Das Kartenspiel by Johann Georg Platzer (1704–1761), Wikimedia Commons

BSECS 53rd Annual Conference:
'Work and Play'
3–5 Jan 2024
St Hugh's College, University of Oxford

Contents

From the President

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to St. Hugh's College, Oxford, for our 53rd Annual Conference. 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. 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 thoroughly enjoy our three days of discussion and scholarly exchange.

Our theme this year is 'Work and Play'. The eighteenth century saw profound changes to both, with growing professionalism, rapidly changing technologies, and a shift to an increasingly industrial economy driving change in the ways peopled laboured and relaxed. In Britain, an agrarian revolution fuelled a population explosion that allowed the economy to diversify and accelerated a shift away from rural subsistence and towards urban commerce. Older trades became more complex and new ways of working emerged in mills and manufactories, in fields and gardens, and in shops and offices. Yet for many in our period, hours remained long, conditions dangerous, contracts precarious, and wages low. Millions of people across Europe's colonies were not paid at all but had their labour stolen from them under the system of plantation slavery. While work could be a source of pride and fulfilment for some, for others it was a cause of hardship and misery. For a lucky few, however, the boundaries between work and play were not clear cut. The rich were free to follow their interests, and some worked hard developing their estates, in politics, or in the arts and sciences. Legions of middling-sort doctors, lawyers, clergymen, and shopkeepers found enough free time to research county histories and floras, form charitable institutions, or write three-volume novels. Some people worked so others could play. Musicians, actors, writers, and artists proliferated and even children's play became commercialised, with the rise of children's literature driven by publishers. But much play remained less organised. Most children made their own fun, fairs and football matches were poorly policed and often rowdy, and taverns and bawdy houses, agreed Boswell and Johnson, produced 'much more misery than happiness, upon the whole'. The vast and complex worlds of work and play allow us to shine a light into every corner of eighteenth-century culture and society.

I hope you will find time to relax, catch up with old friends, and make some new ones, but we also have work to do. We welcome your views on the society and the conference at our **AGM**, which this year is held on **Wednesday 3rd January from 15:45–17:15**. 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. We also have some modest revisions to the constitution to consider as we move forward with the work of modernising the society's practices. (You can see the proposed changes on the constitution page on our website.) I encourage all BSECS members to participate.

This year we are delighted to welcome the actor, novelist, playwright, and Chancellor of Oxford Brookes University, Paterson Joseph, to deliver the annual keynote lecture. Paterson will be speaking on 'The Meaning of Sancho' on **Thursday, 13:30–14:45**. His lecture will focus on Ignatius Sancho (1729–1780) the real-life inspiration for Paterson's recent historical novel *The Secret Diaries of Charles Ignatius Sancho*. And we are delighted that, at **18:00 on Wednesday**, Paterson will also be treating us to a live one-night only performance of his one-man show 'Sancho and Me', which I am looking forward to immensely!

As usual, there will be a range of other plenary events. On **Thursday, 18:00–19:15**, we continue our annual roundtable discussion of the Eighteenth in the Twenty-First Century with a discussion, chaired by James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University), on 'Playing with Work'. On Friday, I shall be chairing our now traditional closing plenary roundtable. As last year, we will again hold a 'listening event' in which we offer the opportunity to share 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 will be hosted by our EDI Officers Karen Lipsedge and Declan Kavanagh. All are welcome, and we encourage you to attend at **15:15–16:15 on Thursday 4th January**. Please do join us in all these exciting sessions.

BSECS is proud to support early career researchers, and we shall be announcing the names of recipients of our ECR/PGR conference bursaries at the annual dinner on Thursday evening. We are able to financially support ECR researchers through a variety of funding opportunities in addition to our conference bursaries, and these are part of our larger portfolio of prizes and awards. If you would like to know more about the funds we offer, please visit our 'Prizes and Awards' page on our website. Among these, each year we award the President's Prize for the best conference paper delivered by an early career researcher, nominated by conference delegates. Please don't forget to nominate the best ECR paper you heard this year!

As you will know, BSECS publishes the multidisciplinary *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, which offers essays and reviews on any aspect of the global eighteenth century. As well as enjoying your quarterly *JECS* fix, please do also consider submitting your work for publication. All submissions are fully peer-reviewed and can be in English or French.

This is my final conference as President. It has been an unusual three years because I started my presidency during lockdown, and we were unable to hold our annual in-person conference—although that does at least have the benefit that conference delegates have been forced to endure my after-dinner speech only twice rather than the normal three times! But the last three years have been busy. We successfully transitioned to a new constitution that allows us to operate more nimbly and which embeds our commitment to equality, diversity, and inclusion into our working practices. We have also been working on our online offer, albeit with some limitations to what we have been able to achieve. I am delighted to announce, however, that from 2025 we will be moving to a new venue, Pembroke College Oxford, which will allow us to offer substantially better hybrid access to the conference as well as a range of other benefits.

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 Council member, panel convenor, speaker, or engaged audience member. All your contributions, whether large or small, are valued and appreciated as part of the collective effort that makes BSECS work. We invite you to regularly check our website for news about our many activities and publications, in particular, for information about our next annual conference, which will take place on 8-10 January 2025 at Pembroke College.

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 how they would like to be presented (including pronunciation of their name), and 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).
- The Academic Conference Organiser will put chairs in touch with panellists, so please watch out for email introductions.
- 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.

Guidance on Accessible Presentations

Speaking:
- Speak clearly and distinctly and at a level that everyone can hear and build in adequate time for your remarks to account for a slower tempo.
- Speakers should repeat questions or statements made by audience members.
- Session chairs should ensure that only one person speaks at a time.
- In discussions, speakers should identify themselves so that audience members know who is speaking.

Papers, Handouts and Audiovisuals:
- Presenters, including roundtable participants, should bring at least two copies of their papers or remarks, with at least one copy in large print (16 or 18 boldface type), even if the text is only in draft or outline form, for the use of members who need to follow a written text.
- Speakers who use handouts should prepare two to three additional copies in large print and should avoid using coloured paper. Handouts should be briefly described orally or read aloud to the audience.
- Accessibility copies of papers may also be shared in advance through the BSECS online platform, as links or pdf files.
- Chairs should collect accessibility copies for distribution at the start of the session, distribute the copies to those who request them, and retrieve them at the session's end. Presenters may mark accessibility copies with "Do Not Circulate/Cite Without Permission" and ask for copies to be returned at the end of the session. If you have made a digital copy of your presentation available through the BSECS website, please alert your audience to the availability of the digital version as you begin your talk.

For PowerPoint presentations:
- A simple design with minimal text (6 or fewer lines) and the largest possible font is the most accessible.
- Presenters should describe orally any images on the slides.
- When referring to a visual aid or handout, or when indicating the location of materials in the room, allow time for audience members to follow this information. Projectors should be turned off when not in use, to reduce background noise.

Presenters who have accepted a place at the conference should endeavour to meet this guidance. If anyone has any concerns or questions, please do not hesitate to contact the society's access and inclusion officers: Drs Declan Kavanagh D.kavanagh@kent.ac.uk and Karen Lipsedge k.lipsedge@kingston.ac.uk.

President's Prize Nomination Form

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 based on 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.

You may nominate no more than 2 papers for this prize. You can make a nomination in three ways:

1. By ripping out this page, completing it, and handing it in at the welcome desk
2. By completing the electronic version of this form at https://forms.office.com/e/EXqrc5CGnp. You can also scan the QR code for the form:
3. By sending a scan of this form to james.harriman-smith@ncl.ac.uk.

Only nominations received before midnight on **Sunday 7th January 2024** will be considered.

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	

Publishers' Featured at the Conference

Delegates will be able to browse the Publishers' tables in the Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room
(Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building).

Adam Matthew Digital
Boydell and Brewer
Combined Academic (only appearing on Thursday 4 January)
Manchester University Press
Oxford University Press, Liverpool University & the Voltaire Foundation
Oxford Publicity
The Wordsworth Trust

WEDNESDAY 3 JANUARY	
09:30–10:00	WELCOME ADDRESS, Maplethorpe Hall **Brycchan Carey**, BSECS President

10:00–12:00 1	WEDNESDAY SESSION I **ROUNDTABLE: Glamour and Glitz/Graft and Grind: The Working Life of Play at the Bath Assembly Rooms**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Anstract:	'The chairs are order'd, and the moment comes, When all the world assemble at the rooms.' Charles Molloy Westmacott, The English Spy, 1825
	Opened in 1771, the Upper Assembly Rooms, as the above quote suggests, were the social epicentre of Bath in the Georgian period. In 1794, Katherine Plymley wrote in her travel journal that the great business of Bath was pleasure. Indeed, so well established was Bath as a place of leisure the Assembly Rooms thrived on the city's reputation for indulgence and amusements. What, however, do we know about the lives of those who supported this economy of pleasure and play?
	For some Bath was a place of entertainment, dancing, music, fun and play, but for others it was a place of work, business, drudgery and toil. Behind the glamour and glitz of the Assembly Rooms' façade, lies the grit and graft of those working to keep the Rooms and the Company fed, lit, heated and amused. Drawing on diverse areas of expertise, this roundtable will invite debates on themes including the lives of musicians, domestics in entertainment spaces, the gig economy, the artistic landscape, the social whirl and networks of work and play in Georgian Bath.
	While the dancing, concert going, gambling and gossiping may have superficially appeared to be merely fun and play, this was not always the case. In order to enjoy these social activities in a public arena, such as the Assembly Rooms, visitors had to learn, practice and work at perfecting the dance steps, musical knowledge, game play and the art of wit needed for acceptance into Bath society. Conversely, there were those who played at working, such as the gentleman musician exhibiting his hobby talents, whereas many professional musicians were heavily reliant on benefit concerts and multiple jobs to make ends meet.
	This roundtable will consider the role of the Assembly Rooms as a place for both work and play, as a place of frivolity and as a place economy, both dependant on and influential within the life of the city of Bath, its residents and visitors. Bringing together new research into those who visited, worked, performed at, supplied, invested in and managed the Bath Assembly Rooms (as they are now known), the panellists will share their knowledge and explore the interdependency, tensions and complex connections between those who saw the Assembly Rooms as a place of play, those who saw it as a place of work, and those who found those distinctions more difficult to make.
Chair:	**Emily Roy**, National Trust
Speakers:	**Chloe Valenti**, National Trust **Tatjana LeBoff**, National Trust **Stuart Burroughs**, Museum of Bath at Work

2	**Sexuality and Gender**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair:	**Emma Pearce**, University of Edinburgh
Speakers:	**Christopher C. Douglas**, Jacksonville State University, Alabama, USA

"An Instrument of Entertainment and Exchange: Object Agency in Ormond (1799)"

Writing in 2014 from a cultural-anthropological viewpoint, Allison Clarke asserts that "the agency of things ... is arguably the single most defining influence on the understanding of material culture in the last two decades." The ways in which objects interact with their environment and the ways that they invite humans to interact with them is a crucial part of material literacy. Examining the late-18th-century American novel Ormond; or, the Secret Witness (1799) by Charles Brockden Brown with this in mind, the reader is given several examples of the ways in which novel's objects empower actions of work, play, and social advancement – Constantia Dudley's economic needlecraft, Helena Cleves' virtuosic clavichord, and Martinette's masculine attire all show how objects make life choices possible, especially for the text's women.

Rather than focusing on individualized skills possessed by a singular character's use of an item, I wish to examine a cross-character item, and the keen knowledge of using it shared between the novel's main character, Constantia, and her gender-nonconforming partner, Martinette de Beauvais: the Dudley family's Italian lute. This prized lute, which features prominently in the first two volumes of the novel acts as another sort of witness, one whose material agency is shown not only as it is played by Constantia and Martinette, but also as it is exchanged between characters, bought, sold, and gifted several times. Key to this lute in the text is its ability to both function as an agent of economic gain, and one of entertainment, bridging both work and play. Without the insertion of this Italian lute, and its constant exchange throughout the first half of the novel, Brown's defense of American republicanism is not achievable, while it also makes possible a queer alternative to Constantia's doomed relationship with the powerful and murderous Ormond.

Matthew Roberts, University of Kent

"We're all going on a summer holiday": How Queer is your Coast?

The origin of this paper is rooted in my research into queering the British holiday. In this research I intersect three different periods. Firstly, the interconnectedness of three plays from the long eighteenth; Colley Cibber's Love's Last Shift (Jan, 1696), John Vanbrugh's The Relapse (Nov, 1696), and Richard Sheridan's A Trip to Scarborough (1777) provide a social and political landscape that reflects how one's sexual identity involves the castration of individual desire in favour of institutional compliance. Secondly, the 1950's holiday camp empire, built by Sir Billy Butlin, amplifies ideas about playful pleasure and entitled leisure. Thirdly, the young Club 18-30 holiday reps of the 1990's, anachronistically, become the rakes of those that went before them. The synthesis of these time periods, in the form of a new play, provides a platform on which iterations of sentimentality, blasphemy and bowdlerisation are queered. In this paper, I will focus specifically on the character of Coupler from John Vanbrugh's The Relapse. I question: how does Coupler's character, as a sexual and spiritual mirror, function to deceive, dissemble and delight audiences, now and then? I begin by interrogating how Vanbrugh presents Coupler as a matchmaker and how Coupler's homosexuality is pivotal to the play's assessment of sexual deviance. Then, I address how queer temporalities, relate to Coupler as an underdog (Heather Love) and his perception of time (Elizabeth Freeman) evoke examples of homosocial behaviour and transgression. At this juncture, I address how Ruth Vanita's 'The Homoerotics of Travel', invigorates how Vanbrugh positions Coupler as 'old Sodom', 'old Satan' and 'old lecher'; as well as his function as a mouthpiece for religious satire; "By my conscience, the young fellows of this age profit no more by their going abroad than they do by their going to church" (Act 1, Scene 3). In the closing section of the paper, I contextualise an epilogue, specifically written for my own version of Coupler, which begins: 'If this British holiday has offended/ Think but this and be transcended/ What price we pay for our working

life?/ The daily grind for every man, women, husband, wife/ The deadly monotony of the other weeks of the year/ No matter if you be straight, gay, bi, try or just good old fashioned queer!'

Stephen Turton, University of Cambridge
Signifying Sappho: Rewriting Desire between Women in English Dictionaries, 1670–1830
Harriette Andreadis (2001: 28) proposes that there were three primary personae in which Sappho was known in early modern England—as the foremost of women poets, the jilted admirer of Phaon the ferryman, and a lover of other women. This paper considers how these personae endured and evolved across the long eighteenth century in one text type: the English dictionary. Dictionaries did not just record and explain names and words; they could also function as conduct books, encouraging their readers to adhere to particular social norms (Mitchell 2010), including sexual ones. Lexicographical representations of Sappho's sexual desires form a useful case study of how the erotic knowledge that a text produces may be regulated by concerns about the age, gender, and profession of its target readership. This paper explores the different motivations that prompted lexicographers to disclose, deny, or erase stories of Sappho's desire for women in general English dictionaries, lexicons of classical mythology written for scholars and lay readers, and dictionaries of women's biography by Mary Hays, Matilda Betham, and Mary Pilkington. Comparing these genres reveals how dictionaries constructed not only multiple knowledges of sexuality but multiple ignorances of it (Sedgwick 1990: 4). At the same time—as the personal papers of the philologist Elizabeth Elstob and the gentlewoman Anne Lister reveal—the readers who actually used a given dictionary in private, and the ways in which they used it, might differ from its publicly identified audience and purpose.

3	**Reading Skin in the Eighteenth Century**
Room:	Louey Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Abstract:	This panel includes papers that consider the different and diverse ways of 'reading' the skin in the long eighteenth century (1660–1830): namely, interpretation, representation, information and knowledge exchanges, based on the appearance of human skin through literary descriptions and portraiture. Although different in their focuses, these three papers underscore the importance of reading skin as a means of understanding broader social and cultural conceptions concerning race, gender and health circulating within eighteenth-century Britain, and beyond.

Chair:	**Gillian Williamson**, Independent Scholar
Speakers:	**Katie Aske**, Edinburgh Napier University

"my wonted Bloom restore": Smallpox and Beauty in the Eighteenth Century
In Mary Wortley Montagu's poem, 'Saturday: The Smallpox' (1763), Flavia laments the loss of her 'wonted Bloom' and questions the 'cruel Chymists, what with-held your aid! / Could no pomatums save a trembling maid?'. Consulting manuscript and printed remedies for smallpox and cosmetic treatments, this paper will present a contextual analysis of Montagu's poem and consider practical, sociocultural and literary responses to smallpox and the effect of the disease on the skin in the eighteenth century. The paper outlines the exchanges between medical developments in the period and sociocultural understandings of the disease, such as those evidenced in Montagu's poem. More broadly, the paper considers the connections between appearance, health and identity, alongside the constructions of female beauty and its social currency. By analysing the relationships and exchanges between medical texts, literary perspectives, and public knowledge of the smallpox, the paper will evaluate the extent to which beliefs about the skin were a result of the growing medical market in the eighteenth century; the rise in literature, and particularly domestic literature, aimed at women; and the idealisation of healthy, clear skin in literary and popular culture.

Karen Lipsidge, Kingston University
Talking Paintings: Conversations with and between Portraits in the Long Eighteenth-Century
This paper seeks to position paintings in conversation across time. The interplay between specific paintings, the intersections of gender, racial and social identity, and space yields rich re-imagination of the ways in which the eighteenth-century material world shaped identity. The paper focuses on two double portraits; David Martin's, 'Lady Elizabeth Murray and Dido Belle', (1779) and a recently discovered seventeenth-century double portrait entitled, 'Allegorical Painting of Two Ladies' (1660?) and considers what the paintings reveal about conceptions of race, gender, social class, and space- pictorial, geographical, historical space and time, and between viewer, sitters and artists. The paper also asks wider questions about the value of exploring those stories of peoples and objects that are often overlooked and left hiding in plain sight. We need to remember that the stories of these peoples and objects may be narrated by British artists, but they were not shaped by Britain's social, political, and cultural landscape alone. They were also informed by Britain's involvement in transatlantic slave trade. By exploring this wider, global relationship this paper also seeks to broaden our gaze beyond the frame- pictorial and geographically- and helps us to decolonize the dominant Euro-centric narrative. We do not have answers for all the questions raised by these two portraits. But, by asking these questions, this paper argues that we can at least start to undertake the important work of uncovering the intimate relationship between peoples, objects, and trans-Atlantic world; we can help paintings to talk, and we can make the time to listen to what they tell us.

Katie Snow, University of Exeter
Sagging, Shrunken, and Scorned: Caricaturing Older Breasts in the Eighteenth Century
This paper will consider how older women's skin was satirised in late eighteenth-century caricatures. Concentrating on images of wrinkled, sagging, and blemished breasts, it will show how skin was carefully linked to discourses on aging, maternity, sexuality, disease, addiction, and bodily beauty. The complex cultural iconography of the breast, it argues, allowed graphic satirists to share unique perspectives on both political bodies and the body politic. Examining caricatures of crones, witches, fishwives, and furies, I will show how the pendulous, shrivelled breast became a focus for debate about feminine nature, morality, and civic responsibility. Furthermore, the paper will turn to prints including James Gillray's infamous Sin, Death, and the Devil (1792) to examine how – and why – the breasts of key figures including Queen Charlotte were caricatured in prints. Alongside visual satire, this paper will consult medical treatises and lady's magazines to contextualise satirical perspectives on skin and breasts.

4	**Materials and Objects**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	**Matthew McCormack**, University of Northampton
Speakers:	**Christoph Heyl**, Universitaet Duisburg-Essen, Germany

Dirty Old God: Work, Metropolitan Self-Fashioning and the Enduring Iconography of Father Thames
During the late 1770s, a somewhat bizarre group of statues designed by the sculptor John Bacon was erected in the quadrangle of Somerset House. It featured King George III wearing a rather peculiar ancient Roman outfit, an equally peculiar ancient Roman battleship looking a bit like a dolphin (or perhaps a dolphin looking a bit like an ancient Roman battleship), a fairly relaxed lion and Father Thames, a none too clean-looking personification of London's river.
This paper explores how this eighteenth-century group of statues including a dirty old god associated with work, wealth and globalisation came to take centre stage in an emerging iconography of metropolitan self-fashioning. It resurfaced in highly influential nineteenth-century prints such as the frontispiece of Doré's London. A Pilgrimage (1872), an important German publication of 1875, and in the intriguing decorative

scheme of London's first ever lamp standards providing electric light (1878) which can still be seen along the Embankment today.

The long-term impact of John Bacon's somewhat odd group of eighteenth-century statues has been quite remarkable. His eighteenth-century vision of a powerful, dirty old river god that came to embody the essence of London is still with us.

Jacob Baxter, University of St Andrews
A New Way of Working in the Eighteenth-Century Book Trade: Auctioning the Right to Publish in Early Modern London

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a new practice transformed the London book trade. On 3 April 1718 (OS), some of John Nicholson's rights to publish, or copyrights, were put up for auction at the Queen's Head Tavern on Paternoster Row. This was the first known sale of its kind to occur in the British Isles. It would not be last. Over the course of the next fifty years, at least 187 copyright auctions (on average, three a year) took place in London.

This paper will explore the catalogues that were printed for these occasions. The detail contained within this largely untapped body of sources is fascinating. Handwritten annotations in the catalogues reveal who bought the shares and how much they paid for them. This allows us to trace the ownership of a particular text over decades. We can also see how long a publisher waited to print particular work, after they had purchased its copyright.

Public copyright sales, like those which had formerly belonged of John Nicholson, often resulted in the division of publishing rights into ever smaller shares. But this did not allow new parties to enter the London print trade. Rather, it raised barriers to entry. The money required to purchase more profitable titles favoured booksellers who were already established in the industry. This paper will show how auction catalogues played a role in reinforcing a complex network of publishing cartels, with blends of regular collaborators and one-off partnerships. This was a new way of working in the book trade, which was unique in the early modern world.

Joe Bray, University of Sheffield
Writing on Ivory: Erasable Surfaces in the Late Eighteenth Century

Jane Austen's famous description of 'the little bit (two Inches wide) of Ivory on which I work with so fine a Brush, as produces little effect after much labour' (Le Faye 2011, 337) has, rightly, been taken as a playfully self-deprecating comparison with the popular art of miniature painting, whose predominant medium by the end of the eighteenth century was ivory (see, for example, Todd 2005). Yet ivory could be a surface for writing on as well as painting. The eighteenth century saw a revival of the ivory memorandum book, usually consisting of a small number of very thin leaves, held together by a single pin, which opened out like a fan. Descended from the Renaissance 'table-books' or 'tables' of erasable parchment or paper, such as those Hamlet calls for in order to record that 'one may smile, and smile, and be a villain', ivory memorandum-books were apparently used, like their predecessors, to jot down shopping lists, recipes, and other random notes and quotations (see Stallybrass et al. 2004). In this paper I will concentrate on their more literary use; for initial drafts (especially of poems) which could then be written out in fair copy. Despite its promise of a shiny, transparent, easily wipable 'blank slate', ivory in fact proved to be a complex, multi-layered surface, as miniature painters of the period also discovered (see Mee 2000). Focusing on the ivory 'tablets' on which the melancholy poet Charlotte Percy in Elizabeth Hamilton's Translations of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah (1796) composes her verses, I will argue that this complexity is reflected in the wide variety of palimpsestic meanings which this technology of writing is capable of generating. These suggest that the surface of ivory could be used in the period to signify both the difficulties, if not impossibility, of erasing the past, as well as the conflicting struggles for expression facing the female artist in particular.

Shan-Chuan Hsiao, University of Texas at Austin
A Demon's Figuration: the Influence of Tarot's Evolution from Leisure to Esotericism on the Formation of Baphomet

This study investigates how the Tarot's transformation from a leisurely game into an esoteric tool influenced the representation and symbolism of the demon Baphomet. To be more precise, it delves into the historical development of the imagery of the Baphomet demon by closely examining the Demon card in the French Tarot (Tarot of Marseilles). The study's findings reveal that, prior to occultist Éliphas Lévi (1810-1875) 's depiction of Baphomet in his 1861 work Transcendental Magic: Its Doctrine and Ritual, a concrete representation of Baphomet already existed in the late 18th century, notably within the French Tarot. It is believed that this paper demonstrates how the French Tarot, once it began to serve a cartomancy purpose, influenced the popular perception of the devil, ultimately contributing to the figuration of Éliphas Lévi's Baphomet.

The Tarot's origins trace back to 15th-century northern Italy, eventually evolving into the French Tarot in the 17th century. While the Italian Tarot portrayed the demon as a male and unisexual entity, the French Tarot introduced the iconic hermaphroditic Baphomet, featuring a goat's head. The Tarot initially had no esoteric associations until Antoine Court de Gebelin (1725-1784) postulated its possession of Egyptian mystical attributes around 1781 in France. This led to the emergence of Tarot-based fortune-telling, with influential figures like Jean-Baptiste Alliette (known as Etteilla, 1738-1791) interpreting card iconography and meanings. The study aims to establish that the modern interpretation of the Baphomet demon is clearly influenced not just by earlier Christian demonology but also by connections to folk art printing. It underscores the intricate interplay of cultural influences and historical developments that contributed to the enduring legacy of the Baphomet icon within the realms of mysticism and the occult.

5	**ROUNDTABLE: "Sensible & ingenious minds cannot subsist without variety of rational entertainment": Early Career Roles, Responsibilities and Reflections on the Elizabeth Montagu Correspondence Online Project**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Abstract:	The Elizabeth Montagu Correspondence Online project returns to the BSECS conference this year not to focus on the project's progress - though there is much to tell - but to talk about the contribution of early career scholars to the project's output and success. This roundtable brings together some of the student and early career researchers who have contributed to EMCO over the past five years. We have each held different roles and responsibilities - from fixed-term research associates to an undergraduate working on the project through an accredited course - but each have reflections on the benefits from, challenges of, and learning gained through working on the project.

Our aim is to discuss our various experiences and draw attention not only to the skills developed (e.g., transcription, database management, encoding documents for digital publication), but also to showcase the research knowledge and experience gained. Though drawing on personal reflections, this session is not introspective but rather looks outward to the ways in which the speakers have contributed to the wider EMCO project.

EMCO's internship programme is designed to benefit the project by increasing the volume of transcriptions available on the website, but it is also structured to benefit the interns too in terms of skills, experience, and career development. This roundtable is part of that supportive approach as we give space to some of our early career researchers at what will be there first conference as speakers.

Too often, the work of early career scholars on projects is overlooked. While EMCO ensures accreditation for transcription and tagging, as well as editing, this roundtable will

also be an opportunity to showcase research discoveries, innovations and developments instigated and made possible by junior scholars.

While the roundtable will highlight the ways in which this work has complimented our other research, skills, and career development, it will also be a forum to explore the challenges. The discussion will acknowledge the challenges of joining established teams and protocols, balancing EMCO work with other jobs or PhD research, as well as the precarity of temporary involvement in a long-term project. The internship scheme has aimed to foster research, offer training, and respond to the needs of the interns, and as such the internship plan has evolved over time.

It is our hope that this roundtable conversation will contribute to ongoing discussions about project management, especially those projects with limited financial resources. Our discussion will be useful to those keen to work on projects beyond their studies, as well as more senior academics planning early-career involvement in their programmes. We will consider how best to support early career scholars; how EMCO has evolved our internship programme in response to intern feedback and what developments can yet be made; the pros and cons of an internship model as opposed to other methods (e.g., crowdsourcing transcriptions or AI text recognition) and look forward to hearing about other approaches and discussing best practice for EMCO and others. The roundtable will close by considering what's next both for the project and the speakers.

Chair:	**Jack Orchard**, Bodleian, University of Oxford
Speakers:	**Anna Senkiw**, The Elizabeth Montagu Correspondence Online
	Katie Crowther, University of York
	Charlotte Crawshaw, Northumbria University

6	**ROUNDTABLE: Co-presence of texts: Use-cases for text reuse-detection in 18th-century corpora**
Room:	Hamlin Room 1 (Main Building)
Abstract:	Reusing texts, or more often, reusing textual fragments of variable length, was a widespread and diverse practice in 18th-century print culture. The notion of text reuse thus encompasses a wide spectrum of phenomena, practices and textual objects, ranging from the construction of poetic centos and the recycling of near identical fragments in philosophical works, to the copying of bons mots into private notebooks, or simply the reprinting of entire texts, often in different contexts and environments. As a literary phenomenon, text reuse was not merely a by-product of the era's burgeoning print culture, but also a critical facet of the intellectual, cultural and aesthetic discourse that defined the period. The practice facilitated the dissemination of ideas, enabled the cross-pollination of genres, and played a significant role in the era's dynamic literary and philosophical landscape.

The advent of sequence alignment algorithms has significantly streamlined the detection of instances of text reuse, making it applicable to large corpora of digitised texts. These sophisticated tools, however, primarily identify the co-presence of fragments of texts—in more technical terms, a series of identical n-grams in a pre-processed and lemmatised form of the texts—in two different corpora. Interpreting these findings and understanding their relevance to specific research questions is a nuanced and complex process. For instance, a simple reprint of a work might hold little value for a study of literary influence, whereas the previously unrecorded reprinting of a poem across various journals could provide valuable insights into its dissemination and contemporary significance. Similarly, explicitly labelled citations might be peripheral for one research inquiry, yet central to another.

This roundtable discussion seeks to address the multifaceted nature of text reuse from various perspectives and with diverse objectives. The use-cases discussed cross multiple fields of study and research questions, from a large-scale consideration of reuse

networks as a proxy for authorial influence, to a finer-grained examination of poetical reuse and reprinting in the 18th-century press and the role of writers' notebooks and their exchanges with other works. Our hope is that the resulting discussion will help to unravel the intricate layers of text reuse, probing the multiplicity of intents behind this practice—whether homage, appropriation, critique, intellectual dialogue, or the perpetuation of literary and philosophical tradition. As the 18th century was a crucible of ideological ferment, with Enlightenment thought challenging established norms and conventions, text reuse can serve as a lens through which to examine the era's ideological currents, including the subtle dissemination of controversial ideas, the use of pastiche as a form of critique or satire, and the role of text reuse in the evolution of literary forms and genres. By fostering an interdisciplinary dialogue that includes literary historians and digital humanities experts, this roundtable aims not only to elucidate the technical aspects of identifying text reuse over 18th-century corpora, but will also strive to understand its cultural, intellectual and historical contexts.

Chair: **Caroline Warman**, University of Oxford
Speakers: **Gillian Pink**, Voltaire Foundation
Glenn Roe, Sorbonne Université
Roman Kuhn, Voltaire Foundation

7 **ROUNDTABLE: Teaching the 18th-Century Now**
Room: Hamlin Room 2 (Main Building)
Abstract: This panel offers perspectives on how we teach the 18th-century now. It brings together a range of disciplines and approaches to pedagogy to explore what is shared in our teaching and what is unique in how we use 18th-century materials. The panel also explores what the 18th-century, broadly conceived of as the anglophone long eighteenth century, can teach us about our own teaching in the 21st century.
Chair: **Declan Kavanagh**, University of Kent
Speakers: **Conrad Brunstrom**, Maynooth University
Rachel Bynoth, Bath Spa University
Robert Wellington, Australian National University
Fiona Brideoake, American University

8 **Women's work**
Room: Dobbs Room 1 (Main Building)
Chair: **Sarah Fox**, University of Birmingham
Speakers: **Caroline Stanford**, University of Oxford
Eleanor Coade and Horace Walpole's Gothic Gateway: a study in eighteenth-century business practice
Artificial stone manufacturer Eleanor Coade (1733-1821) was the outstanding female entrepreneur of the 18th century. For 60 years, she ran her own successful business supplying fired architectural stoneware. Her name became a nationally recognised brand, arguably the first time in history that a woman adopted her name as product brand. Such was the durability of her firm's architectural and sculptural stoneware products are still ubiquitous. Never married, Coade operated successfully in the very male world of architectural and statuary supply and 'Coade stone' products enabled the work of the architects who defined the Georgian built environment. Despite this, Coade's career is still largely overlooked in any but architectural accounts. The documentary record for her manufactory and her personal life is scant but she remains a compelling figure of much greater relevance to wider understanding of the period than her so far limited exposure among architectural historians has allowed.
This cross-disciplinary paper seeks to bring Coade to the attention of wider scholarship by examining a unique eyewitness account of a business meeting with this 18th-century female entrepreneur at her celebrated manufactory in Lambeth, through the eyes Sir William Chambers, a preeminent architect of the day. In 1769, Horace Walpole had commissioned a pair of bespoke Gothic gate posts for Strawberry Hill from the firm, newly taken over by Coade. The paper will briefly consider the commissioning process

of the gate piers, which Walpole based on Bishop Luda's tomb in Ely Cathedral and which proved a technical triumph of the design and manufacturing process.
However, in 1771 Walpole disputed the bill for the gate piers and appointed Chambers to mediate. Chambers' detailed report to Walpole of his subsequent visit to Coade's manufactory to see the manufacturing process and contest the bill provides a rare glimpse of one of the Georgian period's most compelling and successful businesswomen in action. Even in these very early days of her enterprise, Coade demonstrates careful accounting practice and adept negotiation, and her own network of useful acquaintances. She navigates this encounter with a powerful architect adroitly and thereby pacifies Walpole as a Georgian taste-maker whose disapproval could have been a major threat to her fledgling enterprise. Their encounter challenges certain views of gender relationships in business in the period, revealing a respectful and essentially ungendered professional encounter.
Short paper format is ideal to bring this brief but important case study to wider notice. It should be of interest to historians of women; gender; business, marketing and manufacturing practice; architecture and sculpture.

Sophie Johnson, University of Bristol
Professional sculptor or amateur hobbyist? Reconsidering the material practice of eighteenth-century women wax modellers in Britain
The eighteenth century marked a significant shift in the history of British women sculptors, predating their acceptance into art schools in the mid-nineteenth century. During this period, sculpture was recommended as 'refined entertainment' for young women. In her book Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex, Priscilla Wakefield highlights that wax, in particular, was a suitable material for women due to its 'softer nature, which easily yields to their impressions.' The artform became strongly associated with 'feminine passivity' in the eighteenth century and provided an appropriate avenue for women to enter the masculine world of sculpture. Data collected from artists' dictionaries and exhibition catalogues estimates that 40% of women sculptors working in Britain at this time modelled in wax. However, many of these women are invisible in art historical research due to the discipline's disregard for the material and its association with amateur craft. Furthermore, successful entrepreneurs such as Madame Tussaud are well-known, but rarely considered serious artists. Women modellers straddled the professional/ amateur divide, with many taking up the artform as a hobby whilst others were able to professionalise. A significant number of these women received royal and public commissions, ran successful waxwork and artificial flower businesses, and exhibited at the country's finest academies and galleries. These women were often independent artists and entrepreneurs, whose income supported their families.

