
MIDWEST VICTORIAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

www.midwestvictorian.org

Summer 2008 Newsletter

Edited by Alisa Clapp-Itnyre

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*Pending confirmation.

**Important: This will be the last hard-copy newsletter from MVSA as we transition more of our materials to our website. We are also trimming our mailing list down to only those "official" members. If you did not renew your membership this year already, please do so by using the form at the end of the newsletter. This will ensure that you receive our conference information and other mailings for the next year. Graduate students are free but we still need your completed forms. We appreciate your membership! **

MVSA 2008: Chicago "Unexplored Empire"

What a marvelous time we had in Chicago this year, the conference theme eliciting



wonderful papers that took us to the Arctic, India, Hawaii, Australia, Afghanistan, America, even back home to Britain (for all abstracts, see the end of this newsletter). Many thanks to local hosts, Mary Beth Tegan, Jim

Sack, and especially Larry Poston for making all hotel, meal, and conference arrangements for us. Situating the conference at the Essex Hotel allowed us close proximity to a number of exciting restaurants and museums, beginning with a pre-conference visit to the Print Study Room of the Art Institute of Chicago to view

Victorian works on paper, as arranged by Anne Helmreich. We were also treated to two extremely interesting keynote talks, one by Julie Codell and another by Russ Wyland. Dr. Codell (pictured here), Professor of Art History, Arizona State University, and faculty affiliate of the Center for Asian Research, the Center for the Study of Religion and Conflict, and Women's Studies, used her wealth of expertise to address "Looking for Fragments: Decentering and Remapping an Imperial Border Geography." Dr. Wyland, Assistant Director, Division of Research Programs, NEH, talked about how Victorian studies has been enhanced by NEH support. Several conference registrants had the opportunity to confer with him about projects for which they seek funding.



Conference 2009:
**TIPPING POINTS:
 Pivotal Moments in
 Victorian Culture
 Midwest Victorian Studies
 Association 2009 Conference**
 April 17-19, 2009 Indiana University
 East, Richmond, IN

2009 marks the 150th anniversary of the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. In commemoration of that epochal event, MVSA invites proposals for 20-minute conference papers that explore events or works that signal profound shifts—"tipping points"—in one or more elements of the artistic, literary, musical, political, social, religious, or intellectual life of Britain and its empire during the long nineteenth century. Because MVSA includes representatives of several disciplines among its active members, our conference is particularly welcoming to interdisciplinary approaches. Participants may or opening of an art exhibition) that marked a sea-change in some aspect, large or small, of Victorian life and thought.

The 2009 conference will be held in Richmond, Indiana. Founded in 1806 and situated along the historic "Old National Road," Richmond was pivotal in the nineteenth-century American expansion to the west. Part of the conference will be held in a nineteenth-century Quaker meeting house (now a historical museum), the rest on the campus of Indiana University East, the

newest regional campus of IU. Richmond is situated along I-70 near the Ohio border and therefore accessible to most Midwestern car travelers, as well as convenient to the Dayton, Ohio, airport 36 miles away. We will feature two keynote speakers: Jonathan Smith, author of *Charles Darwin and Victorian Visual Culture* (Cambridge UP, 2006) as well as guest editor of a forthcoming 2009 special issue of *Victorian Studies* entitled "Darwin and the Evolution of Victorian Studies;" and Ivan Kreilkamp, co-editor of *Victorian Studies* and the inaugural winner of the MVSA First Book Prize.



Submissions: By October 31, 2008, please email a 500-word (max.) abstract and a 1-page c.v. to conferencesubmissions@midwestvictorian.org. Please include your own name, title, institution, email and snail mail addresses, a phone number, and the abstract itself in the text and/or attachment. If you do not receive an email confirmation of receipt, please re-submit.

News of this conference and other MVSA matters will be found on our website at <http://www.midwestvictorian.org/>

Please post the enclosed Call for Papers in your departments. Thank you!

From the Secretary

It is a pleasure to meet colleagues in my field through MVSA, both the talented leaders on the board with whom I work, and presenters at our

conferences with whom I enjoy months of correspondences via email. This year, however, I will forfeit this pleasure to become local arrangements coordinator for our 2009 conference. I invite everyone in the Midwest to come learn more about Richmond, Indiana, the

birthplace of recorded jazz, one of the first enclaves of Quakerism, and still the “epitome” of a small, Midwestern town. Richmond also boasts seven institutions of higher education, including my own institution, Indiana University East, with an active English degree, and Earlham College and School of Religion. Richmond has fine-dining in restored historical homes, museums, a civic theatre, and its own symphony. At this conference you will experience a bit of each: the conference will be held both on the campus of IU East and in the local museum, dinners will be in restored



nineteenth-century homes, and evening entertainment will include live theatre and music of the Victorian era. Darwin may not have visited Richmond but I look forward to introducing you to this history-rich town in 2009!

Sincerely, Alisa Clapp-Itnyre

From the Treasurer

MVSA currently has \$7193.44 in our interest-bearing checking account, and \$759.00 in our higher-yield investment account. The Arnstein Fund has grown to \$31,753.06, and our interest income from the start of 2007 to date was \$890.40. 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 \$935. Donations to the Stedman fund total \$165. Thanks to all who contributed – and keep those tax-deductible contributions coming!--J. Melnyk



Julie Melnyk (right) with Kirsten Parkinson, Web coordinator

From the President

As our 2008 conference in Chicago ended, I had a typical MVSA experience: several newcomers approaching to say what a fine conference our format of unopposed sessions offers and expressing their intent to return. Many people helped make possible our sustained scholarly conversation about empire, beginning with all our presenters and members of the audience who asked thoughtful questions and shared responses. I thank all of you first of all. I also thank Julie Codell for a superb Stedman Lecture in which she set forth means of productively complicating imperial and postcolonial studies ranging from empire as cultural or mental space to reverse flows of imperial influence. Her lecture helped us perceive an empire less monolithic, more fragmented, than has sometimes been conceptualized, with colonies modifying and reshaping elements of British culture. Russ Wyland, Assistant Director of Research Programs at the National Endowment for the Humanities, reminded us how closely the beginning of NEH was intertwined with Victorian studies given the fundamental interdisciplinarity of the field and the key roles played by notable Victorian scholar and NEH staff member Guinevere L. Griest and such projects as the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*. I also thank Anne Helmreich for arranging a private tour at the Art Institute of Chicago led by Martha Tedeschi, Curator of Prints and Drawings, on the morning of our conference. Those who attended learned about the production and wide sales of Victorian prints as well as viewing intriguing drawings by Millais, Whistler, and more.

MVSA founder Larry Poston worked indefatigably with the Essex Inn staff, along with local arrangements committee members Jim Sack and Mary Beth Tegan, to ensure a successful meeting. I am grateful to them all, and also to Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, the Executive Secretary who keeps us going from year to year, whether through overseeing abstract submissions, official correspondence, or by producing the very newsletter you hold in your hands. Finally, I thank Patrick Leary for technical assistance and for chairing the First-Book Prize Committee (on which Anne

Helmreich and John Reed also served), Julie Melnyk for important program contributions and her service as treasurer, and Tom Prasch and his committee members (Kris Garrigan, Dennis Pas, Elizabeth Miller, Walter Arnstein) for identifying this year's Arnstein winner. My congratulations to both Ivan Kreilkamp and Kevin Morrison, our prize winners. I hope that many of you will indeed be returning to MVSA at next year's meeting in Richmond, Indiana, and rediscovering just why our organization remains a very distinctive one.



Linda with Tom Prasch, President-Elect (left) and Patrick Leary

Burgan Award, 2008

The winner of the Burgan Award for the best conference paper goes this year to Philip Steer. Steer is a graduate student in English at Duke University, where his advisor is Assoc. Prof. Kathy Psomiades. He is currently writing a dissertation on how literary depictions of the Australasian settler colonies impacted the culture of Victorian Britain by modifying narratives about imperial space, national origins, subjectivity and history. He has an article on late Victorian utopian fiction and empire forthcoming in *Utopian Studies*. Originally from New Zealand, Philip came to the United States with his wife and they have a one year old daughter. His paper presentation (see abstracts) was **“Guerrillas in the Midst: Settler Colonization and the British Invasion Novel.”** As Thomas Prasch writes, “I liked the way in which the presentation, by understanding low-tech guerilla warfare in terms of a response to a shared environment, put settler colonists and indigenous people in Australia on an essentially equivalent footing, and how in turn that understanding of guerilla tactics inflected the way in which late Victorian imperial struggles

like the Boer wars were made legible to the Victorian public.”

Arnstein Award, 2008

The proposals submitted for this year's Arnstein Award amply testify to the health of Victorian Studies and to the breadth of interdisciplinary scholarship in which current graduate students in the field are engaged. Amidst steep competition, one candidate came to the fore.



