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Bringing History to the Public via Genealogy and Family History

by

Bruce Durie

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CRITICAL APPRAISAL

Bruce Durie

22 July 2011

(Signed)

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Durie".

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“History is the dumping-ground of biology.
And genealogy is one way of keeping the score.”
Bruce Durie, with thanks to Carlos Ruiz Zafón

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ABSTRACT

Genealogy is at the cusp of acceptance as an academic discipline. However, there are no peer-reviewed scholarly journals in which to publish the outcome of research into, and upon, genealogy *per se*. While genealogy shares many techniques and attributes with history as a subject of study, it is wider in both investigation and impact. Popular and scholarly history have much to gain by including the skills and methods of the genealogical researcher.

One option is to present genealogy, history and biography as popular, mass-market books. The two-fold aspiration is (1) that the public will drawn to an understanding of history and the place of genealogy in historical researches, and (2) that history professionals will understand and apply the methodologies of genealogy to both popular and scholarly history publishing.

Using the currently-popular genealogy and local/personal history as the “draw”, it is possible to interest and educate the public in historical and social matters. The same is achieved by linking biography and genealogy to popular literature. The overall impact on public understanding, it is suggested, is far greater than would be achieved by any trickle-down effect from more conventional scholarly publishing. (This would be a valid contention to test by research, but no claim is made here that it has been investigated other than by anecdotal reports.)

It is proposed that the publications submitted for consideration form a coherent body of work in that they demonstrate the value of genealogical methodology and research skills in areas as apparently diverse and literary biography and local history; that their intellectual merit resides in bringing new information to light and applying that to the better understand of people, places, events; and that there is a contribution to knowledge thereby. That this knowledge now resides in a “popular” public domain is not to its detriment: rather, it renders it more valuable, and in any case it is not hidden from specialist examination by being out in the wild.

The publications submitted make explicit the key skills of learning and research at doctoral level, including analysis, creativity, criticality, discrimination, evaluation, research management and synthesis, and that the candidate is a competent researcher who knows the subjects and can plan, implement and evaluate research activities.

INTRODUCTION – THE MOTIVATION

The candidate's main interests are in the presentation of history to the public in mass-market books and the contextualising of genealogy and biography within history. The works presented for consideration are a connected series of scholarly investigations, subsequently presented in a popular form (mainly, books published by for mainstream audiences, and BBC Radio programmes). It is the author's contention that by presenting local history, genealogy and historical biography as popular, mass-market books, the public is drawn to an understanding of history and historical themes. In addition, by using the currently-popular genealogy and family history as the "draw", it is possible to interest and educate the public in historical and social matters. The same is achieved by linking biography and genealogy to popular literature. The overall impact on public understanding, the candidate would suggest, is far greater than would be achieved by any supposed or actual trickle-down effect from more conventional scholarly publishing.

The public is best served (it is further suggested) when best informed, and the route to this is by popular publishing, using material researched according to conventional and rigorous academic standards, with reference to the historical contexts of place, time, society and people.

Can Popular Publishing Be Scholarly?

There is a real challenge to academic publishing in genealogy and family history – there are essentially no peer-reviewed scholarly journals that would meet the accepted RAE criteria. It is left, therefore, to the academic researcher and author in these fields to publish either in less formal publications (Local and Family History Society "journals" and newsletters, websites etc.) or to bring scholarly researches to the attention of various publics in mass-market, non-ephemeral media, mainly mainstream popular books.

At its best, popular publishing is perforce scholarly. If the public is to be well-served, the same level of research must go into a book aimed at the public as one intended for specialists. The information and detail may be redacted, the presentation simplified and the references and sources abbreviated, but the effort behind and

evidence adduced to the eventual output must be as robust and detailed. This is particularly the case when the material requires extensive archival and/or photographic research and a strict methodology adduced.

The material, when so prepared and when popularly presented, fits the criteria for “Useful Learning”, and constructed so that both public and professional audiences might read it with profit.

There is no question that there is a public appetite for historical materials and subjects, popularly presented. The recent spate of television programmes on history and family history (*Time Team*, *Who Do You Think You Are* etc.) bear witness to this. At a 2007 conference, Martin Johnes spoke of the public’s “...unquestionable thirst to know about the past”, and observed that “family history is one of the UK's most popular hobbies” (Johnes, 2007).

Mainstream books produced by large publishers remain the best medium for this form of publishing. First, they receive editorial attention and a high degree of specialist scrutiny before publication. It is not in the interests of a specialist history publisher (say) to produce specious material, and the in-house staff will (ideally and usually in practice) include knowledgeable and qualified personnel. Second, books remain robustly accepted and have a greater cachet than, for example, web sites. The “dismal failure of electronic books” and “an ever-growing mountain of self-published garbage” have not dented this. By contrast, newspapers have seen their readerships and profit margins cannibalised by television, free-sheets and the internet, whereas (done properly) television or radio series with related book spin-offs have overlapping and mutually beneficial markets (Evans, 2007). This is variously referred to as “360-degree” publishing (BBC parlance) or “hybrid publication that combines print and digital product, with one as a way to ‘bridge’ into the other” (Zion's Herald, 2006). Third, this may be the age when “everything” is on Wikipedia, but that is only useful if the reader knows to search for a given subject. A book presents subjects and material that would not have been predicted or considered, along one theme. It therefore leads the reader into knowledge that might not otherwise be encountered.

Is popular history in good shape?

For years, if not decades, academic historians have grumbled that the public does not buy their books and certainly does not take notice of their deliberations and conclusions. Yet there has always been a taste for popular history, to some degree. Whenever the latest volume of Macaulay's *History of England* was published there were queues of buyers (and their carriages) outside bookshops. Trevelyan's *English Social History* was by any standards a best-seller, as was Churchill's *The Second World War*, although it is moot how many of the hundreds of thousands of copies of each sold were actually read. In the 1960s, A. J. P. Taylor's apparently impromptu television lectures were watched by millions. But against this trend, historians were professionalizing and specialising, and at the same time withdrawing from the public. The days of the great generalists – such as Macaulay and Trevelyan – were over when Marxist ideology, methodologies imported from the social sciences and technical innovations became confused with erudition, and historians retreated into re-analysis of existing material by computer number-crunching, producing works that only another specialist could even begin to understand, and examining smaller and smaller pieces of the whole. Syncretic works all but disappeared. “Professional” (i.e., university-based) historians complained that the public ignored their works (how could the public not ignore what was buried in worthy but dull journals) and even Taylor declaimed that historians had nothing of relevance or importance to tell the public or to inform society. Historians were often seen (or themselves felt they were seen) as over-specialised, ivory-tower and irrelevant.

It took television to rehabilitate history, with Michael Wood trampling where Schliemann had trod and the BBC producing high production-value series and specials, using all the new computer animation techniques to their limit. One offshoot of this was the BBC's own *History Magazine*, although it tends to pander to the supposed five-minute attention span. *History Today*, which for 50 years has not talked down to its audience nor shied away from harder subjects in depth, is stronger than ever. However, a perusal of its letters page and occasional debates over the years shows a disturbing tendency amongst academic historians to bemoan their fate as marginalised (on one hand) and bewail the recent upsurge in general history popularly presented (on the other). That they cannot see that the solution is in their

own hands, and it is a study in cognitive dissonance. At any historical conference or symposium there are huddles of the disaffected, nit-picking the latest popular work by Norman Davies, Andrew Roberts, Roy Porter, Niall Ferguson, Simon Schama, David Starkey and the other blockbuster authors. When pressed, some will admit to jealousy (Starkey's reported £75,000 per episode from Channel 4 and Schama's £3m for *A History of Britain* and all its tie-ins are often brought up), but many, on reflection, concede that there has been a sea-change in public attitudes. (Fielding-Smith, 2002). As there are few certainties about the future (with the demise of Communism and other ideologies) the public looks to the past to inform and condition the individual's sense of identity, self-worth, place in society.

Admittedly, this is in Britain and to some extent Europe – the equivalent discussions in America tend to revolve around name-calling as to who is a “Liberal”, who is “Neo-Conservative” and even who is or is not a “Patriot”. There is considerable disquiet about, for example, whether history has become an arm of entertainment, with *The History Channel* “packaging history in bite-sized morsels for a bored and jaded audience” (Mattson, 2005).

It was the growing realisation that history is marketable and commoditized that led the UK Vice-Chancellors to point out to the government that history contributes significantly to the GDP (income from visits to historical sites was £280m. in 2001) and even suggested the Arts and Humanities Research Board become a Research Council, which did indeed happen in 2005, although the budget (£80m. in 2007) was hardly increased (AHRC, 2008).

The interface between history and contemporary popular cultural is adequately explored (as is the place of the historian in society) by de Groot (2008) in which it is argued, *inter alia* that public historians must needs understand the enthusiasms, obsessions and interests, however ephemeral, of aficionados of “popular” history in its myriad media forms. The popular imagined past is vibrant and here to stay, and public historians ignore it at their own risk

However, some of the burgeoning re-popularity of history (as a subject) is not due to history itself (as a discipline) but on extrinsic factors to do with the changing nature of publishing.

Trends, changes and their relevance

Non-fiction book publishing is in surprisingly good heart and reports of its death are greatly exaggerated, although it has had to change to survive various challenges over the past 40 years or so, identified and discussed in detail by de Bellaigue (2006). In the early 1970s British publishing had three growing markets - education, information and leisure – with the English language dominant throughout the world and strong copyright laws, rigorously enforced. There were also strict protectionist and price-fixing measures such as the Net Book Agreement. By the 1980s some of the restrictions were removed, the Pound Sterling had adopted a floating exchange rate, currency controls were relaxed, the abolition of the Sterling Area in 1979 increased the flow of overseas currency, and the Traditional Markets Agreement (an informal arrangement running from 1947 to 1975 between British and American British publishers which reserved Commonwealth rights to the former) came to an end. By the 1990s deregulation at home was complete with the disintegration of the century-old Net Book Agreement, which had prevented heavy discounting from the cover price and was a barrier to competition. Last, financial backers came to realise that intangible assets, including intellectual property rights, had a value as bankable as bricks and mortar. The value of the Penguin/Longman group leapt from some ten-fold in real terms from 1961 to the acquisition by Pearson in 1970 when founder Allen Lane died. This, allied to the merchant-adventurer attitudes of Maxwell and Murdoch made publishing a target and a respected sector among financiers, which matched publishers' need for access to capital. It was venture capital, not literary ambition, that generated Bloomsbury in 1986 (and others) and many, including Dorling Kindersley, raised cash from stock market quotations in the heady City days of the 1980s. Rights issues, management buy-outs, management buy-ins and private equity became as much a part of publishing jargon as faces and fonts had been in earlier, more sedate, times. The triple opportunities (or pressures) of free-wheeling capitalism, deregulation and new technologies (which came hot on the heels of the long-needed dismantling of the power of the print unions) coincided with the challenges of the volatility of Sterling between 1975 and 1984. Traditional family ownership fell away – Longman (1968), Collins (1981), Routledge (1985), ABP (1987), Hodder (1993), Macmillan (1993) – and major communications groups stood

in their place – Century, Headline, Taylor & Francis, Reed and most infamous of all, AOL-Time Warner. At the same time, there was globalisation, not just in the Murdoch companies but also in Thomson, Pearson, Reed Elsevier Jonathan Cape *et al.*, which gave an international dimension to ostensibly “British” publishers. In bookselling, the distaff side of the publishing family, Borders arrived from the US to buy out Books Etc.; and Waterstones, W. H. Smith/Menzies and other large chains had to change or die (a few almost did). Amazon arrived to challenge High Street sales, Barnes & Noble realised their physical shops were little more than a place to have a coffee while browsing for volumes to buy later on the internet and supermarkets started to sell books at below-cost (subsidised by the publishers in order to generate “best-seller” status). The virtual doubling of Amazon’s sales figures year on year strongly suggests that the public has the time, the disposable income and the desire to read. It matters not whether the words are on paper or a Kindle (etc.) reader – words are words regardless of the presentation technology.