The eighteenth century saw the emergence of a wealthy middle class who helped popularise the wax portrait miniature. These were either individual commissions or mass-produced to commemorate celebrities of the day. Conversely, the life-size portrait effigy and waxwork also reached their apogee in eighteenth-century Britain, becoming a primary form of entertainment for the whole range of urban classes. Critics like Joshua Reynolds exclaimed that 'to express the softness of flesh by the softness of wax, seems rude and inartificial'. However, without the advent of photography, the British public were captivated by the artform's ability to replicate nature. At the centre of both genres were successful women modellers, who were able to leverage the restrictions placed on their gender to succeed in this type of sculpture above all others.
This paper will question the categorisation of women wax modellers as amateurs and copyists. It will discuss how adopting a more integrated definition of sculpture, which transcends the categories of the fine and decorative arts, can reveal new perspectives on women's involvement in the artform. The aim of the paper is to revive interest in women wax modellers from a scholarly perspective, and encourage historians to adjust their understanding of what 'quality' sculpture looks like. In doing so, the discipline of

art history can recover and foreground an important chapter in the history of British women sculptors.

Ella Harford, Swansea University
Sex and the Dynamics of the Georgian Household
What was the role of servants in Georgian households? And precisely what did their mistresses do for play? This paper will investigate the adultery that women committed within their private household (their 'play') and how their servants (those who worked) responded to their behaviour. The acts of sexually deviant women within elite English society often took place in secret, yet adultery was perceived by the public to be rife amongst the upper echelons of society. Using trials, prints, and memoirs, this paper will examine the affairs that elite wives had behind closed doors between 1770 and 1830 and how this impacted their relations with their servants. Some servants left their mistresses' service and testified against them in court, while others remained loyal. The relations between servants and their mistresses played a key role in generating gossip, which was reflected in the wider print culture circulated to a public audience. Due to the celebrity status of elite women, scandal about them often featured in newspapers and printed trials, which revealed the dynamics of the Georgian household. Adultery was also committed by non-elite women of working and middling backgrounds, despite the construction of marital infidelity as an "aristocratic vice". The increasing volume of trials on adultery published during the 1770s, 1780s, and 1790s reflected growing moral concerns surrounding sexually deviant women, as well as its increased policing by England's courts. Using these trials, this paper aims to demonstrate how the response of servants to their sexually deviant female employers constructed a sense of scandal, and how this was reflected in the wider print culture of the late eighteenth century.

Emma Mitchell, Brunel University London
Scenting Story: Unlocking Olfactory Memories of Georgian London
This practice-based paper uses documents and items from the extensive archive of London perfumer, Floris. Occupying the same premises since it opened in 1730, Floris began life as a barbershop but quickly evolved to capitalise on the commercialisation of perfume in the eighteenth century. The archives include recipes, correspondence and all manner of documentation relating to a thriving business and its clientele. Using these archives and the scents and perfumes that characterised their business at the time, this paper juxtaposes the lives of the women in the 1761 edition of Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies, a directory of sex workers operating in central London, to evoke character and narrative. This is experimental historical fiction that accesses the sense of smell as creative impetus and writing prompt to add dimensionality to the female ciphers contained in a work written by men for male pleasure.

9	**Theatrical work**
Room:	Dobbs Room 2 (Main Building)
Chair:	**James Harriman-Smith**, Newcastle University
Speakers:	**Cheryll Duncan**, Royal Northern College of Music

Much want of judgment?: new evidence concerning Jane Barbier's stage career
The contralto Jane Barbier (c1694¬–1757) enjoyed a long and illustrious career on the London stage, performing in Italian and English operas, masques, pantomimes and afterpieces at leading theatres between 1711 and 1740. Her personal life was subject to some colourful contemporary comment, particularly in response to her reported elopement in 1717 which continued to be rehearsed in the press long after her death. This paper presents a number of archival findings which significantly expand Barbier's known biography, including new information about her family background, the man with whom she eloped, and her financial affairs. Of particular interest are three lawsuits recently discovered in the records of the Court of King's Bench which shed light on hitherto unknown aspects of her professional career. In 1720 she sued two fellow actors at Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre for failing to repay money probably lent to shore up the

ailing company, and in 1741 she proceeded against John Rich, manager at Covent Garden, for reneging on the terms of her contract for the 1740–41 season. A small notebook kept by the theatre prompter Richard Cross and now in the John Rylands Library in Manchester hints at the reason for Rich dropping Barbier from the roster after her debut performance, which was evidently a disaster and signalled the end of her performing career. These various findings prompt a reassessment of Barbier's reputation and allow a more nuanced portrait of the singer to emerge.

Henry Mason, Queen Mary University of London
Gothic Machinery: Romantic Spectacle and the Industrialised Stage
In this paper, I will suggest that, in the final decades of the eighteenth century, the London stage underwent a process of industrialisation, the new material practices involved in the staging of the spectacular dramas of the period reflecting the wider transformations of the Industrial Revolution. I will discuss a number of plays in the Gothic mode, exploring the ways in which their focus on audience response depends upon a series of innovative technologies, novelties which become, during the period, of central importance to the success of the drama, creating new relationships between writers, audiences and stage machines that reflect those existing between workers, consumers and industrial modes of production.
I will make use of the autobiographical writings of theatrical figures such as James Boaden and Michael Kelly, these accounts demonstrating the preferment of spectacle in the period's theatre and outlining the methods of production developed for the creation of this spectacle. In particular, Boaden's notion of the theatrical picturesque makes clear the subservience of actors and text to the overall stage picture in his vision of the theatre. I will discuss plays by Boaden, Matthew Lewis, Jane Scott and Miles Peter Andrews, works whose adherence to Gothic conventions, while making clear the centrality of affective response in this theatre, also suggest a reproducibility which, though criticised by the likes of Coleridge and Wordsworth, was integral to the successful production of plays in the period. I will make clear the relationship between these changes in the theatre and the wider Industrial Revolution, both through analogies made by those responsible for theatrical production and by considering the aesthetic links between the dark sublimity of the Gothic stage and contemporary depictions of industrial sites in works including the writing of Arthur Young and Philip James de Loutherbourg's painting, 'Coalbrookdale by Night' (1801).
This paper will build upon the work of Christopher Baugh, who has noted the prevalence of technology in the period's theatre, as well as writers such as Michael Gamer, Diane Long Hoeveler and Diego Saglia, who have helped to define the history of Gothic drama. While Baugh has suggested a connection between the Industrial Revolution and theatrical technology, I will further investigate the changing production methods introduced around these machines, tracing an industrialisation throughout the theatrical system of the period. Additionally, I will argue that the Gothic mode itself holds a relationship with the industrial, extending the work completed in Bridget M. Marshall's 'Industrial Gothic' (2021) by investigating an earlier period, while utilising the affective networks of the theatre to explore the new subjectivities created in the interactions of the Gothic and industrial.

Jacqueline Malchow, German Maritime Museum
The work behind leisure: The professionalisation of theatre
With the increase of leisure time in the 18th century, the demand for a wide variety of leisure time activities grew as well. Theatre had been such an activity for centuries, but now it rose to new spheres. Intricately linked to Enlightenment discourses about morality, emotions, education, and the art of acting, German theatre became an inherent part of bourgeois culture, shaping it and being shaped by it.
The new importance of theatre in Germany changed the social status of the marginalised thespians, allowing them to settle down. Playing in front of regulars instead of travelling through the lands put a new focus on the repertoire as well as the performance. On the

one hand, a broad range of plays was needed to offer variety and keep people interested, on the other hand, the performances had to be reproducible as not to disappoint repeat visitors. This new need for reproducibility created a hitherto unknown demand for training and rehearsals for actors and actresses, musicians, theatre technicians etc., thus laying the groundwork for the start of professionalisation in all areas of theatre. Focussing on the groundbreaking reform work of theatre director Friedrich Ludwig Schröder in Hamburg, Germany, I will showcase several points of his impact on this professionalisation process. He was the first German director known to have obligatory rehearsals, from read throughs to dress rehearsals. His various endeavours to make his troupe's performances more professional culminated in him setting up specific laws for every profession at his theatre that all his employees had to sign. And while breaking these laws was punishable by fines, that money went into the troupe's pension fund Schröder had set up to ensure his employees were taken care of in sickness and old age. It is the rise of leisure that led to the professionalising of theatre in the late 18th century, making it not only work but a field of specialised work that demanded education and training. Therefore, working in a theatre became increasingly accepted in society.

Daniel Cook, University of Dundee
Vexed Diversions: Gulliver's Travels, the Arts, and Popular Entertainment
This paper revisits longstanding debates about Jonathan Swift's portrayal of the arts and popular entertainments in Gulliver's Travels. Shrunk to finger-length proportions, the Lilliputians are essentially autonomous puppets – but smaller and less animated than the fairground marionettes found in England. Laputan communication is as nonsensical as Italian opera to Lemuel Gulliver. The sorcerers of Glubbdubdrib stage a type of improvisatory theatre with long dead heroes and thinkers akin to animated effigies, but to no real purpose beyond correcting history books. Waxwork exhibits back home might seem more realistic and certainly more in sync with common perceptions of the subjects. Indifferent to the ingenuity of artifice, Gulliver nevertheless imposes English standards of beauty on what he cares to report about. More often than not, he neglects to complete the analogies Swift sets up, whether it pertains to the political arts of Lilliput or the moving parts of Brobdingnag, or even the cacophonous mathematics of Laputa and beyond. Read in a broader purview, Gulliver's Travels travesties any boundary between fiction, a verbal art and an immersive culture of popular entertainment and 'the arts' (theatre, music, architecture, gardening and literature). Gulliver refuses to be a character in 'a meer fiction' (his words). If so, he also cannot be an actor, musician, architect, gardener or a poet, let alone a consumer or connoisseur. Above all, the objects associated with the period's everyday entertainment industries had become too common, and Gulliver's own contrived sense of wonder barely conceals a collective show weariness. Put another way, this paper argues, Gulliver persistently vexes diversions as an inept connoisseur.

10	**Narratives and Literature**
Room:	MGA Lecture Room (Mary Gray Allen Building)
Chair:	Rebekah Andrew, Independent Scholar
Speakers:	**Carmen Borbely**, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania

The Ethics of Play: Jane Collier and the "noble game of Tormenting"
Immersion in the disorienting cognitive framework proposed in Jane Collier's Essay on the Art of Ingeniously Tormenting (1753) – a text whose satirical thrust derives, not least, from rescripting the conceptual boundaries of labour and leisure, and from confounding the ethical grounds of toil and play – manoeuvres the reader into an interpretive predicament in which the pleasurable prospect of acquiring self-gratification through mastering the techné of "plagueing", "teasing", or "abusing" others is offered as a mode of aesthetic release from dull social interplay. However, as the essay's conclusion – with its imperial tropes and authoritative rhetoric – implies, the collection of precepts offered to the reader does not open up a free space for what Roger Caillois calls paidia, or spontaneous and exuberant playfulness, but demands that this "noble

sport" should be played as ludus, in keeping with a set of carefully contrived and precisely calculated rules, or what the apologist of torment sums up as "my orders". Contrasted with this shift from the optative to the compulsory in the narrator's definition of play is the essay's composite form and its accommodation of counter-references to other forms of (fictional) play, including the novel and the fable. Working with insights drawn from narrative ethics, this paper argues that the text's formal instability plays against the rigidity of the thesis upheld by the narrator in such a way as to impel the reader to reassess the ethics of play.

Chris Townsend, University of St Andrews
Serious Work, Formal Play: Abolitionism's Anti-Heroic Poetics
This talk focuses on 'serious' poetry, in relation to a single metrical form within the rough period 1750–1820: the anapaestic tetrameter couplet, the form behind such enduring lines of verse as ''Twas the night before Christmas, when all through the house / Not a creature was stirring, not even a mouse'. For much of the eighteenth century, the 'long measure' form of anapaestic meter was the exclusive preserve of comic tales, biting satires, and silly songs. It hasn't lost most of those associations today — many of Dr. Seuss's poems echo with anapaestic couplet-form rhythm. Yet from the 1770s onwards there was a growing body of abolitionist poems appearing in anapaestic couplets, from William Cowper's well-known 'Pity for Poor Africans' to dozens of broadside ballads and songs for operas and plays. Cowper himself worried that such forms weren't at all suited to the subject of the slave trade: he wrote of slavery that 'On such a subject, as I had before me, it seems impossible not to be serious', yet called one of his own abolitionist poems 'ludicrous'. And while Cowper's anapaestic songs are expressly satirical, a good deal of abolitionist poets began to take up anapaestic measures for non-satirical ends. In this talk I'll sketch the process whereby the anapaestic tetrameter couplet went from being an exclusively comic form to one that a poet like Byron, in 1815, could comfortably use without a suggestion of humour in his 'Destruction of Sennacherib'. I'll argue that the anapaestic couplet's reputation for being an anti-heroic measure — not grand, not elevated, not serious, but trivial and comic — was part of its appeal for abolitionists, who came to turn away from the stratifying forms Neoclassicism in favour of more democratic models of verse. And, through the heroic line's reputation for 'serious' poetic thinking, I'll ask what it means to risk trivialising something as morally imperative as the movement to abolish slavery through the forms of verse — and what it means to 'take seriously' something like poetry in the first place.

Danielle N. Gilman, University of Connecticut
Virginia Woolf, Samuel Johnson, and the Preface to The Common Reader
This paper considers Virginia Woolf's engagement with and revision of Samuel Johnson's figure of the common reader in her own literary criticism—specifically in The Common Reader (1925). First described in Johnson's "Life of Gray" as a reader "uncorrupted with literary prejudice" and the "dogmatism of learning," the common reader soon became to Woolf—as she played with and reworked the boundaries of this description—an apt framing device for the self-reliant style of critical reading and writing she wished to champion for herself and for other uncredentialed readers. The Common Reader is perhaps best known for its allusion to Johnson in the titular 334-word preface. However, this presentation examines not only the published preface but two earlier drafts of that document: an essay titled "Bryon & Mr Briggs," (written in 1922, published in the Collected Essays) and an essay titled "As to criticism" (written in 1924, unpublished, held in archives at Smith College). I read these three versions of the preface sequentially to examine how Woolf revises and reshapes Johnson's common reader alongside her own developing critical voice. I argue that what Woolf is building toward in these three iterations is an unsystematic but rigorous style of reading that has the power to produce in amateur readers a critical sensibility irrespective of academic credentials.

Ruth Scobie, Independent Scholar
The East Indian, or the Gothic Novel as Colonial Theme Park
The East Indian, or Clifford Priory (1799) is one of the prolific and elusive Mary Julia Young's multiple novels set in England but concerned with characters and wealth from India. As its bifurcated title suggests, across its four volumes Young grafts Burneyesque satire of fashionable life onto a series of Radcliffean episodes, the whole framed by the distant imagined deathscape of colonial Bengal.

This paper reads The East Indian via the author's own assertion of her novel's Gothic inheritance from her namesake Edward Young's Night-Thoughts (1742-5). The novelist draws on what Vincent Quinn calls the Graveyard School's 'vocabulary of shocks' to assert (contra Henry Tilney) that horror and terror are precisely to be found in 'the country and the age in which we live.' By way of Samuel Johnson's comparison of Night-Thoughts to the 'Chinese Plantation' of William Chambers' Dissertation on Oriental Gardening (1772), I suggest that Mary Julia Young's ostentatiously ersatz Gothic – and the estate full of waxworks, automata, statues and sound effects around which her heroine wanders – participate in a specifically colonial Orientalist aesthetic of proliferating, excessive forms of simulation and imitation which generate incongruity and sensational contrast. Gothic, in The East Indian, both highlights and conceals contemporary anxieties of empire in a ghost train ride in which everything is possible and nothing is real.

12:00-13:00	LUNCH, Dining Hall (Main Building)
	If you would like a quieter space to eat, please visit The Wordsworth Room.

13:00-15:15	WEDNESDAY SESSION II
11	**Enslavement**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Chair:	**Sean D. Moore**, University of New Hampshire
Speakers:	**Tobias Gardner**, University of Sheffield

Guinea Knife Cutlers: Sheffield and the Liverpool Slave Trade 1760-1807
After visiting Liverpool port in August 1760, the Irish writer, Samuel Derrick, reflected to the Earl of Cork that the 'principal trade exports of Leverpoole' are 'all kinds of manufactures' from Britain's industrial heartlands, especially cities like 'Sheffield.' These goods, Derrick claimed, were principally bartered 'on the coast of Guinea for gold dust, elephants' teeth' and 'slaves', who were 'disposed of at Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the other West India islands for rum and sugar, for which they [were] sure of a quick sale at home.' However, despite these contemporary observations, little is known about Sheffield's connection to Transatlantic Slavery in the 18th-century. Indeed, traditional historiography depicts Sheffield's economic development as both localised and isolated. This paper aims to remedy this, by revealing how Sheffield's leading cutlery firms became manufacturers of so-called 'Guinea Knives', which were used as currency on the West African coast for enslaved people.
There have been two sides to this research. Firstly, a rigorous examination of the ledgers and accounts of major Liverpool slave traders to reveal the operational logistics and quantitative significance of Sheffield's 18th-century Guinea Knife trade. Secondly, this research has unearthed the personal, social, and cultural lives of those Sheffielders involved in the Liverpool slave trade, by examining the private correspondence and diaries of merchants in both cities. Sheffield's Guinea Knife Cutlers played major roles in local institutions, such as the trade guild, the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire, with many serving as 'Master Cutler.' Moreover, their friendships with Liverpool slave traders were significant to the success of the Guinea knife trade, overcoming the geographical obstacles involved in transporting a blade forged in a Hallamshire workshop to a vessel on the Mersey. Sheffielders and Liverpudlians mixed in similar circles and were involved in the same types of social ventures, which shaped links both within and between these two cities. Figures like the slave trader Thomas Staniforth epitomised this

relationship. Born in Sheffield, Staniforth moved to Liverpool as a teenager, and subsequently rose to prominence at the height of the city's slave trade, eventually serving as Liverpool's mayor. Nevertheless, Staniforth also held strong links to the Steel City, rousing support for the repeal of the 1765 Stamp Act among Sheffielders, maintaining good friendships with leading Cutlers and contributing to local philanthropic projects, such as Sheffield's General infirmary.

Thus, this paper uses a local case to interrogate how seemingly provincial centres of British Manufacturing became tied to Atlantic systems of trade. Indeed, on the theme of 'Work and Play', this paper provides an insight into how successful commercial activities in the 18th-century moulded social relations within British merchant culture with important legacies for the 19th-century.

Vincent Gonzales, University of Colorado
The Aesthetic of Creative Commerce: Touring the Mines at Whitehaven
John Dalton's poem ends with the couplet, "These are the glories of the mine! / Creative Commerce these are thine!" (A Descriptive, Poem Addressed to Two Ladies, at Their Return from Viewing the Mines, near Whitehaven, 1755) It is a well-pitched support of industry, which in similar sentiment as John Dryer's the " The Fleece (1757)" celebration of industry—both sharing a hive-like aesthetic, calling for the idle and to serve the greater good. Yet, in relishing in this aesthetic were not only calls to quit "fruitless sports" and seek the "works of virtuous trade", the cost of labour came with a transformation of identity—in Dalton's poem, as well as Stephen Duck's "from The Thresher's Labour" (1730)—find comparisons to the Ethiopian, due to miners' skin covered with coal dust and sun scorched skin which they resembled the African slave in appearance only. In the mine at Whitehaven, however, records show African immigrants were part of the labour force there—their physical appearance described to demonstrate the nature of the work, not necessarily to bring attention to the growing slave trade in America.

While touring mines was popular, a change in the portrayal of labour, drawing poets to praise and even take on the poetic identity of these workers in this emerging economy, saw a change in the form as poets sang of both the virtue and hardships of labour while remaining at a safe distance from setting their hand to similar occupations. In this paper, I explore labour tourism and the fascination in this "Creative Commerce" aesthetic which saw human energy transform into machine energy. Focusing particularly on poetry which captures the work of the coal miner, I argue that at certain dissonance was created between value and virtue, self and machine.

Amelia Worsley, Amherst College
The Work of Allusion: Phillis Wheatley Peters' Representations of Aurora
It is well known that in her highly referential body of work, Phillis Wheatley Peters uses allusion as a method that allows to critique of her enslavers while also eluding censure. Allusion is often theorized as a form of literary play. In this paper, however, I will argue that Wheatley Peters' poetry often tests the extent to which it is useful—or ethical—to use this language to describe her methodology of allusion. Wheatley Peters was often called upon to write elegies for her enslavers' friends, or to perform her poetic skill for those who would question not only her ability to write poems, but also her humanity. As a poet who subtly foregrounds the ways in which her poetry often constituted a kind of forced labor, while also drawing attention to the wider context of the brutality of the forced labor of enslavement, the metaphor of "play" is one she repeatedly complicates. At the same time, to exclude Wheatley Peters from the realm of play would also be to deny her a sense of her own autonomy, so that the category of "play" cannot be entirely subsumed by "work" in her writing.

My talk will centre on Wheatley Peters' many references to the mythological figure of Aurora, who often appears at moments when night-time rest is interrupted by the

spectre of daytime labor. Citing various translations of Homer's Odyssey, Wheatley Peters positions Aurora, or the "rosy-fingered dawn," as a figure who allows her to expose the racialized logics at work in seemingly innocuous moments of conventional allusion. When Wheatley Peters compares the flight of the imagination to Aurora rising from Tithon's bed in her poem "On Imagination," for instance, she not only cites Homer, but also Alexander Pope's translation of Homer, in order to make a subtle critique. Pope was the first poet to suggest that Aurora's rosy cheeks result from her blushing with sexual excitement as she leaves her lover Tithon's bed behind: when she rises to produce the dawn, he suggests, the visual evidence not only of her agency, but of her sexuality, suffuses the morning. Wheatley Peters critiques the insouciance of Pope's literary play when she suggests that his imitation makes several assumptions: the image of Tithon's bed that Aurora frees herself from, she suggests, also has the potential to be threatening. Wheatley Peters makes Tithon a parallel figure to the personified figure of "Winter," who drags the voice of the poem down from her imaginative flight. This reference is another allusion; both a classical trope and a reference to James Thomson's depiction of Winter as ruler of the skies in The Seasons. Winter does not allow roses to bloom. The combination of these allusions therefore draw attention to the way in which the conventions surrounding the myth of Aurora are often predicated on her whiteness, in a culture that equates whiteness with bodily agency. While she is allowed to revel in the sky with rosy cheeks, the speaker of the poem is forced back down to earth. Wheatley's frequent return to representing Aurora in several of her poems produces a complex meditation on the assumptions inherent in this well-rehearsed allusion, revealing the racialized logics at work in seemingly innocuous descriptions of night and day. The discourse of the imagination, Wheatley Peters suggests, is implicated in the violence of slavery, and so too is the realm of literary play.

Megumi Ohsumi, Kobe University
Leisure or Labour?: Portrayals of the Enslaved in the New World
Aphra Behn was a prolific writer who purportedly sojourned in South America as part of her espionage mission under King Charles II. Within the pages of her novella, Oroonoko: or, the Royal Slave (1688), Behn reflects on her experiences in English-controlled Suriname. Employing an interdisciplinary approach, this paper endeavours to illuminate the complexities of colonial life in which Behn's observations are juxtaposed with other European portrayals of the enslaved in the New World. For example, the paper attempts a meticulous comparison of Behn's depiction of African slaves in Oroonoko with the vivid imagery captured in the Dutch painter Dirk Valkenburg's 'Slave Dance' (1707). The paper offers multifaceted views of the historical context in which works of art depicting the enslaved population were created, and it focusses on aspects in which distinctions between leisure and labour may be difficult to discern. The dearth of accounts concerning the lives of the enslaved, indigenous, and those of mixed ethnicities will be brought to attention. The most celebrated may arguably be the portrait of cousins Dido Elizabeth Belle, daughter of Sir John Lindsay and an African slave mother in the West Indies, and Lady Elizabeth Murray. The now-famed painting (c. 1779) is presently attributed to the Scottish artist David Martin, and the paper discusses analogous works which continue to emerge. Literary testimonials like Oroonoko share intricate connections with art history, and, through a nuanced analysis of the literary and visual arts, the paper sheds light on the ways in which migration, displacement and exploitation shaped the social and cultural landscapes of colonial territories, thus offering a deeper understanding of the complexities inherent in diasporic experiences.

12	**Ill-health and the body**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair:	**Declan Kavanagh**, University of Kent
Speakers:	**Bo-Yuan Huang**, Department of Foreign Languages, National Chiayi University, Taiwan
	Working and Playing with Senses in Daniel Defoe's A Journal of the Plague Year

Published in 1722, Daniel Defoe's Journal of the Plague Year is a piece of writing that describes the events of the bubonic plague that struck London in 1665. Despite its repetitions and digressions, Journal is a highly detailed, stylised, and fictionalised narrative that has long been cited as a historical source. With the narrator H. F.'s use of sensory details, the vivid and visceral depictions of sights, sounds, and smells in the plague-stricken city are meticulously provided in the narrative, creating a powerful and immersive narrative that allows readers to experience the plague firsthand.

This paper intends to examine Defoe's Journal with how he works and plays with sights, sounds, and smells. Highly transmissible as the plague is, air—although faintly discernible—functions as the powerful medium in these sensory depictions as they permeate in the city that sinks into a miasma of anxiety, uncertainty and despair. Sights mixed with visions and illusions, orders and commands blended with rumours, and smells contaminated by miasma and effluvia, this infectious narrative not only works to document the historical facts regarding the plague, but also plays with emotions that would immerse its readers. Over a century after its first publication, Defoe's Journal still finds new ways to challenge modern-day post-pandemic readers to rethink the plague.

Dominic Boden-Tebbutt, University of Birmingham
Wealth, hypochondria, and medical advancement in Molière's Le malade imaginaire and Aphra Behn's Sir Patient Fancy
Throughout time, humanity has been aware of the spectre of ill health, and has constantly sought advice, treatment, and panaceas to remedy ailments. During the late seventeenth century, medical knowledge and practice was at a crossroads between the use of herbal treatments, belief in the ancient Galenic humours and scientific advancement. Every minor ache, shiver and twinge compelled a patient to seek therapeutics, yet they relied on the inconsistent knowledge of doctors and the charlatanism of quacks promising a cure-all. This paper considers how hypochondriasis, as a physical rather than mental condition, was considered a serious ailment and a growing mark of affluence. However, seen through literature, the elite's mania for suffering from ill-health and the amounts of money paid for medicaments was increasingly satirised, particularly by Molière on the French stage (1665–1673). His biting medical satires were translated by English playwrights during the early 1670s merely for the purposes of entertaining and pleasing the audiences. I argue that Aphra Behn's Sir Patient Fancy (1678), an adaptation of Molière's Le malade imaginaire (1673), acts as an incentive for change in contemporaneous British medical practice. This paper considers how Behn's characterisation, dialogue, and setting serve as a rhetorical, and scientific marker of the growing advancements in empirical medicine. I examine how Behn augments Molière's source material to blend ritualistic and clinical medicine to criticise pretension and ignorance, which was ultimately detrimental to a patient's health. Indeed, I make a case that Behn comedically uses the upper-class' obsession with ill-health and remedies to advocate a change in social attitude towards hypochondriasis – from viewing it as a physical condition to understanding it as a mental disturbance.

Rosamund Paice, Northumbria University
'Mod'rate Labour free from anxious Cares': gardening and restoration in the writings of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (c. 1676-1755) and beyond
Seriously ill and reclusive, in his mid-20s John Clerk retired to his father's Penicuik estate. There, he embraced the milk and vegetable diet subsequently made famous by George Cheyne, and threw himself into the 'mod'rate Labour' of gardening (Clerk, 'The Country Seat'). The Clerk records (most of which remain unpublished and accessible only at the National Records of Scotland) contain letters and memoirs documenting not only gardening's restorative effect on John Clerk's mental and physical health, but also father's encouragement of his new 'humure of planting and making of nurseries'. In

particular, Clerk cultivated multiple plantations at Pennicuik and, after his father's death, also at Mavisbank.

This paper interrogates Clerk's accounts of plantation alongside those of his father (also Sir John Clerk, d. 1722), uncovering the ways in which they use plantation activities to address practically, and to write about, mental and physical health. It also compares accounts of this restorative work to the 'expensive and laborious work' of coal mining, whose benefits are described only in financial terms (Clerk, Memoirs).
With the contemporary focus for both Pennicuik and Mavisbank being on restoration of its built heritage, this paper asks how the spirit of 'mod'rate Labour' embraced by their most famous inhabitant might encourage alternative ways of thinking about restoration and the country estate.

Ioannes Chountis, University of Aberdeen
'The decay of so mighty a mind': Edmund Burke and perceptions of mental health in 18th and 19th century Britain
At the closure of his long career, Edmund Burke, the 18th century Anglo-Irish political thinker and Whig politician was often perceived by contemporaries as having fallen mentally ill in an attempt to discredit him. After his death, Victorian commentators of his work, such as Henry T. Buckle, attempted to interpret his position on the French Revolution based on the idea that Burke had faced mental health problems, caused in part by the loss of his son and events in France. Burke's case remains a prominent, albeit unexplored, example of how perceptions of mental health developed in the 18th and 19th centuries. The purpose of this paper is twofold: First, to showcase how mental health remains a missing link in our understanding of Burke both as a public and private figure. And second, how Burke's case continues to be pertinent today because of his own history illustrates the necessity to comprehend better the complexity of mental health risks in politics. Overall, this interrogation aims at contributing in the ongoing discussion of how mental health was instrumentalised in the late Georgian and early Victorian era as a means of either discrediting political opponents or doing away with complex intellectual problems.

13	**Entertainment and Education**
Room:	Louey Seminar Room
Chair:	**Matthew Grenby**, Newcastle University
Speakers:	**Pauls Daija**, National Library of Latvia, Centre of Research and Interpretation

Work and Identity: A Reflection on the Erosion of Enlightenment Values
The Popular Enlightenment (Volksaufklärung) in the German (Baltic) provinces of Russia was influenced by the peasant reform movements in German-speaking countries and promoted education of peasants through books. Thanks to the efforts by local Baltic German Lutheran pastors, a wide amount of books (economic and medical literature, belletristic fiction, encyclopaedic works) for peasants were published during the 18th and early 19th centuries that—along with educational activities of popular enlighteners—had a significant impact on the general rise of literacy, on development of the reading public among rural population, as well as on the first generation of lower class intellectuals. In the 19th century, the efforts of the Popular Enlightenment formed the ground for development of the nation building processes in the region. It has been overlooked in previous research that the concept of work was extremely significant not only in the development of Popular Enlightenment project, but also in its transition to new developments in the early 19th century. In my presentation, I will turn attention to three topics that I consider relevant in this transition: 1) how abolition of serfdom made relationship between professional and personal identities unstable? 2) how the project of Popular Enlightenment went into a crisis when it continued to spread the 18th century message to people who were suddenly open to different professional paths? 3) were there parallels between the late-Enlightenment perceptions of rural professional identity and the 21st century trends that have been described as 'workism'? In this way, I will

attempt to demonstrate that the concept of a stable link between rural work and personal happiness was crucial for the Popular Enlightenment project, and both industrialization and abolition of serfdom provided one of greatest challenges for this project.

Pamela Price, Cardiff University
'The representation of work and play in eighteenth-century children's literary texts A Little Pretty Pocket-Book, The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes, The Governess and A Very Pretty Story'

The long eighteenth century saw a dynamic transition from didactic books for children to those that aim to instruct and entertain. The representation of work and play is evident through the moral teachings intertwined with encouraging learning through play and amusing stories. This trend was jettisoned by the philosophy of John Locke in Some Thoughts Concerning Education where he proposed that 'learning anything they [children] should be taught, might be made as much a recreation to their play, as their play is to their learning'.

Book publishers, such as John Newbery, writers such as Oliver Goldsmith and Sarah Fielding as well as private individuals, such as Jane Johnson, produced books that combined the work of moral learning with entertaining aspects of instruction through play. In Newbery's A Little Pretty Pocket-Book and The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes, the work of moral lessons is presented through games and decorative woodcut illustrations. In A Little Pretty Pocket-Book, rules of life are taught through kite flying, marbles, fishing and shuttle-cock. In A History of Little Goody Two-Shoes, Margery Meanwell works to elevate herself in society from poverty through education and marriage where she shares the benefits of her hard work educating the village children using her entertaining basket of letters and the child reader through anecdotes, narrative and illustrations. Similarly, both Sarah Fielding's The Governess and Jane Johnson's A Very Pretty Story explore the work of learning moral lessons by employing entertaining and playful fairy stories. These texts explore the representation between work and play for young readers in the eighteenth century through a variety of games, illustrations, narratives, anecdotes and fairy stories.

Jessikah Díaz, Yale University

Light Labour in the Midcentury Georgic
Once a genre about small-scale farming, the midcentury georgic became heavily invested in Britain's emerging commercial potential. Works like Cornelius Arnold's "Commerce" (1751), John Dyer's "The Fleece" (1752), and James Grainger's "The Sugar-Cane" (1764) promoted an emerging modern era of transatlantic trade. Yet inside each of these poems is an opposition to the fast-paced work that comes with industrial progress. This paper pays special attention to the way these georgics present new modes of commercial work as less punishing and more pleasant. The poems I attend to in this paper refer variously to that work as "easy-toil" or "chearful labour," but the combination of physical and emotional relief is probably best captured by one predominate figure: "light labour," taken from Grainger's call to "make labour light." Light labour utilises the period's competing aesthetic pressures to specialise and sentimentalise the georgic for its readers: at once attending to a desire to grow Britain's mass labour force and curbing criticism about inhumane work practices such as slavery. This paper theorises that the georgic's pattern of classical virtue gets recast by Enlightenment trends in aesthetic philosophy that turn "lightness" into a virtue of the passions, passions that motivate work but speak to its hardships well enough to hold off critique. Light labour develops throughout the midcentury georgic as a figure of attraction and attenuation, a nascent theorising of work-induced fulfilment that is never fully practical nor realised in its time, but remains ultimately poetic.

Graham Nutbrown, University of Bath
William Godwin's philosophy of education
In two works of the 1790s, An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and The Enquirer, William Godwin put education at the heart of his hugely optimistic account of social justice. Godwin was briefly married to Mary Wollstonecraft, before her death in 1797, and like her he rejected many of Rousseau's ideas (in Emile) regarding education. Progressive education theorists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries followed Rousseau rather than Godwin. But Godwin's ideas are at re-emerging in current educational discourse concerning critical thinking, epistemic injustice, oracy and the interpersonal nature of learning. Godwin's neglect as an education theorist can be traced in part to his philosophical anarchism, to the long term view he took of human improvement, to the government-sponsored propaganda campaign against him, and to the eclipse of his reputation in the early years of the nineteenth century, before his death at the age of eighty in 1836.

14	**Shakespeare and the Eighteenth Century**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	**Conrad Brunstrom**, Maynooth University
Speakers:	**Beth Sharrock**, University of Warwick

Cutting Words: Editorial Sociability in Eighteenth Century Editions of Shakespeare
In the first half of the eighteenth century, the publication of Shakespeare's collected works became synonymous with the single named editor. Nicholas Rowe, Alexander Pope, and Lewis Theobald were each chosen by Jacob Tonson's publishing syndicate to front successive editions of Shakespeare's works on the merits of their own literary careers. Who edited Shakespeare's works – with what expertise and methodologies – emerged for the first time in this period as real commercial concerns. The networks of collaboration and contention between editors of Shakespeare's works are notorious, in part due to their fictionalisation and fossilisation in Pope's mock-epic satire the Dunciad. Less well attended to are the ways in which paratexts to the editions themselves record, document, and reimagine the (anti)sociability of editorial practice. This paper proposes to consider seriously the role of sociability in the eighteenth century editing of Shakespeare's works. Sociability is understood here as the network of relationships between editors and contributors to editions in the period, as well as in more abstract terms, including the collation of and interaction between texts. The paper is framed around a discussion of the Johnson-Steevens Variorum (1773; revised 1778). How did a culture of editorial independence and fierce contention in the first half of the century precipitate, in the latter part, the collaboration and sociability of the Variorum edition? Two bookending paratexts to this edition (a call for editorial contributors and an index of commentary) are examined as documents of an editorial practice that embraces the value of sociability to an unprecedented extent. In turn, these examples facilitate an exploration of potential ways in which the figure of the "editor" was shaped by, and understood through, the paratextual articulation of productive and destructive collaborative relationships.