This year's winner, Kevin Morrison, has already established himself as a scholar of the Victorian era, with a strikingly successful publication record for someone who is still completing his graduate degree. His proposal, “The Architecture of Victorian Liberalism,” argues, as Morrison puts it, for “a material and spatial mode of reading liberalism as a cultural form.” Planned chapters propose to examine the Athenaeum Club as a site central to Matthew Arnold's work on *Culture and Anarchy*, the relationship between Anthony Trollope's political ideas and his “spatial imagination,” and the library and the museum and “spaces of popular liberalism.” The full work, Morrison suggests, will, by “emphasizing the materiality of major cultural institutions founded on liberal ideas,” provide a “counterpoint to current scholarship concerned solely with liberalism as a cognitive practice.” Morrison's discussion of these themes reflects a wide range of reading including literary criticism, political theory, and postcolonial thought.

Morrison is a graduate student in the English Department of Rice University, working under Helena Michie, with Robert Patten and historian Martin Wiener also serving on his dissertation committee. He plans to use his award to travel to Britain for research in the British Library, the Gladstone Library in Hawarden, and the Hastings Museum.



ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS, 2008 CONFERENCE

SESSION ONE, 1:15-2:45 p.m. “Imperial Aesthetics”

1) Phyllis Weliver (St. Louis U)

“Mere words! Was there anything so real as words?”:

Music, rhetorical style, and the ‘opium-tainted cigarette’ in De Quincey, Pater, and Wilde”

While it is generally known that opium frequently served as a signifier of the East in nineteenth-century Britain, the topic of how music connects with ideas about the drug, innovative rhetorical style, and East/West relations remains underexplored. Scholars of British literature already compare prose by Thomas De Quincey, Wilkie Collins, Charles Dickens, and Oscar Wilde because of their common investigation of opium. As part of a larger study, I have suggested that music is an essential ingredient to this literature, too. These works form a family of writing that locates a meeting point between East and West in the English body itself, ingested through an Eastern substance (opium) and penetrating the ear through the rhythmic pounding of the Indian drum – a familiar London street instrument beginning in the mid-1840s. The *content* of fiction and literary essays thus show changing ideas about Eastern and Western music during the course of the century. Additionally, their narrative *style* evinces an on-going exploration of how rhetorical excellence and stylistic innovations could be represented as “music” – a formulation that was also linked to opium-use as inspiring imaginative processes.

My proposed paper extends this study to the end of the century. When discussing this family of literature as developing over the course of Victoria’s long reign, we can see how the Aesthetic school’s aphorism that good literature aspires “*toward the condition of music*” originated much earlier than Walter Pater’s publications. Certainly, Pater’s influence on Aesthetic writers is unquestionable, but I argue that the Oxford don should be situated within a tradition of writers who aimed to integrate matter and manner, rather than as a founding father.

After briefly tracing the larger literary lineage, my paper focuses on two essays by De Quincey and Pater (respectively), both entitled “Style,” to establish the link between Pater and the famous opium-eater. It then moves on to concentrate on how the ideas in these essays are found in Wilde’s *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. My thinking, in part, extends from Homi K. Bhabha’s theory of “hybridity” to suggest that *Dorian Gray* is more than another novel about doubleness (Dorian, the painting); it is also about a hybridity that results from Lord Henry Wotton’s “Eastern” influence. After all, we first meet Wotton from behind the curling smoke of his “opium-tainted cigarette.” Taken as a whole, representations of the East and music in nineteenth-century British literature are much more complex than simply demonstrating a dichotomous relationship between East and West. Rather, the Orient is both peripheral to and inextricably merged with English identity, especially in terms of English writers’ innovations in rhetorical style.

2) Aishwarya Lakshmi (Hamilton College)

“The Worldling of the Event: the Making of the Mutiny of 1857 in Aesthetic Discourse”

In a lecture titled “The Deteriorative Power of Conventional Art over Nations” delivered at the Kensington Museum in January 1858, John Ruskin argued for the superiority of the rude art of the Highlanders over the seemingly fine art of the Indians. The comparison was not accidental for Ruskin was speaking in the immediate aftermath of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 in which the Highlanders had played a crucial role in counter-insurgency operations against Indian rebels.

This paper will explore the refracted ways in which events abroad in the empire entered domestic discourse. In particular, by focusing on Ruskin’s lecture and the Mutiny of 1857, I will show how a military confrontation in the empire came to inform aesthetic discourse in England. I will locate the lecture alongside and against more widespread discourse of the Mutiny in England in newsprint, which indulged in blatant forms of racism and yellow journalism. I will argue that Ruskin’s work bolstered this figuration even as it set itself apart—in its delivery and mode of analysis—from the former discourse. Finally, the paper will examine the “worldling” of the imperial event. The worldling of any event—its entering into discourse—necessitates a sublation. I will argue that the worldling of the imperial event, characterized by issues of translation prior to the sublatory gesture, is singular, by comparing the worldling of the Mutiny with another famous “making” of a revolutionary event at the discursive level: Kant’s reading (in 1784) of the French Revolution as the sign of progress in history.

3) Angela Rehbein (U of Missouri)

**“Transported into the tropis in feeling: Affective Aesthetics in Isabella Bird’s
Six Months in the Sandwich Islands”**

My paper proposes a psychoanalytic and affective model for reading Isabella Bird Bishop’s *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands Among Hawai’i’s Palm Groves, Coral Reefs, and Volcanoes* (1875), and investigates how Bird revises the familiar parameters of the travel narrative genre. Scholarship on Bird has focused almost exclusively on the colonialist tropes of the travel narrative outlined in Mary Louise Pratt’s *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*: infantilization of the native Hawaiians, deployment of the “monarch-of-all-I-survey” European gaze, and others. My paper attempts to deepen the discussion of this text. In particular, I utilize a psychoanalytic picturesque theory to examine the way Bird’s descriptive practices perform a psychic function—that is, her provocative use of the landscape (to which the title alludes) as an emotional repository, the embedding of her own bodily experience and desire in the plant life around her. Of the banana tree, for example, Bird writes, “It transports me into the tropics in feeling, as I am already in them in fact, and satisfies all my cravings for something which shall represent and epitomize their luxuriance, as well as for simplicity and grace in vegetable form.” Here she privileges her own satisfactions and cravings, rendering the banana in terms that call attention to her bodily and emotional needs. Certainly this satisfied appetite can be connected to the colonial context in Hawaii, but this is not the most interesting way to read this projecting of self onto landscape. Moments such as this point to the productivity of attending to the highly-subjective ways experience is mediated in nineteenth-century travel narratives by women.

While establishing knowledge and authority through botanical description, at the same time Bird revises the scientific—and colonialist—rhetoric she is expected to perform. As she describes the way the sunlight shone “on the fragile *Polypodium tamariscinum*, which clung tremblingly to the branches of the *ohia*, on the beautiful *lygodium*, which adorned the uncouth trunk of the breadfruit,” a scene that causes Bird to experience “entrancing” loveliness, sadness, and “intense enjoyment,” she overlays affective and scientific language, fusing these two modes. This emotional projection allows her to codify feeling in a systematic way, making more manageable her experience in unfamiliar territory while simultaneously producing the kind of text her readers wanted to consume. Analyzing the aesthetic vocabulary in *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands* in more particular terms than those allowed by a transparently-imperialist reading (which has been the critical trend) enables a richer understanding of Bird’s persona as a woman traveler. Such a reading broadens our understanding of how women like Bird constructed agency as they navigated available narrative forms.

SESSION TWO, 3:15-4:45p.m. “Artifacts of Empire”

1) Amelia Scholtz (Rice University)

“The Giant in the Curio Shop: Unpacking the Cabinet in Kipling’s Letters from Japan”

In 1889, after a dispute with his employers at the Anglo-Indian newspaper the *Pioneer*, the twenty-three-year-old Rudyard Kipling left India to pursue his literary fortunes in London. On his way there, he spent a month exploring a rapidly modernizing Japan. For most Kipling scholars, the thirteen letters that the writer sent back to the Anglo-Indian press describing his travels in what he termed “the country of little children” are a minor footnote in a long literary biography. They are, however, surely worthy of greater attention than has hitherto been afforded them. The author is commonly described as a key flag-waver for British imperialism. But the Kipling whom we encounter in these early letters from Japan complicates this picture of unalloyed jingoism. We find a young man entertaining doubts about the imperialist enterprise and his place in the racial hierarchy upon which such an enterprise is based.

