Bulletin of the Midwest Victorian Studies Association

Autumn 1996/ Winter 1997 — *D. J. Trela, Editor*

21st Annual Conference
Victorians and the Germanic
25-26 April 1997
Chicago, IL

Our twenty-first annual conference will be hosted by the University of Illinois at Chicago. Larry Poston, Kris Garrigan and D. J. Trela are coordinating local arrangements. Located southwest of the Chicago loop, the UIC campus is located at the historic point of entry into Chicago of successive waves of immigrants. A portion of the conference will take place in buildings of the restored Hull House complex, founded over one hundred years ago by Jane Addams. Great dining is available nearby in Chicago's Greektown area, while downtown and near north amenities are only a short cab or el ride away. This year's conference theme, "Victorian and the Germanic," has been outlined as follows:

Twentieth century conflicts have effectively heightened the differences between England and Germany, obscuring the ties that linked the two nations during the nineteenth century. But the connection with Germany and the rest of the Germanic world–part kinship, part rivalry–was a central fact of Victorian culture. The conference seeks papers that explore this rich connection. We have in mind topics like the economic and political relations between Great Britain and the emerging nation-state of Germany; the influence of German philosophy, art, science, and literature on their British counterparts and the reciprocal influence of British philosophy, art, science and literature on the German world; travel between the nations; German settings in British fiction; British settings in German fiction; the British search for its past in Germanic or Anglo-Saxon language or custom; friendships and correspondence between the two nations; the shift in technological ascendancy from Britain to Germany over the course of the century; common institutions, like the family or the residential dwelling; the reception of German music in England, &c. For our purposes, the term "Germanic" includes Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and other areas where Germanic languages are spoken.

Information about the conference is available from Executive Secretary Keith Welsh, who can be reached at the English Department, Webster University, 470 E. Lockwood Ave., St. Louis, MO.

1996 Conference Summary

Indiana University played host to MVSA in late April for its conference on the theme of "Energy and Entropy: A Victorian Dilemma." This conference featured an expanded format, additional papers and sections and a keynote address delivered by Alexander Welsh of Yale University. The conference also honored the 40th anniversary of the founding of *Victorian Studies* with a special Saturday section featuring the founding editors (include Donald Gray,

Michael Wolff, Philip Appelman and George Levine), more recent editors (Patrick Brantlinger and Martha Vicinus), and current and future editors (James Eli Adams and Andrew Miller). One additional special event was a performance of Tom Taylor's "Ticket of Leave Man." The beautiful campus, its splendid library, the cooperative weather and the genial and thoughtful hosts all contributed to one of the most successful conferences of recent memory. Also of more than passing interest were the generally excellent papers, the abstracts of which will be presented below. Sincere thanks to local organizers Pat Brantlinger, Jim Adams and Andrew Miller for their hard work on behalf of MVSA and *VS*.

(Note: A number of participants in the special events were asked to summarize their participation. All begged off for various reasons.)

A (Truly) Final Word from a Former Executive Secretary

My announcement in the last *Bulletin* that it would be the final number appearing under my editorship was greeted with stunning silence. I faithfully promise that this issue really is my last: As a means of helping Keith Welsh ease into his new position, I offered to put together one last issue. The great delay in its appearance is entirely my fault, and for it I humbly apologize. It was a great pleasure to serve MVSA as Executive Secretary with one of the most enjoyable tasks coming in putting this small publication together on an annual basis. Assisting with conferences and also seeing the Arnstein fund grow also provided great pleasure. Most enjoyable, however, has been the contact with a wide variety of scholars of the Victorian period, both members and non-members of MVSA. I think it among the finer features of our society that we strive to maintain our interdisciplinarity, we regularly draw on colleagues from all over the country to participate in our conferences and we also are doing our part to support the next generation of scholar-teachers through the Arnstein Award.

I have particularly enjoyed serving alongside Pat Brantlinger, Debra Mancoff and Fred Kirchhoff, and also appreciate the tremendous assistance of Susan Dean, Barbara Schmidt, Larry Poston, Richard David and Keith Welsh. I am further grateful to former executive secretaries, in particular Micael Clarke and Kristine Garrigan for their assistance with helping me learn the job. Thanks to all for honoring me with the office. It has rarely been anything but a great pleasure to serve as Executive Secretary and so become better acquainted with an interesting group of like-minded colleagues.

A Word from an Arnstein Award Winner

A letter of last February from William McKelvy reads:

> Thank you for the *Bulletins* which have prompted me to write you of the progress of my dissertation, or, more particularly, the fate of the Arnstein Award. I will spend this March at Gladstone's library, St. Deiniol's, in Wales and the first ten days of April reading at the British Library. I have also been awarded a McGregor Scholarship for one month of residential study at St. Deiniol's for March of 1997 when I hope to be completing my dissertation and chopping down any trees that dared to escape me during the first trip. Closer to home (and the computer before which I now sit), I have gotten back my first chapter from my advisor with generally favorable comments and the command to carry on. While the financial aid included with the honor of the Arnstein Award paid for my first round-trip ticket to London, I have been the lucky beneficiary of the support and generosity of your organization in many other ways. For all these things, I am,
>
> Gratefully Yours,
> William R. McKelvy, III

At the business meeting attached to the 1996 conference, treasurer Julie Melnyk gave us the happy news that the Arnstein Fund had achieved its initial goal of a $10,000 endowment. It was the unanimous belief of MVSA officers and the assembled masses that we continue to press on with fund-raising appeals in order to raise the endowment and also increase the amount of the annual award from the current $500.00. We have been able for a number of years to fund the award out of our operating budget, which has allowed all donations to go directly to the endowment. This has helped us reach the initial $10,000 goal than would otherwise have been possible.

Members also should remember that since the

society attained tax-exempt status several years ago, all donations to the Arnstein Fund and also in the form of dues are tax deductible. A New Year's resolution should be to donate to the fund in 1997 so that the good work of more graduate students like Bill McKelvy, Anne Helmreich, Brenda Assael, Martha Holmes and Susan Paton Pyecroft will be supported in future years.

Conferences and Events of Interest

The Victorian Interdisciplinary Studies Association of the Western United States (VISAWUS) held its first conference on the campus of California State University at Northridge on November 9 and 10. James Kincaid of the University of Southern California was the keynote speaker. The topic of the conference was "Victorian Success." For further information on VISAWUS contact MVSA member Kathleen Peck, 1095 Leonard Ave, Pasadena, CA 91107 (818-351-0864).

28-30 March 1997, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century British Women Writers, Sixth Annual Con-ference. Information can be obtained from Jacqueline Dello Russo, Sproul Hall, English Department, University of California at Davis 95616.

1-2 **August 1997** will see the conference of **Nineteenth Century British Women Playwrights** at Northwestern University. Contact Tracy C. Davis, Department of Theater, 1979 South Campus Drive, Evanston, IL 60208.

The Chicago Friends of the Ruskin Foundation has issued a challenge to raise funds to endow a fellowship in support of Ruskin scholarship. Awards will be tenable at the newly opened Ruskin Library at Lancaster University in England. Interested individuals should contact George A. Larson, Larson Associates, 542 South Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60605 (312-876-2255) for further information.

An interesting and useful series of publications **"Victorian Fiction Research Guides,"** is produced by the English Department at the University of Queensland, Australia 4072. Available in various series, the works include bibliographies of the fiction of various authors or periodicals. For example, series three indexes fiction in the *Pall Mall Magazine* from 1893-1914, *The Harmsworth Magazine* (later *The London Magazine* from 1898 to 1915 and provides a bib-liography) of the novels and short stories of Margaret Oliphant. Interested individuals should write for further particulars to Dr. Barbara Garlick. Individual titles range from $7.00-$12.00 (Australian).

The Research Society for Victorian Periodicals will hold its 1997 conference in Chicago, at Roosevelt University on 12 and 13 September. Paper or section proposals focusing on any aspect of Victorian periodicals, authors, editors, serializations and their contexts can be submitted to Barbara Quinn Schmidt, English Department, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, IL 62026-1436.

Adjoining the RSVP conference will be a one day conference on 11 September (Thursday) reassessing the writings of Margaret Oliphant upon the centenary of her death in 1897. Proposals for this conference can be submitted to Linda Peterson, Chair, English Department, Yale University, New Haven, CT 06520-8302. As we go to press, a second Oliphant conference is scheduled for 13 September at Westminster College, Oxford.

Books and Periodicals of Interest Written or Edited by MVSA Members

Victorian Urban Settings: Essays on the Nineteenth-Century City and Its Contexts was published during the summer of 1996 by Garland Press. Co-edited by Debra N. Mancoff and D. J. Trela, the book consists of eleven essays originally presented at the 1993 MVSA conference in Chicago, with an introductory essay by Harold Perkin. The volume contains twenty-five plates. ISBN 0-8153-1949-5; list price is $40.00, although discounted copies are available until 31 March when the enclosed pink form is used to place an order. The book is the lead volume in a new series on Literature and Society in Victorian Britain, edited by Sally Mitchell.

Re-Reading Hopkins: Selected New Essays, edited by Francis L. Fennell. Published by English Literary Studies monograph series. $10.50. 194pp. ISBN 0-920604-90-0. Write the Business Manager of the series at the Department of English, University of Victoria, P.O. Box 3070, Victoria, British Columbia V8W 3W1, Canada.