Attention to how sociability informs the editing and paratextual structure of Shakespeare editions also allows this period of Shakespearean textual history to speak to debates on the relationship between politeness, communality, and commerciality in the work of, among others, Bernard Mandeville and Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third earl of Shaftesbury. By reframing these editions as documents of editorial sociability, the paper will reflect on how the form of Shakespearean editions in the period shifted; expanding and contracting according to the networks of intellectual and social collaboration which defined their methodology. In this way, I posit the need for a re-evaluation of how these editions participate in the eighteenth century's broader concerns of communality, civility, and the social life of books.

Joseph Harris, Royal Holloway, University of London
The play's the thing: Ducis's Hamlet as work in progress (1769-1815)
Quite aside from being a radical reworking of Shakespeare by an author who did not even speak English, Jean-François Ducis's Hamlet could well be the most rewritten play of the long eighteenth century. Originally performed in 1769, it received its first rewrites during its very first run – perhaps even before its second performance – and this process of revision continued, with breaks, almost up until the author's death in 1816. The early years of the nineteenth century in particular saw a frenzied flurry of revisions and adaptations, with Ducis frantically rewriting the ending, sometimes several times in a week, in order to bring it into line with evolving aesthetic and political values.

Rather than attempt to trace Hamlet's intricate evolution across the period, this paper compares its first and last versions: the unpublished manuscript of the original 1769 performance, partly discernible behind copious emendations, and the final edition published within Ducis's lifetime, in 1815. The intervening years see many changes: originally absent Shakespearean episodes are reintroduced in suitably Frenchified form ('To be or not to be', the 'play-within-a-play' episode); existing scenes are repurposed and rearranged; the Ghost is definitively deprived of any ontological existence; and the increasingly villainous Claudius comes to die by Hamlet's hand rather than by his own. Yet Hamlet's eventual (and highly un-Shakespearean) survival and assumption of kingship – a mainstay of all Ducis's versions – sits uneasily with the period's newly post-Revolutionary politics. Rather than downplay the tragedy's political dimension, however, Ducis increases it, bringing in subplots involving political corruption, bribery, and disinformation that further discredit Claudius. As should become apparent, despite his inclusion of a few new Shakespearean elements, Ducis's rewritings are not striving towards greater accuracy or authenticity; rather, his aim is to tap into Shakespeare to produce something distinctively French.

Luisa Signorelli, University College London
"Our Wag": Eighteenth-Century Jestbook Humour and the Cult of Shakespeare's 'Witty Foolishness'
Shakespeare's rise to cultural prominence during the eighteenth century is often described as an elevation to divine status. While the admiration of Shakespeare in this period undoubtedly divinised his literary accomplishments, I will argue that a parallel process emphasised Shakespeare's humanity and his social proximity to his readers. Starting from the legends on his past as a deer poacher and a horse minder, Shakespeare's lowlife youth and his rumoured drinking habits resulted in the praise of his "witty fool[ishness]" as the popular counterpart to the elitist admiration of his literary ingenuity.

In my paper, I will chart the evolution of the cult of Shakespeare's 'waggish' wit in the eighteenth century by looking at his afterlife in the jestbooks of this period. Despite printing many jokes about literary, philosophical, and, in general, historical figures, jestbooks like Joe Miller's Jests (1739) rarely included references to Shakespeare. In Christopher Smart's pseudo-intellectual jestbook The Nut-Cracker (1751), Shakespeare is still kept at a reverential distance: it is the misunderstanding of his works by pedant critics and untalented actors that causes hilarity, but he does not appear as a jester. Instead, Elizabethan wit was epitomised by his contemporaries: Francis Bacon displayed his sardonic wit in conversation with Queen Elizabeth, while Ben Jonson showcased his jocular, drunk wit in the dedicated collection Ben Johnson's Jests (1751). Shakespeare played the part of the jester for the first time in Shakespear's Jests, a jestbook published to celebrate the 1769 Shakespeare Jubilee. In Shakespeare's Jests, Shakespeare is represented as a drunkard, a misogynist, and a cruel friend, but never as a writer. I will argue that, far from denying Shakespeare's liteerary grandeur, the crass jestbook humour of Shakespeare's Jests showed him partaking in a type of social behaviour usually reserved for a gentleman's inner circle. By looking at this jestbook in

the context of recent theories on eighteenth-century "occasional politeness" and David Garrick's more general efforts to bring Shakespeare to a popular public, I will argue that Shakespeare's Jests created the illusion of social proximity between the reader and Shakespeare. In doing so, it suggested an alternative mode of engaging with Shakespeare's dramatic oeuvre, a mode based on the rehearsal of his sociable spirit rather than the perusal of his text or the performance of his plays.

Philip Smallwood, Birmingham City University and Bristol University
"Père du romanticisme": Johnson and Stendhal
My title, taken from Stendhal's reflection in 1819 on the statue of Johnson at St. Paul's in London, represents his striking verdict on his English critical predecessor, whose Preface and Lives he first encountered in 1801. In 1818, while living in Milan, Stendhal prepared the ground for his celebrated critical work of 1825, Racine et Shakspeare (sic). Stendhal's document of 1818, one of two "pamphlets milanais," drew without attribution on Johnson's famous defence of Shakespeare's neglect of the unities of time and place in his Preface of 1765 and can be regarded, in part, as a translation/adaptation of Johnson. "Qu'est-ce Que Le Romanticisme?" is generally, in fact, viewed as a plagiary, and this description is accorded to Stendhal's pamphlet by the Clifford and Greene Bibliography of Johnson. The editors note that "Qu'est-ce Que Le Romanticisme?" appears as an Appendix to the 1825 edition of Racine et Shakspeare when the piece did not actually surface in print until 1854, after the death of Stendhal, in the edition of his works by Roman Colomb. In this foregrounding of Stendhal's "plagiary," I suggest, the larger meanings of his interaction with Johnson's arguments are lost to critical history. My paper shows how Stendhal's Johnsonian Father of Romanticism opens a critical avenue to the age to come.

15	**Sound, Image, Text: Laborde's Choix de Chansons**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Abstract:	The panel is inspired by the digital critical edition of Jean-Benjamin de la Borde's Choix de Chansons (1773), developed by an interdisciplinary team of art historians, musicologists and literary scholars from the Australian National University, University of Sydney, University of Oxford, and the Sorbonne. The project explores the interrelation and interactivity of images, music, and text in the Choix de Chansons and similar cultural objects in the eighteenth century.

Chair:	**Robert Wellington**, Australian National University
Speakers:	**Robert Wellington**, Australian National University

The iconography of Choix de Chansons
In 100 fine etchings, the Choix de Chansons provides a snapshot of the French Court style in art and design of the mid-1770s. This paper provides a comparative analysis of the iconography of prints in Jean-Benjamin de Laborde's 1773 publication alongside the works of art exhibited in the Salons of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in the 1760s and 1770s. Alongside the visual analysis of the prints, the results of a digital textual analysis of iconographic tags (metadata) will be used to reveal correlations between the subjects, tropes, and genres represented in the Choix de Chansons and the works of art on show in the Salon Carrée at the Louvre. I argue that an iconographical analysis of the prints in Laborde's Choix de Chansons is pre-Revolutionary Paris art in microcosm.

Christina Clarke, Australian National University
Women, Textile Craft and Narrative in the Choix de Chansons
Among the Choix de chansons' songs and prints, references to and depictions of the production of liberal and mechanical arts act as narrative devices, but the overwhelming majority of these are of women creating textiles. Although a seemingly marginal theme in Laborde's volume, these instances provide a fascinating transdisciplinary case study in courtly perceptions of textile production as women's labour.

Nicholas Cronk, University of Oxford & Glenn Roe,Sorbonne University
Laborde's Poets: influence and intertextuality in 18th-century songbooks
Who were the poets included in Jean-Benjamin Laborde's Choix des Chansons (1773)?
How well known were they? How much did they contribute? And to what degree can
they be considered 'authors' in this decidedly multi-disciplinary and multi-media
songbook? Were these poets and their poems used elsewhere, in similar contexts, and
for similar purposes? We aim to address these questions as part of the larger 2-panel
discussion of Laborde's songbook and its relationship to the larger fields of lyric poetry,
printed music and book illustration.

We will begin by identifying the poets and poems mobilised by Laborde to accompany
his songs and their associated illustrations. From a prosopographical perspective we aim
to contextualise the poets in the 18th-century literary field. The choice of poem or lyric
for a given song is far from haphazard, and as such we will endeavour to understand
Laborde's poetical inclusions from a literary-historical standpoint. Furthermore, these
poems often were often used and reused in other contexts, circulating through the
various print media of the time. The second part of our contribution thus aims at
identifying similar instance of text reuse for Laborde's poets in a large digital corpus of
18th-century texts and newspapers.

<center>**Further speakers to be announced.**</center>

16	**Industry**
Room:	Hamlin Room 1 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Alice Marples**, The British Library
Speakers:	**Dave Hitchcock**, Canterbury Christ Church University

'Work for Himself, His Wife, and Children, and Children's Children': Poverty, Work, and the Rise of 'Model Villages' in Eighteenth Century England
In 1717 Laurence Braddon described the state of the poor in England as a 'national sin'
and proposed an increasingly common remedy: to build up from nothing at the realm's
expense several large 'collegiate cities' or towns which would provide universalized
housing, dietary supplements, clothing, and importantly work schedules for all the
inhabitants. While Braddon owed and acknowledged debts to More's Utopia, he also
drew on the fashionable techniques of political arithmetic and on much older strands of
universalist utopianism. Braddon's proposals are part of a clear intellectual chain
devoted to the instrumentalization of poverty, and the transformation of the poor into
both an engine of colonial and economic productivity and ostensibly into the authors of
their own worldly happiness, principally by co-locating them into a purpose-built
community.

This paper charts the 'rise of the model village' in later seventeenth- and eighteenth-
century British culture as part of a larger project on poverty's 'utility' in the early modern
period. A dreaming aspiration since Plato, long a foil for social and economic thought,
and often the blueprint for colonization efforts, by the eighteenth century the idea of a
model village—often designed so that all the inhabitants would be put to work in
particular industries like textiles or shipbuilding—had become a common conceptual
means to 'refashion', 'reform', or perhaps even to terraform, nominally unproductive
spaces and populations. We even begin to see a concept of creating 'free time' for the
poor emerge from the same discursive sources. Building on recent work by McCormick,
Yamamoto, and others, this paper explores the utility of 'putting the poor to work' in a
perfectible fashion under the aegis of creating model villages, and examines the powerful
effects of this idea in our larger histories of work, leisure, colonialism, and welfare.

Edward Hardiman, Keele University
All work and no play makes Andrew Hudleston a dull boy: Self-Fashioning, occupation and the Idle Gentleman, 1734-1821

Idleness was a topic that occupied a large space within eighteenth-century print culture. Nominally perceived as a moral evil, it was broadly defined as the waste or misapplication of time. Scholars such as Sarah Jordan have suggested that print culture's fixation on idleness was an important component of forging Britain's national identity, other nations and peoples were idle when compared to industrious Britain, expanding its trade and accumulating capital. Similarly, this rubric was utilised by the middling orders to rail against what they saw as the languorous landed elite who lived on their rents and contributed nothing to the growing nation. The latter's lack of occupation and reliance on archaic forms of patronage and rents were an emasculating system of dependency. However, these biting critiques were not cognisant of, nor interested in, the incremental changes that genteel masculinity was undergoing during the long eighteenth century, which predominately incorporated, rather than outright rejected, these criticisms. Jason Solinger suggests that being a gentleman shifted from an identity that you inherited or were, to something that you had to become and sustain. The 'work' of becoming a gentleman was increasingly associated with paid work, rather than eschewing a salary on the basis of their status as independent gentlemen.

This paper will engage with this discourse on industry and idleness through the coded life writing of Andrew Hudleston (1734-1821), a Cumberland-born gentleman lawyer. Belonging to the lesser gentry, the Hudleston's of Hutton John relied upon legal work in order to supplement their declining income from their land holdings. Despite being enrolled at Gray's Inn and receiving detailed legal guidance from his father, Andrew was unable to become a successful barrister. Correspondence between father and son reveals interfamilial conflict and the former's disappointment at his son living in 'stupidity and idleness'. However, this narrative of the diligent and hardworking father frustrated by his wayward son is complicated when considering the latter's extensive collection of coded life writing. Andrew began this endeavour in 1764 and continued journaling and note-making until his death; his diaries, commonplace, and memorandum books are an expression of genteel identity in conflict. Although faced with the family's declining financial situation, Andrew's desire to fashion a genteel identity in opposition to contemporary notions of the professional working gentleman evidence a clear disconnect between individual lived experience and broader social expectations. Aware of the pejorative definition of idleness, Andrew invoked the term in a far more positive context, coveting older conceptions of leisured gentility. This paper will therefore demonstrate the nuances between larger shifts in genteel masculinity and individual efforts of self-fashioning through Andrew's extensive collection of coded life writing.

Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton
Shoemakers at work

This paper will focus on the figure of the shoemaker in Georgian Britain. Shoemaking was a highly specialised and skilled trade. It was divided between 'cordwainers' who made shoes, 'cobblers' who repaired them and 'translators' who refurbished old shoes. Most shoe production took place in small and quiet workshops, where workers had a great deal of independence and could discuss while they worked, so historians have often identified shoemakers with political radicalism and autodidacticism. Factory production and mechanisation came relatively late to the shoemaking sector, and when it did it subdivided further into specialised tasks, and allocated these along gender lines. This paper will think about the working methods of shoemakers, and will think about how historians should go about studying practices that were learned on-the-job and rarely written down. It will therefore engage with making as an autoethnographic methodology, as a way to study haptic practices that have otherwise been lost.

Lara Taylor, Northeastern University London
'Britain's hardy sons, of rustic mold': The English Pastoral, Commercialised Brewing, Beer-Drinking and the Idea of Productive Leisure in John Philips' Cerealia and Thomas Warton's 'Panegyric on Oxford Ale'
This paper argues that beer as a literary symbol is the ideal lens through which to explore the representation of both work and play in eighteenth-century literature. I also want to complicate the work-play binary by introducing the idea of productive leisure derived from my reading of texts by John Philips and Thomas Warton in which beer drinking is simultaneously a source of energy, a form of leisure and a symbol of industrialisation. By the close of the long eighteenth century beer was symbolic of England's national identity, pastoral past and rapidly industrialising economy. The rapid commercialisation of brewing was kickstarted by the addition of hops to ale to make porter in the 1720's. Hops significantly increased the drink's shelf life and made porter the first malt liquor that could be mass produced and shipped at scale. Neil McKendrick argues that beer spearheaded the industrial revolution in England as a result of this advancement. According to McKendrick beer was 'the first mass consumer product to be mass produced under factory conditions and sold to the public for cash at fixed prices by pure retailers.' As an English industry, brewing's trajectory from cottage industry to mass production and distribution made it evocative of the industrialisation of England's economy as a whole.

In John Philips' Cerealia: An Imitation of Milton beer is a lens through which to explore England's pastoral past, both literal and literary, in contrast to its industrial present. It is a means of configuring England's identity as a separate island whilst also engaging with neoclassicism and the European origins of its Enlightenment present. Merlin presides over a conflict between Bacchus, the decidedly French god of wine, and Ceres, the goddess of beer, who in this poem is the particular champion and protector of the English. Beer occupies a space between work and play in that, compared to gin, it is a temperate form of leisure that fuels productivity – ale is responsible for the 'martial fame', 'matchless youth' and prosperity of its drinkers. As Dorothy White notes, beer drinking came to symbolise social order, agricultural abundance and a happy, ruddy cheeked working class. Thomas Warton also positions beer at the intersection between work and play in his 'Panegyric on Oxford Ale' (1777). Like Phillips, he imitates Milton to discuss beer, a working class beverage comically lacking in the classical and literary associations enjoyed by drinks such as wine. However, beer's lack of literary pedigree means that its literary culture was formed in the eighteenth century through reference to its contemporary associations with agriculture, the commercialisation of brewing, and beer's shift from staple to affordable luxury beverage. Representations of making or drinking beer in eighteenth-century literature are therefore uniquely placed to provide potent metaphors examining the themes of work and play in the English Pastoral mode.

17	**Actresses and Actors**
Room:	Hamlin Room 2 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Michael Burden**, University of Oxford
Speakers:	**Mathilde-Eléonore Duhot Dacquin**, Université de Lille / Universität Duisburg-Essen

The Critical Reception of Comic Acting : Dorothy Jordan's (1761-1816) Career Between Work and Play
While all acting can be described as a form of work that is also play, this paper proposes to study the critical discourse about comic acting in the late Georgian Period, especially as it related to the career of its leading woman, Dorothy Jordan, through a generic lens. The contention of this paper will be that comic acting was perceived of as a strange mixture of work and play. Generic conventions influenced critics to promote a vision of the comic performer not as a professional, but rather as a person who shared in the entertainment felt by the theatrical audience. Indeed, the lightness of the material performed on stage often discredited its acting as not constituting work, even though

comic performers were often made to appear in both the main piece and the afterpiece during an evening's performance, which was not the case for tragic performers.

The notion that comic acting was not work was all the more prevalent regarding women, depending on their dramatic emplois; in the case of Dorothy Jordan, her usual type of roles as sprightly young women tended to deprive her of an accurate perception of her efforts and talents in favour of a discourse of effortless gaiety surrounding her appearances on stage. Critical reception of Jordan as a "natural" actress furthered the impression that her actions on stage were not the exertions of a person at work, but the spectacle of the woman's genuine amusement.

This becomes striking through a comparison between the receptions of comic and tragic performers, as well as trough recourse to statistical data surrounding comic and tragic careers.

In this paper, I will study the creation of a discourse in critical receptions of comic actress Dorothy Jordan and the elements constituting it, study the generic influences that play on it, and compare it with the discourse surrounding Sarah Siddons' career as a tragic actress. Periodicals and critical essays will primarily be used, as well as letters by both Jordan and Siddons, and biographies of dramatic performers.

Susan Reynolds, The British Library
'Bon voyage, cher Dumollet': vaudeville and the capricious career of Marc-Antoine Désaugiers
Although Marc-Antoine Madeleine Désaugiers (1772-1827) was intended for the priesthood,the family theatrical tradition proved too strong, and in his nineteenth year he produced in collaboration with his father, a renowned composer for the stage, a light opera (1791) adapted from Molière's `Le Médecin malgré lui'. During the French Revolution he emigrated to Santo Domingo, and during the revolt there he was taken prisoner, barely escaping with his life. He fled to the United States, supported himself by teaching the piano, and 1797 returned to France, where he rapidly achieved fame as a writer of comedies, operas and vaudevilles, which were produced at the Théâtre des Variétés and the Vaudeville. Some of these were witty parodies of contemporary favourites such as Salieri's `Les Danaïdes' and Rossini's `La Gazza ladra', while others adopted a satirical view of national or regional stereotypes, as in `Mylord Go' (1804). Even Goethe's `Die Leiden des jungen Werthers' became the subject of one of his vaudevilles (`Le Jeune Werther, ou les Grandes passions'). However, perhaps his greatest success was a song from `Le départ pour Saint-Malo', created at the Théâtre des Variétés in 1809. `Bon voyage, cher Dumollet', a chorus accompanying the naive hero's departure from Paris for his native Brittany, achieved such popularity that it is still widely sung today. Ironically, although Désaugiers had written pieces to celebrate the name-day of Charles X, the song would be adopted as a caricature of the king's ignominious departure into exile. Désaugiers suffered a similar reversal of fortune; in 1815 he had become manager of the Vaudeville and ran it successfully until in 1820, the opposition of the Gymnase proved too strong for him, and he resigned.

Denys Van Renen, United States Air Force Academy
"My native London air!": Discursive Play, Environmental Adaptability in Mary Pix's play Innocent Mistress
In the prologue to her play Innocent Mistress (1697), Mary Pix presents the author's misgivings about the theater's reformation or the sanitization of lewd or profane discourses. Pix frets that this is "A thing to which y' have no great inclination" (21). In effect, the play suggests that, instead of reacclimating the English, these censures displace or disorient them as narrow representational practices limit how they access their home. Because "dirty" discourses are familiar, Pix suggests that sterilizing them is especially problematic in an era in which the English are returning from commercial and colonial ventures across the globe. The play's notable intervention, then, in late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century drama is its suggestion that discursive—and environmental—

pollution is already so engrained that attempts to cleanse these atmospheres render homecoming inoperable. Pix showcases a variety of licentious characters who travel to or possess familiarity with the East and West Indies. In particular, Mrs. Flywife, who sullied her social reputation and ruined her marriage prospects, travels to Jamaica purportedly to find a husband. When she returns, though, she continues to seek men and pleasure. Because Flywife exhibits these same "inclinations" and expects London to satisfy them, her homecoming is especially joyous. When Pix introduces her to the audience, Mrs. Flywife exclaims, "O how happy am I, to breathe again my native London air! I vow the smoke of this dear town delights me more than all the Indian groves" (1.3.1-3). London's dirty air enables her homecoming as the smoke "delights" her. In effect, the play suggests that society's exposure to varieties of discourses enables characters' receptivity to environmental stimuli. While the play does not especially celebrate discursive "contaminants" as they are characterized by dominant discourses, it suggests that attempts to erase them not only displaces Londoners but also makes the English less receptive to discursive and environmental climates across the globe.

Helen Dallas, Trinity College, University of Oxford
'A play got up by the departed ghosts of first-rate actors': Mediating the Afterlives of Dramatic Characters
This paper examines the mediation of David Garrick's Richard III and Charles Macklin's Shylock after the deaths of those actors. Drawing on Joseph Roach's idea of 'surrogation' and Marvin Carlson's articulation of 'ghosting', I look at how these actors' versions of the characters lived on in textual, visual, and material forms as the roles were being played onstage by new actors.

The characters of Shylock and Richard III were both revolutionized onstage in 1741, by Macklin and Garrick respectively. I consider the legends and legacies that built up around these two actors' performances, and how later actors, particularly Edmund Kean, who was famous for both roles, were seen as responding to these great innovators. In particular, I am interested in the divergences in the afterlives of these two actors-as-characters: why Garrick's name continued to circulate in references to Kean's Richard III, whilst Macklin was – quite pointedly, in Edgeworth's historical novel Harrington (1817) – relegated to the past.

18	**Workforce, Labour and Theory**
Room:	Dobbs Room 1 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Paul Stephens**, University of Oxford
Speakers:	**Lois Wignall**, University of Liverpool

An Intellectual History of Industrialisation: The 'Scientific Culture' of the Birmingham Library
The paper will illuminate the Birmingham Library's significance to early British industrialisation. Through a consideration of ideas and people characterising the establishment, the presentation probes the purpose of this previously overlooked institution.

By analysing external sources — such as the library's 1798 catalogue, subscription list, and rules — and literature contained within the 'Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and General Science' class, the paper regards the library's membership, operation, and exclusive collection of unique scientific material. Examinations of members' publication histories and personal correspondence supplement this interrogation; the presentation observes how local industrial entrepreneurs — particularly Matthew Boulton (1728-1809), Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), James Keir (1735-1820), and James Watt (1736-1809) — interacted with the institution.

The paper asserts that the Birmingham Library accommodated industrial actors' practical and professional needs, thereby furthering existing narratives of Birmingham's

famed intellectual networks; notably, the library comprised a knowledge repository catering to the increasingly active Lunar Society. The paper also reveals subscribers' contributions to held literature and the importance of bookish learning to their technical conversance, thus pointing to members' library engagement. The paper concludes that the Birmingham Library stimulated the town's industrial expansion, a novel contention that builds upon dominant historiographies. By exploring library purpose beyond association, the paper expands library historians' single-function arguments; the institution boasted multiple roles, including the promotion of members' technical comprehension. Moreover, the paper nuances the work of economic historians advancing cultural explanations for industrialisation; the library played a part within a broader contemporary scientific culture by enabling engagement with — and the production of — industrial knowledge.

Furthermore, subscribers potentially emulated formal cultures of knowledge dissemination they previously enjoyed through the institution; by casting the library according to this mould, they permitted lesser-known industrial actors' engagement in such cultures. Speaking to the conference theme of 'Work and Play', the paper investigates how industrial entrepreneurs potentially appropriated 'Enlightened' models of knowledge access to ensure worker complacency and discipline. By comparing the founding ethos of the Birmingham Library with later literary arenas concerned with workers' education, the paper urges audience reflection regarding the various ways subscription libraries spurred industrial expansion.

Ross Lowton, King's College, London
"There [...] shall bright canals, and solid roads expand": Labour and Indolence in British Constructions of Indigenous Australians
A recurring theme in eighteenth-century visions of Australia and its Indigenous peoples, amongst the many discourses that took place, was that of work, of indolence, of labour value and its pointed absence. From the very first anglophone account of Australia in 1697 to First Fleet settler accounts and even Romantic poetic visions of the 'great south land' a century later, we consistently find commentary on Indigenous Australians that seeks to assess the value of them and their bodies as an exploitable resource via their ability to undertake labour, a commentary that often posits a negative and dismissive opinion. Alongside this, an image emerges of Australia as a vast and 'untapped' resource that can only be put to proper and good use by European industry, agriculture and, fundamentally, ownership. Pairing readings of important texts from writers such as William Dampier and Erasmus Darwin with contemporary notions of labour and imperial economics from figures like Adam Smith, this paper assesses the nature of these discourses over Indigenous labour value and exposes them as a deeply damaging aspect of the construction of an Indigenous Australian stereotype in eighteenth-century London, an enduring theme that repeatedly re-emerged in accounts of and narratives about Australia's native peoples that were crucial in informing and directing the course of future colonisation and settlement.

Philippe Bernhard Schmid, University of Basel
The Workplace of Enlightenment: Colin Campbell and the Repurposing of Paper
Early modern pupils, students and academics employed a series of technologies which helped to save labour and resources. Focusing on the surviving manuscript papers of the mathematician Colin Campbell of Achnaba (1644–1726), who was a minister of the Church of Scotland, I will discuss the management of materials by looking at the repurposing of paper. Ann Blair has detailed how in the sixteenth century Conrad Gessner cut and pasted slips from letters which he had received to compile new scholarly indices. Similarly, notebooks were often reused by students, as Christopher Burlinson has revealed. Other scientific or scholarly practitioners, such as Boyle or Leibniz, were less careful in their use of paper, as Matthew Eddy, Elizabeth Yale, Richard Yeo and others have made clear, who have recently championed early modern

'paper tools'. As a minister in the Scottish Highlands, Campbell was dependant on his network of correspondence to collect news, books and other goods either from Edinburgh or Glasgow. Accordingly, he repeatedly repurposed the paper of the letters that were sent to him, turning them into notebooks by cutting up the letters and reusing blank spaces for mathematical note-taking. On the empty paper, Campbell drew diagrams with the help of rulers and other mathematical instruments, excerpted articles from journals such as the Acta eruditorum from Leipzig, reused slips which he cut out as index cards or composed short essays. Yet Campbell's saving of resources does not represent the circular system of the scholarly household. Households have played a dominant role in accounts of 'dearth', 'thrift' and the 'sociomateriality of paper', most notably in the work of Ayesha Mukherjee and Simon Werrett. But between the homes of Elizabethan London and the early eighteenth century, Britain's colonial expansion had assured that material resources never circulated in a closed system. Built on narratives of improvement and colonial justification more generally, resources were often wasted on a large scale, as Vera Keller has recently argued. In my paper, I will trace the various sources of Campbell's letters-as-notebooks, revealing that what on first glance looks like a local recycling of materials in fact represents a hybridisation of three separate networks of exchange. Campbell's repurposing of letters thus helps to determine his own social position as a minister at the intersection of networks during the early Scottish Enlightenment.

19	**Religion**
Room:	Dobbs Room 2 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Jacob Baxter**, University of St Andrews
Speakers:	**Melinda Rabb**, Brown University

Working and Playing by the Golden Rule

The Golden Rule's ubiquity and longevity as a guide for human behavior—whether at work and at play—is unsurpassed. A version of the rule occurs in almost every recorded system of morality, beginning at least as early as ancient Greek and Roman philosophy. The idea has been celebrated as the essential and indispensable ethic of reciprocity—of treating others as one would wish to be treated. In the Judeo-Christian traditions, the earliest sources are in the Torah's Book of Leviticus 19 and the Babylonian Talmud. Rabbi Akiba wrote that the entirety of scripture was mere commentary on this essential idea. In Christian texts, the concept is key in the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew 7, Luke 6 and 10, and Galatians 5. Saint Paul comments in the Book of Romans on the centrality, the preeminence, of the Golden Rule: "The commandments, 'You shall not commit adultery,' 'You shall not murder,' 'You shall not steal,' 'You shall not covet,' and whatever other commands there may be, are summed up in this one command: 'Love your neighbor as yourself.'" As recently as 1993, the Parliament of the World's Religions issued a document called the Declaration Toward a Global Ethic which claims the Golden Rule ("We must treat others as we wish others to treat us") as the common unifying principle.

From one perspective, the eighteenth-century witnessed the development of new contexts within which to endorse this essential rule: fairness in sport; reciprocity in trade and business; democratic ideas; access to personal gains in material goods and pleasures through "shares" and "trusts" in the marketplace, as well as to pleasure gardens, entertainments and spas; the growth of philanthropy; the promotion of polite social graces, educational opportunities, and so on.

From a different perspective, however, The Golden Rule is not without enormous potential for irony. As a moral principle, it works well if everyone is the same; it teaches that an individual's personal experience, needs, and desires will suffice to accurately identify the experience, needs, and desires of others— an assumption contradicted daily in the eighteenth-century's politically faction-ridden, colonial, imperial, and gendered world. The Golden Rule cannot guarantee a golden standard. This potential irony is not

lost on eighteenth century writers like Swift and Johnson. How does the Golden Rule serve to measure the contradictions and hypocrisies inherent in a culture increasingly engaged with 'others' through globalization, enslavement, class instability, and war? Does the rule remain relevant in a world of winners and losers in games and industry?

My talk will focus on a few examples from Swift and Johnson that expose the extent to which they (in their own work and as representative of others among their contemporaries) self-consciously test the adequacy of this ancient moral precept.

Penny Pritchard, University of Hertfordshire
Medical Professionals at Work and at (Eternal) Rest: The Commemoration of Early Modern Doctors in Funeral Sermons

Approximately half of the several thousand extant funeral sermons published in England between 1660-1800 indicate via their titles or title pages commemoration of deceased ministers and their wives; perhaps another quarter of this number consider members of the aristocracy. This leaves a further cohort of sermons, within this notably popular form of religious writing, dedicated to the memory of other deceased professionals, most notably the military, merchants, and physicians. This paper focuses on funeral sermons commemorating doctors, and asks to what extent, comparatively, the soteriological concerns of England's gentlemen doctors appear to be circumscribed by Protestant doctrine versus the increased cultural scrutiny being afforded to their ethical conduct during the period. As a profession associated closely with Christian virtues such as benevolence and charitable works – in tandem with the possession of an elite, even scholarly, education and gentlemanly status – the early modern physician presents a complex social category of identity as evident in both contemporary literature as well as popular religious writing including published funeral sermons.

Extensive scholarly consideration of early modern medicine has previously focused on questions about doctors' 'conduct' in their professional practice, yet there has been relatively little consideration of doctors' spiritual conduct, and its relation to their own mortality. That said, the nexus of faith and the new sciences, in the context of Baconian empiricism and the ascent of The Royal Society, does appear to play a more relevant role in how physicians are commemorated in their own funeral sermons. While this investigation does not intend to focus on comparative distinctions between funeral sermons derived from Protestant sects or denominations (given the very broad array of doctrinal and sectarian positions upheld both within and outside of the established Church throughout this period), economic factors which categorise doctors will be considered, for example, physicians enjoying royal or aristocratic patronage versus others serving a less elite clientele. This notwithstanding, Ralph Houlbrooke has observed, concerning the preaching of early modern funeral sermons, that such public services of commemoration 'usually had to be paid for. Most of the poor probably went to their graves without them.' It is more than likely that the extant funeral sermons considered here, possessing too the further distinction of publication, necessarily commemorate physicians who experienced no small degree of material success in their lifetimes.

Julia Pohlmann, University of Aberdeen/University of Glasgow
'Imagined and Real Jews in John Witherspoon's Works on State Formation and Religious Freedom'

John Witherspoon's ideas on independence and republicanism shaped early American political and religious thought and demonstrated a close reading of the Hebrew Bible infused with ideas on the freedom of religion. Like most of his Scottish compatriots, Witherspoon was supposedly never in contact with a Jewish community in Scotland. Yet Witherspoon attributed the Jews 'many noble principles of equity and excellent examples to future lawgivers'. This paper explores how Witherspoon utilized religious-political tropes of the imagined Jew (e.g., the Hebrew Republic) to advocate American independence and new concepts of sovereignty in a republican state. Specifically, the

paper will address four questions: What tropes of imagined Jewishness are found in sermons and pamphlets by John Witherspoon on Republicanism and the notion of independence? How are those biblical images translated into official reasoning for the outline of the state and religious governance? How did these tropes differ in political and ecclesiastical writings from those utilized in Britain during the second half of the eighteenth century? And did his texts influence Jewish and Scottish encounters in the thirteen colonies after the Declaration of Independence?

20	**Laurence Sterne**
Room:	MGA Lecture Room (Mary Gray Allen Building)
Abstract:	This panel offers four papers from established Sterne scholars who each offer insights into different aspects of the conference's titular theme in relation to Sterne's life, times, works, and reception, all of which respond fruitfully to iterations of work and play. They display the internationalism of Sterne's ongoing appeal, and significant current trends in contemporary Sterne scholarship. 2024 marks an important year in Sterne studies, with the launch of the online version of long-running Sterne journal The Shandean, several major publications in the pipeline, grant-funded Sterne projects, and the launch of the Sterne Digital Library. This panel celebrates diverse dimensions of the continuing vivacity found in international Sterne scholarship.

