Abstracts Booklet

The British Association for Victorian Studies Annual Conference

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BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR VICTORIAN STUDIES
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Plenaries and Roundtables

Wednesday 28 August

Plenary Roundtable: Scotland and Victorian Studies
0900-1030, Lecture Theatre 3 Chair: Graeme Morton

Gerry Carruthers (Glasgow)
Deperiodised: Victorian Scotland

Murdo Macdonald (Dundee)
Models of Celticism: Ossian, the Celtic Library, and Carmina Gadelica

Penny Fielding (Edinburgh)
Ghosts of Victorian Scottish History

Aileen Fyfe (St Andrews)
Scottish History, British History?

Plenary 1: Heather Shore (Leeds Beckett)
Reforming the Juvenile Delinquent in the Long Nineteenth Century
1700-1830, Lecture Theatre 3 Chair: Anne Schwan

This keynote talk considers a specific form of Victorian 'renewal', the reformation of the delinquent child and youth. From its earliest incarnation in the later eighteenth century (with the founding of the Philanthropic Society School in St. George's Fields, London in 1788) to the passage of the mid-century Reformatory and Industrial Schools Acts (1854, 1857), the thorny debate about how children 'hardened' in crime could be remade into new citizens (both at home and abroad) was fundamentally underpinned by ideas of change, rescue and reform. Moreover, from those early debates about juvenile offending, a renewed focus on the problem of young offenders would characterise the later decades of the nineteenth century. The talk explores changing ideas about the reform of the young offender in the Victorian era, focusing both on the evolution of the juvenile justice system but also on the social and cultural construction of the reformed (and unreformable) delinquent. Drawing on the writings of reformers and social investigators, contemporary political debate, and fictional and semi-fictional writing on crime, this keynote will present the long nineteenth century as a period in which prescriptions for crime sought to rescue, reform and remake the young delinquent.

Thursday 29 August

Plenary 2: Lorraine Janzen Kooistra (Ryerson)
Women Designers and Celtic Renewals
1645-1815, Lecture Theatre 3 Chair: Kirstie Blair

Ornament, pattern, illustration: wherever we look, design is a visual marker of Victorian Celtic Revival movements. While much of this decorative art was sentimental pastiche or copy-work, some designers used the constructive principles of Celtic ornament to "make it new." This paper takes up the theme of renewal by examining how women working in Scotland and Ireland at the turn of the last century created modern Celtic designs for a modular, transnational print culture. Mapping their migration, I show how the marginal ornaments

created in Edinburgh by Helen Hay, Nellie Baxter, Marion Mason, and Annie Mackie for *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (1895-1897) inspired *A Celtic Christmas* (1897-1908) in Dublin. This annual Christmas supplement of the *Irish Homestead* featured illustrations and covers by the British-born, Jamaican-raised, American-trained Pamela Colman Smith, who also published, edited, and illustrated *The Green Sheaf* (1903-4) as a further contribution to the Celtic Revival. Individually and collectively, these women designers worked from the margins to make ornament a renewed form of visual knowledge production in the modern world.

Friday 30 August

Plenary 3: Jo McDonagh (Chicago)

Seeking Asylum: Migration and Renewal in Nineteenth Century Worlds: The Case of the La Gauyrian Emigrants

1100-1230, Lecture Theatre 3 Chair: Ruth Livesey

On October 1st1825, a group of around 200 migrants, more than half under the age of 14, boarded the ship, the *Planet*, at Cromarty on the north east coast of Scotland, *en route* to a new life in the young republic of Colombia. Known as the "La Gauyrian Emigrants" (after La Gauira, the port city close to Caracas, Venezuela, where they arrived), they were being sent by the London-based Colombian Association for Agricultural and Other Purposes (est. 1824), one of many joint stock companies established in the mid 1820s to exploit lucrative investment opportunities in South America. Just two years on, however, in August 1827, having failed to settle on their assigned land in South America, around 150 of the initial group arrived in Guelph, Canada, where they were welcomed by John Galt, secretary of another joint-stock colonisation company, the Canada Company (est. 1824). Galt had another career. He was a highly successful novelist and prolific writer. This has meant that the episode of the La Gauyrian Emigrants has entered literary history as a (very) minor footnote. But its significance, I will argue in this paper, is greater for what it tells us about nineteenth-century mobility and migration, and the complex vocabulary of renewal that seeps the culture and the imaginative writing of the period.

Many factors were blamed for the failure of the expedition to La Gauira: the inhospitality of the environment; the infertility of the soil, already wrecked by generations of ill-use; the alleged drunkenness of the Scots; the coldness of British bureaucrats; and the recklessness of speculative capitalism. The project seemed to have been doomed from the start. Yet while contemporary accounts presented a picture of extreme precariousness in which poor migrants relied for relief on chance encounters and the kindness of strangers in a hostile and unknown environment, what emerges in fact is a world underpinned by established networks of elite families, empire and international commerce on a global scale.

What are the implications of this episode for thinking more generally about global migration in the nineteenth century? And how did migration shape key ideas and values, including notions of hospitality, refuge, and risk? In this paper I argue that this apparently peripheral episode reveals much about mainstream nineteenth-century culture, and its continuing legacies today.

President's Panel

1400-1500, Lecture Theatre 3 Chair: Dinah Birch (Liverpool)

Lindsay Blair (University of the Highlands and Islands)
Reconsidering the Construction of Fisherfolk in the Photographs of J.B. Ovenstone (1880-1890)

Michael Sanders (Manchester)
Understanding the Wound: Working-Class Culture and the End of Victorian Studies?

Alice Crossley (Lincoln)
Nostalgia and Renewal: Ageing in Victorian Fiction?

Panels and Papers

Panel Session 1: Wednesday 28 August, 1100-1230

1.1 Renewing Scotland

David Bradley and David Dawson

The Industrial Revolution and the Development of the Victorian Navy

The 19th century saw the transition from a sailing navy based on wooden hulls to a steam navy made up of steel built armoured warships, a period of change and evolution in naval technology unlike any other. The paper begins by looking at the underlying technologies of the Industrial Revolution that were in place at the start of this period and then moves to consider how these, and their subsequent developments, impacted on and drove the way in which warships were designed and operated.

This includes consideration of issues such as the changing nature of the processes involved in ship construction, the development of the steam engine, culminating in the *Turbinia* and the steam turbine, guns and gunnery and the transition from the broadside armament of ships such as HMS *Victory* to the turreted pre-*Dreadnoughts*, and eventually at HMS *Dreadnought* herself.

Issues involved in the manufacturing processes involved include:

- The transition from a craft based manufacturing processes to ones based on a radically different set of skills and working practices.
- The development of new manufacturing processes such as those required for the manufacture of steel and its forming.
- The transition from the manufacture of muzzle-loading canon with ranges of a few thousand yards to the production of breech-loading rifled guns with ranges out to 15 miles or more.
- Developments in technologies such as metrology, enabling concepts such as interchangeability and standardisation to impact on manufacturing.
- The concepts of scale and how they led to an increased understanding of hydrodynamics and modelling, and hence to hull design.

The paper will be illustrated by reference both to developments in manufacturing and other technologies and to a timeline of ships representing transitional stages in the evolution of the *Dreadnought* battleship. Key points in the timeline will be illustrated appropriately to provide context.

Will Abberley (Sussex)

Excavating Different Strata of the Sublime in Hugh Miller's Geological Literature

The sublime emerged as a well-known aesthetic category in British letters in the eighteenth century through figures such as Joseph Addison, Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant, all of whom defined it in subtly different ways. By the Victorian period, sublimity had grown into a common, general label for objects or phenomena that inspired awe, fear or wonder. The sublime was also often associated, via Burke, with the failure of reason as the mind was overwhelmed by intense stimuli. Vybarr Cregan-Reid (2013) thus argues that, in late-Victorian culture, the Earth's newfound antiquity produced a 'historical sublime' by which the scale of the past seemed to surpass the capacities of human imagination or representation. My paper expands the discussion of the Victorian renewal of the sublime by showing that the writings of an earlier Victorian also echoed the complex history of this concept. Hugh Miller was an avid reader of Addison and Burke, and his popular natural history books such as *The Old Red Sandstone* and *Foot-Prints of the Creator* repeatedly invoke the sublime to describe both the visual effects of rock formations and the

dizzying mental visions they conjured of the past. However, Miller's invocations also unearth the tensions between eighteenth-century theories of the sublime. In contrast to Burke's model of the sublime as the mind being overwhelmed, Addison (and, later, Kant) had depicted the sublime as the mind conquering the material world. These opposing views mapped onto contrasting attitudes towards the limits of knowledge. While Addison and Kant envisaged human reason approaching God-like omniscience, Burke stressed the necessity of humble resignation before God's infinite mystery. Miller's uses of the sublime carried this conflict into Victorian geology as he oscillated between hailing the power of science to enlighten, and insisting on its ultimate futility without religious faith.

Jim Tomlinson (Glasgow)
Renewing Dundee in the 1860s

The 1860s were the most transformative decade in the history of nineteenth-century Dundee. Political reform, social change and radical economic transition co-incided. The economic boom accompanying the American Civil War consolidated the city as 'juteopolis', reliant on an industry with fluctuating fortunes, but one which, for most of the decade, brought unprecedented prosperity, not least to the city's burgeoning middling orders. To understand the city, and especially and the role of these orders, we now have a major new research resource in the form of a database of over 200 of the subscribers to the building of the Albert Institute (now McManus Museum), established in 1867 (https://mcmanus168.org.uk/). This paper explores the city's renewal in the 1860s, drawing especially on this resource to understand the affiliations and networks that linked the city's 'middling' citizens.

1.2 Provincialism/Regionalism Renewed 1: Provincial Forms and Fictions

In 1865 Matthew Arnold identified provincialism as a 'settled … fierce, misconception of the value of one's own things and the things of others' and as the chief weakness at the heart of English culture. In the same period that Arnold developed his influential criticism of provincialism as an English state of mind, two types of Victorian print culture were testament to the imaginative and intellectual force of non- (or, as we shall explore, perhaps even anti-) metropolitan forms and infrastructure. Our first panel will re-examine a genre that became central to the canons of English literature from the mid-century: provincial fiction, a form that writes into being a sense of collective middleness set in an imagined place – such as Trollope's Barchester or Eliot's Middlemarch – connected to but confidently distinct from the metropolis. How do the forms, circulation, and reception of nineteenth-century provincial fiction provide alternative conceptualisations of non-metropolitan cultures to the critical tradition represented by Arnold? Our second panel will explore the influence and distinctive nature of the nineteenth-century provincial press. How can a better understanding of the provincial press, its circulation, networks, and exchanges, renew current debates around scale and perspective in a global nineteenth-century?

At a time when English provincialism and anti-metropolitan/cosmopolitan sentiment are features of daily political discourse, alongside a consciousness of the erosion of local journalism, this strand invites all who attend to reflect on how English provincialism was bound up with an Imperial Anglophone world and what the history of writing in and of provincial place can contribute to the futures of Victorian studies.

This panel brings together a PhD student, early career researcher and established academic alongside an expert commentator to foster broader (inter)disciplinary reflection, renewal and exchange.

Jack Southern (Central Lancashire)
"An atmosphere of sedate, almost smug respectability": Perceptions of Urban and Country Cotton Weaving Districts, c.1850-1920

This paper examines the popular portrayals of country districts, the residents in them, and their relationships with industry and their local economies. Primarily it focusses, through a combination of trade union materials and

newspaper reports, on the representations of local identity through the 'othering' of settlements, incorporating the language, clothing and intelligence of villagers as being distinct from urban operatives.

In 1920, the cotton weaving operatives' trade union, the Amalgamated Weavers' Association took a series of unfederated 'country' cotton mills to industrial court, in the hope of forcing trade union recognition in their villages. The court case was intended to be a final attempt to stem the autonomy of these districts, who operated outside of trade union regulations, often undercut the larger urban centres, and defended their right to do this via historical practices in place since 'time immemorial'. Yet, the debates held in these court proceedings argued over much more than a simple dispute of wage rates. Through local press, trade union records and literature, these places were portrayed as both 'affluent' and 'backward', with 'strange' accents and overwhelmingly insular social and familial lives. These settlements were commonly regarded to be problematic, and little understood from the urban centres. The arguments presented offer a fascinating picture of different cultural approaches to the production of cotton, and highlight key prejudices from both side.

Katie Holdway (Southampton)

Regions, Reprints & Renewals: Excerpting the *Pickwick Papers* in the Non-Metropolitan Press (1836-1837)

From the moment of its first appearance in March 1836, and continuing long after the serial had concluded, thousands of extracts from Charles Dickens's first novel, the *Pickwick Papers* were selected and tactically re-appropriated on the pages of the regional press. From acting as filler material to making strategic political statements, a search through nineteenth-century newspapers often yields dozens of appearances of *Pickwick* excerpts in a single month, each a subtly different 'renewal' or reframing of Dickens's serial, carefully positioned to chime with its surrounding material. Drawing upon work on Dickens and unauthorized reprinting (McGill 2003) and the relationship between periodical appropriation and regional and provincial identity-shaping (Hammond 2018) this paper will demonstrate how Dickens's sketches of regional and local politics in *Pickwick*—which often deal in satirical 'types'—lend themselves to the creative purposes of the non-metropolitan press, who ground their chosen excerpts in the cultural and political agendas of their individual publications, and use them as 'case studies' to exemplify the impact of metropolitan legislation upon regional and local communities. It will also suggest that an analysis of excerpting in the non-metropolitan press sheds light on how the region itself might be defined. Where the most recent book-length study on excerpting—Casie LeGette's *Re-making Romanticism*, (2017)—focusses on editors recycling old texts decades after their initial publication to respond to new political issues, I will demonstrate that, in *Pickwick*'s case, the piecemeal publication timetable of the serial form also lent itself to a more immediate culture of appropriation, in which editors of regional and local papers, alert to trends and topicalities, excerpted sections of the serial as quickly as Dickens was penning them.

Jonathan Godshaw Memel (Nottingham)

The Provincial Mode in Florence Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing for the Labouring Classes* (1861)

This paper considers how the techniques of the provincial novel were adopted in other forms of non-literary writing. In particular, it situates Florence Nightingale's popular book on the sanitary upkeep of rural cottages, *Notes on Nursing for the Labouring Classes* (1861), within the culture of provincialism that emerged among pioneering women writers in the Midlands and the North from 1850. Elizabeth Gaskell visited the secluded Nightingale family home in Derbyshire, and, like Harriet Martineau in 'Sickness and Health of the People of Bleaburn' (1853) and George Eliot in *Romola* (1863), included a Nightingale-like philanthropic heroine in her provincial novel *Ruth* (1853). Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing*, which sought to bring sanitary advances home to those living in the far-flung corners of the nation, shares common features with these texts. Set away from Edwin Chadwick's sanitary reports and health boards in the towns and cities, *Notes on Nursing* addresses the uneven development of sanitary knowledge across the nation. The text's exhaustive description of the ordinary rural cottage setting brings the distant and unstable presence of disease into the everyday. The text's 'difference from the metropolis' (Duncan

2002) – a defining feature of the provincial mode – becomes more pronounced in later editions when further details about village habitations replace the remaining allusions to urban life. By reading *Notes on Nursing* alongside writing by Gaskell, Eliot and Martineau, I emphasize the wide range of uses to which the provincial mode was put during the middle of the nineteenth century.

1.3 Medieval Revivals: Arthur and Beyond

This panel takes as its starting point the reception, adaptation, and redeployment of medieval literary texts, themes, art, and architecture. The papers explore Victorian literary medievalism with a particular interest in the Arthurian myth and proto-feminist responses to Arthurian texts, as well as the Gothic Revival's role in representations of the empire, especially in Victorian architecture and stained glass. Collectively, the papers demonstrate how artists in the mid- to late nineteenth century drew upon the medieval period to articulate and examine contemporary issues (sometimes problematic, sometimes progressive) connected to socio-political concerns such as gender, race, religion, and empire. The panel also takes into consideration the request for interdisciplinary collaborations and includes speakers from different career stages.

Jim Cheshire (Lincoln)
Renewing Victorian Christianity through Imperial Iconography

This paper will explore how the aesthetics of the Gothic Revival stylised the representation of the British empire in late-Victorian ecclesiastical art. In particular the paper will present readings of two artefacts: the pulpit of Lincoln Cathedral, designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott in 1876-7 and a stained-glass window commemorating Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee designed by T. W. Camm and installed in Great Malvern Priory in 1887.

Scott's pulpit depicts the martyrdom of the Victorian missionary bishop John Coleridge Patterson alongside the martyrdoms of St. Alban and St. Boniface. By juxtaposing traditional iconography with an event that took place in the South Pacific, the sculptural groups demarcate lines of racial difference through the composition of the figure groups and the depiction of European and 'native' bodies. The upper section of Camm's window depicts 'The Gathering of All Nations to Our Lord Jesus Christ': sixteen national or racial types presenting raw materials or manufactured products to Christ. The pictorial panels below depict 'Announcing Her Majesty's Accession', 'The Coronation' and 'The Jubilee'. The 'Jubilee' panel includes a series of realistic portraits of the royal family based on photographic portraits. This window provides a stark contrast between the generic types of Christ's racialised subjects and realist specificity of the individualised photographic portraits remediated into the Gothic medium of stained glass. These artefacts demonstrate the tensions between the renewal of medieval aesthetics and the re-evaluation of Anglicanism in the context of Empire.

Katie Garner (St Andrews)
Reviving Arthurian Women: Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* and Feminist Literary Criticism

Celebrating the publication of Alfred Lord Tennyson's first set of *Idylls of the King* (1859), *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* announced 'Arthur is come again! Once more the name of the hero-king runs through the length and breadth of England'. Containing 'Enid', 'Vivien', 'Elaine' and 'Guinevere', *Idylls of the King* was reviewed widely and overwhelmingly positively. Lengthy treatments of the collection took the opportunity consider the development of Tennyson's career, the moral, religious, and national aspects of Arthurian romance, and the purpose of poetry itself, in order to illuminate the success of his rendering of the legend of the Round Table for modern readers. Two of the most extensive reviews were carried out by women journalists: Hannah Lawrance (1795-1875), writing for the *British Quarterly Review*, and Anne Mozley (1809-91), writing for *Bentley's Quarterly Review*.

With particular attention to Lawrance and Mozley's reviews, this paper will identify variations in attitudes towards the 1859 *Idylls* and to medieval Arthurian romance by male and female critics. While all reviewers paid attention to Tennyson's role as a social critic to some extent, both Lawrance and Mozley gave significant attention

to role of women within his version of chivalric ideology in ways that anticipate more recent twentieth and twenty-first century feminist readings of the *Idylls*. Deeply attuned to what Mozley called Tennyson's 'blending of the mythical with the actual', with the publication of the 1859 *Idylls* women journalists entered the critical lists to participate in vibrant debates about the moral and literary value of Malory's *Morte Darthur* and medievalist poetry.

Renée Ward (Lincoln)

Rewriting Arthur: Eleanora Louisa Hervey's *The Feasts of Camelot*

This paper explores Eleanora Louisa Hervey's *King Arthur's Court; or The Feasts of Camelot, with the Tales that Were Told There* (1863), a text which anticipates both the explosion of late nineteenth-century adaptations for children of medieval literature and two major trends of late nineteenth-century Arthuriana that significantly shape modern narratives and critical studies: authorial focus on female characters and the re-imagining of Arthurian events and stories from female perspectives. While Hervey's *Feasts*, which was specifically marketed as a Christmas book directed at children, employs the common Arthurian frame of Whitsunday and Christmas feasts, it also has a number of features which distinguish it from many contemporary retellings: it blends traditional Arthurian narratives with non-medieval sources; it presents revisionist adaptations which frequently invert more widely-known character traits or plot incidents; and it presents a number of tales specifically from female perspectives. Six of the tales have female narrators, and more than half of the stories told emphasize female figures and female experience. Hervey's choices to portray positive female figures and to write in prose render her work exceptional; most early or mid-century adaptations of the legend, including rare examples by other women, favour the poetic form and male perspectives.

Alan Lupack (1992; 1999) anthologizes an excerpt from *Feasts* and provides a brief critical introduction, gesturing to the text's potential identity as the first feminist Arthurian novel, but no further studies exist. I propose, then, to conduct a preliminary examination of how Hervey blends the Arthurian frame with non-medieval materials to create a narrative that speaks to this potential as well as to nineteenth-century social and political issues such as appropriate behaviour, racial identity, empire, and just rule.

1.4 Social Reform

Koenraad Claes (Ghent)

The Off-Modernity of Young England: Nostalgic Renewal in the Poetry of Lord John Manners and Alexander Baillie-Cochrane

It is common knowledge that the principles of Young England were publicised through literary texts, their leader Disraeli's 'Young England trilogy' of novels (1844–47) often being considered the group's first public mission statements. However, their actual first published pleas for a renewal of British conservatism through a return to its historical Tory legacy were not novels, but poems, and by younger associates instead of by the future PM himself. Already in 1841, two of Dizzy's core supporters, Lord John Manners (later Duke of Rutland) and Alexander 'the Celt' Baillie-Cochrane (a Scottish stray in Young England), published long poems that combine a purposeful idealisation of the past with an awareness of the challenges of the early Victorian era.

As 'the Celt' would later recall, '[a]ll the Young Englanders were in some degree poetic'. Manners's *England's Trust* and Baillie's *Meditations of Other Days* are programmatic poems that shed light on the origins of Young England ideology, then as now often denigrated as mere historical pageantry. This paper will argue that these two poems actually develop nuanced arguments informed by Romantic poetics and philosophy of history, mainly pertaining to what Disraeli summarised as 'imagination in the government of nations as a quality not less important than reason'.

These poems conform to the late theorist Svetlana Boym's description of the political project of the 'restorative' nostalgic, who 'directs his [sic] gaze not only backwards but sideways', lamenting unrealized but

potentially renewable historical continuities between past and present, 'and expresses himself in elegiac poems and ironic fragments, not in philosophical or scientific treatises'. Their intrinsically modern patchwork of references to outmoded norms, in which 'reflection and longing, estrangement and affection go together', arguably constitutes an early instance of what Boym called the 'Off-Modern', serving to expose the pretentiousness of a century and a half of modernity. Reading these poems in this light will elucidate Young England's early instance of a seemingly paradoxical—yet typically Victorian—appropriation of defunct realities in order to resolve acute social issues.

Lisa Bilella (Leeds)

'The Energies of Heroic Youth': Disraeli's Novel Fantasies of Social Reform

This paper focuses on Benjamin Disraeli's social-problem novels and their fantasies of reviving an idealised, communal monastic past to generate institutionalised social reform. This paper also considers to what extent the form of the novel necessarily precipitates the intersection of ethical individualism and communal reform. By the 1840s the growing popularity of Chartism, increased public discourse around the condition of the working class and the fear of widespread civil unrest precipitated an abundance of prose responding to Carlyle's 'Condition of England Question.' For Disraeli, the rising popularity of economic competition as a theory to explain the unrest of the poor, their disillusion with aristocratic leadership, and parliament's general inability to legislate effectively signals the breakdown of the natural relationship between the land, its owners, and the people. Disraeli specifically deploys the novel to counter the language of individual competition through an imaginative return to the medieval past in which monasteries were essential in maintaining the poor, but recasts monastics as a young, true aristocracy. By presenting the monastery as an ideal model of pre-industrial socio-political organisation, Disraeli unites the governing power structure with unimpeachable moral precepts, reinforcing the supremacy of the public good, and demonstrating that the monasteries were preferable to modern landlords because their subservience to god precluded self-interest. This narrative of communal history displaces the discourse around individual philanthropy toward the poor in favour of institutionalized solutions to poverty and public welfare. While these solutions are not egalitarian or democratic enough to be acceptable today, they constitute one of few novelistic 'solutions' to the Condition of England question which places the impetus for social reform on parliamentary and social institutions, rather than the purses of the middle class.

Richard Adelman (Sussex)

John Stuart Mill's Renewal of Political Economy

John Stuart Mill's 1848 *Principles of Political Economy* was *the* authority in Victorian economic theory until the 1890s, "the economic bible," according to Donald Winch, "of the generation that came to maturity in the 1850s and 60s," especially those "with reformist and radical-liberal credentials." The orthodox scholarly position on Mill's economic thought, however, remains problematic. For V. W. Bladen, for example, the editor of Mill's political economy for his *Complete Works*, one should distinguish between Mill "the political economist" and Mill "the preacher". The purpose of this distinction, for Bladen, is to dismiss a significant proportion of the ideas to be found in Mill's *Political Economy* as stemming from the latter persona, and to thereby delimit what can count as economic sense today. Building on my recent revisionist work on nineteenth-century political economy — in *Idleness and Aesthetic Consciousness, 1815-1900* (CUP, 2018) and in my edited collection *Political Economy, Literature and the Formation of Knowledge, 1720-1850* (Routledge, 2018) — this paper will recover the extent to which Mill's political economic thought represents a recuperation of the Smithian, *belle-lettrist* model of political economy of the 1770s — especially in the moments Bladen defines as Mill "preaching". Political economy is normally understood as hardening by the early nineteenth century, thanks to the mathematical approaches to the discourse developed by David Ricardo and Thomas Malthus. I will demonstrate, however, that Mill's economic thought in fact synthesizes the rigour of Ricardo with the more sophisticated philosophical scepticism and cultural relativism of Adam Smith and James Steuart. What re-emerges, from this reading, is Mill's plural and inclusive model of economics, a model

that can offer much to the present with its crises of capitalism and its thirst for new models of socially responsible productivity.

1.5 National Identity

Brian Murray (King's College London)

British Israel and the Irish Jeremiah: Reviving Biblical 'Races' in Nineteenth-Century Britain

In his ramble through the *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (1865), Dean A.P. Stanley asks the visitor to pause respectfully before the Stone of Scone, a 'primeval monument which binds together the whole Empire'. Set beneath the coronation chair, the relic bears 'witness to its long migrations … an element of poetic, patriarchal, heathen times, which … carries back our thoughts to races and customs now almost extinct; a link which unites the Throne of England to the traditions of Tara and Iona'. Brought to Westminster from Scotland by Edward I, the stone had long been associated with the pillow of the visionary patriarch Jacob, but the series of 'long migrations' described by Stanley are the product of nineteenth-century antiquarian syncretism. Medieval myth-makers had given the relic an auspicious biblical provenance, but it was left to Victorian eccentrics and enthusiasts to painstakingly reconstruct the stone's journey from Ancient Palestine to Ireland under the guardianship of the prophet Jeremiah.

The so-called 'British Israelites' were a loose Protestant sect united by their belief that the Anglo-Saxon race was descended from the Lost Tribes of Israel and that biblical prophecies on the future of 'Israel' and 'Judah' referred to the British Empire. For British Israelites, the stone provided an archaeological thread connecting the British monarchy with the Kingdom of David. Although heavily reliant on evidence drawn from early Gaelic sources, British Israelites were quick to denigrate the present-day Irish. Despite their fascination with the druidical mysteries of the Celts, most British Israelites were arch-imperialists, stanch anti-Catholics and opponents of Irish Home Rule. My paper examines how Old Testament narratives of exiled 'nations' were deployed to bolster the claims of Anglo-Saxon imperialism, and how a racialized reading of scripture became a lens through which interpret sectarian conflict in the British and Irish Isles.

Oriah Amit (California)

"Philistine splendors" to "dreamy sensuousness": Amy Levy's Call for a New Jewish Aesthetics in *Reuben Sachs*

Amy Levy's 1889 novel *Reuben Sachs* has long been the subject of scholarly attention for its harsh censure of London's Jewish community. However, the novel has not yet been considered in light of its significant aesthetic investments, nor has it been situated within the larger movement of Jewish urban and artistic renewal taking place in London during the latter part of the nineteenth century. This paper draws on previous studies by Nadia Valman, Linda Hunt Beckman, and Susan David Bernstein to argue that while Levy's depiction of London Jewish life in this novel is often unflattering, her criticism emerges from a commitment to reviving a lost aesthetic heritage. The novel's narrator, who quotes from the works of the Jewish poet Heinrich Heine, admires "the glorious music which rolled out from the great organ" at the synagogue on the day of atonement, and celebrates sensory perception as "all that makes life beautiful, worthy—a thing in any way tolerable," models the cultivation of a distinctly Jewish artistic sensibility. Consequently, the novel is most critical of its Jewish characters when they exchange their aesthetic pleasures for material ones, a move that, I argue, Levy equates with assimilation into secular London society and the loss of ethnic identity. By situating *Reuben Sachs* alongside the revival of Jewish arts taking place in London towards the end of the nineteenth century—which included the creation of a distinctive architectural model for new London synagogues, proposals for the addition of a choir to the traditional religious

service, and the prolific career of the Jewish pre-Raphaelite painter Simeon Solomon—this paper reveals Levy not simply as a critic of her community, but as an advocate for the renewal of London's Jewish culture through an aesthetic lens.

Michael Shaw (Stirling)

'It is the centre towards which the provincial mind gravitates': William Sharp/Fiona Macleod and the Belgian Revival

One of the most understudied aspects of the work of the Paisley-born writer William Sharp (better known by his pseudonym, 'Fiona Macleod') was his significant role in interpreting, translating and disseminating the works of the Belgian Revival to English-speaking audiences. Sharp published numerous essays on Belgian writers, such as Maurice Maeterlinck and Auguste Jenart; he translated a number of their plays; and he incorporated several features of their writings into his own literary works. Ever modest, Sharp declared that he was 'the only specialist among English men of letters' of *la jeune belgique*. There are several reasons Sharp was attracted to the Belgian Revival, most obviously the fact that its adherents enthusiasm for symbolism and mysticism complemented his own emerging Celtic revivalism. But he was also attracted to these writers because he believed that the cultural nationalism that underpinned the Belgian Revival provided a model for Scotland (as well as Ireland) at the *fin de siècle*. In several of his essays, Sharp explicitly equates Scottish cultural developments with those in Belgium and discusses how Scottish cultural nationalism could be advanced through international inspiration. This paper reveals Sharp's concern with cultural nationalism (challenging the overly-simplistic association of his writings with Celtic defeatism) and illustrates the ways that the Belgian Revival spoke to the type of cultural revival he was advocating for Scotland. After illustrating the importance of the Scottish context to his essays on the Belgian Revival, I go on to assess some of the ways Belgian texts influenced his own cultural revivalist writings, focussing on his collection of prose dramas, *Vistas* (1894).

1.6 The Dundee Gothic Group

Lauren Christie (Dundee)

Spectral Children and the Gothic Space

The placement of child characters within gothic and horror narrative worlds has, for decades, generated shock and unease for the reader. Despite the uncomfortable nature regarding the presence of children within these genres, the frequency and popularity of this trope is ever increasing. Using examples from the nineteenth century to the modern day, this presentation will ask: to what extent does the juxtaposition of children and horror heighten anxiety for the reader? This paper will explore representations of children in gothic literature, taking an interdisciplinary approach as the material will include fiction, pedagogy and film. Focusing on a gothic novel set in the Victorian era as one of the primary texts, John Boyne's *This House is Haunted*, this presentation will select specific examples of tropes throughout the novel to enable a joint analysis of both the use of the gothic space in literature and the continued presence of spectral children. In order to fully represent spectral children and their presence within the gothic realm, this presentation will pay specific attention to the monstrous child, childhood objects within the gothic space, and the presence of spectral children as a means of heightening terror in contemporary horror films.

Rhiannon Lindsay-Andrews (Dundee)

The Physical Aspects of Vampirism Over the Centuries

There remains a strong and overbearing image of vampires in the social consciousness: pale, fanged, and probably covered in blood from draining helpless victims. While many casual observers might assume this predatory image derives from Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, in actuality his eponymous vampire was far more sedate than that. This assumption influences perceptions of later literary vampires too, leading to the mockery of Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight* saga for including vampires who quite literally shine. This presentation will look at how vampires have physically changed over the centuries, from Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla*in the early Victorian period to L. J. Smith's *The Vampire Diaries*, and asks whether the accreted plots of the novels dictate these changes. Ultimately, the appearance of the vampire depends upon its audience as it is they who take the cultural notion of the vampire figure and expect further vampires to conform to these ideals.

Hope Roulstone (Dundee)

The Influence of British Victorian Gothic on Mark Z. Danielewski's *House of Leaves*

Since its publication in 2000 Mark Z. Danielewski's novel *House of Leaves* has been revolutionary in the landscape of contemporary gothic and horror fiction. The novel, while taking an adoptive approach to gothic tropes, adapts commonplace structure and narrative, interweaving them to construct an ergodic piece of prose, thereby creating both an emotional and physical experience for the reader. While *House of Leaves* is unique in many ways, it is important to address the texts that influenced it and which enabled a novel of this nature to be created. This area of scholarship has typically focused on American gothic authors, rather than British authors of the nineteenth century. This presentation seeks to rectify this lacuna by exploring the influence of key Victorian texts alongside Danielewski's novel. Attention will be paid to the multimodal narrative, the use of imagery as a tool for immersion, the interchangeable temporality, and the unreliable narrative voices. Several texts will be examined alongside *House of Leaves*, including Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1882), Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw* (1891), and the works of the Brontës.

1.7 Renewal in the Novel

David McAllister (Birkbeck)

Renewals of Youth: Age, Masculinity, and Generational Tension in Dickens's *Dombey and Son*

In *Dombey and Son*, Dickens exhibits a fascination with the physical decline of middle-aged bodies. It is a novel whose men are typically very young (such as Walter Hartright) or middle aged (such as almost everyone else). Mr Dombey himself is 48 years old when the novel opens, and is, 'rather bald, rather red'; the elder Mr Carker is 'not old, but his hair was white; his body was bent, or bowed as if by the weight of some great trouble: and there were deep lines in his worn and melancholy face'; Mr Morfin is "Grey-headed…and fast growing greyer'; Sol Gills, Captain Cuttle. Only the younger Carker, a 'gentleman of thirty-eight or forty years old, of a florid complexion, and with two unbroken rows of glistening teeth' seems able to resist decline, and his vigour is treated with deep suspicion.

