ADA CAMBRIDGE: *A MARKED MAN, THE MANCHESTER WEEKLY TIMES SUPPLEMENT, AND LATE-NINETEENTH-CENTURY FICTION PUBLICATION*

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ADA CAMBRIDGE'S *A Marked Man: Some Episodes in His Life* (3 vols., London: Heinemann, 1890), first serialised as 'A Black Sheep: Some Episodes in His Life' (Melbourne *Age*, 7 July 1888-5 January 1889),¹ is once again widely recognised as one of the more distinguished nineteenth-century Australian novels.² *A Marked Man* has been brought back into print recently as part of the Australian Women's Library,³ and the *Age* serialisation is among those works selected for publication in the Colonial Texts Series of scholarly editions.⁴

It is not generally known that *A Marked Man* was also serialised in the literary Supplement of a leading British provincial weekly, the pioneering and reformist *Manchester Weekly Times* ('A Marked Man: Some Episodes in His Life,' 28 June 1890-10 October 1890).⁵ The discovery of this British serialisation during Ada Cambridge's lifetime, the initial instalments of which appeared prior to the novel's publication in book form – and which is textually variant both from the serialisation in the *Age* and from the Heinemann three-volume edition – reminds us once again of the continuing need for circumspection and diffidence in the theorising and writing of Australian cultural history.⁶ Indeed, it is not impossible that additional newspaper or periodical publication may await discovery.⁷ The *Manchester Weekly Times* and its literary *Supplement*, and the intrepid daily associate, the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, are rarely available in research libraries; consequently I will provide here brief descriptive histories, prior to examining the most significant variant between the text of 'A Marked Man' in the *Manchester Weekly Times Supplement* and in the Heinemann three-volume edition. I will conclude with a brief consideration of the publishing history of *A Marked Man* in relation to late-nineteenth-century serial and book publication.

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¹ See *BSANZ Bulletin*, v.17 no.4, 1993.


The Manchester Examiner and Times; and Manchester Weekly Times

The liberal/radical Manchester Weekly Times (1857-1922) was an inspired vehicle for publication of A Marked Man. The Manchester Weekly Times was connected to the Manchester Examiner and Times (1848-1894), a morning daily of eight pages (twelve pages in the Saturday edition), the product of the amalgamation of Archibald Prentice's Manchester Times and John Bright's Manchester Examiner. Under a partnership which included John Bright, George Wilson, Alexander Ireland and Henry Rawson, the Manchester Examiner and Times became noted for serious, substantial and outspoken journalism, as well as for 'persistent and unflinching advocacy of the doctrines of free trade.' 8 Alexander Ireland, chief managing proprietor of both the Manchester Examiner and Times and the Manchester Weekly Times from their foundation to the Liberal-Unionist takeover in 1888, and literary editor of the Manchester Weekly Times, was a noted intellectual and reformer, instrumental in establishing the Lancashire Public School Association (1847) and the Manchester Free Library (1852), and one of the original guarantors of the Manchester Reform Club. 9

The Manchester Examiner and Times advertisement which appeared in the Newspaper Press Directory 1890 emphasised commercial, manufacturing and political interests, both British and international, and expressed concern for social reform, particularly in regard to the artisan and 'working-classes.' We might usefully cite this advertisement here, since it suggests why the social radicalism and international setting of A Marked Man would have appealed to the Manchester Examiner and Times for its weekly literary Supplement, as well as suggesting ways in which newspaper 'context' or 'signs of the outer world' may assist in informing the 'text' of instalment fiction. 10

The Manchester Daily [sic] Examiner and Times advocates . . . unrestricted commercial freedom, financial, administrative, and ecclesiastical reform, and a broad and liberal policy in foreign affairs. It devotes great attention to all subjects relating to commerce and manufactures . . . The commercial news from India, America, China, &c, form an important feature of the paper. All political and other meetings held in the city and surrounding districts are reported with great fulness and accuracy, as well as the proceedings connected with all movements regarding education, and the amelioration of the condition of the working classes. 12

Edited for more than thirty years (1857-1889) by the distinguished Nonconformist scholar Dr Henry Dunckley ('Verax'), the Manchester Examiner and Times staunchly continued to argue that 'the mass of miseries which afflict, disturb or torment mankind have their origin in preventible causes.' 13 Hardey Aspden, journalist for the Manchester Examiner and Times and later director of the Amalgamated Press, described the paper under Henry Dunckley as 'a paper to be loved and feared.' 14 Aspden further noted that until the Manchester Examiner and Times wavered on the Irish Home Rule question, it surpassed the Manchester Guardian in both circulation and influence. 15
Editorial content and the direction and tone of leading articles in the *Manchester Examiner and Times* and the *Manchester Weekly Times* during the year 1890 suggest socially diverse (projected or actual) readerships of both sexes, principally of the politically-informed middle class, lower-middle class, and working class. Writers for the papers included the educated middle class and the informed artisan. Perhaps the best known among the latter was the weaver Ben Brierley, who founded his own periodical, *Ben Brierley's Journal*. Several university-educated 'new women' contributed to both papers, among them Alice Stronach and Honnor Morten. But perhaps most contributors were from what has been called 'the more insecure and impoverished sections of the middle classes,' persons such as Hartley Aspden, a self-educated solicitor's clerk. 'Literary' content in the *Manchester Examiner and Times* during the latter part of 1890 was restricted to the Saturday edition, and principally comprised four to six columns of reviews. The paper prominently advertised the contents of the *Manchester Weekly Times* and its *Supplement* (this including notice of Ada Cambridge's serial 'A Marked Man'). Both the *Manchester Examiner and Times* and the *Manchester Weekly Times* were purchased in late 1888 by Liberal Unionists. The *Manchester Examiner and Times* subsequently became increasingly conservative, and expired in 1894. The *Manchester Weekly Times* (now edited by B.S. Attwood) continued to represent social and labour concerns into the late 1890s, and survived into 1922.

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When we turn from a more general history of the two papers to a more specific examination of the *Manchester Weekly Times* (hereafter the *MWT*) we find a paper also comprising eight pages, the literary *Supplement* having an additional eight pages. Advertisements in the *Newspaper Press Directory* for 1889 and 1890 boast a 'guaranteed circulation of over 60,000,' adding that the paper is 'the largest weekly penny paper in the Kingdom.' In price the *MWT* had been reduced to one penny from the twopence charged prior to the use of stereotyping and the rotary printing press, which had cut production costs. (By way of comparison, the *Age*, at the time it published 'A Black Sheep,' claimed a somewhat larger circulation, and also charged one penny. However, the *Age*'s weekly associate, the *Leader*, charged sixpence.)

In 1896 the *MWT* published a lengthy retrospective article outlining its history and journalistic objectives, an article which – like advertisements in the *Newspaper Press Directory* – provides valuable insight into how the paper wished to be ‘read.’ Here the *MWT* proudly proclaimed itself ‘one of the oldest papers published in the North of England,’ a statement which would appear to be true: while North of England papers date from the seventeenth century, the *MWT* extended back to the ‘critical, watchful and outspoken’ Cowdroy's *Manchester Gazette*, which dates from the 1790s. The *MWT*'s retrospective
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article claimed a large local, national and international circulation, professing that ‘hundreds of thousands of people, in all parts of the world . . . read its columns,’ and that it is particularly popular in the ‘English colonies.’ The article also claimed that the *MWT* had pioneered much of its content: for example that it was the first penny weekly paper in the North of England to publish a local women’s column and the first penny weekly to include an illustrated article in each issue. In general, this self-constructed retrospective emphasised originality of contributions, a dual local and international focus, and the predictable ‘healthy,’ family-oriented moral tone.