Chair:	**Kelly Plante**, Wayne State University
Speakers:	**Peter Budrin**, Queen Mary University of London

The Leningrad Letters: Reading Laurence Sterne as World Literature
In the twentieth century, Laurence Sterne enjoyed renewed international interest not merely as an experimental 'proto-modernist' writer but also as an advocate for inner freedom and intellectual autonomy. Edvarda Kucherova, the protagonist of this paper, found in Sterne an intimate intellectual interlocutor during the turbulent early years of the Soviet Union. Born in a Jewish town of Berdichiv in Ukraine, Kucherova relocated to Leningrad for her undergraduate studies. Although Kucherova's name is forgotten today, she had aspirations of becoming a translator and literary critic in the 1920s. Her career was cut short in 1936 when she was arrested and sent to the Gulag. While she survived the sentence, she never returned to the capital or resumed her intellectual pursuits.
Kucherova first discovered Sterne's works, A Sentimental Journey and Tristram Shandy, in the early 1920s. Letters she wrote to a friend in Kyiv frequently referenced Sterne, invoking characters like Yorick, Tristram, and the Shandy brothers. These unpublished letters, dated between the mid-1920s and early 1930s, offer an exciting example of reader's direct and intimate engagement with Sterne's works during a tumultuous period in Soviet history. Kucherova was fascinated by the world of literature thinking of Sterne as the ''the very soul of literature, its literariness''. In this paper, I will contextualize Kucherova's letters within the wider backdrop of early Soviet culture. I will conclude by discussing Sterne as a 'global' writer and the challenges and opportunities this approach presents for understanding his work.

Jakub Lipski, Kazimierz Wielki University
'Brand Sterne' and Sternean writing in Wiadomości Brukowe (1816-1822)
Wiadomości Brukowe (News from the Gutter) was a Polish-language literary-satirical broadsheet published in Vilnius from 1816 to 1822. The announcement of the newspaper's aims and objectives invokes Laurence Sterne, in a manner that has been identified in recent criticism as a form of branding: Sterne becomes a name tag that vaguely defines the 'nature' of the writing. The editors of the publication, accordingly, make clear that work published in Wiadomości Brukowe should not be considered as imitation ('God forbid we should imitate'). Nevertheless, several entries may well be considered as belonging to the transnational phenomenon of Sterneana, creatively responding to A Sentimental Journey (passages on 'philosophical idling' by Jędrzej Śniadecki) and Tristram Shandy ('The World and Love; or, the Life and Work of

Myself' by Tomasz Zan). This paper reads these works in the broader context of Sterne's reception in Poland at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Mary Newbould, Kazimierz Wielki University
Fair dealing: games and play in Sterne and Sterneana in newspapers and magazines
Notions of game and play have long been associated with Laurence Sterne's writing, with Tristram Shandy in particular attracting contemporary and later critical attention for the playful relationship it establishes with its readers, for the textual puzzles it creates, and, indeed, for the recurrence of terms associated with different types of play (chance, accident, luck, and so on). Suspicions about gambling as a vice ran alongside the important social function that certain types of game, such as card-play, exerted. This paper explores how that contemporary appreciation of Sterne's work was manifested in adaptations that incorporate playfulness in direct ways: card games are just one example of Sterneana that quite literally takes Tristram's invitation to join the fun at face value. But, as this paper suggests, this community of playfulness was further cemented by the material contexts in which playful Sterneana appeared, most notably the contemporary newspapers and magazines whereby the sociability associated with play could achieve an unprecedented social and geographic circulation.

Helen Williams, Northumbria University
Tristram Shandy in the Bagnio: Sex, Gender, and the History of the Book
Ann Ward produced the first edition of Laurence Sterne's Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman in a printing office that had once been a bagnio. Bagnios or bath-houses, offering Turkish baths, hot and cold water, steam rooms and private temporary lodgings, were places often used for sex work, or for adultery: places of private sexual intimacy. The sexual intimacy of the opening scene of Tristram Shandy—a domestic primal scene made public through the act of printing—provoked moral condemnation on moral grounds at the same time as it was praised for its experimental humour. Exploring how sex, gender and print converge in the history of the novel's production as well as at the level of narrative, this paper reads the first impression of Tristram Shandy against the context of Ward's work as a female printer, the gendered reproductions of the printing office, and the 'sexy knowledge' of book history.

21	**Playing with Narrative**
Room:	Lecture Room One (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	**Shahira Hathout**, Trent University
Speakers:	**Alice Tartari**, Ca' Foscari University Venice - Sorbonne Université

A Mischievous Game: 'Playing Along' in Female Quixotic Narratives
In Part II of Miguel de Cervantes' Don Quixote, the Duke and the Duchess 'resolving therefore to improve their Sport, by carrying on some pleasant Design, that might bear the Appearance of an Adventure, [...] took the Hint from Don Quixote's Account of Montesinos's Cave, as a Subject from which they might raise an extraordinary Entertainment' (DQ, II, 292). The Duke and the Duchess episode represents a reflective (life imitating life imitating art) and metafictional frame, that consciously builds an illusion-within-the-illusion, with the sole aim of having fun and play a game at the expenses of the gullible Don.
Within the context of the literary reception of Miguel de Cervantes's Don Quixote in eighteenth-century England, this intervention starts with analysing the adaptation of the Duke and the Duchess episode in Charlotte Lennox's The Female Quixote (1752). In Lennox's text, Sir George constructs a romance story and employs a paid actress in the attempt to deceitfully woo the heroine. The comparison of the two episodes will serve as a starting point to delve into the theme of imitation in female quixotic narratives and observe how characters respond to the quixotic heroine's illusions. In particular, the focus will be on those characters that 'play along' for their own pleasure or personal advantage, further complicating the relationship between illusion and reality and introducing a moral stance that often influences the reader's interpretation.

The intervention will also emphasise the structural significance of reflective and imitative literary devices, including mise-en-abymes and metafictional frames, as mechanisms of duplication in female quixotic narratives. Finally, highlighting the correlation with Cervantes' themes and techniques in the Duke and Duchess episode will be of particular relevance in distinguishing between Cervantean novels and quixotic fictions, as outlined by Ardila (Ardila, 11), in the English literary Quixote tradition.

Rebekah Andrew, Independent Scholar
All Work and no Play Makes Rob a Dull Boy?: Biblical Interpretation in Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1719)
An almost unrelenting tale of work, Robinson Crusoe toils morning to evening, rarely wearying on the creation and maintenance of his island exile. Unmistakably an archetypal proponent of the Protestant and puritanical work ethic, even before his overt conversion to a more spiritually-grounded life, his existence is shaped by the weighty tome he rescues from the crumbling ship: The Bible. Biblical references in Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1719) have been discussed by scholars such as Lynne Walhout Hinojosa and Stuart Sim, often focussing on the conversion narrative when the use of the Bible becomes more obvious and in relation to other extra-biblical texts to sculpt an interpretational framework for this most important of books, a book which Protestantism and especially nonconformism, maintained could and should be read and interpreted by everyone even in, or perhaps especially in, the vacuum of isolation. This paper will examine the use of the Bible within the entirety of Robinson Crusoe, not only in quotations but also subtle allusions and paraphrases which enhance both the story and the theology of the novel. I will also examine places where no quotation is proffered because there is no need as an eighteenth-century reader, in all probability intimately familiar with the Bible in a way most are not today, gleans from the text. I will argue that by acknowledging the interpretation of the Bible as presented by Defoe in the character of Robinson Crusoe, in possession of no other book on the island, a reader can come to a greater understanding of the influence of the Bible and Defoe's own nonconformist approach to the mundane and physically challenging work of life with equally challenging sacred and spiritual task of faith and biblical interpretation.

Bonnie Latimer, University of Southampton
Born in Arcadia: The apprentice as romance hero, 1600-1850
The apprentice remains under-investigated as a literary figure. As part of a wider project on apprentice literature, this paper addresses the apprentice-hero common to several popular romance traditions, ranging from the 1590s 'novels' of Thomas Deloney, to repeated fictionalisations of the life of the Merchant Taylor and mercenary John Hawkwood, to the sprawling mid-Victorian apprentice-romances of Pierce Egan and William Davey Watson. The paper focuses especially on two interrelated characters: the fictitious 'Famous Prentice' Aurelius and romance-narratives of the life of Dick Whittington. It begins with an overview of the apprentice-romance, a neglected literary phenomenon spanning over two centuries, before arguing that the generic possibilities of the romance form allow for specific and revealing articulations of the aspirations of 'citizen culture' during this period.

Ruby Hutchings, University of Cambridge
William Blake: Pantomimic Prophet
Although he was reaching retirement age, Blake did not spend his twilight years in a place of quietude. His house in Fountain Court, a stone's throw from Drury Lane, brought him into direct contact with London's range of riotous entertainments that he would have been familiar with since he was a boy: fairs, puppet shows, acrobatics, optical illusions, and, above all, pantomime.

This paper will read Blake's work in light of the comic, but often critically maligned, dramatic genre. Whilst a writer of High Romanticism, Blake was also a Londoner who came into contact with, and revelled in, the popular. These two Blakes are not irreconcilable. I will argue that even his most serious prophecies are pantomimic in nature – namely through their combination of song and speech, spectacle, melodramatic gesture, and a rousing patriotism.

I will chart his appropriation of the harlequinade from An Island in the Moon – his earliest prose satire, to Jerusalem – his latest and most difficult epic. I will read his multi-media productions alongside lesser-known contemporary theatrical intertexts, such as playbills, set-designs, song lyrics, toy theatres, and acting handbooks.
But Blake does not adopt pantomime's tricks and techniques purely as a template for his own slapstick comedy or spectacular illustrations. I will argue that his theatre of the page and copper-plate carves out a radical form of spectatorship. Per pantomime's etymology ('imitator of all'), Blake forges a mutual affective link between prophet and reader, akin to what theatre historian John O'Brien has called 'the participation in a concentrated engagement of the passions' amongst actor and audience. The eighteenth-century's beloved pastime is more than a form of leisure. As Blake is roused to act, so are we in his revolutionary drama.

Previous criticism has nodded to Blake's proximity to London's popular entertainment forms but has failed to chart its impact on his work. This paper will conclude by demonstrating that this manoeuvring between low comedy and high vision is a collapsing of axes necessary to the immanent sublimity that his work pursues.

22	**Reading Women & Interpreting Women**
Room:	Lecture Room Two (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	**Karen Lipsedge**, Kingston University
Speakers:	**Samiha Begum**, University of Sheffield

"'The vacant mind is ever on the watch for relief, and ready to plunge into error, to escape from the languor of idleness." An exploration of Emily's sensibility and classical education in Ann Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho (1798)
A classical education was common amongst the privileged and wealthy during the eighteenth century as it was an important factor in influencing their disposition and solidifying their status in society. A classical education is defined as a well-rounded knowledge from an early age; grammar, logic, and rhetoric being at the core of this. Emily St. Aubert, from The Mysteries of Udolpho (1798), engages with aspects of her classical education throughout the novel, partaking in music, literature, poetry, art and more. Her role as the only child of St. Aubert, and the novel's main protagonist, is significant as it means that the privilege of time is invested into her education, therefore allowing her the opportunity to experience the pleasure of learning, rather than being faced with the pressures of working.

This paper explores the notion of sensibility and classical education in the St. Aubert family and asks how Emily's education in poetry and the arts aided her in overcoming idleness and solitude when she is later imprisoned in Montoni's castle. Emily's father was the foundation of knowledge and learning for Emily before his death and taught Emily the importance of learning and the pleasures of engaging with the arts. Emily refuses to succumb to the "error" of idleness when she is confined to the castle, as she occupies herself with composing poetry and playing her lute. However, she often allows herself to fall into the melancholies of anxiety, when neither poetry nor music can draw her out. It is at these moments that she remembers the significance of her classical education, provided by her father, and her faith in his advice. It is ultimately Emily's yearning for self-improvement that allows her to remain clear-headed whilst trapped in the castle, and allows her to finally escape her confinement with the help of Annette (her maid) and Du Pont (another prisoner in the castle). Her father's words echo throughout

the novel as Emily reminds herself of the importance of learning and finding "the sublime pleasure... for the beautiful."

Olivia Russell, University of Oxford
Dissecting the written body: gaze, violation, and shame in Françoise de Graffigny and Isabelle de Charrière
In letter 12 of Françoise de Graffigny's Lettres d'une Péruvienne (1747), young Incan princess Zilia is adorned in French clothing for the first time. When Déterville – the French captain who rescued her from Spanish captivity – sees her new appearance, Zilia describes his dramatic reaction: "his eyes fixed on me, he looked over my whole person with the closest attention, which made me feel uncomfortable without my knowing why." His face becomes enflamed and he clasps her hand, before pulling away and throwing himself on a chair at the opposite side of the room. A similarly dramatic scene arises in letter 12 of Isabelle de Charrière's Lettres écrites de Lausanne (1785). Young Cécile is playing chess with a male suitor when, in a moment of passion, he grabs her hand and "seems to devour her with his eyes." She pulls back, hides her face, and then leaves the room.

In both scenes, Graffigny and Charrière rely on a specific language to make desire and, arguably, violation more visible to the reader. My paper will show how they each use the language of physicality to demonstrate an unspoken transgression of boundaries, but in such a way as to avoid calling the virtue of their female characters into question. Offering a comparative close reading, I will argue that they foreground certain body parts to express the destructive and violent force of gaze. Scrutinising the affective responses of each character, I will investigate how emotion is embodied and performed, and the role of shame in accentuating the presence of intangible forms of violation. Ultimately, this paper will show how Graffigny and Charrière use the body in their writings not only to comment on gender power dynamics, but also to criticise the expectations of women in eighteenth-century French society.

Rose Mckean, University of York
"Scribbling night and day": Experimentation and Replication in the Gothic Chapbooks of Sarah Wilkinson
Sarah Wilkinson (1779-1831) was one of the most significant contributors to the Romantic-period chapbook market. Within a short but intensely productive career, Wilkinson penned over sixty Gothic narratives for a range of chapbook publishers, working tirelessly to support herself by her pen. Outside the boundaries of the traditional publishing house, the fast-paced chapbook market offered opportunities for writers like Wilkinson. However, it also demanded an almost constant level of production. In a short addendum to a Gothic chapbook entitled 'Life of an Authoress, Written by Herself' Wilkinson advised any aspiring female writer to "apply themselves sooner to the spinning-wheel, than the pen, that they may not be pining, with hunger and cold, in a wretched garret." Unfortunately, Wilkinson's life also attested to the precarious nature of her work. Her frequent applications to the royal literary fund for some form of "subsistence" to support herself and her young daughter describe a "painful tumour under [her] right arm" which rendered her "incapable of exertion beyond [her] pen and needlework." Despite her challenges, Wilkinson left behind her immensely diverse and experimental body of work that is ripe for re-examination. In this paper I intend to build upon the research of Franz J. Potter and Diane Long Hoeveller, positioning Wilkinson's chapbooks as important literary artefacts, worthy of in-depth study and analysis. Utilising her keen awareness of the desires and tastes of her readers, in particular their familiarity with conventions of the popular Gothic mode, Wilkinson skilfully distilled labyrinthine Gothic plots into short, digestible narratives that could be cheaply produced and sold "to please [her] fair sisterhood." As such, her chapbooks exemplify important relationship between gender and the chapbook's commercial aims, inviting us to expand our expectations of women's Grub Street literature.

23	WORKSHOP: Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Games at the Bodleian: A Show and Tell with the John Johnson Collection of Ephemera
	Please note you are required to sign up in advance for this workshop as there is limited capacity. The workshop will take place at the **Weston Library, Oxford.** Please sign up at this link: https://tinyurl.com/westongames.
Facilitator:	**Jack Orchard**, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford; **Stephanie Howard Smith**, Independent Scholar; **James Harriman-Smith**, Newcastle University

15:15-15:45	COFFEE BREAK	MEET YOUR MENTOR
	Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)	We encourage mentors and mentees to reach out to each other, and then use this time to grab a coffee and have a chat. **The Wordsworth Room** in the main building is a quiet space to meet if you wish.

15:45-17:15	BSECS ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, Maplethorpe Hall
	All BSECS members are warmly invited to attend.

17:15–18:00	WILEY-BLACKWELL POSTGRADUATE RECEPTION	MEET YOUR MENTOR
Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)		We encourage mentors and mentees to reach out to each other, and then use this time to grab a coffee and have a chat. **The Wordsworth Room** in the main building is a quiet space to meet if you wish.
All BSECS members are warmly invited to attend to welcome & support PG delegates. Please bring your glasses with you to Sancho&Me in the Maplethorpe Hall.		

18:00–19:00	Sancho&Me - For One Night Only with Paterson Joseph
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall

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

THURSDAY 4 JANUARY

09:00–10:30	THURSDAY SESSION I
24	**Pressing Matters: Exploring collectors and their collections at the Natural History Museum, London**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Abstract:	The Natural History Museum in London a contains a treasure trove of over 80 million specimens spanning centuries of collection. Each of those items tells a story, not just of their scientific value, but of the history of their collection events, and their collectors. Our eighteenth-century material contains some of the finest examples from the burgeoning heyday of natural history, a period when many of the foundations of our science were laid, and offers incredible, and often under researched, opportunities to explore the work, play, and mindset of the long eighteenth.
	In this panel we will explore of the work of caring for our eighteenth century collections, and discuss examples of how some of our collections are being used in historical research today.
Chair:	**Stephanie Holt**, Natural History Museum & University of Oxford
Speakers:	**Andrea Hart**, Natural History Museum, London
	Collecting, Curating and Cataloguing Eighteenth Century Collections: all work but some play?
	As a collections manager at the Natural History Museum, I occasionally refer to the Rare Books Room as my "play room" although when I am in the space amongst the collection I am "working" (honest!). This raises an interesting question that with collections and the process amassing, collating and cataloguing them, how much of this, especially for those with substantial personal wealth, could be considered a form of play as opposed to work? In this presentation I will use the example of Sir Ashton Lever (1729-1788) who amassed one of the greatest collections of natural history creations, opened a museum (the Leverian Museum) but then was forced to sell it without having fully catalogued it, to consider whether his pursuit might have been work or play. But then in turn, how this play turned into work for the purchaser, James Parkinson (1730-1813), who took it upon himself to create a catalogue of the contents, which today remains the only evidence of the collection's existence alongside the artworks of the exceptional natural history artist Sarah Stone (c. 1760 – 1844) – who was commissioned by Lever and then Parkinson and whose works remain some of the only visual representations of some of the objects that once existed in the collection following their final dispersal by sale in 1806.
	Lauren Burleson, Natural History Museum, London
	Stabilising James Petiver's 17th/18th Century Entomological Drawers
	Starting in 2021, the Conservation Centre at the Natural History Museum, London has been stabilising a historically significant collection of entomological drawers from the 17th and 18th century. James Petiver (c.1665-1718) was a British apothecary, Fellow of the Royal Society and natural history collector specialising in botany and entomology. His contributions made up a significant part of these early collections at the Natural History Museum (then part of the British Museum), purchased by Sir Hans Sloane after his death. In addition to his perhaps better-known volumes of pressed entomological and botanical specimens, Petiver created a unique series of aesthetically arranged drawers containing dried entomological specimens affixed inside handmade glass, paper, and wood boxes. Twenty of these drawers totalling over 400 individual boxes survive (most with multiple specimens inside, including some type examples), though with very little documentation. The boxes and specimens are in varying levels of condition, with a significant portion too fragile for researchers to access in their current state. The goal of the project is to stabilise the boxes to facilitate

accessibility and encourage their investigation and research while increasing longevity in storage.

Grace Touzel, Natural History Museum, London
Printing, Pepper, and Pounded Herrings: The Manuscripts of Dru Drury (1725-1804)
Dru Drury (1725-1804), was a London silversmith, naturalist, and author. He is known by entomologists for his impact on the study of insects and more widely for his interactions with some of the most important scientific figures of the eighteenth century. Drury's work bought an income that fluctuated wildly, yet it enabled him to play at being an armchair collector of the natural world. His zeal, social connections, and professional networks helped create one of the most geographically biodiverse collections of his time. The Natural History Museum holds Drury's correspondence, notebooks, legal papers, and instructions for collectors. His importance as a naturalist is reflected in who he wrote to (Carl Linnaeus), who he supported (Henry Smeathman, John Abbot), and the extent of his collection (over 11,000 butterflies at the time of his death). As might be expected, the Drury manuscripts provide insights into the costs, practicalities, and networks of collecting in 18th century London. Less obvious is their value to social, economic, maritime, medical, and book history researchers. This presentation uses Drury's papers to explore the ways in which natural history collections are not just for natural historians.

Brad Scott, Natural History Museum, London
Wreck salvage, hidden labour, and the natural things collected by George Handisyd, surgeon, 1686-1691
Over the course of five years near the end of the seventeenth century, ship's surgeon George Handisyd amassed hundreds of plants, shells and other objects on his extensive travels. Often now supplied with modern scientific names, it is an important collection, sourced from the Caribbean, the Straits of Magellan, and islands off the South American coast. However, previous accounts of his collection have omitted the economic context of Handisyd's journeys, the search for silver in wrecked Spanish vessels, and the broader (trans-)cultural interactions that materially shaped his gathering of curious natural things. By using the specimens, catalogues, journals and ship's log, my work locates Handisyd's collection geographically and culturally, and identifies the labour on which it depended. The presentation will locate Handisyd's specimens within diverse epistemological spaces, thereby making them a focal point for considering how natural things circulate, are made meaningful, and thoroughly entangled with the worlds through which they have passed.

25	**Pastime or Politics? Elite Women & Epistolary Culture in Eighteenth Century Europe**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Abstract:	From the production and arrangement of their own correspondence to the curation and publication of the papers of their forebears, elite women played a central role in the creation, curation, and (re)circulation of letters across eighteenth century Europe. Bringing together historians working on women's letters and their afterlives in England and Denmark, this panel explores the political dimensions of women's epistolary activities. The papers contend that, far from being simply a leisure activity, the production and preservation of letters could also be an intensely partisan, political exercise. Through letters, women forged their own political networks, navigated the rage of party and political disputes, and resisted broader public narratives, crafting their own accounts of history and their place within it.

Hanley Smith's paper focuses on the intersections between politics and sociability in the letters of Lady Harriet Ponsonby and her lover Leveson Gower, demonstrating the ways in which Ponsonby used correspondence and the language of intimacy to navigate a liaison that bridged the Whig/Tory divide and to exert influence over her lover's political beliefs. Dyrmann, meanwhile, shifts the focus on to the letters that women in the 'Reventlow family circle' wrote to one another and argues that these epistles were an important form of political agency that helped to forge a cohesive political and information network. Dyrmann also considers the afterlives of these letters and the ways the intentions and anxieties of their authors have been distorted by printed editions of their papers. In the final paper, Peck continues this focus on the afterlives of letters through an analysis of Lady Sarah Cowper's 'family books', an extensive archival project that drew on the letters of previous generations of Cowpers to craft a highly selective, partisan account of both family and national history. Taken together, the papers offer new ways of conceptualising women's letters and female political activity across Europe during the long eighteenth century and the benefits of considering letters, not just in their moment of creation and reception, but as intergenerational artefacts that were preserved, copied, and printed – often for very different ends – by later family members and historians alike.

Chair: **Rachel Bynoth**, Bath Spa University
Speakers: **Natalie Hanley-Smith**, University of Warwick
            "I do not think we shall ever quarrel upon politicks': Navigating partisan politics with levity in illicit love letters'
            Between c.1796 and 1809, Lady Harriet Ponsonby, Countess Bessborough and Lord Granville Leveson Gower were embroiled in a passionate extramarital affair. Their liaison created tensions in aristocratic society because they belonged to rival political parties, the Whigs and the Tories respectively. Both were immersed in partisan politics and were devoted to their parties, their principles, and/or to certain high-profile figures within them. The countess in particular felt that her liaison with Leveson Gower compromised her long-standing loyalty to the Whig party.

This paper examines how the countess navigated their political differences, which were manifold, in the illicit love letters she frequently wrote to Leveson Gower at the end of the eighteenth century. It will demonstrate that she used a range of strategies, including exuding her feminine charms and deference, to alleviate any tensions she anticipated might spring from their disagreements. These strategies also elucidate how she tried to drive a wedge between Leveson Gower and the Tories, and how she began to cultivate a political rapport between him and the Whigs. She used their differences of opinion as opportunities to be flirtatious and playful, and she played on the literary and oratory rivalries that existed between the two parties to stimulate a convivial sense of competition. By making light and teasing remarks, she carefully critiqued the Tory party without alienating Leveson Gower. Moreover, she peppered her criticisms with doses of flattery for him, both from her and Whig MPs, such as Charles Grey.

While writing letters to her lover was ostensibly a recreational activity, I argue that countess Bessborough was employed in partisan politics; she used her intimacy with Leveson Gower to indirectly exert influence over his political beliefs. Her success at this is evident from the fact that other members of the Tory party always suspected him of disloyalty, long before he officially crossed the floor after Canning's death in 1827. This paper therefore sheds light on an unusual dimension of the well-established interplay between the eighteenth-century political realm and aristocratic sociability.

Kristine Dyrmann, University of Oxford
Friendly pastime or political network? The correspondence practices of Louise Stolberg, Charlotte Schimmelmann, and Sybille Reventlow in Denmark-Norway c. 1780-1820

Did late eighteenth-century women write letters as a pastime, or could we understand their correspondence as a form of political agency – in other words, work or play? From the late 1770s through to circa 1820, three women from the Danish elite kept a close correspondence, with their letters sometimes reaching weekly or bi-weekly frequency. They would soon marry into each other's families, creating a social network known in Danish historiography as the 'Reventlow family circle': Sybille Reventlow (née Schubart), Charlotte Schimmelmann (née Schubart), and Louise Stolberg (née Reventlow) form the female core of what became the new power elite in Denmark-Norway following a 1784 coup d'état. Their group would remain in power until around 1815. Louise Stolberg kept the letters that she had received throughout her life, and her correspondence collection was preserved at the Reventlow family's estate, then in the Danish State Archives.

In the early 1900s, a historian and archivist published excerpts of the letters. The correspondence collection has been used as a source to highlight the policies of the men in their group, including foreign and economic policies during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Interestingly, the women's agency as the writers behind the letters was disregarded by the publisher, and excerpts were chosen to accentuate their husbands' deeds.

The presentation will discuss the women's correspondence as a pastime and a central activity in their family circle; the creation of the correspondence collection; and the subsequent publication's impact on the historiography on these women's political agency. Through examples from a reading of women's full correspondence, the presentation will demonstrate their political and diplomatic involvement. I will thus argue that we should understand their correspondence network as a political network which was central to the exchange of domestic and foreign political information in a crucial period of political history.

Imogen Peck, University of Birmingham
Prudence, Piety, Pastime...Politics? The (Re)making of History in Lady Sarah Cowper's Family Books, 1692-1737

In the mid-1740s, Lady Sarah Cowper (1707-1758), daughter of Earl William Cowper and his second wife, Mary Clavering Cowper, embarked on an extensive archival and memorial project. Sifting through the papers of her ancestors, and particularly her late father, mother, and paternal grandmother (the rather better-known Dame Sarah Cowper) she began to compile what she termed her 'Family Books'. A series of eight large hardbound volumes, these contained copies of, and extracts from, those letters, diaries, and other materials that she considered 'most worth preserving', occasionally accompanied by her own annotations and commentary. An influential family whose members had held high office and positions at Court, the Cowpers were intimately bound up with the political and religious conflicts of the period and with processes of national memory-making. As she painstakingly assembled her materials, Sarah produced a form of epistolary history that spanned several decades and which encompassed events from the Glorious Revolution to the Marlborough disputes and the Jacobite rebellions.

As scholars have noted, there was 'something of a vogue' for preserving parts of the family archive among gentry women during this period, an activity which is

usually attributed to a combination of 'nostalgia, prudence, family piety, and the need to fill time'. By contrast, this paper contends that Sarah Cowper's family books were also an intensely political project that produced a highly selective, partisan account of national history and her family's place within it. Through selective engagement with the papers of her forbears, Sarah used her books to refute and reframe a series of personal and political scandals and to present her relatives – particularly her late father, the one-time Whig Lord High Chancellor, William Cowper — as models of disinterested (Whig) virtue. In so doing, it also illuminates the impact that broader developments in historical culture had on the curation of domestic collections and the gendered dimensions of eighteenth century archival activity, not least the significant role that elite women played in reshaping and resisting national narratives, interrogating the relationship between familial and national memory.

25	**WORKSHOP: Work and Play at Bristol Common Press**
Room:	Louey Seminar Room
Chair:	**Jennifer Batt**, University of Bristol
Speakers:	**Jennifer Batt**, University of Bristol
	John McTague, University of Bristol
	Ian Calvert, University of Bristol

26	**Thomas Hollis, Republican (1720-1774) – how a family background of religious Dissent, industry and enterprise, coupled with generous endowments, facilitated his life of enlightened indulgence**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Abstract:	Three Independent Researchers, Kate Morris, Sandy Norman and Liz Rolfe, who are working together on a project which includes the background and families of Dissenting merchants connected with St Albans, have made a particular study of Thomas Hollis (Republican). He is well described by Colin Bonwick, and Edwin Cannan before him, in the Dictionary of National Biography, but a study of his family sheds light on the effects his early bereavement and subsequent upbringing must have had on him, influencing and inspiring him to indulge in the philanthropic vanity project he undertook in later life. The panel will seek explanations for his unusual drive and passions. His enlightened, but anonymous, attempt to educate the world at large on the importance of liberty of the individual was a form of play enabled by the industry and work ethic of his forebears. The solitary state in which he was left as a teenager must have both allowed and encouraged his individuality. The literature he distributed gratuitously throughout the 18th century academic world and the commemorative medals he produced are all well-documented and his eccentricity recorded, but though biographies have been published of several of his forebears, notably in Baptist Quarterly, such sources do not address the connection between these Dissenting industrialists and their eccentric descendant. The man, his grand project of influence, and his obsession with 'liberty of conscience' have generally been discussed in isolation. Consideration of the nature of his education, his heritage, his bereavement provides insights not hitherto discussed.

The panel will reveal aspects of Hollis' education, the significance of his stay in St Albans, influences on his religious and political inclinations and early connections, and how he came to apply his philosophy and classical interests to the landscape.

Sources used to portray Hollis, the man, in this way, include the wills of his forebears, and in particular that of his father, as well as his own diary and correspondence, and relations with his wider family. Bringing these sources

together also provides some explanation for the controversy concerning the man's almost total disregard of his wider family in his own will. Close examination of his diary, begun when well into his 'plan', does provide hidden insights into the influence his forebears and wider family had on the man. Our papers will complement the existing historiography which has hitherto concerned itself principally with his output. We will address the character of the man, his wider family background and how his political ideas were expressed in landscape, thereby providing further explanation for his obvious eccentricities

Chair: **Kate Morris**, Independent Scholar

Speakers: **Kate Morris**, Independent Scholar
Thomas Hollis (Republican) – his family background and education
Kate Morris has studied the Hollis family in depth, consulting family correspondence, diaries, wills and account books. Four generations of cutlers and hardwaremen with business in the Midlands and Yorkshire from a base in London traded across the globe. This resulted in enormous wealth, which, whilst taking care of family interests, they distributed in England and the United States in accordance with their religious faith. Unassuming, and never seeking office or influence in a political way, they supported Dissenting ministers, chapels, and educational institutions with huge sums and trusts. By the mid-18th century, with the Hollis line dwindling, great wealth came to the teenage Thomas Hollis, of the fifth generation. Orphaned, he chose not to continue the family business, nor follow the law, but took to travel, the classics and developed an obsession to promote the idea of liberty of conscience. That is well written up but Kate will show how the ideas and principles of his forebears culminated in his own eccentricity.

Sandy Norman, Independent Scholar
Thomas Hollis (Republican) – the man and his lifestyle
Sandy Norman has examined and transcribed the diary written daily by Thomas Hollis from 1759 – 1770. At the commencement of the diary, Hollis was already well into the plan he launched as a way of influencing the world in the value of liberty. The distinctive volumes of reprints of works he valued so much and distributed in libraries across the globe are well documented, but Sandy will show the nature and character of the man who influenced in this way but shunned the limelight, often engaging in philanthropy incognito and writing in the press anonymously. His daily life, diet, fears and pleasures illustrate a man of passion, sociable yet solitary. His associates were from all walks of life – from the highest of society to more mundane folk. Hugely wealthy, he never married, built no grand mansion for himself, nor entertained lavishly, yet was welcome at the table of the great and the good.

Elizabeth Rolfe, Independent Scholar
Thomas Hollis (Republican) – how he played and continued his programme of influence in the landscape
Thomas Hollis made his base in lodgings in London after his several years of travelling in Europe. When escaping the capital, his preference was for the countryside in Dorset, with much time spent at Lyme Regis. There he would spent much time in the company of William Pitt (later Earl of Chatham) and his family. So it was in that area, at Corscombe, that he bought an estate, to which he retired, apparently exhausted, in 1770. Liz Rolfe has examined the strange way in which he named the fields on the estate, putting his stamp on the landscape to express his political and personal inclination or special interests, still apparently continuing his grand plan of influence. In this he was perhaps emulating the way Whig politician Viscount Cobham used landscape to express his political ideas at Stowe, with which Hollis was very familiar. The eccentricity of this use of landscape to reflect his ideas will be examined.

27	**Impolite Periodicals: indecorum, offense, excess**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Abstract:	This panel showcases work arising from Impolite Periodicals, a forthcoming collection of scholarly essays edited by Emrys Jones (King's College, London), Adam James Smith (York St John's) and Katarina Stenke (Greenwich). The idea that eighteenth-century periodicals were defined by and dedicated to the promotion of politeness has been gradually questioned in recent decades, not least due to increasing scepticism about the stability and coherence of politeness itself as a framing concept for the period's social changes. Periodicals could be impolite when they overtly flouted rules of decorum or cut against the commercial and political values of the emerging middle class. But they could also be impolite thanks to their very politeness, compelled to articulate the various self-contradictions of a polite agenda, and to anticipate the failure of their own lessons. Impolite Periodicals argues that eighteenth-century Britons were not only aware of but also often tickled by the porous, elastic and expansive ways in which politeness was espoused, and the inevitable contradictions and inconsistencies it invited. Eighteenth-century periodicals indeed spill a great deal of ink pledging their allegiance to the lofty ideals of the polite agenda, but it is our contention that on the matter of politeness, these essayists do protest too much.

The papers on this panel consider diverse manifestations of impoliteness, indecorum, offense and excess, from the reconfiguration of politeness via gendered sociability in the Female Tatler and negotiations – or indeed evasions – of polite norms in contentious partisan rhetoric (The Hyp-Doctor and The Nonsense of Common-sense), to the conceptual and economic indecorum of waste and excess that litters The Spectator.

Chair:	**Katarina Stenke**, University of Greenwich
Speakers:	**Emrys Jones**, King's College, London

Curing "the Political Spleen": Politeness and Partisanship in the 1730s
This paper, representing part of a chapter from the forthcoming Impolite Periodicals volume, will discuss John Henley's The Hyp-Doctor (1730-1741) and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's shorter-lived The Nonsense of Common-Sense (1737-38). These periodicals approach the relationship between politeness and political identity in noticeably different ways, and the commercial difficulties of Wortley Montagu's work can be understood, in part, as arising from her refusal to embrace the impoliteness that Henley at least tentatively accommodated. By examining both publications, we can gain a better sense of how partisan writers of the era navigated a supposedly polite Addisonian inheritance while also honing literary identities that were necessarily combative and stubborn.

