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1 Roderick Hudson
2 The American
3 Watch and Ward
4 The Europeans
5 Confidence
6 Washington Square
7 The Portrait of a Lady
8 The Bostonians
9 The Princess Casamassima
10 The Reverberator
11 The Tragic Muse
12 The Other House
13 The Spoils of Poynton
14 What Maisie Knew
15 The Awkward Age
16 The Sacred Fount
17 The Wings of the Dove
18 The Ambassadors
19 The Golden Bowl
20 The Outcry
21 The Sense of the Past
22 The Ivory Tower
23 A Landscape Painter and Other Tales, 1864–1869
24 A Passionate Pilgrim and Other Tales, 1869–1874
25 Daisy Miller and Other Tales, 1874–1879
26 The Siege of London and Other Tales, 1879–1884
27 The Aspern Papers and Other Tales, 1888–1891
28 The Lesson of the Master and Other Tales, 1892–1894
29 The Middle Years and Other Tales, 1895–1898
30 The Turn of the Screw and Other Tales, 1895–1898
31 The Beast in the Jungle and Other Tales, 1899–1903
32 The Jolly Corner and Other Tales, 1903–1910
33 The Prefaces
34 The Notebooks

HENRY JAMES

The Reverberator

EDITED BY

RICHARD SALMON

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107002708
DOI: 10.1017/9780511756597

First published 2018

Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by Clays, Elcograf S.p.A.

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-107-00270-8 Hardback

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the process of completing this edition I have received invaluable assistance from numerous individuals – friends and colleagues – as well as support at an institutional level. The initial phase of research was facilitated by the award of a British Academy Small Research Grant in 2011, which allowed me to explore the publication history of *The Reverberator* through the Macmillan Archive at the British Library and to establish the copy text for the Cambridge Edition. Ian Bell kindly supported my application for this award and no doubt strengthened the case for funding. I was fortunate also to be awarded an additional semester's research leave to work on the project in 2011–12 by the Faculty of Arts, University of Leeds. At this early stage, I benefitted from correspondence with David Supino, who offered his expertise and advice on the complexities of comparing different editions of the novel. In the summer of 2012, the conference 'Placing Henry James', held at the Notre Dame Centre in London, gave me an opportunity to present material that emerged from research on the literary and cultural contexts of *The Reverberator*, some of which would have a later use in the Introduction to this volume. I'm grateful to Tamara Follini, Philip Horne and Adrian Poole for organizing this event and for inviting me to give a paper. Thanks also to Páraic Finnerty, who invited me to speak at the conference 'Celebrity Encounters: Transatlantic Fame in Nineteenth Century Britain and America' in the summer of 2014 at the University of Portsmouth, where I was able to present an expanded version of this research, and for commissioning a subsequent essay for the *Journal of Comparative American Studies*, which contains additional critical and contextual material on *The Reverberator* that could not be accommodated in this edition. Greg Zacharias, from the Center for Henry James Studies at Creighton University, was both generous and efficient in responding to various requests for transcripts of unpublished letters by James, often at short notice, as were his assistants Rosalind Parr and Caitlyn Ewers. I am also indebted to the two previous modern editors of *The Reverberator*, Daniel Fogel and Philip Horne, not only for the usefulness of their editions

but also for providing direct support and encouragement (answering queries, supplying documents and the like) during the course of my research for this edition. Philip, in particular, kindly shared his editorial experience and knowledge of the James archive, as well as giving me the opportunity to work on the Cambridge Edition. In the latter stages, Annick Duperray assisted in checking the accuracy of the Glossary of Foreign Words and Phrases. Finally, I am grateful to all of the General Editors for their input during this process, but especially to Michael Anesko, the designated General Editor for this volume, who has read and provided invaluable feedback on successive drafts of editorial material over the past five years.

ABBREVIATIONS

CLHJ 1855–72	*The Complete Letters of Henry James, 1855–1872*, eds. Pierre A. Walker and Greg W. Zacharias (Lincoln, NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).
CN	*The Complete Notebooks of Henry James*, eds. Leon Edel and Lyall H. Powers (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
CWAD	*The Complete Writings of Henry James on Art and Drama*, ed. Peter Collister [2 vols.] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
HJL	*Henry James Letters*, ed. Leon Edel [4 vols.] (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974–84).
HJ–M	*The Correspondence of Henry James and the House of Macmillan 1877–1914: 'All the Links in the Chain'*, ed. Rayburn S. Moore (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1993).
LC1	*Literary Criticism: Essays on Literature, American Writers, English Writers*, eds. Leon Edel and Mark Wilson (New York: Library of America, 1984).
LC2	*Literary Criticism: French Writers, Other European Writers, The Prefaces to the New York Edition*, eds. Leon Edel and Mark Wilson (New York: Library of America, 1984).
LFL	Michael Anesko, *Letters, Fictions, Lives: Henry James and William Dean Howells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
LL	*Henry James: A Life in Letters*, ed. Philip Horne (Harmondsworth: The Penguin Press, 1999).

N1886–90	*Novels 1886–1890: The Princess Casamassima, The Reverberator, The Tragic Muse*, ed. Daniel Mark Fogel (New York: Library of America, 1989).
PoL	*The Portrait of a Lady*, ed. Michael Anesko (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
PS	*Parisian Sketches: Letters to the 'New York Tribune', 1875–1876*, eds. Leon Edel and Ilse Dusoir Lind (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1958).
QS	*The Question of Our Speech, The Lesson of Balzac, Two Lectures* (Boston, MA and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1905).
S1864–74	*Complete Stories 1864–74*, ed. Jean Strouse (New York: Library of America, 1999).
S1874–84	*Complete Stories 1874–1884*, ed. William L. Vance (New York: Library of America, 1999).
S1884–91	*Complete Stories 1884–1891*, ed. Edward Said (New York: Library of America, 1999).
S1892–98	*Complete Stories 1892–1898*, ed. John Hollander and David Bromwich (New York: Library of America, 1996).
S1898–1910	*Complete Stories 1898–1910*, ed. Denis Donoghue (New York: Library of America, 2000).

GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

The Cambridge Edition of the *Complete Fiction of Henry James* (hereafter *CFHJ*) has been undertaken in the belief that there is a need for a full scholarly, informative, historical edition of his work, presenting the texts in carefully checked, accurate form, with detailed annotation and extensive introductions. James's texts exist in a number of forms, including manuscripts (though most are lost), serial texts and volumes of various sorts, often incorporating significant amounts of revision, most conspicuously the so-called *New York Edition* (hereafter *NYE*) published by Charles Scribner's Sons in New York and Macmillan & Co. in London (1907–9). Besides these there are also pirated editions, unfinished works published posthumously, and other questionable forms. The *CFHJ* takes account of these complexities, within the framework of a textual policy which aims to be clear, orderly and consistent.

This edition aims to represent James's fictional career as it evolves, with a fresh and expanded sense of its changing contexts and an informed sense of his developing style, technique and concerns. Consequently it does not attempt to base its choices on the principle of the 'last lifetime edition', which in the case of Henry James is monumentally embodied in the twenty-four volumes of the *NYE*, the author's selection of nine longer novels (six of them in two volumes) and fifty-eight shorter novels and tales, and including eighteen specially composed Prefaces. The *CFHJ*, as a general rule, adopts rather the text of the first published book edition of a work, unless the intrinsic particularities and the publishing history of that work require an alternative choice, on the ground that emphasis on the first context in which it was written and read will permit an unprecedented fullness of attention to the transformations in James's writing over five decades, as well as the rich literary and social contexts of their original publication.

There are inevitably cases where determining 'the first published book edition' requires some care. If, for instance, James expresses a preference for the text of one particular early book edition over another, or if the first

edition to be published is demonstrably inferior to a later impression or edition, or if authorial supervision of a particular early edition or impression can be established, then a case can be made for choosing a text other than the first published book edition. Volume Editors have exercised their judgment accordingly. They have made a full collation of authoritative versions including serial as well as volume publication in Britain and America, and specify which version serves as their copy text.

The *CFHJ*'s Introductions aim to be full and authoritative, detailing the histories of composition, publication (in magazine and book form), reception and authorial revision, and making economical reference to subsequent adaptation and transformation into other forms, including drama, film and opera. Editors have refrained from offering emphatic interpretations or mounting critical arguments of their own, though it is hoped the material they present will inform and stimulate new readings. Particular attention has been given to the social, political and cultural contexts of James's period, and especially those of the countries in which a specific work is set; details of James's personal exposure to relevant people and events, of the magazines and publishing houses where he published (editors, policies, politics, etc.), have provided valuable material. Introductions conclude with a Bibliography in support of the information supplied and the aspects of the text's production emphasized in the Introduction, including a list of contemporary reviews.

Each volume contains, in addition to a Chronology of James's life and literary career, a volume-specific Chronology, incorporating dates of composition, negotiation with publishers and editors, dispatch of instalments, stages of printing and initial reception history, as well as relevant comments by or to James appearing in letters or other forms.

Fullness and helpfulness of annotation is one of the main aims of the *CFHJ*. As James's world recedes into the past, more and more of its features need explanation to readers: both the physical, geographical and historical world of places and people, and the cultural world of beliefs, values, conventions, social practices and points of reference – to operas, plays, books, paintings; and indeed certain linguistic explanations have become increasingly necessary (especially regarding the presence of slang or linguistic innovation, both English and American). For such explanations, James's correspondence, criticism and other writings have been drawn on

as a prime source of helpful comment, conveying his own experience and attitudes in a way that richly illuminates his fictional texts. Newspapers and magazines of the period, travel guides, the work of other writers, also contribute, filling out the picture of the implied worlds beyond the text. Furthermore, the *CFHJ* sets out to provide the fullest possible details of James's allusions to poetry, the Bible and the plays of Shakespeare, as well as other literary and culturally significant works – offering suggestive but concise plot summaries when appropriate or quotation of the passages drawn on, so that the act of allusion is brought to life and the reader can trace something of James's allusive processes. Editors have abstained, on the other hand, from purely interpretative notes, speculation and personal comments: the notes always concern a point of information, even if that point has a critical bearing.

Appendices include sources and relevant contextual documents, including correspondence, entries from the Prefaces to the *NYE* and from the Notebooks, where appropriate. For the novels revised and published in the *NYE*, the whole Preface is printed in an Appendix; for tales revised and published in the *NYE*, the relevant extract from the Preface is reproduced. The Prefaces and Notebooks have also been collected in newly edited volumes of their own.

*

Most of James's fiction exists in a number of different textual states, most notably in the difference between initial publication (in periodical and volume form) and the revised versions of the novels and tales prepared near the end of his career for the *NYE*. (In the case of three late tales – 'Fordham Castle', 'Julia Bride' and 'The Jolly Corner' – first book publication was in the *NYE*.) Works excluded by James from the *NYE* were incorporated in the edition posthumously published in thirty-five volumes by Macmillan in 1921–3, but these were of course published without authorial revision. The textual differences affecting those works that *are* included in the *NYE* are predictably most extensive in the case of early works such as *Roderick Hudson* (1875), *The American* (1877), 'Daisy Miller' (1879) and *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881).

Readers may see for themselves the full extent of James's revisions, along with all other variants, both preceding and succeeding the texts printed

here, in the lists of Textual Variants. These are normally presented in the following form. Each volume includes a comprehensive list of all substantive variants in the line of textual transmission leading up to the copy text ('Textual Variants I'), preceded by a brief commentary, in which editors address this stage of the textual history, drawing attention to the main features of the changes and dealing with questions such as house style. Variations in punctuation within a sentence (usually by the insertion or removal of commas, or changes in the use of colons and semi-colons) have not normally been considered substantive. Over end-of-sentence punctuation, however, particularly in the matter of changing full stops to exclamations or vice versa, Volume Editors have exercised their judgment. A second section ('Textual Variants II') offers a comprehensive list of all substantive variants subsequent to copy text, and a brief commentary which summarizes the main issues raised by the changes made. The length of lists of variants and commentary inevitably varies greatly from case to case. In certain cases, for reasons explained in the volume concerned, there is a single list of 'Textual Variants'.

*

The *Complete Fiction of Henry James* consists of twenty-two novels (vols. 1–22), one hundred and thirteen tales (vols. 23–32) and two supplementary volumes (vols. 33 and 34) devoted respectively to the Prefaces that James wrote for the *NYE* and to his Notebooks. They appear in this edition in the order in which they were first published. The distinction between 'novels' and 'tales' is sometimes a crude one: between long fictions such as *The Portrait of a Lady* and *The Golden Bowl* and short ones such as 'Benvolio' and 'The Beldonald Holbein', there lie many shorter novels and longer tales that it is hard to categorize with confidence, well-known works such as *Washington Square* and *The Sacred Fount*, 'The Aspern Papers' and 'The Turn of the Screw'. We have deemed to be 'novels' those fictions which when they first took volume form were published as independent entities (with the single exception of *In the Cage*, which despite its relative brevity first appeared as a slim volume), and those to be 'tales' all which were not. The former include some of James's lesser-known works, such as *Watch and Ward, Confidence, The Other House, The Outcry* and the two unfinished at the time of his death, *The Sense of the Past* and *The Ivory Tower*.

The division of James's tales into ten volumes has been ordered chronologically on the basis of first publication, according to the following principles:

1) The determining date of a story's publication is that of the first appearance of any part of it (as some straddle three issues of a magazine). Thus e.g. 'A London Life' (June–September 1888, *Scribner's Magazine*) before 'The Lesson of the Master' (July–August 1888, *Universal Review*).
2) Where two tales have the same start date, the priority is determined by which completes its publication earlier. Thus e.g. 'The Modern Warning' (originally entitled 'Two Countries', June 1888, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*) precedes 'A London Life' (June–September 1888, *Scribner's Magazine*).
3) Where two tales have the same start date and the same date of completion (often only taking one issue), the priority is determined by alphabetical order (of tale title). Thus e.g. 'De Grey: A Romance' (July 1868, *Atlantic Monthly*) precedes 'Osborne's Revenge' (July 1868, *Galaxy*).
4) Because it cannot usually be determined exactly *when* a magazine dated only 'June' actually appeared, 'June' is treated as preceding any particular date in June, including '1 June'. Thus 'The Private Life' (April 1892, *Atlantic Monthly*) precedes 'The Real Thing' (16 April 1892, *Black and White*); and principle 4 overrides principle 2, so that The Author of "Beltraffio"' (June–July 1884, *English Illustrated Magazine*) precedes 'Pandora' (1 and 8 June 1884, *New York Sun*).
5) Where tales have not been published in periodicals before being collected in book form, the precise date of book publication counts as first publication and determines their place in the order.
6) Where tales have not been published in periodicals before being collected in book form, and several tales appear in the same book, the order of tales in the book determines our ordering (even when their order of composition is known to have been different), as it is closer to the order in which original readers would preponderantly have read them.
7) In the single case where only a fragment of a tale survives and therefore was not published within James's lifetime, 'Hugh Merrow', the tale has been placed provisionally in accordance with the date of the only extant *Notebooks* entry, 11 September 1900.

*

Emendations have been made sparingly and only to clearly erroneous readings. Where there is only one version of a work and it requires emendation, the original (erroneous) reading has been recorded in the List of Emendations. Where a later or earlier text has a reading that shows the copy text to be in error, this reading has been incorporated and the copy text's reading recorded in the apparatus. The fact that a later or earlier text has a reading that seems preferable to that of the copy text has not in itself provided sufficient grounds for emendation, although like all other variants, it has been recorded in the list of Textual Variants. Unusual and inconsistent spellings have not been altered, and only annotated in exceptional cases. Misprints and slipped letters have been corrected, and the corrections noted. Contractions have not been expanded, superscript has not been converted and spelling and punctuation have not normally been changed.

James's writings were of course published on both sides of the Atlantic, and there are corresponding differences in spelling between British and American texts, in volume and serial form: 'colour/color', 'recognise/recognize', 'marvellous/marvelous' and so on. These differences have been preserved when they occur in the textual variants, but they have not been systematically recorded, being deemed to be matters of accident rather than substance. The form taken by inverted commas (single or double) also varies between texts, as does their placement (before or after commas, full stops etc.); being judged matters of accident, these have been regularized. Double quotation marks have been adopted for all the James texts published in this edition. When the text of the *NYE* is cited in the introduction, notes or textual apparatus, its distinctive typography has not been retained, and this also applies to the texts of the tales first published in the *NYE* and of the Prefaces: the contractions rendered there as e. g. 'is n't' and 'did n't' have here been normalized as single words, 'isn't' and 'didn't'. Authorial ellipses have been enclosed in square brackets but editorial ellipses have not.

The punctuation of the copy text adopted has also been preserved. There are considerable differences of punctuation between the different forms in which a particular work of James's appears. It is often hard to distinguish with certainty those which can be accounted for by differences in the house styles of particular publishers, British and American, and those which are

matters of authorial choice. Whatever the agency behind such differences, there is a case for recognizing the difference of sense made by the presence or absence of a comma, by the change of an exclamation to a full stop and so on. Nevertheless, the scale of such differences is too great to make a comprehensive record feasible within the limits of a print edition. Volume Editors have therefore exercised their judgment over the most helpful way to inform readers of the nature of such differences.

References to money pose particular difficulties for modern readers, not only because the sums concerned have to be multiplied by an apparently ever-inflating figure to produce approximate modern equivalents, but because the quantity and quality of what could be bought and done with these sums (especially involving property or real estate) has also changed radically – and will very possibly continue to do so during the lifetime of this edition. We do, however, know that throughout James's own life the pound sterling was equal to $4.85, and certain other figures can be established, such as that in 1875 the US dollar was equivalent to 5.19 French francs. For the calculation of particular sums in James's writings, Volume Editors have supplied readers with as much reliable information as they can command at the date of publication for this edition, but as time goes on readers will inevitably have to make adjustments.

Translations have been provided for all foreign words and phrases that appear in the text. Those which are common and uncontroversial (such as 'piazza', 'table d'hôte') are collected in a glossary at the end; those judged to be less than obvious in meaning, or dependent for their meaning on the specific context, are explained in an endnote.

The General Editors warmly acknowledge the gracious permission of Bay James, custodian of the James Estate, for the publication of material still in copyright; and the generous cooperation of Greg Zacharias and his associates at the Center for Henry James Studies at Creighton University in Omaha, Nebraska, home of an indispensable parallel project, *The Complete Letters of Henry James*, published by the University of Nebraska Press. We thank David Supino for offering his sage advice whenever it was sought. Finally, we are deeply grateful for the guidance and support provided by our editors at Cambridge University Press, Linda Bree and Bethany Thomas, and Senior Content Manager, Victoria Parrin.

