stories, is resolved in psychological, not sociological, terms. But as, towards the end of the twentieth century, the great cities again grew violent and apparently unmanageable, something very like modern Mysteries of the Cities emerged. James Ellroy's eviscerated, blood-drained title-claiming girl at the start of *The Black Dahlia* (1987) is a Grand Guignol version of Sue's Fleur-de-Marie or Judson's

Angelina. His city, like George V. Higgins's Boston, is a force field of criminality, weakness and greed, and the citizens can find no help from princes, born or self-made. George Pelecanos's Washington and James Lee Burke's New Orleans are explored in the same powerful way, as is Ian Rankin's Edinburgh and, Australia again the latest, and so also the most up-to-date, Peter Temple's Melbourne.

Like those who diverted or exploited the original Mysteries of the Cities patterns and titles, there are still crime writers and readers who prefer less veridical and more consoling fictions, whether they are the sado-masochistic fantasies of Patricia Cornwell and James Patterson, the anti-modernity of historical crime fiction or, worse yet, the trifling of the modern "cozy" with animals and feebly genteel folk as detectives. But the cities are still there, and just as there were in the 1840s and after writers capable of responding to the new realities, there are today writers — and filmmakers and Web writers — who can face and accept that challenge. All the creators of the original Mysteries were young and the genre itself was both new and in touch with the latest technology. The future of the genre of interrogative accounts of urban crime, history can predict, may well be in forms and in hands unknown to most readers and analysts of crime fiction. But history also tells us there will be a future for the Mysteries of the Cities.

Notes

Introduction

1. See the brief survey of early accounts of London from 1747 to 1766 by Stuart M. Blumin in "Introduction," to George G. Foster, *New York by Gas-Light, and Other Urban Sketches*, ed. Stuart M. Blumin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 3–54 at 20.

2. George Lippard, *The Quaker City*, ed. David S. Reynolds (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); G.W.M. Reynolds, *The Mysteries of London*, ed. Trefor Thomas (Keele, UK: Keele University Press, 1996).

3. See, in chronological order, Stephen Knight, *Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); Peter Drexler, *Literatur, Kriminalität, Recht* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1991); Martin Kayman, *From Bow Street to Baker Street: Mystery, Detection and Narrative* (London: Macmillan, 1992); Heather Worthington, *The Rise of the Detective in Early Nineteenth-Century Popular Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Maurizio Ascari, *A Counter-History of Crime Fiction: Supernatural, Gothic, Sensational* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

4. On this see Struan Sinclair's comments on these developments in *Attribution of Blame in Detective Fiction: From the Newgate Calendar to the Whodunit*, University of Wales, Cardiff PhD, 2000; a synopsis is given in Stephen Knight, *Crime Fiction Since 1800: Detection, Death Diversity*, 2d ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 8–9.

5. Robert Mighall, *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History's Nightmares* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 46–55 at 48.

6. Jerrold E. Hogle, "Introduction: The Gothic in Western Culture," in his edition of *The Cambridge Companion to the Gothic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1–19 at 2–6.

Chapter 1

1. See Kim Torney, *Babes in the Bush: The Making of an Australian Image* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2005).

2. References to the text pose a problem: the first book versions had four volumes, each called a "Livre," as did the 1844 English translation, but the standard one-volume edition of 1963 edited by Bory is divided into 10 "Livres." The English translation used here has six volumes. These versions are all editorial re-divisions of the 147 feuilleton episodes. The French original has been consistently consulted, but quotations here are taken from what seems the best English translation (London: Nimmo, 1903). This is the same as the New York 1903 edition by Century, and appears to be a lightly edited version of the translation by Henry Llewellyn Williams (2 vols., New York: Lupton, 1892). In this edition Volume 1 was titled *The Mysteries of Paris* and Volume 2 *The Miseries of Paris*, presumably influenced by Judson's *The Mysteries and Miseries of New York*, 1848 (though the differentiation does work rather well). The 1903

version uses the same verbal structure as this translation, with occasional word substitution — perhaps to pass as a new translation. In this chapter general comments refer to its chapter numbering and specific quotations are given volume and page numbers.

3. Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (Paris: Baillière, 1838).

4. Quoted in Louis Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Plon, 1958), translated by Frank Jellinek as *Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), 52.

5. Peter Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Invention in Narrative* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 150; Paolo Tortonese, "The Mysteries of Paris," in Franco Moretti, ed., *The Novel*, vol. 2, *Forms and Themes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 181–8 at 188.

6. Christopher Prendergast, *For the People by the People? Eugène Sue's Les Mystères de Paris: A Hypothesis in the Sociology of Literature* (Oxford: Legenda, 2003), 36.

7. Linnie Blake, "Edgar Allan Poe in Paris: The *Flâneur*, the *Détournement* and the Gothic Spaces of the Nineteenth-Century City," in *Le Gothic: Influences and Appropriations in Europe and America*, ed. Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 38–49 at 38; Mary Gluck, *Popular Bohemia: Modernism and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 72–8.

8. Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, vol. 4, *Naturalism, Impressionism, the Film Age*, 4 vols. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 2.

9. The concept is most full developed in György Lukacs, *The Historical Novel*, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (London: Merlin, 1962 [1937]).

10. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Holy Family: A Critique of Critical Critique,* in *Collected Works*, vol. 4, trans. Richard Dixon and Clemens Dutt (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1975); the whole text is a criticism of the German neo–Hegelians led by Bruno Bauer; Marx himself contributes the two chapters, 5 and 8, which pick on the favorable review of Sue's *Les Mystères* by "Szeliga" as a typical piece of neo–Hegelian idealist fantasy, and the analysis involves a number of specific criticisms of the novel as being conservative in many ways.

11. See Michelle Perrot and Roger-Henri Guerrand, "Private Spaces," in *A History of Private Life*, vol. 4, *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. Michelle Perrot, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1990), 359–450 at 406.

12. Marc Angenot, *Le Roman Populaire: Récherches en Paralittérature* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Québec, 1975), 82 and 84.

13. Richard Maxwell, *The Mysteries of Paris and London* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 55.

14. Nora Atkinson, *Eugène Sue et le Roman-Feuilleton* (Paris: Nizet et Bastard, 1929), 96–7; Jean-Louis Bory, *Eugène Sue, le roi du roman populaire* (Paris: Hachette, 1962), 232–3.

15. Bory, 329–30.

16. Atkinson, 5–6.

17. Atkinson, 14–16.

18. Atkinson, 16–17.

19. Bory, 244.

20. Hauser, 12.

21. See Ernest Legouvé, *Soixante Ans de Souvenirs*, 2 vols. (Paris: Hetzel, 1886), vol. 1, 368. Atkinson speaks of "an editor" who gave him "an English illustrated publication dedicated to the illustration of the mysteries of London," 90; Bory says it was Gosselin, the editor, who gave him "an illustrated English publication of which the engravings and the text depicted the 'mysteries' of London," 243. Another contemporary French book exploiting the "Mysteries" title and much closer to Ainsworth was *Chroniques et Mystères de Londres, 1189–1843* (Paris: Marchal et Lachapelle, 1844), a historico-fictional ramble ending with a novella about Oliver Goldsmith.

22. Atkinson, 99.

23. Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man*, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin University Books, 1973), 33.

24. The title might easily have been in reminiscence brought closer to Sue's potent version. In the same year as Reynolds wrote there was a *The Mysteries of London* by "Father North" (Lon-

don: Cunningham, 1844), but there is no sign of any earlier edition that might have stimulated Sue. In any case, this is merely a slight set of descriptive and often comic anecdotes with satirical illustrations, seeming a response to Sue's title in the light of Dickens's *Sketches by Boz* rather than a response to Reynolds.

25. James, 163.

26. Frances Trollope, *Paris and the Parisians* (London: Bentley, 1835).

27. W.M. Thackeray (as "Mr Titmarsh"), *The Paris Sketch Book*, 2 vols. (London: MacCrone, 1840: reprinted Köln: Könemann, 2000.

28. Flora Tristan, *Promenades dans Londres* (Paris: Delloye, and London: Jeffs, 1840), translated by Dennis Palmer and Giselle Pincetl as *Flora Tristan's London Journal: A Survey of London Life in the 1830s* (London: Prior, 1980); the expanded 1842 edition has been translated by Jean Hawkes as *London Journal* (London: Virago, 1982).

29. Bryna Svane, *Le Monde d'Eugène Sue*, vol. 3, *Si les Riches le Savaient*, Série Culture et Societé (Copenhagen: Universite de Roskild Akademisk Forlag, 1986), 94 and 96–7.

30. Svane, 178.

31. Svane, 180–86.

32. Svane, 126 and 222.

33. The "Gothic theory," linked strongly to Germany and the north, was widely disseminated in French by Paul Henri Mallet's very influential *Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc* (Copenhagen: Phillibert, 1755), translated by Thomas Percy as *Northern Antiquities* (London: Carnan, 1770). For a discussion of the "Gothic Theory" see Robert Myles, "Eighteenth-Century Gothic," in Catherine Spooner and Emma McEvoy, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Gothic* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 10–18, and Stephen Knight, "The Arctic Arthur," *Arthuriana* 21 (2011): 59–89.

34. Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800–1900* (London: Verso, 1998), see chapter 2, "A Tale of Two Cities," 76–140 at 101.

