BSECS 52nd Annual Conference:
'Homecoming, Return, and Recovery'

4 –6 Jan 2023

St Hugh's College, University of Oxford

Contents

From the President

We're back! It gives me enormous pleasure to welcome you to St. Hugh's College, Oxford, for our 52nd Annual Conference, and our 50th to take place 'in person' in that phrase that we have all come to know so well in the past two years. To mark our return to our conference home of St. Hugh's, and, as we hope, our Society's recovery from the pandemic, we have this year chosen the theme 'Homecoming, Return, and Recovery'. The past two years have been difficult for all of us, and for some more than others, but we now hope as a Society to move forwards, taking the most useful of what we have learned in our forced exile into the virtual world while restoring the best of the pre-pandemic world of face-to-face conferencing.

The eighteenth century was itself no stranger to pandemics and sudden, catastrophic illness. Although some diseases such as malaria and the plague were in retreat in Europe, others were rampant. The modern sciences of epidemiology and microbiology were in their infancy and, while doctors of the period were no fools, they were hampered by adherence to classical and medieval ideas about disease and its cures. Voltaire's quip that 'the art of medicine consists of amusing the patient while nature cures the disease' was no doubt exaggerated but, in reality, recovery could be a long and chancy business. For both rich and poor, convalescence took place largely in the home such that an injury or illness often spelled an enforced homecoming. But in an age of increasing—and increasingly reliable—travel, returns of all sorts became more frequent. For many, migration, whether voluntary or enforced, was a one-way ticket. For others—including sailors, soldiers, traders, explorers, and scientists—local, regional, and even global travel came with a reasonable expectation of getting back home intact, perhaps even with fame or fortune, albeit sometimes with the need for recovery. Returns, especially unexpected returns, accordingly, feature repeatedly in plays and novels as effective, if perhaps somewhat lazy, plot twists and dénouements. Paying attention to homecomings, returns, and recovery reveals much about our period's culture, society, and economy.

For many of you, this week will mark a return to St. Hugh's and to Oxford. For others, it will be your first visit. While I welcome you all, I would particularly like to welcome our postgraduate and early career researchers for many of whom this will be the first opportunity to join a busy academic conference after two years of relative isolation. I would also like to extend a special welcome to our overseas colleagues who join us here as members of the many constituent societies of the International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, or ISECS. Whether this is your first time at BSECS or our have been many times before, I hope you will feel at home!

We welcome your views on the society and the conference at our AGM, which this year is held on Wednesday 4th January from 16:00–17:30. This is the traditional place to hear the Society's officers report on the year's work, to ask them questions, and to raise any issues you may have about the conference and the Society. This year, however, we have an important additional discussion. The growth of the Society, as well as the new ways we have learned to do business over the past two years, mean that it is time to revise our constitution. We have made a revised constitution available and we welcome your comments at the AGM where we hope you will support its adoption—with luck without too many amendments! We encourage all BSECS members to participate.

Last year, we had a 'listening event' in which many of you shared your thoughts and suggestions about the past, present, and future of the conference and the Society, in particular, our strategies for access, diversity, and inclusion. This was extremely useful and, since this is our first in-person conference in two years, we are this year repeating the event, which will be again hosted by our Equality, Inclusion and Diversity Officers Karen Lipsedge and Declan Kavanagh. All members are welcome, and we encourage you to attend at 16:45 on Thursday 5th January.

This year we are delighted to welcome Judith Hawley of Royal Holloway, University of London, to deliver the annual keynote lecture. Judith will be speaking on the subject of 'Wining and Dining with Alexander Pope' on Thursday at 13:30. Also, on Thursday at 16:00, we continue our annual roundtable discussion of the Eighteenth century in the Twenty-First with a discussion, chaired by Matthew McCormack (University of Northampton and Vice-president of BSECS) on 'Migration'. On Friday, I shall be chairing a closing plenary roundtable which this year will feature some of our postgraduate and early career award winners. Please do join in with all these talks and discussions.

I would like to draw your attention to the BSECS Early Career Roundtable taking place on Thursday, 14:45-16:15, where we celebrate ECRs who have received funding from BSECS to work on variety of fantastic projects. We are so pleased to be able to financially support ECR researchers through a variety of funding opportunities. If there are PGRs or ECRs who are keen to know more about the funds on offer, please visit our 'Prizes and Awards' page on our website: https://www.bsecs.org.uk/prizes-and-awards/.

Also returning this year is the annual BSECS Postgraduate and Early Career Researcher Conference, taking place 13-14 July 2023 at the University of Edinburgh. The theme for the conference is 'Errantry, Exile and Elsewhere' and the CfP deadline is **15 January 2023.**

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity of thanking you all for your contributions to the success of this conference, whether as conference organiser, BSECS committee member, panel convenor, speaker, or engaged audience member. All your contributions, both large and small, are valued and appreciated as part of the collective effort that makes BSECS work. We recognise that many in our Society may be unable to attend the annual in-person conference, and so we are introducing an online conference to our suite of activities. The call for papers will open 15 January 2023 and the theme is 'Eighteenth-century Studies'. We will also continue to hold our annual in-person conference, the next of which will take place 3-5 January 2024 conference, when the theme will be 'Work and Play'!

Brycchan Carey
Northumbria University
President of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies

Chair Guidance

Thank you for agreeing to chair at the BSECS 52nd Annual Conference: 'Homecoming, Return, and Recovery'. This guidance document is designed to help all chairs manage panels, roundtables and workshops taking place throughout the conference. Chairs may prefer how they wish a session to run, so please adapt the guidance to suit.

Before the panel takes place

- Chairs should contact all speakers in the session and ask for a brief biography. Please remind speakers to come to the session 5-10 minutes before it begins to test any tech requirements, such as PowerPoint etc. and discuss how the session will run).
- If chairs do not have the contact information for a speaker, please get in touch with the Academic Conference Organiser at conference.academic@BSECS.org.uk and they will be able to put chairs and speakers in touch.
- Before the session begins, please ensure that the computer and projector are working properly. If not, please come to the registration desk to ask for assistance.

What is a speaker does not turn up?

- If a speaker does not appear for their session, or if they run into technical difficulties, please wait for 5-minutes. If the issue is not resolved, chairs can move to the next speaker, or they can propose a topic for discussion based on the themes of the session, or they can end the session early.

Tech in the room

- All the rooms have a computer connected to a project. When you first toggle the screen awake it will ask for a password. Do not enter anything. Simple hit 'Enter' and you will gain access.

Starting the panel

- Explain how the session will run (i.e. questions after each paper or after all papers have been delivered).
- Welcome everyone to the session and introduce each speaker.

President's Prize

At the beginning of each session, please remind panel attendees that they can nominate postgraduate presenters for the President's Prize, for the best conference paper by a postgraduate student. The President's Prize nomination form is in the conference programme and available to download online. There are also extra forms at the registration desk.

During the session

- Ensure the session runs to time. Please alert speakers at the 2-minute mark their time is almost up. If they start to over-run, please tell the speaker their time is up and they should make a final, short conclusion.
- Manage the discussion.

Close the session

Thank all the attendees for coming, let them about any key events immediately after the session (i.e. a plenary, a break, more panels etc.) remind them about the President's Prize if a postgraduate speaker has participated in the session.

BSECS
British Society for
Eighteenth-Century Studies

President's Prize Nomination Form

BSECS Annual Conference

The President's Prize is awarded to the best paper delivered by a postgraduate student (who has not successfully defended their thesis, by the date of the paper) at the BSECS Annual Conference, as nominated by the session chairs or attendees. Nominated speakers are invited to submit a written version of their paper for assessment, which will be assessed alongside the evidence presented on this form. The prize is adjudicated by a panel which will judge on the basis of scholarly rigour and originality, as well the speakers' presentational skills as reported on this form. The award of £200 is made annually. The winner will be announced by early April.

Please send this form to president@bsecs.org.uk for consideration.

Name of nominee	
Title of paper	
Panel in which paper was presented	
Reasons for nomination (E.g. originality and significance of research; relevance to current debates; debate generated in the session; communication and presentation skills.)	continue on reverse if needed.
Name of nominator	

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Short Programme

WEDNESDAY 4TH JANUARY	
10:30–11:00	WELCOME ADDRESS, Maplethorpe Hall Brycchan Carey, BSECS President

11:00–12:30	WEDNESDAY SESSION I
1	**The Eighteenth Century Beyond the Russell Group (Roundtable)**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Chair:	**Dr Helen Williams, Northumbria University**
Speakers:	**Dr Stephen T Gregg, Bath Spa University** **Dr Sonja Lawrenson, Manchester Metropolitan University** **Dr Mark T Yates, Salford University** **Dr Adam James Smith, York St John University**
2	**Burney Society UK Panel on Homecoming, Return and Recovery**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair:	Miriam Al Jamil, Independent Scholar
Speakers:	**Louise Bray, University of Bristol** 'Unheimlich' ? Frances Burney's Cecilia: The Harried Heiress and Homelessness **Dr Lucy-Anne Katgely, University of Clermont-Ferrand, CELIS** "These deep-rooted prejudices should not be cherished": Virtuous, Wicked and Vulgar (N)ever-married Women in Sarah Harriet Burney's fiction **Trudie Messent, Independent Scholar** 'XMAS EVE, to my great joy got home to my family and affairs in London': Separations and Homecomings amongst the Burneys
3	**Returning to vice: indecency and immorality in urban spaces and print culture, 1753-1797**
Room:	Louey Seminar Room
Chair:	Dr Laura Kirkley, Newcastle University
Speakers:	**Francesca Killoran, University of York** A whole skin of parchment': Genre of Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies **Alexandra Collinson, University of Newcastle** The Home Comforts of a 'Vice Queen': Managing Business, Intimacy and Care in Margaret Leeson's Households **Edward Hardiman, University of Keele** "Here we meet with characters of every stamp, of ever complexation": Coffeehouse print culture in the late eighteenth century, 1770-1795.
4	**Homeward-bound? Between Britain and the Caribbean in the Eighteenth Century**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Chair:	Hardeep Dhindsa, King's College London
Speakers:	**Emma Pearce, University of Edinburgh** "If the Tartan comes out Cheap:" Tartan and Clothing the Enslaved in the Eighteenth-Century Circum-Atlantic **Siân Davies, University of Edinburgh**

	Bringing industrial capitalism home: Richard Pennant and his sites of labour in Jamaica and North Wales, 1782–1808 **Hannah Cusworth, University of Hull and English Heritage** Mahogany, the Caribbean and home
5	**Transformations: Eighteenth-century science and twentieth-century knowledge**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Edwin Rose, University of Cambridge
Speakers:	**Professor Chris Mounsey, University of Winchester** Nicholas Saunderson: the lost mathematician **Dr Christina Welch, University of Winchester** Alexander Anderson, and Transforming the St Vincent Botanical Garden **Stan Booth, University of Winchester** The Country Doctor – Friend, Foe or the Consumate Professional?
6	**Displacement, Commerce and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England**
Room:	Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Angela McShane, University of Warwick
Speakers:	**Tyler Rainford, University of Bristol** "I cannot retire from the world": Sociability, Credit, and Obligation in Eighteenth-Century English Diary-Keeping **Roseanna Kettle, University of York** "Uncheer'd, Unnurs'd, nay Unattended": Displacement and Loss in Late Georgian Liverpool
7	**Revellers, Residents and Recluses: exploring the tensions of eighteenth-century social Bath**
Room:	Lecture Theatre One (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Amy Frost, Bath Preservation Trust
Speakers:	**Dr Moira Goff, Independent Scholar** 'Just returned from Paris': teaching dance in Bath, 1760-1820 **Dr Chloe Valenti, National Trust** 'We have no Respite': Music as restorative or social burden? **Tatjana LeBoff, National Trust** Belonging in Bath: Experiencing the sociability of Georgian Bath as visitor and resident
8	**The Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: a Scholarly Edition in Review**
Room:	Lecture Theatre Two (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Professor Murray Pittock, University of Glasgow
Speakers:	**Professor Murray Pittock, University of Glasgow** The Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: Social Text and Social Context **Dr Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, University of Glasgow/Royal Conservatoire of Scotland** The musical archaeology of Allan Ramsay's Tea Table Miscellany volumes 3 & 4 **Dr Craig Lamont, University of Glasgow** The Prose of Allan Ramsay: books, business, and buildings
9	**Architecture**
Room:	Old Law Library
Chair:	Philip Connell
Speakers:	**Rory Lamb, University of Edinburgh** Recovering the Scottish townhouse in eighteenth-century London: The case of Lord Fife and Fife House in Whitehall

	Dr Thomas Whitfield, The Georgian Group Georgian Buildings Modern World; The Georgian Group and its work helping recover Georgian built heritage by returning it to use in the 21st Century **Gian Marco Russo, Sapienza University of Rome** Art as a remedy to nostalgia: relationships between painting and architecture in interiors by Robert Adam
10	**Mentors, Apprentices and the Everyday**
Room:	Boardroom (Main Building)
Chair:	Matthew Grenby
Speakers:	**Dr Bonnie Latimer, University of Plymouth** Citizens of the future: Apprentice-guides, young men, and ideal citizenship, 1660-1750 **Laura Blunsden, University of Liverpool** The Return to Ithaca: Mentorship in Eighteenth-Century Didactic Literature **Dr Robert Stearn, Birkbeck, University of London** Meditative Forms and Everyday Tactics in the Diary of Edmund Harrold (1712–15)
11	**Workshop on Georgian Shoes** [Please note that this workshop will be 60 minutes long.]
Room:	MGA Lecture Room (Mary Gray Allen Building)
Facilitator:	**Professor Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton**

12:30-13:30	LUNCH Dining Hall (Main Building)

13:30-15:30	WEDNESDAY SESSION II
12	**New Approaches to Book History**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Chair:	Dr Stephen Gregg, Bath Spa University
Speakers:	**Dr Hazel Wilkinson, University of Birmingham** Printers' ornaments and feminist bibliography **Sam Bailey, Newcastle University** Queering the Bibliography of Erotic Books, 1660-1750 **Dr Helen Williams, Northumbria University** Cottonian Bookbinding as Romantic Craftivism **Dr Adam James Smith, York St John University** Reconstructing Agency in Regional Print Contexts
13	**Travel and Homecoming**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Chair:	Professor Jakub Lipski, Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz (PL)
Speakers:	**Professor Nicholas Seager, Keele University** Pirates at Home: The Afterlife of Defoe's Captain Singleton during the Seven Years' War **Dr Daniel Cook, University of Dundee** Mary Gulliver's Travels **Dr Carmen-Veronica Borbely, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania** The Idiom of Vulnerability in Edward Daniel Clarke's Travelogues

14	**Eighteenth-Century Political Participation and Electoral Culture**
Room:	Louey Seminar Room
Chair:	Professor Matthew Grenby, Newcastle University
Speakers:	**Dr James Harris, Newcastle University (now Civil Service)**
	The ECPPEC project: new findings on contested elections and poll books
	Dr Kendra Packham, Newcastle University
	New perspectives on electoral culture
	Dr Hillary Burlock, Newcastle University
	Dance and Embodiment in Georgian Electoral Culture
	Professor Elaine Chalus, University of Liverpool
	George Canning and the Liverpool election
15	**Alexander Pope**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Chair:	Dr Alex Mortimore, Independent Scholar
Speakers:	**Professor Kevin Gardner, Baylor University**
	Alexander Pope and the "Epistle to Henry Cromwell"
	Dr Ivana Bicak, Durham University
	Triumph of Incongruity in Pope and Juvenal
	Dr Octavia Cox, Keble College, University of Oxford
	Pope's Eloisa to Abelard and Romantic Poetry
	Dr Ian Calvert, University of Bristol
	The Thersites Episode of Pope's Iliad: A Case-Study of Translation
16	**Home and Homecoming in Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letters**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Rachel Bynoth, Bath Spa University
Speakers:	**Anna Dearden, University of Birmingham**
	'latitudes in general very uncomfortable': experiences of home and comfort for Britons abroad in and en route to South Asia, c. 1757-1833
	Professor Karen Harvey, University of Birmingham
	'I got home safe & well': the orbit of bodies in eighteenth-century British letters
	Dr Sarah Fox, University of Birmingham
	Homecoming and the ageing body in eighteenth-century Britain
	Dr Emily Vine, University of Birmingham
	Changing climates and memories of 'Home' in eighteenth-century Letters
17	**What's Race Got to Do with It?: Interrogating the Norms of Domestic Space, Race and Gender in the Eighteenth-Century Novel (Roundtable)**
Room:	Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Karen Lipsedge, Kingston University
Speakers:	**Professor Ros Ballaster, University of Oxford**
	Dr Victoria Barnett-Woods, Loyola University,
	M.A. Miller, University of Nevada, Reno
	Dr Meg Kobza, Newcastle University
18	**Thomas Gray among the Disciplines: a roundtable on a forthcoming book (Roundtable)**
Room:	Lecture Theatre One (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Ephraim Levinson, University of Cambridge
Speakers:	**Dr Ruth Abbott, University of Cambridge**
	Dr Charlotte Roberts, University College London
	Dr Stephen Clarke, University of Liverpool
	Dr Rhys Kaminski-Jones, University of Wales Trinity Saint David

	Dr Edwin Rose, University of Cambridge **Dr Lotte Reinbold, University of Cambridge**
19	**Accounting for Taste: The Business of Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres (Roundtable)**
Room:	Lecture Theatre Two (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Professor David O'Shaughnessy, University of Galway
Speakers:	**Susan Bennett, University of Galway** **Dr Jennifer Buckley, University of Galway** **Dr Edward Kearns, University of Galway** **Dr Kandice Sharren, University of Galway** **Dr Leo Shipp, University of Galway**
20	**British Theatre**
Room:	Old Law Library
Chair:	Dr James Harriman-Smith, Newcastle University
Speakers:	**Dr Uri Erman, Ben-Gurion University, Israel** The Theatre as a Predatory Sphere: Actresses and Nobles in Eighteenth-Century Britain **Caroline Taylor, University of Oxford** Can't Take My Eyes Off of You: "The Return of the Look" and the Infectious Gaze in John Dryden's 'All For Love' (1677) **Dr Sebastian Mitchell, University of Birmingham, UK** Ossian in performance – the travesty of the grand ballet pantomime, 'Oscar and Malvina' **Professor Michael John Burden, New College, University of Oxford** Selling seats: Two impresarios manage London's opera house
21	**War**
Room:	Boardroom (Main Building)
Chair:	Professor Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton
Speakers:	**Hanna Filipova, University of Gothenburg** "And Lord granted me freedom": stories of the return of Ukrainians from Swedish captivity during the Great Northern War 1700-1721 **Professor Renata Schellenberg, Mount Allison University** Writing War: Forms of Return in Goethe's Campagne in Frankreich **Dr Andrea Haslanger, University of Sussex** Bringing War Home: Barbauld's 'The Caterpillar' and Scales of Harm
22	**Slavery**
Room:	MGA Lecture Room (Mary Gray Allen Building)
Chair:	Emma Pearce, University of Edinburgh
Speakers:	**Dr Ryan Hanley, University of Exeter** Enslaved Women Making Things Difficult for White Men in Colonial Jamaica, 1755-1765 **Dr Stuart M. McManus, Chinese University of Hong Kong** Slavery & the Search for the Geographical Limits of Vast Early America **Annabelle Gilmore, University of Birmingham** To Remember or to Forget? William Thomas Beckford, his Collection and Connection to Slavery

15:30-16:00	Coffee break Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

16:00-17:30 BSECS ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
All BSECS members are warmly invited to attend to welcome & support PG delegates.
Lecture Room 1 (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

17:30–19:00 WILEY-BLACKWELL & POSTGRADUATE RECEPTION
All BSECS members are warmly invited to attend to welcome & support PG delegates.
Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

19:00–20:30 DINNER Dining Hall (Main Building)

THURSDAY 5TH JANUARY	
09:00–10:30	THURSDAY SESSION I
23	**Aphra Behn: Place and Patronage, Past and Present**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Facilitators:	Professor Ros Ballaster, Mansfield College, University of Oxford
	Dr Claire Bowditch, University of Queensland
	"this loose Town": Place in Aphra Behn's "London" comedies
	Dr Marcus Nevitt, University of Sheffield
	Aphra Behn and Playbook Dedication During the Exclusion Crisis
	Professor Elaine Hobby, Loughborough University
	Aphra Behn Returns to Canterbury
24	**Natural History at Home and Abroad: Gilbert and John White of Selborne**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair:	Dr Rhys Kaminski-Jones, , University of Wales Trinity Saint David
Speakers:	**Stephanie Holt, Natural History Museum/University of Oxford after**
	The Naturalist in London: How Gilbert White's travels to London influenced his work as a naturalist in Selborne
	Dr Mary-Ann Constantine, University of Wales Trinity Saint David
	Home and Away: Gilbert White's Correspondence with Thomas Pennant
	Professor Brycchan Carey, Northumbria University
	Home and Away with John White of Selborne and Gibraltar: Naturalist, Naval Chaplain, and Forgotten Younger Brother
25	**Wollstonecraft Returning: Haunting and Resurrection**
Room:	Louey Seminar Room
Chair:	Dr Daniel Cook, University of Dundee
Speakers:	**Dr Laura Kirkley, Newcastle University**
	Gothic Terrors: Wollstonecraft's View of the French Revolution
	Dr Kandice Sharren, University of Galway
	Exhuming Wollstonecraft
	Dr Susan Civale, Canterbury Christ Church University
	Returning to Wollstonecraft at the Fin de Siècle
26	**Unlocking the Mary Hamilton Papers: Findings So Far**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Chair:	Professor Hannah Barker, University of Manchester
Speakers:	**Dr Sophie Coulombeau, University of York / Dr Cassandra Ulph, University of Manchester**
	Reading Practices in The Mary Hamilton Papers, 1783-1784
	Dr Nuria Yáñez-Bouza, Universidade de Vigo
	Forms of address and politeness in Mary Hamilton's private correspondence, 1776-1814
	Professor David Denison, University of Manchester / Dr Tino Oudesluijs, University of Manchester
	A first look at Mary Hamilton's social networks
27	**The Woman of Colour**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Ryan Hanley, University of Exeter
Speakers:	**Dr Andrew H. Armstrong, Independent Scholar (Formerly University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus)**
	TransAtlantic 'Returns' in The Woman of Colour: A Novel

	Dr Alison Cotti-Lowell, New England Conservatory of Music Homecoming or Exile?: Engineering the Overseas Citizen in The Woman of Colour **Aditi Upmanyu, Brasenose College, University of Oxford** Textual Recovery and Olivia's Homecoming in The Woman of Colour (1808)
28	**Politics and Representation**
Room:	Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Matthew McCormack
Speakers:	**Joshua Smith, University of Stirling** Politics, Patronage and Control in the British Subscription Library, 1800-1832 **Dr Alex Mortimore, Independent Scholar** The Political Representation of Bürger in Goethe's 'Die Aufgeregten' **Ioannes Chountis, University of Aberdeen** The Return of the Nabobs: Roman History and the Question of Empire in Edmund Burke's Indian Speeches
29	**Poems on Affairs of Statues: contesting and commemorating late-Stuart politics, from London to Leiden (via Maryland)**
Room:	Lecture Theatre One (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Barnaby Ralph, Seikei University / Visiting fellow at King's College, London
Speakers:	**Dr Claudine van Hensbergen, Northumbria University** Talking Horses and Monuments in the 1670s: Andrew Marvell and London's Sculptural Landscape **Dr Ed Holberton, University of Bristol** Statuary Transposed: 'A Dialogue Between the Two Horses' and the Miscellany of William Trail **Dr John McTague, University of Bristol** From London to Leiden to Mortlake: the Circulation of John Partridge, and his Verse
30	**Medicine**
Room:	Lecture Theatre Two (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Katherine Aske, Northumbria University
Speakers:	**Dr Noelle Gallagher, University of Manchester** Prodigal father, Scrofulous son: The eighteenth century's moral panic over hereditary disease **Dr Bénédicte Prot, University of Basel, Switzerland** The 1744 Louis XV's Recovery. From Political to Poetical Convalescence **Dr Alun Withey, University of Exeter** Dangerous Journeys: Health and Risk in Eighteenth-Century Travel Preparations
31	**Christianity**
Room:	Old Law Library
Chair:	Mary-Jannet Leith, University of Southampton
Speakers:	**Dr Daniel Reed, Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History, Oxford Brookes University** 'Favour'd with the Lord's Wonders' – The Society for the Reformation of Manners in Hull, 1698-1706 **Dr Rosamund Paice, Independent / Newcastle University / Northumbria University** 'hee unobserv'd / Home to his Mothers house private return'd': The Temptation of Home in Milton's Paradise Regain'd

32	**Women's Conduct and their Publications**
Room:	Boardroom (Main Building)
Chair:	Rachel Bynoth, Bath Spa University
Speakers:	**Dr Elizabeth Kukorelly, University of Geneva, University of Neuchâtel**
	Homelessness and Homecoming in Jeanne Marie Leprince de Beaumont's Instructions pour les jeunes dames
	Madeleine Saidenberg, Oxford University
	Household Kates and Headstrong Catherines: Traversing gender thresholds in Kitty Clive's "Irish-English" Shakespeare
	Katie Noble, University of Oxford
	Printing Performance: Actresses' epilogues in eighteenth-century periodicals

10:30–11:00	COFFEE BREAK
Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)	

11:00–12:30	THURSDAY SESSION II
33	**Workshop: Help build the new Jisc Historical Texts Learning and Teaching and resource**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Chair:	**Professor Bonnie Latimer, University of Plymouth**
Speakers:	**Brycchan Carey, Northumbria University**
	Stephen Gregg, Jisc
	Alison Urquhart, Jisc
34	**The Wilberforce Diaries Project**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair:	Professor Joanna Innes (Sommerville College)
Speakers:	**Professor John Coffey, University of Leicester**
	The Wilberforce Diaries: An Introduction
	Dr Mark Smith, University of Oxford
	Neither biting nor bitten: Editorial Strategy in The Life of William Wilberforce (1838)
	Dr Anna Harrington, University of Leicester
	"I mean to make my Health an object of great attention:" The Cycle of Illness and Recovery in Wilberforce's Diaries
35	**A Room to Play Cards**
Room:	Louey Seminar Room
Facilitator:	Dr James Harriman-Smith, Newcastle University
36	**The Associates of Dr Bray: Social Justice and Recovery in Atlantic World Archives (Workshop)**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Facilitator:	Nicole Brown, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and William & Mary
37	**Musical Politics**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Professor Emerita Judith Bailey Slagle, East Tennessee State University
Speakers:	**Dr Barnaby Ralph, Seikei University / Visiting fellow at King's College, London**
	Rhetoric and satire in Swift's "A Cantata"
	Aoife Miralles, University of Oxford
	Singing about Return in the Brittany Affair, 1764-69

	Dr Keisuke Masaki, Kanagawa University An 'Intoxicated Public Sphere' in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Conviviality, Harmony, and Spontaneity at Political Dinners
38	**Wollstonecraft**
Room:	Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Paul Stephens, Lincoln College
Speakers:	**Professor Shirley F. Tung, Kansas State University** Homeward Gagged and Bound: Recuperating the traveling subject in Wollstonecraft's _Letters Written During a Short Residence_ (1796) **Alex Hobday, University of Cambridge** 'The only purifier of the Passions': Imagination and Commerce in the Later Wollstonecraft **Beth Watson, Sussex University** Wollstonecraft's Odyssey: A Personal Journey to the Female Philosopher
39	**Othering women**
Room:	Lecture Theatre One (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Karen Lipsedge, Kingston University
Speakers:	**Dr Elizabeth Schlappa, Newcastle University** "A sudden and resolute stand": sentiment and salvation for the female onanist **Chandni Rampersad, University of Duisburg-Essen** "[H]ealth's enchanting roseate hue": women and curative poems in the Gentleman's Magazine
40	**Treatments and Recovery**
Room:	Lecture Theatre Two (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Noelle Gallagher, University of Manchester
Speakers:	**Dr Katherine Aske, Northumbria University** Washes, Warts and Words: Recovering Homemade Skincare Remedies **Nicole Salomone, University of Leicester** The Royal Humane Society and the Revival of the Apparently Dead **Esther Rollinson, University of Manchester** 'To the pleasure of God and health of man' : the role of physick, religion, and community in recovering from sickness in the eighteenth-century Catholic household
41	**Romanticism and Homecoming**
Room:	Old Law Library
Chair:	Professor Katie Halsey, University of Stirling
Speakers:	**Dr Mika Suzuki, Shizuoka University, Japan** Homecoming, Comforts and Everyday Life **Dr Hannah Moss, Independent Scholar** Gothic Interruptions; or, a Romance Interspersed with Poetry: Reading the Novels of Ann Radcliffe as a 'Total Work of Art' **Joanna Yates, Keele University** The Romantic Imagination of Mary Leapor
42	**Recovering Subscription Library Records in North America and the British Isles, 1731-1801: An Introduction to Eighteenth-Century Libraries Online**
Room:	Boardroom (Main Building)
Chair:	Matthew Grenby
Speakers:	**Professor Mark Towsey, University of Liverpool** Eighteenth-Century Libraries Online: An Introduction and Preview

	Dr Sophie H. Jones, University of Liverpool 'The Advancement of Knowledge and Literature' : Recovering Rural American Readers' Habits Through the Return of Library Books **Lucy Moynihan, University of Liverpool** Race, Slavery and Abolition at the Liverpool Athenaeum and Beyond, 1797-1833 **Dr Rita J. Dashwood, University of Liverpool** Cosmopolitanism in the Eighteenth-Century Subscription Library: European Conduct Books and British Female Readers

12:30–13:30	LUNCH Dining Hall (Main Building)

13:30–14:45	PLENARY LECTURE: **Wining and Dining with Alexander Pope** Speaker: **Judith Hawley, Royal Holloway, University of London** Chair: Helen Williams Maplethorpe Hall

14:45–16:15	THURSDAY SESSION III
43	**Theatre, Representation and Adaptation**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair:	Dr James Harriman-Smith, Newcastle University
Speakers:	**Professor Laura Rosenthal, University of Maryland** The Beau Jew and the Faux Jew: Racialized Performance on Stage and Off **Helen Dallas, Trinity College, University of Oxford** Pizarro (1799): Character and Caricature
44	**Returning to the Archive: Sites for the Recovery of Women's Voices**
Room:	Louey Seminar Room
Chair:	Dr Paul Stephens, Lincoln College
Speakers:	**Katie Crowther, University of York** Cecilia Strickland and Women Writing History in the Long Eighteenth Century **Clémentine Garcenot, University of York** "I am not writing a book": destroying gender barriers to re-shape the past in female aristocrats' memoirs of the French Revolution **Rhian Jones, King's College London** Epistolary friendships between women and men in England, c.1650-c.1750
45	**Political Homecomings in the later 18th century**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Chair:	Professor Elaine Chalus, University of Liverpool
Speakers:	**Dr Robin Eagles, History of Parliament** "I never laugh at my friends... only my followers": rethinking John Wilkes's political homecomings **Dr Ben Gilding, New College, Oxford** 'Tho' Partys are said to be at an end; it is an assertion truer, elsewhere than Here': Partisanship and Ideology in Charles Jenkinson's Homecoming at the Oxford University Election of 1768

46	**Cures, Recovery and Literature**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Noelle Gallagher, University of Manchester
Speakers:	**Professor Joseph Harris, Royal Holloway, University of London**
	Conversions and conversations: Marmontel's misanthropic 'talking cure'
	Dr Anna Jamieson, Birkbeck, University of London
	Ritual, Recovery & Return: The Art of the Asylum Visitor Book
47	**Cooking and Recipes**
Room:	Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Meg Kobza
Speakers:	**Professor Emerita Judith Bailey Slagle, East Tennessee State University**
	Christmas in Eighteenth-Century British Literature: Homecomings, Food and Family
	Susan Helen Reynolds, The British Library
	Homecoming, home cooking: Magdalena Dobromila Rettigová (1785-1845) and the Czech National Revival
	Rachel Feldberg, University of York
	'"I spoilt the first by doing them too quick": Middling Women and Ways of Knowing in the late Eighteenth Century'
48	**BSECS Early Career Roundtable**
Room:	Lecture Theatre 1 &2 (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Karen Lipsedge, Kingston University
Speakers:	**Dr Katie Aske, Northumbria University**
	Dr Louise Ryland-Epton, The Open University
	Dr Robert Stearn, Birkbeck, University of London
	Emma Pearce, University of Edinburgh
49	**Timelines, Power, and History**
Room:	Old Law Library
Chair:	Professor Caroline Warman, Jesus College, University of Oxford
Speakers:	**Amit Aizenman, Hebrew University of Jerusalem**
	Adam Ferguson and the Historical Timeline in the Encyclopedia Britannica
	Idit Ben-Or, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
	East India Company Coinage in the Late 18th Century

16:15–16:45	COFFEE BREAK
Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)	

16:45–17:30	**Listening Event**
	The aim of the annual listening event is to strengthen the BSECS member voice by providing an opportunity for members to meet and share their opinions and feedback about Access and Inclusion at BSECS. Themes from the event will be captured and fed back to the Committee to allow for learning and, where possible, action.
Room:	Lecture Rooms 1&2, (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Karen Lipsedge, Kingston University

17:30–19:00	SPECIAL PLENARY ROUNDTABLE Lecture Rooms 1&2, (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building) 18th Century in the 21st: Migration
Chair:	Professor Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton
Speakers:	Dr Alison Cotti-Lowell, New England Conservatory of Music Dr Ryan Hanley, University of Exeter Professor Murray Pittock, University of Glasgow

19:00–19:15	BSECS WINE RECEPTION Collect a beverage and join us for the concert!
19:15–20:15	CONCERT Maplethorpe Hall Music: Barnaby Ralph (Recorder) and Matthew Nisbet (Theorbo)

20:15–21:45	BSECS ANNUAL CONFERENCE DINNER Dining Hall (Main Building)

FRIDAY 6TH JANUARY

0900-1100	FRIDAY SESSION I
50	**Growing Up and Grown Up: Family Emotions and the Letter**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Chair:	Dr Sarah Fox, University of Birmingham
Speakers:	**Rachel Bynoth, Bath Spa University**
	Interfamilial Adoption and Distance Epistolary Relationships: The Letters of George Canning and his mother, Mary Ann
	Dr Kate Gibson, University of Manchester
	Fostering foundling children in eighteenth-century England
	Emily Cotton, University of Leicester
	"I am eternally reminded of you": Love, loss and longing amongst the Robinson siblings, 1758-92
	Dr Imogen Peck, University of Birmingham
	'The last letter I ever received': Epistles, Emotions, and the Family Archive in Eighteenth Century England
51	**Corruption and Recovery during the Eighteenth Century**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair:	Dr Mihai Olaru, University of Regensburg
Speakers:	**Professor Mark Knights, University of Warwick**
	Recovery and Reform in Britain: Conceptualising Corruption as a Systemic Issue
	Professor Dr. Tanja Bührer, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich
	Corruption and Cross-cultural Encounters in Eighteenth Century South Asia: The Return of the Empire in Scandal´s Guise
	Dr Ricard Torra-Prat, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
	Corruption and Office in 18th Century Spain
	Dr Mihai Olaru, University of Regensburg
	Anticorruption from Above. Malfeasance, Reformism and Common Good in Late Eighteenth-Century Wallachia
52	**Dedications, Readers, and Reading**
Room:	Louey Seminar Room
Chair:	Dr Charlotte Roberts, UCL
Speakers:	**Associate Professor Anne M Thell, National University of Singapore**
	Cavendish and the Aesthetics of Beating Space-Time
	Dr Rhys Kaminski-Jones, University of Wales Trinity Saint David
	India as seen from Flintshire: Thomas Pennant's 'View of Hindoostan'
	Professor John Moore, Smith College
	Book Dedications in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Successes and Failures
	Jacob Baxter, University of St Andrews
	'The First Writer Who Gave Cadence to English Prose': Recovering the Reputation of Sir William Temple (1628-99) in the Eighteenth-Century
53	**Recovering Women Readers**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Chair:	Dr Yael Shapira, Bar-Ilan University
Speakers:	**Professor Katie Halsey, University of Stirling**
	Women Readers, Women Writers, and the Eighteenth-Century Library, 1750-1830
	Professor Jennie Batchelor, University of Kent
	What and How Women Read: Magazines, Format and the Female Reader
	Dr Yael Shapira, Bar-Ilan University

Recovering the Minerva Woman Novelist as Reader

54 **Art and Artists**
Room: Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Helen Dallas, Trinity College, University of Oxford
Speakers: **Dr Amy Lim, University of Oxford**
Charles Heathcote Tatham's 'Cenotaph to Canova': commemorating a neoclassical friendship
Olga Baird, Independent Researcher
P. Francart/Frankhart (1711/12?-1743?) – mysterious German (?) portrait artist in Russia
Dr Wendy McGlashan, Independent Scholar
The Cultural Performance of Friendship: Angelica Kauffman and 'the all-harmonious Triad' (Henrietta, James and William Fordyce)

55 **Music, Reputation and Homecoming**
Room: Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Dr Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, Royal Conservatoire of Scotland/University of Glasgow
Speakers: **Dr Ann van Allen-Russell, Royal College of Music**
'Not like Pyrates': Borrowing, Copyright and Creativity in the Eighteenth Century
Mary-Jannet Leith, University of Southampton
Meeting Robert Bremner, a Musical Scot 'At Home' in London
Clare Beesley, Utrecht University
Becoming a virtuosa: Advice from Vienna, 1769

56 **Women's Studies Group 1558-1837: Homecomings and Recoveries**
Room: Lecture Theatre One (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Dr Gillian Williamson, Independent scholar
Speakers: **Dr Megumi Ohsumi, Kobe University**
Aphra Behn's Homecoming and Oroonoko's Resurrection
Dr Crystal Biggin, University of Leicester
Recovering Letterlocking Evidence and Lady Bradshaigh's Grandison Continuation Letter
Harriet McKinley-Smith, University of Oxford and the Université Libre de Bruxelles
A Journey of Recovery: Mary Robinson's A Letter to the Women of England
Dr Carolyn D. Williams
Did eighteenth-century women have a home?

57 **Religion**
Room: Lecture Theatre Two (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Professor Caroline Warman, Jesus College, University of Oxford
Speakers: **Dr Rebekah Andrew, Independent Researcher**
The Ultimate Homecoming: Samuel Richardson's Theology of Death and the Afterlife
Dr Katherine Wakely-Mulroney, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
Spiritual Homecoming in Devotional Children's Books
Jacob Donald Chatterjee, Balliol College, Oxford
John Locke's Surprising Homecoming: The Reception of the Essay Concerning Human Understanding at Christ Church, 1689-1726
David Cowan, University of Cambridge
The Feathers Tavern Petition: Religious Exclusion and Belonging in 1771-1774

58	**Disability, Health, and Care**
Room:	Old Law Library
Chair:	Professor Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton
Speakers:	**Dr Stephanie Howard-Smith, King's College London**
	"Take physic, Pomp": Imagining Dog Doctors in Eighteenth-Century Britain
	Dr David McCallam, University of Sheffield
	A Ward of State? The Case of Jean Amilcar, Marie-Antoinette's Adopted Black Boy
	Associate Professor Carolyn Day, Furman University
	"Not being a surjeon [sic] I can only judge by own feelings" : Conflict, Agency, and the Illness of Princess Amelia
	Dr James Wood, University of East Anglia
	Disability and Labour in Samuel Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language
59	**Close Reading**
Room:	Boardroom (Main Building)
Chair:	Dr Adam James Smith, York St John University
Speakers:	**Dr John T. Gilmore, University of Warwick**
	William Jones, "Caissa", and strategies of translation and adaptation
	Ephraim Levinson, University of Cambridge
	Hume's Homer? Robert Wood's *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* and Scottish Enlightenment Moral Philosophy
	Amy Louise Blaney, Keele University
	'An ideal personage [...] of poetic credibility': Richard Hole's The Northern Enchantment and the revival of Arthurian Romance in the late-eighteenth century
	Kaiwen Hou, Durham University
	The Perfect Form and Imperfect Celebrity: Lord Byron's Couplet Return in The Corsair

11:00–11:30	COFFEE BREAK
	Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

1130-1300	FRIDAY SESSION II
60	**Digital Worlds and the Eighteenth Century**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Chair:	Dr Edwin Rose, University of Cambridge
Speakers:	**Dr Karenza Sutton-Bennett, University of Ottawa, Dr Karenza Sutton-Bennett, University of Ottawa & Kelly Plante from Wayne State University**
	"The present therefore seems improbable, the future most uncertain": Transcending Academia through Charlotte Lennox's Lady's Museum (1760–61)
	Dr Jack Orchard, Bodleian Libraries
	"Dubious forms...half-veiled in Darkness": Gamifying the Gothic Turn in Castlevania: Symphony of the Night (Konami, 1997)
	Dr Róbert Péter, University of Szeged
	Representations of Hungary in the 18th-century British Press
61	**Reading in Historic Spaces**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair:	Tim Pye, National Trust
Speakers:	**Professor Abigail Williams, University of Oxford**

	Ordinary or extraordinary? The reading practices of the Brownes of Troutbeck **Amy Solomons, University of Liverpool** Fragments and Traces: Uncovering Sabine Winn's Book Collection at Nostell Priory **Dr Jemima Hubberstey, University of Oxford** 'Even in the Garden you Stumble over Card Letters as you Walk': Reading in the Gardens at Wrest Park
62	**The Eighteenth-Century British Novel and the Arts**
Room:	Louey Seminar Room
Chair:	Dr Daniel Cook, University of Dundee
Speakers:	**Professor Jakub Lipski, Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz (PL)** The Pictorial Parallel and the Early Histories of Eighteenth-Century Fiction **Dr Mary Newbould, Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz (PL)** Bringing statuary home in the eighteenth-century novel **Professor Joanna Maciulewicz, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (PL)** The uses of print technologies in the eighteenth-century novel
63	**Morality and Female Education**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Chair:	Professor Caroline Warman, Jesus College, University of Oxford
Speakers:	**Dóra Janczer Csikós, Eotvos Lorand University, Budapest** "I had, I believe, missed my path": Return and Recovery in 1799 **Dr Siyeon Lee, Gwangju Institute of Science and Technology, Rep of Korea** Libertas philosophandi and Cloistered Women in Margaret Cavendish's The Convent of Pleasure **Beatrice Scudeler, University of Notre Dame** Female Aristotelians – Virtue Ethics and Parenthood in Wollstonecraft and Austen
64	**Radicals**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Professor Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton
Speakers:	**Professor Wendy Gunther-Canada, University of Alabama at Birmingham and Lily Cate Gunther-Canada, University of Oxford** "No Liberty in My Family": Staging Catherine Macaulay's Revolutionary Republicanism **Carlos Eduardo Perez Crespo, University of Hamburg** Sources of Autocracy in Revolutionary Constitutionalism: Sieyès's Idea of the King in the French Revolution
65	**Satire**
Room:	Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Adam James Smith, York St John University
Speakers:	**Dr Charlotte Roberts, UCL** Coming Home to the Legion Club: Late Swift and Parliamentary Satire **Rebecca Short, University of Oxford** Just a Spoonful of Sugar? Horatian Satire in Le Livre de quatre couleurs (1760)
66	**European Theatre**
Room:	Lecture Theatre One (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr James Harriman-Smith, Newcastle University
Speakers:	**Dr Jacqueline Malchow, Museum of Altona (Foundation Historical Museums Hamburg)**

	Schröder and Hamburg – A Return as a New Beginning **Andreas Tranvik, Lund University** The Epistemology of the Homecoming: Language, Culture, and Knowledge in Ludvig Holberg's "Erasmus Montanus" **Logan Connors, University of Miami (Florida)** From 'philosophe drame' to 'pièce militaire': dramaturgical manipulation at the Théâtre de la Marine (Brest, France)
68 Room: Chair: Speakers:	**Nature** Old Law Library Brycchan Carey **Dr Sarah Shields, Independent Scholar** Elite Women's Treescapes in England, 1700-1820 **Dr Allison Adler Inglis-Taylor, University of Oxford** Of Empresses' Gardens: English Landscape Design, Enlightenment Reform, and the Return to Nature at Tsarskoe Selo and Schönbrunn **Dr Przemysław Uściński, University of Warsaw** Beyond Return: The Uncanny Economy of Nature in Gray, Blake and Wordsworth
69 Room: Chair: Speakers:	**Dispute and Peace** Boardroom (Main Building) David Cowan, University of Cambridge **Dr Conrad Brunstrom, Maynooth University** Perpetual Peace or Universal Peace: reflections on the mixed legacy of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre **Dr Penny Pritchard, University of Hertfordshire** 'Received into the family again: that is to say, as a brother and son' : Coming home to Family Disputes in Defoe's Conduct works

13:00–14:00	CLOSING ROUNDTABLE Maplethorpe Hall Chair: Brycchan Carey

BSECS 52nd Annual Conference: 'Homecoming, Return, and Recovery'
4th-6th Jan 2023
St Hugh's College, University of Oxford
Long Programme

WEDNESDAY 4TH JANUARY	
10:30–11:00	WELCOME ADDRESS, Maplethorpe Hall Brycchan Carey, BSECS President

11:00–12:30	WEDNESDAY SESSION I
1	**The Eighteenth Century Beyond the Russell Group (Roundtable)**
Abstract	At the English: Shared Futures conference, held in Manchester in July 2022, Professor Brycchan Carey chaired a roundtable discussion on the future of eighteenth-century studies. The roundtable addressed the field as a whole, but the conversation returned time and again to the topic of teaching the eighteenth century, and it emerged that colleagues at post-92 and smaller red-brick universities were experiencing remarked similar trends, frustrations and opportunities. Building on those conversations, this round table will think specifically about the challenges and opportunities associated with workingin on the eighteenth century in post-92 universities with the long-term goal of establishing a post-92 eighteenth-century network for sharing practice and research. Speakers have been asked to consider the following prompts for discussion: • Being the only eighteenth-century person in your subject area (or even institution) • Subject area perhaps not obviously aligned with institutional strategy • Reduced access to scholarly resources • Balance between academic autonomy and accessibility • Relative freedom in terms of curriculum design (perhaps) • High practical emphasis on accessibility • Very few PhD students (and the implications of this) • High number of single-taught modules Reduced institutional eligibility when applying for larger sums of external research funding • Limited local opportunities for sharing practice • Managing overwhelming student interest in the Gothic and Gender • Aligning 18th-century studies with an increasingly prescriptive Employability agenda
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Chair:	**Dr Helen Williams, Northumbria University**
Speakers:	**Dr Stephen T Gregg, Bath Spa University** **Dr Sonja Lawrenson, Manchester Metropolitan University** **Dr Mark T Yates, Salford University** **Dr Adam James Smith, York St John University**
2	**Burney Society UK Panel on Homecoming, Return and Recovery**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair:	Miriam Al Jamil, Independent Scholar
Speakers:	**Louise Bray, University of Bristol**

'Unheimlich' ? Frances Burney's Cecilia: The Harried Heiress and Homelessness

Homecoming implies one is lucky enough to have a home or a place where one feels rooted and able to return to. This paper discusses what constitutes the nature of a home and the feeling of homecoming in both its importance and absence in Frances Burney's Cecilia (1782). The plot revolves around an heiress, the eponymous heroine Cecilia, orphaned in her minority, whose care after her uncle the dean's death devolves to three guardians Mr Harrell, Mr Briggs, and Mr Delville. These guardians all prove unsuitable in their stewardship of a vulnerable and innocent young girl and unable to offer her proper sanctuary. Mr Harrel is recklessly extravagant, Mr Briggs parsimonious in the extreme, and Mr Delville governed by ancestral snobbery. My paper highlights the transient and mutable sense of home against the backdrop of a society and world in flux. In Cecilia this is symbolised by the scene Burney wrote set in Vauxhall gardens – a dramatic focal-point in the text. For Cecilia, her experience of Vauxhall is as a kind of uncanny carnival space: in German 'uncanny' is 'unheimlich' which in Freud's usage is 'unhomely'. I argue that the insecurity and potential pitfalls of Cecilia's status reflect in part how Burney saw her own journey as a writer and her quest for belonging and her own home. For the still unmarried Burney, the lack of funds as against the success, garnered by the publication of Cecilia were to result in an offer of service to Queen Charlotte as Keeper of the Robes. It was not until the publication of her third novel Camilla that she would be able to fund the building of what became Camilla Cottage. The paper concludes that for Cecilia, and for Burney, the sense of homecoming, and recovery lie not in bricks and mortar but in the warmth returned by the mutual respect, kindness, and love of those around them.