GENERAL CHRONOLOGY OF JAMES'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

Compiled by Philip Horne

1843	Henry James (HJ) is born on 15 April 1843 at 21 Washington Place in New York City, second of the five children of Henry James (1811–82), speculative theologian and social thinker, and his wife Mary Walsh Robertson James (1810–82). Siblings: William (1842–1910), psychologist, philosopher, Harvard professor; Garth Wilkinson ('Wilky', 1845–83); Robertson ('Bob', 1846–1910); Alice (1848–92), diarist.
1843–5	Taken to Paris and London by his parents; earliest memory (from age two) is of the Place Vendôme in Paris.
1845–7	Returns to United States. Childhood in Albany.
1847–55	Family settles in New York City; taught by tutors and in private schools.
1855–8	Family travels in Europe: Geneva, London, Paris, Boulogne-sur-Mer.
1858	Jameses reside in Newport, Rhode Island.
1859–60	James family travels: HJ at scientific school, then the Academy (later the University) in Geneva. Summer 1860: HJ learns German in Bonn.
1860–2	James family returns to Newport in September 1860. HJ makes friends with future critic Thomas Sargent Perry and artist John La Farge, fellow students at William Morris Hunt's art academy. From 1860, HJ 'was continually writing stories, mainly of a romantic kind' (Perry). In 1861 HJ injured his back helping extinguish a fire in Newport. Along with William James, exempted from service in Civil War, in which younger brothers fought, and Wilky was seriously wounded.
1862	Enters Harvard Law School for a term. Begins to send stories to magazines.

1864	February: first short story of HJ's 113, 'A Tragedy of Error', published anonymously in *Continental Monthly*. May: Jameses move to 13 Ashburton Place, Boston. October: first of HJ's many reviews, of Nassau W. Senior's *Essays on Fiction*, published unsigned in *North American Review*.
1865	March: first signed tale, 'The Story of a Year', appears in *Atlantic Monthly*. HJ appears also as a critic in first number of the *Nation* (New York).
1866–8	Summer 1866: becomes friends with William Dean Howells, novelist, critic and influential editor. November 1866: James family move to 20 Quincy Street, beside Harvard Yard. November 1867: meets Charles Dickens at home of James T. Fields, and 'tremble[s] . . . in every limb' (*Notes of a Son and Brother*). HJ continues reviewing and writing stories in Cambridge.
1869–70	On 27 February 1869 lands at Liverpool. Travels in England, meeting John Ruskin, William Morris, Charles Darwin and George Eliot; also Switzerland and Italy. 1870: death of his much-loved cousin Minny Temple.
1870–2	May 1870: reluctantly returns to Cambridge. August–December 1871: publishes first novel, *Watch and Ward*, in the *Atlantic Monthly*; January–March 1872: publishes art reviews in *Atlantic*.
1872–4	May 1872: HJ accompanies invalid sister Alice and aunt Catherine Walsh, 'Aunt Kate', to Europe. Writes travel pieces for the *Nation*. October 1872–September 1874: periods (without family) in Paris, Rome, Switzerland, Homburg, Italy again. Spring 1874: begins first long novel, *Roderick Hudson*, in Florence. September 1874: returns to the United States.
1875	First three books published: *A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales* (January); *Transatlantic Sketches* (April); *Roderick Hudson* (November). Six months in New York City (111 East 25th Street); then three in Cambridge.

1875–6	11 November 1875: arrives at 29 Rue de Luxembourg as Paris correspondent for *New York Tribune*. Begins *The American*. Meets Gustave Flaubert, Ivan Turgenev, Edmond de Goncourt, Alphonse Daudet, Guy de Maupassant and Émile Zola.
1876–7	December 1876: moves to London, taking rooms at 3 Bolton Street, off Piccadilly. Visits to Paris, Florence, Rome. May 1877: *The American* published in Boston.
1878	February: *French Poets and Novelists* published, first collection of essays, first book published in London. May: revised version of *Watch and Ward* published in book form in Boston. June–July: 'Daisy Miller' appears in *Cornhill Magazine* and is quickly pirated by two American periodicals, establishing reputation in Britain and America. September: *The Europeans* published. Meets William Ewart Gladstone, Alfred Lord Tennyson and Robert Browning.
1879	June: first English edition of *Roderick Hudson*, revised; October: *The Madonna of the Future and Other Tales*; December: *Confidence* (novel); *Hawthorne* (critical biography).
1880	April: *The Diary of a Man of Fifty and A Bundle of Letters*; Late winter 1880: travels to Italy; meets Constance Fenimore Woolson in Florence. December 1880: *Washington Square*.
1881–3	October 1881: returns to United States; travels between Cambridge, New York and Washington DC. November 1881: *The Portrait of a Lady*. January 1882: death of mother. May: returns to England till father dies in December 1882. February 1883: *The Siege of London, The Pension Beaurepas, and The Point of View*; Summer 1883: returns to London; will not return to USA for twenty-one years. November 1883: Macmillan publish fourteen-volume collected edition of HJ's fiction. September 1883: *Daisy Miller: A Comedy*; December 1883: *Portraits of Places* (travel essays). November 1883: death of Wilky James.

1884	Sister Alice joins HJ in London, living nearby. September 1884: *A Little Tour in France* published; also HJ's important artistic statement 'The Art of Fiction'. October 1884: *Tales of Three Cities*. Becomes friends with Robert Louis Stevenson, Edmund Gosse. Writes to his friend Grace Norton: 'I shall never marry . . . I am both happy enough and miserable enough, as it is.'
1885–6	Publishes two serial novels: *The Bostonians* (*Century*, February 1885–February 1886); *The Princess Casamassima* (*Atlantic*, September 1885–October 1886). February 1885: collection of tales, *The Author of Beltraffio [&c]*; May 1885: *Stories Revived*, in three volumes.
1886–7	February 1886: *The Bostonians* published. 6 March: moves into flat, 34 De Vere Gardens, in Kensington, West London. October 1886: *The Princess Casamassima* published. December 1886–July 1887: visits Florence and Venice. Continues friendship with American novelist Constance Fenimore Woolson.
1888	*The Reverberator, The Aspern Papers [&c]* and *Partial Portraits* all published.
1888–90	1889: Collection of tales, *A London Life [&c]*, published. 1890: *The Tragic Muse*. Temporarily abandons the novel form in favour of playwriting.
1890–1	Dramatizes *The American*, which has a short run in 1891. December: young friend and (informal) agent Wolcott Balestier dies of typhoid in Dresden.
1892	February: story collection, *The Real Thing and Other Tales*, published. March: death of Alice James in London.
1893	Volumes of tales published: March, *The Real Thing*; June, *The Private Life [&c]*; September, *The Wheel of Time [&c]*; also, June, *Picture and Text* (essays on illustration) and *Essays in London and Elsewhere* (critical and memorial essays).
1894	Deaths of Constance Fenimore Woolson (January) and Robert Louis Stevenson (December).

1895	5 January: première of *Guy Domville*, greeted by boos and applause. James abandons playwriting for years. Visits Ireland. Volumes of tales published: May, *Terminations*; June, *Embarrassments*. Takes up cycling.
1896–7	*The Other House* (1896), *The Spoils of Poynton* (1897), *What Maisie Knew* (1897). February 1897: starts dictating, due to wrist problems. September 1897: takes lease on Lamb House, Rye.
1898	May: has signed up with literary agent James Brand Pinker, who will act for him for the rest of his life. June: moves into Lamb House. August: *In the Cage* published. October: 'The Turn of the Screw' published (in *The Two Magics*); proves his most popular work since 'Daisy Miller'. Kent and Sussex neighbours include Stephen Crane, Joseph Conrad, H. G. Wells and Ford Madox Hueffer (Ford).
1899	April: *The Awkward Age* published. August: buys the freehold of Lamb House.
1900	May: shaves off his beard. August: *The Soft Side* (tales). Friendship with Edith Wharton develops. Begins *The Sense of the Past*, but leaves it unfinished.
1901	February: *The Sacred Fount*.
1902–3	August 1902: *The Wings of the Dove* published. February 1903: *The Better Sort* (tales) published. September 1903: *The Ambassadors* published (completed mid-1901, before *The Wings of the Dove*, but delayed by serialization); also *William Wetmore Story and his Friends* (biography).
1904–5	August: James sails to USA for first time in twenty-one years. November: *The Golden Bowl* published. Visits New England, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, the South, St Louis, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco. Lectures on 'The Lesson of Balzac' and 'The Question of Our Speech'. Meets President Theodore Roosevelt. Elected to American Academy of Arts and Letters.

1905	July 1905: writes early chapters of *The American Scene*; simultaneously begins revising works for *New York Edition of the Novels and Tales of Henry James*. October: *English Hours* (travel essays) published.
1906–8	Selects, arranges, prefaces and has illustrations made for *New York Edition* (published 1907–9, twenty-four volumes). January 1907: *The American Scene* published. August 1907: hires new amanuensis, Theodora Bosanquet. 1908: *The High Bid* (play) produced at Edinburgh.
1909–11	October 1909: *Italian Hours* (travel essays) published. Health problems, aggravated by failure of the *New York Edition*. Death of Robertson ('Bob') James. Travels to United States. William James dies 26 August 1910. October 1910: *The Finer Grain* (tales). Returns to England August 1911. October: *The Outcry* (play converted into novel) published.
1911	In autumn, begins work on autobiography.
1912	June: honorary doctorate at Oxford. October: takes flat at 21 Carlyle Mansions, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea; suffers from shingles.
1913	March: *A Small Boy and Others* (first autobiographical book) published. Portrait painted by John Singer Sargent for seventieth birthday on 15 April.
1914	March: *Notes of a Son and Brother* (second autobiographical book) published. (The fragment of a third, *The Middle Years*, appears posthumously in 1917.) When World War One breaks out, becomes passionately engaged with the British cause, working with Belgian refugees, and later wounded soldiers. October: *Notes on Novelists* published. Begins *The Ivory Tower;* resumes work on *The Sense of the Past*, but is unable to complete either novel.
1915	Honorary president of the American Volunteer Motor Ambulance Corps. July: quarrels with H. G. Wells about purpose of art, declaring 'It is art that *makes* life, makes interest, makes importance'; becomes a British citizen in

protest against US neutrality, describing the decision to his nephew Harry (Henry James III) as 'a simple act and offering of allegiance and devotion' after his forty-year domicile. Writes essay about the War (collected in *Within the Rim*, 1919), and Preface to *Letters from America* (1916) by his dead friend Rupert Brooke. On 2 December suffers a stroke. First volumes of Uniform Edition of Tales by Martin Secker, published in fourteen vols. 1915–20.

1916 Awarded the Order of Merit. Dies on 28 February. Funeral in Chelsea Old Church; ashes smuggled back to America by sister-in-law and buried in the family plot in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

INTRODUCTION

Sources and Conception

The conception of *The Reverberator* can be traced to a series of public controversies involving individuals with whom James was personally acquainted, which unfolded in American and British newspapers of the mid-1880s. In his *Notebook* entry for Thursday 17 November 1887 (Appendix B, pp. 282–6), James refers to two unrelated instances of intrusive journalism, both coincidentally published in the *New York World* in close succession. His correspondence of the period points to further examples of a similar concern. The *Notebook* entry chiefly reflects on the 'queer incident' of a young American woman named Miss McC. (May Marcia McClellan) who, a year previously, had written an 'inconceivable letter' to an American newspaper commenting on the personal and collective characteristics of Italian aristocratic families whose 'hospitality she had just been enjoying' in a resort near Lake Como (*CN* 40).[1] Published on 14 November 1886 under the headline, 'English, Even in Italy. All the Swells Modelled on British Fashions and Manners' (Appendix A, pp. 278–81), McClellan's letter occupies only one column of *The World*'s Sunday supplement edition and does not appear deliberately to court sensation or hint at scandalous secrets. Expressed in a gossipy, colloquial style, the writer's main point of observation is that the manners and fashions of Italian high society mimic those of the English: 'it made me feel quite at home to see the preternaturally grave expression, the lurching walk and excessively British garments of these Latin dudes', McClellan notes.[2] Shortly afterwards (in December 1886 or the following January), James was introduced to May McClellan during a long stay in Florence, by which time he was already aware of the offence and scandal caused by her letter, despite it being

[1] The text of quotations from James's *Notebooks* draws on that prepared by Philip Horne, to be published in *CFHJ* vol. 34; hereafter *CFHJ* 34. Page references for the same passages in *CN* are supplied for the reader's convenience.

[2] *The World* [New York] (14 November, 1886), 10.

written in 'perfect good faith' (*CN* 40). In a letter from Florence to his Venetian-American friend Katherine De Kay Bronson, tentatively dated 15 January 1887, James records visiting the McClellan family and concludes that '[t]hey have lived [. . .] in such an atmosphere of newspaper publicity and reporterism that they have lost all sense of perspective and proportion'. Although he admits to being 'rather touched' by the 'girl's compunction' at the consequences of her unfortunate act, James's sympathy lies more with the 'poor little Montenegros', the betrayed Italian family (*HJL* 3: 155). In a subsequent letter to the same recipient (26 January 1887), Miss McClellan is afforded even less sympathy: 'the young lady strikes me as flippant and spoiled and deserving of any fate that may overtake her'. Having had the opportunity to discuss the controversy further, he reports that 'she spoke to me of the matter with less humility—with a certain resentment, as if she herself had been wronged'. This letter also contains the first recorded suggestion of James's imaginative and professional interest in the case: 'I should like to write a story about the business, as a pendant to *Daisy Miller*, but I won't, to deepen the complication' (*HJL* 3: 160). During the summer of 1887 James encountered McClellan again in Venice and his negative impression was confirmed, alongside a bemused apprehension of the representative nature of her conduct. A letter to his Aunt Kate (Catherine Walsh) on 16 June 1887 describes McClellan as a 'rather flippant spoiled girl, who has got into a peck of trouble here by writing a strangely indiscreet and reprehensible letter to the *New York World* about Venetian "society"', and exclaims, by way of conclusion, 'The strange things of that sort that the American female does!' He himself had been the victim of a similar indiscretion at the hands of the 'terrible Mrs. Sherwood', who had invited him 'to dine with her in London last summer, and then wrote a fearful letter about it (I having gone, all unconscious) to the American journals, which she afterwards sent me as if I should be delighted to see it' (*HJL* 3: 188–9).[3]

[3] The publication details of this letter have not been identified. Mary Elizabeth Wilson Sherwood (1826–1903), the mother-in-law of James's cousin Rosina ('Posy') Emmet, was a prominent New York socialite and author of books on social etiquette, who has been described as an 'inveterate name dropper, ever ready to sprinkle a page with references to men and women who were famous, infamous, or rich, even if only peripherally connected to the subject at hand' (*American National Biography* [Vol. 19], ed. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes (New York:

Looking back at the case of Miss McC. from London on 17 November 1887, James's *Notebooks* record how he was struck by the 'strange *typicality* of the whole thing', which 'seemed to me to throw much light upon that mania for publicity which is one of the most striking signs of our times', and he again saw its dramatic potential as 'a very illustrative piece of contemporary life':

> She was perfectly irreflective & irresponsible, & it seemed to her pleasant & natural & 'chatty' to describe, in a horribly vulgar newspaper, the people she had been living with & their personal domestic arrangements & secrets. It was a striking incident & it seemed to me exactly the theme for a short story. One sketches one's age but imperfectly if one doesn't touch on that particular matter: the invasion, the impudence & shamelessness, of the newspaper & the interviewer, the devouring *publicity* of life, the extinction of all sense between public & private. It is the highest expression of the note of 'familiarity'[,] the sinking of *manners*, in so many ways, which the democratization of the world brings with it. (*CN* 40)

From here James proceeds to sketch the outline of a narrative plot centring on the dramatic 'opposition of the scribbling, publishing, indiscreet, newspaperized American girl and the rigid, old-fashioned, conservative, still shockable and much shocked little society she recklessly plays the tricks upon'. It is clear from the date and content of the notebook entry that May McClellan is a direct source for the character of Francie Dosson, the central figure of the 'newspaperized American girl' in *The Reverberator*. Wishing to distance the proposed fictional story from the 'case in its actuality', and to 'improve' upon it, James decides not to use Italy as the locus of opposition to modern American culture, but instead turns to 'the idea of the Europeanized American' situated in Paris and imagines 'Old Mr. Probert' as a figure 'of the oldest American *monde* [. . .] completely merged—thanks to wealth, sympathies—dans le monde du faubourg'. James has in mind a character who combines the 'ingredients' of his expatriate American friends Edward Lee Childe and Daniel Curtis 'rolled into one' (*CN* 40–3),

Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 829). In *Etiquette, the American Code of Manners* (New York: George Routledge, 1884) Sherwood herself criticized the conduct of young American women in European 'watering places' who 'violate etiquette at every turn; who are rich, uneducated, vulgar and loud', praising James's *Daisy Miller*, among other tales, for its sympathetic critique of the type (pp. 132–45); see also Sherwood's *Manners and Social Usages* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887) for similar comments on James's fiction.

and had previously featured a figure of similar provenance in a minor capacity in *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881): Mr Luce, a long-standing resident of the American colony in Paris, described as 'a high—or rather a deep—conservative' (*PoL* 205) whose sympathies lie with the Second Empire of Napoleon III deposed in 1870. Writing to another Gallicized American, Henrietta Reubell (whose Parisian salon James attended over many years), shortly after the publication of the novel, James further explained that he had 'put the outraged family in Paris because it seemed on the whole the most possible place'; whereas in London 'people wouldn't have minded & in Italy, at Florence or Venice, they wouldn't have known or have been afraid that others would'.[4]

The second public controversy referred to in James's *Notebook* sketch of 17 November 1887 is of equal significance to the genesis of *The Reverberator*, even though it is only mentioned in passing. James develops the 'germ' sown by May McClellan by envisaging the American girl's emotional entanglement in relationships with a European(ized) suitor and a 'young American admirer' who happens to be 'a journalist, of the most enterprising, and consequently the most vulgar, character' (*CN* 41). By devising the latter role, James relieves his central female character of sole responsibility for exhibiting the 'mania for publicity' and interposes a more direct instrument of scandal: the professional male journalist who will become George M. Flack in the novel. The precedent for this figure lies not in McClellan's ingenuous letter to the *New York World* but in an altogether more concerted and premeditated act of newspaper publicity: 'a letter as monstrous as Julian H.'s beastly and blackguardly betrayal last winter of J.R.L.' (*CN* 41). James is referring here to a notorious 'interview' conducted by Julian Hawthorne (son of the novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne) with the respected man of letters and former American Minister in

[4] Letter to Henrietta Reubell, 20 June 1888. Unpublished: ALS Houghton bMS Am 1094 (1080). It is probable that James is also alluding to the role of the McClellan episode in the development of *The Reverberator* in an unpublished letter to Daniel S. Curtis, tentatively dated 24 February 1888: referring to a serialized 'short story' that he is currently publishing 'in Macmillan', he informs Curtis that '[i]t will little by little dawn upon you where I got the idée mère—I mean from what incident that came somewhat before us last winter. But I think you will feel, with me, that I have transmuted and enveloped it in such a fashion that no reference to the real incident will appear.' I am grateful to Philip Horne for providing transcripts of both these letters and alerting me to their significance.