35. On crime fiction and the Foucauldian transfer from "sovereign power" to "disciplinary power" see Stephen Knight, *Crime Fiction Since 1800: Detection Death, Diversity*, 2d ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 13–16.

36. It bears the initials LN (1.299): later the handkerchief "with a ducal crest" is said to have been initialed NL, and Rodolphe's aide-de-camp de Graün reports this must be Mme. de Lucenay (2.22). It later seems likely she was seeking Polidori's help with the Vicomte's debts. This apparent error, like the possibly accidental change of the number of Bras Rouge's Rue du Temple house from 13 to 17, was probably caused by the exigencies of feuilleton production.

37. See Cora Kaplan, "Pandora's Box: Subjectivity, Class and Sexuality in Socialist-Feminist Criticism," in *British Feminist Thought: A Reader*, ed. Terry Lovell (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 346–66. She comments, discussing a scene in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, that "a woman without a hat was, in specular terms, a whore," 360.

38. Michelle Perrot and Anne Martin-Fugier, "Roles and Characters," in *A History of Private Life*, vol. 4, *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. Michelle Perrot, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1990), 167–261 at 251.

39. Marx criticizes Morel's class-dependent comment on his hope for help from the rich: otherwise it seems he approves of this image of the exploitation of "the working man," 56.

40. Umberto Eco, "Rhetoric and Ideology in Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*," *Social Science Journal (UNESCO)* 19 (1967): 551–69 at 562; the same idea is offered by Charles Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 47.

41. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings*, ed. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, trans. Wiliam Boelhauer (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985), chapter 9, "Popular Literature," 342–85, see editor's note, 345–63; Bory, 251.

42. Bory, 261.

43. Marx noted that "the Paris college of notaries considered Jacques Ferrand as a malicious libel against itself and through the theatrical censorship had this character removed from the stage performances," 70; see also Bory, 290–1.

44. On the recent emergence and impact of brokers' bills in Europe, see Stephen Quinn, "Money, Finance and Capital Markets," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*,

ed. Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson, 3 vols., vol. 1, *Industrialisation, 1700–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 153–7.

45. This opening of little more than a thousand words, both apologizing for and publicizing the horror of central Paris, is reprinted in Bory's major edition but was omitted even from the first full novel version. Most texts begin with the scene when Rodophe, Fleur-de-Marie and Chourineur meet in the Rue aux Fèves.

46. Prendergast, 122.

47. Bory, 256.

48. Bory, 317–22 at 321; on Sue's relations with the 1848 revolution, see Pierre Chaunu, *Eugène Sue et la Seconde République* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948).

49. Michael Carmona, *Haussmann: His Life and Times and the Making of Modern Paris*, trans. Patrick Camille (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002), 389.

50. Carmona, 117.

51. See Chevalier, 447, note 26; Bernheimer also discusses this, 46–7.

52. Bory, 262–3.

53. Bory, 260.

54. Perrot and Guerrand, "Private Spaces," 364.

55. F.W.J. Hemmings, "Eugène Sue and the 'Roman Feuilleton,'" in *The Age of Realism*, ed. F.W.J. Hemmings (London: Penguin, 1974), 146–50 at 150.

56. Hemmings, "Eugène Sue and the 'Roman Feuilleton,'" 147–8.

57. Tortonese, 184.

58. Svane, 253.

59. Eco, 560–2.

60. Eugène Vinaver famously described Malory's *Arthuriad* in this way in his edition, first appearing in 1947: the issues are discussed in Stephen Knight, *The Structure of Sir Thomas Malory's Arthuriad* (Sydney: University of Sydney Press, 1969).

61. Alfred Nettement, *Études critiques sur le feuilleton-roman* (Paris: Perrodil, 1845), vol. 1, 249.

62. Tortonese, 184–6.

63. Marx, 67.

64. Chevalier deals with this topic in passing, in notes 12 and 13 on 491; it is a major topic of Prendergast's monograph, 14–18 and 40–65.

65. Marx, 200.

66. Chevalier comments that "the Fourierists had less influence on Sue than he had on them," 127.

67. Bory, 250.

68. Chevalier, 403, and Prendergast, 87.

69. Bory claims in the Preface to his 1963 edition that many reprints have "expurgated all that social illness, the shameful maladies of an epoch and a world which applied itself to offering the face of prosperity and concord," in Eugène Sue, *Les Mystères de Paris* (Paris: Pauvert, 1963), X–XIV at XI.

70. Roger Bozetto, "Eugène Sue et le fantastique," in *Eugène Sue*, ed. Roger Ripoli, René Guise and Emilien Carassus (Paris: Europe, 1982), 103–114 at 108.

71. Moretti, 101.

72. Gramsci, 346, note 2.

73. Marx, 56.

74. Marx, 195.

75. On *L'Atelier* see Prendergast, 111–14.

76. For Saint-Beuve's two comments see Atkinson, 101, and Brooks, 150.

77. Atkinson, 166; Chaunu, 16 and 5.

78. Bory, 252.

79. Marx, 169.

80. Victoria E. Thompson, *The Urban Marketplace: Women, Men, Money and Politics in Paris, 1830–1870* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 37.

81. Marx, 198.

82. Svane, 244 and 233.

83. For the comment on Sue's "serious engagement" see Svane, vol. 3, 213; for the speculation about Marx's not having read the novel see vol. 3, note 165, 28 (the notes have different page numbers from the text).

84. See Svane, vol. 3, 226 and 246.

85. Bernheimer, 49–50.

86. Marx, 168.

87. Marx, 176.

88. In his review Poe claims the threatening monkey of the story "Gringalet and Cut-in-Half" is borrowed from his orang-outang from the Rue Morgue; see "Marginalia," *Graham's Magazine*, November 1846, reprinted in *Edgar Allan Poe: Essays and Reviews*, The Library of America Series (New York: University of Cambridge Press, 1984), 1404–8, the charge being made on 1407–8.

89. Svane, vol. 3, 271.

Chapter 2

1. G.W.M. Reynolds, *The Mysteries of London*, 2 vols. (London: Vickers, 1846), vol. 1, 102. This is the two-volume publication of the series of 104 weekly issues of the story, using the original stereotype plates and illustration.

2. On travel habits in the period see Gavin Weightman and Steve Humphries, *The Making of Modern London, 1815–1914* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1983), 29.

3. Though frequently thought of as "handsome," hansom cabs were designed by the architect Joseph Hansom and became popular worldwide.

4. On the omnibus development, see Jerry White, *London in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Cape, 2007), 77–9; and Charles Knight, ed., *London*, 6 vols. (London: Knight, 1841–4), vol. 1, 32.

5. For a discussion of Shillibeer and his omnibuses, see John Garwood, *The Million-Peopled City, or, One Half of the People of London Made Known to the Other Half* (London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1853), 199–205.

6. Marilyn Butler, "Hidden Metropolis: London in Sentimental and Romantic Writing," in *London: World City 1800–1840*, ed. Cecelia Fox (New Haven: Yale University Press and The Museum of London, 1992), 187–98 at 188.

7. David Skilton, "'When Dreams Are Coming': Wordsworth, Jeffries and Visions of the London Crowd," in *A Mighty Mass of Brick and Smoke: Victorian and Edwardian Representations of London*, ed. Lawrence Phillips (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 85–106 at 94–8; Butler, 194.

8. H.T. Dickinson, "Radical Culture," in *London: World City,* 209–24 at 209.

9. See Stephen Knight, chapter 1, "...Some Men Came Up: The Detective Appears," in *Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 8–38; and Heather Worthington, chapter 2, "Making the Case for the Professionals," in *The Rise of the Detective in Early Nineteenth-Century Popular Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 46–102.

10. E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, rev. ed. (London: Pelican Books, 1968); see chapter 16, "Class Consciousness," 781–915, and the "Postcript," 916–39 at 937–9.

11. On the development of single-class suburbs and omnibus use see Donald J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (London: Batsford, 1976), 18–19.

12. Mr. Pooter, the archetypal anxious and pompous lower-middle-class clerical man, living in a Holloway much altered from Markham Place days, was created by George and Weedon Grossmith and first appeared in *Punch* in 1888: the 1889 book version *The Diary of a Nobody* has never been out of print.

13. Based on Alsace, a territory outside the laws of France and Germany, the name Alsatias was first used of Whitefriars, a religious sanctuary between the Strand and the river, near the Temple, but became generalized through the city. The name is first recorded in London in

Thomas Shadwell's play *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688): both the play and the area were discussed in Sir Walter Scott's "Introduction," to *The Fortunes of Nigel* (London: Collins, 1831 [1822]), 9–11.

14. J.J. Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Batsford, 1967), 59–61.

15. Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Hamilton, 1994), 186.

16. These three texts have been reprinted in *Unknown London: Early Modernist Visions of the Metropolis*, ed. John Marriott (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000).

17. Stephen Carver, *The Life and Works of the Lancashire Novelist William Harrison Ainsworth, 1805–1882* (Lewiston: Mellen, 2003), 297.

18. See the new information on this point by Dick Collins, reported by Anne Humpherys and Louis James in the "Introduction," to *G.W.M. Reynolds: Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Politics, and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 1–15 at 2.