Anthony Pollock, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Situating Politeness: Shaftesbury and the Female Tatler
1709 was a monumental year in the development of what Lawrence Klein has called the 'culture of politeness' in the English public sphere. Not only did it mark the publication of Shaftesbury's influential Sensus communis: An essay on the freedom of wit and humour, but it also saw the emergence of two new arbiters of polite taste in the figures of Isaac Bickerstaff and Mrs. Crackenthorpe—fictional editorial personae, respectively, of the Tatler and the Female Tatler. While much ink has been spilled tracing the discourse of politeness in the periodical work of Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, no one has yet examined how their first paper's most successful (and often sharply critical) rival—the aforementioned Female Tatler—explicitly adapts and transforms Shaftesbury's ideal of polite wit to further its own contrarian purposes. This paper addresses precisely that gap in the scholarship.

The editors of the Female Tatler signal their engagement with Shaftesbury in a number of ways: they conspicuously borrow—no fewer than twenty-seven times—his Horatian epigraph from the Letter Concerning Enthusiasm ("Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?" [What prevents a laughing person from speaking the truth?]); they align their project with the Shaftesburian notion that polite ridicule serves as the most effective way of correcting the follies of the prideful; and they apply this principle in their relentless mockery of their editorial counterpart, Isaac Bickerstaff, particularly pointing out his hypocritical failure to undertake the kind critical self-reflection Shaftesbury recommends as a precondition for entering into polite conversation.

Perhaps more profoundly, the Female Tatler also attends seriously to the complications of adapting Shaftesbury's model of wit from the exclusive province of the gentlemanly club to a more public context like their editors' drawing rooms, where a diverse and unpredictable gathering of interlocutors must be entertained and managed. Through its emphasis on women's participation in such witty conversation, the Female Tatler effectively transforms both the formal structure of the Shaftesburian model of politeness and its larger implications.

Laura Davies, University of Cambridge
Addison's wasteful Spectator
As Susan Signe Morrison, a key critic in the field of Waste Studies, has observed, in its 'earliest usages' waste was 'whatever is not or no longer utilitarian, something squandered, empty or barren, or lacking purpose'. Thus waste has meant 'desolation, pointlessness, and uselessness, but also excess and surplus; both extremes have been viewed as problematic, void of meaning, and immoral.' This paper argues that this capacious understanding of waste provides a valuable lens through which to understand both thematic concerns and stylistic features of Addison's Spectator essays, and is taken from a wider project to establish a set of new conceptual frameworks for the analysis of this periodical project. It demonstrates the usefulness of this approach by attending to a group of essays characterised by a particular use of anecdotes or details whose effects either exceed the ostensible rationale for their inclusion or appear to have no discernible purpose. Such moments range from the fleeting and abortive – passing flashes of violence or of strangeness – to fully elaborated stories where the reader is led on a wandering path that diverges from the apparent direction of the essay as a whole and where the affective or intellectual resonance of what we are presented with cannot then be straightforwardly determined or contained.

28	**East India Company**
Room:	Hamlin Room 1 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Baiyu Andrew Song**, Andrew Fuller Centre for Baptist Studies
Speakers:	**Aditi Gupta**, University of Oxford

India in Paper Museums: The Art Collection of Jean-Baptiste Gentil (1726-1799)
Intercultural relations have been extensively studied for nineteenth-century India which was under the British Raj. Lesser known is the fact that a century earlier France too had a large presence in different parts of India. This paper will shed light on the art collection of Jean-Baptiste Gentil (1726-1799), a Frenchman who came to India in 1752 as a soldier in the French East India Company and later served as a military advisor to Indian princes.

In India, Gentil amassed a collection of over 140 manuscripts and more than 270 Indian paintings bound in several albums. Now divided between the National Library of France (BnF), the V&A Museum, and the British Library, this collection stands as a testament to the Frenchman's interest and active involvement in the cultural practices of the Indian elite. However, on a closer

look, a complex phenomenon seems to be at play. Gentil was not simply emulating these practices. He had a deep desire to mediate Indian culture for the French. His collection bears traces of these didactic attempts at mediating either through captions or through the display in his albums of art. This paper will zoom in on the officer's captioning and display techniques in his 'paper museums' to understand his efforts to make the collection accessible to the viewer in eighteenth-century France.

Alice Marples, The British Library
Knowledge Work and Knowledge Workers in Eighteenth-Century London
This paper seeks to illuminate important knowledge networks at the heart of the rapidly developing relationship between science, statehood and commerce in eighteenth-century London. This was a time of fast-paced social and commercial change: there was a growing awareness of the importance of gathering and exchanging accessible and accurate information. Not only was this crucial for individual success but also, increasingly, it was understood to have broader political and economic value. As knowledge became more global and the stock market became more competitive, systems for managing profitable information had to become more sophisticated, uniting old and new knowledge and making it not only available but trustworthy too.

The records of institutions such as the Royal Society, the East India Company, and government departments like the Treasury, reveal a growing body of circulating knowledge workers – administrators, secretaries, librarians and clerks – who were highly-skilled and increasingly valued. The capacity to handle large masses of often-conflicting information – to curate, refine and record it – was an important technical skill. It ensured that certain individuals were hired over and over again across overlapping spheres of society, taking their skills and experience with them and applying it in new ways. Exploring the employment and practices of these individuals as they moved across the City of London can therefore tell us a great deal about the development of bureaucratic structures and transfers of knowledge across different intellectual and practical contexts.

Peter Good, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
Stability by Contract?: The East India Company in the Western Indian Ocean
The English East India Company's presence in Persia represents one of the longest non-colonial or imperial relationships of a European state with an Indian Ocean Empire. The Company's ability to maintain its position as both a trading and diplomatic presence in the Safavid Empire was due to mutually recognised benefits. These included joint military campaigns against the Portuguese (1622), Gulf Piracy, or Arab and Afghan rebels along the littoral of the Persian Gulf. This paper will explore the different and changing methods used and deployed by both parties in order to maintain this valuable cooperation. The Company and the Safavid State enshrined their relationship in an evolving written document, the Farman. However, the Farman alone was rarely sufficient to fully answer all eventualities faced by either party, renegotiations were therefore required to better reflect changing circumstances. This paper will explore how the Anglo-Persian relationship was maintained outside of the formal confines of the written Farman. By exploring these bilateral exchanges, it is possible to better understand how the Company's business was interwoven with the local and state policies of the Safavid Empire and its successors. Understanding the balance of power and management of the Anglo-Persian relations has an important impact upon the way we understand the agency of non-European states and peoples in their commercial and diplomatic exchanges. This helps us to understand the multi-valent nature of these interactions, rather than relying solely on Eurocentric views.

29	WORKSHOP: Playing in the Spaces Between
Room:	Hamlin Room 2 (Main Building)
Facilitator:	**Emma Mitchell**, Brunel University London (Department of Creative Writing) We ask that you sign up for this Creative Writing workshop in advance via this link: https://tinyurl.com/PlayingSpaces.

30	**'What were country houses for?': Reinterpreting Silences in Narratives of English Country Houses**
Room:	Dobbs Room 1 (Main Building)
Abstract:	The opening line of Mark Girouard's Life in the English Country House asks 'What were country houses for?' This panel aims to answer this question by asking another; what is missing from histories of the country house? Country house histories have been continually developing since the twentieth century. The V&A's exhibition 'The Destruction of the Country House' in 1974, is said to have spurred Britain to save and protect the estates that were apparently representative of British identity. Yet there are histories within these country houses that do not fit within this invented framework, histories which were hidden in favour of simpler narratives. Looking through the lenses of queer theory, slavery and empire, the papers in this panel build on this growing field of research to investigate ideas and individuals often silenced in narratives of British country houses, analysing how work and play reveal these hidden histories to provide deeper insight into what these places were for.
Chair:	**Kate Smith**, University of Birmingham
Speakers:	**James Stewart**, Birkbeck, University of London

'Fancifully Embellished': The Coming-of-Age Masquerade of the 9th Earl of Devon at Powderham Castle

On 30 July 1790, William Courtenay, 3rd Viscount Courtenay (later 9th Earl of Devon, 1768-1835) celebrated his coming of age with a masquerade held at his family's ancestral home of Powderham Castle in Devon. Despite the event coming six years after the publication of Courtenay's possible sexual relationship with William Beckford in London newspapers, the masquerade was viewed as an important event in the social calendar of the Devon elite. The grandeur of the evening was reported in newspapers including the London Chronicle covering 5-7 August 1790 that described the tables as 'fancifully embellished with various devices and figures'. The guests invited were also fancifully dressed in character costumes ranging from a Native American to a female Quaker in accordance with the Earl's instruction that there should be no black dominos admitted. As observed by Terry Castle and Dror Wahrman, masquerades were entertainments associated with gender fluidity where men could dress as women as part of a breakdown of social norms and hierarchies that occurred in these spaces. More recently, Meg Kobza has viewed the masquerade as a social site of exclusivity based on the expense needed to attend them rather than events of social upheaval. The Earl's choice of this form of event for his coming-of-age party as a man who experienced same-sex desire and displayed effeminate behaviours indicates the role of social status in the creation of queer possibilities in British country houses. Drawing on newspaper reports and household accounts, this paper will reconstruct the elements of the Earl's coming of age festivities. This close examination of an extravagant event at a country house demonstrates the role of status in how these entertainments were experienced for those who worked to create them and individuals who could view them as play.

Annabelle Gilmore, University of Birmingham
'A sanctuary and refuge of Good Taste': Orientalist Fantasy and Enslavement at Fonthill Abbey

William Beckford's home of Fonthill Abbey, begun in 1796, is perhaps one of the most striking images of Gothic revival architecture. The building encompassed the image of Beckford's solitude but also served as the stage from which Beckford could display his vast collection of art objects. The Abbey is often central to Beckford's biography, as a means to highlight his eccentricities and his follies. However, the silenced voices in Beckford's narrative are the Black people enslaved in Jamaica whose labour paid for Beckford's ornate lifestyle. This paper will connect the lives of the enslaved people back to the development of the Abbey, highlighting Beckford's reliance upon money from the plantations to finance the build.

Furthermore, whilst Beckford made his wealth from exploitation in the West Indies, the coloniality of his life was, as Donna Landry stated, 'resolutely facing Eastward rather than Westward' in the distinct form of fiction and fantasy based within Orientalism. Therefore, this paper will also analyse how this Orientalist fantasy developed and then was exhibited through the displays within the rooms of Fonthill Abbey in order to connect the two realms of Beckford's life at Abbey; his extensive collection of East Asian objects, housed in the gothic Abbey is the tangible connection between Beckford's desire for escapism and fantasy and his wealth from plantations and slavery. Taking inspiration from historians who work on Beckford as an Orientalist, including Diego Saglia and Laurent Châtel, and scholars analysing links to slavery and art, such as Simon Gikandi, the paper will extensively explore the relationship between the enslaved people in Jamaica and the display of east Asian objects at Fonthill Abbey.

Alice Whitehead, University of Cambridge
Shugborough Hall, the Anson family and the East India Company, c. 1744-1771
Shugborough Hall, in Staffordshire, was the seat of the Anson family for over three centuries and is now managed by the National Trust. The house and gardens were extensively remodelled in the mid-eighteenth century, when the family were propelled to fame and fortune by the exploits of naval officer George Anson (1697-1762). Between 1740 and 1744, Commodore Anson sailed 'round the world' with a squadron of six ships, inflicting havoc upon the Spanish empire. During the expedition, Anson captured a Spanish trading galleon that was heavily laden with silver, making it one of the most valuable prizes in British naval history. When he returned home, his older brother Thomas used this influx of cash to renovate Shugborough into a fashionable neo-Palladian mansion.

Shugborough's global connections, particularly its relationship with China, have been explored in the work of Stephen McDowall, Stacey Sloboda and others. However, Shugborough's history has conventionally been told through the lives of Thomas and George Anson, with little interest in the wider Anson family. However, this paper shows that Shugborough Hall was also home to George and Thomas' five sisters. Neither of the two brothers had legitimate children of their own, so they took especial interest in the careers of their nephews. In the late 1740s, two of these nephews became supercargoes for the East India Company, whilst a third was a naval officer stationed on the Coromandel Coast, in India. Taking inspiration from Margot Finn and Kate Smith's volume The East India Company at Home, this paper draws on a range of institutional records and family papers in order to explore the activities of these lesser-known family members and the impact that they had on the Shugborough estate. I argue that the lives (and deaths) of these sisters and nephews can help us to recontextualise the relationship between Shugborough Hall and the British Empire.

31 **Spaces and Places**
Room: Dobbs Room 2 (Main Building)

Chair: **Rebekah Andrew**, Independent Scholar
Speakers: **Gillian Williamson**, Independent Scholar

Working from (someone else's) home: space and the multi-purpose lodging room

We are familiar with the pleasing near-uniformity and neatness of London's eighteenth-century terraced townhouses. They seem to speak of privacy, of the small nuclear family, and perhaps a live-in servant or two, behind their closed doors. This was how architect Isaac Ware (1704-66) theorised such houses in A Complete Body of Architecture (1756-7).

Theory did not match reality, however. Thousands of non-kin lodgers lived in rooms in the city's middling-sort and more humble homes. Here they slept, ate and socialised – and worked. It was not only the poorer classes who had to combine all these functions in one modest-sized room, at best two, in a household where they lived only at licence and had to fit their working lives around limitations of space and the demands of others. Well-known examples include radical tailor Francis Place, artist Louis Boitard, Edmund Burke, Elizabeth Inchbald, William and Catherine Blake, and Thomas and Jane Carlyle. Using life-writing, images and other archives, this paper examines the issues that such a working life entailed. It is an important reminder that even in the genteel districts of eighteenth-century London, for landlords, landladies and lodgers alike life was 'messy' and work very much constrained by space and the sometimes unwelcome presence of others.

Chris Ewers, University of Exeter
Architectures of the moment: time and rooms
We spend much of our life, in work and at play, inside rooms. These tend to provide a sense of fixity, a realm of objects that rarely change and provide a 'neutral' background. Yet rooms, like all types of space, subtly alter temporalities. By looking at a series of texts that consider room design, such as 'Crumble Hall', 'Washing Day', and Mansfield Park, it is possible to consider the agency of these spaces, and the way they create an architecture of the moment.

Shang-yu Sheng, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan
Coffeehouse or Playhouse? Epistolarity and Performance in the Spectator
Eighteenth-century periodicals have long been linked to the social space of the coffeehouse. In contrast, by highlighting the conventions of theatrical culture in early periodicals—a simple case in point being the titular eidolon of the 1734 periodical _Prompter_ (i.e., an individual responsible for cueing actors on stage), I hope to explore how authors employ epistolarity to introduce characters, or personas, to the periodical page. In foregrounding the epistolary use of personas to conduct social performances, this paper shows how contemporary venues like the playhouse and theater are just as important as the coffeehouse for imagining public space. I argue that letters in various forms printed in the _Spectator_, if read as _dramatis personae_, serve the narrative function of delineating a virtual sociability that is not just normative, but also contemplates, reflects upon, and forgives transgressive acts. As Michael Warner proposes in _Publics and Counterpublics_, we need to break the private-public dichotomy, and to find a language to describe and recognize the historical existence of "counter"—queer and minor—publics. I offer that taking a performance approach to reading early periodicals may lead us to understand the early eighteenth-century English social imaginary as one constituting degrees and kinds of publicness and public roles. The _Spectator_ famously opens with the personal history of its fictional editor, as Mr. Spectator self-mockingly declares, "I live in the World, rather as a Spectator of Mankind, than as one of the Species; by which means I have made my self a Speculative Statesman, Soldier, Merchant, and Artizan" (Spectator 1, 1:

4). He describes himself stepping into and shedding off different social roles, with the assumption that his readers will understand intuitively what it means to speak of being a stateman, soldier, merchant, artisan, etc. This seems a performative view of selfhood and identity that draws on established social types and scripts. Through letters, the _Spectator_ introduces a smorgasbord of characters—fictional as well as social constructs—that would have been familiar to its readers, who visited public places like playhouses, operas, and pleasure gardens not just to see people and performances, but to be seen. At this historical moment when, to use Michael McKeon's terminology, the "tacit distinction" between categories like the public and private, surface and depth, fact and fiction, had not yet transformed into "explicit separation," authors did not write characters with the same presumed interiority as a Pamela or Elizabeth Bennett. This paper aims to analyze how epistolarity in the Spectator depicts a public assemblage of individuals less in the vein of Habermas's bourgeois coffeehouse, and more like that in a rowdy, showy playhouse, where performances take place not just on stage, but off stage as well.

32	**Georgian Fashion**
Room:	MGA Lecture Room (Mary Gray Allen Building)
Chair:	**Meg Kobza**, Newcastle University
Speakers:	**Amy Wilson**, Exeter University

Finely Dressed and Heavily Pregnant: The Maternal Body and Elite Culture 1727-1820

In January 1739, at the ball held to celebrate her husband's birthday, Augusta Princess of Wales wore: 'white satin, the petticoat covered with gold trimming like embroidery, faced and robed with the same, her head and stomacher a rock of diamonds and pearls'. On the night of the ball, Her Royal Highness was five months pregnant yet this feature of her appearance, if it was observed, was not noted. In fact, pregnant women were a routine sight at court in the eighteenth century. In this elite enclave of Georgian power, the security of dynastic succession underpinned the long-term stability and steady functions of the court. These pregnancies were destined to be the next generation of national leaders able to fulfil this society's vaulting long-term imperial ambitions. For such a crucial feature of the court's performance, pregnancies and maternal experiences should be, but are not, at the core of understanding Georgian power and politics – too often they are condemned to life among the footnotes. The Georgian court's complex codes of appearance demanded awkwardly shaped court dress as exhibited symbols of status, power and security. A courtiers' capability to align the physical changes of pregnancy with their political and strategic ambitions could be communicated by their choice of clothing. This paper uses textual, art-historic and material sources to uncover in new detail how pregnant women dressed at court. Throughout their pregnancies elite women endured physical discomfort to retain their place in influential spaces, to maintain their political endeavours and represent themselves and their families at court.

Pregnant fashion leaders balanced the ideals of a carefully managed, and often scrutinised, public profile with the sensations and familial responsibilities of carrying a child. This new research shows that the sartorial desires and needs of elite pregnant women shaped popular mainstream fashions. In Georgian England those with the freedom and money to dress in new and inventive ways were typically members of the landed gentry. Women of the ruling class performed a vital service to their powerful families by birthing a new generation of heirs. They simultaneously embodied the roles of fashion icon and mother. When pregnant in the 1770s and 80s Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire used optical illusion, her knowledge of proportion and the principles of 'true taste' to manage how others perceived her maternal body. Her clothing for pregnancy demonstrated

invention, knowledge and wit. She recognised that the aesthetic ideals of the line of beauty could be observed throughout the curvaceous maternal form and yards more silk could be allocated to swathing her gravid body. As a wealthy and influential public figure, she had sartorial licence. The duchess's work designing and promoting new styles of dress was instrumental in progressing fashions and perpetuating the clothing industry in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Emma Pearce, University of Edinburgh
"Mirror of Fashion": Tartan Fashion Plates as Mediators of War and Empire in Britain c.1794-1822
During the last decade of the eighteenth century, coloured plates depicting white women donning tartan ensembles and accessories began to proliferate throughout British fashion periodicals. The checked textile featured on a wide range of playful feminine garments: from military-style "Scotch bonnets" to muslin shifts, from "turban caps" to printed chintz gowns. Tartan's symbolism within these plates, however, was often transmutable – signifying at once a patriotic association with Highland Regiments of the British military, whilst also being conflated with exoticized dress of conquered cultures within the British empire and beyond. These two-dimensional fashion plates did not represent real women or real garments, but rather depicted idealised constructs, designed to inform and guide female consumers on the fashionable trends of the moment, and instruct them on how to engage with and within Britain's expanding empire.

Focusing on three publications from the period c.1794-1822, this paper argues that fashion plates acted as 'mediators' between the masculine sphere of war and empire building and the feminine sphere of the domestic back in Britain. Within these plates, tartan functioned as a hybrid signifier of both the centrifugal forces of the British army's overseas exploits, as well as the centripetal influences disseminating into Britain as a result of cross-cultural contact. The paper will firstly explore tartan's association with the Highland regiments, particularly during the Napoleonic Wars, where we see the Highland soldier embraced as a symbol of British heroism, reflected in fashion plates through tartan and other accoutrements of regimental uniform. The paper will then turn to examine, conversely, how tartan was combined and conflated with dress items such as turbans and Madras cloth, blurring the boundaries between organic British product and foreign import. Ultimately, it will be argued that the 'self' and the 'other' can be seen to coalesce through the ambiguous and transmutable nature of tartan, complicating Britain's burgeoning national identity at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Serena Dyer, De Montfort University
Labour of the Stitch: Making and Remaking Fashionable Georgian Dress
The making of fashionable women's dress in Georgian England necessitated an inordinate amount of manual labour. The progressive clamour towards industrialisation may have begun to subsume the production of textiles by the mid-eighteenth century, but the transformation of those textiles into garments continued to be a manual, haptic, and handcrafted process into the nineteenth century. If we are to grasp the tacit knowledge wielded by the maker's hands, which is absent from the archival record and yet so culturally ubiquitous, then we must apply our own hands. Making as a means to knowing offers a phenomenological route to understanding the complex ways in which sartorial labour was experienced, understood, and impacted upon sartorial culture. This paper explores how these recreative, embodied methods can elucidate on the labour, skill, and abilities of the sartorial hand, specifically in relation to the making of fashionable garments in the eighteenth century. Following making methods gleaned from object-based research, this paper follows the making of an

'English Gown', the most ubiquitous of fashionable gown styles of the eighteenth century. This recreation demonstrates the variety of skill enacted by the mantuamakers' hands, as a length of fabric was cut and stitched into a garment, as well as the logic, efficiency, and innovation expressed by the maker's hand.

This investigation reveals that ingenuity and efficiency dominated mantuamaking practice, as methods prioritised speed and demonstrated intimate and anatomical awareness of the needs of the clothed body. Yet the responsiveness and creativity of the sewing hand, the needs of the body it clothed, and the uniformity necessitated by industrial manufacture were fundamentally at odds. Studies of eighteenth-century textile trade and manufacture have prized technological innovation and rightfully elevated its significance in social and economic histories of dress and textiles. However, alongside these industrial histories, we must balance the histories of the industrious hands which transformed silks from Spitalfields and Lyon and cottons from India into the garments which clothed fashionable Georgian society. The economic and social appeal and power of these fabrics was established and displayed through their wear, and that wear was impossible without the labour of the sartorial hand. Mantuamaking acts as a microcosm of eighteenth-century fashionable and commercial life, wedding the importance of external appearances with the financial pressures of a consumer society. Stitching wrought more than gowns, it fashioned in textiles the cultural and operational structures of sartorial cultures.

10:30–11:00	COFFEE BREAK	MEET YOUR MENTOR
Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)		We encourage mentors and mentees to reach out to each other, and then use this time to grab a coffee and have a chat. **The Wordsworth Room** in the main building is a quiet space to meet if you wish.

11:00–12:30	
33	**Eighteenth-Century Natural History on Land**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Abstract:	This is the first of two panels that explore the culture and writing of eighteenth-century naturalists. The first panel focuses on terrestrial natural history while the second considers the natural history of seas and lakes. The panels are organised and submitted by Brycchan Carey, who is also the chair of the first panel. The second panel will be chaired by Steph Holt.
Chair:	**Brycchan Carey**, Northumbria University
Speakers:	**Adam Bridgen**, University of Leeds
	The Play of Light: Scientific Observation, Satire, and Social Politics in Labouring-Class Verse
	This paper explores the social and political dimensions of transformations in the way in which natural world was studied, systematized, and represented during the eighteenth century. It argues that as the study of the natural world developed — with the frequent prerequisites of leisure time, equipment, and formal education — its pursuit became increasingly fissured by class difference.
	The paper engages with this subject through an exploration of the way in which British labouring-class poets both engaged with and played upon discourses in natural history, suggesting that the observation, collection, and presentation of the natural world was another way in which ongoing debates about social identity and land use were articulated.
	While this took place within the sphere that labouring-class writers could comment on such issues — that is, in poetry — this adds further stress to the

importance of revisiting these modes of writing for complicating our understanding of natural history in this period.

Focusing on the early and later works of James Woodhouse (1735-1820), a poet and avid agricultural improver employed by Elizabeth Montagu between 1766 and 1788, it explores how the direct engagement with natural history provided both opportunities to consider the world in different ways, but also to challenge the evolving ways in which the world was being understood, and the implicit claims being made about the prerequisites for this kind of knowledge. Examining three poetic passages in detail — treating the collections of the British Museum, the phenomena of rainbows, and science in industry — it suggests that divergent views about the collection of natural specimens and understanding of natural world were the launching board for countervailing political and environmental views.

As such, while engaging with current scholarly work on the 'enclosure of knowledge' within eighteenth-century Britain (Fisher), the paper adds a further dimension to our understanding of the way in which labouring-class poets were working' against and within '(Keegan) existing norms to comment upon natural history in insightful, critical ways.

Stephanie Holt, Natural History Museum & University of Oxford
Corresponding Naturalists: Gilbert White, Thomas Pennant and the Natural History of Selborne
Gilbert White's Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne is one of the most beloved, and influential, books in the history of natural history. Since its first publication in 1789 it has never been out of print, making it the fourth longest constantly in print book in the English language. Its influence today spans science, art, and literature and it has so far had over 300 editions produced, spanning multiple languages. The publication is presented as a series of letters to two of White's principal correspondents; the naturalist and travel writer Thomas Pennant and Daines Barrington, lawyer, antiquarian, and naturalist. The published letters however are not facsimiles of the original correspondence and have been substantially modified to make them suitable for a public rather than a private readership. The original correspondence from White to Pennant is held in the collections of the British Library (MS35138) and analysis of these, the original manuscript, and the final published book has shown that significant changes were made. These include omission of entire letters or subjects of discussion, dismantling of individual letters, and recombination of topics discussed in multiple letters to focus on specific subjects to create a readable narrative, and a publication with such an extraordinary legacy.

Kimberley James, Gilbert White House and Gardens
Hecky and Whitibuss: The friendship of Gilbert White and Hester Chapone
Gilbert White, the pioneering naturalist and author of The Natural History of Selborne (1789), and Hester Chapone, writer, critic, and author of Letters on the Improvement of the Mind addressed to a Young Lady (1773), are not an obvious pairing. But these two influential figures of the eighteenth century were firm friends long before they came to be published. Gilbert White was introduced to the Mulso family in the late 1740s by his life-long friend John Mulso; there he met a young Hester Mulso, (John's sister and the future Mrs Chapone). The friendship between Hecky and Whitibuss (a name coined by Chapone) can be tracked through the letters of John Mulso over the course of their adult lives. This correspondence shows a friendship that encouraged each other's early writing, and documents Chapone's career, from publicly taking Samuel Richardson to task over his portrayal of filial obedience, through Chapone's close

friendship with Elizabeth Carter and the Bluestocking Society, to her instant fame as author of a groundbreaking educational work for women. Based on the exhibition at Gilbert White's House and Gardens, this paper provides a rare insight into the personal life of Gilbert White as a young man, long before he became the naturalist.

34	**Work, Wellbeing and Stress in Eighteenth-Century England**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Abtract:	This panel explores the relationship between work and mental health in England during the long eighteenth century. It asks: how could work contribute to experiences of mental ill health in England between 1680 and 1850? How and why did workplace relations come under strain, and how did cultural ideas affect people's abilities to navigate these issues? The panel ranges widely across a variety of social groups and workplace contexts. It moves from examining interactions between domestic servants and masters, to exploring relations between employers and employees in workshops and factories, to even considering the stress and workplace experiences of political elites. Adopting a capacious definition of the eighteenth century, it is able to trace some developments and changes in workplace relations, including the growing variety and complexity of the spaces in which some people worked. The papers make use of a wide range of historical records, including conduct literature, satirical texts, personal correspondence, suicide letters and coroners' inquests, in order to explore both the cultural ideas, and lived realities, of the interaction between mental health and work in eighteenth-century England. The panel begins by examining issues of stress, illness and work in interactions between domestic servants and their masters. It focuses on an earlier part of the period (1680-1850), and explores issues of care, embodiment, and the complex power dynamics within these close and sometimes difficult relationships. The panel then moves to a later part of the period (1750-1850), and to considering the role of work stress in contributing to experiences of suicidality among lower and middling class individuals. It picks up themes raised by the first paper, particularly in considering the sometimes fraught relationships between employers and employees, but ranges both more widely (in considering a range of workplaces) and less widely (in focusing specifically on suicide) than the first. The final paper, focusing on the early nineteenth century, hones in on the experiences of one specific individual – George Canning – and his emotional engagement with his political work. Drawing upon the themes of affective comportment, gendered identity and work relations all raised in the first two papers, this paper uses the experiences and writings of an important but often overlooked individual to demonstrate the relevance of these issues to the very highest aspects of political life. In all, the panel advances our understanding of the complex relationship between work and mental health in a wide variety of geographic, social and occupational settings, highlighting issues of technological change, emotional fulfilment, and the impact of difficult work, as raised by the conference as a whole.
Chair:	**Imogen Peck**, University of Birmingham
Speakers:	**Emma Marshall**, University of York
	Domestic Service, Health and Stress in the English Gentry Home, c.1680-1750
	This paper will examine the connections between work, illness and stress in elite English households of the early eighteenth century. It focuses on identities of, and relationships between, masters, mistresses and domestic servants. Conduct literature and personal correspondence hint at employers' concerns about their servants' health. Sickness could reconfigure domestic power dynamics and prompt difficult decisions about masters' obligations. Some personally tended to their servants, paid large sums for professional care, or

arranged for their relocation. Others shunned these responsibilities. I argue that employers' stress about servants' wellbeing reveals the tension between practical interest and emotional investment in this relationship.

The paper also considers employers' fears about servants' ability to cause illness. Both egodocuments and satirical literature suggest that the proximity of elite and non-elite bodies raised anxieties about disease transmission. Additionally, some employers worried that their own failures in household management, itself an important form of work, threatened health. For example, Lady Sarah Cowper complained that her maids' poor housework was exacerbating her disabilities. Overall, this paper will argue that illness and work existed in a complex and cyclical relationship for gentry employers and their domestic servants. This both stemmed from and sparked anxieties about socio-economic identity.

Ella Sbaraini, University of Cambridge
Suicide, Work and Employment Stress in England, 1750-1850
This paper explores the ways in which workplace problems and employment stress contributed to people's suicidality in late eighteenth-century England. While historians such as Lindsay Galpin have rightfully emphasised how unemployment was culturally associated with male suicidality in this period, few have examined the ways in which difficult, unpleasant and precarious employment contributed to suicides.

Using over 2000 coroners' inquests, this paper explores how workplace problems contributed to poor mental health, particularly among men. Indeed, it demonstrates that men who killed themselves were over 50 percent more likely than women to have been affected by employment stress, often linked to expectations of 'independent' masculinity. By supplementing coronial records with evidence from suicide letters and other personal documents, this paper demonstrates that suicidal men often gave great significance to workplace problems – and particularly conflict with employers – when explaining their decision to end their lives.

Additionally, this paper will explore how those affected by workplace problems utilised their spaces of work in order to communicate their distress to employers and colleagues. Notably, it shows that those affected by employment problems were over 70 percent more likely to kill themselves in their workplaces. By using these sites – including workshops, factories and shopfronts – as spaces of suicide, people sought to build physical connections between their occupational problems and their suicides. In all, this paper emphasises the importance of understanding the historic connections between suicide and difficult and fractious work environments, and the impact of gender, age and social status in complicating this picture.

Rachel Bynoth, Bath Spa University
Work Stress: The Emotions of Politician and Statesman George Canning
What was it like to work in politics in the late eighteenth-century? Many studies of politics tend to consider policies, business and activities or focus on female contributions to politics in both social and political ways. Yet few studies consider the emotions of politics in this period, a period of social and political change, crisis and revolution and the role of letters as important vehicles for emotional strategy, intimacy, and family management. Significantly, few studies examine how public and familial personas interlace, providing a more nuanced picture of both the statesman and the political scene they worked in.

This paper focuses on one individual, George Canning, as a case study to nuance our understandings of the stresses of political life. When one hears the name George Canning, if they have heard of him at all, they tend to know him as the Prime Minister with the shortest tenure in British History. They may know that he was considered a prominent politician in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century and that he was considered a lost talent at his early death in 1827. Yet few know of his personal life and how this intertwined heavily with his political career.

Whilst they also reveal the joy his work brought him, George Canning's letters depict the stresses and anxieties of working in the political sphere in this period, as well as how these were expounded by his personal worries regarding his reputation and his mother. This paper will use the letter-journal of George Canning, alongside letters he wrote to family and friends, to uncover George's anxieties and stresses, focusing on the extremes of his political career: when he entered parliament and when he was Prime Minister. It will begin to consider who Canning sent letters to about what and why, and argue for the importance of familial context in understanding emotions connected to politics and public life.

35	**ROUNDTABLE: The new QAA subject benchmark statement for English and eighteenth-century studies**
Room:	Louey Seminar Room
Abstract:	In September 2023 the QAA published its revised benchmark statement for English. The new statement includes a new emphasis on the areas of EDI, access, sustainability, and entrepreneurship. In relation to these, skills such as collaboration, creativity, resilience, and problem solving, and use and understanding of digital technology receive more emphasis. This panel will reflect on the impact of the new statement on the learning and teaching of eighteenth-century literature at undergraduate level. The panel might consider questions such as how might attention to these skills change our assessment strategies? What does sustainability mean for teaching the eighteenth-century? How might the study of eighteenth-century century literature help students learn about collaboration or diversity?
Chair:	**Brooke Neal**, University of North Carolina at Greensboro
Facilitator:	**Sonja Lawrenson**, Manchester Metropolitan University
	Jennie Batchelor, University of York
	Bonne Latimer, University of Southampton
	Adam James Smith, York St Johns University
	Stephen Gregg, Bath Spa University

36	**Performance**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Abstract:	How do we study performance in the eighteenth century? Does the history of the concept of performance offer new analytical methods? How might we use images of a performer to reconstruct that performer's practice? And how is performance entangled with claims to selfhood and status? These questions are all central to this panel, which considers performance in the theatres, opera houses, and in many other venues and media throughout the 1700s.
Chair:	**Brianna Robertson-Kirkland**, Royal Conservatoire of Scotland
Speakers	**James Harriman-Smith**, Newcastle University
	What was Performance?
	In the eighteenth century it was common to a call a poem, a statue, or a painting a 'performance'. One of the things that the word meant, for Samuel Johnson, was 'composition' or 'work'. Nowadays this meaning of 'performance' has faded, marked as rare in the second edition of the OED (1989), and then, in 2005, as obsolete, eclipsed by a set of meanings that all position performance as a kind of

'action'. Johnson also defined performance as 'action; something done', but it is the central contention that the range of meanings recorded for the word 'performance' suggest a historic way of conceiving of performance that might change the way we think about past performances, especially those in the theatre. The frequent contestation between actors and authors in the 1700s, for example, can now be understood as between two sets of people who both create 'work'. The application of theories from painting to the theatre is also made easier when an actor's performance is seen as the same kind of thing as a painter's performance: a composition. And acting theory that considers the performance of a Garrick or a Siddons in toto rather than as something that is 'different every night' makes sense as a historical approach that sees that performance as a composition created by an artist rather than – as many in the modern discipline of performance studies would have it – as an action that takes place in particular circumstances.