London, James Russell Lowell, which was published in the *World* on 24 October 1886 under the title 'Lowell in a Chatty Mood' (Appendix A, pp. 266–78). Occupying a full page spread of the Sunday edition and incorporating a small illustrative portrait of its subject, 'Lowell in a Chatty Mood' was no casual act of indiscretion by a gossiping 'American female' but ostensibly the transcribed conversation between two published authors, one cast in the role of journalistic enquirer, the other as a celebrated public figure speaking confessionally about his experiences in England and views on contemporary politics and culture. The 'interview' took place at Deerfoot Farm, near Framingham, Lowell's residence in rural Massachusetts, following the conventions of the popular 'celebrity at home' genre, which exhibited subjects in their intimate domestic environment.[5] Lowell is quoted as expressing his affection for Great Britain and desire to live there rather than in America, but also as making some unflattering observations on British public figures, likely to cause embarrassment in his ex-official capacity. The Prince of Wales, he remarks, is 'immensely fat' and 'his labors, such as they are, are chiefly physical'; the former Prime Minister William Gladstone is declared 'rather unmanageable'; and the brother of Lord Randolph Churchill is a man 'who seems to live to do only mischief'. In the interview Lowell also comments on the state of contemporary art, arguing that American painters 'can take the best qualities of the French and English and be ourselves too' (rather in the manner of *The Reverberator*'s American Impressionist painter, Charles Waterlow), and even offers his opinions on Henry James: he 'like[s] James personally very much', is full of praise for his most recent novels *The Bostonians* and *The Princess Casamassima*, but critical of his earlier study of Nathaniel Hawthorne.[6]

Lowell responded immediately with shock and outrage at the publication of this dialogue, viewing it as a clear 'breach of confidence' on Hawthorne's part. In a letter to the *Boston Advertiser* written on 25

[5] Deerfoot Farm was the family home of Lowell's married daughter Mabel, where Lowell spent much of his time in America in later life. For a discussion of the development of the interview as a journalistic form in late-nineteenth-century Britain and America, see Richard Salmon, 'Signs of Intimacy: The Literary Celebrity in the "Age of Interviewing"', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 25.1 (1997), 159–77.

[6] *The World* [New York] (24 October 1886), 9.

October he protested: 'It never entered my head that the son of my old and honored friend was "interviewing" me: if it had he would have found me dumb'. As far as Lowell was concerned, 'Lowell in a Chatty Mood', whose sub-heading proclaimed 'He talks freely to Julian Hawthorne about his English experiences', was Hawthorne's recollection of a private conversation published without his prior knowledge or consent. Moreover, Lowell disputed the accuracy of Hawthorne's transcription as well as its authorization: 'I am at a loss to find any ground in my own mind for many of the opinions attributed to me, and must protest against their being received as in any way representative of my deliberate self'.[7] Two days later Hawthorne issued a rebuttal of these charges in a public letter to the *World*: 'I had no doubt, until this moment, that Mr. Lowell knew I was interviewing him for the *World*. I cannot comprehend how there could have been any misunderstanding of the subject'.[8] The *World*'s editorial comment on 'The Lowell Interview', published on 28 October, confirmed, unsurprisingly, Hawthorne's version of events, claiming to have documentary evidence in support.[9] But refusing to accept defeat, Lowell hit back by 'reaffirm[ing] unequivocally that I not only did not know but that I never even suspected Mr. Julian Hawthorne's purpose in visiting me'. Claim and counterclaim followed, and by this point the dispute was being reported in the daily press on both sides of the Atlantic. The *New York World* deliberately amplified the controversy by assiduously reproducing reports from other newspapers, including those sympathetic to Lowell, throughout late October and November. In a letter to the *World* printed on 1 November, Lowell complained that Hawthorne 'could hardly have chosen a victim who would suffer more keenly' from the effects of such publicity, a statement directly echoed by the sentiments of the Probert family in James's subsequent novel: as Gaston Probert laments to Francie, '"They were the last, the last people in France, to do it to."'[10]

Public opinion was divided about which of these competing accounts was most plausible and on the broader morality of the case, though George Knox suggests that the majority of American press commentary took

[7] 'A Card from Mr. Lowell', *The World* (27 October 1886), 4.
[8] Ibid., p. 4.
[9] 'The Lowell Interview', *The World* (28 October 1886), 4.
[10] 'Another Card from Mr. Lowell', *The World* (1 November 1886), 5.

Hawthorne's side of the dispute.[11] While somewhat more inclined to see Lowell as a victim, even some British observers found his plea of ignorance about Hawthorne's intentions hard to credit. The *Saturday Review*, for example, pointed out that Lowell's reading in contemporary American fiction should have alerted him to the possible consequences of a conversation with a well-known journalist:

> But what could he suppose that an American pressman meant by asking such a lot of questions? Did he think it was a mere sign of an open and inquiring mind? Did he never read Mr. HOWELLS'S *Modern Instance*? In the interview he is made to say that he has read Mr. JAMES'S *Bostonians*. Has he forgotten the interviewers in those romances, the pressmen to whom nothing was sacred?[12]

James's reaction to the dispute, however, was unequivocal. On the same day as the *Saturday Review*'s commentary, 13 November 1886, James wrote to his brother William: 'We are sickened, unspeakably, by the infamous trick played upon Lowell by Julian Hawthorne, who must have become the basest cad unflogged'.[13] A few weeks later, on 6 December, he used exactly the same phrase – 'infamous trick' – to characterize Hawthorne's interview to Charles Eliot Norton: contrary to the American media reaction, he insisted that Hawthorne 'has only kindled a blaze of indignation (against himself) which is a bonfire of sympathy for Lowell' (*HJL* 3: 147). Prior to the dispute, James was on amicable terms with both men. He had known Hawthorne since the late 1870s and though not an admirer of his published writings found him 'personally attractive and likeable'.[14] He was familiar with Lowell from his official residence in London and on sufficiently friendly terms to visit him on holiday in Whitby, North Yorkshire in August 1887. The clearest testimony to James's personal investment in

[11] See George Knox, 'The Hawthorne-Lowell Affair', *The New England Quarterly* 29.4 (1956), 498.

[12] 'Mr. Lowell Put to the Question', *The Saturday Review* (13 November 1886), 640. The interviewers represented in Howells's *A Modern Instance* (1882) and James's *The Bostonians* (1886) are the characters Bartley Hubbard and Matthias Pardon respectively – see 'Literary Contexts' below for further discussion of these texts.

[13] *The Correspondence of William James Volume 2. William and Henry 1885–1896*, eds. Ignas K. Skrupskelis and Elizabeth M. Berkeley (Charlottesville, VA and London: University Press of Virginia, 1993), p. 53.

[14] Letter from Henry to William James, 4 March 1879, quoted by David W. Pancost in 'Henry James and Julian Hawthorne', *American Literature* 50.3 (Nov. 1978), 464.

the affair, and the strength of feeling which it aroused, can be found in a letter of sympathy that he wrote Lowell on 16 November 1886: 'Julian Hawthorne's damnable doings make me feel that I want to throw myself into your arms— or to take you tenderly & healingly into my own'. The culprit 'ought to be shot & that is the end of it'. James sought to reassure Lowell that the interview had not been widely publicized in Britain, using for the first time in connection with the germination of *The Reverberator* the word which would later give the novel its title: 'It isn't for any reverberation of the incident here that I wish to condole with you, for that strikes me as nothing worth speaking of'. Rather than damaging his own reputation, James assures Lowell that what 'will survive in the World's pretended report of your conversation will be simply the memory of an advanced modern fraud'.[15] This letter is similar to one that James wrote to another personal friend, Edmund Gosse, at around the same time (26 October 1886), offering 'sympathy for you as having been made to an almost unprecedented degree the subject of a peculiarly atrocious and vulgar form of modern torture – the assault of the newspaper – which all civilized and decent people are equally interested in resisting the blackguardism of'. Gosse had been lambasted in the *Quarterly Review* over the poor quality of his scholarship, but James feared the wider dissemination of his public humiliation and counselled him against reading newspaper reports: 'Under what earthly necessity are you, for instance, to know what idiotic rubbish on the subject may be shovelled out in America? Long ago I determined simply never to glance at such stuff' (*HJL* 3: 137).

In the year leading up to the *Notebook* outline of the 'short story' that would become *The Reverberator*, then, James was deeply concerned with 'newspaper publicity' and journalistic scandals of varying kinds. Knox argues that the controversy involving Julian Hawthorne, which provided James with a model for the vulgarity of the young male journalist in his narrative scenario, effectively 'usurped the incident of Miss McC' in terms of its importance for the development of the novel. However, as has been shown, May McClellan did not represent an 'earlier stimulus' to James's

[15] Letter to J. R. Lowell, 16 November 1886. Houghton Library bMS Am 1659 (146). This letter was published in George Knox's article 'Reverberations and *The Reverberator*', *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 95 (1959), 353.

imagination, but one that emerged at almost exactly the same time as (and if anything slightly later than) the Hawthorne–Lowell affair.[16] The two documented sources of the *Notebook* sketch were combined to form a new and original narrative illustration of the 'mania for publicity'. As demonstrated below under 'Literary Contexts' and in the Notes to this edition, *The Reverberator* engages more widely with the published writings of James Russell Lowell, including pointed allusions to his poetry and cultural criticism. Moreover, the particular controversies which fuelled James's ire and imagination in November 1887 fed into a broader and more sustained concern with modern publicity which is explored in several other novels and tales of the 1880s, including *The Portrait of a Lady, The Bostonians* (1886) and 'The Aspern Papers' (1888).

Composition and Publication

James began work on *The Reverberator* soon after his initial *Notebook* outline of 17 November 1887. Less than two weeks later, on 30 November, he informed Frederick Macmillan of a discussion that he had had with Mowbray Morris, the current editor of *Macmillan's Magazine*, about his possible contribution of a story (as yet untitled) in three instalments of approximately eighteen pages each, for which James requests payment at the rate of 2 pounds 10 shillings per page to be received on delivery of the complete manuscript. At this point James was also hoping to arrange concurrent serialization of the story in the American illustrated magazine *Harper's Weekly*, but the idea did not come to fruition: Michael Anesko suggests that the difficulty of producing illustrations for James's text to coincide with the British serialization in *Macmillan's Magazine* most likely impeded his plans (*HJ–M* 131–2).[17] In the manuscript copy of James's proposal is a memorandum approval (written in another hand) of the publication of *The Reverberator* in *Macmillan's Magazine* at the above rate of payment.[18] Macmillan wrote to James on the same day accepting

[16] Ibid., 349, 354.

[17] See Michael Anesko, *'Friction with the Market': Henry James and the Profession of Authorship* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 123.

[18] Henry James to Frederick Macmillan, 30 November 1887 in the Macmillan Archive, volume 54931.

his terms (*HJ–M* 133). Over the course of the following month, however, what was originally conceived as a 'short story' expanded to the length of a short novel. This may help to explain the minor alteration of terms adumbrated in Macmillan's letter to James of 12 January 1888, in which he enclosed a cheque for the first two instalments of the serial, contrary to James's stipulation that payment be on receipt of a complete text. The initial projection of three instalments of around eighteen pages each had by now doubled to six parts of between twelve to fourteen pages (an overall expansion from fifty-four to seventy-seven pages), and it thus seems likely that Macmillan's first payment reflects the amended serial division. Macmillan's letter of 12 January also contains the first documented reference to the title of the novel for which payment is made (*HJ–M* 133). On 16 January James wrote to Robert Underwood Johnson, the editor of the *Century* magazine, who had also expressed an interest in co-serializing the planned novel, complaining about the 'terribly short snippets' into which *Macmillan's Magazine* had divided the text, and suggesting that financial inducements obliged him to accept the conditions offered by his English publisher.[19]

In the Macmillan company archive (held at the British Library in London) there is no record of the receipt of a manuscript for *The Reverberator*, and no extant manuscript or typescript has subsequently been discovered.[20] The circumstance of the novel's prior publication in Macmillan's house magazine rather than in book form might account for the former omission, as James may have been requested to submit manuscript copy directly to the magazine's editor, Mowbray Morris, or its printers, Messrs. Richard Clay and Sons of London and Bungay (Suffolk), bypassing the usual channels of communication with the publishing firm. *The Reverberator* was published in six monthly instalments in

[19] Letter quoted by Anesko in *'Friction with the Market'*, p. 123. Similarly, on 28 February, James records sending Robert Louis Stevenson '2 instalments of a little fiction in Macmillan, which is to run thro' six months (in pitifully small mouthfuls or monthfuls.)' Unpublished letter: Yale University; MS Vault Stevenson Files.

[20] See Manuscript records 1883–93 in the Macmillan Archive, volume 56017. In the forthcoming *CFHJ* edition of *The Bostonians*, Daniel Karlin finds that James submitted a typescript (transcribed from his original manuscript by a professional typist) to the *Century* magazine from which the serialized text was type-set, but there is no evidence of this procedure being followed in the case of *The Reverberator*.

Macmillan's Magazine from February to July 1888, one of only two novels by James serialized in this particular periodical (the other being *The Portrait of a Lady*). Daniel Mark Fogel suggests that James 'probably read proofs of the serial version before publication' since he was living in London at the time.[21] Substantive changes to the text for its subsequent publication in volume form demonstrate that James did correct proofs – or may, alternatively, have used the already published serial instalments for this purpose – at a later stage during the same year. While James was unsuccessful in placing *The Reverberator* with an American periodical, it is worth noting that serialization in *Macmillan's Magazine* did run concurrently with that of 'The Aspern Papers', another story concerning issues of privacy and publicity, in the *Atlantic Monthly* from March to May 1888.

On 16 April Frederick Macmillan enclosed another cheque to cover the 'final instalment' of *The Reverberator*. Rayburn S. Moore suggests that this may have been sent in error given that the final part of the serial did not appear until July. Alternatively, the payment may have been an advance at James's request, or offered in receipt of James's submission of the full manuscript. It is likely that by this date the novel had been completed as Macmillan also enquires whether James has any corrections to make to the text in advance of printing as a book and offers him a royalty of 15 per cent on sales of the volume publication (Macmillan's standard offer to James since *The Bostonians*) (*HJ–M* 138–9). The Printing Firms order book in the Macmillan Archive records a memo issued by Macmillan's to Messrs. Clay on 19 April for 'James Reverberator': 'The six instalments in Macmillan's Magazine (from February to July) are to be published as a double folio 8vo novel. We estimate that these six numbers will make a book like *My Friend Jim* (printed by you) and if you find this [?] as accurate please go on setting'.[22] It was common practice for Macmillan (and other nineteenth-century publishers) to use serial publication in its house magazine as a way of introducing and advertising novels to the reading public. In this system, as Laurel Brake notes, 'the appearance of the book edition' was deliberately

[21] Daniel Mark Fogel, 'Note on the Texts' in Henry James, *Novels 1886–1890: The Princess Casamassima, The Reverberator, The Tragic Muse*, ed. Daniel Mark Fogel (New York: Library of America, 1989), p. 1275.

[22] See Printing Firms in Macmillan Archive, volume 55350, p. 756. *My Friend Jim*, a novel by W. E. Norris, was sent to the printers on 21 March 1888.

timed to come out 'just before the last numbers appeared in the [...] magazine'.[23] The first book edition of *The Reverberator* was published in two volumes ('double folio') in early June 1888. The month of publication is listed as May in both Macmillan's Editions Book (an unpublished ledger detailing publication records throughout the period of the company's association with James) and *Bibliographical Catalogue* (1891) but as June in the second (one-volume) edition published in Britain. The earlier date in the Editions Book probably refers to the printing of the edition, and a subsequent note in the left-hand column of the ledger clarifies that the exact date of publication was 5 June. An edition of 500 copies was printed from standing type; 12 and ¾ sheets were used to produce the two volumes in Globe 8vo format ('Globe' was Macmillan's favoured paper size according to Nicholas Barker); the novel's official retail price was 12 shillings.[24]

The first edition of *The Reverberator* (issued only in Britain) was explicitly conceived as an edition for purchase by libraries, rather than by individual readers. Its relatively high price and multi-volume format were characteristic of the still prevailing (though soon to be dismantled) publishing system whereby most first editions of nineteenth-century novels were tailored to distribution by circulating libraries (Mudie's being the most famous of these) before they were re-published in a cheaper one-volume format for wider sale. On 25 May, in response to an urgent request from James for advance payment on future royalties, Macmillan proposed deferring the publication of another planned volume – *The Aspern Papers* – in order to protect sales of the impending first edition of *The Reverberator*: 'The "circulating library" life of a book is not very long but while it lasts it should be treated tenderly'. Macmillan promised to issue *The Aspern Papers* 'as soon as the

[23] Laurel Brake, '"The Trepidation of the Spheres": The Serial and the Book in the 19th Century' in *Serials and Their Readers*, eds. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1993), pp. 88–9.

[24] See the Macmillan Editions Book (CD-ROM) in the Macmillan Archive and *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Macmillan and Co.'s Publications from 1843 To 1889* (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1891), p. 534; also Nicholas Barker, 'Macmillan: Or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since' in *Macmillan: A Publishing Tradition*, ed. Elizabeth James (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002), p. 259. A detailed account of the printing history of *The Reverberator*, which corroborates the findings presented here, is provided in the revised second edition of David J. Supino's *Henry James: A Bibliographical Catalogue of a Collection of Editions to 1921* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006, 2014), pp. 310–11.

