MIDWEST VICTORIAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

www.midwestvictorian.org

Summer 2007 Newsletter

Edited by Alisa Clapp-Itnyre

Executive Committee: Officers: Linda K. Hughes/President (English, 2007-9); Tom Prasch/Vice-President and President-Elect (History, 2007-9); Julie Melnyk/Treasurer (English, 2006-8); Alisa Clapp-Itnyre/Executive Secretary (English, 2007-9); Kirsten Parkinson/Web Coordinator (English, 2007-9); Members-at-Large: Patrick Leary (History, 2007-11), Anne Helmreich (Art, 2004-8), James Murphy (English, 2004-8), Christina Bashford (Music, 2007-11).

2007 CONFERENCE: "Entertainment & the Marketplace, or, How the Victorians Were Amused" University of Illinois, C-U

The Thirtieth-First Annual MVSA Meeting was held once again on the lovely campus of the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Thanks to the untiring work of conference chairs Nicholas Temperley, Walter Arnstein, and Christina Bashford, 45 attendees enjoyed wonderful meals in the Illini Union and several opportunities unique to this conference: a Victorian Musical Evening, arranged by Christina Bashford, music faculty and presented by university music students; and the unveiling of a four-month-long exhibit in the University Library's Rare Book and Manuscript Library of "Victorian Entertainments" showcasing theatrical, musical, and sports-related items from the University's collections as prepared by Nicholas, Christina, and Walter, respectively. You can find an online version of this excellent exhibit at www.library.uiuc.edu/rbx/exhibits.htm. Conference-goers also enjoyed panels on some understudied yet fascinating aspects of Victorian entertainment, including the magic-lantern show, women and dance, and execution-as-entertainment. Our keynotes were outstanding, visually-complete, and engaging talks on the Faerie phenomenon in Victorian culture presented by Tracy Davis, our first Stedman Lecture, and on the private life of Benjamin Disraeli presented by William Kuhn.

See the end of this newsletter for all abstracts, and also a form to renew your membership so as to be included in our upcoming on-line Membership Directory and all MVSA mailings. (I thank the Humanities and Fine Arts Division at Indiana University East for financial assistance in the printing and mailing of this newsletter.)

I encourage everyone to attend our 2008 conference and ask you to please hang the enclosed flier in your departments.

--Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, Executive Secretary

Unexplored Empire

MVSA 32nd Annual Conference

Essex Inn, Chicago, April 18-20, 2007

--CALL FOR PAPERS--

The Thirty-Second Annual **Midwest Victorian Studies Association** meeting will be held at the Essex Inn, conveniently located in downtown Chicago near theatres and museums. Our local arrangers are Larry Poston and Jim Sack, both of the University of Illinois, Chicago; and Mary Beth Tegan of St. Xavier University. We are also pleased to have Julie Codell and Russ Wyland giving this year's keynote addresses. Julie is Professor Art History, Arizona State University. She has joint appointments with the English Department and the Film and Media Studies Program and is a faculty affiliate of the Center for Asian Research, the Center for the Study of Religion and Conflict, and Women's Studies, and board member for the Center for Film and Media Studies. In her keynote, she will consider the concept of "unexplored empire" both for the Victorians and for today's scholars." Russell Wyland is Assistant Director, Division of Research Programs, NEH, and will talk about Victorian studies and NEH support (conference registrants will also have the opportunity to confer with him about projects for which they seek funding). Our theme this year is "Unexplored Empire" for which we are soliciting topics on expects of the Empire which have not been "explored" before. These might include addressing the following questions: Does Atlantic-based imperialism acquire alternative significance relative to imperialism in Asia and Africa? Is there a single "imperialism" or are there multiple, co-existing regimes of empire and imperialism? Do encounters of Victorian Muslims and Christians offer useful frameworks for 21st-century cultural conflicts? Are there any merits to recent claims that empire could entail benefits as well as oppression for those under its sway? What relation do explorations of polar regions bear to imperialism as it is usually understood? What can we learn about empire from less-explored media such as music, music hall, dance, decorative arts, and hoardings? In keeping with its long interdisciplinary and inclusive tradition, MVSA welcomes proposals from any disciplinary perspective consonant with this broad theme. We encourage panels and individual papers that look afresh at one or more of these topics.

About MVSA conferences: Victorianists studying and working in the midwestern or southern United States are especially encouraged to attend at MVSA, and to make a home in this distinguished scholarly organization. Graduate students are particularly welcome as attendees and presenters at MVSA conferences, where they will find a stimulating and collegial atmosphere, and where conference fees are adjusted to make attendance more affordable. MVSA annually awards the Bill and Mary Burgan Prize for an outstanding paper by a graduate student at the conference, while the prestigious Arnstein Prize supports dissertation research of an interdisciplinary kind. Conference news can be found on the MVSA website at http://www2.ic.edu/MVSA/

Submissions: By October 31st, 2007, email a 500-word (only) abstract to Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, Assoc. Professor of English, Indiana University East: aclappit@indiana.edu. Please mention "MVSA 2008 Paper Submission" in the Re: line and include your own name, title, institution, email and snail mail addresses, a phone number, and the abstract itself in the text. If you include an attachment, please include the above information in it, too. If you do not receive an email confirmation of receipt, please re-submit.

From the 2008 Conference Coordinators

This year's MVSA meeting is being held at Chicago's Essex Inn, 800 South Michigan Avenue, in the heart of Chicago's bustling South Loop and across from Grant Park. Within walking distance are the Museum Campus to the south, where the Adler Planetarium, Shedd Aquarium, and Field Museum of Natural History are clustered, and Symphony Center (Orchestra Hall) and the Art Institute to the north. Frequent buses ply Michigan Avenue to take you to and from the shopping on the "Gold Coast". The Essex

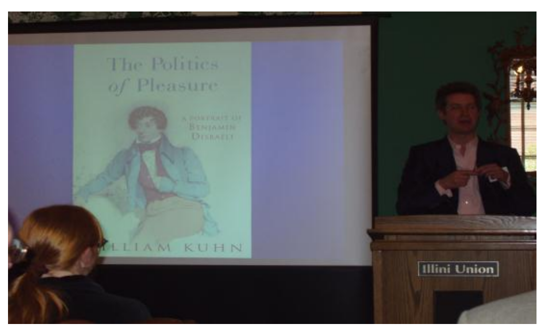
Inn is holding a bloc of rooms for the nights of Thursday, April 17 (for early arrivals), Friday, April 18, and Saturday, April 19, at the rate of $139 per night for singles and $149 for doubles. More details will come in our febrary program mailing but Attendees registering early (by January 17, 2008) get an early bird discount of $10 per night on these rates. Make your reservations today at 1 (800) 621-6909 or bix fax to 1 (312) 939-0526, stating that you are with the Midwest Victorian Studies Association or MVSA.
--Larry Poston, Jim Sack, and Mary Beth Tegan, organizers

From our Departing President, 2005-7

I have very much enjoyed the privilege of serving as President of the Midwest Victorian Studies Association for the past two years. Whatever success was achieved between 2005 and 2007 was, I fear, chiefly due not to me but to four other hardworking MVSA members: John Reed of Wayne State University and Christina Bashford, Walter Arnstein and Nicholas Temperley of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. It takes a good deal of work to serve as local arrangement chairs and I infinitely value their unstinting resolve. I only hope that Larry Poston and I can live up to their examples next year in Chicago.

For making the 2007 MVSA conference especially memorable, I would like to thank our two keynote speakers, Bill Kuhn of Carthage College in Kenosha, Wisconsin, and Tracy Davis of Northwestern University. Bill shared with us his new work on the sexuality of Benjamin Disraeli, "The Politics of Pleasure." Tracy's talk on "What are Fairies for?," inaugurated our Stedman Lectureship, meant to honor our late MVSA colleague, Professor Jane W. Stedman of Roosevelt University, a distinguished theater scholar and the author of W.S. Gilbert: A Classic Victorian and His Theatre (1996).

My Executive Committee has also proved ever-valuable in terms both of work and of advice. It is always a great surprise to me that Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, our Executive Secretary, can spend so much time away from teaching, family, and pets to devote herself as she does to the constant distraction of MVSA mailings, newsletters, membership directories, conference preparations etc. etc. Her aid and friendship has meant more to me than I can say.
Also, of keen importance to the proper running of the MVSA has been the work of our Treasurer, Julie Melnyk, of our Vice-President (and now President), Linda Hughes, of our past Executive Secretary, Anne Windholz, and of our Members-at-Large, John Reed, Anne Helmreich, James Murphy, and (especially) Patrick Leary. Finally, let me express my appreciation to all the panelists in Detroit in 2006 and in Urbana-Champaign in 2007 who showed us myriad examples of how to be good Victorian scholars.
--Jim Sack



From the Incoming President

My first and welcome task is expressing thanks to James Sack (History, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle) for his superb work as president of MVSA from 2005-2007; Jim has given tireless, generous support to MVSA behind the scenes as well as at the helm, and we've all benefited. Thanks also go to Walter Arnstein, Christina Bashford, and Nicholas Temperley (School of Music, University of Illinois) for overseeing local arrangements for the 2007 meeting at the University of Illinois; to Jim Sack and John Reed (English, Wayne State University) for their support of the inaugural Jane Stedman lecture by Tracy Davis of Northwestern University; to Kirsten Parkinson (English, Hiram College) for meeting an important organizational need by establishing a permanent MVSA website and undertaking the new post of webweaver; and to Alisa Clapp-Itnyre (English, Indiana University East) for making this newsletter and so much else possible in her vital role as Executive Secretary.