19. "G.W.M. Reynolds," *The Bookseller*, July 3, 1879, 600–1.

20. In addition to their essay collection (see note 18), Anne Humpherys and Louis James have both written essays on Reynolds's work to be cited later; there was an abbreviated one-volume hardback-only reprint of the 1844–5 *The Mysteries of London*, ed. Trefor Thomas (Keele, UK: Keele University Press, 1996). Reynolds's *Wagner the Wehr-Wolf: A Romance* (London: Dicks, 1857), the first modern werewolf story, was reprinted by Dover Books (New York, 1975), presumably because of their interest in exotic fiction.

21. Berry Palmer Chevasco, *Mysterymania: The Reception of Eugène Sue in Britain* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003), 123; Ian Haywood, *Revolutions in Popular Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 171.

22. On Reynolds and Chartism, see E.F. Bleiler, "Introduction," to G.W.M. Reynolds, *Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf*, reprint ed. (New York: Dover, 1975), vii–xviii at xi–xiii.

23. Marx, letter to Engels, October 8, 1858; see Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 40, *Marx and Engels 1856–59* (London: Lawrence and Wishart), 345.

24. For Dickens's comment on Reynolds see "Preliminary Word," *Household Words* 1 (March 30, 1850): 1.

25. *Reynolds' Weekly News*, July 8, 1851, 2.

26. Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 206.

27. For a full account of Holywell Street see Lynda Nead, "Holywell Street: The London Ghetto," part 3, chapter 2, of *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 161–88.

28. Louis James, *Print and the People 1819–1851* (London: Lane, 1976), 17.

29. Marie-Christine Leps, *Apprehending the Criminal: The Production of Deviance in Nineteenth-Century Discourse* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), 80–1 and 84.

30. Leps, 84.

31. Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, 1848–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 65–6.

32. See John Wilson Ross, "The Influence of Cheap Literature," *London Journal*, April 18, 1845, 115; and also Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man, 1830–50*, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 33.

33. Louis James, "The View from Brick Lane: Contrasting Perspectives in Working-Class and Middle-Class Fiction of the Early Victorian Period," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 11 (1981): 87–101 at 94.

34. Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, trans. Florence Kelley (New York: Lowell, 1887 [in German, 1845]); Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols., 2d ed. (London: Griffith, Bohn, 1861–2 [1852]).

35. W.M. Thackeray, *The Paris Sketch Book*, 2 vols. (London: MacCrone, 1840).

36. W.M. Thackeray, "On Going to See a Man Hanged," *Fraser's Magazine* 22 (August 1840): 150–8.

37. James discusses the links between Thackeray and Reynolds in "The View from Brick Lane," 95–7 and 99–100; Robert Colby notes what Humpherys and James call Thackeray's "high regard" for Reynolds in *Thackeray's Canvass of Humanity* (Columbus: Ohio State Uni-

versity Press, 1979), 252–9 and 272; see Humpherys and James, "Introduction," to their essay collection *G.W.M. Reynolds*, 1–15 at 7.

38. James, "The View from Brick Lane," 100.

39. Victor Hugo, "Outside the Bastille," trans. G.W.M. Reynolds, see *Selections Chiefly Lyrical from the Poetical Works of Victor Hugo*, ed. Henry Llewelyn Williams (London: Bell, 1887), 100–1; Victor Hugo, *The Last Day of a Condemned*, trans. G.W.M. Reynolds (London: Henderson, 1840).

40. *G.W.M.* Reynolds, *Robert Macaire in England*, 3 vols. (London: Tegg, 1840).

41. James, *Fiction for the Working Man*, 34–5.

42. Chevasco, 70 and 121; Alison Milbank, in "Victorian Gothic" in Jerrold E. Hogle, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Gothic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 145–65, calls Reynolds "a chameleon but creative plagiarist," 148.

43. The volume editions locate the publisher at 3 Catherine Street, The Strand, just round the corner from Holywell Street.

44. Berry Chevasco, "Lost in Translation: The Relationship Between Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* and G.W.M. Reynolds's *The Mysteries of London*," in *G.W.M. Reynolds*, ed. Humpherys and James, 133–47 at 137.

45. See S. Lewis, Jun., *The History and Topography of the Parish of St Mary's, Islington* (Islington: Jackson, 1843), 284.

46. Robert Rogers, *A Psychoanalytic Study of the Double in Literature* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970), vii; John Herdman, *The Double in Nineteenth-Century Fiction: The Shadow Life* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), chapter 2, "The Emergence and Development of the Double Theme," 11–20.

47. François Crouzet, *The Victorian Economy* (London: Methuen, 1982), 328.

48. Cyril Pearl, "Mr Dickens and Mr Reynolds," in *Victoria Patchwork* (London: Heinemann, 1972), 69–98 at 82–7.

49. McCalman, 237.

50. James, "The View from Brick Lane," 100.

51. John Plunkett, "Regicide and Reginamania: G.W.M. Reynolds and *The Mysteries of London,*" in Andrew Maunder and Grace Moore, eds., *Victorian Crime, Madness, Sensation: Interdisciplinary Essays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 15–30.

52. For a discussion of Lewis in the context of the northern Gothic see Stephen Knight, "The Arctic Arthur," *Arthuriana* 12 (2011): 59–89 at 78–9.

53. See Michael Flavin, *Gambling in the Nineteenth-Century English Novel* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2003), 11.

54. See "Gambling," in Jane Moore and John Strachan, *Key Concepts in Romantic Literature* (London: Macmillan, 2010), 59–62.

55. Flavin, 11.

56. Sally Powell has some commentary on this grisly topic in "Black Markets and Cadaverous Pies: The Corpse, Urban Trade and Industrial Consumption in the Penny Blood," in *Victorian Crime*, ed. Maunder and Moore, 45–58.

57. Bleiler, xii.

58. Bleiler, xvi.

59. J.C. Platt, "Prisons and Penitentiaries," in *London*, ed. Knight, vol. 5, 321–36.

60. Reynolds clearly draws his account of a storm at sea, the convict settlement in Tasmania (including timber getting, escapes and cannibalism), and that on Norfolk Island — sometimes word-for-word — from James Backhouse's *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies* (York: Hamilton and Adams, 1843): though Reynolds does confuse Macquarie Harbour in Tasmania with another convict timber area at Port Macquarie, up the New South Wales coast.

61. Haywood, 154

62. This was in the *Jewish Chronicle*, March 19, 1847, 101–2; see Rohan McWilliam, "The Mysteries of G.W.M. Reynolds: Radicalism and Melodrama in Victorian Britain," in *Living and Learning: Essays in Honour of J.F.C. Harrison*, ed. Malcolm Chase and Ian Dyck (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996), 182–98 at 194; and James, *Fiction for the Working Man*, 104.

63. Anne Humpherys, "The Geometry of the Modern City: G.W.M. Reynolds and *The Mysteries of London*," *Browning Institute Studies* 11 (1983): 69–80 at 70; Bleiler, xvii.

64. Bleiler, xvi.

65. See on the labyrinth idea Humpherys, "The Geometry of the Modern City," at 74–6; Sara James, "Eugène Sue, G.W.M. Reynolds, and the Representation of the City as 'Mystery,'" in *Babylon or New Jerusalem: Perceptions of the City in Literature*, ed. Valeria Tinkler-Villani (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), 247–58 at 250–52; McWilliam, 186; and Richard Maxwell, *The Mysteries of Paris and London* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 13–16.

66. For Humpherys's comments on a "rope narrative," see "Generic Strands and Urban Twists: The Victorian Mysteries Novel," *Victorian Studies* 34 (1991): 455–73 at 463–66.

67. See *The Mysteries of the Court of London*, 8 vols. (London: Dicks, 1849–56), "Postscript" after 411; Pearl discusses Reynolds's work practices, 74–5.

68. Bleiler, xi.

69. Bleiler, xvii.

70. Margaret Dalziel, *Popular Literature a Hundred Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History* (London: Cohen and West, 1957), 37.

71. Bleiler, xvii.

72. James, *Fiction for the Working Man*, 168.

73. Mayhew, vol. 1, "Costermongers," 4–61; see 25 for the comment on Reynolds's "'Mysteries of the Court' as what "they love best to listen to — and, indeed, what they are most eager for."

74. See Trefor Thomas's comment on the working-class readership and the letters in his "Introduction," to his edition of selections from G.W.M. Reynolds, *The Mysteries of London* (Keele, UK: Keele University Press, 1996), vii–xxiv at xiii–xv.

75. Bleiler, xi.

76. Louis James, "Time, Politics and the Symbolic Imagination in Reynolds's Social Melodrama," in *G.W.M. Reynolds*, ed. Humpherys and James, 181–212 at 183.

77. Bleiler, xviii.

78. McWilliam, 195.

Chapter 3

1. The idea that Féval was adapting Reynolds is in two current sites: www.roman-daventures, http://lectures.madamecharlotte.com, and www.babelio.com. It is http://fr.wikipedia.org which believes that the project Joly proposed was to translate *The Mysteries of London*, "but the result not being publishable," Féval started on an "integral rewriting." In hhttp://maison ecrivains.canalblog it is suggested that Joly asked Féval "to match the work of an English author, *The Adventures of an émigré*," but this is the title of part 1 of his novel *Les Bandits*, also known as *Les Bandits de Londres* (1848). In *The Arcades Project*, Benjamin states even more bizarrely that Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* was inspired by Féval's *Les Mystères de Londres*, Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2002), 757.