All of these trends have a relevance to this thesis. Technology made the electronic transfer of type and images between author, publisher and printer a much more direct and a speedier process. The days of galley proofs, page proofs and final proofs were all but gone and stone-setting, plate-making and the rest were a distant Luddite memory. The efficiencies generated meant a higher margin for the publisher and author alike. At the same time, electronic print meant the possibility of short runs and even the logical consequence of this, print on demand (POD) where a single copy of a book can be printed, bound and shipped at the same unit costs as 10,000.

Next, the noted history publisher, Sutton, underwent a series of mergers, acquisitions and takeovers, some of which nearly led to its demise (notably the purchase and reorganisation by Haynes) but which eventually resulted in the formerly ousted founder, Alan Sutton, regaining control of his original company along with Tempus and other imprints, and forging them into The History Press. The cash flow and the need to grab market share stimulated an expansion of series and titles, including the Sutton books considered for this thesis (see Bibliography).

At the same time, and wholly to generate market share, Sutton (and others) went into restricted arrangements with traditional and non-traditional outlets. Some of this

author's books have found themselves published in three or more incarnations – as a Marks & Spencer book, a W. H. Smith exclusive, a Bookworld soft-cover edition and so on. Improvements in logistics (meat and drink, literally, to large chains like M&S) meant that it was possible and even easy to get specifically local titles into local shops. So, for example, *A Century of Glasgow* found itself initially in Smith shops in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, but nowhere else, and later (with a different cover) in M&S stores from Lanark to Paisley but hardly anywhere else. Piled high, and selling fast (especially in the pre-Christmas and peak tourism periods), they were treated like any other short shelf-life commodity. Finally, though it is often said that the library market has all but collapsed, the advent of Public Lending Rights (PLR) is a useful adjunct to an author's income.

The point to take from this is that it became possible in the late 20th and early 21st Centuries for an author to make at least part of a living from non-fiction book sales and for publishers to feel the game was worth the candle. What might previously have been regarded as a rather specialised exercise (such as this author's scholarly yet popular but undeniably local-interest book entitled *A Century of Dunfermline*) became not only possible but economically worthwhile for all parties. The publisher was willing to publish and re-publish in a variety of formats; the author was rewarded for writing; the shops were happy to sell and the public was interested enough in the specific and general subject matter to buy and read. Knowledge transfer could take place, and did.

SCHOLARLY PUBLISHING IN GENEALOGY AND FAMILY HISTORY

As mentioned above, allied to this stated commitment to public-focussed publishing is the sad fact that there are essentially no academic journals in the fields of genealogy and family history (here given the genealogist's meaning rather than the sociological or historical study of the family as a social unit – *vide infra*).

In genealogy, there is a plethora of public (news-stand) and subscription (member) magazines and other publications which are neither peer-reviewed nor scholarly in intent, although the latter may from time to time contain scholarly material. One exception, perhaps, is *The Irish Genealogist* – the scholarly journal of the Irish Genealogical Research Society (IGRSoc), currently edited by the candidate, Bruce Durie – though even this organ of record falls short of these standards, relying for its peer review on the undoubted knowledge and expertise of the members of the Council of the Society and occasional external specialists.

In family history there are several journals but these are concerned properly with the history of the family as a social construct, its sociology and so on. One example would be *Journal of Family History*. This, and others, are not aimed at the public or at the “family history” audience as popularly defined. Their titles are potentially misleading in this context.

There is also almost no public sector funding base for academic research in genealogical subjects – neither the AHRC nor the ESRC explicitly names genealogy as a subject domain or area of interest, and a search for “genealogy” on the AHRC website yields a null result.

For these reasons, it not possible to build up a conventionally acceptable research track in genealogy and family history by journal publication. Hence, popular (but scholarly) book and review publishing are the only routes.

This is despite public participation in historical activities running at an estimated three-quarters of the public annually (higher than either participatory or spectator sport) and the well-documented occasion when the number of hits on the (English) Public Record Office's website in January 2002 as the 1901 Census was released crashed the server.

There have been decent academic and public sector responses to the evident upsurge in public interest in family and social history and its sources – the Archive Awareness Campaign has brought together archivists, family historians and genealogists and there are recent developments in Scotland where local authority archivists and registrars co-locate and offer look-up services (although libraries are not included, for some reason). As for academic responses, there is the Public History course at Ruskin College, Oxford; the University of York’s research into public understanding of the past; Certificate courses in Local History at Oxford and Records and Archives at Dundee; and the University of Strathclyde’s own groundbreaking Postgraduate Certificate and Diploma in Genealogical Studies (Genealogy, Heraldry, Family History, Records and Archives) now (2010-11) with a Masters component and agreement to run a one-year full-time version on campus.

What marks out these responses is the clear acceptance that “the past is holistic. It does not recognize the boundaries that we have created for our academic conveniences ... a campaign for History involving much more collaborative work is arguably a necessity” (Bates, 2006).

Unfortunately, much of the discussion among historians concerning genealogy is whether it is an academic discipline at all, or just an amateur pastime that clogs up the seats in archives and deflect librarians from their proper purpose of bringing books to scholars’ carrels. This is reminiscent of the way many mathematicians 100 years ago (including, to an extent, Lord Kelvin) dismissed engineering as an academic subject, as it was merely “physics with a spanner”. And the last-ditch attempt by some historians to ignore genealogy but bemoan (and thereby acknowledge) its popularity is a replay of the public understanding of science debate of the 1990s.

One way to counter this is to ensure that the tools, practices and standards of the genealogist are brought to bear on historical subjects, and to go further by combining historical/genealogical methodologies with what is usually considered the province of the literary critic.

Local history and genealogy publishing - the Sutton/History Press books

The titles under consideration here are: ¹

Durie, B A *Century of Glasgow*, Sutton Publishing, October 2000; Sutton Publishing/Marks & Spencer, 2005); Sutton Publishing/W. H. Smith, 2007; Sutton Publishing, 2007

Durie, B *Glasgow Past and Present*, Sutton Publishing, October 2001

Durie, B A *Century of Kirkcaldy*, Sutton Publishing, April 2002

Durie, B A *Century of Dunfermline*, Sutton Publishing/The History Press, October 2002, (new edition with additional material February 2010)

Durie, B *The Story of Stirling: How a rock became a city*, Sutton Publishing, April 2003, re-issued in 2008

Durie, B. *Scottish Genealogy*, The History Press, January 2009 (updated 2nd edition released June 2010, 3rd edition to be published December 2011)

A Century of Glasgow and *Glasgow Past and Present* were commissioned simultaneously, to fit with two ongoing series. Their thematic structures were different, and had to avoid repetition of the same material, but they make sense best when considered as a pair.

A Century of Glasgow: Events, People and Places over the 20th Century was to reflect changes and developments in the city across the period 1900 to 2000 (interpreted loosely as to dates). Prefatory material could stretch back further to illuminate context, as, for examples, the city's rise from a fishing village with a cathedral and a university to its pre-eminence as a trading and ship-building centre in the 1800s. The brief allowed a more detailed examination of the transformation from Second City of Empire, through the No Mean City, razor-gang phase of the depressed interbellum period, the renaissance and eventual, inevitable demise of Clydeside construction, the slum clearances, rebuilding and rehousing (for good or ill) of the Bruce Programme in the late 50s and 60s to the eventual rediscovery (reinvention?) of the city's mission as a style and shopping capital of Scotland, Britain, Europe, the world, even. When MacDiarmid coined his epigram "Dundee is dust/And Aberdeen

¹ Sutton Publishing became, with other imprints, amalgamated as The History Press in 2008. See p. 9.

is a shell/But Edinburgh is a mad god's dream" he prefaced it with "Glasgow is null/Its suburbs shadows/And the Clyde a cloud"; this was, of course, written when the Dear Green Place was at its least green. (MacDiarmid in MacGregor, 2007).

Glasgow Past and Present was an avowedly different sort of book – comparing and contrasting views and buildings, but also institutions, attitudes and social conditions – from different eras. This allowed for a more discrete discussion of developments, illuminated by step-changes, rather than the continuous narrative of *A Century of Glasgow*.

The publishers commented that, in both cases, these books were something of a departure from others in the same series. Typically, titles in the *A Century of...* and *Past and Present* sequences concentrated on the visual materials available (postcard collections, photographic archives etc.) as the *raison d'être* for the books and the supposed main reason for public purchase. These two titles, by contrast, sought to tell a connected story, using archival materials not often brought to light and accessing sources that the majority of authors did not and would not use. (Sutton Publishing, various editors, personal communications 2000-2009).

This led to the multiple re-issue of these titles, and to the commissioning of two more books in related series (*A Century of Kirkcaldy*, *A Century of Dunfermline*). However, these works suffered from the preponderance of space that had to be given over to photographs, which meant severe abbreviation of the text.

The publishers were aware of this, and ultimately agreed to produce a different kind of book and a new departure for Sutton, *The Story of Stirling* – purposely less photographic, more textual and contextual and unrestricted in its timespan. The author was given unparalleled access to the Stirling archives and in particular to its photographic record collection. *The Story of Stirling* was reissued, by special request of Stirling Council, in 2008 and may well find itself resurrected and updated in time for the Bannockburn celebrations in 2014.

Intellectual merit, methods employed and contribution to knowledge

In all these books discussed above, the methodology was similar. A set of themes was developed for each one, in line with (for instance) changes to industry over time (coal, weaving and fishing in *Kirkcaldy* and *Dunfermline*; heavy and marine engineering, immigration and emigration, rehousing etc. in the *Glasgow* books) and archival and photographic materials sourced to illuminate each major point. In each case the research spanned over a greater historical period than the subject matter of the books, and may not even be apparent in the finished work. In order to explore the structure of Dunfermline as a town, it is necessary to understand its earlier role as a capital and royal city, a place of pilgrimage and saintly interment, a temporal regality commanded by the Abbey and so on. This required research in little-explored sources such as the Annals and the Burgh Registers of Dunfermline. Additionally, there was considerable reference to archived newspapers and official papers to fix dates and event. (Often, this meant correcting or completing the textual records attached to archived photographs.) It might not be obvious why Retours of Services of Heirs (essentially, records of land inheritance up to the mid-1800s) should be consulted, but the transfers of property between and away from landed families is a crucial aspect of new building land, placement of factories, public space development and the like.