At our 2007 meeting the Executive Board considered how MVSA can best serve members in the future, and I am pleased to announce two new initiatives that build upon the strengths of our collegiality and regional service. First, we plan to add a professional development feature to upcoming meetings that can benefit members across disciplines and career stages. In 2008 Russell Wyland, who received his Ph.D. in British literature and rhetoric from Catholic University and is current Assistant Director, Division of Research Programs at the National Endowment for the Humanities, will present a plenary on NEH grant support and Victorian studies, including strategies for effective applications. He will also be available to meet individually with conference registrants (who can book appointments and share brief project outlines in advance). In alternate years we plan to bring a representative from a press or journal specializing in Victorian studies who can speak about publishing trends and opportunities and also be available for one-on-one meetings with those attending the annual conference.

Our second initiative affirms the regional identity of our organization and builds upon the Arnstein Prize by offering scholarly support to those in the assistant or early associate professor ranks. Our 2008 meeting we will feature the inaugural MVSA First-Book Prize awarded for a work published in 2005 or 2006. The prize, which will carry a cash award of $500 and a plaque, will recognize an outstanding first book published by a Victorian specialist in the first ten years of his or her postdoctoral career who resides in the ten-state Midwestern region traditionally served by MVSA. For full details of the prize and eligibility, I invite you to visit the new MVSA website at www.midwestvictorian.org.

The 2008 meeting will convene at the Essex Hotel in Chicago on April 18, conveniently located amidst the museums and architectural landmarks for which Chicago is renowned. Local arrangements are being handled by MVSA founder Larry Poston, outgoing president Jim Sack, and MVSA newcomer Mary Beth Tegan (English, St. Xavier University). Our focus on "Unexplored Empire"—less-studied aspects of empire, imperialism, and postcolonial studies—will include a keynote address by art historian Julie Codell, who also has appointments in the English Department and Film and Media Studies Program at Arizona State University, and who has been researching colonial durbars for the past two years. I invite all of you to attend what looks to be a very exciting conference. Please check our website for further details of the program and local arrangements as they become available.

As I began, so I close by expressing thanks—to members of the 2008 local arrangements committee; to Florence Boos (English, Iowa University) for suggesting that MVSA found a scholarly prize; to Julie Melnyk (Honors Program, University of Missouri-Columbia) for her continued oversight of MVSA finances as treasurer; to outgoing board members John Reed and Anne Windholz (independent scholar now attending seminary) for their service; and to Anne Helmreich (Art History, Case Western Reserve) , Patrick Leary (History, Northwestern University/Wilmette Historical Museum), and James Murphy (English, DePaul) for their continued roles on the Executive Board. I welcome new board members Christina Bashford (Music, University of Illinois, C-U) and Kirsten Parkinson as well as two new members of the Arnstein Prize committee, Elizabeth Miller (English, Ohio University) and Denis Paz (History, University of North Texas). As Denis's involvement—and my own—indicate, MVSA continues to welcome members from southern states and elsewhere even as it reaffirms its role as a regional organization. I also welcome the new vice president and president-elect of MVSA, Tom Prasch, head of the Department of History at Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas, who will coordinate the Arnstein Prize for 2008-9. I look forward to working with one and all.

Finally, I thank all of you who have renewed your memberships and extend a gentle reminder to others to do so. I would enjoy hearing about any ideas or concerns for our organization you have as a past, present, or prospective member of MVSA.

--Linda K. Hughes (English, Texas Christian University), l.hughes@tcu.edu

Winners & Prizes, 2007

The Arnstein Prize:

The winner of the 2007 Walter L. Arnstein Prize for Dissertation Research in Victorian Studies is Christopher Ferguson, Ph.D. student in History, Indiana University, for his project "The Making of the Modern City: Urban Culture and Urban Reform in Britain, 1780-1880." Christopher, who presented memorable papers on "Cholera as Eminent Victorian" at the 2006 conference and on "Urban Leisure and the Reforming Possibilities of the Public Park" at our 2007 meeting, received the award from Walter Arnstein during luncheon ceremonies.

Christopher completed his B.A. in History at St. Olaf College in 1999 and his M.A. at Indiana University in 2002. His dissertation project, as Walter described it in making the award, "examines the manner in which cities such as early and mid-Victorian Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and even London came for the first time to be seen no longer as an anomaly but as a generic, environmental type." Drawing upon parliamentary reports, medical works, periodicals, reform tracts, fiction, children's amusements, panoramas, and religious treatises, Christopher analyzes how differing conceptions of the city affected plans for urban reform. As he comments in his application, "Visions of prosperity and competition between urban equals demanded new banks and town halls, while those alarmed by cities' restless atmosphere, criminal elements, and high mortality, in turn demanded new extramural cemeteries, public parks, and sewer systems. . . . Institutions like sewers and public parks quickly came to be seen themselves as signs of city status, and in this way, cultural conceptions of the city, and the physical urban changes they engendered, fed off of each other." The Arnstein Award will help support Christopher's research in the Liverpool and Birmingham municipal archives this summer. As a member of the Arnstein Prize Committee commented of Christopher's project description during the judging process, "This clearly interdisciplinary examination of nineteenth-century ideas about the city, employing a wide-ranging list of sources from parliamentary papers to novels and artwork, and focused on a range of urban experiences in Britain, promises to significantly enrich scholarship on the Victorian city."

--Linda K. Hughes

The Burgan Prize:

The 2007 winner of The William and Mary Burgan Prize for the outstanding presentation by a graduate student at the annual meeting of the MVSA was Kimberly Hereford. Kimberly Hereford is currently a doctoral student at the University of Washington, focusing on late nineteenth and early twentieth-century American and British art. She received her masters from the University of Oregon. The title of her master's thesis was "Whistler and the Aesthetic Dress: A Union of Fashion and Art." Kimberly Hereford's recent research focuses on feminist related topics and Victorian culture, including the depiction of the recumbent female, portraiture and the late-nineteenth-century Spiritual movement. Her MVSA presentation, enhanced by an engaging powerpoint, argued that "Watts displayed the portraits of the Grosvenor's female audience, elevating both the reputations of the sitter and the artists as mutual supporters of the gallery's distinct style and artistic taste. The Grosvenor Gallery's reputation hinged on the women, such as those portrayed by Watts, whose distinctive style and manner of dress were essential in defining the gallery as the premier Aesthetic social setting" (see her complete abstract, below).

The Burgan Prize was endowed by Professor Keith Welsh of the Department of Interdisciplinary Studies at Webster University, St Louis, to recognize a graduate student whose presentation at the MVSA demonstrates both obvious scholarship and a certain defined "teacherly" quality. The Prize was named for his former teachers and two scholarly/ "teacherly" mainstays of the English Department at Indiana University from the 1960s through the 1990s, Bill and Mary Burgan.

We congratulate Kimberly!

--Alisa Clapp-Itnyre

Treasurer's Report, 21 April 2007 – MVSA currently has $4121.85 in our interest-bearing checking account, and $1954.97 in our higher-yield investment account. The Arnstein Fund has grown to $31,242.66, and our interest income for the Fund for calendar year 2006 was $1037.87. Our Arnstein funds are invested in CDs, and we are getting closer to our goal of fully endowing the Arnstein Fellowship, which is now worth $1500. This year's Arnstein contributions currently total $1315. Donations to the Stedman fund total $590. Thanks to all who contributed – and keep those tax-deductible contributions coming!

--Julie Melnyk

From the New Web Coordinator ("Web Weaver")

The new Web site address is http://www.midwestvictorian.org. I'll be working on updates over the next couple of months, so keep checking the site for information about the new book prize and next year's conference.

--Kirsten Parkinson

(Pictures from the 2007 MVSA Conference used in this newsletter are courtesy of John Wagstaff, Music Library, UIUC)

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Conference Abstracts 2007:

SESSION ONE, **"Amusing the Public Crowd"**

#1) **"Urban Leisure and the Reforming Possibilities of the Public Park"**

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The public park, today a standard fixture of the urban environment, emerged in the nineteenth-century as part of a specific reforming vision, founded on the belief that the majority of recreations available in Britain's growing cities threatened the moral and physical health of the nation. In the summer of 1843, the vestry of St. George the Matyr, Southwark, met to consider "the propriety of petitioning government and the parliament for the purpose of obtaining an open space or spaces for a park and public walks." Richard Moser, churchwarden, stated the vestry's opinions for doing so, noting that they were "of [the] opinion that public walks and reserved spaces, suited to the exercise and recreation of the inhabitants of this parish" were "of the first importance to their moral and physical condition." Furthermore, Moser contended that they were of particular importance for the "humbler classes" of the parish, as recreation in such spaces tended to "wean them from those low and debasing gratifications which are the ruin of so many."