2. Jean-Pierre Galvan, *Paul Féval: Parcours d'une Oeuvre* (Paris: Encrage, 2000), 15.

3. Sir Francis Trolopp, *Les Mystères de Londres* (Paris: Au Comptoir des Imprimeurs-Unis, 1844), trans. Henry Champion Deming, *The Mysteries of London* (New York: Judd and Taylor, 1845); this translation was often reprinted in the USA, but apparently only once in England, in 1875, and there appears to have been no England-based translation. Deming's translation is close to the original throughout, but he makes a number of names conform to English practice — for example Clara for Clary, Mackenzie for Mackensie, and notably O'Brian for O'Breane.

4. Galvan, 104.

5. O'Connor and O'Brien were both leading Chartists of the period, O'Brien tending more to the "physical force" side of the movement. Féval's own conservative politics would have given him little sympathy with Chartism, but these are the only two leading dissident figures of the period with Irish names.

6. In a later memoir Féval said when he came to London during the writing of *Les*

Mystères, he met O'Connell: he was already suffering from his final illness but gave him "precious encouragements" and provided material that he would use in *La Quittance de Minuit*; see *La littérature au sénat: Lettre d'un romancier à M. le Baron de Chapuys-Montlaville par Paul Féval* (Paris: Dentu, 1861), 7.

7. Though McHale (1791–1881) was not, as the text says, "far advanced in years" in the 1830s, the rest of the description suits him well: he was the strongest church supporter of the Irish nationalist cause, less open to moderation than O'Connell and well-known in France. Another nationalist hero, Bishop James Doyle of Kildare, somewhat less forceful than McHale, died in 1834 and so is a possible reference, but being born in 1786 was himself only in his forties and was not as well-known as McHale when Féval was writing.

8. Marc Angenot, *Le Roman Populaire: Récherches en Paralittérature* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1975), 76–8.

9. Dolorès Jiminez, "Quelques aspects du personage du héros dans l'univers févalien," in *Paul Féval: Romancier populaire: Colloque de Rennes, 1987*, ed. Jean Rohou and Jacques Dugast (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1992), 125–39.

10. Susannah was seen as a mainly Jewish name at the time: it is presumably an accident that this was also the name of Reynolds's wife — who had been, like him, well-known in Paris.

11. Burker is a popular name for a body snatcher or, as Reynolds will have it, a "Resurrection Man," after William Burke, who, with William O'Hare, formed an infamous pair of Edinburgh body snatchers in the late 1820s.

12. It is tempting to think that Féval, something of an *amateur* of history, is playing on the memory of Spencer Perceval (this is the spelling of Frank's surname in French): he was heir to the Earl of Egremont, the British Prime Minister from 1809 who proved a successful prosecutor of war against Napoleon until he was assassinated in the Houses of Parliament in 1812. It is equally curious that his first name turns up as the surname of Ishmael, or Tyrrel, the Marquis's major criminal supporter.

13. See Agatha Christie's *The Mysterious Affair at Styles* (1920), where this minor detail is the key to unraveling a highly intricate and melodramatic plot.

14. The translator, Henry Champion Deming, signs the notes as "Amer. Translator." Wife selling was in the news in the early nineteenth century, though, as E.P. Thompson notes, more from distaste for the practice than its wide occurrence; see chapter 7, "The Sale of Wives," in his *Customs in Common* (London: Penguin, 1993), 404–66.

15. Jacinta Wright, "Irish Nationalism in the Roman-Feuilleton: Paul Féval's *Les Mystères de Londres* (1844) and *La Quittance be Minuit* (1846)," in *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, ed. Eamon Maher and Grace Neville (Frankfurt: Lang, 2001), 163–75.

16. Flora Tristan, *London Journal, 1840: A Survey of London's Life in the 1830s*, trans. Dennis Palmer and Giselle Pincetl (London: Prior, 1980), 133.

17. See Wright, "Irish Nationalism," 168; Galvan, 104, says Féval went to London during the publication of part 4 — this could suggest either the last "book" as it was later published or the fourth of the 11 (monthly) volumes in which, as Galvan also notes, it first appeared. The latter would match more closely Wright's timing of the visit.

18. *Jean-Diable*, apparently completely unknown in international crime fiction scholarship, has recently been translated and knowledgeably introduced by the Féval scholar Brian Stapleford, *John Devil* (Encino, CA: Black Coat Press, 2004).

19. Charles Baudelaire, "Madame Bovary," in *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Claude Pichois, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), vol. 2, 76–86 at 79: he says Féval is "doué pour le grotesque et le terrible."

Chapter 4

1. Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *The Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Jacobs, 1906), 261.

2. David S. Reynolds, *George Lippard* (Boston: Twayne, 1982), 112.

3. Heyward Ehrlich, "The 'Mysteries' of Philadelphia: Lippard's *Quaker City* and 'Urban Gothic,'" *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 18 (1972): 50–65 at 51–2.

4. Ehrlich, 53.

5. See Larzer Ziff, *Literary Democracy: The Declaration of Cultural Independence in America* (New York: Viking, 1981), 101.

6. Ziff, 94–5; Michael Davitt Bell, "Beginnings of Professionalism," in *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* vol. 2, *1860–1865*, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 11–73 at 71. On the dating of these editions, many of which retained the 1845 date, see J.V. Ridgely, "George Lippard's *The Quaker City*: The World of the American Porno-Gothic," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 7 (1974): 77–96 at 77, note 12.

7. Samuel Otter, *Philadelphia Stories: America's Literature of Race and Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 167.

8. Janis P. Stout, *Sodoms in Eden: The City in American Fiction Before 1860* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1976), 151.

9. Ziff, 88.

10. See Gary B. Nash, *Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 157–8.

11. Nash, 144.

12. See Jeffrey P. Roberts, "Railroads and the Downtown: Philadelphia, 1830–1900," in *The Divided Metropolis: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia,1800–1975*, ed. William W. Cutler III and Howard Gillette, Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1980), 27–40.

13. Reynolds, *George Lippard*, 111.

14. See W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro*: *A Social Study* 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 19–20; Sam Bass Warner Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 127; and Theodore Hershberg, "Free Blacks in Antebellum Philadelphia," in *The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790–1840*, ed. Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 111–34 at 117–24.

15. Nash, 152.

16. Nash, 171.

17. In *The Quaker City Weekly*, June 2, 1849, reprinted in David S. Reynolds, ed., *George Lippard: Prophet of Protest: An Anthology* (New York: Lang, 1986), 182.

18. In *The Quaker City Weekly*, June 1, 1850, reprinted in Reynolds, *George Lippard: Prophet of Protest*, 252–3.

19. Ehrlich, 56.

20. Reynolds, *George Lippard*, 114.

21. Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America* (London: Verso, 1987), 92.

22. Ziff, 96 and 101.

23. David S. Reynolds, "Introduction," to George Lippard, *The Quaker City or The Monks of Monk Hall* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), vii-xliv; Ridgely, 77–96.

24. Shelley Sheeby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 50.

25. Ehrlich, 59.

26. Reynolds, *George Lippard*, 59.

27. Reynolds, "Introduction," to *George Lippard: Prophet of Protest*, 15.

28. Bruce Laurie, "Fire Companies and Gangs in Southwark: The 1840s," in *The Peoples of Philadelphia*, 71–88 at 72–3.

29. The immensely wealthy Stephen Girard left his fortune for charities in Philadelphia at his death in 1831, but Girard College was not opened until 1848. While his French relatives did challenge the will, many felt like Lippard that the banks were profitably involved in the sluggish testing and final enactment of Girard's massively philanthropic wishes.

30. Cowie, Alexander. *The Rise of the American Novel* (New York: American Book, 1946) at 324; Denning, 99; Leslie Fiedler, "The Male Novel," *Partisan Review* 37 (1970): 74–89 at 87.

31. See on semi-pornography Clare A. Lyons, *Sex Among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 290–307.

32. Ridgely, 90 and 91.

33. David S. Reynolds, *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville* (New York: Knopf, 1988), 217.
34. Oberholtzer, 255; Fiedler, 76; Bell, 71.
35. Denning, 98; Alexander Cowie, *The Rise of the American Novel* (New York: American Book Company, 1948), 321.
36. Lippard made the comment in *The Quaker City Weekly*, November 3, 1849; see Reynolds, "Introduction," in *George Lippard: Prophet of Protest*, 24.
37. See Reynolds, *Beneath the American Renaissance*, 206.
38. Denning, 90; Ehrlich, 61.
39. Ziff, 88.
40. David R. Johnson, "Crime Patterns in Philadelphia, 1840–1870," in *The Peoples of Philadelphia*, 89–110 at 90.
41. Reynolds, *George Lippard*, 118.
42. Ehrlich, 56.