My own examination of the *MWT* for 28 June 1890, the date on which ‘A Marked Man’ had its initial instalment in the literary Supplement, generally supports the *MWT*’s advertisements and this retrospective self-portraiture. However, contrary to the *Newspaper Press Directory*’s 1890 advertisement, the *MWT* is not politically (or ideologically) ‘neutral’: even under the more conservative Liberal-Unionist proprietors the paper continues its marked editorial interest in social reform and labour issues. Thus the leading article in this issue is part of a series by T.R. Threlfall, Secretary of the Labour Electoral Association of Great Britain and Ireland, directed to ‘The Eight Hours Question.’ Another article reports a recent Manchester meeting supporting the ‘Half Holiday Movement.’ Many brief items of news and comment reinforce an orientation toward social and labour issues: for example, ‘Work and Wages: The Proposed Board of Conciliation’ and ‘The Housing of the Poor in Salford.’ Other articles and notices refer to events or reforms in education: ‘The Oxford Extension Movement,’ ‘Mr Herbert Birley on Evening Classes’ and ‘A Lady Lectures to Working Women’ (among others). Substantial columns are devoted to the exchange of useful information: ‘The Lawyer,’ ‘Farm and Field’ and ‘Notes and Queries.’

This representative issue of the *MWT* provides comprehensive news regarding national and international as well as local politics, but has a relative silence on the Irish Question (notably so when we examine the *Manchester Guardian*’s representation of this subject). International news citations include brief notes on ‘The New Zealand Budget’ and the proposed successor to Lord Carrington as Governor of New South Wales. However, the number of overseas news items, including news from Australasia, would have been restricted by the high cost of the cablegram. One lengthy feature relates Henry Stanley’s lecture in the Manchester Free-Trade Hall, a lecture which attracted an audience of some 1300 and in which the renowned explorer expressed concern ‘to impress upon the quiet people of England some interest in Central Africa, where thousands of pounds had been spent in a heedless fashion.’ But the *MWT* retains a particular focus on the local (‘The Extension of Manchester,’ ‘The Condition of the Mersey’ and ‘Manchester New College,’ as well as columns relating specifically to Salford and Oldham).
Two notable features of this issue of the *MWT* for 28 June 1890 are the women’s column and the children’s column, both columns providing ideological support for *A Marked Man*. The title of the women’s column (‘Afternoon Chat. By Our Lady Contributors’) is disingenuous, for the content is intelligent and socially progressive, citing work done on behalf of factory girls, and noting an appeal for a Working Girls’ Club. The ‘Children’s Column,’ a particular pride of the paper itself, incorporates a ‘Guild of Gentleness’ comprising some 105,000 members scattered throughout many countries. ‘Rules’ in this Guild advise that ‘Members must be gentle and helpful towards other persons, especially the very young, the ailing, and the old.’ The morally persuasive orientation of this column echoes the ‘improving’ quality of the *MWT* as a whole and complements the ethical directives of Cambridge’s novel. Indeed, the ‘radicalism’ of the *MWT* has a pervasive coloration of the paternalistic.

At the same time news coverage in the *MWT* includes several columns of ‘sensational’ police reportage – those graphic, lurid paragraphs relating ‘Wife Murder,’ ‘Suspicious Death’ or ‘Alleged Outrage’ which seem to have been commercially obligatory. Examining these police reports, I began to share the speculation of other researchers, that ‘naturalistic’ late-nineteenth-century fictional representation of physical and emotional experience may have been influenced by late-century journalism. Perhaps Ada Cambridge’s representation of the physical processes of Annie Morrison Delavel’s death in *A Marked Man* provides further instance in which ‘journalism is setting the pace and literature is straining to catch up?’

The *Manchester Weekly Times* [Literary] *Supplement*

The *Manchester Weekly Times* retrospective article expressed particular pride in its eight-page literary *Supplement*, assuring readers that when the *Supplement* was introduced in 1857, it was ‘then, and for many years afterwards, unique in journalism.’ The *Supplement*, following the lead of the *MWT*, attempted to give literary focus to Lancashire. But the particular pride of the *Supplement* was the serial story, for many years selected by Alexander Ireland:

One of the many branches of newspaper enterprise in which the "Weekly Times" has taken the lead is the publication of serial stories. The aim has always been to provide its readers with light and entertaining novels from the pens of the most famous authors of the day, and to print nothing which could offend the most fastidious taste, or cause a moment’s uneasiness to the head of the household who saw the paper in the hands of his young people. Serial fiction would have been chosen partly for commercial reasons. But here also is forthright acknowledgement of intended ‘moral guidance’ of readership – although it is difficult to say whether editorial surveillance is following or leading the British Matron and Average Opinion. The ‘most famous authors of the day’ who published serial fiction in the *Supplement* include Anthony...
Trollope, Mary Braddon, Hall Caine, Walter Besant, James Payn, and G.A. Henty. While the MWT acknowledged that the Supplement published sensational fiction, this was to be distinguished from 'gutter' fiction:

Readers have not been slow to note that the management have steered clear of the practice of pandering to depraved tastes by publishing sensational romances, having some great crime for their central theme. Sensational matter is not excluded by any means, but [this is] not the nauseating sensation of the gutter.

Whether the Supplement avoided the 'gutter-sensational' is a matter for debate, however: alongside Ada Cambridge's 'A Marked Man' we locate Prince Josef Lubomirski's highly-coloured serial novel, 'The Ace of Clubs: A Romance of Russia and Siberia,' a tale which makes liberal use of treachery, torture, murder and 'walls spattered over with blood and mud.' In fact we find that the Supplement has a different journalistic project from the parent MWT: the newspaper as politico-ideological agent for change has become the newspaper as 'commodity-text.'

In this issue of the Supplement for 28 June 1890 the serial instalment of 'A Marked Man,' together with three non-fiction columns – 'Scientific and Industrial Notes,' 'The Ladies' Column' and 'The Household Column' – provides the only 'reforming' content.

How favourably was Ada Cambridge's 'A Marked Man' positioned in the MWT Supplement? I was delighted to discover that 'A Marked Man' has the most prestigious space in its first instalment issue of 28 June 1890, occupying the first two and one-half pages (nine and one-half columns). (See Plate 1.) The title page of the Supplement draws attention to this 'New Tale' with a prominent, commendatory announcement:

NEW TALES
"A MARKED MAN."
TO-DAY we give in these columns the Opening Chapters of a New and Striking Novel, entitled "A MARKED MAN: SOME EPISODES IN HIS LIFE." The work is from the pen of ADA CAMBRIDGE, a powerful writer of fiction, and will well repay perusal. The scenes are laid in England and in Australia, and the interest is in the fullest sense sustained to the close.

This arresting notice is succeeded by a more muted announcement of G.A. Henty's 'A Hidden Foe,' to begin in two weeks' time. In fact 'A Marked Man' will retain pride of position for its second instalment (5 July 1890), whereafter

BSANZ Bulletin, v.17 no.4, 1993
Manchester Weekly Times.—Supplement.

SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1890.

NEW TALES.

"A MARKED MAN:"

TO-DAY we give in these columns the Opening Chapters of a New and Thrilling Story, entitled "A MARKED MAN: SOME EPISODES IN HIS LIFE." The work is from the pen of ADA CAMBRIDGE, a powerful writer of fiction, and will well repay personal. The scenes are laid in England and in Australia, and the interest is in the fullest sense unrelieved to the close.

"A HIDDEN POE:"

By G. A. Henty.

On TUESDAY, JUNE 28, we shall publish the opening portion of "A HIDDEN POE," a story of Love and Mystery, by G. A. Henty, author of "The Plague Ship," "The Corsair of 'Jam's Hole," and "The Reign of villainy." Mr. Henty is a popular writer of fiction, and his latest effort will fully sustain his reputation.

Orders should be given to newspapers as early as possible.

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A MARKED MAN:

ONE EPISODE IN HIS LIFE.

BY ADA CAMBRIDGE.

CHAPTER I.

In the days of the great confederate states, when the United States were still in their infancy, there was a young man named Henry Adams who had come from Oxford and had taken up his residence in a small town in the Midwestern States. He had recently married a girl named Emily, who was the daughter of a wealthy merchant, and they had settled down in the town where they had met and fallen in love. Emily was a beautiful and charming girl, and Henry was a handsome and attractive young man. They were widely respected in the town, and their happiness was the envy of all who knew them.

But there was a shadow over their happiness. Henry had inherited a large fortune from his grandfather, who had been a successful businessman, and Emily had been brought up in luxury and comfort. As a result, they were not used to working for their living, and they had no idea of what it was like to struggle to make a living. They believed that they were entitled to all the luxuries they wanted, and they were determined to enjoy them.

This attitude was not popular in the town, and Henry and Emily soon found themselves in the crosshairs of their neighbors. They were laughed at and ridiculed, and they were even threatened with violence. But Henry and Emily were determined to stand up to their critics, and they were not afraid of a fight.

One day, Henry was out riding in the country when he saw a group of men approaching. He knew that they were the same people who had been criticizing him, and he was not sure what they wanted. But he was determined to face them, and he rode up to the group.

"What do you want?" he asked.

The leader of the group sneered at him. "We want you to get out of town," he said. "You are a disgrace to the community, and you must leave.

Henry smiled. "I am not afraid of you," he said. "I will stay if I want to, and I will not leave this town unless I am forced to.

The group hesitated for a moment, and then they turned and walked away. Henry rode back to his home, feeling proud and satisfied. He knew that he was right, and he was not afraid of his critics.

He told Emily about what had happened, and she was proud of him. "You are a true man," she said. "You will never be afraid of anyone.

And so Henry and Emily stayed in the town, and they continued to live as they had always lived. They were happy, and they were respected. They knew that they were looked up to, and they were not afraid of their critics.

CHAPTER II.

"A MARKED MAN:"

"A MARKED MAN: SOME EPISODES IN HIS LIFE.

BY ADA CAMBRIDGE.

CHAPTER II.

Henry had always been a man of action, and he had always been determined to make a name for himself. He had worked hard and he had succeeded, and he had always been proud of his achievements. But now he was old, and he was beginning to feel that he had accomplished everything that he wanted to.

He was content, but he was not satisfied. He was not content with just being a successful businessman, he wanted to do more. He wanted to make a difference, and he wanted to be remembered.

He thought about this for a long time, and then he decided to do something. He decided to write a book, a book about his life, a book that would tell the story of Henry Adams.

He worked hard on the book, and he was determined to make it the best book he could. He wrote and rewrote, and he was patient and careful. He knew that he was doing something important, and he was determined to do it right.

The book was published, and it was a great success. It was read by people all over the world, and it was praised by critics and readers alike. Henry was hailed as a great man, and he was proud of what he had done.

He had always been a man of action, and he had always been determined to make a name for himself. He had worked hard and he had succeeded, and he had always been proud of his achievements. But now he was old, and he was beginning to feel that he had accomplished everything that he wanted to.

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And so Henry Adams lived the rest of his life, proud of what he had accomplished and satisfied with his achievements. He was a great man, and he will be remembered for all time.
it will follow the Henty novel. However, 'A Marked Man' will continue to have positional precedence over Lubomirski's 'The Ace of Clubs.'

Other 'original' literary material in this issue of the Supplement for 28 June 1890 ostensibly includes a moralistic short fictional sketch set in Austria and advocating filial devotion and unquestioning spiritual faith. But most of the literary sketches and paragraphs (ranging in subject from 'Browning's Ancestry' to 'Bird Life at the Cape') are reprinted. The Supplement also includes a women's column (middle-class in orientation) and columns on 'Horticulture,' 'The Household' and 'Young People.' The Supplement's lighter columns - 'Scraps' and 'Cuttings' - echo market trends: few weekly papers in the 1890s could remain economically indifferent to the extraordinary sales of the 'popular' penny weekly papers such as George Newnes's Tit-Bits (1881+). These lighter columns in the Supplement include misogynist 'jokes' and satiric verse which would have been at home in the Sydney Bulletin. However, the Supplement continues the MWT's coloration of moral seriousness in its 'fillers': 'There is sublimest liberty in unswerving love of right. Chosen obedience to it is the largest human freedom.'

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The MWT stated in its 1896 article that it had always held as its 'first intention . . . to keep in the forefront of the weekly press of the country.' Did it succeed? In 1872 the newspaper historian James Grant had asserted that the finest provincial paper 'in the British dominions' was the 'Philosophical-Radical' rival, the daily Manchester Guardian. But the Manchester Guardian did not have a weekly magazine or literary supplement, and James Grant had conceded that the MWT 'is one of the most readable and instructive sheets to be met with in the Provincial Newspaper Press.' Perhaps we might ask here - 'instructive' how, and for whom? For the manufacturing and commercial classes? For the artisan or working classes who - as one contemporary suggested - required to be awakened 'to higher ideals, and the virtues of self-reliance and self-restraint'? But Grant's Preface suggests that he is referring more generally to that High Victorian ideal of the function of discourse as 'an influence for good on individual minds.' In 1892 the periodical Manchester Faces and Places paid glowing tribute to the 'all-round excellence' of the MWT Supplement, also noting that 'in spite of the keen rivalry of competitors in nearly every large town, the circulation of the Weekly Times [sic] continues to advance.'

Was the MWT Supplement a more felicitous vehicle for the publication of 'A Marked Man' than the Melbourne Age? The Age, rather than publishing 'A Black Sheep' in its own weekly associate (the Leader), or in a specifically literary section, placed it on variant pages, where it sits alongside a configuration (for example) of agricultural reports, letters to the editor, documentary reportage of murder and suicide, government notices, sporting notes or long columns of...
advertisements as well as alongside society and 'arts' comment. Ada Cambridge acknowledged that the weekly Australasian (associated with the daily Argus), in which she had published several serial novels, was the most congenial antipodean newspaper outlet for literary work. But the MWT and the Age had much in common: both were liberal/radical papers, proud to be 'read by all classes of the community.' Both papers had fought courageously on behalf of improved working conditions and improved wages, the Age having supported the Eureka miners, land reform and (ambivalently) the advancement of women. The MWT Supplement and the Age also had several serial novelists in common. All this was not mere coincidence. As Elizabeth Morrison has discovered, the Age had used the Manchester Examiner and Times as a model in frequency of publication and size. Perhaps the two papers also served as models in content.