Published in early summer was Stephen Kern's *The Eyes of Love: The Gaze in English and French Culture, 1840-1900* (New York UP; 283pp; $50.00). Women's eyes are the central theme of Mr. Kern's book, which uses paintings of women with men, and alone, to dispute theories of women's "ocular victimization" and

the power of the "male gaze."

Mark Looker has moved outside the Victorian period in *Atlantic Passages: History, Community, and Language in the Fiction of Sam Selvon* (New York: Lang; 244pp; $52.95). Selvon was a post-war Caribbean novelist.

Jennifer Wagner published, in late 1995, *A Moment's Monument: Revisionary Poetics and the Nineteenth-Century English Sonnet* (Associated U Presses; price not listed).

The Significance of Sibling Relationships in Literature was co-edited by JoAnna Stephens Mink and Janet Doubler Ward (Bowline Green SU Popular P; 174pp; $38.95 and $14.95). "In this volume, the complexity of sibling relationships is anatomized and illustrated through time and geography, demonstrating that no aspect of that relationship ... is without consequence."

Professor Joan Perkin (Northwestern University) published *Victorian Women* in 1995 (New York UP; 264pp; $17.95; ISBN 0-8147-6625-0. The work "allows women of all social classes to render their own lives, in their own words, from birth to old age, in the 'long nineteenth century' between the French Revolution and the First World War."

D. J. Trela and Rodger Tarr have co-edited *The Critical Response to Thomas Carlyle's Major Works* (Greenwood P, 1997; price not determined). The book focuses on *Sartor Resartus*, *The French Revolution*, *On Heroes* and *Past and Present.*

Jane W. Stedman saw her long-awaited biography of W. S. Gilbert published in both the United States and Britain (Oxford UP) during 1996. It is titled *W. S. Gilbert: A Classic Victorian and His Theater*. The book was recently "noticed" in *The New York Times Book Review* while Professor Stedman was also featured on the Chicago-based Studs Terkel radio program.

Arthuriana (Quarterly Journal of the International Arthurian Society) will publish a special Fall 1996 issue edited by Debra Mancoff and Bonnie Wheeler. The collection includes essays by Florence Boos, Frederick Kirchhoff, Debra Mancoff and others. Individual copies are $10.00 and are available through P.O. Box 75043, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX 75275-0432.

Debra Mancoff also saw her most recent book, *The Return of King Arthur: The Legend Through Victorian Eyes*, published in 1995 by the New York firm of Abrams.

Nineteenth Century Prose, published by the University Press of Colorado. subscriptions are $17.00/year for individuals. Write the Marketing Department, Box 849, Niwot, CO 80544. Cynthia Patton is Book Review editor, reachable at Mesa State College, Box 2647, grand Junction, Colorado 81502. E-mail address is ncp@mesa5.mesa.colorado.edu

Clio, an interdisciplinary journal focusing in intersections of history, literature and the arts, is now edited by Lynette Felber, Department of English & Linguistics, Indiana University-Purdue University-Fort Wayne, fort Wayne, IN 46805.

William Baker continues as able-editor of *George Eliot-George Henry Lewes Studies*, (English Department, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL 60115) and Rodger Tarr of *Carlyle Studies Annual* (English Department, Illinois State University, Normal, IL 61761). Subscription prices are quite modest and journal content consistently excellent.

Sally Mitchell recently published *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England, 1880-1915*, (Columbia UP, 1995; 258pp; $17.50; ISBN: 0-231-10236-1). The book is a lively history of the late-Victorian development of the concept of "girlhood" as distinct from childhood or womanhood.

Members of MVSA who publish books in 1997 or who have published books recently that have not been noticed in these pages are encouraged to write the Executive Secretary with particulars of their accomplishments.

Fourth Annual Arnstein Award

Susan Paton Pyecroft
Central Michigan University

"The Social Meaning of City Halls in Glasgow, Manchester,Chicago and Philadelphia"

The nineteenth century witnessed a revolution in the built environment with new building types, including railway sheds, department stores, urban markets, offices, museums, asylums, and municipal buildings, transforming the urban landscapes in Britain, America, and throughout the western world. The emergence of industrial capitalism lays at the heart of this transformation; not only was the necessary technology now available, but, more importantly, there were new social impetuses for the creation of these new structures. My research centers on one type of architectural transformation, municipal buildings, and compares the meanings and functions of

city halls in Glasgow, Manchester, Chicago and Philadelphia. I argue that the social and political meanings of these structures can be explored, or "read," by employing the many languages of architecture, such as the texts written about a structure or the designs of the building itself. I believe that a thorough study of the design process, along with the methodology of spatial analysis, can reveal much about power structures, bureaucratic growth and inter-class relations in the urban nineteenth-century world.

This study proposes to be truly interdisciplinary, creating a bridge between the fields of architecture, urban studies, and political and cultural history. It suggests the study of society, structure, and space should be as one. The cultural and political meanings of buildings are indeed decipherable, though the methodology for such a study requires a wider range of sources than needed in most historical studies. Written sources, such as competition guidelines, architect's reports, planning committee minutes, and newspaper commentaries, are valuable resources, but they make up only a part of the necessary research. Equally important is the building's "non-verbal" language, namely the elevations, floor plans and photographs of the structure. By combining these graphic and written sources with the technique of spatial analysis, questions can be answered concerning the social meanings of the city halls' functions, forms and spatial arrangements.

The city hall's primary function was to provide a place for interface between the municipality and the public, between those who held the power and controlled the space, and those who were the controlled. How do these buildings reflect the solidification of middle-class political power in the late nineteenth century? How then is that power translated into architectural space; that is, what does the spatial structure reveal of patterns of power between the elected city councilors and the growing numbers of professional bureaucrats? Who decided on these spatial arrangements–architect, building commission, bureaucrats or the public?

City halls have a symbolic function as well. This purpose is certainly as central to the building's importance as the housing of bureaucratic offices or council chambers. For many city residents the facade of the city hall, with towers and columns and sculptural iconography, directly shaped their perception of governmental power. Though only select members of the public entered the deeper recesses of these municipal palaces, all citizens could access the building's exterior. What were the messages the public received and were these the messages the municipality intended? What then can these buildings tell us of the links between politics, class and social order? What do these city halls reveal of the changing relationships between the public and public space in the urban setting?

These are but a few of the questions about the political and cultural languages of public architecture that I will be exploring with my research. I first became interested in the meanings of civic architecture while researching my Master's thesis on the re-building of the Houses of Parliament and its architectural languages of nationalism. After completing that thesis in 1994, I wanted to research architectural meaning on a local level. I began with Glasgow's City Chambers because I was spending the 1994-95 academic year in that city as a doctoral fellow with the University of Strathclyde as part of their joint degree program with Central Michigan University. I completed the Glasgow portion of my research last May and wrote an honours dissertation on the subject. The Mitchell Library has proposed to the City of Glasgow that they publish this manuscript as a short monograph on the history of the City Chambers.

I am currently researching Chicago's city hall of 1872 subsequently torn down in 1909); I hope to begin the Philadelphia portion of my research this June with Manchester following later this year. Much of the background research can be done from Central Michigan because the Park Library has an excellent selection of nineteenth-century journals on microfilm, but trips to each city will be necessary to collect copies of floor plans, building committee minutes and other necessary papers. In addition, there can be no substitute for a detailed physical examination of the actual building itself, particularly its layout, stylistic treatments and overall "feel." The costs of doing a cross-Atlantic comparative study such as this can prove quite onerous. This dissertation award would permit my research to continue at a productive pace by allowing me to travel to at least one of my designated cities by late Spring.

The social meanings of civic buildings holds exciting prospects for research. Such a subject presents available opportunity for study that cuts across a number of fields: political history is given new form when spatial analysis is adopted; urban studies are enhanced by a examination of the strong centripetal presence of these city halls; architectural history is strengthened by an exploration into the social and

historical context of structure. I believe that for too long we, as historians, have confined ourselves to the minutiae of historical evidence, the limited resources of the printed word, while by-passing these great testaments in stone that grace our city streets.

Energy and Entropy: A Victorian Dilemma 20th Annual Conference Abstracts

Session One: Technology and the Body

Ivan Kreilkamp, "Thomas Edison, Joseph Conrad and the Reproduction of Voice"

Heart of Darkness, a novel in which an enigmatic story-teller describes his fascination with a man who was "very little more than a voice," marks an innovation in the British novel's representation of oral utterance: Conrad's depiction of the voices of Kurtz and of Marlow figures a drift of articulation away from agency, of text away from author, and was, for this reason, an important precursor to the stream-of-consciousness technique of later modernists. But what this novel did to language becomes most apparent, I argue, when we examine *Heart of Darkness* in the context of technological modernity, rather than literary modernism. For this particular text draws on and must be understood in the context of late nineteenth century developments in sound technology, specifically Thomas Edison's phonograph.

In this paper, I examine late nineteenth-century scientific and journalistic discussions of the phonograph to show that the experience of listening to its disembodied, reproduced voice suggested an unsettling new paradigm with which to understand human utterance. As *Scientific American* reports in 1877, "certainly nothing that can be conceived would be more likely to create the profoundest of sensations, to arouse the liveliest of human emotions, than once more to hear the voices of the dead. Yet Science now announces that it is possible, and can be done." The phonograph initially raises anxieties about the possibility that human utterance is simply one reproducible pattern of sound like any other, and that it holds no special purchase on the moment when it is articulated. Yet when Edison's "perfected phonograph" becomes commercially available in the 1890s, the public responds enthusiastically to his positivistic claims to have augmented the power of civilization with the reproduction of sound.