Just as this part of Kipling’s body of work has received insufficient scholarly attention, so too has an aspect of the larger imperial project—the de-facto colonization of Japan presaged by the American arrival in the country in 1853. This paper integrates close reading of a set of largely unexplored texts from a key imperialist’s oeuvre with an examination of this historical phenomenon. At the same time as it was subject to foreign commercial expansion, Japan was pursuing its own expansionist agenda; it had annexed the Ryūkyūs (now Okinawa) in 1879, and, six years after Kipling’s first visit, it would gain control over Taiwan as a result of its victory in the Sino-Japanese War. The country’s unusual status as both de-facto

colony and colonizing power, I argue, heightens the disorientation that Kipling experiences while travelling there. For the young journalist, “the Japanese isn’t a native, and he isn’t a *sahib* either.”

In presenting a close reading of Kipling’s experiences as a young man encountering Japan while not yet set in his views on Empire, the analysis focuses on one metaphor in particular. In his travels, Kipling repeatedly refers to the figure of the curio cabinet as he attempts to describe his surroundings. This paper contends that the cabinet of curiosities, and the related concepts of miniaturization and collecting, offer useful analogies for analyzing Kipling’s relationship with Japan. In short, Kipling situates himself as a collector in relation to the Japanese people, whom he depicts as curios to be housed in the cabinet that is Japan. But just as the cabinet may reflect contradictory impulses on the part of the collector—desires to both reveal and hide objects—so too is Kipling’s relationship with Japan based on a tension between aggrandizement and concealment of the Japanese curio.

2) Allen Bauman (Northwestern SU)

“Empire, Mummies, and Liminality”

While the discovery of King Tut’s tomb in 1922 and the release of Karl Freund’s film *The Mummy* (1932) led to an increased fascination with Egypt and mummies in the twentieth century, an equally intense engagement with “things Egyptian” intersected with imperial concerns in the nineteenth century. This essay investigates the intersection between the empire at home and the empire abroad in Victorian mummy stories. By combining Stephen Arata’s discussion of “reverse colonization” and the return of the colonial repressed with Nicholas Daly’s definition of mummies as commodity, I examine how mummies illustrate liminality both in and of themselves and within the Empire while simultaneously evoking anxieties typical of gothic monsters and interrogating the discursive, epistemological, and cultural justifications of imperialism.

The stories that concern me here are those published during the British occupation of Egypt, such as Doyle’s “The Ring of Thoth” and “Lot No. 249” or Katherine and Hesketh Prichard’s “The Story of Baelbrow,” and involve mummies brought to Europe by collectors, museums, and so on. These works engage the conflict between East and West and the subsequent problems inherent in defining the Orient. The problems on the battlefield are imagined and extended through the horror of the East and its mummies, insofar as the texts reveal the liminality between the two discourses and cultures. On the one hand, as a part of Egypt’s culture and its past, mummies evoke both the mysteries of the East and the successes of a previous civilization. Consequently, they illustrate objects to be deciphered. On the other hand, because the shift to British soil and British museums signifies an appropriation of the East by the West, mummies become objects of both spectacle and production. Although initially identified an Eastern past and a Western present, the imposition of Western discourse and context distances the artifacts from the originary source. Likewise, creation and knowledge about the East support and extend the imperial project by articulating and maintaining cultural difference and privileging western ideology.

The figure of the animated mummy complicates and undermines this articulation by reestablishing the power of the East, of Eastern knowledge and mysticism, transforming spectacle and commodity into horror and indecipherability. While museums, exhibitions, and the general discourses of imperialism work to illustrate difference and privilege a Western point of view, the mummy’s liminality subverts these activities. The resulting impasse evokes anxieties about defining the East and the Egyptian occupation that cannot be expressed without undermining the imperial project: the stories thus both provide the discourses to contain the East and simultaneously qualify them.

3) Shawn Malley (Bishop’s U, QC)

“Archaeological Imperialism Then and Now: Excavating the Unexplored Empire of the Foreign Office, 1845-1849”

Through an analysis of several Foreign Office memoranda dealing with the “recovery” of Assyrian artifacts, “Archaeological Imperialism Then and Now” argues that archaeology served important diplomatic and, indeed, propagandistic functions in the Eastern Ottoman Empire in the years leading up to the Crimean War. Dovetailing excavation into imperial issues of national “honour,” securing commercial markets, deploying troops, and even spying, these documents represent an underground genealogy for Austen Henry Layard—the key British agent in the FO’s secret plot to transport archaeological “trophies” to London—that implicitly challenges the romantic narrative of discovery and the paternalistic ideology of Western stewardship so firmly embedded in narrative histories of British Assyriology. The ancient Near East was, furthermore, unexplored ideological as well as physical territory for Layard, who successfully

manipulated and promoted archaeological desire for the lost Assyrian empire to secure an official position for himself in the aristocratic domain of the Foreign Office.

I develop these claims for archaeological imperialism by comparing the Victorian experience with a contemporary instance of archaeological propaganda in Mesopotamia. This year the US Department of Defense issued special decks of playing cards to soldiers stationed in Iraq. Wedding images and messages designed to train soldiers in archaeological sensitivity, they are rich texts for understanding how we continue to construct and deploy imperialist propaganda out of archaeological materials. The Queen of Hearts is representative. She reminds her comrades that “Ancient sites matter to the local community. Showing respect wins hearts and minds.” Then and now, Assyrian archaeology covers over economic and military interests in the Middle East through claims of protecting world heritage for future generations.

SESSION THREE, 9-10:30 a.m. “The Arctic and Other Imperial Frontiers”

1) Jen Hill (U of Nevada)

“Ends of the Earth, Ends of the Empire: R. M. Ballantyne’s Arctic Adventures”

At the outset of the nineteenth century, Robert Southey’s *Life of Nelson* and John Franklin’s account of his first polar exploration mission affirmed the Arctic as a distant space in which to discover and refine a heroic national masculinity that in turn was used to expand and justify Britain’s empire. This paper will investigate the participation in empire by late century boys’ adventure novels that rewrite Arctic exploration narratives. R. M. Ballantyne’s novels *Giant of the North* and *The World of Ice* detail Arctic hardship in order to reveal how qualities of English boyhood like pluck and courage, when developed through the rigors of exploration, could be enlisted in the expansion and maintenance of Empire.

In boys’ adventure fiction set in the Arctic, the repetition of the adventure plot of certitude, progress, and the inevitability of empire collided uneasily with the repetition of the more ambivalent narratives engendered by Arctic exploration and the Arctic’s teasingly elusive geography. What to Ballantyne must have been the tauntingly perfect merger between genres that were dedicated—Arctic exploration account and adventure novel alike—to producing legible, reproducible imperial masculinity, instead called into question the basis and productivity of that masculinity. Ballantyne’s Arctic novels reveal that despite the surface coherency in the boys’ adventure genre that perpetuated easy geographical conflation and naturalized attendant conclusions about British imperial masculinity, the Arctic persisted in asserting its difference from other imperial spaces and displayed a capacity to rupture rather than bolster the genre of the boys’ adventure story.

It is an exhausted Arctic we find in Ballantyne’s late fiction, including the 1887 *Giant of the North*, a novel that finally and spectacularly concedes the limits of the masculinity that both fueled and perpetuated boys’ adventure—and of the genre itself—in the fantastical plot and equally fantastical geography he employs in his fictional account of the discovery of the North Pole. In *Giant of the North* we see not only the miasmatic and constructed nature of that masculinity, but of imperial rationale itself. At the end of the novel, the North Pole, so long thought to be outside of British domination and to represent the limit of imperial masculinity, is discovered in fact to be already British. This recognition enables realization that empire is not timeless, but may in fact have an end as it had a beginning, and so is fallible rather than always triumphant. The final erasure of geographic, cultural and religious difference in *Giant* verges on the absurd, with the effect of unraveling all of the claims that rest on the reassuring repetition of the genre and especially the (re)discovery of British infallibility in adventure novels. Because of their shared narrative elements, the Arctic adventure reveals the impossibility of the fantasies of empire’s projects in other adventure novels located in other spaces, anticipating (if not evoking) the Arctic subtext of Joseph Conrad’s famous critique of empire, *Heart of Darkness*.