Dr Lucy-Anne Katgely, University of Clermont-Ferrand, CELIS

"These deep-rooted prejudices should not be cherished": Virtuous, Wicked and Vulgar (N)ever-married Women in Sarah Harriet Burney's fiction

Systematically—and unfavourably—compared to her better-known half-sister in her lifetime, Sarah Harriet Burney has not yet received the scholarly attention her work deserves. Critical reviews at the turn of the 19th century thus identified a 'family likeness' between Clarentine (1796), the author's anonymous debut novel, and Frances Burney's Evelina (1778), holding on to this narrative lineage in their later articles. This paper maintains that Sarah Harriet Burnet built her own signature stamp within the 'Burney brand' as evidenced by her somewhat unconventional representation of the single woman. Burney's fiction tests the boundaries of 'marriageability' and challenges the stereotypes associated with the unmarried woman, disputing the basic criteria for marriage as well as the commodification of women's bodies by addressing this prevalent issue with irony and sarcasm. This paper draws on Amy Froide's crucial distinction between never-married women and ever-married women to show that while Burney depicts the figures of the widow and of the single woman in a rather Manichean way in her debut novel Clarentine (1796) like most of her contemporaries, unmarried women appear less and less demonised or idealised in her fiction over time. This is largely due to her exploration of various narrative modes culminating with the fictional journal written by the never-married narrator of Country Neighbours (1820). This paper seeks to demonstrate that the progressive rejection of this polar thinking is part of Burney's broader project to fight systematic prejudice and discrimination against categories of people. Indeed, the novelist holds her characters accountable for their personal failings, gradually preventing her reader from seeing them as embodiments of controversial types, thus pointing at society's responsibility in marginalised groups dehumanisation.

Trudie Messent, Independent Scholar

'XMAS EVE, to my great joy got home to my family and affairs in London': Separations and Homecomings amongst the Burneys

Homecoming infers departure and separation, frequent within the Burney family. Whilst Dr Charles Burney was indubitably the patriarch of this talented and close family and writes in the title quote of his 'great joy' in returning to his family from France on Christmas Eve 1770, this did not preclude his children from departing the family home and forging their own paths, despite his disapproval, or that of their siblings.

This paper will focus on the sometimes-tempestuous relationships within the family of Dr Charles Burney, their separations, and homecomings, particularly those of his five daughters, Esther (Hetty), Frances, Susanna, Charlotte Ann, and Sarah Harriet. Their periodic separations resulted in a plethora of letters between the sisters and other relations, often in the form of extended journal letters. These letters reveal a complex and often fraught relationship between the sisters, their brothers, and most especially their father. It is primarily through these familial letters and diaries that this paper will attempt to interpret the nature of their interactions, when spatially and emotionally distanced from their family, and whether their consequent 'returns' could also be said to constitute recovery.

3

Returning to vice: indecency and immorality in urban spaces and print culture, 1753-1797

Room: Louey Seminar Room

Chair: Dr Laura Kirkley, Newcastle University

Speakers:

Francesca Killoran, University of York

A whole skin of parchment': Genre of Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies

Bawdy pamphlets had existed in different formats since the restoration including London's The Wandering Whore (1660-1661), and Scotland's Ranger's Impartial List of the Ladies of Pleasure in Edinburgh (1775) to name just a few. However, Harris' List of Covent Garden Ladies; or a Man of Pleasure's Kalendar was a bestseller that was published annually at Christmas for the 35 years between 1760 and 1795. For just two shillings and sixpence readers could have access to a small guidebook that listed different prostitutes around London. It gives a description of the woman and any specialities that she is able to provide. It also identifies exactly where sex buyers would be able to find her. These biographies and descriptions vary from flattering to vitriolic. In 1780 a different pamphlet was published by M. James titled Characters of the Present Most Celebrated Courtezans. Interspersed with a Variety of Secret Anecdotes Never Before Published. This pamphlet provided theatrical sketches of their lives in a way that was directly inspired by Harris' List but provides a much more detailed account of the lives of each woman and who they were as individuals, not just commodities. Following from this publication, the bawdy pamphlets of 1790s London became increasingly literary with greater emphasis put on the women's entrance into the trade. This shifting emphasis upon narrative, instead of location, moves Harris' List away from the tropes of bawdy pamphlets which had resembled walking guides, and began to engage with the new emerging genre of whore biographies.

Alexandra Collinson, University of Newcastle

The Home Comforts of a 'Vice Queen': Managing Business, Intimacy and Care in Margaret Leeson's Households

The Memoirs of Mrs Margaret Leeson, published between 1795 and 1797, offer the first-person account of a woman who created and capitalised upon settings of

sexual vice. Leeson was one of late eighteenth-century Dublin's most successful courtesans and brothel madams — the self-proclaimed 'reigning vice queen of the Paphian goddess.' The scenes in which her work unfolds are shaped by her fluid, ever-shifting identity, hosting duties which extend far beyond the activities of this outrageous sexual persona. This paper contends that Leeson's households embody her attempts to blend business, pleasure, and intimacy; they are carefully managed to satisfy the demands of sex work and care work, testament to her nuanced, multifaceted self-fashioning in the Memoirs. These spaces form the backdrops of business transactions, carefully choreographed to evoke intimacy and comfort; they are also the sites of private pleasures and personal relationships, where the bonds of family and friendship flourish. Leeson's businesses were also her homes, in which she enjoyed romantic unions, raised her children, and forged communities of care with other sex workers. This paper deploys modern feminist theory on prostitution, maternity, and care work to examine the ways in which her households blend elements of 'vice' with duties typically attributed to 'virtuous' women in this period. Leeson ultimately complicates pre-existing caricatures of sex workers, and stereotypical visions of the spaces in which they lived and worked.

Edward Hardiman, University of Keele
"Here we meet with characters of every stamp, of ever complexation": Coffeehouse print culture in the late eighteenth century, 1770-1795.
This paper will focus on the development of coffeehouse print culture between 1770 and 1795, specifically how the space served as a vector for the discussion of vice, sociability, and politeness. The coffeehouse had been a staple of metropolitan life since the mid-seventeenth century, reaching its zenith both in number and cultural purchase by the early-eighteenth century. After the tumult of 1688, a large portion of print culture – spearheaded by the periodicals of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele – emphasised the need to civilise the coffeehouse, using it as a locus for the reformation of manners. With the conclusion of their periodicals – the Tatler (1709-11) and the Spectator (1711-12) – as well as the growth of other metropolitan spaces during the mid-century, it might be tempting to assert that the coffeehouse was in sharp cultural decline. However, printed magazines and periodicals continued to publish new and original works which attempted to build upon their predecessor's work, rather than merely republish and recycle them. Although print culture of the late eighteenth century lacked the authoritative voices of Addison or Steele, numerous essays attempted to imagine new ways to manage and control the impoliteness rife within the coffeehouses of London. At the same time, the perceived failure of the Addisonian mission to civilise the coffeehouse prompted many writers to accept the presence of vice within these spaces, relaying interesting and humorous anecdotes. This paper will elucidate this varied exchange of print and seek to demonstrate the enduring relevance of the coffeehouse during the late eighteenth century.

4 **Homeward-bound? Between Britain and the Caribbean in the Eighteenth Century**

Room: Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Chair: Hardeep Dhindsa, King's College London
Speakers: Emma Pearce, University of Edinburgh
"If the Tartan comes out Cheap:" Tartan and Clothing the Enslaved in the Eighteenth-Century Circum-Atlantic
In 1766 James Stirling, a Scottish planter who had just taken over the family estates of Frontier and Hampden in Jamaica, wrote to his older brother William in Glasgow regarding a recent delivery of sundry goods. He remarked that: "If

the Tartan comes out Cheap I will have all my Negroes decked with it as it will help to encourage our own Woollen Manufactory, instead of Jacketts make a Sort of Short Coate...the tartan must be Strong and the Cloaths well shewed..." Although evidence is yet to be discovered of James actually ever ordering these coats, the letter reveals the possibility and intention, at least, of tartan being used to clothe enslaved workers on a Jamaican plantation. James' desire to 'encourage' the woollen manufacture of Scotland further demonstrates an interest in the economic nationalism of his home country alongside practical functionality. Several scholars have claimed that tartan was used on a large scale to clothe enslaved labourers in both North and South America, and the Caribbean, likening the textile's associations with clan and family identities with a form of sartorial branding on behalf of enslavers. This paper will, in part, aim to address these claims. Primarily through analysis of runaway adverts, I will unpack what evidence can indeed be found for tartan being used as a material to clothe enslaved individuals in both Britain and the Americas. The association of tartans with specific clans was, by and large, a nineteenth-century invention. Instead, therefore, of seeing tartan as a visual 'clan' branding device, I alternatively suggest that tartan's appeal was its functional durability and cheapness – part of wider Scottish manufacture of textiles for plantations such as osnaburg linen. Through comparison with other textiles used to clothe enslaved workers, I argue that clothing was a key method for enslavers to homogenise and inflicted discomfort upon the enslaved. However, I also explore how enslaved people resisted and subverted this in their attempts to escape bondage and recover a sense of individuality.

Siân Davies, University of Edinburgh

Bringing industrial capitalism home: Richard Pennant and his sites of labour in Jamaica and North Wales, 1782–1808

In 1782, Richard Pennant became the manager and owner of the Pennant family's sugar plantations in Jamaica and the Penrhyn estate in North Wales. Richard inherited centralised, proto-industrial, capitalist sites of labour in Jamaica. In North Wales, his ancestral home, he sought to create one. Buoyant with income and confidence from his successful colonial business enterprise, he transformed slate production on the Penrhyn estate.

In 1805, Richard sent fifty tons of the fire-retardant roofing slate to his plantations. Yet, it was not just material exchange that connected these locations and communities of labourers together, but the creation of practices, ideas, and values. Richard's actions and understanding of himself as a businessman and master of labourers was informed and influenced by his position as a West Indian enslaver and British industrialist. These positions formed a duality, inhabited in dialogue and relation to one another. As he made these locations of labour more economically and structurally compatible, as he brought industrial capitalism home, his profit driven policies and practices intersected with racialised, gendered, and classed logics that worked to uphold and bolster definitions of difference in and between these locations.

Building on the work of those writing in the Black radical tradition, W.E.B. Du Bois, C.L.R James and Eric Williams, this paper re-asserts the importance of recognising slavery in the Americas as a part of, not just a pedestal to, as Marx put it, Europe's industrial labour history. Forcing a recovery of what Richard recognised, that enslaved, and plantation labour was not just economically but culturally a part of the making of my home, North Wales.

Hannah Cusworth, University of Hull and English Heritage
Mahogany, the Caribbean and home
By the mid eighteenth century, mahogany had become Britain's premier furniture wood. Yet, the vast majority of the mahogany in Britain's country houses, offices and townhouses had been felled in the Caribbean. Analysis of probate inventories show that mahogany furniture was also a common occurrence in Jamaica, particularly in the homes of the wealthy. It is one of the only named furniture woods and seems to have acted as a status marker. However, while the wood was native to the island, much Jamaican mahogany furniture was constructed in England and shipped back 'home' across the Atlantic.
This paper considers what this return of mahogany reveals about British colonialism and how it operated in the eighteenth century Atlantic world. With a particular focus on white and free women of colour's ownership of mahogany furniture, it argues that upholding colonial logics of environmental destruction, slavery and accumulation was necessary to gain some form of wealth, status and freedom. Also woven throughout the paper are my experiences of being a mixed race researcher with Caribbean heritage. Visiting, and undertaking research in, the Caribbean has been somewhat of a 'homecoming' to me, one that has fundamentally shaped this project's methodologies. Mahogany is an example of, in the words of Black theorist Christina Sharpe, 'the past that is not yet past'.

5
Room: Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Dr Edwin Rose, University of Cambridge
Speakers:

Transformations: Eighteenth-century science and twentieth-century knowledge

Professor Chris Mounsey, University of Winchester
Nicholas Saunderson: the lost mathematician
If anyone knows anything about Nicholas Saunderson, the fourth Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge University, it is that he was blind. His contribution to the history of mathematics has been reduced to that of proselytiser for Isaac Newton's scientific revolution. His small place in history continues in despite of his being known at Cambridge as one of its best lecturers, and as the man who comprehended and explained Newton's dense and complex Principia (1687) to generations of students. After his death, Saunderson's Algebra (1740) and his Fluxions (1757) were chosen as core texts for teaching mathematics at the new and developing public schools throughout Britain. The mismatch between reputation and achievement might be accounted for by his having explained Newton rather than developing a new idea (though Saunderson did originate what is now known as Bayes's Theorem). This paper will argue that a better explanation may be found in the counter influence of Richard Bentley, the notorious Master of Trinity College Cambridge, who voted against Saunderson's election to the Lucasian Professorship. Bentley, who is also known as the first to deliver the Boyle lectures (1692), was also a proselytiser for Newton, but his Newton was a "divine Theorist" whose work explained the workings of the mind of God. Saunderson merely explained Newton's mathematics, so became victim to Denis Diderot's Essay on the Blind (1750) in which he is cast as an atheist materialist. None of the nineteenth century historians of mathematics, who remained under the influence of Christianity, could find a place for someone who was simply a mathematician. More surprisingly nor could the editors of the most recent book on the history of the Lucasian professorship: Newton to Hawking (2003). It is now time to reconsider Saunderson's contribution to mathematics, to return Bayes's Theorem to him, and to re-evaluate the role of teachers.

Dr Christina Welch, University of Winchester
Alexander Anderson, and Transforming the St Vincent Botanical Garden
In 1785 Alexander Anderson, a Scottish naturalist and self-styled 'man of science' took over the superintendent-ship of the Botanic Garden on St Vincent. With a mandate from the War Office, the East India Company, and Sir Joseph Banks, Anderson transformed a plot of land which he described as 'open and exposed' and full of 'useless and ugly' plants, into a veritable paradise. In a little over 25 years, the St Vincent Botanic Garden grew from the circa 60 plants species he inherited into an effective nursery hot-housing over 1,300 different plant species. His work although highly effective, was controversial, due to his adopting the gardening methods that enslaved Africans used in their provision grounds; that is keeping soil shaded from the scorching sun by tree cover. Tasked with keeping regular records of his plant introductions, his numerous botanical catalogues suggest his knowledge of scientific plant names was remarkable. On the cusp of binomial plant nomenclature, he noted the current binomial for most of his plants, sometimes adding local plant names and uses. However, his work was largely lost to history, but recent transcription is allowing for transformative conversations over the history of plant trading in the Caribbean at the close of the eighteenth-century.

Stan Booth, University of Winchester
The Country Doctor – Friend, Foe or the Consumate Professional?
The role of the doctor is a clearly defined one in that they are there to help those in need and suggest appropriate ways to alleviate a problem. But in a time when the boundaries of religion and science are being challenged, the role of the isolated country doctor may have required a more complicated approach rather than a straightforward consultation.
Franz Kafka's A Country Doctor (1916) tells the story of a country doctor who makes a long journey one night to tend to a young boy who is dying. The journey leads him to question his sanity as the entire story is one of constant challenge. The challenges are wider in that the isolation of being in a rural environment makes the simplest task more onerous. The role of the country doctor therefore is one of isolation.

Isolation may allow a madness from the concentration of the mind but it may also allow a concentration of the mind in your own work. Roberts Storrs practiced in a small village outside Doncaster in the 1840's. His observations of his own practices, eventually brought in the general understandings of cross contamination between patients and the vital role of good hygiene in doctor-patient practice, which he may have otherwise missed had there been a larger professional support system around him in his work.

6
Room: Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Dr Angela McShane, University of Warwick
Speakers:

Displacement, Commerce and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England

Tyler Rainford, University of Bristol
"I cannot retire from the world": Sociability, Credit, and Obligation in Eighteenth-Century English Diary-Keeping
In the wake of a nocturnal culture that popularised the practice of what Sasha Handley has defined as 'sociable sleeping', a considerable number of eighteenth-century middling men were displaced from their homes and their beds for longer than they might have wished. Late nights and lengthy drinking bouts disrupted their familiar routines, prompting intense feelings of anxiety and frustration. The subsequent wave of nausea that followed, which is today understood as the hangover, only helped to exacerbate these emotions. But as Pentecost Barker

(1690 – 1762), a naval purser from Plymouth, lamented succinctly in his diary: 'I cannot retire from the world'. For Barker and many others like him, their social obligations were contradictory to both their spiritual and occupational concerns. Through a survey of eighteenth-century middling diaries, this paper will explore how eighteenth-century men interpreted the multifaceted consequences of what Rebecca Lemon has described as 'compulsory conviviality'. Drinking practices, it will be argued, were not only tied to notions of good fellowship, but also to broader social and economic issues, especially with regards to the notion of credit and creditworthiness. To retreat from such practices would ultimately damage an individual's reputation more than if they succumbed to the delights of the bottle.

Roseanna Kettle, University of York
"Uncheer'd, Unnurs'd, nay Unattended": Displacement and Loss in Late Georgian Liverpool
By the late eighteenth century, Liverpool had established itself as Britain's primary transatlantic port. Often metonymically standing in for Britain itself, the city was for many the first point of entry, extant in coeval literature as a heterotopic melting-pot of cultures and identities. But despite its novelty as a place of exchange, exoticism and exciting travel, Liverpool's burgeoning wealth was built upon the slave trade, which its merchant fleets would dominate from the mid-eighteenth century until abolition in 1807. Consequently, the city's association with international movement carries the concomitant weight of forceful removal from one's community.
This paper will examine the theme of displacement in the work of William Roscoe and Edward Rushton, two Liverpudlian poets writing in favour of Abolition. While both poets use the motif of displacement to criticise slavery, it is worth mentioning that displacement is a two-way process, and that travel from the British Isles to the wider world also constitutes an alien and traumatic experience in their work. Displacement is also not necessarily physical, but manifests as emotional or figurative distance from the centre in a sphere that prioritises economic growth over the social enrichment of its citizens. Now, as we re-evaluate the legacies of slavery and the cumulation of Britain's place in perpetuating cultural trauma, this paper will examine how poets of the city express a longing for home which for many would never be satisfied.

7

Revellers, Residents and Recluses: exploring the tensions of eighteenth-century social Bath

Room: Lecture Theatre One (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Dr Amy Frost, Bath Preservation Trust
Speakers:

Dr Moira Goff, Independent Scholar
'Just returned from Paris': teaching dance in Bath, 1760-1820
During the decades around 1800, several of Bath's resident teachers of dancing advertised that they had recently returned from Paris, where they had learnt the latest steps and dances from leading dancers in the French capital. This might seem unremarkable, except that a number of these teachers were themselves French or of French descent and had settled in Bath after careers as dancers and teachers elsewhere. So, was their homecoming to France or to England, or to each in succession?
Ballroom dancing in Bath, as in London and other cities within the British Isles, was probably more French than English. English country dances may have been popular in Britain, but the (French) minuet still dominated public (if not private) balls there and dance crazes like the cotillon began in Paris rather than London. Dance teachers of the period 1760 to 1820 (as well as before and after) could be said to be professionally 'at home' equally in Paris, London and Bath. The

French international style of dancing surely meant that their pupils (many of whom were from the first ranks of British society) could feel equally 'at home' wherever the ballroom happened to be.
This paper will look at the lives and careers of some of Bath's leading teachers of dancing over the period 1760 to 1820, in particular those who were French. It will also explore the repertoire they taught and the balls where this was performed, to see how truly 'international' the ballroom dancing of the period really was.

Dr Chloe Valenti, National Trust

'We have no Respite': Music as restorative or social burden?

Notions of homecoming were knitted into the fabric of musical life in Bath by the latter half of the eighteenth century. As Bath's music culture became increasingly focused on the Pump Room and Assembly Rooms, local musicians such as Thomas Linley Snr competed with incoming British and foreign musicians for influence and leadership opportunities in their home town. By the time the New Assembly Rooms (now Bath Assembly Rooms) opened in 1771, the rivalry for the loyalty of local musicians and for celebrated visiting performers was being played out in ever more public arenas.
Much was at stake for local musicians largely because Bath was a place of return and recovery. The rise of Bath as a fashionable tourist destination centred not only on the therapeutic benefits of the spa but also on the wider entertainments in the town, of which music was one of the chief attractions. The association between music and health preceded this period, and continued to be much debated in the eighteenth century. In spa culture music held a dual role: it was believed to have a restorative function, and as entertainment it alleviated the idleness visitors often complained of during the recovery process. Coinciding with the birth of concert culture as a widespread national pastime, music's centrality to the wellbeing of both mind and body aligned its perceived health benefits with its growing power as a commercial enterprise.
Yet conflicts between music for health and commerce appear in contemporary accounts: visitors to Bath, even those with recovery as the primary purpose for their stay, felt obliged to take part in the social life of the town, whether or not they considered such activities to be beneficial to their wellbeing. Of the range of entertainments available at the New Assembly Rooms some events had music as their chief attraction (subscription, oratorio and benefit concerts), others had music as an intrinsic element (balls), and some had music as a backdrop to other activities. What was the relationship between music and recovery in this context? William Weber has challenged some of the negative scholarly assumptions regarding listening in the eighteenth century, and the multi-levelled and multi-layered musical experiences of Bath invite us to interrogate this further, especially in relation to notions of recovery. How did the experience of listening to music in the tea rooms compare with that of a concert? Did an oratorio concert have a different restorative function from that of a benefit concert? Was background music considered to be an aid to relaxation or an intrusion? When did listening to music assist the recovery of mind or body, and when was it an unwanted yet unavoidable factor in the cacophony of social and urban life? This paper seeks to explore these questions.

Tatjana LeBoff, National Trust

Belonging in Bath: Experiencing the sociability of Georgian Bath as visitor and resident

Over the course of the eighteenth-century Bath experienced a dramatic expansion in its population and built environment. From a medieval city centring life around the Abbey, the market, the civic government and the bath, Bath grew to create new spaces of commerce, leisure and private residence, shifting the social and geographical focus. From lodging houses to pop-up confectioners, from dance teachers to jobbing nurses, the city's built environment fluxed with its population. Bath, as a place built on tourism, was subject to tensions and opportunities.

Visitors with wealth saw it as an escape from their everyday lives; an opportunity to recover the mind and body with cures and culture. Drawn to the city's entertainments – the music concerts, balls, theatres, gambling and pleasure gardens – they returned year on year, seeking out connections for friendship, matrimony, business and alliances, and at a loftier level for intellectual stimulation through the various societies which operated in the city.

Tourists brought in not only social variety, but also wealth and employment, supplementing the regular economic and social cycles of the city. The middle classes, the merchant classes and the labouring classes all saw the opportunities and advantage the tourist economy of Bath could offer. Labourers, tradesmen, domestic servants, actors, musicians, singers, teachers, doctors, apothecaries, hairdressers, milliners and artists saw the potential for work, advancement and fortune in Bath.

What drew people in as temporary visitors, tradesman or entertainers also recommended Bath as a place for longer term residency. Many who had been habitual return visitors to Bath took up residence, especially in later life, due to their own or familial ill health or due to the need to retrench. Bath offered all the amenities, entertainments and society of London, with the added advantage of the baths and medical community which the city boasted – but on a cheaper scale than London.

With so many different people inhabiting the city, the experience of it must have varied dramatically, not only between classes, trades, genders and ages, but also between those who were making fleeting visits, those who returned for the whole Season, and those for whom it was year-round home. It is reasonable to imagine that the experience of Bath as a resident differed from that as a tourist – return verses homecoming in a city of constant rotation. Visitors 'on holiday' or 'recuperating' had the luxury of suspending, ignoring or reducing the monotonous duties of regular life. On the other hand, residents were to suffer those everyday duties, plus manage the expected social engagements that Bath as a place of sociability dictated.

This paper will reflect on how the expansion of Bath effected the social makeup of the city and influenced the experience of the social whirl of Bath for a cross-section of individuals, from teenage girls visiting for the first time, to long-term invalided residents.

8 **The Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: a Scholarly Edition in Review**

Room: Lecture Theatre Two (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

Chair: Professor Murray Pittock, University of Glasgow

Speakers:

Professor Murray Pittock, University of Glasgow

The Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: Social Text and Social Context

The PI and General Editor of the Ramsay Edition reflects on the methodology of the edition as it nears its conclusion, in particular reflecting on its public engagement strategy with the National Library, National Trust for Scotland and National Museums, the community in the Borders, Midlothian Tourism, the creation of the Ramsay Festival and in concerts and public performances. The textual policy of the edition, which takes a firmly social text approach, is set in the context of re-socializing Ramsay today in exhibitions, public events, performances, the conservatoire curriculum and a short textbook for schools. Seeking to bridge the gap between the limited market for a scholarly edition and the need for a wider public to be engaged, the context of Ramsay's own social text strategies-most particularly his extraordinary Subscription List-is set in the context of the range of audiences re-engaging with him today. Sample material can be seen at:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2hz1IY7XgPI (National Library Exhibition)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S--R-CaEF-0 (community generated content)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GrNihk-WkuM (Sloane's Ballroom Concert, Glasgow)

Dr Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, University of Glasgow/Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

The musical archaeology of Allan Ramsay's Tea Table Miscellany volumes 3 & 4

One of Allan Ramsay's (1684/5–1758) most successful works, the Tea-Table Miscellany (TTM), (Edinburgh, 4 vols. 1723–c.1737) ensured the survival of many Scottish song texts and directly influenced Robert Burns (1759–1796), James Johnson (1753?–1811) and George Thomson (1757–1851). The first two volumes of TTM mainly consisted of Scottish material, including new lyrics composed by Ramsay and set to tunes circulating in Scotland; however, volumes 3 and 4 are quite different. They principally reprinted seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century London theatre songs, with little to no editorial intervention. These English theatre songs were already published with printed music in large collections such as Wit and Mirth or Pills to Purge Melancholy, The Musical Miscellany and Richard Leveridge's A Collection of Songs, where the composer was often named. Yet, Ramsay chose to print the songs without music and without indicating original authorship, an odd practice considering in 1725, he publicly reprimanded William Thomson for publishing his songs without permission or credit in Orpheus Caledonius (1725; 1733). This paper will take a focused look at TTM 3 and 4, identifying where the music for these songs originally came from and why Ramsay reprinted these songs without giving due credit to the original composers.

Dr Craig Lamont, University of Glasgow

The Prose of Allan Ramsay: books, business, and buildings

This paper will look into the fifth volume of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay, namely Ramsay's prose. In his letters, Ramsay's networking and bookselling business is fully evident: shining a full light on the print culture of this early Enlightenment period. The majority of his letters were sent to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 2nd Baronet (1676–1755), enclosed with plenty of verse and telling anecdotes which help us understand the extent of Ramsay's personality and creativity. Other letters, such as those sent to the London-based Scottish

bookseller Andrew Millar (1705–1768) tell us more about the book trade networks and Ramsay's instructions regarding the sale of his increasingly popular Tea-Table Miscellany volumes. Beyond the letters are Ramsay's renowned Proverbs, and several other remnants include an account of the 1736 Porteous Riots. At all times, this paper will use the Prose to make connections between different strands of Ramsay's textual and material legacy, looking across the other volumes in the Edition and the information already printed regarding his memory.

9 **Architecture**
Room: Old Law Library
Chair: Philip Connell
Speakers: **Rory Lamb, University of Edinburgh**

Recovering the Scottish townhouse in eighteenth-century London: The case of Lord Fife and Fife House in Whitehall

The London townhouse played an important role in the assimilation of Scots into British society in the eighteenth century, yet one generally overlooked by historians of both London and Scotland. Scottish landowners increasingly lived among their English counterparts in Georgian London and metropolitan life offered them the opportunity to shift English perceptions of foreignness and Jacobitism by asserting themselves as enthusiastic partners in Britain and its empire. In the West End, having access to the same luxury goods and services as the English, Scots employed their townhouses as stages for conspicuous consumption to convey their sophistication. The result, as Linda Colley has argued, was a shared material culture among the British elite which bolstered feelings of national unity and quickly spread to town and country houses in Scotland itself.

This paper draws attention to these themes of integration and social display in the Scottish townhouse by focusing on newly identified archival material concerning a forgotten London mansion: Fife House in Whitehall, the residence of James Duff, 2nd Earl Fife (1729-1809). Purchased by Lord Fife in 1764, the early-eighteenth century building was transformed into one of the finest Scottish residences in London, set on a garden embankment overlooking the Thames with handsomely furnished formal apartments culminating in a grand Adam ballroom hung with Gobelins tapestries. The wealth of surviving documentation for this building is unique in an area of study generally hampered by a scarcity of substantial records. Scholarship on Scottish houses in London tends to rely on isolated available sources, such as the correspondence of the architect, George Steuart, analysed by Viccy Coltman (2019) and Sally Goodsir (2010) to document construction of the Duke of Atholl's house on Grosvenor Place. By comparison, the building of Fife House is attested to by correspondence, building accounts and furnishing bills held at Aberdeen University Library, and by plans, petitions and sales brochures in the National Archives at Kew, all of which have received scant scholarly attention. This material recovers one of the few Scottish townhouses of palatial pretensions in London, affording us a view of unusual clarity into the magnificence of its contents and gardens.

Couching this site in the context of Scottish townhouse developments in the late-eighteenth century, I aim to show that Fife House exemplified the way that the fruits of economic improvement in Scotland were brought to bear by Scottish noblemen to demonstrate their "Britishness" in London through social and architectural magnificence. The history of Fife House thus presents us with new light on the role of Scots as architectural patrons in London and on our understanding of London's role in the creation of British identity in the eighteenth century.

Dr Thomas Whitfield, The Georgian Group

Georgian Buildings Modern World; The Georgian Group and its work helping recover Georgian built heritage by returning it to use in the 21st Century

The Georgian Group has, since 1937, been at the forefront of efforts to conserve, preserve and revitalise Georgian buildings, that is any building built or altered in the period 1700-1837, in England and Wales. Within this Conference's theme, this paper particularly addresses themes of return and recovery by exploring how The Georgian Group works to help in the recovery of Georgian buildings by helping sustainably return them to use.

This paper will present a brief overview of the recent work of The Georgian Group in revitalising and preserving Georgian built heritage The paper examines a series of case studies and statistics to illustrate how The Group is working to conserve a finite and constantly under threat heritage resource whilst uncovering new and exciting examples of preserved historic buildings along the way. The paper will also explore how The Group engages positively with developers and stakeholders on diverse schemes to offer advice and guidance in the interest of securing sustainable futures for Georgian buildings throughout England and Wales.

This paper is strongly relevant today as Historic buildings are coming under ever more pressure from development making it increasingly important to raise awareness of the importance and fragility of historic buildings and the built environment as heritage assets. This paper will consider how the sympathetic conservation of historic buildings is a form of recovery for that building, taking buildings in often poor condition and revitalising them to recover their character and significance as essential elements of the historic built environment. The scope of this paper is therefore particularly to this conference as, in a climate emergency and with a housing crisis, it becomes ever more urgent to consider how historic buildings can be returned to use in sympathetic, innovative, and sustainable ways.

Gian Marco Russo, Sapienza University of Rome

Art as a remedy to nostalgia: relationships between painting and architecture in interiors by Robert Adam

The first half of the 18th century in Great Britain witnessed the fashioning of a new prototype of stately homes and townhouses inspired by Palladian architecture, often conceived to preserve art collections featuring both items related to classical antiquity and modern paintings. Personalities such as Thomas Watson-Wentworth, 1st Marquess of Rockingham (1693-1750) of Wentworth Woodhouse, Robert Walpole, 1st Earl of Orford (1676-1745) of Houghton Hall and Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester (1697-1756) of Holkham Hall built major houses conceived as shrines to erudition.

Between the '60s and the '80s, new social and economical phenomena like the First Industrial Revolution and the intensification of the transatlantic and colonial trades allowed the creation of new peerages and let a solid urban bourgeoisie rise. Higher education was not only a matter of formal erudition linked to few selected families anymore, but it furtherly permeated the upper and middle classes. The Grand Tour itself, once a rite of passage for a few, selected young members of the aristocracy, became more customary among the upper echelons of the society.

Buying artworks, both antique and modern, and cherishing them at home was a certification of the Grand Tour experience, thus these items had their own agency as status symbols. Robert Adam (1728-1792) created interiors reminiscent of his own journeys and those of his patrons, featuring paintings as decorative

elements. Even if paintings were not bought while travelling, painters affiliated to the Royal Academy of Arts in the likes of Francesco Zuccarelli (1702-1788), Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1727-1785) and Antonio Zucchi (1726-1795) would have been summoned, often by Adam himself, to create paintings displaying landscapes with classical ruins and further subjects inspired by the lure for the classical world. Following the new aesthetic sensibility mostly discussed by David Hume (1711-1776) in "A Treatise Of Human Nature" (1730-1740), "An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding" (1748) and "Of the Standard of Taste" (1760), among the more educated public a focus on themes aiding the human passions was to be considered a remedy to nostalgia and a source of emotional recovery.

Specific case studies in this regard are the Eating Room at Saltram House, in Devon, the Saloon at Nostell Priory in West Yorkshire and the former Dining Room at Newby Hall, in North Yorkshire. Built by patrons who benefitted in the first place from the social and economic changes occurred during the Georgian age, within these architectural contexts such collecting practices were meant to act as a display of individual sensibility and at the same time as sources of social legitimation. Analyzing the evolution of the interiors and of painting collections under Adam's directions, the paper will discuss how given figurative representations made these peculiar material objects be a source of aesthetic contemplation.

10 **Mentors, Apprentices and the Everyday**

Room: Boardroom (Main Building)

Chair: Matthew Grenby

Speakers: **Dr Bonnie Latimer, University of Plymouth**

Citizens of the future: Apprentice-guides, young men, and ideal citizenship, 1660-1750

This paper argues for a re-assessment of a numerous but overlooked body of texts: apprentice-guides, or the conduct and advice literature aimed at apprentices and their parents that was popular through the Restoration and eighteenth century. I read these as part of a wider body of 'apprentice literature', a group of texts which reflects the lived experiences and aspirations of historical young people, but which also uses the apprentice as an imaginative figure to think through wider questions around youth, agency, and possible national futures. The paper uses this framework to re-assess the political significance of the apparently conservative and monotonal apprentice-guide, taking its cue from recent, important historical work on early modern citizenship. I content that in fact, apprentice-guides of this period come to figure apprentices as agents of future moral reform and as types of the ideal citizen, tasked with creating a stable and prosperous nation as the next generation of masters and merchants.

Laura Blunsden, University of Liverpool

The Return to Ithaca: Mentorship in Eighteenth-Century Didactic Literature

François Fénelon's didactic novel, Les aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse (1699) was the most widely-read literary work in eighteenth-century France after the Bible, and English translations went through at least fifty editions before 1800. It tells the story of Telemachus' educational voyage in search of his father Ulysses, accompanied by the wise Mentor, who provides him with protection, guidance and support.

Fénelon was first to conceive of mentorship as a fundamentally dialogic, mutually affectionate and deeply interpersonal relationship, in contrast to traditional models of hierarchical educational relationships between teacher and student, for example. The need for mentor figures became more urgent over the course of

the century, as the urbanisation process caused young people leave their parents' homes and migrate to towns and cities during the formative stages of their life. J. Paul Hunter has linked the rise of didactic literature to the widespread anxiety of young people, who were cut off from the traditional lore of the generations before them. The perceived cultural need for written instruction to provide readers with guidance shaped pedagogic strategy across the didactic genre, and led to the formation of the mentor book: a distinct sub-genre of conduct literature which was personified as an adviser of the reader. My paper will draw on three mentor books – Marquis Caraccioli's The true mentor (1760), Sir John Fielding's The universal mentor (1763) and Honoria's The female mentor (1793-1796) – to explore how the Fénelonian model of the mentor figure influenced print culture, reader experiences and real pedagogic relationships in eighteenth-century society.

Dr Robert Stearn, Birkbeck, University of London

Meditative Forms and Everyday Tactics in the Diary of Edmund Harrold (1712–15)

Edmund Harrold (1678–1721) was an alcoholic and precariously solvent Manchester wig-maker, barber, and bookseller. His frank and detailed diary (written 1712–1715) has been productively investigated with a view to what it might tell us about the meanings of work, writing, and masculinity in the eighteenth century. Thus, for James Amelang, Harrold is notable among the exceptional minority of popular autobiographers who wrote 'occupational journals' centred on their working lives; for K. Tawny Paul, Harrold is an eloquent witness of the complex ways in which men's multiple employments were constitutive of identity and status. However, relatively little attention has been paid to the formal qualities of Harrold's diary, including his occasional employment of poetry, his insertion of sermon notes, and his quotation from and commentary on his extensive reading in works of practical piety and religious meditation.

Drawing on the studies by Paul and Amelang, as well as on recent work in occasional meditation by Marie-Louise Coolahan and Courtney Weiss Smith, this paper focusses on the formal strategies that Harrold used to narrate his life and describe his social world. The paper adopts a comparative approach, reading Harrold's diary alongside meditations and life-writing by elite and non-elite contemporaries. It investigates how, like many elite autobiographers, Harrold used his diary to enable him to perceive patterns of providence in his life from regular points of retrospection and to record the fashioning of rules for action projected into the future. Through the rhythms of retrospection and patterns of signification thus established, Harrold developed a sense of his own capacities. He also articulated a nuanced understanding of the everyday as an arena of tactics and skill, which differs markedly from contemporary accounts found in the writings of elite autobiographers and in periodicals and literature of household advice.

11 **Workshop on Georgian Shoes**

[Please note that this workshop will be 60 minutes long.]

Abstract: This session is a practical workshop focusing on the history of shoes in the long eighteenth century. Shoes have a close relationship with the body. Because they support the body's entire weight, shoes have a big impact upon the body: they affect bodily movement and posture, and can also cause injury and discomfort. The body also has a big impact on shoes: the stresses of walking will wear shoes out, and shoes mould to the shape of the foot. They therefore have a unique relationship with their wearer, and historic shoes provide evidence of historic

	shoes in their stretches, stains and scuffs. Much of my research on eighteenth-century shoes has therefore involved the study of historic examples in museums, but many of the questions that I had about shoes could only be answered by actually wearing them, which is clearly not possible with delicate artefacts. I therefore commissioned a pair of shoes, made to an eighteenth-century pattern by a shoemaker who specialises in making historic shoes for film productions and re-enactments. I spent time with the shoemaker while he made them, to learn about the method of construction. I then wore the shoes for an extended period, recording the experience through photography and a daily diary. This workshop will share the findings of this research, and will also give participants an opportunity to participate in a hands-on way. Come along to learn about the practicalities of this type of research, how to buckle a shoe, and how to maintain them by applying 'black ball'.
Room:	MGA Lecture Room (Mary Gray Allen Building)
Facilitator:	**Professor Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton**

12:30-13:30	LUNCH Dining Hall (Main Building)

13:30-15:30	WEDNESDAY SESSION II
12	**New Approaches to Book History**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Chair:	Dr Stephen Gregg, Bath Spa University
Speakers:	**Dr Hazel Wilkinson, University of Birmingham** **Printers' ornaments and feminist bibliography** Another name for ornamental typography in book history parlance is "printer's lace", a term Juliet Fleming has used to investigate how ornamental type, like lace, requires that skilful labour be used to create playful and self-effacing decorations. This paper takes up where Fleming left off, and investigates the gendered implications of the analogy between ornamental type and embroidery. Embedded in the term "printer's lace" is a comparison with women's work, with the traditionally female skill of lacemaking and embroidering. Although type-founders, engravers, and compositors were all roles occupied predominantly (though not exclusively) by men in the eighteenth century, when printers' ornaments are discussed by bibliographers it is usually to dismiss them as something effeminate, extraneous, superficial, "merely decorative". Drawing on the work of Sarah Werner, Alexandra Gillespie and others, this paper works towards a feminist critique of printers' ornaments, demonstrating how they problematise accepted ways of describing books. Eighteenth-century ornamental type has its roots in the "Moresque" and "Arabesque" designs brought to Britain during colonial expansion, and the paper examines the implications of this for anti-racist and feminist bibliography: paying attention to printers' ornaments forces us to reconsider some of the foundational narratives and methodologies of book history. **Sam Bailey, Newcastle University** **Queering the Bibliography of Erotic Books, 1660-1750** This paper will apply the methods of bibliography to a selection of texts that might broadly be understood as erotic, obscene and pornographic, and which have been of interest to scholars of queer eighteenth-century studies. Recent works on sexuality in eighteenth-century culture often rely upon readings of pornographic texts from this period (see Lubey 2022, Mowry 2017, Mudge 2017), yet their position in the social world of printers, booksellers and buyers

often remains unclear. The practice of sodomy was illegal in this period, and texts that explicitly depicted sex acts could see their printers prosecuted for obscenity. For that reason, many of the texts this paper will cover are fugitive, obscure and deceptive. At the same time, queer erotica was advertised in books and newspapers and was produced by a variety of legitimate and illegitimate publishers who were able to avoid censorship. Sex sells, and insofar as erotic texts which depict sodomy can be understood to be aids to queer sex acts, understanding how the commercial world of this pornography manifested aids understanding of queer sex in the eighteenth century. Sex is something people do, and bibliography – with its focus on the material and social life of texts, can get to the core of how people used books to aid sex. This paper will present how the bibliographic analysis of queer erotic texts from this period can help to illustrate the nature of the social life, and sex life, of erotic books.