Another example might be the roles played by the Burgh Trades Acts and other improvements of the 1830s – the Royal Burghs (Scotland) Act (3 & 4 Will. IV c.76), the Burghs and Police (Scotland) Act (3 & 4 Will. IV c.46), electoral and constituency reform – in limiting the power of craft and merchant guilds, democratising local and parliamentary representation etc. in “strong” burghs like Dunfermline and (particularly) Stirling, which add to the appreciation of the growth of commerce and industry in these places.

In many cases, it was an understanding of the genealogies and relationships of important families (Pitcairn, Masterton and Durie in Dunfermline, Durie, Wood and later Gibson in the Leven/Largo area, Ferguson, Melville, Oswald, Beveridge and Philp in Kirkcaldy) that was the key to topics as apparently diverse as burgh boundary changes, parliamentary candidacies and housing developments.

Photographic and image research is helped when there is a reasonable cross-indexing system (by place, year, topic etc.) as is the case in the libraries of Glasgow University, Stirling and, especially, Dunfermline. Often the desire to use a particular image is thwarted by copyright and ownership issues, overly-grasping rights purchase policies and unwillingness to allow removal for scanning. In many cases these were overcome – Dunfermline Carnegie Library and Stirling Council allowed free use, Glasgow University Archives and The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, came to a suitable financial arrangement, as did certain newspapers, but Kirkcaldy Central Library and Fife Archives were less tractable. St Andrews University Archives took a position at odds with copyright law. In such cases the answer was to source images which were incontestably in the author's ownership and copyright-free. One fruitful avenue was to buy postcard and image collections at sales and auctions, extract the items which best fitted the case being made or the subject under discussion, then recoup the cost by re-sale later. Often, though, these were undated and their provenance had to be established by reference to maps, census data and other photographic archives such as the National Library of Scotland and the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

There was, therefore, considerable scholarly work to be done in the mulch before digging the popular topsoil. However, as is an acknowledged failing of this format, there was no space for references, explanatory footnotes or a bibliography.

Scottish Genealogy

It was out of discussions similar to the above that Sutton (later The History Press) commissioned *Scottish Genealogy* as a scholarly but accessible survey of archival and other sources available for genealogical research, and their contextualising in historical research. It differs from other books in the field in that it addresses and illuminates materials other than the standard Birth/Marriage/Death/Census records and shows how these can be accessed, understood, placed in context and used to fill out not only genealogy but social, economic and other aspects of people's lives; there is considerable emphasis on legal records, the understanding of Latin, Scots, palaeography and other "unfamiliar" *materia*.

This book – which received praise in both the popular and scholarly press – has sold out in its 1st (hardback) and 2nd (softback) editions and a revised version is in press, due for release in December 2011 with a 2012 date. It is a mark of the speed at which the field of genealogy changes that parts of the book have not merely gone out of date in less than two years, but are now formally wrong (the access status of Old Parochial Register burial records, the availability of Valuation Rolls, many details of DNA analysis and more).

Intellectual merit, methods employed and contribution to knowledge

It would be easy to construct a list and description of genealogical sources. Many genealogy books are just that. But it is necessary to put certain records in their historical and legal context to understand their value to genealogy. To take just a two examples:

- The Hearth Tax and Poll Tax of the 1690s in Scotland were a Williamite invention, in distinction to the Comwellian origins of similar taxes three or four decades earlier, but for similar reasons (paying for wars, particularly in Ireland) but as such, they serve as quasi-censuses of householders for those periods;
- it is not possible to understand the structure and diplomatic of testamentary and executry documents (loosely, “wills”) without appreciating the surrounding *milieu* – before or after the various married women’s property acts, before or after the commissariat function was given to Sheriff Courts, in the light of changes to conveyancing practice in the 1860s and so on;

There is also the matter of reconciling different categories of document, which contain different, and often conflicting, information – decennial censuses, the Land Commission of the 1870s, the Farm Horse Tax at the end of the previous century *et alia*.

Genealogy is a forensic discipline, with high standards of proof. Yet many “official” records cannot be trusted. People lied about ages and relationships in census records, names and places were recorded erroneously in parish registers, moveable property was excluded from testaments dative in order to limit liability to

creditors or stamp duty, and so on. The author was possibly the first genealogist to point out, at least in a public forum, that for some years after the instigation of civil registration in Ireland in 1864, at least a third of birthdates are wrong – there was a penalty for late registration so parents moved the birth forward in time – in some cases, after the date of baptism!

The tenor of the book is to show how records can be used, the methods employed by the professional genealogist to record, cross-check and validate information. It is often said that Robert Burns and Jean Armour “never married”. Certainly, their marriage (more properly, Declaration of Banns) appears in no parish marriage register but this ignores both the validity of three forms of irregular marriage in Scotland before 1939, and also a Mauchline Kirk Session minute in which the happy couple “came before the session on 5th August [1788] and acknowledged that they had been irregularly married some years ago”.

Finally, the intent of this book is to bring scholarly training into the public arena, and into the hands of other specialists. In particular, the methodologies of palaeography and document diplomatic receive significant attention.

The nature of “facts”

Any discussion of "What is history" has to encompass "What are historical 'facts'" and 'what is history 'for"'. The answer to the first question may emerge from a consideration of the second and third. It also touches on the selection of materials addressed in any historical work – the so-called “facts”.

I confess to a deep-seated philosophical unease with the terms "fact" and "truth" and their correlate "belief". This stems from early training and work in scientific disciplines. Science is what protects us from belief - it is the only objectively validatable method for developing a *weltanschauung* that humankind has ever produced, and works on the principle of the falsifiable negative. Famously, this is like not trying to prove that all swans are white by examining all swans, or from the empirical observing that all swans seen are white; but by actively seeking the counter-example, a non-white swan. The null hypothesis is not "all swans are white"

but "some swans are not white" and finding only one non-white swan proves that, so the hypothesis "all swans are white" falls. By contrast, merely observing swans and noting that all seen are white is to commit the error of concatenation (a form of induction by enumeration) as best discussed by Reichenbach (1971).

This is of importance to history and historians because of statements like: "I *believe* John Knox meant well" (impossible to prove or falsify and ultimately a value-judgement or a political/religious stance); "I *believe* the Declaration of Independence was signed on July 4th 1776" (it wasn't, as can readily be verified); "I *believe* my grandfather knew Lloyd George" (no evidence either way, so just part of the family mythology).

Neither do (properly-schooled) scientists *believe* the sun will rise tomorrow – that's unjustified in a statistical universe – even though they behave pragmatically in line with such a belief, setting alarm clocks and checking diaries, for example.

Then there are "facts". Carr (1961) discussed and dismissed the idea that there is "a hard core of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of the historian" and called such a *belief* "a preposterous fallacy, but one which it is very hard to eradicate". Carr denied the empirical basis of an historian's work as being an accumulation and synthesis of "facts" available for scrutiny, and made the point that "facts of the past" (historical information not considered by historians as being unimportant) can become "historical facts" (what historians decide is important) by the very act of decision. In an echo of quantum physics, merely observing and measuring some event (and getting it promulgated by publishing) alters its status. Historians (arbitrarily, Carr stated) decide which "facts of the past" to transmute into "historical facts" independent of any objective validation and often according to their own prejudices.

Doubtless, this produces new information which can become knowledge, but unfortunately it turns into "truth" – consider the conflicting "truths" about the Holocaust, the "truths" about the causes of World War I (the murder of an Archduke or a consequence of telegraph poles and railway timetables?), the "truths" in a family's mythologised "history". Truth requires belief, and both rest on selected "facts" which themselves are fluid.

The genealogist's perspective is to rely on documented events, but recognising that even objective documents (such as census records) can be and often are wrong, and that evidence has to be adduced from multiple sources – but even then the conclusion has to be contingent and potentially changeable.

The historiographic parallel in genealogy, therefore, is the laying out of such evidence as exists, with some sort of weighting given as to its reliability. Just as in any field of natural science, we never get more right, only less wrong.

Genealogy, history and, yes, cosmic physics advance by a process of diminishing deception.

Great men or small people?

This is not the place to retread the roller-coaster debate on “great man” views of history, but it is important to note that Carr and many other historians have subscribed to the doctrine of “social causes” for historical events, as if this were some measurable *dues ex machine* that drives events. Manifestly, there is no such divine wind, but the cumulative or separate actions by individuals. These need not be “great men” and understandable in terms of lists of battles won and kings enthroned, but could be as minuscule as someone's ancestor having decided to emigrate to Canada and the descendant being – by circumstance and synchronicity - in the right place to save a life, commit a murder, make a discovery, write a book, become Prime Minister or whatever. The ripple-effect from any single event or individual decision either cancels out or amplifies when encountering other ripples, and this is a much greater influence on historical events than any numinous *zeitgeist*.

Surely any historian can see the value of considering genealogical “causes” to historical events. The whole Tudor/Stuart period could be viewed as a consequence of genealogy, when two children of Henry VII produced (ultimately) Elizabeth I and her first cousin twice removed James VI and I. They had other shared kinships by virtue of royal intermarriages in the preceding centuries, but the collision of states that resulted in 1603 was no more or less the result of certain matings and one spectacular failure to mate, plus a few early deaths. Birth, marriage and death are the

very stuff of the stories of the Tudors and the Stuarts, and even the Spanish Armada arose from a marriage.

It is in that sense that “history is the dumping ground of biology” – people cause events, often minimal in their effect at the time, but which have repercussions decades or centuries later.

What is history ‘for’?

Peter Mandler – building on Trevelyan’s dictum now a century old and much dismissed, that there is an educational benefit to history, not just for the professional select few, but for the population as a whole – has argued that academic historians can make a fundamental contribution to cultural life and should interact more with the public (Mandler, 2002; Trevelyan, 1913). His view is that “this tentative rapprochement” imposes a duty on professional historians to elucidate – out loud and in their own minds – what history is ‘for’, what it can and cannot do.

A. L. Rowse (1946) mused on the utility of history (without coming to any great conclusion) and concluded that “the most congenial, as well as the most concrete and practical, approach to history is the biographical” although he was speaking of the Cromwells and Lenins. To his credit he declared himself “a strong believer in people with good academic standards writing once more for the general reading public”, but the telling phrase in there is *once more*, as if the tradition of Macauley, Carlyle and Gibbon had gone away until the Teach Yourself series came along after the war. We might use his phrase now, 65 years on.

Further examples of “new knowledge” created are given in the discussion of Dick Donovan and Allan Pinkerton, *infra*. This, and similar genealogical explorations, are documentary detective work of a high order. So we should now turn to an examination, in this wise, of detective fiction.