2) Annaliese Jacobs Bateman (UIUC)

“Frozen Empires? British and Russian Narratives of Exploration, Ethnography, and Exceptionality in the Mid-Nineteenth Century Bering Sea”

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Arctic was a place where ideas about the exceptionality of individuals, nations and empires were born, changed, and repackaged for consumption at metropolises around the globe. In my two case studies, British and Russian mid-nineteenth century endeavors of exploration and ethnography in the Bering Sea contributed to both narratives of national identity and narratives of imperial exceptionality. The first, Captain C. L. Hooper’s *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tusk*, (published in

1850 by John Murray) was one of the earliest published travel narratives to come out of the massive rescue effort launched in 1848 to recover Sir John Franklin's lost expedition through the Northwest Passage. For both Hooper and his audience, British polar exploration wove together science and a sentimental quest for a lost brother, while articulating the vulnerability of Britons in the harshest of climates, and their dependence on Native peoples for survival. This very vulnerability, contrasted with the professed selflessness of their mission, created explorers as "martyrs to science" in the public mind, which was then broadcast the world at large. My second case study consists of the work of the Russian missionary priest Ioann Veniaminov, *Zapiski ob ostrovakh Unalashikinskogo otdela* (Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District), jointly published in 1839 by the Holy Synod and the Russian Academy of Sciences. In this ethnographic work, which drew heavily on Enlightenment ideas and practices, Veniaminov strove to incorporate the Aleutian Islands and the recently converted Unangax (Aleuts) into the spiritual (Orthodox) body of the Russian nation and therefore the contiguous mass of the Russian Empire. *Zapiski's* publication during Nicholas I's repressive regime, and the author's subsequent meteoric rise through the Orthodox Church hierarchy, broadcast to Western-gazing intelligentsia in the wake of the Decembrist revolt that native Russian institutions could absorb and improve on Western projects and disciplines.

I argue that both these works demonstrate how the Bering Sea region, and the Arctic more generally, functioned as a stage where empires and nations broadcast their own mythologies of exceptionality through both scientific projects and missionary activities. These mythologies were especially potent in the Arctic, in part because its rigors challenged preconceptions of national, racial and religious superiority as it exposed the personal and physical vulnerabilities of Europeans in the harsh Arctic climate. Its distance and liminality required imperial actors to come up with innovative practices while depending heavily on native peoples for their very survival. Moreover, the region forces us to look at empires within comparative frameworks determined by both geography and imperial actors own narratives of exceptionality. British and Russian imperial agents in the Bering Sea constantly positioned themselves in relation to each other, as the British cast themselves as disinterested actors motivated by the pursuit of science and lost comrades (in contrast with the venal interests of the Russians, obsessed by furs and the propagation of Orthodoxy) while Russians missionaries cast themselves as holy messengers genuinely concerned with the spiritual and material well-being of Native peoples within their empire (in contrast with the crass and worldly British pursuit of commerce and imperial glory). As my case studies demonstrate, each of these projects asserted a vision of the unique morality of their respective empires, a vision that required the spectre of their imperial rivals, the image of "savage" native peoples and the harsh environment of the Arctic to come to fruition.

3) Elizabeth Chang (U of Missouri)

"Writing the British Empire on the Imperial Frontier"

This paper uses the short yet eventful career of British junior consul Augustus Raymond Margary as a way to begin thinking about what it means to write and represent the British empire in the simultaneously under-explored and over-determined space of the Asian frontier. Margary, half-way through his government assignment of charting a trade route from Beijing to British India, was speared to death by local tribesmen in the far western reaches of China's Yunan province. His death produced a range of writings, from the sentimental assemblages of his final letters printed for general consumption, to the scientific compendiums of his natural and ethnographic researches arranged by the RGS, to the legal concessions of the Chefoo Convention, whose stipulations of indemnity and apology were grounded in British outrage. Reading the rhetorical strategies of the first category of writings, popular renditions of Margary's exploratory journeys, against the epistemological delineations of Chinese nature and civilization evident in the other categories, suggests the possibilities for dialogue between these different modes as each narrates a supposedly unrecoverable space of China. Margary's posthumous literary construction, equally informing and informed by other scientific and legal discourses of China, writes China not only as a site of natural and cultural exceptionalism, but as a site natively inimical to British individual and national self-constitutions.

At the same time, however, his individual story grants us access to a much greater range of writings all centered around this territory which we might call the "Asian Borderlands," a highly contested zone incorporating parts of what are now Myanmar, Tibet, India, and mainland China. Because there were multiple representatives of empire—both British and Chinese—as well as multiple indigenous populations circulating in this space throughout the nineteenth century, many of our conventional models for reading British interventions in the geography must be modified or revised. The traditional dynamic of observer

and observed must be multiplied several times to address the complicated crossings of British, Qing, Panthay, and tribal interests. Though recent research in history and geography have proposed some models for understanding the spaces of China's urban and coastal treaty ports as multinational geographies, little to no work has been done to explore the effect the exploration and description of this frontier zone had in creating a modified sense of empire for British governmental and civilian readers, both abroad and at home. If our traditional sense of western China as a spiritually replete but epistemologically-empty terrain centered around the temples of Tibet, this paper takes up the question of how other systems of political, economic, and social meaning-making operated in this space. Further, this paper asks how such systems, forged at the imperial frontier, can be shown to write back to the imperial center in necessary and complicated ways. Taking the tensions between individual and centralized government evident in the Margary case, I argue that the fictions of individual biography obscure the ways in which British and Chinese empire worked together to delineate these Asian borderlands as necessarily receptive of externally-imposed meaning.

SESSION FOUR, 10:45-11:45 p.m. "Encounters with India"

1) Thomas Prasch

India at the Exhibitions: John Forbes Watson and the Place of India in the South Kensington Complex

If John Forbes Watson is remembered by art and museum historians today at all, it is as the fellow who, as Deborah Swallow bluntly put it, is "best known to Indian curators as the man who cut up large parts of a superb collection of Indian textiles in order to create sample books."¹ But such a reputation seems an unfair summary for the man who reconsolidated and ran the India Museum from 1868 until its absorption into the collections, already rich in Indian art and architecture, of the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert) in 1880; who, through his close association with Henry Cole and his circle, the group responsible for all the South Kensington international exhibitions from the Crystal Palace in 1851 through the cycle of annual exhibitions from 1871-74, as well as the rapidly expanding network of museums and schools that filled South Kensington over the quarter of a century following the Great Exhibition, came to shape the display of India at every international exhibition in London from 1862 until 1874; and the man also responsible for Indian collections exhibited in the context of British displays at international exhibitions in Paris in 1867, Vienna in 1873, and Philadelphia in 1876.² For that matter, however much his practices may horrify modern museum curators, the dismissive label of "sample books" ill describes the project to which Swallow refers, the eighteen-volume collection *The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India* (1866), each illustrated by some 700 samples of Indian textile work, which Watson himself referred to as "Industrial Museums."³ On the other hand, what Watson might have meant by calling his multi-volume work a "museum" will not seem obvious to the modern observer. To understand what he meant, and what he was up to, Watson's contribution to the display of Indian art-manufactures (to use the Victorian term) in the international exhibitions and museum complex of South Kensington must be more fully contextualized, grounded in an understanding of the place of Indian art at the earliest world's fairs.

2) Elizabeth Woodworth (Texas Christian U)

"Visions of India: Philip Meadows Taylor, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and 20th C Representations of Thuggee"

In 1833, Philip Meadows Taylor first wrote about the movement to eradicate the Thuggee Cult in India; later he composed and published *Confessions of a Thug* (1839). This popular novel crafted a portrait of India as a fascinating location of the exotic and the savage—tamed by the British. Through the 1830s India and the Thugs were much in the news in periodicals, in review essays, and newspapers reporting actual events. The famous William Sleeman (nicknamed "Thuggee Sleeman" and after whom Sleemanabad was named) was largely responsible for the administrative arm that strangled Thuggee activity. In 1830s, he published a Thug vocabulary (*Ramaseeana*) as well as the *Thugs or Phansidars of*

¹ Deborah Swallow, "Colonial architecture, international exhibitions and official patronage of the Indian artisan: The case of a gateway from Gwalior in the Victoria and Albert Museum," in Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, eds., *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (Routledge, 1998), 57.

² Information of Watson is drawn from my entry on him for the *New Dictionary of National Biography*, forthcoming from Oxford University Press.

³ John Forbes Watson, *The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India* (1866), 1.

India. In 1837, Edward Thornton's *Illustrations of the History and Practices of the Thugs* was published. For the 1838 *Finden's Tableaux (A Series of Picturesque Scenes of National Character, Beauty, and Costume)*, edited by her friend Mary Russell Mitford, Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote "A Romance of the Ganges" in response to an engraving for that popular annual. The 1838 *Finden's* was reviewed by nine periodicals including *The Athenæum*, *The Examiner*, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, and *The Monthly Review*. By the late 20th century, the idea of India as a fascinating location of the exotic and savage was still alive through original film and film adaptations. In particular, I focus on: the second in the trilogy of Indiana Jones's movies: *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984) and *The Deceivers* (1988) written by John Masters in 1952. (Thug action figures were created for release with the Indiana Jones film in 1984.)