Chapter 5

1. I.N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909*, 5 vols. (New York: Dodd, 1918), vol. 3, 633.
2. Fred E. Pond, *Life and Adventures of Ned Buntline* (New York: Cadmus Book Shop, 1919).
3. See the account of Judson's life in the *American National Biography On-line*.
4. Phelps Stokes, vol. 3, 652.
5. Cornelius Matthews, *The Career of Puffer Hopkins* (New York: Appleton, 1843), iii.
6. See Jay Monaghan, *The Great Rascal: The Life and Adventures of Ned Buntline* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951). Judson said Lippard was "prostituting his able pen" in "trifling nouvelettes" by relating "scenes which have already cast a sufficient plot and stain on our land," 100. But Judson did just that in his *Mysteries*, and his *The Red Revenger* appeared in a series called *The Novelette*. Monaghan also reports, 97, that Judson "played a stream of scorn on the new publications of 'Professor' Ingraham."
7. George G. Foster, *New York in Slices* (New York: Burgess, 1849); George G. Foster, *New York by Gaslight* (New York: Dewitt and Davenport, 1850), reprinted in *New York by Gas-Light, and Other Urban Sketches*, ed. Stuart M. Blumin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990)—this reprint includes some pieces from *New York in Slices*.
8. Blumin, "Introduction," 3–54 at 51.
9. Foster, *New York by Gaslight*, 28.
10. Monaghan, 137. The 1847 date might well be one of those publishing fictions (as with *Ivanhoe*), pushing a date forward a little to delay a book's seeming out of date. The *New York Tribune* "proclaimed the completion" in late 1847 according to John Schmidt, in *Edward Zane Carroll Judson (Ned Buntline)—the Granddaddy of Dime Novelists*, MA dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1973, 40: this might, however, only refer to the first volume. Blumin (37) refers to Foster writing in rivalry in January 1848 that there has been "misery" about Judson's sales—a statement that seems false.
11. William Milner was a printer based in Halifax, Yorkshire, who also published a large amount of popular literature from a London address. His cheap editions lack a date and do not appear in the standard bibliographies. The British Library copy is from the 1870s at the earliest, but the U.S. National Union Catalog records three surviving copies and dates them all as 1850. There is also one at Cornell University Library that may be as early. It seems probable that Judson provided a skillful short conclusion for this one-volume edition, so creating the only complete version of his story. As it hardly mentions incidents in his three separate novella extensions of the plotlines, it appears to have been generated before them, and so has further authority.
12. A few followers added "Miseries" to "Mysteries" as in J.S. Berry and Henry de Morgan's 1860 New York version, or the 1853 *Mysteries and Miseries of San Francisco* "by a Californian," and Philadelphia attracted two of these, in 1848 and, by George Thompson, 1853. A form of spin-off was the two-volume 1892 translation of Sue by Henry Llewellyn Williams published

by Lupton of New York, in which Volume 1 was titled *The Mysteries of Paris* and Volume 2 *The Miseries of Paris*.

13. Monaghan, 142.

14. Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 634.

15. Michael Flavin, *Gambling in the Nineteenth-Century English Novel* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2003).

16. William Bobo, *Glimpses of New York Life by a South Carolinian* (Charleston: McCarter, 1852), 93.

17. This is probably an eagle, or $10: Precise has some in his pocket, we learn later, but even the smaller coins, half or quarter eagle, would be a large sum in the context.

18. As a marker of foreign cunning the surname presumably relates to the very well-known and prolific French author Madame de Genlis, a supporter of Napoleon and, though she died in 1830, in early days tutor to the recently deposed French monarch, Louis Philippe.

19. The Mary Rogers case and its extensive aftermath have been discussed in two books: John Walsh, *Poe the Detective: The Curious Circumstances Behind the Mystery of Marie Roget* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1968), and Amy Gilman Srebnick, *The Mysterious Death of Mary Rogers: Sex and Culture in Nineteenth-Century New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

20. Bobo, 112.

21. Walsh, chapter 5, "Mystification," 61–73.

22. Srebnick, chapter 7, "Tales of New York in the Ink of Truth: Reinventing Mary Rogers," 135–75.

23. James C. Mohr, *Abortion in America: The Origins and Evolution of National Policy, 1801–1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 48. Restell was her "professional" name: she was born Caroline Ann Trow in Gloucester, UK, then married a Mr. Lohman in America; see 48–53.

24. See Edward Van Every, *Sins of New York: As "Exposed" by the Police Gazette* (New York: Stokes, 1930), 90.

25. Van Every, 19.

26. Patricia Clive Cohen, "Unregulated Youth: Masculinity and Murder in the 1830s City," *Radical History* 52 (1992): 33–51 at 34.

27. Burrows and Wallace, 539.

28. Burrows and Wallace, 756.

29. James D. McCabe, *Lights and Shadows of New York Life* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1872), section 4, 75–117.

30. Foster, *New York in Slices*, 4.

31. Eric Homberger, *The Historical Atlas of New York Life* (New York: Holt, 1994), 85.

32. Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (New York: Knopf, 1986), 185–6.

33. McCabe, 587–9.

34. Burrows and Wallace, 484

35. Burrows and Wallace, 666.

36. Peter J. Buckley, "Culture, Class and Place in Antebellum New York," in *Power Culture and Place: Essays on New York City*, ed. John Hull Mollenkopf (New York: Sage Foundation, 1988), 25–52 at 27.

37. Monaghan, 149.

38. Richard M. Dorson, "Mose the Far-Famed and World-Renowned," *American Literature* 15 (1943–4): 288–300.

39. Foster, 170; Dorson, 295.

40. Burrows and Wallace, 763.

41. George E. Walker, *The Afro-American in New York City, 1827–1860* (New York: Garland, 1993), 9.

42. Walker, 30–32.

43. While there is a common view that lower Manhattan now starts at 14th Street, there is a clear memory that Canal Street was formerly the frontier with mid-town.

44. Burrows and Wallace, 700.

45. Edgar Allan Poe wrote a series of letters in mid–1844 published in the upstate newspaper *The Columbia Spy* under this title; they were published as *The Doings of Gotham*, ed. Jacob A. Spannuth (Pottsville, PA: Spannuth, 1929); the fountain is discussed in the May 14 letter, 26.

46. There is a single reference to one of Judson's western novels of 1850 in Sacvan Bercovitch, ed., *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, 8 vols., vol. 2, *1820–1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 228, and one citation of *The Mysteries* in the *Columbia Literary History of the United States*, ed. Emory Elliott (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 582.

Chapter 6

1. Aurélien Scholl, *Les Nouveaux Mystères de Paris* (Brussels: Lacroix, 1867), 2.

2. Heinrich Börnstein, *Die Geheimnisse von St Louis* was serialized in the *Anzeiger des Westens*, 1851, and published in book form in Cassel by Hotop, 1851; translated by Friederich Munch Henry Boernstein as *The Mysteries of St Louis, or, The Jesuits on the Praierie des Noyers, a Western Tale* (St. Louis: *Anzeiger des Westens*, 1851–2), reprinted, ed. Steven Rowan and Elizabeth Sims (Chicago: Kerr, 1990).

3. Baron Ludwig von Reizenstein, *Die Geheimnisse von New Orleans*, serialized in the *Louisiana Staats-Zeitung*, 1854–5; translated as *The Mysteries of New Orleans* and edited by Steven Rowan (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

4. Oliver Faron, *La Ville des Destins Croisés: Récherches sur la Societé Milanaise du XIXe Siècle (1811–1860)* (Rome: École Française, 1997), 189.

5. Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, 2d ed. (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 107; for the comment on Chartism being largely achieved in Australia see Macintyre, 92–3.

6. Alfred Deakin, *The Crisis in Victorian Politics, 1879–1886: A Personal Retrospective*, ed. J.A. La Nauze and R.M. Crawford (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1957), 40.

7. See Brian and Barbara Kennedy, *Australian Place-Names* (Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989), 19.

8. The career of Mary Fortune, writing as "Waif Wander" or, in crime fiction, as "W.W." has been excavated by Lucy Sussex, *The Fortunes of Mary Fortune* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1989).

9. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men, English Literature and Male Homosexual Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

10. See the one-volume reprint, ed. L.T. Hergenhan, *A Colonial City: High and Low Life: Selected Journalism of Marcus Clarke* (Brisbane: University of Queensland University Press, 1972), 79–80.

11. On the commonness of drink problems, see James Grant and Geoffrey Serle, eds., *The Melbourne Scene* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1978), 80.

12. Clarke, *A Colonial City*, 78–9; see also Dean Wilson, *The Beat: Policing a Victorian City* (Beaconsfield: Circa, 2006), 66–9.

13. Graeme Davison, ed., *The Outcasts of Melbourne* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1985), 10.

14. John Stanley James, "The Outcasts of Melbourne," in *Vagabond Papers*, ed. Michael Cannon (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969 [1876–8]), 27–40; see also Graeme Davison and David Dunstan, "'This Moral Pandemonium': Images of Low Life," in *Outcasts of Melbourne*, 29–57.

15. Andrew Brown-May and Charles Swan, eds. *Encyclopedia of Melbourne* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 575; Clarke refers to hotels or bars which are really "bagnios," *A Colonial City*, 15.

16. See Clarke's account of Melbourne Cup Day in *A Colonial City*, 174–8; it was in the follow-up "The Melbourne Spring Meeting," 179–7, that Clarke made what Hergenhan calls "his notorious attack on the Jewish spectators," *A Colonial City*, 437.

17. See Richard Browne, *Aboriginal Victoria: A History* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2005), 91–2.