I argue that *Heart of Darkness* (1899), written during the first decade of the phonograph's commercial introduction, is deeply inscribed with the issues and anxieties raised by the new technology. Conrad's dismayed observation in an 1898 letter, following an encounter with a phonograph, that all matter and human culture may be composed of nothing but "the eternal something that waves and an eternal force that causes the waves," plays itself out in *Heart of Darkness*, a landmark work of fiction that reveals the extent to which the phonograph produced a new set of terms--even a new conceptual framework--with which to represent and narrativise the human voice at the turn of the century.

Christopher Keep, "Blindness, Bodies, and Pitman's Typewriter Manual"

This paper is a study of the way in which the female body was re-configured in popular typewriting manuals of the 1890s. Sociologists of women's work have argued that the employment of women as typists was necessitated by changes in the way businesses kept and maintained records, accounts and correspondences in an increasingly competitive global marketplace. Margery W. Davies explains that "women were drawn into the office by the mushrooming demand for clerical labor occasioned by the expansion and consolidation of the capitalist economy at the end of the nineteenth century" (29). This emphasis on the economic, however, has obscured the cultural work which helped open up the closed world of male homosocial bonds that was the Victorian office. Women were not so much "drawn" into the marketplace, I would argue, as "written." In this paper, I will examine how courses of instruction, such as that set out in *Pitman's Typewriter Manual*, served not only to train women in the use of the machine, but do discipline their muscles and nerves, to adjust their bodies to the demands of mechanical reproduction.

The first mass-produced typewriter rolled off the assembly lines of E. Rimingro & Sons in 1874. It was an unwieldy and expensive device and sold poorly. Remington, unable to recoup its initial investment, subsequently sold its rights to the original patent. It was only with the typewriter's subsequent gendering, its culturally-construed "fitness" as an occupation for young women, that it was adopted in large numbers in commercial business houses. Amid a public outcry

that female office workers would displace the men who had previously held such posts, the YWCA introduced the first courses in typewriting in 1881. The Association's concerns were first and foremost for the female constitution. In discussions concerning the initial proposal to offer the courses, fears were expressed that the constitution of women was not equal to the rigors of an intensive six month program, let alone the pressures of full-time employment:

> The records show that the education committee of the Association discussed for a long time the physical danger of so arduous an undertaking. Finally the decision was made that there should be a thorough physical examination of all the applicants and that those who passed such an examination satisfactorily would be given a trial. The opinion was expressed, however, that the female mind and constitution would be certain to break under the strain. (Sims 84-85)

Out of the many applicants for the first typewriting course, eight were deemed physically prepared to meet the challenge and the classes went ahead. The public backlash was immediate; the experiment was branded "an obvious error in judgement" on the part of "well-meaning but misguided ladies" (qtd. in Zellers 13). Nonetheless, all eight students survived the course and were quickly placed in remunerative positions. There followed not only a steadily mounting demand for female typists but a dramatic volte-face concerning their suitability as machine operators. By 1888, the constitution once thought to have barred women from the typewriter appeared uniquely fitted to its difficulties. According to the author of one instruction manual, the typewriter "is especially adapted to feminine fingers. They seem to be made for type-writing. The type-writing involves no hard labour, and no more skill than playing the piano" (Harrison 9). The comparison to the piano became a commonplace in explanations of women's abilities as typists. Like the piano, the typewriter is "operated by the aid of keys," and requires "delicacy of touch" and "nimbleness of fingers"–all preeminently feminine virtues (Harrison 93).

This seemingly "natural" fit between the typewriter and women's bodies, however, was in fact the product of a sustained act of inscription, a writing of the body so that it came to bear the impress of the machine it operated. The typewriter, which was conceived by some early inventors as an aid to the blind, proved to be just the opposite. The "touch-method" of typing advocated by Sir Isaac Pitman required that the user become blind. Pitman writes:

> Strangely enough, accuracy in typewriting is best cultivated by learning to write without watching the fingers as they proceed from key to key. . . A few weeks' practice will enable most operators to abandon the use of the eyes altogether as the keyboard is concerned, and it will be found that the work is far less likely to be marred by errors than it had previously been. (14)

Pitman reveals here something of the relationship between human agency and the mode of information: the mechanisms of mechanical reproduction can only reach their own limit velocities by a "making blind" of their operators, that is, by delimiting the human sensorium so that the machines might realize themselves. By what Mark Seltzer describes as the "double-logic of technology as prosthesis," the typewriter supplements and extends the capacities of the natural body only insofar as it simultaneously dismembers it. The "blindness" of the typist is the paradoxical proof of the effectiveness of her prosthesis; only by virtue of an "emptying out of human agency" can there be "the extension of human agency through the forms of technology that supplements it" (Writing Technologies" 170-71).

The "double logic of technology as prosthesis" subtends Pitman's techniques for disciplining the body of the typist. His goal is the elimination of all typographic infelicities and he pursues it with a medico-evangelistic zeal. "It is with the object of radically curing defects noticeable in average typewriting that we enter upon the first portion of the manual" he states (2). This "cure" consists of reforming the posture of the typist and the training of her fingers to the exigencies of the "universal" keyboard and its non-intuitive arrangement of keys. "Those operators who have not trained their muscles to find work will find it difficult to type at the highest rates of speed. Practice will, however, do much to bring the muscles into perfect condition for the purpose" (22). To this end, he provides exercises to encourage consistency of touch (the amount of force required to produce an even impression on the page with different characters), orthography, spacing, alignment, and margins.

Pitman's program of what one may call "typographic-cleansing," I argue, is driven by the need

to adopt the irregular fluxes, pulsations and spasms of the human to its mechanical counterpart, to, in effect, evacuate the space of corporeality which acts as a site of error and resistance in the circuit of transmission, transcription and receipt. It is only by producing the typist as an enabling absence, a conduit through which words pass with the minimum of resistance, that the female body is inscribed within the social relations of the emergent information economy. The paper will examine in more detail the nature of Pitman's exercises; it will conclude with a brief discussion of Henry James' use of an amanuensis and how "blindness" served to produce the typist as a kind of "recording angel" of male thought.

Johanna M. Smith, "Sherlock Holmes, Francis Galton, and the Adventure of the Anthropometric Laboratory"

While Ronald Thomas has shown that Sherlock Holmes and late nineteenth-century French criminology developed in tandem, less attention has been paid to the parallels between Holmes's detective methods and British criminology, specifically the new information technologies developed by Francis Galton. Galton is perhaps best known today as the "founder of biometry" (Crow 1), the science which applies "statistical methods to biological questions" (Barkan 139-40); his "'principal object'" (qtd. in Forrest 252) was to garner material "'exact enough for the discovery of incipient changes in evolution.'" In the 1880s he established anthropometric laboratories where "Human Faculty might be measured" (*Memories* 267), in order to meet the "pressing necessity of obtaining a multitude of exact measurements" on which to theorize the incidence of hereditary genius" (244). On the basis of these "exact measurement" Galton formulated the statistical principle of correlation, a principle which, according to his disciple Karl Pearson, "provide(d) all branches of science with a *novum organum*" that "enabled us to reach real knowledge" through "exact (and) mathematical inquiry" (2:357058). Another biographer sees Galton's passion for statistics as evidence of "the 'counting mania' common among those with obsessional difficulties" (Forrest 183), and not without reason; but we should also see it as symptomatic of the rage for order and system, for the "exact and mathematical inquiry" guaranteeing "real knowledge," that informs much Victorian science. From that statistical inquiry Galton developed a program of eugenics; and the laboratories also yielded the data systematized in Galton's 1892 *Finger-Prints*, a primer of information technology which promised "real knowledge" of a criminal class. In this paper I want to suggest that Francis Galton's criminology and Sherlock Holmes's detection are equivalent fictions, techniques of identification which, like eugenics, were mobilized against the perceived threat of a dysgenic working-class residuum.

Christopher Kent, "Hard Identity vs. Soft: The Case of the Tichborne Claimant"

The "hard"/"soft" distinction may offer a useful approach to the changing technologies and practices of identity in Victorian England.

Hard identity comprises the scientifically validated criteria which depend on measurable differences such as body measurements, age and hair/eye/skin color which while not individually unique, together produce a nearly unique combination that can be statistically recorded, as well as captured cheaply and objectively by the camera. By the end of the century the ultimate unrepeatable hard identity seemed at hand with the fingerprint.

Soft identity by contrast, a matter of categorization rather than individuation, is a matter of belonging to certain groups, some with long traditions like religion and language (though some such groups as nation and race were at this time being hardened by objective physical criteria). Narrower identities were constructed and imposed in the name of power/knowledge, identities such as homosexual, hysteric, kleptomaniac, and juvenile delinquent. Some identities were permanent, others "curable". Then too there were larger social categories of class, its terminology well entrenched in Britain long before Marx's arrival. If hard identity presses toward maximum individuation and the unique, soft identity presses towards minimum individuation and the norm.

One category which seemed to defy the discourse of science and objectivity, which indeed owed at least some of its attraction to that very resistance, was the gentleman. Notoriously, the Victorian novel, made its fortune out of the ambiguities of this category. But I wish to consider "reality." The case of the Tichborne Claimant is that of a man who claimed to be Sir Roger Tichborne, long-lost head of a rich old English country family--and hence almost the definition of gentleman. Because the technology of hard identity was surprisingly backward in Victorian Britain, as the contest over his claim turned on his conformity to the

soft identity of gentleman, an identity over which at least two interests claimed custody. Unfortunately for the claimant, the one that was against him controlled the law.