In this paper, I suggest a juxtaposing of the rise of literature on Thuggee, particularly Philip Meadows Taylor's novel, with Elizabeth Barrett Browning's "romantic" interpretation of India's "national character, beauty, and costume," illuminates a decade that defines subsequent visual and written interpretations of India. I look at both the written and visual representations of India in these two works—and in periodical publications in every decade of the 19th century as well as the above two 20th-century films. Tracing this vision of India, partly born in the 1830s due to the immense popularity of *Confessions* (a book never out of print) and representations such as that of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's ballad (reprinted throughout the 1840s and 1850s), helps modern readers answer the question, how did 19th-century literary and artistic visions of India mold future representations of that country and its peoples? How do we understand such a vision of imperial power? Does such a vision still merit illumination and analysis in the early 21st century? Some recent scholarship and popular writing are working to unravel the imperialism and fantasy associated with colonialist views of India. For example, recent scholarship includes: Upamanyu Pablo Mukherjee's *Crime and Empire: The Colony in Nineteenth-Century Fictions of Crime* (2003) and Caroline Reitz's *Detecting the Nation: Fictions of Detection and the Imperial Venture* (2004). In 2003, popular travel writer, Kevin Rushby wrote *Children of Kali: Through India in Search of Bandits, the Thug Cult, and the British Raj*.

SESSION FIVE, 2-3:30 p.m., "Empire at Home"

1) T. Rebecca Kennamer (CUNY)

"Imperial Productions: Empire and English Identity in *Cranford*"

At first glance the eponymous village of Elizabeth Gaskell's *Cranford* (1853) is a hermetically sealed enclave, psychically remote from the anxiety- and adrenaline-producing possibilities of contact with Britain's imperial possessions. Inhabited chiefly by stalwart spinsters and unmoved by changing fashions, the village seems to be a cultural anomaly. Indeed, *Cranford* does embody provincial peacefulness, and even stasis that at times verges upon the pernicious; yet, as scholars have noted in recent years, *Cranford*, like many other intensely domestic novels of the period, is awash in imperial influences. The ladies are endlessly intrigued by provocative turbans, suggestive of eastern fantasies; central character Miss Matty is saved from utter financial ruin by opening a shop to dispense imported teas; and finally, a long-lost brother returns from India. It is this moment that precipitates the resolution of the novel's conflicts and transfers the village from the past to the present, inaugurating the reinvigoration of the village and its absorption into the larger fabric of an emerging English imperial culture.

Critics have frequently discussed the motif of the foreign in *Cranford*, generally allying all references to that which is non-English with that which is industrialized and urban, the only material difference being that one threatens invasion from abroad, while the other threatens invasion (and modernization) from within the motherland. This, however, is an oversimplification. Gaskell herself does not collapse industry and empire, and while she represents Manchester doppelgänger Drumble as a spreading contagion, her depiction of imperial spaces and goods is considerably more positive. By focusing on the significance of the imported items littering the novel's pages, this paper explores the psychological ramifications of the relationship between Great Britain's imperial possessions and the "imperial possessions," be they tea or turbans, of everyday village life. Each item that reaches the ladies of *Cranford* via the channels of empire offers its new possessor the opportunity to modify her identity as an individual and as an Englishwoman in a way that is much less threatening than that offered by succumbing to the frivolity and bustle of Drumble.

Ultimately I suggest that in *Cranford* Gaskell uses the idea of empire as an imaginative space in which the community can relocate itself, allowing it to emerge from a nostalgic, stagnant past without entering into the grim drudgery of a modern industrialized city. *Cranford* offers its characters – and its nineteenth-century readers – a third possibility: a new concept of English life and identity rooted in the endlessly expanding reaches of the British Empire.

Viewed in this way, a thorough reevaluation of Gaskell's text provides insight into the ways in which goods imperial not only infiltrated but reformulated quotidian existence in England's towns and villages, effectively bringing the empire home.

2) Leslie Simon (Boston U)

“A Cocoa-nut Tree in London: Cultural Delusion in Thackeray's *The Newcomes*”

The bulk of W. M. Thackeray's canonical works of social satire paint in grotesque form a world structured around performance and spectatorship, a world where everything is saleable and nothing is what it seems. In the theater of Thackeray's imagination, London takes center stage, as it struggles to define itself in the wake of industrialization and the spread of global commerce, and to give material shape to the illusions of self and home sponsored by imperialism's rhetoric of dialectical identification. In his novels, air-castles crumble and the switchboard of signifiers that govern perceptions of national and domestic stability illuminates the ever-shifting, unfixed quality of human – and British – definition.

Taking up these concerns where *Vanity Fair* (1848) and *Pendennis* (1850) leave off, Thackeray's *The Newcomes* (1855) focuses with brutal clarity on the speculative bubbles that devastated the popular economy of mid-nineteenth-century England. His real concern, however, is not with economy, but culture; inasmuch, Thackeray uses the paradigm of speculation to look closely at the false realities conjured by the imperial drive to establish a fixed sense of “home” – and at the *things* manufactured and appropriated as signs of domesticity. Thackeray's *The Newcomes* bursts the bubble (to carry forth the metaphor) of British domesticity, which stages “home” for an audience of self and other, and in doing so, it argues that human life – and nineteenth-century British life, specifically – cannot be understood as adhering to one universal pattern of material or imagined signification, but is characterized by divergent warps and woofs (as Forster might put it) constantly, peculiarly, incomprehensibly intersecting.

Clive Newcome, amateur artist and budding bourgeois, concludes upon his travels to Rome that this faded empire with its monuments of institutionalized history and faith adds up to nothing more than a collection of candles, church tapestries and nameless marble statues. Thackeray's novel, scanning the stuff of Victorian society (from brass-plates to whiskers, looking-glasses to painted card-racks), draws similar conclusions of imperial Britain: the network of things meant to point to or signify some sense of British domestic reality are revealed in *The Newcomes* as decoys and shams that bring the stage curtains down in order to hide a mangled mess of truths lurking backstage. This novel (which boasts actual closeted skeletons) examines how the truths of quotidian life at the center of the British Empire are inexplicable – how truth itself becomes dislodged just at the moment when cultural hegemony is most wanted – and how normativities consequently take shape in a material culture offering tangible signs of uniformity and familiarity.

The primary narrative thread of *The Newcomes* unravels the story of Clive's father, Colonel Thomas Newcome, who, after spending thirty-four years in India, returns to England only to find that he can no longer interpret the social codes spoken at home and that his brand of Anglo-Indian Britishness does not easily assimilate into sanctioned forms of mid-Victorian identity. He is indeed a *newcomer* who has difficulty engaging in the systems of cultural and economic exchange that manage everyday life in England, and whose idealized notions of home and family are dispelled with uncomfortable speed. Alienated from his relations and wrongfully disinherited from the family business (a bank monopolizing the investment and trade of London's middle classes), Colonel Newcome arrives home a stranger, and so provides and exhibits his own sign of commerce: a cocoa-nut tree he has uprooted from Indian soil, transplanted into the drawing rooms of London society, and adorned with a medallion imaging the economic camaraderie of England and its greatest colony.

Colonel Newcome, barred from participating in his family's money market, touts the sure success of the Bank of Bengal, where he has invested his colonial fortune, inviting friends and acquaintances to follow his lead. Unfortunately, the arrival of the cocoa-nut tree in Thackeray's London acts much the same as the moonstone's arrival in Wilkie Collins's English suburbs. It disrupts. For investment in the Bank of Bengal proves disastrous – the Colonel forced to sell his home at auction and shamefacedly retire into ignominious poverty – and everyone swayed by the rhetoric of the cocoa-nut tree ends in financial ruin. The bank and its promises prove false, never having invested a farthing in material stock to begin with, and public faith in its value results in unsparing disillusionment.

The cocoa-nut tree does not belong in the English drawing room and should not enter ideological circulation as a representative of domestic stability. However, *The Newcomes* shows how looking-glass, card-racks and fire-screens operate just as elusively within the framework of domestic – and national –

signification. Thackeray, with his critical acerbity and the prop of a cocoa-nut tree, exposes the cultural delusions created by the stabilizing force of such bric-a-brac – delusions that demand ideological investment but ultimately fail to yield return – and subsequently makes clear that no one universal reality can be fixed as a determiner of Victorian identity, nor as justification for the nature of Great Britain’s global enterprises.