"Reverberator" stops selling', which, given that the former appeared in book form as early as October 1888, suggests that he did not primarily see it as being in competition with the second edition of the latter. Macmillan answered James's plea by enclosing a cheque for £200, which included £125 'in anticipation of royalties on "Partial Portraits" and "The Reverberator"' (*HJ–M* 142). Since a collection of critical essays by James would be unlikely to attract high volume sales, Anesko concludes that this advance 'can be considered a measure of his expectations for *The Reverberator* alone'.[25] On 11 June, shortly after publication, Macmillan wrote again, reporting, with a note of cautious optimism, that the 'sale has begun fairly well – Mudie having subscribed for 150 copies (higher than for Washington Sq.)'. He also acknowledges James's approval of the book's physical 'appearance', which adumbrates another function of the multi-volume circulating library edition (*HJ–M* 143). With their larger type-face, wider spacings and margins, smaller print runs, and often higher-quality paper and bindings, first editions were de-luxe editions seen as more suitable for presentation and review copies. Macmillan reports sending out presentation copies of *The Reverberator*, at James's request, on 11 and 13 June (the recipient on the latter occasion was Charles Reinhart, the American illustrator of James's tale 'Cousin Maria' (later retitled 'Mrs Temperly') for *Harper's Weekly*) and again on 5 July (when a copy was sent to Leslie Stephen, the editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*, who had accepted *Daisy Miller* for publication a decade earlier). James also, however, saw the two-volume *Reverberator* as a model for collecting his longer tales and *nouvelles* into library edition format. In early July he reiterated to Macmillan his desire to publish in book form 'various as yet unpublished but as I think eminently publishable productions' which were about to 'burst [. . .] from the periodical press'. Specifically, he planned to produce three further two-volume publications, each of a somewhat fuller length than *The Reverberator*, based on 'The Aspern Papers', 'A London Life' and 'The Lesson of the Master', but was conscious that Macmillan may not 'wish to publish three books (or five, counting the 2 lately published) all in a heap' (*HJ–M* 144). Macmillan broadly accepted James's plan, offering to publish these three projected first editions 'at intervals of 4 months from October 1st, 1888' (*HJ–M* 146).

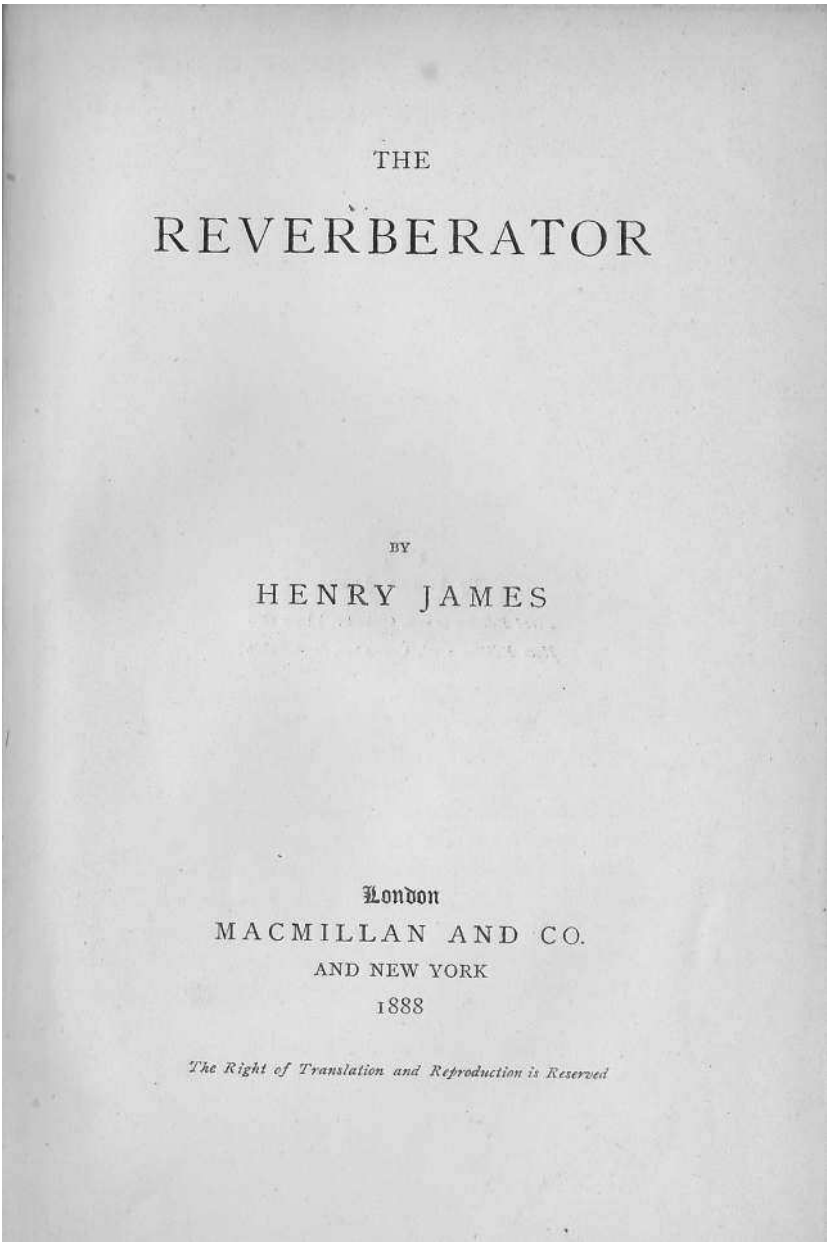
[25] Anesko, *'Friction with the Market'*, p. 233.

A second edition of *The Reverberator* in one-volume form was also published in 1888, following the customary practice described above (see Figure 1). This appeared first as an American edition almost immediately after the British first edition on 14 June, although it is also dated May in the Macmillan Editions Book. Unlike the British, the American book market was not dominated by circulating libraries and there was no economic basis for issuing expensive multi-volume editions with a low sales volume. An edition of 3,000 copies was printed from electrotype plates; 7 and ½ sheets were used to make one volume of Crown 8vo size; the edition was then exported to Macmillan's New York office where it retailed initially for $1.25 per copy. A second impression taken from the electrotype plates of this second edition was printed in an edition of 1,000 copies for the British market and published in August 1888; the retail price of 6s. being half that of the first edition.[26] Described as a 'New Edition' on the title page verso, the text of the one-volume British second edition is identical to that of the first American issue; variations in binding, paper size and other bibliographical features of the two impressions have been recorded in detail by David J. Supino.[27] Electrotype plating was a more recent and expensive procedure than stereotype plating, and was used to produce both higher-quality texts and a greater volume of copies. According to Simon Eliot, Macmillan's had a 'strong inclination to electrotype, as opposed to stereotype', which reflected their position at the quality end of the book market, and also allowed their catalogue to be reproduced over a longer period of time.[28] A note in the Macmillan Editions Book indicates that the electrotype plates of *The Reverberator* were not destroyed until February 1921, and so could have been used for printing further impressions had the demand arisen. Given the close proximity of publication dates between the first and second book editions, it is difficult to establish with certainty which edition

[26] See Macmillan Editions Book; 'Appendix II – James's Sales' in Roger Gard, ed., *Henry James: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 552; and Supino, *Henry James: A Bibliographical Catalogue* (2nd edn.), pp. 310–11.

[27] See Supino, *Henry James: A Bibliographical Catalogue* (2nd edn.), pp. 310–12; and also Leon Edel and Dan H. Laurence, *A Bibliography of Henry James* (3rd edn.) (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).

[28] Simon Eliot, '"To You in Your Vast Business": Some Features of the Quantitative History of Macmillan 1843–91' in James, ed., *Macmillan: A Publishing Tradition*, p. 51.


THE

REVERBERATOR

BY

HENRY JAMES

London

MACMILLAN AND CO.

AND NEW YORK

1888

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1 Title Page of *The Reverberator* [1 vol.] (London and New York: Macmillan, 1888).

was printed first, as Supino notes, but a detailed assessment of the available evidence is provided in the Textual Introduction (pp. LXXVII–LXXX).[29]

After the promising initial sales of the first edition reported to James by Macmillan, there is little solid information on how *The Reverberator* sold by comparison with James's other fiction during his lifetime. Eliot has calculated that the average print run per title published by Macmillan in the year 1886 was 2,434, by which measure the total combined figure of 4,500 copies for the two 1888 editions of *The Reverberator* does not appear unhealthy (though it includes both British and American markets).[30] However, it seems unlikely that the two editions sold out within a matter of years, if at all. A letter from George P. Brett, the deputy head of the New York branch of the company, to Frederick Macmillan on 18 June 1889 reports 'heavy stocks' of unsold 'Henry James books' being counted in the annual stock take and given a 'low valuation' in consequence.[31] The following year James famously broke with Macmillan's after receiving what he considered inadequate terms for *The Tragic Muse*, which Macmillan justified on the pretext of less than 'satisfactory' sales of James's 'last few books' (*HJ–M* 159). Although *The Reverberator* is unlikely to have been seen as a primary culprit in terms of James's waning commercial reputation during the 1880s (he himself identified the reception of *The Bostonians* and *The Princess Casamassima* as marking this decline), neither was it conspicuously successful in reversing his fortunes.

No further editions of *The Reverberator* appeared until James's major revision of the novel for inclusion in the *New York Edition* of his collected novels and tales was published in 1908, exactly two decades later. Philip Horne recounts that James submitted revised copy of the novel to the American publisher Charles Scribner's in two separate instalments – using the two volumes of the first British edition as his base text – on 13 and 18 March 1908.[32] *The Reverberator* became the lead text in Volume 13 of the *New York Edition*, which also included a number of shorter tales ('Madame de Mauves', 'A Passionate Pilgrim', 'Louisa Pallant' and 'The Patagonia') and was introduced by James's substantial Preface (Appendix C, pp. 287–98).

[29] Supino, *Henry James: A Bibliographical Catalogue* (2nd edn.), pp. 310–11.

[30] Eliot, ""To You in Your Vast Business"", p. 23.

[31] Macmillan Archive, volume 54799.

[32] Princeton MSS, Scribner archive. See Philip Horne, *Henry James and Revision: The New York Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 255.

Alvin Langdon Coburn's photographic frontispiece to the volume, titled 'The Court of the Hotel', refers directly to the opening scene of the novel (Figure 2). In common with his revision of many early and mid-career works for this collective edition, James took the opportunity to substantially rewrite *The Reverberator*. Though primarily consisting of stylistic changes, reflecting the development of James's prose style during the latter part of his career, the cumulative effect of the *New York Edition* revised text also impinges upon the treatment of characters and themes within the novel. A more elaborate and densely figurative language, greater informality and use of colloquial expressions, the dramatic re-contextualization of dialogue and the stripping back of conventional punctuation and syntax are the most prominent stylistic features of the *New York Edition* text (see Textual Variants II, pp. 181–263, for a more detailed analysis of James's revisions for the *New York Edition*). The revisions of the 1908 text can be linked, in part, to an increased concern with the use of oral language which James developed during and after his tour of the United States in 1904–5: in particular, with the use of what James called 'vocal tone', as discussed in his lectures 'The Question of Our Speech' (1905) and 'The Speech of American Women' (1906–7).[33] In the Preface to Volume 13 of the *New York Edition*, James looked back over the interval of two decades to his conception of *The Reverberator*, including the *donnée* of May McClellan. Alongside the 1887 *Notebook* sketch the 1908 Preface represents James's only authorial commentary on the novel aside from occasional and passing references in his correspondence. One final edition of *The Reverberator* was published during James's lifetime, in Martin Secker's Uniform Edition of the Tales (1915), which reproduced the revised text of the *New York Edition* (or 'Definitive Edition' as it was described).[34] There is no evidence to suggest that James read proofs for this edition, and it is chiefly notable for classifying *The Reverberator* as a 'tale', the longest text to fit within this category, rather than a short novel as subsequent publishing history and critical reception have tended to prefer.

[33] The two lectures are included in *Henry James on Culture: Collected Essays on Politics and the American Social Scene*, ed. Pierre A. Walker (Lincoln, NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999). Horne also discusses the significance of voice and the presentation of speech in the *New York Edition*, particularly in relation to the Dossons, in *Henry James and Revision*, pp. 256–9.

[34] Henry James, *The Reverberator* (London: Martin Secker, 1915).

2 Alvin Langdon Coburn, 'The Court of the Hotel'. Frontispiece to *The Novels and Tales of Henry James. The New York Edition. Volume 13: The Reverberator, Madame de Mauves, A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales* (London, Cambridge, MA: Macmillan, 1908).

Literary Contexts

The exact provenance of the title of *The Reverberator* is uncertain, but it is worth noting that it has at least one precedent within the history of the American press. *The Occasional Reverberator* was the title of a short-lived New York periodical of the mid-eighteenth century, a factional broadsheet which engaged in political and religious disputes with rival editors

designated as the 'enemies of liberty'.[35] As one correspondent of the paper wrote, its chief purpose was 'to reverberate our hectoring Foes, and wipe off that Load of dirty Rubbish and Misrepresentation, which we have been obliged to groan under for some Time past'.[36] Exemplifying an earlier form of 'personal' journalism, the unashamedly partisan instrument of political scandal and controversy which continued well into the nineteenth century, *The Reverberator* is also a fitting title for the new mass-circulation organ of publicity envisaged by James. Around the time of the Hawthorne–Lowell controversy, James used the cognate word 'reverberation' in similar contexts on a fairly regular basis. Writing to William Dean Howells on 19 October 1886, for example, he used the word in a positive sense to express the perceived failure of his recent fiction: 'I have lately published 2 long-winded serials – lasting between them for more than 2 years – of which in all that time no audible echo or reverberation of any kind, either in America or here, has come back to me' (*LFL* 257). More often than not, however, 'reverberation' is a condition to be avoided. On 25 October, James commented on the scandal enveloping Edmund Gosse in a letter to Robert Underwood Johnson: 'You will have seen I suppose the sad mess of trouble that our poor friend Gosse is in having been attacked in an article in the Quarterly for his Trinity lectures an article of extraordinary & overwhelming ferocity, which for some reason or other has had an extraordinary reverberation.'[37] In the following year (23 July 1887) James decried the 'reverberations of the grotesque Jubilee', referring to the immense media interest in Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee celebrations (*HJL* 3: 195). A decade later, in an angry letter to William James of 20 April 1898, the word encapsulates the American press's frenzied reporting of the Spanish–American War: 'I see nothing but the madness, the passion, the hideous clumsiness of rage, or mechanical reverberation; and I echo with all my

[35] *The Occasional Reverberator* (New York), 7 September 1753. No other American or British newspapers or periodicals with this title have been located. The equivalent French word *Le Réverbère* was used as a newspaper title in the twentieth century, but no examples pre-dating James's text have been identified, with the exception of a pamphlet dating from the French Revolution, *Le Réverbère Citoyen* (1789).

[36] Ibid., 5 October 1753, p. 13.

[37] Henry James to Robert Underwood Johnson, 25 October 1886. Houghton Library MS Am 1094.2 (06).

heart your denouncement of the foul criminality of the screeching newspapers' (*HJL* 4: 72). In the latter instance, the meaning of the word 'reverberation' remains substantially unchanged from its eighteenth-century polemical usage, but what unites all of these examples is an expression of the circulation of information or opinion across social space, especially through print media.

Lowell also used the word in an 1884 lecture on 'Democracy', written before the eruption of the Hawthorne interview controversy but published in his 1887 collection *Democracy and Other Addresses*, and it is conceivable that James may have recalled it from this context (a copy of the book is listed in James's library). Prophetically, Lowell wrote that 'in this age of publicity, where the newspapers offer a rostrum to whoever has a grievance, or fancies that he has, the bubbles and scum thrown up by it are more noticeable on the surface than in those dumb ages when there was a cover of silence and suppression on the cauldron'. At the same time, he argues that it is in societies 'where the number of citizens made but an inconsiderable fraction of the inhabitants, where every passion was *reverberated* from house to house and from man to man with gathering rumor till every impulse became gregarious and therefore inconsiderate' – conditions closer to some European nations than to America – that democracy is most feared.[38] According to the *OED*, 'reverberation' can signify both the 'repeated echoing or recurrence of a sound' and the 'reflection of light [. . .] or heat', and during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a 'reverberator' referred to a type of lighting or lantern used in streets and theatres (as with the equivalent French word *revérbère*). The figurative resonance of these terms within the context of the development of the nineteenth-century popular press can be seen below under 'Wider Cultural Contexts'.

The original publication of *The Reverberator* as a serial in *Macmillan's Magazine* would have established a meaningful literary context for contemporary readers. According to George Worth, *Macmillan's Magazine* was 'the first shilling monthly magazine', founded in 1859, and in the ensuing decades it developed a reputation as a 'respectable and respected

[38] My emphasis. See James Russell Lowell, *Democracy and Other Addresses* (London: Macmillan, 1887), pp. 11–12, 24.

magazine of "serious" literature'.[39] As a publisher's house magazine, it was used primarily to promote authors on the Macmillan list with the aim of boosting subsequent book sales. Besides James, other prominent writers whose fiction was serialized in *Macmillan's* during the 1880s include Thomas Hardy, Walter Pater, W. E. Norris, Bret Harte and even Julian Hawthorne. The editor of *Macmillan's Magazine* from 1885 to 1907 was Mowbray Morris, an Englishman of conservative literary taste with a reputation for 'rigorous vetting of manuscripts' in terms of house style (Worth, *'No Flippancy or Abuse Allowed'*, p. 161). Morris was not an admirer of James's fiction, though he found him 'extremely amusing' as a dinner-companion ('what a pity that he cannot be as amusing when he writes', he wrote in 1886) (ibid., p. 163). He was also known for harbouring anti-American prejudices, describing the United States as a 'land which no gentleman should visit' (ibid., p. 167). This might suggest a sympathetic predisposition towards James's satire of American journalism and mass culture in *The Reverberator*. Morris himself wrote a series of articles for *Macmillan's Magazine* entitled 'The Profession of Letters' at around the same time as James's conception and serialization of the novel (published in August and October 1887 and March 1888), in which he discussed at some length the relationship between 'Literature' and 'Journalism'. While acknowledging that the boundary between the two can be difficult to draw, he distinguished firmly between writing for daily newspapers and for the monthly or quarterly reviews: unlike the latter, the former 'cannot rightly be included under the head of Literature'.[40] The professional journalist, Morris opined, is a 'hack' writer lacking in independence, as distinct from 'that large body of writers who use the newspapers intermittently to supplement an insufficient income – an income sometimes rendered insufficient by their more ambitious essays in other and higher departments of Literature' (circumstances which had applied to James earlier in his career, as I discuss below).[41] In addition to its trammelling effects on the individual writer, Morris asks the broader question, 'how does this great

[39] George J. Worth, *Macmillan's Magazine, 1859–1907: 'No Flippancy or Abuse Allowed'* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 1. Further references to this text appear in parentheses.