Session Two: Information From the Empire Strikes Back

Melissa Valiska Gregory, "From Our Own Correspondents": The Authority of The Telegraph of the Indian Mutiny in *The London Times*

The Victorian periodical press largely sensationalized the Indian Mutiny of 1857, painting lurid scenes of Indian troops raping and murdering British citizens. But *The London Times* generally downplayed the sensational aspects of the Mutiny, reporting on 30 June 1857 that "the affair, deplorable as it is, exhibits none of the features of a concerted rebellion." Of course, the Indian Mutiny *was* in fact a "concerted rebellion" that drained British military resources, and *The Time's* persistent attempts to de-emphasize the Mutiny's violence constitute an attempt to affirm the authority of the British empire. This attempt, in turn, was enabled by the persuasive power of new information technology. I argue that *The Times* established its own narrative authority to reconstruct the Mutiny largely through effective use of the telegraph, presenting the public with information on the rebellion at a volume and rate no other Victorian periodical could afford. Once this narrative authority was thus secured, *The Times* seemed consciously intent on using that authority to bolster the legitimacy of the British imperial government by minimizing the Mutiny's sensationalist aspects.

The London Times was the first Victorian newspaper to use the telegraph consistently, and by 1847 it was the premiere authority in reporting news quickly. While other Victorian periodicals employed telegraph communication increasingly between 1855 and 1860, *The Times*, having the most money, could afford to use the telegraph most frequently, and spared no expense during the Mutiny: *Times* Manager Morris wrote to foreign correspondent W. H. Russell that "I have not yet been called on to pay the Indo-European bill for telegraphing; but I reckon that altogether we shall not get out of this job, for telegrams alone, under five thousand pounds." It was, however, one of those occasions on which it would never have done for us to have been content with moving neck and neck with the penny papers." In order to maintain its narrative and thus national authority, *The Times* drew attention to the technological resources at its disposal; the first news of the Indian Mutiny on 27 June 1857 was self-consciously touted as the "LATEST INTELLIGENCE (BY SUBMARINE AND BRITISH TELEGRAPH)." Further-more, most of the telegraph reports were directed toward convincing the public of the empire's security. Outstripping the competition by offering near-instantaneous and copious information on the Mutiny, *The Times* not only authorized its ability to survey the empire and keep abreast of developments within it, but it also advanced the interests of the British imperial government. At stake in this paper, then, is not only the specific issue of *The Time's* role as a national voice in foreign affairs, but also the role of technology in shaping the power of the popular press.

Paula Krebs, "Mafeking Night and the News"

When the news of the relief of Mafeking reached London at 9:30 p.m. on Friday 18 May 1900, thanks to the transatlantic cable and the Reuters News Agency, central London almost immediately filled with revelers. Thousands danced, drank, kissed and created general uproar, celebrating the end of the Boer War siege they had been following in daily newspaper reports for seven months. In what has been seen as perhaps the premier expression of crude public support of late-Victorian imperialism, Liverpool, Newcastle, Bir-mingham, York, and Glasgow rioted with fireworks, brass bands, and blasts on factory sirens. This celebration of empire was made possible by two new aspects of information-sharing in the Victorian Empire: the undersea cable that brought wire reports from South Africa daily and the new penny press, marked by the founding of the *Daily Mail* in 1896, that spread that daily news to thousands of households that had never before read a newspaper daily.

Some recent histories of Victorian imperialism have revised early readings of the significance of Mafeking night, arguing that the crowds may have been drawn not by enthusiasm for the British Empire but simply by a need for something to celebrate in a confusing and even depressing war. J. A. Hobson, whose *The Psychology of Jingoism* (1901) was one of the earliest attempts in England to explore crowd psychology, blamed the new popular press for imperialism:

> A large population, singularly destitute of intellectual curiosity, and with a low valuation for things of the mind, has during the last few decades been instructed in the art of reading printed words, without acquiring an adequate supply of infor-mation or any training in the reasoning faculties such as would enable them to give a proper value to the words they read. A

huge press has come into being for the purpose of supplying to this uneducated people. . . statements, true or false, designed to give passing satisfaction to. . . some lust of animalism. (*Psychology of Jingoism* 9-10)

For Hobson, despite his socialist leanings, and for other theorizers of the crown, imperial-frenzied mobs were a significant threat to middle-class Britain.

This paper will argue for a reexamination of the view that imperialism at the turn of the century was a matter of mob psychology and/or a hegemonic imperial ideology. The changing model of "public opinion" that emerged at the turn of the century was shaped by Hobson as well as by the penney press he hated. A focus on new aspects of information dissemination in the Empire allows us to problematize the definition of public opinion in late-Victorian Britain–what did public opinion mean to the British government? to the newly emerging penny press? to Hobson as an early theorist of both imperialism and ideology? What does it mean to contemporary cultural theorists concerned with both imperialism and the issue of the public sphere? The events of Mafeking Night can serve as an especially effective case study in which to examine both the role of new communications in the formation of public opinion about imperialism and the role of new communications in the formation of the concept of public opinion itself. Mafeking Night allows us to see these two aspects because it is both a significant cultural and political event and the center of a later debate in cultural history.

Leslie Williams, "Bad Press: Implications of British Reportage on the Irish Famine"

The impact of the potato blights of 1845-1849 on Ireland was widely reported in the newspapers and weeklies of the metropolitan area. But the capacity for information to give at least some degree of administrative unity to a far-flung empire failed the Irish in their need. The pre-existing context into which famine information fell was biased beforehand by a series of eye-witness reports in the *Illustrated London News* on the "The Condition of the People of Ireland" by Thomas Campbell Foster, whose anti-Irish sentiments were echoed in the pages of *The Times*. The defamation of the Irish in the press as filthy, feckless lying beggars reduced the image of the "sister island" to something which was compared unfavorably with the Kafirs and Esquimaux, popular knowledge of whom was also a matter of reportage in these empire minded periodicals.

This paper will discuss the problems of discourse under political and economic duress. Information here gives way to ideology. We will briefly consider the pre-famine reports by Foster as a construct and then turn to the treatment of famine reportage in three periodicals: *The Times, The Illustrated London News* and *The Edinburgh Review*. An initial reluctance to credit the serious nature of the potato failure is clearly seen. Further, there is a perceived need to verify by special correspondents and direct (Irish) reports from famine-struck districts. Reportage vacillates between positive, sympathetic treatments of the disaster and those negative, dismissive attitudes which prevail in support of the government's intransigent *laissez faire* policy.

An important part of the discourse includes the visual information conveyed by the illustrated and pictorial news weeklies. Within the sensibilities of Victorian visual conventions, a reading of the pictures as well as the text reveals a desire on the part of the newspapers to contrast an acceptable normalcy, especially when Irish behaviors mimic English standards, with an unacceptable abnormalcy when Irish circumstances exceed the limits of English taste, customs and manners. Additionally pictorial representations of the famine districts were sometimes offered as incontrovertible evidence of genuine suffering. A moral dilemma rises for the press in the written word between maintaining standards and expressing sympathetic support. Visual evidence allows for an alternative means of expression and discourse.

Session Three: Literature and Technology

Beth Sutton-Ramspeck, "A Photo's Worth A Dozen Novels? Mary Ward In the Turn-of-the Century Gaze"

Novelist Mary Augusta (Mrs. Humphry) Ward (1851-1920) was the subject of a range of photographs

and drawings that reflect her position as a transitional figure in a changing culture. In 1872, her wedding photos were taken by Oxford neighbor Charles Dodgson. Following the international success of *Robert Elsmere* in 1888, Ward posed for dozens of publicity shots that found their way into the popular press. Although Ward apparently attempted to use the camera to enhance her career, visual media more often undercut the power of her words and even made her a figure of fun.

By the time Ward married at age twenty, she was a foremost expert on medieval Spain and had been asked to write a book on Spain, an invitation she declined because of the impending wedding. Dodgson's wedding pictures show no such scholarly promise. The bride poses reclining, surrounded by little girl bridesmaids, and alone, her torso twisted like a Pre-Raphaelite "stunner's."

Later photographs, presumably publicity materials, emphasize her thoughtful, literary side. In an 1889 studio portrait, she rests her arms on a chair back and pensively contemplates a book. A 1913 snapshot taken by one of her daughters captures Ward and her friend Henry James deep in conversation as they stroll through the Wards' garden. In this portrait of elderly intellectuals, James, in spats, and carrying a cane, is speaking, while Ward, hand on chin, wearing a coat with a fur collar, listens thoughtfully. Still, what they mainly resemble is a rather portly old couple taking their constitutional. Nevertheless, this charming candid shot is more endearing than the professional poses commodifying the woman writer.

The Bookman's 1903 "Mrs. Humphry Ward Number," above all, illustrates the ways photojournalism could trivialize a novelist. Ward's full-length portrait graces the magazine's cover, while photos of the novelist, of "the scenes of her novels, and even of her study overshadow the adulatory but astonishingly bland text of the multi-page "profile". Ward has been reduced to a "personality." Following the profile, a photo essay on "The Scenes of Mrs. Humphry Ward's Novels," reduces the books to a series of landscapes. Throughout "The Mrs. Humphry Ward Number," the author looks stately, stiff, and a little forbidding. One misses the grace of the Dodgson poses.