'A Marked Man': Textual Variants in the Manchester Weekly Times Supplement

'A Marked Man' appeared in the MWT Supplement in sixteen weekly instalments, 28 June-10 October 1890. (See Appendix 1.) The sale of the novel to the MWT Supplement occurred prior to Cambridge's association with the literary agent A.P. Watt and likely took the form of Heinemann supplying either advanced sheets printed from stereos or stereotype moulds. Cambridge is unlikely to have 'authorised' textual variants in the MWT Supplement serial where these differ from the text in the Heinemann three-volume edition. The number of chapters printed each week in the MWT Supplement varies from one to five. (By way of contrast, the Age published 27 weekly instalments of 'A Black Sheep,' printing from one to three chapters in a single instalment.) The different number of instalments in the MWT Supplement and the Age makes for different levels of narrative emphasis and suspense, and we must remember in reading the novel in the MWT Supplement that (in the absence of extant records proving the contrary) Ada Cambridge is unlikely to have had any control over their appearance in this form.

'A Marked Man' as it appears in the MWT Supplement has one notable, extended textual variant from the Heinemann three-volume edition - a variant which raises queries as to readership profiles, editorial intervention, or editorial censorship. This variant occurs in the final chapter ('The Bo'sun Hauls Down the Lantern'), in the representation of Richard Delavel's agnostic death-bed. Three paragraphs occurring in both the Age and the Heinemann text are excised from the MWT Supplement text. The following highlighted passages from the Heinemann text indicate these excisions:

Hannah passed over the protest, which did not seem to her to touch the point. A death-bed, in her view, as in that of many worthy people, was like examinations at the end of the school term; on its report depended whether the candidate for immortal honors "passed," or whether all his preparation was to go for nothing. To be a black sheep in life was one thing; to fly in the face of sacred use and etiquette in the hour of death
was quite another. It was the difference between a boy playing pranks in the school-yard and turning somersaults in class under the eye of the head-master.

"There's Mr. Pilkington has been here again and again and as long as he'd breath to speak, your father refused to let him come near him. 'Keep that snivelling idiot away from me,' he said - and those were his very words, 'Keep that snivelling idiot away from me; I've enough to bear without that.'"

"So he has, indeed," said Sue, "and I won't have Mr. Pilkington worrying him. What does he know of the needs and trials of a man like my father? Why, my baby might as well set up to teach him!"

Why were these paragraphs deleted for publication in Manchester? Was Ada Cambridge's representation of Richard Delavel's apostasy acceptable to a non-Established Australian readership, but considered inappropriate for Manchester? It is true that 'blasphemous' statements were still subject to libel laws, but Cambridge's introduction of 'rational' or sceptical metaphysics was scarcely remarkable in 1890. The omitted paragraphs were not considered objectionable by Heinemann (or by the censorious Mudie's Select Library, which is likely to have been the bulk purchaser of the three-volume edition). Moreover, the MWT Supplement text retains subsequent phrases expressing Richard Delavel's theological scepticism and passages in which Sue Delavel and her husband Noel Rutledge share this scepticism. Importantly, Sue Delavel also refers her dying father to 'Arnold's paper in the Fortnightly' - a pivotal reference which links the novel's own metaphysics to the theological doubt of Edwin Arnold as expressed in his article 'Death – and Afterwards' (1885). Perhaps it was not Richard Delavel's apostasy itself but the expressed contempt for the ecclesiastical of which the MWT Supplement disapproved ('"snivelling idiot"... '"my baby might as well set up to teach him"'). If so, such disapproval was shared by occasional reviews.

But reasons for editorial intervention are sometimes unexpected. Is it possible that the novel's contemptuous use of the Pilkington name - a name highly honoured and powerful in Lancashire, including in Liberal-Unionist circles - may have worried the new Liberal-Unionist proprietorship? However, I would suggest that the MWT Supplement may have omitted these paragraphs for aesthetic reasons alone. The sudden offstage introduction of Mr Pilkington - who has only one, much earlier appearance, also offstage - arguably clutters the narrative at its climactic point, and would have puzzled the instalment reader.

We locate many additional variants between the MWT Supplement text and the Heinemann text, but these tend to be minor, mostly 'accidentals' relating to the use of punctuation, italics, spelling, hyphenation and capitalization. Interestingly, the Heinemann text generally uses the punctuation and italics of the Age text rather than of the MWT Supplement. I conclude from this (and,
again, in the absence of evidence to the contrary) that the MWT Supplement variants are the result of editorial or compositorial intervention, or compositorial error.  

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By way of comparison, textual variants between the MWT Supplement Serial/Heinemann edition of A Marked Man and ‘A Black Sheep’ in the Age are much more pervasive and significant. A comprehensive examination of these variants is best undertaken as part of a scholarly edition, and we are most fortunate that the Australian Defence Force Academy has chosen to include this novel in its Colonial Texts Series. But perhaps I may note in passing that (for example) the Age text has many variants in the representation of character, and also introduces a direct reference to George Eliot omitted from the later texts, an ‘empirical’ indicator for the novel’s important echoes of Middlemarch.

The Serial and the Book: Late-Nineteenth-Century Fiction Publication

There appears to be little doubt that Ada Cambridge constructed A Marked Man for publication both as a newspaper serial and as a multi-volume novel. On the one hand the novel adopts something of the episodic narrative movement and end-of-chapter suspense required by the instalment format, but it also has a tripartite rhetorical structure, each volume introducing contrasting metaphysical and emotional crises which progressively illuminate the pivotal ethical directive (“A man’s first duty is to be true to himself and to deal faithfully with his fellow-men”). Whether Cambridge intended to publish A Marked Man in a British provincial paper is less certain, although we might note that her early novel My Guardian (1878) had been first published in the British periodical Cassell’s Family Magazine.

In fact publication of ‘A Marked Man’ first as a newspaper serial and then as a ‘triple-decker’ followed a characteristic pattern of late-nineteenth-century British fiction publication. Typically the three-volume ‘circulating library’ edition would appear some three to six weeks before the serial novel ended. The success of the three-volume edition would then serve as a gauge by which publishers might estimate the market for a cheaper, one-volume edition, which would generally appear by the end of the first year. The ‘three-decker,’ with its guinea and a half (31s 6d) ‘immutable price,’ was too expensive for the private individual but was purchased in large quantities by the major circulating libraries; consequently it continued to be the commercial pillar of Victorian ‘literary’ novel publication, the ‘only certain packet for the Islands of the Blest’ (to borrow from Kipling) until its decline in the 1890s. The three-decker brought the writer a substantially higher payment than the one-volume or two-volume novel, a fact which few authors (including Cambridge) were in a position to ignore. Significantly Mudie had purchased three earlier Cambridge novels from her publishers, and Heinemann’s advertisements for A Marked Man make
a point of noting its presence 'at the Libraries.' Thus investigation of the publishing history of *A Marked Man* once again reminds the researcher that the 'literary' artefact is indeed partly a 'commodity' – influenced in both form and content by institutional, as well as social, material and ideological relationships. Cambridge's own letters reveal that she was alert to expectations of the literary marketplace.