[40] [Mowbray Morris,] 'The Profession of Letters', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 56.334 (August 1887), 305–7.

[41] Ibid., 57.341 (March 1888), 384. Further references to this text appear in parentheses.

business of Journalism help or hinder the world's affairs?', to which his answer is categorically 'that it hinders more than it helps'. He identifies a conflict between the 'interest of the individual' (journalist or editor) and the 'interest of the public' on whose behalf the press claims to speak: 'the conductor of a newspaper regards what he is pleased to call the public interest, but what should more truthfully be called the interest of his public' ('The Profession of Letters', pp. 387–9). As in *The Reverberator*, then, where George Flack invokes the demand of the 'American people' for scandalous gossip about private individuals, the public interest justification for investigative journalism is compromised by its conflation with commercial self-interest and the exploitation of curiosity. In another resonant statement for James's novel, Morris writes that journalism 'cannot but often disseminate, even where it does not foster, much rash and foolish talking'. In conclusion, he asserts that '[t]he Freedom of the Press has, in a word, become the tyranny of the world' (ibid., p. 390). A related article reflecting the continued topicality of this subject in *Macmillan's Magazine* appeared a few months after James's serial in October 1888. A. S. Moore's 'On a Tennessee Newspaper' is an ostensibly first-hand account of working for the provincial American press, known for its 'fervid language, jocose familiarity, and political vituperation', which concludes with the bemused English journalist observing: 'unless you were, in local vernacular, "sassy, spicey," and "spunky," you would be more apt to satisfy ambition in the undertaking line than through the columns of the newspaper'.[42]

The Reverberator was written towards the end of a decade in which James had experienced waning popular success from the peaks of *Daisy Miller* (1878) and *The Portrait of A Lady*. On 2 January 1888 James repeated his complaint to Howells about the apparent commercial failure of his recent fiction, lamenting its effect on his reputation with magazine editors and the wider reading public:

> I have entered on evil days [. . .] I am still staggering a good deal under the mysterious and (to me) inexplicable injury wrought – apparently – upon my situation by my two last novels, the *Bostonians* and the *Princess*, from which I expected so much and derived so little. They have reduced the desire, and the demand, for my productions to zero – as I judge from the fact that though I have for a good while past been writing

[42] A. S. Moore, 'On a Tennessee Newspaper', *Macmillan's Magazine* 58.348 (October 1888), 462–3.

a number of good short things, I remain irremediably unpublished. Editors keep them back, for months and years, as if they were ashamed of them, and I am condemned apparently to eternal silence. (*HJL* 3: 209)

Given James's own anxious sense of his position within the literary market at the time of writing, some modern critics have viewed *The Reverberator* as a conscious reversion to his more popular mode of fiction from the 1870s: a much shorter and lighter novel written in the form of a comedy of manners rather than as social realism, which returns to the 'international theme' of cultural encounters between Americans and Europeans. While, in this light, the novel has been seen as a product of external commercial pressures – what James termed 'friction with the market' – it can also be read as a significant revisiting and reworking of his earlier fiction, most notably *The American* (1876–7) and *Daisy Miller*.[43] Horne observes that whereas these earlier narratives 'end with the fatalistic recognition of an absolute gulf between European and American cultures, symbolically reinforced: *The Reverberator* makes the differences serious, and threatening to the happiness of the characters, but not final, or not fatal'.[44] Most strikingly, *The Reverberator* rewrites James's earlier international fiction by reuniting Francie Dosson and Gaston Probert in the final chapter, an ostensibly 'happy' ending which retrospectively questions the separation of lovers (Christopher Newman and Claire de Cintré) at the end of *The American*. Writing to Rhoda Broughton on 6 November 1888, James defended this new ending and his decision not to penalize Francie's indiscretion (nor apparently that of George Flack) on the grounds of realism rather than romance: 'Bless you, there are no retributions in life; haven't you noticed that? The Flacks always get off beautifully. Idiots have remarked to me that I have represented Francie as doing so, too much—but they are dense minds, which don't understand Francie' (*HJL* 3: 248). Originally conceived as a 'pendant to "Daisy Miller"', as noted above, *The Reverberator* also contains in Francie Dosson a distinctive variant on the figure of the 'American girl' which James had helped to popularize a decade earlier. Francie's postulated innocence or naivety, relative liberty and independence,

[43] See Anesko, *'Friction with the Market'*, p. 123.

[44] Introduction to *A London Life and The Reverberator*, ed. Philip Horne (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. xxx.

acquisitive consumerism and aesthetic appeal for European(ized) men are all recognizable attributes of the 'American girl' as variously shaped in James's previous novels and tales.[45] The role of parental authority and family structure in enabling this figure to flourish are questions posed by Francie's relationship to her father and elder sister Delia, just as in *Daisy Miller* and its other counterpart, 'An International Episode' (1879), the freedom allowed to young unattached daughters is linked to the absence of American fathers.

By choosing Paris as the setting of the novel, rather than Italy as in the original 'germ' presented by May McClellan, James recurred to a version of the international theme centred on a particular cultural myth of the American abroad. In 'An International Episode' Mrs Westgate recalls Thomas Gold Appleton's celebrated remark to her two English guests: 'I'm extremely fond of Paris; you know we Americans always are; we go there when we die' (a dictum later popularized by Oscar Wilde) (*S1874–84* 344).[46] Prior to 1888 Paris had featured most prominently in James's fiction as the setting of *The American*, and it was later to become an important location in *The Tragic Muse* (1890) and, more centrally, *The Ambassadors* (1903). As in these other novels, the Paris represented in *The Reverberator* draws upon inherited Anglo-American cultural associations with material refinement, worldly pleasures and artistic modernity, as well as the familiar threat of moral corruption. But it was also a city of which James had personal experience extending back to childhood. Many of the locations visited or alluded to within the text, such as department stores, parks, cafés, churches, artists' studios and boulevards feature elsewhere in his work, both fiction and travel writing. In particular, the novel draws, in more ways than one, on the year that James spent in Paris from November 1875 to December 1876, during part of which he was employed as a Paris correspondent for the *New York Tribune*. Not only did this earlier period provide James with first-hand experience of working as a journalist for a major American newspaper, but also it allowed him to grow familiar with

[45] For a discussion of Francie in the context of this archetypal figure, see Virginia C. Fowler, *Henry James's American Girl: The Embroidery on the Canvas* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

[46] Thomas Gold Appleton (1812–84), an American writer and artist, was born in Boston, Massachusetts but travelled extensively in Europe during the mid-nineteenth century.

the cultural environment and urban geography of Paris in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War. In his monthly letters to the *Tribune* (later collected by Edel and Lind as *Parisian Sketches*) James described Paris from the perspective, and for the benefit, of the many visitors who congregated in the established American colony: 'the classic region, about a square mile in extent, which is bounded on the south by the Rue de Rivoli and on the north by the Rue Scribe, and of which the most sacred spot is the corner of the Boulevard des Capucines, which basks in the smile of the Grand Hotel'. In the same letter – dated 22 November but published on 11 December 1875 – he wrote of a city that seduces the American tourist through shopping and other forms of commercial display, as much as through art and more elevated pleasures: 'Paris seems more than ever, superficially, a vast fancy bazaar, a huge city of shop fronts', where American women are seen 'treading the devious ways of the great shops – the Bon Marché, the Louvre, the Compagnie Lyonnaise' (*PS* 6).[47] Whereas *The American*, a novel written contemporaneously with the *Tribune* correspondence, opens with a scene set in the grand art collection of the Palais du Louvre, *The Reverberator* begins ironically with a reported shopping expedition to its namesake, one of Paris's leading department stores: having already visited the Magasins du Louvre, Francie and Delia are planning another expedition to its rival the Bon Marché. In subsequent letters to the *Tribune*, though, James also informed American readers about the leading figures and latest developments of Parisian art, including one of the earliest exhibitions of Impressionist painting. The French painter Carolus-Duran, characterized as 'the fashionable portrait painter *par excellence*' and 'of all the modern emulators of Velásquez the most successful', is a particularly significant figure for James's later novel (*PS* 148, 21). Carolus-Duran is cited as the teacher of Charles Waterlow, the fictional American Impressionist painter often thought to be modelled on James's acquaintance John Singer Sargent, who along with Gaston travels to Spain for aesthetic experiences, presumably related to their fashionable appreciation of Spanish art. James, it should be said, explicitly denied using Sargent as a model for his artist figure, claiming in response to Henrietta Reubell's reading of the novel that 'Waterlow is simply a jeune peintre quelconque'

[47] See Henry James, Jr., 'Paris Revisited', *New York Daily Tribune*, 11 December 1875, 3.

and that his portrait of Francie is 'not much like' Sargent's famous portrait of Mrs Boit.[48] Nevertheless, James's immersion in the Parisian art scene during the mid-1870s clearly informed *The Reverberator*'s use of the same cultural milieu a decade later.

James's journalistic commission came to an end when he refused to accept a change of terms proposed by the editor of the *New York Tribune*, Whitelaw Reid, in response to his own request for improved remuneration. Reid was willing to continue James's Paris correspondence at the same rate of pay on the condition 'that the letters should be made rather more "newsy" in character, and somewhat shorter, and that they should be sent somewhat less frequently'. He explained this new offer by insinuating that James's contributions had failed to connect with many of the paper's readers: 'your letters were sometimes on topics too remote from popular interests to please more than a select few of our readers'. James's style of writing was apparently unsuited for the medium of the daily press: 'The difficulty has sometimes been not that it was too good, but that it was magazine rather than newspaper work' (*PS* 217–18). Understandably hurt by this rebuff, James decided to withdraw from his engagement, misrepresenting Reid's explanation: 'If my letters have been "too good" I am honestly afraid that they are the poorest I can do, especially for the money!' (*PS* 219). James's omission of the negative preceding 'too good' in Reid's statement is a significant, and perhaps wilful, misreading of the editor's concern. By changing a question of genre and medium (magazine rather than newspaper writing) into one of quality alone, James appears to slight his contributions to the *Tribune* by his own elevated standards but with the effect of reasserting the higher value of 'literature' over 'journalism'. Though he was not significantly affected by this episode in material terms, James recollected it much later in his career when the problem of addressing a popular audience became particularly acute (most vividly in his short story 'The Next Time' (1895), which features a novelist, Ray Limbert, who attempts unsuccessfully to court popular success by writing down to the readership of his articles for the *Blackport Beacon*) and it also

[48] Letter to Henrietta Reubell, 20 June 1888. James also expressed some misgivings about Sargent's art in a letter to Reubell dated 24 May 1888. Unpublished: ALS Houghton bMS Am 1094 (1078).

resurfaces in *The Reverberator*'s caustic satire on the populist rhetoric of mass-circulation newspapers.

While *The Reverberator* can be viewed as a stylistic departure from James's preceding realist novels of the 1880s, in thematic terms its focus on 'the invasion, the impudence and shamelessness, of the newspaper and the interviewer' as requisite for 'sketch[ing] one's age' marks a culmination of these novels. In his introductory note to a 1949 reprint of the first book edition, Simon Nowell-Smith commented that '[t]he New Journalism [see below under 'Wider Cultural Contexts'] that invaded Europe from America in the eighteen-seventies was almost an inevitable subject for a novel by Henry James', citing as evidence of his prolonged interest in this phenomenon *The Portrait of a Lady* and *The Bostonians*.[49] Both of these earlier novels feature American journalists as relatively minor figures: Henrietta Stackpole, the European correspondent for the (fictitious) *New York Interviewer*, in the former and Matthias Pardon, the Boston journalist who seeks to promote Verena Tarrant's career as a celebrity speaker, in the latter. As the case of Henrietta Stackpole illustrates, by no means all of James's fictional journalists are unsympathetic and one-dimensional caricatures – Merton Densher from *The Wings of the Dove* (1902) and Howard Bight and Maud Blandy from 'The Papers' (1903) are also examples of more nuanced treatment of this figure from later in his career. By the mid-1880s, though, as noted earlier, James was deeply concerned with the role played by journalism, and the newspaper press in particular, in feeding the 'devouring *publicity* of life'. His preliminary sketch of *The Bostonians*, entered in his *Notebook* on 8 April 1883, is similar to that of *The Reverberator* four and a half years later: expressing a desire to '*bafouer* [ridicule] [. . .] the vulgarity and hideousness' of the 'newspaper man', it proceeds to lament the 'extinction of all conception of privacy' in American culture (*CN* 19). Indeed, despite being conceived on a different scale and with different generic criteria in mind, *The Bostonians* clearly anticipates *The Reverberator* in its broad satirical thrust. Matthias Pardon is the journalist figure who most closely resembles George Flack in James's fiction, though arguably Flack exhibits the 'vulgarity and hideousness' of

[49] Henry James, *The Reverberator*, with an introductory note by Simon Nowell-Smith (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1949), p. v.

the 'newspaper man' in a somewhat more appealing light. In a letter to Daniel Connor Lathbury, dated 9 June 1888, James put Flack at the centre of *The Reverberator*, referring to the novel as his 'little history of the newspaper-man': 'Mr. Flack', he revealed, 'is a conscientious study of a great reality (I don't of course mean of any individual) and he seemed to me to be worth attempting' (*LL* 204). Though stimulated by Julian Hawthorne's interview with Lowell, as suggested earlier, Flack thus represents a broader and more long-standing cultural phenomenon in James's mind. Complaints about the 'odious newspaperism of our age' are voiced repeatedly in James's *Notebooks* and correspondence from the 1880s, and were transposed into numerous fictional narrative scenarios throughout the latter half of his career.[50] Of these later reflections on the subject, 'The Death of the Lion' (1895) (whose initial *Notebook* outline denounces 'this age of advertisement and newspaperism, this age of interviewing'), 'Flickerbridge' (1903) and 'The Papers' (1903) are particularly graphic examples of James's sense of the grotesque and oppressive cultural effects of journalistic publicity (*CN* 86).

More immediate comparisons can be drawn between *The Reverberator* and two other tales published by James in 1888: 'The Aspern Papers' and 'The Modern Warning'. While not stories about journalism in a narrow sense, both explore the disturbing cultural and psychological effects of modern publicity on intimate personal relationships in ways that often resemble the longer narrative. In his biography of James, Leon Edel observed that *The Reverberator* 'dealt with another facet of the activities of "publishing scoundrels"; it was a journalistic pendant to the literary "Aspern Papers"'.[51] Conversely, but by the same token, Charles Hoffman viewed 'The Aspern Papers' as a 'more significant and convincing portrait of a journalist' than *The Reverberator*, by which he referred to the unnamed narrator's insatiable desire to possess Jeffrey Aspern's private papers and thereby expose the hidden truth of his personality.[52] The justification for

[50] See letter dated 29 June 1888 in *Selected Letters of Henry James to Edmund Gosse 1882–1915*, ed. Rayburn S. Moore (Baton Rouge, LA and London: Louisiana University Press, 1988), pp. 57–8.

[51] Leon Edel, *Henry James: The Middle Years 1884–1894* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1963), p. 168.

[52] Charles G. Hoffman, *The Short Novels of Henry James* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1957), p. 45.

making this broad figurative analogy between the activities of the literary scholar and the journalist can be found within the story itself when the narrator directly compares himself (with some embarrassment) to an interviewer. 'The Modern Warning', a less well-known tale originally published under the title 'Two Countries', considers the threat of publicity in exacerbating conflicts and misunderstanding between nations, a demonstrable link to the concerns of *The Reverberator*. Agatha Grice, an Irish-American woman torn between loyalty to her nationalistic brother Macarthy and affection for her English husband Sir Rufus, is fearful of the consequences of publication of her husband's critique of American society – the eponymously titled *The Modern Warning* – since even her brother's refusal to acknowledge the Englishman will not prevent the former from hearing of the controversy in which she is embroiled: 'He would never read *The Modern Warning* but he would hear all about it; he would meet it in the newspapers, in every one's talk; the very voices of the air would distil the worst pages into his ear and make the scandal of her participation even greater than – as heaven knew – it would deserve to be'. Not only are newspapers partially responsible for proliferating the scandal that surrounds Sir Rufus's book in this hypothetical scenario, as in *The Reverberator*, but 'the whole tone of the newspapers' is also, ironically, one of the features of American public life singled out for attack in Sir Rufus's book (*S1884–91* 424–5). Agatha's suicide at the end of the story indicates the potentially tragic consequences of a cultural conflict not dissimilar to the comic reverberations of James's novel.

Wider Cultural Contexts

The 1880s was an important decade in the development of modern journalism and the growth of a mass-circulation press on both sides of the Atlantic. The term which came to define this cultural transformation was the 'New Journalism', a term that entered into critical debate at almost exactly the same moment as the conception of *The Reverberator*. Matthew Arnold is commonly credited with having coined the expression in an article for *The Nineteenth Century* published in May 1887. In the context of a paragraph discussing William Gladstone's support for Irish Home Rule, Arnold noted in passing: 'We have had opportunities of observing a new

journalism which a clever and energetic man has lately invented. It has much to recommend it; it is full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts; its one great fault is that it is *feather-brained*.'[53] Arnold's concern was that 'the democracy' from which Gladstone's campaign drew its strength was also the audience for a new popular style of journalism. The 'clever and energetic man' to whom Arnold refers was W. T. Stead, then editor of the London evening daily, *The Pall Mall Gazette*. During the period of his editorship, from 1883 to 1889, *The Pall Mall Gazette* became known for its morally committed but self-promotional investigative journalism – most famously, Stead's campaign to expose child prostitution in London, in a series of articles entitled the 'Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' which appeared from July 1885. Stead proudly associated *The Pall Mall Gazette* with the 'vast but inert forces of the new democracy', and in two essays published in *The Contemporary Review* – 'Government by Journalism' (May 1886) and 'The Future of Journalism' (November 1886) – he outlined his ideal vision of the public authority and responsibility of the 'new journalism' (thus employing the term before Arnold did).[54] Journalism, he argued, could become an effective supplementary 'representative method': 'more elastic, more simple, more direct, and more closely in touch with the mind of the people' than parliamentary democracy.[55] Another important figure in the formulation of the 'new journalism' in Britain was T. P. O'Connor, from 1888 to 1890 the editor of the London *Star*, a paper which shared Stead's political radicalism. O'Connor published his own journalistic manifesto, 'The New Journalism', in *The New Review* of October 1889, defending the journalistic interest in 'personality' as a legitimate mode of representing public individuals both for contemporary readers and posterity.[56] Also appearing in the same journal a month later was an article by Tighe Hopkins collecting contemporary opinion on the associated, though more long-standing, issue of journalistic anonymity, which indicates in passing that James's

[53] Matthew Arnold, 'Up to Easter' in *Complete Prose Works Volume* XI: *The Last Word*, ed. R. H. Super (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1977), p. 202.