This paper proposes to pay attention to these marks of age in *Dombey and Son*, reading them alongside the paratextual advertisements in the novel's monthly numbers which reveal a growing cultural concern with the possibility that such physical decline might be resisted, or at least disguised. Advertisements for hair dyes and baldness cures abound, promising renewals of youth. Even Dombey's office is overlooked by a barber's shop featuring 'a waxen effigy, bald as a Mussulman in the morning, and covered, after eleven o'clock in the day, with luxuriant hair and whiskers in the latest Christian fashion'. This connects to recent work on ageing that shows how mid-Victorian culture reconstructed middle age as decline, rather than (as had previously been the case) the period of life in which a man came into his 'prime'.

This paper will consider how this fascination with ageing intersects with a plot that turns firstly on Dombey's inability to renew himself, and to perpetuate his family name, by siring a healthy son, and then on the suspiciously virile Carker's desire to supplant his ageing boss. It reads *Dombey and Son* as a novel of generational

conflict, which proposes that national renewal might only come when the young are allowed to replace the old, and the middle-aged know when to step aside.

Louise Creechan (Glasgow)

'The Letter Killeth': Renewing and Re-appraising the Spelling Mistake in the Novels of Thomas Hardy

'[T]he letter killeth' is the Biblical epithet that appears on the title page of Thomas Hardy's *Jude the* Obscure (1895); the quotation is commonly considered to be a reflection on the 'over-education' of the novel's eponymous protagonist and various tragedies that follow, arguably, as a result of his educational aspirations.

In this paper, I propose that Hardy 'killeth the letter' in many of his novels, including: *Far From the Madding Crowd* (1874), *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886) and *Jude the Obscure*. Throughout his work Hardy sublimates traditional literacy by focusing on the materiality of written text, rather than on the meaning of the words. This trope allows the text, as material object, to acquire meanings that differ from its standard reading that is based on decoding the words on the page. In this way, the authority of the written word is undermined by these frequent moments of dissociation from literal readings of text.

I will focus on instances when Hardy utilises orthographic errors as a direct challenge to the authority of written text and, by extension, the hegemony of standardised education. In these instances, malapropisms, alternative constructions of letters, and misspellings are not merely textual aberrations, but re-configurations of traditional literacy that serve the subject and communicate their specific meaning. Letters and standards of orthography are thus rendered subjective, as these supposed misspellings act as loci of resistance to the oppressive social agenda of education reform.

This paper aims to re-appraise the importance of the spelling mistake and proposes that we renew our attitude to non-standard literacies in Victorian fiction.

Sophie Franklin (Durham)

Renewing Violence in the Brontë Legacy

Violence is embedded in the Brontë legacy, but its significance has undergone a renewal in recent years. With initial reviewers deeming Anne, Charlotte, and Emily Brontë's respective work coarse, violent, and unfeminine, Elizabeth Gaskell and Charlotte Brontë herself sought to defend the sisters against such accusations. Through their creation and sustenance of the 'Brontë myth', violence was positioned as something fundamental to the Brontës as writers, but also – paradoxically – as something from which they should be distanced.

In recent years, however, critical responses, adaptations, and reappraisals of Anne, Charlotte, and Emily Brontë's work have sought to foreground the violent aspects of their writing and lives within a wider process of de-mythologisation and de-romanticisation. Several responses to the Brontës' novels and lives – including Andrea Arnold's *Wuthering Heights* (2011), Mike Barker's *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* (1996), and Sally Wainwright's *To Walk Invisible* (2016) – have sought to reframe, re-instate, and, in some cases, accentuate Anne, Charlotte, and Emily Brontë's literary violences as a prominent and potentially generative aspect of their work and lives, partly in a bid to provide a more "authentic" (though by no means unproblematic) representation of the books and their authors.

The perception and representation of violence within the Brontë legacy has therefore undergone a shift: from an integral force in the development of their work, but one from which they should be detached; to a crucial area of their writing and lives which should be emphasised and, even, celebrated. This paper explores this contradictory renewal of violence in the Brontë legacy, by exploring adaptations and biopics inspired by their work and lives, and asks: why do Anne, Charlotte, and Emily Brontë continue to court narratives of violence? And why do recent reconsiderations of their work and lives want to "brutalise" the Brontës?

Panel Session 2: Wednesday 28 August, 1330-1500

2.1 Renewals in Victorian Literature and Philosophy

As Tim Milnes has recently argued, our contemporary notions of 'literature' and 'philosophy' were forged sometime around the beginning of the long nineteenth century. It is only at this moment that we begin to see 'the modern notion of "literature", with its aura of autonomy and profundity', becoming distinguished from more instrumental modes of writing, and during this same period, the modern notion of "'philosophy" beg[an] to be divorced from "natural philosophy"'. Indeed, the long nineteenth century did much to credit literature and philosophy with epistemic or ethical parity while refining differentiations within each discipline. This panel focuses on the Victorian period, considering the ways in which philosophy and literature found themselves 'renewed' through interdisciplinary contact during the period. The papers presented address a number of major and minor figures from both literature and philosophy, taking in a number of distinct ways in which literature responded to different modes of philosophical discourse, including political philosophy, and ethical and aesthetic philosophy.

Monika Class (Johannes Gutenberg, Mainz)

Evolution and Dissolution: Materialist Philosophy in George Eliot's Fiction

The end of the first chapter of George Eliot's *Felix Holt, The Radical* (1866) invites readers to imagine the tragic heroine's lived experience of humiliation as the reversed evolution of a queen-like woman into 'some quivering thing with eyes and throbbing heart may lie crouching'. Such a reversal of evolution is called 'dissolution' in the writings of Herbert Spencer and was developed further by the clinician and philosopher John Hughlings Jackson (Spencer; Chirimuuta; York and Stein). The paper will briefly sketch Spencer's integration of Darwin's theory into nervous anatomy as well as Hughlings Jackson's application. Treating neurological disease as physically caused, and excluding mental causation, made it possible for Hughlings Jackson to employ Spencer's evolutionary ideas uniformly to the nervous systems (Chirimuuta). Contrary to Sigmund Freud and much early Victorian psychology, Hughlings Jackson disregarded the mental causation of nervous disease.

The paper proposes that the figurative description of Mrs. Transome in Eliot's novel resonates with 'dissolution' and that this sends mainly two signals to her audience: First, the allusion configures Spencer's 'dissolution' for Victorian reader by bringing to bear Spencer's innovative neurophysiology on their novel reading experience; and, second, this neurophysiology reconfigures and challenges the belief that novel-induced excitement be a viable cause of nervous disorder, as eighteenth and early nineteenth-century materialist philosophers had suggested (Beddoes; Vickers). The re-contextualization of Eliot's novel with Spencer's *Principles of Psychology* and Hughlings Jackson's theoretical lectures (1864-1887) aims to contribute to the ongoing discussion by critics such as Dames regarding the role of the body-mind relation in the theorization of the Victorian novel.

Peter Garratt (Durham)

Spinoza's Post-Romantic Revivals

Few apart from Shelley openly admired the controversial philosopher Spinoza in the first decades of the nineteenth century; by the end of the Victorian period, British intellectual life teemed with translations and commentaries on Spinoza's life and work. How might this remarkable shift -- this sudden revival of reputation -- be understood and explained? As is well known, George Eliot and George Henry Lewes played a decisive role in the midcentury domestication of Spinoza's ideas, particularly in relation to the monism expounded in the Ethics, while later voices included Frederick Pollock, James Martineau, and John Caird, among others -- all scattered, various, philosophically and politically divergent. The figure of Victorian Spinoza was amenable to dramatically different sources of opinion, as Caird (a Scottish Hegelian idealist) noted in 1887 with some regret. In this paper I first examine the formation of this many-faced figure in the writing and thought of the second half of the century,

before narrowing my focus to suggest that Spinozan monism chimed with the assumptions of psychological associationism which enjoyed their own renewal and revival in the new psychology of the 1860s and 70s.

Giles Whiteley (Stockholm)
False and True Epicureanisms: Contextualising Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*

Walter Pater famously conceived of his 1885 historical novel *Marius the Epicurean* as an opportunity to recontextualise the ideas he had broached in his infamous conclusion to his earlier *Renaissance* (1873). In his novel, he sought to highlight an ethical distinction he hoped to establish between a 'true' Epicureanism (a rounded aestheticism) and a degenerate decadence. It was this nuanced and renewed idea, drawn from a classical heritage and repurposed for a Victorian audience, that underwrote Pater's attack on the 'unsuccessful experiment[s] in Epicureanism' represented by the protagonist in his review of Wilde's *Dorian Gray*. But while scholars have identified some of Pater's sources for his discussion of Epicureanism in his novel, showing how he engaged with classical scholarship, the ways in which he intervened into an existing nineteenth century discourse of the reception of Epicurus' philosophy has not been widely studied. This paper will attempt to offer a preliminary mapping of the ways in which Pater's Marius represents a form of Epicureanism both based on classical models and sensitive to the, often openly polemic, Victorian reception of Epicurus. It will discuss the ways in which Pater's sympathetic response to Epicurus engaged with the Romanticism of Thomas Moore, the moral aesthetic theory of John Ruskin, and the ethical philosophical approach exemplified by William Wallace, a key figure in British Idealism. The paper shows the ways in which Pater's renewal of his own aestheticism in the novel itself offered a chance at a renewed engagement with his peers.

Andrea Selleri (Warwick)
W.H. Mallock and the Perfectibility of Humanity

Mallock's work is little read today, his main claim to fame being his lampooning of better-known authors such as Pater and Arnold in his early Peacockian satire *The New Republic* (1877). His own stated position in the many essays he contributed to periodicals over half a century was that of a catholicising Christian conservative whose numerous dislikes included liberalism, positivism, aestheticism, atheism and Hellenism. This idiosyncratic outlook places him in an uneasy position within the main streams of late-Victorian literary culture, which gives his satire an acrid bite; but this should not detract from his qualities, which are not only those of wit and verbal facility, but include a notable ability to grasp the essentials of an argument or set of ideas in order to expose its inner tensions and contradictions. His reactionary stance and cleverness alike make his work an extraordinarily productive case study for the intellectual historian, in particular for mapping the tensions between competing, though not always explicitly expressed, conceptions of the political and ethical good in the last quarter-century of the Victorian age. This paper will give an overview of how Mallock's satires and essays polemically tackled the late-Victorian legacies of the quintessentially eighteenth-century debate about the possibility of perfectibility of humanity, and what this means in political terms. What transpires is that the two basic positions defined in Enlightenment political philosophy (Rousseau's belief in the fundamental goodness of 'Natural Man' and Kant's pessimism about 'the crooked timber' of humanity) had by this time crystallised into two sets of positions identifiable as 'progressivism' and 'conservatism' in the modern sense, with a range of consequences that extended to the aesthetic and literary realms.

2.2 Victorian Dundee

Alasdair Pettinger (Independent)

'The Temperature of Dundee': Frederick Douglass at School Wynd Chapel, 10 March 1846
Addressing an Anti-Slavery Soiree at George Gilfillan's church in School Wynd on 10 March 1846, Frederick

Douglass assured his audience that 'We came here in no insinuating spirit, softening down our words to suit the temperature of Dundee. We came here without compromise and without concealment.' He may not have softened his words, but he certainly did heed 'the temperature of Dundee'. Indeed, he sought to raise it, primarily by increasing public pressure on the Free Church of Scotland to break its ties with pro-slavery churches in the United States.

In this paper I offer a reading of Douglass' speech as the culmination of a series of rhetorical experiments, refined over the course of his previous five lectures in the town, as he tried to find more effective ways of reviving abolitionist commitment, which he had found to have slackened in the wake of West Indian Emancipation the previous decade.

I show how Douglass modified his approach in response to the changing balance of forces within and between the Free Church and Dissenting churches in Dundee. Engaging with the reports of his activities in the local press and the contributions of the speakers who preceded him at the Soiree, he capped his lecture with an extraordinary theatrical set-piece which marked a new stage in his development as an outstanding orator.

If the speech was a moment in one Victorian renewal, the paper itself is another, reflecting the latest wave of interest in Frederick Douglass' first visit to Scotland. I will close with some reflections on how this episode has been interpreted since the 1950s, both within and beyond the academy.

Erin Farley (Dundee Libraries)

Commemorating the Tay Bridge Disaster: Poetry, place and memory in Dundee

This paper will demonstrate the importance of poetry and song to public culture and to creating a sense of place in the Victorian city through an examination of the immediate and prolific poetic response to the 1879 Tay Bridge Disaster, in which the railway bridge collapsed while a train was crossing. The primary modes of verse used to respond to the disaster, and the two most popular verse forms in Victorian Dundee, were newspaper poetry and broadside song. These forms employed very different conventions of style and narrative in order to conceptualise loss. Drawing on examples from the huge store of surviving Tay Bridge Disaster poems and songs, in particular those published in the Dundee *People's Journal* and through the Poet's Box broadside shop, I will demonstrate the development of shared imagery and metaphors which became key to understanding and commemorating the event, and the ways in which newspaper poems and broadside songs fulfilled different emotional and cultural functions to their overlapping audiences.

The poetic legacy of the nineteenth century continues to influence conceptions of place, and the disaster remains a cultural touchpoint for the city and ever-present in Dundee's waterfront landscape, and because of this association, Dundee's poetic tradition has seen waves of renewed engagement with the Tay Bridge Disaster in the intervening years. With this in mind, I will also consider how, in the work of contemporary Dundee poets such as Fran Baillie and W.N. Herbert, the idea of the Tay Bridge becomes a cipher for a more general sense of loss surrounding Dundee's sense of itself and relationship to place and the past, reflecting on the meanings of this association in the context of the new physical developments on Dundee's waterfront.

Eva-Charlotta Mebius (UCL)

Dickens and Dundee; or, Finding a New Source of Inspiration for *Oliver Twist* in the Writings of Robert Mudie, the Scottish Londoner from Dundee

Charles Dickens's second novel *Oliver Twist* contains many of the most memorable scenes and characters of British literature. Yet, the genesis of *Oliver Twist*, and what Kathleen Tillotson called its 'long incubation,' from the first mention of a potential novel with the title *The Parish* in a letter to Kolle from 1833, has arguably puzzled critics and remains opaque to this day. As such, while we know much about Dickens's walking and his endless ambulation through the metropolis, and how this habit informed his work, this paper will argue that we know less about

which written sources he might have drawn inspiration from for the creation of his inimitable Dickensian London. Earlier illuminating studies by Litvack, Hill, Stone, and Collins have shown us how we may better understand Dickens's writing and its historical context by examining the books that were in Dickens's library. Hence, this paper explores a possible source of inspiration for *Oliver Twist* that promises to shed new light on the novel's obscure origins by the now mostly forgotten, but prolific, writer Robert Mudie entitled *London and Londoners: or, A Second Judgement of Babylon the Great* (1836). Did these two volumes by the Scottish Londoner Robert Mudie provide Dickens with an account of London and its underworld that the great novelist could have expanded upon in his own writing of *Oliver Twist*? In short, this paper will demonstrate how our reading of Dickens may be enriched and renewed by reading what Dickens read, as well as reintroduce the work of Robert Mudie, who began his career as a writer in Dundee.

2.3 Sex and Gender: Neo-Victorian Revivals

Georgia Ntola (Independent)

Fighting on Their Own: The Horrors of Single Motherhood in Sheri Holman's *The Dress Lodger* and Alison Case's *Nelly Dean*

The nuclear family constituted one of the most prominent social ideals upheld by the Victorians, and, as a result, deviant family structures were regularly stigmatized. The marginalized state of single motherhood has thus, unsurprisingly, been explored in neo-Victorian narratives, which, characterized as they are by a revisionist, ethical purpose, aim to shed light over the obscure plights of the pariahs of history. In Sheri Holman's *The Dress Lodger* (2000) and Alison Case's *Nelly Dean* (2016), the titular mothers (surrogate, in the latter's case) are confronted with the challenges inherent to their solitary, unconventional status, as they strive to create a future for their offspring. Arguably, what is being foregrounded in the two novels' portrayal of single motherhood is not so much its radical, empowering potential, but rather its social precariousness and the two women's vulnerability when faced with self-serving patriarchal agents. As Kohlke and Gutleben have asserted in *Neo-Victorian Gothic*, neo-Victorianism continues to pay tribute to the Gothic literary tradition by showcasing that contemporary subjects are still haunted by the horrors of the past, albeit believing that they have successfully superseded them. Considering this view, the two novels arguably draw a parallel between the past and the present regarding the state of single motherhood as a condition of uncertainty, alienation and potentially terror. In this vein, I contend that *The Dress Lodger* and *Nelly Dean* rework the nineteenth century through a Gothicized representation of single motherhood as a transgressive state which renders the two protagonists considerably vulnerable. Traditional plots of the Female Gothic subgenre are echoed since, in the novels, marginalized female experience invariably entails the lack of legal and social protection. Pursuing this line of thought, the present paper will thus assert that single motherhood still holds a problematic status in contemporary, ostensibly liberated societies, as it once did in the earlier period which *The Dress Lodger* and *Nelly Dean* reference.

Ana Markovic (Glasgow)

Born to Be Wild(e)? Gay Assimilationism in Brian Gilbert's *Wilde* (1997) and Rupert Everett's *The Happy Prince* (2018)

Brian Gilbert's *Wilde* (1997) and Rupert Everett's *The Happy Prince* (2018), two examples of screen Wildeana aimed at mainstream audiences, have played an important role in the re-invention of Wilde for the twenty-first century. This particularly applies to Wilde's sexual identity. In response to queer upheaval and change, *Wilde* and *The Happy Prince* seem to provide images of stability, that is, homonormativity. Radical queerness defies gay assimilationism. Queerness has the potential to go wild or, in Jack Halberstam's words, to go gaga. Halberstam incites people 'to be loud in a world of silent collaborators, to be crazy in a room full of nice and normal people, to be unpredictable in a world of highly structured systems of meaning.' Gilbert's and Everett's films fail to go wild. *Wilde* and *The Happy*

Prince romanticise Wilde's desires and feelings. They shift the focus from casual sexual encounters with 'panthers' to sentimental bonds with one or more soulmates. After a few timid nods at sexual outlawry, both films literally and metaphorically domesticate gayness, presenting thus an implicit argument for gay assimilationism. The films' comparative tameness might be attributed in part to the genre of biopic and heritage film, both commonly described as conservative and nostalgic. However, we also need to take into account the proliferation of Wildeana which followed the centenary of Wilde's death and coincided with the rise of interest in Victoriana. Gilbert's and Everett's films raise the question whether mainstream Wildeana can accommodate disruptive, progressive identity politics. I would argue that *Wilde* and *The Happy Prince* suggest that Wildeana aimed at mainstream audiences cannot be the locus of boundary-pushing queerness.

Ann Heilmann (Cardiff)

'A Ghost in the House of the Living'? Neo-Victorian Representations of Lizzie Siddal in Philippe Delerm's *Autumn* and Dawn Marie Kresan's *Muse*

My paper explores the contemporary resonance of the Pre-Raphaelite movement by investigating the representation, in neo-Victorianism, of the PRB's most evocative cultural icon, Lizzie Siddal. The quintessential Victorian hysteric turned supermodel (Lucinda Hawksley) and decadent legend (Jan Marsh), who in death lives on as a spectre and memento mori (as invoked by Charles Ricketts in my title quotation), how is Lizzie Siddal re-imagined in 'neo-Pre-Raphaelitism'? Is she given a voice and agency, or is she, once again, made over into a symbol and *object d'art*? As a woman, model and artist, how is she positioned vis-à-vis male Pre-Raphaelites, in particular Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and, conversely, the Pre-Raphaelite 'sisterhood'? What role, if any, is accorded her own artistic identity and production? I will consider two instances of Lizzie Siddal's 'afterlives', in fiction (Philippe Delerm's French-language novel *Autumn*, 1990) and poetry (Dawn Marie Kresan's *Muse*, 2013).

2.4 George Eliot

Sara Lyons (Kent)

"Breeding Stupid Lads and 'Cute Wenches": Heredity and Intelligence in Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* (1860)

As the science writer Carl Zimmer has recently observed, it is extremely difficult to calculate the influence of environment upon a person's IQ score because such influences cannot be 'snapped apart into distinct chunks the way genetic variants can. They ramify into each other, forming the mycelium of experience'.[1] The 'mycelium of experience' is a phrase that George Eliot surely would have appreciated; she famously reaches for web metaphors when trying to capture the intricate interrelatedness of social life and individual development.

This paper will suggest that turning to Victorian novels, and in particular to Eliot's 1860 *bildungsroman, The Mill on the Floss,* can help to renew the stale modern debate about intelligence and heredity. The long-running controversy over the extent to which differences in IQ scores are attributable to genes or environment, nature or nurture, has its roots in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Mid-Victorian scientists and psychologists – most notably Herbert Spencer and Francis Galton – began to conceptualise intelligence as a biological trait, shaped by evolution and largely determined by heredity. Intelligence was thus disentangled, at least in theory, from personality and moral character, and open to objective measurement, just like any other physical attribute. In the same period, intelligence came to be understood not in terms of specific skills or talents but as general ability – the Victorian antecedent to the concept of *g,* or general intelligence, the quality that IQ tests purport to measure.

As a polymathic thinker and deep reader in contemporary science and psychology, Eliot was unusually well-attuned to the implications of the new biologisation of the intellect. Most clearly, *The Mill on the Foss* is a

[1] Carl Zimmer, *She Has her Mother's Laugh: The Powers, Perversions and Potential of Heredity* (New York: Dutton, 2018), p. 305.

critical response to the fact that mid-Victorian scientists and psychologists dwelled with particular intensity on the supposed innate differences between male and female minds. Beyond this, the novel's representation of the educations of Maggie and Tom Tulliver is a subtle polemic about the inescapably social and emotional nature of intelligence. In this, Eliot used the resources of the novel form to substantiate the same argument that her common-law husband, George Henry Lewes, would later make in his *Problems of Life and Mind* (1877): 'All cognition is primarily emotion. We only *see* what *interests* us. No phenomenon is interesting until it is illuminated by emotion, and we see, or foresee, its connection with our feelings'.[2]

Michael Meeuwis (Warwick)

***Middlemarch, Romola,* and the Failure of Private Reading**

This paper considers George Eliot as part of a larger project rewriting the history of the novel in terms of the subjectivity and epistemology of reading novels in groups and out loud instead of singly and silently. My point of departure here is the repeated failure, noted by David Kurnick among others, of characters within Eliot's fiction to engage in successful private reading. Considering *Middlemarch,* I describe how "bad" public reading drives out "good" private reading. Dorothea Brooke repeatedly fails at the act of contemplative private reading that might permit her perspectival freedom from her immediate situation. Rosamond Vincy, in contrast, commands marital success in part through reading out loud in public—in particular, through reading heavily commercial poetry that concretizes rather than challenges society as it stands. *Middlemarch* leaves us with no sense of how the novel might actually achieve social influence.

Working out how the novel can achieve traction over public life, I suggest, is something Eliot works out through convincingly in *Romola.* I address the novel's best-known formal feature, its awkward translations of Italian language into non-idiomatic English, as an attempt to do for its readers what *Middlemarch* did for that novel's characters: constantly interrupt the privacy of the scene of reading with oral speech. *Romola* presents the mode of private reading that *Middlemarch* shows repeatedly failing as, finally, an impossibility. The presence of public speech is too much a part of the experience of private reading to allow for a discrete epistemological separation of the private reading subject. Awkward speech thickens and jars the experience of private reading, redirecting the reader's awareness outwards towards society.

Ailsa Boyd (Independent)

George Eliot, Owen Jones and Interior Decoration

In *Middlemarch*, Dorothea's aspiration to build happy homes for estate workers is no 'fad', and Eliot's use of architecture and interior design in her novels is not merely set-dressing. Descriptions of buildings and rooms reveal a profound engagement with the domestic interior and the great design reform debate of the 1860-70s, when George Eliot (1819-1880) was writing her great novels. Driven by their revulsion to modern industrial society, commentators like John Ruskin and William Morris scrutinised the production of the objects with which we decorate our homes, relating it to the health of society as a whole, resulting in the Arts and Crafts Movement of the 1880s. Eliot had a sophisticated understanding of these debates and this paper will examine how the relationship of her characters to their homes and histories fed into the moral scheme of her novels.

Eliot's own home was designed by architect Owen Jones (1809-74), one of the leading theorists of the design reform movement, who believed that a healthy society required good, honest and beautiful design. His principles became highly influential with the publication of *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), which Eliot favourably reviewed. From his study of the architecture and design of ancient (Classical, Gothic) and foreign cultures (Islam,

[2] George Henry Lewes, *Problems of Life and Mind: Third Series: Problem the First, The Study of Psychology: Its Object, Scope, and Method* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1879), p. 42.

India) he developed his own architectural language fit for the modern age, and modern materials like cast iron and plate glass.

Design history provides a further context to Eliot's themes of history, picturesqueness and poverty, morality, woman's place, the creation of self-identity, sympathy, and the concept of home. Material culture and intangible heritage expands our understanding of Maggie on display at the bazaar in the Old Hall in *The Mill on the Floss*; the Topping Abbey choirstalls re-purposed as stables in *Daniel Deronda*; and explains why the faded gentility of homes in *Middlemarch* have 'A physiognomy of their own, as our friends have'.

2.5 Visual Culture

Gurismran Oberoi (Surrey and Watts Gallery)

Recovering The Archive: G. F. Watts and The Victorians' Futurity At Manchester Art Gallery, 1913

One of the ultimate challenges facing art historians is to demonstrate art's influence. This quandary is of particular concern when one considers the living relationship between artistic and social development. The hidden history of G. F. Watts and other celebrity Victorian artists (including the aesthetes Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones, Arthur Hacker, and J. M. Strudwick) at Manchester Art Gallery in 1913 departs from an examination into the historicism of late Victorian art and its Classical influences. It considers the futurity of the Victorians in twentieth century activism. The controversial protest against artworks by eleven Victorian artists in the campaign for women's enfranchisement marks the first iconoclastic attack against art in suffrage history. Yet its record, history and influence has been largely underexamined in scholarship. This paper will investigate the orchestrated attack carried out by the Women's Social and Political Union (UK) and reveal how the Women's Christian Temperance Union (USA) influenced British suffrage tactics against Victorian art. By recovering archival material in museums, libraries and digital collections, this paper illuminates how important G. F. Watts is to discussions of twentieth century activism. While his paintings *She Shall Be Called Woman* (1875-92), *Joan of Arc* (1867) and *Faith* (1890-96) may belong to the nineteenth century and coincide with their wider forms of social enquiry and political engagement surrounding feminism, their universalist qualities continue to resonate with the social and political ideologies of future centuries. The importance of this study lies in the assessment of how the Suffrage Campaign accessed and appropriated Watts's art, and took advantage of its global circulation to further their cause. Furthermore, this research contributes to the theorisation of the transnational structures and currents which support the engagement of Watts's art in a global narrative to highlight how essential mobility studies are in renewing discussions of the Victorian Celebrity, Legacy and the archive.

Helen Victoria Murray (Surrey)

Neo-Victorian Pre-Raphaelitism: Temporal Disruptions and Aesthetic (Dis)Continuities

From their formation in 1848 under Rossetti, Holman Hunt and Millais, to their second wave in the 1860s, with the addition of William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood returned to artistic and poetic ideals of the medieval period. While the brotherhood's politics tended to progressivism, Socialism and equality, these were expressed through imagery and forms from the past. Far from being conservative in their values, the PRB rejected the norms perpetuated by their contemporaries in the Royal Academy of Art – to move forward, they looked back. Consequently, 'Pre-Raphaelite', as Elizabeth Prettejohn argues, 'carries a modernist implication difficult to disentangle from its archaizing one.' (Prettejohn, 2012).

Just as the Pre-Raphaelites looked to the medieval past to find an aesthetic register for the ideals of their present, contemporary culture has, since the 1990s, repeatedly and pointedly referenced Pre-Raphaelite aesthetics,

ideals and figures, as part of the Neo-Victorian project Heilmann and Llewellyn define as '[self-conscious] (re)interpretation, (re)discovery and (re)vision concerning the Victorians' (Heilmann and Llewellyn, 2010). What does it say about our cultural moment, that we choose to revive, adapt and reinterpret the aesthetics and historical figures of an art movement which was itself committed to revivalism? Furthermore, how does the imaginative, often irreverent adaptation of Pre-Raphaelite sources complicate current debates around Neo-Victorian temporality and referentiality?

This paper examines twenty-first-century Pop Culture Pre-Raphaelitism as an underrepresented area of Neo-Victorian criticism. Using some surprising and intriguing examples of Neo-Victorian Pre-Raphaelitism, from the infamously melodramatic BBC drama *Desperate Romantics* (2009), to referential fashion photography in *Vogue Magazine* and visual gags parodying the tragic Pre-Raphaelite heroine in the Netflix drama *Bojack Horseman* (2014-present), I will demonstrate that Pre-Raphaelitism is uniquely fitted to Neo-Victorian reinterpretation, as both modes aim to aestheticise and politicise multiple temporalities.

Nanami Kawade (York)

Renewed Manners in Collecting: Victorian Art Collectors and Art Collecting Traditions

In the history of art production, revivals keep occurring throughout the ages and artists have always learned from and emulated past arts. On the other hand, people who receive art—art collectors—have also been involved in renewed/revived traditions of the past. The nineteenth-century British collectors, especially those of the middle-class—which became predominant in the art world as well as the political sphere and other economic areas—were a new phenomenon and different from previous generations in terms of their social class and means of living. However, in a sense, they inherited, revived, and renewed past traditions of art collecting. Descriptive terms that referred to collectors of past periods, such as a 'Medici prince' or a 'Venetian merchant', were sometimes used to describe Victorian collectors, and collectors themselves sometimes desired to be identified as a successor of—or a person of similar ilk to—celebrated past collectors. Liverpool shipowner Frederick Richards Leyland, a renowned Pre-Raphaelite collector, was praised for realising 'his dream of living the life of an old Venetian merchant in modern London' and possessed some Venice-related pieces in his collection. Affection toward land and family was one of the features of aristocrat collectors in the past; however, a passion for the history of family and residence can be found in the activities of Victorian middle-class collectors, such as Frederick William Cosens, as well. Additionally, a colony or circle of artists and art patrons—such as the Holland Park Circle, where numerous leading artists owned their studio houses, some well-known patrons lived, and Cosens also once resided—could resemble the courts of monarchs in the past. Victorian middle-class collections were more individual and more ephemeral than those of past collectors; however, in a sense, they were successors of previous traditions and can be interpreted in this light.

2.6 Women's Bodies

Jessica Cox (Brunel)

Maternal Renewals: Late Nineteenth-Century Debates on Infant Feeding

The late nineteenth century witnessed renewed anxiety around infant feeding, which centred in particular on the refusal of some women to breastfeed, and the use of wet nurses amongst wealthy women. The author of one advice book noted that , 'Fashion has lately stepped in among a certain class of women in an iniquitous manner, […] and has attempted to prevent this true mother's mission [maternal breastfeeding] from being accomplished'.[3] Meanwhile, another advice book for mothers provoked outrage when it urged against maternal breastfeeding, arguing that 'a child is far easier got into good habits if it is brought up from its birth by the bottle, than if it be

[3] Lionel A. Weatherly, *The Young Wife's Own Book* (1882), p. 207.

nursed'.[4] The question of the use of wet nurses was also brought to the fore, not least in George Moore's late-Victorian novel, *Esther Waters* (1894), which, echoing various (often sensational) newspaper articles, illustrated the dangers to the babies of wet nurses who were often left with unscrupulous baby farmers whilst their mothers worked to feed the babies of wealthy women.

This paper examines this renewed interest in infant feeding in the late nineteenth century in relation to prevailing gender ideologies and class debates, as well as wider discourses around the maternal body and women's roles. I consider the significance of these debates in relation to the emergence of the New Woman, the relative success of the women's rights movement, and the ongoing campaign for female suffrage, and posit that the roots of current – frequently contentious – debates around infant feeding have their origins in competing Victorian voices on the same subject.

Sophia Jochem (Berlin)

'Evident Marks of Recent Ill-usage': *Little Dorrit*'s Symptomology of Intimate Partner Violence

Intimate partner violence – 'wife beating' or 'ill-usage' – was a constantly renewed topic of debate throughout the Victorian period. Accordingly, Victorian literature's engagement with physical domestic abuse has been a central reference point for critical understanding of gender identities, with Kate Lawson and Lynn Shakinovsky, Marlene Tromp, and Lisa Surridge, among others, arguing that Victorian literature avoids clearly condemning intimate partner violence, and in fact tends to marginalise the battered female body. Literature's interest in the emotional dimension of wife beating, on the other hand, has not yet been explored in detail. My paper reopens the case of intimate partner violence in Victorian literature to include the permanent damage wife beating inflicts on the victim's psyche. I add to the established reading list a text that remains unexamined in the context of IPV: Dickens's *Little Dorrit* (1855-7). With the character of Affery Flintwinch, *Little Dorrit* embarks on a large-scale exploration of the continuous experience of both physical and emotional violence in an abusive domestic relationship. What sets *Little Dorrit* apart is that it resists relating Affery's innermost thoughts and emotions, unlike texts like 'Janet's Repentance' or 'The Tenant of Wildfell Hall', which have been argued to veil the battered body in 'a more spiritualized account of her psyche' as Helena Michie puts it (86). I argue that *Little Dorrit* instead portrays the destructive effect constant intimidation has on Affery's personality by emphasising how it affects her outward, *bodily* appearance and behaviour. Thus exposing the severe psychological damage IPV inflicts without obscuring its acute physicality, *Little Dorrit* offers a fresh angle on the Victorian literary discourse around IPV, calling for a renewed critical engagement with wife beating as well as the broader issues like gender identities and women's rights that were at stake in this debate.