Moser and his comrades were not alone in this belief. In the eyes of the park promoter, as well as a much broader range of nineteenth-century Britons - from journalists, to novelists, to sanitary reformers - the lack of respectable, uplifting leisure activities in Britain's growing cities formed a major threat to the health of the nation. For rich and poor alike, urban leisure activities, dominated by the gin palace, dance hall, and theater, exposed the city-dweller to a wide range of moral pitfalls, placing them on a slippery slope toward degraded health, debased appetites, and criminal proclivities. Urban entertainments were almost universally inappropriate for families and children, though, as many observed, this did not keep children from attending and developing a taste for those same activities that degraded their parents. Finally, some argued, the nature of urban recreations promoted disharmony between the classes, by creating a tiered system of entertainments based on the power of the purse. Thus, the landscape of leisure in the Victorian city not only undermined the physical and moral health of individual Britons, it raised the specter of revolution by promoting class-consciousness and class conflict.

The public park, promoters argued, combated all of these tendencies, and thus had the potential to transform not only the landscape of the Victorian city, through the creation of green spaces, but the moral and physical health of the city-dweller. As imagined by its promoters, the park was a free form of urban recreation, where the rich and poor could take their exercise and mingle together in harmony beneath the trees. Here families could partake of the park's pleasing, natural sights and smells, while pick nicking or listening to musicians in a gazebo or band shell. Furthermore, a well-organized and properly labeled park could also improve the intellectual character of the populace, by educating them about the flora and fauna of Britain and its empire. The public parks that began to appear across British cities in the 1840s were, therefore, the products of a specific reforming vision, one which sought to alter not only the urban landscape, but the physical and spiritual welfare of Britain's growing urban populations.

2) THE PUBLIC LECTURE AS ENTERTAINMENT-CHARTIST STYLE

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This paper examines the public lecture during the period circa 1830-60, using Chartist lecturers as examples. I discussed public lecturing in passing in my Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England. Here, I use Chartist lecturing for three reasons: (1) The peculiar needs and tactics of the Chartist Movement as well as the activities of the British State resulted in the preservation of records. (2) Chartist lecturers came from both the middle classes and the working classes. (3) In aggregate, the audience for Chartist lecturers was larger than that for other lecturers.

Numerous scholars have written extensively on the role of the written word, whether in the periodical press, the poem, the novel, or the essay. However, the spoken word has received much less attention on the part of scholars. It is odd that there exists no comprehensive study of the Victorian sermon, despite the fine work of Robert Ellison and John Wolffe, and the compilations of Hughes Oliphant Old. Equally odd is the lack of a similar comprehensive study for the public lecture, despite the stimulating researches of Donald M. Scott, Lilian Shiman, David Russell, and Howard Wach. Yet the sermon and the public lecture, which blended together, were popular forms of entertainment. Attenders could see famous men (and a few women) on the rostrum, hear rousing oratory, and enjoy the excitement of being in a crowd, while all the time being respectable and improving. Almost each night of the week, one could find, in big towns, public lectures in lyceums, mechanics' institutes, Dissenting chapels, hired halls, and even market squares, on literary, historical, geographical, scientific, political, and religious topics delivered by middle-class lecturers who for one reason or another chose not to enter one of the traditional professions or by working-class autodidacts seeking to make a living with their minds rather than their hands.

The paper will discuss basic questions about the Victorian lecture: Where were their venues? How were they publicised? What was the price of admission? Could one make a living as an itinerant lecturer? What were the difficulties and dangers of being a lecturer? What was the relationship between the lecture and the press? How did lectures reflect Victorian æsthetics as John Ruskin defined it in Modern Painters (1841)?

The paper is based on the text of the lectures themselves, either subsequently published as pamphlets or reported on in newspapers, or preserved in archives; on the published memoirs of lecturers; and on the manuscript correspondence of several prominent lecturers.

3) **Consuming the Condemned: Enjoyment and the Execution Crowd**

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When the notorious Maria Manning and her husband were executed in 1849, they paved the way for brisk business in Staffordshire figures, wax likenesses for Madame Tussaud's, and paper cutouts of their faces. In The Lesson of the Scaffold, Daniel Cooper explains that the *Daily News* noted that among the spectators were people using binoculars to get a better view. Broadsheets described the murder, and the trial had been a sensation in no small part due to the fascination over Maria Manning's clothing. The *Times* noted the number of aristocratic spectators using opera glasses to get a better view of the events on the scaffold.

The very first section of Discipline and Punish begins with a harrowing account of an execution, which Foucault uses to describe the means by which the State held onto power though public spectacles of punishment. In nineteenth century Britain, the debate over the effects of public execution continued until their abolition in 1867. Crowds who participated in the executions of criminals were expected to recognize the power of the state, but accounts that describe executions tell another story. Rather than acting to solidify the power of the state, the spectacle of execution actually undermined it.

Execution crowds were assumed to be working-class, demonstrative, and even animalistic in their enjoyment of the execution of criminals. Often feared for the potential for violence they embodied, the crowds were described in newspaper accounts and chastised for their enjoyment of the ritual that they were supposed to witness as part of their participation in British civil society. The execution ritual is intended to control the potentially carnivalesque behavior of the crowd by reinforcing the power of the state through its representative in the form of a hangman.

By selling broadsheets, mementos, and even the clothes of the condemned, the execution became a form of public entertainment, allowing the ritual to become a means for economic profit. The ritual created the crowd as consumers of the commodified condemned, and in effect allowed them to view the event from a critical distance. Not only could the crowd critique the hangman's ability to perform the hanging correctly, but it could also critique the condemned's performance on the scaffold as easily as if he or she were an actor in the theatre. This turns the ritual into a theatricalized performance of justice unlike previous performances which Linda Colley describes in Britons, performances that strengthened the sovereign's power through impressive display.

The conflict between the need to participate without enjoyment, and the desire to enjoy the ritual as theatre ultimately led to the devaluation of the ritual as justice. No longer able to assure that it would actually frighten potential criminals into submission, the public ritual of execution became instead a public, and commercial, spectacle.

SESSION TWO, **"Dickensian Amusements"**

1) **"Dickens's Soundscapes and the Circulation of Victorian Popular Song."**

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In writing "The Amusements of the People" (March 30, April 13, 1850), Charles Dickens was, in part, expressing his love for entertainment, as well as our fundamental need for "fancy." Among the sources for Dickens's art were the theatre, melodrama, pantomime, opera, and popular music. In my paper, I consider the 'communications circuit' with respect to music texts and performances that entered the Victorian soundscape.

Dickens was quite familiar with the popular songs of his day. They entered his awareness via numerous networks of distribution and consumption. Here I wish to explore how they reached him and other Victorians. This is an exploration of how songs passed from writer to printer to compositor to distributor to consumers. As is the casewith most folk songs, these songs went through many changes in the folk process.This process of how songs entered the marketplace prides and interesting parallel withthe movement of books and other texts.

2)
"'What do you play, boy?'": Card Games in *Great Expectations*

Kirsten Parkinson
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On Pip's first visit to Satis House in Charles Dickens's *Great Expectations,* Miss Havisham instructs him to "play, play, play!" Stymied at how to respond, he eventually agrees to play beggar-my-neighbor with Estella. "Beggar him," says Miss Havisham to her adopted daughter, and Estella does, both there in Satis House and throughout the novel. Dickens's choice of card games in *Great Expectations* reveal not only key aspects of Pip and Estella's relationship but also important elements of the novel's themes of Victorian class and social mobility. This paper explores the significance of beggar-my-neighbor and other games that appear in the novel. For example, the card game beggar-my-neighbor requires luck but no skill, making it appropriate for a boy of Pip's education level. Nevertheless, Estella wins the game—or "beggars" Pip—every time. Estella's consistent ability to "beggar" Pip in their early games indicates the power she has over him and highlights their class differences. Pip is indeed made a beggar at Estella's hands, as she mocks his coarse appearance and he solicits her affection or at least attention. In addition, the dependence on luck renders Estella's consistent wins symbolic of the novel's theme: the possession of money and the dominance of the wealthy over the working class is arbitrary—a matter of luck. One has little control over whether one is a "beggar" or the luckier "neighbor." Pip's own fortunes during the course of the novel reflect this childhood game as he is dealt first a good hand—when he receives his expectations—and then a bad hand—when his expectations are forfeited to the crown. Interestingly, the games Pip plays with Estella change as he matures and receives his expectations. This paper will also examine the significance of these new, more complex games—whist and "French games"—in the light of Pip's changing status and personality and *Great Expectations*'s larger themes of class and mobility. Who plays these games and, even more importantly, who wins offer further important insights about power in the novel.