Dr Helen Williams, Northumbria University
Cottonian Bookbinding as Romantic Craftivism

Cottonian bindings are widely known but little studied. Covering Robert Southey's books in dress fabric, Edith Southey, Edith May Southey, and Sara Coleridge Jr. made use of a cost-saving and efficient craft which transformed the Greta Hall library into a spectacle. Southey wittily named his extensive collection of fabric bindings after the founding collection of manuscripts at the British Library, donated by Sir Robert Bruce Cotton. The Cottonian binders were not only borrowers from Southey's book collection but also crafters and active producers of the library as a domestic as well as a public-facing arena, a space which both symbolised individual as well as social consumption and the productions of its creators and inhabitants. Moreover, they were also labourers in what has been called the 'literary factory' of Greta Hall, providing, as well as binding, essential transcription, translation, cataloguing and copying services. Sara Coleridge was simultaneously composing her own literary works within strictly determined remits of what was 'proper' for a woman in that period. The feminine dress of the Cottonian library, therefore, gestures toward suppressed feminine literary activity. It also aligns poetry with craft in ways which help us to account for a broader sense of women's Romantic creativity. Responding to Derrick Spires' call for a 'liberation bibliography', this paper proposes Cottonian binding as a process of knowledge production and feminist activism. The books that gave the collection its renowned name and its decorative appearance provided a material referent for making visible the knowledge and the labour of the women that bound them.

Dr Adam James Smith, York St John University
Reconstructing Agency in Regional Print Contexts

With reference to the specific case study of Sheffield's Hartshead Press, owned and managed by Joseph Gales and his wife Winfred, this paper will demonstrate some of the ways in which print trade professionals exerted agency to articulate regional identity in the hand press period. It will also showcase some of the ways in which regional people of print shaped the development of the regional book and print trades. The paper will also advocate for the realignment of the dominant terminology used to discuss the book and print trades outside of London, away from the 'provincial' and towards the 'regional'. The case of Joseph and Winifred Gales is emblematic of the kinds of often obscured labour that is radically foregrounded when Book History centres questions of regionality and agency. This will be seen in this paper's survey of the activities and outputs of the Hartshead Press, and the ways in which the press itself sought to obscure the editorial and entrepreneurial agency of the Galeses. The press is best

remembered now for producing two radical newspapers, The Sheffield Register, edited by Gales, and The Sheffield Iris, edited by Gales' protégé, James Montgomery. However, the paper argues that these papers in fact operated as part of a broader business model, largely directed by Winfred Gales, which strategically shaped Sheffield's literary and political culture.

13 **Travel and Homecoming**
Room: Maplethorpe Hall
Chair: Professor Jakub Lipski, Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz (PL)
Speakers:

Professor Nicholas Seager, Keele University
Pirates at Home: The Afterlife of Defoe's Captain Singleton during the Seven Years' War
This paper analyses an entirely overlooked rewriting of Daniel Defoe's pirate novel, Captain Singleton (1720), published in 1757. The paper argues that Defoe's maritime picaresque fiction was reworked to respond to national anxieties about naval performance following the loss of Minorca, seeking to galvanise its readers during the privateering rush of this period and the more general appetite for a 'blue-water', colonial war strategy. In 1757, Bob Singleton is transformed from the stateless sea rover of Defoe's original into a patriotic privateer who serves the British nation in an unofficial capacity, both as an African explorer in the first half and a maritime adventurer in the second. The pirate Singleton's homecoming in the final section of the rewrite shows the ways in which the rising taste for sentimental fiction, moving away from individualistic adventure stories, coalesced with imperialist and nationalist agendas in the mid-eighteenth century.

Dr Daniel Cook, University of Dundee
Mary Gulliver's Travels
After each voyage, Lemuel Gulliver returns home to his family. Unable to resettle, he ultimately shuns their affection. Meanwhile, his wife and their children suffer in silence, quite literally. Secondary authors have become increasingly interested in giving a voice to Mary Gulliver. At the same time, the new works quote or at least heavily paraphrase from Gulliver's Travels, though they adopt extremely different positions on the status of the original. For some of the Marys her husband's book proved immensely popular; for others, the book did not yet exist, giving it a haunting presence for the reader. Davy King's 1978 first-person short story, 'The Woman Gulliver Left Behind', begins as a lament from an abandoned wife but grows into an angry critique of an unreliable husband. This Mary uses Lemuel's words against him, quoting from and then commenting on Travels, a technique commonly seen in the earliest Gulliveriana. She even wears the label of "female Yahoo" with ironic honour, and plans (but does not undertake) her own travels. Comprising snippets from Mary's own travel diaries, as she tries to rescue her lost husband, and free indirect discourse from a sentient doll, as well as a mingling of eighteenth-century metafictionality with modern hypertextuality, Alison Fell's The Mistress of Lilliput (1999) radically rethought the minor-character elaboration. The first part of the novel retells Swift's story from an unfamiliar vantage point, the Gullivers' domestic life, in which Lemuel has a far more fleeting role to play. Unable to stomach the "odious smell of a Yahoo", he has reached his lowest point, as readers of the original Travels will recognise. Barely fifty-two pages into a 351-page novel, the second part begins: a sequential continuation that takes us beyond Swift's text after Gulliver absconds yet again. Lemuel becomes a shell of his former self in Lauren Chater's feminist refocalisation, Gulliver's Wife (2020). Indeed, Travels has not been published in this world, though some set pieces are replayed, often

dismissively. Bodily, this Mary's drunken, opium-addicted husband is all but gone – "an actor, wearing her husband's visage". Read within the context of creative reception, such works form a significant part of modern Gulliveriana. Part authorial elaboration, part revisionist critique they invite us to re-evaluate our inherited relationship with familiar literature.

Dr Carmen-Veronica Borbely, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania
The Idiom of Vulnerability in Edward Daniel Clarke's Travelogues
Pondering recent approaches to Edward Daniel Clarke's Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa (London, 1810-1823) as a narrative that remoulds the Grand Tour tradition by attuning it to the epistemological pressures of modernity (Brian Dolan, Exploring European Frontiers in the Age of Enlightenment, 2000), I argue that the writer proposes a vindication of vulnerability as the ethical supplement that can both enhance and critique rational modes of experiencing the world. In Clarke's reflections on foreign travel, addressed to England's late-eighteenth century young elites, his claim revolves around the idea that if voyaging abroad is to remain "so excellent a mode of acquiring extensive knowledge," it must find a proper idiom, a language of appropriate sensibility that avoids the excesses of pathos and passion (qtd. in William Otter, The Life and Remains of Edward Daniel Clarke, 1824). I explore how the affective register of Clarke's return voyage from the northern, eastern and southern extremities of the continent is punctuated with reiterated references to anticipated suffering, which both replays romantic cliches of exacerbated sensibility and tries to confer an enduring consistency to the material traces of his re-emplacement at home.

14
Room: Louey Seminar Room
Chair: Professor Matthew Grenby, Newcastle University
Speakers:

Eighteenth-Century Political Participation and Electoral Culture

Dr James Harris, Newcastle University (now Civil Service)
The ECPPEC project: new findings on contested elections and poll books
As an introduction to this session, this paper gives an overview of the ECPPEC project's work to produce a definitive list of contested elections in England between 1694 and 1832, and of surviving poll books that record who voted in them, and how. This is vital information if we are to understand how far parliamentary elections permeated the fabric of 18th-century England and engaged its population in different places and at different times. The data will be presented using digital techniques designed to help both specialists and non-specialists visualise the contours of electoral contests across the period.

Dr Kendra Packham, Newcastle University
New perspectives on electoral culture
Electoral culture comes in many different forms. It includes print (from literary texts to ephemera), music and song, practices and performances, material culture (from costly dinner services to disposable decorations), built environments, and many other kinds of interventions in the electoral process, both tangible and intangible. Over the course of the ECPPEC project so far, an enormous amount of this kind of material has been discovered in libraries, archives, museums and elsewhere. This paper will present an account of this material, considering how historians can use it to understand levels of popular political participation.

Dr Hillary Burlock, Newcastle University
Dance and Embodiment in Georgian Electoral Culture
This paper has a tight focus on one particular aspect of electoral culture: election balls. New research into the embodied and sensory experiences of people both within and beyond the franchise are emerging through the ECPPEC project, expanding understandings of political culture and participation. Georgian social dance embodied society's beliefs, mores, and politics, and was a tool for social cohesion and citizenship, reuniting the community after the divisions of the electoral campaign. Election balls were used by elite families to maintain their political influence; and by candidates to craft their public personas, gauge a constituency's interest, and consolidate their support post-election. Networks of patronage and ties of obligation defined the relationships forged and renewed during eighteenth-century elections. The ballroom was a political arena in which candidates needed to demonstrate their prowess through minuets and country dances, wooing the constituency. Acknowledging the influence of women in the domestic sphere and in the ballroom, election balls were used to court their favour to win votes. Using family papers, newspapers, literature, caricatures, and dance manuals, this paper demonstrates that dance was an important means of maintaining and renewing citizenship in Georgian Britain.

Professor Elaine Chalus, University of Liverpool
'a mere sham fight ... which might have been ended in half an hour':
George Canning & the Liverpool contest of 1820
Suffering from such a bad cold that he had almost no voice, George Canning took to the hustings to address the crowd at the end of the fourth day of polling for the Liverpool election of 1820. He had been at the head of the poll since polling began and was now leading even his fellow Tory running mate, General Isaac Gascoyne, by 59 votes. With a lead of respectively 533 and 668 votes over his two radical challengers, Dr Peter Crompton and Thomas Leyland, Esq., his apology for the disruption that the election would cause was understandable: Fifteen days of industry, fifteen days of business, fifteen days of that which, to a populous town, is invaluable, the useful application of talents and of time, will have been lost to this community, in a strife which, after all, is from beginning to end, a mere sham fight, and which might have been ended in half an hour. Canning was right: there was little chance that the challengers would be able to unseat either Gascoyne or himself. But, as they were persistent and unlikely to concede, the election would have to run its course. As such, it provides us with insight into a different kind of contested election, one that was still warmly fought, but one where the outcome was never actually in doubt. This paper draws upon Canning's speeches and correspondence, local newspapers and the printed ephemera generated during the election to explore how Canning and his challengers used the platform given to them by the election to present themselves and their political visions. It then goes on to consider who warmed to their rhetoric by using the newly digitised pollbook for the election in order to identify voters by vocation as well as by where they lived in the town.

15 **Alexander Pope**
Room: Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Chair: Dr Alex Mortimore, Independent Scholar
Speakers: **Professor Kevin Gardner, Baylor University**
Alexander Pope and the "Epistle to Henry Cromwell"
Biographers and critics have made much of Pope's early friendship with Henry Cromwell, especially of the epistolary poses and performances that the younger poet made in his correspondence with the older man. The embodiment of a

Restoration rake, Cromwell was a disreputable coffeehouse dandy and tavern habitué, according to John Gay's biographer; a capable translator of Ovid, as the Pope-Lintot Miscellany of 1712 reveals; and in Maynard Mack's opinion, one of the three most important early mentors of Pope.

To some extent, the significance of the Pope-Cromwell friendship has been distorted by the survival of so many letters between them: what survives us naturally collects a patina of import. The frequency with which the letters to Cromwell have been quoted and cited – from Edith Sitwell's assumption that Pope developed his epistolary gifts under Cromwell's 'tuition' to David Nokes's assertion that their letters embody the 'authentic ring of intimacy' – has resulted in a lack of critical nuance.

This fact may account for the very little attention given to the 'Epistle to Henry Cromwell' (1707), written when Pope was only 19. This highly autobiographical work, a 118-line poem (mostly) in heroic couplets, weaves playful banter with gossip, news, social criticism, and advice, while flaunting the poet's classicist credentials. An explication of this verse letter will provide a deeper understanding not only of Pope's relationship with Cromwell and of Cromwell's influence, but also an insight into Pope's self-image as a rising poet.

The poem is not merely a letter: it's a fine example of what the verse epistle historically intends to accomplish, which is simultaneously to communicate an intimate, personal message to a friend while also addressing topics of social, moral, or cultural significance. Among such topics in the 'Epistle to Henry Cromwell' are the sexual mores of the age; the proper roles of critics and criticism; and an early observation of the growth of Dulness and dunces in modern literature.

We also see Pope practicing aural, metrical, and rhetorical flourishes that will reappear in more polished and substantial works later in his career. In fact, this epistle contains lines that he would subsequently echo in his most important autobiographical work, the 'Epistle to Arbuthnot' (1735). This echo suggests the importance of the Cromwell epistle to Pope, as something he would cling to and would return to 28 years later.

The 'Epistle to Henry Cromwell' is highly topical and allusive and therefore requires a good deal of glossing. I will unpack some of the poem's more complicated interpersonal allusions and references, since it is the friendship between Pope and Cromwell that gives the poem its life and vitality. In the end, the poem's importance rests in what it reveals about Pope himself – a young poet brimming with confidence and playfulness, eager to perform on the literary stage, while happy to adopt such masks that his friends might expect.

Dr Ivana Bicak, Durham University

Triumph of Incongruity in Pope and Juvenal

A walk through Timon's garden in Epistle to Burlington presents the reader with vivid images of inverted Nature: gladiators fighting in flowers, a summerhouse that knows no shade, and seahorses out of water. Objects and creatures have lost their authentic purpose and now participate in a new, upside-down reality. In Juvenal's satires, a similarly forceful recreation of Nature takes place as 'synthetic grottos' dot the Egerian valley. This paper examines the triumph of unnatural incongruity in the world of Pope's and Juvenal's satires. In what ways do Pope's and Juvenal's inversions differ from Ovidian Metamorphoses? How does man's twisting of Nature in Pope's poem fit into the context of eighteenth-century gardening? What does this incongruity mean for the poetics? To answer these questions, the paper relies on the concept of the grotesque.

Dr Octavia Cox, Keble College, University of Oxford

Pope's Eloisa to Abelard and Romantic Poetry

The late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries' antipathy to Alexander Pope is well known. In an excoriation of Popean verse, for example, John Keats wrote in Sleep and Poetry (1817) that Pope was a mere "handicraftsmen [who] wore the mask | Of Poesy".

For all their hostility to much of Pope's poetry, however, many Romantic-period writers exempted Pope's poem Eloisa to Abelard (1717) from such criticism. As early as 1756 in his Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, Joseph Warton observes that "one may venture to remark, that the reputation of Pope, as a poet, among posterity, will be principally owing" to Eloisa to Abelard, because it is "so truly poetical". He continues, "It is impossible to read it without being struck with a pensive pleasure, and a sacred awe, at the solemnity of the scene; so picturesque are the epithets". Black Melancholy, furthermore, is "beautifully personified". Later writers echo Warton's praise. William Lisle Bowles, for example, in his edition of Pope's Works (1807), claims of Eloisa to Abelard that "nothing of the kind has ever been produced to equal it for pathos, painting and melody". Even Leigh Hunt – the inspiration for Keats's provocatively anti-Popean poem quoted above – called Eloisa to Abelard a poem "of feeling" (Feast of the Poets, 1814). Lord Byron later asked, "If you search for passion, where is it to be found stronger than in the Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard?" ('Some Observations upon an Article in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, August 1819'). Much later in April 1842, when William Wordsworth was in his seventies, he wrote that "the Epistle of Eloisa to Abelard" was a "most poetical work".

This paper traces the influence of Eloisa to Abelard on Romantic poetry, to show its significance to the development of integral elements of 'Romanticism' (Gothicism, Emotionalism, Lyricism, Melancholia). The final line of Charlotte Smith's Sonnet I of Elegiac Sonnets (1784), for example, ends with a melancholic allusion to the final line of Pope's Eloisa to Abelard. Pope's "He best can paint them, who shall feel them most" is converted into a response that considers the effect on the artist if Pope's line is true. Smith observes, "Ah! then, how dear the Muse's favours cost, | If those paint sorrow best----who feel it most!"

Dr Ian Calvert, University of Bristol

The Thersites Episode of Pope's Iliad: A Case-Study of Translation

This paper uses the Thersites episode from the second book of Alexander Pope's translation of the Iliad to examine Pope's practice as a translator. It sheds light on his working methods by discussing hitherto unidentified borrowings in the passage from, among other texts, the Latin prose translation which appeared in the margin of eighteenth-century editions of Homer, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century translations of the Iliad into English and French, and John Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel. It then moves on to consider the Thersites passage as a commentary on Homer, as well as a translation. Pope draws on existing connections between Thersites and Achilles, particularly in the shared content of their respective speeches in Books 1 and 2 of the Iliad, in order to draw attention to their status as partial mirrors for each other with regard to their willingness to speak truth to power, albeit with starkly differing consequences for them both. These connections between Achilles and Thersites, along with other aspects of the passage, ensures that it functions as a site of self-reflection for Pope. While it has often been recognised that Pope liked to think of himself as a latter-day Achilles, especially in his fiercely heroic independence, I argue that Pope used Thersites, as well as Achilles, as a Homeric avatar. This use of both individuals as an alter ego for the translation in his Iliad should not simply be

seen as a matter of Achilles representing who Pope wanted to be, and Thersites a recognition of who he really was. Pope was certainly drawn to his and Thersites' shared status as individuals who held a marginalised position in society on the grounds of their social class and their physical disabilities. Pope's identification with Thersites, however, is not straightforward: while Pope does soften the criticism that Thersites directs at others, and which others direct to him, he also adds details to the Homeric description of Thersites' disabilities to indicate, to a much greater extent than the original or any previous translator does, that his deformed body was indicative of a deformed morality. In his presentation of the character, and the connections he finds to other literary figures (Homer's Achilles, Dryden's Achitophel), Pope's Thersites acts as a complex, ambiguous blend of self-praise and self-recrimination.

16 **Home and Homecoming in Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letters**
Room: Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Rachel Bynoth, Bath Spa University
Speakers:

Anna Dearden, University of Birmingham
'latitudes in general very uncomfortable': experiences of home and comfort for Britons abroad in and en route to South Asia, c. 1757-1833
This paper investigates how Britons who travelled between Britain and South Asia from 1757-1833 (primarily resulting from employment with the East India Company) experienced both "comfort" and "home". Scholars such as Jon Stobart, Marie Odile Bernez, and John Crowley have compellingly demonstrated that the eighteenth century witnessed not only an increasing concern for comfort, but also a shift in the meaning of "comfort", whereby it came to relate both to the emotional and the material. In building on this body of scholarship, the paper argues that British experiences of comfort (and discomfort) in South Asia related not only to emotion and materiality, but also to the physical environment, to bodies, and to sociabilities. Indeed, it suggests that social comfort remains under-explored and that, largely symptomatic of being "away from home", it could take on increased emotional salience in the lives of these Britons. Moreover, the paper argues that these diverse but intimately connected forms of comfort were essential components of "home" for Britons in the period. In doing so, it explores the extent to which they could be secured in South Asia (as well as on return home to Britain), and thus the extent to which "home" could be maintained or re-created whilst abroad. Drawing primarily on letters, diaries, and journals allows the paper to also consider the role of factors such as gender and age in shaping these experiences. Who is speaking about comfort (and discomfort), and how, and why? In exploring who was involved in the labour of securing comfort for the British body (i.e. wives and domestic servants) and at what cost, this paper thinks through the politics of comfort. Ultimately, it suggests that thinking through experiences of comfort (and discomfort) had by Britons in South Asia in the period allows us to grapple further with questions about the mobility and stability of home in this first moment of increased mobility between Britain and South Asia.

Professor Karen Harvey, University of Birmingham
'I got home safe & well': the orbit of bodies in eighteenth-century British letters
'I got home safe & well', reported Samuel Merivale to his wife Elizabeth in June 1762.i Typical in their letters, and across the full range of eighteenth-century familiar letters, is a cluster of commonly repeated phrases that relate to returning home safe and well. Writers reported arriving home safely; they expressed a wish that they or their correspondent would get home safely or they requested a report of their loved one being home safe and well. This paper uses those phrases to

consider why home was colloquially the site for being 'safe & well' and to explore what meaning the particular confluence of home with being safe and well carried in the context of familiar letters. The body was a principal marker of time and space in letters. This paper explores the body as a marker of space in particular, by exploring the connections between 'home' and body.

That the home was a haven during the eighteenth century is well-established. Though much scholarship suggests this home was increasingly associated with women, men's affective, material and practical engagement with the home is also clear. Letters underscore this investment of both men and women in the home: calls and wishes to come home were expressed by both alike for one another. Rather than presenting the home as a site of power relations – as it has so often been discussed – these calls to come home envision it as a shared site of refuge, love and care. Though being away from home could be enlivening, it also created danger and fatigue. Coming home removed those risks and generated positive impacts on both body and mind. While people discussed confinement at home as restrictive, for most it was restorative and overall wellbeing was dependent on the body being at home. This is why the body's orbit around and away from home was so carefully charted and its return home always eagerly awaited. Letters enabled this reporting and were the means to bring people back; letters were cast out to hook the family member or friend and reel them back home again.

The second part of the paper therefore attends to the role that discussion of homecomings played within the letter and epistolary communication. First, coming home was a language of love and desire: the Hastings town clerk John Collier wrote to his wife from London of 'the longing desire I have of returning'.[ii] As such, feeling unwelcome at home was taken as a barometer of a lack of feeling. Rebekah Bateman found it 'disagreeable' being away from home, especially as he seemed to be enjoying her absence a little too much: 'you don't incline to fetch me yourself', she accused him, instructing him to send a horse instead. She commented sharply on his lack of feeling: 'your compliance is very cool'.[iii] Second, the placement of reports that a loved one had reached home safe and well at the opening of letters suggests that such statements were principal devices in successful epistolary exchange. If letters ended the suspension of time without contact, the knowledge that the person was home brought the added assurance that the missing and suspended body was now steadied, back in the place where it belonged.

Dr Sarah Fox, University of Birmingham

Homecoming and the ageing body in eighteenth-century Britain

In the Spring of 1751 John Black, wine merchant of Bordeaux set sail to return 'home' to Northern Ireland. Black had lived in Bordeaux since his youth but a combination of religious turmoil and old age led him to leave France and return to the family estate, Blamount. Already 70 years old when he undertook the journey, Black remained in Northern Ireland until his death sixteen years later. Drawing on familiar letters of the middling sorts across the eighteenth century, this paper studies the various accommodations that were necessitated by such a homecoming. The presence of an older relative in the home required material adjustments, such as food, drink, clothing, and access to places to sit, rest, or sleep. More disruptive to the usual activity of the home were the physical and emotional demands of accommodating an older relative. As Ann Hatfield remarked in a letter to her granddaughter in 1804 'an old Person will Require waiting upon...& can't Doo without assistance'. Less tangible, but just as important, was the emotional labour in sharing the home with others. 'I have very long been striving to prevent the peevishness that often attends upon old

people', continued Ann Hatfield '...how far I have succeeded you will be able to Judge when I come amongst you'.
Geographer Doreen Massey suggested that home is a constellation of trajectories, a combination of people, place, and objects. The return of a senior family figure unsettled these trajectories, disrupting ideas and experiences of 'home' for themselves and for the rest of the family, and raising issues of care provision, domestic authority, health and wellbeing. This paper explores these tensions and how they were managed. In doing so, it seeks to better understand the eighteenth-century home as a site of nostalgia, of refuge, yet also as a place of hierarchy and deference. It interrogates the ties between the home, and family, and how this shaped family dynamics.

Dr Emily Vine, University of Birmingham
Changing climates and memories of 'Home' in eighteenth-century Letters
In July 1783, Shropshire-based Robert Johnson wrote to his brother George: "I was afraid you would be sufferers by the heat: Judging from the weather here which has been hotter and drier than ever I remember it". Johnson had observed weather which, according to his own personal experience and memory, was exceptional, and associated this with concerns for his brother's wellbeing. Similar comments about weather were often deployed as a framing device that set the scene of a letter, and connected the writer's surroundings and experiences with that of the recipient. This paper explores how British letter-writers wrote about their memories of changing climates and perceivable alterations to their home environment. It suggests that memory, both personal and shared between writer and recipient, was a central way in which changes to weather and home environments were sensed and perceived.
This paper focuses on shifting weather patterns and environmental change as perceived by those whose lived experience was predominantly within the British Isles, rather than those who travelled beyond it, and accordingly explores how fixed places were thought to have altered within living memory. It responds to environmental philosopher Glenn Albrecht's term 'Solastalgia' – human distress instigated by a perceivable change to one's home environment – and shows that this concept has pre-modern antecedents. By demonstrating that perceptions of environmental change were rooted in highly subjective memories, either individually or co-created between writer and recipient, it suggests new avenues for approaching climate histories.

17

What's Race Got to Do with It?: Interrogating the Norms of Domestic Space, Race and Gender in the Eighteenth-Century Novel (Roundtable)

Abstract:
Over the last decade, eighteenth-century studies have used the reissues of multiple intersectional works, including 'A Woman of Colour' and 'The Female American', as platforms for new readings from an interdisciplinary perspective. One area that tends to be overlooked, however, is how concepts of the home and domesticity can shed light on readings of gender, race, and the cartographies of domestic space in the long eighteenth-century novel. The BSECs Conference theme, for 2023, of 'Homecomings, Return and Recovery' provides us with a timely opportunity for scholars to address this oversight by asking what's race got to do with domestic space, race and gender in the eighteenth-century novel? When one considers the inclusion of these novels, which invariably interrogate the formation of the socially mobile and privileged white heroine, it becomes apparent that it is often the intersectional, non-normative subject who establishes the criteria for those norms (as she notes her exclusion from them). By reading 'A Woman of Colour', 'The Female American' and 'Zelica the Creole' for example, in light of novels like Richardson's 'Pamela' (1740); Haywood's,

'Fantomina' (1725); Burney's, Evelina (1778) and Austen's 'Mansfield Park' (1814), scholars gain insight into how a broader critique about the normalized structures of the feminine subject and the gaze of the 'Other' resurfaces to re-establish existing notions of normative whiteness.
Although eighteenth-century domestic fiction does the important work of considering the intersection of social class and gender, this roundtable panel encourages consideration of how the social gatekeeping of women's upward mobility privileges notions of whiteness. In light of the Supreme Court's decision to overturn Roe versus Wade in June 2022, our panel also encourages participants to think about whether and how heteronormative notions of race, social class impact on bodily autonomy. The focus of this roundtable panel will be on the genre of domestic fiction; however, participants will also discuss other novels of the long eighteenth century that challenge (or problematically uphold) racialized hierarchies in the private sphere.

Room: Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Dr Karen Lipsedge, Kingston University
Speakers: **Professor Ros Ballaster, University of Oxford**
Dr Victoria Barnett-Woods, Loyola University,
M.A. Miller, University of Nevada, Reno
Dr Meg Kobza, Newcastle University

18 **Thomas Gray among the Disciplines: a roundtable on a forthcoming book (Roundtable)**

Abstract: This roundtable brings together seven contributors to the forthcoming book, Thomas Gray among the Disciplines, ed. by Ruth Abbott and Ephraim Levinson (Routledge, 2023). The book will be the first in almost ninety years to attempt to recover the extraordinary range of Thomas Gray's writings, which has been occluded since his death by a critical focus on his poetry. Contributors to this roundtable will each give a three-minute flash talk introducing their research. We show that Gray engaged with a remarkable number of fields of knowledge in his Commonplace Book, his letters, his marginalia and annotations, and in other manuscript sources, including a newly-uncovered one containing a previously unknown Latin poem. His work on antiquarianism, natural history, visual art, and medieval literature is represented by this roundtable, as are his methods of note-taking, compiling catalogues, and transcribing manuscripts. As the contributors reveal, there are often affinities between his scholarly and poetic practices and endeavours. Gray was not limited by modern disciplinary boundaries, and accordingly our roundtable embraces a variety of specialisms, from History of Science to Medieval Studies, and sets Gray within diverse interpretative frames, including queer theory and the history of scholarship. Following the papers, there will be a three-minute presentation of a major project providing open-access digitisations of a number of Gray manuscripts held in Cambridge, including hitherto-unpublished Latin essays and the site of much of his scholarly and poetic output: his three-volume Commonplace Book.

These introductory addresses will form the basis for a wide-ranging discussion, not only about the content of individual papers. Like the book that this roundtable introduces, we will be asking about how we perceive the man Samuel Taylor Coleridge called 'our scholarly bard', and about the eighteenth century more generally: How ought we to understand manuscript practices in the period? How should we study what we would now call literature from an age in which 'literature' often denoted learning? And is the eighteenth century best seen as an era of specialisation or the last predisciplinary age?

Room:	Lecture Theatre One (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Ephraim Levinson, University of Cambridge
Speakers:	**Dr Ruth Abbott, University of Cambridge** **Dr Charlotte Roberts, University College London** **Dr Stephen Clarke, University of Liverpool** **Dr Rhys Kaminski-Jones, University of Wales Trinity Saint David** **Dr Edwin Rose, University of Cambridge** **Dr Lotte Reinbold, University of Cambridge**
19	**Accounting for Taste: The Business of Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres (Roundtable)**
Abstract:	In recent decades, drama's importance to the cultural, social and political life of eighteenth-century Britain has become widely recognised. However, the financial side of drama remains comparatively unexplored. This is despite the fact that Georgian theatres were major businesses, their activities directly shaped by financial considerations, and that London's two patent theatres – Covent Garden and Drury Lane – have left behind a richly detailed body of financial documents, including nightly account books. Such documents quantify the economic factors that preoccupied the minds of Georgian theatre managers, playwrights, performers and audiences. This roundtable introduces the ERC-funded project, 'Theatronomics: The Business of Theatre, 1732-1809', which takes an econometric approach to the subject. The project team is currently creating a database to record and analyse the two patent theatres' financial data, which will be made publicly available upon completion of the project. Here, the team will demonstrate the project's aims and potential by means of a number of case studies. They hope to raise discussion on the nature of Georgian theatre as business, on the significance of economics to eighteenth-century theatre scholarship, and on the possibilities associated with an econometric, digital approach to theatre. Susan Bennett will focus on Oliver Goldsmith's She Stoops to Conquer, first staged in 1773 at Covent Garden and an audience favourite to this day. She will look at the changing status of the play itself, of the roles of Tony Lumpkin and Marlow, and of the actors who played them, through the lens of Covent Garden and Drury Lane's finances. Jennifer Buckley will consider how theatrical homecomings and returns were not confined to actors, actresses, and specific plays but were also informed by current affairs. She will explore how news of war shaped the repertory at the two patent theatres – and whether engaging with the 'return' of news from the front made sense for the box office. Edward Kearns will examine the financial performance of the plays written by Elizabeth Inchbald and how this interacted with her other sources of income, such as the plays' print publication, her novel-writing career, her acting career, and her investments. Kandice Sharren will discuss how nightly receipts can contribute to understanding processes of canonization, using the disappointing 1800 run of Joanna Baillie's De Monfort as a case study. She will explore how receipts and audience profiles can contextualize and call into question established narratives about critical and commercial failure.

Leo Shipp will examine the transactions with tradesmen recorded in the two theatres' account books. He will focus especially on the theatres' business relationships with oil merchants, tracing them across time and across the geography of London, and showing how such relationships underpinned the staging of drama.

Room: Lecture Theatre Two (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Professor David O'Shaughnessy, University of Galway
Speakers: **Susan Bennett, University of Galway**
Dr Jennifer Buckley, University of Galway
Dr Edward Kearns, University of Galway
Dr Kandice Sharren, University of Galway
Dr Leo Shipp, University of Galway

20 **British Theatre**
Room: Old Law Library
Chair: Dr James Harriman-Smith, Newcastle University
Speakers: **Dr Uri Erman, Ben-Gurion University, Israel**

The Theatre as a Predatory Sphere: Actresses and Nobles in Eighteenth-Century Britain

The #MeToo movement and its influence on the public discourse compel us to reexamine our past as well. A prominent phenomenon of the elite social sphere in eighteenth-century Britain was the association of aristocratic men with actresses and opera singers. Such relationships were displayed in public and took a variety of forms – from patronage and sexual relations to companionship and even marriage. While a career on the public stage afforded a degree of independence to these women, such relations were conducted from an inherently unequal footing and were rife with exploitation and coercion.

These relations are rarely addressed in current scholarship and were never systematically analyzed as a discrete social phenomenon. Earlier scholarship approached such relations as a matter of personal choice, romance and scandal, thus accentuating their sensational aspects. In reaction to this approach, scholars today tend to sideline this phenomenon altogether, as any attention given to this phenomenon is deemed to be undermining the current, and highly justified, attempt to cement actresses' place as important figures in the historical and artistic canon. In this spirit, a leading scholar has recently declared that "certainly, direct references to actresses' sexual proclivities now appear dated" (1).

However, I argue that viewing these relations as "proclivities" is a fallacy, which ignores the context and power structures within which these relations were conducted. This phenomenon should not be addressed as a private matter, but as a matter of social institutions and practices, that formed a complex power dynamic between a traditional elite, of status, lineage and patrimony, and an emergent, highly vulnerable elite, of celebrity and mass-adulation.

My paper will reexamine the eighteenth-century theatrical world, its institutions and practices, in light of these considerations. How did this world – as an industry and a community of professionals and patrons – framed and enabled such relationships? I will focus on several aspects that disclose the predatory nature of the period's theatrical world, particularly the physical layout of the theatres themselves, the establishment of the Green Room as an area intended for mix-gendered sociability, and the norms governing these backstage areas, norms that prioritized the fantasies and self-image of aristocratic men. These practices were embedded into the operation of the industry itself, and helped to usher relationships between actresses and nobles that were inherently unequal.

(1) Helen E. M. Brooks, "Theorizing the Woman Performer," in The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre, 1737-1832, ed. Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 555.

Caroline Taylor, University of Oxford

Can't Take My Eyes Off of You: "The Return of the Look" and the Infectious Gaze in John Dryden's 'All For Love' (1677)

A commonplace in the antitheatrical writing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is the condemnation of theatres as sites of physical and moral contagion, with the eye consistently figured as the "prime vulnerable orifice through which the body becomes diseased" (Darryl Chalk 2010). Manipulating the contemporaneous medical understanding of eyes as portals of infection, from the late sixteenth century antitheatrical writers condemned the "infectious sight of Playes" (Anthony Munday 'A Second and Third Blast' 1580). From William Prynne's assertion that theatrical "Spectacles [a]re apt to ... contaminate the eyes" ('Histrio-Mastix' 1633) to George Ridpath likening those "who are mad upon Stage-Plays" to David infatuated with Bathsheba, insisting that the theatre similarly "wound[s]" the "Eye" ('The Stage Condemn'd' 1698), antitheatricalists figure actors as plague ridden carcasses, "weep[ing] out" the "pestilential Contagion" through "the common lachrymal Ducts of the Eyes" (Nathaniel Hodges 'Loimologia' 1672).

Crucially, the antitheatrical preoccupation with infectious sights and the vulnerability of the eye in the playhouse misinterprets the nature of spectatorship. What is often forgotten in antitheatrical discussions of active lookers infecting passive observers is that theatre necessarily blurs the boundary between ocular activity and passivity. In her study of theatrical vision, Barbara Freedman (1991) asserts that western theatre is predicated on "the return of the look," what the post structural theorist Jacques Lacan terms "the gaze." According to Freedman, what distinguishes theatre from any other art form is the artist's ability to return the observer's look and thus create an interactive gaze between actor and audience. We can therefore consider the antitheatricalists' characterisation of the theatre as a seductive Medusa capable of infecting her onlookers to be antithetical to the nature of spectatorship. Antitheatrical tracts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries underestimate the agency of the viewer in the reciprocal gaze which creates the theatrical experience.

This chapter will examine how sight is conceived as infectious in John Dryden's 'All for Love, Or The World Well Lost' (1677). It will focus on how playhouse interactivity upsets the rhetoric of medical and antitheatrical texts, which conceived of a gendered binary between the active looker who infects and the passive observer who is infected. In his reworking of Anthony and Cleopatra, Dryden offers the audience two opposing modes of spectatorship, represented by Anthony's closest advisors, the antitheatrical "Spider" Ventidius and the pro-theatrical "Bee" Dolabella. Through these figures, Dryden refutes antitheatrical debates over the infectious sight of plays, exemplifying how the interactivity of the theatrical gaze renders the audience complicit in spreading the "Disease of the Stage" (Jeremy Collier 'A Short View' 1698).

Dr Sebastian Mitchell, University of Birmingham, UK

Ossian in performance – the travesty of the grand ballet pantomime, 'Oscar and Malvina'

Compared to continental Europe, the production of theatrical adaptations of Ossian in Britain in the eighteenth century was relatively meagre. The most successful of the serious versions was John Home's 'The Fatal Discovery' (1769), the fourth of the Scottish playwright's tragedies; but this was in a number of

respects a reformulation of the episodes and tropes which he had successfully marshalled in his most famous play, 'Douglas' (1756). At the other end of the scale would seem to be the grand ballet pantomime, 'Oscar and Malvina; or the Hall of Fingal', which premiered at Covent Garden in 1791. Some modern critics have dismissed 'Oscar and Malvina' as a fugitive corruption of Ossian's poetry. However, as this paper will argue, the ballet pantomime possessed rather more artistic merit than this view implies . 'Oscar and Malvina' was the most popular of Ossianic productions in Great Britain in the Georgian era, as well as being one of the most successful examples of this mimetic dance form. This presentation will also suggest that it is now possible by using a variety of contemporary research materials including newspapers, periodicals, playbills, prints and scores to recreate speculatively the appearance and sound of 'Oscar and Malvina', and to chart the development of its performance both nationally and internationally.

Professor Michael John Burden, New College, University of Oxford
Selling seats: Two impresarios manage London's opera house

London's opera house, the King's Theatre, opened in 1705 to some acclaim. After some years as a theatre with a mixed programme, the house was licensed exclusively for all-sung Italian opera. The financial model of the theatre was one built on the contributions of a group of wealthy subscribers, a model that continued to support the theatre throughout the century.

The subscribers largely remain elusive, but two previously little-known lists survive in the archives at Drummond's Bank, one for Vanneschi's season of 1754-5, and the second for Regina Mingotti's season of 1756-57. Vanneschi's list consists of a new audience, rebuilt after the opera's failure in 1750. Such was the extent of the disaster – and such was the transformation that took place – that Charles Burney commented that the singers could not 'keep the manager out of debt, or hardly out of jail, till the arrival of Mingotti, who in the Autumn of 1754, revived the favour of our lyric theatre, with considerable splendour.' Mingotti's list was put together when she hijacked the opera administration in 1756 and was forced to start again on her own.

The discussion of the two lists will illustrate (at least as far as the 1750s in London are concerned) what has long been suspected; that the subscribers to the opera in London were not a heterogeneous group of personalities, but a group not only (and not surprisingly) conjoined by class, but with a considerable level of familial and political – and even aesthetic – connections as well.

21
Room: Boardroom (Main Building)
Chair: Professor Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton
Speakers:

War

Hanna Filipova, University of Gothenburg
"And Lord granted me freedom": stories of the return of Ukrainians from Swedish captivity during the Great Northern War 1700-1721

Returning home during or immediately after the war is a special topic for scientific research, supported by special documents. Analyzing such sources as "supliques" and "chelobitnayas" (petitions), from which the basic information for this study comes, I would like to draw some parallels with modern military-political events. I'm interested in comparing the experience of moving huge numbers of Ukrainians in Europe in connection with the war.

During the Great Northern War of 1700-1721, many Ukrainian cossacks, commonwealth and philistines were captured by the Swedes. The battles of the campaigns of 1701-1707 turned out to be especially unsuccessful in this regard for the Hetman State, providing at that time military contingents for the needs of

the Russian army. In particular, many Cossacks were captured after the battle for Nesvizh Castle in 1706.
Their life in a foreign land, and in particular the way home (as a result of a ransom, exchange or escape) deserves the attention of the researcher as a representation of various survival strategies. The ransom from captivity required significant material costs and risks, and was affordable only for representatives of the wealthy families of the Cossack foreman. There are cases when the wives successfully redeemed them. Ordinary Cossacks, whose families did not have the means to buy their relatives from captivity, were forced to stay in a foreign land for a long time (10–15 years or more). Some of them, unable to withstand harsh living conditions, attempted to escape. The petitions do not give full details of these long periods of time, but it seems that one of the survival practices was to take employment with some prominent military commander of any of the warring armies. Magnus Stenbock, Yakov Dolgorukov, Adam Ludwig Lewenhaupt took the captured representatives of the Hetman State into their service.
Those who still managed to return, most often made their home and household in a state of ruin and desolation, and families – extremely impoverished. This is one of the reasons why so much information about the journey home from Swedish captivity is in the petitions. Although, the historian cannot deny some exaggeration of hardships inherent in this documentary genre.
The report is based on the results of a study conducted in Kyiv and Gothenburg. It was carried out in the Kyiv archives in 2017-2018, and was continued in Sweden after February 24, 2022, when the troops of the Russian Federation invaded Ukraine.

Professor Renata Schellenberg, Mount Allison University
Writing War: Forms of Return in Goethe's Campagne in Frankreich
Goethe's war writings are a mixture of autobiography and fiction. Initially intended to document the effect of the French Revolution between 1792-1793 , the publication of this work was deferred, and belatedly published between 1820 and 1822. The 28-year delay between historical occurrence and publication of the report raises questions about authorial intent and overall purpose of the finished work, while casting doubt on the accuracy of the historical account itself. Seemingly reluctant to engage with the events he was asked to observe, and maintaining an apolitical stance in relation to the charged discussions taking place, Goethe uses the occasion of war to reflect on other matters, clearly deviating from the task of documenting Prussian victory and revolutionary warfare. While witnessing the destruction of war, he thus reflects on life and events that occurred before the conflict, exercising his vivid memory to connect the observed devastation to something personally meaningful and, therefore, more permanent in terms of his own creative intelligence. Within the text, Goethe creates deliberate interruptions to signal his refusal to document war as a self-important event, inserting a "Lücke" or a "Zwischenrede" into the published text to denote his authorial omissions and to revert to a more reflective stance. He also uses war as an occasion to refocus his attention on other, more creative, projects. He debates his work in optics as part of the text, later stating that this tumultuous period was enormously productive in terms of revisiting and completing this important aspect of his scientific work.

Dr Andrea Haslanger, University of Sussex
Bringing War Home: Barbauld's 'The Caterpillar' and Scales of Harm
During and after the Napoleonic Wars, the question of how to communicate the scale and magnitude of war's harm to a British public largely insulated from combat generated a range of literary and visual representations of injury. This was a question not only of conveying what had happened to soldiers' and civilians' bodies, but also of the public's involvement in what Anna Letitia Barbauld calls the "national acts" of war, which she describes as "our own acts" in her fast-day sermon, Sins of Government, Sins of the Nation (1793). For Barbauld, the matter of war's injury was physical as well as moral, and something that concerned all Britons. Barbauld develops this point in her poem, "The Caterpillar" (1815), which likens a gardener sparing a sole surviving caterpillar to a soldier deciding not to kill his last living enemy. The parallel encounters between these adversaries turned companions highlight the problems of scale (how to represent mass killing?) and the insufficiency of sympathy in communicating war's harms. But perhaps most strikingly, they suggest that the distinctions between places endangered by war's violence and those protected from it, or between murderable enemies and unkillable allies, are nowhere near as clear as they might seem. War's harm comes home not only through personal and general experiences of loss, but through the developing recognition that no one can "sleep sound" while others are "devote[d]...to perish on land and sea."

22
Room: MGA Lecture Room (Mary Gray Allen Building)
Chair: Emma Pearce, University of Edinburgh
Speakers:

Slavery

Dr Ryan Hanley, University of Exeter
Enslaved Women Making Things Difficult for White Men in Colonial Jamaica, 1755-1765
Using the radical counter-archive of Robert Wedderburn's alternate family histories, this paper explores how two women – the enslaved domestic servant Rosanna; and her mother, the smuggler's agent and reputed Obeah-woman, Talkee Amy – negotiated complex dynamics of coercion and resistance to carve out space for agency and self-determination amidst slavery and insurrection in colonial Jamaica. Exploiting racialised and gendered assumptions, affective ties, and family networks, these two formidable women withheld their compliance from the white men who sought to control them, resisting demands for emotional and sexual labour and always refusing to pay any kind of personal respect. They never joined the open conflicts which rived the island in the early 1760s, but through obstinacy, stubbornness, and sheer effrontery, they were able to take advantage of planters' fears of – and desire for – enslaved women to protect themselves from the worst excesses of colonial brutality and secure freedom for Rosanna's children, Robert and James. These women revelled in their defiance of illegitimate authority, passing down stories of insubordination and resistance that inspired young Robert in his subsequent career as a notoriously un-respectable political radical in early nineteenth-century Britain.

Dr Stuart M. McManus, Chinese University of Hong Kong
Slavery & the Search for the Geographical Limits of Vast Early America
The geographical limits of early American history are continuously being debated. Recently, this has culminated in the popular adoption of the expression "vast early America," which looks beyond the previously dominant Atlantic paradigm to embrace hemispheric perspectives, while underlining the need to delve more into continental Africa, the Mediterranean, Eurasia, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean worlds. But what are the limits of this widening historical

panorama in the case of the history of slavery? This article argues that the Transatlantic Slave Trade was part of a larger trade in people of African descent (and others) that was geographically uneven, regionally segmented, but global in extent, reaching as far as China. To do so, it will take as its starting point a hitherto unstudied set of mid-eighteenth-century baptismal records from the Portuguese enclave of Macau that record the births, ethnicity and parentage of dozens of African and other slaves. Placing this unique new dataset within the context of other contemporary Portuguese- and Chinese-language sources, it will show that the presence of "black slaves" (黑奴, heinu) in this port city was shaped by many of the same imperial and missionary projects as in the Atlantic, as well as racialized in ways highly reminiscent of the Western hemisphere by both European and Chinese observers. The increasingly racialized slave trade of vast early America was thus horrifyingly "vast."