LITERARY BIOGRAPHY AND GENEALOGY

One way to contextualise history palatably is to illuminate the social and historical milieu around a particular character, using biographical and genealogical information as the “hook”. The world is probably not waiting for another biography of Mary, Queen of Scots, but this is especially valuable – and has its greatest reach – when the individual so examined is known and prominent at the time, but has sunk from view, or whose vital details are and were obscure. The titles under consideration here are:

Durie, B. *Dick Donovan, The Glasgow Detective*. Mercat Press, 2005

(W H Smith Scottish Book of the Month, October 2005)

Durie, B. *Romances from a Detective's Case-Book – the Dick Donovan stories from Strand, 1892, republished with additional and interpretative material*.

Gath-Askelon Publishing, 2005

Durie, B. *The Pinkerton Casebook*. Mercat Press/Birlinn Books, August 2007

plus one peer-reviewed scholarly article:

Durie, B. “Dick Donovan, The Glasgow Detective And His Creator, James Edward (Joyce Emerson Preston) Muddock”. *Clues*, Winter 2008.

“Dick Donovan”

An opportunity arose to attempt something that rarely is offered: a scholarly literary and social biography of an author, combined with a re-presentation of his works. Mercat Press commissioned a volume of the works of “Dick Donovan” and it was agreed to introduce this with an examination of the life of the prolific and influential (but now largely forgotten) Victorian novelist, journalist and pamphleteer, J. E. P. Muddock. This has allowed new light to be shone in a number of dark corners, viz.:

- the emergence of popular novel publishing around and immediately after the time of subscription libraries and “three-decker” novels;
- the development of Boy’s Papers;
- the surfacing of syndicated serial fiction;
- social and class conditions in literary Victorian England and Scotland;
- the development of serial detective fiction before the popularity of Holmes.

Almost all of the detail unearthed was at odds with information published in the scant autobiographical, biographical and review materials available, which largely proved to be inaccurate, purposely obscured or, at best, half-truths. For example:

- Muddock's own autobiography *Pages from an Adventurous Life* (PFAL, Muddock 1907) makes not one single mention of his three wives, 12 children, numerous bankruptcies, nervous collapse and disastrous personal and business relationships;
- his obituary in *The Times* of 25 January 1934, two days after his death, is erroneous, incomplete or inaccurate in almost every regard;
- other biographical pieces (for example, the entries in various editions of *Who Was Who*) seem to derive largely from this obituary and repeat the same solecisms plus the many inaccuracies, obfuscations, omissions, and confections from PFAL.

In the process, and in order to allow the (popular) reader to understand the milieu in which Muddock lived and wrote, a great deal of previously unresearched and unpublished genealogical and biographical material was presented, including:

- the fiction of his father being a "Ship's Captain";
- the mysteries surrounding his first two marriages;
- illuminating material held by the Royal Literary Fund which show his state of mind, penury and behaviour towards his family around 1875;
- the unconventional lives of his five daughters, the eldest of whom had a twenty-five year relationship with an ecclesiastical judge, whom she later married, long after bearing a son (ostensibly to a Canadian army officer invented for the purpose) who is Muddock's only surviving grandson, and who was interviewed;
- the career of his first daughter, Evangeline, as an internationally-renowned concert violinist and her little-understood role as Eva Mudocci, the muse, friend, probably lover and possibly mother to twins of Edvard Munch;
- the sexless but happy marriage of his second daughter, Dorothy, by his third marriage, to Herbert Greenhough Smith, editor of *Strand* and encourager of

Conan Doyle, and her position as Europe's leading figure skater and a Wimbledon tennis champion;

- Muddock's own pivotal role in the development of Davos-Platz as a skiing, climbing and health resort (although he left a trail of debts and unpaid bills in his wake);
- material, chiefly correspondence, held in archive at the Elizabeth Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba, .

Additionally, the first complete bibliography of Muddock's huge output of work (serial, collected, novels and journalism) was constructed and is presented here as Appendix I). It was instructive to note in how many databases – all of them American - "Joyce Emerson Muddock" was and continues to be listed as a female Victorian author. This was particularly surprising in the output of a highly-respected project at an important university library (Emory Women Writers Resource Project and Women's Genre Fiction Project). Muddock's stock has fallen so far that even knowledgeable commentators on the crime genre like Stephen Knight can dismiss him in a few lines and even get his name wrong (J. R. P. Muddock [sic] in Knight, 2004).

Muddock's career touches on the History of the Book (a somewhat inadequate translation of what the French mean by "l'histoire du livre"). Incidentally, it was the conglomeration of publishing houses discussed earlier which led to the publishing accounts of Chatto and Windus being handed over to the University of Reading archive; these were a crucial source for understanding the financial and contractual relationship between the publisher and Muddock – and others, such as Wilkie Collins, whom Muddock outsold – and which threw new light on Muddock's parlous financial state, and his incredible output. For example, he sold the total rights of many of his collected works for as little as £25. It also proved possible to attempt to correct other sources of misinformation such as the attribution of the 1924 movie *Young Lochinvar*, starring Owen Nares and a young Celia Johnstone, to "a novel by Sir Walter Scott" (IMDB): of course, Scott wrote *Lochinvar* as an epic poem, not a novel, and the Stoll Picture Company acquired the story by buying the rights to Muddock's 1896 book. This was evidenced by various letters between Muddock and Mr. Spalding of Chatto, generally with the author complaining about the meagre

consideration received for the rights, yet also wheedling for more publications to be steered Stoll's way for adaptation to the silver screen.

There is much about the multi-disciplinary method and theory of the history of the book which illuminates societal attitudes. The book is a "cultural transaction" whereby "...readers are characterized as participating in an implicit transaction whereby they engaged both individually and collectively with the written culture in which they lived; that culture was in turn mediated by the book-trade agents who gave texts their material form and commercial value" (Howsam, 2003). This author speculates, *inter alia*, that a book is both physical object and text, neither very easily defined, and that as the same text can "appear in different material forms", this "can and does affect how its meaning is received, not only by readers in cultures contemporaneous with its authorship, but also long after the date of first publication". Natalie Zemon Davis (1975) considers "a printed book not merely as a source for ideas and images, but as a carrier of relationships." This makes the book a useful tool for the study of past cultures and societies, both in its physical form and for its textual and contextual content.

The front matter to a number of the books presented for consideration in this thesis go into some detail about the milieu Muddock was writing in and of, the attitudes displayed by someone of his class and background writing for an audience of another (presumed) class and background, and what this tells us. The hypothesis is that the falling away of certainty in social structures, the church and even God (murdered, as some saw it, by Darwin and Huxley) meant a search for reassurance that order would be maintained, that the evil would be punished, that there could be retribution on behalf of society against malfeasance. If it could not be laid at the door of a deity, it fell to policemen and detectives – even fictional ones – to provide that comfort. Hence the growth in popularity of (initially) "true crime" publications like *The Police Gazette* and soon after, crime fiction. It is instructive that Muddock sub-titled his first Dick Donovan offerings as if the reminiscences of a real detective (in the manner of M'Levy two decades earlier), a statement not challenged by reviewers of the day, such as in *The Scotsman* who took it at face value.

There is also the material nature of the media in which Muddock wrote to consider, as his writings straddle all of the seminal developments in publishing in the latter half of the 19th and the early part of the 20th Centuries, *viz*:

- he heard Dickens read;
- he followed Thackeray's lead in producing PR puff for shipping companies in exchange for paid-for voyages;
- he understood the "actor-manager" aspect of both owning a title and using it to produce serial fiction, later published in book form (as did Dickens);
- he was "King of the Penny Dreadfuls" and in at the start of boys' adventure yarns and illustrated comics;
- he saw the change from "triple-decker" novels and subscription libraries to affordable single-volume mass-market books;
- he was at the forefront of the syndicated, serial fiction market, in his relationship with Tillotson's of Bolton;
- Conan Doyle and Holmes notwithstanding, Muddock more or less invented and certainly was the first to popularise the idea of connected detective fiction using the same protagonist for individual stories;
- Some of his books and stories were either bought or appropriated by the nascent film industry (see below) for adaptation into silent movies;
- he lived to see the detective and historical romance genres re-establish themselves in the 1920s and 1930s, and was increasingly frustrated that he had fallen below the radar.

Using standard historical methodologies – such as bibliographical analysis – but adding in other empirical evidence, such as genealogical and family history investigations, it was possible to refocus the lens of scholarship and view the development of various fiction genres (but particularly detective fiction) by this seminal author, and very much a man of his time. Muddock was absolutely conscious of the audience he wrote for, whether in newspapers or when producing novels. He more or less panders to the preconceptions and prejudices of his middle-lowbrow readers and clarifies for us certain attitudes towards class and society in general. Some of these we now find uncomfortable (notably his Jewish masquerades, and his

rendering of speech and habits when so disguised). Others speak volumes (literally!) as to assumptions among the middle classes of the lives and conditions of the lower orders and individuals of different ethnicity and nationality.

This form of cultural history is not uncommon in recent years – following on from E. P. Thompson, more and more the methodologies of historical bibliography and textual/literary criticism are brought to bear on historical analyses, specifically to illuminate the lives of the poor and working classes. But only by including a consideration of the author’s own genealogy and upbringing is it possible to focus the lens precisely. This is where genealogical and family history research comes in. David Vincent's observations on working-class literacy and popular culture in this respect, were particularly astute (Vincent 1981, 1989).

In a reversal of the usual process, it was the appearance of these biographical and exegetic book introductions that led to an invitation to provide an in-depth article for a scholarly journal (*Clues*, Winter, 2008 edition).

The author was also asked to provide a consideration of Muddock for one of the best-regarded detective fiction websites and was happy to comply (Durie, 2005). It is a sort of “red badge of courage” that huge chunks of this, unaltered and mostly unattributed, now appear all over the internet. But at least Muddock is achieving literary attention once more.

Allan Pinkerton

This approach worked well, so Mercat Press/Birlinn commissioned a similar work, similarly prefaced, around the non-fiction but sensationalised writings of Allen Pinkerton, the seminal “Private Eye”. This afforded an opportunity to put right a number of canards perpetuated about Pinkerton – his “flight” from Glasgow, the occupation and demise of his father and so on – which are mainly uncritical repetitions of his own or his family’s somewhat romanticised renditions, or taken from the clearly error-ridden biographies by Oliver Wendell Holmes and others, including Sigmond Lavine and (unforgivably) James Horan, the first serious historian to be allowed access to the sealed files of the Pinkerton National Detective

Agency; *vide* Holmes (1934), Lavine (1963), Horan (1967, 1975). These and more modern biographies, indeed, make assumptions that were readily disproved by the simple act of looking up a census or a vital record (birth, marriage, death). Chief among them was a book by James Mackay (1996), who was later, before his death in 2007, enmired in scandals over claimed research that never took place and blatant plagiarism in his biographies of Alexander Graham Bell and John Paul Jones (Bruce, 2002).