3) Michelle Beissel Heath (Geo Washington U)

“Empire, Home, and the Child as Artifact: Six to Sixteen and Kim’s Game”

In his autobiographical *Something of Myself* (1937), Rudyard Kipling acknowledged that he was profoundly influenced by Juliana Ewing, admitting that of the “priceless volumes” of books his parents had given to him as a child he still had one: “a bound copy of Aunt Judy’s Magazine of the early ’seventies, in which appeared Mrs. Ewing’s *Six to Sixteen*. I owe more in circuitous ways to that tale than I can tell. I knew it, as I know it still, almost by heart. Here was a history of real people and real things.”* This paper examines one of the many ‘circuitous’ connections between Kipling and *Six to Sixteen* (1872): the portrayal of home and its foundation in games, and particularly the “game” of collecting, in Kipling’s *Kim* (1901) and Ewing’s tale. While both Ewing and Kipling offer the idea of “home” as a fluid concept within the realm of empire and the military “family,” “home” in *Kim* becomes so fluid and open that it loses its very identity as home in a way that Ewing’s “home” in *Six to Sixteen* never does. In *Six to Sixteen*, the main character, Margery, flits from home to home, but as she does so she flits from fad to fad, game to game, and collection to collection (clothes, painting, gardens, aquariums, ferns). In all cases and houses, however, she remains in charge of her own games, and bolsters a belief that a British child’s home can literally be anywhere. In *Kim*, this is far from the case, as if Kipling took Ewing at her word, and to an extreme: while Margery can make a home anywhere, *Kim*’s only home is in the streets, or anywhere and everywhere, all of India itself—which is not a home at all. Unsettled and uncomfortable at his British military school from which he takes frequent “holidays” and returns to the streets, and kept at the outskirts of all respectable British houses, including that of the great Anglo-Indian commander spy, Creighton, the only physical houses *Kim* feels comfortable in are themselves “great games” and miniature versions of nineteenth century India: the museum House of Wonders and Lurgan Sahib’s house of horrors. Both “houses” store native artifacts, but Lurgan Sahib’s house in particular includes native masks, gems, and other articles that *Kim* plays with, but that are also used to play with *Kim*. Indeed, I argue that Kipling offers *Kim* not so much as a boy looking for a place or home, but as a native specimen or artifact being polished and traded by collectors. Yet *Kim*—through *Kim*—is ironically returned “home” through the efforts of Robert Baden-Powell and his Scouts movement, which made the gem collection memory game Lurgan Sahib teaches *Kim* a staple of the new movement, and in the process recreated an aspect of *Kim*’s “home in India” in Britain, and restored child’s games (if not the child himself) to the homeland.

*Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself*, ed. Thomas Pinney (1937; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 6.

SESSION SIX, “Empire and Oppression: Intersections with Class & Gender”

1) Greg Vargo (Columbia U)

“Outworks of the Citadel of Corruption”: The British Empire in the Chartist Press”

The high-water mark of Chartist internationalism came when George Julian Harney, the young editor of the *Northern Star*, debated Foreign Minister Lord Palmerston “teeth to teeth” on the hustings during the 1847 election at Tiverton. Harney’s hour-long address integrated an analysis of the domestic crises of the New Poor Law, the rising national debt, and the expansion of police powers under the Rural Police Act, with a condemnation of Britain’s imperial role in the world. The radical journalist excoriated the Opium War as the elevation of the principles of free trade to an act of international brigandage, denounced the invasion of Afghanistan as anti-democratic interference in the affairs of a sovereign nation, and lambasted the suppression of the Canadian rebellion of 1837. More broadly, Harney argued that the colonial system extended class rule abroad and solidified the structures that divided British society. The working classes bore the tax burden that sustained imperial expansion and fought in the armies that enforced imperial power, while the material benefits of empire were reaped by a narrow elite.

Scholars have treated Harney’s speech as a short-lived moment in Chartist history when the movement’s left fringe promulgated an internationalist politics. However, an analysis of the *Chartist Circular* and the *Northern Star*, two papers with circulations exceeding 10,000, suggests that questions of empire continually engaged the Chartists. From the journals’ first issues, news reports, editorials, accounts of meetings about foreign affairs, travel writing, and letters to the editor scrutinized Britain’s foreign and colonial policies and analyzed the implications of Britons being subjects of a government which ruled an international political and economic system. Thomas Martin Wheeler’s *Sunshine and Shadow*, a political *Bildungsroman* serialized in the *Star* from 1849 to 1850, was set, in part, on the plantations of an unnamed

West Indian colony. By anatomizing the despotic rule and economic repression that characterized post-emancipation society, Wheeler undercut an emerging language that celebrated England as the liberator of the slaves and thereby justified the empire.

Though never entirely consistent, the *Star* and the *Circular* articulated wide-ranging criticism of the colonial system, calling the empire “the outworks of the citadel of corruption.” The newspapers synthesized a utilitarian tradition skeptical of militarism and colonial rule, an evangelical universalism opposed to slavery and the slave trade, and a popular radical analysis of the British class structure. Recognizing the importance of anti-imperialism in the first national working-class movement challenges the image of the British population as supine consumers of or uniform participants in the mid-century colonial project.

2) Rachel Slivon (U of Florida)

**“An Exploration of Colonial Critiques in a Particular Moment: Olive Schreiner’s
Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland”**

Olive Schreiner, a female author who was born in 1855 in South Africa and lived both in South Africa and Europe, exists as both colonizer and colonized, as white and non-white. Schreiner utilizes her unique position to critique colonialism in several of her novels, short stories, and essays. In this paper, I explore one such novel published in 1897, *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland*, a work that Schreiner refers to as one of her most important texts, yet has often been neglected in scholarship. Schreiner attacks Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company's brutal treatment and exploitation of the colonized Africans in her novel. *Trooper Peter*, a mixture of fictionalized and factual accounts, critically explores the colonial context in which the 1896-1897 Chimurenga, the uprising of the Shona and Ndebele people, takes place.

Oliver Schreiner presents a plethora of strategies and sites of colonial critique and resistance in *Trooper Peter*. I posit, explore, and complicate two strategies in *Trooper Peter*, which, in this particular historical “moment,” all disrupt the colonizer-colonized dichotomy and thus disrupt the colonizer-colonized identities. First, Schreiner shows same race and interracial homosocial relationships as sites of colonial resistance in which the participants' loyalty to serve one another momentarily disrupts the colonizer-colonized dichotomy, whereas she presents interracial heterosexual relationships as problematic, often leading to sexual exploitation and reinforcing the colonizer-colonized dichotomy. Secondly, Schreiner shows interruptions of the colonizers' “sacrifice” of the colonized. I extend Rene Girard's definition of “sacrifice,” society's deflection of violence onto a relatively indifferent victim, usually prisoners of war, slaves, foreigners, enemies, and beings who are either outside or on the fringes of society, in *Violence and the Sacred*, by engaging with Ann Stoler's theory of English identity building in *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*. Viewing *Trooper Peter* as a particular example in a particular “moment,” I contend that by “sacrificing” some of the colonized, the colonizers simultaneously relieve the threat of the English identity becoming contaminated by “others” and reinforce the colonizer-colonized dichotomy. In Schreiner's *Trooper Peter*, the act of the colonizers “sacrificing” the colonized is interrupted and diverted when Peter releases a colonized man who is condemned to death by the colonizers. Peter, taking the place of the colonized by being killed by his own men, deflects this “violence” and this non-English identity back onto the colonizers.

3) Jessica Queener (W. Virginia U)

He and She: Adventure, Gender, & Imperialism in H. Rider Haggard’s *She* & Stoker’s *The Man*.

In novels by H. Rider Haggard and Bram Stoker, a man, or a group of men, set out on an adventure. Stoker's *The Man* (1902) sends its male protagonist on a journey through the North American Wilderness, while Haggard's *She* (1887) depicts a quest into uncharted African territory. In each case, “adventure” mimics an Imperial project; quests are synonymous with conquests, although not without great hazard. The perils of unexplored lands, and thus Imperialism, come to have disparate meanings that are context specific. In North America the unknown is characterized as cold, sterile and openly hostile. Explorers bound for Africa face a hot, diseased, and sexually charged atmosphere that harbors deeply concealed dangers. In each case the adventurers are meant to gain from their journeys either knowledge, or capital, and in doing so provide themselves, and Britain, with a stabilized, reinvigorated masculinity.

All the while the male protagonists are out adventuring, each text presents the impetus for these voyages in the form of a powerful woman. Stoker's Stephen Norman and Haggard's Ayesha (or *she-who-must-be-obeyed*), wield a great deal of power, each in their own unorthodox way. Both women transgress

traditionally female gender roles, and both must, by means of the male adventurers, be reinstated to the “proper” (read as submissive) social role or be cast out entirely--even to the point of annihilation. In this way the modes of Imperialism represented through adventure are not just practiced as a means of accruing wealth or knowledge. Adventure and Imperialism in these texts are acts that ensure Britain’s social stability by policing those who would transgress traditional gender roles.

But how is it that Imperialism can have alternate significance dependent on the site of exploration and, despite its context specific nature, be expected to effectively police conformity to traditional gender roles? This paper, through its exploration of the relationship between adventure and Imperialism, will argue that behind the disparate characterizations of North America and Africa lies a preference for which modes of Imperialism will best ensure the futurity of Britain’s social structures. Adventures in North America are shown to enrich and enliven the male protagonist, to yield rational if arduous opportunities to accrue wealth, strength, and knowledge. The heroin, in turn, learns to embrace a maternal role. On the other hand, the adventure to Africa is an emasculating and futile one that cannot recoup its transgressive heroin, only destroy her.