[54] *The Pall Mall Gazette: An Evening Newspaper and Review* (1 January 1885), 1.

[55] W. T. Stead, 'The Future of Journalism', *The Contemporary Review* 50 (July–December 1886), 678.

[56] See T. P. O'Connor, 'The New Journalism', *The New Review* 1.5 (October 1889), 428–9.

novel was read within the context of the New Journalism debate. Hopkins quotes the drama critic William Archer's argument that the anonymous editorial voice in such stock phrases as 'the Reverberator is of such an opinion' imposes an individual view onto the public under false pretences.[57]

Before the term itself came into common parlance, important precursors to the New Journalism can be found in a number of weekly 'society' journals established during the 1870s, two of which James mentions by name in his *Notebook* outline for *The Reverberator*.[58] Acknowledging that Britain, like America, is 'also a newspaperized world', James notes that 'The *World* and *Truth*, etc., stare one in the face—people write to the newspapers about everything' (*CN* 42). Here, James is referring not to the *New York World*, but to its London namesake, *The World: A Journal for Men and Women*, founded by Edmund Yates in 1874. Yates's journalistic reputation was based primarily on his pioneering use of the celebrity interview and gossip column, including a column of 'Gossip from Paris' published in *The World* in the mid-1880s.[59] An associate of Yates, Henry Labouchère, established the rival journal *Truth* in January 1877, whose circulation reached around 30,000 by the 1880s. Although Labouchère is now more commonly remembered for instigating the notorious Criminal Law Amendment Act (1885) prohibiting homosexual acts (the legislation under which Oscar Wilde was convicted of 'gross indecency' a decade later), he also held Radical republican views reflected in his journalism alongside society news, including gossip on the royal court and correspondence from Paris, as well as sport, fashion, fiction and puzzles.[60] A characteristic of 'society journalism' in both of these examples was its self-consciously frivolous and irreverent tone.

[57] Tighe Hopkins, 'Anonymity?' [Part 1], *The New Review* 1.6 (November 1889), 530.

[58] For a contemporary opinion-piece on these journals, see 'Signs of the Times. 1. – The Newest Thing in Journalism', *The Contemporary Review* 30 (1877), 678–703.

[59] Theoc., 'Gossip from Paris', *The World: A Journal for Men and Women* 22 (7 January 1885), 20. For an account of Yates's significance in the history of nineteenth-century journalism, see Joel H. Wiener, 'Edmund Yates: The Gossip as Editor' in Joel H. Wiener, ed., *Innovators and Preachers: The Role of the Editor in Victorian England* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. 259–74.

[60] See Gary Weber, 'Henry Labouchère, *Truth* and the New Journalism of Late Victorian Britain', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 26.1 (Spring 1993), 36–9.

Even New Journalists such as Labouchère and O'Connor, however, recoiled from some American journalistic practices, which were widely perceived as aggressive and intrusive from a European perspective. During the 1880s the commercialization of the American press and the concomitant expansion of a mass readership went much further than anything witnessed in Britain. The trajectory of American development was similar to that of the New Journalism but it took place somewhat earlier and on a significantly larger scale. In 1883 Joseph Pulitzer bought the *New York World* and rapidly transformed it into the biggest-selling daily newspaper in the United States, with a circulation that grew from 15,000 to over 250,000 in the space of three years (considerably dwarfing the readership of the *New York Tribune* for which James had written in the 1870s). Under Pulitzer's ownership the *World* also underwent a typographical and stylistic transformation, introducing shorter paragraphs, large type-face for headlines and increasing use of visual illustration; in terms of content, it gave new prominence to gossip columns, crime reports, divorce proceedings, interviews and cable news. The sensational and populist tone of the *New York World*, as well as the sheer size of its readership, would clearly have added to the concerns that James expressed over its coverage of the May McClellan and Hawthorne–Lowell controversies of 1886.

James was not the only American novelist of this period to explore the dramatic possibilities of these cultural changes. William Dean Howells's novel *A Modern Instance* (1882) was an important precursor to James's sustained treatment of the subject of journalism in *The Bostonians* and *The Reverberator*, and may well have been a direct influence. In *A Modern Instance* Howells traces the professional career of the journalist Bartley J. Hubbard from humble beginnings as a small-town printer and editor to the editorship of a large Boston daily, the *Events*, which he proceeds to transform using commercial and stylistic innovations similar to those that would be practised by Pulitzer in New York. Hubbard's conception of the role of the newspaper is as a 'private enterprise', rather than a 'public enterprise, with certain distinct duties to the public' as his fellow journalist Ricker believes.[61] Alongside his rejection of serving the 'public interest' in

[61] William Dean Howells, *A Modern Instance*, ed. Edwin H. Cady (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), pp. 262–3. Further references to this edition appear in parentheses

its traditionally defined sense is a commercial insistence that '[y]ou must give the people what they want': 'The public want spice, and they will have it!' (Howells, *A Modern Instance*, pp. 265–8). Hubbard's journalistic rhetoric is akin to Flack's, though Howells also provides a sense of his distinctiveness as a writer which is absent from James's portrayal: 'he interspersed his text plentifully with exclamatory headings intended to catch the eye with startling fragments of narration and statement' (ibid., p. 158). During the course of the narrative, however, the energy of Hubbard's journalistic innovation gives way to a cynicism that marks his moral decay. Fittingly, having turned the *Events* into a paper 'full of murders and all uncleanness' (ibid., p. 231), Hubbard is eventually shot by a 'leading citizen' of Whited Sepulchre, Arizona in retribution for a 'spicy' article about his 'domestic relations', and his death is reported in a sensational style 'quite in Bartley's own manner' (ibid., pp. 450–1).[62] Writing to Howells on 19 August 1882, James praised *A Modern Instance* as 'admirable to the end' and 'of an extraordinary reality' (*LFL* 223).

Bartley Hubbard's initial success derives from his instinctive talent for writing articles based on the related journalistic forms of the interview and *exposé*. Howells's narrative voice comments on this success: 'There is nothing the public enjoys so much as an *exposé*: it seems to be made in the reader's own interest; it somehow constitutes him a party to the attack upon the abuse' (Howells, *A Modern Instance*, p. 169). In late-nineteenth-century America, as in Britain, this 'muckraking' style of investigative journalism was often undertaken with serious social and ethical concerns in mind. At the same time, new reportorial techniques of news-gathering aroused a great deal of anxiety on both sides of the Atlantic as a result of their perceived 'invasion of privacy'. Nowhere is this more evident than in the heated controversy which surrounded the practice of interviewing throughout the 1880s and 1890s. Interviewing, as a self-conscious journalistic activity, is generally thought to have emerged in the American press during the 1860s and was gradually adopted in Britain over the course of the following two decades where it became one of the most distinctive features of the New

[62] Hubbard's death did not prevent him from reappearing in the opening chapter of Howells's subsequent novel *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885), in which he conducts an interview with the title character for the Boston *Events*.

Journalism.[63] 'This is the age of interviewing', wrote Archibald Forbes in the *English Illustrated Magazine* of April 1885, almost a decade before James used the same phrase in his *Notebook* outline of 'The Death of the Lion'.[64] It continued, however, to be seen as a distinctively American practice through to the end of the century. Writing for the *North American Review* in April 1889, Horace Townsend argued that '[t]he foundation, as it were, of all news in this country is the interview; our people are one and all, from the rich merchant and professional man down to the humble inhabitant of Avenue A, ready and willing to be interviewed at any time and on any pretext'.[65] During this period, the term 'interview' remained ambiguous and could refer equally to a private conversation arranged in advance or a formal exchange of questions and answers between a professional journalist and his subject explicitly intended for publication. The distinction between the original oral encounter of the 'interview' and its subsequent status as a written text was frequently blurred. O. B. Frothingham (an acquaintance of James), writing in *The Forum* in April 1886, saw the role of the interviewer as having the potential to elicit valuable psychological insights about public figures. He acknowledged, however, that often 'words are distorted, impressions are falsified, statements are overlooked, thrown out of proportion, in order to produce the wished-for effect'.[66]

The concern surrounding journalistic 'invasion of privacy' was reflected in American legislative debates of the period. Samuel D. Warren and Louis D. Brandeis published a seminal article in the *Harvard Law Review* of December 1890, which, for the first time, attempted to formulate the legal basis for a 'right to privacy':

> Of the desirability—indeed of the necessity—of some such protection, there can, it is believed, be no doubt. The press is overstepping in every direction the obvious

[63] See Nils Gunnar Nilsson, 'The Origin of the Interview', *Journalism Quarterly* (Winter 1971), 707–13; Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 160–8; and Joel H. Wiener, *The Americanization of the British Press, 1830s–1914: Speed in the Age of Transatlantic Journalism* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 148–9.

[64] Archibald Forbes, 'Interviewed by an Emperor', *The English Illustrated Magazine* 19 (April 1885), 478.

[65] Horace Townsend, 'Interviewing as a Factor in Journalism', *North American Review* 148.389 (April 1889), 522.

[66] O. B. Frothingham, 'The Interviewer', *The Forum* [New York] 1 (April 1886), 185.

bounds of propriety and of decency. Gossip is no longer the resource of the idle and of the vicious, but has become a trade, which is pursued with industry as well as effrontery. To satisfy a prurient taste the details of sexual relations are spread broadcast in the columns of the daily papers. To occupy the indolent, column upon column is filled with idle gossip, which can only be procured by intrusion upon the domestic circle.

Warren and Brandeis targeted the publication of 'gossip', whether obtained through interviews or other means, as a serious threat to the privacy of the individual. Gossip, even when 'apparently harmless', can be damaging to society if 'widely and persistently circulated' because of its effect of 'inverting the relative importance of things, thus dwarfing the thoughts and aspirations of a people'.[67] Other than legislation, the solution to this problem proposed by some commentators was the reform of professional codes of practice, a view put forward in an unsigned article, 'The Ethics of Interviewing', for *The New Princeton Review* (January 1887) and in W. S. Lilly's piece for *The Forum*, 'The Ethics of Journalism' (July 1889). The former offers a usefully balanced account of the debate as it stood around the time of James's conception of *The Reverberator*. On the one hand, the writer defends the practice of interviewing as 'about the only means by which the public can learn some things which it has a distinct right to know and which it is the interest of designing persons to conceal'; on the other hand, s/he denounces the intrusion of interviewers into the sanctity of the domestic sphere where '[o]ur very thoughts are no longer our own, and we shall be forced ere long to distrust the very walls and beams of our bedrooms'. The recent case of Hawthorne and Lowell, in which an interviewer 'betrayed the confidence of our most honored literary man and representative American', is cited as an example of the latter anxiety.[68]

By the late nineteenth century, developments in communication technology had facilitated the rapid circulation of news between Europe and North America. A transatlantic telegraph cable was first laid in 1866 and in the ensuing decades the telegraph, followed later by the telephone, came into widespread use by reporters and newspaper offices.[69] As an article for

[67] Samuel D. Warren and Louis D. Brandeis, 'The Right to Privacy', *Harvard Law Review* 4.5 (December 1890), 196.

[68] 'The Ethics of Interviewing', *The New Princeton Review* 3 (January 1887), 127–9.

[69] See Wiener, *The Americanization of the British Press*, pp. 66, 185.

Chambers Journal of Popular Literature observed in 1891, these new technologies, alongside more efficient printing presses and methods of paper manufacture, enabled newspapers to deliver global news to the individual reader's 'breakfast table', thus fulfilling the vision for the future of 'The Reverberator' which Flack outlines to Francie.[70] The availability and speed of telegraphic communication allowed newspapers such as the *New York World* to publish columns of cable news from across the Atlantic on a daily (and even hourly) basis. They also played a role in the huge expansion of the press (and print media more generally) witnessed in the final decades of the century: it has been estimated that between 1870 and 1900 the number of American newspaper titles quadrupled and the total volume of copies increased fivefold.[71] In an 1898 review of Henry Harland's *Comedies and Errors*, James commented directly on the contribution of the press to the process that is now called globalization: 'The forces that are changing all this need scarce be mentioned at a moment when each day's breakfast-table – if the morning paper be part of its furniture – fairly bristles with revelations. The globe is fast shrinking, for the imagination, to the size of an orange that can be played with' (*LC1* 282). While this development in the scale and speed of written communication could be disturbing, as James's comments on the 'reverberation' of personal information amply demonstrate, it also, he intimates in the review, provides a positive opportunity for writers to achieve a cosmopolitan identity, creating the material conditions for the kind of 'international' fiction of cross-cultural encounter on which James had built his reputation in the 1870s.

Reception and Adaptation

From its first publication in 1888 through to the present day *The Reverberator* has received significantly less critical attention than most of James's other novels, and even than some of the tales. It has generally been perceived as a 'minor' work, whether simply because overshadowed by other, more familiar texts in James's large *oeuvre* or through the lower

[70] 'Some Methods of Modern Journalism', *Chambers Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts* [5th series] 8 (May 1891), 317.

[71] See Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), p. 61.

valuation attached to its comic and satirical mode or through its apparently intrinsic slightness. Nevertheless, the novel has elicited a wide range of critical responses over a sustained period of time covering a variety of issues significant both to the individual text and to James's fiction more broadly. As one of James's least well-known novels *The Reverberator* has been seldom adapted to other media, but here too its reception is not without interest.

One of the most favourable contemporary responses to *The Reverberator* was W. D. Howells's review of the novel (alongside George W. Cable's *Bonaventure* and A. P. Valdés's *The Fourth Estate*) for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, published in October 1888. Howells offered 'grateful recognition' of its 'thorough Americanism', suggesting that James was fundamentally more sympathetic to his American characters, despite making them objects of satire, than to their European(ized) antagonists: 'beginning with such a group of Americans as the Dossons and their friend the reporter of the society newspaper on the plane of their superficial vulgarity', the novel 'ends with having touched into notice every generous and valuable point in them, and espoused their cause against that of the grander world'. Howells draws attention to the Dossons' 'inexpugnable innocence' in dealing with the 'international world', and, more surprisingly, views Flack as a redeemable figure; while he bills the latter as 'the very genius of society journalism', he suggests that journalism is only a 'subordinate interest' of the novel's broader exposition of the cultural encounter between American and European values.[72] It is likely that, by arguing for the novel's 'thorough Americanism', Howells sought to defend James against hostile criticism in his native country, of which the early press reviews of *The Reverberator* present numerous examples. Of the fifteen reviews published in American newspapers and magazines between June and August 1888 (mostly identified by Linda J. Taylor),[73] at least ten were predominantly negative, including several which could be described as hostile. That said, Howells's reading of the novel was personally endorsed by James in a letter of acknowledgement for the review:

[72] 'Editor's Study', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 77 (October 1888), 802. See also Albert Mordell, ed., *Discovery of a Genius: William Dean Howells and Henry James* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1961), pp. 130–1.

[73] See *Henry James, 1866–1916: A Reference Guide* (Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1982).

What you said about the *Reverberator* gave me singular pleasure—so happily have you read in it *all* my pure little intentions. You make me think for a moment that the public might be really a little less idiotic than it is—though tomorrow, no doubt, I shall again perceive that it mightn't. It doesn't matter—the idea is the only thing; on the whole it takes care of itself. One must write for that—to write for the public is to follow the scent of a red herring. (*LFL* 271)

The 'public' antipathy or misapprehension to which both Howells and James were responding is exemplified in a *New York Times* review of 15 July. Published under the heading 'A Study of Foreign Americans' it focuses on James's representation of American national character from a much less sympathetic standpoint. The reviewer agrees with Howells (and several other American reviews) in finding the novel's satire of the Gallicized Proberts more congenial than that of the Dossons: the former family 'exemplifies a truth seen constantly in Europe – that Americans, though they never lose their national traits entirely, are apt to assimilate the bad qualities of the foreign community in which they dwell'. Yet it appears that the Proberts are not the only 'foreign Americans' found in the novel. The reviewer also questions whether Flack and the Dossons can really be seen as 'characteristic' American types: Francie is 'a character hard to realize as American, save in her superficial ways and speeches; she has too little individuality, too poor a spirit to be taken as a type'; and likewise Flack 'is another character that approaches caricature'. Overall, the review tepidly concludes, '[t]he novel is able, though longwinded, sufficiently interesting, without having great sustained interest. It is not very pleasing'.[74] The *Chicago Tribune* review of 7 July went further, insinuating that James himself was a 'foreign' American. The headline of the review reads: 'Henry James' Mr. Flack. This Boston Englishman Cruelly Punctures Our Conceit'. Any suggestion of ambivalence towards James's satire of American journalism implied by the word 'conceit', however, is quickly dispelled. The reviewer tellingly associates James with J. R. Lowell as an example of an American gone native in England: 'He has grown more and more alien. He has lost touch with his own country'. In its representation of American national character, *The Reverberator* is 'written to the taste of American-despising London', a view widely shared by

[74] Kevin J. Hayes, ed., *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 202. Further references to this edition appear in parentheses.

periodicals such as *The American* (21 July) and the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* (28 July).[75] The reviewer for the New York journal *The Epoch* (24 August) concluded an equally unsympathetic review of the novel by remarking: 'Mr. James has, we believe, recently taken occasion to state that he is an Englishman. All Americans will be glad to learn that the odious and despicable portraits of men and women in *The Reverberator* were not drawn by one of their own nationality.'[76]