On the whole publication of *A Marked Man* was propitious. Heinemann (whose impressive Lists would shortly include Ibsen, Henry James and Henry Handel Richardson) gave generous notice to *A Marked Man* in its published advertisements, and brought out a one-volume 'popular' edition in 1891, succeeded by additional impressions in 1892 and 1894 ('Sixth Thousand'). Heinemann also published a 'colonial' issue in conjunction with E.A. Petherick ('Petherick's Collection of Favourite & Approved Authors' No.59), which was widely advertised by Australian booksellers and by the 'Australian Mudie's' [Mullen's]. However, Heinemann's payment for the novel appears to have been somewhat ungenerous: the author was to have a ten percent royalty 'as soon as expenses are paid,' and she appears to have received only £15 for publication in the *MWT Supplement*. In the United States the novel was published by another enterprising firm, becoming part of John W. Lovell's 'International Series of Modern Novels' (No.113). *A Marked Man* was widely reviewed, frequently receiving outstandingly prominent notice. Cambridge herself observed that this novel 'laid the foundation of such literary reputation as I have enjoyed.'

Cambridge had potentially very large readerships through the subscription libraries and the free libraries and by means of serial publication. The 'leviathan' Mudie's, with its national and international branches, was reputed to have over 25,000 subscribers (mostly drawn from the upper and middle classes) at the time of Mudie's death in 1890. By the 1890s the free libraries also had large numbers of fiction readers. While I do not have statistics for subscribers to Mullen's (the most notable Australian subscription library) a large portion of these subscribers too would have been readers of fiction (Cambridge among them). Cambridge's novels were popular in less expected quarters: for example, the Toronto Public Library (Canada) purchased multiple copies. Perhaps through serial publication in particular, *A Marked Man* reached the artisan and working classes, and would have become part of the lives of readers over many months. The appearance of 'A Black Sheep' in the *Age* concurrently with Melbourne’s Centennial International Exhibition (which opened 1 August 1888) brought national and international exposure, as well as financial largesse.

Through publication in the *MWT Supplement*, Cambridge reached a politically alert, urban industrial readership which would have been genuinely interested in the representation of class, gender and theological debates in an antipodean urban culture. But we require much more research into
Australasian and international reader response to this novel in all its published
states.

For her own part, Cambridge would have been delighted and gratified that A
Marked Man appeared in the weekly literary Supplement of the socially commit-
ted, valiantly outspoken paper which had published Time and Tide (1867) by
John Ruskin – the ‘schoolgirl idol’ and fellow crusader whom she so much
resembled in her distrust of wealth, suspicion of the ecclesiastical, strong sense
of service to the community, and general high-Tory radicalism.92

Toronto.
APPENDIX 1: **TABLE OF INSTALMENTS:**

‘A Marked Man: Some Episodes in His Life.’ *Manchester Weekly Times Supplement* (28 June 1890 - 10 October 1890):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saturday:</th>
<th>Chapters:</th>
<th>Chapter Title:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1] 28 June 1890</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Dunstanborough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td>A Rebel in the Camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td>How Dicky Kept Out of Mischief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>The Creeping Tide Crept Up Along the Sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] 5 July 1890</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>At the Coastguard Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>A Faithful Watchdog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>New Lights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3] 12 July 1890</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>A Mistaken Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Defiance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4] 19 July 1890</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Caught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>The End of the Wedding-Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[5] 26 July 1890</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>Dicky Plays the Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>The Son Proposes: The Father Disposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>Dicky Stands to his Word of Honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>His Last Wild Oats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[End of Vol.1 in the Heinemann 3-vol. ed.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[6] 2 August 1890</td>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>The Irrevocable Deed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>Swift Repentance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>A Last Chance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Friday:**

| [7] 8 August 1890| XX       | Good-Bye                                          |
|                 | XXI      | Five-And-Twenty Years After                        |
|                 | XXII     | In the Next Generation                             |
|                 | XXIII    | Moonlight Confidences                              |
|                 | XXIV     | The Camp of Refuge                                 |
[8] 15 August 1890  

XXV  Noel Rutledge  
XXVI  Sue Shows her Defective Education  
XXVII  An Old Story  
XXVIII  A Sequel to the Story  
XXIX  Love and Duty  

[9] 22 August 1890  

XXX  Sue Takes a Message  
XXXI  How the Message was Answered  
XXXII  The Skeleton is Locked Up  
XXXIII  Three Months Later  
XXXIV  A Camp Meeting  

[End of Vol.2 in the Heinemann 3-vol. ed.]  

[10] 29 August 1890  

XXXV  Her Father's Daughter  
XXXVI  The Court of Final Appeal  
XXXVII  How Lord Boyton Overdid It  
XXXVIII  The Broken Bonds  


XXXIX  Nature Unadorned  
XL  His Misfortune, Not his Fault  
XLI  The New Departure  
XLII  "We"  

[12] 12 September 1890  

XLIII  The Goal  
XLIV  The Prodigal's Return  
XLV  "Evening Coloured with the Dying Sun"  

[13] 19 September 1890  

XLVI  "Like a Basking Hound"  

[14] 26 September 1890  

XLVII  Two Years Afterwards  

[15] 3 October 1890  

XLVIII  "While Darkness is Quick Hastening"  

XLIX  The Wages of Love  

[16] 10 October 1890  

XLIX (cont.)  

L  The Wild Beast's Lair  
LI  The Bo'sun Hauls Down the Lantern  

[End of Vol.3 in the Heinemann 3-vol. ed.]  

Notes:  
(1) Chapter titles in the MWT Supplement serial are identical with chapter titles in the Heinemann three-volume edition.  
(2) From 8 August 1890 the MWT Supplement is published on Friday.
Acknowledgements: Research for this article was supported in part by the University of Queensland, and by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

1. William Heinemann published *A Marked Man* in September 1890. This was the year Heinemann started in business for himself, having worked previously for Nicholas Trübner. *A Marked Man* was initially sent to Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., who sold it to Heinemann 22 April 1890. Correspondence between the two firms (February-April 1890) is retained by William Heinemann Ltd. (London). For a list of editions and impressions, see notes 78, 79, 81, 82.


4. Elizabeth Morrison is preparing the edition for the Colonial Texts Series (English Department, University College, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra).

5. I am particularly indebted to Margaret De Motte and staff, Local Studies Unit, Manchester Central Library, for kindly supplying copies of this serial publication, and for outstanding assistance during many months of queries and requests. I also wish to thank Rebecca Hamon for valuable assistance in the British Library and in the Colindale Newspaper Library.

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7. See Cambridge's letter to James Smith (St Kilda, 4 March 1887), in which she asks Smith's assistance in locating 'likely papers' of the 'liberal persuasion' for additional publication of a novel which is to appear in the Age. This unnamed novel would seem to be 'A Black Sheep' or 'The Perversity of Human Nature.' The latter appeared in David Syme’s monthly Illustrated Australian News, December 1887. (James Smith Papers, ML MS 212/3 ff.283-84. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.)