Other portraits of the novelist show her as loyal British subject: dresses for presentation at Queen Victoria's drawing room in 1895, and twenty-two years later (when she was in her mid sixties), standing in front of the military vehicle that would carry her to the French Front. As an official propagandist, whose "Letters to an American Friend," commissioned by Teddy Roosevelt, have been credited with helping to bring the U.S. into the war, Ward was the first woman journalist to visit the Allied lines.

Such earnestness did not endear her to the younger generation, and in fact one of the better known images of Ward is a Max Beerbohm cartoon showing a small, pinafored "Miss Mary Augusta" lecturing her uncle Matthew Arnold: "Why, Uncle Matthew, oh why will not you be always wholly serious?" Ward even became a cover girl again in 1914, but this time the intent was to mock her anti-suffrage politics, for her crinolined caricature adorned the jacket of *Votes for Women* in 1914, representing attitudes of "fifty years ago."

Thus, photos designed to "sell" the writer managed only to trivialize her and her work, while more skillful practitioners of the visual successfully ridiculed her, often exploiting the image that her publicity photos had created. Ward's inability to control the medium that was invented in the nineteenth century but that would define the twentieth is one small portion of the reason the century forgot her.

Nancy Anne Marck and *Suzanne B. Falck-Yi*, "Why Send a Telegram When You Can Write a Letter Instead? Technology in Sherlock Holmes Detective Fiction"

At first, Arthur Conan Doyle's detective fiction appears to privilege innovation: telegrams accelerate the gathering of information, fingerprinting helps identify suspects, and scientific experiments speed detection. However, many Sherlock Holmes stories actually subvert this expectation, using technological innovations to slow down data collection or complicate the mystery.

Trains, of course, widen the geographical scope of Holmes's investigations, allowing him to travel to crime scenes or back to London more quickly than he otherwise could have. Likewise, in such stories as *A Study in Scarlet*, sending a cable to America means he can gather overseas information without waiting weeks for a reply by mail. However, improved technology imposes limitations; faster information transport cannot always be used. In "The Dancing Men," for example, the standardized train schedule limits Holmes's movements; though he is eager to travel to North Walsham at night, "his face haggard with

anxiety" about the most recent coded message from the American criminal Abe Slaney, the last train has just left in the evening, so he must wait to depart until the next morning–thus complicating the plot since Hilton Cubitt is murdered before Holmes can arrive on the scene to halt Slaney's activities. In other words, the technology lets him know there will be a crime, but prevents him from getting there soon enough to stop the murder, and is not advanced enough to allow him to telephone and warn the victim of the impending crime. In the same story, telegrams are sent with news about the secret code, and yet the actual code itself, which looks like stick figures doing semaphore, must be sent by a slower means, the mail, because the telegram's "higher" form of technology cannot reproduce non-standard characters. Its range of message-sending is limited.

For this conference paper, we will examine all Sherlock Holmes short stories, as well as *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and *A Study in Scarlet*, to evaluate the ways in which information technology (devices used for sending or collecting data), modern transportation systems (such as the trains), and the English mail complicate Holmes' process of detection.

Jude V. Nixon, "'Heart-break hearing a heart-broke rabble': Entropic Discourse in Gerard Manley Hopkins"

Nineteenth-century physicists as well as literary figures were intrigued by the relationship between energy and force, or heat converted to dynamics. Ilya Prigogine and Isabelle Stengers characterize their fascination this way:

> Fire transforms matter; fire leads to chemical reactions, to processes such as melting and evaporation. Fire makes fuel burn and releases heat. Out of all this common knowledge, nineteenth-century science concentrated on the single fact that combustion produces heat and that heat may lead to an increase in volume; as a result, combustion produces work. Fire leads, therefore, to a new kind of machine, the heat engine, the technological innovation on which industrial society has been founded. (Order 103)

Alfred North Whitehead saw in Victorian attraction to transition and change reasons for why the first law and evolution remained the "pair of new ideas to be ascribed to this epoch" (147). I. Bernard Cohen and Joe Burchfield saw energy as the "primary concern" of late-nineteenth-century scientists and philosophers (362, 13), while Prigogine and Stengers felt that the nineteenth century "made dynamics the basis of a conception of the world" ("Postface" 148). Gillian Beer observed that "(above all) the laws of thermodynamics were transforming Victorian perceptions" ("Helmholtz" 118). Susan Cannon concluded that "other things than God's energy were thought of as being conserved" (127), and Erwin Hiebert saw thermodynamics placing its stamp not only on science, but also on "social and political thought, psychology, literature, history, philosophy, and religion" (1052). Recognizing the ways Victorians conceived barterable exchanges of money and goods thermodynamically (as Balfour Stewart, for instance, arguing that if the sun does not contain supplies of energy, and must borrow it from without, it is like a man whose "expenditure exceeds his income. He is living upon his capital"), Nicholas Georgescu-Rogen acknowledged the theory as a "physics of economic value" (8).

Mid-nineteenth-century scientists advanced simultaneously and independently the theory of energy conservation. Jean Fourier's *Analytical Theory of Heat* (1822) preceded Sadi Carnot's *Reflections on the Motive Power of Heat* (1824), the latter arguing connections between industrial technology and power through a fascination with the steam engine. Carnot espoused the first law of thermodynamics, the mechanical, transformative equivalence of heat and work. In any caloric exchange, temperature remains constant and no heat is lost; equilibrium is maintained because the sum of energy remains constant. This indestructible quality of force or energy constitutes *vis viva*, living or kinetic force (as opposed to stationary force, i.e. gravity). Carnot also connected the rise of mist and the fall of rain to motive power, because in evaporation heat initiates changes in volume and form. Whenever change occurs–either from solid to liquid or from liquid to gas–heat is always absorbed. But it was the Manchester (Salford) native James Prescott Joule who pressed the exchanges between heat and work, arguing convincingly the nature of conversion processes. Joule insisted that "wherever living force is *apparently* destroyed, an equivalent is produced which in process of time may be reconverted into living force"; nothing, he concluded, is ever lost: "The same quantity of heat will always be converted into the same quantity of living force" (269-71).

But it was Hermann von Helmholtz who

benefited most from existing conservation theories. Like Carnot, Helmholtz based his theoretical study of heat on practical concerns with the steam engine. He attempted to move the theory of thermodynamics from "human utility" to "a universal natural law" that "rules", "embraces", and "expresses" a perfectly general and particularly characteristic property of all natural forces" ("Conservation" 316). Helmholtz's "gospel of energy" (Gillepsie's term) declares that a portion of heat in the form of velocity is converted to work. In other words, heat and work are "quantitatively interchangeable" (Kuhn 321) or "quantitatively immutable" (Tyndall, *Fragments*, 2:358). "The universe," according to Helmholtz, "possesses, once for all, a store of force which is not altered by any change of phenomena, can neither be increased nor diminished" ("Conservation" 306-7).

Conservation advocates that "the store of force at present existing as heat, or as what may become heat, is sufficient for an immeasurable time" ("Interaction" 168), reserved in what Thomson has called the "great storehouse of creation." Thomson even established a timetable. He estimated that the sun must produce either more, or not substantially less, than "20,000 years' heat." He assumed that the sun was created "an active source of heat at some time of not immeasurable antiquity" and was "sensibly warmer one million years ago than now." Thus, positing energy dissipation as an irreversible process, Thomson warned that earth's inhabitants "cannot continue to enjoy the light and heat essential to their life, for many million years longer, unless sources now unknown to us are prepared in the great storehouse of creation" (391-3). Although providing some assurances that our continuance on earth is relatively secured, Helmholtz hastily reminded us that the supply of energy is exhaustible: "it permits a long but not an endless existence: it threatens it with a day of judgement, the dawn of which is still happily obscured" (Interaction" 170-1).

Carnot's cycle–that with every caloric transfer, energy becomes degraded–implicitly assumed the second law, the so-called "heat-death" of the universe. Thus "entropy", popularized by Rudolf Clausius in 1865 to explain the relationship between conservation and reversibility, denotes the directional flow of heat from warmer to colder bodies and with it the consumption of thermal energy; the universe becomes exhausted when it reaches maximum entropy, that is, when it literally runs out of energy. In the production of work, Clausius insisted, "a proportionate quantity of heat" is expended (77). Clausius reconciled Carnot's notion of undiminished heat to Joule's proportional diminishing of heat during work, concluding that both laws, given the unrecoverability of dissipated energy, are equally valid.

Hopkins was attracted to thermal processes. His entire apocalyptic picture is nineteenth-century. Concluding his celebrated essay, "On a universal Tendency in Nature to the Dissipation of Mechanical Energy," William Thomson finds that present in the material world is "a universal tendency to the dissipation of mechanical energy," and, like Hopkins's sibyl, predicts that "within a finite period of time to come the earth must again be unfit for the habitation of man as at present constituted" (306). A decade later, in his essay "On the Age of Sun's Heat," Thomson again insisted that the second law of thermodynamics is based on a *irreversible action in nature*, implying that "although mechanical energy is *indestructible*, there is a universal tendency to is dissipation," which leads, among other things, to the "diffusion of heat, cessation of motion, and exhaustion of potential energy through the material universe." Inevitably, the condition, Thomson concludes, becomes one of "universal rest and death." Similarly, Hopkins predicts that "our evening is over us; our night whelms, whelms, and will end us." In these lines apparent celestial harmony–the star's "Fire-featuring heaven"–contrasts terrestrial chaos; earth's inscape is disfigured, its dappleness diminished, and the self becomes indistinct: "her being's unbounded" and "self in self steeped and pashed." Indelibly inscribed on the pages of nature is a bleak sibylline oracle proclaiming our fate: "black,/Ever so black." This condition is not one of piedness–our former "skeined stained veined variety"–but dissolution and conflict between "flocks" and "folds". And within this polarization ("black, white; right, wrong"), things negate and jointly immolate each another ("these two tell, each off the other"), including the intellectual warfare of "thoughts" in civil conflict with "thoughts in groans grind."