There are largely two sets of overlapping but contradictory renditions of the Pinkerton *mythos*:²

1. Born in poverty in Glasgow; father a policeman disabled or killed in a riot; set off for a new life in America; shipwrecked but recovered; set up a business near Chicago; discovered some men burying counterfeit cash, put them under surveillance and had them arrested; became an agent of the law and set up the first detective agency; helped Lincoln win the Civil War and prevented that President's assassination; protected Express trains from banditry; hunted down robbers; finally brought the infamous James Gang to book; pacified the Irish and the Communists bent on disrupting American society; set up the beginnings of the FBI's criminal records system; cruelly disabled by a stroke but turned to writing, and produced a slew of thrilling stories that captivated America and the wider world; his legacy carried on by his sons in the Agency that still bears his name. Cut to square-jawed, resolute men in suits and gunbelts, facing down the badmen. Pinkerton's story is the American Dream.
2. Originally a Chartist in Glasgow, he evaded the clutches of the Establishment by a hasty marriage and emigration; once in America became instrumental in setting up Lincoln's spy network and helping slaves escape to the North and Canada; had his undoubted surveillance and intelligence skills suborned by the government and became its blunt weapon in the interests of Big Business – massacring the associates of Jesse James, who were only trying to protect themselves against the depredations

² Taken directly from Durie, B. (2007), *The Pinkerton Casebook*.

of a revengeful North, beating down legitimate voices of protest such as the Molly Maguires and organised labour unions, targeting and harrasing Socialists, Gypsies and others; unashamed self-publicist who was cruel and domineering towards his workers and family; architect of all that is sinister in America's covert agencies. It's the American Dream gone bad.

Pinkerton himself is more complex than these simplistic vignettes suggest and the documented "facts" are at odds internally and with impartial sources. The interpretations based on them largely proceed from prejudice. Allan Pinkerton's own telling is not always reliable (or certainly had an agenda) and his imperfect recollection may be a consequence of, or helped by, the lack of early records courtesy of the 1871 Chicago fire. Today, Pinkerton is all-but beatified (by the security industry, Hollywood and the North) and largely demonised (notably by latter-day Confederate sympathisers in Missouri and the South, admirers of Jesse James and Fenian sympathisers). In this, his legacy in the modern imagination resembles that of Andrew Carnegie (enlightened industrialist and philanthropist *versus* capitalist strike-breaker and friend of the Kaiser), with whom Pinkerton is linked although his eponymous Agency largely worked for Carnegie after Pinkerton's death.

The varying interpretations of Pinkerton's character, motives and career, and different accounts (and dates) of his father's life and death were contrasted and examined, and the genealogist's skills bought to bear in sorting the recorded wheat from the assumptive chaff. The most obvious, and easiest to disprove was Pinkerton's father having died (yet appearing alive in a later census) after a Glasgow riot (which never took place).

Intellectual merit, methods employed and contribution to knowledge

Muddock's life has never been told, except by himself, and then with a thick coat of obfuscation and self-aggrandisement. Rescuing his genealogy and putting him back into his rightful place as a prefator to Conan Doyle and Holmes required the research

tools of, and access to records typically consulted by, genealogists, and equally to records that might be accessed by literary historians but not genealogists.

However, Muddock's was not an easy spoor to follow – his long sojourns overseas, his French marriage in 1880, his movements between Scotland and England and his name changes meant considerable agility across the civil records of at least five countries and access to newspapers and other documents in more besides.

The new information on the ancestry of Eva (Muddock) Mudocci was of great interest to the Munch Museet (Munch Museum) in Oslo, who handed over copies of all the correspondence between Munch and Eva for translation and publication. (This is ongoing). Eva receives scant attention in published biographies of Munch, even Prideaux, 2007, and she is frequently misidentified as the subject for Munch's *Madonna* (ca. 1894).

Discussions are under way with both the Munch Museet and Eva's grandchildren to obtain material for DNA analysis, which may confirm or dispel the parentage of Isobel and Kai as Munch.

However, the location and current ownership of the famous Stradivarius given to Eva by Joachim, the *Emiliani d'Or*, has now been demonstrated beyond doubt – which was unknown to all violin dealers consulted.

Similarly, repairing the early history and specific genealogy of Allan Pinkerton was a genealogist's task, but not one that seems to have been addressed by his many biographers, who merely have accepted, uncritically, the version first promulgated by Wendell Holmes.

In the process of this research a new document came to light – the diary of Pinkerton's niece, who travelled from Glasgow to visit Pinkerton's sons in New York. This inimitable document, revealing of many family details after the death of Allan Pinkerton, now resides in the University of Strathclyde archives. It will be transcribed and analysed, and placed in its context within the Pinkerton story.

“MAPS ON THE RADIO” – PRESENTING HISTORICAL SKILLS TO THE PUBLIC ON THE BBC

Just as valid as book publishing is the presentation of similar material on radio or television, provided it is not ephemeral and can have some lasting impact. Recent changes in the philosophy behind radio broadcasting have made this possible. No longer is a radio programme a one-off, listen-now exercise with a possible repeat during the dog days of July or the early watches of the night. The trend to 360-degree broadcasting (websites linked to programmes including videos, downloads, iPlayer and listen-again features, archived materials, available transcripts, book tie-ins, etc.) allow for a permanence of what was until recently an ethereal medium.

The opportunity was available to make two radio programmes of a different kind – they would not only “entertain, edify and inform” but would give listeners the tools needed to undertake research on their own behalf.

Digging Up Your Roots

This has developed over six series of “Digging Up Your Roots”, a weekly hour-long programme ostensibly about answering genealogical queries but in reality an exercise in helping listeners do their own family history research, face up to “experts”, accept the challenges (more apparent than real) of library and archival enquiries and the like.

These programmes have aired from 2006, one eight-programme series per year. It was noticed that the linked website received more hits, and the audio files more downloads, than any other BBC Radio programmes running at the same time.

This philosophy was taken to the next level with the first series of “A House With A Past” which could have been (and many expected would be) another reality show with the ooh-ah factor of peering through someone else’s keyhole. But it was never designed as such. The intent, from the beginning, was to use a presenter-expert to draw out details of a house’s history from the current owners, lead them to a more detailed examination of their own property’s history and present listeners with the tools and expertise to research their own demesnes. In these series, matters as

recondite as sasines, land registration, testaments dative and retours of services of heirs are laid out in simple terms, with procedural steps given so that anyone may reach as far back in time as the property existed, and often before, when it was just land. It therefore combines architectural history, document study and genealogy.

In the process, much information (and the knowledge to find it) is imparted and supposedly specialised aspects of documentation illuminated. It is not beloved of property lawyers, archivists and others who feel the mysteries of the quasi-mediaeval craft guilds are being traduced, but achieves the highest listener ratings at the time. The Guardian kindly called it “a thing of sustained sweetness”! (Review by Elisabeth Mahoney, *The Guardian*, Thursday 22 May 2008.)

While not submitted for formal assessment as part of this thesis, a DVD of certain episodes in the latest series will be included as Appendix II, since the same philosophy of public empowerment pervades these broadcasts as does the published printed material.

IS GENEALOGY AN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE?

There is a sense in which genealogy is an ancient activity: The Book of Genesis can be regarded as the first archive of genealogical records, and almost all primitive cultures in their pre-literate phases venerate the skald, bard or sennachie who can recite lineages. However, that cannot be regarded as documentary evidence, any more than mouth music is a score or cave painting a portrait. Until fairly recently, genealogy as an exercise consisted mainly of a form of stamp-collecting –recording names, dates, places of origin and relationships. Its purpose, if and when it had one beyond its pure intrinsic interest for succeeding generations, was to preserve “evidence” of family relationships, land ownership (or heritable possession of land), inheritance rights over moveables, symbolic acts of remembrance etc. and to preserve continuity and commonality of purpose, blood-ties, shared culture etc.

But, just as mouth music and cave painting evolved into higher and more systematised expressions of art, as star-gazing and natural history turned into the sciences, genealogy has changed from a pastime into a systematised field of enquiry of general utility and academic worth with far-reaching societal implications.

Leaving aside the spurious genealogical “proofs” of ancestry back to the Normans, Charlemagne, Romans, Troy and Noah which abounded in the 17th Century and found a new expression in the early part of the 20th Century, the discipline has matured and hardened, much as astrology became astronomy, alchemy became chemistry and bardic panegyrics became history. Genealogy is now “an intricate, multifaceted academic pursuit” (Mokotoff, 2005).

There is no question that the internet has transformed genealogy. There are three components to this. First, archive owners have found it possible to disseminate their holdings, in the form of indexes and images. Second, the public is able thereby to search archives and records which previously were unavailable by reasons of geography, knowledge and access. Third, many people have found a way to capitalise on this, out of concern for profit, political imperative, dogma and/or religious philosophy. Equally, scientific tools imported from the formal sciences (biology, mathematics, statistics, physics, information technology) have informed

and altered the practice of genealogy, much more than have the social or humanistic sciences.

Daniel Wagner, a materials scientist at the Weizmann Institute, Rehovot, Israel, but also a noted Jewish genealogist, makes the point that, at the same time, “para-documentation” (information from other anthropological, ethnological, historical, historiographic and bio-geographical researches) enriches personal research and has become almost immediately available online (Wagner, personal communication). There has been a sea-change in the perspective of “amateur” genealogists (those researching their own families for personal reasons, and the term “amateur” is not intended as pejorative) away from the seeking of remarkable ancestors, whether noble, churl or villain, saint or sinner, to an acceptance that everyone is linked, that all humans are in some sense ancestrally equivalent, that human migration and intermingling renders the concept of “races” as sterile as biology tells us it is and that we are all, in a very real way “Jock Tamson’s bairns”. Genealogy is a democratising influence, in that it vulgarises knowledge and makes extant records previously buried in archives; and it emphasises the similarity between humans rather than the divisions.

The praxis of genealogy has had to cope with this, and in the process has had to professionalize. Today’s genealogist is more than a mere researcher in archives, but must perforce be knowledgeable in historical context, social history, historiography, palaeography, long-dead laws, onomastics, heraldry, database management, image manipulation and many other disciplines.

This, (and the idea deserves deeper scrutiny) parallels Gramsci’s view that political society cannot necessarily be identified with civil society, and that the proletariat has an historical drive to create a self-regulated society in and of itself, separate from “the state”. This historicist idea, echoing early Marx, holds that meaning arises from the relation between “praxis” (defined as human practical activity) and the “objective” (i.e., independent) historical and social processes with which it relates. In this formulation, it is impossible to understand ideas separate from their social and historical contexts and the concepts humans use to organise knowledge derive not from any relation to things, but from the social relations between the humans who

use those concepts. The theory underpinning the praxis has no independent reality but expresses the progress of the related historical circumstance. Where this breaks down is when it tries to include a common sense view of “truth” which advances historically. Contrary to Marxist theory, Gramsci had a pragmatic notion of truth, such that any philosophy (including science, and Marxism itself) could be “true” if it had socially pragmatic value (for instance, by expressing the class consciousness of the proletariat at the time) better than a competing theory. This historical account of “truth” is a species of relativism (Gramsci, 1988 and 1971).

The genealogist soon learns, like the scientist, that there is no “truth” or “fact”, that the term “belief” has no place in the lexicon and that all hypotheses are simply that, until the right black swan turns up (see p. 19ff). All documents, even the most official and carefully regulated (royal charters, tax records, censuses, registers of birth, marriage, death) may be error-prone and even purposely falsified. Where, then, is “truth” when the only source of a “fact” (even as basic as a death date) can be wrong?