Louise Logan (Strathclyde)

Apes and Angels: Rethinking Victorian Images of Pet Primates in the *Illustrated Police News*

The perceived sinfulness and degradation of primates contributed to the rhetorical power of Benjamin Disraeli's famous question: 'Is man an ape or an angel?' Declaring himself to believe the latter, Disraeli posited the purity of angels (and mankind) against lustful apes. This contrast is vividly present in the sensational nineteenth-century crime newspaper the *Illustrated Police News*, which featured numerous stories of middle-class women being attacked and harassed by the unruly pet primates of their affluent neighbours. These stories were often accompanied by illustrations which suggested the sexualised nature of these encounters, and so the *Police News* contributed to imagery that suggested women were the targets of the unrestrained and violent sexuality of apes. But while contemporary anthropological accounts and artworks have been criticised for contributing to contemporary racist stereotypes, this paper will suggest that the *Police News'* illustrations have additional social resonances.

[4] Mrs Panton, *The Way They Should Go*, p. 44.

The primates of these reports were no longer wild animals, but pets under the control of white, middle-class men. Because of this, it is not enough to read these stories and illustrations only in the context of debates about race and colonialism. The sexual danger embodied these animals upset Victorian ideals of bourgeois femininity and domesticity which emphasised purity and order, and also challenged narratives of dominance and control surrounding the capture and display of exotic animals. The *Police News* further highlights several incidences in which the law was unable to intervene in cases of disruptive monkeys in a domestic setting. This is where this paper will suggest that we might read these stories in relation to depictions of domestic violence, as the aggression of pet primates rendered women vulnerable victims in their own homes, with little legal protection. While, as Rintoul (2015) has shown, the paper luridly illustrated domestic violence towards working-class women, it only covertly represented this violence in relation to middle-class women. This paper will therefore argue that the representation of pet primates in this overlooked newspaper can be read as critiques of middle-class patriarchy, and discuss the reasons why its core readership of working-class men and women would have relished these sensationalised accounts.

2.7 Victorian Revivals

Yajya Shrivastav (Leeds)

Christmas Revival and the Mode of Christmas Numbers in the Victorian Periodical Industry

After getting banned by Oliver Cromwell in the mid-1640s, Christmas did manage to revive – although very insignificantly - in the 1660s, however, by the nineteenth-century, the interest in the festival dwindled again, rather declined to a record low with the onset of the Industrial Revolution. Leigh Hunt labelled it an event 'scarcely worth a mention' and it was believed, even until the early 1840s, that Christmas will slowly die out in England. However, as is well-known, this prospect dramatically changed after the publication of Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* in 1843; this Christmas revival was going to be prodigiously successful, so much so that the attraction towards the festival would last forever. It was after being inspired by Washington Irving's Yuletide fiction like 'The Legend of Sleepy Hollow' and 'Rip Van Winkle', that Dickens wrote *A Christmas Carol* that would not only save Christmas but would endow the festival with a high market-value in the Victorian publishing industry, especially in the periodical literature. Initially, Dickens wrote five Christmas Books between 1843 and 1848, and then came up with the idea of providing a similar annual offering in the form of the 'extra Christmas numbers' of his journals *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*. Commencing in the year 1850, these special numbers were to carry forward.

Dickens' yearly tradition of underlining the revived importance of Yuletide kindred and charity during this joyous occasion once every year. A shift from the book-form to periodical publication suggests an attempt on Dickens' part to make this re-emerged Yuletide fiction a part of something more permanent, organised and ongoing. Witnessing the goods that could come out of such seasonal commitment, a majority of editors and publishers of the time adopted Dickens' practice and commenced producing special Xmas numbers and Christmas Annuals for the December issues of their periodicals and magazines. Hence, the mode of publishing Christmas numbers was established in the Victorian periodical industry. This paper will investigate how it became customary for the Victorian mainstream journals and publishing houses to print special issues devoted to the celebration of the renewed fascination with Christmas.

Lauren Christie (Dundee)

The Great Gothic Revival of Victorian Children's Literature

This presentation will explore the development of children's literature from the late Victorian era through to the twenty-first century. In order to demonstrate examples of tropes that are fundamental to contemporary literature (such as fantasy, imagination and morality), this study will focus on three main texts from the Victorian period: *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Carroll, 1865), *The Jungle Book* (Kipling, 1894) and *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (Baum, 1900). Whilst the work of other key authors will briefly feature (Edward Lear and George MacDonald), these specific examples will tackle the latter half of the era as the genre enters the Edwardian 'Golden Age' of children's fiction.

Furthermore, this argument will consider the rise of Romanticism which preceded the Victorian era and, for a while, overlapped. Examining both time periods together will offer insights into the various ways in which Romanticism and Gothic fiction inspired Victorian children's literature, and continues to do so in the twenty-first-century. The popularity of Victorian children's literature arose straight after the Brothers Grimm published their manuscript of collected tales (1810), and authors such as Lewis Carroll pushed the boundaries of imagination and fantasy realms. Famous literary classic from the twentieth century can be viewed as an extension of this, such as *Peter Pan*, *The Hobbit* and *The Chronicles of Narnia*. All of these texts contain a Wonderland-inspired world that encourages exploration and adventure. In order to full appreciate the popularity of contemporary texts as the field of children's literature progresses, it is vital to examine their history. This presentation will conclude by establishing the roots of children's literature of the Victorian era, the influence of Gothic tropes, and ways in which both genres have merged in order to birth new contemporary explorations of key themes and aspects, such as the overwhelming success of children's Gothic fiction.

Kazuo Yokouchi (Kwansei Gakuin University)

Renewing the Devil's Compact in the Age of Bohemianism: Thackeray's "The Painter's Bargain" in Context

I'll focus on one of William Makepeace Thackeray's early tales, "The Painter's Bargain," which appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1838 and was later collected in *The Paris Sketch Book* in 1840. The tale recounts the fate of a French artist who deals with the devil to get over his predicament on the condition that he should sell his soul at the end of the term. The plot evidently follows the tradition of the so-called devil's compact narrative, which is quite familiar in the western culture. The tradition actually dates back to the great antiquity and has produced not only such classical works as Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* (1589) and Goethe's *Faust* (1808, 1832) but also Gautier's, Nodier's, and Balzac's romantic interpretations. Thackeray's tale evidently came out of this tradition and perhaps added some new elements to it; to put it simply, it renewed the tradition of the devil's compact. In this paper, I'll consider how "The Painter's Bargain" renewed the tradition and what position it came to occupy in the genealogy of the devil's compact narrative and in the literary career of its author. I would argue that Thackeray modified the old motif so as to address effectively the recent issue of artistic bohemianism that was emerging while he studied art in Paris in the 1830s.

2.8 Workshop: Reviving Ruskin Ecologies

Led by: Thomas Hughes (Courtauld Institute of Art) and Kelly Freeman (UCL)

Since their publication spanning the Victorian era, the writings and drawings of John Ruskin (1819–1900) have provided ways of thinking about the relationship between art, architecture and society, on the one hand, and nature, on the other. Ruskin's ideas are finding a place within contemporary discourses of the 'non-human' such as architect Lars Spuybroek's 2016 manifesto for the construction of digital-Gothic cities, architectural designs that follow the writings of Ruskin by affirming the Gothic style as an interpretation of the organic, living, 'foliated' built forms that exist in continuous processes of formation. How can Ruskin's ecological ideas help us to resituate the human being in the midst of a now-imperilled nature and an uncertain world?On the occasion of his bicentenary, this interactive workshop will consider the resonance that Ruskin's work is finding in contemporary ecological

discussions relating to topics as varied as the life of things, sustainable materials, pollution, climate change, urban sprawl and the environment. Whilst the nineteenth-century term 'ecology' was not used by Ruskin, it can be defined in the broadest sense as the study of relations, be it the vital interactions in a life system or, more abstractly, relationships between things, same and different. We propose to read and discuss relevant texts by and about Ruskin, including Ruskin's 'The Law of Help' (1860), and to look again at Ruskin's drawings such as *Withered Oak Leaves* (1879).

The workshop aims to promote discussion between disciplines including, but by no means limited to art, architecture, art history, English literature, anthropology, geography, environment and climate studies and economics.

Panel Session 3: Wednesday 28 August, 1530-1700

3.1 Critical Making, Renewal and *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal*

Produced by Patrick Geddes & Colleagues in fin-de-siècle Edinburgh, *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (1895-97) embodied his vision for a Scottish Renascence built out of a renewed Celtic culture generating broad social and educational reform. Represented on each volume's flyleaf in the form of three flying birds, the triad of "synergy, sympathy, and synthesis" was built into the architecture, aesthetics, and politics of this unique magazine of art and science. Thanks to the art and science of digital humanities practice—sometimes called "critical making"—*The Evergreen* is newly accessible in a searchable edition on *Yellow Nineties 2.0*, an open-access site. In this panel, three members of the Y90s research team reflect on the theme of renewal by showcasing the creative/recursive/experimental aspects of their critical making. Their presentations will be augmented by slides, a physical object in the form of a materially expressed digital book, and a take-away flyer set in type at Mackenzie House. Home of the first mayor of Toronto, William Lyon Mackenzie—a Dundee immigrant, radical printer, and leader of the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837—this print shop is just down the road from Ryerson University's Centre for Digital Humanities. What can these geographic and temporal intersections of nineteenth-century materiality and twenty-first century digital editing tell us about *The Evergreen* then and now? This panel explores the ways in which the Y90s research team at the CDH in Toronto, like Geddes & Colleagues in the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh Old Town, employ a collaborative practice of critical making motivated by synergy, sympathy, and synthesis.

Rebecca Martin (Ryerson)
Sympathy

Sympathy with the temporal rhythms that govern nature, history, and place was intrinsic to the creation of *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal*. A resource for growth and renewal rather than a nostalgic regression towards the past, the magazine directed its aesthetic properties, including its typeset pages, by the principle of seasonal sympathy. This essay explores Geddes's emphasis on place and time in the context the printed *Evergreen*. In addition, it touches upon the contemporary process of remediating *The Evergreen* for an online readership.

Reg Beatty (York and Sheridan College)
Synergy

"The whole being greater than the parts"—is a suitable place to begin thinking about ornamental elaboration. This paper looks at how Victorian theory about book decoration was established on the basis of architectural analogies. This was the milieu, filtered through William Morris's designs for the Kelmscott Press, in which Patrick Geddes

conceived and produced his four volume *The Evergreen*. Using the decorative strategies exemplified by *The Evergreen*, this paper also includes reflections on the making of an artist's book—a hands-on exploration and renewal of ornamental thinking.

Lorraine Janzen Kooistra (Ryerson)
Synthesis

Synthesis—making something new out of two unlike things—inspired Patrick Geddes's Celtic revival project. Bringing together past and present and national and international by retelling Celtic folk tales from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, Belgium, and France, *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* aimed to create the breadcrumbs that could lead readers to a better future. As a contemporary Canadian instantiation of Geddes's radical educational vision,
this paper examines the *Evergreen's* folk tales through the lens of digital exhibits built by Ryerson University undergraduate students in the Y90s Classroom.

3.2 Renewal in Poetry

Patricia Diane Rigg (Acadia)
Arthur Symons and 'A Lover's Progress': Charles Baudelaire and George Meredith 'renewed' in a *Fin-de-Siècle* Sonnet Sequence

Arthur Symons expressed his "uncontrollable enthusiasm" for George Meredith to James Dykes Campbell in a letter of 1885, an enthusiasm specifically linked to Meredith's innovative sonnet sequence *Modern Love*. Symons also contributed significantly to Baudelaire's revival in late Victorian England, and he noted Meredith's stylistic debt to Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal* in *Baudelaire: A Study*, in which he called *Modern Love* an "outstanding feat in the vivisection of the heart in verse." In this essay, I discuss the ways in which Symons re-inscribes both *Les Fleurs du Mal* and *Modern Love* in his sonnet sequence "A Lover's Progress," published in *Days and Nights* in 1889. The title is enigmatic—to what does the lover "progress" in this sequence that echoes in subject matter and synesthetic language both Baudelaire and Meredith and that ends with an epilogue subtitled "In Memoriam Amoris"? The sequence's epigraph, which is taken from Catullus and which casts love and hate as inextricably coiled in matters of the heart, suggests one answer to the question. Symons translated Catullus and identified Baudelaire as a modern version of the classical poet, writing in "The Genius of Baudelaire" that Baudelaire "has pity for misery, hate for progress." Baudelaire records his chaotic experience of this duality in poetry to the three Venus figures of *Les Fleurs du Mal* and Meredith draws on his marital chaos to delineate the paralyzing marriage of *Modern Love*. I treat "A Lover's Progress" as fictional autobiography that takes as its template the tension that informs both sequences—tension between lyric subjectivity and an implicitly objective overarching narrative typifying the sonnet sequence genre. "A Lover's Progress" is an important "moment" in Symons's contribution to English Decadence.

Greg Tate (St Andrews)
Thomas Hardy, Albert Einstein, and the Relativity of Victorian Verse

The poetry which Thomas Hardy wrote in the first decades of the twentieth century is striking both for its adherence to Victorian conventions of accentual-syllabic verse and for its formal eccentricities; in his autobiography, Hardy described his poems as 'experiments in innumerable original measures'. In this paper I will argue that the experimental measures of Hardy's verse embody a view of nature, informed by his knowledge of Victorian scientific naturalism, as simultaneously quantifiable and inexplicable. While the methods of science enable the precise measurement of natural phenomena, those measurements are incommensurable with subjective sensation and emotion. Hardy shared this view with several Victorian science writers, but it finds its most detailed expression in his assessment of Albert Einstein's theories of relativity. Between 1919 and 1928 Hardy read widely

and wrote frequently about relativity, finding it by turns pessimistic, reassuring, and comic. He was especially impressed and perplexed by Einstein's claim that measurements of mass, length, and time vary depending on the relative motion of the observer. Focusing on two of Hardy's late poems, 'The Absolute Explains' and 'Drinking Song', this paper will consider how the idiosyncratic forms of his verse—and in particular his alternation of long and short lines, a device which was widespread in fin-de-siècle verse and which he learned at the start of his career as a publishing poet in the 1890s—convey his ambivalent responses to Einstein's theorisation of a universe that is measurable, but in which measurements taken from distinct points of view are irreconcilably different. The paper will also suggest that these poems represent a renewal of Victorian poetry at the height of Modernism, a reworking of nineteenth-century traditions of accentual-syllabic verse, that questions and complicates the literary-historical division between the Victorian and Modernist periods.

Mila Daskalova (Strathclyde)

Invisible Poets: Poetry in the Victorian Asylum Periodical

One of the legacies of Romanticism is the persistent trope of the mad poet or artist - the embodiment of the supposed link between creativity and madness. Throughout the nineteenth century, poetry and insanity were both attributed to excessive feeling and imagination. With the medicalisation of madness, writing poetry itself was often seen as a symptom of varying degree of madness, as the feverish effusions of a distraught mind. As James Whitehead has recently shown in his *Madness and the Romantic Poet: A Critical History*, the image of the lone, eccentric visionary with a troubled but immensely creative mind was further developed by Victorian biographers of "mad poets" such as Shelley, Blake and Clare. Comparatively little attention has been paid, however, to the mad poets whose names did not make it to the literary cannon.

A significant amount of mental patients' poetry has been preserved on the pages of asylum periodicals, which were issued from several British institutions from the 1840s onwards. One of the earliest and most notable publications of this kind was the *Morningside Mirror* published in the Royal Edinburgh Asylum. Focusing on the lives and works of two of its contributors, John Reid Adam and Alexander Smart, I will reflect on the role of poetry in the Victorian asylum and the ways in which the aspiring poets within its walls ascribed to and departed from the Romantic myth of the mad poet. I will argue that reading the poetry in the asylum periodical has the potential to produce more human and less romantic image of the mad poet.

3.3 Transatlantic Substances: Representing Anglo-American Relationships Through Candy, Cocktails and Cocaine

This panel considers how Anglo-American relationships were renewed, re-imagined, and represented in the late Victorian period via the production and consumption of substances like sugar, cocaine, and alcoholic cocktails.

Though widely regarded today as potentially harmful or illicit substances, these products emerged in the late-nineteenth century as emblems of the hyper-modernity and mass consumer culture associated with the United States.

By examining sugar, cocaine, and cocktails as both historical products and literary and cultural metaphors, the papers in this panel will show how the relationship between the British body and these products could be made to function as metonym for larger, national relationships between Britain and America. Whether they were being celebrated for their stimulant properties and fashionable, modern appeal, or reviled as vulgar, childish, and dangerous to individual and national wellbeing alike, candy, cocaine and cocktails were sites of debate over which ideologies and practices Britain should dismiss from its upstart imperial rival across the Atlantic, and which should be adapted and incorporated as part of a renewal and revitalization of British identity from America.

Douglas Small (Glasgow)

Cocaine Nations: Professional Sport, Performance Enhancing Drugs, and Victorian Trans-Atlantic Relationships

In 1876, the renowned American athlete Edward Payson Weston made the voyage to England. Already famed in the USA as a long-distance competitive walker – or 'pedestrian' – Weston rapidly established his popularity in the United Kingdom with a series of widely-reported victories against British rivals. The *Sporting Times* payed Weston the double compliment of having enacted "certainly some of the greatest pedestrian feats on record" and of proving that "our American cousins are 'spry' in matters besides the manufacture of cocktails." Mere months later, though, Weston's celebrity was to be transformed by the revelation that – in some of his most triumphant races – he had chewed coca leaves (the raw material of cocaine) to renew his strength and stave off fatigue.

Weston's coca chewing attracted widespread interest from British medical and sporting communities. This paper argues that, contrary to modern expectations of athletic drug-use, Weston's coca consumption was not regarded as an act of cheating by contemporary Victorian observers, but as an innovative "scientific" tool to enhance the professional athlete's performance. Commentators framed Weston's coca chewing as proof that the American's "superior knowledge" and "expert precautions" could produce a superior sportsman. At the same time, observers were forced to recon with the significance that the coca plant held in the religious and cultural lives of Native American civilisations. *Chambers's Journal* fretted that, "What may be meat to the Indian, may be poison to the energetic sons of colder climes." Other papers professed that close observation of Weston's performance proved that, under the influence of coca, he "walked like an Indian." In this context, coca – and, later, cocaine – consumption in Britain became implicated in wider debates about how the British body might by chemically renewed (or ruined) by contact with the products and peoples of the New World.

Bob Nicholson (Edge Hill)

'Bosom Caressers,' 'Corpse-Revivers,' and Other Alcoholic Encounters with America in Victorian Britain

Soon after arriving in Boston in 1842, Charles Dickens went in search of a drink. He wandered into a smoke-filled bar, where American men gathered to drink cocktails. These peculiar libations were new to Dickens but, before long, he was "initiated into the mysteries of Gin-slings, Sherry-cobblers, Timber Doodles, and other rare drinks." In his wake, British travel writers routinely commentated on the strangely named concoctions served up in Yankee saloons and regarded them as a distinctive aspect of the country's emerging social customs.

But they would not remain rare for long. As early as 1844, a hotel in Liverpool promised its guests an "icehouse" that was "peculiarly adapted for the immediate supply of mint juleps and other American drinks." Soon, fashionable restaurants and hotels throughout Europe followed suit and opened dedicated American bars staffed by "real live Yankees.". Indeed, by 1869 American Drinks had become such a fixture of Victorian nightlife that the music hall comedian Arthur Lloyd sang a popular song about them. He extracted plenty of innuendo from suggestively named cocktails like the 'maiden's blush' and 'private smile'. He'd happily order a 'pick-me-up', he sang, if the pretty barmaid at the Café Riche would 'knock him down' first.

At a time when travelling to the United States was still beyond the reach of most Victorians, these imported cocktails, with their peculiar Yankee names, offered a tantalising taste of life on the other side of the Atlantic. This paper explores the history of American cocktails in Victorian Britain and considers the role they played in mediating transatlantic relations during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Laura Eastlake (Edge Hill)

'A Sweet-Eating Nation': Sugar, Masculinity and Nationhood at the *Fin de Siècle*

"An Englishman who confesses to a partiality for sweets is generally looked upon as a 'duffer.' Fondness for sweets is allowable in children, but for a grown man to like them is held to show that there is something amiss with him … Things are not so in America." This 1893 remark by Lord Arthur Somerset captures the difficulties the British man faced in his relationship with sugar, particularly with the "candies" that were perceived as a

characteristically American indulgence. Here, a sweet tooth is at once a moral failing – something to be "confessed" – as well as an unmasculine, infantilizing habit which hints at degenerate tendencies. Yet in the same breath Somerset concedes that "probably many men who are really fond of sweets are ashamed to own it" and only "feign" disdain for the kinds of candies being produced in eye-watering volumes out of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. Sweets, for the conservative British male, are an unspoken desire to be indulged in secret, with nothing of the brash openness of his American counterpart.

This paper examines the role of sugar – both as consumer product and cultural metaphor – in the formation of British masculine identities at the fin de siècle. Drawing on journalistic and medical writings, this paper also takes Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) as its primary case study. Stoker's novel is often read in terms of masculine anxiety with vampirism as its central metaphor. I suggest that *Dracula*'s rendering of gender, nationhood and even vampirism itself is dependent upon a metaphorical sub-structure which uses the language of sweetness and craving (alongside Renfield's more overt luring of victims with sugar) to underwrite the masculine credentials of its heroes, negotiate its relationship with Dracula as Eastern threat but also with the vigorous manliness of its brash American frontiersman hero, Quincey Morris.

3.4 Monstrous Renewals

In *Skin Shows*, Jack Halberstam demonstrates 'the distance traveled between current [late twentieth-century] representations of monstrosity and their genesis in nineteenth-century Gothic fiction' (1995, 1). For Halberstam, while the monster always foregrounds physical difference and visibility, 'the monsters of the nineteenth century metaphorized modern subjectivity as a balancing act between inside/outside, female/male, body/mind, native/foreign, proletarian/aristocrat'. Twentieth-century horror, on the other hand, favours 'the obscenity of "immediate visibility"', and its monsters are 'all body and no soul' (1).

Many recent renewals and revivals of the Victorians have been 'monstrous' in one way or another, illustrating not only the distinctions between Victorian Gothic and its twentieth-century evolutions, but also the ways in which Victorian figures and conceptions of monstrosity are transformed yet again in the new millennium. These monstrous neo-Victorian renewals are the postmodern Hyde to Victorianism's Jekyll. This panel explores several such revivals, considering re-imaginings of Victorian monsters in shows like *Penny Dreadful*, the monstrous ethics and aesthetics of neo-Victorian photomontage, and the Victorian serial killer and femme fatale in the contemporary cultural imagination. Each of the papers in this panel considers the significance of these monstrous renewals for the popular reception of the Victorians more broadly.

Barbara Braid (Szczecin)

The Victorian Lady Killer Resurrected: Neo-Victorian Palimpsestic Adaptations of Lizzie Borden's Case

As Davinia Thornley noted in her introduction to a recently published book *True Event Adaptation: Scripting Real Lives* (2018), the current research on adaptation focuses less on the issue of transmediation of a single source text, but rather on the more complex and ongoing process of textualization; adaptation studies are gradually "focus[ed] less on texts and more on textualizing (the process by which some intertexts become sanctified as texts while others do not) and textuality (the institutional characteristics that mark some texts, but not others, as texts)" (Leitch 302). This textualization of intertexts is rarely as blatant as in crime fiction, often inspired by true events, as Leitch himself notes (288); the "institutional practices of rewriting" (Leitch 303) used for criminal events both explain them or "solve them," and serve as cultural myths, linking the past to the present (Schofield 91-92) and offering an interpretation of the current cultural milieu.

Neo-Victorian sensational and biofictional texts play here an important role; by referring to notorious – or virtually forgotten – criminal cases of the nineteenth century, these texts offer a comment, revision or criticism of the Victorian values, applying contemporary theoretical stances, but also pinpointing those aspects of the stories that still resonate with us. One of those is the infamous case of the Borden murders in Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1892, which sparked a number of cultural texts and performances. This paper focuses on the most recent

additions to the body of adaptations presenting Lizzie Borden and the events of the murder of her parents: *See What I Have Done*, a novel by Sarah Schmidt (2017), *Lizzie Borden Took an Axe* (2014) and its spin-off and sequel, the television series *The Lizzie Borden Chronicles* (2015), and a recent film *Lizzie* (2018), discussing them as palimpsestic, real-event neo-Victorian adaptations. While Ann Schofield claimed, in her 1993 article, that "Lizzie Borden's story has tended to take one or the other of two fictional forms: the tragic romance and the feminist quest" (91), this paper examines if these two interpretations still hold true for the more recent cultural texts about Lizzie Borden.

Megen de Bruin-Molé (Southampton)

Monstrous Media: The Ethics and Aesthetics of Neo-Victorian Mashup

The remix, the mashup, and the reboot have come to dominate Western popular culture. And like other popular texts before them, they are often read by critics as a sign of the aesthetic and moral degeneration of contemporary culture. This is especially true when texts appropriate intensely personal objects like photographs for the purpose of entertainment or caricature. The work of neo-Victorian visual artists like Colin Batty and Charlotte Cory challenges our idea of photography as a 'ghostly medium that could supplement memory, function as time's receptacle, and pledge to remember in the face of loss' (Mitchell 2008, 82). Each artist produces Gothic remediations of historical 'texts' and material traces. Each image layers new meanings and visual histories onto old ones, while demonstrating how the 'story' of the past repeatedly erupts into the present. In this they evoke the Gothic 'multiple-image' apparitions and juxtapositions of the magic lantern (Jones 2011, 37), creating complex systems of multifaceted influences, though each artist uses different technologies to create their modern phantasmagoria.

This paper considers the ethics and aesthetics of these artists' engagement with historical traces. Colin Batty paints monsters, aliens, and other contemporary images directly onto Victorian cabinet cards, destroying the artefact as he reinterprets it and effectively painting that individual out of history even as he paints them into art. Charlotte Cory, another cabinet card mashup artist who digitally creates her human/animal amalgams, takes a different but equally challenging approach. She refers to the frequent 'claims of the photographer printed proudly on the back—often in French to enhance the aura of artistry: "Les clichés sont conserves"; "Negatives are always kept; "Copies may always be had"' (Cory 2007, 2). Of course, in most cases this is no longer true, as the photographer's shop has long since gone out of business, and the cards themselves are 'preserved for a posterity that is no longer interested' (2007, 2).

Anna Gutowska (Linnaeus)

"Who's the real monster?": Social Criticism and Gender Politics in *The Frankenstein Chronicles* and *Penny Dreadful*

The paper will look at the ideological agendas of two recent television series, *Penny Dreadful* (Showtime, 2014-2016) and *The Frankenstein Chronicles* (ITV, 2015-), investigating the ways in which wrongdoing is presented in relation to the social order (class structure, income inequality, gender relations etc.) Both series can be characterised as mashups – in varying degrees, each of them appropriates recognisable characters and plotlines from a range of nineteenth-century novels, and in promotional interviews the creators of both series talked about their desire to prove that the classic source material is still relevant and current. However, a closer look at the characterisation and plot reveals that, in spite of explicit declarations of progressivism, both series also contain curiously conservative elements. In *Penny Dreadful*, in spite of its nods to female empowerment, the portrayal of social reality remains curiously backward-looking. The show presents white upper-class characters as protagonists/saviours, actively fighting against evil, and working class and non-white characters mostly as victims.

The issue of class also comes to the fore in the main story arc of *The Frankenstein Chronicles*. The show's protagonist John Marlott is a police officer with a working class background. Investigating a case of child murders, where the victims' bodies appear to be stitched up of different body parts, Marlott's discovers widespread

depravity and vice among the upper classes, which, by first season's finale he is unable to stop or punish. Both series' discourse on evil is closely connected with the theme of monstrosity, whose portrayal often involves a knowing subversion of Victorian tropes: characters that would be typically condemned as monstrous in Victorian novels, such as the fallen woman or the racial Other, are valorised and conversely, characters who seem outwardly respectable are revealed to be villains (and – in the case of *Penny Dreadful*'s Dr. Alexander Sweet and Evelyn Poole or *The Frankenstein Chronicles'* Lord Daniel Hervey – even *bona fide* monsters.) An analysis of both series' plots and characterisation reveals that their presentist agenda is unstable, privileging some current concerns such as child abuse or racism, while treating other social evils (e.g. sexism or social inequality) with complacency.

3.5 Reviving the Past

Karin Koehler (Bangor)

'not even knowledge takes all strangeness from the world': Knowing the Past in Sarah Perry's *The Essex Serpent*

Sarah Perry's 2016 novel *The Essex Serpent* stages several renewals. In 1893, an Essex village is forced to re-encounter the late-seventeenth-century past, due to the rumoured appearances of the eponymous monster. The uncanny return of supernatural forces and superstitious beliefs, though, is placed in tension with key characters' 'enthusiasm for the new sciences', medicine and geology in particular. As such, the novel not only interrogates, in typical neo-Victorian fashion, present (mis-)understandings of the Victorian past, it also raises questions about the Victorians' own confrontation with a past—or, indeed, a series of past moments—that defies understanding. As it examines competing ways of knowing and dealing with the past, it also enacts a third renewal, through its intertextual engagement with one of the foundational texts in the neo-Victorian canon: John Fowles's *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1969). While Perry's style has little in common with Fowles's combative postmodernism, the novels are explicitly linked in their thematic preoccupations with scientific inquiry (especially geology), spiritual crisis, and sexual desire. This paper explores the relationship between the two works and suggests that, through its depiction of the central erotic friendship, its nuanced treatment of religious faith, and its inclusion of folkloric elements, Perry's novel subtly counters the earlier text's narrative of Victorian intellectual and sexual repression (see Shuttleworth, 1988). *The Essex Serpent* does not, however, offer a simple corrective to Fowles's vision. Rather, through its insistence that 'not even knowledge takes all strangeness from the world', it challenges readers to suspend historic judgement and self-reflexively queries two central aspects of neo-Victorianism: the 'unflagging desire for knowledge of the past' (Shiller, 1997) and the other, related desire to package the past for consumption.

Heather Hind (Exeter)

'The gold thread that should run through all the years': Hairwork, Remembrance and Renewal in Margaret Oliphant's *Kirsteen* (1890)

Margaret Oliphant's *Kirsteen: The Story of a Scotch Family Seventy Years Ago* (1890) concerns the tensions between familial and romantic alliances. The daughters of Drumcarro face estrangement for refusing the hand of an acceptably genteel suitor, or choosing partners of their own. In secretly promising to wait for Ronald Drummond as he prepares to join his regiment in India, Kirsteen places herself in a tense and uncertain position that shapes her trajectory ever after. A handkerchief Kirsteen gives to Ronald, featuring the initials "RD" (her brother's and, coincidentally, Ronald's) embroidered with her hair haunts her memory. It is the reason she refuses her father's orders to marry the eligible, if a little old, Glendocart and flees to London to work as a seamstress. It is constantly on her mind and physically returns to Kirsteen, via Ronald's mother, upon his death. In this paper, I will explore how hair embroidery comes to be caught up in the crafting and preservation of uneasy ties. I argue that *Kirsteen*, in representing hair embroidery as a means of preserving and connecting with the past at a time when all kinds of hairwork had lost their currency, shows hairwork to be in itself a form of renewal. Hairwork realises the connective potential of hair: it reifies the idea that hair can preserve a relationship across, and even in spite of, time

and distance. Kirsteen's hair-embroidered handkerchief, as an exchanged and mobile object, serves to remember and recirculate a relationship—renewing a promise made in an ever more remote past—in a dynamic and tangible way.

Rhiannon Lindsay-Andrews (Dundee)
The Social Anxieties of Vampirism Throughout the Centuries

As a cultural phenomenon, the *Twilight* saga by Stephenie Meyer has saturated the social conscious, becoming as synonymous with vampires as Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, and despite the virulent criticism that faces *Twilight*, it has significant links with *Dracula* and other Victorian vampire tales, such as Sheridan LeFanu's short story "Carmilla". Modern texts such as *Twilight* and *The Vampire Diaries* by L. J. Smith, a book series that has since become a successful television series with two spin-offs, have played a large part in recreating vampires who are physically different from their Victorian counterparts but, more importantly, are used to in a similar way by their authors – namely, to analyse and explore social anxieties through the use of metaphor. One such example of social anxieties for the Victorians surrounded the fear of a foreign 'invader' who attempts to destroy the protagonists' lives in some manner and upsets the status quo. In the modern texts these anxieties are more generally the protagonist attempting to find continuity in a world that is changing as they enter adulthood, typically including the loss of a parent. While on the surface the modern texts appear more superficial as the 'threat' to the protagonist is personal with few real-world consequences, these are nevertheless closely related as they both connect to the universal fear of change. In addition, this paper will argue that Victorian and modern vampire novels are connected through their fear of sexual contact, whether the latent homosexual content of Victorian texts or the fear about 'losing innocence' in more modern texts. It will therefore conclude that the vampire myth has been thoroughly reinvented by modern literature, while retaining much of what made the Victorian tales so compelling.

3.6 Imperialism

Jacob Jewusiak (Newcastle)
Ageing and the Drain of Empire

For the economist, politician, and professor Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), the great crime of empire derived from an asymmetrical drain of resources from the colony to the metropole. His research showed that over 200 million pounds were being drained out of India every year, preventing the country from developing its own wealth and institutions. Even infrastructure funded by loans from the British Empire—such as railways, irrigation, and public works—generated interest that drained out of India rather than circulating within the country. To represent this flow of resources, Naoroji often described the empire as a vampire leeching the lifeblood from its victim. 'India is bleeding to death,' he writes in *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, 'You have brought India to this condition by the constant drain upon the wealth of that country.'