Juliana Beykirch, Newcastle University
The 'Christian Goliath': Daniel Cajanus' Performances of Self
On 1 February 1742, a notice in the London Daily Advertiser announced a new addition to London's diverse entertainment landscape when it promoted performances by a man it called "that Prodigy in Nature the living COLOSSUS, or wonderful GIANT, from Sweden" (1 February). The performer whose appearances were advertised in such spectacular terms was Daniel Cajanus, (1702/3-1749), an extraordinarily tall Finn who earned his living by showing his body to paying spectators all over Europe. In the course of his decades-long performance career, Cajanus attained celebrity status at a time at which the category of celebrity first emerged.

This paper will focus on Cajanus' 1741/2 stay in London, specifically his involvement in the creation and circulation of his public image. In it, I argue that Cajanus' elaborate and highly theatrical performances, during which he utilised both costumes and props to display his extraordinary body to the greatest effect, were central to this process. Drawing on Julia Fawcett's concept of 'over-expression,' I argue that, in his theatrical appearances, which I identify as 'performances of self,' Cajanus employs 'oscillating overexpression' as a performance strategy. This entails him simultaneously exaggerating both his physical otherness and foreignness and his education and civility, and thereby constructing the highly contradictory public persona of the 'Christian Goliath' – a moniker that soon came to be associated with him and that was employed in the promotion of his performances.

This paper will demonstrate that Cajanus not only used 'oscillating overexpression' and the resulting contradictory public persona to negotiate his own complex identity as an extraordinarily embodied celebrity but also to assert his subject status. Cajanus' 'performances of self' continually expose themselves as performances – through their exaggerated theatricality and through the contradiction of the 'Christian Goliah' persona – and it is by highlighting the performativity of his intervention that Cajanus asserts his status as a performing subject, rather than an exhibited object. By presenting his audiences not with a coherent public image supposedly reflecting a stable, interior self, but with the figure of the 'Christian Goliah,' a public persona characterised by contradiction, Cajanus demonstrates that such an interior self exists in the first place. Thus, for Cajanus, his performances 'prove' his personhood.

Michael Burden, University of Oxford
Regina Mingotti (soprano) performs Hasse and Metastasio

We have very few images of singers performing, and equally few of the soprano Regina Mingotti. Among those we have, however, are a group of three illustrations by the designer Francesco Ponte which show the way in which the singer contrived to establish different aspects of the characters she was performing. The images show Mingotti in roles written for her by the composer J A Hasse, roles that were crafted to her vocal and dramatic skills. They were all texts by the ubiquitous Metastasio, all-important because they showed her well established in opera seria, the key 18th-century genre which, to Metastasio, represented classical tragedy in music.

The first image shows the singer in one of her most important roles, Publio (Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden). This was in the 1750 opera of Attilio Regolo. The second image is of her in the title role of Ipermestra from 1751, with a spectacular panniered skirt (Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden). The third image shows Mingotti as Emirena in Adriano in Siria, premiered in 1752, shows her in the spectacular costume of the Parthian Princess, the love interest of Adriano (Albertina, Vienna). This paper will analyse these three images in detail, arguing that their contexts allow us to use them to reconstruct Mingotti's performance strategies.

37	**Voyage, Labour, and Goods**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	**James Wood**, University of East Anglia
Speakers:	**Sean Silvia**, Princeton University

Behind the Classicised Ottoman 'Other' in Western European Travelogues at the End of the Long Eighteenth Century

In the final decades of the long eighteenth century, an increasing torrent of travelogues recounted Western Europeans' journeys through the Ottoman Empire. These travel accounts were saturated with classical references as their authors travelled with the ancient geographers Strabo and Pausanias in hand, in search of the origins of Western civilization and a means to disqualify the Ottomans from its inheritance. Other studies have focused on the travel authors' classicisation of the landscape and the self, but little ink has been spilt over their classicisation of the Ottoman subjects they encountered, an act that added tension to their travelogues. A focus on classicisation of Ottomans is useful to articulate how western imperialists related themselves to their Ottoman counterparts, as diplomats, as scholars, as antiquarians looking for local labour, as potential allies, or enemies. It was in this initial rush of contact at the end of the long eighteenth century that many of the clichés and language applied to the Ottomans solidified, so analysing classicising rhetoric is necessary to understand cultural discourse between global empires at the end of the long eighteenth century and beyond, with implications for diplomatic, intellectual, and early archaeological history.

This paper examines French, British and Italian travelogues from the second half of the long eighteenth century that classicise Ottoman subjects. The authors' classicising rhetoric represents tensions from a time when the Ottoman Empire was still largely unfamiliar. I argue that travelogues classicised in part to render the unfamiliar familiar, to romanticize and even sensualize their text, and to indulge in a desire to see antiquity enacted. Here language of play—aesthetic pleasure and adventure—swirled together with work—diplomacy, information gathering and ardours of travel. Ottoman Paşas were compared to Hercules as a political warning of their potency as a threat and elsewhere compared to pagan worshipers to demonize them as backwards, 'pre-modern.' Ottoman 'Greeks' were illustrated wearing classical garb to justify their independence from the 'Turks' despite many travel authors' difficulty actually telling them apart. There is

a further tension in that to classicise oneself (like James Dawkins and Robert Wood, painted donning togas while discovering Palmyrene ruins) in the same book in which one classicised Ottomans inherently put Western European and Ottoman civilization in conversation, even in legitimate competition. As a result, the authors almost never classicised themselves in the same passage as they did the Ottomans. This paper contrasts these books with the Ottomans own self-classicisation, something which the travel authors supressed in their accounts. This tension between a classicised 'self' and classicised 'other' can shed light on Western European authors' self-perception, and the history of ideas about imperialism, orientalism, civilizational heritage, and the 'modernity' of antiquity in the Middle East.

Danyan Xue, University of Sydney
"All modern china now shall hide its head": Disenchantment and Domestication of Chinaware
This paper examines eighteenth-century British views of China as they were expressed through the disenchantment and domestication of chinaware. I argue that William Wycherley's sexualization of china in The Country Wife (1675) reflects a particular moment in the literary representation of porcelain when it began to be related to women's illicit desire while still retaining a sense of mystery and elevated virtue that allowed for its metaphorical representation of the masculine body. The narrative of porcelain as gender-neutral in late seventeenth-century Britain stood in stark contrast to the more demeaning rhetoric that bound porcelain to femininity in the early eighteenth century. I will suggest that the shifting discourse on chinaware from praise to disparagement did not happen spontaneously but developed with the efforts to assimilate Chinese porcelain into British culture, turning it into an object with English taste. These endeavours were evident through the demystification of porcelain production, the embellishment of chinaware with metal mounts, and the importation of customized porcelain tailored for domesticated tastes in the early eighteenth century. The diminishing references to China in the material history of porcelain manufacturing and consumption, coupled with the disenchantment of porcelain in literary representations, delineated the transition in eighteenth-century discourse on chinaware in relation to the changing dynamics of Sino-British trade history. It sheds light on how the British ambition to assert its superiority over China in the global market, coinciding with their impending economic boom and technological advancements of the industrial revolution, suggests that the domestication of Chinese taste, far from being an acknowledgment of Chinese culture, was a reinforcement of British imperial pride. In a reciprocally constitutive connection, the urge to disenchant Chinese porcelain and the desire to uphold imperial pride collectively created a cultural imagination that diminished the dangers of exotic taste and even domesticated it as an emblem of British culture.

Samuel Diener, Jesus College, Cambridge
Manning the Ship: Dynamic selfhood and the representation of labour at sea
The narrative genre of the ocean voyage, from circumnavigations to narratives of shipwreck, contains the largest body of first-person plural narration in the Western textual tradition. This pervasive characteristic of the genre yields remarkable textual effects. In a single paragraph of William Dampier's 1697 New Voyage, for example, the ship's crew moves through collective action, perception, thought, and feeling: "we steered," "we saw," "we thought," "we said," "we feared," "we knew.'

Such a composite voice gathers the ship's crew differently from sentence to sentence, sliding over collaborative actions that must have been performed by

different members of the group. In the 1748 Richard Walter account of George Anson's circumnavigation, which is perhaps the most pronounced example of plural narration, though Walter was the ship's chaplain, his voice seems to leap from the decision-making work of officers and navigators ("we were ... deducing [the current] from the error in our reckoning") to the labour of the sailors aloft in the rigging ("we ourselves immediately handed the top sails, bunted the main-sail, and lay to") before eliding them all with the body of the ship itself ("lay to ..."). In each case, through a play of the imagination enabled by the slippage of syntax, the actions, decisions, and labor of a few are attributed to the whole. Such graftings together of ship and crew are not merely a matter of metaphor or metonymy. At the height of one storm, the crew "man the fore-shrouds": literally, going aloft into the rigging so their bodies catch the wind.

The emphasis on collective endeavor in the literature of maritime travel has not gone unremarked. Historians of the Atlantic world, such as Marcus Rediker, describe a solidarity among sailors which crossed divides of race and of national identity. Scholars of voyage narratives have pointed out that they were often collectively authored, compiled from the work of multiple hands. And Margaret Cohen has attended to the "collectivity of craft" that the texts depict. Yet little attention has been paid to the grammatical slippage by which collectivity is enacted in the text itself: the ambiguity of the "we." Nor have they attended to the remarkable sense of self that emerges from the narrative voice of such a text. It is far from both the "objective" self that communicates Enlightenment scientific knowledge and the unique, individual selfhood with psychological interiority described by literary scholars like Nancy Armstrong. Instead, the navigating "we" is dynamic, contingent, and open to the influence of others. Attending to theories of labour, of selfhood, and of the relationships between humans and material things, this paper will examine this speaking subject, seeking to recover its multiply-embodied point of view.

38	**Burney Society UK Panel on Work and Play**
Room:	Hamlin Room 1 (Main Building)
Abstract:	This panel explores aspects of the eighteenth-century intersection of work and play through the lives and writings of the Burney family. Commencing with their participation in social card play, the first paper then considers the commercial implications of card games and their development, followed by an analysis of representations of card parties by members of the Burney family, including James Burney's 'A Treatise, by way of a Lecture, on Whist'. The second paper discusses that, whilst Charles Burney was committed to building a reputation for serious scholarly endeavour and was undeniably invested in the broader commercial enterprise celebrated in Barry's 'The Progress of Human Knowledge and Culture', Barry's portrayal of Dr Burney among the nymphs in the Thames was generally received with playful witticism or satirical ridicule. The final paper examines the intellectual work completed by Frances Burney through her engagement with emergent eighteenth-century philosophy, and her subsequent playful experimentation of the novelistic form through variations in narration, structure, and characterisation.
Chair:	**Karen Lipsedge**, Kingston University
Speakers:	**Trudie Messent**, Independent Scholar
	'Two very large rooms were full of company; in one were cards for the elderly ladies, and in the other were the dancers.': The Burneys and the importance of card play in the long eighteenth-century
	The title quote is from 'Evelina, or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World', a novel by Frances Burney, first published in 1778, which references the practice of providing a card room at balls and assemblies, and is one of many instances of gaming in the novels of Frances Burney. This paper will explore the

importance of cards, with particular reference to the pastimes and writings of the Burney family. In the 1780s the young Charles and Estelle Burney eased their integration into King's Lynn society by participating in local card parties.

The development of social games, from card design and production, to the development of game variations will be outlined, before detailing the range of societal attitudes from negative arguments put forward, such as that such gaming set a poor example to servants, and sailors aboard East India Company vessels, to the commercial and social advantages, and perils, of play in the upper echelons of society, with examples from the numerous contemporary books on card games, and caricatures. Whilst the focus is on card games, other popular games found in gaming rooms are included. References to gaming in the lives, letters, journals and novels of the Burney family will culminate in a discussion of the 1821 publication of James Burney's, 'A Treatise, in the way of a Lecture, on the game of Whist'.

Miriam Al Jamil, Independent Scholar
'Melting away in a cloud of words': Dr. Burney as satire in Word and Image
Though he did at times reveal a playful sense of humour, Dr Charles Burney took himself very seriously as a musicologist and composer. His appearance in James Barry's complex painting cycle, The Progress of Human Knowledge and Culture, undertaken for the Society of Arts in London is highly problematic. Barry painted him to represent British musical excellence as companion to a figure of Father Thames but most recorded critical reaction to this portrayal expressed disappointment or derision. He did not escape satirical reaction to his A General History of Music, published in four volumes from 1776. A short comic parody by 'Joel Collier' entitled Musical Travels Through England expanded on many popular attitudes to Italian musical culture. Burney's prominence in society was not without its drawbacks.

The title of this paper comes from Virginia Woolf's summary of her problems with Charles Burney's work which I will examine. The paper then looks at the context of Burney's portrait by Barry and the main features of Collier's satire, alongside the surprising silence by the Burney family on these subjects and speculates on the reasons for this. The closing of ranks and erasure of any criticism of the Doctor's reputation demonstrate a strong feature of Burney family history.

Beth Stewart, University of Sussex
'A Theatre of Perceptions': Frances Burney's Utilisation of the Humean Self in Evelina and Camilla
In 1739, philosopher David Hume ignited the sparks of an epistemological revolution. With the publication of his Treatise on Human Nature, Hume tossed aside traditional notions of fundamental constructions such as selfhood identity, finding fictionality where others had found a fixed and comforting absolute. In his Book I account 'Of Personal Identity,' he asserts that while 'some philosophers [...] imagine we are every moment conscious of what we call our self [...] when I enter most intimately into what I call myself, I always stumble on some particular perception or other, [...] I never can catch myself.' In these few lines, the comfort and solidity of an innate selfhood are dashed, replaced by an unfixed fragility, tripping and fumbling further forward with each moment. The consequences of such a conclusion were – and remain – both startling and thought-provoking. As noted by Adela Pinch in Strange Fits of Passion (1996), if the self is illusionary, then it is the 'passions [which turn] us to a sense of self. [...] In a crucial paradox, Hume implies that it is because the self is "in reality nothing" that, once "turned" in that direction, our passion and attention can only

with difficulty turn elsewhere.' Selfhood becomes a fiction, written through the experience and momentum of the passions, as they take to the stage of our cognitive theatre, even if but for a moment. While Hume grapples with the impact a fictional selfhood has within the world around him, a young Frances Burney takes the time to consider how such a selfhood impacts fiction itself; in particular, a social fiction which focuses on the development of a female subjectivity. This paper will explore Burney's experimentations around female identity through a Humean lens in the works of Evelina (1778) and Camilla (1796). It will consider how Burney has incorporated a Humean scepticism of selfhood within her social novels through varied experimentations within the novelistic form, and how she has modified Hume's framework further to encapsulate her commentary upon selfhood and society from a uniquely female perspective. It will examine her texts utilising the modern works of Adela Pinch, Kristen Pond, Nancy Yousef, David Hume, and Anthony Ashley Cooper.

39	**Royal Households: Work and Leisure**
Room:	Hamlin Room 2 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Sarah Fox**, University of Birmingham
Speakers:	**Amanda Westcott**, University of Oxford

Rules of Attendance: Working in the Royal Household under George III

George III and his consort Queen Charlotte together oversaw an active royal household, several members of which recorded their experiences within its ranks and detailed the challenges of attending the sovereign throughout the late eighteenth century. Within the royal household's distinctive, hierarchical structure emerge a set of committed officeholders from a range of social backgrounds, who witnessed firsthand and supported efforts to uphold a particular royal dignity in the face of household reform in the early 1780s, followed by the added difficulties of the king's ill health and the Regency Crisis of 1789. From the upper echelons of aristocratic courtier-families to the middling and humbler origins of bedroom and backstairs staff, employment in the royal household granted unique insight into the court's evolving function in society during this period as well as George III's determination to preserve its social (if not political) authority. This paper will draw from the memoirs and correspondence of a few prominent members of this royal circle, including the earl and countess of Harcourt, the earl of Ailesbury, Frances Burney, and Charlotte Papendiek, each of whom provide detailed accounts of their differing responsibilities alongside a strong, shared sense of loyalty to the king and queen.

As a part of my doctoral research, this paper seeks to develop a new approach to the study of late Hanoverian kingship with a particular emphasis on the operation and sociability of the court, which depended heavily on the presence of officeholders who undertook the duties of attendance both in St. James's Palace and an expanding number of alternative courtly venues beyond London. Proximity to the monarch and his consort assumed more performative elements that are often overlooked in George III's wider public image as a rather modest, domestic figurehead. An emphasis on the observation of ritual and precedence, even in the more intimate settings of the royal household, set the tone for a distinctive court culture among the wider royal "family," including those employed in a variety of positions of work for the monarch. Themes concerning both the responsibilities of officeholders and the hierarchies formed among them further aid discussions of the variety of social identities cultivated at this court as well as the nature of the kingship at its helm.

Benedetta Burgio, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano
"Not Business, but Diversion and Recreation": the poetry of Sir Richard Blackmore, MD

In the early eighteenth century writing became for many a recreational activity and it was not unusual for men of any profession to occupy their leisure hours with popular writing. This practice often resulted in valuable cultural documents that reflected the interests and vocational background of their authors. This paper will examine the life and work of Sir Richard Blackmore (1654-1729), royal physician to both King William III and Queen Anne and amateur poet, who was known for devoting his "leisure hours" ("King Arthur", 1697: ix) to writing. It has often been remarked that Blackmore became an author not because of necessity but of personal inclination and besides medical treatises, his literary production comprises a variety of genres, including epics, philosophical poems, essays, and religious writings. All these texts were composed by the physician in the "idle hours" ("Prince Arthur", 1695) his medical profession afforded him, as he often liked to observe in the prefaces of his books. This very admission, however, provided Blackmore's literary enemies with extensive material for scorn and made him the target of countless jibes. A case in point is Dryden's famous lines: "At leisure hours in epic song he deals, / Writes to the rumbling of his coach's wheels" ("The Pilgrim", 1700).

Incorporating evidence from Blackmore's own writings, biographies, and commentaries, this contribution will argue that Blackmore's previously overlooked literary work has a distinctive cultural relevance for eighteenth-century English literature. Particular regard will be paid to "Creation. A Philosophical Poem." (1712), a scientific encyclopaedia in verse and Blackmore's best composition. The paper will conclude by reflecting on Blackmore's fate as an author and on the consequence of Creation as a compendium of the scientific culture of the early eighteenth century.

Clémentine Garcenot, University of York
Working for the Royals: a female aristocrat memoirist's account of the French Court's struggle for survival (1789-1792)
From 1789 to 1792, the French royal court was in a near-constant state of evolution as the Revolution ushered in profound changes to court customs and etiquette. As a result of the slow collapse of court, etiquette underwent a change and transformed the royal family's relationship with courtiers. As piecemeal restrictions and growing danger made aristocrats flee Paris, only very few remained by the royal family's side to serve them.

This paper will look at work as increasingly hard to define as the royals' demands evolved with the Revolution, even as the remaining courtiers perceived it as fulfilling. It will also look at play as necessary to provide distraction and comfort to the royal family in need.

Pauline de Tourzel (1771-1839) lived by the royal family's side from the summer of 1789 until that of 1792, when the monarchs' remaining companions were arrested. Tourzel, as daughter of the Royal Governess and on the threshold between childhood and adulthood, found herself not only the game companion of the entire royal family, but also a quasi-employee serving Queen Marie-Antoinette. Tourzel survived the Revolution and wrote her memoirs, Souvenirs de quarante ans (1789-1830) in 1832. Scholars such as Marilyn Yalom, Henri Rossi and Catriona Seth have researched aristocratic women's experience of the Revolution and their subsequent works of life-writing, yet Tourzel's memoirs have never been the focus of a literary analysis. Tourzel's awkward age and lack of official position made her a nebulous and protean yet fixed presence within the royal household. I argue that her case is reflective of both the court's instability and of the courtiers' perceived duty to offer support and entertainment to the royals amidst this redefinition of what their job entailed.

This paper will offer a unique insight from a young woman in the royals' inner-circle into the transitions court went through as it struggled to adapt to a new reality devoid of the privileges it had known before. Tourzel's memoirs present a hitherto ignored yet fascinating source attesting to the unprecedented challenges faced by the French courtiers as their place of work and leisure underwent its revolutionary transformation, leaving them to rethink what serving the French royal family consisted in and what significance their enduring presence at their side would have on their lives.

40	**Employer and Servant**
Room:	Dobbs Room 1 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Penny Pritchard**, University of Hertfordshire
Speakers:	**Anna Penkala-Jastrzebska**, Bozena Popiolek, & **Urszula Kicinska**, University of the National Education Commission

Early modern „know-how". Transmission of knowledge and innovations in XVIII century relations between West Europe and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

The analysis of the structure of servants employed in the services of the wealthy nobles in Polish Lithuanian-Commonwealth, is an interesting testimony to the changes taking place in the functioning of private manors in the 17th and 18th centuries. The aim of the proposal is to indicate the transmission of knowledge, innovations in work methods, technologies, and innovative solutions that reached the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th century. The practice of recruiting foreigners (craftsmens) – valued professionals in their field – to private magnate courts has not been the subject of extensive research so far. This is due to the huge dispersion of the source materials. Therefore, we will use previously unpublished, unknown in scientific circulation documents found during archival research conducted in Warsaw, Krakow, Wroclaw, Lublin, Lviv, Kiev, Vilnius, Dresden and Paris.

The trace of the presence of craftsmens from abroad, hired at private magnate manors, should be sought primarily in numerous, sometimes extremely detailed and extensive manor accounts. Foreigners can be successfully detected by analyzing payroll lists for servants, references and preserved registers (f.ex. equipping people employed at court with the necessary clothing or tools). It was natural that the daily functioning of eighteenth-century private manors required the ongoing recruitment of servants specializing in various professions and crafts. The principals demanded the basics – honesty and diligence, but they especially appreciated the skills of experienced and dedicated people. The practice of employing foreigners at courts, treated as absolute specialists in their profession, was a perfect complement to locally recruited people. Their experience and practice, skill in craftsmanship and reliability of work were valued. Foreign craftsmens were also recruited to increase the prestige of their principal's court.

Charlotte Wetton, University of Manchester
Work and Poetry on the Barrow-side: a labouring-class woman's response
My paper is an analytical reading of 'Written on the Barrow-side Where she was Sent to Wash Linen', a poem by the little-known poet, Ellen Taylor. Taylor was an Irish labouring-class writer who, unusually, wrote in English. This extraordinary poem interrogates the boundary of Taylor's two roles as both poet and servant. In this conference paper, I will argue that Taylor's uncommon use of the riverscape allows her to redefine her work-site as a site of literary production and to express her problematic dual identity. I will build on the work of the critics, Penny Fielding — in particular her identification of the river as an unstable spatial structure — Charles Taylor's conception of the social imaginary, as well as Bridget Keegan's research on labouring-class women poets. My

contextualisation of eighteenth-century river poetry and the ballad form will show how Taylor uses and challenges these forms. In an age of flour mills and navigation works on the River Barrow, Taylor sets the hard labour of laundry alongside an affective response to landscape. Whether we take a message of resistance or defeat from this poem, it is neither a typical lyrical ballad nor a typical 'peasant-poet' poem about labour.

We suffer from a dearth of primary texts by and about labouring-class women. Turning to poetry is one of our few opportunities to hear the voices of labouring-class women directly. At a time when the Romantic movement was reconceptualising our relationship with landscape and the self, Taylor's poem is a rare insight into a marginalised identity away from the usual centres of literary production.

41	**Delaval family**
Room:	Dobbs Room 2 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Susan de Guardiola**, Independent Scholar
Speakers:	**Rebecca Short**, Université libre de Bruxelles

'Devenir enfant une seconde fois': the Play-Element in Mentorship

Mentorship is serious business. Mentors exert great influence over their mentees and, in eighteenth-century education, the stakes were high. In his 1769 Salon, for example, Diderot recalls a young prince who, having taken hold of a painter's prized work, proceeds to destroy it. Scandalised by such malicious behaviour, the philosophe asks: 'Si ce prince, devenu souverain, fait le malheur de plusieurs millions d'hommes, est-ce à lui ou à son indigne gouverneur qu'il faut s'en prendre?' Blame for the young prince's cruelty – which may well lead to greater atrocities when he becomes ruler – is not placed on the culprit, but rather on his educator.

Anxieties surrounding the influence of tutors and mentors led to a proliferation of texts theorising and depicting pedagogical relationships, inspired in large part by the 1699 publication of Fénelon's Télemaque. Amidst such gravity there was, nevertheless, levity. Fénelon advocates a mode of pleasurable instruction anchored in play: 'laisser donc jouer un enfant, et mêlez l'instruction avec le jeu.' These games were not always intentionally educative. Fénelon's mentor could make use of their mentees' distraction for formation: 'laissons leur vue se promener un peu; permettons-leur même de temps en temps quelque digression [...] puis, ramenons-les doucement au but.'

Taking Télemaque as its point of departure, this paper will assess the multiple functions of the ludic in the context of eighteenth-century mentorship. It will bring Fénelon into conversation with lesser-known pedagogue Louis-Antoine Caraccioli to argue that amusement's potential surpassed pleasurable didacticism; play also underpinned the very functioning of mentorship and the development of mentors' own self-construction in relation to their mentees.

In the above examples, Fénelon's mentor remains detached from the mentee's game-space. The mentor facilitates play, by permitting it and by creating conditions which are conducive to it. However, play's illusion must eventually shatter, and the mentee must instead be led outwards, towards a sober goal. Caraccioli's 1761 work Le Véritable mentor offers a counterpoint, where the mentor must himself 'devenir enfant une seconde fois.' Through the sincerity of 'devenir' – as opposed to 'faire semblant d'être' – Caraccioli alludes to the inherent seriousness of play. To fully inhabit their role, a mentor must create, sustain, and be immersed in an illusion – that of their own childhood. They

must, in other words, play a game. For Caraccioli, this ability to both facilitate and participate in a unified play-community is a requisite for 'true mentorship'.

In considering mentor and mentee as fellow players, a more cohesive image emerges wherein games were not simply tolerated means to instructive ends, but rather immersive spaces in which relationships were forged and positive influence was exerted.

Joanne Edwards, Northumbria University
Anne Hussey Delaval's she-tragedy: amateur theatricals of the eighteenth century
This paper arises from an AHRC funded project in collaboration with the National Trust property Seaton Delaval Hall, Northumberland, an English Baroque mansion designed by Sir John Vanbrugh and one-time residence of the "Gay Delavals". Drawing from archival material, including Seaton Delaval Hall's extensive art collection as well as family papers housed at Northumberland Archives, my project examines the Delaval women's involvement with the visual and theatrical arts. The eighteenth-century Delavals were a family associated with scandal and debauchery, renowned for their outlandish behaviour, infamous parties, and famous amateur theatrical performances. The Delavals were a family of notoriety who circulated with the upper echelons of celebrated society including the young Royals. One particular relationship developed with Prince Edward, Duke of York (1739 –1767), whose patronage saw the construction of a small theatre in James Street, London, in which both the Delavals and the Duke of York were to establish and perform in. The scale of the Delavals' enthusiasm for acting is apparent not only in their private theatrical productions, often taking place at Seaton Delaval Hall and the Little Theatre, but also, extraordinarily, in their public performance of Shakespeare's Othello at Drury Lane Theatre on 8 March 1751.

Drawing from archival material, this paper will examine Anne Hussey Delaval's (1737-1812) amateur theatrical career, exploring her performances alongside the Duke of York in the Delavals' Little Theatre, London. Delaval performed the role of Calista, the protagonist in Nicholas Rowe's she-tragedy The Fair Penitent (1704), a performance which she had commemorated in a series of paintings and prints by close friend and theatre manager Benjamin Wilson (1721-1788). I will therefore examine Delaval's self-fashioned image as actress in relation to the she-tragedy genre, examining the visual culture surrounding the tragic heroine figure. I will examine how Delaval's adoption of theatrical performance affected her public image and explore how her roles on stage and use of visual culture was carefully curated to generate a very specific public image.

Leah Warriner-Wood, University of Lincoln
The 'public man' and the 'private theatrical': Frank Delaval's 1751 production of Othello and the performance of masculinity
Drawing on histories of identity and manhood, this paper will present an example of reciprocity between so-called 'private' theatricals and the negotiation of 'public' masculinity in the mid-C18th.

Francis (Frank) Delaval (1727-1771) is remembered by contemporaries and historians alike as a practical joker and rake. Lampooned in the popular press for his curious inventions, improbable exploits, and (extra)marital complications, Frank was a parliamentary candidate who in 1749 received only a single vote, a debtor whose spending forced a £45,000 re-mortgage of his family's estates, and a failed dynastic patriarch with illegitimate children but no heir. He was also a keen actor, disciple of self-proclaimed 'pedlar of comedy' Samuel Foote and, in March 1751, hired a Drury Lane theatre in order to perform Othello alongside his

innermost circle – an event that led Horace Walpole to remark on the House of Commons' early adjournment, due to a 'rage' among Members to see the performance. Two months later Frank was returned as the Member of Parliament for Hindon, beginning the life of a 'public man' (McCormack and Roberts, 2007).

What does it betoken, that Samuel Foote's 'dissipated, gay and giddy' protégé opted to privately invest £2,000 to act out the central role in Shakespeare's solemn and moralising tragedy, before a clamouring audience of his peers, and so shortly before beginning a career as an MP? By reflecting on Frank's relationship with Foote, the theatre, and public life, and through synthesis with discourse on the public/private dichotomy, manliness, and the concept of a 'socially turned' cultural identity (Wahrman, 2006), the paper will seek to address this question.

Positioned alongside McCormack and Roberts' characterisation of the public and private spheres as 'mutually constitutive' in C18th men's performance of politics, and French and Rothery's (2012) account of landed masculinities of the same period, Frank's 'private' presentation and performance of Othello will be framed as an attempt to perceptibly realign the rakish youth with Shakespeare's strong moral narrative in the court of public opinion. Furthermore, notions of identity and of 'private' versus 'public' theatricals will be shown to have diverged in ideology and experience from the concepts of today. Accordingly, the paper will propose a reading of the Othello production wherein it can be seen as a strategy that sought to validate Frank's 'fitness to rule' in the theatres of power, by exploiting the customs of identity play within the theatre of pleasure.

Though this strategy appears to have ultimately been a failure for Frank, the paper will argue that its execution nevertheless suggests the existence of a reciprocal relationship between public masculinities and private theatricals – 'work and play' – in the 1750s, and of an innate understanding of this by Frank Delaval, which spawned behaviours aimed at forming and disseminating his cultural identity as an C18th man.

42	**In memory of Arthur Burns (1963-2023)**
Room:	MGA Lecture Room (Mary Gray Allen Building)
Chair:	**Matthew McCormack**, University of Northampton and **Emrys Jones, King's College London**
Speakers:	Contributors to include **Tim Hitchcock, Penelope Corfield, Emrys Jones** and **Oliver Walton.**

| 12:30–13:30 | LUNCH, Dining Hall (Main Building) |
| | If you would like a quieter space to eat, please visit The Wordsworth Room. |

13:30–14:45	PLENARY LECTURE:
	The Meaning of Sancho
	Speaker: **Paterson Joseph**
	Chair: **Brycchan Carey**, BSECS President
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall

14:45–15:15	COFFEE BREAK	MEET YOUR MENTOR
Elizabeth Wordsworth Tea Room (Ground Floor, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)		We encourage mentors and mentees to reach out to each other, and then use this time to grab a coffee and have a chat. **The Wordsworth Room** in the main building is a quiet space to meet if you wish.

15:15–16:15	**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:	Maplethorpe Hall
Chair:	**Declan Kavanagh**, University of Kent

16:15–18:00	THURSDAY SESSION III
43	**Grave Histories**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Abstract:	Graves are not usually sites associated with ideas of work and play, but over the course of the long eighteenth century the relationship between burial, work and play developed considerably. The market for increasingly elaborate monuments and intramural burial reached its peak during the century, providing work for the hundreds of masons and laymen involved in the material production of graves and the practicalities of burial. At the same time, burial itself became an event equally marked by forms of 'play', be this the growing number of accompanying wakes and celebrations held in taverns and homes well beyond the confines of consecrated ground, or the wider cultural memorialisation that spilled out through the publication of lives and memoirs. This panel explores the research potential of graves and the varied types of knowledge they might produce, viewing them not as simplistic sites but rather as a key means of connecting the living and the dead across both time and space.
Chair:	**Rosie Paice**, Northumbria University
Speakers:	**Claudine van Hensbergen**, Northumbria University
	Aphra Behn's Grave as Edited Text
	Behn was buried in the East Cloister of Westminster Abbey on 20th April 1689, four days after her death. Compared to the many elaborate and stately monuments found in the Abbey, Behn's simple black ledger stone appears modest and even commonplace. But this is to misread the site. In this paper I explore what Behn's grave, as a material object, tells us about her life, the status of her work in her own day, and her relationship with her male contemporaries buried, just meters away, in Poet's Corner. Building upon these ideas I will focus on the inscription cut upon Behn's grave, analysing its anonymously written poetic epitaph to recover a clearer sense of its possible author and meanings. Here, again, an exploration of the material history of the grave enables us to unlock a series of interventions in which the grave's text has been edited over time, with remarkable care taken to preserve Behn's name. Such interventions, at once textual and physical, reveal a curious investment in Behn's commemoration that sits entirely at odds with the dominant reception history of her life and writings.
	Abby Hammond, Northumbria University
	How to Read a Ledger Stone: Newcastle Cathedral as Case Study
	This paper outlines a developing project delivered in partnership with Newcastle Cathedral, which seeks to use the cathedral's collection of ledger stones as a starting point for the first sustained study of women's lives in Newcastle in the C17th and C18th, at a time when Newcastle was the largest city in the North of England. My paper explores wider issues of the materiality and history of ledger stones, thinking about their potential to offer new methodologies for recovering knowledge, especially pertaining to histories of women. I focus on a number of emerging case studies on women including Dame Jane Clavering (d.1734), Alice Proctor (d.1684) and Dame Eleanor Allan (d.1709), exploring how ledger stones

offer a key repository for uncovering new knowledge about lives, networks and society.

Daisy Winter, Northumbria University
Dryden, Pope, Curll, and 'Corinna': Pylades and Corinna (1732) and Elizabeth Thomas's Voice
Pylades and Corinna (1732), a posthumous collection of Elizabeth Thomas's (1675-1731) correspondence published by Edmund Curll, has been fairly treated with caution, if not suspicion. At first glance, its disarrayed composition suggests it was hurried to publication, another example of Curll living up to John Arbuthnot's famous description of him as "one of the new terrors of death". Indeed, Curll includes Thomas's unfinished memoir, a lengthy letter carefully outlining the legal particulars of her destitution, and almost as an afterthought, a gruesome letter to the Royal College of Physicians detailing her chronic pain after swallowing a chicken bone. The fractured voice of 'Corinna' in the 1732 collection has been treated with caution, if not suspicion. A poet well-known in her time but largely remembered as a "poetaster", Thomas has since been largely a footnote in the lives of her male contemporaries. While her early verses invited favourable comparisons to the eminent Katherine Phillips (famously by John Dryden), her involvement with Curll won her a spot in Pope's Dunciad as "Curll's Corinna", an act of revenge that following her death in 1731 came to define Thomas in public memory. A narrative of Thomas's fall from Dryden's grace to Curll's villainy thus dominates her biographical and scholarly representation, and in characterising Thomas as one of "Two Corinna's", to borrow Anne McWhir's phrase, critics largely ignore her wider body of work, and assume her paratextuality in her own history. In drawing upon Thomas's neglected body of work, this paper reframes Pylades and Corinna outside of Thomas's orbit of male peers and draws on her neglected body of work to recentre Thomas in her own memorialisation, reconsidering the text as part of Thomas's neglected and complicated literary legacy.