The novels at hand demonstrate an approach to Imperialism wherein the desire to benefit from either destination is strong, but only one, North America, will assure Britain’s continuance as a healthy and productive society. The narratives concerning, adventure, Imperialism, and gender found in *She* and *The Man* demonstrate that the three tropes must work together in the service of Empire.

SESSION SEVEN, 9:30-10:45 a.m “Australia & Other Settler Colonies”

1) Philip Steer (Duke U)

“Guerrillas in the Midst: Settler Colonization and the British Invasion Novel”

Abstract: Britain’s settler colonies constitute one of the most unexplored aspects of empire within Victorian Studies. The racial and linguistic homogeneity between metropolitan Britons and the colonists has placed the subject outside the dominant analytical paradigm of racial difference initiated by Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) and translated into Victorian Studies by Patrick Brantlinger’s *Rule of Darkness* (1988) and Gauri Viswanathan’s *Masks of Conquest* (1989). By contrast, I argue that the experience of settler colonization was also transformative of Victorian Britain, and to demonstrate this claim I will focus on how this unexplored empire modifies Thomas Richards’ highly stimulating account of the invasion novel in *The Imperial Archive* (1993).

Richards’ claims that Erskine Childers’ *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903) marks a dramatic departure from the standard Victorian invasion novel, for its protagonists’ “systematic use of low technology” allows British society to be placed on a permanent war footing, something that has “no parallel in previous invasion novels.” While I agree that *The Riddle of the Sands* does indeed mark a turning point in the *metropolitan* invasion novel, I wish to argue that it achieves this task by appropriating a model from the unexplored empire. *Australasian* writers had developed a similar paradigm in the 1890s in response to a growing sense of isolation from Britain and of vulnerability to invasion. This Australasian model, essentially a defensive strategy of guerrilla warfare, had in turn been appropriated – somewhat surprisingly – from the tactics that New Zealand’s *indigenous Maori* population had employed in warfare against the colonists.

One response to Australasia’s perceived vulnerability to invasion was for settlers to cast themselves as successors to the Maori. Doing so allowed them to adopt an *indigenizing* strategy that located the potential for patriotic, anti-imperial resistance in a deeply localized knowledge of the landscape. This paradigm is at the heart of Australian author and politician Kenneth Mackay’s *The Yellow Wave* (1895), which imagines a future Chinese invasion of Australia. The colony’s hopes lie in a settler guerrilla movement that explicitly adopts Maori tactics. Thus, a decade prior to Childers’ novel, this novel refuses to pin its hopes upon British military might but instead mobilizes the civilian settler population in a low-technology resistance that prioritizes the value of their local expertise.

Guerrilla warfare became a prominent subject in England at the end of the century because of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), and it is my contention that the prior indigenizing of settler identity in Australasia both made the surprisingly successful Boer tactics *legible* to Victorian Britain and demonstrated the military *efficacy* of such those tactics. Indeed, Childers edited the volume of the definitive *Times* history of the war that dealt with the Boers’ guerrilla campaign (1907), and in it argued that all wars ought to be theorized in terms of a guerrilla model. In other words, his novel of English civilians discovering and forestalling a German plan for invasion does not arise out of thin air, but marks the adoption in late Victorian Britain of the indigenized guerrilla methodology that originated on the settler colonial periphery.

Yet Childers also expands this model from the unexplored empire by translating its defensive orientation into the more aggressive context of surveying foreign territory, and thus presses it into the service of a general mobilization of the British population in the decade immediately prior to World War I.

2) Julie M. Barst (Purdue U)

“Transporting the Condemned: Victorian Convict Literature and Australia”

This essay focuses on a critically underrepresented member of the British empire: the colony of Australia. Convict transportation to Australia began in 1788 when the First Fleet of 760 convicts landed in Port Jackson (now Sydney), and continued until its official end in 1868. Victorian literature is rife with accounts of such convicts: Charles Dickens alone invoked the convict figure in *Pickwick Papers*, *Dombey & Son*, and *Great Expectations*,⁴ yet very little critical attention is given to this clearly significant geographical sector of the empire.

This essay contends that Victorian authors utilize convict figures to portray a British nation that lacks sympathy for the poor and underprivileged in society, a neglect which leads many to lives of crime and eventual transportation. The Victorians, who read increasingly horrific accounts of actual life in the penal colony, narrate detailed, negative portrayals of convicts who are banished to Australia. These characters focus the narrative gaze on Britain and loudly critique its practice of transportation. I will invoke Adam Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments* to describe the importance of sympathy to the British sense of morality and national identity. Focusing primarily upon the character of Alice Marwood in *Dombey & Son*, I will prove that, even though she is a minor character, this returned female convict plays a significant role in the narrative space of the novel and offers a richly detailed critique of British culture.

Alice returns legally from her position of exiled convict upon expiration of her sentence, yet she still remains an outsider to her culture in many ways because of the convict stain. James Buzard writes in *Disorienting Fiction* that some characters come to inhabit an “insider’s outsideness” position that allows them a unique perspective to their own culture, especially in witnessing the “possibilities for reform” (12). I argue that the returned convict is the perfect example of this position: “inside” the culture enough as a former member, yet “outside” by virtue of their legal exile and stained character, convicts are able to view their own society through different eyes than its own members.

Alice Marwood’s perspective on her society becomes clear as her story unfolds. Her mother established Alice as a commodity on the marriage market, and then Alice was abused and abandoned by James Carker, Mr. Dombey’s secretary; she then turned to crime in order to survive and was eventually caught and transported to Australia. Alice clarifies in the novel that her transportation to Australia failed to rehabilitate her, but actually sent her home to Britain more hardened, both physically and emotionally, than she left it (readers see evidence of this in her transformed physical constitution). Dickens emphasizes the numerous instances where society has gone astray with women such as Alice, and through her critique from a detached position, Dickens thus attempts to restore sympathy to its rightful place as a core element in a uniquely British culture. A minor character in *Dombey & Son* proves that convicts returning from Australia are able to impart richly detailed and valuable insights about the mother nation that transported them.

3) Dorice Elliott (U of Kansas)

“Controlling Sex and Crime in Australia”

In the many discussions of imperialism in the literary academy recently, Australia figures much less often than the other colonies. The Australian colonies, however, are especially important in understanding the various purposes that imperialism filled for nineteenth-century Britain because the aims for colonizing Australia were so different. While in other colonies the position of white settlers was defined by their difference from indigenous peoples, in Australia there was another layer of difference—the transported convicts. Sending these convicts to Australia was explicitly a way to solve legal, economic, and social problems in Britain. Transporting criminals, of course, removed them from English society, a practice mirrored by novelists who frequently sent problematic characters to Australia to get rid of them without actually killing them. Both physical and fictional transportation also held out hopes that those sent to Australia might be able to reform and make a new life there.

⁴ Other Victorian authors who emphasize the convict figure include Charles Reade, Anthony Trollope, and George Eliot.

Marriage, agreed almost all commentators on the issue of transportation of convicts to Australia, was the most likely guarantor of reform. The best preparation for convict marriage was assignment of convicts to domestic or agricultural service with good emigrant families headed by a firm but fair patriarchal master and a pure domestic woman. Immersion in the domestic would turn criminal tendencies in the working-class offenders into the materials of honest British citizenship. Without the discipline of the domestic, however, convicts were sure to indulge their natural tendencies to drunkenness and sexual profligacy. Unless convict=s wives or husbands were also allowed to emigrate, even well-behaved convicts would be tempted to engage in adulterous relations or even in bigamy. Worse, those who were grouped together in gangs, barracks, factories, or penal settlements would devolve to the worst form of degradation, the Aunspeakable horrors@ of homosexuality. Female convicts, most of whom were actually transported for crimes against property, were almost universally assumed to be prostitutes, explicitly linking crime with sexuality. But for male convicts, too, sexuality was tied to criminality; if there were no legitimate outlets for their sexual desires, it was assumed, they would naturally turn to various forms of deviance. Essentially, then, to control the convict=s sexuality was to cure the convict of crime.

Anxieties and assumptions about crime and sexuality, and about domesticity as the best remedy for both, are apparent in many nineteenth-century novels and first-hand narratives about Australia. Crime is intertwined with sexuality in Victorian sensation novels such M.E. Braddon=s bigamy novel, *Lady Audley=s Secret*, and Charles Reade’s *It Is Never Too Late to Mend*. In these novels, the crime of sexualityBor sexuality as crimeBmay be projected either on the Australian emigrant, forced or free, or on the spouse at home in England. Either way, bigamy figures anxieties about marriage itself as a solution to crime.