While critics such as Sukanya Banerjee have drawn attention to Naoroji's references to economic anemia, his representation of the drain as a kind of senescent exhaustion has gone unremarked. He describes India as 'an old, but long unfortunate race' in need of rejuvenation. Compared to the 'young' countries of Australia, Canada, and the United States, India is 'exhausted and drained,' disabled from 'building our railroads &c, from our own means.' Yet, even as Naoroji constructs an image of a decrepit India rendered prematurely aged under colonial rule, he turns to the enterprising British Empire as the means of renewal: he imagines them as 'the benefactors who restored [India] to more than her ancient splendour and civilization.' This presentation will argue that Naoroji's use of age leads him to an impasse: where the divide between youth and old age serves a figure for the inequity between Britain and India and, at the same time, provides the means of regeneration.

Maninder Järleberg (Utrecht)
Recycling Sati: Sati's 'Afterlife' in English culture, 1850-1870

The fires of sati were (legally) extinguished in India – or so they believed – by the English in 1829. However, these fires would be rekindled in the collective consciousness of the English after the gruesome and violent events of 1857's sepoy mutiny, which etched the image of India – or anything related to it – as a symbol of barbarism and moral depravity in the minds of the English. As I have discovered in my research, this reincarnation of sati would take on an unexpected afterlife of its own within the English culture, and become a symbol of universal suffering and oppression of women. The foreshadowing of this afterlife of sati within the English cultural/public sphere can be glimpsed in Punch's satirical piece on an ideal English wife published in 1849: "Had the dear creature been born to wear a nose-ring and bangles instead of a muff and bonnet...she would have done suttee, after your brown Brahmin father had died" (Brown, 13). This form of reception, commodification, and appropriation of narratives of sati point to an archetypical moment of sati's cultural mobility. The tales surrounding sati and – what I call – "cold sati" show recurring patterns of localization and indigenization. Keeping with the proposed theme of *Renewed engagement with particular topics, themes, genres or forms within the Victorian period*, I will present a part of my research findings that is focused on the recycling of the old accounts and narratives on the topic of sati, and how they enabled contextualizing of—what I call—the 'figura' of sati within the various cultural and political fields of activities in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Adrian S. Wisnicki (Nebraska-Lincoln)

Putting *Fieldwork of Empire* (2019) Back in its Digital Contexts

In early 2019, the present author published *Fieldwork of Empire: Intercultural Dynamics in the Production of British Expeditionary Literature* with Routledge after a fifteen-year gestation period. The book engages the Victorian expeditionary archive and argues that that the impact of non-western forces and agencies on the production of British expeditionary literature (i.e., exploration literature) was considerable, that it shaped the literature's discursive and material dimensions, and that its influence extends at a scale and depth previously unacknowledged. The book takes up work by well-known Victorian explorers like David Livingstone, Richard Burton, and Henry Morton Stanley, but also delves into the cultural, political, and economic dynamics of an array of nineteenth-century African cultures. The author's concurrent research in the digital humanities, particularly that related to the *Livingstone Online* (http://livingstoneonline.org/) project, frames the book's argument in significant, if frequently silent, ways.

This paper will begin by outlining the book's key results, then explore how the book's methodology evolved over such a long development period. The paper will suggest that initial analytical encounters with a few specific expeditionary authors revealed the need for a full-scale rethinking and renewal of established critical methods of reading such literature as a whole. The author's work in unearthing, then (for *Livingstone Online*) digitizing manuscripts from the imperial field, in turn, raised significant new questions about the content, authorship, and generative material contexts of those manuscripts. On the book's publication, the author's experience with digital humanities methodologies also created unique opportunities, especially via a "minimal computing" website (https://bit.ly/2T9Vnb6), to disseminate the book's findings and backstory to new audiences. The paper will conclude by arguing for the value of a hybrid form of critical publication, where print-based research can stand on its own, but also gain in scale and meaning – as an intervention in critical debate – when extended to a set of additional, digitally-situated critical contexts.

3.7 Revivals in Victorian Culture

Monika Mazurek (Pedagogical University of Kraków)

Reviving the Anglican Confession in the Victorian Novel

The Tractarian movement and the subsequent Ritualist movement sought to bring the Church of England back to what they believed was its Catholic roots. The means through which they tried to accomplish that were, among others: the revival of the Catholic forms of liturgy, emphasizing Eucharistic piety (including more frequent

communion services), establishing sisterhoods, renovating or building churches in the Gothic Revival style. These activities attracted much attention, often unwelcome, from the Evangelical circles, who feared all these activities were the indication of a Popish "fifth column" working in the midst of the Anglican Church.

One of the most controversial revivals was that of re-introducing auricular confession. Confession was in the eyes of many Anglicans tainted by its associations with the Roman Catholic Church, and especially the confessions of women, in an intimate encounter with a man who was not their father or husband, were particularly troubling. On the other hand, confession was also a boon for novelists, who appreciated its dramatic potential and usefulness in constructing the plot.

Probably the most famous confessional scene in Victorian literature is the one described by Charlotte Brontë in *Villette* (1853). The paper will attempt to discuss this and other confessional scenes, but focusing on the confession in the Anglican context, presenting both the novelists attacking it, such as Eliza Lynn Linton or Emma Worboise, but also supporting it, such as Charlotte Mary Yonge. By comparing their perspectives, I hope to show the role of the revived religious practice.

Ayşe Çelikkol (Bilkent)

Martineau's and Gaskell's Colonial Pastorals

Harriet Martineau's *Homes Abroad* and Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton* represent capitalist developments in settler colonies in the pastoral mode. In *Homes Abroad*---one of the colonial tales in the *Illustrations of Political Economy*—the shepherd Frank is a wage laborer, and the agrarian capitalist matrix in which his labor becomes possible is fully disclosed amidst the description of the harmonious countryside. In *Mary Barton*, in the Canadian epilogue, a subtle evocation of the timber trade marks the description of the protagonists' idyllic agrarian lives. The pastoral narration of agrarian capitalism may first seem like a contradiction in terms—pastoral Arcadias often seem detached from historical forces, however complicit they may be with dominant ideologies for effacing hierarchic social relations from the countryside. Yet my paper argues that Martineau and Gaskell utilize an existing capacity implicit in the Virgilian pastoral in their depictions of capitalist "improvements" in Van Diemen's Land and Canada.

Why does the pastoral mode have the capacity to narrate capitalist development, despite the commonplace insight that it pulls us outside history? I propose that the modern pastoral's ability to depict agrarian capitalism, colonial expansion, and what Jason Moore calls "commodity frontiers" reflects a preoccupation with historical forces that is already present in the mode's roots in antiquity. As Raymond Williams and Paul Alpers discuss, the Virgilian pastoral was attuned to issues such as landownership, dispossession, and tenancy. The pastoral moments in *Homes Abroad* and *Mary Barton* co-opt a tradition that portrayed how historical forces shaped the countryside.

Yukio Kaneko (Seinan Gakuin)

Renewed Interest in Cottage Englishness: the Rural Community and Individuals in Thomas Hardy, Periodicals and Rustic Genre Painting

The purpose of this paper is to clarify, in the late Victorian age, how the concept of 'home' is important in English identity, how English cottages represent Englishness as 'home,' and how, after the aesthetic interest in cottages in the Romantic period, the renewed interest in them took place in the late nineteenth century together with the contemporary interest in vernacular domestic tradition and urban people's flight to the countryside. We deal with Thomas Hardy, especially, *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872) and *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* (1891) to compare the representations of cottage scenes of early and late Victorian periods. As an aid to analyzing cottages we use nineteenth-century British periodicals and rustic genre paintings of, say, David Wilkie and William Collins for the former half of the nineteenth century, George Clausen and Helen Allingham for the latter half. We see that *UGT*, set in the early Victorian period, is a group portrait of the rural community with virtue, stability, continuity and tradition, which is also featured by the contemporary rural painters; rural people in *Tess* set in the late Victorian

period is more individualized with urbanization, high mobility and a sense of the dissolving community. They are likewise individualized by Clausen while idyllic painters like Allingham and Foster do not disregard the vernacular culture of cottage people to please the urban middle-class. Victorian periodicals show that more attention than ever is paid to the life of the cottagers in terms of both paternal and state care. In conclusion cottage Englishness is renewed according as the cottage people are idealized by urban middle class with its individualism and incorporated into the nation with extended franchise.

3.8 Classical Renewals

This interdisciplinary panel explores Victorian reworkings of the classical past in relation to concepts of time through a range of perspectives and methodological approaches: literary, museological, philosophical, art historical, and theories of material culture and classical receptions. The three papers are united by an interest in exploring the rich and varied dialogues between the later nineteenth century and the ancient Roman world, and how these were mediated through both material culture and literary reconstructions of the past. Each paper addresses the concept of temporal distance; the articulation, exploration and collapse of past and present implicated in any renewal of the past as a way to navigate the modern world. They examine how remediations of classical material culture demanded comparison and competition to be drawn between the ancient and modern, whether placed side by side in the novel or museum space, or overlapping and competing in material reproductions or the New Woman figure. In addition, we ask how the classical past could be reconstructed and reimagined in order to create and frame something new for the Victorian present. Building on the premise of putting antiquity and modernity in dialogue, this panel asks what these reworkings of the classical past can reveal about both the ancient world and the Victorians.

Clare Matthews (Birmingham)

Reproducing Antiquity in Victorian Birmingham

Reproductions of ancient objects spread throughout the homes, show rooms, workshops and museum spaces of the West Midlands in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the so-called 'workshop of the world' that was Victorian Birmingham, and the surrounding districts, manufacturers applied modern technologies, processes, and a wide variety of materials, to recreate some of the most celebrated models of antiquity. In doing so, they produced objects that held an ambiguous status between past and present: modern decorative works inextricable from their ancient prototypes.

This paper will use examples drawn from ancient vases to analyse the creation and display of reproductions in and around Birmingham. Objects unearthed in Italy and celebrated as unique survivals of the Roman past, such as the so-called Warwick, Portland and Medici Vases, were reproduced in a range of media, including monumental bronzes, reduced electrotypes, plaster models, glassware and precious metalwork. While the popularity of reproducing antiquities more broadly and in earlier periods has long been recognised, this paper will argue that in the later nineteenth century individual recreations of antique objects became exemplars of local manufacturing and craftworking. In addition, their public display was of great significance in constructing and disseminating ideas about the modern and ancient worlds. These objects could be celebrated as products of modern skill and ingenuity and simultaneously rooted in Victorian understandings of ancient crafts, seen for example in John Northwood's 'resuscitation' of Roman glass-making practices at Stourbridge. As both products of cutting-edge West Midlands' industry and 'faithful' renewals of famed antiquities, they collapsed past and present into individual objects. Finally, I argue that the display of these vases in local, national and international

exhibitions, where they were placed alongside original antiquities, further complicated their status by demanding direct comparisons to be made between the modern and the ancient.

Victoria Mills (Birkbeck)

Vernon Lee and the Modernity of Ruins

This paper examines the depiction of both architectural ruin and smaller scale objects in a state of deterioration in Vernon Lee's late Victorian and early twentieth-century travel writing. Drawing most extensively on *The Spirit of Rome* (1906) and *The Golden Keys* (1918) it considers how Lee's work speaks to the idea of the modernity of ruins. Lee's ruin gazing, I argue, links responses to classical material culture to questions of modern urban aesthetics and post-war reconstruction. In doing so, Lee's work addresses a number of oppositions between mind and matter, body and thing, heritage and waste, past and present. As Julia Hell has argued, fragmentation, vacuity, loss, heterogeneous temporalities and ambiguity are key tropes of both the ruin and the modern. The indeterminacy of the ruin makes it, as Hell suggests, 'a uniquely flexible and productive trope for modernity's self awareness'.[5] Lee's work is interestingly positioned in relation to the concept of the modern as it draws on pervasive Romantic tropes of the melancholy beauty of ruin, but also engages with newer responses, including those of George Simmel, and with new situations in which ruination was a very present concern – most notably the impact of the First World War.

The paper falls into four short parts. In the first, I consider Lee's concept of 'historic emotion', important for understanding her response to ruin as a distinctly modern sentiment. Secondly, I examine her juxtaposition of two collections in *Spirit* to think about the opposing categories of heritage and waste. Thirdly, and drawing on the work of Simmel, I consider Lee's vision of the ruin as a key component of a modern urban aesthetic and lastly I turn to modern ruins, those newly produced by conflict, and the effect of conflict on the antiquities she so loved.

Panel Session 4: Thursday 29 August, 1100-1230

4.1 Piston, Pen & Press: Literary Cultures in the Industrial Workplace

This panel involves staff at different points in their career (early career, SL, Chair), brings together academics and a museum professional, and is interdisciplinary between historical and literary studies. It is designed to enable BAVS participants to engage with our major AHRC-funded three year project, which studies how industrial workers in Scotland and the North of England developed literary cultures – including writing, reading, associational cultures, and oral cultures – and to invite discussion and debate around our key questions. These are:

1. Which factors primarily influenced an industrial worker's engagement with literary culture? What is the relative significance of location (e.g. industrial city versus small village), particular workplace culture, and occupation?
2. How was this engagement facilitated by developments in print culture in the long Victorian period, and particularly the expansion of the newspaper and periodical press?
3. To what extent was literary culture fostered by workers themselves, as opposed to promoted by owners and employers?

As these questions indicate, this study speaks to the theme of 'renewal' in that it is a work of recovery and re-interpretation, asking new questions about working-class literary cultures and seeking to introduce these to new audiences through creative re-interpretationsThe project began in September 2018, and in our first 5 months we have already uncovered substantial numbers of little-known or entirely unknown working-class writers, libraries and reading rooms, and mutual improvement societies and their productions: we are currently developing the

[5] Julia Hell and Andreas Schönle (Eds.), *Ruins Of Modernity*, (Durham, NC., 2010), p.6

database that will ultimately render these findings available and searchable. These discoveries supply provisional answers to our key questions, but they are also complicating the categories we had planned, including the core definitions of 'industrial worker' and 'industrial workplace.' The challenges we have faced in researching this area, both practical and intellectual, as well as the materials we have found, will form a substantial part of our discussions on this panel.
We are, in addition, currently working with over 15 partners in the heritage and creative industries on exhibitions, MOOCs, performances, collective reading projects and more. These include a playwright, traditional musicians and singers, and museums such as the National Railway Museum, Scottish National Mining Museum, National Coal-Mining Museum for England, New Lanark, Quarry Bank Mill, the Jute Museum at Dundee, the Mitchell Library in Glasgow and the Working-Class Movement Library in Manchester.

Presenting at BAVS in 2019 will allow us to discuss the project with colleagues at a vital moment, as we move towards its half-way stage. We anticipate that our panel would not only be of interest to colleagues working in related fields, but also to those contemplating involvement in a large-scale collaborative research project, whether as a postdoctoral researcher, or as one of the academic leads.

On 'Piston, Pen & Press', Blair is the Principal Investigator, Sanders and Betts are Co-Investigators, and Weiss is the Research Associate. We will each present a short 10 minute paper on different aspects of/findings from the project, allowing ample time for discussion. Blair will chair the session and introduce each speaker.

Kirstie Blair (Strathclyde)
Addressing the Machine

Blair will give a very brief overview of the project's aims, intended outcomes, findings during its first year, and of the team's future intentions. She will then share and reflect on some of the project's recent findings in Northern England, with a particular attention to the ways in which the renewed interest in Yorkshire dialect and its rich presence in comic almanacs inflects the writings of industrial workers,

Mike Sanders (Manchester)
Billy Boy's Shop and "The Nottingham Spy"

One of the poets recovered in the early stages of the *Piston, Pen & Press* project is Joseph Chapman, a textile worker and Chartist from Stalybridge (an industrial township just 8 miles from Manchester). In 1848, Chapman published his *Poetical Works*. This paper explores what this previously unknown collection tells us about the working-class engagement with literary culture in the industrial townships which encircled Manchester in the Victorian period.

Oliver Betts (National Railway Museum, York)
Pistons and Presses, Spaces and Places, in Working-Class Industrial Writing 1850-1914

Making use of the new findings from the Piston, Pen, and Press project, this paper will explore how writings and literary forums across industrial communities in northern Britain balanced discussions of the domestic against wider worlds of politics, work, and artistic expression. When texts read at home were discussed in public houses or clubs, when front parlours became political forums, and when the travails of friends and family formed a profound influence on literary output, the interconnected nature of working-class life came to the fore through poetry and prose. In a thousand small ways, this paper will show, working class writing was not simply an expression of lived experience but part of a wider organic culture where fact and fiction, work and leisure, and reality and hope were blended together time and again.

4.2 Renewing Albert Moore: Approaches to Art and Aestheticism 1: Aestheticism and Aesthetic

Following the invigorating discussions at the Re-Thinking Albert Moore conference held at the University of York and York Art Gallery in July 2017, this panel takes the conference theme of Victorian Renewal as an opportunity to renew the critical and theoretical reassessments of Albert Moore's practice and work in an interdisciplinary context. Best-known today as a painter of uncompromisingly 'narrative-less' pictures, Albert Moore's distinctive pictorial practices facilitated productive alliances with some of the most progressive European painters, designers and architects of his age. However, Moore has often been characterised as a marginal or isolated figure whose interests in ornament, atemporality and materiality place him outside mainstream narratives of British nineteenth-century art history.

This strand will interrogate Moore's paintings through a range of approaches, from coeval Victorian developments in design theory, contemporary critical theories, classical receptions and archaeology, and musical theory. These interdisciplinary approaches by early career scholars will demonstrate the richness and interconnectedness of Moore's aestheticist painting, not only with his peers in fine art but with a larger nineteenth century cultural perspective.

Emma Merkling (Courtauld Institute of Art)

Bodily Rhythms, Albert Moore's *Beads* (1875), and Victorian Physiology

The paintings of Aestheticist Albert Moore are traditionally understood as subjectless, "timeless," and removed from reality. This paper reconsiders such readings of his art by examining his painting *Beads* (1875) through the lens of Victorian physiological psychology, a contemporaneous branch of science that dealt with consciousness and the body. Science writers like George Henry Lewes (1817-1878) believed that an individual's psychological experience was a product of her sensing body, and emphasised the importance of sensory input in the constitution of consciousness. This sensory input, crucially, was understood as coming not only from the external world, but also from internal, visceral processes like the circulation of the blood. In the nineteenth century, the so-called graphic method was developed as a means for recording and representing such internal processes. Instruments like the sphygmograph traced bodily functions as they unfolded, producing rhythmical images of undulating, unfolding lines that were direct representations of the bodily function being measured.

This paper argues that a similar temporality and rhythmic unfolding of line can be identified in Moore's paintings of women in altered states of consciousness, like *Beads,* and that these works are similarly concerned with physical sensory input and its representation. I examine *Beads* alongside the graphic method and Lewes's theories to argue that Moore's art, far from being removed from temporal processes and the "real," can in fact be understood as engaging directly with reality on a visceral, sensory, and productive level.

Madeline Boden (York)

Aesthetic Harems: The Orientalized Spaces of Albert Moore and John Frederick Lewis

This paper is a comparative study of the work of Albert Moore (1841 – 1893) and John Frederick Lewis (1804 – 1876) and argues that Moore's decadent, haptic and imaginary spaces filled with women in repose, which scholarship thus far has characterised as 'narrative-less pictures', in fact warrant serious consideration alongside Lewis' ideologically laden harem paintings of the 1850s, drawn from his decade-long residency in Cairo between 1841 and 1851. Moore and Lewis' shuttered, female-only spaces provide insight into the artists' development of fantasy alongside formalism and I argue that we can better understand Lewis' formalism and Moore's Orientalism by reading their work together. This study widens our understanding of Orientalism, beyond gendered readings of the exotic surrounding the harem and odalisque, and instead attends to the conceptual and spatial implications of these mutual spaces. Answering Tim Barringer's call to study the "web of links"[1] between Orientalism and Aestheticism, I analyse the artists' shared compositional complexities, their development of a haptic landscape

through textiles, and experimentation with tonal harmonies. Moore's interest in and collecting of international textiles mirrors Lewis' use of authenticating souvenirs that he brought back from Egypt and included in his paintings. The enclosed, fabric-swathed, single sex space becomes a site of complex artistic experimentation. Through the lens of Orientalism, I also consider the gendered implications of Moore's figures by bringing in issues of race, polygamy, slavery, and laudanum use. Unlike Lewis or artists such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Frederic Leighton, the sexual agency of Moore's figures has been undervalued in favour of an analysis of their formal composure. However, I bring these issues to the fore using Lewis' *Hhareem Life – Constantinople* (1857) as an example of an Aestheticist composition where gendered considerations are interconnected and simultaneously in play.

Nicholas Shaddick (York)

An Ideal Museum? Perpetuating Stylistic Change in Moore's *Pomegranates*

Writing on Albert Moore's well-known painting *Pomegranates*[1865] in his comprehensive survey of the *New Painting of the 1860s*, Allan Staley considered that "Since the title hardly explains the picture, and the figure's activity, or lack thereof, provides no more guidance, the subject is somewhat opaque".[1] Critical descriptions of Moore's pictures as non-narrative, 'decorative' or 'eclectic' have been crucial to the construction of Moore as an early proponent of *art pour l'art* formalism and perhaps, after Whistler and Rossetti, as the painter most closely identified with British Aestheticism.

This paper will re-examine the status of subject-matter in Moore's practice by demonstrating the alignment of his distinctive pictoriality with contemporary Anglo-German industrial art theory, especially the thought of Gottfried Semper. Identifying the eclectic iconography of *Pomegranates* as programmatically derived from Semper's expositions of stylistic change, the paper proposes that the orchestration of these elements within Moore's picture may also be compared with Semper's outline proposal for an ideal museum of industrial art. Within Aestheticism's suite of materialist-idealist ideologies, *Pomegranates* might therefore be understood as a representation of 'universal' conditions conducive to the transformation of technological process into high culture. The analysis has implications both for the interpretation of Moore's wider practice and for assessing the theoretical significance of the crafted object in late nineteenth-century painting more generally.

4.3 (Neo)Victorians at Sea

Maria Isabel Romero Ruiz (Málaga)

Postcolonial Neo-Victorianism: Vulnerability and Resistance in Joseph O'Connor's *Star of the Sea* (2003)

The presence of Empire in the Victorian period and its aftermath has become a new trope in neo-Victorian studies, incorporating a post-colonial approach to the re-writing of the Victorian past. This, together with the metaphor of the sea as a symbol of British colonial and post-colonial maritime power, has made of Joseph O'Connor's novel *Star of the* Sea a story of love, vulnerability, identity and belonging. Set in the winter of 1847, it tells the story of the voyage of a group of Irish refugees travelling to New York trying to escape from the famine. A maidservant, a Lord with his family, an aspiring novelist and a maker of ballads are on board ship the Star of the Sea crossing the Atlantic to start a new life. But with them also travels a camouflaged killer hungry for vengeance. It is a twenty-six day journey where tragedy, hope, life and death co-exist leading to situations of resilience and resistance after the trauma and victimisation of the Irish other. At the same time healing comes as a reassuring force in front of adversity. Irish history as a colonised country with a long tradition of English dominance becomes the scenario of the fight for survival where the shadow of Empire looms large making of our postcolonial presents a reflection of a colonial Victorian past.

Following Judith Butler's and Sarah Bracke's notions of vulnerability and resistance together with ideas about the other in neo-Victorianism, this paper aims to analyse the role of Empire in the construction of an Irish identity associated with poverty and disease.

Ingibjörg Ágústsdóttir (Iceland)
A Snow Queen from Dundee: Challenging Male-Centric Versions of (Scottish) Arctic Exploration in Stef Penney's *Under a Pole Star*

There are longstanding historical and cultural ties between Scotland and the Arctic region, in part through the hundreds of whaling vessels that sailed from Scottish ports to hunt whales in the Arctic during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as through nineteenth century Scottish Arctic explorers such as John Rae. This is manifested in a wide range of Scottish literary works featuring the Arctic. One such is Stef Penney's *Under a Pole Star* (2016), a story for the most part set in the late Victorian period and dealing with both Arctic whaling and Arctic exploration. The novel offers a revisionist depiction of what was essentially a male-dominated pursuit, that of Arctic exploration. This is achieved through recounting the challenges (and heartaches) faced by Flora Mackie, nicknamed the "Snow Queen," a fictional Scottish Arctic explorer who initially comes to love the Arctic and its people through travelling there as a child with her father, a captain on a whaling ship from Dundee. Flora's travels in the Arctic, as well as her role as the leader of an Arctic expedition, destabilize ideas concerning the "manliness" of Arctic exploration and threaten the "culture of polar masculinity" that prevailed (Lyle, cited by Reeploeg, 35). Further, Flora and her American lover Jakob de Bayn's engagement with the Arctic and its people offers interesting reinterpretations of Arctic exploration and encounters with the Other, while highlighting the ways in which some Victorian explorers exploited the Inuit people for their own personal benefit and glory.

Yi-Chen Andrea Lay (National Taiwan University)
Aquatic Sothern Asia in the 1830s: Indian Ocean-Centred Optics in Amitav Ghosh's *Ibis* Trilogy

Historical fiction affords the opportunity to renew bygone eras by foregrounding invisible yet essential figures, whether human or nonhuman, in the scene. In the nineteenth century, the Indian Ocean was the nexus that facilitated trade, travel, and wars in Southern Asia. This paper explores how Amitav Ghosh's *Ibis* trilogy (the three installments were published in 2008, 2011, and 2015, respectively) uses the Indian ocean's agency to create narrative forms, thus reconstructing an aquatic Southern Asia that reflects the historical and geographical realities of the 1830s. While previous studies on the trilogy are mostly oriented around minority discourse, this paper adopts an ontology-based approach. Responding to the call for methodological fetishism by thing theory, this paper examines the texts by closely following the actual ocean and its influence on the trilogy's narrative, and employing theoretical discourse on nature's agency, as developed by Jeffery Cohen. Oceanic properties, including its fluidity, undeniable utility, connectivity, and democratic sphere, are transformed into narrative forms that reflect the Indian ocean's tangible presence. The narrative forms, namely multiple narrative perspectives, unstable subplots, and voyage-dominated trilogy structure, challenge human-centered narratives on nineteenth-century Southern Asia with an Indian Ocean-centered optic. The three narrative forms share the characteristic of reflecting ocean-driven unified diversity, which is the *Ibis* trilogy's solution to anthropocentrism in stories about maritime eras. This paper encourages the reader to shift the focus from land to sea, resulting in an ocean-oriented reading, and is a response to *PMLA*'s (May 2010) call for oceanic studies on the actual, not symbolic, ocean in literature.

4.4 Renewing Ruskin

Robert Hulme (Manchester Metropolitan) and Rachel Dickinson (Manchester Metropolitan)
Ruskinian Renewal and Education Policy

In this, the bicentenary of John Ruskin's birth, there is renewed interest in applying a Ruskinian lens to a range of current issues such as ethical consumerism and business practices, the production of art and craft, and approaches to environmental sustainability, to name a few. One of the most pressing concerns – and one that has an impact on all of these – is education policy, which affects the individual student, as well as successive generations. As

Dinah Birch highlights in *Our Victorian Education* (2008), 'Ruskin's appeals for something better' in education offer those who make and deliver education policy a potential way forward (144).

This collaborative paper crosses traditional disciplinary boundaries. It begins with Ruskin. Rooted in literary close reading as a discipline, if offers a overview of his Victorian reworking of interdisciplinary medieval principles in developing his approach to education. It then picks up after the main temporal focus of Birch's text, tracing how Ruskinian ideas filtered through key political and educational figures in the twentieth century to help shape education as we know it; Ruskin's writings informed ideas about equality of opportunity and teacher professionalism, influencing education policy-makers such as R. H. Tawney and Anthony Crosland.

An early, influential reworking of Ruskin's ideas was through the Labour Party as it formed at the beginning of the Twentieth Century; Ruskin also had an impact on notions of localism and nascent communitarianism, which are currently affecting considerations of a National Education Service within the contemporary Labour Party. Shifting focus to the current education landscape, the paper concludes by engaging with this debate, offering suggestions of how Ruskin's theories of education might constructively be reworked and applied in our current climate in order to bring about 'something better' in future.

Pauline Guillemet (Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée University)

John Ruskin's Interpretation of Gothic: A Sociological Medievalism?

John Ruskin's thought has left its marks on the history of art and architecture by proposing an aesthetic interpretation grid of the passage from the Gothic to the Renaissance style. Beyond its aesthetic dimension, this grid proposes a social interpretation of this change of time which is perceived by John Ruskin (1819-1900) as a radical upheaval. By analogy, this upheaval echoes the "decadence" of industrialized Victorian England in the nineteenth century, which, for the author, testifies to the experience of a decline that is repeated. Ruskin, an art critic and theorist of the Gothic then turns into a sociologist. He intends to detect and formulate the laws of the best social organization possible by referring to the perfect model which, according to him, is epitomized by the medieval city. This ideal-type set, the perfect society he imagines is a society hierarchized according to a theological order which he will try to rationalize by placing it in the epistemological context of the emergence of a science of society in Victorian England.

The chosen theme for the 2019 British Association for Victorian Studies Conference invites me to interrogate the permanency of the reference to the Middle Ages in the author's theory by putting under scrutiny how the period acquires its utopian function and to what extent it becomes a means of thinking contemporary criticism. My proposal will focus on the way Ruskin is reworking the Middle Ages history to frame the outline of a new interpretation of the period. I will examine the extent to which this interpretation fits the framework of the social sciences incipient: could this interpretation be called a sociological medievalism?

Francesca Orestano (Milan)

The Etruscans Resurrected: John Ruskin's Vision of their Future

On June 13 1769, Josiah Wedgwood started a production christened "Etruria", with the motto "Artes Etruriae Renascuntur." The fashion for things Etruscan would increase during the course of the 19th century: from wealthy collectors of archaeological art objects, it would overflow into interior decoration, fashion, and jewellery. Between 1836 and 1837, Londoners enjoyed an exhibition of "Etruscan and Greek Antiquities… at n. 121 Pall Mall". The Campanari art merchants from Tuscania had sent to London statues, sarcophagi, jewels, and the visitors, after walking between two frightening statues of Charon, explored a subterranean display artfully set so as to appear like a tomb. My paper offers an account of this exhibition, and follows the steps of the growing Etruscan fashion that on the one hand aimed at earning scientific status as Etruscology – investigated by Mrs Hamilton Gray and George Dennis, among others – while, on the other hand, it promoted the commercial production of Etruscan-style jewellery and wares. The Victorians' interest in things Etruscan includes material culture *and* ancient history;

but this wide horizon is made even more challenging when John Ruskin's assessment of the Etruscans is examined.

In 1874, in Rome, admiring a fresco by Botticelli in the Sistine Chapel, Ruskin is puzzled by the letters decorating the hem of Zipporah's dress: in Oxford in December his lesson dwells on the co-existence of Etruscan and Christian traditions in the work of the Italian painter. The concept is given further substance in *Val d'Arno*, *The Laws of Fésole* (1874) and in *Mornings in Florence* (1875-77), a text where Ruskin, according to Tucker, expounds his most audacious theory, that is to say the survival of the Etruscan tradition in Tuscany during the middle ages and the first Renaissance. According to Ruskin, Cimabue was a true Etruscan: and so Giotto, a pure 13th century Etruscan. There is enough in Ruskin to resurrect the Etruscans and to place this unique nation in a special position, where it will restrain the artistic hegemony of Athens and Rome, and counteract the cult of Rome in Italian 20th century politics, as argued by D. H. Lawrence in *Etruscan places* (1932).

4.5 Victorian Medicine

Charlotte Mathieson (Surrey)

Embodying Renewal: Suntanned Skin and the Flexibility of Self in Victorian Medicine and Culture

Throughout the Victorian era, new understandings of the skin emerged that advanced the understanding of its physical constitution and capacities: such features included porosity, the production of colour, and its responsiveness to environmental factors such as heat, light, and air. The skin's capacity for renewal and change was nowhere more apparent than in the emerging understanding of sunburn and tanning: suntanning made visible the permeability, temporality, flexibility, and mobility of the skin in particular, and the body more broadly. Many of these advances came from within tropical and maritime medicine, written and consumed by medics on the move across the imperial and global world: spaces in which the Victorians encountered conceptual provocations about identity and otherness, and the stability of the self in a global, mobile world. Such issues were by no means separate from the medical enquiries being undertaken, and there emerged a confluence between the production of medical knowledge of the skin and discursive concepts of self and otherness arising from global mobility. Suntanned white skin thus became the site through which the capacity and capability of the body for renewal could be both physically observed and conceptually figured.

In this paper I first consider how medical understanding of suntanning developed in this era, drawing on archival research into tropical and maritime medicine undertaken in the National Maritime Museum, Wellcome Trust library, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, and Leeds University special collections. I then turn to literary writings where physical and conceptual questions of renewal coalesce in depictions of suntanning. In novels by Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell, Wilkie Collins and others, suntanning is figured as a positive indicator and enabler of self-renewal, celebrating the flexibility and adaptability of the body, and I consider how these representations work in confluence with medical writings to develop a positive aesthetics of suntanning in the era.