3) "Stealing Amusement: Two Pickwick Imitators"

John Reed, Wayne State U
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Charles Dickens' *Pickwick Papers* was an enormous popular success, so popular that its reputation spread to encompass many cultural manifestations, down to toby pots made in the shape of Pickwick. In this paper, however, I shall confine myself largely to two literary products that sought to ride the *Pickwick* wave. Both were published at the time *Pickwick* was still the rage. One of these was G. W. M. Reynold's *Pickwick Abroad; or The Tour in France*. Reynolds keeps Dickens' characters, such as Pickwick himself, Sam Weller, Tracy Tupman, and Augustus Snodgrass, adding new characters the principals meet abroad. The format is the same: a picaresque narrative with interpolated tales. Reynolds is clearly trying to exploit Dickens' success directly, though his incidents lack the verve of much of *Pickwick*. The second rip-off is Pierce Egan, Jr.'s *The Pilgrims of the Thames, in Search of the National!* Like Reynolds' work, this novel is picaresque, though it departs from the *Pickwick* pattern insofar as it uses as its controlling device a journey on the Thames, with various comic incidents occurring along the way. Also, Egan creates his own Pickwick-like figure called Peter Makemoney, who travels with his two younger companions, Frank Flourish and James Sprightly. My paper would present the resemblances and differences between these two novels and their original; I would also show some of the illustrations, that as with *Pickwick* itself, accompanied the texts. These attempt to imitate the style of Phiz. If the Victorians were willing to pay to be amused by Dickens, these two hack writers felt that they might as well enjoy some benefit by trying to live up to that entertainment themselves.

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SESSION THREE: **Women and Dance in the Nineteenth Century**

1) "Exclusive Entertainments at Almack's"

Cheryl A. Wilson (Panel Contact)
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During the Regency, fashionable members of the ton spent their Wednesday nights dancing, gossiping, and matchmaking at the exclusive dance club Almack's. The historical and cultural significance of Almack's is indisputable—the club appears frequently in fiction, social satires, and treatises on fashion, including Pierce Egan's Life in London (1820), Henry Luttrell's Advice to Julia: A Letter in Rhyme (1821), Benjamin Disraeli's Vivian Grey (1826), and Catherine Gore's Pin Money (1831), among many others. Although Almack's existed from 1765 to 1863, its "golden age" as a dance club lasted from about 1810 to 1830, and during this time the Almack's ball became established as a model for the public and private balls held throughout the Victorian Age. One of the most notorious aspects of Almack's was its "feminine oligarchy," the Lady Patronesses that governed its proceedings. The Lady Patronesses quite literally penned the narrative of an evening at Almack's. They established and enforced a complicated set of rules for admission, controlled which dances would be performed and in what order, and oversaw the selection of partners. The Lady Patronesses stand as examples of women working within the confines of the specifically-feminine sphere of the ball while simultaneously transforming that sphere to enable themselves to exert considerable power in various other political and social arenas.

This paper argues that, through the Lady Patronesses, Almack's served as a site of political power that was uniquely fostered by and fostered conflicting social hierarchies. Drawing on historical accounts of Almack's as well as novels, including Marianne Spencer Stanhope's Almack's: A Novel (1826) and Lady Charlotte Bury's The Exclusives (1830), my paper investigates Almack's role in the clash between society's self-promoting "Exclusives" and those who continued to revere the power of the sovereign and the court. Of particular concern in this conflict was the obsession with French fashions and the adoption of French culture. As the arbiter of nineteenth-century ballroom fashions (regardless of their initial origin, nearly all of the popular dances, the quadrille, waltz, polka, and gallope, came to England via France), Almack's represents the integration of French culture into an English institution—a necessary safeguard against the influences of the French Revolution. Indeed, the social and political éclat of Almack's is elevated by nineteenth-century representations of the club, which situate it as not only an alternative to the English court, but also as an institution capable of—and perhaps better suited to—preserving English culture and national stability. The paper concludes by considering how Almack's role, and the identity of the aristocrats tied to this institution, changed after Victoria's accession. My presentation aims to reintroduce Almack's—an understudied, but significant element of nineteenth-century culture—into Victorian Studies as well as to establish the role of this female-dominated institution in shaping the social and political concerns that dominated the Regency and remained prominent throughout the nineteenth century.

2) **"Perils, Adventures, and Intrigues: The Printed Lives of Victorian Ballet-Girls"**

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The life of the professional dancer in Victorian England was not a glamorous one. Underpaid, insufficiently trained to rise to star status, and often shunned by family as well as respectable society because the ballet catered to "depraved taste," the Victorian ballet-girl was a beleaguered species. And yet, the very conditions of her existence were tailor-made for the dancer to play a number of starring roles in the public realm. Frequently targeted by indignant editorials concerned about morality and art at the same time she was featured in popular literature ranging from the parodies of Albert Smith to the hastily churned-out penny bloods of the 1860s and '70s, the ballet-girl was a Victorian urban icon of sorts. Indeed, the popular press made her a prominent object of fascination despite her 'umble status. Using now obscure penny presses (The Devil; The Ferret; Sensation) as well as works by Smith and various penny dreadfuls, I will examine the myriad representations of the ballet-girl from the 1840s through the 1890s, arguing that she became a site to depict class and gender definitions as malleable, relational, and paradoxical. Her representations simultaneously upheld and upset Victorian definitions of respectability. The ballet-girl was thus an even more revealing figure in print than her presence was in front of the footlights.

Best known for wearing short clothes on stage and vying for male attention backstage, the ballet-girl served most often an object lesson in immorality. As life in the corps de ballet was notoriously underpaid, the girls often had to find money elsewhere; several worked as seamstresses during the day, while others took advantage of male admirers. Yet, as one dancer wrote to the Era in 1858, "taking us as a body, and considering the temptations to which we are exposed, we are not so bad as we seem to be." While her plea to the public certainly would not overturn widespread beliefs that life as a dancer was sanctioned prostitution, several fictionalized accounts of ballet-girls took up her claim. M.E. Braddon's The Black Band and an anonymous serial entitled The Adventures of the Ballet-Girl (circa 1870) depicted the ballet-girl as a working-class heroine whose ultimate reward for maintaining her innocence in the face of licentious advances and desperate economic circumstances was a rise in station. These narratives turned the image of the dancer from a brazen girl in tights to a romanticized ideal of a good girl winning out. Far from naturalizing the cult of femininity, however, these representations of the ballet-girl expose the degree to which class status engendered respectability, and that this respectability was gendered. By contrast, parodies and erotica used the ingenue motif as their hook, implying that the mere semblance of modesty and virtue could entice gentleman admirers. (Smith's The Natural History of the Ballet Girl and an anonymous work called Intrigues and Confessions of a Ballet Girl are particularly fine examples). By examining the competing discourses that comprised the ballet-girl's representations, I demonstrate that the popular press manipulated gender and class ideological formations at the same time they were guided by them. A neglected figure in Victorian studies, the ballet-girl's place in popular culture was more significant than it was in productions and this paper directs focus to her cultural currency.

3) **The "Preterpluperfect" Marie Taglioni…And Her Friends**

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The ballet diva Marie Taglioni was one of the most beloved and renowned stage performers of the nineteenth century. She was not only the prototype of the sylph figure in the1832 romantic ballet "La Sylphide," but she was represented in reviews and non-fictional accounts as the incarnate of the supernatural and feminine ideal rolled into one. According to the Times, Taglioni made 2000 pounds for 18 performances in London in 1830, before her premiere of "La Sylphide," almost twice what Dickens made several decades later for his readings in London. One Atheneum reviewer described Taglioni as "this perfect—this preter-perfect—this preterpluperfect creature," while the French critic Jules Janin wanted to follow her "in spirit through the imaginary spaces where she is transported without even willing it." During her last performance of "La Sylphide" in 1847, the 41-year-old Taglioni was showered with so many bouquets that she had to stop her dancing to thank people and when she resumed, every step, every gesture was accompanied by clapping and vocalized ardour. Reminiscent of the Beatle's Sergeant Pepper, the crowds went crazy.

But while the popularity of the romantic ballet at mid-century and the diva status of Taglioni as stage performer has been well documented, little work has been devoted to her private life—her feckless husband, her role as single parent, her destitute end—biographical details that speak to the hardships she faced negotiating her public and private lives. Historically, female dancers have been cast as a jealous and competitive group, divided rather than joined as a community. In this paper I will examine archival materials to better understand the complexities of Taglioni's personal life and to suggest a much more collaborative spirit between professional dancers than formerly understood. The reality of a community of professional women who helped each other financially and emotionally has been eclipsed by the counter stories of vain, backstabbing divas purposely leaked to the media by theatre managers as a marketing strategy to build excitement for the final product. Not only did the dance world comprise women who worked and lived together as colleagues, but it offered to middle-class audiences an alternative life script for stepping out of the confines of domesticity, if only in their imaginations. Taglioni might have been inseparable from the sylph figure she performed, but considering that she, along with other ballet divas, routinely talked to audiences when stage mishaps occurred-- fairies getting entangled in the aerial wires, fires, faintings—her fans must have recognized her as a professional and materially-real woman. Taglioni, in other words, was otherworldly, but not of a world absolutely unobtainable.