18. On Indigenous names and their absence see Meyer Eidelson, *The Melbourne Dreaming: A Guide to the Aboriginal Places of Melbourne* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1997), 140–17; and Andrew Brown-May, *Melbourne Street Life* (Kew: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1990), 25.

19. On "unlocking the land" see Macintyre, 96–8.

20. On the naming and the response see Graeme Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1978), 229–34; on sewage problems see Bernard Barrett, "Sanitation and Pollution: Cess Pits to Cess Pans" and "Sanitation and Pollution: From Cess Pans to Sewerage," chapters 5 and 8 of *The Inner Suburb: The Evolution of an Industrial Area* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1971), 72–86 and 123–39.

21. See W. Kelly, *Life in Victoria*, Historical Reprints Series (Kilmore: Lowden, 1977 [1858]), 128–9.

22. Brown-May, 31.

23. Anthony Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1873), 252.

24. Grant and Serle, 137.

25. John Kerr Hunter (as "A Resident"), *Glimpses of Life in Victoria* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 1996 [1872]), 266.

26. It was previously known as Fareham, after a small port near Portsmouth in England.

27. See Gillian Upton, *The George* (Richmond: Venus Bay Books, 2001).

28. Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 149.

29. The villa's location is given early in the text as "on the outskirts of East St Kilda" (9) but is later identified as in Balaclava (47, 52, 76): the train from the station of that name (itself reclaimed from the local swamp) goes "past the little home" (15).

30. Henry Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, 2d ed. (Madras: Higginbotham, 1880 [1879]), 83–95; R.E. Twopenny, *Town Life in Australia*, facsimile ed., John M. Ward, ed. (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1973 [1883]), 8–11.

31. See Clarke, *A Colonial City*, 18 and 305–7 on "Sharebroking" under the verandah, and 342–6 on "The Model Sharebroker"; Trollope describes the verandah on 256.

32. The situation is so common that Fiona Giles titled her selection of women's rural works *From the Verandah: Love and Landscape by Nineteenth-Century Australian Women* (Melbourne: McPhee Gribble, 1987).

33. Clarke, 174–8.

34. See Stephen Knight, "The Vanishing Policeman: Patterns of Detective Authority," chapter 3 of *Continent of Mystery: A Thematic History of Australian Crime Fiction* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997), 106–42.

35. On Standish see Robert Haldane, *The People's Force: A History of the Victorian Police* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1986), 55–7. The state of the Victorian police was much discussed in 1873, because a police superannuation bill, seeking to attract better and more professional officers through enhanced conditions, was going through the Legislative Assembly, where Cameron himself was a member; see Haldane, 74–5.

36. This somewhat bleak version of Christian judgment, without mention of mercy or redemption, apparently derives from the traditional last confession of Raymond Diocres, the tutor of Saint Bruno, eleventh-century founder of the austere Carthusian monastic order.

37. See Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Urizen, 1979).

38. Clarke, 76–7.

39. See Macintyre, chapter 5, "In Thrall to Progress," 85–120; and Penny Russell, "*A Wish of Distinction": Colonial Gentility and Femininity* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994), 4.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Backhouse, James. *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies.* York: Hamilton and Adams, 1843.

Baudelaire, Charles. "Madame Bovary," in *Oeuvres Complètes*, Claude Pichois, ed., 2 vols. Paris: Gallimard, 1976, vol. 2, 76–86.

Bobo, William. *Glimpses of New York Life by a South Carolinian*. Charleston: McCarter, 1852.

Börnstein, Heinrich. *Die Geheimnisse von St Louis.* Cassel: Hotop, 1851; trans. Friederich Munch as *The Mysteries of St Louis, or, The Jesuits on the Praierie des Noyers, a Western Tale*. St. Louis: *Anzeiger des Westens*, 1851–2; rpt. Steven Rowan and Elizabeth Sims, eds. Chicago: Kerr, 1990.

Cameron, Donald. *The Mysteries of Melbourne Life.* Melbourne: Mason, Firth and McCutcheon, 1873.

Clarke, Marcus. *A Colonial City, High and Low Life: Selected Journalism of Marcus Clarke*. L.T. Hergenhan, ed. Brisbane: University of Queensland University Press, 1972.

Cornish, Henry. *Under the Southern Cross*, 2d ed. Madras: Higginbotham, 1880 [1879].

Dickens, Charles. "Preliminary Word." *Household Words* 1 (March 30, 1850), 1.

Engels, Friedrich. *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, trans. Florence Kelley. New York: Lowell, 1887 [in German, 1845].

Féval, Paul. *Jean-Diable*. Paris: Dentu, 1862; trans. Brian Stapleford as *John Devil.* Encino, CA: Black Coat Press, 2004.

_____. *La littérature au sénat: Lettre d'un romancier à M. le Baron de Chapuys-Montlaville par Paul Féval.* Paris: Dentu, 1861.

_____ (as "Sir Francis Trolopp"). *Les Mystères de Londres.* Paris: Au Comptoir des Imprimeurs-Unis, 1844; trans. Henry Champion Deming as *The Mysteries of London*. New York: Judd and Taylor, 1845.

Foster, George G. *New York by Gaslight.* New York: Dewitt and Davenport, 1850; rpt. *New York by Gas-Light, and Other Urban Sketches*, Stuart M. Blumin, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

_____. *New York in Slices.* New York: Burgess, 1849.

Garwood, John. *The Million-Peopled City, or, One Half of the People of London Made Known to the Other Half.* London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1853.

Giles, Fiona, ed. *From the Verandah: Love and Landscape by Nineteenth-Century Australian Women.* Melbourne: McPhee Gribble, 1987.

Hugo, Victor. *The Last Day of a Condemned*, trans. G. W. M. Reynolds. London: Henderson, 1840.

_____. "Outside the Bastille," trans. G. W. M. Reynolds, in *Selections Chiefly Lyrical from the Poetical Works of Victor Hugo*, Henry Llewellyn Williams, ed. London: Bell, 1887, 100–1.

Hunter, John Kerr (as "A Resident"). *Glimpses of Life in Victoria*. Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 1996 [1872].

James, John Stanley. "The Outcasts of Melbourne," in *Vagabond Papers*, Michael Cannon, ed. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969 [1876–8].
Judson, E. Z. C. (as "Ned Buntline"). *The Mysteries and Miseries of New York: A Story of Real Life*, 5 vols. New York: Berford, 1848.
Knight, Charles, ed. *London*, 6 vols. London: Knight, 1841–4.
Lippard, George. *The Quaker City or The Monks of Monk Hall*. Philadelphia: Peterson, 1844; rpt. David S. Reynolds, ed. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995.
Marchal, Charles. *Chroniques et Mystères de Londres, 1189–1843*. Paris: Marchal et Lachapelle, 1844.
Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. *The Holy Family: A Critique of Critical Critique,* in *Collected Works*, vol. 4, trans. Richard Dixon and Clemens Dutt. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1975.
Matthews, Cornelius. *The Career of Puffer Hopkins.* New York: Appleton, 1843.
Mayhew, Henry. *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols., 2d ed. London: Griffith, Bohn, 1861–2 [1852].
McCabe, James D. *Lights and Shadows of New York Life.* Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1872.
"North, Father." *The Mysteries of London*. London: Cunningham, 1844.
Poe, Edgar Allan. *The Doings of Gotham*, Jacob A. Spannuth, ed. Pottsville, PA: Spannuth, 1929.
_____. "Marginalia," *Graham's Magazine*, November 1846; rpt. *Edgar Allan Poe: Essays and Reviews*, The Library of America Series. New York: University of Cambridge Press, 1984, 1404–8.
Reynolds, G. W. M. *The Mysteries of London*, 2 vols. London: Vickers, 1846; reprinted selection, Trefor Thomas, ed. Keele, UK: Keele University Press, 1996.
_____. *The Mysteries of the Court of London*, 8 vols. London: Dicks, 1849–56.
_____. *Robert Macaire in England*, 3 vols. London: Tegg, 1840.
_____. *Wagner the Wehr-Wolf: A Romance.* London: Dicks, 1857; rpt. E. F. Bleiler, ed. New York: Dover, 1975.
Scholl, Auréien. *Les Nouveaux Mystères de Paris.* Brussels: Lacroix, 1867.
Sue, Eugène. *Les Mystères de Paris*, 4 vols. Paris: Gosselin, 1843.
_____. *The Mysteries of Paris* (vol. 1) and *The Miseries of Paris* (vol. 2), trans. Henry Llewellyn Williams. New York: Lupton, 1892.
Thackeray, W. M. "On Going to See a Man Hanged." *Fraser's Magazine* 22 (August 1840): 150–8.
_____ (as "Mr Titmarsh"). *The Paris Sketch Book*, 2 vols. London: MacCrone, 1840; rpt. Köln: Könemann, 2000.
Tristan, Flora. *Promenades dans Londres.* Paris: Delloye, and London: Jeffs, 1840; trans. Dennis Palmer and Giselle Pincetl as *Flora Tristan's London Journal: A Survey of London Life in the 1830s.* London: Prior, 1980; expanded 1842 edition trans. Jean Hawkes as *London Journal.* London: Virago, 1982.
Trollope, Anthony. *Australia and New Zealand.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1873.
Trollope, Frances. *Paris and the Parisians.* London: Bentley, 1835.
Twopenny, R. E. *Town Life in Australia*, facsimile ed., John M. Ward, ed. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1973 [1883].
von Reizenstein, Baron Ludwig. *Die Geheimnisse von New Orleans*, serialized in the *Louisiana Staats-Zeitung*, 1854–5; trans. and ed. Steven Rowan as *The Mysteries of New Orleans.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Secondary Sources