Evan Hayles Gledhill (Reading)

Renewing the Nation: The Gothic Threat of Degeneration in the Home Medical Text and Social Hygiene Tract

In the late-nineteenth century, as academic and medical researchers embraced the new field of eugenics, the principles underlying the 'science' were communicated to the general public in part through advice on family planning. A range of texts, from tracts like David S. Jordan's *The Blood of the Nation* (1902) to advisory handbooks such Dr Sydney Barrington Elliot's *Aediology: a Treatise on Generative Life* (1898) were published on either side of the Atlantic. Concerned with the improvement of the 'breeding stock' of the British and/or American nation state, such works were written by medical practitioners, feminist campaigners, and more obscure political activists. The proposed paper explores these texts through the lens of the Gothic. From the cheaply produced pamphlet to the

reputable medical guide, many of these works provoke fear and unease in their readers by deploying tropes familiar to the audience of genre fiction, particularly body horror and tales of intergenerational trauma. The disabled body is, in Elliot's work, hardly human: 'a sickly organism, to be handicapped during its existence, to be a detriment to the world' (107). Yet, conversely, authors often also sought to allay the fears of women about the risks of pregnancy and the diseases of early infancy. The rhetoric of eugenics relies upon diminishing the personal fears of the individual, and substituting fear of a greater danger posed to wider society. Chris Baldick and Robert Mighall have suggested that it is assumptive to view the Gothic as indicative and reflective of cultural anxieties, when it is a genre whose *raison d'etre* might be described as to provoke anxiety (2012). However, as authors outside the genre deploy the language and imagery of the Gothic to provoke cultural anxiety, this suggests the cultural issues that provoke anxiety, and the imagery used to do so, are fundamentally linked.

Patricia Barton (Strathclyde)

Flora Annie Steel's Kasur Episode: Autobiography, Medical History and the Reality of Colonial Public Health in Late Nineteenth Century South Asia

In the early 1870s Flora Annie Steel moved to Kasur where her husband Henry had been posted by the Punjab Provincial Government. Her memories of Kasur revealed in her autobiography include time spent on philanthropy, particularly as an unofficial and untrained medical aide in the zenana. A family colonial background brought her to India as a twenty year old prepared to 'do a little doctoring'. Her autobiography reveals that this went beyond home to include distribution of European medicines, anti- malarial work and pre- and post- natal care among the women of Kasur. The city had a new dispensary, but only male staff, resulting in a serious gender imbalance in its patients. Steel's testamentary evidence is corroborated by dispensary reports revealing that in 1870 of its 3,381 patients, only 779 were female. Steel is a controversial figure, whether as novelist or the 'Indian Mrs Beeton', her philanthropy viewed as reflective of the traditional civilising imperial mission. In these analyses, while Steel may not have wished to be labelled as such, she is regarded as unable to rise from the traditional roles allotted to the memsahib in the grand imperial scheme. This paper attempts to disentangle her medical philanthropy, an element of her life which, as yet, has received little analysis, to unravel the often confusing motives which underlay Steel's actions while in India. It utilises contemporary data to assess the accuracy of Steel's Kasur memories. As such, it throws light not only upon aspects of Steel's life, but raises questions about the level of improvisation in the under-staffed medical services offered by the late nineteenth century colonial state and the extent to which it relied upon the untrained philanthropist in South Asia. If medicine was fundamental to Britain's claimed 'civilising mission', it was not official activities which laid the foundations of public health in India, but those co-opted on an ad hoc basis into medical care or those acting without official sanction. The paper highlights issues of gender in colonial medicine, the use of philanthropy to cover the gaps in official services, and the realities and artificialities that this improvisation provided of the nature of western medicine and medical science.

4.6 Rethinking Dickens

Shu-Fang Lai (National Sun Yat-Sen University)

Numbering, Calculating, and Reasoning: Victorian Renewals in Mathematics and Realistic Writings by Dickens and Stevenson

Researches in the last century on Victorian Literature and Science were so overwhelmed by Darwin's theory of evolution as to be inclined to explore disciplines relevant, including astronomy, natural history and geology and energy physics. Relatively fewer studies have addressed mathematics, the mother of all science. Then after the millennium, there have been more studies on Victorian literature and mathematics. In fact, the Victorian age witnessed the revival of mathematics, greatly influenced by mathematicians on the continent of Europe, including Johann Carl Friedrich Gauss, Pierre-Simon Laplace (translated and introduced by Mary Somerville in 1831),

Évariste Galois (renewed and introduced by Joseph Liouville in 1846). Meanwhile the debates between nativists and empiricists, the newly discovered non-Euclidean geometry around 1830s (promoted by W. K. Clifford in UK in 1860s), George Boole's works on differential equations and algebraic logic (that are to greatly influenced the coming age of information)-- all have renewed and stimulated Victorian people's intellects. Besides the classic examples such as Lewis Carroll and George Eliot who directly exploited mathematics in their novels on a grand scale, other writers, who also used mathematics in their own ways, deserve further investigations.

This paper aims to look at how Victorian literature also parallels or juxtaposes the development and renewal in mathematics. Examples will be taken from Dickens's *Hard Times*, *A Tale of Two Cities*, and *Great Expectations* and Stevenson's *South Sea Tales* including *The Bottle Imp* to examine how the aesthetic patterns of the fiction contrast or parallel mathematic patterns; how any calculating and reasoning in their novels can be associated with algebra, enumeration, mathematical calculation and most importantly, logic; how they could borrow ideas or rules of mathematics in their different approaches towards realism as can be observed in their realistic delineation of the physical worlds; and how they have transformed everyday things into thoughts, to express feelings by numbers, analogies (especially paradoxes) and symbols parallel with mathematical statements, theorems, formulas, and ideas.

Joanna Hofer-Robinson (University College Cork)

Putting Dickens to Work: 'at least, that is her plan of Gampaign'[6]

Charity is part of Charles Dickens's legacy; however, sentimental nineteenth-century tributes to the author can be misleading about how his fiction was utilised for philanthropic work. In 1894, an article in *Woman's Signal* stated that Dickens's writing had a social impact because it 'opened the eyes of the many wilful blind to behold the sorrows and sufferings of their plague-stricken fellow-creatures'.[7] This flattering memorial draws a direct line between written representation and material change. Conversely, this paper will argue that the instrumentality of Dickens's fiction to effect charitable projects was often indirect. For example, philanthropists, including Mary Carpenter and Octavia Hill, selectively appropriated tropes, characters and extracts from Dickens's fiction to enhance the effectiveness of their arguments in published treatises. Alternatively, Dickens-themed events raised the profile of fundraising initiatives, such as the Dickens Bazaar held in Holborn Town Hall in 1888. Later users thus produced polymodal afterlives when they mobilised Dickens's writing to serve numerous agendas, and in ways that were not necessarily derived from the novels. We can thereby trace links between the imaginative renewal or repurposing of texts and philanthropic urban renewal projects.

Megan Beech (Cambridge)

Dickens Reworks Dickens: Dickens and the Performance Readings

In 1858 Charles Dickens embarked upon the enterprise of performing his own works to public audiences for profit, which spanned the final twelve years of his career (and life). Over the course of 472 performances in tours across the UK and America, Dickens read some of his most popular works in shorter adapted forms. In total Dickens adapted twenty-one of his own texts for performance and he created promptbooks for each of the readings (some extant in multiple copies and redrafts). These manuscripts with their intricate systems of notation show the kinds of adaptational practice through which Dickens became deeply committed to thinking critically about his own works and the ways in which they address themselves to the human voice in performance. Dickens's renewal of the text on the page included adding stage directions, deletions, reworking text and adapting passages. What did it mean for Dickens to encounter his own texts in this new, complex way? How might we comprehend what literary work Dickens undertook in his renewed engagements with these texts? This paper

[6] Anon. (1888), 'Playing the Very Dickens', *Funny Folks*, 708, 16 Jun., pp. 188–9.
[7] Anon. (1894), 'Writing in the Strand on the Baroness Burdett Coutts, Miss Mary Spencer Warren says', *Woman's Signal*, 18, 3 May, p. 293.

argues that exploring the prompt-copies Dickens made for each of his readings gives an insight into the ways in which he adapted his compositional practices specifically for the purposes of his readings. It suggests that through engaging with the material culture behind the spectacle of Dickens's readings we may unveil what is still recoverable of his performances to modern scholars, and I think, more meaningfully, what his prompt-copies reveal about his view of his own work and the process of adaptation itself. This paper offers an alternative narrative of the Victorian renewal, focussing on the processes of self-adaptation that Dickens undertook and how this authorial re-encountering might inform how we view his wider compositional practices.

4.7 Renewed Forms

Helen Kingstone (Glasgow)

Truth in the historical novel?

This paper examines patterns in the reception of the historical novel through the nineteenth century. What changing expectations were placed upon the genre as History and English Literature established footholds as nascent academic disciplines? Using ProQuest's *British Periodicals* to build a database of reviews and create visualizations of key variables, my paper and project seeks to renew scholarly engagement with this genre's role, going beyond the 'rise and fall' trajectory traced in previous accounts (Fleishman, Simmons, Sanders, Hamnett).

The emergence of the historical novel as a boom genre in the early nineteenth-century was the product of a Romantic renewal of interest in the past. It also, however, led to an urgent concern among historians about how to renew the former status of their written products in comparison to their fictional rivals. As historian Thomas Macaulay declared in 1828, 'two hostile powers' were fighting over the same ground, and historians needed to regain control by appropriating the fictional form's techniques.

Reception of the historical novel genre therefore operated among heightened stakes. This paper aims to look systematically at how periodicals shaped the reception of historical novels through the century. It explores the grounds on which periodical reviewers endorsed or critiqued the genre, from insufficient research through to 'false historicity' (Rosenstone, 1995). I also investigate the other functions they ascribed to the genre: fancy dress inspiration, means to impress dinner guests, guidebooks to social life and sites for secular pilgrimage. Any narrative of the genre's trajectory needs to acknowledge the diverse ways it was used.

I aim to add to our understanding of the influence of periodicals on multiple aspects of readers' daily lives, and thereby also to revise the accepted but tired narrative of the rise and fall of the historical novel form.

Harriet Salisbury (Roehampton)

Renewing the Victorian Waif Novel

In this paper I will present my research on and subsequent re-visioning of the Victorian waif novel. Alongside books that established the founding canon of children's literature, the nineteenth-century publishing industry produced the genre of the waif novel. Hesba Sretton had a runaway success with *Jessica's First Prayer* (1867), selling 100,000 copies by 1871, and up to two million in her lifetime. E. Nesbit said of it: 'I felt my eyes smart and my throat go lumpy towards the finish. Pathetic simplicity is a grand gift in writing.'

I will argue that, although little studied today, books such as *Jessica*, once read by Queen Victoria, Alexander the Great and Flora Thompson, have influenced our ideas about the working classes. Set among London's worst slums, they dwelt on the brief and brutish lives of the city's poorest children, usually featuring a prolonged deathbed scene. Surviving children were saved by middle-class rescuers who pointed the way out of poverty through temperance, observance, and proper household management. Waif novels by Hesba Stretton,

Georgina Castle Smith, L. T. Meades and Mrs O. F. Walton were placed in libraries, sold at affordable prices and widely distributed as Sunday and board school prizes.

My practice-based PhD is a revisionist version of the waif novel, *We Belong to the Streets*, featuring four children from Irish, Jewish, Welsh and Anglo-Indian backgrounds. Guided by Booth's poverty maps, I have descended deep into the topography of 1880s working-class Whitechapel at a time of housing shortages, immigration, precarious employment, sudden dynamite attacks and political and social unrest. Using carefully researched places, events and actions, my aim is to rescue and re-tell the story of the working-classes, this time allowing them to save themselves through self-determination, collective action and unionisation.

John Scholar (Reading)

How is the Short Story Short?: Henry James's three 'novels intensely compressed' and the 'interminable little' *What Maisie Knew*

This paper explores how Henry James renewed the pre-eminent narrative form of the Victorian period, the novel, by hybridizing it with a new upstart genre, the short story. It does so by using classical narratology to look at four liminal texts of James's which, in different ways, put pressure on the formal boundaries between short and long fiction: three novelistic short stories and *What Maisie Knew* (1897), a novel which expanded beyond its forecast limits as a short story. It finds that constraints of space do not inhibit story, but rather motivate discourse to achieve economies – in similar ways, but to different degrees, in texts of different lengths. It thus corroborates the impression given by James's theorizing that his formal approach to texts was consistent, regardless of length, and that short stories and novels are points on the same spectrum.

This case study suggests that James's short stories may simultaneously stand as microcosms of his novels, and as benchmarks against which to judge the novels' experimentalism. The aesthetic problem James set himself in *Maisie* by attempting focalization through a child, and its costliness in terms of narrative space, are clarified by comparison with the more orthodox focalization in the short stories. Here narrative experimentalism itself seems to attenuate the text. At the same time, *Maisie's* manipulation of narrative time to achieve economies is replicated to a lesser degree in the short stories. The short stories' resemblance to scaled-down versions of novels is evident in their use of synecdoche in both story and discourse. The paper finally argues, contrary to some critics who have held that James privileges character over plot, for the importance of story, and of an attention to its patterning, in understanding late Jamesian texts.

4.8 Material Culture

Claire Wood (Leicester)

Collectible Memorial Cards

Memorial cards were a ubiquitous part of Victorian death culture. Distributed to extended family and friends following a bereavement, these small paper-based memorials were both informational and commemorative. Supplied from stock by undertakers, or available to order from stationers and printers, mourners could choose from a wide variety of designs. These included simple black-bordered cards, ornate blind embossed and lace-paper creations, and colour lithographed designs with a range of floral and religious symbolism. Purchased in multiples, these cards could be personalised with handwritten or overprinted details, including the name of the deceased, date of death and age at death, place of burial, reference to surviving relations, and a biblical or sentimental verse. Memorial cards possess complex signification because of their dual status as commercially-manufactured

commodities and as sentimental keepsakes. Highly conventional in terms of language and iconography, but also endowed with profound capacity for affect, memorial cards complicate ideas of the ephemeral.

This article turns from family memorial cards to those which commemorate public figures and the victims of tragedies and disasters. While some of these cards appear to have been specially commissioned, many use the same stock designs available for private citizens. This indicates that stationers speculatively printed cards to capitalise upon the deaths of notable individuals, offering to the public an affordable memorial souvenir. What motivated purchasers of these cards? Was this a way to express respect and sympathy, as well as remember an historic moment? And how might similarities between cards for private and public individuals serve to bring famous figures closer to home? By drawing out the draw out the tensions that surround these objects (private/public; familiarity/distance; commercial/affective etc.), this paper offers a renewed sense of the role of these mass-produced ephemeral objects in perpetuating a celebratory version of the deceased.

Britanny Carlson (California)

Mediating Victorian Geometry Anxiety Through Curve Stitching, Cigarette Cards, and Sherlock Holmes

The turbulent mathematical scene of the nineteenth century was ridden with anxieties regarding the crumbling formal axiomatic foundations of Euclidean geometry, which was previously considered a gold standard in the early 19th century. Consequently, many anxieties regarding its validity and utilitarian purpose emerged in mathematical and non-mathematical communities alike. To learn Euclidean geometry in this anxiety-ridden climate, the content required mediation. In this paper, I assert that everyone ranging from the young men studying geometry for the first time to professionals – including fictional ones such as Sherlock Holmes –mediated their geometry anxieties by blurring the boundary between mathematics and art/play with common ephemera, including string, curve-stitching, and cigarette cards. By doing so, not only did people confront their anxieties and learn geometry, but their practices also contributed to the field of mathematical knowledge as a whole thus turning the geometrically anxious into geometers in their own right.

One of the first explicit physical mediations of geometry anxiety in the 19th century was Sherlock Holmes' in "The Adventure of the Musgrave Ritual." Previously in *A Study in Scarlet,* Holmes informs Watson that he has no knowledge of astronomy and therefore Euclidean geometry. However, in "The Adventure of the Musgrave Ritual," we learn that Holmes' assertion is merely a result of his anxiety because he mediates a problem with string and a fishing rod then solves it, despite the prerequisite knowledge of both astronomy and Euclidean geometry.

Mediating geometry anxiety through concrete, physical models also appear in Mary Boole and Edith Somervell's works. In 1904, Mary Boole published *The Preparation of the Child for Science* where she argues that the child who went on to study geometry in a formal, liberal educational setting or a military career needed to encounter it in an empirical setting first to learn the geometer's "best practices." Shortly after, Edith Somervell published *A Rhythmic Approach to Mathematics* where she builds on Boole's method by laying out aesthetic principles that can be applied to curve stitching when using it to model mathematical phenomena. By the time Somervell finished developing the method for curve stitching, curve stitching was cited as the primary contributor to the first visual model of the fourth dimension and giving multi-dimensional geometry a utilitarian purpose.

Also building on their work, Gallaher's Cigarette Co. produced cigarette cards that attempted to reach perhaps those among the most geometrically anxious by adding another layer of mediation to curve stitching. By combining curve-stitching practices with the leisurely act of smoking, the young men who engaged in this activity were provided with the opportunity to muse over the possibilities presented in the card in a relaxed environment. I contend that in doing so, his anxieties were weakened enough to allow him to work through the given geometrical concept, practice it, and master it. Thus, he became a geometer.

Gavin Davies (Exeter)

Between Dystopia and Utopia: Visions of an Imperial Future in Georgian and Victorian Board Games

Are certain outcomes inevitable? Or is questioning inevitability futile because we can always hypothesise an alternative outcome? Is human agency the fundamental cause of events, or are there instead forces beyond our control that dictate the outcome of history? These are the questions asked by Georgian and Victorian board games commonly known as historical pastimes which resonate uncomfortably with our present day. Just as today Britons face the task of deciding what ideals, goals and attitudes suit their personal conception of the nation, so too were their late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century counterparts witnesses to significant social and political change. Whether this change was for better or for worse remained uncertain, and central to this angst was the concern over the fate of the British polity; the status quo seemingly threatened from within by black freedom in Britain and without by the unravelling of empire.

This paper argues that historical pastimes communicated a serene, self-confident outlook of Britain's pre-eminence in history when notions of empire and nation were in flux. The board games were, like other elements of British culture of this period, trying to create or indeed reinforce a solid and secure British identity, which rather suggests that it was not as solid and secure as their makers wanted to believe. By drawing on the games' portrayals of slavery and abolition, as well as the monarchy, the paper contributes to the renewed scholarly interest in board games as cultural artefacts evinced recently with Megan Norcia's monograph *Gaming Empire in Children's British Board Games, 1836-1860* (2019) by further arguing that their simplification was one which better suited the broader moral purpose and milieu of historical pastimes in terms of celebrating Britain as a site of civilisation and progress.

4.9 Workshop: An Introduction to COVE (the Central Online Victorian Educator)

Convener: Adrian S. Wisnicki (Nebraska-Lincoln)

This presentation will provide an overview of COVE (The Central Online Victorian Educator; https://editions.covecollective.org/). COVE is a scholar-driven, open access, and open source publishing platform developed by Dino Felluga in collaboration with an international range of scholars, students, and programmers. The platform has been built for teaching and for publishing research, and is designed to be user-friendly so that even scholars with limited technical skills can engage the platform's capabilities in full. COVE includes a number of peer-reviewed editions that are ready to use in the classroom as well as other pedagogical resources. COVE is maintained and supported by BAVS and a number of other institutions and organizations (including NAVSA and AVSA). All members of these organizations have back end access to COVE (i.e., they are able to use COVE to support their research and those of their students), and their regular membership fees partly go to support COVE development. This presentation will provide a general overview of COVE, its objectives, and its history. It will introduce members of BAVS new to COVE to the platform's basic features and capabilities, while serving as a refresher session for those BAVS members already familiar with COVE.

Panel Session 5: Thursday 29 August, 1330-1500

5.1 Thomas Carlyle's Renewals

Randall Reinhard (Edinburgh)

Edward Irving, Thomas Carlyle, and the Making of the 'Victorian Prophet'

In the nineteenth century authors such as Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, and Matthew Arnold revived and reworked the office of the Old Testament prophet for industrial Britain. In his mature social criticism, Carlyle read the signs of the times and provided a prophetic warning of dissolution for a society based on *laissez-faire* individualism. But these secular 'Victorian Prophets' had a predecessor in the life and career of Edward Irving. In

this paper, I argue that Carlyle's interpretation of Irving's example contributed significantly to his own rehabilitation of the prophetic role for nineteenth-century Britain.

In the early 1820s Irving was a popular Scottish preacher in London who attracted controversy by blaming the clergy of the established churches for the low state of religion and criticising popular religious societies. As he began interpreting the biblical prophecies in light of current events, he saw a society threatened by infidelity in the form of liberalism, and he consequently predicted that the end of days was imminent. Irving believed Britain to be a nation in covenant with God, and when this appeared to be under threat with the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (1828) and Catholic emancipation (1829) he portrayed himself as a public prophet tasked with bringing the country back to God. Though Carlyle had little sympathy for Irving's religious views, the two were old friends, and in his eulogy of Irving (who died in 1834) Carlyle referred to him as 'the Messenger of Truth in the Age of Shams'. Carlyle would go on to adopt similar prophetic rhetoric and language in such texts as *Past and Present* (1843) and *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (1850) where he warned against the dangers of democracy and the worship of wealth, and I argue that it was Irving's example which made this possible.

Stephanie Hicks (Edinburgh)

"Antaeus-like, his strength is got by touching the Earth": Anthropogenic Change and Ecological Thought in Thomas Carlyle's *On Heroes*

This paper proposes an Anthropogenic reading of *On Heroes*, considering it a text concerned fundamentally with the notion of reciprocal change, the idea expressed recently in an essay by Vybarr Cregan-Reid that 'while we have been making this world, it has also been remaking us'. This reading of *On Heroes* considers Carlyle's emphasis in the text on changes in humanity's relationship to the world and the correspondent effects of these changes on the world itself. That is to say, this paper addresses the protoecological thought of Carlyle's historical philosophy which often goes unacknowledged.

In *On Heroes*, Carlyle delineates a transformation in the way that humanity interacts with the world, a movement away from an Antaeus-like relationship with nature toward one that is commodifying and destructive. Looking toward the future, Carlyle hopes that humanity will again 'be able to live among other organisms and *formed* things, not as a wasting destruction alone'.

In its use of the language of marketplace, *On Heroes* implicates industrial capitalism in this wasting destruction, critiquing its conversion of the landscape and of individuals themselves into commodities to be traded and exploited on the market. As an ameliorative to the chaos of modernity's changes, Carlyle proposes hero-worship – the reinstitution of the hierarchical power structures of the past.

An exploration of Carlyle's curative 'heroarchy' is at the heart of this paper's Anthropogenic reading of *On Heroes* and addresses the theme of "Victorian Renewals" by situating Carlyle's understanding of history in relation to the era's renewed interest in the past. Central to this exploration of *On Heroes* is a discussion of the way in which Carlyle's desire to return to hierarchical models of the past and, in fact, his very historiographical impulses, are connected to a general Victorian preoccupation with history and the notion of the epoch's radical discontinuity with the past.

David R. Sorenson (Saint Joseph's, Philadelphia)

Renewal or Revival?: Carlyle, Ruskin, and the Dangers of the Renewable Past

In 1887 Ruskin sent his personal copy of Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1843) to an admirer, acknowledging that "I have sent you a book which I read no more because it has become a part of myself, and my old marks in it are now useless, because in my heart I mark it all." His affirmation was both personal and prescriptive: personal, in the admission of Carlyle's great influence on his means of judging the past, and prescriptive, in demonstrating how such a judgement should be formed. What was paramount to them both was the integrity of the emotional connection that they established between themselves and history. When Carlyle first read Jocelin of Brakelond's

Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds (1173–1202), he was moved by the way in which the author employed a wide range of rhetorical techniques to evoke the inner life of the monks and the community. Jocelin's focus on the psychological interior of medievalism combined qualities of literary observation, discrimination, and delicacy that left Carlyle feeling as if he too had "become a part" of the lost monastic world. That he could be moved to such a degree by a religious sensibility with which he had no sympathy convinced him that the distinctive features of Jocelin's narrative belonged in the category of "renewal" rather than the less transformative "revival." It was a distinction that Ruskin readily welcomed, and frequently converted to powerful effect in *The Stones of Venice*, which Carlyle referred to as his disciple's "Sermon in Stones." But there was a price to be paid for allowing rhetorical style to bear the burden of historical "renewal," and both Carlyle and Ruskin discovered it to their mutual regret. If granular technical and historical details were sacrificed for the sake of rhetorical effects, then the "sermon" itself would assume the quality of an idiosyncratic prophetic outburst rather than an authentic mark of the heart.

5.2 Renewing Albert Moore: Approaches to Art and Aestheticism 2: Albert Moore, Antiquity and Music

Following the invigorating discussions at the Re-Thinking Albert Moore conference held at the University of York and York Art Gallery in July 2017, this panel takes the conference theme of Victorian Renewal as an opportunity to renew the critical and theoretical reassessments of Albert Moore's practice and work in an interdisciplinary context. Best-known today as a painter of uncompromisingly 'narrative-less' pictures, Albert Moore's distinctive pictorial practices facilitated productive alliances with some of the most progressive European painters, designers and architects of his age. However, Moore has often been characterised as a marginal or isolated figure whose interests in ornament, atemporality and materiality place him outside mainstream narratives of British nineteenth-century art history.

This strand will interrogate Moore's paintings through a range of approaches, from coeval Victorian developments in design theory, contemporary critical theories, classical receptions and archaeology, and musical theory. These interdisciplinary approaches by early career scholars will demonstrate the richness and interconnectedness of Moore's aestheticist painting, not only with his peers in fine art but with a larger nineteenth century cultural perspective.

R. J. I. Mellor (York)

***A Venus*: Venus, Uranians and Classical Sexy Sexlessness**

Albert Moore's *A Venus*, arguably one of his most ambitious paintings, was completed in 1869 and commissioned by the well-established art collector Frederic Leyland (1831-92). For years, British painters attempted to create an ideal and 'un-erotic' nude that was purely aesthetic. In the wake of the Obscene Publications Act of 1857, when images deemed 'pornographic' were criminalised, painters attempting a nude subject were tasked with producing work noticeably academic compared to the seedy 'smut' being purged from society thus encouraging painters to produce artistically acceptable nudes for public viewing. Much scholarship has suggested that the classical sculptural nude body, with its severity, 'pure' whiteness, and links to the education of the elite offered the perfect cover for the sexless body demanded in such a cultural context.

Moore, like many other Victorian artists, looked to the classical past for inspiration for his paintings, often borrowing very directly from well known Greco-Roman examples. However, this paper will argue that it is unfairly reductive to think of the classical nude in Albert Moore's work as a mere reactionary response to censorship laws. Through close visual reading, I aim to look at how Moore uses the classical nude in thoroughly unique and complex ways compared to his contemporaries by utilizing classical examples less as a means of legitimizing his nude as sexless than as a tool for engaging with ideas of sex and gender is non-definable. What are the wider implications that *A Venus* has on the use of the androgyny within the classical tradition? How does *A Venus* displace the human body of his paintings temporally? How does Moore's work engage with new categorical

definitions of human gender and sexual identity developing from the latest medical fields of psychology and sexology?

Melissa Gustin (York)
HUNK-ulaneum: Albert Moore's *A Quartet* and the Villa dei Papiri

Abert Moore's 1868 *A Quartet, or a Painter's Tribute to Music*, is primarily understood as an aestheticist merging of Moore's painterly approach to composition and an appreciation of pure music. Scholarship has mostly discussed this picture in relation to its anachronistic and international assemblage of accoutrements and instruments, none of which quite go together historically or geographically. This paper, however, will look at *A Quartet* n ot through these avenues, but rather through an archaeological, intertextual lens. The heads on Moore's musicians resemble nothing so much as busts from Herculaneum, which he would have had access to in Naples on his Italian sojourn in 1863. The antiquity of the figures--despite their modern musical instruments-- is emphasised further by the classical(ish) drapery which all of the figures wear, most especially the leopard skin worn by one of the bearded figures.

This paper will identify specific sculptural touchstones (not a pun, because they're bronze) for Moore's painted musicians, and consider the intertextual depth that these bring to the figures. Each of the busts in question, representing a range of art-historical, antique, and mythological types, brings to the painting its critical and literary weight. This paper will demonstrate that Moore's *A Quartet* was no less erudite in its archaeological references than a painting by Lawrence Alma-Tadema, though his idiosyncratic and eclectic aesthetic approach make those references less immediately obvious. By bringing the sculptural specificity to the figures in this painting, as well as the iconographic potential of costume and activity, alongside his contemporary instruments and eclectic decor, this paper will acknowledge Moore's multivalent temporalities and aesthetics as a sophisticated engagement not only with his own period but with antiquity.

Marte Stinis (York)
Albert Moore's Titular Intentions

Albert Moore's pictures are broadly interpreted within existing scholarship as some of the purest exponents of 'art for art's sake'. This dovetails with his practice of providing non-committal titles such as *A Wardrobe* or *Lilies*, deliberately moving away from narrative and towards a proto-formalist abstraction. While artists such as Lawrence Alma-Tadema or Edward Poynter sought to reconstruct the past in their art to a high level of archaeological accuracy, Moore appropriated and adapted those elements that fitted with his artistic pursuit of the beautiful. As such he incorporated a wide variety of influences into his art; the Parthenon sculptures, Japanese prints, ideas on analogies between the arts, to name but a few. This paper will identify such influences on Moore at a crucial point in his career – the latter 1860s – when he moved away from narrative painting and towards his 'timeless', 'subjectless' works. *The Musicians* of 1867 represents Moore's eclectic approach to antiquity and his engagement with potential sources for his pursuit of ideal beauty; I will analyse the extent to which the various strands of thought and artistic provocation indeed inspired Moore. Furthermore, this paper will consider Moore's intense engagement with the practise of titles and its effect on a literary Victorian audience. Known in all current scholarship and exhibiting galleries as *A Musician*, its original title remains *The Musicians*, despite the implication of a plurality that is absent in the composition. This paper will address key questions about the role of the viewing in a painting about music, the titular intention of such a musical painting, and the role the aesthetics of instrumental music played for an Aesthetic artist such as Moore.

5.3 Women and Print Culture

Mariam Zarif (King's College London)
The New Woman Renewed: The Woman's Penny Press in the 1890s

What do images produced in the popular press and illustrated periodicals suggest relative to the continual debates around sexual politics and the Woman Question? How is the interest in women's penny weeklies renewed in the current scholarship on women's penny weeklies? Can a study of these penny weeklies renew our understanding of the New Woman?

The heterogeneity of periodicals and their multiple perspectives and strategies to expose paradoxes and at the same time pose questions in a way which challenged the gendered discourse is the focus of this paper. The interrelationship between the press, its readers, and a further element of publication's purpose as commodity suggests the numerous ways in which the press was closely engaged with reinscribing new definitions of femininity. This paper will argue how the mass production of the penny weeklies in the late nineteenth century became a battleground for popular debates on gender and sexual politics of the period. The theory implicit in this argument asserts that women's penny weeklies operated as both open and closed spaces in which discourses on women's sexuality were appropriated and exploited.

Moving from a symptomatic to a surface reading of women's periodicals, this paper aims to examine how the mass production of women's penny weeklies actively grappled with concerns about gendered discourse. This paper seeks to shed light on how debates on gender in the penny weeklies are pertinent to the discourse of consumption. The emphasis will be on mass women's market, the less 'mainstream' but popular form. Thus, looking at big circulation 'alternatives' such as *Forget-Me-Not* and *Pick-Me-Up* that have received relatively little attention in the past is fundamental to any work on the construction of gender in women's magazines.

Emily Alder (Napier)

Weird Sisters: Victorian Women's Ghost Stories and a New Look at the Weird Tale

In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, weird fiction looks like a masculine tradition. While there are numerous women among recent 'New Weird' writers, female authorship of early weird tales barely shows up next to the success of H. P. Lovecraft and his contemporaries. This is not just because of the historical bias towards literary men in Western canons and not because women did not choose to write supernatural horror stories, but because, as I'll argue, what we have come to understand as the form of the weird tale is an implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) masculine mode. Male experience of the fin-de-siecle period is written into what are called its weird tales. This paper explores the weird tradition in Victorian women's writing. In 1882, several of the late Charlotte Riddell's short stories were collected under the title *Weird Stories*. On the surface, these narratives bear little resemblance to Lovecraft's 'The Call of Cthulhu', Arthur Machen's *Great God Pan*, or Guy de Maupassant's 'The Horla'. Yet, I argue, their commonalities and continuities reward investigation, indicating the shared roots of men's and women's weird tales in the nineteenth century as well as their mutual interdependence. Centred on women and speaking to women's social, sexual, and intellectual lives, stories by Riddell, E. Nesbit and others develop a distinctive epistemological and ontological stance which is essential to the weird, which contests the rules of masculine positivist science and which, I argue, is inextricable from these narratives' sense of women's lived experiences. This paper offers a renewed engagement with some Victorian women's writing often recruited to a 'female gothic' tradition to argue for their integral place in the development of the popular mode of the weird.

Mary Chapman (Leeds)

Returning to Amy Levy: Writerly Experiences of Melancholia in the Late Nineteenth Century

Amy Levy was a poet and author who chose to write publicly (and poetically) about the melancholia which led her to commit suicide at the age of 27. Levy used her writing as a tool to explore and understand how she felt about her melancholia, and her work is therefore a rare and valuable example of a woman's experiential account of depression in the nineteenth-century. Yet previous readings of her work have neglected to consider this. Critics have instead tended to interpret her biography in order to diagnose causality in her mental illness, blaming anxiety

induced by her marginality as a woman writer, Jew, and lesbian. Whilst it is important to consider these aspects of Levy's life, it is anachronistic to impose twenty first century notions of identity onto Levy's experiences of a hundred years previous. This paper therefore proposes a renewed engagement with Levy's work, which focuses on what Levy herself tells us about her struggles with unhappy and suicidal feelings.