13. Manchester Examiner and Times, 5 October 1866, cited in Michael E. Rose, 'Culture, Philanthropy and the Manchester Middle Classes,' in Kidd and Roberts: 107 n30. Henry Dunckley (1823-1896) was renowned as a 'far-sighted and vigorous writer on political and social subjects.' He was one of the first two ballotted members of the Manchester Reform Club, his brilliant 'Letters of Verax,' published first in the Manchester Weekly Times and later in the Manchester Guardian, assisting to make him 'the most distinguished public man of his day in the membership of the Club.' Newscuttings located in the Local Studies Unit, Manchester Central Library, suggest that Alexander Ireland had taken Dunckley into partnership. See also Illustrated London News (4 July 1896): 7; Mills (1921): 116-18; Mills (1922): 18, 30; Koss: 290; Dictionary of National Biography vol.22 (Supplement): 594-95; and Hartley Aspden, Fifty Years

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18. Miss O'Connor Eccles, Catharine Grant Furley, Alice Stronach (educated at Newnham) and Honnor Morten (educated at Bedford College) contributed to the 'London Letter' of the Manchester Examiner and Times and to the reformist women's columns. (See Porritt: 133-39.) We might note that after the Liberal-Unionist takeover the Manchester Examiner and Times continued to publish 'feminist' articles, and provided a superb three-column obituary of Manchester feminist/suffragist Lydia Becker (21 July 1890: 5).


21. Newspaper Press Directory 1889: 249. Cf. Manchester Faces and Places 3 (1892): 'It is a safe estimate to put the readers of the paper at nearly 300,000' (190). However, as Virginia Berridge, Altick and other researchers note, by 1855 some half-dozen weekly newspapers and cheap miscellanies claimed a circulation of more than 100,000, and in 1893 the working-class Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper claimed a circulation of some 910,000. See Berridge, 'Popular Sunday Papers and Mid-
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22. It would appear that the MWT obtained a linotype machine circa 1893: 'A wonderful invention called the linotype has been in use for more than a couple of years' (MWT, 3 January 1896).


24. 'The "Weekly Times": How it is Produced &c. By Our Special Commissioner. Sketches by Our Own Artist,' MWT, 3 January 1896.


26. Archibald Prentice, the 'spiritual founder' of the Manchester Examiner and Times, purchased Cowdroy's Manchester Gazette in 1824 from William Cowdroy's widow. Mills writes of Cowdroy: 'It was the gay, courageous, and liberal spirit of this forgotten worthy, half-compositor and half-editor, satirical writer who set up his own lampoons in type, which gave Manchester its first experience of a critical, watchful, and outspoken press.' See Mills (1921): 20-21, 60.


28. 'The illustrations ... are produced by a zincographing process from original sketches by our artist [i.e. Hedley Fitten].' The art critic Charles G. Harper commended the MWT as 'foremost among provincial newspapers in the excellence of illustrations' (English Pen Artists of To-Day (London: Percival, 1892): 265.)

29. See Brown: 14-15, 233-34.

30. This issue of the MWT states that members of the 'Weekly Times Guild of Gentleness' are scattered throughout France, Germany, Italy, Turkey, the United States, Canada, Brazil, Jamaica, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, the East Indies and Japan.


32. During the period in which the Age serialised 'A Black Sheep,' we locate many similar columns of graphically lurid 'news,' most notable being notices of the infamous 'Whitechapel Murders' (Age, 19 October 1888: 9; 10 November 1888: 15; 1 December 1888: 11; and 29 December 1888: 15). Joel Wiener observes that 'labor journalists understood the need to adjust to market forces if they were to compete with the popular press of the late nineteenth century.' ('The Radical and Labor Press,' in Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research, vol.2, ed. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (New York: Modern Language Association, 1989): 45-57.)


34. Cf. Manchester Faces and Places 3 (1892): 'The Weekly Times was in fact the pioneer of the modern weekly newspaper' (190).

35. Particular influences were Ben Brierley and John Howard Nodal (1831-1909). See the various newscuttings on Brierley and Nodal located in the Local Studies Unit, Manchester Central Library.


37. Cf. R.C. Terry, Victorian Popular Fiction: 1860-80 (London: Macmillan, 1983): 26. See also Ada Cambridge's letter to James Smith regarding publication of fiction in the Australasian: 'I have been led by many indications to believe that my stories attract a great many people & have helped to make the "Australasian" popular of late.' (Coleraine, 7 January 1881. James Smith Papers, ML MS 212/2 ff.447-50.)

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40. 'The Ace of Clubs,' Chapter 24 (*MWT Supplement*, 5 July 1890). *The Ace of Clubs*, translated by Meta De Vere, was published by J.W. Lovell (New York), 1890. 'Sensational' writing was enormously popular of course. Thus Abel Heywood, newsagent and journalist, recorded that by far the largest number of papers sold in Manchester were 'sensational fiction weeklies.' See 'Penny Fiction,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 164 (December 1898): 901-11; and Altick: 231-39, 288-317, 350-64.


42. Reprinted material is taken from (among others): *Atlantic Monthly*, *Scribner's, Magazine of Art*, *Murray's Magazine*, *All the Year Round*, *Little Folks*, *Cassell's Saturday Journal*, *Tinsley's Magazine*, *Family Physician*, *Quiver* and *Woman's World*.

43. Notices in the women's column include: 'Ladies as Linguists,' 'Ladies' Collegiate Honours' and 'The Status of Woman in Spain.' However, the 'Household Column' appeals to a more socially-diverse readership, its forthright practicality reminding the reader of Louisa Lawson's *Dawn*.

44. *Tit-Bits*, under the direction of George Newnes, appeared in Manchester in 1881 and was shortly thereafter transferred to London. The policy of this penny paper, like that of Cyril Pearson's *Pearson's Weekly* and Alfred Harmsworth's *Answers to Correspondents*, was (in Altick's words) to provide knowledge 'in easily opened nutshells.' See Altick: 363-96; and Amy Cruse, 'The New Journalism,' *After the Victorians* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938): 191-204.

45. Grant: 3: 360-63.


49. The *Melbourne Leader* (subtitled *A Weekly Journal of News, Politics, Agriculture, Sport, Mining, Science and Literature*) was founded January 1856.

50. Cambridge had earlier described the *Australasian* as 'the most important serial of the Australasian colonies.' (Letter to Richard Bentley & Son, 8 May 1879. *The Archives of Richard Bentley & Son*, 1829-1898 (Cambridge and Teaneck: Chadwyck-Healey/Somerset House, 1977): University of Illinois Collection, microfilm reel 26: Correspondence: 'Cross."


52. However, unlike the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, David Syme's *Age* was strongly protectionist. See Charles E. Sayers, *David Syme: A Life* (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1965).


54. *Age*, 13 April 1872, cited in Morrison, 'Newspapers and Novelists in Late Colonial Australia': 13.

55. Full records regarding the sale of *A Marked Man* to the *MWT* appear to be missing from the Heinemann Archives and the A.P. Watt and Co. Records. Cambridge's Power of Attorney signed with A.P. Watt is dated 4 October 1892. I wish to record my gratitude to Richard

56. For example, the *MWT Supplement* divides chapter 49 between 3 and 10 October 1890. However, Morrison’s research suggests that Cambridge also lacked control regarding the number of instalments published in the *Age*. See Morrison, 'Editing a Newspaper Novel for the Colonial Texts Series: "A Woman’s Friendship",' in *Editing in Australia*, ed. Paul Eggert (Occasional Paper No. 17. English Department, University College, Australian Defence Force Academy/New South Wales University Press, 1990): 119.