44	**"A time of great romance and horrific vengeance": The Eighteenth-Century in Videogames and Boardgames**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room
Abstract:	This panel, which has been formed out of the community which developed around the 'Playing the Eighteenth Century' episode of the Coffee House Perspectives podcast, chaired by Adam James Smith, is a development of the ideas the panel first explored in that episode. Drawing on the respective expertise and diverse academic backgrounds of Jack Orchard, Katie Noble, and Steph Howard-Smith, this panel aims to explore some of the various meanings and arguments attached to the concept of the eighteenth-century in contemporary games. Taking into account visual arts, game mechanics, sound design, and the intertextual resonances of the medium, this panel argues for the importance of engaging with both digital and analogue games as vehicles for the transmission and interpretation of understandings of the eighteenth-century.

Within video games, the eighteenth-century has been a consistent presence across the 2000s and 2010s, with Ubisoft's Assassin's Creed games Assassin's Cred III (2012), Black Flag (2013) and Unity (2014) representing significant ludic treatments of the American Revolutionary War, the Golden Age of Piracy, and the French Revolution respectively. In recent years there has been an explosion of interest in remediating aspects of the eighteenth-century by independent game designers and smaller studios, with Return of the Obra Dinn (Lucas Pope, 2018), an 1802 detective story about a series of murders on an East India Company ship ushering in a generation of smaller scale, emotion and argumentation-driven narratives, which eschewed the big-budget gloss of the Assassin's Creed games for

more idiosyncratic stories. The Council (Big Bad Wolf, 2018), We, The Revolution (Polyslash, 2019), Ambition: A Minuet in Power (Joy Manufacturing Co, 2021), The Case of the Golden Idol (Color Gray, 2022), Card Shark (Nerial, 2022) and Immortality (Half-Mermaid, 2022), provide rich and nuanced engagements with eighteenth-century political culture, gender politics and literary traditions. Board games have also experienced a recent upsurge in the diversity of their eighteenth-century content, with board games focusing on either the French Revolution, such as Liberté, (Valley Games, 1998), or the American War of Independence, like We the People (Avalon Hill, 1995) giving way to a wide variety of experiences, using game mechanics to model the composition of classical music in Lacrimosa (Devir, 2022), the social and material aspects of scientific discovery in Encyclopedia (Holy Grail, 2022), or the navigation of London queer identity in Molly House (Wehrlegig, 2024).

There has never been a better time for the eighteenth-century studies community to engage directly with contemporary games, and with the focus of this year's conference being 'Work and Play', this panel offers a vital opportunity to explore both what players learn when they engage with 18th century themed games, and what we as researchers can gain from a ludic attention to our period.

Chair:	**Adam James Smith**, York St Johns University
Speakers:	**Katie Noble**, University of Oxford

Scraps of the Eighteenth Century: Detecting Ephemera in The Case of the Golden Idol (2022)

The Case of the Golden Idol (2023) is a point-and-click detective game which follows the occult adventures (and associated murders) of an aristocratic family over the course of the late eighteenth century. In the game, the player must solve a series of mysteries by piecing together evidence from ephemera; letters, posters, betting slips, and other items strewn about a frozen tableau. The term 'ephemera' is often used to describe collectible and/or narrative objects in video games that take their place as a material part of that game's history. Such objects are ephemeral both in their digital existence, and in how they seek to mimic, in this case, the paper scraps of everyday life. However, as Gillian Russell has argued in The Ephemeral Eighteenth Century (2020), although ephemera 'resonates transhistorically', both in the digital form of the video game, and the print forms it adapts, 'its reach across time can only be properly understood in the context of the historical moment of its formation in the eighteenth century (8). In The Case of the Golden Idol, the narrative is at the mercy of such paper scraps which lay claim to a fictionalised association with the everyday – it is only by piecing together such scraps that the player can access the 'truth' of the conspiracy.

In an interview for Playstack (https://playstack.com/blog-color-gray-interview/), the developers of the game, when questioned on their choice of art and setting, said that they 'went for the 18th century because, in [their] minds, the 19th is a bit overused'. Despite citing Hogarth as a specific artistic influence, you would be forgiven for thinking that the game's eighteenth-century aspects stopped there. Its occult references and detective mechanics feel perhaps more Victorian. However, it is my contention that the game's engagement with the eighteenth century comes from how it questions both the nature of adaptation and the forms of paper ephemera which litter its pixelated scenes. In this paper, I will investigate the function of such objects and how they inherit a sense of paper ephemera as diurnal, contingent, and historical, which found its basis in the eighteenth century.

Stephanie Howard Smith, Independent Scholar
The Eighteenth-Century Tabletop Imaginary

Eighteenth-century boardgames and eighteenth-century themed video games have increasingly been the subject of modern scholarship (including at recent BSECS conferences). Less attention, however, has been paid to the number of eighteenth-century themed boardgames published in the last few years, despite the boom in tabletop boardgaming over the previous decade. This paper offers a survey of a number of recent eighteenth-century themed boardgames, including Molly House (2024), Encyclopedia (2022), Lacrimosa (2022) and Anno 1800 (2021), and compares them to older games (e.g. 2004's Friedrich). This paper examines not only the theming, but mechanics of these games, and considers what they tell today's boardgamer about the eighteenth century and its preoccupations.

Jack Orchard, Bodleain University of Oxford
Subjectivity, Agency, and Affect: Remediating the French Revolution in Videogames
My paper will focus on the representation of the French Revolution in the medium of videogames, and the range of emotional, philosophical, and political arguments which have become attached to this topic, both by the inherent affordances of the medium, and through overt political or artistic use of specific aspects of the political culture of 1790s France. While I will refer to other games, my central case studies will be We. The Revolution (Polyslash, 2019), Assassin's Creed: Unity (2014). After introducing these games, and describing the generic backgrounds on which they draw, both in terms of other games and in terms of wider literary and media traditions, I will address the way in which each game represents a microcosm of a particular pop cultural understanding of the French Revolution.

Firstly, I will use Assassin's Creed: Unity to explore the way in which the Revolution is figured as a crisis point in the evolution of contemporary neoliberal subjectivity – the player character is positioned as a technologically superior individualist able to see the structures of power at play, while the ignorant rabble succumb to mass violence. Drawing on the associations drawn by figures like McKenzie Wark and Rob Gallagher, between the gamer identity and the right wing individualism of the neoliberal subject, I will argue that AC: U deploys the juxtaposition between the elite and the mob as a distinction between those who have access to historical understanding and those who are merely pawns within it to offer an anti-revolutionary sentiment akin to commentators of the time, such as Edmund Burke.

Secondly, continuing this theme of powerlessness, I will use We. The Revolution to explore the ways in which an albeit subtler and more nuanced take on the Revolution can ultimately yield a similarly conservative reading. Taking inspiration from survival games like Papers Please (Lucas Pope, 2014) and This War of Mine (11bit, 2014), We. The Revolution's narrative forces the player character Alexis Fidele, a revolutionary judge, to make compromise after compromise as you try to appease various factions and interest groups, while your family relationship collapses, and you ultimately commit atrocities to hold onto power. This narrative combines the conception of the French Revolution as a crisis of mechanised modernity, as seen in works like Adorno and Horkheimer's Dialectic of Enlightenment, with the Freudian reading of the French revolution as a family drama. Both are brought to bear with visceral emotional intensity by the way the game utilises its procedural rhetoric to force the player to explore their own implication, and emotionally engage with the narrative of decaying moral virtue, like that described by Percy Shelley, in his introduction to Laon and Cythna (1817).

45	**Eighteenth-Century Natural History on the Water**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Abstract:	This is the second of two panels that explore the culture and writing of eighteenth-century naturalists. The first panel focuses on terrestrial natural history while the second considers the natural history of seas and lakes. The panels are organised and submitted by Brycchan Carey, who is also the chair of the first panel. The second panel will be chaired by Steph Holt.
Chair:	**Stephanie Holt**, Natural History Museum & University of Oxford
Speakers:	**Brycchan Carey**, Northumbria University

Seabirds and Cetaceans: Shipboard Natural History on the Atlantic Crossing

Literary scholars interested in the Atlantic world in the colonial period have much to say about writing produced on its shores, but less about the experience common to all colonists: the voyage out. For seventeenth and eighteenth-century explorers, settlers, and scientists, there was little to do on a long sea voyage at a time when a trip from London to the Caribbean could take four months or more. Many diarists, letter writers, natural historians, and novelists begin their texts at the moment of arrival, passing over the long days of maritime monotony. Some authors, however, kept a record of their observations, noting especially flying fish, cetaceans, and pelagic seabirds This paper, taken from my forthcoming book The Unnatural Trade, will show how observations of the predator-prey interactions between these three groups of animals led colonial nature writers to grasp the rudiments of ecological interactions and population dynamics from what they perceived as the simplified sets of predator-prey relationships existing at sea. At the same time, their writings added to their knowledge of a variety of (at the time) poorly understood species, including pelagic seabirds such as terns, shearwaters, and frigate birds, and smaller cetaceans such as dolphins and killer whales. This paper will show how this protoecological understanding was articulated in some of the most important and enduring writing of the British Atlantic empire, including The History of Barbados by Richard Ligon (1585–1662), A Voyage to Jamaica by Hans Sloane (1660–1753), The Natural History of Barbados by Griffith Hughes (1707–1758), and West-Indian Eclogues by Edward Rushton (1756¬–1814).

Morgana Lisi, University of Turin

The monster of the Tagua Tagua Lake: natural history and folklore culture in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world

In 1784, several descriptions and engravings of a horned two-tailed monster circulated between America and Europe. The beast, identified as a 'harpy,'was sighted while devouring the cattle of Don Próspero Elso around the Tagua Tagua Lake, in today's southern Chile. On October 16th, the Journal de Paris (no. 290) reported that the monster was captured by the order of the Viceroy of Peru. In Lima, it was appropriately fed (with an ox, a cow, and a bull a day, along with three or four pigs – 'which they say it loves') –, and it would be taken to Charles III's court in Madrid.

This contribution, firstly, highlights the Atlantic circulation of natural history knowledge during the 1780s. Indeed, the case of the Tagua Tagua monster could be placed in the broader framework of eighteenth-century scientific expeditions. In this context, travel naturalists were not only trained to collect valuable plants for trade or medicine, but they also searched for bizarre artefacts, extravagant flora, unique minerals, and odd fauna – including our 'monsters.' By exploring the case of the 'monster of the lagoon,' the analysis examines how folklore culture permeated eighteenth-century scientific thinking, generating an original mixture in which fabulous elements were blended with rational thought. Finally, the aim is to underline how monsters did not disappear in the Age of Enlightenment but were instead translated into a new system of knowledge based

on analytic and rational scientific discourse in which ontological contradiction existed.

Corrina Readioff, University of Liverpool
'...of all the enemies of these enormous fishes, man is the greatest': Whales and the Literary Environment in the Long Eighteenth-Century
In 1774 Oliver Goldsmith noted in his History of the Earth and Animated Nature that commercial whaling had already caused a drastic depletion in both the size and quantity of whales inhabiting the ocean around Greenland, with a devastating impact on the local population who relied upon sustainable whaling. Yet despite an increasing industrial reliance upon products derived from whales, the larger cetaceans were traditionally represented in early modern Western culture as 'monstrous leviathans' and aligned with the 'great fish' that swallowed Jonah in the Biblical story. The eighteenth century signalled a shift in attitudes towards whales as the attempts of Enlightenment thinkers to rationalise the natural world rapidly transformed old superstitions and beliefs. People living in the British Isles would hardly ever have a chance to encounter living whales in their natural habitat, instead typically experiencing the whale in saleable pieces (e.g. baleen or whale bone, oil, fins) or as monstrous spectacles (e.g. articulated skeleton displays). Eighteenth-century literature responded to this with frequent references to the material commodities derived from whales, such as allusions to whale bone corsetry by Alexander Pope, David Mallet, etc.; but elsewhere writers reacted instead to the growing emphasis on classification and the imposition of order upon the natural world by scientists such as Carl Linneaus (Systema Naturae, 1735), choosing to depict whales as living entities within a repeating pattern of nature, and as inherent elements of the marine environment rather than supernatural monsters. By tracking the literary transformation of the whale during the long eighteenth century through the works of writers including Margaret Cavendish, Matthew Prior, Jonathan Swift, and Erasmus Darwin, my paper will explore how perceptions of the marine environment developed during this critical formative period.

46	**All Work and All Play: Finding Success upon the London Stage**
Room:	Hamlin Room 1 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Ros Ballaster**, University of Oxford
Abstract:	For nine months of the year, work and play were one and the same for those employed at the two patent theatres of Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Over c.180 nights, the theatres competed with one another for the right to play to packed houses, with people of all social ranks invited to witness an evening's entertainment. Considering what it meant to stage a successful production, this panel looks at the business of theatre – from nightly box office takings to performers, performances, back of house staff and tradesmen – to shed new light on the labour involved in staging a play.

The Georgian theatre was something of an aspirational workplace, with salaries for even some of the lowest paid performers outstripping the national average. As the eighteenth century gave rise to a golden age of celebrity, individuals had the potential to make it rich quick - if they were talented enough and won favour with audiences. For those who secured fame, authors would write plays with them in mind; they also earned more, had generous expenses, and lucrative bonuses in the form of benefit nights for which they kept all the profit from the box office after paying running costs.

The session uses data from the European Research Council funded project 'Theatronomics: The Business of Georgian Theatre, 1732-1809', with the panel featuring papers from three members of the team. Each paper addresses a

different facet of the business of theatre, from the complex calculations involved in determining salaries, to negotiations over bonuses, and a consideration of what made a play a success.

Speakers:	**Jennifer Buckley**, University of Galway

Equal Work, Unequal Pay: Exploring the Gender Pay Gap on the London Stage
This paper focuses on salary payments at Covent Garden and Drury Lane to explore to what degree the gender pay gap is intrenched in the theatre industry. It takes case studies of the Irish actor Alexander Pope and his first two wives, celebrity actress Elizabeth Younge and Maria-Ann Campion, to explore how success was rendered differently for men and women. The paper considers how celebrity earnings, especially those of women such as Sarah Siddons and Dorothy Jordan, skew the statistics for women's earnings and mask the extent of the pay gap. I advance methods for evaluating the net worth of performers to the theatres and of 'celebrity power couples' to explore the distribution of labour and fame in gendered terms.

Leo Shipp, University of Galway
Dressing for the Successful: Late Eighteenth-Century Actors' Clothing
This paper considers the clothing worn by late eighteenth-century actors on stage. For most actors, this meant taking clothes from the theatres' general wardrobes, or, occasionally, having new clothes assigned to them for particular roles. But a select few performers – typically the leading actresses of the day – were granted their own clothing allowances: substantial sums of money with which to buy their own outfits. These allowances were an important part of such performers' payment packages, status as performers, and appeal to audiences. This paper will explore the importance of clothes and clothing allowances by reference to She Stoops to Conquer, Alexander Pope and Elizabeth Younge.

Susan Bennett, University of Galway
Oliver Goldsmith's She Stoops to Conquer: a case study of Eighteenth-century success
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.

47	**All Work and no Play? Soldering in the Late Georgian British Army**
Room:	Hamlin Room 2 (Main Building)
Abstract:	The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars ushered in mass military mobilisation in Europe and, as has been debated by others, an era of total war. For the British Army, this involved hundreds of thousands of young men being sent overseas to fight. Their military experiences are well recounted in the narratives of battles and campaigns, but the work of soldiering was more varied than that. For officers it represented a career that encompassed, and sometimes competed with, gentlemanliness. Soldiers frequently had extended periods of inactivity, which they filled with rest, other work, and leisure pursuits. Mass overseas service can be understood as an unprecedented experience of mass collective travel. British soldiers responded to this experience in varied and distinctive ways. This panel will explore some of the experiences and behaviour of soldiers in the long stretches between the short bouts of combat. It will show how the military hierarchy accommodated to soldiers' different interests to better manage the enormous human capital it employed. Through this approach, this panel will reveal new insights into the complex nature of soldiers' identities, as soldiers were able to maintain their civilian identity and mentally escape the

rigours of campaigning, while simultaneously progressing through a military career.

Chair:	**Matthew McCormack**, University of Northampton
Speakers:	**Kevin Linch**, University of Leeds

Careers and Careerism? Charting the lives of British Army Officers
Some 40,000 individuals joined the British Army as officers between 1790 and 1820, and many led peripatetic lives that included military service across Britain, Ireland, western and southern Europe, North America, South Asia, and for a very few Australia. Utilising a new database created with the Sheffield Institute for Digital Humanities as part of the AHRC-funded 'Re-archiving the individual' project, this paper will explore officers' careers and experiences beyond those few that left published memoirs. It will consider how military careers were characterised by extremes: promotion, rewards, fame, and glory contrasted with boredom, disease, wounds, and a life cut short. The scale of Britain's conflicts in the era ushered in closer observation of officers by the military hierarchy as it sought to manage more effectively its human capital, yet, as the talk will show, officers were still privileged as gentleman. They sought ways to navigate the Army as an institution, control their own labour, and retain agency over their identities.

Simon Quinn, University of Leeds
Antiquarianism and collecting in the British army in Egypt, 1801
In 1801, the British Museum acquired one of the largest collections of Egyptian antiquities in history. The items had been seized from the French army after a seven-month campaign in Egypt and their arrival in Britain made national news and captured the imagination of the public. Historians point out that the number and scale of the objects in the British Museum's display testify to the considerable investment of the British military and imperial state in archaeological enterprises. Drawing on an extensive corpus of soldiers' narratives, this paper throws doubt onto Hoock's assertion that the collection of antiquities in Egypt was a state directed endeavour. Many soldiers on campaign in Egypt expressed an interest in antiquities and amassed personal collections. The habits of antiquarianism that were on display in Egypt were guided to some extent by ideals of gentlemanly accomplishment and polite society, as it enabled soldiers to maintain a connection with their civilian identities. However, this form of recreation was also saturated with martial elements. For example, soldiers often thought of the antiquities they collected as spoils or trophies – a reward for enduring the hazards of campaigning and they also appraised Egypt's ancient ruins in terms of their military utility to the British forces. This approach highlights the complexity of British soldiers' identities and shows some of the unique characteristics of 'soldiers-as-travellers'.

Matilda Greig, National Army Museum, London
Leisure time and enemy encounters in the Napoleonic Wars
If soldier memoirs are to be believed, fraternisation between French and British troops was a common occurrence during the Napoleonic Wars. Veterans' stories frequently describe the two enemy sides interacting peacefully with each other during pockets of downtime, from temporary truces and pauses before battles to evenings spent camped only a short distance apart. Many of these peaceful encounters were marked by gestures of civility and shared humanity: friendly conversation, the exchange of tea or cigars, the returning of a stray dog belonging to the other side, promises to deliver letters to enemy prisoners of war, or even sitting drinking together instead of staying at their sentry posts. Both leisure time and leisure activities, in other words, formed a space in which rigid definitions of the enemy and of a soldier's duty at war could be relaxed, stretched, and potentially challenged. But did these meetings actually change mentalities or combat motivations? And who was allowed to take part in them? This paper will

explore these accounts of friendly fraternisation from the Napoleonic era and place them in the wider context of recent work on enemy encounters in war, arguing first that within military literature these moments often do little to change the way the protagonist feels about fighting, and second that only certain types of enemy were considered as potential equals to fraternise with – factors like regular or irregular status, class, race, and gender excluded multiple other groups of combatants, including some of Britain's own allies, from taking part in these sociable, playful exchanges.

48	**Education and Enlightenment**
Room:	Dobbs Room 1 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Julia Pohlmann**, University of Aberdeen/University of Glasgow
Speakers:	**Kelly Plante**, Wayne State University & **Karenza Sutton-Bennett**, University of Ottawa

The Lady's Museum Project: 3 Years of Restoring Women's Writing (and Beyond)

The Lady's Museum (1760–61) was among the most important early periodicals largely written by one of the most important eighteenth-century authors, Charlotte Lennox, whose multi-genre, proto-feminist writing is beginning to receive the critical and pedagogical attention it deserves. Yet no modern edition of the text has existed—until now. Launched in 2021, the Lady's Museum Project is presenting the first critical edition of—and learning community around—Lennox's Museum in three open-access formats to encourage the widest possible readership: a non-specialist digital, interactive edition of the text and LibriVox audiobook intended for public and undergraduate-student audiences, and a specialist digital edition intended for scholars' use—and participation (forthcoming). 2023 brought the completion of the teaching edition, which has been used in a variety of institutions across the U.S. and Canada, from 1000-level undergraduate to 5000-level graduate courses, and in undergraduate- and graduate-level internships designed to prepare interns for careers in editing and publishing, with a focus on transcending traditional teaching, editing, publishing, and disciplinary hierarchies and conventions. In this presentation, the co-editors of the project will discuss their experiences working with undergraduate and graduate scholars to create annotations for the course reader, record sections for the audiobook, and write critical introductions. They will also discuss their forthcoming plans to integrate a scholarly edition of the text alongside the teaching edition starting in 2024, and why such decentered editorial practices are crucial for recovering the work of women periodicalists such as Lennox, who advocated for middle-class women's education at a time when access to institutions and books were class- and gender-restricted.

Conrad Brunstrom, Maynooth University
"He scanned with curious and romantic eye": James Beattie and the pre-history of neuro-divergent learning

Educators of all kinds are becoming increasingly aware of the fact than any EDI (Equity, Diversity, Inclusion) agenda demands consideration of diverse learning methods to serve a diverse student community. Since the 1980s, this diversity has been mapped by CAST (Centre for Applied Special Technology) with third-level American (specifically Harvard) education and which has expanded internationally, centred around a framework offering multiple means of representation providing various ways of acquiring information and knowledge combined with multiple means of expression providing students with alternatives for demonstrating what they know. Awareness of neurodiversity is at the heart of this agenda, which asks us to consider a range of environmental and expressive alternatives that enable students with different skills and different challenges to reach their full potential.

This paper suggests that later eighteenth-century literature, and in particular later eighteenth century poetry, is already aware of the essence of this neurodiversity, and the multiplicity of representation, expression and engagement. Canonical figures such as Rousseau and Wordsworth develop their own anticipations of Universal Design for Learning (UDL) in various ways but this particular paper will take as its example James Beattie, the poet philosopher whose struggle to refute David Hume by means of close logical reasoning led him to embrace a more varied understanding of what it means to "know" anything.

In particular, Beattie, controversially but plausibly identified as an "early-Romantic", favours what is now being championed as kinesthetic learning – the need to energise the imagination with physical movement. For Beattie, this is not a simplistic single sensory application, but pulls multiple representations, expressions and engagement. Beattie's most famous poem "The Minstrel" (1771/74), alongside his famous anti-Hume tome An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth (1770) explicitly suggests that outdoor activity opens up the mind to forms of education unavailable to those committed to exclusively deskbound study.

Accordingly, this paper will argue that scholars of late eighteenth-century poetry have much to offer the cutting edge of contemporary pedagogy, and that eighteenth-centuryists have the skills set to impact on educational environments in dynamic and inclusive ways.

Leif Bjarne Hammer, University of Oxford
The King of Denmark-Norway at Oxford University: from Institutional Self-Fashioning to the Perceptions of Scholarly Outsiders
In 1768, king Christian VII of Denmark-Norway visited England. His tour took him, among other places, to both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where he and his entourage received honorary degrees. Historians have written little about his specific encounters with the English universities, and overall, only the Cambridge visit has received a little treatment in the Scandinavian historiography. Drawing on a less-known account of his visit to Oxford, I take the royal visit as a starting point to examine a selection of memoirs and letters by Danish-Norwegian scholars —such as Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), Martin Hübner (1723-95), and Nicolai Edinger Balle (1744-1816)— and their encounters with this English University in the Enlightenment.

Eighteenth-century universities have a bad reputation for being backwards, where the historiography on them has been dominated by the leitmotif of decline followed by attempts to reassess said decline. Particularly, the University of Oxford in the eighteenth century has been treated with disdain, both in its own time and by historians. Perhaps, this makes it surprising that the university engaged in the construction of an outward image as an international institution, of 'institutional self-fashioning', when such an international profile was dubious and little but 'smoke and mirrors'.

Setting aside debating decline, I will explore how and why Oxford engaged in institutional self-fashioning, how Danish-Norwegian scholars perceived the university and how this interplayed with their self-perception as scholars and of their alma mater (the University of Copenhagen). These tensions are worthwhile exploring and may shed light on what pulled Danish-Norwegian scholars to England on their 'peregrinatio academica', when German universities were considered more fashionable in Denmark. The Scandinavian historiography on these scholarly travels is predominantly statistical in nature, leaving ample room for the cultural history approach I will undertake in this paper.

By circling in on these cases of foreign encounters with the University of Oxford and the mentalités of Danish-Norwegian university scholars and viewing it through the lens of the pan-European academic community in the eighteenth century, we may gain new insights on the 'international' element in university image construction as well as the circulation of knowledge about universities among European scholars in this period.

49	**Playing Elections**
Room:	Dobbs Room 2 (Main Building)
Abstract:	Although the franchise was notoriously limited in eighteenth-century England, one means by which a much wider spectrum of people could engage with, or even participate in, parliamentary elections was through various kinds of play. This panel examines some of these forms of play, examining how elections were made ludic, in different ways and for different audiences. Elections could be staged, for instance, with parliamentary elections becoming the subject of formal theatrical performances. But equally, actual electoral campaigns could take on a decidedly performative, even ludic, character. Local histories and rivalries could ensure that political affairs quickly became subordinated to public playfulness, ludicrous ceremony, and frivolity that may or may not have had a pugnacious edge. Comic characters like Mr Punch could become a feature of campaigns. Indeed, full-scale mock elections were not unusual, running alongside or shortly after actual elections. At these, local people performed playful, comic roles as mock candidates, giving mock speeches, with mock ceremonies in which whole communities could join. There is evidence that children played at elections too, imitating electoral practices like the chairing of returned MPs. Artefacts survive from the pre-Reform period that give us a strong sense of the ludic aspect of elections, from mock speeches to boardgames that feature elections.

Drawing on the AHRC-funded Eighteenth-Century Political Participation and Electoral Culture (ECPPEC) project, this panel will look at the playfulness of elections from a range of perspectives, attempting to tease meaning out of the familiar concept of the election as carnivalesque spectacle.

Chair:	**Matthew Grenby**, Newcastle University
Speakers:	**Matthew Grenby**, Newcastle University

'Indiscriminate Merriment': Playfulness and the eighteenth-century parliamentary election

Beginning with an introduction to the ECPPEC project and its website, this paper will showcase what the project has discovered about the playfulness of eighteenth-century parliamentary elections, and how this helps us to understand how participative elections often were. Particular focus will be on the phenomenon of mock elections; the Wootton Bassett election of 1808 (which had a decided ludic character); and elections as they featured in children's play.

Kendra Packham, Newcastle University
Playing at elections

This paper will examine the material artefacts generated by eighteenth-century elections, from print to pots, considering how they reveal the ludic turn that elections could sometimes take. In text and image, elections could be presented as diverting and entertaining, ludicrous or even trivial. Electoral objects could be playful or comic too, or form part of elaborate and exuberant rituals that might seem more enjoyable spectacle than serious political practice. Yet this apparent playfulness could hide intense factional or ideological contention.

Elaine Chalus, Liverpool University
'The Cry was, "That Punch was to dance" ': Cross-dressing and corruption in the Hindon election of 1775

Hindon 1775 offers an excellent case study in the carnivalesque nature of some eighteenth-century elections. A cross-dressed figure of Punch/Mrs Punch was a prominent figure, doling out money around the town. This paper explores the meanings of these apparently flippant practices, examining the balance between the ludic and the serious, and how they intertwined.

50	**Writers and Writing**
Room:	MGA Lecture Room (Mary Gray Allen Building)
Chair:	**Sean D. Moore**, University of New Hampshire
Speakers:	**Sonja Lawrenson**, Manchester Metropolitan University

Maria Edgeworth's Atlantic Ecology and the Nat Turner Rebellion of 1831

This paper reads the longstanding correspondence between the Anglo-Irish novelist, Maria Edgeworth, and the Jewish-American schoolteacher, Rachel Mordecai, as evidence of the women's mutual commitment to ecological enquiry. By teasing out the vagaries and idiosyncrasies of this transatlantic relationship (which lasted almost a quarter of a century), it renders visible a minor tributary of Enlightenment ecological exchange that operated at the peripheries of the period's global power nexus. Yet, despite their contribution to wider channels of ecological knowledge and experience in the period, this paper's final section reveals the complex yet concealed power dynamics that simultaneously undergird and undermine their ecological collaboration. The correspondents' mutual commitment to Enlightenment ecology may have engendered an invigorating intellectual exchange, but its limits and exclusions are witnessed most acutely in their nervous reflections upon slavery in the wake of the Nat Turner rebellion of 1831. Even in its attempts to process and interpret black resistance to slavery, their correspondence colludes to suppress the revolutionary potential of Turner's alternative ecology.

Shahira Hathout, Trent University

Satire in the Time of Genocide: An Agential Realist Rethinking of Jonathan Swift's "A Modest Proposal" (1729)

Jonathan Swift was a brilliant controversial political journalist in the 18th century, known as a 'vigorous defender of liberty', editor of The Examiner, and the dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin; he published powerful pamphlets and supported important policies like the Peace of Utrecht (1713). In his political satire, "A Modest Proposal: For preventing the children of poor people in Ireland, from being a burden on their parents or country, and for making them beneficial to the public" (1729), Swift reveals the dire living conditions of a poverty-stricken Ireland and exposes the English landlords' complicity not only in affecting the problem but also in neglecting and exploiting Ireland to enlarge their wealth and status; he depicts the poor in Ireland, especially women and children, as nonhuman animals; their consumption by the rich would serve to further their wealth as well as to relieve the poor from their miserable life. Based on the fact that satire is a genre literature and play performances that constitutes work and play as it uses humour to expose injustice and drive the work of reform, my paper re-visits and rethinks Swift's witty satire in the contemporary time of genocidal wars. Karen Barad's feminist new materialist philosophy of agential realism provides my philosophical framework as it allows me to inhabit the boundary separating the human and nonhuman, unsettling it and opening up a space where the agency of those deemed nonhuman animals can be seen. In this paper, I diffractively read insights from Swift's "Proposal," critical theorists' notion of political complicity in media studies, and women's embodied experiences (her/stories) in genocidal times. In this way, my paper aims to illuminate an important node of entanglement where the past, present, future, as well as the notion of 'human' are being re-worked by debating how satire can be a powerful tool to refusing the re-enactment of past violence and centering justice

as a mode of intra-relationality that constitute humans and those deemed nonhuman.

Joseph Turner, Christ Church, Oxford
What is 'easy writing'?
It is now a cliché to say, as Alexander Pope did in 'An Essay on Criticism' (1711), that 'True Ease in Writing comes from Art, not Chance, / As those move easiest who have learn'd to dance'. A crucial but frequently overlooked context of these famous lines is the contested status and value of 'Ease in Writing' in the eighteenth century. 'Indeed', as 'Jack Easy', an aptly named pseudonymous contributor to The Town and Country Magazine, would go on to declare in 1785, 'it is much more demonstrable what is not, than what is easy writing': 'it is true the generality of writers pen their Essays on paper very easily; but it is not so easily to be discovered what they aim at'.

This paper will attempt to answer the question from the apparent difficulty of which 'Jack Easy' recoiled: 'what is easy writing'? It will do so first by suggesting the dizzying variety of ways in which poets and critics used the word 'easy' in the eighteenth century, many of which were starkly contradictory of one another. 'Easy' could be a term of commendation and almost in the same breath one of abuse; in one moment connote a disreputable state of indolence and in another one of happy serenity; could describe the concealment of authorial labour at the same time that it slyly discloses its presence to the reader; and invoke one poet's retirement from the social world into a pastoral realm of untroubled tranquillity and another's close involvement in that very world. 'Ease' conjoins authorial labour and leisure, work and play, in a powerfully ambiguous union. Particular attention will be paid to the phrase 'easy writing' as it is deployed by Steele, in Spectator, no. 109 (1711), by Pope, in Guardian, no. 13 (1713), by Young, in 'Two Epistles to Mr. Pope concerning the Authors of the Age' (1730), and, finally, by Sheridan, in 'Clio's Protest' (1772). I hope to complicate John Sitter's claim — made in 'The Cambridge Introduction to Eighteenth-Century Poetry' (2011) — that 'to speak of writing as "easy" in this period was usually to praise it'; on the contrary, the word possessed a rich ambivalence the complexity of which remains ill understood. Acquiring a more precise and discriminating sense of the ways in which such an ostensibly simple word as 'easy' was used is essential, I would like to suggest, if we wish more fully and exactly to understand what poets and critics such as Pope and Steele meant when they described poets, poems, and poetry in such terms — as they very frequently did.

18:00–19:15	SPECIAL PLENARY ROUNDTABLE
	Eighteenth in the Twenty-First Century: Playing with Work
Room:	Lecture Theatre One & Two (Basement, Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	**James Harriman-Smith**, Newcastle University
Speakers:	**Tatjana LeBoff**, National Trust, **Matthew Grenby**, Newcastle University, **Gemma Tidman**, Queen Mary, University of London, and **Jack Orchard**, Bodleian, University of Oxford

19:15–19:30	BSECS WINE RECEPTION
	This reception has been generously sponsored by Gale.
	Collect a beverage from the lobby next to the Maplethorpe Hall and then grab a
19:30–20:30	seat for the concert!
Room:	CONCERT featuring **Ensemble Hesperi**
	Maplethorpe Hall

20:30–22:00	BSECS ANNUAL CONFERENCE DINNER, Dining Hall (Main Building)

	FRIDAY 5 JANUARY

0900-1100	FRIDAY SESSION I
51	**ROUNDTABLE: The Eighteenth Century in 2034: What would Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Look Like?**
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Abstract:	Building on BSECS' commitment to equality, diversity and inclusion, the aim of this workshop is to invite participants to reflect on what EDI would look like in the field of eighteenth-century studies in a decade's time; i.e. in 2034. By asking participants to look ten years into the future and envisage what role EDI will play in eighteenth-century studies, the workshop will also encourage participants to reflect on the role EDI plays currently and how we can reach our aspirations for 2034. The observations and discussions from this workshop will then be shared with participants of the annual conference Listening Events for further discussion. After the conference, feedback from the workshop will also be used for the development of an accessible and dynamic online resource accessible via the BSECS website.