The growth of genealogy, the unearthing and illumination of parallel sources and records, the availability of multiple databases and indexes (themselves error-prone, but at least in an overlapping way) has provided a checking mechanism. It is the public’s desire to collect and expose the information in such records, and the commercial imperative to serve this growing need, that has driven their exposure and scrutiny. It was not, let it be stressed, any form of scholarly imperative from historians, and certainly not any disinterested public-spiritedness amongst archivists.

Historians and genealogy

Historians, in the main, do not “get” genealogy. They dismiss the specific skill-set, fail to see the relevance of “genealogical” records, fail to understand the importance of “popular” publishing and do not, largely, apply the same level of forensic analysis or standards of proof. There are honourable exceptions – Dr. Marjorie Harper at the University of Aberdeen and emigration (*Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus*, 2004; *Emigration from Scotland, 1918-39*, 1998), Eric Graham on maritime history (*A Maritime History of Scotland 1650-1790*, 2000; *Seawolves: Pirates and*

the Scots, 2007) and David Dobson's vast collection of genealogical/historical investigations (for example, *The Scots Overseas: Emigrants and Adventurers*, 2009)

In reviewing one of Dobson's works, a noted history scholar observed that: "Historians and genealogists have been at odds with each other for too long. Professional scholars should be grateful to genealogists and antiquarians for their tireless collection of primary source material and should also learn something from their determination to make data accessible to a general audience. It might even be argued that if historical scholarship was more accessible, historians would be more influential in the modern world" (Karras, 1996).

Academic genealogy

Genealogy is, by any standard, a mature professional discipline, when practiced to high professional standards. But is genealogy an academic discipline, with a basis in theory and praxis? It is certainly multidisciplinary – ranging across fields as diverse in focus as testamentary law and molecular biology. But if the pre-requisites for an academic discipline are an annual conference, a peer-reviewed journal and named departments or chairs in at least one university, it has the first in profusion, none of the second and only the nascence of the third.

Equally, there is no overarching professional or regulatory body – everyone is clear on what meant by "lawyer" or "dentist" or "accountant" or "school-teacher" and there are certifying and accrediting bodies with varying powers to regulate the usages of these terms. But what is meant by, and who can sanction, a "genealogist"? By the same token, though, there is no accepted definition of or regulation over the use of the terms "historian", "sociologist" or "geographer".

The public deserves and has come to expect professional and educational standards and ethics to be imposed on those it employs and trusts, and genealogy is no different in this regard from, say history.

This is all by way of prologue to a statement of faith, essentially, that (professional) genealogists are in the business of popularizing history, but have particular

knowledge-sets, skills and expertise which set them apart from historians, social geographers and related specialists.

The candidate has spent the majority of his working career attempting to popularize (the French verb *vulgariser* is more eloquent) “hard” subjects, from biochemistry and medicine to cosmic physics and numerical analysis. While these are crucial to modern society (anyone who disputes the benefits of science and technology should switch off all the lights, undress completely, then go out and kill their own breakfast) there is no greater challenge than integrating the past with the future.

That depends on the public understanding of the past. That depends on specialists describing the past in a general way that the public understands. That depends on historiographers (loosely defined) presenting information in a publicly-digestible yet rigorously researched form. That depends on bringing together the talents and attributes of the genealogist to those of the historian, scientist, writer and social commentator. That depends on establishing an accepted academic framework in which these disciplines and skills can happily coexist, but remembering at all times that the public is the ultimate client and consumer.

SUMMARY

Definitions

Graham Badley (2009) gives a working definition of the PhD by published work:

“ ...there is often a requirement for candidates to write a critical appraisal of “the products of learning and research” (the publications themselves) which makes explicit the key skills of learning and research at doctoral level. These should include the skills of analysis, creativity, criticality, discrimination, evaluation, research management and synthesis (see Shaw and Green, 2002, p. 122). In general, assessment of the PhD by published work has to show that candidates are competent researchers, know their subjects and can plan, implement and evaluate their research activities (see Wilson, 2002, p. 76)”

Badley, following Wilson (2002), suggests that candidates “use their critical appraisal to review (contextualize) relevant literature at the beginning of the period and also to show how their research connects with the contemporary context and literature. Terms such as “originality”, “rigour” and “significance” are dismissed as “problematical in their vagueness and subjectivity”. Nonetheless, there are some definitions of the generally accepted features of a doctoral thesis that are given here.

Coherence

Badley suggests “coherence” is implicit in a critical narrative about the overall intellectual position unifying the submitted articles or papers. In the case of the submitted work, the coherence is threefold: the methodologies and skill-sets employed; the unifying intent; and the cross-disciplinary nature of the analysis. This is analogous to, say, applying a singular mathematical technique to fields as apparently disparate as climate science, transport management and macroeconomic forecasts. Further, the “intellectual position” is that genealogy is a discrete discipline and praxis in its own right.

Contextualisation and originality

If “contextualise” is a synonym for “review”, it is hard to contextualise that for which there is no context. As has been outlined above, the genealogist’s tools and

methods are rarely brought to bear on popular history works or on literary biographies. No researcher can show how the research in question connects with the contemporary context, when there is none. In the case of Muddock and Dick Donovan, there is, effectively, no literature. The local history books submitted were constructed on a different basis from other apparently similar titles. *Scottish Genealogy* is also a different kind of book from typical offerings in the field, and has a different intent.

It is difficult not to be original when there are few comparators; but the originality resides in bringing new knowledge by the synthesis of historical, archival and genealogical research.

Rigour

It is the standard first lecture in any extended course on genealogy given by the candidate that there is a threshold concept (expressed by the shorthand “Everything you know is wrong”), and troublesome knowledge (“Never trust anything you see in any document, regardless of its provenance”). (Mayer and Land, 2003).

The very key to genealogy is rigour – forensic methodologies, adherence to standards of proof, refusal to take a “best guess” – and this is the ethos of all the work submitted for consideration. (It would be tendentious to suggest this is one of the features distinguishing genealogy from, say, history.)

Significance (contribution to knowledge)

In the sense of “contribution to knowledge” there are “facts” which were previously unknown or unappreciated (many examples are given in the Muddock./Mudocci discussion on p. 31) and there is contribution to the field (of, say, genealogical studies) by synthesising elements of standard genealogical practice – careful recording and cross-checking of register entries, for instance – with novel, or perhaps unfamiliar techniques previously thought more in the purview of the document palaeographer, Latin scholar or legal historian.

The aim is synthesis; the objective is public understanding.

That has been a life’s work, and is at the heart of this submission.

Sapiens nihil affirmat quod non probat.

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APPENDIX I

A bibliography of the works of James Edward (Preston) Muddock a.k.a. Joyce Em(m)erson Preston Muddock pseud. Dick Donovan

1. Muddock's books

Note: Post 8vo = 4½" x 7" (114 x 178 cm approx) Crown octavo = 5" x 7½" (127 x 190 cm approx)

- A False Heart A novel; Muddock, J. E.; 3 vol; Samuel Tinsley, London; 1873; 8vo
Grace O'Malley An Irish historical romance; Muddock, J. E.; pp 191; People The People's Pocket Story Books; 1873; 16vo
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The Adventures of Tyler Tatlock, private detective; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 287; Chatto & Windus, London; 1900; 8vo

"Jim the Penman" The life story of one of the most astounding criminals that have ever lived; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp vi 378; George Newnes, London; 1901; 8vo

Deacon Brodie, or, Behind the Mask; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp vi 258 Inc 4, 32 p. pub adv at end; Chatto & Windus, London; 1901; 8vo

Whose was the Hand? A novel; Muddock, J. E.; pp viii 312; Digby, Long & Co., London; 1901; 8vo

Whose was the Hand? A novel; Muddock, J. E.; George Bell, London; 1901;

A Woman's Checkmate; Muddock, J. E.; pp 320; John Long, London; 1902; 8vo

Fair Rosalind; Muddock, J. E.; pp 352; John Long, London; 1902; 8vo

The Records of Vincent Trill of the Detective Service A new edition; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 285; Chatto & Windus, London; 1902; 8vo

The Scarlet Seal, a Tale of the Borgias; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 312; John Long, London; 1902; 8vo

Sweet "Doll" of Haddon Hall A novel; Muddock, J. E.; pp 334; John Long, London; 1903; 8vo

In the Red Dawn, a Manchester tale; Muddock, J. E.; pp 303; John Long, London; 1904; 8vo

The Crime of the Century Being the life story of Richard Pigott; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 319; John Long, London; 1904; 8vo

Liz; Muddock, J. E.; pp vi 300; F V White & Co., London; 1904; 8vo

A Knight of Evil; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp vi 309; F V White & Co., London; 1905; 8vo

For God and the Czar! [A tale] Fourth thousand [Another edition] Illustrated, etc; Muddock, J. E.; pp 182; G Newnes' Sixpenny Novels; 1905; 8vo

For Love of Lucile, and other stories; Muddock, J. E.; pp vi 304; F V White & Co., London; 1905; 8vo

From the Clutch of the Sea, a story of some real lives; Muddock, J. E.; pp 454; John Long, London; 1905; 8vo

Jane Shore, a romance of history With a frontispiece; Muddock, J. E.; pp 312; John Long, London; 1905; 8vo

Sweet "Doll" of Haddon Hall A novel New edition, revised by the author; Muddock, J. E.; pp 126; John Long, London; 1905; 8vo

The Fatal Ring A novel; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp viii 318; Hurst & Blackett, London; 1905; 8vo

The Sunless City From the papers of the late Josiah Flintabbatey Flonatin, Esq; Muddock, J. E.; pp vi 308; F V White & Co., London; 1905; 8vo

For the White Cockade; Muddock, J. E.; pp 325; John Long, London; 1906; 8vo

The Alluring Flame; Muddock, J. E.; pp 318; John Long, London; 1906; 8vo

The Knutsford Mystery; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp vi 312; F V White & Co., London; 1906; 8vo

The Knutsford Mystery; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; George Bell, London; 1906;

Thurtell's Crime, the story of a strange tragedy; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp viii 311; T Werner Laurie, London; 1906; 8vo

Did Dorothy Vernon elope? A rejoinder [to G Le Blanc Smith's "Haddon"], etc; Muddock, J. E.; pp 93; Henry J Drane, London; 1907; 8vo

In the Queen's Service A novel; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 318; John Long, London; 1907; 8vo

Pages From an Adventurous Life With thirty-one illustrations; Muddock, J. E.; pp xvi 351 front, ports, facsim; T Werner Laurie, London; 1907; 8vo 23 cm

Pages From an Adventurous Life With thirty-one illustrations Club Edition (150 numbered Edition de Luxe); Muddock, J. E.; pp xvi 351 front, ports, facsim; T Werner Laurie, London; 1907; 8vo 23 cm

Pages From an Adventurous Life With thirty-one illustrations.; "Dick Donovan," (J. E. PRESTON Muddock).; 2 p. l., vii-xvi, 351, [1] p. front. ports. facsim. .; M. Kennerley, .New York; 1907; 23 cm

The Gold-Spinner A novel; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp vi 312; F V White & Co., London; 1907; 8vo

The Gold-Spinner A novel; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; George Bell, London; 1907;

The Shadow of Evil, in which is narrated the startling and extraordinary history of James Mackcoull, one of the cleverest and most remarkable rogues of his age; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 332; Everett & Co., London; 1907; 8vo 20 cm

A Gilded Serpent, the story of a dark deed Illustrated; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 316; Ward, Lock & Co., London; 1908; 8vo 19 cm

Who Poisoned Hetty Duncan? and other detective stories [new impression]; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 313; Chatto & Windus; 1908; Post 8vo 20 cm.