Hopkins's metaphors are frequently ones of thermodynamics. Thus, to read satisfactorily many of his poems requires a keen observation of the ways the laws of thermodynamics are applied. The question remains, however, the extent to which he employed metaphors of energy, and what can be derived from their repetition and diffusion. Significant to his poetry are the diverse ways tropes comprising nineteenth-century entropic discourse are employed. Attentive

always to scientific trends and an avowed advocate of a dynamic universe, Hopkins could not ignore a science influencing every phase of nineteenth-century culture, from economics, to political hegemony, to religion. But while critics have acknowledged the linguistic energy of his poetry, none (except Gillian Beer) has probed his interest in the relationship between heat and motive power, and especially how theories of thermal physics speak to personal identity, aesthetics, aging, and more importantly, Divine instressing of the world. Hopkins's metaphors evidence not simply another nineteenth-century popularization of thermodynamics. Rather, they reveal more meaningful levels of discourse in which literature and science operate. As joint cultural expressions, literature and science not only influence and are influenced by culture but also catch light and draw flame from each other. "Heart-break hearing a heart-broke rabble": Entropic Discourse in Gerard Manley Hopkins" reads such poems as *The Wreck of The Deutschland*, "Spelt from Sibly Leaves," and "Hearaclitean Fire" as expressions of grave concern with nineteenth-century entropy.

Christine Bucher, "A Man Alone: Imperialism and Science in H.G.Wells's *The Island of Dr. Moreau"*

H. G. Wells's 1896 novel *The Island of Dr. Moreau* presents a narrative saturated with the concerns of British metropolitan anxieties; the tale employs the rhetorics of Darwinism, humanism, science, art, class, and imperialism. These concerns are figured through Wells's use of space in presenting the Island to the reader; the novel creates the Island and its inhabitants within the tropes of metropolitan England. This can be explained by the critic as the creation of a microcosmic world within which Moreau performs a scientific-social "morality play"; I would like to suggest that the nature and use of space itself becomes one of the categories of cultural debate emerging through the novel. *The Island of Dr. Moreau* produces one strand of discourse on the relation of Empire to the world it governs–how the space of difference could be negotiated across distances of space, class, and race; furthermore, Wells figures this negotiation in terms of science and the progress of man. Just as Moreau's scientific activities offer visions of progress and degeneration, the space of and in the island figures conflicting discourses about the space of empire, both at home and abroad. Through his spatial construction of Moreau's island, Wells presents the social problems of Empire at home and abroad within the rhetoric of vision understandable to his metropolitan readers. Through this spatial construction, Wells incorporates imperial space into the discourse of Empire.

Cartography and geography advanced as sciences throughout the Victorian era, with not only improved transportation technologies, but also with the increase in imperialism which made exact, comprehensive knowledge of territories and colonies imperative to their retention and administration. Geography's role, then, was practical and ideological, meant to fix and determine–to create as stable, known entities–the land and people (cities, towns) of the colony. Given this purpose, location–the geographic fact–(as) an attribute of discrete entities in the real world. The geometric expression...is never ambiguous; each place exists in only one location" (Edney, "Cartography Without Progress" *Cartographica* 30, 1-2). Space, then, emerges as an essential category; it exists, empirically verifiable, regardless of any other variable; moreover, mapped places are unique, single, discrete. Space can, in this positivistic view, become independent of any other variable. Thus there could be no ambiguity about the properly drawn map; geographic work guaranteed useful maps and knowledge about land. Scientifically conceptualized, space was merely a backdrop to imperialism and its history.

As Paul Carter points out in *The Road to Botany Bay*, however, this use of space inherently reflects an imperialist bias: space becomes only a backdrop to the heroic and historic Empire. Rather, Carter argues, space is itself an actor; and through its creation in pictorial and linguistic representations, new lands and spaces can be made legible to the readers' notions of landscape, place, and society. In his study *Fields of Vision*, Stephen Daniels notes that landscape painting helped the imperial nation "see" itself. By producing alien spaces within the familiar epistemological terms of vision, texts helped colonize the new spaces of the globe. Moreau's island replicates the class and imperial structure of metropolitan England. Wells thus offers a meditation on the place of the Other (both the poor and the racialized Other) vis-a-vis science and legislature. Unlike the explorer's reports Carter uses, *Moreau* has no basis in fact, but the spatial construction of the Island offers the possibilities for colonial space. Wells presents one construction of space as an actor in the colonialist theater.

The Island of Dr. Moreau clearly sets out an alternative vision of the world based on the problems of the contemporary world. Moreau claims as his goal

the creation of a perfect human creature out of non-human ones; his science, directed towards progress, will re-form society through rationalist science. In his disregard for "Nature," Moreau distorts the Linnean grid of species, creating ambiguity reflective of the Island's defiance of a clear location. Moreau's activities with vivisection–grafting one anomal type onto another to create a third "beast"–precisely disrupts the goals of science, the elimination of ambiguity. Ambiguity, then, becomes the threat to progress, but also its control, the necessary limit to unfettered knowledge that ignores the suffering of animals and men. *The Island of Dr. Moreau* introduces ambiguity as a check to positivism. Wells's use of the degeneration of the ordered, scientific world presents a cautionary tale of the social construction of Others.

Thus, I would like to read *The Island of Dr. Moreau* in the context of imperial and social anxiety figured through discourse of colonial space. The geographical vastness and variety of the British empire created problems for those who tried to imagine it; the challenge for a spatial knowledge of empire lay in figuring the distant spaces of the other to the metropole. Wells incorporates the alien land and people into the epistemological structure of England through the structuring knowledges of the metropole itself. *The Island of Dr. Moreau* presents space as one way of knowing the Other; the construction of a distant colonial land as analogous to the urban space of the metropole works as one way of incorporating the Other. I would also argue that Wells found this available discourse unsatisfactory, as indicated by the isolation of the hero at the close of the novel. Prendick rejects all humans and looks to the stars as the source of reason. This escape from humanity to pure reason mirrors Moreau's rationality, indicating a new discourse about the Other spaces of Empire needs to be invented.

Session Five: Industrial Art and Industrial Decline

Thomas Prasch, "Exhibitionary Complex As Information System: Staving Off Industrial Decline at South Kensington"

At mid-century, a time conventionally associated with English industrial primacy, those Englishmen who had concerned themselves with the state of artistic design predicted not a rosy future but a vision of impending decline. As T. Milner Gibson put it: "British manufacturers, to a great degree, have a preference in foreign markets, but competition is already successfully established, and extending itself both at home and abroad, and the success of the rivalry will be found in many instances to consist much more in the superiority of the decorative design than of any other characteristic." In precisely that characteristic, Gibson conceded, the English lagged behind their continental competitors. The shared concern with the lack of artistry in English industrial production underpinned repeated attempts to reform the state-sponsored Schools of Design in the late 1840s.

The future of English design was a central concern of the circle grouped around Henry Cole, a group whose efforts included reforming the Schools of Design as well as mounting the Great Exhibition of 1851. Again, while the Crystal Palace is often taken by historians as a signal of English triumphalism, its message to contemporaries was more dire. As the *Spectator* put it in its review of the goods gathered beneath the celebrated glass-and iron roof, "What, finally, are the art-teachings of the Great Exhibition? . . . Its chief lesson. . . is the chaotic condition of the civilized mind in respect to canon of taste." Cole echoed these views, focusing especially on the deficiencies of English art manufacture. In his plans for the further development of the South Kensington site, Cole sought to establish new principles for the promotion of artistic design.

In the consolidation of the exhibitionary complex (as Tony Bennett has termed it) at the South Kensington site–the combination of periodic international exhibitions (1851, 1862, 1871-74), the development of permanent museums devoted to both arts and sciences (the South Kensington Museum–later Victoria and Albert, museums devoted to patents, practical geology, science, natural history, Indian art, and English art), a reformed School of Design among other schools (e.g. for music, needlework, domestic economy)–Cole and his circle sought to confront this threat to English industrial primacy through what Cole termed "systematic information." Their aim was to combine the education of English taste (through exhibitions) with the training of English artisans in the principles of design (through a combination of exhibitions of exemplary models and training in basic principles) while simultaneously convincing English manufacturers of the profitability of artistic design (through promoting such work at exhibitions and reviewing it in the pages of *The Journal of Design*). In their view, dissemination of information (equated with

protection of ideas through reformed copyright and the economic principle of trade) offered almost utopian possibilities: generally improved taste, greatly reformed city planning, higher employment, secure foundations for progressive industrialism, and even improved morals and the potential for world peace. This paper will examine in detail the program of Cole and his circle, with particular attention to the role of information and the threat of decline.

Patrick Brantlinger, "Industrial Art"

[Ed.: *We have left in most of the otherwise odd references that MVSA members have come to know and love and refer to as "Patricisms"*]

It's with a lot of semi-guilt, semi-trepidation, and semi-melancholy [Ed: *and also semi-otics?*] that I herewith submit a paper proposal for the next MVSA meeting. Or maybe it's with arrogant insouciance?