Writing for the magazine *Life* on 26 July, Robert Bridges (not the contemporary English writer who later became poet laureate but an American journalist and poet who wrote under the alias 'Droch') observed that the novel had received 'an almost unanimous verdict' as to its 'disagreeableness', and he was consequently 'surprised to discover that it is an enjoyable piece of work'. Bridges surmises that James's 'good-humored' satire on modern journalism may be a factor in the unfavourable response of the press: reviewers are perhaps 'prompted by the prickings of the editorial conscience', aware of their own intrusive practices. He likens Flack to Howells's Bartley Hubbard as a realistic (though not wholly representative) treatment of the moral compromises induced by journalistic enterprise.[77] In a subsequent review of *The Aspern Papers* for the same journal Bridges characterized *The Reverberator* as 'a satire on the violation of the finer feelings by a type of modern journalist', just as '"The Aspern Papers" is a satire on the inhuman quality of one phase of literary industry' (Hayes, *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, p. 213). The *New York Tribune* review of 1 July also conceived the novel as a work of realist cultural criticism and while not particularly impressed with the realization of James's characters clearly recognized its social concern with the corrupting effects of 'modern journalism' on 'a whole class of ostensibly educated people, from whose characters the democratic vulgarity of perpetual and comprehensive publicity has extirpated the last relics of refinement, delicacy, modesty and diffidence'.[78] Similarly, the reviewer for the Philadelphia-based *American* noted that 'Mr. James has read his countrymen a hard lecture on the faults of their newspapers', directly aligning his

[75] 'Henry James's Mr. Flack', *The Chicago Tribune*, 7 July 1888, p. 10.
[76] *The Epoch* [New York] 4 (24 August 1888), 55.
[77] Robert Bridges ['Droch'], 'Bookishness', *Life* [New York] 12 (26 July 1888), 48.
[78] 'James and Haggard. Two Kinds of Realism', *New York Daily Tribune*, 1 July 1888, p. 10.

stance with that of 'the late Mr. Arnold'. This reviewer's complaint is not with the underlying morality of the novel, but that it unfairly selects American journalism for criticism when the British press contained even greater culprits: 'However the moral runs, it seems to us quite unfair that American journalism should bear all the odium of vulgar personality, when our society papers are in fact a faint and feeble echo of the London papers like *Truth*, the *World, Vanity Fair*, etc.'[79]

Other contemporary reviewers were less concerned with questions of national character and social satire, instead focusing on the literary form and narrative execution of the novel. The Boston *Literary World* (29 September), for example, also wondered whether it was right to 'accept' Francie 'as a type of the American girl', or whether both Francie and Flack were 'atrocious caricatures', but such queries did not stop it from judging *The Reverberator* 'an exceedingly careful and artistic piece of work': 'Nowhere has Mr. James been more successful in carrying out a certain purpose than in this compact, crystallized story' (*Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, pp. 205–6). Similarly, Annie Logan, writing in the *Nation* (4 October), admired 'the incomparable ease, grace, and brilliancy with which [. . .] [Francie's] fortunes are narrated'. While accepting the accuracy of James's satire of 'monstrous' journalism, Logan was more impressed by the artistic detachment with which he holds 'himself aloof from the controversy' (*Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, p. 208). Several British reviewers were similarly impressed by the skilfulness or charm of the novel, including one who evidently did not count himself amongst James's usual admirers. The London *Graphic*, in one of the very earliest reviews of *The Reverberator* (14 June), thought that it was more accessible in style than James's previous works, 'contain[ing] very little analysis', and thus likely to be dismissed by his 'admirers', but all the better for it: less 'ardent' readers, the reviewer proclaims, 'will regard it as by far the best of all his novels [. . .] a thoroughly good piece of comedy, worth all its author's ponderous investigations into the recondite psychology of non-entities put together' (*Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, p. 199). The *Westminster Review* also heralded 'a charming little comedy' which 'turns upon the infinite difference between the American and the French

[79] 'Reviews', *The American* [Philadelphia] 16 (21 July 1888), 218.

ideals of social and family life' and brings 'them face to face with admirable skill and insight' (ibid., p. 200). This vein of commentary is notably similar to, and perhaps best encapsulated by, William James's private response to the novel in a letter to Henry dated 11 July 1888: 'The Reverberator is masterly and exquisite. I quite squealed through it, & all the household has amazingly enjoyed it. It shows the technical ease you have attained, that you can handle so delicate and difficult a fancy so lightly. It is simply delicious.'[80]

The opposite side to this emphasis on technique was a charge of slightness and lack of substance, expressed in a good number of early reviews on both sides of the Atlantic, which has persisted throughout much of *The Reverberator*'s subsequent critical reception. What some commentators found 'delicate' and 'compact' others described as vapid and 'thin'. The *Daily Telegraph* (18 June), for instance, acknowledged the novel to be 'frankly and openly playful', 'light and bantering in tone', as befits a story which James himself later termed a '*jeu d'esprit*' in his Preface to the *New York Edition* (*LC2* 1192), but went on to lament that James's 'witty dialogues and touches of racy humour cover and excuse the extreme thinness of his work in every other respect' (*Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, pp. 199–200). R. H. Hutton offered a strikingly similar view in the *Spectator* magazine (August 1888), comparing *The Reverberator* adversely to *The American* and declaring it 'one of the thinnest performances which was ever marked throughout by real genius. Nothing slighter can well be imagined'.[81] A comparison with *The American* was also drawn by the reviewer for the London *Times*, who perceptively discerned that James's latest novel offered a rewriting of the central romance of the earlier narrative with 'converse' gender positions. In its apparently triumphant reconciliation of Francie and Gaston at the end of the story, '"The Reverberator" shows us love brushing away social cobwebs': unfortunately,

[80] *Correspondence of William James Volume 2*, p. 89.

[81] Gard, *Henry James: The Critical Heritage*, p. 186. Further references to this edition appear in parentheses. Hutton reviewed several James novels for the *Spectato*r during the 1870s and 80s, and *The Reverberator* was certainly not the only one to attract his censure. In correspondence with his mother, Mrs. Henry James Senior, James singled out Hutton's reviews of *Roderick Hudson* (July 1879) and *Washington Square* (February 1881) as indicative of his critical limitations (*HJL* 2: 249–50, 340).

'love, in Mr. James's pages, is such a pallid thing [. . .] that we are rather surprised to find it emerging the conqueror' (*Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, pp. 202–3). Similar comments on the 'thinness' of *The Reverberator* were published in *The Athenaeum* and *New York Tribune*.[82] This negative vein of commentary in the periodical reviews can also be summarized by the private response of a celebrated contemporary, though it was not one that was ever communicated to James himself. In a journal entry of July 1888 (later published in his posthumous autobiography) Thomas Hardy recorded his sense of the ephemeral virtuosity of *The Reverberator*: 'After this kind of work one feels inclined to be purposely careless in detail. The great novels of the future will certainly not concern themselves with the minutiae of manners [. . .] James's subjects are those one could be interested in at moments when there is nothing larger to think of' (Gard, *Henry James: The Critical Heritage*, p. 186). In direct contrast to William James's flattering assertion that 'The Reverberator is immortal' (14 October 1888), Hardy implies that its 'technical ease' and accomplishment is likely to be the very source of its limited appeal to future readers.[83]

After James's death *The Reverberator* received little critical attention until Simon Nowell-Smith's 1949 edition for the publisher Rupert Hart-Davis, the first reprint of any of the three 1888 versions of the novel for over half a century.[84] Nowell-Smith chose to use the two-volume first book edition as a copy text (with 'obvious misprints corrected'), explaining his decision on the grounds that the 1908 *New York Edition* revised text was 'an anachronism [. . .] sufficient to alter the character of a narrative that depends, for its success as a *jeu d'esprit*, upon freshness of vision and lightness of touch'.[85] Ironically, as noted above, the term '*jeu d'esprit*' was one that James himself had first used to characterize the novel in his Preface to the *New York Edition*. Nowell-Smith's appreciation of the qualities of the earlier form(s) of *The Reverberator* can be linked to a new awareness of the original context of the novel's composition provided by the publication of F. O. Matthiessen

[82] 'Novels of the Week', *The Athenaeum* [London] 3164 (16 June 1888), 759.

[83] *The Correspondence of William James Volume 2*, p. 92.

[84] Though during this period the revised 1908 text of *The Reverberator* was reprinted as part of the collective *New York Edition* by Macmillan in 1922 and Scribner's in 1936.

[85] Nowell-Smith, Introductory Note in James, *The Reverberator*, pp. viii–x.

and Kenneth B. Murdock's edition of *The Notebooks of Henry James* in 1947. Nowell-Smith's edition was the first to give details of the two 'germs' suggested by the *Notebook* entry of 17 November 1887, even though he downplayed their significance in shaping the final outcome of the creative process. Responding to the editions of Matthiessen and Murdock and Nowell-Smith, George Knox published two essays during the following decade that sought to establish the full significance of one of the two germs: the first, in 1956, was a detailed reconstruction of the forgotten circumstances of the 'Hawthorne–Lowell Affair' followed, in 1959, by a discussion of Hawthorne's 'journalistic career' and its 'major stimulus in James's drafting of *The Reverberator*'.[86] Though Knox may have overstated the primary influence of the Hawthorne–Lowell controversy on James, his research undoubtedly fostered an understanding of the novel's genesis in late-nineteenth-century cultural debates. The other important contextual rediscovery of the 1950s was supplied by Edel and Lind's edited collection of James's letters to the *New York Tribune*, which documented James's personal struggle to meet the conditions of newspaper journalism during his residence in Paris in the mid-1870s. This edition did not simply provide convenient access to texts which had been hitherto largely unknown and difficult to obtain, but also offered, through an Introduction and textual apparatus, a particular interpretation of the episode in relation to James's career as a whole. Edel and Lind accepted James's frustrated confession of inaptitude for journalism at face value, concluding that his 'art' was irreconcilably opposed to commercial compromise or popular authorship of any kind. They saw *The Reverberator*, amongst other later fiction, as absorbing the lessons of his *Tribune* experience: with Flack's fictional newspaper James 'not only documented for posterity a certain kind of scandal sheet of his time, but foresaw the advent of the twentieth-century tabloid' (*PS* xxxvii). Published in 1958, *Parisian Sketches* reflects an underlying hostility towards 'mass culture' that can also be found in Lind's earlier *PMLA* article, 'The Inadequate Vulgarity of Henry James' (1951), and Abigail Ann Hamblen's 'Henry James and the Press: A Study of Protest' (1957). In each of these studies, James is presented not just as a cultural critic of the newspaper press but as a writer who is artistically and morally elevated above it.

[86] See George Knox, 'The Hawthorne-Lowell Affair'; and 'Reverberations and *The Reverberator*', p. 348.

The 1950s was also the decade of the only adaptations of *The Reverberator* into other media seen to date (to the best of my knowledge). Dodie Smith's play *Letter from Paris: A Comedy* (1952), explicitly adapted from James's novel, was first staged by Tennent Productions Limited under the direction of Peter Glenville at the Theatre Royal Brighton (a two-week run commencing on 12 August 1952) and the Aldwych Theatre London (commencing on 10 October). The play text was subsequently published in William Heinemann's 'Drama Library' in 1954 (an edition which erroneously cites the London première as the play's first performance). Now better known as the author of popular children's fiction, including *The Hundred and One Dalmatians* (1956), Smith was also a prolific dramatist by the time of her adaptation of *The Reverberator*. *Letter from Paris* is divided into three Acts, which follow the course of the narrative over a period of five months from April to August sometime 'during the late eighteen eighties': a structure which, perhaps unwittingly, echoes the original monthly serialization of the novel. The play remains close to the verbal texture of James's narrative, often using the same vocabulary at key moments, and makes no substantial alterations to the characters or plot. Smith's text, however, noticeably sharpens James's satire on sensational journalism: for example, in the scene of his first proposal to Francie, Flack insists that what 'the public wants now is [. . .] well, a kind of *private* news, and the more private the better'.[87] At the same time, *Letter from Paris* presents a less ambivalent and more acerbic perspective on Francie's supposed 'innocence' and 'delicacy'. Any lingering doubts as to Francie's complicity with Flack's interview are removed by her line: 'Why, it'd be immense fun to see things I'd told you in *The Reverberator*! I should feel like an author' (Smith, *Letter from Paris*, p. 53). Another noteworthy aspect of the play is the prominence given to Charles Waterlow's studio as a space in which the artist's portrait of Francie is visibly on display: four out of the play's nine Scenes are set in this location, including the opening and closing Scenes. Whether or not the audience of the original production was able to see Waterlow's painting of Francie directly on stage, the dramatization

[87] Dodie Smith, *Letter from Paris: A Comedy*, adapted from *The Reverberator*, a novel by Henry James (London: William Heinemann, 1954), p. 25. Further references to this text appear in parentheses.

clearly foregrounds the question of Francie's representation and image as perceived by others. Smith preserves the original 'happy ending' of the novel, but renders it even closer to romantic cliché: the final line of the play is Francie's confession of love for Gaston, 'Je t'adore', followed by a stage direction indicating that the two lovers kiss, 'holding each other close' (Smith, *Letter from Paris*, p. 92). A second dramatic adaptation of *The Reverberator* for American television, scripted by Lois Jacoby and directed by Arthur Hiller, was broadcast live on 23 July 1956 as part of the famous NBC Matinee Theater series (Season 1, Episode 187), which ran five days a week from 1955 to 1958 and included several adaptations of James stories, amongst other literary classics. Starring Betty Lynn and Jacques Sernas, the episode was one hour long, but no extant recording of the performance has been located; a collection of scripts and production material from the series is held in the Department of Special Collections at the University of California Library, Los Angeles.[88]

When academic studies of James's fiction began to proliferate during the 1950s and 1960s *The Reverberator* usually received cursory treatment (if mentioned at all), rather than the extended textual analysis accorded to more canonical works. Mid-twentieth-century criticism tended to group the novel with other international fictions of James's early to mid-career, often focusing discussion on the iconic figure of the 'American girl'. F. W. Dupee, for instance, conceived *The Reverberator* as one of James's 'admirable footnotes to the international theme', an expression which immediately qualifies praise with the idea of a peripheral text. The novel was essentially a generic creation, produced 'because this theme was popular with readers and editors'; Francie Dosson was the latest in a long line of 'American girls whose free spirits bring them into some sort of trouble with the world of fact, which world is usually represented by Europe or Europeans'.[89] Likewise, Douglas Jefferson categorized it as a 'minor work' containing another variation on the established Daisy Miller figure, as did Oscar Cargill.[90] Once again, critical opinion was divided on whether

[88] See J. Sarah Koch, 'A Henry James Filmography' in Susan M. Griffin, ed., *Henry James Goes to the Movies* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), p. 349.

[89] F. W. Dupee, *Henry James* (London: Methuen & Co., 1951), p. 148 and p. 112.

[90] D. W. Jefferson, *Henry James and the Modern Reader* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1964), p. 101; and Oscar Cargill, *The Novels of Henry James* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), p. 174.

the slightness of *The Reverberator* should be read as delicate comedic touch or formulaic gesture. Matthiessen, in a somewhat earlier study, supported James's account of the novel as a 'delightful *jeu d'esprit*' and 'light-handed satire', as did Edel, who saw it as a 'light comedy' possessing 'all the perfection of his "Daisy Miller" period and much greater maturity'.[91] For the iconoclastic Maxwell Geismar, on the other hand, this 'innocuous light comedy tale based on the familiar international theme' was no more than a 'potboiler designed to restore James's literary position with his popular audience', and thus 'one of the poorest of the international tales'.[92] A more substantial and analytical discussion of the novel's comic form can be found in subsequent work by Ellen Douglass Leyburn and Ronald Wallace, two critics who focused more on questions of literary genre. For Leyburn, the courtship of Francie and Gaston follows the expected 'movement of romantic comedy in which young love is to triumph over the opposition of elders, whose rigidities are gaily satirized'. The interest of the novel, however, lies in the way that comedy skirts 'very near to tragedy', problematizing its conventional design.[93] As earlier critics had already observed, *The Reverberator* was unusual in allowing the 'kind of romantic happy ending which James does not often permit himself', and which he had resisted, most famously, in *The American*; yet the 'relief of the happy ending is increased', Leyburn suggests, by the way in which the cultural divide between Gaston and Francie so narrowly avoids ending in disaster.[94] Wallace develops a similar argument, highlighting *The Reverberator*'s archetypal romance plot in which (like Romeo and Juliet) 'two lovers are blocked by antagonistic parents who object to some quality in their child's lover'.[95] By successfully overcoming the parental obstacles to the union of Francie and Gaston *The Reverberator* pointedly parallels and rewrites the plot of *The American*, while, at the same time, its 'happy ending' is blurred

[91] F. O. Matthiessen, *Henry James: The Major Phase* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 21; and Edel, *Henry James: The Middle Years*, p. 176.

[92] Maxwell Geismar, *Henry James and his Cult* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1964), p. 80.

[93] Ellen Douglass Leyburn, *Strange Alloy: The Relation of Comedy to Tragedy in the Fiction of Henry James* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968), pp. 58–9.

[94] Ibid., pp. 63–4.

[95] Ronald Wallace, *Henry James and the Comic Form* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1975), p. 82.

by a palpable question mark overhanging the future harmony of the married couple.

A problem faced by critics ever since the publication of the *Notebooks* in the 1940s has been the question of how to reconcile the 'light' comic form of *The Reverberator* with the serious and impassioned cultural concerns expressed in James's initial outline of the novel. While some contemporary reviewers chose to foreground one or the other aspect of the novel, it became more difficult later on to ignore an apparent tension or contradiction between the tone of the narrative and its subject-matter, with the result that it has been judged by some modern critics as an artistically confused or compromised work. Cargill was one of the earliest critics to note explicitly the apparent discrepancy between *Notebook* sketch and novel, deducing that 'what might have been a serious piece of social criticism was transformed, in the words of the author, into a *jeu d'esprit* or at best "an exemplary anecdote" or "little rounded drama"'.[96] Over two decades later, Anne T. Margolis similarly argued that James had watered down his original intention to satirize the newspaper press and journalistic invasions of privacy for the sake of placating a readership more comfortable with the international comedy of manners which his earlier fiction had popularized.[97] As suggested earlier, this view accords *The Reverberator* an anomalous position within James's fiction of the 1880s: apparently motivated by similar preoccupations to the immediately preceding novels of social realism, yet harking back to an earlier period of his career in terms of form and genre. Margolis, like other critics of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, sees *The Reverberator* as a text which instantiates the broader problem of James's relationship to the mass literary market which was emerging towards the end of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, the novel is satirically scathing of Flack's attempt to satisfy popular demand through purveying salacious gossip; but on the other hand, the novel itself can be seen as a bid by James for renewed commercial success. Thomas Strychacz, who devotes a chapter to the novel in his broader study *Modernism, Mass Culture, and Professionalism* (1993), has observed the irony of the fact that '*The Reverberator* comes as close to

[96] Cargill, *The Novels of Henry James*, p. 176.