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SESSION FOUR, **"Art for Art's Sake"**

1) "G.F. Watts' Female Portraits and the Grosvenor Gallery: A Union of Style of Symbolism"

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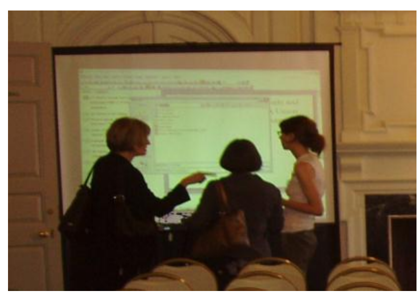
G.F. Watts' female portraits are stunning departures from conventional representations of Victorian femininity. Set against a backdrop in which portrait artists typically transformed Victorian women into literal fashion plates, Watts sought to depict the spiritual and intellectual qualities of the sitter. Marked with a unique blend of stylized representations and naturalism. Watts' female portraits offer a rare glimpse into an alternative construction of Victorian female beauty. In 1907 J.E. Phyrhian eloquently described Watts' portraits of women, stating that he "could see the prettiness, and he not seldom painted it; but he preferred to emphasize character, and there is in his portraits a sympathetic interpretation of what is best of womanhood that is often lacking in the work of even Reynolds and Gainsborough." In painting women, Watts peeled away external artifice, often hidden by the period's extravagant fashion, and forged a new type of portraiture that interpreted the rare, precious quality of the individual.

The portraits Watts created from 1870s onward are a reflection of the rarefied atmosphere of the Aesthetic movement, in which he was a prominent figure. The locus for the Aesthetes was the Grosvenor Gallery, a gallery that catered exclusively to Aesthetic taste. Significantly, the sitters for WattsÍ female portraits reveal a visual cast of the most important female figures who frequented the Grosvenor Gallery and who were crucial in imbuing the gallery with its distinctive aura. This paper examines five female portraits by G.F. Watts- "Portrait of Lady Lindsay" (1876-77), "Hon. Percy Wyndham" (1866-77), "Eveleen Tennant" (c. 1875), "Lillie Langtry" (1879), and "Violet Lindsay" (1879)- and their relationship to the Grosvenor Gallery. Here, women employed ñpersonal styleî as a means of distinguishing and establishing their position with the gallery's public social setting. Watts' portraits mirror the eclectic social setting of the Grosvenor Gallery, a heady mixture of the artistic aristocracy, embodied in the female Souls, and the provocative Professional Beauties, women who made a virtual career based on their stunning looks. In this relationship, Watts displayed the portraits of the Grosvenor's female audience, elevating both the reputations of the sitter and the artists as mutual supporters of the gallery's distinct style and artistic taste. The Grosvenor Gallery's reputation hinged on the women, such as those portrayed by Watts, whose distinctive style and manner of dress were essential in defining the gallery as the premier Aesthetic social setting.



2) "Goupil at the intersection of the London and Parisian art markets, c. 1857-1901"

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Napoleon I reportedly borrowed and inverted Adam Smith's phrase "a nation of shopkeepers" (Wealth of Nations, 1776) to criticize the war-worthiness of the British nation. But France also saw Britain as a market to be cultivated as will be revealed in this paper that focuses on the London branch of the French print seller, print publisher and fine art dealer Goupil during the second half of the nineteenth century. This paper investigates the strategies and practices of the London branch from its founding in 1857 until 1901, when manager William Marchant purchased the gallery from the Paris house and then successfully sued in 1907 to retain the Goupil name. Goupil London will be examined within two related frameworks. First (and briefly), the Parisian art world in order to determine those aspects of the marketing, selling, and consumption of art adapted from the main branch to London. Second, the London art market, to determine how the strategies and practices of the London branch of Goupil compared with those of its competitors, focusing on those firms that, like Goupil, combined the roles of print publisher, print seller, fine art dealer, and exhibiting venue, such as Arthur Tooth and Sons, Dowdeswell's, the Fine Art Society, Gambart's, and Obach's (the latter two owned by former Goupil employees). Goupil London is an ideal case study through which to explore to what degree London galleries utilized products, marketing strategies, and financial practices borrowed from the Parisian market place and to what degree new retail modes were developed in response to the London art market with its unique geographies and highly developed commercial sphere.

Goupil London helped shape a taste for both French and British art through reproductive engravings, original paintings (which were also subject to copying and emulation), and eventually drawings. In particular, Goupil London, along with its French counterpart, cultivated the market for French Barbizon school painting (indeed, Goupil London manager David Croal Thomson coined the term), the Dutch Hague School, and aspects of Impressionism. In addition to determining the products carried by Goupil London, this paper will analyze how these products were brought to the public's attention, focusing on the use of group and one-person exhibitions and techniques of display and interior decoration. Goupil London's choice of a luxurious domestic environment, clearly distinct from a retail shop, was ideal for cultivating the newly wealthy middle class and, in particular, the upper middle classes eager to set themselves apart through market distinction. Modes of marketing, including the rhetoric and visuals of advertising and the sales catalogue, will be considered. The paper will also explore the role of the dealer, increasing figured as the expert and often working in close relationship with art critics. These tactics were developed in an increasingly crowded marketplace shaped by competing commercial galleries and auction houses that contributed greatly to the rise in the speculative art market that required increasing amounts of capital to be sustained.

This investigation of the London branch of Goupil and its London competitors aims to achieve three goals: the first, to situate the rise and development of the cosmopolitan London art market within the larger historical framework of the development of the open, speculative art market (as distinguished from the patronage system); second, to identify the strategies for the sale of art developed in London during the second half of the century; third, to compare the London marketplace with that of Paris, which has dominated discussions of the role of the market in histories of nineteenth-century art. It reveals that the paradigms established in the existing secondary literature incompletely translate to London and seeks to determine what paradigms we might develop to characterize effectively the London-based marketplace and improve our understanding of both the production and consumption of art in Victorian Britain.

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3) **"Diamond Celebrities: Imperial Culture, Luxury Consumption, and the Diamond Trade in Victorian Britain"**

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Throughout the nineteenth century, Victorian publics took a keen interest in the "biographies", physical make-up, and whereabouts of large diamonds. Scientific lectures, fashion articles, religious sermons, Court circulars, travelogues, novels, trade journals, gossip columns, opera reviews, newspapers, high art and popular art featured information about 'sensational diamonds' such as the Pitt or Regent, the Hope or India Blue, the Orlov, and the Star of the South. One could view either the real article or glass mock-ups of these pieces and even mythical diamonds (such as the Great Mogul's) in museums across Britain, department store windows, jewellers' shops, the Tower, and at exhibitions of all kinds. Particularly from the 1850s on, 'diamond celebrities' could be counted on to draw crowds and they were used to advertise to these publics abstractions such as the efficacy of the British monarchy, Western science, the aristocracy and the empire just as much as they advertised diamonds as objects of worth and esteem. The "cult of 'diamond celebrity'" then, certainly bolstered the diamond market and London's place of centrality within it.

The irony of this was that large diamonds, though often talked about as 'priceless', were extremely difficult to sell; they were actually poor investments for jewellers and consumers alike. My paper seeks to explore the meanings of 'diamond celebrities' in imperial Britain and the sorts of assumptions that underwrote the veneration of diamonds. I argue that the Victorian focus on 'diamond celebrities' helped to inculcate the myth that all diamonds were rare, special, and worthy of high prices. This had huge market implications: first, high price-fixing of gem-quality diamonds could be done in the 1890s without any major resistance from consumers. Secondly, the inclusion of diamonds in jewellery pieces tended to obfuscate the artistic work that went into creating the settings, meaning that customers expected to pay mainly for the stone rather than the piece as an artistic whole. British jewellers concentrated their artistic energies elsewhere, thus allowing this type of stone-veneration to grow. A particular case study that I examine is Queen Victoria's appropriation of the Koh-i-Noor Diamond that played out very much in the public eye as the Diamond was showcased at the Great Exhibition in 1851, and there was much interest in how it was recut in 1852. In this instance, we can see a celebration of Britain as an imperial power in India in Victorian diamond appreciation. My work is based on archival sources, including press clippings, London pamphlets, periodicals such as Jeweller and Metalworker, Cecil Rhodes' personal papers, records of the Natural History Museum, catalogues of the Great Exhibition and merchants' personal papers.

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SESSION FIVE, **"Technologies of Amusement"**

1) **Dickensian "Dissolving Views": The Magic Lantern, Visual Story-Telling, and the Victorian Technological Imagination**.

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"Cinema is born" in 1895, proclaim the textbooks—and all other forms of visual entertainment suddenly are dead; the new immediately replaces the old; and the new distinguishes itself as new by not being *like* the old.

But cinema was *not* as a "new" "invention," different to everything that came before. Rather, it was (and is) intimately related to the magic lantern—its closest (though much repressed) ancestor, whose importance endured into the 20th century, well past the coming of film. This paper recounts the most critical phase in the lantern's 250-year history as the world's most important "screen experience" and popular entertainment.