Evidence suggests that Levy did not see her marginality as important to her experience of what she termed the "blues", nor did she see her condition entirely from a medical perspective- although she did engage with the idea of persistent low mood as illness. In her short stories and poems in particular, Levy created an alternative, non-clinical understanding of melancholia based on the idea of the melancholic personality. Believing this personality to be a part of the artistic temperament, she used literature to imaginatively explore the connections between her low mood and creativity. Levy reworked contemporary narratives of melancholia as sickness or degeneration, weaving them into Romantic and Decadent ideas of the melancholy artist to reframe nervous sensitivity as *poetic* sensitivity. This paper will thus argue that by paying attention to the language and imagery which Levy uses to talk about melancholia, we can uncover a novel, patient-led perspective on mental illness in the nineteenth century.

5.4 Edward Lear

Noreen Masud (Durham)

Surprises and Suddenness in Edward Lear

The last three years have witnessed a sudden renewal of interest in the nonsense poet and artist Edward Lear; important books dedicated to his work have been published in 2016 and 2018, with more forthcoming. Against that context, this paper considers how the idea of 'suddenness' – sudden changes, eruptions and (re)appearances – might offer a key to Lear's nonsense temporalities. Although Lear's landmark nonsense writing overflows with things surprising to his readers, his characters primarily perceive things as *sudden* rather than *surprising*.

There was an Old Person of Prague,
Who was suddenly seized with the plague;
But they gave him some butter, which caused him to mutter,
And cured that Old Person of Prague.

Victorian nonsense depends, I suggest, on things being sudden but not acknowledged as surprising. The reader may gasp and puzzle, but within the nonsense world, life goes on as usual, through the most unexpected events. Surprise is a privilege restricted to those who expect the world to behave reasonably: in other words, the disapproving "They" of Lear's limericks, shocked at the protagonists' antics, as well as the readers of nonsense. In contrast, nonsense characters (and perhaps nonsense writers) learn to accept things in all their absurdity. When surprisingness is evacuated from the nonsense-world as a response to unexpected events, what emerges is in fact a new mode of the surprising: one based around happiness, predictability and serenity. Setting unpublished poems and diaries against Lear's paintings and better-known nonsense works, and contextualising his work against that of Lewis Carroll and W. S. Gilbert, this paper traces how the interplay between the sudden and the surprising fundamentally structures Victorian nonsense writing, continually renewing stale logics of plot and prosody.

Emily Tock (NUI Galway)

Chasing the Monster: Renewing the Gothic in Edward Lear

Edward Lear (1812-1888), that most beloved of Victorian eccentrics, is revered as the father of modern nonsense and as an incandescent natural history illustrator. But there is another side to Lear that has to date received little attention. Lear's experiments with the Gothic and sublime are visible in both his texts and landscape painting, and even make appearances in his nonsense and personal correspondence. Vesna Goldsworthy in *Inventing Ruritania:*

Imperialism of the Imagination (1998) discusses geographies of the Gothic, writing that the 'edges of a particular geographical area' and its 'remote corners' and 'borderlands' represent the mystery and threat posed by 'the other', describing a transition in the nineteenth century from Italy to the Balkans as the centre for those Gothic geographies.[8]

However, I apply Goldsworthy's transition mechanisms to Lear, suggesting that his work incorporates an early Irish Gothic with a subsequent transition to the Italian peninsula. Lear then moves his Gothic experimentations to the Balkans and eventually on to the Indian subcontinent. Reflective of the reclassifications of his authorial persona, Lear's serial relocations of a personal Gothic taxonomy are emblematic of his questioning of the role of the individual's, and man's place, in nature and empire. Retracing pastiches and parodies in his travel journals, landscape paintings, and nonsense, this paper positions Lear as renewing discourses of the Gothic and the sublime to interrogate and reshape the taxonomic imperatives governing mid-Victorian thought.

Alina Ghimpu-Hague (Royal Holloway, London)

Reconfiguring the Limerick: Edward Lear's Book of Nonsense as a Remix Project

The term 'remix' was first used in the second half of the 20th century to denote the process of creatively transforming a piece of recorded music and, respectively, the outcome of this process; more recently, its remit was extended to include similar transformations of film, video, and multimedia work. Nevertheless, the associated strategies, namely, the lengthening of an existent musical piece to capitalise on its popularity in a live entertainment setting, the alteration of one or more individual components in order to meet context-specific expectations, and the inclusion of new elements which aim to retain or rekindle the interest of an informed audience, mirror those deployed by many professional and amateur musicians in the nineteenth century.

As an amateur entertainer who often sang his own humorous versions of popular songs while accompanying himself on the piano, young Edward Lear would have been acutely aware of the impact of combining the familiar with the novel and would have developed his own set of strategies for transforming one or more components of the original songs on which his performances were based. This paper takes as its starting point Lear's own admission that he was inspired to write his first limericks by his encounter with Harris's Anecdotes and Adventures of Fifteen Gentlemen, and will show that he used techniques borrowed from his music practice to produce an extended, multimodal version of Harris's publication that retains many of its core features. This, in conjunction with the fact that the resulting texts were created in order to entertain a specific audience and that their form was optimised for live performance, make a strong case for seeing Lear's Book of Nonsense as the nineteenth century equivalent of the modern remix.

5.5 Railways and Victorian Anxieties

Edwin Marr (Anglia Ruskin, Cambridge)

"Red-brick railway arches, tongues of fire, blots of smoke": The Renewal of the Gothic in the Railway Space of the 1860s

In this paper, I will argue that the railway space of the 1860s offers the Gothic a renewed place in the industrialised world of the mid-nineteenth-century. It moves the haunted castles of Catholic Europe to the grand termini of Britain's railways, transports the fears and uncertainties of scientific advancement out of the Swiss Alps, and onto

[8] Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven [CT]; London: Yale University Press, 1998), 74–75.

the railway tracks, transitions the hero or heroine from the sinister stately home onto the platform or into the railway carriage, and replaces ghosts and the supernatural, with the roaring monstrosity of the steam engine. I will demonstrate this trend by exploring four important social and cultural railway phenomena of the 1860s; the literary and artistic representations of the world's first underground railroad, the Metropolitan Railway constructed in 1863 and the first British railway murder in 1864, the publication of Dickens' *Mugby Junction* in 1866, and the depictions and reality of the opening of the first part of St Pancras Station in 1868. Architecture, engineering, literature and journalism therefore align within this historical moment, with architects, artists and writers alike identifying the railway's unique potential as a site of Gothic revival grandeur in its stations, alongside the more unnerving aspects of murder, identity crisis and technological terror on its platforms and in its carriages.

Roger Baxter (Sheffield)

Fear of the Reworked England: Opposition to Railway Construction in Victorian News Media before 1860

In the early years of railway development and expansion, negative opinions about railways, and the crimes associated with them, focused primarily on the railways as physical entities – on railway lines and the men who built them, and on the locomotive as a literal and symbolic threat both to the individual and to society. This paper will examine negative representations of railway construction in news media during the years of construction that were most crucial to wider railway development. It will assess the mistrust of railway workers, in particular the growth of the image of the 'navvy', as well as fears around individuals using railway travel to commit crimes. It will also consider the ways in which railways – either wholly or in part – were often depicted as inherently criminal entities, representing a moral and spiritual decay in national values associated with the upheaval that they threatened to cause in England's social and physical landscape.

By examining newly digitised news media articles, reports, and images from the period in conjunction with official and company records, as well as literary and artistic representations of railway construction from the period, this paper will discuss the effects that the changing impact and use of railways over time had upon perceptions of the relationship between 'the railways' and crime. It will also assess the extent to which Victorian opposition to railway construction was separate from opposition to other forms of railway-related crime – such as financial crime – and whether such forms of opposition became more closely associated with each other as the railways became more developed.

Eleanor Shipton (Exeter)

'Flashing out of the dark into the dark, with a deafening roar': Nineteenth-Century Mobilities and the Mail Train

Since Wolfgang Schivelbusch's seminal work *The Railway Journey* (1986), scholars have written and theorised about the importance of the railway in the Victorian literary imagination (Despotopoulou, Freeman, Beaumont, Daly, among others). However, a recent turn in scholarship has used mobility theory in order to renew our understanding of the complex social practices and embodied experiences of new global circulation routes of the nineteenth century (Livesey, Mathieson, Plunkett, Ewers). This paper will use mobility theory in order to consider the portrayal of the mail train in mid nineteenth-century periodical literature and the periodical novels of Mary Elizabeth Braddon.

The intersection between the travel and communication technologies embodied by the mail train was one fraught with the possibilities of both networks. Through its analysis of periodical literature, this paper will show that the mail train was understood as distinct from passenger trains; mail trains, also known as 'express' and 'special' trains, were understood and imagined as speedy, efficient and sensorial. However, mail trains were also associated with anxieties concerning the impact of rapid railway travel and intersecting mobilities; periodical depictions of the mail train focussed on and delighted in the mail train's potential for heterogeneity, deviation, and danger.

Braddon, I will show, utilises these possibilities in her fiction; in *Henry Dunbar* (1864) and *John Marchmont's Legacy* (1864), mail train journeys and mail train crashes operate as metaphors for wider themes in the novels, including information circulation, communication, power and danger.

This paper will demonstrate that the renewed interest in nineteenth-century literary mobilities can help us to understand the nuanced signification of travel routes in which multiple mobilities intersect: to travel on the mail is to embody the mobility of both the transportation and postal network, and both their potential pleasures and perils.

5.6 Working-Class Renewals

Vicky Holmes (Queen Mary, London)

The Egg-Box Cot: Renewing and Repurposing in the Victorian Working-Class Home

The practice of renewing and repurposing objects was ubiquitous in the Victorian working-class home. Struggling to afford the most basic of domestic furniture, poorer households would often improvise the items they required – amongst which was baby's cot. Drawing on an array of documentary evidence such as coroners' inquests and medical officer of health reports, in lieu of such objects surviving for the period, my paper demonstrates the wide range of domestic – chest of drawers, tin baths – and non-domestic items – egg boxes, orange crates – that were, with a little work, transformed into cots. Undertaking such research both extends our understanding of the life-stories of these various objects such as the egg-box, and, counteracting the view of the sparse working-class interior, begins to populate the Victorian working-class bedroom with previously hidden objects.

Gordon J. Tait (Hull)

Joseph Skipsey: The Invisible Working-Class Father, Hidden in Plain Sight

In her 2015 study of *Fatherhood and the British Working Class, 1865-1914*, Julie Marie-Strange argues that the cultural representation of fathers has been marginalised. The Victorian ideals of 'family' and 'home' have come to euphemistically represent the maternal relationship, with the father an absent parent even when he is not. Where the working-class father has been considered, it has been as a social problem, portrayed as a figure of decline and dissolution, damaging the family unit with his "rough, drunken and profane" behaviour. The "terrible and savage pitman", often considered to be almost sub-human or portrayed atavistically, has had a similarly poor press.

Where Marie-Strange's work seeks to renew the reputation of the working-class father, this paper will investigate the personal experience of fatherhood through the poetry of the poet and coal-miner Joseph Skipsey. Skipsey's poems have long been viewed as representations of the Victorian coal-miner's working experience and, in particular, the emotional stresses involved in such a precarious existence; they have regularly been employed to humanise an often misunderstood and misrepresented class of worker.

Using letters to and from Skipsey, a single poem of his, and a painting closely associated with his work, I argue that Skipsey reveals himself to be a father far from the intemperate image of the working-class stereotype. Instead, an invisible working-class father using the principles of self-improvement to become a self-sacrificing, caring, and constant individual who has been hidden in plain sight for 135 years.

Pat Colling (Leeds)

Spatiality and Subversion: George Gissing's Re-Invention of the Social Novel

My paper will explore the renewed interest in social fiction of the 1880s and 90s, spearheaded by George Gissing. The mid nineteenth century saw a first wave of slum literature with some Dickens, but notably Gaskell, Kingsley and Disraeli taking sociological positions on poverty. The genre then fell out of favour until Gissing published

Workers in the Dawn in 1880. In the intervening period journalists, social observers, and commentators – Greenwood, Mayhew, Booth, and the Fabians wrote about the plight of the penurious.

Gissing wrote a further four working-class novels – *The Unclassed* (1882), *Demos* (1886), *Thyrza* (1886), and *The Nether World* (1888). His social fiction led a new tranche of writers focussing on the poor. Walter Besant enjoyed commercial success with his *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882), and in 1887 both Margaret Harkness and Mark Rutherford published fiction in the same genre. The nineties, by which time Gissing had moved on to different topics, saw further such novels and the emergence of a genuinely working-class writer in Arthur Morrison.

Gissing made several changes. He moved the genre away from the residuum to the more respectable poor areas and from the generalizing slum tourism of earlier works. Meticulous research plus first-hand experience of living in such areas gave Gissing an acute understanding of the working-class caste system. In the same vein he rejected the established bifurcation of London into East and West Ends to name specific streets and portray the subtle differentiations between (and within) poor neighbourhoods. He brought a new-found respect for the legitimacy of working-class culture, in which he was clearly influenced by Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*. I will argue that, with these innovations, Gissing created a new sub-genre of social fiction.

5.7 Victorian Scotland and Atlantic Slavery

Since 2007 there has been an explosion of interest in Scottish connections with Atlantic slavery. This has included historiographical scholarship, PhD projects, museum and gallery exhibitions, theatre performances, public talks, novels, television programmes, newspaper articles, walking tours, podcasts and gigs. The Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 decreed that enslaved people in the British Caribbean should serve a period of apprenticeship which was brought to an early end in 1838, Victoria's arrival on the throne was hailed by abolitionists as a fresh new dawn of 'anti-slavery empire'. During the nineteenth century the memory of slavery was largely suppressed, excused and minimised – a process which has resulted in what has been identified as the 'collective amnesia' in Scotland around slavery. This interdisciplinary panel reinterprets different aspects and areas of Scotland's Victorian heritage, uncovering the traces and legacies of slavery and empire. This is done through case studies of multi-directional memory and public history in Glasgow; a transnational analysis of the networks that sugar built in the port town of Greenock; and a case study of one prominent family which gradually erased the source of its wealth in slavery from its public image over the nineteenth century.

Michael Morris (Dundee)
George Square Statues: Glasgow, Slavery and Abolition

This paper discusses my own development of a Slavery Walking Tour for Black History Month since 2016 which uses the 12 statues of Glasgow's central George Square. The statues, erected between 1819 and 1902, celebrate Victorian Glaswegian, Scottish, British and imperial achievement. Although not one of the statues represents a slave trader, each of the statues has a connection to slavery and abolition. Thus, the walking tour, which is designed as a form of 'guerrilla memorialisation' (Alan Rice), reveals the city's broader entanglement with Atlantic slavery through a reinterpretation of Glasgow's sanitised Victorian public statuary of commerce, politics, science, militarism, industrialisation, academia and literature. This paper focuses on themes of cotton in the Atlantic Working Class, rebellion and reprisals, and questions of compensation and reparation. This reinterpretation of public monuments challenges the disavowal of slavery in Scotland's 'minority imperialist culture'. This focus on such pre-existing sites of public memory is intended to weave a more globalised and multi-directional tapestry of memory for the square.

Emma Bond (St Andrews)
Sugar Mobilities: Legacies of Slavery in Victorian Greenock

This paper will use a range of texts and archival material to explore post-Abolitionist networks of transnational sugar mobility in the West Coast town of Greenock. Dubbed 'Sugaropolis' in the 19th century, Greenock became a global hub for sugar refinement, attracting capital and investments in a range of industries, and a diverse community that stretched far beyond its founding triangular trade with the West Indies and Africa. Beyond the material profits of the sugar industry itself, Greenock families such as the Shaw Stewarts, the Wallaces and the McLarens owned and ran sugar plantations in Jamaica, Guyana and Trinidad & Tobago, and twenty-one of the twenty-seven Scottish slave voyages sailed directly from Greenock and Port Glasgow.

But what imprints did Greenock's involvement in the slave trade leave in individual biographies and family patterns of movement, as well as on the town itself? To answer this, I will explore the autobiographical writings of Robert Hutcheson Bowman, whose family were sponsored by Sir Michael Shaw Stewart to emigrate to Australia in 1852, but who documented his year in Greenock in 1871, and items from the MacFie archives, which show family presences in Hawaii, Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, the US, and Ghana. Alongside these, I will document high profile visits to Greenock by Josiah Henson (1876) and Sir Apolo Kagwa, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Buganda (1902), as illustrations of the complexities of Greenock's transnational sugar mobilities in the Victorian age.

Marenka Thompson-Odlum (Glasgow)

Erasure, Amnesia and the Stirlings of Keir

Recent scholarship regarding the legacy of Scotland and the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, has commented on the enduring erasure and 'social amnesia' of Scotland's role in slavery. The beginning of this 'amnesia' takes root in the Victorian post-emancipation era and is facilitated through various means from the national level to the familial. The Stirlings of Keir, were plantation owners in Jamaica for over a century and wielded financial and political power as Scottish landowners, partners in a West India merchant firm and members of the Glasgow West India Association. The immediate post-emancipation period saw the Stirlings divesting themselves of their Jamaican properties and began a systematic but inconspicuous erasure of their family's slave history. Using the Stirling of Keir original documents, published family history and paraphernalia, this paper will explore how involvement in the slavery was obscured and slave-owner family 'images' revamped through civic works such as the Glasgow Cathedral and museums. Using popular Victorian mechanisms such as published family histories, it is possible to see how these works are carefully curated to omit the slaves, mixed-race children and any other 'evidence' of Scotland role in the slave-trade.

5.8 Speculative Fiction

Michael Kramp (Lehigh)

Renewing Patriarchy in the Masculinity of Speculative Reform

In the last decades of the Victorian period, a specific genre of progressive social fiction emerges that details attempts of imaginary male reformers to rehabilitate or renew degenerate civilizations. Texts such as Walter Besant's *The Inner House* (1888), Alexander Craig's *Ionia* (1898), and Henry Wright's *Depopulation* (1899), document cultures in need of repair—societies that have become impoverished, despotic, or decadent. These works also depict men who become determined to work for cultural change as they learn specific lessons of social transformation and ostensible amelioration. Craig's *Ionia* takes its hero to a fantastic Greek-inspired culture where he observes eugenic-inspired techniques to improve England, motivate its citizens, and ruthlessly purify its race. Besant's *The Inner House* imagines a futuristic culture that has cured all illnesses—and most of its corporeal pleasures—of the past, and the hero participates in a revolt to regain a fleshly citizenry free from scientific control. And in Henry Wright's *Depopulation*, the hero leads an uprising against the wealthy men known as the Trusts, who control the culture, its people, and all resources. While this genre certainly informs the late-century culture of decay, it also engenders a specific discourse of late-Victorian masculinity; it specifically showcases how this man of

reform was inflected by radical ideas that ultimately supported his patriarchal powers and privileges. Indeed, the late-Victorian speculative genre of reform ultimately suggests that challenges to men's hegemony perpetuate England's national decline, resulting in the need of men of reform who subsequently reclaim men's authority to renew the culture.

Christopher Kitson (Edinburgh)

"Say I Dreamed it in the Workshop": H. G. Wells, Ernst Mach and the Victorian Thought Experiment

Recent years have seen a renewal of interest across disciplines in the topic of the thought experiment, a practice whereby the contemplation of an imaginary scenario is used as a route to scientific knowledge. Philosophers, historians of science and literary critics have all published new considerations of this controversial but important practice. This renewal of interest should prompt a fresh look at the central role the thought experiment played in late Victorian science culture.

This paper seeks to discuss the thought experiment's place in late nineteenth-century intellectual crosscurrents through a reading of H. G. Wells's scientific romance *The Time Machine*. It begins by placing the novel's plot in the context of the thought experiments or "imaginary illustrations" which were important in the initial reception and litigation of Darwinism. This influence is significant also to the novel's narrative structure, with its embedded narrative playfully cast as a thought experiment itself. The paper moves on to consider the thought of Wells's older contemporary, Austrian physicist Ernst Mach. After sketching the considerable common ground between Mach's and Wells's views of science, it argues that Mach's theory of the thought experiment is echoed in *The Time Machine*. Mach posited a realm of evolutionary intuition to ground his thought of thought experiments. Likewise, in *The Time Machine*, the style of the first person narrative intimates the presence of a psychological substrate of evolutionary intuitions.

Appreciating, then, how the thought experiment is woven through the narrative and style of this popular late Victorian novel illuminates the practice's role and importance in the broader Victorian culture of science. Such a reading can also recontextualise debates in Wells scholarship on the relationship of science and aesthetics in his work.

Dany van Dam (Utrecht)

"Curious times they were": (Neo-)Victorian Nostalgia in H.G. Wells' "A Story of the Days to Come"

H.G. Wells is well-known as one of the Victorian era's more prolific science fiction writers. While his work has not received too much explicit attention in neo-Victorian texts, Wells as a character does show up in numerous neo-Victorian and steampunk narratives. Although Wells lived and wrote until well into the twentieth century, most of his best-remembered works were first published in the 1890s. These were the stories that gained him fame as one of the fathers of science fiction. Less commonly known, however, is that Wells can also be considered a neo-Victorianist avant la lettre. Wells' novella "A Story of the Days to Come" was first published in 1899. In it, he tells of the life of Elizabeth Mwres, a twenty-second-century descendant of a Victorian Mr Morris. Apart from an opening reference to Elizabeth's early forefather, the story is completely set in the twenty-second century in which the main characters of the story nostalgically look back to the Victorian period, "those quaint, adventurous, half-civilised days of the nineteenth century" under "Queen Victoria the Good". In this paper, I analyse Wells' novella using present-day definitions of neo-Victorian fiction to answer the question whether "A Story of the Days to Come" can be seen as a neo-Victorian narrative before its time. I relate the future nostalgia Wells described to more recent discussions about the role of nostalgia in twentieth and twenty-first-century returns to the Victorian era.

5.9 Rescue and deliver them': The Archives of The Salvation Army's Victorian Social Work

By taking a fresh look at three different aspects of its social work in the 1880s and 1890s, this panel will make the case for renewed academic engagement with The Salvation Army's history. From the innovative fundraising practices that made its comprehensive social work possible to the development and workings of two of its large-scale schemes—the 'National scheme for the deliverance of unprotected girls and the rescue of the fallen' and the 'Darkest England Scheme'—this panel will explore what the archives can reveal about the intersections and disconnections between the representation of Salvation Army social work for publicity purposes, its aims, its real-life practice, and its public reception, both at the time and in scholarly thinking since. The panel will also address the topic of opening up access to archives as a means of renewing academic and general interest in the Victorian era by diversifying the available resources and enabling new interpretations.

Julie-Marie Strange (Durham)

Love, Money and Jesus: Fundraising for a Better World with the Salvation Army

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Salvation Army was arguably the most successful fundraising machine in the UK charity sector. It consistently innovated fundraising methods and expanded charitable markets in the UK and overseas to support its comprehensive social work. But histories of the Salvation Army are few and far between. Too often, the organisation has been treated as a curious sideshow in an overarching scholarly story of creeping secularisation. This paper calls for two things: first, a renewal of interest in the Salvation Army itself as a paradigm of cutting edge late-Victorian charitable entrepreneurship, a (paradoxical) critic of dominant models of capitalism, and a pioneer of social work as enterprise and, second, as a compelling example of the vitality and dynamism of (predominantly working-class) religion in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Salvation Army demands that scholars renew - and rethink - the relationship between religion, class and capitalism in this period.

Flore Janssen (The Salvation Army International Centre)

New Approaches to the Salvation Army Social Work: the Digital *Darkest England Gazette*, 1893–94

This paper addresses the Salvation Army International Heritage Centre's digitisation of the *Darkest England Gazette*, a weekly periodical issued by the Salvation Army from July 1893 to June 1894. The publication functioned as an outward-facing record of the organisation's social work, known as the 'Darkest England Scheme' after Salvation Army founder William Booth's book *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890). Aimed at a public readership, the *Gazette* showcased different aspects of the social work, from the shelters and 'Elevators' that offered accommodation and work opportunities to homeless people to the 'Piccadilly Work' that supported women out of prostitution. It featured contributions in a range of genres including reportage, fiction, and poetry, often vividly illustrated. This exuberant presentation served multiple ends. Primarily it was intended to invite public donations to the social work, and donations received were gratefully acknowledged in the publication. Another, more understated aim, however, was to counteract the controversies that surrounded the social work, from its management of funds to its relationship to different political groups.

This rich and complex context makes the *Darkest England Gazette* a particularly productive starting point for the Heritage Centre's initiative to make its extensive periodical holdings digitally available. Our commitment to open access recalls the public orientation of the periodical: just as the *Gazette*'s original intention was to raise awareness of the extent of the social work, we hope that its open access availability will renew scholarly interest in the Salvation Army's diverse and wide-ranging history.

Ruth Macdonald (The Salvation Army International Centre)

Rescuing the 'Fallen' Woman by Revisiting the Archives

Dundee was home to the last Salvation Army rescue home for 'fallen' women to open in the Victorian era. Ward Road Metropole opened in May 1900 (and today houses Strathmore Lodge Lifehouse). It was one of twenty rescue homes run by The Salvation Army in the UK at that time, but the concept was not long to outlive Queen Victoria's reign. Rescue homes had become a feature of The Salvation Army's work in the mid-1880s when the organisation's leaders allied themselves to prominent members of the social purity movement. However, in 1906 the term was dropped by The Salvation Army and all rescue homes were renamed industrial homes.

Rescue work for 'fallen' women has been described as 'a systematic attempt to remove prostitutes from their habitual haunts'. This description exemplifies a common assumption that for Victorian rescue workers 'fallen' was synonymous with 'prostitute'. However, this assumption has been called into question by renewed engagement with archival sources.

The Salvation Army kept extensive records detailing 'fallen' women's circumstances and behaviour before, during and after their stay in a rescue home, and these records have survived in the archives held at the Salvation Army International Heritage Centre. This paper will explore the potential of these and other records in the Salvation Army archives as valuable sources for scholarship that seeks to re-evaluate both the social construct and the complex reality of the Victorian 'fallen' woman. By comparing samples of residents' statements from the Glasgow and London rescue homes of the 1880s with later statements from the Dundee home in the early 1900s, it will also look for insight into the reason for the shift, both terminological and ideological, from rescue homes to industrial homes.

Panel Session 6: Thursday 29 August, 1530-1700

6.1 (Neo)Victorians on Film and Stage

Beth Palmer (Surrey) and Joanna Hofer-Robinson (University College Cork)

Anthologising Sensation Drama: Repudiating or Renewing "Sensation"

'Will you allow me to repudiate the cant word "sensation" attributed to me in *The Times'*, wrote Dion Boucicault in a letter 'To the Editor of the "Times"' in 1862. Writing in defence of his sensational successes such as *The Colleen Bawn* (1860), he explains that the term refers to a dramatic genre that owes its 'value to one trick effect, called a "sensation scene."' In his opinion, however, '[i]t is a bad word'. Certainly, defining sensation drama in relation to one theatrical effect is limiting. While scandalous plot elements and special effects were indeed variously re-worked for the numerous sensation plays popular throughout the 1860s and 1870s, this paper picks up on Boucicault's argument to explore why sensation is not as one-dimensional as it has often been perceived and why sensation drama deserves renewed critical attention.

The paper draws on research that forms the basis for a new anthology of sensation dramas (*Sensation Drama, 1860-1880: An Anthology,* Edinburgh University Press, 2019) the first anthology to bring together famous and lesser-known sensation playwrights, men and women, and plays produced both nationally and internationally. The anthology's editorial apparatus situates these plays in their rich contemporary context by discussing the numerous variants, unauthorised versions, and burlesques spawned by each. Drawing on this archival research this paper makes the case that sensation drama is best understood not by focussing only on its sensation scenes, but by tracking intertheatrical and intermedial connections to uncover how self-conscious playwrights like Boucicault were about the nature of sensation. Their plays required and fostered sophisticated spectators, adept and active consumers of spectacle, alive to the ways in which sensation was re-worked in and beyond theatrical spaces.

Lindsay Blair (UHI)

Self-Fashioning and Ways of Fashioning 'the Other' in Victorian Photography Magazines in the 1880s

The role played by publications which directed amateur photographers towards appropriate subjects through competitions, exemplars and features is still under researched. Analysis of the marketisation of photography enables us to ascertain the extent to which clubs, societies and magazines shaped the direction that photography was to take. Most especially, I wish to consider the concept of self-fashioning. The term was utilised by Stephen Greenblatt in his study of Elizabethan writers who were determined to prove their worth within the Elizabethan empire. Greenblatt's New Historicist notion that individual identity could be manipulated through literature becomes an even more seductive proposition in relation to visual representation in the context of the Victorian empire. The magazines of the 1880s provided the amateur photographer with the attitudes and the materials to fashion himself into a member of a cultural elite whose primary role was to interpret the world for others.

I focus particularly on little known amateur photographer, Andrew Begbie Ovenstone, who was a prolific photographer for just 10 years – between 1870 and 1880 - when he won a number of photographic prizes. As the founding Chair of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Photographic Society, a prominent member of art clubs in the city and photographer prizewinner outwith Scotland, Ovenstone was in an influential position. A large number of his photographs are taken on the Clyde coast and in the fishing villages off the East coast of Scotland. Fisherfolk and leisured classes are oftentimes present in a single image; the representations of 'self' and 'other' are constants in the code which operates behind the images. We become aware that beneath the self-fashioning and self-improvement project of the individual there is a tendency for the constructive gaze of the photographer to impose a shape not just upon the self but upon others as well.

Barbara Straumann (Zurich)

Long Live Queen Victoria! Filmic Renewals of a Victorian Media Icon

Due to the emergence and rise of modern mass media – especially new printing technologies, photography but also, towards the end of her reign, film – Queen Victoria became a media icon already during her lifetime. The new media and their mass dissemination rendered the queen's royal persona highly visible, both nationally and globally. Moreover, they allowed the fashioning of a public 'image' by carefully balancing out the intricate relationship which exists between the queen's two bodies, i.e. her body natural and her body politic (see Ernst Kantorowicz but also the work of feminist scholars such as Dorothy Thompson, Margaret Homans, Adrienne Munich, Regina Schulte).

In my proposed paper, I intend to explore the renewals that Queen Victoria and her unique image have come to enjoy in the medium of film. In tracing Queen Victoria's filmic representations from the 1930s to the present, I am particularly interested in the complex relationship between the private and the public, the feminine and the political that are at issue in Queen Victoria's cinematic queenship. How are her two monarchical bodies reinterpreted in various periods, and how are they performed by different stars? Films about queens tend to reflect cultural concerns, political interests and attitudes current at the time of their production. How do films about Queen Victoria refigure Victorian gender norms and perspectives on female sovereignty? And how do film stars such as Anna Neagle, Irene Dunne, Judi Dench, Emily Blunt and Jenna Coleman bring the celebrity of their own particular star bodies to bear on their performance of this Victorian media icon? The perpetual cultural renewal of Queen Victoria attests to the endless fascination of the Victorian sovereign and the powerful legacy of her image, while its refigurations and recyclings continue to negotiate issues of feminine power in intriguing ways to this very day.

6.2 Renewing Popular Forms

Fern Pullan (Leeds Beckett)

Re-interpreting Lost Fictions: The Sensationally Scandalous Silver-Fork

In 1954, Kathleen Tillotson declared '[t]he time ha[d] surely come to break up "the Victorian novel" into manageable segments; not by novelists, or categories, or phases, but simply by concentrating upon a decade or so at a time'.[9] Rather than creating a more nuanced understanding of literary history, this practice is hugely restrictive. Instead, I argue that deliberately blurring the lines between specific genres and their accepted periods of popularity means that more of the non-canonical texts open to investigation and reinterpretation. We can then re-engage with these forgotten genres, and see them interacting with their respective contemporary moments rather than being *defined* by them. Reviving obscure literature in this way provides an often-neglected access point into Victorian literature, prompting 'a sustained reconsideration of personal, social and political identity, of concepts of fashion, [and] of the development of commodity culture' in decades that 'traditional literary history has consigned to oblivion', revealing that they were, in fact, periods of highly intensive literary activity.[10]

Here, I explore the development of the frivolous and trashy silver-fork novel of the 1830s and 40s, showing how its significance to the transition of late eighteenth-century Gothic fiction into the 1860s sensation novel has been critically neglected. Previous critics have tended to split the genre into dandy novels (like Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Pelham* (1828) and Catherine Gore's *Cecil* (1841)) and the 'novels of fashionable life' popularised by the likes of Marguerite Blessington and Laetitia Landon. I propose to trace how the genre developed from Caroline Lamb's *Glenarvon* (1816) through to its 1840s heyday, and how it fits into a broader framework of fashionable fiction written, by, for, and about women. In doing so, I demonstrate how the complicated co-dependency of novelist and reviewer affects the longevity of a genre traditionally consigned to a literary black-hole.

Samantha Belcher (Durham)

Filling the Scott Void: Catherine Gore Reimagines Early Nineteenth Century Writers

In her introduction to *The Fair of May Fair* (1832), Catherine Gore addresses the shifting literary marketplace after the decline of Sir Walter Scott. Gore, commonly defined as a silver fork novelist, calls to attention the void left by Scott, and in an attempt to fill the void and satisfy demanding readers, she reimagines the satirical prose of early nineteenth century writers Jane Austen and Thomas Love Peacock for an early-Victorian audience.

This paper will examine the cause and effect relationship between Scott's disappearance from the literary marketplace and Gore's efforts to please an unsatisfied reading audience. Gore's letters to editor William Tait reveal the pressure she felt to appease readers and her complex relationship with circulating libraries.

The paper will also investigate how Gore uses satire and comedy techniques from early nineteenth century writers Austen and Peacock. Her utilization of satiric prose demonstrates an attempt to redirect and assure an abandoned literary marketplace.

Felipe Espinoza Garrido (Muenster)

Revisiting Race in Rediscovered Sensation Fiction

[9] Tillotson, Kathleen (1954) *Novels of the Eighteen-Forties*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p.1.

[10] O'Cinneide, Muireann (2007) 'The Silver-Fork Novel across Romantic and Victorian Views: Class, Gender and Commodity Culture, 1820-1841.' *Literature Compass* 4 (4), pp.1227-1240; p.1238.