Annabelle Gilmore, University of Birmingham
To Remember or to Forget? William Thomas Beckford, his Collection and Connection to Slavery
My thesis explores the display of art objects connected to slavery and imperialism at the country house of Charlecote Park in Warwickshire, in collaboration with the National Trust. Whilst this is predominantly focused on the way the objects were displayed in the mid-nineteenth century, the objects in question are there in part thanks to William Thomas Beckford (1760-1844). As such, much of my thesis is also dedicated to his narrative and the Beckford family as a whole. Beckford is famous for his art collection, novel writing, and the notorious doomed structure, Fonthill Abbey. He was also an absentee enslaver. This aspect of his life has often been treated as a side note to his career as art connoisseur, or the Beckfords feature in works dedicated to slavery in the Caribbean which do not make the connection with William Thomas Beckford as a connoisseur. This paper seeks to engage closely with Beckford as enslaver and art collector and question how his narrative and that of the enslaved community in Jamaica can co-exist. It will explore how tightly slavery in Jamaica can be tied to Beckford as an absentee enslaver, and the impact this has on interpreting the physical objects of his collection.
I seek to investigate how it might be possible to de-centre William Beckford in the history of the collections by giving more emphasis to the enslaved people whose labour created the wealth which made their acquisition possible. In doing so I aim to begin a discourse on how such art objects and the spaces that house them can be sites for engaging with Black history.

15:30-16:00 Coffee break
Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

16:00-17:30 BSECS ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
All BSECS members are warmly invited to attend to welcome & support PG delegates.
Lecture Room 1 (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

17:30–19:00 WILEY-BLACKWELL & POSTGRADUATE RECEPTION
All BSECS members are warmly invited to attend to welcome & support PG delegates.
Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

19:00–20:30 DINNER Dining Hall (Main Building)

THURSDAY 5TH JANUARY

09:00–10:30
23
Room:
Facilitators:

THURSDAY SESSION I

Aphra Behn: Place and Patronage, Past and Present

Maplethorpe Hall

Professor Ros Ballaster, Mansfield College, University of Oxford

Dr Claire Bowditch, University of Queensland

"this loose Town": Place in Aphra Behn's "London" comedies

This paper explores Aphra Behn's use of London as a setting for her mid- and late-career city comedies in two directions. Firstly, it considers Behn's dramatic topography alongside that employed by her contemporaries, including George Etherege and William Wycherley in The Man of Mode and The Country-Wife respectively in order to demonstrate the extent to which Behn largely eschews the specificity of her colleagues. Secondly, it analyses Behn's adaptation practices when turning George Wilkins's split-location tragedy, The Miseries of Inforc'd Marriage (1607), into her first London-based comedy, The Town-Fopp (1677). Finally, it explores Behn's frequently circumspect and opaque stage geographies in the contexts of theatrical longevity, political prudence, and hasty adaptation, which are then complicated by the firm and explicit anchoring of location in the preliminaries of her printed plays.

Dr Marcus Nevitt, University of Sheffield

Aphra Behn and Playbook Dedication During the Exclusion Crisis

This paper will analyse the relationships between patronage and the printed quartos of Aphra Behn's Exclusion Crisis plays. Through a comparison of the patterns of dedication to all extant play quartos written during the constitutional and religious turmoil of 1679-81, I will consider the ways in which the political content of these grandiloquent texts related to their function as bids for favour and remuneration at a time when London's theatre audiences were in marked decline. Centring on an analysis of Behn's remarkable dedication of The Second Part of the Rover (1681) to the Duke of York when he was, at his most politically toxic, exiled in Edinburgh with the exclusionist cause in full flight, I will also consider the role that Restoration booksellers played in securing dedications to the playbooks they produced.

Professor Elaine Hobby, Loughborough University

Aphra Behn Returns to Canterbury

Baptised in the village of Harbledown on the outskirts of Canterbury in 1640, and residing in and around the cathedral city until she moved to London in 1657, Aphra Behn has until recently been largely forgotten by her birthplace. This paper will sketch recent developments in Canterbury that the AHRC-funded project Editing Aphra Behn in the Digital Age is involved with, which are designed to have her justly celebrated as a daughter of Canterbury. The activities include the formation of The Aphra Behn Society of Canterbury, a campaign by The Canterbury Commemoration Society and A Is for Aphra to erect a bronze statue of Behn in Canterbury High Street, and plans by The Canterbury Players to stage the first performance of Behn's second play, The Amorous Prince, for the first time since 1671. In July 2024, Canterbury will host an international conference, 'Aphra Behn and her Restoration', interweaving that with an Aphra Behn Festival that will feature, inter alia, an exhibition about Behn and her times in the city Art Gallery. This paper will raise questions about the relationship between such community activities and the academic priorities of a scholarly edition, and invite discussion of the principles and practicalities of such endeavours.

24 **Natural History at Home and Abroad: Gilbert and John White of Selborne**
Room: Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair: Dr Rhys Kaminski-Jones, , University of Wales Trinity Saint David
Speakers: **Stephanie Holt, Natural History Museum/University of Oxford after**
The Naturalist in London: How Gilbert White's travels to London influenced his work as a naturalist in Selborne
Gilbert White (1720-93) is known to us through his book The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne, which through its delightful, captivating writing, and a good dose of publishing luck, has never been out of print since 1789. The book consists of a series of letters between the author and two of his correspondents, Thomas Pennant and Daines Barrington, primarily related to White's observations of flora and fauna in his home village of Selborne in Hampshire. The book itself raises many questions: why has it survived as a document? Why has it been so influential? Why Selborne? And why do we still talk about White today? To attempt to answer some of these questions, I draw on notes in White's diaries that record time spent not in Selborne, but in London. It was in London that his book was published, through London that many of White's connections were made and from where he drew much of his inspiration. In this paper I show how the time White spent in London contributed to his studies at home, his publication, and his role as the ancestor of the modern naturalist today.

Dr Mary-Ann Constantine, University of Wales Trinity Saint David
Home and Away: Gilbert White's Correspondence with Thomas Pennant
Gilbert White's Natural History of Selbourne is framed as a series of responses by the author to letters from other people. Besides its popularity as a driver of plot in fiction, the epistolary form is often associated with the public sharing of knowledge in educational texts, in political writing, and in travel narratives. In White's case, the two addressees, Thomas Pennant and Daines Barrington, were prolific correspondents with shared interests in natural history and antiquities: their letters to White are not part of the published work and are no longer extant. Recent work on the correspondence of Thomas Pennant (whose relationship with White has not always had good press in later accounts) provides a good context for exploring his 'lost' voice in this dialogue, allowing us to identify his characteristic modes and themes of enquiry. This paper reads the first volume of the Natural History as an enmeshing of knowledge produced by two distinctive types of travel – White's minutely focused repeated circuit (the 'evening walk') and Pennant's wide-ranging tour in quest of new species and habitats, notably the Tour of Scotland undertaken in 1769.

Professor Brycchan Carey, Northumbria University
Home and Away with John White of Selborne and Gibraltar: Naturalist, Naval Chaplain, and Forgotten Younger Brother
In this paper I begin to reconstruct what little we know of the life and work of John White (1729–80), younger brother of the more famous Gilbert White. John White had a chequered career. After a youthful indiscretion at Oxford, and facing mounting gambling debts, the family secured him the chaplaincy of the distant Gibraltar Garrison where he remained in exile for sixteen years before returning to the family home of Selborne in Hampshire, apparently still under something of a cloud. While on the Rock, he attempted to write a Fauna Calpensis (Animals of Gibraltar), sending drafts to his brothers Benjamin (1725–94), the London publisher, and Gilbert—who grew increasingly critical of his younger brother's attempts at natural history. The book was never published and today only the introduction survives in manuscript and in a scarce early-twentieth-

century transcription. Frustrated in his attempts at literary fame, and apparently suffering from depression, he died in his early 50s. In this paper, I bring together scattered primary and secondary sources to briefly tell his life story before reading the Introduction to the Fauna Calpensis closely to show its stylistic similarity to Gilbert White's more famous Natural History of Selborne (1789). I conclude that, while the Fauna Calpensis may not have been literary masterpiece, it was probably nonetheless a useful piece of amateur natural history that failed more because of White's personal situation and his relationship with his brothers than because of its intrinsic scientific merit.

25
Room: Louey Seminar Room
Chair: Dr Daniel Cook, University of Dundee
Speakers:

Wollstonecraft Returning: Haunting and Resurrection

Dr Laura Kirkley, Newcastle University

Gothic Terrors: Wollstonecraft's View of the French Revolution

Critics have often taken at face value Wollstonecraft's stated aim, in her much-neglected Historical and Moral View of the French Revolution (1794), to consider the Revolution with 'the cool eye of observation'. This detached perspective, she claims, will demonstrate the integrity and long-term value of democratic principles despite the ruthless partisanship and bloodletting of Robespierre's Jacobin faction. View of the French Revolution is not, however, a straightforward history; it is also a pro-Revolutionary polemic punctuated by Gothic interludes testifying to on-the-ground experience of the Terror. This paper argues that Wollstonecraft deliberately constructs an embodied self who is drawn to the shattered monuments of aristocratic privilege, haunted by the violence of the Revolution, and struggling with somatic and affective responses that complicate the claims both of the detached and objective historian and the Revolutionary polemicist. Participating in the fear and pain of the guillotine's victims, this Gothic 'wanderer' performs the inter-factional empathy which Wollstonecraft depicts elsewhere as a cornerstone of democratic principles, and which she regards as essential to the recovery of a society riven by the very real horrors of its Gothic feudal past and Terrorist present.

Dr Kandice Sharren, University of Galway

Exhuming Wollstonecraft

While reviewers had sought to undermine Wollstonecraft's ideas by drawing attention to her body during her lifetime, after her death the fixation on Wollstonecraft's body extended to the material reality of her decomposing corpse, buried in St Pancras Churchyard until it was exhumed and moved by her grandson in 1851. This paper maps the discourse surrounding Wollstonecraft's posthumous body onto the discourse surrounding her body of work, to argue that, historically, vindicating Wollstonecraft has involved abstracting her ideas from her embodied experience. Through attention to four manuscript commentaries on Wollstonecraft's grave—and, by extension, corpse—this paper explores the full spectrum of possible responses. For two anonymous writers, the infertility of the earth around Wollstonecraft's grave represents the failure of her ideas, but in two manuscript poems from 1800, Gothic historical novelist Anna Maria Porter offers a more complex interpretation, in which the barrenness of Wollstonecraft's grave allows her to develop the idea that in death Wollstonecraft has transcended the bodily concerns on which her critics fixated, elevating the immaterial mind over the ephemeral, passionate body.

Dr Susan Civale, Canterbury Christ Church University
Returning to Wollstonecraft at the Fin de Siècle
In traditional accounts, it is Charles Kegan Paul's two-volume William Godwin, His Friends and Contemporaries (1876)—a biography commissioned by Wollstonecraft's descendants—that marks the turning point in her public rehabilitation. However, several important female-authored writings about Wollstonecraft also contribute to the reassessment of Wollstonecraft in the late Victorian period. A closer consideration of works by Mathilde Blind, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, Margaret Oliphant, and Millicent Garrett Fawcett, for example, demonstrates how writing about Wollstonecraft allowed late nineteenth-century women writers to participate in literary historiography, intervene in key cultural debates, and even undertake the work of self-promotion. Moreover, the affective resonances of these fin de siècle 'returns' to Wollstonecraft also reveal the enduring impact of Godwin's biography and thus help to contest prevailing narratives about her reception in the long nineteenth century.

26
Room: Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Chair: Professor Hannah Barker, University of Manchester
Speakers:

Unlocking the Mary Hamilton Papers: Findings So Far

Dr Sophie Coulombeau, University of York / Dr Cassandra Ulph, University of Manchester
Reading Practices in The Mary Hamilton Papers, 1783-1784
In this paper, we will present the headline findings from our research into reading practices recorded across a variety of media (diaries, letters and manuscript books) during one calendar year of Mary Hamilton's life. After a brief explanation of our methodology and introduction to the Heurist database which we have used to capture data, we will establish when, where, who, how and with what effects Mary Hamilton reads, placing these individual findings in context of broader reading tendencies across her circles. We will situate our project in the context of recent scholarship addressing eighteenth-century reading practices from historical, literary and sociological perspectives, and suggest some ways in which they might inflect scholarly thought and practice across these disciplines.

Dr Nuria Yáñez-Bouza, Universidade de Vigo
Forms of address and politeness in Mary Hamilton's private correspondence, 1776-1814
In the late Georgian period, England witnessed significant social and cultural changes through which politeness became an ideal that permeated almost every aspect of daily life, including language use. This is also the period when letter writing became a widespread social practice and letter-writing manuals established norms of propriety and elegance of style for addressing persons of all ranks. In turn, the use of appropriate forms of address became a customary feature in correspondence and a key strategy for individuals in constructing their social identity in light of their relations with others. This is the context of the research carried out in the project strand 'Norms and Usage', framed within the fields of historical sociopragmatics and historical sociolinguistics.
In this panel, I will present a case study on self-reference expressions employed by Mary Hamilton to refer to herself in the main text and in the signature of her private correspondence. The special relevance of self-reference expressions lies in that they address the recipient of the letter at the same time as they describe the status of the writer. More specifically, the analysis will trace the use of personal names in the form of her nickname, her first and last name, and the use of a status title; for intance, Mrs. Dickenson is much disappointed to lose the

pleasure of seeing Mr- Walpole in the main text of a letter to Horace Walpole, and Adieu my dear friend ever yours – M Hamilton in the signature of a letter to Lady Mary Wake. Intra-speaker variation will be examined in terms of sociolinguistic factors like gender as well as notions traditionally connected with pragmatic language use such as distance and relative power.
The overall aim of this paper is to explore the role of address expressed in the form of personal names as a means of socially-governed linguistic practice and as an index of politeness on the positive-negative continuum, whether to minimise distance and show familiarity between correspondents or whether to increase distance and show deference towards the addressee, and this in a period dominated by linguistic correctness, propriety, and etiquette.

Professor David Denison, University of Manchester / Dr Tino Oudesluijs, University of Manchester
A first look at Mary Hamilton's social networks
One of the original goals of our project was to correlate membership in social networks of persons as reconstructed from The Mary Hamilton Papers with developments over time in our three domains of study. These are research strands II-IV of the project, namely reading practices (where interpersonal influence might be expected to operate at a fairly conscious level), norms and usage (where conformity with, or rebellion against, social conventions, might operate both at conscious and subconscious levels), and syntactic structure (assumed to be largely below the level of conscious attention). It has been amply demonstrated that social networks can affect diachrony in social behaviour, including language use. However, for the syntactic structure strand at least, we suspect that there may not be enough data in our transcribed corpus to establish correlations, though that remains on our agenda.
What we hope to demonstrate in this programmatic paper is that the networks themselves are of intrinsic interest and can be mapped in ways that allow them to feed into different research agendas. We will look at networks extracted from diaries and correspondence in the Papers such as those at Court, long-term friendships, and familial relations. We will demonstrate different ways of looking at them, taking advantage of the Heurist database and mapping programs. In some cases, we will correlate relationships with patterns of correspondence between pairs of individuals. If time permits, we will also look at what can be derived from mentions of persons other than author or addressee.
The final goal of this paper is to discuss ways of linking our work with other eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century projects, for example by indexing The Mary Hamilton Papers correspondence in the correspSearch project and any other appropriate collective indexes, in the hope of widening the dataset both for project members and for outside researchers.

27
Room: Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Dr Ryan Hanley, University of Exeter

The Woman of Colour

Speakers: **Dr Andrew H. Armstrong, Independent Scholar (Formerly University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus)**
TransAtlantic 'Returns' in The Woman of Colour: A Novel
This paper will examine the theme of return and homecoming as a complex yet fitting ending to The Woman of Colour. It will show how the return of the protagonist, Olivia Fairfield, to Jamaica at the ending of the story provides a troubling yet 'tidy' end to the novel without, at the same time, providing closure. In discussing the theme of return, the paper looks at the double and ambiguous meaning of the word which moves it beyond homegoing/coming to the whole

matter of financial returns. This is particularly important in a novel that dramatizes, with great effect, the subject of women, money and power in 18th century England and in its colonies.

Dr Alison Cotti-Lowell, New England Conservatory of Music
Homecoming or Exile?: Engineering the Overseas Citizen in The Woman of Colour

The anonymously authored The Woman of Colour (1808) provides a unique account of the citizenly potential of a mixed-race heiress in Romantic Britain. Upon her arrival on England's shores, the projected marriage of Jamaican Olivia Fairfield to her white English cousin Augustus effectively functions as a literary test-case for the assimilation potential of the colonial relative into the elite British family—a kinship experiment with significant national resonance. This paper explores The Woman of Colour's psychological portrait of a migrant woman of mixed race in a white family, thinking through the question of what constitutes "home" for a dutiful daughter of empire such as Olivia. I argue that this novel emphasizes that information about the development of national and racial ideologies, at the heart of the burgeoning institution and practice of formal citizenship, may be found in the material conditions of kinship structures, and in the intimate, lived spaces of empire rather than in the public world of politics, polemical writing, and law.

Yet the successful integration of Olivia into the British family is short-lived. After a brief spell of marital bliss, Augustus's first wife Angelina (presumed dead) is discovered alive along with a son of legitimate birth. Olivia, her marriage immediately rendered null and void by the appearance of Angelina and the child, thereafter returns to Jamaica without a husband and without her fortune. Although this turn of events might signal the author's basic critique of the exclusionary nature of the British national imaginary and the apparatus of the nation-state, there is more at stake. This paper shows that while the experiment does not yield a British citizen of color, it does offer a prototype for a British Overseas Citizen. Drawing on Pratt's foundational work on the "anti-conquest," this paper discusses Olivia's "anti-exile" (my coinage) as a blueprint for the Overseas British Citizen. Anti-exile, as a sustained narrative strategy, shows how Britain's management of the empire walked the line between unapologetic self-interest and guilt-laden exploitation of its colonial people. Reading this novel through the anti-exile framework also illuminates The Woman of Colour as a protean moment in the history of British citizenship.

Aditi Upmanyu, Brasenose College, University of Oxford
Textual Recovery and Olivia's Homecoming in The Woman of Colour (1808)

Textual recovery of previously undiscovered women-authored texts has been an important part of the feminist literary enterprise, especially in eighteenth-century studies. While the revival of relatively obscure women authors allows us to re-evaluate constricted definitions of the literary canon, scholars have questioned the outcomes of the recovery project, its tendency to assign anachronistic feminist interpretations to the novels, and homogenizing the diverse themes, socio-economic conditions, and sexual politics of various women authors. In her landmark essay, "Beyond Recovery: Feminism and the Future of Eighteenth-Century Literary Studies", Jean Marsden terms "the legacy of recovery, both good and bad" (661).

Despite concerns regarding its aims, the literary recovery of women's novels has contributed to the knowledge-building of eighteenth-century scholarship. The recovery of a two-hundred-year-old anonymous novel, The Woman of Colour: A Tale (1808), first re-published in 2002 by Broadview Press, presents a fascinating

case of literary revival, not only because its assumed author was a woman but also a person of colour. An adventurous narrative of a woman's perilous journey from Jamaica to England, the novel recounts the struggles of Olivia Fairfield in a racist and patriarchal eighteenth-century British society. Upon its discovery, along with the knowledge that the novel was originally published a year after the abolition of slavery in England, feminist scholars hailed the novel as radical in delineating the complexities of race, gender, and class through the eyes of its biracial protagonist. However, these readings call into question the ethics of the feminist recovery project. The first half of my essay critically examines the responses to the novel in the last two decades with the aim to engage with Marsden's question "how do we move beyond?" (661). Does a text become polemical for the modern-day reader because it was written when debates surrounding the moral, political, and economic ramifications of slavery and racism were rife? Is the mere documenting of these debates enough? My essay will problematize the straightforward readings of the novel's racial and gendered subtexts. I argue that Olivia Fairfield (the olive and fair alluding to literal as well as metaphorical ambivalence around racial identity) occupies the twin positions of the benevolent oppressor whose wealth originates from plantation ownership in Jamaica and the displaced and oppressed woman of colour in England.

28 **Politics and Representation**

Room: Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

Chair: Professor Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton

Speakers: **Joshua Smith, University of Stirling**

Politics, Patronage and Control in the British Subscription Library, 1800-1832

This paper will examine the politics of library management and membership in British subscription libraries of the early nineteenth century. By 1810, the subscription library was a form of library association widespread throughout the British Isles, from the largest metropolitan centres to the smallest rural communities. Though varying in size and scale, subscription libraries shared a common system of administration in which the library was managed for the collective benefit of all subscribers by its members. Whilst the cultural and bibliographical importance of the subscription library has been recognised, little assessment has been made of the significance of its constitutional aspects. This was a system of library management in which the rules and regulations of the library were openly codified, in which committee members were elected from the wider membership and in which the power to shape the contents and structure of the library was vested in its members.

The administration of the subscription library was intimately connected to the local social and political context in which it was located, with local hierarchies being reflected in library hierarchies. The politics of the library space was local politics writ small. This paper will examine the role these hierarchies and politics played in the administration of subscription libraries across Britain, the involvement of social, political and religious elites, and the role played by subscription libraries in wider politics and society. Analysing the manuscript records of both an urban English library, the Bristol Library Society, and a provincial Scottish library, the Leighton Library in Dunblane, this paper will assess the management of subscription libraries across Britain, arguing that they demonstrate both constitutional and democratic features in their administration during a period of political turbulence in which efforts towards national political reform were repressed.

The management of the subscription library provided its members with administrative and political experience, but also with a convivial and sociable physical space in which they could meet and converse together. In this way, the

subscription library served a further purpose in the maintenance of political and economic relationships which shored up the social hierarchies of Georgian Britain. This paper will also examine the role played by subscription libraries as venues of sociability, amongst other associational clubs and societies, in the fostering of networks of political and economic importance. It will assess how such libraries attempted to overcome political and bibliographical differences between members to foster a society which, upon the surface, appeared polite, refined and consensual. It will reaffirm the importance in understanding subscription libraries, not only as lending libraries, but as associational societies and the significance of these within the societal and political networks of Georgian Britain.

Dr Alex Mortimore, Independent Scholar

The Political Representation of Bürger in Goethe's 'Die Aufgeregten'

This paper analyses Goethe's attitude towards political representation via his play, 'Die Aufgeregten'. The nature of Goethe's politics has proven contentious. Many 19th- and 20th- century critics accused Goethe, a longstanding privy councillor and beneficiary of ducal patronage, of being a stickler for absolutist rule and even an apologist for tyranny. More recent scholarship has, overall, been more generous, portraying Goethe as a supporter of enlightened values, including accountable government which prioritised the welfare of its people. However, both interpretations still argue that Goethe saw political participation as the preserve of monarchs and aristocrats, whereas the intervention of middle-ranking members of society (Bürger) could hinder compassionate and effective government. This paper uses Die Aufgeregten to seek clues as to how Goethe envisaged the role of Bürger in politics. To what extent did they have the right to influence, or even direct, political affairs? What, if anything, qualified a Bürger for political participation?

First performed in 1793, at the height of the French Revolution, Die Aufgeregten represents one of Goethe's few overtly political dramas. It features Breme, an uppity barber-surgeon, who seeks to lead a revolt against the ruling elite of a village in southern Germany to rectify a long-standing feudal grievance. Breme claims to draw inspiration from his 'brothers' in France, and invokes Revolutionary rhetoric to attract support. Yet his behaviour often belies his supposedly benevolent and cosmopolitan principles. He also tries to gain the support of a character referred to as 'der Magister'. Having been dismissed for negligence by the local court, the angry Magister vindictively claims that he looks forward to the aristocratic 'race' being punished for their misdeeds. The revolt fails, thanks to the timely action of the conscientious Countess who enjoys the loyal support of her (burgerlich) Court Councillor.

The paper contends that Goethe supported greater bürgerlich participation in politics than is widely assumed. Although Die Aufgeregten provides no evidence that Goethe was a democrat in the modern sense, or by the standards of his own day, there are hints that he desired a spirit of (what we may see as) representative democracy. The text seems to support the increased exposure of certain Bürger to centres of political power. This would create a gradual rapprochement between government and governed, and lead to evolutionary systemic change. Far from being an authoritarian or reactionary, or even someone who deemed enlightened absolutism a path to political and social improvement, Die Aufgeregten shows Goethe to be giving serious consideration as to how power and accountability should be better distributed. As in many other areas of his life, Goethe took a creative approach towards politics, exploring ways to improve it whilst avoiding extremes and violent upheaval.

Ioannes Chountis, University of Aberdeen

The Return of the Nabobs: Roman History and the Question of Empire in Edmund Burke's Indian Speeches

In late eighteenth-century the term 'nabob' had gained general currency in the political vernacular. This referred to persons whose wealth stemmed from the operations of the East India Company. Politicians, thinkers, and journalists raised concern about the political and social impact of the nabobs' return to London. In pamphlets and parliamentary speeches, they highlighted how the nabobs wealth and keenness for luxury could potentially undermine the British constitution. Edmund Burke, a key figure and driving force in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Governor-General of Bengal, was one of those who shared this fear about the corrupting force of Eastern wealth. A survey of contemporary literature indicates that this was a widely held opinion and affected political debates, especially because of its resemblance to the prevalent Roman paradigm. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the theme of return in the context of the political literature regarding the subject of the nabobs and Eastern influence. More specifically, it will be shown how Burke raised public awareness by utilizing Roman history and hinting at the decline of the Roman Republic under the weight of imperial expansion. This will serve to demonstrate the ways in which, according to Burke and others, the return of the Nabobs threatened the balance of Britain's mixed constitution and what remedies they proposed for that. Overall, this blends into the wider question of Empire in late eighteenth-century, how it was perceived and the ways in which political thinkers, such as Burke, understood Indian affairs in subtly but profoundly Roman terms.

29

Poems on Affairs of Statues: contesting and commemorating late-Stuart politics, from London to Leiden (via Maryland)

Room: Lecture Theatre One (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

Chair: Dr Barnaby Ralph, Seikei University / Visiting fellow at King's College, London

Speakers:

Dr Claudine van Hensbergen, Northumbria University

Talking Horses and Monuments in the 1670s: Andrew Marvell and London's Sculptural Landscape

Marvell's satires 'The Statue in Stocks-Market' and 'The Statue at Charing Cross' were first published in the early volumes of Poems on Affairs of State from 1689 onwards, alongside Ayloffe's 'A Dialogue between Two Horses'. The poems are often discussed in the immediate Whig context of the volume despite their emergence in an earlier moment: one of monumental sculptural projects of the 1670s, predating the Exclusion Crisis. My paper reads these satires on equestrian statues in relation to this latter context, uncovering wider ideas about the interrelationship of literature and monumental culture in the period. Christine Stevenson's 2013 study, The City and the King, recovers the political context of the rebuilding of the City of London, showing how so many of its most iconic projects were motivated by a need to compensate for the city's loyalty to Parliament during the Civil Wars. Much of this architectural landscape was punctuated by sculptural and monumental works, not least the Monument itself, unveiled on Fish Street Hill in 1677. The Monument took some six years to construct, with this period providing the backdrop for a number of fascinating poems and wider publications that explored public sculpture in varied ways. Reading Marvell's satires upon equestrian statues of Charles I and Charles II alongside works by other writers and artists, I will explore how London's sculptural landscape was contested from the outset of the decades which saw its first sustained development. Many of these poems can be read as vehicles of textual iconoclasm, attempting to destroy the intended meaning and purpose of

these works. Marvell's efforts were not unique, but part of a wider practice that would continue for decades to come, and in which it was common to reinterpret, adapt and challenge the seemingly stable operations of monumental culture. In this way, literary engagement with monument during these years provides an informative model for today's statue debates, showing how the true value of monument lies in its ability to speak to multiple narratives and agendas simultaneously.

Dr Ed Holberton, University of Bristol

Statuary Transposed: 'A Dialogue Between the Two Horses' and the Miscellany of William Trail

One of the longest Restoration satires on statues, 'A Dialogue Between the Two Horses', was copied into a miscellany assembled in 1680s Maryland, by a Presbyterian clergyman, William Trail, who had migrated there a few years previously from Ulster. The wit of the 1670s statue poems is urbane, intertextually involved, and densely site-specific, so this paper asks what 'A Dialogue Between the Two Horses' meant to a Scot living on a Chesapeake plantation, whose cultural centres were Edinburgh, Dublin and Rotterdam, rather than Charing Cross. I read Trail's transcription of and annotations upon 'A Dialogue Between the Two Horses' in the context of the wider miscellany's collection of verse satire together with news, accounts of Trail's legal battles in Dublin and Lifford, and essays on the oaths and covenants which shaped his identity and pushed him into a life of exile and migration. The reading practices evidenced by this miscellany helped Trail to clarify his loyalties and obligations in relation to the tangled religious policies of the Restoration regime in Scotland, Ireland and Maryland. Precisely because 'A Dialogue Between the Two Horses' centres London, it enables Trail to triangulate an 'archipelagic' response to the emerging opposition in 1670s England.

Dr John McTague, University of Bristol

From London to Leiden to Mortlake: the Circulation of John Partridge, and his Verse

Partridge fled to the Netherlands at the latter end of 1685, following the publication of allegations that he had cast nativities for members of the royal family, and that the only reason he wasn't directly involved in the Monmouth rebellion was that he did not have a horse. In exile from 1685-1688, Partridge continued to produce his trademark 'no-popery' Whig propaganda, in the shape of pamphlets which were not quite almanacs, to be distributed in the Netherlands and England. One feature these pamphlets had in common with his usual almanacs was the inclusion of two or three satirical poems. This paper discusses the separate (and wide) circulation of those poems in broadsides and manuscripts, their quick collection in many of the triumphant post-revolution poetic miscellanies, including those later volumes of Poems on Affairs of State not published until in the early eighteenth century. It reflects on the manner in which this unlikely figure gets in on the ground floor of the cultural celebration and commemoration of the revolution of 1688-89, as well as the effects that early access has on his subsequent career. It concludes by examining a 1730s attack on Partridge, published in a revisionist account of the reign of James II, which contests the version of Partridge's life suggested by his Mortlake grave and by implication what it sees as the domestication or naturalisation of radical Whigs, and radical Whiggism, within British politics.

30 **Medicine**

Room: Lecture Theatre Two (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

Chair: Dr Katherine Aske, Northumbria University

Speakers:

Dr Noelle Gallagher, University of Manchester

Prodigal father, Scrofulous son: The eighteenth century's moral panic over hereditary disease

In his 1676 *Treatise of the Kings-Evill*, the royal surgeon Robert Wiseman explained that scrofula—known today as mycobacterial cervical lymphadenitis—could have many different causes, from bad air and poor diet to 'Natural Complexion' and 'hereditary Affections.' By the early decades of the 1700s, medical opinion had changed: scrofula had been reclassified as a serious hereditary disorder, one of several related diseases that 'tainted the blood' and 'returned through the generations,' passing down from unthinking, immoral parents to their innocent, suffering children. Even in the latter decades of the century, the belief that scrofula 'differed so peculiarly from the generality of diseases by the circumstances of [its] hereditary transmission' remained commonplace—so much so that Thomas White, surgeon to the London Dispensary, published a 1785 treatise expressly to *refute* this 'common opinion' as 'very erroneous.'

White, as it turns out, was correct: scrofula is not hereditary; it is caused by a bacterial infection. So how—and why—did scrofula go from being a relatively minor childhood infirmity with many potential causes to a serious hereditary disease indicative of moral, financial, and physiological degeneration? In this paper, I suggest that scrofula was one of several related disorders—including gout, ricket, and venereal disease—that were 'rebranded' as hereditary in eighteenth-century print culture, and that retained their symbolic value as emblems of aristocratic vice, long after medical thought on the subject had changed. Reading works by Swift, Fielding, Hogarth, and others, I argue that scrofula was one of several diseases used to critique the alleged sexual excesses of the elite, and that its symbolic power was enhanced by the widespread use of financial metaphors to describe its action within the body. As the terms of legal 'inheritance'—of entails, estates, and bequests—were transferred onto a developing concept of biological 'inheritance', scrofula became not just a means of attacking the alleged moral decline of the elite, but also a means of formulating modern ideas around heredity and genetics.

Dr Bénédicte Prot, University of Basel, Switzerland

The 1744 Louis XV's Recovery. From Political to Poetical Convalescence

My current research investigates convalescence in French culture during the long 18th century. At that time, multiple texts deal with convalescence: medical writings, poems, novels, plays, and discourses on historico-political events. Convalescence refers to an equivocal phase and an interval between the end of pathology and a full return to health. As a topic involving both doctors and writers, convalescence is a fruitful in-between that generates various interactions between medicine and literature.

As part of this research, this paper focuses on the Recueil de pieces choisies Sur les Conquêtes & la Convalescence du Roy (Collection of Selected Poems on Conquests & Convalescence of the King), presented to Louis XV and edited by the bookseller and printer Michel-Antoine David. Published in 1745, this collection of 37 poems – by prominent authors and now forgotten writers – follows the famous Metz-episode that occurred during the Austrian Succession war.

In Spring 1744, Louis XV leaves Versailles to command his army on the eastern front. He besieges the cities of Menin, Ypres and Furnes in June-July. While

visiting his troops in Metz, the monarch becomes seriously ill on 8th August. He receives extreme unction, after being summoned to repudiate his mistress and publicly confess. But Louis XV surprisingly recovers. The now so-called "Bien-aimé" goes to Strasbourg from 5th to 10th October, where fastuous celebrations are offered to him. After capturing Freiburg, he arrives in jubilant Paris on 13th November, and joins Versailles a few days later. The king's convalescence is a literary event: many verses, odes, idylls, stanzas, epistles, songs, etc., celebrate it. In an Ode comme les autres (Ode like any others), an anonymous writer mocks the profusion of mediocre versifiers praising the monarch's triumph and recovery.

As a whole and in each of its components, the Recueil reveals the relationship between writers and power, and is obviously a matter of propaganda. Military conquest and victory over illness and death equate from its very title. Homecoming (particularly to Paris), heroic return from war campaign, and miraculous recovery are articulated. The collection is based on variations on the same topic and on polyphony, in order to emphasize the idea that the royal body and the body of the nation are one.

I formulate the hypothesis that these political issues are combined with poetical ones, in a time when poetry is in crisis. The panegyrics composed for the occasion question the genre of the epic poetry, lyrism and heart-coming eloquence, and the recovery of the poetry itself. From book's materiality to rhetoric and stylistic devices, the study of the Recueil within its cultural and political context highlights the collective dimension of the recovery; it thus explores the convalescence not only as a theme but also as a process of reflection about literature.

Dr Alun Withey, University of Exeter

Dangerous Journeys: Health and Risk in Eighteenth-Century Travel Preparations

Though it may seem paradoxical to offer a paper on preparation for travel to a conference on homecoming, one cannot in fact understand homecoming (and the responses it generated) without relating it to expectations of travel, and especially of the dangers it might pose. Whilst the processes, destinations and experiences of travel in this period are increasingly well known, the ways in which individuals planned and prepared both body and mind in the lead up to a journey, remain unclear.

Travel in the eighteenth century was indeed not something to be undertaken lightly. Before modern tourism, as Barbara Korte has noted, travel, whether over long or short distances, was widely viewed as dangerous, exposing individual travellers to many physical, moral and spiritual threats. In their preparations to travel, and even once underway, individuals therefore had to negotiate and evaluate known challenges (and to some extent also prepare for the unexpected) which, in turn, coloured decisions about modes of transport, destination, health, and the likelihood of returning

In recent years, much attention has focussed on the health and medical history of travel. Themes have included health tourism, the development of spa towns, health and epidemics in different geographical contexts; race, climate and disease; geohumoralism and the effects of airs, waters and places; colonial travellers and Empire, and also the sickness experiences of travellers whilst abroad. And yet, basic questions remain. How did people understand and conceptualise the risks, and especially the health risks, of travel? From where or whom did they obtain this information. How, and to what extent, did this play a part in their preparations for a journey?

One consequence of homecoming (and recovery) was to generate guidance to other travellers regarding such dangers and how best to prepare for them

Drawing on a range of sources from travel and medical literature to personal records, this paper will argue that this neglected 'before' element of travel in fact has the potential to shed light on a wide range of factors including medicine, individual and public health, the body, race, climate and susceptibility.

31 **Christianity**
Room: Old Law Library
Chair: Mary-Jannet Leith (University of Southampton)
Speakers:

Dr Daniel Reed, Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History, Oxford Brookes University
'Favour'd with the Lord's Wonders' – The Society for the Reformation of Manners in Hull, 1698-1706
The 1698 Act of Toleration legalised Christian worship outside the Church of England and unleashed a wave of religious fervour throughout the United Kingdom. In Hull, a group of nonconformist mariners, merchants, and tradesmen formed a Society for the Reformation of Manners to turn back the swelling tides of sin they perceived in their community. To this end, they sued their neighbours and sponsored sermons on spiritual reformation. Their successes and failures shed new light on the degree to which High Church Tories were willing to tolerate the Toleration. This paper will introduce the hitherto-unexplored records of the Society, touching on their origins, methods, and ultimate decline.

Dr Rosamund Paice, Independent / Newcastle University / Northumbria University
'hee unobserv'd / Home to his Mothers house private return'd': The Temptation of Home in Milton's Paradise Regain'd
This paper revisits the closing lines of Paradise Regain'd, in which Jesus returns to his mother's house. Where some have judged this ending anticlimactic, dull, or just bad, this paper argues that the epic's final lines lie at the emotional heart of Milton's epic and add to the case for Milton's Arianism. In deferring the Crucifixion and Resurrection beyond the narrated ending of the epic, Milton incorporates—subtly but significantly—the possibility of the Son not fulfilling his promised sacrifice, of him choosing differently. This is a Jesus who is sufficient to withstand not only Satan's temptation but the also the less sinister but perhaps more compelling temptation of earthly bonds. Satan may attempt to insert himself between the oneness of Father and Son, but the bigger attraction seems to be the quiet domesticity of Mary's house, the allure of emotional closeness with humankind, or perhaps even the possibility of Jesus fulfilling his destiny through the 'matchless Deeds' advocated by his mother.
The desire of Milton's Jesus to return home to motherly love is understandable. It is certainly a more emotionally comforting image than the scene of hate and public cruelty for which he will have to leave his mother's house in order to complete his task on earth. Although she never deliberately sets herself up in opposition to God, then, it is Mary who embodies an alternative possible ending to Jesus's story in Paradise Regain'd. She does so not only in her manner of nurturing Jesus, but in her very existence: she is an alternative, earth-focused route for Jesus's love that might have functioned to draw him away from obedience to God. Jesus might have remained safe in the home of his mother rather than continuing his journey towards death on the Cross, and a return to his Father's 'Eternal house'.

32 **Women's Conduct and their Publications**

Room: Boardroom (Main Building)

Chair: Rachel Bynoth, Bath Spa University

Speakers:

Dr Elizabeth Kukorelly, University of Geneva, University of Neuchâtel

Homelessness and Homecoming in Jeanne Marie Leprince de Beaumont's Instructions pour les jeunes dames

This paper will focus on Jeanne Marie Leprince de Beaumont's Magasins series. The series – which contains Magasin des enfants (1756), Magasin des Adolescentes (1760), and Instructions pour les jeunes dames (1764) – offers representation of homelessness on various levels. On the narrative level, the texts tell the story of a French governess giving instruction to English girls in London. On a cultural level, they partake in the mirrored dynamics of Francophilia and Anglophilia that informed France and England during the eighteenth century, though they never take sides. And on a geopolitical level, they reflect on the Seven-Year War, a conflict that tore through Europe and its colonies, again without seeming to take sides. These careful balancing acts mean that, on a commercial level, the series will have appealed to the consumer-inhabitants of different homes across European.

I will analyse a story adapted from Jean-François de Marmontel that is contained in Instructions pour les jeunes dames, in which a younger son, rejected by his mother in favour of an unpleasant and spendthrift older son, travels to Martinique to make his fortune. Learning of his mother's poverty and illness, he returns to France, helps her to recover, and brings her back to live with him and his Martiniquais wife. The story contains several homecomings and returns, as 'home' oscillates from one side of the Atlantic to the other. The movement of people and riches back and forth between Europe and the Caribbean is the backdrop to a tale of affective fulfillment, personal enrichment, and national-imperial becoming. I intend to argue that the glaring omission of the extractivist practices that enable recovery, return, and homecoming for European protagonists, are linked to Leprince's series' various forms of homelessness, which are constitutive of a pan-European identity, constructed in distinction to unseen colonial and enslaved subjects.

The paper is part of a book project that looks at French and English translations of conduct books for women in the eighteenth century. This work is supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation under a grant (Civility, Cultural Exchange, and Conduct Literature in Early Modern England, 1500-1800), based at the University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

Madeleine Saidenberg, Oxford University

Household Kates and Headstrong Catherines: Traversing gender thresholds in Kitty Clive's "Irish-English" Shakespeare

In her lively career as a singer and actor, Kitty Clive reshaped and recalibrated her persona many times to suit the interests of her sometimes-adoring, sometimes-censorious public. This has been most noted in her early career, during and after the "Rival Queens" case with Susanna Cibber; Berta Joncus suggests that Clive and Garrick redesigned her celebrity identity as a comic figure, often parodying virtuous femininity, to salvage a livelihood at the expense of tragic roles and serious critical approbation.

This paper takes a fresh look at two unpublished afterpieces from her later career, "A Sketch of a Fine Lady's Return from a Rout" (1763) and its second draft form "A Faithful Irish Woman" (1765), which are in manuscript form at the Huntington. Building on work by Felicity Nussbaum, who charts Clive's self-referential play with gender norms, this paper argues that these afterpieces—which once again rebrand Clive's celebrity persona to include her own moniker, "Irish-

English"—respond to and reflect on her famous Shakespeare role in the Garrick afterpiece Catherine and Petruchio. Why, so late in her career, was she interested in reclaiming her Irish heritage, and what does that do to her performances of Shakespeare in the 1760s? Pulling on the history of Anglo-Irish cross-dressed performance, which offered up ambiguous potential to the cultural imagination of British gender even as it reinforced masculine-feminine/English-Irish binaries, I suggest that Clive's claim for an "Irish-English" virtuous womanhood offers up a new possibilities for readings of Catherine and Petruchio, and for troubling our understanding of the formation of eighteenth-century "British" gender norms.

Katie Noble, University of Oxford

Printing Performance: Actresses' epilogues in eighteenth-century periodicals

Prologues and epilogues are well-studied in performance or as constituent parts of the printed playtext. Many rightly note how differently these pieces functioned in either form; one focused on the theatrical audience, the other on the reader. For example, Sonia Massai and Heidi Craig argue that following their publication on the page, 'such paratexts transcend their theatrical origins and take on lives of their own in print' ('Rethinking Prologues and Epilogues on Page and Stage', Rethinking Theatrical Documents in Shakespeare's England, 92). However, there is one other place in which prologues and epilogues were printed that calls into question any neat delineations between epilogues in performance and their printed counterparts.

During the eighteenth century, prologues and epilogues of the stage were regularly reprinted in magazines and periodicals. This is a familiar fact, but one rarely given thought past a simple footnote. Often these pieces were printed in sections designated for poetry, raising questions about the prologue and/or epilogue's status as both performance and poetry, both popular and high literature. Prologues and epilogues, rich with contemporary reference and commentary, are often contributing to varied discourses of politics and culture specific and relevant to their own performance moment. However, beyond their literal and symbolic content, prologues and epilogues continually reference their existence as documents of performance through their format and typography. Further, many printed prologues and epilogues recall a named performer, bringing to the fore their ties to that most incursive aspect of the theatre, celebrity. This paper aims to explore how printed epilogues in periodicals mediate the performances of actresses, using a number of examples from The Lady's Magazine. Throughout the eighteenth century, prologues and epilogues were regularly circulated as, not just examples of notable poetry, but as imperative artefacts of celebrity culture.

10:30–11:00 COFFEE BREAK
Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

11:00–12:30 THURSDAY SESSION II

33 **Workshop: Help build the new Jisc Historical Texts Learning and Teaching and resource**

Abstract: The panel will include members of the Jisc Historical Texts Learning and Teaching Working Group: Bonnie Latimer, Brycchan Carey (University of Northumbria), Stephen Gregg, Alison Urquhart (Jisc). This hands-on workshop gives you a first look at the new T&L resource being built on the Jisc Historical Texts platform, covering EEBO, ECCO, the UK Medical Heritage Library, and British Library Nineteenth-Century Periodicals. This is the first step

in an expansion of the platform's capabilities, which we hope will see it reach new audiences and take on a new relevance to academics working in this area. We are developing an area of the site focused on ready-to-use teaching resources and innovative, diverse assessment ideas, making use of the rich material in Jisc Historical Texts. The resource will be simple to use and welcoming to ECRs and TAs as well as established scholars. In this interactive workshop, you'll support this significant development of this widely used platform by evaluating our work so far and contributing ideas for further development. Please bring a laptop if possible, but come along regardless and join in the conversation!