Anyway I wasn't going to submit a proposal–not for a conference held in my own bailiwick (sp?–or is it basilisk?) and which I am helping locally to organize. ... But enough self-pitying overture [Ed: *Ah, those pregnant Victorian ellipses! Only Patrick and your editor will ever know what has been omitted!*]:

Here's the proposal: a slide-illustrated paper on the concept (and brief history of that concept) of "Industrial Art." This oxymoronic yet familiar phrase originates in the nineteenth century, in Britain during the 1830s, when (a) the French began to compete with the British aesthetically in textile manufacturing via the jacquard loom, which was a weaving equivalent of the earliest "computer," i.e., Babbage's "differential engine"; and (b) Benthamites in Parliament, in cahoots (as usual) with the rising manufacturing interest, called for and conducted Parliamentary hearings on the aesthetic properties of British manufactures (especially textiles), which they held to be inferior to French "industrial design" (a synonym for "industrial art").

The upshot of the Parliamentary hearings in the 1830s was the establishment of publicly funded "Schools of Design," which were to improve the aesthetic qualities of British manufactures. A key figure through the hearings, who was in charge of the early Schools of Design, was Henry Cole (later, Sir H.C.), who was also a key figure in projecting and seeing through to completion the Great Exhibition of 1851. The well-known "Art Catalogue" of the Exhibition carries the subtitle of "Art Manufactures," and the Exhibition itself purported to display "The Arts and Industries of All Nations." It was the Exhibition, perhaps more than the Schools of Design, which finally put the concept of "Industrial Art" on the intellectual map of Victorian Britain (and Europe, and North America).

Sir Henry Cole is of some interest also because he was the model for the fact-minded visitor to Mr. Gradgrind's Benthamite schoolroom in the first chapter of Dickens's *Hard Times*. And he is said also to have been the inventor of that very Dickensian, very Victorian piece of modern "information culture," the Christmas card.

I will say some things about, and illustrate via slides, the differences between the training students received in the "industrial arts" Schools of Design and the students who aspired to be "fine" artists, especially via the Royal Academy. I expect
also to say some things about aesthetic theory in the proliferation of texts, especially in the late 1840s through the 1850s, focused on "industrial design" and on "architectural ornament," before turning to the best-known opponents of industrialism (and therefore of the entire notion of "industrial art")–namely, Ruskin, Morris, and the Arts and Crafts movement in the late 19th and into the 20th centuries. I will also connect my argument to some 20th-century ideas about "mechanical reproduction" versus "fine art," especially via Walter Benjamin's well-known essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," but maybe also with a (brief) coda about "mass culture" in our "postmodern condition."

The history of the Schools of Design, in connection with "industrial art," has been told by Nicholas Pevsner and others, but seems not to be very familiar to most Victorianists. The phrase "industrial art" is a fascinating (apparent) oxymoron that I have been puzzling about ever since the research that I did, back in the 1970s, for *Bread and Circuses*. And since "mass culture" (either culture for the masses, or mass-produced culture, or both) continues to be a major topic in my teaching of Victorian Studies as well as of (contemporary, postmodern) Cultural Studies, it's one that seems central to me in thinking about modernity and now postmodernity as the ultimate manufactured article of the Industrial Revolution.

Perhaps "mass culture" (or "mechanical production, " or "industrial art") would have been a topic that might have lured more paper proposals for the next MVSA than "information culture," but there are connections among all these oxymoronic phrases. Oh, well. The young guys here at IU think "information culture" is at least as jazzy (I suppose I

mean "cutting edge") as "industrial art," though I think the difference between these phrases is negligible.

Not to wax too insouciant, when I was high school in Indianapolis (Shortridge, ra ra!), I took a class called "Industrial Arts," familiarly known as "Shop." We did everything from sawing out little two-foot-long "book cases" that could hold about two books and tiny wooden table lamps that nearly electrocuted you if you actually tried to turn one on (mine, at least) to typesetting. We also were required to glance at, once a week or so, a 1950s equivalent (maybe it was the identical journal) of *Autoworld* (or was it *Hotwheels*?) Along with a class in "Mechanical Drawing," this was my high school introduction to "industrial art."

Coda: I really did not intend to give a paper at the next MVSA. [Ed: *Yeah, sure.*]

Session Six: Print Matters

Kevin Ray, "Sweetness and Light: Illustration and the (Re)production of Nostalgia in the 19th Century Book"

The history of 19th century book illustration is the story of the search for an ever more perfect and more direct medium of reproduction, gradually eliminating the layers of artisans between the artist and the finished page, from the steel engravings of Cruikshank and Phiz early in the century through the reemergence of woodcut in the form of wood engraving to lithography and chromolithography to the increasing use of photography. By century's end, the photograph, offered what seemed to some the perfect, nearly unimpeding medium for artistic expression, eliminating the intercessions of engravers and artisans: the eye's triumph over the hand. In photography, the artist's "pure vision" could be discovered and, perhaps more importantly, readily reproduced within a test, as advances made it possible to produce typographically compatible plates, merging text and image into a single reproductive process.

Yet technology ran counter to the developing aesthetic theories and to the unfolding trends of high art and low. In an ever more mechanized age, the hand-crafted, the unique, the anciently-done underwent a renaissance, a revaluation. Both Pater and the Arts and Crafts Movement set themselves against the new age, reclaiming for a luxuriant market processes that had once been commonplace for all production. Aesthetics experienced itself as nostalgia, and merged a hatred of industrialized life and its cheapened products with the moral injunction to purity and simplicity. This paper examines the reversals and ironies of the physical production of nostalgia in the age of progress.

Patrick Leary, "A Victorian "Virtual Community": Notes and Queries, 1849-1860"

The notion of a "virtual community" has become familiar to us as part of our own time's information revolution–an active community "imagined" (as Benedict Anderson would have it) by its members without reference to geographical boundaries, and defined by the kind and level of discourse taking place within it. Yet the Internet communities that thrive by the exchange of texts on e-mail groups and bulletin boards have precedents that stretch back to the no less profound information revolution of Victorian Britain. Of these perhaps none provides a more illuminating example than the astonishing success of the weekly periodical *Notes and Queries*, the first British magazine written entirely by its own readers.

The brainchild of antiquarian William Thomas (the man who would later coin the word "folklore"), *Notes and Queries* was conceived from the beginning as what its subtitle proclaimed, a "medium of inter-commu-nication" for literary men, genealogists, antiquarians, and enthusiastic hobbyists and pedants of all kinds, from all over Britain. Begun in 1849, this "medium" was made possible by recent developments in communication (railways, the Penny Post, advances in steam printing) as well as by an accompanying shift in ways of thinking about the nature of information and of information-exchange, a shift to which N&Q made its own distinct contribution.

Drawing on the texts of the periodical's first ten years, as well as on records left by its most prominent contributors, this paper explores the peculiar dynamics of N&Q as a community defined by the public exchange–and, indeed, the construction--of information during a pivotal period in Britain's evolution as an information society.

James J. Barnes, "Stereotyping and Remaindering as Exploited by Thomas Tegg During the First Half of Nineteenth Century"

One of the major technological changes in printing evolved over the decades of late 18th and

early 19th century Britain. Based on plaster-of-paris moulds, these stereotype metal plates allowed the printing of many editions of a work, without keeping the moveable type standing. It also facilitated the sale of a work and its plates to another publisher.

Early in the 19th century, Thomas Tegg began his own bookselling, auctioneering and publishing business in London. He came to recognize the potential for a mass reading public based on cheaper reissuing of books which had ceased to sell. He bought up the "dead stock" or "remainders" of his fellow publishers, he purchased the copyrights of works which were left over in publishers' warehouses, he abridged out-of-copyright works, all with a view of selling them at remarkably low prices.

For example, when Sir Walter Scott's publisher went bankrupt in 1826, Tegg purchased each leftover work for one shilling and sold it again, under his own imprint, for 3s. 6d. Many of these original titles would have sold for 31s. 6d. Also, in 1829 Tegg bought up all of the remaining copies of Murray's Family Library, some 100,000, and managed to dispose of them cheaply in a short time.

Tegg estimated that by 1840 he had issued some 4,000 books, some of which were original publications, and the rest remainders. He became a wealthy man by the time he died in 1845. More to the point, he had pioneered the way for others to exploit a growing and mass market.

In terms of our conference theme on information and entropy, I would suggest this. The wider and cheaper distribution of publications clearly played a role in the diffusion of knowledge. In many instances a prerequisite for low prices was the availability of stereotype plates. The very fact that contemporary journeyman printers felt they were being put out of work by such technology, is a testimony to its impact. What appeared to some as a degeneration of traditional labor practices was a form of commercial entropy, with its creation of new opportunities.

Session Seven: Imprinting Women

Cynthia Ellen Patton, "No Nice Ways: *The Girl's Own Paper* and Information about Women's Employment, 1880-1890"

In a recent article published in *The Girl's Own: Cultural Histories of the Anglo-American Girl*, Sally Mitchell explored the change in late-Victorian cultural attitudes toward young women and work that occurred in the single generation, between 1880 and 1905. One of the sources Mitchell used to document this striking shift in ideology was the *Girl's Own Paper*, that most famous of all late-Victorian magazines for young female readers. In this paper, I would like to return to the first decade of the *GOP* and to the models and advice about work that, at the beginning of this cultural upheaval, it offered its mixed audience of young women–schoolgirls and household servants; the struggling new poor and the New Woman in short skirts. My primary interest, unlike Mitchell's, is in the correspondence columns where the *GOP*'s male editor (sometimes with the anonymous help of his wife) answered letters sent to him by girls who hoped for encouragement and practical help in finding satisfying, remunerative work. In these columns, I see traces of one of those vexed questions about the relationship between information and entropy that this conference will investigate.