The sensation novel's popularity throughout the 1860s falls into a time where a wealth of pseudo-ethnological research that concluded Indians to be vile, treacherous, and dangerous by nature seemed to have been confirmed by the Indian Rebellion of 1857. Indeed, the rebellion's reception in British journalistic, fictional, and historical texts and its entanglement with the sensational is commonly invoked in current scholarship on canonical texts such as Collins' *The Moonstone* or Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret*. As this paper seeks to show, the sensation novel did, however, not only reflect a renewed interest in the role of the British Empire and the Empire's construction of its racialized Others, the aftermath of the rebellion also invited a rethinking of imperial signification practices vis-à-vis the United States. I will examine the often-overlooked and slowly 'rediscovered' (Beller/MacDonald) work of Gordon Smythies – e.g. *A Faithful Woman* (1865) or *Acquitted* (1870) – which I read as symptomatic for the sensation novel's contradictions and ambivalences in this respect: Critical of the easy and essentializing recriminations of vile Indianness, and with a keen appreciation of the parallels between the Empire's racializing oppressions abroad and gendered oppressions at home, they still seek to enshrine its moral superiority and humaneness in the face of American slavery. Particularly *A Faithful Woman*'s complex, at times overly self-reflexive examinations of material, hyperreal representations of Indian Britons and African Americans – contrasting for instance British sculpture and portraiture with (allegedly) American Minstrelsy – speak to its attempt to delineate British identity by dissociating the Empire's practices from its former colonies across the Atlantic. The initially critical, introspective renewed examination of imperial notions of race in post-Rebellion sensation fiction thus ultimately, this paper argues, helps to reaffirm the very colonial practices it seeks to undermine.

6.3 Victorian Periodical Culture

Eilidh Innes (Anglia Ruskin)

'The men of letters, whose shadows walk the London streets with us': The Influence of Charles Lamb on John Hollingshead's Journalism in the 1850s and 1860s

In 1894, Benjamin Ellis Martin wrote of 'the men of letters, whose shadows walk the London streets with us'. Charles (1775-1834) and Mary Lamb (1764-1857) and their 'shadows' accompanied the aspiring journalist, John Hollingshead (1827-1904) as he set out to forge a career in Victorian London. Though Hollingshead's book *Ragged London in 1861* has been researched, the rest of his life and work has not. This paper will examine the impact of the Lambs on Hollingshead's identity as a writer and suggest that their qualities of 'patience, warm-hearted friendship, and the humour distilled from suffering' were what shaped his work. This renewed engagement with the Lambs' work means that we can trace the origins of Hollingshead's writing and examine his links with the Bohemian community that centred around Charles Dickens and William Makepeace Thackeray. Their haunts were the coffee shops of London and, one in particular, Saunders's in Warwick Street, was not far from Wellington Street where Dickens sited his headquarters for both *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*. Henri Lefebvre argued that social space 'contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information'. It was those networks that allowed the writers, journalists and theatrical profession to mix and create new works. Hollingshead had in fact become part of a literary network much earlier: familial connections meant that he spent time with both Charles and Mary Lamb as a child. The impact of these early literary connections was immense: Hollingshead's writing was heavily influenced by the Lambs' descriptions of London and its people.

Michael Horton (Edge Hill)

Here be Dragons: Exploring the Monstrous, Weird and Fantastic in Victorian journalism

This paper will explore representations of monsters, mythical creatures, and other preternatural phenomenon in the Victorian press and will rehabilitate this overlooked genre of news by advocating for its importance in capturing and expressing the key cultural forces that shaped Victorian society.

These incredible articles and stories include tales of brave sailors doing battle with eldritch monsters, the mysterious sightings of fantastic beasts, the discovered remains of mermaids, sea-serpents disrupting trade, psychic pigs counting cards and harpies roaming Spain.

While we might expect to find monsters of this nature in medieval and early-modern print culture, when the uncharted edges of maps still bore illustrations of mythological creatures and warnings that "here be dragons", surprisingly reports about preternatural creatures and unusual happenings continued to be published in Victorian newspapers.

This paper explores the reasons for the revival of these creatures in the Victorian press and suggests that these antediluvian monsters have much to tell us about how the Victorians perceived the limits (both physical and ideological) of their own world and the worlds and epochs that preceded them.

By investigating examples of such monster stories and other bizarre specimens of Victorian newspaper articles and images, which collectively I coin as 'weird news', this paper will demonstrate that this previously understudied genre of journalism is a valuable resource for understanding Victorian perspectives of gender, geography, imperialism, science, the supernatural and the news itself. This original study of the fictional figure of the monster within the, supposedly, non-fictional medium of the newspaper allows us to uncover Victorian perspectives on the limitations of their own world, as well as the seemingly limitless potential of science and nature to allow for the possible existence of the otherworldly, even in a more modern age. In so doing, it will become evident that the monsters and phenomena of 'weird news' are at once formed from and exposing the anxieties, beliefs, hopes and fears, the very dreams of the people and the age that spawned them.

Manon Labrande (Vienna)

"Intoxicating Poisons", "Embalmed Pestilence": The Rhetoric of Contamination of the Penny Dreadful's Contemporary Criticism

Sold for a penny from the early Victorian period, the serialised literary format of the Penny Dreadfuls quickly became the best-selling type of publication of the mid-nineteenth century as a growing readership was accessing literacy. Yet these publications spent over a century excluded from public discourse and academic attention alike, discarded both in content and in style by the Arnoldian view on culture, until Louis James's work[11] renewed interest in the genre and triggered the legitimisation process to which this paper participates. Indeed, from the 1840s onwards, the Penny Dreadfuls and their successful industry sparked heavily mediatised criticism: as the upper-class was trying to steer the newly-developed cheap mass market towards literature of improvement aiming to impart "useful knowledge"[12], these gruesome sensational stories soon were cast as an obstacle to the circulation of a cultural hegemony. "Penny packets of poison"[13], "embalmed pestilence"[14], "the plague of poisonous literature"[15] – the analogies used draw on the circulation of diseases and of moral evil by activating 'contamination' and 'contagion' as subcategories of circulation, rhetorically turning a particular type of reading material into a threat to society, which can only be stopped with a cure, or better still, a 'Penny-dreadful-ectomy'. In this paper, I will draw on the concept of receptive fallacy as defined by Jonathan Rose, and analyse the fear of the dissemination of the Penny Dreadfuls expressed by such criticism as a menace felt by other layers of society that led to a rejection of their form, literary content, and readership.

6.4 New Perspectives on Victorian Dialect and Literature

A renewed concern with dialect is evident in recent scholarship on working-class literary cultures, as can be seen from recent publications such as Mina Gorji and Kirstie Blair's *Class and Canon* (2012) and Jane Hodson's *Dialect*

[11] See *Fiction for the Working-Man*, 1963.
[12] See the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), created in 1826 and which lasted until 1848.
[13] James Greenwood, *The Wilds of London*, 1874.
[14] J. Hepworth Dixon, *Daily News*, November 1847.
[15] Anonymous, "The Literature of Vice", *The Bookseller*, 28 February 1847.

and Literature in the Long Nineteenth Century (2017), and from projects including the AHRC-funded 'Poetry of the Lancashire Cotton Famine' project. This panel will offer a snapshot of current work in this area, providing three perspectives on key questions and issues in the study of Victorian dialect literature, including the relation between orality, writing, and print; civic and regional identity; the role of the provincial press; the complexities of class position; and the interplay between writing in Standard and non-Standard English. The three papers will in different ways emphasise the richness and significance of regional and local literary cultures (a topic highly appropriate to the location of the conference given Dundee's own thriving popular verse culture in the Victorian period). Although the three presenters come from similar disciplinary backgrounds, the fact that (as Jane Hodson puts it) 'the study of literary dialect stands on the cusp between several different disciplines' means the panel is likely to be of interest to a wide range of conference participants.

Georgia Thurston (St Catharine's, Cambridge)

Writing and Re-Writing in the Lancashire Dialect Scene, 1850-90

In this paper, I argue that the dialect poem is not a stable form, but is open to revisions and re-workings by other figures within the Lancashire print culture. This is owing to the complex composition practices that dialect literature engages in: it seeks to record real regional voices, yet the element of performance is always inherent—even encouraged—in the act of reading.

When the Manchester Literary Club is founded in 1862, members embark upon the translation of canonical poetry into the Lancashire dialect. William Wordsworth's 'She dwelt among the Untrodden Ways' (1801) is transformed into 'Hoo wonned among th' Untrothen Ways' (1874). I suggest this bold project endeavours to portray dialect orthography as an equally effective vehicle for popular poetic expression, in spite of anxieties that a vital aspect of poetic style is lost in the act of translation.

Then, using Edwin Waugh's popular poem 'Come Whoam to thi Childer an' Me' (1855) as a test case, I draw on archival details that demonstrate how poems in this tradition are subject to multiple revisions and renewals by other dialect writers. Dialect writing must contend to record the ephemeral nature of voice on the material page without losing its distinctive sound. But this is not a linear direction of travel: Edwin Waugh and Benjamin Brierley's immensely popular readings in working men's clubs demand that dialect pieces must be re-worked for public performance.

I explore how the canonical poem is drawn in against its will and is rendered in dialect orthography, while the contemporary dialect piece generates fraught debate on the correct means to represent local accents in both the act of composition and re-performance. This paper ultimately argues that the Victorian regional voice merits renewed critical attention.

Simon Rennie (Exeter)

Dialect and Bilingualism in the Lancashire Cotton Famine Poetry of 'Williffe Cunliam'

Between 1862 and 1864, at the height of the Lancashire Cotton Famine, Burnley blacksmith 'Williffe Cunliam' (William Cunliffe) published dozens of poems in the *Burnley Free Press and General Advertiser*. Although this position was never explicitly stated in his poetry, Cunliam was sympathetic to the cause of the Confederacy, having travelled to America previous to the outbreak of the Civil War. Some of his works were in dialect, whilst others were composed in standard English, and the difference in form, register, voice, and subject between these two poetic genres is remarkable. In *Songs of the People* (MUP, 1977) Brian Hollingworth noted that the Victorian popularity of Lancashire dialect enjoyed its last flourish during this period, and the production process was itself enlivened by enforced idleness caused by the closure of the mills. This paper uses the poetic output of Cunliam, rediscovered during research for the AHRC-funded Lancashire Cotton Famine poetry project, as a case study to examine the ways that dialect poetry, particularly that which was published in local newspapers, was used to confirm and consolidate civic and regional identity. It also asks how dialect poetry published during a period of extreme social stress reflects ideological positions in different ways from poetry often bound by standard English

formal constraints and conventional tropes. Because Cunliam effectively became the house poet of the newspaper, publishing a poem a week during some periods, it is also worth considering what effect this diachronic bilingual discourse had on its readers, especially as it emerged from a poet with an explicitly 'translated' persona.

Michael Dubois (Durham)

Victorian Dialect Poetry and the Places of William Barnes

The Dorset dialect poet William Barnes was much admired by Tennyson and Hopkins in his own day, and later by Philip Larkin and W. H. Auden; his poem 'My Orcha'd in Linden Lea' is still very well known by virtue of having been set to music by the composer Ralph Vaughan Williams. Yet in many ways Barnes has come to be seen as a marginal and isolated figure—in Tom Paulin's description, a 'one-off, a quoof'—in part because of the ambiguities of his class position as a middle-class poet writing within a tradition primarily associated with the working class. My paper argues for a different view of Barnes, proposing that in fact he inhabits several of the major tensions familiar to the dialect poetry of his period, and that the changes he made to his poems as a result of those tensions—most notably, 'diluting' the dialect as his work began to know larger success—raises important questions about how we assess the significance of dialect poetry generally. Is the version of a Barnes poem that appears most faithfully to represent the dialect also the version that should now be read and known, as the editors of the new Oxford University Press edition of Barnes's poems suggest? What other considerations should exist alongside this emphasis on accuracy and authenticity? This paper will propose that attending to the variety in the places of Barnes's poetry (places of publication and reading, as well as of writing and inspiration) helps to make sense of the different expectations and commitments found in his poetry, with implications that go beyond Barnes to the study of dialect in Victorian literature and culture more broadly.

6.5 Sherlock Holmes' Afterlives

Maria Krivosheina (National Research University, Moscow)

"Those School Students Chose Holmes Instead of Jesus Christ!": Sherlock Holmes as a Middle-Class (Anti)hero in Late Imperial Russia

Michael Saler distinguishes two approaches to crime fiction characteristic for the first half of the twentieth century: fluctuation between the stigmatization of crime stories as paraliterature and seeing entertaining tales as a productive, rejuvenating force for the intellectual thought. Late imperial Russia adopted both approaches while filtering it through a peculiar prism: its rethinking of the "middle class" concept combined with the ongoing interest in British affairs and and the search for "heroes of the day" (Russian and British alike). The scheme suggested by Saler can be applied to tracing the mechanism of the reception of British detective prose in Russia of 1900-1900s (based on translated Holmsiana and its domestic deviations). This paper reveals several models of socio-cultural appropriation of imported detective fiction, focusing predominantly on the cases when the readers saw Sherlock Holmes as an embodiment of modern Zeitgeist. One of the main concerns of the paper is the polarity of such responses. Even the first mention of Holmesiana in Russian fiction – in 1904, before the Russian "detective boom" –- reflects the polarity: short story "The Sleuth" by an actor-turned-critic Vladimir Tikhonov turns sleuth stories into a subject of intergenerational debates. Further responses elaborate on the polarity: while some critics praised Doyle for representing the values of the bourgeoisie, the others stigmatized crime stories as a sign of cultural and moral decadence. Certain pedagogy theorists glorified the Holmesiana's potential to be a tool for teaching school students the basics of critical thinking, whereas the others lamented the fact that "students choose Holmes as their idol instead of choosing Jesus Christ".

Thus, the idea of a foreign sleuth being a hero or an anti-hero of "today" certainly marks the early Russian reception of British crime fiction, at least its Holmesian variety; this study illuminates the correlation between Russian appropriation of Doyle's stories and imperial Russia's reconceptualization of its own premises (such as middle class values).

Jennifer Tinonga (UC Davis)

When Watson and Lestrade Play with Dolls: The Trans-Atlantic Legacy of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes in Frances Glessner Lee's *Nutshell Studies of Unexplained Death*

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories are well-known for their influence on modern forensics. In the 1940s, an avid reader of the Sherlock Holmes stories named Frances Glessner Lee would craft her own contribution to detective narratives and forensic science. Born in Chicago in 1878, Lee transformed her amateur interest in crime investigation into a series of *Nutshell Studies of Unexplained Death*, miniaturized scenes depicting semi-fictional domestic crimes in minute detail. Addressing the issue of poorly-trained police and medical examiners in Doyle's stories, the tableaux were and are used as training tools for detectives and medical professionals who investigate crime scenes.

Although Lee accounted for their 1"/12' dollhouse scale as a matter of portability, I will examine her use of domestic handicraft to construct the studies as strategy that uniquely references the Holmes stories. As critic Laura Miller points out, the studies' domestic setting directs our attention to the culturally-unacknowledged potential for the idealized Victorian home to hide violence. The scenes' home-craft form, I would add, further contributes to this recognition of hidden domestic narratives of a type quietly acknowledged in stories like "The Adventure of the Copper Beeches" and "The Adventure of the Speckled Band." In addition, the miniature size and hand-assembly of the studies encourage the viewer, before turning to solving the crime, to marvel at how each scene was constructed. Building on dollhouses' descent from seventeenth-century curiosity cabinets, the inspector of each tiny scene wonders first about how its components were made and what they were made from—teaching the viewer to identify Holmesian details, like qualities of tobacco ash or stationary watermarks. Through their miniaturized format, Lee's studies reimagine a point of access to Doyle's detective and his cases—and visually anticipate the television format in which we still watch Sherlock Holmes stories in miniature.

Ming Panha (Sheffield)

Sherlock Holmes in Hell: Reading *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902) by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle as a Narrative of Ecological Afterlife in the Community of Compost

After Sherlock Holmes falls into The Reichenbach Fall in "The Final Problem" (1894), Doyle renews Sherlock's life upon the pages of *The Strand* in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* in 1901 and brings him back to 221B Baker Street in "The Empty House" (1903). Instead of continuing the plot from "The Final Problem", Holmes' return to the reader is actually a lost episode before Holmes falling into the abyss, unrelated to the episode in Switzerland. However, if "The Final Problem" takes Holmes' life away, and "The Empty House" brings Holmes officially back to life, The Hound plays the role of Holmes' Dantean descend into Hell, as Dartmoor in the novel is filled with Gothic elements, especially the ghostly "hell-hound" of the Baskervilles, which resembles Cerberus in Greek mythology. Holmes' return to the pages in *The Strand* in 1901 thus does not talk about Holmes' revival from the fall, but his afterlife, the life "after the fall".

The Hound does not only play the role of afterlife narrative for Holmes, but also for Dartmoor ecology, which represents man-made decomposition and hopelessness of natural recuperation. I argue that *The Hound* places afterlife Holmes in league with the ecological disaster of the British Empire in hope of resurgence. As the narrative challenges the myth of picturesque countryside and loyal family dogs, *The Hound* reveals Dartmoor as an ecological space affected by capitalisation, and as an inferno, punishing those who reduces nature into "Cheap Nature", to use Jason W. Moore's term. The renewal of Holmes' life in the form of life after death corresponds with the agency of Dartmoor's natural landscape as, to use Donna Haraway's term, the Community of Compost, which is in the process of renewing itself, between death and life. The end of the novel, which leaves Dartmoor to itself, suggests the attempt to let the landscape sustain and renew itself from human activities.

6.6 Renewed Women

Mollie Clarke (Roehampton)

The Female Sailor: A Trans-generic Wayfarer

My research into newspaper articles published throughout the 1840s, reveals that an abundance of young sailors were discovered to have been women, so much so that an article from *The Examiner* (1843)[16] recalled that 'every newspaper [had] its paragraph announcing the discovery of a female sailor'. For these women and others like them, passing as a sailor provided them with freedom and opportunities that weren't readily available during this period.

As an entertaining trans-atlantic *fictional* character however, depictions of the female sailor reveal that the appeal of travelling at sea extends beyond escapism or employment opportunities.

Looking specifically at Thomas Peckett Prest's character Rosina in his serial novel *Gallant Tom* (1841), alongside the newspaper articles which document the discovery of supposedly 'real' female sailors, this paper will explore how writers of newspaper and popular fiction would rework and renew tropes from other genres and existing literary texts to entice and captivate audiences.

The existence of the female sailor extends further Matthew Rubery's claims that Victorian fiction was influenced by nineteenth century journalism, and Mary Shannon's observation that literature and the theatre were closely intertwined, to highlight that subsequent relationships between genres and forms were abundant at this time, and extended beyond newspapers and performance to include; erotica, autobiography, illustration, photography and other visual modes. What's more, these relationships where reciprocal, for as I will demonstrate, newspaper reports of the 1840s were likely influenced by the scandals that featured within popular fiction; and illustrations that accompanied serial fiction, evidently appropriated theatrical tropes within them.

I will subsequently argue that the Victorian female sailor transcends both gender and genre alike, for whilst the character herself portrays the fluid nature of gender at sea, the literature about her also reveals the mutable nature of genre.

Clare Broome Saunders (Oxford)

Liege Lady to Suffragettes: women, medievalism, and political renewal, 1837-1918

From her very accession, Queen Victoria used the nineteenth-century cultural fascination with medieval and chivalric revival to her own political advantage, to manipulate public opinion in favour of her monarchy and her consort, and to play with the social complexities of her own position. Commentators, poets, and artists similarly used medieval settings and imagery to explore the anomalies and impossibilities of her role, with the use of the historical figures of King Alfred and Joan of Arc, and the legendary King Arthur, central to these discussions.

Looking at poetry, newspaper reports (particularly of the Crimean War), historical writing, private journals and correspondence, and visual art, this paper will consider the use of women's political applications of medievalism and Anglo-Saxonism in the nineteenth century, from Victoria's accession, to the widespread use of Joan of Arc as an icon for the suffragettes in the late nineteenth century. It will explore the political implications of this consistent use of the language, settings, conventions and constrictions of nineteenth-century medievalism throughout Victoria's reign: from the powerful impotence of the girl-queen's accession speech, as explored in Elizabeth Barrett Browning's contemporary poetry; the matron-queen's casting of her consort as the ideal English knight in portraiture and sculpture, and most obviously in elegiac work after his death; the manipulation of the queen's role as chivalric ideal yet domestic 'girl left behind' in Crimean War propaganda; to the images of the

[16] 'The Political Examiner', British Newspaper Archives (britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk) pp. 1

isolated yet international widow-empress at the end of the century. By contrast, suffragists and suffragettes at the end of the century had recourse to medievalism to articulate their struggle for political rights, from the pervasive use of Joan of Arc as the militant woman's ideal, to the complex historicism of Cicely Hamilton's *A Pageant of Great Women* (1910).

Jerome Wynter (BMCC/Hostos, The City University of New York)

"*Prophetesses* … Exercising Their Talents or Talons": Reviving the Prophetic Writings, the Politics and Poetics of Anna Letitia Barbauld and Elizabeth Barrett Browning

Recent work by Tricia Lootens and Julia F. Saville exemplifies renewed engagement with the patriotic and democratic poetry of Elizabeth Barrett Browning (EBB). EBB's patriotic writings, her intervention into nineteenth-century politics in Europe and America, are strikingly resonant of, if not indebted to, the work of her Romantic predecessor and near contemporary in the first quarter of the century Anna Laetitia Barbauld. A major influential Romantic poet, she has not been linked to EBB in the same way as other female poets of the period, such as Felicia Dorothea Hemans or Letitia Elizabeth Landon. Barbauld's opposition to the slave trade and slavery and her hope for the 'freedom and true liberty' of another nation were a constant feature of her poetry, prose and letters as was EBB's. The work of these two women, born more than half a century apart and whose Dissenting faith, politics, and development of their patriotic writings followed a similar trajectory, is hauntingly symmetrical. They devised means of authority rooted through genre, and not gender, to publicly warn their countrymen of the consequences of unrighteous war, slavery and diplomatic non-interventionist policies of 'passing by on the other side when your neighbor falls among thieves'. I argue that Barbauld's *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*, published in 1812, and EBB's *Casa Guidi Windows* (1851) and 'A Curse for a Nation' (1855) adumbrate a genre of patriotic prophetic poetry with grand ideas of freedom proclaimed in hostile nationalist climates. Addressing the wars and revolutions on both sides of Britain, these powerful works predict the future of America and Italy as free nations amid Britain 's downfall in 1812, and its isolationist politics of the mid-1840s. Failed prophecies, the poems nonetheless attest to the resourcefulness of Victorian women writers working within a male sage discourse. Their work also transcends our aesthetic interests in neo-Victorian democratic politics to serve as a reminder of our own.

6.7 Renewed Spaces and Places

Rohan McWilliam (Anglia Ruskin, Cambridge)

The Grand Hotel in Victorian London: Remaking the Language of Comfort and Hospitality

Hotels emerged in their modern form during the Victorian period. In this paper, I argue here that Victorian hotels had a distinct cultural project, which involved a renewal of the idea of hospitality. We need to think more deeply about hospitality industries and the forms of rhetoric they adopted. I am concerned here with the hotels of the West End of London and the way they served the aristocracy but also the global plutocracy and the middle classes.

Hotels catered to an identity shaped by travel and the state of sojourn. One peculiarity of their appeal was that they endorsed an identity that marked the release from domestic ties if a traveller was away from home. Despite a strong emphasis on respectability, hotels always have retained associations with illicit sexuality: the love affair, the location for prostitution. They were places for social mixing in which men and women could be thrown together. They were also places of anxiety. Might the hotel staff help themselves to valuables left in a bedroom? It is not insignificant that hotels often featured in detective fiction. Conan Doyle wrote part of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* whilst saying at Morley's Hotel in Trafalgar Square (the novel features a memorable hotel scene). They also became badges of status. To stay at the Ritz or the Savoy meant something. The hotel had a dynamic effect on the culture and yet remain curiously unstudied as one of the institutions that have created modern metropolitan living.

Eleanor Lybeck (Oxford)

'The task of filling up the blanks I'd rather leave to you': The Touring D'Oyly Carte and the Right to Improvise

In April 1902, the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company (DCC) began a six-month tour of South Africa. Their visit coincided with the final weeks of the Second Boer War. DCC productions were covered extensively by the South African press. Whilst the company was roundly congratulated in news reports for their excellent performances of Gilbert and Sullivan's Savoy Operas, some audience members were apparently irked by instances of improvisation. In the end, Henry Bellamy as general manager of the tour was forced to give an interview to the *Cape Times* reassuring its readers that they would be getting the real deal from this branch of the DCC. He concluded: 'These works are now classics, and it would never do to have them hacked about by the whim of every comedian. Besides that, Mr Gilbert is such a perfect master of stagecraft that it would be more than difficult to improve on his work' (*Cape Times*, 24th April 1902). With such obvious concern among audiences out on the touring circuit that they should be seeing the authentic DCC product, Bellamy's almost sycophantically diplomatic assurances are intriguing. This paper looks in detail at evidence suggesting that the touring companies of the DCC were not, in fact, as faithful as they might have been to Gilbert's original lyrics or to the Savoy productions more broadly. It explores how touring performers renewed satirical references to keep them fresh and meaningful to their audiences, while at the same time satisfying censorship and copyright regulations. It considers how the DCC ensured that operas written for metropolitan and/or British audiences also appealed to provincial and/or international theatre-goers. And it asks why it mattered so much to South African audiences to know that they were being treated on the same footing as London in the context of the Boer War.

Justin Livingstone (Queen's University, Belfast)

Expeditionary Travel and the Imperial Romance: Imagining Africa in Joseph Thomson's *Ulu*

From the 1860s, the literature published by British explorers of sub-Saharan Africa fuelled the development of the imperial romance genre. Major expeditionary narratives provided source material that would take adventure writing into new territory both metaphorically and literally. While critics have recognised the influence of exploratory travelogues, it is less well known that some British explorers participated more directly in the Victorian Romance Revival. Travellers including Henry Morton Stanley, Samuel Baker, Verney Lovett Cameron and Joseph Thomson did not only publish "official" records of their time in the field, but produced a range of adventure romances set in the regions through which they travelled.

By investigating the phenomenon of explorer fiction, this paper extends new insight into the relationship between expeditionary travel and the imperial romance. The paper argues that explorer-authors did not simply capitalise on the growing popularity of the adventure genre but rather contributed to the genre's cultural weight by heightening its association with the knowledge project of exploration. The contemporary reception of explorer romances was intimately connected to their authors' credentials as acclaimed geographical travellers who were authorised by the scientific establishment and who had "on-the-spot" experience. The paper, moreover, identifies this neglected body of prose fiction as an important feature of expeditionary print culture. Through a case study of Joseph Thomson's *Ulu: An African Romance* (1888), it shows that fiction served to cultivate personal celebrity, to popularise geography, and to reconceptualise the intercultural experience of travel. The paper, then, places explorer fiction in the context of two nineteenth-century "renewals": the renewal of the romance genre in Victorian popular culture and the renewal of interest in African travel that gripped the British public in the second half of the century.

6.8 Renewing the *People's Friend*: 150 years of Victorian Magazine Publishing

The creation of the *People's Friend* magazine in Dundee in 1869 marked a significant moment in the life of popular magazines in Victorian Scotland. The *People's Friend* epitomised important aspects of Victorian culture: self-improvement, temperance, religion, sensationalism, illustration, feminism, and scientific innovation. In Scotland, the *Friend* became the country's most long-lasting weekly magazine of the post-1855 era, with a wide circulation throughout the United Kingdom. However, within scholarship, public knowledge and academic research, the *People's Friend* is a neglected source.

This panel explores the theme of popularity and questions how and why the *People's Friend* became such a popular magazine with Victorian audiences. The panel aims to renew interest into the *People's Friend* and reintroduce the magazine within the context of the Victorian press. Each paper explores aspects of its history which have received little attention and reflects on the *People's Friend*'s legacy as the magazine celebrates its 150th anniversary this year. Panellists are a selection of mixed-level academics and the *Friend*'s current sub-editor and therefore offer a wide cross-section of research currently being conducted on the magazine. This panel offers a meaningful knowledge exchange and scholarly discussion on the impact of Victorian popular magazines on British society and culture in the late-nineteenth century.

David Goldie

The *People's Friend* and the End of the Victorian Age

The *People's Friend* had, by the time of the First World War, turned into a paper quite different to that envisaged by its founders. As an offshoot of the Liberal, vernacular *People's Journal* it was intended as a participative magazine that would, as its first issue proclaimed, 'call forth a wide manifestation of mental power which was lying dormant' in the Scottish culture of its time. By 1914 such elements of a participative culture remained, but were now intermixed with the professional attitudes and formulas of the New Journalism.

This paper will explore briefly the scope and nature of these changes in the years before the war, particularly the 1880s and 1890s, before moving onto a consideration of the ways in which the *People's Friend* adapted, or failed to adapt, to the new conditions of wartime and its increasingly-empowered female readership.

Juliet Shields (Washington)

Serial Fiction and Celebrity Authorship in the *People's Friend*

In her autobiography, Annie Shepard Swan described *The People's Friend* as "one of the romances of the newspaper world," an "unpretentious magazine" that from its origins in 1869 as the literary offspring of *The People's Journal* had achieved a wide circulation "wherever Scots folk are to be found." Swan experienced this romance first hand: the *Friend* first ran one of her serialized novels, *Wrongs Righted*, in 1881, and her reputation grew along with the magazine's circulation until she became its celebrity author. The *Friend* serialized at least one of Swan's novels in its pages every year until her death in 1943.

This paper will explore why Swan's serial fiction was so incredibly popular with readers of *The People Friend*, taking as a comparison the novels of Adeline Sergeant, another of the magazine's frequent contributors. Swan understood herself as a kind of spiritual counsellor to her readers, explaining in an allusion to the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matthew 20:1-16), that her stories were intended to help "working women and on occasions working men to stand up to the burden and heat of the day." She aimed to uplift and inspire them without resorting to heavy-handed didacticism. But her success cannot be attributed solely to her careful consideration of her readership or to her skill as a writer of formula fiction. She also benefited from what we might now describe as the marketing strategies of the *Friend*'s editors, who used photographs and interviews to shape Swan's image as a spiritual counsellor and kindly friend to readers. It was these marketing strategies, I will suggest, rather than any great difference in the quality of her work, that set Swan apart from other contributors such as Sergeant and made her a celebrity author. But in return for the magazine's support, Swan had to relinquish some control over the reprinting of her work and the use of her name.

Charlotte Lauder

The *People's Friend*: A Journalistic Unicorn?

In 1869, the *People's Friend* began as the literary off-shoot of the Liberal penny newspaper, the *People's Journal*. It proclaimed to fill a gap in the Scottish popular periodical market and to promote, cultivate and encourage the literary pursuits of the working and labouring classes. By 1890, the *Friend* sold an average of 212,600 copies per week for that year. What made the *People's Friend*, a Dundee-based literary miscellany, so popular in the Victorian world? In an age of transient and short-lived magazines following the repeal of stamp and paper duties the 1850s, how did the *Friend* carve out such a dominating position by 1890, and, maintain this popularity for 150 years? Can we accept, as one publishing advisor has suggested, the *People's Friend* is a 'journalistic unicorn'?

This paper considers the importance of popular identity, using the *People's Friend* as a case study. It explores the creation of the *People's Friend*'s identity in 1869 and the processes that built its successful and long-lasting legacy between 1869 and 1900: content, commercialisation and reader participation. Each of these evolved and were adapted to fit the tastes and demands of Victorian readers. Essential to this process were the influences and impact of editors and journalists who operated and worked for the *Friend* and the John Leng Company. This paper suggests a combination of these factors manipulated the *Friend*'s identity and enriched its popularity throughout the United Kingdom. Overall, this paper explores the *Friend*'s model of commercial success within the context of late-Victorian popular magazines.

6.9 Reading Group: Rediscovering Robert Duncan Milne, the 'Lost' Scottish Father of American Science Fiction

This panel focuses on Scotland's 'missing link' in transatlantic Victorian Science Fiction. Robert Duncan Milne (1844-99), an expatriate from Cupar, Fife, was an astonishingly prescient pioneer, publishing some 90 stories in the 1880s and '90s, mostly in San Francisco's *Argonaut* magazine. His contribution to the early period SF genre is arguably greater than anyone else in the Scottish literary canon, including Stevenson and Conan Doyle, yet his fiction has disappeared into oblivion.

Drawing on the work of 19C Scottish physicists and inventors such as James Clark Maxwell and Alexander Graham Bell into the possibilities of electromagnetic forces and new communications media, Milne imagined fantastic technologies for overcoming global distances in space and time. Milne wrote about visual time-travelling as a form of cinematic experience before Wells. He also foresaw forms of 'tele-presencing', remote surveillance, mobile phones and worldwide satellite communications – not to mention climate change, scientific terrorism and drone warfare, cryogenics and molecular re-engineering. SF historian Sam Moskowitz credited him as America's first full-time SF writer, at the heart of a movement including Jack London and Ambrose Bierce. Milne's ideas, as subsequently realised by engineers and technologists, have fundamentally shaped the networked, media-driven world we now live in.

The session will be chaired by Dr Keith Williams (University of Dundee). It will include an introduction to Milne's work by Ms Ari Brin, who is writing her PhD thesis on Milne, as well as co-editing a new critical anthology and scripting a graphic novel retelling his stories in visual form; there will also be contributions on Milne's work from the design viewpoint by Dr Graham Pullin (Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art and Design) and from art history by Dr Jeremy Howard (University of St Andrews).

A representative selection of Milne's stories will be made available in advance via the Conference website.