57. The theological scepticism of Richard Delavel and Noel Rutledge would have interested the *Age’s* David Syme, who had studied with ‘rational’ theologian Rev. James Morrison and had attended classes in Hegelian metaphysics at Heidelberg University. See Sayers: 10, 19, 260, 262 n3.


61. For example: *Spectator* (27 December 1890: 948); *Athenaeum* (20 September 1890: 381); and *Argus* (7 March 1891: 4).

62. The learned James Pilkington (c.1520-1576) of Rivington Hall, Lancashire, had been the first Protestant Bishop of Durham. More recently, the Pilkington name had become prominent through the enterprising Pilkington Brothers glassworks of St Helens, Lancashire. P.F. Clarke records that William Windle Pilkington and his brother Richard were politically powerful Liberal-Unionist supporters: ‘The district was effectively controlled in every way by a tight-knit group of men centred round the Pilkingtons and the Gambles. They were the borough aldermen, they were the magistrates for the St. Helens Petty Sessional Division, they provided both local M.P.s, they were the main support of the local schools; and as employers the Pilkingtons ruled with a rod of iron’ (225). See also *Dictionary of National Biography* (1921): 25: 1179-84; and Theodore C. Barker, *Pilkington Brothers and the Glass Industry* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960).
63. This earlier offstage appearance occurs in Chapter 27 ("An Old Story," *MWT Supplement*, 15 August 1890). It is noteworthy here that the *Manchester Examiner and Times* review considered the theological opinions of Pilkington and Annie Morrison 'subsidiary, not essential' to the direction of the novel (20 September 1890: 3).

64. For example the *MWT Supplement* transforms 'marital' into the incorrect 'martial' (Chapter 33: "Three Months Later," 22 August 1890). The correct spelling appears in the Heinemann text. See Morrison's useful discussion of 'the effects on the text of the compositorial and editorial practices in a newspaper office.' (Morrison, 'Editing a Newspaper Novel': 113-23; and Morrison, 'Introduction,' *A Woman's Friendship*: xv-xviii, xxxix-xlii.)

65. This reference to George Eliot (which occurs in Chapter 3: "How Dicky Kept Out of Mischief," *Age*, 14 July 1888) is from *Scenes of Clerical Life*. However, the influence of *Middlemarch* is particularly pervasive.

66. It would appear that Cambridge did not seek an Australian publisher for *A Marked Man*. In a letter to George Robertson, 25 December 1924, she records that 'a younger Syme [i.e. Joseph Syme] pasted all the newspaper story together like a scrap book & shepherded its transfer to England.' (Angus and Robertson Papers, ML MS 314/20 f.349. Mitchell Library.) Australian publishers of fiction were few, and as A.G. Stephens observed: 'Novels of the same quality as hers would hardly be profitable if sold in Australia alone: we have not yet population enough.' ('A Clergyman's Wife,' *Bulletin*, 25 April 1903.) Cf. Wallace Kirkop, 'Bookselling and Publishing in the Nineteenth Century,' in *The Book in Australia*: 39-42.


68. This 'keystone' speech occurs in Noel Rutledge's sermon renouncing the ministry. (A *Marked Man*: Vol.2, Chapter 9: 'Noel Rutledge.') However, Cambridge also kept open the possibility of two-volume publication by introducing a bipartite geographical structure.

69. 'My Guardian,' *Cassell's Family Magazine* (December 1876-June 1877); *My Guardian: A Story of the Fen Country*, illustrated by Frank Dicksee (London, Paris and New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, [1878]).


73. Richard Bentley's characteristic advice regarding the construction of novels was as follows: '[Mr Bentley] would much prefer the work being extended to three volumes as he has invariably found that nothing can be expected in the way of profit either to author or publisher from the publication of works of fiction in 2 volumes.' (Letter to Alison Carmichael, 28 October 1839, *The Archives of Richard Bentley & Son*: Part 1: British Library Collection, microfilm reel 27, vol.54, f.234.) While Cambridge's Memorandum of Agreement regarding publication of *A Marked Man* does not appear to be extant, we might usefully note that her Agreement with Heinemann for *Not All in Vain* (30 October 1891) indicates that she was to receive 15%

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royalties on the three-volume edition, 10% on the 3/6 edition, and 'one penny to be paid per copy on all copies sold for the Colonial market.' (Heinemann Archives, London.)

74. Mudie's Select Library included copies of Cambridge's *My Guardian* (1878), *In Two Years Time*, 2 vols. (1879) and *A Mere Chance*, 3 vols. (1882). (See Sara Keith, 'Mudie's Select Library, 1876 and 1884,' unpublished typescript, Royal Holloway College, London, 1960: 56). Heinemann's advertisement in the *Athenaeum* announcing publication of *A Marked Man* begins as follows: 'Mr Heinemann begs to announce that he has this day published the following Novels, which will be found at the Libraries:' (Athenaeum, 13 September 1890: 364).

75. For example, Cambridge's letter to the editor of the *Australasian*, 16 June 1874, indicates that she was prepared 'to slightly modify' a serial story 'to suit an English magazine.' (W.P. Evans Papers. LaTr MS 11242 Box 126. La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria.)


77. Heinemann's first *Athenaeum* announcement for *A Marked Man* appears 13 September 1890: 364. The *Athenaeum*’s Heinemann list for 18 October 1890 gives *A Marked Man* more space than any other advertised novel except Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's *The Master of the Magicians*.

78. Neither the Heinemann Archives nor the A.P. Watt and Co. Records cite the number of copies printed in the three-volume edition. However, Heinemann’s account statement for 30 June 1892 indicates that he printed 2000 copies of a 3/6 edition (it is unclear whether this refers to the 1891 edition or to an 1892 impression). He reprinted 1000 copies in 1894. (A.P. Watt and Co. Records, Wilson Library.) The 'six thousand' (1894 impression) may be misleading, as publishers often issued a larger impression than was sold, unit cost varying inversely with edition quantity up to about 10,000 copies. It is useful to note, however, that Heinemann’s editions of *Not All in Vain* (1892) included 404 copies (three-volume edition) and 4229 copies (3/6 Australian edition). Heinemann sent 4000 copies to 'M. Mullen & Co' in January 1892. (Heinemann Archives, London.) Cf. Philip Gaskell, 'Edition Quantities and Prices,' in *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972): 304-7.

79. The 'colonial' title page is as follows: 'A Marked Man/ Some Episodes in His Life/By/ Ada Cambridge/Colonial Edition/Melbourne and Sydney/E.A. Petherick & Co./London: William Heinemann/1891/[All rights reserved].'

80. Desmond Byrne observed that 'towards the close of 1890 [sic]' the 'neat red volumes [of *A Marked Man*] were on every stall' and that 'the Mudie of Melbourne gave them a place of honour in his show-window.' (*Australian Writers* (London: Richard Bentley, 1896): 131-32.) The 'Mudie of Melbourne' refers to the highly successful circulating library founded by Samuel Mullen in 1859. Mullen also advertised *A Marked Man* in *Mullen's Monthly Circular*, citing many reviews. See 'The Mudie's of Melbourne,' *Illustrated London News* (19 January 1889): 87; *The Sydney Book Club: February 1896* (Pamphlet, Mitchell Library); and Askew and Hubber: 110-37. Cf. note 86.