In the 1880s the *GOP*'s editor, Charles Peters, clearly believed that in the wrong (usually middle-class) hands any solid information about work by which young women could support themselves outside the home–could lead daughters to pursue a frivolous or selfish personal ambition at the expense of their duties at home and the obedience they properly owed to their parents. As Peters wrote to such a correspondent in the 31 December 1881 issue of the *GOP*, he knew of no "nice ways" of earning a living. But it was impossible to withhold all information about work opportunities from the readers of the *GOP*'s correspondence columns, for, as the same columns indicate, at the same time that he wished to convince girls from what he believed to be comfortable homes into giving up their ambitions of work, Peters also felt a responsibility to help his working-class and newly impoverished correspondents find the work that they needed to keep body and soul--or, better yet, family–together in increasingly hard times. Still, "all situations are now very difficult to obtain," as Peters wrote to a correspondent in the issue of 4 March 1882, and that unpleasant truth had to be repeated ever more frequently as the decade wore on.

Despite continued moral and practical discouragement, throughout the 1880s girls went on writing to their trusted Editor, seeking advice on every kind of work-related subject from selling needlework to competing for Post Office clerkships. My paper will examine the verbal clues by which the *GOP* tried to

direct its badly-needed advice and information about work to one group of young women while simultaneously trying to keep the same advice and information out of he hands of another group. The context I wish to provide for the correspondence columns is the reasons for the trust that the *GOP*'s readers had in the magazine as a reliable source of information about the work they hoped to find. Despite its own internal contradictions on the subject of women's proper work, in the end the *GOP* and its editor deserved that trust: the correspondence columns in the 1880's became a valuable clearinghouse for information about the kinds of safe, economically secure work available to young women of all classes.

Kathleen Walkup, "Nothing More Than An Artisan– Women and Technology in the Burgeoning Printing Trades"

An unattributed column published in *The British and Colonial Printer and Stationer* in 1897 quotes extensively from an opinionated essay by Miss Emily Hill about women as printers. In that article Miss Hill writes, "Composing, that is the setting up of type for printing, is often regarded as a sort of half-way house between industrial and higher grade occupations." Miss Hill goes on to state that the compositor is "nothing more than an artisan," and suggests that many other trades require higher intelligence than that of printing.

This often romantic alignment of the printing trade with the "higher occupations" was one factor in the attempt by Victorian feminists to place middle-class women in gainful employment as compositors in the printing trades. The desirability of this work, especially in the composing room where physical strength was not a factor, was often viewed through the lens of a genteel idealism. This was introduced partly as a consequence of the craft legacy after four centuries of a small but, thanks to the artifactual content of their work, visible and enduring presence of women printers. For example, in 1886 the author Phoebe Hanaford extolled the accomplishments of women in the printing trades alongside those of women inventors, scientists, artists, lawyers and preachers. No other trade was acknowledged in this illustrious grouping.

The work was further dignified by the assumption that a degree of learnedness or at least a modest level of literacy was required for entrance into it, although, as Miss Hill and others pointed out, manual dexterity was in most instances the more important skill. Literacy in the mid-nineteenth century was at a high rate for both men and women, but it was still an effective means of providing one measure of class division, and the literate middle-class woman perceived her reading and writing abilities as a means towards a better situation. By elevating the compositing trade to genteel level, that goal could be attained.

In the printing trades each new technological advance forced the male dominated trade unions to examine what constituted skilled labor. With each development women moved toward more de-skilled labor. Meanwhile, employers who on the surface might appear to be championing a woman's right to work were in fact seeking ways to pay lower wages to their manual laborers. The arena of compositing provided an especially clear example of gender struggles over labor, as the powerful male unions struggled to keep both women employees and the inevitable mechanization of typesetting at bay. The advent of the Linotype in the 1880's caused a fundamental crisis in this gender division within the trade.

By the end of the century, trade journals were still full of vituperative attacks on women's aptitude for typesetting, despite the singular success of women compositors in Edinburgh and the long-standing presence of the Women's Printing Society, founded in 1876. In fact in 1892 Jane Pyne, of William Morris' Kelmscott Press, was the sole woman member of the London Society of compositors.

This paper will examine the relationship of these various factors of gender, class, and economics on the women who became nothing more than artisans in the burgeoning printing trades.

Session Eight:Tourism and Train Travel

Christine Bolus-Reichert, "Mid-Victorian Railway Guidebooks"

The rapidity with which railway travel displaced romantic paradigms of travel can be attributed in part to the aggressive distribution of railway guidebooks by representatives of the great rail companies and other amateur enthusiasts. George Measom's *Official Illustrated Guide to the North-Western Railway* (1859) provides a direct example of this shifting touristic practice. Calling himself a "railway topographer," Measom instructs his audience in the "many years'

toil" which the work has required and the "many remote places explored" in the acquisition of information for the guide. Although this Preface partakes of the conventions of the travel narrative, the volume is dedicated to the Marquis of Chando and his colleagues the Directors of the London and North-Western Railway. Measom's promotion of the company does not overshadow the Guide's function as a travelogue, as much as it structures the presentation of its attractions. Including in his tour only those sights available from the stations along the London and North-Western Railway, Measom proves his assertion that the "Railways have, to a great extend, created the traffic on which they depend for their success" (1). Towns and villages not located along the route of the speeding train will disappear from the map; the railroad, Measom enthuses, has the power to raise and destroy whole communities. Unlike the traveller of two hundred or one hundred years before, the railway traveller is guided not only by the visual directions of the "topographer"-narrator, but is held to his course by the "iron road."

Edward Churton's *Railroad Book of England* (1851) represents even more graphically the redrawing of the map of the nation. As a compilation of "cities, towns, country seats, and other subjects of local interest" this railway guide encompasses all the "Lines" in the Kingdom. Placed in relation to the center at London, all routes are spatially defined in terms of their heading from the metropolis. The reader of *Churton's Railroad Book* is "in all cases supposed to be sitting with his face towards the engine" looking from the window to the book, "the inside marginal columns representing the 'Line,' the left page showing the objects found to the left, the right page to the right of the road." A simulation of the compartment in the train, the guide instructs the traveller where to look, and when. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, in *The Railway Journey*, singles out the "multiplication of visual impressions" as the most "stressful" quality of the new mode of travel (57). A guidebook like Churton's would prepare the viewer in advance for what he or she would be able to see, thus reducing the stress of the traveller. The inside marginal columns mark stopping points, places where the gaze can rest. The left and right pages warn the reader in advance of upcoming landmarks: all are seen from a distance–as Schivelbusch writes, the foreground had to be eliminated in order for the landscape to be reconstituted as whole, as a panorama with "the tendency to see the discrete indiscriminately" (61). It may be considered the beginning of travel as spectatorship.

A compilation of stations and sights, and a picturesque tour, the popular guidebook democratized travel, making the exclusive available to anyone who would look out the window of a moving train. The attitude of famous commentators like Ruskin toward this change is well-known; less thoroughly considered is the contribution of railway guidebooks to the burgeoning information culture which was reordering Victorian social life. The guidebook did not represent an immediate break with old paradigms of travel; rather it offered itself as a bridge between the leisurely, intensive study of the countryside and the indiscriminate perception of the picture through the window. Guidebooks also contributed to the systematization of geographical space which was already taking place, easing travellers into the enclosed, measured, and discovered space of rail travel. What some commentators feared was perhaps brought to fruition in the pages of Measom's and Churton's guides: their descriptions and picturesque engravings have among them a peculiar uniformity. One place may be easily substituted for another, eliminating, in this process of cross-fertilization, any need for what lays beyond the sign of the train.

Robert W. Richardson, "'You press in button, We do the rest': Tourism and Amateur Photography in Late-Victorian Britain"

When H.G. Wells's Time Traveler bemoans the lack of preparedness with which he has undertaken his expedition, his regret becomes momentarily singular: "If only I had thought of a Kodak! I could have flashed that glimpse of the Underworld in a second, and examined it at leisure" (H.G. Wells, *Selected Short Stories*, 52). The traveler's instinctive desire to "snap" photographic images, however, has only just emerged by the time that Wells publishes his short story. The last decades of the 19th century mark the pivotal explosion of photography into a domain of more than a small assortment of professionals and keen amateurs. Technical advances in photography, culminating in the first mass-marketed portable cameras by George Eastman, allow commercial photographic equipment retailers to reach a broad segment of middle-class consumers. By this time, 19th century developments in transportation technology, such as the train and the steam-driven sea vessel, have already produced a new and fully formed tourist industry.

In the context of a more extensive commercialization of the time spent away from work, the activity of travel photography occupies a peculiar nexus in which the ambivalent experiential possibilities offered by technology and leisure intersect. Too often, this intersection is treated in a narrowly binary fashion: either the technology of leisure, such as the snapshot camera, offers the promise of release from an everyday life that has become heavily regimented by the requirements of labor; or the spread of this technology into "free time" forces leisure to conform to the alienating rhythm of the machine. A clearer understanding of the ambivalences at work here requires an examination of the late 19th century discourses on both travel and photography, as well as an interrogation of the specific epistemological and experiential transformations generated by each.