Angenot, Marc. *Le Roman Populaire: Récherches en Paralittérature.* Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Québec, 1975.
Ascari, Maurizio. *A Counter-History of Crime Fiction: Supernatural, Gothic, Sensational.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Atkinson, Nora. *Eugène Sue et le Roman-Feuilleton.* Paris: Nizet et Bastard, 1929.
Barrett, Bernard. *The Inner Suburb: The Evolution of an Industrial Area.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1971.
Bell, Michael Davitt. "Beginnings of Professionalism," in *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* vol. 2, ed. Bercovitch, 11–73.
Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project.* Ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2002.
Bercovitch, Sacvan, ed. *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, 8 vols., vol. 2, *1820–1865*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
Bernheimer, Charles. *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
Blake, Linnie. "Edgar Allan Poe in Paris: The *Flâneur*, the *Détournement* and the Gothic Spaces of the Nineteenth-Century City," in *Le Gothic: Influences and Appropriations in Europe and America*, Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik, eds. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 38–49.
Bleiler, E. F. "Introduction," to Reynolds, *Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf*, vii–xviii.
Blumin, Stuart M. "Introduction," to Foster, *New York by Gas-Light,* 3–54.
Bory, Jean-Louis. *Eugène Sue, le roi du roman populaire.* Paris: Hachette, 1962.
_____. "Preface," to Eugène Sue, *Les Mystères de Paris.* Paris: Pauvert, 1963, X–XIV.
Bozetto, Roger. "Eugène Sue et la fantastique," in *Eugène Sue*, ed. Roger Ripoli, René Guise and Emilien Carassus (Paris: Europe, 1982), 103–14.
Brooks, Peter. *Reading for the Plot: Design and Invention in Narrative.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
Brown-May, Andrew. *Melbourne Street Life.* Kew: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1998.
_____, and Charles Swan, eds. *Encyclopedia of Melbourne.* Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
Browne, Richard. *Aboriginal Victoria: A History.* Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2005.
Buckley, Peter J. "Culture, Class and Place in Antebellum New York," in *Power Culture and Place: Essays on New York City*, John Hull Mollenkopf, ed. New York: Sage Foundation, 1988, 25–52.
Burrows Edwin G., and Mike Wallace. *Gotham: A History of New York to 1898.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
Butler, Marilyn. "Hidden Metropolis: London in Sentimental and Romantic Writing," in *London: World City*, Fox, ed., 87–98.
Carmona, Michael. *Haussmann: His Life and Times and the Making of Modern Paris*, trans. Patrick Camille. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002.
Carver, Stephen. *The Life and Works of the Lancashire Novelist William Harrison Ainsworth, 1805–1882.* Lewiston: Mellen, 2003.
Chaunu, Pierre. *Eugène Sue et la Seconde République*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948.
Chevalier, Louis. *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle*. Paris: Plon, 1958; trans. Frank Jellinek as *Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.
Chevasco, Berry. "Lost in Translation: The Relationship Between Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* and G. W. M. Reynolds's *The Mysteries of London*," in *G. W. M. Reynolds*, Humpherys and James, eds., 133–47.
_____. *Mysterymania: The Reception of Eugène Sue in Britain 1838–1860.* Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003.
Cohen, Patricia Clive. "Unregulated Youth: Masculinity and Murder in the 1830s City." *Radical History* 52 (1992): 33–51.
Colby, Robert. *Thackeray's Canvass of Humanity.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1979.
Cowie, Alexander. *The Rise of the American Novel* (New York: American Book, 1946).
Crouzet, François. *The Victorian Economy.* London: Methuen, 1982.
Dalziel, Margaret. *Popular Literature a Hundred Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History.* London: Cohen and West, 1957.
Davis, Allen F., and Mark H. Haller, eds. *The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790–1840.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

Davison, Graeme. *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1978.
Davison, Graeme, ed. *The Outcasts of Melbourne.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1985.
_____, and David Dunstan. "'This Moral Pandemonium': Images of Low Life," in *Outcasts of Melbourne*, Davison, ed., 29–57.
Deakin, Alfred. *The Crisis in Victorian Politics, 1879–1886: A Personal Retrospective*, J. A. La Nauze and R. M. Crawford, eds. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1957.
Denning, Michael. *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America.* London: Verso, 1987.
Dickinson, H. T. "Radical Culture," in *London: World City,* Fox, ed., 209–24.
Dorson, Richard M. "Mose the Far-Famed and World-Renowned." *American Literature* 15 (1943–4): 288–300.
Drexler, Peter. *Literatur, Kriminalität, Recht.* Frankfurt: Lang, 1991.
Du Bois, W. E. B. *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
Eco, Umberto. "Rhetoric and Ideology in Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*." *Social Science Journal (UNESCO)* 19 (1967): 551–69.
Ehrlich, Heyward. "The 'Mysteries' of Philadelphia: Lippard's *Quaker City* and 'Urban Gothic.'" *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 18 (1972): 50–65.
Eidelson, Meyer. *The Melbourne Dreaming: A Guide to the Aboriginal Places of Melbourne.* Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1997.
Elliott, Emory, ed. *Columbia Literary History of the United States.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
Faron, Oliver. *La Ville des Destins Croisés: Récherches sur la Societé Milanaise du XIXe Siècle (1811–1860).* Rome: École Française, 1997.
Fiedler, Leslie. "The Male Novel." *Partisan Review* 37 (1970): 74–89.
Flavin, Michael. *Gambling in the Nineteenth-Century English Novel.* Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2003.
Fox, Cecelia, ed. *London: World City, 1800–1840.* New Haven: Yale University Press, and London: The Museum of London, 1992.
Galvan, Jean-Pierre. *Paul Féval: Parcours d'une Oeuvre.* Paris: Encrage, 2000.
Gluck, Mary. *Popular Bohemia: Modernism and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.
Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from Cultural Writings.* Eds. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, trans. William Boelhauer. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985.
Grant, James, and Geoffrey Serle, eds. *The Melbourne Scene*. Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1978.
Haldane, Robert. *The People's Force: A History of the Victorian Police*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1986.
Hauser, Arnold. *The Social History of Art,* vol. 4, *Naturalism, Impressionism, the Film Age*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.
Haywood, Ian. *Revolutions in Popular Literature.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
Hemmings, F. W. J., ed. *The Age of Realism.* London: Penguin, 1974.
Herdman, John. *The Double in Nineteenth-Century Fiction: The Shadow Life.* New York: St Martin's Press, 1990.
Hershberg, Theodore. "Free Blacks in Antebellum Philadelphia," in *The Peoples of Philadelphia*, Davis and Haller, eds., 111–34.
Hogle, Jerrold E. "Introduction: The Gothic in Western Culture," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Gothic*, Jerrold E. Hogle, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 1–19.
Homberger, Eric .*The Historical Atlas of New York Life.* New York: Holt, 1994.
Humpherys, Anne. "Generic Strands and Urban Twists: The Victorian Mysteries Novel." *Victorian Studies* 34 (1991): 455–73.
_____. "The Geometry of the Modern City: G. W. M. Reynolds and *The Mysteries of London*." *Browning Institute Studies* 11 (1983): 69–80.
_____, and Louis James. "Introduction," to *G. W. M. Reynolds: Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Politics, and the Press*, Anne Humpherys and Louis James, eds. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, 1–17.
James, Louis. *Fiction for the Working Man*, rev. ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin University Books, 1973.