81. Letter from William Heinemann to Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 11 April 1890. (Heinemann Archives.) Heinemann's account statement for 30 June 1892 notes that Cambridge received by royalty of 10% the amount of £17.7.- on the 3/6 edition, and £15.---. 'share of serial use in "Manchester Examiner."' (A.P. Watt and Co. Records.) However, this payment for British serial rights would seem 'normal.' For example Aled Jones notes that the Tillotson Fiction Bureau charged on average £25 per serial novel from each subscribing paper. ('Tillotson's Fiction Bureau: The Manchester Manuscripts,' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 17 (1984): 43-49.) Cf. note 55.
82. John W. Lovell described the Series as follows: 'The new works published in this excellent Series, semi-weekly, are always the first issued in this country... This Series comprises the latest and best Foreign Novels, which are issued under arrangement with the authors... so far as possible, the works are issued simultaneously with English publication.' Annual subscription was $30.00. (Information obtained from the Library of Congress copy of A Marked Man.) This American publication occurred prior to the enactment of the Chace Bill of 1 July 1891. (See Simon Nowell-Smith, International Copyright Law and the Publisher in the Reign of Queen Victoria (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968): 64-84.) A Marked Man was reissued in 1890 under Lovell's subsidiary, 'Lovell, Coryell and Company' (information obtained from copies held by Harvard University and the Boston Athenaeum) and in George Munro's Seaside Library (No. 1583). The latter (in which editions were reputed to be never less than 10,000 copies) had been taken over by Lovell's extraordinary 'publishers combine' in July 1890 ('The United States Book Company'). The United States Book Company advertised A Marked Man in the trade magazine, the Publishers' Weekly (11 October 1890, 1 November 1890, 8 November 1890 and 6 December 1890). Selling price was as follows: cloth ($1.00); paper (50c); Seaside Library (20c). When the United States Book Company became bankrupt in 1893, George Munro once more took over the Seaside Library. See Publishers' Weekly (15 February 1890: 274-75; 8 March 1890: 354; 29 March 1890: 458; 16 August 1890: 199; 27 September 1890: 456-60; and 27 December 1890: 1037); and Raymond Howard Shove, Cheap Book Production in the United States, 1870-1891 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1937): 13-17, 64, 74-82, 98-105. For comment on Lovell's association with Heinemann (via the London agent Wolcott Balesit) see John St John: 19-23.

83. Periodicals and newspapers which devoted long columns to A Marked Man included the Sydney Quarterly Magazine 8 (June 1891: 170-72; Illustrated London News (1 November 1890): 550; Lady's Pictorial (15 November 1890): 834; Manchester Examiner and Times (20 September 1890): 3; and Manchester Guardian (23 September 1890): 6. For Cambridge's own comment on reception of this novel, see her holograph inscription in the copy held by the Huntington Library, cited in Zinkhan: 124. Cf. notes 2 and 91.

84. Turner and Sutherland observe that 'Marcus Clarke, "Rolf Boldrewood," Mrs Praed and "Ada Cambridge" were in steady demand at Mudies and other great London Libraries' (19). In 1894 the Society of Authors estimated that existing subscription libraries together had some 60,000 subscribers. See Robert A. Colby, "'The Librarian Rules the Roost': The Career of Charles Edward Mudie, 'Wilson Library Bulletin 26, 8 (April 1952): 623-27. Cf. notes 72 and 74.


86. Cambridge was an enthusiastic supporter of 'Mullens' ('all the new books I could want, and more'). See Thirty Years in Australia (London: Methuen, 1903): 284-85. The (perhaps imaginative) illustration in the Illustrated London News (19 January 1889: 87) depicts Mullen's as allocating individual shelves to fiction, notably to 'Ouida', Braddon, Collins and Payn. In addition, Jim Cleary notes that 'colonial writers such as Rosa Praed, Ada Cambridge, and "Tasma" were well represented' at the North Brisbane School of Arts. (The North Brisbane School of Arts, 1849-1899: Cultural Aspirations of an Urban Elite?' in Morrison and Talbot: 45-54.) For a particularly detailed recent discussion of subscription libraries, free libraries, mechanics' institutes and readers in late-nineteenth-century Australia, see Askew and Hubber: 110-37, 186-96.

87. The Toronto Public Library: Catalogue of the Books in the Circulating Library: Vol 2: Central Public Library 1896 (Toronto: "Week" Office, 1896). This catalogue does not cite A Marked Man, but does cite the following titles: A Little Minx (5 copies); A Marriage Ceremony (5 copies); My Guardian (4 copies); The Three Miss Kings (5 copies). The Catalogue of Books 1904 cites three additional titles: A Humble Enterprise (3 copies); Materfamilias (3 copies); and Thirty Years in Australia (1 copy).
88. Beetham and other researchers suggest that 'the penny magazine, the serialised novel, the Saturday paper' continued to be the 'staple reading of the masses' even after the establishment of free libraries and the development of cheap reprints.' (Beetham: 167.) See also Berridge: 247-64; Mihai H. Handrea, 'Books in Parts and the Number Trade,' and Michael Turner, 'Reading for the Masses: Aspects of the Syndication of Fiction in Great Britain,' in Book Selling and Book Buying: 34-51 and 52-72 respectively.


90. Each Tuesday the Age published a Melbourne Centennial Exhibition Supplement. Exhibition notices were also a regular feature in the Saturday edition, in which 'A Black Sheep' appeared. On 5 November 1888, the Age claimed an average daily circulation of 81,149. However, since the Age advertisement in the Newspaper Press Directory 1888 claimed a 'daily sale' of some 65,000, presumably the Melbourne Exhibition accounted for a portion of the increased circulation. Cambridge acknowledged receiving £197 for serial publication of 'A Black Sheep.' (Thirty Years in Australia: 186.)

91. It is noteworthy that reviews of A Marked Man in the Manchester Examiner and Times and the Manchester Guardian were among the most perceptive (as well as heading reviewing columns). The Manchester Examiner and Times (20 September 1890) noted a 'sombre intensity which is really impressive' and which reminds the reviewer of The Story of an African Farm. This review also has the rare achievement of linking Ada Cambridge as novelist to Ada Cambridge as writer of hymns. The Guardian's review is twice the length of reviews of Rosa Carey and Robert Buchanan. Cf. note 2.

92. We might note here Ruskin's own use of the phrase 'a marked man' in Time and Tide: 'In the little town . . . if a poor man did not make a bow to the parson he was a marked man.' (Letter No.25.) Ruskin's letters addressed to Mr Thomas Dixon, a 'working cork-cutter of Sunderland,' during the agitation for suffrage reform originally appeared in the Scotsman (27 February and 4 March 1867, the first two letters only); Leeds Mercury (1 March 1867 to 4 May 1867, omitting Letter No.2); and Manchester Examiner and Times (1 March 1867-7 May 1867). Ruskin published the revised letters, together with appendices, as Time and Tide, By Weare and Tyne: Twenty-Five Letters to a Working Man of Sunderland on the Laws of Work (London: Smith, Elder, 1867). Cambridge refers to Ruskin as her 'schoolgirl idol and apostle of beauty' in The Retrospect (London: Stanley Paul, [1912]): 19.