In the Face of Night A novel; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 317; John Long, London; 1908; 8vo

Tangled Destinies; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 424; T Werner Laurie, London; 1908; 8vo

The Sin of Preaching Jim, a romance founded on fact; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp viii xi 450; Everett & Co., London; 1908; 8vo

Thurtell's Crime Illustrated by Hal Hurst; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp vi 156; Daily Mail Sixpenny Novels; 1908; 8vo

Startling Crimes and Notorious Criminals; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; Pearson; 1908;

A Wild Beauty; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 320; F V White & Co., London; 1909; 8vo 20 cm

Lil of the Slums; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp vi 275; T Werner Laurie, London; 1909; 8vo

The Great Turf Fraud, and Other Notorious Crimes; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; Pearson; 1909;

Socialism antagonistic to Christianity J. E. Preston Muddock; Muddock J. E. PRESTON; Anti-Socialist Union Publication Dept; 1909;

“Jim the Penman” The life story of one of the most astounding criminals that have ever lived; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 200; George Newnes, London; 1910; 8vo

For God and the Czar; Muddock, J. E.; pp xi 290; George Newnes, London; 1910; 8vo

For Honour or Death Illustrated; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 328 1 leaf of plates: 1 ill; Ward, Lock & Co., London; 1910; 8vo 19 cm

Scarlet Sinners Stories of notorious criminals and crimes; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 186; George Newnes, London; 1910; 8vo

Sweet “Doll” of Haddon Hall Popular edition; Muddock, J. E.; pp 334; John Long's Shilling Series; 1910; 8vo

The Naughty Maid of Mitcham A novel; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp v 311; F V White & Co., London; 1910; 8vo

The Dead Man's Secret Popular edition, etc; Muddock, J. E.; pp viii 270; Greening & Co., London; 1911; 8vo

The Fatal Woman; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp vii 312; F V White & Co., London; 1911; 8vo

The Romance and History of the Crystal Palace; Muddock, J. E.; pp vii 84; L Upcott Gill, London; 1911; 8vo

The Trap A revelation; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp viii 312; F V White & Co., London; 1911; 8vo

The Trap A revelation; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 253; Literary Press, London; n.d.; 8vo

The Dead Man's Secret, or the Valley of Gold Being a narrative of strange and wild adventure compiled and written from the papers of the late Hans Christian Feldje, Mate; Muddock, J. E.; Greening & Co., London, 'Popular Edition'; 1911;

The Rich Man's Wife; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock AND ELKINGTON, ERNEST WAY; pp 314; W J Ham-Smith, London; 1912; 8vo

The Triumphs of Fabian Field, Criminologist; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 308; F V White & Co., London; 1912; 8vo

The Turning Wheel A story of the Charn Hall inheritance; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp v 309; F V White & Co., London; 1912; 8vo

For God and the Czar; Muddock, J. E.; pp 254; George Newnes, London; 1913; 8vo

Jim the Penman; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 254; George Newnes, London; 1913; 8vo

The Scarlet Seal New edition; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 126; John Long, London; 1914; 8vo

Fair Rosalind New edition; Muddock, J. E.; pp 128; John Long, London; 1915; 8vo

A Patriotic American.; Muddock, J. E. (JOYCE EMMERSON); pp 8; E. Baldwin, printer, London; 1916; 21 cm

For God and the Czar [reissue]; Muddock, J. E.; G Newnes' Trench Library, London; 1917; 8vo

Jim the Penman [reissue]; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; G Newnes' Trench Library, London; 1917; 8vo

Sweet "Doll" of Haddon Hall New edition revised by the author; Muddock, J. E.; pp 126; John Long, London; 1918; 8vo

Preaching Jim Second edition; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 112; Aldine Publishing Co., London; 1919; 8vo

"All Clear" A brief record of the work of the London Special Constabulary, 1914-1919, etc; Muddock, J. E.; pp 122; Everett & Co., London; 1920; 8vo

Sweet "Doll" of Haddon Hall New edition revised by the author [New Edition, Limited]; Muddock, J. E.; pp 126 1 p.l.; John Long, London; 1920; 8vo

Fair Rosalind New edition; Muddock, J. E.; pp 128; John Long, London; 1921; 8vo

The Scarlet Seal [New edition]; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 126; John Long, London; 1921; 8vo

"Out There" A Romance of Australia; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 287; Everett & Co., London; 1922; 8vo

Sweet "Doll" of Haddon Hall New edition revised by the author [reissue] Popular edition; Muddock, J. E.; John Long, London; 1923; 8vo

Startling Crimes and Notorious Criminals; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 96; Mellifont Celebrated Crimes Series no 10, London; Dublin printed.; 1936; 8vo

The Great Turf Fraud, and other notorious crimes; Donovan, Dick (Pseud.) J. E. Muddock; pp 96; Mellifont Celebrated Crime Series London; 1936; 8vo

Sizes

The Chatto & Windus editions were typically sold in different-priced editions. For example, the Post 8vo volumes went out with cloth binding at 2s 6d and with illustrated boards at 2s; the Crown 8vo books were bound in cloth extra at 3s 6d and as Post 8vo versions as above. For reference 2s 6d ("half-a-crown) was an eighth of £1 and that sum in 1898 was almost exactly a hundredth of its value in 2004. Thus a hardback book cost the equivalent of £17.50 and cheaper versions at £12.50 and £10 - not too far from today's prices.

*Information courtesy of John Eggeling & Judith Mansfield, Todmorden Books

2. Muddock's contributions to periodicals

NAME OF PERIODICAL	TITLES OF ARTICLES	DATE
Welcome Guest	Several Sketches	1863
The key	various articles during the first few months	1860
Bell's Life in Melbourne	various articles during the first few months	1864
South London Courier	numerous political leaders sketches etc during a period of two and a half the year's during which time the paper was under my editorship	1870, 1, 2
The Coronet	A Night Adventure in an Australian Forest	September 1 1870
The Coronet	A New Reading of an Old Song	September 1 1870
The Coronet	The Language of History, and the History of Language	August 1870
The Coronet	The Lost Stories of Dickens and Thackeray	August 1870
The Coronet	A Bachelor's Career	November 1870
The Coronet	Men of the Day. (Biographies)	Various, 1870
The Coronet	Leaham Harbour. Lord Byron and Lord Vane (a series)	Various, 1870
The Coronet	Early history and archaeology	1870
The Coronet	Night By The Sea	January 1871
The Coronet	Fireside Dreams	January 1871
The Coronet	Wonders Of Astronomy	January 1871
The Coronet	A Midnight Visit to the Dens Of London	February 1871
The Coronet	The Myth of the Holy Graal	February 1871
London Daily Chronicle	Cousenard??? and the island of Achil	September 9 1872
Echo	Idolatry in County Mayo	November 1872
The Mirror	Curious History of a Parish Tobacco Box (Historical)	May 15 1873
The Mirror	The Serpent's Fang	March 1 1873
The Mirror	My Neighbour Over The Way	February 1 1873
The Mirror	Russell House Streatham	September 18th, 1873
The Mirror	The Seal Bride (a legend of the west of Ireland)	August 28 1873
The Mirror	Mad or Not Mad; a Psychological Problem	November 6 1873
The Mirror	The Blue Star	January 24 1874
The Mirror	Antony and Cleopatra	October 2 1873
The Mirror	An account of the Kennington Gibbet in the 18th century	September 4 1873
The Mirror	Punch and Judy: Their Age and Origin	April 1874
The Circle	Various Special articles	1874
South London Press	North Surrey Schools And Ophthalmia; Life in Lodging houses; Mysteries of Kitchen Stuff; Chalybeate Springs; etc, etc	
South London Press	A series of important essays on poplar industrial schools with suggestions for the prevention of ophthalmia	1873

South London Press	Essay on the adulteration of butter which induced the health committee of Liverpool to engage the services of Professor Anderson of the Glasgow University to report upon the subject	1873
Young Folks Budget	Various	
Weekly Budget	Various	
Nowadays magazine	John Jellaby's Housekeeper (A tale)	1874
The home reader (magazine)	a series of essays on the clothes we wear, the food we eat, the liquids we drink	1875
Eastbourne Gazette	A Head of Steel (serial story ten weeks)	1875
Association of papers in Lancashire, Scotland and Ireland, per W F Tillotson of the Bolton Evening News	The great white hand. An historical story of the Indian mutiny (16 weeks) The Crimson Star (18 weeks)	1875 1875
London Reader	Hard as Oak (16 weeks)	1874

3. Muddock's serial fiction, as collected

Detective short story collections written as Dick Donovan

(The date of first publication in *The Dundee Weekly News* is given as DWN.)

The Man-Hunter. Stories from the note-book of a detective (CW 1888)

(First American edition M J Ivers NY 216pp. + 8pp. ads at rear. Issued as No. 114 in the American Series, Dec. 7, 1888, re-issued in 1902 as No. 28 in the Ivers' Detective Series.