Room: Maplethorpe Hall
Chair: **Professor Bonnie Latimer, University of Plymouth**
Speakers: **Brycchan Carey, Northumbria University**
Stephen Gregg, Jisc
Alison Urquhart, Jisc

34 **The Wilberforce Diaries Project**
Room: Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair: Professor Joanna Innes (Sommerville College)
Speakers: **Professor John Coffey, University of Leicester**
The Wilberforce Diaries: An Introduction
The diaries and journals of the abolitionist MP, William Wilberforce, cover over half a century from 1779 to 1833 and contain almost a million words. Around 100,000 words were published in the five-volume Life of William Wilberforce (1838), compiled by his sons Robert and Samuel. Yet with the exception of the 1779 diary and his later religious journals, the manuscripts have never been edited. This paper will provide an introduction to the extant manuscripts and present some of the initial findings of the project. It will highlight the challenge of editing these texts: problems of legibility, arrangement, missing manuscripts, copy text, unidentified persons, timecharts, and disparate genres ('diaries' & 'religious journals'). The paper will also reflect on the limitations of these documents and their value for understanding later Hanoverian Britain, the abolitionist movement, and Wilberforce's career.

Dr Mark Smith, University of Oxford
Neither biting nor bitten: Editorial Strategy in The Life of William Wilberforce (1838)
In 1838, five years after their father's death, Robert and Samuel Wilberforce published The Life of William Wilberforce in five volumes – essentially a series of extracts from their father's diaries and correspondence linked by a brief narrative composed by themselves. Described by Leonard Cowie as the 'principal authority' on Wilberforce it has regularly been cited by historians ever since. None the less, it was mired in controversy from the very beginning as Thomas Clarkson's Strictures ignited a dispute about whether the sons had deliberately downplayed his own role in abolition in order to magnify that of their father. However, a close comparison of the Life with Wilberforce's surviving manuscript diaries (now fully transcribed for the first time as part of the Wilberforce diaries project) and his correspondence, reveals that Robert and Samuel engaged in a much more thoroughgoing strategy of selection, redaction and occlusion in order to create a very particular portrait of their father for a Victorian reading public especially on matters relating to the body and the curation of his health as well as the breadth of his relationships and religious alignments. This paper reviews their strategy in action and discusses how their agenda continues to shape historiographical analysis of Wilberforce.

Dr Anna Harrington, University of Leicester

"I mean to make my Health an object of great attention:" The Cycle of Illness and Recovery in Wilberforce's Diaries

William Wilberforce delayed his first anti-slave trade motion in 1788 due to the onset of an illness that, apparently, nearly killed him. Thereafter, Wilberforce was dependent on opium, and his health, which had never been good, became a constant source of preoccupation for him. This was a life-long issue; he had several serious relapses, during which he sometimes ceased keeping his diaries. This paper will look at how Wilberforce described this cycle of illness and recovery in his diaries, as well as how much diary space he devoted to his health, both good and bad. His wife, Barbara, was also very focused on Wilberforce's health, and would frequently entreat him to stay home rather than risk his constitution in poor weather; the paper will address how this is represented in the diaries. It will also compare how he described his own illness and recovery with how he described the illnesses and recoveries of his wife, Barbara, and their six children.

35 **A Room to Play Cards**

Abstract: Learn to play basset, ombre, and other such games, and try your luck against the bank in a laid-back setting. In so doing, I hope we'll learn something about eighteenth-century sociability, the antics that led to government clampdowns on gambling, and those works of literature, from Pope to Austen, that feature flimsy - but very meaningful - bits of paper.

Room: Louey Seminar Room

Facilitator: Dr James Harriman-Smith, Newcastle University

36 **The Associates of Dr Bray: Social Justice and Recovery in Atlantic World Archives (Workshop)**

Abstract: Throughout the eighteenth century, the Associates of Dr. Bray funded schools for Black education in British North America. Bray Schools provided basic reading, writing, sewing, and etiquette skills to free and enslaved African American children. However, this organization's ultimate ambition was to provide religious instruction to convert and assimilate students to Christian practice while also upholding the institution of slavery.

Despite a clear mission, the Associates of Dr. Bray ignited debate about Black education from their formation in 1723. Although many excellent historic narratives surrounding the Bray Associates have been written, only a few academic works center the voices of those who daily experienced and challenged Bray School classrooms funded by this Anglican organization. This session attempts to recenter the voices of Black students who have long been silenced within the archive of the Associates of Dr. Bray, inspiring participants to consider how collections held by the University of Oxford can be utilized in social justice recovery projects.

In this session, Nicole Brown will expand upon a methodological approach to studying primary sources that push against silences in the records of the Bray Associates. Using the work of historical theorists such as Saidiya Hartman, Michel-Rolph Trouillot, Antonio T. Bly, and Marisa J. Fuentes, Brown will address how scholars might reckon with both archival silence and historical imagining connected to the Associates of Dr. Bray and their impact on eighteenth-century Black education in the British Atlantic world.

This panel will be 90-minutes, with two thirds of the presentation focusing on the Weston Library archives of the Bray Associates and redressing archival violence therein. The last one third of the session will be an opportunity for participants to workshop with Brown on how to support social justice recovery

efforts regarding the Bray Associates in the Atlantic World. The workshop will also connect participants to programs such as the Williamsburg Bray School Initiative.

Room: Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Facilitator: Nicole Brown, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and William & Mary

37 **Musical Politics**
Room: Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Professor Emerita Judith Bailey Slagle, East Tennessee State University
Speakers:

Dr Barnaby Ralph, Seikei University / Visiting fellow at King's College, London
Rhetoric and satire in Swift's "A Cantata"

The music popular in London in the opening decades of the eighteenth century was a frequent target of attack, from the subtle criticism of Joseph Addison to the open lampoonery of The Beggar's Opera by John Gay. Perhaps no critic was as cruel in his mockery and as blind to the charms of music, however, as Jonathan Swift, the famed author and wit whose works help to frame and define the period as a whole, even to this day.[SEP][SEP]Swift's undated work "A Cantata," set to music by his friend John Ecklin, is an extraordinary example of his trademark combination of Juvenalian and Horatian satire at its most pointed. The words are deliberately absurd and draw upon the hackneyed clichés of the day, ridiculing the rhythmic inconsistencies and often-ludicrous classical allusions of eighteenth-century opera. The mundane and the grandiose are thrown together and, when combined with Ecklin's arrangement, result in a work that neatly skewers the tastes of the time.

Beyond this, however, the "Cantata" itself provides an example of the conventions of the marriage of literary form and of musical rhetoric as employed in England. Whilst more commonly associated with German writers, musico-rhetorical figures were certainly known and part of the compositional process for British composers, and Ecklin uses these to play off Swift's own tropes and schemes as they unfold.

This discussion offers both a contextual examination of the work and a closer reading, drawing upon rhetorical and satiric forms for analysis. The result is a revealing look at how music and literature shared common rhetorical meta-linguistic threads in Britain during the early eighteenth century, and how satire, the lifeblood of British wit, was woven into the resulting tapestry.

Aoife Miralles, University of Oxford
Singing about Return in the Brittany Affair, 1764-69

My paper will explore the aftereffects of a particular episode of political controversy in eighteenth-century France. It will do so through an examination of several manuscript and printed songs produced in the context of the exile and return of the Breton parlement (a sovereign court of justice) in the 1760s. This so-called 'Brittany Affair' was one of a series of crises surrounding royal power and the sovereign courts in Old Regime France. It became an object of curiosity for both elites and the wider populace, not only in Rennes and Brittany itself, where the stagnation of judicial activity had heavy social and economic consequences, but also further afield. While much useful work has been done on conflicts between provincial bodies and the crown, little attention has been given to cultural productions – such as songs – as sources for exploring the tensions and aftermaths of this political affair. My paper will seek to address this lacuna, focusing on both the textual and musical content of songs concerning the return of the Breton parlement and key individuals involved in the controversy: Caradeuc de La Chalotais (attorney general of the Breton parlement), the duke of Aiguillon (governor of Brittany), President Ogier (state counsellor and king's

commissioner), the duke of Duras (commander of Brittany), and King Louis XV. In doing so, the paper will not only demonstrate the value of looking at these kinds of source materials, but it will also raise important questions about cultural responses to political controversy in the eighteenth century more broadly.

Dr Keisuke Masaki, Kanagawa University
An 'Intoxicated Public Sphere' in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Conviviality, Harmony, and Spontaneity at Political Dinners
This paper focuses on political dinners as part of an 'intoxicated public sphere' in early nineteenth-century Britain. In this period, public dinners served as an important rallying point for political discussion accompanied by drinking. They had been first used politically by London radicals at the end of the eighteenth century. By the beginning of the next century, however, they were considered highly significant by many people living in towns across Britain, regardless of their political affiliations and social classes.

This paper approaches political dinners from three main points of view. The first one is conviviality, which was promoted in part by drinking. The alcohol offered varied by class, with wine offered to the landed orders and the upper middle classes and with beer and ale to the lower middle classes and labouring people. Another element that inspired political dinners' conviviality was the music. Orchestras, bands, and professional singers attended dinners for the social elite. Though not as luxurious as these, the band and musicians also entered a more popular dinner to liven up the atmosphere.

Second, harmony was significant, particularly for committee members of the political dinner. They attempted to maintain order and respectability at dinners, planning the proceedings by listing the toasts and speakers in advance. From this point, a certain theatricality of political dinners can be identified. It was believed to prevent group drinking from falling into chaos and help create a sense of unity.

On the other hand, the steering committee could not always control the proceedings successfully, and the participants sometimes showed spontaneous behaviour that was not written in the 'script'. Political disputes occasionally surfaced on the day of the dinner, despite the prior efforts of the committee. These disputes were partly fueled by drinking and, in rare cases, escalated into violence. This deviation from the 'script' suggests that the political dinner was recognised as a public meeting allowing participants to speak freely.

38
Room: Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Dr Paul Stephens, Lincoln College
Speakers:

Wollstonecraft

Professor Shirley F. Tung, Kansas State University
Homeward Gagged and Bound: Recuperating the traveling subject in Wollstonecraft's _Letters Written During a Short Residence_ (1796)
The letter that concludes Mary Wollstonecraft's travelogue, _Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark_ (1796) recounts her view of the white cliffs of Dover aboard a ship bound for Britain. Unlike the ecstatically sublime depictions of the Scandinavian wilderness that characterize _A Short Residence_, Wollstonecraft refrains from describing and engaging with this iconic British landscape, commenting only on her disappointed expectations: "I have only to tell you, that, at the sight of Dover cliffs, I wondered how any body could term them grand; they appear so insignificant to me, after those I had seen in Sweden and Norway" (p.130). By describing the Dover cliffs as "insignificant," Wollstonecraft's complaint conveys both her status as a world-weary traveler—unimpressed by the comparatively parochial sights of her native

land— and her inability to be stirred emotionally by the nationalistic rhetoric associated with this much-celebrated site.
For Wollstonecraft, the scenery she surveys is as barren as the prospects that await her in London, rendering her journey not a return home, but rather, a return to an oppressive mindset of "thoughts [she] would fain fly from" (p.131). Indeed, this final letter is the only one to which Wollstonecraft appends her name—"Mary"—which fixes her narrative identity to a specific personage and body. And so ends the play of embodied fictions that have hitherto characterized the travel narrative's pseudonymous references to "Maria"— a name which both alludes to a tragic character in Laurence Sterne's _A Sentimental Journey_ (1768) and anticipates Wollstonecraft's eponymous heroine in _The Wrongs of Woman, or Maria_(1797). Furthermore, Wollstonecraft announces that "spirit of observation" that has dictated her account has "fled" (p.131) upon the sight of the Dover cliffs, suggesting that, irrevocably changed by her travels, she can never be reincorporated fully into the life and the "Mary" she left behind in England. My paper will explore how, through _A Short Residence_, Wollstonecraft rejects her previously fixed national and personal identities to construct a literary afterlife for herself as a traveling subject. Indeed, Wollstonecraft's _A Short Residence_ demonstrates that what Sterne terms "besoin de Voyager" is dictated, not by the necessity of pursuing foreign "knowledge and improvements" or even "knowing [one]self" (Sterne, _A Sentimental Journey_, p.10), but rather, by the need to expand the otherwise circumscribed borders of identity through the process of defamiliarizing the domestic.

Alex Hobday, University of Cambridge
'The only purifier of the Passions': Imagination and Commerce in the Later Wollstonecraft
In contrast to the view of Wollstonecraft as a liberal political thinker, scholars like Virginia Sapiro and Lena Halldenius have sought to emphasise her commitment to civic humanism. Such work points out that central to Wollstonecraft's political vision is her adherence to the view that the progress of human telos involves the cultivation of virtuous habits such as direct the individual towards a collective good. Additionally, Chris Jones has noted similarities between Wollstonecraft and Adam Ferguson in so far as both of them defend ideas of republican virtue against the rise of commercial society. Little has been written, however, about the role that the imagination has to play in Wollstonecraft's conception of virtue. This is surprising given that Wollstonecraft explicitly opposes the imagination to commerce in Letters to Imlay and Short Residence. My paper aims to address this gap by attending to Wollstonecraft's view, such as is put forward in these texts, that the imagination is the 'purifier of the passions', passions which commercial society intentionally inflames. Although the Wollstonecraft of the Rights of Men associated the imagination with Burke's aesthetic defence of monarchy, in her later writings she comes to see the faculty as the defining distinction of human nature. The imagination, in Wollstonecraft's words, transforms 'sense' into 'sentiments' and thereby enables the individual to take pleasure in the attentive appreciation of beauty as opposed to pursuing instant gratification in a manner that both drives and is driven by commercial activity. This paper will conclude by suggesting a link between Wollstonecraft and Shaftesbury, for both of them grounded a civic humanist politics of virtue on notions of imagination and aesthetics derived from the humanities.

Beth Watson, Sussex University
Wollstonecraft's Odyssey: A Personal Journey to the Female Philosopher

Mary Wollstonecraft has been heralded as the architect behind an emergent and revolutionary identity category in the eighteenth century: the female philosopher. Indeed, her contribution to the development of this role cannot be disputed, however there is capacity for further discussion when considering how and when Wollstonecraft created and inhabited this identity. While academics such as Deborah Weiss suggest that the fully formed identity of the female philosopher was introduced into the cultural consciousness with the publication of 'A Vindication of the Rights of Woman' (1792), my talk will argue that this text merely offered a prototype of such. One can see the active cultivation and presentation of the female philosopher in her truest form within Wollstonecraft's later travel diaries, 'Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark' (1796). This talk will examine Wollstonecraft's active creation of the role through an examination of her personal journey across the Nordic landscape. In her odyssey, Wollstonecraft grappled with periods of intense feeling which she processed through philosophical rumination and Romantic imagery. This experience led to an internal re-education and the creation of an identity which unified facets of Wollstonecraft's identity she had hitherto been unable to bring together. This paper will explore the way in which Wollstonecraft utilised the mode of the Romantic travelogue to infuse her experiences of femininity, motherhood, heartbreak and sapphic desire alongside philosophic and aesthetic concepts such as sublimity. The analysis of such will illustrate how Wollstonecraft's symbiotic unification of femininity, feeling, aestheticism and philosophy led to the formation of the female philosopher, finally allowing the author to – as noted by Barbara Taylor – complete her 'incessant, painful quest for a subjectivity to inhabit'.

39 **Othering women**

Room: Lecture Theatre One (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

Chair: Dr Karen Lipsedge, Kingston University

Speakers: **Dr Elizabeth Schlappa, Newcastle University**

"A sudden and resolute stand": sentiment and salvation for the female onanist

This paper examines how eighteenth-century anti-masturbation commentators attempted to recover, rehabilitate and return the female onanist to the fold of virtuous womanhood. The anti-masturbation campaign coincided with dramatic changes in the construction of femininity which were inseparable from the cult of sensibility. Once considered innately lustful, wayward and sexually untrustworthy, women were increasing regarded as naturally chaste, compassionate, and possessed of an exquisite moral sense. Anti-masturbation discourse, I argue, did not simply reflect this naturalisation of feminine virtue: it actively participated in its construction.

Was it possible for a woman to recover – mentally, physically or morally – from the effects of self-pollution? Despite the notoriously horrifying physical consequences of masturbation, the possibility of recovery had less to do with a woman's physical state than with her affective state. Anticipating the rhetoric of Bienville's Nymphomania (1775) by over three decades, early anti-masturbation commentary offered hope to women only if they conformed psychologically as well as behaviourally. Rehabilitation was possible only for women who responded to cautionary tales with compassionate horror, and to chastisement with shame. This rhetoric of salvation, I argue, went beyond attempts to control women's sexual behaviour: it sought to reify desirable feminine subjectivity. By prompting female readers to internalise appropriate affective responses to the depravity of self-pollution, anti-masturbation commentary exploited the rhetoric of sensibility to naturalise the desirable qualities of virtuous femininity, which writers could not – as yet – take for granted.

Predating Richardson's Pamela by only a year, The Ladies Dispensatory (1739) is particularly revealing of how this cultural transition affected sexual advice for women. The first chapter of this women's health manual was exclusively dedicated to masturbation and remained influential among derivative writers even at the turn of the nineteenth century. Like many other medical texts in the first half of the century, the Dispensatory was far from complacent about women's innate sexual virtue; traditional constructions of wayward, lustful femininity remained alive and well in its pages. Nevertheless, the Dispensatory's rhetoric caught the sentimental zeitgeist. In warning women away or guiding them back from the perils of self-pollution, the author attempted to condition actual female readers into ideal female readers by artificially naturalising a characteristic affective landscape of female masturbation in line with the sentimental feminine ideal.

Chandni Rampersad, University of Duisburg-Essen
"[H]ealth's enchanting roseate hue": women and curative poems in the Gentleman's Magazine
In July 1784, an excerpt from Dr. Anthony Fothergill's Hints on Animation is published in the Gentleman's Magazine. The pre-eminent physician laments the fact that nocturnal gatherings of revelry and card-playing have turned into a reprehensible habit which is "so much countenanced by British ladies". Being in closed rooms filled with the miasma of lit candles, women are injuring their health, which, consequently, injures their "beauty and loveliness". The malignant effects of ill health seem to taint the idea of female beauty almost preternaturally in the eighteenth century. Sonnets and odes have been penned in honour of ladies recovering from fits of sickness. Poetic longings for ladies retreating to Tunbridge Wells are couched in the promise of their blossoming beauty upon their return to London. Even the recovery of the ladies seems to undergird the poetic genius sometimes. The reiteration of women's health and beauty tends towards a preoccupation and, evidently enough, a fascination with the fragility of the female body. In my investigative study of the magazine's poetical essays, the motif of recovery for women often plays into the trope of chivalric politeness framed within male narratives of female health. My paper will thus approach the topic with feminist and new historicist angles that would help uncover contemporary gendered perspectives on health and how the healthy female body is an essential component for the male imagination.

40 **Treatments and Recovery**
Room: Lecture Theatre Two (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Dr Noelle Gallagher, University of Manchester
Speakers: **Dr Katherine Aske, Northumbria University**
Washes, Warts and Words: Recovering Homemade Skincare Remedies
This paper addresses current methodologies and findings concerning my research into late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century skincare remedies. My wider project, supported by a BA/Leverhulme Small Research Grants award, considers the development of proto-dermatology and the exchange of knowledge between manuscript recipe books, printed domestic manuals and professional medical treatises from 1660–1800. This paper explores the key findings sourced through archival work, metadata, and database keyword searches on EEBO, Folger LUNA, and ECCO. It examines the language used in remedies beyond professional medical print culture, to uncover how skincare treatments were shared and recorded through the written word, and often inserted into domestic cookery manuals. For example, Margaret Baker's manuscript recipe book included a treatment for clearing the skin of freckles: 'Take oyle of tarter; and

oyle of bitter almonds, and fumytory water, soe wash the face [with] it every night and lett it soake in; & in ye morning wash it with whay'. Similar recipes can be found in Hannah Woolley's published receipt book, The Accomplish'd Lady's Delight (1675), and Daniel Turner's later De Morbis Cutaneis (1714), the first professional medical treatise on the skin in English. While Turner included the same ingredients in Latin, adding the expensive oil of rhodium, he similarly directed that with these ingredients, 'the Parts are to be anointed over Night, and washed next Morning with the Water of Bran or Lupines'. This paper considers similarities in domestic medical language and asks what these can reveal about how skincare treatments moved in and out of the home. It also explores how digitally assisted methodologies can help to evidence a direct interaction between the diverse records of early modern and eighteenth-century medical knowledge concerning the skin.

Nicole Salomone, University of Leicester

The Royal Humane Society and the Revival of the Apparently Dead

Edgar Allen Poe described being buried alive as, "the most terrific of these extremes which has ever fallen to the lot of mere mortality."1

During the late eighteenth century, the medical community began to work with the public in an attempt to keep people from being accidentally buried alive. The Institution for Affording Immediate Relief to Persons Apparently Dead from Drowning was established in England in 1774. Its purpose was to further the research and use of the resuscitative process, which was later named cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR). Instituted at a time when resuscitative medicine was still in its infancy, this process replaced several painful and, generally, unhelpful remedies that focused on extracting or dispelling the water from the body. Such remedies included suspension, rolling, and squishing. Between 2017-2021, I collected over 200 narratives of prematurely diagnosed death, which took place during the eighteenth century. The resuscitative process was used in nearly half of them.

Renamed the Royal Humane Society in 1787, it released instructions that were expected to be followed by medical professionals and the public alike. Annual gatherings were held where research relating to the perception and use of the resuscitative process would be shared, and those who had been saved by its use would gather and tell their stories.

This paper will explain the need for the Royal Humane Society, discuss early resuscitative theories, and explore the remedies that were replaced by the resuscitative process. It will also explore the demographics of the people on which the resuscitative process was used.

1. Poe, Edgar Allan, Works of Edgar Allan Poe, (Auckland: The Floating Press, 2014), 489.

Esther Rollinson, University of Manchester

'To the pleasure of God and health of man' : the role of physick, religion, and community in recovering from sickness in the eighteenth-century Catholic household

This paper investigates the recipes, remedies, and healthcare practices used by English Roman Catholics in recovering from and preventing illness in the long eighteenth century. It explores the conference's theme of recovery by considering how new medical ideas evolved in Catholic households alongside a continued reliance on prayer, the priesthood, and the hoped-for intercession of the saints. This paper uses a range of material drawn from family recipe books, correspondence, and devotional literature to investigate the intersection of medical knowledge and religious conviction, suggesting that to do so allows us to

understand better how Catholics understood their bodies and the conditions that afflicted them.

In the first instance, the paper establishes the role played by Catholic women in the broader culture of recipe production and dissemination that characterised the development of household medicine in the eighteenth century (Leong, 2018). It argues that through the sharing of medical knowledge Catholic women were active members of large, often interconfessional networks, which depended on significant levels of trust to advance and nuance understandings of illness and recovery (Pennell, 2004; Leong and Pennell, 2007). I argue, therefore, that Catholic women were active participants in cultures of testing and exchanging recipes which did much to diversify the remedies and cures accessible to patients in the eighteenth century.

Beyond this, the paper examines the limits of the willingness to share medical recipes across the confessional divide and demonstrates how religious difference can be seen in attitudes to recovery. I ask how the Catholic relationship with prayer, the sacraments, and the role of the priesthood also shaped understandings about the nature of a good recovery. Here, objects of material culture are used alongside devotional manuals and prayer books, to explore the extent to which the intercessory power of holy objects, materials, and relics also continued to inform the attitudes to health and recovery (Ivanic, Laven, and Morrall, 2019).

41 **Romanticism and Homecoming**

Room: Old Law Library

Chair: Professor Katie Halsey, University of Stirling

Speakers: **Dr Mika Suzuki, Shizuoka University, Japan**

Homecoming, Comforts and Everyday Life

In Jane Austen's Mansfield Park when Mrs Norris wonders what to occupy herself and if she can make herself important and useful on Sir Thomas Bertram's return from Antigua, he declines to have dinner or even soup but opts for waiting for tea, saying that 'But indeed I would rather have nothing but tea.' This paper examines description in Jane Austen and other eighteenth-century novels and personal records of returning to home, normality and everyday life from deviations: extraordinary experiences, that is, travels, intoxication and infatuation in love. This attention can be wide ranged and too wide ranged for a paper, but in this paper my focus is on things that remind the English people of sobriety, comfortable home and normal life.

In Sense and Sensibility Marianne's recovery from feverish disorder is, rather than directly described in Marianne's physical conditions, conveyed to the reader in Elinor's resuming composure and having tea with Mrs Jennings. Marianne's waking up from the intoxicated love of Willoughby, paralleling with coming back to home from London via Cleveland, consists in her 'reasonable exertion' to think of others around her rather than her pivoting on only herself.

In these a homecoming, recovery from illness, or facing to the reality of a person causes whirls among the people around. I will compare these with other representations in novels and journals of bringing the characters or people back to their senses and everyday life.

Dr Hannah Moss, Independent Scholar

Gothic Interruptions; or, a Romance Interspersed with Poetry: Reading the Novels of Ann Radcliffe as a 'Total Work of Art'

Not only was Ann Radcliffe one of the most highly paid and influential authors of the eighteenth century, but she was hailed by many as the first in her field. Sir Walter Scott viewed her as 'the first poetess of Romantic fiction', (Scott,

'Biographical Memoirs', 1834, p. 342), while the Reverend Thomas J. Mathias claimed Radcliffe as 'a poetess whom Ariosto would with rapture have acknowledged' (Mathias, 'The Pursuits of Literature', 1798, p.58). The view of Radcliffe as a 'poetess' warrants further consideration, as does the poetry 'interspersed' throughout her narratives. Whilst her insertion of pre-chapter epigraphs, original poems, songs, and tales, as well as lengthy passages of painterly landscape description, are all elements which contribute to her being recognised as the originator of a new style of Romance, modern-day readers often report being all too eager to skip these sections, remarking on the slow pace of the narrative. However, with a focus on The Mysteries of Udolpho (1794), this paper seeks to reappraise Radcliffe's writing technique by analysing the frequent 'artistic interruptions' in the narrative as part of a wider aesthetic project that pre-empted the idea of the Gesamtkunstwerk or 'total work of art'. Countering the argument that Radcliffe merely inserted poetry into her novels in an attempt to raise the status of her work, I will argue that she is experimenting with the boundaries of artistic form and attempting to recreate in writing the effect she felt viewing a Claude landscape, whereby the arts combine: 'You saw the real light of the sun, you breathed the air of the country, you felt all the circumstances of a luxurious climate on the most serene and beautiful landscape; and the mind being thus softened, you almost fancied you heard Italian music on the air ' (Talfourd, 'A Memoir of the Author', 1826, p. 65). Radcliffe's travel writings, as quoted by Thomas Noon Talfourd in his 'Memoir of the Author', thus, give us an insight into her creative processes, highlighting the transportive power of art, as well as the significance of interrupted journeys and return visits.

Joanna Yates, Keele University
The Romantic Imagination of Mary Leapor
Mary Leapor is a relatively little-studied poet of the early 1700's who was only published after her death in 1746 at just 24 years of age. Her work employs a variety of poetic forms which clearly demonstrate the high technical skill and satiric ear of the Neoclassical period. However, this is blended with a self-reflection that intimates the Romantic imaginative sublime. In addition, throughout her work, Leapor evinces subtle humour and pragmatic stoicism regarding the female experience. These traits combine in a body of work that defies categorisation within the existing historic literary narrative.
As the literary canon is a construct of the prevailing patriarchal establishment narrative, the female experience has been marginalised and, as in Leapor's case, largely ignored. With today's more gender-balanced perspective, an exploration of her work can expand the understanding of 18th century poetry and, through this, a rebuilding of the existing literary canon to achieve a more honest reflection of literary history and culture.
Through a close examination of a selection of Leapor's poems, this paper demonstrates not only the literary value of recovering this under-studied poet but also challenges the rigidity and value of the historical literary canon.

42 **Recovering Subscription Library Records in North America and the British Isles, 1731-1801: An Introduction to Eighteenth-Century Libraries Online**

Room: Boardroom (Main Building)
Chair: Matthew Grenby
Speakers: **Professor Mark Towsey, University of Liverpool**
Eighteenth-Century Libraries Online: An Introduction and Preview
In this paper, the project PI provides an overview of the Libraries, Reading Communities and Cultural Formation project, showcasing the work-in-progress public interface and talking through the types of data which the Eighteenth-

Century Libraries Online database will make available to scholars and the wider public. These currently include more than 45,000 library borrowing records, 22,000 library holding records, 11,500 edition records (each linked to ESTC), 9,500 library member records and 4,000 author records. The paper will also reflect on the project's partnership with Heurist, an Open Source online database builder and CMS publisher designed specifically for humanities scholars.

Dr Sophie H. Jones, University of Liverpool

'The Advancement of Knowledge and Literature' : Recovering Rural American Readers' Habits Through the Return of Library Books

The History of Reading – in particular, the reading habits of eighteenth-century people – continues to inspire new waves of academic scholarship. In recent decades, the application of digital humanities (DH) methodologies to studies in Book History, and the increasing sophistication of such methods, has revolutionised what is possible when attempting to reconstruct historical reading practices. This paper arises from the AHRC-funded project Libraries, Reading Communities and Cultural Formation in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic and makes use of the extensive – but hitherto underutilised – surviving borrowing records from the Union Library of Hatborough, Pennsylvania, and the Library Company of Burlington, New Jersey. These two libraries (both of which survive to the present day) provide early examples of North American subscription – sometimes called 'social' – libraries, formed by members of their local communities on the basis of voluntary association and financed by agreed annual subscriptions. Located near to, but removed from, the urban centre of Philadelphia, both Hatborough and Burlington were comparatively rural communities, influenced by the societal norms and religious beliefs of their majority Quaker settler populations. Through the use of DH methodologies, this paper uses the detailed and carefully collated borrowing records of these institutions – which span periods of 35 years and 40 years, respectively – to recover the reading habits of two distinct early American communities, including the sociability of reading, their regularity of reading, and the subjects that they read. In doing so, it asks how far library readers achieved their founders' aims of reading to advance their 'useful' knowledge.

Lucy Moynihan, University of Liverpool

Race, Slavery and Abolition at the Liverpool Athenaeum and Beyond, 1797-1833

The Liverpool Athenaeum was founded in 1797, as part of a broader trend of establishing subscription libraries on both sides of the Atlantic. The institution is one of only a handful which still survive and is a living cultural symbol of Liverpool's Georgian past. While the proprietors founded the club in order to boost the civic, intellectual and artistic status of the town, the formation of this Enlightenment institution took place within the epicentre of the transatlantic slave trade. This paper introduces a new AHRC-funded Collaborative PhD project which seeks to unpick this uneasy tension at the heart of the library's foundation as part of the institution's response to the Black Lives Matter movement. Drawing on data from the Eighteenth-Century Libraries Online database (and enriched further by the speaker), the paper will trace the complex social, economic, cultural and personal connections that featured within subscription library membership, showing that Liverpool's abolitionists invested in this great civic undertaking in uncomfortable partnership with many members who were directly or indirectly implicated in the trade. The paper considers the Athenaeum comparatively alongside library culture in Barbados, where two subscription libraries (the Literary Society and the Library Association) were in continuous

existence from 1777 through to the Barbadoes Public Libraries Act in October 1847. The circulation of Enlightenment writings on travel, anatomy and the natural sciences which underpinned ideas about race and slavery will be compared in Liverpool and Barbadoes to consider how Enlightenment knowledge exchange contributed to such debates.

Dr Rita J. Dashwood, University of Liverpool
Cosmopolitanism in the Eighteenth-Century Subscription Library: European Conduct Books and British Female Readers
By the end of the eighteenth century, conduct books directed at women had been a popular and prolific genre for over two centuries. A subgenre of advice literature, conduct books can provide incredibly rich insights into contemporary attitudes towards female education. However, unearthing information about whether these books were successfully reaching their intended audience of young female readers is not so easily done. As scholars on book history have pointed out, information about what women read in this period is extremely hard to come by. With the goal of contributing to this dialogue, this paper will utilise borrower's records from the Bristol Library Society in order to answer the question: were female library subscribers borrowing conduct books and, if so, which ones? The long eighteenth century has been characterised as a period of an increased cosmopolitanism reflected in the reading habits of women, who demonstrated interest in conduct writing by authors beyond Britain and across Europe. This cosmopolitanism in reading habits would be particular to the eighteenth century, with women readers increasingly turning to British female writers at the beginning of the nineteenth century. By considering select case studies of female borrowers, this paper will inquire into the cosmopolitanism within subscription libraries and the precedence of European conduct books within women's borrowing habits.

12:30–13:30	LUNCH Dining Hall (Main Building)

13:30–14:45	PLENARY LECTURE: **Wining and Dining with Alexander Pope** Speaker: **Judith Hawley, Royal Holloway, University of London** Chair: Helen Williams Maplethorpe Hall

14:45–16:15	THURSDAY SESSION III
43	**Theatre, Representation and Adaptation**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair:	Dr James Harriman-Smith, Newcastle University
Speakers:	**Professor Laura Rosenthal, University of Maryland**

The Beau Jew and the Faux Jew: Racialized Performance on Stage and Off
The eighteenth-century literary genre that depicted Jews most frequently was the theater, as Michael Ragussis has shown. Playwrights, in turn, identified something particularly theatrical in Jewish identity. This identity, I want to suggest, was understood to embody a certain amount of theatricality outside of the theater as well. For example, costuming as a Jew became a staple of the masquerade ball. Throughout Europe, Jews were themselves suspected of being adept performers, frequently living their lives as Christians while secretly practicing Judaism. Jews were both thus performers with hidden identities and also performed readily by non-Jews.

This made the Jew an awkward category in scientific racialism. As Nell Irvin Painter and others have shown, race emerges as a scientific category in the Anglosphere in the second half of the eighteenth century. Some theorists categorized Jew as a distinct race while others did not. As an identity at the crossroads of physiology, inheritance, and personal belief, Jewishness became a vexing, and thus fascinating, racial category. If Jewish identity was a race, then it cannot be changed but can be performed, like blackface, for (racist) comic effect. If it was not a race, then the line between performing and identifying blurs.

In this paper, I will argue that theatrical representation leans more toward anxious racialization, exploiting the comic effects of indignant responses to Jewish infiltration. Shylock is an obvious, pervasive, and well-known example here, but I want to look at two other figures: the "beau Jew" and the "faux" Jew of comedy. The beau Jew raises comic indignation for his sexual and aesthetic infiltration of a Protestant Britain. He appears in Thomas Baker's Hampstead Heath (1706) to send Squire Calf into fits of indignation for daring to court the same lady. The play includes reports of whole packs of beau Jews, but this particular "Jew" is actually a servant set up by a rival to vex the squire. In Andrew Franklin's 1797 farce, The Wandering Jew, two young men impersonate a different stereotype at the opposite end of the age and fashion spectrum, for a similar comic goal. Both of these plays particularly suggest the theatricality of Jewish identity through these performances. Outside of the theater, however, the bright line of racial difference did not always hold. For a glimpse at an alternative, I turn to the master performer George Psalmanazar, infamous for his fake account of Formosa, but who spent the last decades of his life transforming into a real-life version of the Wandering Jew.

Helen Dallas, Trinity College, University of Oxford

Pizarro (1799): Character and Caricature

Richard Brinsley Sheridan's enormously successful play Pizarro, first performed at Drury Lane in 1799, is alluded to in a large number of satirical prints. Most commonly depicted is Sheridan himself, caricatured as the eponymous Pizarro, the conquistador villain of the play. Indeed, thus far I have found no images of William Barrymore, the actor who played Pizarro, in the role; the entire visual archive of the character is caricatures of Sheridan.

This paper interrogates how caricatures of Pizarro invoked and subverted the characters of the play, and where that leaves the actor. Is it possible to recover the actor-as-character from these satirical prints? Or is 'recovery' a misleading concept for this kind of visual archive?

As well as the caricatures of Sheridan as Pizarro, this paper considers the broadside 'Rolla's Address to the Peruvian Army', which depicts Pitt the Younger as Rolla, the Peruvian general who leads the resistance to Pizarro's invasion in the play. I argue that this caricature guides its viewer to compare and contrast Pitt's Rolla to the staged Rolla, as played by John Philip Kemble, by deploying what I describe as a 'pantomime of indigeneity', which draws on the viewer's knowledge of the play's cast and visual imagery, and on their beliefs about South America.

44 **Returning to the Archive: Sites for the Recovery of Women's Voices**

Room: Louey Seminar Room

Chair: Dr Paul Stephens, Lincoln College

Speakers: **Katie Crowther, University of York**

Cecilia Strickland and Women Writing History in the Long Eighteenth Century

This paper explores the historical endeavours of Cecilia Strickland, who resided at Sizergh Castle from her marriage in 1764 up until her death in 1814. The

existing record of Strickland's life is comparatively sparse; she emerges in the archives of her brothers Edward Townley Standish and Charles Townley, and within the correspondences of Hester Thrale, later Piozzi. While Strickland's surviving papers are scant, what remains clear is evidence of her keen interest in history. This is particularly interesting given the fact that, as many scholars have noted, by the end of the eighteenth century history writing had become a more formal scientific endeavour, demanding education and archival training that was out of reach to most women. That is not to say that women were not engaging with history, and, as this paper will demonstrate, such a dissuasion can be seen to have provided a stage for creative ways of engaging with the past.

It is within this context that Strickland's historical endeavours truly shine. As such, through an exploration of her familial letters, personal systems of archiving, correspondence with established authors, and the library collection at Sizergh itself, this paper will demonstrate the variety of textual and material engagements through which Strickland set about chronicling her family history. Strickland constructed a historical identity that traversed epistolary culture, commissioned publications, and private bibliographic records – all of which were produced in the face of growing debates about women's ability to carrying out such work. In each of these manuscript and material endeavours, Strickland displays a clear and concise knowhow of such a male-dominated environment, demonstrating how, in employing a variety of textual and material methods, women employed creative and intimate techniques to narrate and record their history.

This paper closes with a nod towards the extent to which Strickland's efforts are reflected in Sizergh's narrative today. The history of Sizergh is relatively well-documented; the house appears in numerous compilations of tours of the Lake District, and the family history has been the topic of many a collection of the landed elite since well into the eighteenth century. Strickland's efforts behind such a legacy, though, do not remain. Consequently, I question how country houses can simultaneously preserve and hinder the longevity of women's voices, and draw on the importance of looking beyond traditional archival sources in order to find these narratives. Ultimately, in reading archival fragments alongside published works, it is possible to uncover new stories, lost voices, and forgotten records, shedding light on individuals such as Strickland herself.

Clémentine Garcenot, University of York

"I am not writing a book": destroying gender barriers to re-shape the past in female aristocrats' memoirs of the French Revolution

The French Revolution was a catalyst for the production of memoirs written by female aristocrats. As a genre memoirs, unlike the autobiography, place national historical events at the centre of their narrative, meaning that any personal details are minimised, yet are still very much present. Memoirs were historically a male-dominated genre: tackling History and publicly sharing one's political opinion was considered a masculine domain. However, the French Revolution acted as a watershed in this regard, with the multiplication of female aristocrats writing their memoirs. This paper will analyse the lived experience of the French Revolution through the memoirs of the Marquise de la Tour du Pin, entitled Journal of a Fifty-Year-Old Woman (1778-1815) (1907). I argue that female-written memoirs such as Tour du Pin's provide a hitherto ignored yet fascinating, unique account of the Revolution as they share the daily stresses caused by the Revolution on their domestic life. Domesticity, marriage and motherhood, were all impacted by the circumstances. Thus, accounting for gender-differences, This paper will study Tour du Pin's representation of how one woman's personal history was affected by a larger national History.

In the mid-18th century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau shared his ideas concerning the separation of the public and domestic spheres. According to Rousseau, a woman had to be modest and dedicate herself to her role within the household. These ideas were very popular amongst the middle class and were picked up by the revolutionaries at the end of the century. By writing their memoirs and sharing their thoughts, the memoirists actively eschewed social restrictions. However, very few memoirists meant for their memoirs to be published; in rejecting the appellation of female writer, these women demonstrated an awareness of the danger such a title posed to their reputation. As such, this paper will comment on the almost-century gap between Tour du Pin's writing of her memoirs in 1820 and their posthumous publication in 1907, exploring the tension provoked by the memoirists' breaking down of gender barriers. I will study the strategies used by Tour du Pin, such as her rhetoric of modesty and the manipulation of Rousseau's concept of transparency, in order to respect, on the surface, the separate spheres.
This paper will consider why, with so many factors discouraging women from writing their memoirs, they did so anyway. Even though they were not written at a time of crisis, they were written in order to describe these times of crisis. A sense of calm, brought about by temporal distance, permeates their text. The significance of Tour du Pin writing her account on her fiftieth birthday cannot be overlooked and, as such, this paper concludes with the assertion that memoirs acted as a source of consolation and strength for their writers, allowing them to organise their thoughts and come to terms with what they had gone through.

Rhian Jones, King's College London
Epistolary friendships between women and men in England, c.1650-c.1750
This paper will examine the dynamics of letter writing and friendship between women and men in England during the long eighteenth century. It will offer a comparative discussion of pairs of individuals who engaged in sustained correspondences, including Anne Conway and Henry More, Damaris Masham and John Locke, Elizabeth Gauden and Simon Patrick, and Elizabeth Elstob and George Ballard. While several of these correspondences have been used to examine women's intellectual and philosophical engagement, the intricacies of these epistolary friendships between the sexes have not yet been fully explored. This paper will trace the ways in which these correspondents negotiated the traditionally masculine discourse of perfect friendship to forge relationships centred on sincerity and reciprocity. It will shed light on the tensions that could surface when correspondents sought to negotiate gender norms or transcend differences in social status. It also will examine the emotional and therapeutic functions of these correspondences, highlighting the ways in which letters served as a means to care for the friend's mind, body and soul. Finally, it will reflect on the significance of these letters as sites where women articulated their personal experiences. By reconstructing the ways in which women and men related and communicated through letters, this paper seeks to contribute to the study of friendship and epistolary culture in the long eighteenth century.

45 **Political Homecomings in the later 18th century**
Room: Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Chair: Professor Elaine Chalus, University of Liverpool
Speakers: **Dr Robin Eagles, History of Parliament**
"I never laugh at my friends... only my followers": rethinking John Wilkes's political homecomings

2023 represents the 250th anniversary of John Wilkes's failed effort to be elected lord mayor of London. The following year (1774), he reversed the trend by securing his re-election to Parliament and his election to the mayoralty. He remained MP for Middlesex until 1790, before retreating from Westminster for the last seven years of his life.

Wilkes's later career is often dismissed as one where he steadily abandoned his radical political goals in return for a steady income as a government supporter. His decision to take a stand at the head of the troops opposing the Gordon rioters apparently represented his final betrayal of the crowd and his restoration to a place in the establishment. However, it is possible to view Wilkes's activities after his return from exile in 1768 rather differently. Having come into Parliament in the first place as a member of Earl Temple's grouping and as an outspoken supporter of Pitt the Elder, in the 1780s it was no great step for him to attach himself to Pitt the Younger. Both were supportive of limited parliamentary reform, with each abandoning efforts to propose reform measures in the face of political opposition.

And yet, it is difficult to view Wilkes's attitude to his supporters as anything other than cynical. This paper will seek to question this portrait of Wilkes by reappraising his political campaigns from his initial election for Aylesbury in 1757 through to his final homecoming at Middlesex in 1774. It will consider how he sought support from a variety of different types of people and what this can tell us about the wider nature of electioneering in the 18th century.

Dr Ben Gilding, New College, Oxford

'Tho' Partys are said to be at an end; it is an assertion truer, elsewhere than Here': Partisanship and Ideology in Charles Jenkinson's Homecoming at the Oxford University Election of 1768

The death of Sir Walter Bagot, MP for Oxford University, in early 1768 sparked a flurry of activity as the prospect loomed of a contested election there for the first time in eighteen years. It was to result in the only contested election at the university for a further half-century. George III's accession in 1760, and the readmission of those previously proscribed as 'Tories' into government and the royal household, was seen by many as a potential threat to the university's fiercely defended 'independence'. This desire for 'independence' from government interference allowed Oxford to remain something of a bastion for otherwise outmoded tory and Jacobite ideologies long after they had lost coherence in other parts of the country. In spite of the supposed transformations in the ideological complexion of government, powerful forces at the university continued to oppose connections with government until a breakthrough was made with the election of the Prime Minister Lord North as the university's Chancellor in 1772. Even after this, however, the famous Judge and linguist Sir William Jones emphatically declared that 'A Whig candidate for Oxford will never have any chance...'. Oxford's peculiar circumstances and the nature of its subsequent capitulation to government pressure pose a problem for the historian seeking to explain the political and ideological context of mid-eighteenth-century Britain, especially if one seeks to correlate it with the broader conceptions of 'party' recently highlighted by Max Skjonsberg.