The paradox built into Australian colonial society is, then, that marriage is the best way to reform convicts and to organize a stable colony of productive, respectable citizens but, because it is shadowed by prior English attachments, marriage is itself possibly a crime. Without marriage, there is the perversion of sexual desires that results in prostitution, Abuggery,@ and rape, but with marriage comes the possibility of bigamy or adultery. Heterosexual desires are “natural,” even for criminals who commit Aunnatural acts@; at the same time, what looks like legitimate sexuality can be illegal. Clearly, marriage and domesticity were troubled solutions to the problems of crime and sex in early colonial Australia, perhaps the most “unexplored” of the British colonies.

SESSION EIGHT, 11-12:30 p.m., “Other Imperialisms”

1) Zarena Aslami (Michigan SU)

“Rather a Geographical Expression than a Country:” Victorian Afghanistan and the Limits of State Fantasy”

To say that Afghanistan represented a hermeneutical problem for Victorian military strategists and historians, as well as for current ones, is perhaps to say the obvious. As the narrator of G. A. Henty’s pro-imperialist adventure novel for boys, *For Name and Fame* (1900), explains to his young readers, “It must be remembered that Afghanistan has for centuries been rather a geographical expression than a country” (248). And, indeed, in contemporary histories, such as W. P. Andrew’s *Our Scientific Frontier* (1880) and Archibald Forbes’s *The Afghan Wars, 1839-42 and 1878-80* (1892), as well as recent ones, like *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (1999), edited by Andrew Porter, Afghanistan consistently emerges in terms of borders, buffers, and boundaries: a material signifier, rather than a sign, a medium for communication, rather than an idea in itself. This paper proceeds as an investigation into this anomalous status of Afghanistan. Despite the Victorian period’s predilection for converting complicated historical situations into the genre of the “Large Question,” such as the Woman Question or the Eastern Question, Afghanistan remains metaphorically underdetermined. In recent studies, it often figures as a footnote, marginal to the kinds of stories unfolding in relation to India, South Africa, or the Caribbean. Since England did not officially colonize it, one could argue that Afghanistan was simply never as significant. However, once we attend to shifts in the British political imaginary from a more coercive to a more hegemonic, interventionist state, we can read the marginal status of Afghanistan as a symptom of Britain’s own fascination with a culture it deemed an uncanny and impossible allegory for itself.

In the 1880s and 1890s in Britain, late-Victorian print culture both indexed and obsessed over the emergence of a new political fantasy: “the State” as a heroic actor endowed with the capacities to “step in” and alleviate the brutalities of economic, social, legal, and political inequities. While such a fantasy

provoked love and desire in British subjects, who imagined that the state could grant them liberal plenitude, they also feared its capacity to disavow them. Integral to the ambivalent process of identification with Afghanistan that this paper will demonstrate is the persistent nineteenth-century image of its inhabitants as ruggedly individualistic, militarily fierce, and personally brave, yet affectively primitive. In fact, this Afghan, representing an excessive and othered version of individualism, makes an odd stand-in for England's own pre-liberal individual, poised to emerge gradually as the ideal liberal individual against the unjust authority of monarchical power. Victorian Afghanistan thus comes to figure as a uniquely incoherent and ever-changing set of limits for the late nineteenth-century political imaginary. Turning to Arthur Conan Doyle's, "A Study in Scarlet" (1887), Rudyard Kipling's short story "The Man Who Would Be King" (1888), and Henty's adventure novel, I show that Afghanistan by the end of the nineteenth century was conceived not only as a raw, inhospitable space that could be made into a protective, physical zone against Russian incursions on India, but also as a strangely homologous case for British subjects' feelings of their own vulnerability toward, subjection by, and yet fascination with a new turn in official power, the kind exercised by the modern liberal state.

2) Diana Colbert (CUNY)

"Punch Presents ... Empire! Political Cartoons with Imperial Subjects in the Era of the Spanish American War"

While there have been a handful of histories and biographies written about *Punch*, and a handful of its staffers, scholars have yet to mine its pages specifically to study middle-class attitudes toward imperialism and the British Empire. The last half of the 1890's is a particularly rich time era for this examination. In the summer of 1898, sandwiched between two opposite extremes of imperial affect – the Diamond Jubilee of 1897 and the beginning of the Boer War in 1899 – the United States acquired its first overseas territory in the Spanish-American War. Simultaneously, the United States became the first country to surpass Britain's share of global manufacturing output. Therefore, these last years of the 19th century herald the beginning of a long shift in the balance of global power between Britain and the United States. The U.S. desire to emulate the British Empire has been widely explored, but contemporary representations of British attitudes toward the new global role of the U.S. have been under-researched.

This conference presentation examines cartoons from *Punch*, using cartoons from the *New York Journal* as a kind of visual interlocutor. Juxtaposing these two periodicals' representations of Empire – both the venerable British and the new American – illuminates both Anglo-American relations as well as the particularly fraught imperial era of the late 1890s. As a form of propaganda, the political cartoon's representational clarity makes a blunt statement, but placing these images in dialogue with one another illuminates subtleties of international rivalry and self-fashioning.

Punch addresses the Spanish-American War and the new U.S. territories in several cartoons, including the preface to Volume 114, dated July 1898: just after the U.S. victory in Cuba, but before its success in the Philippines. In this preface, Anglo-American relations are characterized as almost familial, likening their affinity to the bond between a wise mentor and his young, untried pupil. *Punch* naturally also has several cartoons related to its own territories, in which the representative figure for the "peripheral" space is nearly always a woman. The feminization of territorial representation finds a masculine counterpart in the representation of Cuba and the Philippines, which are commonly figured as scary-looking, male ne'er-do-wells. *Punch*'s figuration of its relation to its own empire is unsurprisingly condescending and paternalistic, while the cartoons that depict the nascent U.S. empire show it as teetering on the edge of folly.

Not surprisingly, the political cartoons in *The New York Journal* have a different take on Anglo-American relations and the relative successes of the two empires. Although *The New York Journal* and *Punch* are very different publications – daily vs. weekly, aimed at the masses vs. the middle class – there are some important connections between the two. Frank Davenport, the *Journal*'s lead illustrator, visited England in 1897, visiting Parliament and Hawarden Castle, where he drew the likes of Lord Salisbury and William Gladstone. Davenport's cartoons stressed Uncle Sam's history of "licking" John Bull in previous combat, but also emphasized the need for Britain's cooperation in the U.S. attempt to emulate the imperial success of its former rival.

3) Walter Arnstein (UIUC)

"An Unexplored Empire: Queen Victoria and the United States"

Does the relationship between Queen Victoria and the United States belong to a conference dedicated to enhancing our understanding of the Victorians and their relationship with the expanding overseas British

Empire? During an era in which mapmakers delighted in painting red such gigantic territories as India, Canada, and Australia and dots such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Gibraltar, presumably the United States did not belong on such a map. Britain's first gigantic overseas colony had become a republic, after all, half a generation before the accession of Queen Victoria. Throughout the nineteenth century, indeed, Fourth of July orators would continue to contrast the virtues of an independent progressive republic with the limitations of an old-fashioned monarchy.

Yet, in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the role of such a monarch as symbolic head of Britain's empire was strengthened. Thus in 1876 Queen Victoria was officially proclaimed as Empress of India. It was yet further strengthened by Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887. The Diamond Jubilee of 1897 was transformed into an international celebration of empire, and Queen Victoria's death in 1901 was marked by an international commemoration of empire.

During those same years, a detailed survey of late nineteenth-century American periodicals such as *Harpers Weekly* suggests that they devoted ever more attention to the life, the actions, and the attitudes of Queen Victoria. American publishers familiarized their readers with tens of thousands of illustrated biographies of Prince Albert and of illustrated diaries of the queen's journals. Engravings of the queen and her world became ever more plentiful, and (with rare exceptions) she was depicted in an ever more positive manner. The queen came to be described as both a model monarch and a model woman who was repeatedly described as both a benefactor and a personal friend to the people of the United States. A development of Anglo-American amity reached a high point with the Diamond Jubilee of 1897 and its climax with Victoria's death in January 1901.

For the time in American history, the death of a foreign monarch was marked by flags at half-staff at the White House, in every public government office, and in innumerable private homes throughout the country. Both House of Congress adjourned in honor of the Queen as did the New York Stock Exchange; every bank and brokerage house displayed flags at half-mast. Many state legislatures adjourned their proceedings also. Church bells tolled in cities throughout the United States, and New York's department stores and specialty shops hung their premises with black drapery and union jacks. On the day of Queen Victoria's funeral, President William McKinley and his entire cabinet attended a memorial service at St. John's Episcopal Church.

Although historians of international relations have noted the Anglo-American *rapprochement* of the later 1890s and early twentieth century, they have all but ignored the symbolic import of what may appropriately be called the Americanization of Queen Victoria. The United States did not formally rejoin the British Empire in 1901, but the manner in which both institutions and individual Americans reacted to her death suggests that many of them had come to accept her as their *de facto* queen also.

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