Magic lanternists in Victorian England had two dreams. The first (the focus of technical histories) was—by all means possible: "slipping" glasses; levers; ratchets; pulleys; sometimes all of them at once—to make still images move. The second (a history which has never been told) was to tell stories in pictures--an extraordinary cultural development, and a "peculiarly" English one, depending on two cultural contexts: the dominance of narrative (narrative painting, the illustrated book), and the attraction of the lantern for Temperance propaganda.

This paper picks up that second thread, relating the rise of lantern tales aimed at "conversion" and "transformation" to the most significant development in lantern technology of the 19th century--surpassing the *fantasmagorie* (which peaked in importance c. 1805 and died out as a popular entertainment by 1830) in both cultural penetration and imaginative impact: the invention, c. 1827, of "dissolving views," whereby one image slowly—almost magically--replaced another on the illuminated screen, turning winter into summer and day into night.

The dissolving view made possible, even determined, the invention of a new kind of story. And it was the author most attuned to the visual technologies and popular entertainments of the 19th century, and the single most important literary source for later Victorian magic-lantern story-telling, who imagined it: Charles Dickens. The lantern inspired two of his most-loved stories: A Christmas Carol, published in 1843, and Gabriel Grub, one of the tales woven into The Pickwick Papers, seven years before, the story of a surly grave-digger. Both tales became favorites for magic lantern performance, with the bravura production of Gabriel Grub at the Royal Polytechnic, in 1875, a model for later-century lantern story-telling.

In them, the lantern recognized its own: Gabriel's and Scrooge's Christmas-tide transformations are directly inspired by the visual experience of the magic lantern, especially its "dissolving views," for they are "shown … pictures," that enable travel through time, by supernatural showmen--goblins and ghosts. (The goblins of Gabriel Grub even use a kind of purpose-built auditorium for the show, a dark underground cavern.) In both stories a nickel-and-dime entertainment, whose serious history is yet to be written, creatively enables the production of a new secular scripture; visual transformation produces spiritual conversion—and a machine re-configures the imagination we inherit. The paper concludes with a coda on J.A. Froude's scandalous and anti-Providential novella of 1846, The Lietenant's Daughter—an anti-Christmas Carol equally inspired by the visual and temporal transformations of the magic lantern.

This paper has been made possible by access to the David Francis Collection of magic lantern material (which includes over 20,000 slides), and is based both in research and reconstructive performance (with Mr. Francis) at the Cinemateca Portuguesa, the Dickens Universe, the Pacific Film Archive, and the Academy of Motion Pictures. (To give some context, I attach the notes for our October 4th programme at the Academy, as well as a few images.

2) From Mesmerism to Mediums to Magic: Participatory Stage Entertainment in the Victorian Era

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Prior to the Victorian era, theatre audiences "participated" in stage entertainment in a variety of ways – in addition to applause, this included shouted exchanges with the actors, shuffling feet or catcalls to indicate disapproval, and singing along with popular songs or "God Save the King." But middle class theatre-goers in the Victorian era did not engage in such exchanges, deeming them vulgar or improper. This did not mean, however, that they became mere spectators to all stage entertainment, and new forms of audience-participation acts developed, drawing on popular fads of the day such as mesmerism, spirit mediumship and magic. These three types of stage show have much in common, for not only did they suggest connections with an unseen world, but they exhibited similar displays of seemingly inexplicable phenomena provided for the audience's entertainment. Further, these were forms of entertainment that invited audience participate in a way that was acceptable without being vulgar; by volunteering for the mesmerist, medium, or magician, the audience member became an integral part of the entertainment, providing a necessary "subject" without which the entertainment could not proceed.

The popularity of these three forms of entertainment also reflects a discernable change in attitudes throughout the nineteenth century. Mesmerism, popular at the beginning of the century, was a pseudo-science that had its origins in Enlightenment rationalism. Spirit mediums emerged in mid-century, at a time when many individuals sought reassurance about the immortality of the soul in the age of Darwin and the machine. Professional magicians at the end of the century practiced slight of hand which can be seen as mirroring the increasingly jaded view of Victorians late in the century.

3) "Instruct and Deceive: The 'Naïve Audience' in Scientific and Pseudoscientific Performances of Mechanical Wonders"

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Explaining the popular appeal of Kempelen's chess-playing mechanical hoax, the Turk, for nineteenth-century audiences, Mark Sussman argues that human automata that appeared to "think" invited willing suspension of disbelief by invoking technology's claim to achieve the hitherto impossible. Similar to the magic show, "the trick of the trick is that the spectator knows, and suspends disbelief in, the operation at work" (9).

Some of Kempelen's educated contemporaries condemned such public displays of mechanical wonders for supposedly imposed upon gullible people who wasted their money on entertainments lacking any educational or moral benefits and who rewarded the showman for mechanical skill and hard work when he had invented nothing at all. Objections were thus founded on two assumptions: first, that less educated observers were not willingly suspending disbelief but unwillingly and maliciously deceived; and second, that displaying technological or scientific achievements is a very different activity from, say, giving a puppet show, because the events and objects on stage ought to be real.

I will show how, in an age before professionalization, the more established public scientists benefited from denunciations that divided audiences attending mechanical wonders (both hoax and real) into either naïve rubes or informed men of science, because that dichotomy preserved the scientist's public authority as the source of what is fact and fiction, truth and illusion. Furthermore, since institutions like the Royal Society hotly debated new research before experiments were publically performed, the naïve/learned dichotomy masked division among scientists over what constituted scientific fact, a debate often reserved for private audiences. As Bruno Latour argues in Science in Action, facts only appear obvious and natural to the public after a considerable amount of stage-play on the part of scientists.

One could say that the educated scientists were more "naïve" than those they wanted to protect, because they did not understand the demand upon audiences at pseudoscientific performances to suspend disbelief. As Edward Bullough points out in "'Psychical Distance' as a Factor in Art and as an Aesthetic Principle," established conventions signal to audience members to distance themselves from events onstage, which produces the illusion that those events are fictional, rather than the reverse. The actual and admitted unreality of the dramatic action reinforces the effect of Distance. But surely the proverbial unsophisticated yokel [read hostile scientist], whose chivalrous interference in the play on behalf of the hapless heroine can only be prevented by impressing upon him that "they are only pretending", is not the idea type of theatrical audience. (462) Mechanical wonders that approached the quack's parody of scientific demonstrations gave the audience an education in skeptical distance and invited them to draw comparisons with the theatre apparatus used by scientific authorities to present their theories as objective facts to the public.

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SESSION SIX

"Marketing Music for the Victorian Taste"

1) "Domesticating Verdi: Italian Opera and Victorian Sensibilities"

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As the primary "voice" of Italian opera in the mid-nineteenth century, Verdi's works were sought after by foreign theaters and publishers. In Victorian London, much of Verdi's music reached the public as sheet music excerpts intended for the parlor and music hall. Of particular significance are vocal transcriptions of certain arias issued with multiple English texts, normally unrelated to the original poetry or plots of the operas. Being divorced from their theatrical origins and foreign roots, having cleansed poetry purged of forbidden ideas and inappropriately suggestive language, and conveying a contemporary, personalized message, these published excerpts were musical mutations that were designed to serve the needs and to please the tastes of a mixed class of consumers in respectable private settings or to help make traditionally lower-class public entertainment venues respectable. Surveying a selection of these excerpts from Il trovatore, La traviata, and Rigoletto (Verdi's most controversial-morally and aesthetically-yet most popular operas in mid-Victorian London), this paper considers the manner in which the textual transformations, as well as the iconography on the sometimes elaborate covers of the publications, worked to make these operas accessible and acceptable to Victorian audiences.

The paper focuses on three main considerations. First, the new songs assisted in creating and sustaining a life style through nourishing and upholding Victorian decorum and pretenses by transmitting ideology and teaching values, thereby rendering foreign, aristocratic, elitist, and morally dangerous Italian opera as a genre that was domestic, bourgeois, common, and socially safe. Second, because their words had a familiar persuasion and a communicative function, the songs could encourage consumers to believe that they understood and appreciated elitist operatic music, which in turn furnished a way for them to cultivate a sense of cultural knowing and social belonging that would allow them to "survive" in the changing social realm of Victorian London. Finally, these domesticated incarnations of Verdi's operas helped to popularize and to canonize the composer's operas by preventing his "voice" from being silenced outside the opera house for its transgressions and instead permitting it to sound morally and meaningfully throughout Victorian England.