The Oxford University election of 1768 and the candidacy of Charles Jenkinson, in particular, offers a unique prism through which to re-examine the historiography of partisanship and political ideology in this period. A graduate of the university, descended from a line of Oxfordshire baronets who served successively as MPs for the county, repeatedly branded a Tory and secret advisor of the Crown alongside his patron Lord Bute, Jenkinson might in many ways have been seen as an ideal candidate for the university. Understanding why his

candidacy was unsuccessful and his 'homecoming' was foiled by a little known and otherwise idle don of New College, is revealing of the complex notions of partisanship, connection, and political memory involved in the electoral culture of eighteenth-century Britain. Just as importantly, this episode serves as a pivotal turning point in the political career of one of the most important, unpopular, and historiographically neglected political figures in late-eighteenth-century Britain.

46 **Cures, Recovery and Literature**
Room: Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Dr Noelle Gallagher, University of Manchester
Speakers:

Professor Joseph Harris, Royal Holloway, University of London
Conversions and conversations: Marmontel's misanthropic 'talking cure'
Whether literally or metaphorically, early modern misanthropy is often figured as a form of illness. Most famously, Molière's comedy 'Le Misanthrope' (1666) had presented its hero Alceste as suffering from an imbalance of both yellow and black bile. And, in Alceste's case at least, the prospect of recovery from his 'maladie' seems nigh on impossible; refusing to be reconciled to society, Alceste eventually leaves Paris for good. The Enlightenment, however, was rather more willing than Molière's age to countenance the possibility that misanthropy was not a permanent condition; indeed, various eighteenth-century plays and fictions trace the treatment and cure of misanthropes. One of the very first was a sequel to Molière's play, Marmontel's prose narrative 'Le Misanthrope corrigé' (1765). While other fictional misanthropes are manoeuvred out of their misanthropy by extreme, improbable, and dramatic (even supernatural) situations, the recovery of Marmontel's Alceste follows far more mundane and naturalistic lines; Alceste is effectively reasoned out of his misanthropy in a series of conversations, mostly with the virtuous landowner Laval and his beautiful daughter Ursule. These conversations allow Marmontel and his characters to explore the moral and epistemological shortcomings of Alceste's jaundiced worldview. They prove that Alceste's misanthropy is neither as universal nor as extreme as he claims: they reveal, for example, his hatred of vice as resting on an unacknowledged compassion for vice's victims. Yet it is perhaps less the content of Marmontel's various arguments against misanthropy that should interest us than his assumption that misanthropy can be cured through conversation alone. Alceste's recovery from misanthropy in Marmontel's tale flags up a shift since Molière's day between two different models of misanthropy; from a primarily temperamental or humoral imbalance it has transformed into a largely intellectual failing, a lack of self-awareness, or a misapplication of reason to one's experience.

Dr Anna Jamieson, Birkbeck, University of London
Ritual, Recovery & Return: The Art of the Asylum Visitor Book
By the final decades of the eighteenth century, asylums and hospitals had become mainstays of England's philanthropic tourist circuit. Providing visitors with the opportunity to interact with human suffering, they were uniquely placed to encourage and facilitate the display of humanity and refinement deemed socially appropriate during this period. For those visiting asylums, at the end of the tour many visitors had the opportunity to publicly record their responses in a communal visitor book – where they would write their name, place of residence, and typically a few lines discussing what they had seen – before returning to the outside world.
Characterising the asylum visitor book as a material site where themes of philanthropy and performance meet, this paper explores the issues at stake in the act of committing one's thoughts to paper within this space. On the one hand,

this ritual enabled the performance of one's philanthropy and demonstrated the tourist's fluency in topics surrounding the smooth running of the institution. This period witnessed the proliferation of texts detailing information on asylum management and the moral therapy movement; as such, visitor books gave the educated elite and interested professionals the opportunity to make their own recommendations on how to improve asylum conditions and patient experience. On the other hand, writing in the asylum visitor book allowed a reflective moment of emotional recovery – an ameliorating endpoint to the psychological strain of a visit to the asylum itself. Through this reading, interacting with the visitor books marked an act of detachment, signalling that the visitor's time in the asylum was now over. Exploring these different interpretations, this paper demonstrates the didactic function of the asylum visitor book, contextualising these understudied material objects within broader debates surrounding civic humanism and charting the shifting stances on looking, action and sympathy that they evoke.

47
Room: Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Meg Kobza
Speakers:

Cooking and Recipes

Professor Emerita Judith Bailey Slagle, East Tennessee State University

Christmas in Eighteenth-Century British Literature: Homecomings, Food and Family

The celebration of Christmas has appeared in literary works for centuries, at the earliest in a strictly religious context. For Medieval literature's pagan/Christian Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, a Christmas celebration is essential for staging the approaching adventure. The Renaissance is graced with a long and boisterous post-Christmas celebration in Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, probably written to be performed on the twelfth day of Christmas (January 6, the Feast of Epiphany) to herald the end of twelve days of merry making. Typically, however, we begin to associate Christmas in literature with the nineteenth century, thanks to Dickens' 1843 A Christmas Carol and his less popular 1844 story The Chimes, as well as a Christmas chapter in Pickwick Papers. Other nineteenth-century works emphasizing the holiday in some way include Sir Walter Scott's In Olden Times, etc.

In contrast, literature from the long eighteenth-century gives us very few examples of how people in England were then celebrating Christmas. Thanks to Julie Ratcliffe's British Library website entitled "An 18th-Century Christmas," we have a few examples from the library's archives for lesser-known works, but again many of those address only the winter season rather than actual holiday celebrations. John Milton's On the Morning of Christ's Nativity was published in 1645, but Ratcliffe reminds us that a short time later Christmas was banned under Cromwell's government and celebrations not fully resumed until after the Restoration. In 2013 the British Library published an anthology entitled A Literary Christmas, providing excerpts of Christmas texts by authors from the seventeenth through the twenty-first centuries, including Milton's 1645 poem mentioned before; but eighteenth-century examples are scarce. Restoration

diarists John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys do write about their movements and encounters during the holidays, mostly revolving around homecomings, family and food. Christmas Day 1660 would have been the first public Christmas celebration in England in fourteen years, and in 1657 John Evelyn recorded his experience under Cromwell's rule. This paper examines some of the few British literary works that celebrate the Christmas holiday season during the long eighteenth century.

Susan Helen Reynolds, The British Library

Homecoming, home cooking: Magdalena Dobromila Rettigová (1785-1845) and the Czech National Revival

At the end of the 18th century a growing awareness of Czech national and cultural identity led to the development of Czech as a literary language. While this was evident in genres such as poetry, drama, philology and historiography, it also led to the publication in 1826 of the first cookery book to be written in Czech, Domácí kuchařka (1826). Unlike its German-language predecessors, it was intended for use by readers in modest households run without the help of an extensive staff or ample budget for food. This is reflected in the recipes, which are based on readily-available ingredients and provide detailed instructions about how to prepare and store them.

The book and its successors reflect the social and patriotic values of its author. Born into a German-speaking family, Magdalena Artmann began to learn Czech after meeting her future husband Jan Alois Sudiprav Rettig, whom she married in 1808. Like many adherents of the National Revival she took an additional Bohemian name, Dobromila, and recognized the importance of educating girls to become `patriotic daughters' capable of reading, writing and speaking Czech, but also of maintaining the traditions of Czech cookery within the home rather than adopting fashionable foreign cuisine. After attempting poetry and moral tales, she found her true vocation in writing manuals which not only reflected and codified these traditions and evoked pride in them but enabled readers to follow her example and entertain at home. In an age when censorship and surveillance made overtly political gatherings risky, Rettigová's apparently innocuous `coffee salons' attracted many of the leading Czech authors and political thinkers of her day and enabled them to meet in a domestic setting where the `cup of coffee and something sweet' (the title of one of her recipe books) provided opportunities for a more substantial discussion.

Rachel Feldberg, University of York

"'I spoilt the first by doing them too quick": Middling Women and Ways of Knowing in the late Eighteenth Century'

On 12 January 1784, deep in rural Somerset Mary Stacey, a farmer's wife, killed and butchered a pig, rubbing the carcasse with a mixture of sugar, salt and saltpetre. Stacey recorded the event in a collection of recipes and household practices which over twenty five years included more than eight different variations for curing pork, as she adjusted and re-adjusted the proportions of the same three ingredients.

Stacey's activities might appear a world away from the polite knowledge of botanical illustration and astronomy espoused by elite women and certainly, to date, the central and continued vitality of middling women's everyday embodied practices and practical knowledge skills have occupied little or no space in the dominant historiography. But for Stacey and others like her, self-authored recipe compilations acted as laboratory notebooks, a place to record their reflections and the fruits of their empirical observation. These collections thus offer a lens through which to consider how provincial women of the middling sort, the

daughters, wives and sisters of farmers, merchants, apothecaries, lawyers and other professionals, gathered and organised a range of material which demonstrated their engagement, production, use and transmission of natural knowledge within and beyond the household.

This paper outlines the expectations of their prior knowledge in brewing, fermenting and pickling and explores the origins of new information, arguing it was garnered not just from familial sources and sociable networks, but from middling women's interaction with an avalanche of print media. It identifies the hidden impact of unattributed copying and editing and of new thinking on, for example, chemistry and static electricity, and traces the ways in which quotidian activity and the impetus to test could challenge the authority of established methods. It suggests that the construction of individual recipe collections reveal a well-established pedagogical process for pre-marital young women, which embedded writing skills alongside the accumulation of knowledge capital.

Finally, it proposes that to be fully understood, the collections these women created should be seen as rooted in a thirst for improvement and engaged in a constant and shifting dialogue with published recipe books, newspapers, periodicals, encyclopaedias and directional manuals.

48 **BSECS Early Career Roundtable**

Abstract: A roundtable featuring new research being conducted by five of the early career and postgraduate scholars whose work has recently been awarded a BSECS PGR or ECR prize. In conversation with Dr Karen Lipsedge, and with audience members keen to find out about the latest work being conducted by some of BSECS' early career members.

Room: Lecture Theatre 1 &2 (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

Chair: Dr Karen Lipsedge, Kingston University

Speakers: **Dr Katie Aske, Northumbria University**
Dr Louise Ryland-Epton, The Open University
Dr Robert Stearn, Birkbeck, University of London
Emma Pearce, University of Edinburgh

49 **Timelines, Power, and History**

Room: Old Law Library

Chair: Professor Caroline Warman, Jesus College, University of Oxford

Speakers: **Amit Aizenman, Hebrew University of Jerusalem**

Adam Ferguson and the Historical Timeline in the Encyclopedia Britannica

In 1780 was published the fifth volume of the second edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. This edition is known for its detailed 'History' entry, which came to fame mainly thanks to the solemn appendix: a historical timeline that describes the main events of humanity from the biblical flood to the end of the eighteenth-century, all-in color. Like the other entries in the encyclopedia, the entry 'History' was written anonymously, but the timeline itself had the name of one person clearly signed: Adam Ferguson.

Ferguson, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh and one of the best-known figures in the Scottish Enlightenment, was a prolific writer and his many works received widespread attention in scholarly research. However, one work has not yet received proper attention among scholars: the timeline attached to the 'History' entry in the Britannica. It is understandable why

researchers paid little attention to Ferguson's historical timeline, as on the one hand, the text appearing in the 'History' entry cannot be attributed with certainty to Ferguson himself, and on the other hand, it is difficult to think that meaningful insights can be derived from a mere chart.
Nevertheless, I would like to address this work in my lecture. I will insist on arguing that although we cannot attribute the text of the 'History' entry to Ferguson, we can certainly draw important insights from the timeline itself. To do so, I place the historical timeline in the context of the great debates of the eighteenth-century: the problem of human sociability and the question of the formation of society; the reliability of ancient texts and reliance on them in the new historical writing style; and the position of the biblical narrative compared to the theory of the stages of the development of human civilization.
Following this contextualization, I argue that the accepted scholarly assumption that there is an insoluble tension between the description of the development of human society in the Bible and the historical-materialist narrative proposed by many Enlightenment thinkers is not a necessary one. In my opinion, we can talk about an intermediate model – which should be identified with Adam Ferguson's – in which the two historical descriptions of the development of civilization stand side by side. Furthermore, proper attention to Ferguson's historical timeline will also teach us about one of the sources of the conflict between him and David Hume, one that is tied to Hume's radical skepticism regarding the reliability of the Holy Scriptures.

Idit Ben-Or, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
East India Company Coinage in the Late 18th Century
The East India Company issued coinage in India from the 1680's until 1835. The Company's coinage varied in language, location, imagery, minting technologies, and metals. This lecture will focus on a pivotal period in the history of these monies, the 1780's, which marked a consolidation of coinage systems. My main question will be: What does the consolidation of coinage systems teach us about the dynamics of gaining corporate monetary control over India? Each phase of British control over India, from corporate to imperial, saw changes within the coinage systems and designs. These changes were not merely reflective of political change; coinage was a tool to penetrate, influence, and conquer new markets, as well as a medium to convey messages. This lecture offers a window into one decade of this complex process.

16:15–16:45	COFFEE BREAK
Elizabeth Wordsworth	Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

16:45–17:30	**Listening Event** The aim of the annual listening event is to strengthen the BSECS member voice by providing an opportunity for members to meet and share their opinions and feedback about Access and Inclusion at BSECS. Themes from the event will be captured and fed back to the Committee to allow for learning and, where possible, action.
Room:	Lecture Rooms 1&2, (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Dr Karen Lipsedge, Kingston University

17:30–19:00	SPECIAL PLENARY ROUNDTABLE Lecture Rooms 1&2, (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building) 18th Century in the 21st: Migration

Chair:	Professor Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton
Speakers:	Dr Alison Cotti-Lowell, New England Conservatory of Music
	Dr Ryan Hanley, University of Exeter
	Professor Murray Pittock, University of Glasgow

19:00–19:15	BSECS WINE RECEPTION
	Collect a beverage and join us for the concert!
19:15–20:15	CONCERT
	Maplethorpe Hall
	Music: Barnaby Ralph (Recorder) and Matthew Nisbet (Theorbo)

20:15–21:45	BSECS ANNUAL CONFERENCE DINNER
	Dining Hall (Main Building)

FRIDAY 6TH JANUARY

09:00-11:00
50
Room: Maplethorpe Hall
Chair: Dr Sarah Fox, University of Birmingham
Speakers:

FRIDAY SESSION I

Growing Up and Grown Up: Family Emotions and the Letter

Rachel Bynoth, Bath Spa University

Interfamilial Adoption and Distance Epistolary Relationships: The Letters of George Canning and his mother, Mary Ann

We have all become familiar with being physically separated from loved ones in recent times. Reunions are emotional affairs, with celebrations of love, relief and a desire to continue building on the foundations of the relationship that came before the separation. Yet, what happens if the relationship itself is built on distance? Especially between a child and his mother?

Eighteenth-century scholars are familiar with epistolary relationships, with an abundance of letters sequestered in archives across the globe. However, very few relationships were built almost entirely through correspondence, especially between a mother and her young son as he grew up.

This paper considers the interfamilial adoption of George Canning, at the age of six, by his Aunt and Uncle and how this fundamentally changed not just George's relationship with his actress mother, Mary Ann but also how it shaped his personality, behaviours and future relationships.

It considers how the relationship changes when they finally meet, a sort of homecoming and a return, when George was 16 years old, ten years after the adoption. Could they recover from the distance of an epistolary relationship? Did homecoming change relationships, when they moved from epistolary to physical again?

Dr Kate Gibson, University of Manchester

Fostering foundling children in eighteenth-century England

From its opening in 1741, the London Foundling Hospital depended on a vast network of nurses to care for the children it admitted. As Alysa Levene has noted, these were ordinary women from labouring families, living in villages and towns across England from Yorkshire to Hertfordshire. These nurses fostered foundlings from their first admission to the hospital as small babies, to the age of between 3 and 5, when the children returned to institutional life. This fostering experience is detailed in the hospital's voluminous archive, which contains thousands of letters between governors, inspectors and nurses about the welfare, medical treatment, and deaths of the foundlings. Existing work by Alysa Levene, Ruth McClure, Gillian Clark and David Allin has primarily focused on the nursing infrastructure: quantitative studies of the nurses and inspectors' backgrounds, mortality rates, wages and the philanthropic intentions of the governors. Although these scholars have noted that committee minutes often allude to emotional relationships between foundlings and nurses, this has not been the focus of research. This paper shifts away from the committee minutes towards the correspondence itself, and the hundreds of requests from nurses and their families to keep the children as apprentices. This paper demonstrates that apprenticeship was used as a form of adoption, and that even when this was not possible, nurses tried to maintain contact with the children they had fostered. The correspondence shows that fostering was not only a commercial arrangement, but that many foster families developed affective and instrumental bonds similar to kinship with the foundlings under their care.

Emily Cotton, University of Leicester

"I am eternally reminded of you": Love, loss and longing amongst the Robinson siblings, 1758-92

The history of siblinghood in England has received increased attention in recent years, with novel works focusing on emotional ties between brothers and sisters. However, a narrative still strongly prevails that sees eighteenth-century sibling ties as weak, hostile, or emotionally void. Using four decades of personal correspondence, this paper focuses on the Second Baron Grantham and his siblings, an elite eighteenth-century sibling group, to address this disparity. In line with recent studies, the paper argues that the siblings of this study enjoyed a deep emotional bond that prevailed and strengthened against significant tragedy. The paper examines how the siblings recognized and expressed their affection, obligation and protective duties to one another in order to establish the depth of feeling present amongst the brothers and sisters in a varied sibling hierarchy, illustrating that a deep emotional bond existed over an understudied part of the life course. Secondly, by assessing two significant challenges to these sibling ties the dissertation will investigate how the relationship was impacted by prolonged separation and bereavement, hurdles sufficient enough to make the ties between siblings vulnerable and which could lead to estrangement. However, this paper will reveal not only that a deep emotional bond existed between the siblings, but that this bond ultimately prevailed and arguably strengthened in the wake of challenge, and across time and space. The paper therefore shows that the ties between siblings was more than economically centred and cold. It was instead, in many cases, enduring and powerful, of which Grantham and his siblings serve as a prime example. Within this, the paper will also explore what affection and expression reveals about questions of emotion, gender, and epistolary form in the late eighteenth century.

Dr Imogen Peck, University of Birmingham

'The last letter I ever received': Epistles, Emotions, and the Family Archive in Eighteenth-Century England

In December 1785, Anne Gregory died at her home in Harlaxton, Lincolnshire. In the weeks before she died, Anne had been engaged in correspondence with her son, George, gossiping about troublesome servants and planning a family Christmas that, as it transpired, she would not live to see. After her death, George revisited these rather ordinary missives, adding notes and headings which rehearsed their status as the final words of a much-loved parent. On the last letter in their correspondence he wrote: 'This was the last letter I ever received from my dear Mother, who was suddenly taken ill on 9th December following, & died on the 20th of that month'. The act of annotation transformed these letters from everyday epistles into emotionally meaningful, memorial objects.

This paper explores the emotional afterlives of the letters preserved in the collections of four Midlands families during the long eighteenth century: the Gregorys, the Johnsons, the Chandos Poles, and the Jerninghams. While the contents and material features of eighteenth-century correspondence have been the subject of significant historical attention, we know rather less about the afterlives of letters, particularly those that reside in family collections: which missives were kept, why, and what did these materials mean to those who preserved them and to future generations who did the same? In particular, this paper focuses on the complex sentimental significance of 'first' and 'last' letters – that is, letters which, like Anne Gregory's final missive, marked either the beginning or the end of a correspondence.

Emotions played a vital role in the preservation of these items, and in the construction and curation of family collections more broadly. Through

paratextual annotations, original recipients and later custodians alike attempted to shape both their own emotional response and those of future generations – but, in so doing, they also drew attention to the intrinsic instability of the family archive, an awareness that engendered its own, often uneasy, emotional affects. By approaching letters as intergenerational artefacts, this paper illuminates the ways these materials were re-shaped and re-fashioned as they passed through the hands of each generation, creating layers of emotional meaning that might extend beyond – and ultimately replace – the intentions of their original custodian. Further, it considers how reconstructing the emotions that underpinned the construction and curation of family archives can enhance our understanding, not just of the archival activities of eighteenth-century men and women, but of our national archival heritage and the sources on which we, as historians, have come to rely. It is part of a wider, Leverhulme funded project that explores the contents, contexts, and meanings of family archives in England from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

51 **Corruption and Recovery during the Eighteenth Century**

Room: Maplethorpe Seminar Room

Chair: Dr Mihai Olaru, University of Regensburg

Speakers:

Professor Mark Knights, University of Warwick

Recovery and Reform in Britain: Conceptualising Corruption as a Systemic Issue

My paper will examine the discourse surrounding the means of recovery from states of corruption. I will argue that the usual focus was (and even today still is) on 'bad apples', individuals who misbehaved and needed removing. But there were also alternative ways of thinking that might help to explain the age of reform in Britain. An important discourse developed, starting in the early seventeenth century and accelerating over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, about 'systems'. Initially the language of systems was used to understand astronomy, religion and music; but by the turn of the seventeenth century, it had become applied to political structures and, by the 1730s, to describing the corrupt system of government that had evolved under Walpole. By the end of the eighteenth century 'systems of corruption' and a 'corrupt system' were used quite widely, particularly by radicals who saw corruption as an interconnected problem linking the political, financial, moral, imperial, religious and – in the early nineteenth century – social systems. From such a perspective, it was not individuals so much as 'the system' that needed reform. The paper analyses the advantages and disadvantages of this way of thinking about the recovery of the state.

Professor Dr. Tanja Bührer, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich

Corruption and Cross-cultural Encounters in Eighteenth Century South Asia: The Return of the Empire in Scandal´s Guise

In 1788, the set was staged for the impeachment against the first Governor General of the British East India Company, Warren Hastings, which led to a fundamental reform of imperial service and governance supposed to recover Britain and its Empire. Colonial corruption, however, was not scandalized because the returning Company servants did not meet domestic standards of good governance. For a true understanding of this case of corruption, this contribution adopts an interconnected multi-perspective approach of the customary separated fields of national histories, the histories of empire-building and area studies through an entangled history of the British and French 'Imperial Nation States' and the 'Princely State' Hyderabad. My argument is that the specific anxieties regarding colonial corruption were caused by its emergence

from intercultural and inter-imperial interactions, which sharpened awareness of presumably national concepts of good governance back home.

Dr Ricard Torra-Prat, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Corruption and Office in 18th Century Spain
Within the last decades, a growing number of scholars have paid attention to how corruption was conceived and fought in the territories of the Monarchy of Spain, both in Europe and America. Nevertheless, from a chronological point of view, a sort of historiographical imbalance encompasses the vast majority of contributions on this topic since a noticeable majority of the works available focus their attention on the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth centuries. As a result, numerous questions still remain unanswered: to what extent was there a conceptual change concerning corruption during the Eighteenth century? Why did traditional anti-corruption practices from the previous centuries vanish during the Bourbon Regime? Did the so-called Bourbon reformism of the second half of the Eighteenth century introduce any changes in how offices were conceived and performed? And on anti-corruption practices? My contribution wants to shed light on these questions through two strategies: on the one hand, I will focus on the recent historiographical debates on corruption and office in Early Modern Spain; on the other hand, I will show how divergent sources beyond the records of anti-corruption institutions such as the Visitas and Juicios de residencia can help us reconstruct how corruption was perceived and fought within the Spanish society of the Eighteenth century.

Dr Mihai Olaru, University of Regensburg
Anticorruption from Above. Malfeasance, Reformism and Common Good in Late Eighteenth-Century Wallachia
During the 18th century, the Principality of Wallachia (southern part of present-day Romania) was ruled by Istanbul-based Greek princes (Phanariots), marking the height of the Ottoman domination. The Romanian historiography holds that the rule of the Phanariots – proxy Ottoman rulers – was the perfect antithesis of good governance, featuring rampant corruption. However, the evidence from the same period shows the growing concern of the Phanariot princes of Wallachia with the corruption of state officials. Princely ordinances, attempting to regulate in detail the activity of various administrative branches, demand the officials to refrain from various abuses, embezzlement, peddling of influence, favoritism and other misdemeanors. In what amounted to a top-down anticorruption policy, various administrative reforms were undertaken in order to prevent officials' malfeasance. My paper will explore the problem of corruption in relation to the notion of common good which gained ground in the same period. What understanding of corruption and office emerges from the administrative ordinances? To what extent corruption was seen as harm done to the society and measures against it as an attempt to recover the health of the social body? Analyzing primary sources in the light of the recent research on Old Regime corruption, my contribution will provide an answer to these questions and will shed light on the limitations of the Phanariot anti-corruption measures. Attention will be paid to the context of the transformation of the Wallachian state under the impact of the Ottoman domination and of cultural transfers from the West.

52 **Dedications, Readers, and Reading**
Room: Louey Seminar Room
Chair: Dr Charlotte Roberts, UCL
Speakers: **Associate Professor Anne M Thell, National University of Singapore**
Cavendish and the Aesthetics of Beating Space-Time
Cavendish was a devout materialist, rivaling only Thomas Hobbes as the Restoration thinker most committed to this doctrine. So perhaps it will be provocative when I say that she is invested across her later philosophy and fiction in how the mind, and specifically the imagination, might escape or circumvent its own materiality. To be sure, Cavendish stipulates that conceiving and imagining are embodied processes and that rational animate matter remains always entangled or 'intermixt' with the sensitive and inanimate parts; however, she also consistently describes rational and imaginative thought as an escape from the inevitable limits of bodies in space. Moreover, this reaching away—the yearning for a speed and agility that outpaces materiality itself—defines her aesthetic thinking. Indeed, this committed materialist harbors an animus against "the fury and the mire of human veins," to borrow Yeats's phrase, that plays out across her work and is underwritten by purposeful ambiguities in her philosophy. All this places Cavendish at the heart of contemporary debates about both aesthetics and the value of imaginative cognition.

Dr Rhys Kaminski-Jones, University of Wales Trinity Saint David
India as seen from Flintshire: Thomas Pennant's 'View of Hindoostan'
'A few years ago I grew fond of imaginary tours, and determined on one to climes more suited to my years'. This is how the naturalist and travel writer Thomas Pennant, famed for his trend-setting tours of Scotland and Wales, introduced his final major project: the 'Outlines of the Globe' was imagined as a multi-volume exploration of the entire world, written at home during the author's seventies, and preserved in 23 richly illustrated manuscripts at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich. This paper will concentrate on some of the only volumes from this project that emerged from the press, dealing with India (or 'Hindoostan') as imagined from the library of a well-read, well-resourced, and well-connected author living in semi-retirement in Flintshire. My reading will concentrate on two aspects of the work that emphasise its complex conceptual and geographic status, as a 'tour' of India conducted entirely from an estate in Wales. First, there is Pennant's dependence on 'touring' through the eyes and experiences of others, most notably his acquaintance and correspondent, the ex-Governor-General of Bengal Warren Hastings. Then there are the numerous instances in which Pennant's locatedness in Wales seeps into his Indian writings, with Kashmiri hermits compared to bards, Mughal armies conflated with Saxon conquerors, and linguistic echoes of Welsh sought in the languages of the subcontinent. The result is a supremely networked, bi-located work, demonstrating the enmeshment of Flintshire and India in the empire of the 1790s.

Professor John Moore, Smith College
Book Dedications in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Successes and Failures
Abundant archival evidence demonstrates that authors who wished to dedicate books to royalty and aristocrats had to ask for and receive permission to do so, and the same held true for printmakers. Within the enforced hierarchy that defined European court society, people knew their place. Dedicators who were of a perceived lower social class than rulers or aristocrats, would not have

arrogated to themselves the assumption that the fruits of their labors were of interest to proposed dedicatees. What is more, accepting a proffered dedication was tantamount to receiving a gift, a circumstance that occasioned a counter-gift. In this paper, after setting out the protocols that governed the behavior of the various parties participating in what was always a socially and sometimes a diplomatically inflected interchange, I will consider instances at the courts of Naples, Turin, and Spain in which the process led to successful and failed outcomes. In the former instance, it must be understood, both parties stood to derive benefit. From the dedicators' point of view, an accepted dedication carried with it protection and the promise of some pecuniary or material reward. At the same time, dedicatees provided the republic of letters with published evidence of their discerning support of scholarship, belles-lettres, and the graphic arts, thereby raising, or at least maintaining, a jealously guarded status for those who wished to cultivate it.

Jacob Baxter, University of St Andrews

'The First Writer Who Gave Cadence to English Prose': Recovering the Reputation of Sir William Temple (1628-99) in the Eighteenth-Century

The English writer and diplomat Sir William Temple died in 1699, right before the beginning of the eighteenth century. He had enjoyed a successful literary career. Temple had published a range of different books, including works of history, horticulture, memoir and medicine, which were well-received in both England and Continental Europe. But books by the Englishman continued to be printed, read and enjoyed over the course of the eighteenth century. One of Temple's most prominent admirers was the lexicographer Samuel Johnson who, according to his biographer James Boswell, declared at a dinner party in 1778 that 'Sir William Temple was the first writer who gave cadence to English prose.' This paper will show the three ways in which the relatively high standing that Sir William Temple enjoyed during the eighteenth century can be recovered. The first is through bibliography. All sorts of different editions of Temple's works were published in the eighteenth century. This included folio compendia of his writings, which were printed in London in 1720, 1731, 1740 and 1750. In 1778, Temple was also published in Russian for the first time.

The second way through which Temple's reputation can be recovered is by identifying the readers of these books. A plethora of different men and women owned Temple's works, from the Cumbrian farmer Benjamin Browne and the Irish noblewoman Anne Acheson, to Madame du Pompadour King George III, who copied out extracts from his books at length. Finally, there are contemporary references to Temple's life and works, which can be found in books, newspapers and private correspondence. In 1781, for instance, Abigail Adams encouraged her husband in his diplomatic activity in the Dutch Republic to emulate Temple, 'a gentleman whose memoirs I have read with great pleasure.'

Through thorough bibliography, reader identification and the search for contemporary references, the reputation of a now largely forgotten writer can be recovered.

53
Room:
Chair:
Speakers:

Recovering Women Readers

Winston CS Wong Seminar Room

Dr. Yael Shapira, Bar-Ilan University

Professor Katie Halsey, University of Stirling

Women Readers, Women Writers, and the Eighteenth-Century Library, 1750-1830

Drawing on new research from the AHRC-funded project 'Books and Borrowing 1750-1830: Analysis of Scottish Borrowers' Registers', which has transcribed nearly 150,000 records of borrowing from eighteen libraries across Scotland, I will discuss the ways in which the activities of women readers, women writers and other female library users can be recovered from these archival sources. Research conducted by the 'Books and Borrowing' research team has revealed a large number of hitherto-unresearched ways in which women accessed books and library culture – from the unsanctioned use of university collections by the wives, sisters, and daughters of professors, to the inheritance of heritable membership of otherwise male-only subscription libraries by widows and female heirs. We have also learned about women acting as librarians, cataloguers and keepers of books. Stereotypes of circulating libraries as patronised only by female readers in search of the newest scandalous fiction have been entirely disproven by our research, while the important role played by both private and institutional libraries in making books more widely available to women readers is gradually beginning to emerge. In addition, research into the circulation of female-authored works of literature has thrown up some unexpected results, often demonstrating the overwhelming contemporary popularity of works by women writers that are now almost entirely forgotten. In this paper, I will therefore suggest that careful attention to these archival records can recover forgotten dimensions of the role of women in the literary and print culture of the period.

Professor Jennie Batchelor, University of Kent

What and How Women Read: Magazines, Format and the Female Reader

This paper attempts to recover eighteenth-century women readers via one of the most accessible and ubiquitous of the period's genres: magazines. Magazines, especially those marketed expressly at women readers, are among the least well-documented publication types of the period. And yet, titles such as the Lady's Magazine (1770-1832), the longest-running and most successful publication of its kind, had monthly circulation figures (c.10-15k copies) of publishers of other genres could only dream. Using the Lady's Magazine as its principal case study, this paper uncovers woman readers and reading practices through: 1) close attention to extraordinary range of genres to which they had access (including essays on science, philosophy, history and biography to travel writing, serial fiction, poetry and trial reports); 2) the kinds of authors such publications carried (from anonymous volunteer-contributors to the most celebrated writers of the day whose work appeared in excerpted form); and 3) the juxtapositional, miscellany format in which these texts and authors were made available to women readers.

As Meredith McGill reminds us: 'Format reminds us that "reception" is not separable from and subsequent to book production. Rather, publishers theorize the potential field of a text's reception with great care and urgency as they commit labour and material resources to the printing of a book'. Keeping text and format in play, this paper explores interactions between the two to explore the question of what and how eighteenth-century women readers read. In the closing section of the paper, I briefly consider how digital remediation of eighteenth-century

texts (while essential to the recovery project in some many ways) can and have distorted eighteenth-century print formats and the readers they found.

Dr Yael Shapira, Bar-Ilan University
Recovering the Minerva Woman Novelist as Reader
The female-reader-turned-novelist was a persistent trope of the contemptuous critical response to William Lane's Minerva Press. Extending (as Elizabeth Neiman notes) the older critical cliché of the quixotic female reader, critics depicted the Minerva production process as mindless absorption (reading) followed by equally mindless regurgitation (writing). Modern literary criticism's reductive view of Minerva novelists as hack "imitators" has until very recently perpetuated this misogynous critical legacy. The reading of popular fiction, everywhere implied by novelists' repetition of successful fictional elements, has only seemed to confirm their negligibility, thus continuing to relegate a moment of extreme female creativity to the margins of literary history.
My paper will argue that until they are challenged and explored, such assumptions about the reading abilities of Minerva novelists will continue to distort our view of these prolific women writers and their work. I will use the case of Isabella Kelly (c. 1759-1857) to demonstrate the very different picture that emerges when we approach a popular writer's novel-reading with curiosity rather than a priori contempt. As I will show, an attentive look at Kelly's writing as a record of her reading (and especially of her reactions to one particular novelist, Matthew Lewis) reveals an intelligent, discerning and critical reader of the fiction Kelly supposedly only sought to "imitate." What emerges in the process is not just a different view of Kelly as reader, but a different mental grasp of her as an individual and an author – a shift which I see as crucial for continuing to deepen our understanding of popular fiction and its role in Romantic literary history.

54 **Art and Artists**
Room: Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Helen Dallas, Trinity College, University of Oxford
Speakers: **Dr Amy Lim, University of Oxford**
Charles Heathcote Tatham's 'Cenotaph to Canova': commemorating a neoclassical friendship
The recent recovery of the artist and subject of a previously unidentified drawing shows it to be Cenotaph to Canova by Charles Heathcote Tatham (1772-1842), exhibited at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition of 1823. The addition of this drawing to Tatham's oeuvre sheds new light on the architect and designer's friendship with sculptor Antonio Canova, and its contribution ton Anglo-Italian artistic exchange.
Tatham's published engravings of antique fragments and neoclassical design were highly influential in the development of the neoclassical style in Britain. They were based on drawings made his 1794-6 stay in Rome, during which time he became friends with Canova, bound by a shared love of antiquity and a concern for respecting the purity of classical models. Tatham's design for a cenotaph to Canova, made soon after his death on 13 October 1822, pays homage to the sculptor and underlines his importance to Tatham. The effigy of the sculptor lies on top of a triumphal Roman arch. It is flanked and supported by allegorical figures of Fame, the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture, and carved reliefs of Canova's principal achievements.
The drawing underlines the personal and professional importance of Canova to Tatham, and emphasises the contribution of the sculptor to the development of the neoclassical style in Britain. However, this artistic influence was not only one way. Tatham's Cenotaph to Canova is demonstrated to have influenced the

design of a monument to Canova in the Palazzo del Campidoglio in Rome, executed by Giuseppe de Fabris under the supervision of Canova's great rival, Bertel Thorvaldsen. The recovery of this lost drawing testifies to the importance of the personal and professional relationship between Tatham and Canova, its influence on neo-classicism in Britain, and Tatham's previously unrecognised influence on sculpture in Rome.

Olga Baird, Independent Researcher

P. Francart/Frankhart (1711/12?-1743?) – mysterious German (?) portrait artist in Russia

In several Russian museum collections there is a small number of portraits of Russian aristocrats which are signed "Francart". The very fact that the sitters are known, and some of their portraits are signed by the artist creates the impression that the artist himself is also known and well familiar to the viewers and researchers. Indeed, his name can be found in some early German publications, and in classical dictionaries of artists, such as «Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon...» by Johann Heinrich Fussli (1806), and "Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon..." by Georg Kaspar Nagler (1835). They even provide his origin – Hamburg, and his life span: 1711/12-1743. However, this impression of knowledge and familiarity is deceptive.

It appears that all dictionaries and reference books are based on the single source: "Notes on art and artists in Russia" by a German intellectual Jakob Staehlin (1709-1785) who moved to Russia in 1735. In his "Notes..." he mentioned that the artist came from Hamburg, worked in Moscow and St-Petersburg, and in 1743 sailed from Russia on a ship on which he died being hardly 30 years old. However, strictly speaking, the "Notes..." by Staehlin are the secondary source, and there is no single primary source which could confirm artist's origin, his activity in Hamburg or – wider – German principalilies, his arrival to and departure from Russia, and his death.

Even the surname of the artist is spelled differently in different reference books: Fraucard, Francart, Frankhart. On some point, the initial P. for his Christian name was added, but its source remained unnamed and unexplained.

This lack of information was noticed rather long ago. In 1964, in his paper "Aus dem Leben und Wirken von Hamburgern in Russland", the German historian Eric Amburger (1907-2001) wrote: "From 1737, a little known artist, P. Francart (Frankhart), SUPPOSEDLY from Hamburg, worked as a portrait artist in Russia".

The paper analyses the usage of Staehlin's text in various historical reference books, mentions its changes and contradictions, and proposes to broaden the search for the primary sources relating to the artist, and to look for them not only in Germany, but also in France and possibly Belgium.

Dr Wendy McGlashan, Independent Scholar

The Cultural Performance of Friendship: Angelica Kauffman and 'the all-harmonious Triad' (Henrietta, James and William Fordyce)

In 1780, the Swiss-born artist Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807) planned to return from London to the European art centre of Rome, in which she had trained and achieved early artistic success before relocating to England in 1766. However, this journey was necessarily delayed by the ailing health of her father, Johann Joseph Kauffman (1707–1782), and that October she wrote to her friend Henrietta Fordyce (1734–1823):

After all the hurry and preparation for my journey, here I am still – the cause of my disappointment is for me, melancholy, yet after all I have the comfort to be amongst my Friends – my best friend, Dr. William, with his kind attention to my

father, is to me the greatest consolation and your last dear letter, my charming Friend – revives my spirits tho' ever so much oppressed, I want for words to express what I feel – all I can say is, that I shall ever esteem the continuation of the Friendship of Henrietta, James and William Fordyce, the greatest honour that can be conferred upon me, and to merit your kind affection shall be my greatest cure.

Henrietta Fordyce (née Cumming) was wife to the Scottish clergyman and moralist James Fordyce (1720–1796), author of the popular conduct book Sermons to Young Women (1765). Also in 1780, Kauffman publicly exhibited a painting titled Religion at the annual Royal Academy Exhibition in London, which illustrated a scene from Fordyce's The Temple of Virtue: A Dream (1757). The catalogue entry for Kauffman's painting directed the viewer to Fordyce's treatise, prompting him to extol her virtue in a poem titled 'On a Picture of Religion, by Angelica Kauffman: An Ode.'

By July 1781, under the care of James's brother, the physician William Fordyce (1724–1792), Johann Kauffman was well enough recovered to travel to Italy with his daughter Angelica and her new husband, the Venetian artist Antonio Zucchi (1726–1795). Upon her arrival in Italy, Kauffman continued her friendship with the Fordyce family via letters – the 'Sweet Excellence' of which was praised by James Fordyce in the poem 'To Angelica Kauffman, at Rome: an Elegy', in which he mourned her absence, and further exalted her worth.

The visual and literary dialogue that took place between Angelica Kauffman and James Fordyce was just one of the cultural exchanges stimulated by this family friendship, which also generated painted portraiture, reproductive engravings, personal correspondence and private gift-giving. By examining the cultural productions relating to each member of 'the all-harmonious Triad' – Henrietta, James and William Fordyce – this paper will consider which elements of the friendship were publicly performed and which were more intimate in nature, questioning why this was the case.

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Music, Reputation and Homecoming

Room: Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

Chair: Dr Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, Royal Conservatoire of Scotland/University of Glasgow

Speakers:

Dr Ann van Allen-Russell, Royal College of Music

'Not like Pyrates': Borrowing, Copyright and Creativity in the Eighteenth Century

In a modern world where even the hint of use of existing material without attribution may lead to litigation, it is worth considering that this was not always the case, and that throughout the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, to borrow, imitate or model after existing works was part of the creative norm – but with the understanding that composers would transform the borrowed material into new and unique works in line with a philosophical view stretching back to classical antiquity.

Just as early eighteenth-century literary critics of the English Augustan period such as Dryden and Pope and, later, the painter Reynolds espoused the use of imitation or borrowing as common property in developing style, taste and expression in drama, literature, and art. Music theorists and historians such as Mattheson and Burney noted that the use of existing musical material, models, and ideas from the distant past or more recent times was an accepted practice of the creative compositional process. Education during the period was grounded in Classical approaches to learning, formed on ancient sources such as Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian, and had as one of its key pedagogical tenets the concept of imitation to help students develop their rhetorical style and expression, and seed their creativity. A practice whose focus, however, is not a direct or uncritical

copy of borrowed ideas and structures but a transformed imitation of style and expression within a reimagined context. Imitation was the impetus for the creative process that feeds originality.
Where, then, were the bounds of acceptable usage? And where did composers draw the line? As new research has revealed, borrowing was not the problem; it was piracy – as Pope described in relation to poetry, those making use of others' material 'should repay with something of their own what they take from others; not, like Pyrates [sic], make prize of all they meet.' This paper explores a new understanding of how borrowing as a compositional strategy was an accepted part of the creative paradigm and the critical distinction between the use of existing material to seed the creative process and the right to control and benefit from one's creative output. The difference between these two aspects is key to understanding why composers such as Arne, Geminiani, J.C. Bach, Abel, and Storace were driven to assert their authorial property rights over their printed work, and to reap the benefit of their mental labour.

Mary-Jannet Leith, University of Southampton
Meeting Robert Bremner, a Musical Scot 'At Home' in London
This paper will explore the trans-cultural experience of Scottish musician and publisher Robert Bremner (1713-1789), an intriguing figure whose immense contribution to the eighteenth-century music industry has often been overlooked. Bremner's activities form a significant case study within my doctoral research, which explores Scottish musical culture and identity in eighteenth-century London.
Just before his fiftieth birthday, Robert Bremner moved from Edinburgh to London, where he established a music shop on the Strand, an area popular with London's Scottish diaspora since the early seventeenth-century. This new business venture was a counterpart to his thriving business of the same type in Edinburgh, and indeed scholarship has often labelled Bremner as primarily a man of commerce. Certainly, one of his avowed intentions in leaving Scotland was to be able to procure instruments and music from London more efficiently (and at wholesale prices!) for his Scottish customers. Yet, in a sense, Bremner did not truly leave Scotland when he removed himself to London. As soon as he arrived in the English capital in 1762, he interacted with London's Scottish diaspora community, becoming a member of the Scottish church of Crown Court, Covent Garden. He also did not leave behind him his passion for improving the quality of Scottish psalm-singing, to which he had dedicated much time in Edinburgh, encouraging another of London's Scottish Presbyterian congregations to adopt his new method. Through his music publishing business, too, he promoted Scottish music, advertising a number of tune collections in a specially themed section of his catalogues. In a very real sense, therefore, Bremner forged a new musical Scottish home for himself in London's diasporic space.
This spotlight on Bremner also allows us to access the experience of a man whose experience of emotional, geographical and musical home may have been in a state of constant flux. Referencing his extensive publishing output in London and Edinburgh, alongside newspaper advertisements, this paper will also explore the ways in which Bremner interacted with his Scottish home despite living 'abroad'. For several decades after his move to London, Bremner maintained a vibrant connection with the musical life of Edinburgh, supplying the Edinburgh Musical Society (his former employer) with the latest music from London and further afield. His influence, however, went far beyond the commercial: he also acted as agent for the Society, selecting and procuring musicians of high quality, and organising their travel north. In doing so, Bremner's intention appears to

have been a genuine desire to enhance Scotland's musical life (at least its 'art' music scene), and to furnish it with the best music and musicians Western Europe could offer. Though he never returned "home", it seems that Scotland was always the locus of Brenner's musical priority.