[97] Anne T. Margolis, *Henry James and the Problem of Audience: An International Act* (Ann Arbor, MI: U.M.I. Research Press, 1985), p. 4.

being written off as a popular potboiler [. . .] as any text in the Jamesian canon' given its pronounced satirical aim. For Strychacz, what is most significant about the novel is James's postulation of the 'question of literariness' in relation to the 'characters' reading habits, writing, perceptiveness, and rhetoric'; literature is tacitly distinguished from, and elevated above, journalism (as Mowbray Morris had earlier claimed), and yet the means by which the text defines itself as 'literary' is one of 'accommodating the mass media it both invokes and derides'.[98] In this respect, Strychacz argues that *The Reverberator* anticipates a characteristic rhetorical strategy of literary modernism.

While recent critics acknowledge James's revulsion from popular journalism, then, they have also sought to address the complexity of his stance as a professional writer within the literary marketplace, thus enabling a more nuanced account of his social satire. Strychacz observes that the novel – unlike the *Notebook* sketch and James's later Preface to the *New York Edition* – is relatively even-handed in its criticism of the Proberts and the Dossons, and of Gaston and Flack, a point also made by S. Gorley Putt before him.[99] Elsewhere, I have also argued that *The Reverberator* explores a tension between individual and collective identities manifested equally, but in different ways, by the Dossons and the Proberts, which can be linked to the contemporary debates surrounding the New Journalism of the 1880s and the wider formation of mass culture.[100] More recently, Matthew Rubery has developed this line of enquiry further by examining the significance of the specific narrative form most often associated with New Journalism – the personal interview – to the novelistic form of *The Reverberator*. Rubery considers 'the degree to which the experience of reading an interview and reading a novel should be taken as analogous acts', rather than representing entirely antithetical genres.[101] By comparison with criticism of the 1950s, then, late-twentieth- and early-twenty-

[98] Thomas Strychacz, *Modernism, Mass Culture, and Professionalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 66, 52, and 47.

[99] S. Gorley Putt, *The Fiction of Henry James: A Reader's Guide* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), pp. 173–4.

[100] See Richard Salmon, *Henry James and the Culture of Publicity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 120–37.

[101] Matthew Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction after the Invention of the News* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 127. See also Rubery, 'Wishing to be Interviewed in Henry James's *The Reverberator*', *Henry James Review* 28.1 (Winter 2007), 57–72.

first-century studies of *The Reverberator* have discussed James's concern with journalism and publicity within a less polarized framework of debate.

Contemporary Reception of *The Reverberator*

Below is a selection of reviews and significant critical commentary from the time of the novel's publication up until James's death in 1916. As noted, several reviews are reprinted in Gard and Hayes, and there is a useful listing (with brief summaries) of the American reception in Taylor. All reviews listed below are unsigned unless otherwise noted.

Graphic [London] 37 (14 June 1888), 46; in Hayes, *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, p. 199.

'Novels of the Week', *Athenaeum* [London] 3164 (16 June 1888), 759.

Daily Telegraph [London] (18 June 1888), 2; in *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, pp. 199–200.

Murray's Magazine [London] 4 (July 1888), 144.

Westminster Review [London] 130 (July 1888), 251; in *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, p. 200.

'James and Haggard. Two Kinds of Realism', *New York Tribune* (1 July 1888), 10.

'Books and Authors. A Shelf of Novels', *Boston Daily Advertiser* (3 July 1888), 2.

Richard F. Littledale, *Academy* [London] 844 (7 July 1888), 6–7; in *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, pp. 200–1.

'Henry James's Mr. Flack. This Boston Englishman Cruelly Punctures Our Conceit', *Chicago Tribune* (7 July 1888), 10.

'New Literature [. . .] The Reverberator, Mr. James' Latest Satire on American Society', *Boston Daily Globe* (8 July 1888), 19.

'Book Notes', *New York Sun* (8 July 1888), 4.

'Henry James's New Story', *St. Louis Globe Democrat* (8 July 1888), 22.

'Recent Literature [. . .] "The Reverberator"', *Chicago Times* (14 July 1888), 12.

'A Study of Foreign Americans', *New York Times* (15 July 1888), 12; in *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, pp. 201–2.

'Literary Notices', *Hartford Daily Courant* (18 July 1888), 2.

The Times [London] (18 July 1888), 16; in *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, pp. 202–3.

'Reviews', *The American* [Philadelphia] 16 (21 July 1888), 217–18.

Robert Bridges ['Droch'], 'Bookishness', *Life* [New York] 12 (26 July 1888), 48; in *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, pp. 203–4.
Review of *The Reverberator, Boston Beacon* (28 July 1888), 3.
'New Books [. . .] Latest Novels', *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* (28 July 1888), 6.
'Books and Authors', *Christian Union* [New York] 38 (2 August 1888), 130; in *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, pp. 204–5.
R. H. Hutton, *Spectator* [London] 61 (4 August 1888), 1066–7; in Gard, *Henry James: The Critical Heritage*, pp. 185–6.
'New Books', *The Churchman* [New York] 58 (11 August 1888), 173.
'The Reverberator', *The Epoch* [New York] 4 (24 August 1888), 55.
'Literature [. . .] "The Reverberator"', *San Francisco Chronicle* (26 August 1888), 7.
'Henry James's "Reverberator"', *Critic* [New York] 13 (15 September 1888), 123.
'The Reverberator', *Literary World* [Boston] 19 (29 September 1888), 313; in *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, pp. 205–6.
Dublin Review 103 (October 1888), 431–2; in *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, p. 206.
W. D. Howells, 'Editor's Study', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* [New York] 77 (October 1888), 799–802.
Scottish Review [London] 12 (October 1888), 414–15.
Annie R. M. Logan, 'Recent Novels', *Nation* [New York] 47 (4 October 1888), 273; in *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, pp. 206–8.
'Miscellaneous', *North American Review* [New York] 147 (November 1888), 599.
'Talk about New Books', *Catholic World* [New York] 48 (December 1888), 402–5.
'Recent Fiction', *Independent* [New York] 40 (13 December 1888), 1609.

TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

As documented in the Introduction to this volume, a total of four separate texts of *The Reverberator* were produced during James's lifetime. Leaving aside his extensive revision of the novel for publication in Volume 13 of the *New York Edition* of *The Novels and Tales of Henry James* (1908), three of these texts were produced within a year of the first documented reference to its conception in November 1887. There is no surviving manuscript of *The Reverberator* and no record of its submission to James's publisher in the Macmillan Archive. Chronologically, the first version of the novel to commence publication was its serialization in six monthly instalments of *Macmillan's Magazine* from February to July 1888. By the time that the serial had run its course, however, two book editions of *The Reverberator* had already appeared: on 5 June a first edition of 500 copies issued in two volumes in Great Britain, followed on 14 June by a second edition of 3,000 copies issued in one volume in the United States – both were published by Macmillan and Company. Given the close proximity of dates between the publication of these three versions of the novel, and the probability of their equally close printing dates, there is no single text of *The Reverberator* which holds an unquestioned chronological primacy. The general principle of *CFHJ* is to select the first book edition as the copy text for this current edition, but as David J. Supino has observed, '[t]he printing sequence of the first edition and the second edition (American impression) is not clear, that is, whether the first edition was in fact the first book printing of this title'.[1]

James's correspondence with Frederick Macmillan reveals that he received at least two payments covering separate instalments of the serialized text (recorded on 12 January and 16 April). This raises the possibility that James may still have been writing the novel during the process of serial publication, a practice common amongst earlier nineteenth-century novelists and one which he adopted for the much longer magazine serialization

[1] Supino, *Henry James: A Bibliographical Catalogue* (2nd edn.), p. 310.

of *The Tragic Muse* in the latter months of 1888.[2] At the latest, a complete version of the proofs for *Macmillans's Magazine* must have been in existence by 16 April, when Frederick Macmillan offered terms for the novel's first volume publication and invited James to make corrections to the text before a second type-setting. A memo in Macmillan's Printing Firms order book, dated 19 April, instructs Messrs. Clay of London and Bungay to use the 'six instalments in Macmillan's Magazine' as the base text for a 'double folio 8vo novel', presumably referring to the two-volume British first edition. As detailed fully in Textual Variants I, the texts of the first two book editions differ significantly from the *Macmillan's Magazine* text, indicating that James took the opportunity offered by Macmillan to revise the serial proofs for book publication. The vast majority of the 612 recorded variants between the *Macmillan's Magazine* serial text and the one-volume second book edition are changes in punctuation and typography, many of which, it seems likely, were authorized by James himself. In particular, the systematic re-punctuation of the first two monthly instalments of the novel for volume publication suggests that James may have consciously sought to correct the more formal style of punctuation imposed by the editor of the magazine, Mowbray Morris. In addition, there are a total of eighty-five lexical variants between the two versions, most of which were presumably authorized by James.

Following the general procedure of *CFHJ*, the key question to address was the relationship between the two-volume British first edition and the one-volume second edition (issued in two uniform impressions for the American and British markets). As shown in Textual Variants I, a collation of variant readings between these two book editions alongside the *Macmillan's Magazine* serial text reveals that the second edition is significantly closer to the first published form of the novel. From a total of ninety-seven counted variants between the first and second editions, the first edition follows *Macmillan's Magazine* on twenty-one occasions while the second edition follows the serial text on seventy-one occasions; both book editions differ from the original printed text in the remaining five variants. Although the differences between the two editions are almost entirely comprised of

[2] This is documented in an unpublished letter to Thomas Aldrich, 13 November 1888: ALS Houghton bMS Am 1429 (2611).

'accidental' variants, and there is no evidence to suggest that James authorized the text of one edition at the expense of the other (during the process of production at least), the internal evidence of textual variation thus points to the primacy of the one-volume second edition in terms of the printing sequence. In his edition of *The Reverberator* for *Novels 1886–1890* (Library of America, 1989), Daniel Mark Fogel adds weight to this supposition by arguing that it is 'likely that the American edition was printed first in order to be shipped in time for copyright registration'.[3] This suggestion is supported by the circumstance of prior (and ongoing) serialization in *Macmillan's Magazine*, meaning that copyright in Great Britain had already been secured without reference to the first book edition. Given the need to obtain copyright in America before the conclusion of the serial publication, production of the second (one-volume) edition for the American market may have taken precedence. It is difficult, however, to know for certain which of the two editions was printed first since a close examination of the texts (in addition to Macmillan's bibliographical records) also reveals that they were taken from separate type-settings of revised *Macmillan's Magazine* copy, and are not successive developments of the same type, as in the practice of 'leading out' used by Macmillan on other James novels of the 1880s to produce larger-format 'first editions' from more compact 'second editions' (as described in Appendix E of Supino's *Henry James: A Bibliographical Catalogue* (2006, rev. 2014)).[4] In respect of variant readings the first and second book editions differ independently from the *Macmillan's Magazine* serial, rather than exhibiting a single textual genealogy. The Editions Book in the Macmillan Archive (held in the British Library) records simply that both editions were printed in May 1888 with no further indication as to chronology. The question of which edition should take precedence cannot be resolved conclusively, then, but on balance the internal evidence from collation of the three separate texts of 1888 supports the probability that the second book edition preceded the first edition, perhaps by a matter of weeks or days.

[3] Fogel, 'Note on the Texts' in Henry James, *Novels 1886–1890*, p. 1276. See also Supino, *Henry James: A Bibliographical Catalogue* (2nd edn.), pp. 310–11.

[4] I am grateful to David Supino for pointing out the difference in type-face between the two editions (pica in the case of the first edition, small pica in the second edition) and for his assistance in interpreting the evidence of type-face in relation to the production process of *The Reverberator*.

Whereas the two-volume first edition was printed from standing type, the one-volume second edition was printed from electrotype plates, as recorded in Macmillan's Editions Book, *Bibliographical Catalogue* (1891) and the edition itself. A second impression of 1,000 copies was printed from the electrotype and published in August 1888 as a 'New Edition' for the British market. Aside from minor differences in binding style and the addition of bibliographical details for the first two editions on the title page verso, the one-volume edition issued in Britain is identical to that published in America. Accordingly, the copy text chosen for this edition is a copy of the 'New Edition' deposited in the British Library: reference number 12655.t.18. A total of fifteen printing errors found within the copy text have been corrected for the current edition: see the List of Emendations for full details. This text represents the closest volume publication to James's original magazine text, if not conclusively the first book edition to be printed. While James turned to the two-volume first edition in revising *The Reverberator* for the *New York Edition* two decades later, and seems to have preferred the more spacious multi-volume circulating-library format for its material qualities, substantive variants between the two editions are few in number and of no critical significance.

CHRONOLOGY OF COMPOSITION AND PRODUCTION

1886

24 October: Publication of Julian Hawthorne's 'interview' with James Russell Lowell in the New York *World*, 'Lowell in a Chatty Mood'. One of the germs of James's initial *Notebook* sketch of *The Reverberator*.

25 October: Lowell writes in protest at Hawthorne's article, 'It never entered my head that the son of my old and honored friend was "interviewing" me: if it had he would have found me dumb' ('A Card from Mr. Lowell', p. 4). Public dispute between Hawthorne and Lowell played out in the American and British press during October and November. On the same day, James wrote to Robert Underwood Johnson about the effects of another public controversy concerning his friend Edmund Gosse: 'You will have seen I suppose the sad mess of trouble that our poor friend Gosse is in having been attacked in an article in the Quarterly for his Trinity lectures an article of extraordinary & overwhelming ferocity, which for some reason or other has had an extraordinary reverberation.' (Houghton Library MS Am 1094.2 (06)).

13 November: James comments on the controversy to his brother William, 'We are sickened, unspeakably, by the infamous trick played upon Lowell by Julian Hawthorne, who must have become the basest cad unflogged' (*The Correspondence of William James Volume 2*, p. 53).

14 November: Publication of May Marcia McClellan's letter to the New York *World* containing gossip about the Italian aristocratic society in which she was living near Lake Como. The second recorded germ of *The Reverberator*.

16 November: James writes with sympathy to Lowell: 'Julian Hawthorne's damnable doings make me feel that I want to throw myself into your arms—or to take you tenderly & healingly into my own'. At the same

time, he asserts a lack of 'reverberation of the incident' in the British media (Houghton Library bMS Am 1659 (146)).

1887

15 January: James records meeting the McClellan family in Florence, noting that '[t]hey have lived [. . .] in such an atmosphere of newspaper publicity and reporterism that they have lost all sense of perspective and proportion' (*HJL* 3: 155).

26 January: Referring to the scandal ensuing from McClellan's letter, James observed in correspondence, 'I should like to write a story about the business, as a pendant to *Daisy Miller*, but I won't, to deepen the complication' (*HJL* 3: 160).

16 June: James records a further meeting with May McClellan in Venice.

17 November: James's *Notebook* entry containing an initial sketch of *The Reverberator* is developed from the two germs of May McClellan's 'mania for publicity' and Hawthorne's 'beastly and blackguardly betrayal last winter of J.R.L.', both manifested in the New York *World* (*CN* 40–1).

30 November: After discussion with the editor Mowbray Morris, James writes to his publisher Frederick Macmillan with a proposal to publish a short story in three instalments in *Macmillan's Magazine*, for which he requests payment at the rate of 2 pounds 10 shillings per page; Macmillan agrees to these terms.

1888

2 January: James comments ruefully to William Dean Howells on the commercial failure of his recent novels: 'I have entered on evil days [. . .] I am still staggering a good deal under the mysterious and (to me) inexplicable injury wrought – apparently – upon my situation by my two last novels, the *Bostonians* and the *Princess*, from which I expected so much and derived so little' (*HJL* 3: 209).

12 January: Macmillan sends James a cheque for the first two instalments of the serial, which by now has expanded in scale to six monthly parts; his letter includes the first documented reference to the title of the novel.

16 January: James complains to Robert Underwood Johnson about the 'terribly short snippets' in which the novel is to be serialized in *Macmillan's Magazine*, but indicates that the financial inducements of the arrangement were hard to decline (Anesko, *'Friction with the Market'*, p. 123).

February to July: *The Reverberator* is published in six monthly instalments in *Macmillan's Magazine*.

16 April: Macmillan sends James a cheque to cover the 'final instalment' of the serialized novel and offers him a royalty of 15 per cent on sales of the volume publication. James is invited to make any corrections to the serial text in advance of the second type-setting (*HJ–M* 138–9).

19 April: Macmillan issues a memo to the printing firm, Messrs. Clay of London and Bungay, to proceed with re-setting the monthly instalments of *The Reverberator* as a 'double folio 8vo novel' (Macmillan Archive, volume 55350, p. 756).

May: The printing of the first (two-volume) and second (one-volume) book editions of *The Reverberator* is recorded in Macmillan's Editions Book: the first edition from standing type, the second from electrotype plates.

25 May: In response to James's urgent request, Macmillan sends him a cheque for £200, which includes £125 'in anticipation of royalties on "Partial Portraits" and "The Reverberator"' (*HJ–M* 142).

5 June: The publication date of the first book edition of *The Reverberator* (500 copies, retail price 12s.), as recorded in Macmillan's Editions Book.

11 June: Macmillan reports that the 'sale' of the first edition 'has begun fairly well – Mudie having subscribed for 150 copies' (*HJ–M* 143).

14 June: The second book edition of *The Reverberator* (3,000 copies, retail price $1.25) is published in the United States.

August: A second impression of the second book edition (1,000 copies, retail price 6s.) is issued as a 'New Edition' in Britain.

1908

James extensively revises *The Reverberator* for inclusion in the *New York Edition* of his novels and tales, using the two-volume first edition as his

base text. His Preface to Volume 13 of the *New York Edition* looks back at the circumstances of the novel's conception, describing *The Reverberator* as a '*jeu d'esprit*'.

13 March: James sends his publisher Scribner's the 'revised copy of "first volume of original English issue" of *The Reverberator*' (Horne, *Henry James and Revision*, p. 346).

18 March: James sends Scribner's 'second half of revised copy of *The Reverberator*; but keeps back Preface to the volume "as I find it will require some rewriting of last few pages in consequence of a table of contents altered as to its last item (or 2 items)" (ibid., p. 346).

23 April: James sends Scribner's the Preface to Volume 13 of the *New York Edition* (ibid., p. 347).

1915

The Reverberator is published in Martin Secker's Uniform Edition of the Tales, which reproduces the revised text of the *New York Edition*.

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This Bibliography serves the editorial materials in the volume as a whole. It does not aim for comprehensive coverage of everything that has been written about *The Reverberator*, but is limited to works that are explicitly cited in the editorial matter or, if not cited, works that contribute information and evidence directly relevant to the history of the text's genesis, composition, reception and afterlife.

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