2) "Golden Bells" and Whistles: Marketing and Popularizing Children's Hymns of the Victorian Period

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"There are two ways of writing or speaking to children; the one is, to let ourselves down to them; the other, to lift them up to us…" (John Wesley, Preface to Hymns for Children 1790)

Writing these words in 1790, in the Preface to another edition of his brother Charles' 1763 hymnbook, John Wesley cast the first stone in condemnation of the "childish" language of Isaac Watts' popular *Divine and Moral Songs for Children* (1715) which had set the pattern for hymn-writing for children for nearly half a century. Wesley was the first, but not the last, to see the state of hymns for children in a clear binary, as either "speaking to children as children" or with "strong and manly sense" to lift them beyond their years. The gender bias aside, his comments point to a clear distinction in defining "the child" as either childishly simple or as a child simply in stature. His comments, in other words, set the stage for a century's worth of debate on the definition of childhood as seen in various children's hymn-books of the nineteenth century. For my purposes here, I will give a general overview of the trends in children's hymnbooks throughout the century, using major hymnbooks such as *Hymns for Infant Minds (1810), Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861), and the Methodist Sunday School Hymnbook (1879)* as dividers. I will end each period with a brief discussion of some of the hymns that were most popular within that period based on my research of over 100 children's hymnbooks and the top 30 titles I have calculated from these hymnbooks as I analyze the changing definitions of "the child" and how to market to them.

3) "Exploring Identity: Gilbert & Sullivan and the Victorian Adventure Novel"

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In this paper, I will explore the relationship between two popular forms of Victorian entertainment: adventure novels and the comic operas of Gilbert and Sullivan. When students, particularly undergraduates, think of cultural productions of the Victorian period the most common image is the long, complex, three-decker novel. The simpler and more straight-forward genres of sensation fiction, melodrama, and adventure are still mainly outsiders to the canon of literature, but are immensely important forms of Victorian entertainment and had a powerful impact on the culture of the time. This paper will investigate the role that adventure novels, in particular, played in the construction of notions of identity during the period and then reexamine those notions of identity through the satiric operettas of Gilbert and Sullivan. Gilbert's librettos are always topical and culturally aware and he often consciously mobilized and reconfigured popular genres and issues in order to create a bond of shared knowledge with his audience. The type of identity construction made popular in adventure novels and melodramas is one of the elements that Gilbert embraces, and also satirizes, in his operettas written with Sullivan.

A quintessential example of an adventure novel of the period is Frederick Marryat's /Mister Midshipman Easy/ (1836). In many ways, Marryat set the standards that would be followed by the later authors of adventure novels for children. Particularly, the book features a protagonist who must learn how to fill his proper place in the world and submit to duty. This pattern of character development is indebted to the stock figure of the melodramatic hero, but adds the element of nationalism to the hero's essential character. Patrick Brantlinger highlights this type of adventure story as one of the key teaching tools in the arsenal of British imperialism because of the intense associations it makes between heroism, virtue, and Britishness. This type of adventurous, roving character in the service of empire is what Gilbert is drawing on in his libretto for "HMS Pinafore" when the Boatswain claims of Ralph Rackstraw that, "..in spite of all temptations

/ To belong to other nations, / He remains an Englishman!" This simple claim, however, is complicated by Gilbert's satirical approach to the subject. "Pinafore," like the rest of Gilbert and Sullivan's productions, is deeply satirical, and the facile construction of identity via nationality that Gilbert received from the adventure novelists is one target of his satire. This becomes more clear when "Pinafore" is looked at in conjunction with "Patience," which is another Gilbert and Sullivan operetta that is deeply concerned with identity construction. Taken together, these comic operas show Gilbert engaging critically with popular notions of identity, nationality, and the self. At the same time, he manages the subject so as not to upset his audience, which he shared with the writers of adventure tales. This satiric double-voiced nature of his librettos highlights many of the issues surrounding popular, commercial, escapist culture at the end of the century and marks him as one of the most important critics of popular culture during his time.

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SESSION SEVEN, **"Arguments & Entertainment in the Press"**

1) **"Drama for the Common Man": The Case for Entertainment in the 1890s**

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In her recent work on the Victorian theatre, Jacky Bratton connects the appropriation of the British theatre to a "middle-class voice" with the production of theatre histories that privilege a self-consciously "literary," or high cultural, tradition (New Readings in Theatre History 2003). If the resulting tendency to privilege text over performance has subsequently dominated scholarship, however, it has not evenly dominated cultural discourse about the theatre. Indeed, though Victorian criticism of the drama is characteristically negative in its assessments of the contemporary theatre, a significant strain of cultural commentary about the drama in the 1890s defended the claims of entertainment over those of "art." In doing so, moreover, supporters of the mainstream West End theatre validated the tastes of "popular" middle-class audiences by connecting them to the tradition of Shakespeare--valorizing the "common man" as the true index of cultural value.

This paper will trace the evolution of this perspective in the final years of the nineteenth century, examining the tensions between "art" and entertainment that emerge in debate about the drama conducted in periodicals such as the Contemporary and Fortnightly reviews. Fuelled by concern about the cultural impact of "New Drama" and experimental theatre, these debates express conflicts between economics and art, entertainment and education, and lowbrow versus highbrow. In doing so, moreover, they make a case both for the value of entertainment and for the legitimacy of West End audiences as arbiters of cultural value. As an object of study, I contend, late nineteenth-century debates about the cultural value of entertainment remind us of the instability of categories such as "high" or "mass" culture.

2) **Evangelical Amusements and the Marketplace: Justifying Fiction in Evangelical Women's Magazines**

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Victorian Evangelicals are infamous for treating amusements and entertainments with suspicion. While this reputation is partly based upon exaggeration, including Dickensian caricatures of Evangelical ideas, there is some truth in the indictment. Victorians did often regard amusements as taking time away from the serious business of life and religious commitment, and this suspicion often extended to fiction itself. Yet the period saw the publication of many Evangelical novels, and Evangelical women's magazines regularly reviewed fiction and serialized novels. Of course, as anyone who has read much Evangelical fiction of the period is aware, these novels can scarcely be classified as pure amusement – the didactic content is high. But, a serious-minded Evangelical might ask, could not the lessons of fiction be more efficiently communicated in a straightforward sermon or essay? Why include fiction and other forms of amusement in Evangelical publications?

Although fiction might be defended as better capable of bringing home certain moral and religious teachings to its readers, the defense of Evangelical fiction was conducted much more often in terms of an almost Darwinian market competition: given that secular (or Anglo-Catholic or Roman Catholic) amusements such as fiction and magazines are available, Evangelical publications are needed to provide a better (fitter) alternative and, eventually, to drive them from the market. Some Evangelical novelists wrote novels with titles that sounded like those of Tractarian works but promoted significantly different doctrine. Their titles marked them as a kind of response to the Tractarian works, but they may also have been meant to cause confusion in the marketplace: buyers and borrowers could choose the Evangelical work in error. Book reviews in the *Christian Lady's Magazine* (1834-1846), edited by Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, also testify to the reviewers attempt to combat Tractarian fiction and replace it with Evangelical novels.

The most extended defense of Evangelical amusements, however, comes in Emma Jane Worboise's "Editorial Address" in the initial issue of the *Christian World Magazine* (1866). Here she argues that Evangelical literature is necessary to drive out the secular competition: "It is of little use to decry the objectionable popular literature of the day is something better, yet quite as palatable, be not provided." She then uses two metaphors to describe the situation. These images apparently derive from the natural world, but actually they use biblical allusion and Darwinian arguments even as they describe competition in the Victorian marketplace: first, a man who drinks from an enticing poisoned spring for want of a "pure, life-giving well", and then the field not sown with crops or the garden not planted with flowers which is overrun by weeds.

In this paper, I analyze explicit defenses of Evangelical popular literature in two Evangelical magazines, the *Christian Lady's Magazine* and the *Christian World Magazine*, and their editorial practice concerning the inclusion of "amusements," particularly fiction, in order to clarify the Evangelical position on religious amusement and its role in the Victorian marketplace.

3) **"A Reported Community: Reynolds's Newspaper and Radical Celebration"**

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In the years following the decline of the Chartist movement, George W. M. Reynolds and Reynolds's Newspaper were the loudest champions of political reform along Chartist lines. Working-class radicals used his writings to keep informed about politics, the law, foreign affairs, and to fuel their shop debates. Reynolds's Newspaper was the only nationally-distributed radical journal of any size. Read by as many as a million people each week, it provided the binding core of radical politics after 1850. While it did not define the radical community, it united that community around a common rhetorical position of anti-aristocratic republicanism. In many ways, in the absence of any national organizing body to which radicals of all varieties could belong, the newspaper became that national organizing body; it was a radical meeting in print.

The community of Reynolds's readers was marked by a set of radical beliefs, but also by yearly rituals that were designed to create a strong sense of communal bonds among Reynolds's employees, and secondarily among Reynolds's readers. From 1852 to 1876, with the single exception of the year 1867, Reynolds hosted an annual excursion and banquet for all of his employees. These dinners of Reynolds's publishing company, which took a form familiar to generations of radicals of the pre-Chartist and Chartist eras, the radical political banquet, were given detailed coverage in the Newspaper, often on the front page. The dinners followed a set pattern: Reynolds would offer a toast to "The press, coupled with the Works issued from our office." He would then proceed to give a "state of the company" address, in which he remarked on the growth in business seen in the previous year. He followed this with what was essentially a mission statement, sometimes decrying the offenses against liberty committed by the government, aristocracy, and moneyocracy, but always reaffirming the mission of the Newspaper to bring light to the darkness. Once his speech was done, a toast would be offered to Reynolds. He would "return thanks," and then toast each department with suitable remarks: the literary department, the artists and engravers, the warehouse, publishing, advertising, and printing departments, and the stewards. A spokesman for each department would respond with an appropriately brief speech. The entire affair was punctuated by songs and recitations performed by various partygoers. Reynolds's pronouncements were always given prominence, as revelry mixed with politics in a form readers would find compelling.