Clare Beesley, Utrecht University
Becoming a virtuosa: Advice from Vienna, 1769
How did a young British virtuosa go about shaping an international career in the later eighteenth-century? First-hand accounts explaining the process through which a woman became a professional musician are scant. However, a previously unstudied piece of ephemera contained within the Rackett Family of Spettisbury Archive housed at the Dorset History Centre UK provides new insights into this under-explored area.
The archive's catalogue describes the document as 'a page from a diary in French and Italian (author unknown), dated 1769 "In Vienna", concerning various acquaintances, as well as various musical works and books'. As I will demonstrate, the slender double-sided sheet memorialises powerful, intimate glimpses of private conversations between some of the foremost musicians at the Vienna court across four months in 1769. In it we hear the guiding voices of seventy year-old composer Johann Adolf Hasse (1699-1783), his wife, prima donna Faustina Bordoni (1697-1781), the young composer Marianne Martines (1744-1812), and their circle, as well as the virtuosa herself.
I assert that authorship of the document can be attributed to the young British glass armonica player Marianne Davies (c1743/4-buried 1814), a claim that I substantiate with palaeographical evidence and a compelling correlation of events outlined in the page with those in the life of the Davies sisters. I further demonstrate that this is not a diary page at all, but an aide-memoire stemming from a crucial period in the author's professional life. I argue that the document's purpose and the reason behind its careful preservation were to record impressions and advice about the shaping of her career.
In this paper I examine themes of tutelage, mentorship and role models arising from the document. Through the note, new and important insights are revealed about Hasse's nostalgia for Dresden, his musical opinions and prejudices. His methods of teaching by example and his influence in teaching musical taste emerge from the page. Faustina's voice as mentor is heard as she advises the young author about networking and securing patronage. Meanwhile, the intricate detailing of conversations held with Martines, the writer's contemporary, elevates her as kind a role model to whom Davies looks for inspiration. I assert that this unique document reconstructs the musical environment in which this educational process took place, illustrates the influential contacts the author encountered, the mentors and role models she looked to for her own affirmation and the stories and advice given to her that she held dear. It reveals the development of her networking practices and highlights their centrality in sustaining a career and garnering patronage.

56 **Women's Studies Group 1558-1837: Homecomings and Recoveries**
Room: Lecture Theatre One (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Dr Gillian Williamson, Independent scholar
Speakers: **Dr Megumi Ohsumi, Kobe University**
Aphra Behn's Homecoming and Oroonoko's Resurrection
Aphra Behn's Oroonoko (1688) was penned during the Restoration period in a nation which was recovering from the wounds of a recent civil war. Behn's own homecoming lies in stark contrast to Oroonoko's abject metamorphosis into a slave which rendered return to his motherland all but impossible. Intertwining

her own political theology in an allegedly firsthand account, Behn at once resurrects and immortalises Oroonoko in a tale involving the transatlantic slave trade. This paper explores the ways in which the author exhibits ambivalence between British imperial dreams and the diseased mindset of colonial authorities in the New World. It proposes a deeper analysis of the distance, both spatial and spiritual, between the female narrator and the eponymous character in the novella. Regarding textual space, there is a notable absence of direct dialectical exchanges between the two personages. Spiritually, Oroonoko's final exertions which recall Christ's Passion, as well as the narrator's parallels with Mary Magdalen, have received scholarly attention, but equally significant may be the fact that Behn was writing in an era in which medieval exaltations of martyrdom had been largely discredited. The Christology of Oroonoko is also at odds with his new appellation Caesar, which evokes ancient Roman paramountcy and persecution of early Christians. Indeed, he manifests heretical tendencies in openly spurning the Trinity and offering no forgiveness at his crucifixion. The oxymoronic title itself undergirds Behn's undiminished equivocation regarding whether Oroonoko is an untrammelled subversive or courageous hero, even years following her return to her homeland.

Dr Crystal Biggin, University of Leicester

Recovering Letterlocking Evidence and Lady Bradshaigh's Grandison Continuation Letter

This paper offers a close reading of the fictional letter that Dorothy, Lady Bradshaigh wrote as a character from Samuel Richardson's last epistolary novel, Sir Charles Grandison (1753-4), by paying attention to its material features as an opened tuck-and-seal letter, as well as its textual contents. The most recent scholarship on letterlocking has shown that 'both opened and unopened letters can now be investigated for their letterlocking evidence, establishing the methodological basis for a new discipline.' I explore how recovering some sense of how an item of correspondence was received by a recipient, as well as how it was sent by the letter-writer(s), aids our historical understanding of particular epistolary exchanges between individuals.

In the V&A's archives, Bradshaigh's fictional letter ends on the same page Richardson would have begun reading when he received said package in the middle of the eighteenth century: with the incomplete address written on the eighth and final leaf 'To / The Right Hon:ble / The Lady Reresby', in the usual place that this information can be found on tuck-and-seal letters of the period. Practically, this tells us that Bradshaigh likely enclosed her epistolary fiction-writing inside another letter that was addressed to Richardson. As the imagined recipient for her Grandison continuation letter (which begins 'Well, my Dear Lady Reresby, but Lucy you say is your name of choice'), Bradshaigh chooses a female character, Lucy Selby, whose marriage to Lord Reresby at the end of the novel goes largely uncommented upon and who is not granted life in the printed novel as a married woman. In doing so, she makes it clear that Grandison was to be projected beyond the scope of what had already been published by her letter. For Richardson, Bradshaigh's playful gesture to the recognisable dynamics of letter-writing was likely welcomed as signalling the fulfilment of his request for her to assist him in the writing of an additional volume of Grandison. Yet we lose the interpretative significance of Bradshaigh's engagement with Richardson's novel when these material features of her continuation letter are not read alongside the manuscript's textual contents. This paper makes a case for Bradshaigh's Grandison continuation letter being a revealing item of correspondence that opens up avenues for future research, research that begins

by returning to and recovering the previously overlooked letterlocking features preserved in archives.

Harriet McKinley-Smith, University of Oxford and the Université Libre de Bruxelles

A Journey of Recovery: Mary Robinson's A Letter to the Women of England

Actress and author Mary Robinson (1757-1800) spent the majority of her life in various forms of recovery. Her resilience was tested from a young age, and she faced a considerable amount of adversity throughout her life. Robinson's father lost the family's wealth on a failed whaling business in Newfoundland, her new husband was found to be a fraud resulting in a stint in a debtor's prison, and she had a string of notorious affairs, including with the Prince of Wales. After a bout of rheumatism that left her unable to walk, let alone act, that she set off to continental Europe. She visited spas and mingled with high society as this journey was as much about the recovery of her reputation as it was about regaining her health. Upon her return, Robinson began to write prolifically, aligning herself with prominent writers such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Mary Wollstonecraft among others. This paper examines Robinson's A Letter to the Women of England (1799) and considers it as her most significant attempt to establish her reputation as a woman of letters. Though some may argue that her Memoirs (1801) fulfil this role, I would argue that is a more serious engagement with politics both at home and on the continent and provides a radical vision of an equal society. A Letter to the Women of England can be considered as Robinson's homecoming as it cements her position as a feminist author who had become disenfranchised by the misogyny that she saw in Europe during the French Revolution, and this paper will attempt to situate her as such.

Dr Carolyn D. Williams

Did eighteenth-century women have a home?

Women in the long eighteenth century were often perceived as the makers and occupiers of homes. They are represented as being in their natural element at home, and as people whose presence and activities made homes efficient and attractive. They were also encouraged to spend as much time as possible at home: the activities they engaged in 'abroad' (i.e. away from home) might be depicted as dangerous and deplorable in various ways.

In life and literature, a picture emerges of women as alienated, isolated and powerless. An unmarried upper-class woman was supposed to live in her father's home, or under the protection (and control) of some other relative. A discontented daughter (often, but not necessarily, a stepdaughter) might seek to improve her lot by getting married, to have a home of her own. This might not, however, be a satisfactory solution, as the life of Charlotte Smith (1749-1806) will testify. The life of Mary Granville Pendarves Delany (1700-1788) reveals a series of efforts to find and make homes that were pleasant and affordable, with varying degrees of success, despite her charm, energy and flair for interior decoration. Together, they exemplified the sufferings caused by enforced marriage, marital breakdown, widowhood and legal complications affecting their finances.

A married woman's home was not 'her' home, but her husband's. This was not just a matter of property law, but of everyday life. The Lady's New-Year's Gift: Or, Advice to a Daughter (1688) by the Marquis of Halifax depicts the bride's arrival in her husband's house as a venture into foreign territory, involving tricky negotiations with potential for disaster at every turn as she tries to minimise friction between her own servants and her husband's. Jonathan Swift's Letter to a Very Young Lady on her Marriage (1703-1720) advises the bride to stay at home

and avoid female company as much as possible. Even chatting to her maid would be dangerous.

The difference in physical strength between men and women also contributes to women's alienation. The courtesan Peg Plunkett (1727-1797) claims that she was initially driven into prostitution when a violently abusive brother drove her away from home after her father became too sick to control him. Her Memoirs (1795-1797) may not be strictly accurate but the story is sadly plausible.

The situation is made brutally clear by that tireless advocate of feminine domesticity, Samuel Richardson (1689-1761); in Clarissa (1747-1748), the heroine refuses the chance to have a house of her own when her inherits property from her grandfather, becomes homeless when she is forced away from her father's house by Lovelace, and rejects the opportunity of a safe and respectable residence because it has not been approved by her father: she is finally welcomed home by her family when she returns in her coffin.

57 **Religion**

Room: Lecture Theatre Two (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

Chair: Professor Caroline Warman, Jesus College, University of Oxford

Speakers: **Dr Rebekah Andrew, Independent Researcher**

The Ultimate Homecoming: Samuel Richardson's Theology of Death and the Afterlife

Religion in the eighteenth century has become a more prominent topic of discussion over the past few years with more projects, journal articles and conference papers exploring the religious movements, figures and trends that helped shape an era once considered almost wholly enlightened. While recent studies have mostly concentrated on overtly religious figures, lay people also believed and expressed their beliefs through their writings, not least of all the great moral novelist of the eighteenth century Samuel Richardson. Several articles and books have been published stating that it is impossible to know anything about Samuel Richardson's beliefs beyond a vague, orthodox and perhaps puritanically-influenced Christianity. John Dussinger, T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, Cynthia Griffin Wolff, and E. Derek Taylor have published pieces on Richardson's religious affiliation. Words like 'perhaps', 'maybe', 'little', and 'appears' (all taken from Eaves and Kimpel but abounding elsewhere) seem to be the hallmark of these investigations.

This paper forms part of a larger article examining more facets of Richardson's theological beliefs, focussing on those theologies which impact how Richardson perceived death and the afterlife. Examining not only Richardson's works both literary and epistolary, it also considers the ninety-three overtly religious works published by his press as indicative of what he may have believed, or at least had no objection to. I argue that it is possible to glean from Richardson's work some elements of his theological beliefs, here focussing on those surrounding death and the soul's entry into the afterlife, the ultimate homecoming and escape from a fallen world. Doctrines such as those of creation, salvation, and sin will be considered, with what we can glean of Richardson's beliefs on these topics as well as how these compared to the wider religious context.

Richardson's writings implicitly abound with clues as to what he believed, sometimes confused, but always subtly present in his work as he attempted to redeem the novel from secular amusements to morally-edifying works teaching a reader not only how to behave but what to believe in order to ensure prosperity, but not necessarily in this world.

Dr Katherine Wakely-Mulroney, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Spiritual Homecoming in Devotional Children's Books

For Dissenting hymnodist Isaac Watts the most important journeys were internal. Watts's conception of mental space took into consideration the extent to which individuals could become distanced from the centre of their being: their spiritual faith. His hymns, sermons, and devotional treatises emphasised the necessity of directing wayward thoughts back towards Christianity, using symbols such as the cross as mnemonic touchstones. Childhood was a vital period in which to cultivate this homing instinct. Throughout his career, Watts devised different formal strategies for keeping children's vulnerable minds on the right track. His verse collection Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children (1715) relied on the intuitive repetitions of hymn metre to draw readers away from temptation; his Catechisms (1730) used the regular alternations of question and answer to solidify the foundations of their innermost faith.

This paper explores the significance of form to the idea of spiritual homecoming in devotional children's books, considering how certain patterns of word and sound were believed to help young people return to a pious mindset more effectively than others. It does so through close examination of the popular yet critically neglected compendium A Present for Children (1749), where Watts's Catechisms are interleaved with Philip Doddridge's The Principles of the Christian Religion, Expressed in Plain and Easy Verse (1743), a version of Watts's text written in rhyming couplets. Both catechisms and couplets rely on paired sounds and structures to produce a sense of perpetual return, opening auditory and semantic possibilities in one line or segment in order to close them in the next. A Present for Children provides an opportunity to examine the pedagogical, spiritual, and aesthetic implications of this conceptual and auditory tethering across different forms.

Modern historians of childhood and children's literature scholars have critiqued Watts's catechetical method for its ideological and stylistic rigidity, apparently calculated to forestall autonomous thought. Yet A Present for Children reveals that catechism is an inherently flexible form, its rhythms and repetitions deeply resonant with the chiming sounds of rhyming verse. For Watts and Doddridge, the combined effect of catechism and couplets enabled a form of mental programming unique in its ability to simultaneously further and delimit children's thoughts, keeping their spiritual home perennially in mind.

Jacob Donald Chatterjee, Balliol College, Oxford

John Locke's Surprising Homecoming: The Reception of the Essay Concerning Human Understanding at Christ Church, 1689-1726

On 1 July 1697, Francis Gastrell, a talented young clergyman who had recently graduated BD from Christ Church, Oxford, wrote to an expelled student of that College: John Locke. In this letter, Gastrell declared that he was 'sure the world will take notice of' the fact that his 1697 Boyle Lectures on the Certainty and Necessity of Religion were 'very much beholding to your reflexions upon Humane Understanding'. Gastrell was not alone at Christ Church in admiring the Essay, and Locke's philosophy had a surprising intellectual homecoming at the College in 1690s and the early 1700s. Christ Church men indicated their approval of Locke's philosophy by securing copies of his writings for personal and college libraries, corresponding with him, teaching the Essay to students, and publishing several reworkings of his thought. This positive reception of the Essay has been overlooked because historians have often divided responses to Locke along political lines, and most of these Christ Church men were high church Tories. My paper will argue against the politicised approach to the reception of Locke's philosophy, and that there were two reasons for this laudatory response to the Essay at Christ Church. First, Locke maintained several old friendships

and a considerable amount of goodwill at the College even after his expulsion in 1684. These personal connections continued to be cultivated by Locke in the 1690s and cut across the political divisions between him and the other Christ Church men. Locke's return from exile in Holland thus saw the recovery many old relationships and alliances. Secondly, there were several intellectual congruities between Locke's thought and the ideas studied at Christ Church prior to 1689. Most notably, the rejection of innate ideas was regarded as an Aristotelian view within the boundaries of acceptable opinion, and the rise of Christian Epicureanism ensured that some Christ Church men agreed with his reduction of the good to pleasure. Many of Locke's own opinions had been formed in the home where he had lived and worked, and it should not be surprising that other inhabitants of that place agreed with his philosophical thought. Uncovering this largely overlooked Lockean afterlife thus reveals new intellectual and institutional contexts for the Essay's reception.

David Cowan, University of Cambridge

The Feathers Tavern Petition: Religious Exclusion and Belonging in 1771-1774

This paper will explore how exclusion from the Church of England fuelled social and political marginalisation, which in turn drove demands for reform. Recovery from the Seven Years' War and questions around where reformers could find a place in Britain's expanded imperial domain had dramatic consequences during the early 1770s. A crucial flashpoint was the Feathers Tavern Petition which would help focus the energies of reformers in Britain and influence reformers from America in the lead-up to the War of Independence.

The Feathers Tavern Petition was supported principally by a group of reform-minded Anglican clergymen in Cambridge University. Theophilus Lindsey, Fellow of St John's, and John Jebb, Fellow of Peterhouse, led the efforts to put their petition before Parliament, urging that Anglican clergymen and university graduates should no longer be forced to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles, believing it was more important to put scripture before dogma. Prominent reformers from outside the clergy such as Christopher Wyvill also backed the petition, calling for a more inclusive Protestant polity. These activities brought reform-minded Anglicans into greater contact with religious dissenters, particularly Unitarians, with lasting consequences.

The petition gathered around 250 signatures, but Parliament rejected it decisively. It was voted down by 271 votes against 71 votes in 1772 and blocked again in 1774. This triggered a gradual exodus of reform-minded clergymen from the Church of England. Lindsey would leave Cambridge University to establish a Unitarian congregation at the Essex Street Chapel in London in 1774 with assistance from religious dissenters Joseph Priestly and Richard Price. Jebb also left Cambridge two years later. Essex Street would become a hub for religious reformers, inspiring other Cambridge clergymen like John Disney to follow Lindsey's example. It also attracted the attention of Benjamin Franklin who acted as a conduit between reformers in North America and Britain during his years in London.

Reform was fundamentally shaped by the British Empire's recovery from one conflict as it approached the beginning of another. Britain was still coming to terms with the fallout from the Seven Years' War, addressing how to govern its colonies and newly acquired territories. This included a vast number of Protestants from outside of the Church of England. This led to a transatlantic push for greater religious toleration taking place against the backdrop of growing tensions between Parliament and the American colonies as well as growing calls for political reform following the rise of John Wilkes. This put significant

pressure on reformers, especially religious dissenters, as they questioned their place within Britain's social and political hierarchies.

58 **Disability, Health, and Care**
Room: Old Law Library
Chair: Professor Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton
Speakers: Dr Stephanie Howard-Smith, King's College London
"Take physic, Pomp": Imagining Dog Doctors in Eighteenth-Century Britain
The eighteenth century saw a marked shift in the dog's status in British society. One manifestation of this change was the growth in dog healthcare, itself reflected in the increased representation of canine healthcare practitioners in literature. While physicians and surgeons who were called upon to heal dogs tended to conform to the stereotypes associated with drawing-room practice, specialist dog doctors offered a new stock character and a chance to explore the role of the companion dog within human families. This paper argues that the dog doctor became inextricable from his representation in satirical literature, in which he was presented as an opportunist who gleefully exploited women's 'irrational' affection for their pets. Writing about the dog doctor also reveals the potential for an owner's dog-love to engender cruelty — to other humans and to their dogs themselves.

Dr David McCallam, University of Sheffield
A Ward of State? The Case of Jean Amilcar, Marie-Antoinette's Adopted Black Boy
In the Departmental Archives of the Yvelines in Versailles, there is a slim dossier of paperwork labelled 'Amilcar, petit indien élevé par Marie-Antoinette'. It relates to a black slave boy 'gifted' to Marie-Antoinette in 1787 by the Chevalier de Boufflers, the French Governor of Senegal. Baptized in Versailles, then placed in a boarding school in Saint-Cloud, the boy's education and needs were paid for by the Queen until 1792, after which the boarding school's teacher, Quentin Beldon, adopted him and petitioned successfully for his charge to be recognized as a ward of the Republic. Teacher and adopted pupil nonetheless lived in poverty in Paris until late 1795 when Beldon's repeated requests for state aid finally allowed the boy to enrol in the prestigious arts college, the École nationale de Liancourt. Sadly, however, there Amilcar fell ill (tuberculosis?) and died in May 1796, aged only fourteen.
This paper will look at the shifts in status of Jean Amilcar – from racialized 'pethood', then protégé of the queen's household and personal charge of his boarding school teacher, to becoming an orphaned ward of the revolutionary Republic. It will interrogate how changes in political regime are reflected at the intersections of ideology and race in determining the treatment of Amilcar and his place in revolutionary society. And, where appropriate, a critical comparison with the orphaned black slave girl, Ourika, who was similarly taken to France and 'gifted' by Boufflers to the Maréchale de Beauvau, will be used to highlight further intersections of gender and race in the period.
In terms of the conference themes of homecoming, return and recovery, the paper offers an oblique view of 'home' via abduction, adoption and assimilation (or not) of a young black boy to the prevailing norms of revolutionary culture.

Associate Professor Carolyn Day, Furman University
"Not being a surjeon [sic] I can only judge by own feelings" : Conflict, Agency, and the Illness of Princess Amelia
Concepts of disease and health are fluid, crafted by medical knowledge and practice as well as by moral and societal norms. The illness and death from

consumption (tuberculosis) of the youngest daughter of King George III, Princess Amelia (1783-1810), affords a rare opportunity to explore the cultural expectations that surrounded the illness experience in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the ways in which the sick participated in these tropes, as well as the approach to, and treatment of, invalids during this period. The metaphorical frameworks employed by the patient, physician, family, and society to describe, categorize, and provide meaning to illness are significant linguistic selections that expose entrenched social anxieties about the body, health, gender, and the appropriate roles for each individual involved in the illness tableaux. Amelia's status, the prominence of her physicians, and her parents' concern have combined to leave a wealth of manuscript evidence that illuminates the attitudes toward death and to professional duty, not only for the princess but also for her physicians. More significantly Amelia's illness became a site of professional and personal rivalries. Concerns over the loyalty of those managing her care led the princess to assert personal agency at critical junctures during her illness in a desperate attempt to recover from her illness. This paper will investigate the ways in which royal rivalries and professional loyalties informed the course of Amelia's care, hampered her treatment, and informed her responses to moments of personal betrayal, ones she felt had a direct impact upon her health.

Dr James Wood, University of East Anglia
Disability and Labour in Samuel Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language
This talk argues that the experience of disability is central to Johnson's conception of his own work as a lexicographer in the Dictionary of the English Language (1755)—and his conception of intellectual labour in general. Johnson would, in contemporary terms, be perceived as a disabled person, with his limited hearing and sight and tics are characteristic of the condition now known as Tourette's Syndrome. Boswell describes these tics in The Life of Johnson, in which he describes how "In the intervals of articulating he made various sounds with his mouth." In the Dictionary, Johnson notes that the word "articulation" can mean both (1) "The juncture, or joint of bones" and (2) "The act of forming words." Boswell's "intervals of articulation," plays on this double meaning of "articulation," drawing attention to the origins of speech in the articulations of the body. In his entry for "articulation," Johnson, in turn, quotes the Royal Society member and theorist of language William Holder's The Elements of Speech, a frequently cited work in the Dictionary, to illustrate the sense of "articulation" as "The act of forming words": "By articulation I mean a peculiar motion and figure of some parts belonging to the mouth, between the throat and lips." Holder's book endeavours to explain how consonants and vowels are physically produced, picturing the mouth as a little workshop that fashions sounds from lungs, larynx, palate, teeth, and tongue. He compares the tongue in the head to the pen in the hand, both instruments that produce spoken and written words. Johnson's household included other people whose relationship to language was marked by different kinds of disability, including the blind poet Anna Williams and the formerly enslaved child Francis Barber whose writing practice appears in the slips used by Samuel Johnson's amanuenses. In this talk I explore how disability emerges in and around the Dictionary not as a barrier to be overcome but rather as an integral part of the lexicographer's work.

59 **Close Reading**
Room: Boardroom (Main Building)
Chair: Dr Adam James Smith, York St John University
Speakers: **Dr John T. Gilmore, University of Warwick**
William Jones, "Caissa", and strategies of translation and adaptation

Written in 1763, "Caissa: Or, The Game of Chess" is an early work by Sir William Jones (1746-94). Unlike most of his juvenilia, it was preserved by its author and included in numerous editions of his collected poems from 1772 onwards, while its subject matter enabled it to reach a wider public through its inclusion in several early nineteenth-century chess manuals.
As Jones acknowledged, "Caissa" was based on the De Ludo Scacchorum of the Italian Renaissance writer Marcantonio Vida, originally published in 1527.
Apart from being an entertaining diversion, Jones's poem offers two main points of interest. In the first place, it is an example of the continuing cultural importance in eighteenth-century Britain of Neo-Latin poems by Italian Renaissance writers, which were more frequently reprinted and translated than many major poems in Italian. Secondly, it shows Jones at an early date making use of the rather bold approaches to the translation, imitation, and adaptation of earlier texts which were perhaps rather commoner in the eighteenth century than in more recent periods, and to which he returned in much of his later work on literary texts in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and Chinese. Jones's translations and adaptations of these were to mark an important stage in the development of literary Orientalism.

Ephraim Levinson, University of Cambridge
Hume's Homer? Robert Wood's *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* and Scottish Enlightenment Moral Philosophy
Joseph Addison was reflecting a basic consensus about the moral worth of Homer's epics when he wrote that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were 'founded upon some important Precept of Morality, adapted to the Constitution of the Country in which the Poet writes'. In other words, Homer's stories emerged from, and were governed by, a moral principle. In his *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* (1769), however, Robert Wood reversed the order of precedence: 'the Greek Poet found great part of his moral in his fable'. This reorientation, I argue, is indebted to the empirical moral philosophy of Wood's friend David Hume. Drawing on close verbal parallels between Wood's *Essay* and Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*, and on hitherto-unstudied manuscript material, this paper illuminates both Wood's debt and his contribution to Scottish Enlightenment thought, as he grappled with the reading of Homer in the aftermath of the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns.

Amy Louise Blaney, Keele University
'An ideal personage [...] of poetic credibility': Richard Hole's The Northern Enchantment and the revival of Arthurian Romance in the late-eighteenth century
Whilst it is recognised that the mid-eighteenth century saw a significant revival in the appreciation of 'Gothic' poetry and romance, the ways in which eighteenth-century writers reconceptualised the Middle Ages remains overlooked, and the century is still largely perceived as a period in which medievalism, if embraced at all, was done so only half-heartedly.
Reappraising Richard Hole's pre-Romantic Arthuriad Arthur: or The Northern Enchantment, this paper will contend that rather than being a period that was striving feebly towards Romantic and Victorian medievalism, the later eighteenth century developed its distinctive comprehension of the Middle Ages by combining an appropriation of patriotic sentiment and national myth-making with the 'novelisation' of literary taste and the rise of the Gothic to explore wider societal and cultural anxieties.
Hole's appropriation of King Arthur brings together several prevailing discourses, combining the popularity of developmental narratives with the particularity

characteristic of the novel; blending Gothic landscapes with Romantic sensibilities; and reconstructing moral absolutes as aspirational values. This paper argues that The Northern Enchantment reconfigures chivalric romance so as to appeal to those whose birth or status did not allow them automatically to identify with the societal elite. As such, the paper contends that Hole's poem should be seen as foundational to both the Romantic medievalism of Walter Scott, Robert Southey, and Kenelm Henry Digby and to the wider nineteenth-century revival of chivalric sensibility.

Kaiwen Hou, Durham University

The Perfect Form and Imperfect Celebrity: Lord Byron's Couplet Return in The Corsair

The Monthly Review (February 1814) 'congratulate[ed] Lord Byron on his return to the standard heroic measure... of our language' in The Corsair. This can also be interpreted as, as Philip Martin believes, 'his deliberate indulgence in the art of sinking after the Popean manner'. Nigel Leask further suggests, Byron's 'abiding fascination' with Pope can be understood in two ways: one is about 'an aristocratic nostalgia for the values of an inert, Augustan Classicism'; the other is from 'Pope's "use of contradiction" in accommodating the values of the new capitalist order to the quite antagonistic moral paradigms of classical civic humanism'. From another comparison with John Milton's 'politically charged resistance to the bondage of rhyme', Wolfson renders Byron's return to the couplets in The Corsair a gesture to question whether 'there [are] values worth exploring in the vexation, hindrance, and constraint to liberty the couplet seems to impose'. When these comments all emphasise Byron's effort in this closed form, this paper aims to raise some attention to communication between Byron and the public through couplets. I believe that Byron's adoption of this form is in a symbolic creative way in the context of his confirmed celebrity. The 'use of contradiction', in consideration of Byron's aristocratic superiority, provides a wishful, lordly, and reluctant response to the celebrity dilemma between individual representation and public criticisms.

Through an examination of Byron's change to this form and close reading of the content of The Corsair, I argue that: firstly, with couplets' aristocratic tradition, Byron places his readers in a passive and dominated position from free interpretation; secondly, with a blurring effect in adapting the form and revealing the content, Byron makes this form a cover to represent his conflicting role in his celebrity, which is for the appeals for liberty but against the judgement on himself; thirdly and most importantly, the conflicting realistic meaning echoes Byron's ambiguous depiction, which further bridges between the fictional story and the real world to ironically broaden his discussion about tyranny, slavery, redemption and liberty. Thus, Byron's couplet return did not become a return to 'the standard heroic measure' after all. However, it is still undeniable that, with his efforts to be free from the systematic restraint of the celebrity apparatus, Byron represents a realistic individual of paradox who avoids being remoulded into perfection. This feature makes his political influence not a sacred preaching of some saint but an independent person's endless call for freedom in imperfect human life, which forms the more powerful Byronic heroism.

11:00–11:30	COFFEE BREAK Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

1130-1300	FRIDAY SESSION II
60	**Digital Worlds and the Eighteenth Century**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Chair:	Dr Edwin Rose, University of Cambridge
Speakers:	**Dr Karenza Sutton-Bennett, University of Ottawa, Dr Karenza Sutton-Bennett, University of Ottawa & Kelly Plante from Wayne State University**

"The present therefore seems improbable, the future most uncertain": Transcending Academia through Charlotte Lennox's Lady's Museum (1760–61)

In recent years, digital social editions have enabled a media shift from print to digital in teaching editions of eighteenth-century texts. Corina Koolen and Ray Siemens imagined social digital editions of literary texts would upend the traditional, top-down editor/reader relationship by inviting users to co-edit and contribute content as coworkers. Their 2012 vision is now a reality with sites such as The Lady's Museum Project that provide a framework to unite scholars, students, and the public under a shared vision of unearthing previously ignored or overlooked eighteenth-century texts. In our presentation, we will show how the LMP offers a feminist framework based in Lennox's proto-feminist philosophy in which users can participate in creative activities traditionally reserved for editors to introduce public and student audiences to the Lady's Museum, the revolutionary and visually stunning early magazine edited by Charlotte Lennox. We argue that digital scholarly editing and publishing can engage scholars, students, and public users as coworkers, together recovering the textual authority of women writers such as Lennox by directly interacting with her revolutionary-at-that-time educational philosophy. For example, in 2021 and 2022, Kelly Plante and Karenza Sutton-Bennett (co-editors of LMP) involved student and public users in writing editorial glosses and introductory essays, and recording and proof-listening an audiobook version of the magazine. We have taught undergraduate classes how to write scholarly annotations for critical editions at Brandeis University, Wayne State University, and University of Ottawa, and students at Brandeis and Texas Woman's University how to record audiobooks. In these workshops, students annotated one-third of the magazine. We attributed and published their annotations and recordings on ladysmuseum.com and LibriVox.org, thus , transforming a class project into both a professionalization experience and an opportunity to assist other nonspecialists reading the articles for the first time. In our presentation, we will highlight the value of our pedagogical methods for teaching and building the Lady's Museum Project with and for a joint nonspecialist and specialist target-audience to show how a digital scholarly editing project can challenge the structural logics of print by creating a decentered, user-driven reading and writing experience and social edition rather than a traditional, linear-based book.

Dr Jack Orchard, Bodleian Libraries

"Dubious forms...half-veiled in Darkness": Gamifying the Gothic Turn in Castlevania: Symphony of the Night (Konami, 1997)

This paper draws on my current research on the ways in which contemporary video games provide analogies for affective experiences of 18th century readers. Here I will map the 'Gothic turn' in late 18th century philosophy onto theories of immersion and affect in video game culture, with Castlevania: Symphony of the Night (SOTN) (1997) as central case study.

I will first outline the relationship between Humean empiricism and the 'gothic turn', establishing the primacy of 'vivacity' in the Humean 'attention', and its effect on the contingency induction in Hume's model of sceptical empiricism. I will then, drawing on work by Katherine Ding and Margaret Russel, use the Radcliffean 'realised supernatural', to characterise the 'gothic turn' as a moment

in which writers and philosophers drawing on Hume's theory examined the idea of emotionally and affectively intense impressions which lacked the external objects to justify their intensity.
The empirical investigation of an object which does not exist, but which carries emotional force from its ability to generate physiologically and emotionally intense states of being, and in so doing blur the distinction between the internal and the external is central to contemporary game studies and game design. I will focus specifically on work by Gordon Calleja, Cameron Kunzelman, and Astrid Ensslin, and the concepts of cognitive mapping (the reconstruction of an emotionally contingent image of the play-space in the memory of a player), ludic speculation (the concept of navigating games as a digital facsimile of Humean empiricism), and heuristic ergodicity (the way in which a game teaches its internal rule structures through repeated action). These concepts reflect the same understanding of the relationship between emotion and impression as 'gothic' theorists like Thomas Reid and Lord Kames.
I will close the paper by looking at how these concepts play out in SOTN. After introducing the game, focusing on its conscious self-representation as a gothic text, I will focus on the ways in which the game's negotiation of space reflects the same confusion of internal and external, emotional and investigative, seen in Radcliffean gothic. The in-game map in SOTN is very abstract and minimalist, it must be completed as the player progresses through the game. This mimics the process of the empirical subject, with the limitations of Humean scepticism, the player character relies on this ineffectual in-game system, which serves only to prompt their internal cognitive map. The space is also navigated via the player character's transformation of their own body into various non-human forms, emphasising the contingency of the body's boundaries, representing what scholars such as Poppy Wilde and Aubrey Anable have conceptualised as spaces of affective 'entanglement' between player and avatar, evocative of the affective identification experienced by readers with the Radcliffean heroine. Finally,– at what initially appears to be the end of the game's story, it is revealed that another entire gameworld exists, an upside down copy of the original. This revelation of the contingency and insufficiency of the cognitive map which players have spent the last 10 hours cultivating combines the moment of shock experienced by Radcliffe's readers at the moment of revelation, with a reinscription of the gothic threat of the insufficiency of the rational mind.

Dr Róbert Péter, University of Szeged
Representations of Hungary in the 18th-century British Press
This paper is an attempt to analyse the image and perceptions of eighteenth-century Hungary in Britain by examining thousands of eighteenth-century English newspaper articles referring to Hungary. In recent years a vast amount of contemporary English articles and books about Hungary have become accessible in digital archives such as the Burney Collection and the British Periodicals Online, the majority of which historians of British-Hungarian relations have not explored so far. The first step in researching these large collections was to create a database of these articles, during which we had to carefully consider the shortcomings of the aforementioned digital collections and, for instance, find techniques of how to improve the search queries of often poorly OCR-ed texts. In the second phase of the research, distant reading methods such as n-gram analysis and topic modelling were used to investigate the Hungary-related press articles in separate, long-running and substantially complete newspapers such as the London Evening Post and the Daily Advertiser. The latter enables us to identify and critically interpret hitherto overlooked patterns and trends in the history of Anglo-Hungarian relations. The last section of the paper provides a

close reading of the newly identified topics that shed new light on, for instance, the economic relations of England and Hungary. The latter includes the sale of Hungarian pearl ashes in London between 1760 and 1774 that can be reconstructed with the help of the relevant press resources. Historians have been unaware of this trade due to the loss of records concerning Anglo-Hungarian economic contacts in the early nineteenth century. We offer other examples of how the examination of this largely unmapped material signposts new areas for research in international relations of the period.

61 **Reading in Historic Spaces**
Room: Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair: Tim Pye, National Trust
Speakers: **Professor Abigail Williams, University of Oxford**
Ordinary or extraordinary? The reading practices of the Brownes of Troutbeck Townend Farm is a modest whitewashed farmhouse in a deep valley near Windermere in Cumbria. Until 1943, it was the home of the Browne family, lived in for four centuries by generations of yeoman farmers and now owned by the National Trust. It's an ordinary house, but what is extraordinary about it is its sizeable book collection, including a significant number assembled in the first four decades of the eighteenth century by a father and son, Old and Young Ben Browne. Their collection, maybe the only one of its kind to survive, offers a remarkable insight into the intellectual habits of a farming family very far from the metropolitan elites who have dominated the history of reading. Whether we see the Brownes as perfect or imperfect readers depends on what we think good reading ought to look like. This collection, containing a wide range of literary, historical and religious works, provides a test case for the ways we think and talk about amateur readers and the marks they leave behind. In many ways the Brownes' books show habits of their time, traditions of textual improvement and commonplacing. Keen on errata lists, the Bens marked up their books both with corrections from those lists, and their own observations. They also annotated a whole range of works by theme, often in ways that might seem reductive or utilitarian: of Shakespeare's Cymbeline they note merely 'Army, defeat of one described.' Of Lear 'Flattery, a fine report of it'. Is this reading or misreading, and who gets to judge? In looking at the range of evidence of book use within the Townend collection, along with the family papers in Kendal archive, I hope to use this article to think about the ways we might describe non elite book use, and how we better understand the mixed literacies within a remote rural community.

Amy Solomons, University of Liverpool
Fragments and Traces: Uncovering Sabine Winn's Book Collection at Nostell Priory
Nostell Priory, a country house in Yorkshire, England, has an impressive library collection that has often been hailed as a bibliophile's dream. A 1767 portrait of Nostell's library by Hugh Douglas Hamilton places Sir Rowland Winn (1739-1785) and his wife Sabine Winn (1734-1798) at the centre of the library with an impressive book collection on display in the background. This portrait, and subsequent nineteenth-century book collector Charles Winn have been discussed in detail. However, few researchers have investigated female readers within the library or Sabine's book collections in detail.
Born in Switzerland, Sabine moved to Yorkshire and Nostell with her new husband soon after her marriage. Sabine spoke limited English and documentary evidence suggests that she struggled to fit into her new Yorkshire home. Books and an obsession with health and wellbeing became a focus for Sabine's life in

this unknown world, documented through her manuscript recipe collection and her letters. Alongside this documentary evidence, Nostell's eighteenth-century library contains numerous hints about potential books Sabine could have owned and read. However, uncovering Sabine's printed book collection is particularly challenging given that she did not sign her books. This paper asks how researchers continue to make connections between books and their female owners when evidence is scarce to find? Using fragments from Nostell's surviving book collection alongside traces within the archives, this paper illuminates the methodological challenges of reconstructing eighteenth-century women's book collections.

Dr Jemima Hubberstey, University of Oxford

'Even in the Garden you Stumble over Card Letters as you Walk': Reading in the Gardens at Wrest Park

In the mid-eighteenth century, Wrest Park in Bedfordshire, home of Jemima Marchioness Grey (1722-1797) and Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke (1720-1790), inspired a flurry of literary activity. During the summer months, Yorke and Grey would invite a coterie of select friends to Wrest Park where they would read and write together. Catherine Talbot, a close friend of Jemima Grey and key member of the 'Wrest Circle', recorded in her diary 'walking in those fine gardens...with letters from our best Friends', 'tea in the library, where we sat over our Several Books' and 'debat[ing] the Politics of a hundred years ago... sometimes on Matters of Literature, the Style or Merit of authors.' As Talbot's diary suggests, the library and gardens at Wrest Park were at the heart of sociable and intellectual activities. This paper will consider the importance of place in the coterie's literary endeavours, especially given its private literary manuscript was eponymously named Wrestiana in homage to the country house where the friends often penned their verses.

Reading – as well as providing entertainment – had an emotional purpose too, linking the reader to absent friends with whom they associated the text. It is not incidental that Catherine Talbot and Jemima Grey took 'letters from our best friends' around the gardens with them, effectively reading the letters to evoke their absent friends and bring them along on their walks at Wrest Park. On 11th August 1750, when a business trip forced Philip Yorke to leave Jemima Grey at Wrest Park, she took out the Athenian Letters – a text her husband and his friends had written a decade earlier – and read it in the root-house at Wrest Park, itself constructed in homage to the work.John Lawry, when he was the rector at Wimpole (the estate of Yorke's father, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke), similarly wrote to Philip Yorke that there he 'read Milton who always was yours.'

Yet reading was not limited to books or letters; the gardens at Wrest Park were also filled with literary inscriptions that invited visitors to read (or perhaps more fittingly, misread) the gardens. The final part of this paper will consider the way in which the gardens at Wrest Park, by making select use of private literary references, were designed to be 'read' and interpreted only by select friends. The Mithraic Altar, secluded in the groves at Wrest, is one such example – deliberately engraved with two inscriptions that, as Grey declared with some delight, 'one of which... Few People can read, the Other, nobody can.'Thus, this paper will demonstrate how, as well as providing entertainment, reading at Wrest Park fulfilled a personal and emotive role, serving as a reminder of the shared jokes and friendships sustained within the Wrest Circle.

62 **The Eighteenth-Century British Novel and the Arts**

Room: Louey Seminar Room

Chair: Dr Daniel Cook, University of Dundee

Speakers: **Professor Jakub Lipski, Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz (PL)**

The Pictorial Parallel and the Early Histories of Eighteenth-Century Fiction

This paper will trace the uses of the pictorial parallel in the early attempts at theorizing and historicizing eighteenth-century fiction. Acknowledging the context of the sister arts debate, the culture of visuality and the meta-pictorial practices of novelists themselves, it will concentrate on the role of discursive pictorialism in the early literary-historical material, including An Essay on the New Species of Writing Founded by Mr. Fielding (1751), most likely by Francis Coventry, Hugh Blair's "On Fictitious History" (1762), James Beattie's "On Fable and Romance" (1783), Clara Reeve's The Progress of Romance (1785), John Moore's "A View of the Commencement and Progress of Romance" (1797), Anna Letitia Barbauld's "On the Origin and Progress of Novel-Writing" (1810), John Dunlop's chapter on "English Novels" in his History of Fiction (1814), and finally, and most extensively, Walter Scott's Lives of the Novelists and selected essays from Miscellaneous Prose Works (1827). The proposed paper will evaluate the extent to which the pictorial parallel helped delineate the new genre as well as serving as a tool of differentiation between the diverse modes of fiction writing in the period. By analyzing material that ranges from metaphorical pictorialism in the earlier essays to references to specific artists in Walter Scott's, it will reconstruct what might be termed the visual architext for the development and early reception of eighteenth-century fiction.

Dr Mary Newbould, Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz (PL)

Bringing statuary home in the eighteenth-century novel

Although critical attention has typically been directed towards the relationship between painting and the novel, the connection between the novel and sculpture and statuary is a largely unexplored field. The role of sculpture in novelistic characterisation; the function of ekphrastic passages depicting sculptures, monuments and statues in a culture of extensive travel (domestic and abroad), and of expanding public collections of art; the sculptural imagination in novel writing and reading; and the discursive function the novel acquires in relation to the politics of statuary collectively merit critical scrutiny that will be given in this paper.

Professor Joanna Maciulewicz, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (PL)

The uses of print technologies in the eighteenth-century novel

The scholarship of recent years draws attention to the need of exploring how the early novelists exploited the potential of print technology for the creation of their texts. The study of the first editions of the eighteenth-century novels demonstrates how the materiality of fonts, their shapes and sizes, allowed the authors to engage and control their readers's attention, to create the innovative forms of expression of their characters, and to reflect on the potentials that technologies of communication create for storytelling. This paper aims to to show the diversity of the creative uses of print in eighteenth-century novels.

63 **Morality and Female Education**

Room: Winston CS Wong Seminar Room

Chair: Professor Caroline Warman, Jesus College, University of Oxford

Speakers: **Dóra Janczer Csikós, Eotvos Lorand University, Budapest**

"I had, I believe, missed my path": Return and Recovery in 1799

The paper explores different texts from 1799: Mary Hays's The Victim of Prejudice, Joseph Wildman's The Force of Prejudice: a Moral Tale, the moral tales in the 1799 volume of The Lady's Magazine and an anonymous tract, entitled Thoughts on Means of Alleviating the Miseries attendant upon Common Prostitution. Although very different in tone, all these texts depict, construct or demand, in their own ways, paths of return and recovery for women, particularly after loss of chastity in rape or seduction. Interestingly, both Hays's radical feminist novel and Wildman's sentimental narrative incited harsh criticism. The Victim of Prejudice was pronounced "highly dangerous to the peace and welfare of society" (The Critical review, or, Annals of literature; Aug 1799; 450) and similarly, The Force of Prejudice, was condemned as "calculated to do much injury to society" (The European magazine, and London review; Jun 1800; 460). While Hays's was criticised for not allowing the violated heroine or her seduced mother to return to society, Wildman was censured for letting a seduced woman with an illegitimate child become a respectable member of society (by marrying a man other than her seducer). To the indignant question in the Critical review, "Do our municipal institutions afford no redress for the seductive or forcible violation of female chastity?" (452) Hays's answer is a categorical 'no'. Wildman's novel, on the other hand, as well as the moral tales in The Lady's Magazine (on which The Force of Prejudice was largely based), show unconditional trust in justice and human benevolence. At the end of these stories, the repentant is restored, the sinner is punished. The same optimism is discernible in the anonymous tract about prostitution, which the author sees as an inevitable consequence of seduction: public benevolence provides an asylum and the repentant victims (an admittedly paradoxical notion) will be reclaimed by society. In my presentation I will look at the (fallacy of) alternative trajectories of recovery formulated in the texts, with special emphasis on ideas of education and female solidarity.