_____. *Print and the People 1819–1851.* London: Lane, 1976.
_____. "Time, Politics and the Symbolic Imagination in Reynolds's Social Melodrama," in *G. W. M. Reynolds*, Humpherys and James, eds., 181–212.
_____. "The View from Brick Lane: Contrasting Perspectives in Working-Class and Middle-Class Fiction of the Early Victorian Period." *The Yearbook of English Studies* 11 (1981): 87–101.
James, Sara. "Eugène Sue, G. W. M. Reynolds, and the Representation of the City as 'Mystery,'" in *Babylon or New Jerusalem: Perceptions of the City in Literature*, Valeria Tinkler-Villani, ed. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005, 247–58.
Jiminez, Dolorès. "Quelques aspects du personage du héros dans l'univers févalien," in *Paul Féval: Romancier populaire: Colloque de Rennes, 1987*, Jean Rohou and Jacques Dugast, eds. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1992, 125–39.
Johnson, David R. "Crime Patterns in Philadelphia, 1840–1870," in *The Peoples of Philadelphia*, Davis and Haller, eds., 89–110.
Joyce, Patrick. *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, 1848–1914.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Kaplan, Cora. "Pandora's Box: Subjectivity, Class and Sexuality in Socialist-Feminist Criticism," in *British Feminist Thought: A Reader*, Terry Lovell, ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990, 346–66.
Kayman, Martin. *From Bow Street to Baker Street: Mystery, Detection and Narrative.* London: Macmillan, 1992.
Kennedy, Brian, and Barbara Kennedy. *Australian Place-Names.* Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989.
Knight, Stephen. "The Arctic Arthur." *Arthuriana* 21 (2011): 59–89.
_____. *Continent of Mystery: A Thematic History of Australian Crime Fiction.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997.
_____. *Crime Fiction Since 1800: Detection, Death Diversity*, 2d ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
_____. *Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.
_____. *The Structure of Sir Thomas Malory's Arthuriad.* Sydney: University of Sydney Press, 1969.
Laurie, Bruce. "Fire Companies and Gangs in Southwark: The 1840s," in *The Peoples of Philadelphia*, Davis and Haller, eds., 71–88.
Legouvé, Ernest. *Soixante Ans de Souvenirs*, 2 vols. Paris: Hetzel, 1886.
Leps, Marie-Christine. *Apprehending the Criminal: The Production of Deviance in Nineteenth-Century Discourse.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1992.
Lewis, S. *The History and Topography of the Parish of St Mary's, Islington.* Islington: Jackson, 1843.
Lukacs, György. *The Historical Novel*, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell. London: Merlin, 1962 [1937].
Lyons, Clare A. *Sex Among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730–1830.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
Macintyre, Stuart. *A Concise History of Australia*, 2d ed. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
Mallet, Paul Henri. *Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc.* Copenhagen: Phillibert, 1755; trans. Thomas Percy as *Northern Antiquities.* London: Carnan, 1770.
Marriott, John, ed. *Unknown London: Early Modernist Visions of the Metropolis.* London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000.
Maxwell, Richard. *The Mysteries of Paris and London.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992.
McCalman, Iain. *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
McWilliam, Rohan. "The Mysteries of G. W. M. Reynolds: Radicalism and Melodrama in Victorian Britain," in *Living and Learning: Essays in Honour of J. F. C. Harrison*, Malcolm Chase and Ian Dyck, eds. Aldershot: Scolar, 1996, 182–98.
Milbank, Alison. "Victorian Gothic," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Gothic*, ed. Hogle, 145–65.
Miles, Robert. "Eighteenth-Century Gothic," in *The Routledge Companion to Gothic,* Catherine Spooner and Emma McEvoy, eds. London: Routledge, 2007, 10–18.

Mohr, James C. *Abortion in America: The Origins and Evolution of National Policy, 1801–1900.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
Monaghan, Jay. *The Great Rascal: The Life and Adventures of Ned Buntline.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1951.
Moore, Jane, and John Strachan. *Key Concepts in Romantic Literature.* London: Macmillan, 2010.
Moretti, Franco. *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800–1900.* London: Verso, 1998.
Nash, Gary B. *Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
Nead, Lynda. *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
Nettement, Alfred. *Études critiques sur le feuilleton-roman.* Paris: Perrodil, 1845.
Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson. *The Literary History of Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: Jacobs, 1906.
Olsen, Donald J. *The Growth of Victorian London.* London: Batsford, 1976.
Otter, Samuel. *Philadelphia Stories: America's Literature of Race and Freedom.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
Parent-Duchâtelet, Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste. *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris.* Paris: Baillière, 1838.
Pearl, Cyril. *Victorian Patchwork.* London: Heinemann, 1972.
Perrot, Michelle, and Anne Martin-Fugier. "Roles and Characters," in *A History of Private Life*, 4 vols., vol. 4, *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. Michelle Perrot, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1990, 167–261.
Perrot, Michelle, and Roger-Henri Guerrand, "Private Spaces," in *A History of Private Life*, vol. 4, Perrot, ed., 341–59.
Platt, J. C. "Prisons and Penitentiaries," in *London*, Knight, ed., vol. 5, 321–36.
Plunkett, John. "Regicide and Reginamania: G. W. M. Reynolds and *The Mysteries of London,*" in *Victorian Crime, Madness, Sensation: Interdisciplinary Essays,* Andrew Maunder and Grace Moore, eds. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, 15–30.
Pond, Fred E. *Life and Adventures of Ned Buntline.* New York: Cadmus Book Shop, 1919.
Porter, Roy. *London: A Social History.* London: Hamilton, 1994.
Powell, Sally. "Black Markets and Cadaverous Pies: The Corpse, Urban Trade and Industrial Consumption in the Penny Blood," in *Victorian Crime*, Maunder and Moore, eds., 45–58.
Prendergast, Christopher. *For the People by the People? Eugène Sue's Les Mystères de Paris: A Hypothesis in the Sociology of Literature.* Oxford: Legenda, 2003.
Quinn, Stephen. "Money, Finance and Capital Markets," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson, eds., 3 vols., vol. 1, *Industrialisation, 1700–1800.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 153–7.
Reynolds, David S. *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville.* New York, Knopf, 1988.
_____. *George Lippard.* Boston, Twayne, 1982.
_____. "Introduction," to *George Lippard: Prophet of Protest : An Anthology*, David S. Reynolds, ed. New York: Lang, 1986.
_____. "Introduction," to *The Quaker City or The Monks of Monk Hall.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995, vii–xliv.
Ridgely, J. V. "George Lippard's *The Quaker City*: The World of the American Porno-Gothic." *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 7 (1974): 77–96.
Roberts, Jeffrey P. "Railroads and the Downtown: Philadelphia, 1830–1900," in *The Divided Metropolis: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia, 1800–1975*, William W. Cutler III and Howard Gillette, Jr., eds. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1980, 27–40.
Rogers, Robert. *A Psychoanalytic Study of the Double in Literature.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970.
Ross, John Wilson. "The Influence of Cheap Literature." *London Journal* (April 1845): 115.
Russell, Penny. "*A Wish of Distinction": Colonial Gentility and Femininity.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994.
Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the Nineteenth Century.* New York: Urizen, 1979.

Schmidt, John. *Edward Zane Carroll Judson (Ned Buntline)— the Granddaddy of Dime Novelists.* MA dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1973.
Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Between Men, English Literature and Male Homosexual Desire.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
Sheeby, Shelley. *American Sensations: Class, Empire and the Production of Popular Culture.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
Sinclair, Struan. *Attribution of Blame in Detective Fiction: From the Newgate Calendar to the Whodunit.* Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales, Cardiff, 2000.
Skilton, David. "'When Dreams Are Coming': Wordsworth, Jeffries and Visions of the London Crowd," in *A Mighty Mass of Brick and Smoke: Victorian and Edwardian Representations of London*, Lawrence Phillips, ed. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007, 85–106.
Srebnick, Amy Gilman. *The Mysterious Death of Mary Rogers: Sex and Culture in Nineteenth-Century New York.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860.* New York: Knopf, 1986.
Stokes, I. N. Phelps. *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909*, 5 vols. New York: Dodd, 1918.
Stout, Janis P. *Sodoms in Eden: The City in American Fiction Before 1860.* Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1976.
Sussex, Lucy. *The Fortunes of Mary Fortune.* Melbourne: Penguin, 1989.
Svane, Bryja. *Le Monde d'Eugène Sue*, vol. 3, *Si les Riches le Savaient*, Série Culture et Societé. Copenhagen: Universite de Roskild Akademisk Forlag, 1986.
Thompson, E. P. *Customs in Common.* London: Penguin, 1993.
_____. *The Making of the English Working Class*, rev. ed. London: Pelican Books, 1968.
Thompson, Victoria E. *The Urban Marketplace: Women, Men, Money and Politics in Paris, 1830–1870.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
Tobias, J. J. *Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century.* London: Batsford, 1967.
Torney, Kim. *Babes in the Bush: The Making of an Australian Image.* Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2005.
Tortonese, Paolo. "The Mysteries of Paris," *The Novel*, vol. 2, *Forms and Themes,* ed. Franco Moretti. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006, 181–8.
Upton, Gillian. *The George.* Richmond, Victoria: Venus Bay Books, 2001.
Van Every, Edward. *Sins of New York: As "Exposed" by the Police Gazette.* New York: Stokes, 1930.
Walker, George E. *The Afro-American in New York City, 1827–1860.* New York: Garland, 1993.
Walsh, John. *Poe the Detective: The Curious Circumstances Behind the Mystery of Marie Roget.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1968.
Warner, Sam Bass, Jr. *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.
Weightman, Gavin, and Steve Humphries. *The Making of Modern London, 1815–1914.* London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1983.
White, Jerry. *London in the Nineteenth Century.* London: Cape, 2007.
Wilson, Dean. *The Beat: Policing a Victorian City.* Beaconsfield: Circa, 2006.
Worthington, Heather. *The Rise of the Detective in Early Nineteenth-Century Popular Fiction.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
Wright, Jacinta. "Irish Nationalism in the Roman-Feuilleton: Paul Féval's *Les Mystères de Londres* (1844) and *La Quittance be Minuit* (1846)," in *France-Ireland: Anatomy of a Relationship*, Eamon Maher and Grace Neville, eds. Frankfurt: Lang, 2001, 163–75.
Ziff, Larzer. *Literary Democracy: The Declaration of Cultural Independence in America.* New York: Viking, 1981.

Websites

www.babelio.com
http://fr.wikipedia.org
www.roman-daventures
http://lectures.madamecharlotte.com

This page intentionally left blank

Index