As the mass meeting—and indeed, the radical banquet—became for a time a thing of the past, the only real remaining national community meeting available to radicals was Reynolds's Newspaper itself. In the familiar form of the radical banquet, as reported in its pages, the post-Chartist radical community continued, long after Chartism was supposed to have died.

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SESSION EIGHT, **Sensation & Celebrity**

1) **The Middlemarchers Take on the Woman in White**

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Sensationalism must be left to be dealt with by time, and the improvement of the public taste. But it is worthwhile stopping to note, amidst all the boasted improvement of the nineteenth century, that whilst Miss Braddon's and Mr. Wilkie Collins' productions sell by thousands of copies, "Romola" with difficulty reaches a second edition.

How the Victorians were amused is clearly a grave concern for this literary critic: their taste and education, their consumer habits, even their claims to historical progress are undermined by the phenomenal sales of sensation fiction. So named because of the wildly enthusiastic response of mid-century readers and because of the physical "excitations" they provided, sensation novels elicited an equally electric reaction from reviewers who found their violent twists and turns to be aesthetically inferior and morally questionable. Margaret Oliphant laments that the "school" spawned by Collins's *The Woman in White* (1859-60) must "find its inspiration in crime," and she attributes readers' desire for a "rapid recurrence of piquant situation and startling incident" to the too hurried march of history (*Blackwoods*, 1862). Less explicit but clearly more threatening was the encroachment of working-class culture in middle-class publishing venues—namely, the sensationalism associated with the preceding decades' low-brow fiction and the stage melodrama (Ann Cvetkovich, 1992). And yet while much critical energy was expended to distinguish the realist novel of the cultured middle class from the sensational stuff of the masses, the gatekeepers were hardly impervious to the enticements of sensation.

Indeed, where the epigraph speaks to a gaping disparity between *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862) and George Eliot's *Romola* (1862-63), I would like to argue that Eliot's novel represents her venture into the realm of sensationalism—one she disguises by setting her story in a distant time and location. Well known for her disquisitions on "silly novels," Eliot would perhaps be horrified by an argument that seeks to link her exhaustively researched historical novel with the rapidly produced fiction that trades on mystery and heightened emotion, but she is also greatly preoccupied with the mechanisms through which "deep impressions" are received by readers and with the "science of sensation," a study exemplified by G. H. Lewes's *The Physiology of Common Life* (1860). The concealment, detection, and revelation of family secrets that drive most sensation plots provide the narrative thrust for *Romola* as well: the eponymous heroine finds herself unhappily bound to a wily charmer whose undisclosed betrayal of his adopted father presages his sale of her own father's beloved library and his bigamous marriage to a Florentine peasant. Romola gradually becomes aware of his duplicity, first through unconscious glimmerings obtained while viewing a portrait that shows her husband gripped by fear, then later by a series of shudders in response to other manifestations of his moral cowardice. Like any sensation heroine worth her salt, Romola experiences a "slight shiver" when the peasant girl, Tessa, lays her absent husband's curl across her fingers, "for to one who is anxiously in search of a certain object the faintest suggestions have a peculiar significance." I would like to argue that there is a peculiar significance to Eliot's foray into Renaissance superstition and intrigue, an experiment with the process by which mere excitation becomes the production of sympathy.

2) **"Sensation and Autobiography: Victorian Identity in the Marketplace"**

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It may be that the most important innovation in Victorian literary entertainment was the emergence of sensation fiction during the 1860s. Very few kinds of literature sold more readily than sensation novels, and probably none generated more critical or cultural controversy. From Collins's The Woman in White (1860) to Ellen Wood's East Lynne (1861) to Charles Reade's Hard Cash (1863), such novels were licentious, subversive, and deeply unsettling to proper Victorians. In this context, though, it is striking that this Victorian appetite for sensational novels about hidden identities and lurid crimes followed hard upon the proliferation of a very different prose sub-genre: auto-biography, guided nominally by a more modest desire to tell the truth about eminently respectable Victorian lives. From 1830 to 1860 in England, autobiographical production trebled though the number of new titles generally expanded at a much lower rate. Just as important, the nature of autobiography changed considerably during this period: what had once been a genre comprised of the lives of "great men" and locally-printed religious testaments promoted by English dissenters became, increasingly, an industry capitalized on by hundreds of authors and major Victorian publishers. This transformation of the market for Victorian autobiographies is the starting point for my book-in-progress, "'Portable property': Theft and the Commodification of Identity in Victorian Narrative."

Taken from Chapter 1 of "Portable property" and drawn simultaneously from two periods of NEH-funded archival research and recent scholarship by Andrew Miller, Alexis Weedon, and others, this paper argues: (1) that autobiography emerged during 1830-1860 as an increasingly popular and profit-able genre; and (2) that this trans-formation of autobiography created, in turn, a deep cultural anxiety about the consequences of making identity into "portable property" to be bought and sold in the market-an anxiety that plays out thematically and symbolically in the sensation novels of the 1860s. In the broadest sense, what I suggest in the book is that these two forms of literary "entertainment" are joined ideologically, and that sensation fiction emerged at least partly as a literary response to the underlying logic of increasingly commercial autobiographical writing. Locally, in this presentation, what I want specifically is to discuss the contours of autobiography's transformation into a commercial genre, and to articulate the cultural and theoretical meanings of that transformation. At its imaginative core, autobiography is a consequence of the literary calculus by which the intimate utterances of the author-indeed, the author herself or himself-become the consumable products of a capitalist age. In 1827, an anonymous writer for the Quarterly Review lamented the "mania for . . . Confessions, and Recollections, and Reminiscences" since such texts demonstrated a new and appalling tendency for writers to market "the secret workings of their own minds." In this essay, I will trace this "mania" and assess the cultural anxieties it engendered as Victorians weighed the implications of subjecting identity to the dangerous rules of ownership, exchange, and power that formed the basis of the increasingly mature capitalism of the Victorian age.

3) Escape from Bohemia: Women, Work, and Cosmopolitanism in *Trilby* and *The Woman Who Did*

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Inhabitants of the fictional land of Bohemia -as opposed to the real province in what is now the Czech Republic-are citizens of no nation. Like the Gypsies who were once mistakenly thought to hail from Bohemia, Bohemians occupy a society within a society, one whose rules have little to do with the nations that nominally occupy their geographic space. The male English artists visiting Paris in George du Maurier's bestseller *Trilby* (1895) enjoy a utopian social space in which all nationalities and social classes can mix with impunity. As they age, the men of Bohemia "graduate" from their childhood ways and ascend /descend into more adult, class-coded and Philistine personalities, revealing that Bohemia actually functions as a necessary supplement to the bourgeois world, much as it does in our own millennial society as described in David Brooks's *Bobos in Paradise* (2000).

But the women of the novel are unable to cross from Bohemia back into the bourgeoisie. Little Billee's love for the *grisette* Trilby is thwarted not by tuberculosis as in Puccini's *La Bohème* (1896), but by his socially rigid mother, who banishes the sorrowful Trilby and sends Little Billee into a brain fever that paralyzes his ability to love. It's clear, as Sarah Gracombe writes in her article "Converting Trilby: Du Maurier on Englishness, Jewishness, and Culture" (2003), that Trilby tries desperately to reclaim her English roots, a patrimony denied to her when her father, the son of a famous Scottish physician, died dissolute in Paris. But even when she arrives in England celebrated as a famous diva, her triumph is undercut by her servitude to the Jew Svengali, whose hypnotic power over her attests to the persistent instability and degradation of her Bohemian experiences. When Svengali dies suddenly, Trilby is freed from his spell and rescued by Little Billee, but soon wastes away as well, though Little Billee's mother has now almost forgiven her. Trilby's achievement of massive celebrity in the arts is depicted as insufficient to achieve her dream of being a loyal wife to a nice English boy.

Bohemia is similarly figured as social and national exile for women in Grant Allen's *The Woman Who Did* (also from 1895). Herminia Barton wants to be recognized as a sexual prophet in her principled refusal to marry the man she loves, but after her lover dies in Italy, she returns to England to eke out a living through unrecognized journalism. There she lives essentially as an expatriate, shunned by all her female friends as well as her own father. Not even her employers would dream of having her visit their homes, though she's resigned to her isolation: "Bohemia sufficed her" (122). In both novels the very structures that offer utopian space for men are responsible for reinscribing traditional gender codes for women and isolating them from each other. I would like in this paper also to examine the question of gender in recent theoretical work on cosmopolitanism, and to question whether women's participation in the workforce, whether exalted or invisible, is depicted as deracinating them from their nation as well as from traditional social hierarchies.

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