Dr Siyeon Lee, Gwangju Institute of Science and Technology, Rep of Korea
Libertas philosophandi and Cloistered Women in Margaret Cavendish's The Convent of Pleasure

This essay explores Margaret Cavendish's The Convent of Pleasure (1668) as a vindication of the liberty of mind for early modern women to pursue natural knowledge for its own sake, a unique feature that distinguishes the play from other 'female academy' proposals or fictions including those of much later dates. The notion of cloistered female communities was particularly abhorred in Protestant England for their associations with Catholic monasticism and female celibacy, while few missed old nunneries except as a place to conveniently lock away 'their withered daughters', whose number considerably increased in the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth century. Thus proposals of female academies routinely faced mockery and censure and relied on the ultimate defense that education would commit their pupils to 'striving to be better Christians', as Mary Astell put it. Cavendish's The Convent of Pleasure, with the earlier Female Academy (1662), certainly belongs to the larger tradition of early modern women contesting the Pauline dicta, but it is also unique in imagining a female society devoted to natural knowledge per se as subject of such knowledge production, at the historical juncture when pursuit of natural knowledge was increasingly enclosed within exclusive male spaces such as the Royal Society and its Baconian model Salomon's House. Lady Happy, founder and self-appointed Prioress of the Convent proclaims unapologetically that hers is a 'Cloister ... of freedom', and 'not for the gods sake, but for opinion's sake'. Lady Happy's design of the Convent stands in elaborate contrast to that of Salomon's House, whose 'Art' to 'deceive' and coerce nature she disapproves, and when she appears as an

accomplished knower in the final masque scenes, she differentiates her 'Wit' from 'your Wit,' that is, the kind that 'measures' and 'weighs', as at the Royal Society. Like the earlier Female Academy, the Covent is besieged with inquisitive and intrusive men outside, and one Prince indeed manages to infiltrate, disguised as Princess. The besieged Convent is reminiscent of Bacon's mandate in Novum Organum (1620) for the 'true son of science' to penetrate into nature's 'inner apartments', but Cavendish subverts this setting to reconfigure the Convent and women inside as the self-knowing subject, not the object of male gaze and knowledge. Critics are divided as to the problematic last scene, where Lady Happy marries the cross-dressed penetrator and dissolves the Convent. However, the masculinity of both the Prince's identity and manner of penetration has been sufficiently destabilised at this point, and precedence also goes to Cavendish with her 1667 penetration into the Royal Society, which was then to remain closed to women for almost three hundred years. Lady Happy's marriage does not simply signal the Convent's closure but serves to rebuke the monastic, misogynous, and anti-liberal society of male philosophers.

Beatrice Scudeler, University of Notre Dame
Female Aristotelians – Virtue Ethics and Parenthood in Wollstonecraft and Austen
There has been considerable attention paid by recent scholarship to investigating the direct or indirect influence of Mary Wollstonecraft's feminist ideas on Jane Austen. However, much of the same scholarly literature fails to notice the importance of virtue as a key theme in both Austen's and Wollstonecraft's thought. I will argue that our view of Wollstonecraft has been affected by an anachronistic interpretation of her work, and that we can find a better interpretation in legal scholar Erika Bachiochi's recent work, The Rights of Women: Reclaiming a Lost Vision (2021). Bachiochi claims that instead of being exclusively concerned about women joining the 'public' sphere, Wollstonecraft in fact argues that the public sphere itself depends on the presence of virtuous mothers and fathers in the domestic realm. Rights, for Wollstonecraft, should give both men and women the freedom to be better parents and citizens, and therefore be conducive to a virtuous existence. If we understand Wollstonecraft in these terms, which emphasize the importance of duty and virtue in the domestic sphere, we can see that Austen pays a strikingly similar attention to the importance of virtue ethics and parenthood in her novels. Alasdair Macintyre discusses the importance of virtue ethics in Jane Austen (After Virtue, 1981) but does not make the connection to Wollstonecraft's own Aristotelianism. However, if Wollstonecraft's ideas are interpreted correctly within the tradition of Aristotelian virtue ethics, her work can then be compared fruitfully to Austen's to draw attention to an overlooked issue: how the qualities and failings of parents in Austen's novels convey her understanding of what it means to be a virtuous individual. Understood in this way, Wollstonecraft can guide us to consider how the virtues and vices of the parents in Austen's novels reveal to us how both authors see the domestic sphere as a place for the practice of virtue.

64 **Radicals**
Room: Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Professor Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton
Speakers: **Professor Wendy Gunther-Canada, University of Alabama at Birmingham and Lily Cate Gunther-Canada, University of Oxford**
"No Liberty in My Family": Staging Catherine Macaulay's Revolutionary Republicanism

Catharine Sawbridge Macaulay Graham (1731-1791) became the embodiment of a transatlantic revolutionary republican as the author of the eight-volume _History of England from the Accession of James I to the Brunswick Line_ published in London between 1763-1783. Intellectual biographies by Bridget Hill and Kate Davies, and Karen Green's recent philosophical study focus on how Macaulay's ideas shaped Atlantic radicalism inspiring her countrymen and women to rebel against Britain's Hanoverian monarchical regime. Her republican political thought challenged the legitimacy of hereditary monarchy by advocating human equality to oppose patriarchal rule in the state and household.

The idea that one man could not rule us all – whether at court or in the home – became a theatricalized controversy when the widowed Catharine Macaulay became the bride of William Graham in 1779. The marriage of the celebrated forty-eight-year-old historian to an unknown ship's surgeon aged twenty-one years scandalized readers on both sides of the Atlantic who questioned her motives and morals. Among the swiftly published pamphlets and poems written by her political critics, at least two dramatized the Macaulay-Graham nuptials as fodder for the London Stage. Our paper examines how two plays performed at the Theatre-Royal in the Hay-Market in 1779 lampooned Catharine Macaulay-Graham by depicting her as a con-artist, swindler, and meddling Bluestocking. Samuel Foote's _The Devil Upon Two Sticks_ and Richard Paul Jodrell's _A Widow and No Widow_ reduce her revolutionary program advocating equal rights for men and women to nothing but a self-serving scheme. These two plays pose Macaulay-Graham as a conspirator aiming to level British society and replace patriarchal monarchy and heteronormative monogamy with anarchy and free love. Our paper examines how each playwright mounted such claims and used Macaulay-Graham's republican politics and personal judgment to contextualize a wider socio-political commentary.

Using production histories, contemporary performance and literary reviews, and biography, we gauge each playwright's success in slandering "the female historian." Beyond an audience of political peers and readers, Catharine Macaulay-Graham was in the box to see herself savaged on stage. We speculate on the impact of this performative curtain call on the reputation, authority, and legacy of the woman Edmund Burke had named the "republican virago."

Carlos Eduardo Perez Crespo, University of Hamburg

Sources of Autocracy in Revolutionary Constitutionalism: Sieyès's Idea of the King in the French Revolution

There is extensive literature on how Rousseau's social contract theory links the concept of sovereignty to the legislative power. However, there is very little literature on the concept of executive power and monarchy in Rousseau. My paper aims to explain Rousseau's concept of executive power and its impact on the French Revolution. In the Social Contract, Rousseau points out that the power to make laws is a will, while the power to execute laws is a force. The law is nothing but the expression of the general will. For the Genevan philosopher, there is a hierarchy of law-making power over executive power. Similarly, in his Considerations on the government of Poland, Rousseau argues against the executive power of the monarch and therefore suggests that the monarch should have, at most, a ceremonial power in the new constitution of the Polish state. The monarch, as a ceremonial figure, does not rule or legislate. In contrast to Montesquieu's theory of the balance of powers, Rousseau believes that an executive or representative monarch threatens popular sovereignty. Rousseau's disdain for the executive had a tremendous impact on the first phase of the

French Revolution. In early September 1789, a heated debate occurred in the constituent National Assembly over the king's veto power. For the monarchists, the royal veto was a right derived from the will of the people. The monarch was therefore defended as the protector of the people, as a counterweight to the parliamentary majority. The radical republican faction, led by Robespierre, on the other hand, defended Rousseau's project against the executive, pointing out that a monarch could have neither a veto nor a say in legislation. Supporters of Rousseau's project believed that the monarch's veto power endangered the revolution. I conclude that Rousseau's concept of executive power has had a lasting impact on intellectual history because it is seen as a defense of democracy and the legislature against executive power. While readings that defend the role of executive power against legislative power lead to views closer to the so-called Moderate Enlightenment.

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Satire

Room: Ho, Leung, Ho & Lee Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)

Chair: Dr Adam James Smith, York St John University

Speakers:

Dr Charlotte Roberts, UCL

Coming Home to the Legion Club: Late Swift and Parliamentary Satire

Jonathan Swift's 'A Character, Panegyric, and Description of the Legion Club' (1736) is Swift's last work of political verse satire. The poem is characteristically of its moment, both in literary terms, as it reflects the late-Augustan, apocalyptic satire of the 1730s, and politically, as it provides a to-the-minute response to the Irish parliament's vote on the tithe of agistment in the Spring of 1736. At the same time, though, the work is peculiarly anachronistic, borrowing the figure of Legion from debates concerning parliamentary power that were current when Swift wrote A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions Between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome in 1701. This paper will trace the use of the demonic Legion as a figure of parliamentary corruption in the decades leading up to Swift's poem, beginning with Daniel Defoe's 'Legion's Memorial' (1701). Legion's disturbing capacity to speak with a simultaneously singular and plural voice exemplifies problems of representative democracy, democratic debate, and the operation of party. Tracing this trajectory will also allow me to consider what it means to read 'late' Swift (or the late works of any writer) in relation to early output, and to explore the kinds of intellectual homecoming that such readerly practices might reveal or bring into question.

Rebecca Short, University of Oxford

Just a Spoonful of Sugar? Horatian Satire in Le Livre de quatre couleurs (1760)

In 1759 and 1760, Catholic moralist Louis-Antoine Caraccioli published a visually-striking series of chromatic texts. The first was printed in green ink, the second in pink, and the third – Le Livre de quatre couleurs – in red, yellow, green, and brown. The works' ludic form complements their content, which gives a whimsical depiction of French society and its frivolous concern with outward appearances. Many scholars have interpreted the function of colour in the texts as strategic, arguing that it serves to seduce a worldly readership before exposing them to the 'true' moralising message of the texts. Such a view places Caraccioli's work in the Lucretian didactic tradition; the colour, it is suggested, is a honeyed veneer concealing the text's bitter medicine. This interpretation has been supported by scholars' engagement with the epigraph to Le Livre de quatre couleurs – a quotation from Horace's Sermones in which he alludes to Lucretius: Ridentem dicere verum, quid vetat? 'What prevents a person from speaking the truth while smiling?' Caraccioli, however, changes the first word of the question to Ridendo, rendering its translation 'What prevents a person from speaking the

truth by means of smiling?' This alteration, which has been overlooked until now, demands a new reading. The author is not subscribing to Lucretian didacticism here, but rather is challenging it. This paper will argue that colour does not function as a superficial disguise, but rather is itself a vector of meaning. In interrogating how this interpretation changes our understanding of the texts, I will in turn assess Caraccioli's contribution to the broader reception of Epicurean moral philosophy and Horatian satire in the long eighteenth century, along with thinkers such as Shaftesbury and La Rochefoucauld.

66 **European Theatre**
Room: Lecture Theatre One (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair: Dr James Harriman-Smith, Newcastle University
Speakers: **Dr Jacqueline Malchow, Museum of Altona (Foundation Historical Museums Hamburg)**

Schröder and Hamburg – A Return as a New Beginning

Friedrich Ludwig Schröder (1744-1816) was one of the most famous and influential German actors and theatre directors in the late eighteenth century. In 1771, he had taken over the directorship of his parents troupe, working closely with his mother. He is especially celebrated for bringing Shakespeare to the German stage. But even though critics applauded his work, the audience in Hamburg was a fickle thing. After flooding into the theatre to see his Shakespeare adaptations, their enthusiasm faded quickly. Frustrated by the behaviour of the audience as well as lack of support of the local government and the resulting financial strains, Schröder left Hamburg in 1780 when his mother retired. After touring the German theatres and a few flying visits home for celebrated guest appearances, he became director of the Burgtheater in Vienna. And even though there remained an acting troupe at the theatre of Hamburg, the audience began to realize that they missed Schröder's way of running the show. The critics were especially harsh in pointing out the lack of order in the troupe and lack of quality of the performances and the repertoire.

Schröder returned North after leaving his directorship and acting engagement in Vienna in 1785. But he did not come back to Hamburg and his family's theatre building. Instead, he founded a new troupe and started playing at the theatre in Altona, a town so close to Hamburg it became part of the city in the early 20th century. Therefore, the theatregoers of Hamburg could easily take the trip to watch his troupe's performances in Altona. His reasons are unknown, but this way he was able to gauge their reactions to his new ideas. And the reactions were highly favourable.

In the following year, he returned home properly, hoping this time everything would be different. And it proved to be a new beginning, not only for Schröder but also for theatre history. Before opening night, he published a lengthy announcement in the local papers outlining his plans to bring „order, the strictest morality, and as much effort as the number of theatre lovers allowed" to Hamburg. And he made good on his promise despite oppositions, a continuously fickle and demanding audience, and scandals. His second directorship is marked by his numerous endeavours to achieve perfection in his troupe's performance. These endeavours were largely motivated by the Enlightenment ideals of order and morality that culminated in his publishing specific laws for his troupe. It is this second chance, this returning home to Hamburg that cemented Schröder's standing of being a pioneer of theatre and acting.

Andreas Tranvik, Lund University

The Epistemology of the Homecoming: Language, Culture, and Knowledge in Ludvig Holberg's "Erasmus Montanus"

Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) is one of the most influential Scandinavian writers of the 18th century. In his seminal comedy "Erasmus Montanus" (1731), homecoming plays a crucial role. The drama, which is often read as a critique of academic pedantry, centers on Rasmus Berg – or Erasmus Montanus, the protagonist's nom de guerre – and his troublesome return to the village of his upbringing. After having studied at the university in Copenhagen, Montanus reunites with the members of his family. However, he seems no longer to be able to understand them, and vice versa. This is manifested by means of their communication, and particularly by Montanus' recurring use of the cosmopolitan Latin as opposed to the vernacular Danish. Montanus' estrangement from his community of origin, then, is linguistic, cultural, and epistemological. Montanus, that is, has acquired a new language and a new (academic) culture, and consequently, a new conception of truth. When he comes home, he cannot help but to bring this new conception back with him, to the dismay of his former peers. This linguistic, cultural, and epistemological clash is the main conflict of drama, as well as the source of its oft-cited humour. Drawing on perspectives from the emerging field of the history of knowledge (Wissensgeschichte), the following paper will consist of a reading of these dimensions of "Erasmus Montanus". Rather than focusing exclusively on the critique of knowledge in the drama – or more specifically, the critique of academic pedantry – the argument will entertain Holberg's multifaceted epistemological vision as it is expressed in the play. Finally, Holberg's conception of knowledge will be discussed as it relates to the idea of homecoming in the 18th century.

Logan Connors, University of Miami (Florida)

From 'philosophe drame' to 'pièce militaire': dramaturgical manipulation at the Théâtre de la Marine (Brest, France)

How does theater fit into a rich period of French military introspection, tension and, to some degree, institutional change during the late eighteenth century? Desertion plays and other war dramas of the late Old Regime reveal a novel articulation between governmental and artistic practices at a moment when both institutions – the military and the theater – were in flux and reform. Plays about desertion and barracks life highlight persistent class struggles and socioeconomic problems inside the French military complex. War theater provides intimate glimpses of soldiering and depicts a sort of école du soldat for both military and civilian audiences. War plays were part of an artistic reinvention of the French military endeavor and testify to the military's recognition that soft power was a legitimate source of normative discipline.

The most renowned eighteenth-century desertion play, Louis-Sébastien Mercier's Le Déserteur (1770), was brazenly anti-war and even, at times, anti-military. Mercier's play, however, was itself a disputed cultural product. My presentation brings to light a fierce ideological battle that was waged on stage and through dramaturgical editing between two versions of Mercier's drame: the original version of the play, penned by Mercier himself; and, the version that was reworked by Joseph Patrat and which debuted with significant textual changes on January 23 1771 at the Théâtre de la Marine in Brest – France's only public theater that was financed directly by the French naval administration.

My presentation will detail the development of Brest's military-theatrical complex before describing Joseph Patrat's dramaturgical intervention in a highly unique performance environment. Ultimately, what I hope to show at the BSECS meeting is one example of how cultural intermediaries in the French military

worked with theater professionals to harness the energy of theatrical performance. Military-theatrical agents leaned on the emotional schema and aesthetic of proximity that philosophes espoused at the time. However, writers like Patrat removed anti-military sentiment and cosmopolitan philosophy from the playtext in order to sap the philosophe project of its critical framework and bolster the French military's recruitment and cultural adhesion objectives.

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Room: Old Law Library
Chair: Professor Brycchan Carey, Northumbria University
Speakers:

Nature

Dr Sarah Shields, Independent Scholar

Elite Women's Treescapes in England, 1700-1820

In 1790, the Hon. Anne Robinson (1742-1828) wrote to her brother that 'I have by Mrs Robinsons desire been studying Evelyn's Sylva not knowing where [the oaks] are to be planted'. (Letter from Anne Robinson to Frederick Robinson, Dec 15th 1790, 1259/1/67, Parker of Saltram, Earls of Morley. Plymouth). In managing the Saltram estate in Devon for her nephew, Anne was as occupied by the cutting down of trees as she was by planting: 'It begins to be time to cut down trees and I propose some amusement in that employment'. (Letter from Anne Robinson to Frederick Robinson, Sep 27th 1788, L30/15/50/161, Wrest Park (Lucas) Manuscripts, Bedford.) Far from being confined to the 'feminine' areas of flower gardens and botany, Anne's correspondence demonstrates that she was active in shaping the wider 'treescape' of the estate. Futhermore, her correspondence shows that she shared this scientific knowledge of trees with other women in her familial and social networks.

This paper aims to further our understanding of how elite women in eighteenth-century England shaped (and were shaped by) their 'treescapes', an area of the environment long considered to be a masculine domain. It draws together two distinct strands of scholarship: women's histories and new, critical histories of the environment. Historians and historical geographers have studied the political iconography of trees and forests (Schama, 1996) and the social and patriotic reason behind the popularity of tree-planting in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England (Daniels, Seymour, and Watkins, 1999). The recent work of Charles Watkins has examined and demonstrated the culturally symbolic nature of trees throughout history in Britain and Europe (Watkins, 2016). However, the ways in which treescapes are gendered has not yet been studied in any depth. The work of Briony McDonagh (2017) has conclusively shown that elite women were active in shaping the landscape in eighteenth-century Britain, and this paper uses elite women's correspondence and diaries to demonstrate that they were likewise shaping their treescapes.

In this paper I use the correspondence of elite women, including the Hon. Anne Robinson, to explore two key questions. Firstly, in what ways did elite women actively create and manage treed landscapes at their estates, and secondly, how did these women emotionally respond to trees? By considering these questions, I draw tentative conclusions of how treescapes in eighteenth-century Britain were gendered landscapes. I aim to show how elite women shaped and were shaped by their treescapes, and therefore add to new critical histories of gendered environments.

Dr Allison Adler Inglis-Taylor, University of Oxford
Of Empresses' Gardens: English Landscape Design, Enlightenment Reform, and the Return to Nature at Tsarskoe Selo and Schönbrunn
The fashion for 'natural' landscape design in 'English' gardens across Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century was often the outward expression of Enlightenment programmes of reform. In Catherine the Great's Russia and Maria Theresa's Austria, both reform and the return to the 'natural' were underwritten by French political philosophy, itself indebted to English political thought.
While there is a long tradition of contrasting French formality with English 'naturalness' in garden design reflective of absolutism versus liberty, recovering the circulation of English and French ideas about liberty, reform, and their inscription on the European landscape offers a more complicated perspective, which this paper hopes to trace.

Dr Przemysław Uściński, University of Warsaw
Beyond Return: The Uncanny Economy of Nature in Gray, Blake and Wordsworth
The paper will look at the somewhat uncanny presence of nature in some Graveyard Poetry, chiefly in the poetry of Thomas Gray, a poet who influenced, in important ways, both William Blake and William Wordsworth. Though 'nature' in (Pre-)Romantic poetry (in Wordsworth in particular) is often read as that which may provide a homely retreat from, say, the madness of the crowd, I will look at the ways in which those poets also challenge the homeliness of nature. Thus, I want to juxtapose the eighteenth-century rhetoric of retirement (as well as the role of nature in that rhetoric) and the trope of a "return to nature" with a more uncanny understanding of nature (as discussed, for instance, by Geoffrey Hartman) in (Pre-)Romantic literature as that which challenges the economic logic of return and recovery. I will argue that already in Gray's poetic texts nature's disturbing powers, linked with such themes as death and madness, somehow resist their cultural domestication attempted, for instance, through gardening or art. Later, Romantic poets would look with some suspicion at the cult of the picturesque, refusing, in many ways, to reduce nature to a mere space for homely retreat and spiritual recovery.

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Room: Boardroom (Main Building)
Chair: David Cowan, University of Cambridge
Speakers:

Dispute and Peace

Dr Conrad Brunstrom, Maynooth University
Perpetual Peace or Universal Peace: reflections on the mixed legacy of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre
This paper is part of a longer proposal that seeks to investigate what was meant and what was understood by celebrations of "Peace" in eighteenth-century literature. It is intended as part of a controversial preface to this larger work. The paper reflects on the opportunities and limitations of Saint-Pierre's plans for perpetual peace based on European union (1713). The idea that nations need to function within a supra-national framework of international law has always fascinated. His ideas were therefore appreciatively reconsidered by both Rousseau and Kant and he has been understood as a quintessentially Enlightenment figure. Correspondingly, he has been subjected to the same rigorous post-colonial critiques associated with all aspects of the so-called "Enlightenment". It has been noted that ideas of perpetual peace often imagine a Fortress Europe that affirms its pacific communality oppositionally by figuring an Asiatic otherness. Moreover, establishing peace in Europe will not automatically

prevent global conflicts between European trading posts and colonial settlements around the world. Furthermore, the institutions needed to impose peace in Europe would have effectively frozen frontiers so as to crush incipient nationalist and separatist movements.
I will discuss these difficulties preparatory to an introduction to how such complex arguments were and were not reflected in expressive, particularly poetic treatments of peace as a practical as well as an abstract good. However, this paper is intended to serve to an introduction to a debate about the extent to which peace whether constructed chronologically ("perpetual peace") or geographically ("universal peace") offers a genuine promise of a better tomorrow or whether it, like other forms of "progressive" ideology, reinforces a developmental curve which cannot help but be brutally ethnocentric. In terms of formative emotional impact, misunderstandings and partial understandings of the promise of extended peace are as significant as well informed political debates.

Dr Penny Pritchard, University of Hertfordshire
'Received into the family again: that is to say, as a brother and son' : Coming home to Family Disputes in Defoe's Conduct works
Defoe's best-known fictional narratives depict the myriad wanderings of protagonists essentially rootless in nature and identity; 'home' – and the prospect of returning to it – are elusive concepts for such characters. The fundamental incapacity of Robinson Crusoe, Moll Flanders, Roxana, and Colonel Jack to conceive of 'home' is predicated in no small part on their larger inability to claim a sure grasp of their parental origins, or their inherited legacy. This is hardly the case for the vast majority of characters rendered Defoe's religious conduct works, many of them firmly rooted in a domestic environment defined by complex, hierarchical, family interrelationships. Indeed, Defoe's families in The Family Instructor (1715 and 1718), Religious Courtship (1722), and A New Family Instructor (1727) are presented through staged dialogues or debates which offer, collectively, some strikingly resonant – if not particularly peaceful – portraits of early modern domestic life. Family debates within the conduct works range across a wide variety of religious issues – from differences of worship or denomination within marriage to proper Sunday observances, from the education of children to the dangerously seductive powers of Roman Catholicism whilst travelling abroad. Often highly inflammatory and even cruel in ways that only family arguments can be, this remarkable series of works take only for their ostensible focus the more anodyne subject of 'family devotion' while, in reality, their darker moments enact power struggles within and between families which can even lead to death. Put another way, it's within Defoe's conduct works – rather than his better-known novels – that we find this author's most elaborate rendering of early modern families at war, and in which we can appreciate the possibly surprising extent to which 'coming home' in England's early eighteenth-century domestic landscape can be a fraught and divisive experience.

13:00–14:00	CLOSING ROUNDTABLE Maplethorpe Hall Chair: Brycchan Carey Speakers: To be announced

1st Annual Online Conference British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies

Theme: Eighteenth-Century Studies

Event dates: 12-13 September 2023

Submission portal will open: 15 January 2023

Submission portal will close: 30 July 2023

Venue: Online (via Zoom)

Cost: Free to attend so long as attendees are members of BSECS or an affiliated ISECS society

In January 2023, The British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (BSECS) returned to its pre-pandemic in-person format. However, as a diverse and inclusive society, we recognise that many would benefit from access to a regular online conference to complement and enhance our in-person conference. We are proud and excited to announce our first online BSECS conference from 12-13 September 2023.

As BSECS deals with all aspects of the art, culture, literature, history, music, theatre etc. of the long eighteenth century, for this first online conference we are not inviting papers on a specific theme. We want to encourage proposals from scholars at all stages of their career on any aspect of eighteenth century-studies not only in Britain, but also throughout Europe, North America, and the wider world. We particularly encourage proposals from those who were unable to join us for our in-person conference.

Proposals are invited for fully comprised panels of three papers, for roundtable sessions of up to five speakers, for individual papers of twenty minutes duration, and for 'alternative format' sessions of your devising that suit an online format. The submission portal for proposals will open on 15 January 2023.

Enquiries: Any enquiries regarding the academic programme of the conference that are not answered on our website should be addressed to Dr Brianna Robertson-Kirkland via the BSECS email address conference.academic@bsecs.org.uk.

53rd Annual Conference British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies

Theme: Work and Play

Submission portal opening date: 1st July 2023

Event dates: 3rd-5th January 2023

The annual in-person meeting of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies is Europe's largest and most prestigious annual conference dealing with all aspects of the history, culture, and literature of the long eighteenth century. We invite proposals for papers and sessions dealing with any aspect of the long eighteenth century, not only in Britain, but also throughout Europe, North America, and the wider world. Proposals are invited for fully comprised panels of three papers, for roundtable sessions of up to five speakers, for individual papers of twenty minutes duration, and for 'alternative format' sessions of your devising. The submission portal for proposals will open 1st July 2023 and close in late October 2023.

While proposals on all and any eighteenth-century topics are very welcome, this year our plenary speakers will be addressing the topic of 'Work and Play', and proposals are also invited which address any aspect of this theme. The eighteenth century is famously the starting point of the industrial revolution, which ushered in profound changes to the organisation of labour and transformed individuals' personal relationship with work.

But while such changes were far-reaching, their impact also varied considerably depending on one's location and occupation, with significant differences between the English experience and those of the wider world. For many, particularly in traditional and manual occupations, work remained the poorly paid drudgery it had always been. For millions, especially those enslaved in Europe's plantation colonies, work was a prison without hope of escape. For others, however, the world of work offered increasing possibilities for fulfilment and enrichment.

Growing economies, labour-saving technologies, and diversifying societies created opportunities across agriculture, industry, and the professions and spawned new fields of enquiry in both the arts and sciences. Greater wealth meant more leisure time for many and broadened the numbers who could consume books, music, plays, and other traditionally elite forms of entertainment. These competed with more democratic recreations. Football matches, prize fights, bull-baitings, and any number of (often) alcohol-fuelled fairs and holidays attracted huge crowds despite the protestations of moralists and evangelicals. Children as well as adults took part, but increasingly childhood was a seen a special time reserved for (usually) wholesome and instructional play, and, in England at least, the end of the century saw the first attempts to legislate child labour. At every level, from the personal to transnational, the worlds of work and play were undergoing profound transformation in this period, and papers that address any aspect of this revolution are welcome.

Webpage: https://www.bsecs.org.uk/conferences/annual-conference/

Enquiries: Any enquiries regarding the academic programme of the conference that are not answered on our website should be addressed to Dr Brianna Robertson-Kirkland via the BSECS email address conference.academic@bsecs.org.uk.

The British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies

The British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, a registered charity, was founded in 1971 to promote the study of the eighteenth century, not only as it was experienced in Britain but throughout the world. The Society strives to be as fully multi- and inter-disciplinary as possible. It encourages research into, inter alia, art history, dance history, economics, education, linguistics, literature, medicine, music, philosophy, politics, science, sociology, sport and theatre – indeed, into all aspects of eighteenth-century history, culture and society. The Society also strives to encourage good practice and new approaches to teaching and researching the eighteenth century.

We hope that members will attend the society's AGM, which takes place at this conference.

The Activities of the Society

BSECS organises a major international conference every January, and supports a number of smaller specialist or regional conferences throughout the year, including a conference especially designed for postgraduate students. The Society sponsors two prizes in eighteenth-century studies: the BSECS Digital Eighteenth-Century Prize for innovative digital resources that facilitate the study of the eighteenth century, and the President's Prize for the best paper presented by a postgraduate at the Annual Conference. BSECS also provides bursaries for postgraduate students, and for established scholars from countries with less developed economies, to attend its conferences.

The Society also publishes the *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* four times a year. All members receive printed copies of the Journal as well as access to the full run of the electronic edition.

Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies

The Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies (JECS) is the official journal of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, published by Wiley. Founded in 1972, JECS publishes essays and reviews on a full range of eighteenth-century subjects. It is received by all the Society's members, and is subscribed to by many individuals and institutions, including many University libraries. All volumes of the Journal are available in both printed and electronic format.

Members of BSECS and those with institutional subscriptions can read JSECS online in the Wiley Online Library.

JECS is edited by Dr Kate Tunstall (journal@bsecs.org.uk), at Worcester College, Oxford, OX1 2HB, U.K.

The General Reviews Editor is Dr Emrys Jones (journal.reviews@bsecs.org.uk), at King's College London, 22 Kingsway, London WC2B 6NR, U.K.

Essays may be up to 10,000-words long, and may contain illustrations or other graphic material. They should be written in English, or in French (if with a substantial abstract in English). Papers must be submitted online at https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jecs.

Criticks – Reviews of events online

The eighteenth century was the first great age of criticism. In this spirit, the Criticks website provides entertaining, informative and provocative reviews of events and media that are of interest to scholars of the eighteenth century. These complement the reviews of books that are published in the journal of the Society, Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies.

All Criticks reviews are available freely on the Society's website at:

https://www.bsecs.org.uk/criticks-reviews/

Plays, concerts, operas, exhibitions, films, broadcasts and online resources are here considered in depth by experts in the field. If there is an event that you would like to see reviewed in these pages, or if you would like to review for us, please contact one of the editors below:

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BSECS
British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies

Awards & Funding

Applications are now open for a number of BSECS annual prizes and awards.

Visit our website for details on eligibility and how to apply: **www.bsecs.org.uk/prizes-and-awards/**

Take a look at our awards to see if we could support you!

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Georgian Papers Programme

Bursaries for the BSECS Annual Conference

BSECS offers conference bursaries to reward academic excellence among our members who are postgraduates, early career researchers, and from countries ranked 'low' or 'medium' in the latest UN HDI ranking. All those whose papers have been accepted are eligible to apply. Awards will be judged on both the academic merit of the abstract, and financial need. Those who have not previously received an award will be prioritised, but past winners may reapply.

There are 25 awards available, full details of which can be found here:
https://www.bsecs.org.uk/conferences/annual-conference/awards/

To apply for any award, please complete the attached form and return to the Prizes & Awards Officer, Gemma Tidman, at g.tidman@qmul.ac.uk by 23.59GMT on **Friday 9 December, 2022**.

IMPORTANT NOTE FOR ALL BURSARY APPLICANTS:
Those applying for an award should pay for registration and any other conference purchases through Paypal. The BSECS Treasurers will issue a refund via Paypal to all successful applicants. If a delegate wishes to attend the conference dinner regardless of whether they receive a bursary or not, they should pay for their dinner ticket when registering. However, if the delegate only wishes to attend the dinner if they can do so free of charge, as a bursary winner, they should not pay for dinner via Paypal.

Winners for the 2023 prizes will be announced shortly before the conference.

The 2022 ECR winners were:
Dr Adam Bridgen, University of St. Andrews
Dr Dylan Carver, St Peter's College, Oxford
Dr Andrés Gattinoni, Universidad Nacional de San Martín / Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas, Argentina
Dr Wendy McGlashan, Independent Scholar
Dr Hannah Moss, University of Sheffield
Dr Louise Ryland-Epton, Open University

The 2022 PGR winners were:
Kaiwen Hou, Durham University

Amelia Mills, Loughborough University
Nikki Hunt, University of Bristol
Abigail Struhl, University of California, Berkeley
Emma Stanbridge, Keele University
Rachel Bynoth, Bath Spa University
Anastasia Prinzing, University of Reading
Charlotte Goodge, University of Kent
Marie Giraud, QMUL
Elizabeth Schlappa, Newcastle University
Zoë McGee, QMUL
Katie Noble, University of Oxford
Rebecca Morrison, QMUL
Karen Griscom, Indiana University of Pennsylvania (C)
Emma Pearce, University of Edinburgh (C)
Meg Jianing Zhang, Columbia University in the City of New York (K)
Eamonn O'Keeffe, University of Oxford (B)

(C) = Committee Award

(K) = Keymer Award

(B) = Burden Award

BSECS Annual Conference Voltaire/Besterman ECR Award

2019 saw the launch of a new bursary to support an early career researcher in attending the annual conference. Covering the same costs as our postgraduate bursaries, this award is funded by the Voltaire Foundation. All individuals within three years of having their doctorate conferred on the are eligible to apply.

2021 winner: Rita Dashwood, University of Roehampton.
2020 winner: Dr Kathleen Keown, University of Oxford.

BSECS Capacity Building Award

In addition to these awards for postgraduates and early career researchers, the BSECS Capacity Building Award rewards a scholar, at any career stage, from an academic institution in a country ranked as 'Medium' or 'Low' in the most recent United Nations Human Development Index (UN HDI). See out website for further details.

2022 winner: Noble Shrivastava (Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi (India))

The British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies President's Prize

The President's Prize is awarded to the best postgraduate paper at the Annual Conference in January, as nominated by the session chairs and adjudicated by a special panel, which assesses for evidence of originality, rigour and presentational skills.

The award of £200 is made annually. The winner is announced in early March.

There were 3 joint winners of the 2022 President's Prize:

Madeleine Saidenberg (University of Oxford), 'Irish Sensibility during 'Garrick Fever': Shakespeare, Nation, and Contagious Indifference on the Dublin Stage'

Emma Pearce (University of Edinburgh), 'Creole Creations: Unravelling Caribbean makers and wearers of the robe à la Creole c.1780-1810'

Abigail Struhl, (University of Berkley, California), '"Just Picture" or Just a Picture? Defoe's Roxana as Vanitas Still Life'

The British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Research Fellowships

With the Bodleian Libraries, the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies supports a one-month residence in Oxford by a member of BSECS for research in the Special Collections of the Bodleian Libraries on any topic in the study of the long eighteenth century.

Further particulars, including eligibility criteria and details of the application process, are available from the Fellowships website of the Centre for the Study of the Book, Bodleian Libraries, or by email: fellowships@bodleian.ox.ac.uk or telephone +44 (0)1865 277006.

Applications open: 1 September in any year

Deadline: 17 January in any year

Past Winners

2022

Dr Shirley Ferro Tung, Kansas State University, 'Creating Cosmopolitanisms: Eighteenth-Century Women Travel Writers and the Re-imagination of Identity'

2020

Dr Daniel Cook, University of Dundee, for 'Gulliver's Afterlives': a study of literary and cultural reworkings of and responses to 'Gulliver's Travels' since the eighteenth century

2019

Dr Estelle Murphy (Maynooth University, Ireland), for 'William Boyce and the Development of the Musical Court Ode'

2018

Dr Darren Wagner, for 'Shocking and Edifying: Gender and Demonstrations of Anatomy, Electricity, and Generation in Eighteenth-Century Britain'.

The British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Fellowship, with The Queen Mary Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies

The aim of the Fellowship is to provide support for an early career researchers: any doctoral student at a British university in their second year of study and above; and any post-doctoral researcher normally resident in Britain, within five years of the award of their PhD. It will normally involve the Fellow in research in libraries and archives in London, and also in making contacts with researchers at The Queen Mary Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies.

More information can be found at http://www.qmul.ac.uk/eighteenthcentury

Past Winners

2022

Emma Stanbridge (Keele University)

2020

Holly Day, University of York

2019
Dr Madeleine Pelling, University of York

2017
Jessica Patterson, University of Manchester

The British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Fellowship, with the Georgian Papers Programme

The Georgian Papers Programme (GPP) is a ten-year interdisciplinary project to digitise, conserve, catalogue, transcribe, interpret and disseminate 425,000 pages or 65,000 items in the Royal Archives and Royal Library relating to the Georgian period, 1714-1837. The GPP is a partnership between the Royal Collection Trust and King's College London and is joined by primary United States partners the Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture and William & Mary. For more information on the Programme, visit the project website. The documents so far digitized can be viewed on https://gpp.rct.uk.
The total value of the fellowship is £1,000. Candidates will be required to submit receipts for relevant expenses directly contributing to the research (travel, subsistence, accommodation, research costs), within 12 months of the commencement of the award.

The call for applications opens on 1 September 2022 and will close at 23:59 GMT on 17 January 2022.

Applicants are required to submit:

a current CV
a statement of max. 1,000 words outlining the proposed research and its relation to the Georgian Papers
No references are required.

More information can be found on our website.

Past Winners
2022
-Dr Natalee Garrett (Open University/St Andrew's),
Research project 'Queen Charlotte: Family, Duty, Scandal' (funding to complete archival research at Windsor, for a biography of Queen Charlotte, to be published with Routledge)

2020
Dr Jonathan Taylor University of Surrey
Research project: 'Princess Charlotte of Wales's Early Childhood on Shooter's Hill and her Patronage of the Visual Arts'

The BSECS Prize for Digital Resources

The British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies is pleased to call for nominations for the annual prize for the best digital resource supporting eighteenth-century studies.

The prize is sponsored by Adam Matthew Digital, and is judged and awarded by BSECS.

This prize promotes the highest standards in the development, utility and presentation of digital resources that assist scholars in the field of eighteenth-century studies broadly defined. Nominated resources should meet the highest academic standards and should contribute in one or more of the following ways:

by making available new materials, or presenting existing materials in new ways;
by supporting teaching of the period at university level;
by facilitating, or itself undertaking, innovative research.

The prize is intended to benefit the international research community, and the competition is open to projects from any country. Resources supporting any scholarly discipline are eligible. Websites or other resources and projects may be nominated by either creators or users. They must have been first launched on or after 1 January five years prior to the year in which the prize is awarded. The winner will be announced at the BSECS Annual Conference.

The award of £200 is made annually. The winner is announced at the annual conference in January.

Nominations open: 1 September in any year

Deadline: 1 December in any year

For more information on Awards and Prizes, please contact: Gemma Tidman, BSECS Prizes and Awards Officer

Past winner
2022
David O'Shaughnessy (National University of Ireland, Galway) for 'The Censorship of British Theatre, 1737-1843'

The BSECS/Georgian Group Dunscombe Colt Research Fellowship in Architectural History and Material Culture Research Fellowship at the Bodleian Library

With The Georgian Group, the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies supports a one-month research visit by a member of The Georgian Group to the Special Collections of the Bodleian Library in the University of Oxford. Applications will be considered from candidates seeking to research projects relating to the architecture or material culture (for example, sculpture) of the long eighteenth century (1660-1840).

Further particulars, including eligibility criteria and details of the application process, are available from the website of the Centre for the Study of the Book, Bodleian Library, or by email: bookcentre@bodleian.ox.ac.uk or telephone +44 (0) 1865 277006

Applications open: 1 September in any year

Deadline: 1 February in any year

Past winners
2022
Hannah Cusworth (PhD candidate, University of Hull & English Heritage)
Research project: 'Mahogany, enslaved Africans, Miskito Indigenous people at Marble Hill, Kenwood and Chiswick House'

The Birmingham Eighteenth-Century Centre with The British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Postgraduate Fellowship

The fellowship is designed to support a doctoral researcher enrolled at a UK university or postdoctoral researcher normally resident in the UK in visiting and using the eighteenth-century resources of the Cadbury Research Library at the University of Birmingham. The extensive eighteenth-century holdings of this collection are detailed here.
Deadline: 17 January 2022

Past winners
2022
Alice Rhodes (University of York)
Research project: 'The Matter of Speaking: Bodies and Voices in Romantic Literature'

BSECS Career Development Award

BSECS will reopen the call for applications from early-career and/or independent scholars on **7 January 2022.** The Career Development Award of £1500 is intended to support a defined research output in the field of eighteenth-century studies.

This new, annual scheme (to run for three years in the first instance) will offer FOUR awards of £1500. The grant may be used to fund expenses associated with a defined research output such as, but not limited to, travel or subsistence during a research visit, in the UK or abroad; the cost of access to library or archival resources; costs associated with publication (e.g. image rights); the cost of childcare or other caring responsibilities.

These awards are intended to support the career development of UK-based researchers working in the field of eighteenth-century studies, who are in positions of precarity. Individuals are eligible if, at the time of application, they:

Hold a PhD, in any area of eighteenth-century studies;
Are resident in the UK (**NB:** exceptional cases will be considered from those who, ordinarily, would be resident in the UK, but for whom this is not the case at the time of application, due to the pandemic);
Are not employed by a higher education institution on a full-time basis;
Are not in receipt of postdoctoral funding amounting to more than £17,290p.a*.;
Are members of BSECS or any other ISECS affiliate society.
* This amount reflects the annual salary for a person working 35 hours per week, paid the UK-rate living wage (£9.50 per hour, in 2020/21).

Applications are not limited to British/EEA nationals, but applicants must demonstrate that they are in a position to acquire appropriate work/study visas as necessary. Please consult the current visa regulations before applying, to ensure eligibility. See: https://www.gov.uk/guidance/immigration-rules

Awards will be judged on the basis of candidates' academic excellence, financial need, and the importance of the research to be carried out.

BSECS Committee Members wishing to apply for funds will be asked to stand down from any decision-making subcommittee.

Award holders will be expected to:
submit a short report (*c.* 500 words) to the BSECS Prizes & Awards Officer, after the grant has been spent, detailing the research that it has facilitated;
consider presenting their research at a BSECS or ISECS conference;

acknowledge the grant in any publications that follow from it, and inform BSECS of their appearance. The research funded by this award should take place between May 2022 and October 2023.
To apply, candidates should send the following documents to the BSECS Prizes & Awards Officer at gemma.tidman@mod-langs.ox.ac.uk, by **23:59 on 25 February 2022:**
A CV of max. 2 pages.

A completed application form, to include:

a) A statement of max. 500 words detailing the research to be funded. This should indicate the importance of the work, its contribution to your career development, and full details of the resulting output(s);
b) A breakdown of expenses, detailing how the grant will be spent;
c) The name and email address of ONE referee, whom BSECS will approach for a reference if you are shortlisted. Please state this person's relationship to you, and confirm in advance of application that they are happy to write a reference for you.

Any questions regarding this award should be sent to gemma.tidman@mod-langs.ox.ac.uk.

Past Winners
2022
Dr Natalee Garrett (Open University/St Andrew's), 'Queen Charlotte: Family, Duty, Scandal'

Dr Louise Ryland-Epton (Open University), 'Thomas Butterworth Bayley and the Georgian Magistrate Beyond the Courtroom'

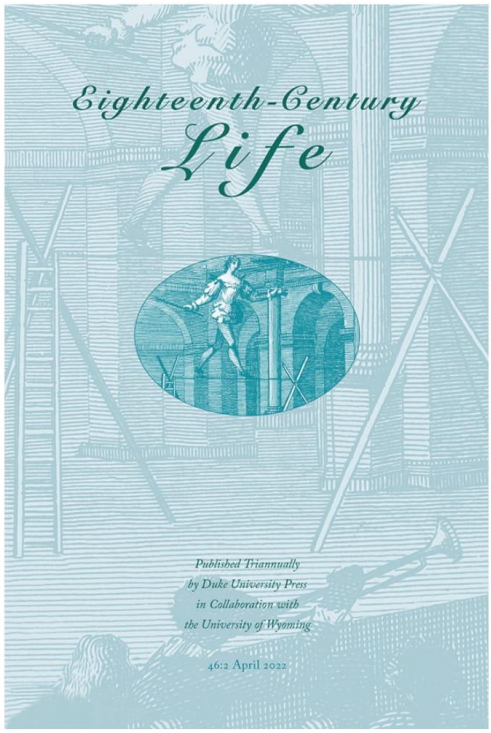
Dr Robert Stearn (Independent Scholar), 'Abrasive Properties: Early Eighteenth-Century Domestic Servants and the Production of Atmosphere'

2021
Dr Sydney Ayres
Dr Meghan Kobza
Dr Katie Aske
Dr Madeleine Pelling

Eighteenth-Century Life

Committed to interdisciplinary exchange, Eighteenth-Century Life addresses all aspects of European and world culture during the long eighteenth century. The most wide-ranging journal of eighteenth-century studies, it also encourages diverse methodologies—from close reading to cultural studies—and it always welcomes suggestions for review essays.

Among Eighteenth-Century Life's noteworthy regular features are its film forums, its review essays, its book-length special issues, and the longest and most eclectic lists of books received of any journal in the field.



Cedric D. Reverand II and Michael Edson, *editors*

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