Panel Session 7: Friday 30 August, 0900-1030

7.1 Provincialism/Regionalism Renewed 2: The Provincial Press, Print Cultures, and the Formation of Knowledge

In 1865 Matthew Arnold identified provincialism as a 'settled … fierce, misconception of the value of one's own things and the things of others' and as the chief weakness at the heart of English culture. In the same period that Arnold developed his influential criticism of provincialism as an English state of mind, two types of Victorian print culture were testament to the imaginative and intellectual force of non- (or, as we shall explore, perhaps even anti-) metropolitan forms and infrastructure. Our first panel will re-examine a genre that became central to the canons of English literature from the mid-century: provincial fiction, a form that writes into being a sense of collective middleness set in an imagined place – such as Trollope's Barchester or Eliot's Middlemarch – connected to but confidently distinct from the metropolis. How do the forms, circulation, and reception of nineteenth-century provincial fiction provide alternative conceptualisations of non-metropolitan cultures to the critical tradition represented by Arnold? Our second panel will explore the influence and distinctive nature of the nineteenth-century provincial press. How can a better understanding of the provincial press, its circulation, networks, and exchanges, renew current debates around scale and perspective in a global nineteenth-century?

At a time when English provincialism and anti-metropolitan/cosmopolitan sentiment are features of daily political discourse, alongside a consciousness of the erosion of local journalism, this strand invites all who attend to reflect on how English provincialism was bound up with an Imperial Anglophone world and what the history of writing in and of provincial place can contribute to the futures of Victorian studies.

This panel brings together a PhD student, early career researcher and established academic alongside an expert commentator to foster broader (inter)disciplinary reflection, renewal and exchange.

David A.P. Womble (Chicago)

The Body on the Moor: *Wuthering Heights*, Regionalism, and the Politics of Species Life

This paper argues that Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* taps into conventions of regionalism in order to explore the affordances of species life. What did it mean for individuals to share with one another an elemental archetype that defined them as members of one species? What relationship did that archetype bear to the soul? These questions animate Catherine Earnshaw's claim "I *am* Heathcliff!," which materializes itself in the image of her body decomposing into Heathcliff's in their conjoined coffins. Brontë deterritorializes their discrete bodies into a zone of shared embodiment, a space traversed by forms of feeling that could only arise among individuals understood to be composed fundamentally of the same kind of flesh. They push desire and hatred to such a pitch of intensity that it tips over as fever into the body, where, contagion-like, those affective patterns spread and live on throughout the novel's collective flesh. By making Catherine and Heathcliff's tempestuous relationship haunt subsequent generations and reenact itself on other bodies, Brontë defines human flesh as the seat of essentially uniform and universal structures of feeling inherited as the remnants of lives past. In this light, I revisit the way the regional and the cosmopolitan rebuff one another in *Wuthering Heights*, arguing that Brontë is playing two competing transnationalisms against one another: the cosmopolitanite's detachment from regional belonging, versus the regional novel's refusal of national boundary by expressing something shared at the level of the flesh across region, class, and race.

Ruth Livesey (Royal Holloway, London)

Memorialising Middleness: Eliot, Provincial Fiction, and the Aesthetics of Dull Life

The provincial, all too often even now, is configured as a root and source of purer national identity: a community to return to restore selves corrupted in the cosmopolitan city whirl; an imagined memorial of lost unity. Unlike the Romantic pastoral retreat, however, provincial place and community is only sometimes picturesque, rarely beautiful, and never sublime. It is, in fact, often, unapologetically ugly. In this paper I am going to explore how

provincial fiction – in the shape of George Eliot's first fiction *Scenes of Clerical Life* (1857) – not only forces us to sympathize with that ugliness; but, more significantly does so by carving out an aesthetics of what I shall term 'middleness'. Building on recent work by Sianne Ngai on the aesthetic category of the 'interesting', I shall argue that Eliot's works, through repetition, through detail, through immobility, press – quite deliberately - on the fine line between the dull and the interesting. In its attention to the 'middling' life of Amos Barton, Eliot's first fiction pushes provincial fiction into new territory. In contrast to the short-form works that dominated provincial fiction in the first part of the nineteenth-century – in the shape of the sketch, the chronicle, the village tale, or parish annals – the aesthetic form of 'Amos Barton' opens up a sustained, sustainable place of community, marking the opening of new long-forms for provincial realist fiction. Eliot's realism, that is, not only carves out an aesthetic whose power is grounded on painfully inescapable dullness; the sustained affect created by her narrative form opens out new possibilities of monumental scale, duration, and length for provincial fiction.

7.1 Serial fiction and the *People's Friend*: contexts of authorship

In this anniversary year, renewed attention to the *People's Friend* and to the wider context of popular Scottish magazines in the late Victorian period is a welcome sign of new scholarly directions in the history of print culture in Scotland. This panel will situate this most enduring of cultural products within a broader discussion of authors and authorship in the final two decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century. The panel aims to explore how writers of newspaper serials were contracted, how newspaper fiction was packaged and repackaged in different material forms, and how the serial market impacted upon individual authors and their reputations. It will address a range of questions relevant to the contemporary literary field, including the relationship between provincial and metropolitan markets, new material forms, debates over the popular and the literary, and the emergence of the celebrity author. With a general account of authorship and literary property in relation to serial fiction followed by focused studies of two key popular authors, the panel aims to use the *People's Friend* as a springboard for larger discussions about transformations in the practice and presentation of authorship in this period.

Andrew Nash (London)

Authors, Publishers, and the Value of Serial Publication in the Late Nineteenth Century

This paper will discuss the market for serial fiction in newspapers in the late nineteenth century in the context of the economics of authorship. The expansion of the newspaper serial market from the mid-1870s onwards, and the dissemination of fiction in groups of provincial weekly newspapers across England, Scotland and overseas, has received considerable scholarly attention in the last twenty or so years. Less attention has been paid to how the growth of this market impacted on authors and their contractual relations with newspaper publishers. The success of the three main publishers and purchasers of newspaper fiction – Tillotson's of Bolton, William Leng & Co. of Sheffield, and John Leng & Co. of Dundee – coincided with two significant developments in the history of authorship: the emergence of the professional literary agent in the early 1880s, and the formation in 1883 of the Incorporated Society of Authors. Using evidence drawn from the archives of A.P. Watt and those of several publishing firms, this paper will examine contractual arrangements between authors and newspaper publishers in the period 1880-1910. At a time when authors were learning more about the nature of literary property and the range of rights that could be associated with a literary work, on what terms were they contracted to right for newspapers, and what do those terms tell us about the nature of the literary marketplace in the late nineteenth century, including the relationship between Scottish and English markets? Special attention will be paid to selected writers such as Adeline Sergeant who were closely associated with Leng and the *People's Friend.*

Cally Phillips (Independent)

Romance and Realism in S.R. Crockett's Serial Fiction: 'A Country Boy' Meets an 'Arab of the City'

Samuel Rutherford Crockett (1859-1914) was one of the most successful and sought-after authors in the increasingly lucrative market for serial fiction in the 1890s. His writing brings into focus the battleground between the competing and often contradictory contexts of realism and romance, and popular and literary fiction. His first *People's Friend* serial *Kit Kennedy* (1899) offers a start-point to examine and position his work in the context of relationships between author, publisher, reader, agent, and reviewers and literary critics. Drawing comparisons with other serial fiction from the decade, especially his own *Cleg Kelly* (1896), the paper will consider the literary, cultural and material contexts in which Crockett's work was published and read during the fin de siécle period. His portrayals of gender, class and rural Scottish life resonated with a huge section of his reading public – including working class Scots – as surely as they infuriated the intellectuals of the contemporary London publishing elite. The paper will argue that his work is informed by, and evidences, the contemporary dualities of rural/urban and romance/realism which remain a central concern of Scottish literary and cultural history to this day. Renewed engagement with Crockett's works in the context of their subsequent marginalisation as a product of issues of cultural nationalism and socio-economics, can therefore address long held discriminations and opens the way to a more nuanced understanding of his place in Victorian literary history and beyond.

Gillian Neale (Independent)

Annie S. Swan: Beyond the Romance of Celebrity

Annie S. Swan (1859-1943), journalist, novelist, social campaigner, is best known as the star serial writer of the *People's Friend* and the putative editor of the domestic magazine *Woman at Home*. Her peak years as an author – the final two decades of the nineteenth century – illustrate how the late-Victorian boom in popular newspapers and magazines, and other forms of serial publication, could lead to literary patronage, celebrity status and, in Swan's case, great commercial success. Critical attention on Swan has focused mainly on her correspondence column in the *Woman at Home*, while other areas of her literary life, including her engagement as a serial writer for John Leng, remain unexplored. This paper will adopt a book historical approach to introduce new perspectives on Swan's career. Drawing on research in the D. C. Thomson and Hodder & Stoughton archives, it will show how Swan's principal publishers reformatted much of her fiction, especially her less well-known contributions to gift annuals and collections of short stories (some of which carried her name as a form of branding), to reach wider audiences. It questions how far Swan actively engaged in this reformatting and considers the repercussions for her popular and critical standing in the literary field. More broadly, the paper will suggest that close examination of Swan's career can help to identify important points of transition in the publication of popular fiction between the Victorian and later literary periods.

7.3 Print Revivals

Laurel Brake (Birkbeck)

'Remains of the Day? Successive editions of *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* 1873-1888

This is a paper that proposes to look at three editions in 1873, 1877, 1888 of Walter Pater's first book, which span fifteen years of his writing life. In what sense are new editions 'renewals'? Or are they 'refinements' of the edition they follow? I want to test the hypotheses of scholarly editors--that an author 'refines' their work in successive editions, or whether each edition may also be represented as cumulative moments in the text's life in the episteme of the day, as well as part of the author's development.

That is, although titles of successive editions remain the same or similar, each edition is distinctive, noteworthy as a text of its day, with the memory of its past scooped into its functions in the present of the first, second or third edition. Neither the author renewing the text nor the zeitgeist in which the work will appear 'the same'. Thus, the silo of authorship in which Collective Works situate the Author in question may be a perspective that flattens the text and its times.

The history of WHP's editions is an interesting test case. The splash of fame and notoriety of the 1873 edition of *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* may be read as a debut in the budding aestheticism of British book culture under the guise of 'history', with a signature queer perspective. In 1877 with the title and the contents significantly altered, refashioned for its more perilous times, the original publisher may have been delighted to market a *new* work born out of what is familiar, to beguile past readers to read this new text, and to lure new readers attracted by the assurance of what this edition excludes and includes. Severed from 'history', its new title echoes the 'art and poetry' of the pre-Raphaelite *Germ's* title, consolidating its aesthetic identity. The appeal of the Renaissance is augmented by that of 'art and poetry', and this edition alone is ornamented by a delicate vignette of a Renaissance drawing that echoes this aesthetic note.

While this might potentially have attracted women readers, it is likely that *The Renaissance* remained a clearly gendered text, largely read by men. Notably, the historical, queer lynch-pin 'Winckelmann' is retained, and it is augmented by an additional tale slipped into the first chapter, although its implications for the present that the Conclusion spelt out are axed, with no explanation of the problematic ethos of the times, the silence on this point itself expressive. In 1888 while the altered title remains, the Conclusion is restored, a reversal explained with respect to current conditions. Its ethos is embroidered by an additional study of another painter, a study which is as theoretical as it is criticism of an historical body of work. Again, this work of the same or similar title is significantly different enough for readers, first and veteran, to read this renewal of *The Renaissance* as new work of its (and their) time.

The editions of course reflect the author's developments as an author, as Collective Works highlight, and the Pater of the January 1888 edition is uniquely in this series of three an experienced writer of *fiction*, having published two novels and one volume of short stories between 1877 and 1888; he is as well a far more experienced critic, who will publish 'Style' later this year in December. Arguably, he is substantially different than the author of the 1873 and 1877 editions. Authorial 'development' perhaps, or an author in three moments of his life in time, each with their own merits.

Françoise Baillet (Caen Normandie)

"Excuse brevity, levity, and bring your own jollity": Bradbury and Evans's re-invention of publishing in early Victorian London (1842-1859)

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, the British publishing scene experienced a series of renewals. Investment in nascent technologies combined with a massive development of the railway network enabled the written word to reach a wider and more educated readership. Simultaneously, the resurgence of wood-engraving initiated at the turn of the century by Thomas Bewick fostered a revival of the text/image relationship, a "union of pen and pencil"[17] which became a key feature of Victorian culture.

The publishing firm created in 1830 by William Bradbury (1799-1869) and Frederick Mullett Evans (1804-1870) was both a product and a factor of this renewal. Publishers of high-quality fiction as well as of newspapers and magazines, Bradbury and Evans (1830-1865) are mainly known for their rescue in 1842 of the fledgling *Punch*, which then went on to become a Victorian institution, their work with Thackeray and their conflict with Dickens, whose novels they published until 1859. Between these dates, the firm not only acquired a reputation for reliability, efficiency and trustworthiness, but also for its "[c]apitalization of sociability"[18] which utterly transformed the relationship between publishers and staff.

The object of this paper is to investigate this transformation, paying attention to its impact on the early Victorian scene as well as to its legacy to later publishing practices. Largely relying on private sources - manuscripts, diaries and letters - but also on the extensive Bradbury and Evans financial archive at the British Library (general ledgers, publishing account ledgers and cash books), it intends to explore the firm's

[17] Gerard Curtis, *Visual Words Art and the Material Book in Victorian England.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002, 7.
[18] Patrick Leary, *The Punch Brotherhood: Table Talk and Print Culture in Mid-Victorian London.* London : The British Library, 2010, 144.

entrepreneurial choices as a unique attempt to strike a balance between investment, a rigorous day-to-day administration, and the genial and friendly atmosphere of their Whitefriars premises.

Hannah Pyle (Glasgow)

Reviving Hogg's Corpse: A Romantic Ghost in Victorian Printing

James Hogg died on the 21st of November 1835, at the cusp of the Victorian era. A prominent public figure throughout the Romantic period, Hogg established himself through his literary persona: 'The Ettrick Shepherd'. Other writers of the period regularly capitalised off this public characterisation, with *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* manifesting its most prominent example in the 'Noctes Ambrosianae' series (1822-1835). A prolific writer of both poetry and prose, Hogg had multiple editions of his works – such as the infamous *The Queen's Wake* (1813) – circulating within the early-nineteenth-century literary marketplace. However, with his death, he left his wife and children in a troubling financial state, and his public reputation in the hands of the printers, publishers, reviewers, and fellow writers of this burgeoning Victorian era.

The publishing and printing firm, Blackie & Son, were the first to produce posthumous editions of Hogg's collected works. A prominent Glaswegian merchant family, although initially establishing its roots in the industry in 1811, is most famously known by its status as one of the dominant Victorian publishing houses. Throughout the Victorian period, the firm established an international presence highlighted through their approach to continually advancing the printing and publishing industry. It is from this perspective that we find the continually reviving corpse of James Hogg: A Romantic ghost in the Victorian publishing industry. Through this paper, I will demonstrate how the reprinting of Hogg's posthumous works by Blackie & Son – first in 1836 and then in 1865 – revived Hogg for a distinctly Victorian readership. This will be explored through the case study of Hogg's *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824), and the ways in which this novel is edited, re-printed and re-circulated within this literary marketplace.

7.4 Renewal in Women's Fictions

Sarah Sharp (University College Dublin)

'Some Nice Scotch Family in Adelaide': Catherine Helen Spence and Situating the Marriage Plot in South Australia

Scottish-born author Catherine Helen Spence's 1854 novel *Clara Morison* is a landmark in Australian literary history and has often been identified as the first work of fiction about Australia written by a woman. At the time of her death in Adelaide in 1910, Spence was a household name in the newly federated nation, known affectionately as the 'Grand Old Woman of Australia'. Despite this importance, both the text and its author had, until relatively recently, been eclipsed in Australian literary history, and they remain almost unknown in Spence's birthplace. This paper takes part in the renewal of scholarly interest in Spence's novel, whilst also contextualizing the novel within the growing interest in Scottish nineteenth-century colonial writing.

Eschewing the now more prominent iconography of the Australian bush, *Clara Morison* focuses almost exclusively on domestic spaces and women's experiences. This paper will explore how Spence uses these images of domestic life to explore women's role in the formation of colonial society: examining her engagement with the ideas of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the novels of Walter Scott.

Mona Albassam (Leicester)

Plainness and the 'Gift' in Margaret Oliphant's *The Athelings; or, The Three Gifts* and Dinah Mulock Craik's *A Life for a Life*

In his essay 'The Waverley Novels' (1858), Walter Bagehot famously satirises the 'atrocious species of *plain* heroines' whom he identifies as the creation of female literary authors. The literary reviews and debates

surrounding Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) in mid-century have played an important role in the development of the concept of female plainness, both as a literary and an aesthetic category. The discursive formation of a female type, modelled after the plain and coarse Jane Eyre, appears to have been instrumental to the contemporary literary exploration of unconventional female experience and roles. This paper looks at two mid-century novels by Margaret Oliphant and Dinah Mulock Craik and their reworking of the idea of plainness. In Oliphant's *The Athelings; or, The Three Gifts* (1857) and Craik's *A Life for a Life* (1859), the representation of the heroines' facial plainness is interwoven with the narrative's quest to define and reveal her expressive and artistic talent. Denied the charm of physical beauty, both heroines' capacity for literary expression is celebrated as their 'gift'. Oliphant and Craik's representation of the plain heroine, despite their conservative attitudes, entails a subversive element that reveals their unease with repressed femininity and unfulfilled ambition. The two novels reveal their rootedness in the contemporary debate and the accelerating changes in the definition of female roles.

Hannah Rosefield (Harvard)

Spinster or Widow? Or, how Lady Audley Chose a New Identity

During the second half of the nineteenth century, around a fifth of marriages contained at least one party who had been married previously. A remarriage offers the opportunity for a new start, but such new starts, then as now, often had to incorporate aspects of the newlyweds' old lives—most notably, and challengingly, children from the previous marriage(s). Novels such as *Wives and Daughters*, *Dombey and Son, The Portrait of a Lady* and *Lady Audley's Secret* all grapple with the material and emotional difficulties of stepfamily life, and the competing claims of the old and the new. In *Lady Audley's Secret*, Helen Talboys/Audley attempts to cast off her old life entirely; as the narrator says, "no one [in her new life] knew anything" about her. In focusing on how much of her past the second Lady Audley has concealed, critics have overlooked the importance of the ongoing presence of Sir Michael's past, in the shape of his daughter Alicia. In this paper, I will argue that Alicia Audley does not merely serve as a contrast to her stepmother. Rather, the fact of Lady Audley being a stepmother reminds us of the similarities between her and her husband (each is or believes themselves to be widowed, and each has a child from their first marriage), and highlights how gender and class dictate the different ways that Sir Michael and Lady Audley respond to their similar circumstances. I will read *Lady Audley's Secret* and Mary Elizabeth Braddon's own experiences as a second wife and stepmother alongside nineteenth-century demographic data about the marriage rates of spinsters and widows to show the complexities and surprising risks faced by Helen Talboys in choosing to embark upon a new life as a young spinster rather than a young widow.

7.5 Renewal and the Fantastic

Benjamine Toussaint (Sorbonne)

"Scottish clannishness" as "a rudimental form of love to all men": George MacDonald's Reworking of Romantic Nationalism in *Adela Cathcart*

The influence of Romantic nationalism on the literature of the British isles is notably visible in the development of an interest in folktales and in the creation of a literary genre known as the National Tale. In *Adela Cathcart* (1864), George MacDonald implicitly explores the role of Scotland and Scottishness in the construction of an ideal British identity. This aspect of his work has been investigated by David Robb in the Scottish novels but this paper will argue that Robb's analysis is equally relevant to a study of what is considered to be MacDonald's first English novel. While the narrator ostensibly emphasizes his Englishness in the opening pages, the framing narrative actually reworks the topos of marriage as a symbol of political union between formerly independent nations. Like Susan Ferrier before him, MacDonald subverts the traditional gender role division (i.e. a female character representing the so-called subaltern Celtic nation and a male one representing England) and favours unions between Anglo-Scot characters. In so doing, he suggests a more complex form of influence and power dynamics than was symbolised in novels more obviously labelled as 'national tales'. Moreover, among the interpolated texts

in *Adela Cathcart*, figure some of MacDonald's most famous fairy-tales. *Kunstermärchen* or literary fairy-tales rework the tropes and topoi of the folk-tale, often harnessing marvellous elements to discuss philosophical and socio-political issues. This paper will therefore analyse the way in which MacDonald's attachment to Scottish folklore and his spiritual and ethical values intertwine in his fairy-tales, enabling him to combine deeply-rooted localism and universalism. Thus through his reworking of the national tale and his reworking of folk-tales – and the way the framing narrative and the interpolated texts echo one another – MacDonald both asserts and transcends a romantic Scottish nationalism.

Gal Manor (Levinsky College of Education)

Conjuring Magicians: Robert Browning's 'Pietro of Abano' and Alfred Tennyson's Merlin

Against the backdrop of Victorian celebrity culture, Robert Browning and Alfred Tennyson conjure the literary trope of the magician in order to convey their poetic choices and to examine the relationship between the poet and his audience. Whereas Browning's magician, 'Pietro of Abano' of *Dramatic Idyls* (1880), is subversive, odd and persecuted, the Poet Laureate's Merlin of the *Idylls of the King* (1859-1875) is acknowledged and well admired. This paper will explore Browning's Pietro as a critical response to Tennyson's Merlin, reflecting the complex personal relationship between the two poets, their stylistic differences and their dissimilar reception by their contemporaries.

Browning and Tennyson had a close relationship which emerged only at a late stage in their careers, and which John Woolford characterizes as 'faintly uneasy' due to their different backgrounds.[19] Donald S. Hair summarises their relationship as one of "mutual respect, admiration, affection, reservations, and competitiveness tinged with envy".[20] Browning's 'Pietro of Abano', a critical retort to Tennyson's Merlin, reflects the complicated relationship between the two poets.

Even though both poets are attracted to the trope of the medieval magician and bard, their choices of a historical or mythical figure and their characterizations of these figures are very different. Whereas Tennyson chose the mythical and stately figure, associated with kingship and authority, Browning's favourite magician is a subversive figure, unacknowledged and abused. This contrast parallels the way the two poets perceive their own celebrity status: Tennyson as Wordsworth's natural heir to the title of poet Laureate, and Browning as a grotesque and dissenting poet.

Zaynub Zaman (Liverpool)

'Born with her life, creature of poignant thirst /And exquisite hunger': Re-expressing the Mysticism of Bernard of Clairvaux in Dante, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti

This paper will explore the re-articulation and revival of St. Bernard's mysticism in Dante and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, beginning with an examination of the beatific vision of Dante's pilgrim in *Paradiso,* and tracing its development in Rossetti's poetic and artistic works (particularly his sonnets from *The House of Life, '*The Kiss' and 'Heart's Compass', and his 1865 painting *The Beloved*). It attempts to demonstrate how Rossetti's poems and paintings express a renewed interest in Medieval fantasies of sacred and profane desire and yet renders such categorisation problematic. It will show how St. Bernard's rhetoric of desire which focuses on the intense sensuality of mystical and conjugal union with God animates much of Rossetti's poetry. This paper will propose

[19] John Woolford, *Robert Browning* (Horndon: Northcote, 2007), p. 2.
[20] Donald S. Hair, ''Brother-Poets': Tennyson and Browning' in *Tennyson Among the Poets: Bicentenary Essays,* ed. by Robert Douglas-Fairhurst and Seamus Perry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.199.

that Rossetti's poems perform through language and form: negative theology (describing God and spirit by what they are not), an invocation of Catholic ceremonies and sacraments, an emphasis on personal experience as a route to the divine, an insistence on the transcendental value of love, and an equation of the erotic relationship between lover and beloved as indistinguishable with that of the human soul burning for union with God. In doing so, this paper seeks to position and establish Dante Gabriel Rossetti as a significant interpreter and adapter of Medieval mystical poetry and aesthetics, addressing the much-neglected question of the religious significance of Rossetti's works and revealing that he adopts a subtle, more nuanced understanding of Medieval Christian theology than has previously been proposed.

7.6 Progress

Andrew Jeffrey and David Bradley

1873 & 1874: A Tale of 4 Ships

The years 1873 and 1874 are of particular significance in Dundee's maritime history as it is these are the years in which in which HMS *Unicorn* first arrived and then took up its role as the Royal Navy drill ship, a task it fulfilled until its retirement in 1960 and the formation of the Unicorn Preservation Society.

In order to place this into context, the paper places these years into the broader context of maritime development in Dundee and elsewhere by considering the significance, technologies, rolls and relationships between the following 4 ships:

> HMS *Unicorn* – A *Leda*-class frigate completed just over 10 years before Victoria came to the throne and representing the early stages of the transition from wooden to iron and steel warships.
>
> HMS *Devastation* – Often referred to as the '*first mastless battleship*', HMS *Devastation* represents a major milestone in transition between the sailing navy and that which relied on steam.
>
> SS *Teheran* - Built in Dundee for the Peninsular & Oriental Steamship Company (P&O), SS *Teheran* represents advanced commercial steam ship design of the time. Designed to carry cargo, passengers and mail, ships like *Teheran* served as the backbone of the merchant navy as carriers of goods around a shrinking world dominated by the British maritime imperium.
>
> *Lochee* - While steam was becoming the dominant means of propulsion, sailing vessels still had a role and the full-rigged clipper *Lochee*, also built in Dundee, represents the a typical sailing vessel of the time.

Each of these ships will be considered in relation to the technologies used in their construction and operation, their respective roles and deployment, their relationships and their social impact. In addition, the links to shipbuilding in Dundee and elsewhere in relation to international trade and commerce will be considered.

Nicola Kirkby (Royal Holloway)

Entangled Infrastructures in Henry James's *The Reverberator* and *In the Cage*

Many technologies associated with the term 'infrastructure', including railways, the telegraph, and the penny post, were developed and reformed in nineteenth-century Britain. While reciprocal arrangements had long been in effect between, for example, coal mines and nearby railways, this paper focuses on ways in which public use enabled and inhibited cross-system exchange, as presented in late-nineteenth-century literary culture.

This paper compares different scales of infrastructural entanglement as presented in Henry James's *The Reverberator*, which was published in parts in *Macmillan's Magazine* (1888), with his single-volume novella, *In the Cage* (1898). If the former presents an expat American community in Paris struggling to disengage from transatlantic communications, the latter asserts the substantial role that an individual, urban telegraph worker can play rerouting

local social connections. In scale and complexity, both works parallel the enmeshed systems that enable their plots. This is most evident in the shift in style in *In the Cage*, where James risks overloading each sentence with more information than that grammatical structure can typically manage. Beyond these formal links, I argue, each text offer substantial insight into the intellectual labour involved in facilitating and inhibiting exchange between technological systems designed to carry very different kinds of traffic. By attending carefully to infrastructural elements of these works, we can unpack the challenge that the prospect of automating such systems presented late-Victorian engineers and proto-programmers.

This paper responds to renewed critical interest across the humanities in large-scale systems that underpin everyday life, recently described as 'the infrastructural turn' (Coutard and Rutherford, 2016). If present-day social infrastructures are characterized by digital abstraction, then the relative accessibility and material presence of similar systems in Victorian culture presents an opportunity for understanding how existing systems could be modified for contemporary use.

Agnieszka Setecka (Adam Mickiewicz University)

Joseph Conrad's Early Novels and the Victorian Ideology of Progress

When Joseph Conrad launched his literary career in 1895 with *Almayer's Folly*, which was quickly followed by its prequel, *The Outcast of the Islands* (1896), many critics included his fiction into the category of adventure romance, a genre which glorified the imperial project and celebrated a new kind of hero whose moral uprightness ensured his success. Conrad, however, transformed the popular genre into a surprisingly apposite study of human moral condition, thus offering a new profound insights into the complex relations between imperialism, capitalism and the system of values.

My paper concentrates on Conrad's revision of the ideology of progress, which underlies any discussion on the industrial development, economic advancement, imperial conquests and, most significantly, personal moral improvement in nineteenth-century fiction, and which remains one of the keywords to understand Victorian culture. In his *Almayer's Folly* and *An Outcast of the Islands* Conrad maintains the connection between the concepts but his are the stories of decline and failure. Although the novels are shaped in the likeness of the imperial romance, the two protagonists, Almayer and Willems, fail to live up to romance readers' expectations. Rather than narrate the protagonists' exceptional moral fortitude, a prerequisite of economic success in Victorian fiction, the novels expose their moral inadequacies, which lead to the collapse of their business ventures, and prefigure the collapse of the imperial project. Neither are the lives of Almayer and Willems stories of moral improvement, which constituted the essence of the *Bildungsroman* novels so popular in the Victorian period, but they are narratives of regress, a return to the savage state.

7.7 **Renewed Engagements**

Bethan Stevens (Sussex)

Wood Engravings and *Barnaby Rudge*: Historical Fiction, the Archaeology of Illustration, and the Disappearing Apprentice

This paper reconsiders the erosion of the apprenticeship system in art production, considered both archivally and through its creative representation. I start by exploring Victorian renewals and reworkings through a reading of Dickens's historical novel *Barnaby Rudge* (1841), paying particular attention to the character of Simon Tappertit as a wicked apprentice within a fantasised eighteenth-century setting. I focus on two editions of *Barnaby Rudge*, published in 1841 and 1874; both have illustrations engraved by the image firm Dalziel Brothers, at two different moments of their institutional history. George and Edward Dalziel engraved illustrations after Phiz (Hablot K Browne) for the novel's first edition in 1841, when they were themselves young freelancers working for another employer. The Dalziel firm then revisted the text in 1874, producing a new set of illustrations under their own signature, this time after designs by Frederick Barnard. I compare these editions in the context of changing

historical conditions for engraver-apprentices between the 1780s, 1840s and 1870s. By the end of this period, prospects had become so precarious for those at the bottom of the hierarchy that Dickens's original ridicule of the ambitious apprentice was hard to sustain. In parallel to this reading of a canonical word-image text, I examine archival evidence of the changing status of workers and apprentices in the field of wood engraving. Stories emerge of two wood engraving employees: Francis Fricker, an artist who worked full time, having started as a teenage apprentice, and John Bowcher, a precarious freelancer who turned later in life to engraving, as a second career. I consider evidence of what these two artists each made while working for the firm Dalziel, considering the casually employed engraver as author of canonical Victorian reworkings of earlier texts, such as Keats's 'Ode to a Nightingale' (itself a meditation on authorship).

Katherine Inglis (Edinburgh)

Anthologizing Obscenity: Re-reading the 'Classics' with Henry Vizetelly

This paper will consider the 'renewal' of classic English and modern French literature in the activity of the publishing house Vizetelly & Company (1880—90), with a particular focus on material and textual elements of *Extracts Principally from the English Classics*, an anthology of potentially obscene extracts compiled and distributed by Henry Vizetelly after he was indicted for obscene libel in 1888.

Vizetelly & Co. had a diverse catalogue, but is probably best known for its publication of classic English drama under the series title 'The Mermaid Series: The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists', and modern French literature in translation, which has been of particular interest to scholarship in the fields of book history, translation studies, legal history, and censorship history. This paper will discuss these but focus on Henry Vizetelly's *Extracts*, an anthology of excerpts from the published writings of canonical English writers, from Shakespeare to Swinburne.

Extracts performs and parodies the logic and material properties of the indictment of Vizetelly for publishing three 'obscene libels' (namely, translations of Émile Zola's *La Terre, Pot-bouille*, and *Nana*): *Extracts*, like the indictment, imitates the form of the anthology. It isolates and decontextualises excerpts from literary works, detaching the part from the whole, and asserts kinship between its disparate parts. In so doing this 'obscenity anthology' rhetorically demonstrates the obscenity of each excerpt, and by implication, the obscenity of the original work. There was no requirement in Victorian obscenity law that the prosecution consider the entire work, or that the exemplary obscene passage be contextualised. Vizetelly's *Extracts*, as a material artefact, a literary and legal parody, a landmark in the history of censorship, and a rhetorical tool, makes clear the logical consequence of this reasoning: the security of literary 'classics', and publishers of literature, from prosecution depended upon precarious conventions for reading literary works, which were overturned by the conviction and imprisonment of Henry Vizetelly.

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Hearing, Speaking, Signing: Dickens and the Deaf

The renewed interest in the Victorian treatment of disability is part of the rapidly growing field of disability studies. My paper explores Dickens's take on the Victorian debate regarding deaf people, sign language and lip reading.

Dickens's masterly use of language and his characters' often idiosyncratic linguistic skills have been the subject of numerous studies. I focus on a particular aspect of language in Dickens: the authority over its signs, and the significance of such authority, which I suggest is linked to interpersonal, ethical and social relations at large, and particularly to sign language and the relationship between the hearing and the deaf.

Who masters, or presumes to master, linguistic signs? And what does it mean for a Dickensian character to aspire to control language? Numerous examples indicate that the ability to master one's language serves to measure the moral capacity of Dickens's characters. Rather consistently, kind-hearted and humane characters have no

pretension of such command, while the evil, aggressive or manipulative ones are often keen on asserting their superior linguistic skills.

In evaluating the issue of control over language, I compare two characters who serve as contrasted analogues: Doctor Strong, the compiler of a dictionary in *David Copperfield*, and Doctor Marigold, the protagonist of Dickens's 1865 Christmas novella "Doctor Marigold's Prescriptions," who adopts a deaf child and invents a private sign language for her. An analysis of the texts reveals that controlling the signs is a means of preserving social power, whereas giving up this control is inseparable from interpersonal concern and a more egalitarian approach to one's inferiors, and to the disabled. I shall relate this paradigm, and the changes in Dickens's representation of deaf characters over the years, to the nineteenth-century debate about deaf children's education and the inclusion of the deaf in the society of the hearing.