- The Saltmarket Murder Case - DWN Jan 28 & Feb 4 1888
- The Lady in the Sealskin Cloak - DWN Feb 11 & Feb 18 1888
- The Robbery of the Duchess of B——'s Jewels - DWN Oct 20 1888
- The Tuft of Red Hair - DWN Feb 25 & Mar 3 1888
- The Pearl Necklace - DWN Mar 10 & Mar 17 1888
- A Strange Corpse - DWN Oct 27 1888
- The Gentleman Smasher - DWN May 5 1888
- The Devil's Dozen - DWN Mar 24 & Mar 31 1888
- A River Mystery - DWN Apr 7 & Apr 14 1888
- The Mysterious Disappearance of Helen Atkinson - DWN Sep 8 & Sep 15 1888
- The Skeleton in the Cupboard - DWN Apr 28 1888
- How I Snared the Coiners - DWN May 12 1888
- The Record of a Strange Adventure (The Knave of Spades) - DWN May 19 1888

Caught at Last! Leaves from the Notebook of a Detective (CW 1889)

- The Remarkable Story of Martha Morgan - DWN Jul 21 1888
- Checkmated - DWN Aug 25 1888
- Doing a Fence - DWN Jan 28 & Feb 4 1888
- The Haunted House - DWN Jul 7 1888
- The Pearl Button - DWN Aug 4 1888
- The Tragedy of Law's Building - DWN Jul 28 1888
- The Robbery of the London Mail - DWN May 26 & Jun 2 1888
- A Hunt for a Murderer - DWN Jun 9 & Jun 16 1888
- The Story of a Copper Plate - DWN Aug 11 & Aug 18 1888
- A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing - DWN Jul 14 1888
- All for Love's Sake - DWN Jun 23 1888
- The Missing Heiress - DWN Jun 30 1888
- A Tragedy in London and the Part Charles Peace Played In It -
Pritchard the Poisoner - DWN Sep 22, Sep 29 & Oct 6 1888
- The Vicarage Burglary

Who Poisoned Hetty Duncan? and other detective stories (CW 1890)

- Who Poisoned Hetty Duncan?
- Reminiscences of the West Auckland Poisoner
- The Lady Swindler, a strange Glasgow case
- The Fairbairn Mystery
- The Story of the Great Bonds Fraud
- The Story of a Strange Chance
- Tracking a Fenian
- Two Knaves and a Queen
- How Wilson's Shop Was Robbed
- The Missing Heiress
- A Desperate Character

Tracked and Taken: Detective Sketches (CW 1890)
(US Title: **Stories from the Note-Book of a Detective**)

A Stern Chase
A Terrible Deed
The Missing Diamonds
How I Caught a Land Shark
The Story of a Diamond Ring
A Strange Case
The Mystery of a Tin Box
A Fair Deceiver
The Murder of Mr. Norraway
The Great Bank Frauds
A Noted Impostor
A Nice Young Woman
The Stolen Bank Notes
The Story of a Little Child
A Leap for Liberty
The Helvellyn Tragedy
A Big Job

A Detective's Triumphs (CW 1891)

The Mystery of Surgeon-Major Palmer
In a Smuggler's Den
Tracked by a Footprint
The Story of a Daring Deed
The Great Ruby Robbery
Breaking Up a Gang of Desperadoes
Trapping a Thief-Trainer
A Precious Pair of Scoundrels
A Shadower Shadowed
Caught in a Trap
The Abduction

From Information Received: Detective Stories (CW 1892)

The Mystery of Fidler's Alley
The Dark Deed of Ravenswood Hall
The Strange Story of an Adventuress
Madame Lablanche's Little Secret
Led Into Temptation
The Story of the Three Graces
Big Mike's Angel
Dutchy the Dancer
The Wreck of the Morning Light
Faithful Unto Death
The Vengeance of Old Jimmy
A Page from the History of a Foolish Young Man
A Guilty Pair
The Fatal Kiss

In the Grip of the Law (CW1892)

The Fatal Error
The Gilsland Mystery
The Great Bullion Robbery

A Hoary Sinner
Hunting for Water-Rats
The Lost Brilliants
The Mystery of Grimond's Buildings
A Remarkable Will Case
A Spider's Web
The Story of a Bank-Note Forger
The Story of the Nash Diamond
Who Did the Deed?

Wanted! A Detective's Strange Adventures (CW 1892, 1904)

The Barnfield Murder Case
A Dark Night's Work
"Dumphy Dick," the Glasgow Coiner
A Dying Confession
A Glasgow Crime
A Hangman's Prey
How the Bank Was Saved
The Last Shot
Mrs. O'Flaggery's "Jools"
"Old Hurricane," a Glasgow Forger
Old Jink's Money
Out of His Own Mouth
The Prince of Smathers
A Railway Mystery
The Shadow on the Blind
Springthorpe's Last Flutter
The Story of a Christmas Fairy
The Story of Some Remarkable Frauds
A Strange Conspiracy
Taken in the Act
The Thread of Silk
The Tinker's Doom

From Clue to Capture: A Series of Thrilling Detective Stories (Hu 1893)

The Chamber of Shadows
The Clue of a Hand Print
The Jewelled Skull
A Misplaced Love
The Secrets of a Haunted House
The Secrets of the Black Brotherhood
The Silver Dagger
The Story of an Infamous Cabal
The Story of the Great Cat's-Eye
An Unrehearsed Tragedy
The Worm in the Bud

Link by Link: Detective Stories (CW 1893)

A Dead Man's Dream
The Deeside Mystery
Mrs. Gardner's Ward
Muckle Jock the Glasgow Star-Gazer
The Mystery of Blackfriar's Wynd

The Queen's Park Mystery
The Red Feather
The Romance of the "Never-Fail-'Em-Mines"
The Story of a Pearl
The Strange Story of a Will

Suspicion Aroused (CW 1893)

Spoiling Their Game
At the Dawn of Day
The Great Diamond Frauds
A Widow's Might
The Fatal Forty
The Marfield Mystery
Foiled
The Story of Billy the Bagman
A Desperate Venture
The True Story of Percy Mapleton Lefroy
The Melville Poisoning Case
The Strange Story of an Old Man's Love
A Polished Impostor

Found and Fettered: A Series of Thrilling Detective Stories (Hu 1894)

The Taking of Treskin, the Russian assassin
Labour Lost
Hengald the Dreamer
The Crime of the Lonely Marshes
Mrs. Wynniatt's Skeleton
The Deed of Dead Man's Moor
The Story of an Anarchist Plot, and how it was frustrated
The Strange Tenant
The Vulture-Face Man
A Long Trail
The World of White Death

Dark Deeds (CW 1895)

The Sign of the Silver Trumpet
The Mystery of the Blea Moor Parsonage
The Iron Heart
The Missing Bride
The Secret of Dipper's Dene
A Midsummer Mystery
A Gilded Serpent
The Silent Inmate
The League of the Blue Star
The Frozen Witness
The Church Tower Tragedy
The Clue of the Burnt Button
An Old Man's Darling
What the Tarn Revealed
After Many Years
The Strange Case of Admiral Clinker

Riddles Read (CW 1896)

In the Shadow of Sudden Death
The Doom of the Star-Gazer
The Strange Story of Some State Papers
The Problem of Dead Wood Hall
Trapped
The Riddle of Beaver's Hill
A Railway Mystery
A Desperate Game

Other characters (Michael Danevitch, Vincent Trill, Tyler Tatlock, Fabian Field, Calvin Sugg) written as Dick Donovan

The Chronicles of Michael Danevitch of the Russian Secret Service (CW 1897)

Introduction
The Mysterious Disappearance of a Million Roubles
A Modern Borgia
The Strange Story of an Attaché
The Fate of Vassilo Ivanoff
The Merchant of Riga
The Great Conspiracy
The Crown Jewels
The Strange Story of a Secret Treaty
How Peter Treskin Was Lured to Doom
The Clue of the Dead Hand
I. New Year's Eve: The Mystery Begins
II. The Mystery Deepens - The Narrative Continued by
Peter Brodie, of the Detective Service
III. The Dead Hand Smites:

The Adventures of Tyler Tatlock, Private Detective (CW 1900)

The Band of Three
Between Dead Lips
The Big Logan Fraud
Clinton & Hills Deed-Box
The Clue of the Silver Jug
The Forged Check
The Gold-Seeker's Strange Fate
Loved and Lost
The Missing Bride
The Mysterious Passenger
The Mystery of the Gravel Pits Farm
The New Tenant
The Private Secretary
The Queensferry Mystery
The Sign of the Yellow Star
The Stolen Picture
Tracked by Teeth
Tracing a Traitor
An Unsolved Problem
With a Passing Glory
The Yankee Tourist

The Records of Vincent Trill of the Detective Service (CW 1899)

An Astounding Case of Knavery
At Deadly Enmity
An Awful Conspiracy
The Case of Major M'Niven
The Fate of the Favourite
The Forged Check
Judged by the Dead
The League of Death
The Murder of the Hon. Peter Hipshaw
The Mystery of Herman Spiel
The Mystery of Oaklands Manor
The Spell of the Black Siren
A Strange Tragedy
A String of Famous Pearls
Why the Hon. Peter Hipshaw Was Assassinated
William Westlake's Heiress

The Triumphs of Fabian Field: Criminologist (FVW 1910, 1912)

The Bite of the Adder
The Disappearance of Lucy Webster
The Fate of Julia de Quesada
The Little Drama in the Mediterranean
The Mystery of Malham Cove
The Rescue
The Story of a Traitor
The Tenth Triumph
The Tragedy of the Towers
The Woman in Red

Horror short stories written as J. E. P Muddock n

Stories Weird and Wonderful (CW 1889)

The Strange Story of Major Weir
The White Witch of the River—a Clyde Legend
The Blue Star
The Spectre of Barrochan
The Piper of Culloden
Some Experiments with a Head (from *The Cornhill Magazine*, 1889)
John Macdougall's Double
The Bride of Death
The Unbidden Guest
The China Dog
The Haunted Man
Ruth
A Ghost from the Sea
The Shining Hand
A Night with the Dead
The Blood Drips
The Dream That Came True
The Compact
The Bell of Doom

The Story of a Hanged Man
The Crime of the Rue Auber
The Strange Story of Dr. Martin

<http://www.darksidepress.com/donovanshining.html> This was reprinted as The Shining Hand and Other Tales of Terror J. E. Muddock, Midnight House, 2004, including an introduction, "Hauntings from an Adventurous Life", by John Pelan, plus a novella "The Prophecy" (as Dick Donovan) from Chambers' Journal, 1926.

Horror short stories written as Dick Donovan

Tales of Terror (CW 1899)

The Astrologer
The Cave of Blood
The Corpse Light
The Dance of Death
The Doomed Man
The Legend of Wolfspring
The Mystic Spell
A Night of Horror
The Pirates' Treasure
The Red Lily
The Spectre of Rislip Abbey
The Story of Annette
The White Raven
With Fire and Death
The Woman with the "Oily Eyes"

<http://www.darksidepress.com/donovancorpse.html> This was reproduced as The Corpse Light and other Tales of Terror by Dick Donovan, Midnight House, Seattle, 1999, edited by Richard Dalby. It omits With Fire and Death) and Red Lily.

True crime stories written as Dick Donovan

Startling Crimes and Notorious Criminals (1908) (Reissued as the Mellifont Celebrated Crimes Series. no. 10, London; Dublin 1936)

The Great Bar Gold Robbery
James Rush, the Norfolk Murderer
"Jim the Penman"
John Sadleir, M.P., Emperor of Crime
Mary Anne Cotton, the Arsenic Fiend
Palmer the Poisoner
The Ratcliff Highway Tragedies

The Great Turf Fraud, and Other Notorious Crimes (Pearson, 1909) (Reprinted in the Mellifont Celebrated Crime Series, London, 1936)

The Bravo Mystery
The Forgeries of William Roupell
The Great Impostor: The Story of the Tichborne Claimant
The Great Turf Fraud
The Murder of Mr. Gold

Scarlet Sinners. Stories of notorious criminals and crimes (GN 1910)

(No content details)

Abbreviations of publishers:

Ald - Aldine Publishing Co., London
C&W - Chatto & Windus, London
DL - Digby, Long, London
Ev - Everett & Co., London
GB - George Bell, London
HB - Hurst & Blackett, London
Hu - Hutchinson and Co., London
JL - John Long, London
GN - George Newnes, London
SWTN - Sheffield Weekly Telegraph Novels
TB Tinsley Brothers, London
TWL T Werner Laurie, London
WL - Ward, Lock, London
F V White & Co., London
WS Wyman & Sons, London