The workshop will open with a roundtable panel in which speakers who will present short 'position papers', that address their hopes for EDI in various but nevertheless connected areas of eighteenth-century studies. These 'position papers' will then be opened-up for discussion and further development with members of the audience in an interactive conversation chaired by Karen Lipsedge. Towards the end of the workshops, participants and audience members will also be invited to reflect on what they, as individuals and/or as part of a wider community, to make this vision a reality, and there will be the opportunity for all participants to write on a postcard the one thing that would make these goals achievable and sustainable. These postcard reflections will be collected at the end of the workshop and used to produce a new and dynamic online resource accessible to all members on the BSECS website and available for further development. The reflections from this workshop will also be shared with participants at the annual conference Listening Events for further discussion. |
| Chair: | **Karen Lipsedge**, Kingston University |
| Speakers: | **Brianna Robertson-Kirkland**, Royal Conservatoire of Scotland
Adam J Smith, York St Johns University
Hannah Young, Exeter University
Kate Smith, Birmingham University
Matthew Grenby, Newcastle University
Elizabeth McDonald, Boydell Commissioning Editor, Eighteenth Century
Kate Tunstall, Worcester College, Oxford
James Baker, University of Southampton
Matthew McCormack, Northampton University |
52	**Sterne and Locke**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Chair:	**Mary Newbould**, Kazimierz Wielki University
Speakers:	**Alexander Hobday**, University of Cambridge
'Pray, Sir, what have either you or I to do with it?': Laurence Sterne's Hobby-Horsical Happiness
Since Tristram Shandy was first published, readers of Laurence Sterne have struggled to square his irreverent wit with his vocation as a clergyman. Sterne's hobby-horsical work seems to defend a form of moral individualism, implying that everyone should be free to seek happiness howsoever they choose. In his sermons, however, Sterne strikes a different note. He advises his parishioners that the enjoyments of this world are insufficient: the only way to achieve true happiness is by following the word of God. This paper explores the ways in which

Sterne – for all his ambiguities – is representative of an eighteenth-century shift in ideas about happiness. John Locke, an important motivator of this shift, put forward a conception of the human good which challenged both Christian ideas of grace and Classical conceptions of happiness as rooted in the pursuit of higher ideals. For Locke, the pursuit of happiness does not require the intervention of God – our reason and our self-interested desire for pleasure are sufficient to guide us. Happiness is not, furthermore, an affair for elites, but can be pursued in the ordinary lives of ordinary people. Sterne has frequently been compared to Locke on epistemological grounds, with scholars debating the extent to which he agrees with and deviates from Locke's principles. Much less frequently explored, however, is the way in which Sterne's epistemology, like that of Locke, is, in fact, motivated by a shared preoccupation with a certain vision of human happiness. Ultimately, this paper depicts Sterne as a modernising figure, defending a view of happiness that is both liberal and secular. That is not to be said, however, that Sterne does not remain preoccupied with notions of grace nor with the idea of happiness as a moral ideal that goes beyond personal preference.

Hannah Wilson, University of Cambridge
'all property laid in one undistinguished common': Self-Interested Gift Exchanges and Consent in Sarah Scott's Millenium Hall
The critical history of Sarah Scott's novel Millenium Hall (1762) has long recognised that benevolence is a central preoccupation in the novel (Dorice Williams Elliot, 1995; Johanna M. Smith, 1995; Catherine Keohane, 2002). However, existing studies tend to prioritise the novel's relationship to philanthropy while overlooking gift theory. This is a somewhat surprising exclusion, considering the multiplicity of gift exchanges (not always charitable) throughout Millenium Hall. In focusing upon exchange within Scott's novel, this paper builds upon Julie McGonegal's consideration of self-interested exchange within Millenium Hall to explore what the novel's admiration for reciprocal gift exchanges can tell us about how we consent to relationships in eighteenth-century society. By bringing Millenium Hall into conversation with Adam Smith's economic philosophy and John Locke's social contract theory, this paper explores how communal and individualistic motivations for exchange need not be mutually exclusive, and asks how this motivation to gift affects consent to gift-giving relationships.
I focus on two key episodes highlighting the significance of gift exchange in articulating Scott's cooperative model of consent: her critique of the solipsistic gifts proffered by Mr Hintman; and Miss Mancel and Miss Melvyn's shared pleasure and communal ownership of exchanged items. Scott pursues an understanding of consent to gift giving based upon the ability to recognise, respect, and share the other's emotions concerning the exchange. In this paper, I explore how Millenium Hall transforms consent's philosophical foundations, instantiating a specifically collaborative, other-centred model of consent as a modification and replacement of self-centred, individualist versions of consensual considerations. Scott's utopian novel therefore uses gift exchanges to reveal that consent is a more social, considerate decision than Enlightenment social contract theory typically understood.

Mary Clare Martin, University of Greenwich
Play, the outdoors and religion in the long eighteenth century
While conventional historiographies of play in the long eighteenth century frequently focus on the influence of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Cunningham, 1995, 2005: Fletcher, 2008: Coudert, 2010), mainly on elite or middling children, few studies have explored the connections between outdoor space, work, belief and children's play. This paper will analyse these connections in children's lives in the long eighteenth century, drawing on a range of personal

memoirs and family manuscripts, including spiritual autobiography, bearing in mind the pitfalls of genre writing.. It will first consider the outdoors as a site for religious practice, often self-directed by the young. An example was the youthful William Carey (1761-1834), future founder of the Baptist Missionary Society, standing on a tree giving a sermon to "dull rustics". Another theme will be the boundaries within which certain types of outdoor activity were permitted even by the strictest of adults. Thus, the Methodist Mary Bosanquet who ran an orphanage and religious community in Essex in the 1760s described how children were allowed to work in the garden, thus resisting idleness, and how they enjoyed "their business". The third will consider the nature of religious emotion evoked by the natural world, communal seasonal religious festivals and the weather. Whereas natural theology has been considered as dominant in the eighteenth century, Hilton (1987), argued that Evangelicals interpreted natural disasters as evidence of God's judgment . How did children from different denominational persuasions interpret changes in their outdoor play environments, in relation to seasonal cycles and the supernatural, and did their perceptions bear any relation to frameworks for interpreting adult experience? Thus, taking the environment as a starting point will permit the rethinking of classic dichotomies in the history of children, religion and outdoor space.

53   **Military**
Room: Louey Seminar Room
Chair: **Conrad Brunstrom**, Maynooth University
Speakers: **Brooke Neal**, University of North Carolina at Greensboro
Vessels of Desire in Jane Austen's Persuasion
With the possible exception of Austen's preceding novel Mansfield Park, naval ships feature more prominently in Persuasion than any other of Austen's works, and they often appear in relation to the desires of the characters. While literal ships certainly feature in the novel, the characters themselves often embody the functions of naval vessels by acting as containers and transporters. I argue that these vessels, both literal and metaphorical, perform a dual function: first, they fluctuate between active and passive roles regardless of their gender and, second, offer a contrast to the existing circumstances in the narrative. The characters in the novel, such as Anne who is treated as an inert container for her family's desires, share this passive role but then demonstrates an ability to independently spring into action by taking initiative at the Cobb. Admiral Croft and Captain Harville also perform an active role by containing a regard for human connection over material assets, pushing against the current of the acquisitiveness of Anne's family. Ships, both metaphorical and literal, function in the same manner as the vessels of the British Royal Navy during the early nineteenth century: just as naval ships were instrumental in the British victory over French tyranny, so too do the vessels in Persuasion help Anne and Wentworth vanquish the characters' prevailing attitude of avarice, therefore transporting the couple to their joyful reconciliation.

Andrew Dorman, Trinity College Dublin
Crossing the line: Work, play and criminality in the army of eighteenth-century Ireland
When it was established in 1699, the army in Ireland in the eighteenth century immediately found itself in an uncomfortable situation. Embedded among a hostile host population who viewed it as an imposition and symbol of an oppressive state, the army's popularity was often lower than that seen on the British mainland.

Soldiers were housed in a network of barracks around the island and were deliberately denied opportunities to integrate with the locals. How then did the

soldier pass their time when off duty? Officers, who could socialise among the Anglo-Irish elite, enjoyed escapism from the military experience, but were not above becoming embroiled in controversy and conflict. Conversely, the rank-and-file's recreation often degenerated into outright criminality as large groups of bored young men attempted to while away the hours in postings which pivoted between dull and dangerous in equal measure.

This paper explores several aspects of the lives of soldiers in Ireland in the eighteenth century. It looks at the ways by which soldiers passed time off duty, both legally and illegally. It also considers how elements of the garrison became embroiled in factionalism and violence, and the issues this caused for wider society. Finally, it examines the military establishment's response to this bad behaviour, and how it could be productive and destructive in equal measure. This paper contributes to wider efforts to bring the understanding of the army in Ireland in line with that of the British army elsewhere, and demonstrate the importance of the military in urban, criminal and social histories.

Sean D. Moore, University of New Hampshire
The Scriblerus Club, 'Grub Street', and Secret Service Involvement in the Print Media, Bookselling, and the Academy in the Long 18th Century
This paper proves that Cultural Imperialism was brought to the British Empire by the Secret Service via a reading of Jonathan Swift's understanding of the role of Secret Service funding for authors, editors, booksellers, and printers. It is known that Aphra Behn and Daniel Defoe were granted Secret Service funds for their writing, but this paper breaks new ground by establishing that the Scriblerus Club – Swift, Pope, and Gay – were critiquing Walpole's 'corruption' on the basis of his overspending of Secret Service funds on 'Grub Street' Whig cultural production. I will establish this fact by reading 'Gulliver's Travels', the 'Drapier's Letters', and 'A Modest Proposal' alongside contemporary reports like 'To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament Assembled, An Account of all Monies, which have been Issued and Paid Out of the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, in any Person or Person, on Account of the Privy Purse, Secret Service, Pensions, Bounties, from 1721-1725' (and a 1769 imprint of such accounts 'from 1725'). I will also explain that there are many such works in the 1720s in particular such as 'A Letter from the Man in Moon, to Mr. Anodyne Necklace, Containing an Account of a Robbery Committed in Hell, and the Breaking Open the Devil's Cabinet, Carrying off his Hocus-Pocus Bag and Juggling Box...and Memorandums of Pensions, Disbursements, & c. Pay'd to Pretended Reformers, for Secret Services' (1725) and 'Further Report of the Committee of Secrecy into Sir Robert Walpole's Conduct, with Various Orders of the Committeee and Issues of Secret Service Money to some Individuals' (1742). By contextualizing Swift's writings via these documents, this paper will ask: did patronage and payments build literary, scholarly, and other writing careers dependent on Secret Service funding for spin-doctoring and spying as a profession. Put another way, will the facts I explain make us ask 'What counts as Free Speech and Academic Freedom' if one is in the Secret Service chain-of-command. Would Decolonizing the University via this understanding of Secret Service funding of press campaigns to 'manufacture consent' to war and public policy initiatives like the 1707 and 1800 Scottish and Irish Acts of Union lead to more liberatory Social Sciences and Humanities curricula and research priorities that could remake 'Western Civilization'? Would teaching this history increase understanding of current Military Intelligence Textualist attempts to use broadcasting to create 'alternative facts', distort reality, and invent new electronic forms of slavery?

Jung-Hsin Hsieh, King's College London

The Afterlives of Jane Austen's Wartime Narratives in Katherine Mansfield's Short Stories

In modernist critical discourse, Jane Austen's novels are characterised by a sense of detachment from modernity. Her initial biographers, such as Caroline Austen, find 'absolutely nothing' after searching for Austen's accounts of 'great strifes of war and policy which so disquieted Europe for more than 20 years'. Likewise, American literary critic Oscar Firkins perceives Austen's novels as bearing 'no politics, no literary or aesthetic life, [...] no class problems, [and] almost no landscape'. My research investigates expressions of nostalgia for eighteenth-century literature and culture during the British modernist period (1900-1945), specifically examining literary engagements with female authorship and women's writings from the long eighteenth century. Taken from a segment of my work-in-progress thesis chapter, my presentation explores the New Zealand-born writer, Katherine Mansfield's ambivalent literary engagements with Jane Austen's novels, focusing on afterlives of wartime dimensions in Austen's works within Mansfield's short stories.

I posit that wartime elements in Austen's novels manifest in shifting gender relations caused by the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and the genre and narrative style insinuating warfare. My paper will examine shifting interclasses and gender relations within 'a zone of interaction between military and civilian worlds' in Sense and Sensibility and Persuasion; and Austen's narrative style of free indirect discourse as a medium of commenting on warfare in Mansfield Park. I will analyse how Austen's novels' ostensibly absent wartime dimensions function as elements in Mansfield's short stories that bear references to warfare, such as 'An Indiscreet Journey' and 'The Garden Party'. Reading Austen's novels, 'a reminder of calm, order, and decency', served as a therapeutic treatment for British soldiers during the First World War; however, Austen's wartime narratives are also mobilised in Mansfield's stories to implement the latter's proposition that modernist literature should reflect 'new thoughts and feelings' cultivated after the First World War, offering an alternative to her contemporaries' nostalgic fascination with the eighteenth century.

54	**Womanhood**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	**Penny Pritchard**, University of Hertfordshire
Speakers:	**Dora Janczer Csikos**, Eotvos Lorand University, Budapest

"O Wretched and Ill-Fated Mother!": Motherhood in Mary Hay's the Victim Of prejudice

The paper explores the trope of maternity in Mary Hays's The Victim of Prejudice (1799). By the end of the eighteenth century, motherhood had come to be seen as the ultimate source of female identity. The cult of motherhood constructed women as naturally submissive and nurturing; any unconventional expressions of maternity were branded as monstrous. The re-assessment of the sanctity of motherhood is one of the key features of Mary Hays's The Victim of Prejudice. The novel, a radical response to Mary Wollstonecraft's The Wrongs of Woman, challenges prevailing ideas of domesticity as represented in the idealised mother figure. Throughout the book, "mother" is modified with an epithet: "wretched" "unfortunate or "ill-fated". Through the lives of three female characters, the novel interrogates different attitudes to maternity and different modes of education and work. Hays refuses to reduce her female characters to stereotypes; all three women disrupt the saint-or-sinner / mother-or-whore dichotomy ingrained in the fiction and non-fiction of the late eighteenth century. By giving voice to the prostitute as well as the model woman of conduct books, the readers can see how they try to establish their individual life stories and subvert prevailing paradigms of maternity.

The lack of the cult(ivation) of motherhood evidently provoked some early reviewers of the novel, whose criticism was levelled as much at the author as the novel itself. Mary Hays never had a child, nor did she ever marry. In a highly offensive, gendered language intimating failed motherhood, the reviewer in The Critical Review, or Annals of Literature called the novel "the offspring of the novelist's imagination" and claimed that it appears to be "an abortion of improbabilities issuing from the frigid brain of a paradoxical sophist" (1799, 452, 450, emphases added). While condemning the novel, the reviewer also alludes to Wollstonecraft's Preface to The Wrongs of Woman, in which she identifies the creative process as hard labour and expresses her hope that her efforts will not prove to be "the abortion of a distempered fancy" (Wollstonecraft [1798], 5). The paper will explore the context in which The Victim of Prejudice was born, the alternative trajectories it offers, and Wollstonecraft's impact in creating a heroine who defiantly refuses to become a wife and ends up mothering a disruptive text exposing the fallacy of gendered education.

Elizabeth Schlappa, Newcastle University
The Lady and the Plantain: masturbation, rationality, and female sexual agency in Georgian medical discourse
This paper examines eighteenth-century medical attitudes to women's capacity for agency and rationality in relation to masturbation. Women, it has been argued, were deemed more vulnerable to masturbation because of their irrationality and susceptible imaginations. However, these were not strongly gendered concerns in medical commentary. In this paper, I argue that self-pleasuring women were feared and condemned precisely because they were considered capable of rational decision-making and self-control. For many Georgian medics, masturbation reflected women's wilful abuse of their agency in a sphere which men could hardly hope to penetrate.

For women, the major problem with masturbation was the longstanding fear of what happened when female sexuality escaped or defied patriarchal discipline. Male commentators throughout the century expressed fear and distrust of women who exercised their agency in pursuit of forbidden pleasure, knowledge, or revenge. Feminine mental frailty was no adequate explanation for this depravity. If anything, the reverse was true: women were increasingly expected to possess a natural sense of modesty and sexual self-control and were roundly condemned if they failed to restrain their desires. The limit case of furor uterinus makes this clear: it was the woman who was overtaken by her desires, and became incapable of sexual self-governance, who was pathologised.

The active language used to describe women's masturbatory activities, and their supposed motivations, reflected this perceived agency and rationality. A vivid example can be found in G. A. Douglas's 1758 treatise on barrenness. Here, Douglas related the tale of a widow who, seeing that other women ruined themselves by remarrying, 'chose to abuse herself with a fruit of that country, called a Plantain.' Rather than being overcome by her desires, this woman consciously chose to masturbate based on a cool assessment of her economic prospects. The sexual agency implied by this language was precisely what was so alarming about women's self-pleasure. The implication was that self-pollution was a conscious choice – a conclusion which undermined the increasing commitment to women's innate sense of decency and modesty.

Laura Blunsden, University of Liverpool
'Dearest Partlet': the mentoring relationship between Samuel Johnson and Charlotte Lennox

The exact nature of the mentoring relationship between Samuel Johnson and Charlotte Lennox is unknown. Some biographical accounts hint at the undercurrent of sexual attraction between them: John Hawkins describes a party thrown by Johnson in celebration of Lennox's 'first literary child', as he called her book, as having resembled a 'debauch'. Others suggest that she looked to him as a paternal figure: on first meeting Lennox, Johnson is supposed to have taken her on his knee 'as if she were a mere child; after which he carried her in his arms, to shew her his library'. Modern critics tend to reflect the misogynistic attitude with which the male-dominated literary community of the time generally regarded aspiring woman writers.

Evidence suggests that he took her literary work very seriously: he provided criticism on drafts; introduced her to London's leading booksellers, publishers, and printers; he wrote the dedication to The Female Quixote, knowing the value of attaching his name to this fledgling novel in the literary marketplace. Their letters are also playful in tone, and filled with expressions of mutual respect, admiration, and affection. Johnson writes to his 'Dearest Partlet' with genuine concern for her financial struggles, bouts of depression, and quarrels with friends; he gently rebuffs the angry outbursts for which she was known by their circle of acquaintance.

In my paper, I explore how eighteenth-century social and cultural constructions of gender and authorship influenced the way that mentoring relationships between young women and older men were perceived. Against the patriarchal and often-misogynistic readings of the period, I argue that their mentorship created a relational space within which the psychological energies generated by the learning process could be expressed and handled with care: a relationship especially meaningful for a woman embarking on her literary career. Rather than attempting to resolve the nature of their relationship to either sexual attraction or to a parent-child bond, I suggest that Johnson furthered Lennox's personal and professional development by accommodating complexity – by combining work and play – within the boundaries of the mentor-protégée relationship.

Chandni Rampersad, University of Duisburg-Essen
The Afterlives of Women in the Gentleman's Magazine
Death is "a tyrant none can conquer", a "dreadful king" that no one can sway nor prevail over. (GM Extraordinary, p. 400) The purgatorial passage after the extinguished spark of life conjures up "the dark chambers of th' unnumber'd dead". (413) The Gentleman's Magazine similarly morphs into a vault housing the dead, starting with a handful of death notices under Edward Cave's editorship and swelling into a protracted pile of obituaries under John Nichols' care. Adjacent to the astutely designed Bills of Mortality, the list of deaths published in the magazine opens up understudied and often overlooked dimensions like the question of gender. Both women and men cease to be simply a number and are instead offered textual space for their identification and biographical snapshots. More importantly, the obituarial section becomes an additional window to the eighteenth-century life. How were women featured in this particular section of the magazine? Did the editors consciously weigh the element of gender in publishing the obituaries? Did the death listings and obituaries change shape for women as it did for men? Did social rank or reputation play a part in it? This paper seeks to investigate the gendered aspect of necrology in the magazine and simultaneously look at particular cases that will also shed light on editorial practices.

55	**Female writers**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	**Caroline Warman**, University of Oxford

Speakers:	**Emma Stanbridge**, Keele University

Literary Business Exchange and Authorial Identity in Anna Seward's Letters

While Seward's manuscript correspondence with women has been thoroughly investigated, her correspondence with men is comparatively neglected. This paper will examine the reciprocal business exchanges in Seward's correspondence with literary professionals, John Nichols and Richard Alfred Davenport. The nineteen letters published between 1785 and 1804, now held by the Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum, feature exchanges on literary criticism, editorial practices, and the publishing industry and literary marketplace. These letters, which were not published in Archibald Constable's Letters of Anna Seward (1811), demonstrate Seward's interventions in such discourses and spaces, and so develop understandings of her literary life. Therefore, this paper investigates Seward's construction and development of her identity as a professional author in the letters to Nichols and Davenport, who both assumed the authoritative position of 'Editor' of their respective publications, The Gentleman's Magazine and The Poetical Register and Repository for Fugitive Poetry.

Fauve Vandenberghe, Ghent University

Amatory Satire: Eliza Haywood's Satiric-Amatory Method

In "Corinna: A Ballad," (1727) Jonathan Swift describes his titular female writer as a satiric wit well-versed in the domains of love and desire: "Cupid with a Satyr comes." Despite Swift's ready association between satiric and amatory modes, women's romance fiction is rarely studied for its satiric potential. Yet, both genres flourished during the same intensely productive decade of the 1720s. In many ways the height of the Golden Age of Satire, this protean era is at the same time the decade in which amatory fiction took full force: Eliza Haywood's erotic proto-novels flooded the marketplace from the publication of her debut Love In Excess (1719) onwards. While scholars have done much to show how satirists sought to distance themselves from bawdy Grub Street women writers, their similarities have remained generally unexplored. Rather than centring their obvious differences, this paper will examine the deeply intertwined relationship between these two genres and the ways in which amatory fiction engages in many of the same debates that were central to satiric writing in this period.

Amatory fiction has received no shortage of critical attention in recent decades. Since the publication of Ros Ballaster's seminal Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740, Aphra Behn's, Eliza Haywood's and Delarivier Manley's fiction has reached (near-)canonical status. Amatory fiction, however, is more often than not studied for its focus on interiority and narrative plotting. Fiction of the 1720s centres fictional and apolitical female characters' subjectivity and interiority, paving the way for the later sentimental and domestic novel. In this paper, I put pressure on the supposedly non-political, non-referential and essentially non-satirical nature of amatory fiction. This paper thus asks: what if we read amatory fiction, not teleologically (as developing towards novel), but rather as inherently in conversation with the satiric works of its time? What, then, if we see women's passionate prose of the 1720s not as "amatory fiction," but rather as "amatory satire"?

I will focus specifically on Haywood's novels of the 1720s. This paper move from Haywood's contemporary reception (such as Swift's) to the texts themselves. What, I ask, struck early readers as so fundamentally satiric about amatory fiction? Love, desire and romance occupies a central place in women's amatory satire. This interest in the management of the passions forms the crux of their satiric project: amatory writers were centrally concerned with punishing and correcting characters' (and readers') inability to restrain excessive passion. Ultimately, this paper interested the ways in which women's writing engaged with

satire's central affective and discursive paradigms. Through the case study of Eliza Haywood, I explore how women engaged in many of the same debates as their satiric contemporaries: what are the ethics of laughter? How to best punish vice and excessive passion? What role does pleasure play in moral instruction?

Katarina Stenke, University of Greenwich
"Ah! cease": intoning death in Phillis Wheatley Peters' elegies
This paper explores the politics of voice and tone in Boston poet Phillis Wheatley Peters' elegies, reading a selection of her published and unpublished elegies against each other to pinpoint ways in which they subvert or challenge gendered, racialized, and class identities via a repertoire of neoclassical vocalizations and intonations.

As the first African-born woman to publish a poetry collection in English (Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral, 1773), Wheatley Peters' oeuvre has long been of interest to scholars of Early American and eighteenth-century British literary history, and her fiercely eloquent (yet also pragmatic and politic) protests against the injustices of chattel slavery are key texts in the canon of African-American literature. Although the rhetoric and politics of Wheatley's elegies have been compellingly analysed by scholars including Max Cavitch, Gregory Rigby, Isani Mukhtar Ali, Antonio T. Bly and Wendy Raphael Roberts, research on Wheatley Peters has yet to connect their insights into her deployments of elegiac convention to her poetic re-conceptualisations of gendered and racialized subjectivity. From stable, "sweet" and "tender" tones to complex, ironic polyphony, Wheatley Peters' elegiac voicings use the occasion of death to challenge the authority of white subjectivity.

Mark Makin, Biola University
Teaching the Admiring Multitude What Connubial Felicity Really Is: Marriage, Gratitude, and Charity Itself in Austen's Pride and Prejudice
Among Austen critics, it is a truth increasingly acknowledged that the thought of both Aristotle and Mary Wollstonecraft influenced Austen and, in particular, her view of marriage. There has also been a recent revival of scholarship on Austen's Anglicanism, including her own prayers, and its influence on her novels. Even with this increased recognition of Austen's engagement with the classical, Enlightenment feminist, and Christian traditions, commentators have failed to appreciate how she creatively extends the classical and Enlightenment feminist traditions in a distinctively Christian way, in particular, through the marriage of Elizabeth Bennet and Mr. Darcy in Pride and Prejudice. For Austen, I argue, the happiest marriage unites a friendship of virtue with a romantic form of charity.

Drawing on both Aristotle and Wollstonecraft, Austen depicts Elizabeth and Darcy's marriage as a friendship of virtue founded on mutual respect and esteem for each other as intellectual and moral equals. Yet mutual respect and esteem, according to Austen, are not the only foundation for the virtue friendship of marriage. In the paradigmatic marriage of Elizabeth and Darcy, Austen celebrates a romantic form of charity—an active, generous, selfless, and forgiving love—as the greatest foundation for the virtue friendship of marriage. Reading Pride and Prejudice intertextually with Austen's own prayers, I show how Elizabeth and Darcy's reciprocal romantic charity is the culmination of their personal transformations: an epistemic, moral, and spiritual process from mutual resentment and self-deception, to undeception and Christian humility, to repentance and mutual gratitude, and finally to reciprocal romantic charity. Charity itself catalyzes Elizabeth's and Darcy's personal transformations and motivates mutual gratitude. Elizabeth and Darcy's mutual gratitude flowers into reciprocal romantic charity, binding them together and establishing their marriage

relationship. As grace perfects nature, so charity perfects the virtue friendship of marriage. In this way, Austen uses Elizabeth and Darcy's paradigmatic marriage to "teach the admiring multitude what connubial felicity really [is]."

56	**WORKSHOP: Molly House: An Interactive History Game Playthrough**
Room:	Wordsworth Room (Main Building)
Facilitator:	**Stephanie Howard-Smith**, Independent Scholar

57	**Letters**
Room:	Hamlin Room 1 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Sarah Fox**, University of Birmingham
Speakers:	**Dan Feng**, University of Edinburgh

Edmund Burke's Anti-Deterministic View of History
In response to Edmund Burke's critique of the French Revolution, Enlightenment thinkers like Thomas Paine, Richard Price, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Catherine Macaulay generally mounted a counterattack against Burke's defense of the historical legitimacy and rationality of the old political systems. This raised questions about how Burke's concept of "history" was perceived by these radical theorists. Did Burke's defense of the "past," as Paine suggested, establish a kind of "political Adam"?

This paper will commence by exploring the disparities in historical consciousness between Burke and his radical critics. It will contend that, within the radicals' interpretations, Burke's conservative support for the ancien régime, the British constitution, and hereditary systems was commonly construed by his critics as imbuing past institutions and values with absolute authority over both the present and the future. Consequently, Burke's historical perspective was often framed as exhibiting a deterministic or absolutist inclination. This interpretation persisted for two centuries, shaping how readers understood Burke's historical consciousness and contributing to the historicist reading of Burke.

By delving into Burke's writings, particularly his Letters on a Regicide Peace, on the role of history and its regularity, this paper will demonstrate that the deterministic interpretation of history was a misrepresentation of Burke. It will argue that Burke was, in fact, an anti-deterministic thinker when it came to history, setting him apart from historicists such as Giambattista Vico and Johann Gottfried Herder.

Isabella Smith, University of Leicester
Intimacy within Middling-Sort Same Sex Letter Writing, 1750-1830
The analysis of middling-sort correspondence is an area of historical enquiry that has been overlooked, especially in relation to the wider social networks these letters form between friends and family. Current literature provides a focus on well-known queer upper-class figures like Anne Lister, Horace Walpole and the Ladies of Llangollen. However, beyond Susan Whyman's work on middling-sort epistolary correspondence that used multiple case studies of, for example, Yorkshire farmers, little has been researched on this topic. My research aims to use collections of eighteenth-century middling-sort correspondence in order to uncover varying levels of intimacy, primarily, within same-sex family relationships. By exploring collections between friends, brothers, cousins and parents, my research draws out key themes that signify varying levels of intimacy and how they differ between each dynamic. I deploy the word 'intimacy' by its eighteenth-century usage, which means to be close, familiar or thick with one another. The aim of my research is to identify and uncover varying levels of intimacy within middling sort correspondence, as well as, how these relationships formed and grew through the medium of letter-writing.

My research is ever-changing, and purely based on the evidence I find within the correspondence I view. In terms of uncovering this correspondence, I have contacted and visited archives as well as explored online collections. However, the obstacle that I have found is the existence of same-sex correspondence among the middling sort. A common theme which I have discovered is that the middling sort correspondence that remains is commonly due to the fact that they serve a purpose, a common purpose was business. This has made finding correspondence difficult, same-sex male friendships are often centred around business and females are typically conducting business on their husband's behalf. However, what I have uncovered is the rich material within family collections between same-sex relatives such as mothers and daughters, brothers and cousins. This evidence has caused my project to evolve and focus on same-sex familial intimacies and how these relationships manifested and varied. Within archives, uncatalogued family collections offer a firm starting point to uncover these kinds of correspondence. Common themes that have emerged from the collections I have explored are: health and sickness, gendered differences, business and transactional relationships, the use of language and terms such as friend and, finally, the complexity of motherhood and a woman's role. These key themes provide the basis for my research, however, as I visit more collections they expand and contract based upon historical evidence. Within archives, I have found that middling sort correspondences are less frequent than their aristocratic counterparts during the eighteenth century, in order to combat this, I correspond with, as well as visit archives frequently to search through potential collections. Middling-sort same-sex correspondence uncover how this everchanging and evolving community engaged with, and sustained networks of familial and friendship connections. Letter-writing for this diverse group was both a pastime and a necessity, it acted as more than communication, it substantiated intimate relationships.

Mark Rothery, University of Northampton
Emotional Economies of Pleasure and the Gentry of Eighteenth Century England
This paper analyses familial cultures and exchanges of pleasure among eleven eighteenth century gentry families. The research is based on a substantial collection of family correspondence and identifies emotion words within these letters to understand familial conversations about pleasure and the various purposes that pleasure was put to. Here pleasure is problematised and studied as an emotion. There are three main arguments. Firstly, the letters reveal a previously hidden world of family pleasure, connected to but in some ways remote from the public and sensory pleasures of the urban renaissance and the new consumerism that most previous studies have focused on. The letters reveal an emotional economy of pleasure, where feelings materialised as currencies underlying the building and breaking of family relationships. Secondly, pleasure was not a singular or solitary feeling, but rather operated in affective clusters with other emotions such as anxiety and surprise. Finally, pleasure and displeasure were vital in keeping good order among the gentry and between the gentry and their subordinates, within inheritance systems and family dynamics where inequality and an unequal distribution of resources were part of everyday life.

Kevin Marshall, State University of New York
Indifferently Bound: The Reading Habits of a Scottish Overseer in British Colonial Jamaica
While much scholarship has focused on the economic history of colonial Jamaica, non-elite Scottish men remain understudied–despite their ubiquitous presence within the plantation system. These immigrants rarely left first-hand accounts of their lived experiences and existing sources are heavily weighted

towards their work responsibilities on plantations. Discerning their interests, concerns, and curiosities–beyond the production of commodities through plantation slavery–is thus difficult. Even their rare letters home typically focused on business matters, pleasantries, and requests to be remembered to loved ones. Adopting an interdisciplinary approach, however, my project analyses the material culture enumerated in their probate inventories to provide evidence of their personal pursuits and preoccupations beyond their work. This paper demonstrates how the books collected by one Scottish colonist offer deeper insight into his day-to-day concerns and state of mind than his letters home. On his death in 1793, overseer Alexander Clark from Carriden near Bo'ness, owned twenty enslaved people from whose labour he derived his income. Apart from this valuable property, his inventory listed a sword, wearing apparel, pistols, saddles, a watch, and gold-pence buttons. While those few items are not very telling, he also owned "24 volumes, the whole being very indifferently bound and valued at £1." His buying of so many books, as well as the fact that he kept them–rather than simply borrow or trade them after reading–indicates their significance to him.

Mobile libraries and book sales were common in Jamaica. Since many titles were readily available, colonists' book choices can be taken as reflecting their interests, rather than merely a snapshot of what was available to them. In Clark's case, the size and range of his book collection reveals how reading figured both in his job and his leisure time. Juxtaposed with his personal letters, an examination of Cark's texts offers fresh perspectives on the colonial experience at the mid-level of the social spectrum. Although Clark had been in Jamaica for most of his forty-five years of life, his collection shows he was ill at ease with his environment, obsessed with health, and vexed by his impending demise. Like Britain's leading role in transatlantic slavery, the involvement of Scots in the colonial West Indies is now receiving greater attention both in public and academic spheres. Much of this new scholarship, however, has focused on persons of status, such as merchants, doctors, and planters. My work, by contrast, illuminates the experiences of Scottish immigrants of low to middling status who–although not wealthy, well-connected, or powerful compared to the planter elite–nevertheless contributed to the development of colonial Jamaica in the late eighteenth century.

58	**Art and Portraiture**
Room:	Hamlin Room 2 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Emma Pearce**, University of Edinburgh
Speakers:	**Wendy McGlashan**, Independent Scholar

'An Offering to Charity': Local Pride and the Performance of Elite Culture in Jacob Kendall's Bury St Edmunds Print-Shop
During the Christmas holidays of 1783–84, a group of boys of the Grammar School at Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, determined to stage a public theatrical performance, intending to raise funds for the poor and needy of the town. Under their direction, costumes were prepared appropriate to their characters – including, amongst others, Jaffeir, Belvidera, and Pierre from Thomas Otway's Venice Preserved (1682); Zara, Heli, and Alonzo from William Congreve's The Mourning Bride (1697); Aulus Didius and Elidurus from William Mason's Caractacus (1759); and Mrs Cole from Samuel Foote's The Minor, A Comedy (1760). A vacant room was converted into a 'perfect theatre', complete with ornamentation and occasional scenery, where the boys performed 'some of the most Capital Dramatic pieces' for five consecutive nights. That January, their laudable intentions were praised in the London press, and their profits reported to be 'very considerable.'

In April 1785, Jacob Kendall, an artist-printmaker and proprietor of the Bury St Edmunds print-shop, advertised a subscription for an engraving in which he would record and commemorate this event, representing 'the YOUNG GENTLEMEN of the Grammar School, in their THEATRICAL CHARACTERS' presenting their profits to Charity. Measuring 21 x 19 inches, this ambitious print was comparable in size to multi-figural scenes from British History, such as The Death of General Wolfe (1776), a high-end print, executed by the celebrated English engraver William Woollett after a painting by the Royal Academician, Benjamin West. Subscribers to Kendall's engraving included the Prince of Wales, the famed tragic actress, Sarah Siddons, and leading members of the local nobility and gentry, including the Duke and Duchess of Grafton and Henry William Bunbury – an amateur artist, illustrator and caricaturist, whose works, then enjoying great popularity, were regularly promoted in Kendall's print-shop. Having secured an initial subscription of over 100 guineas, Kendall announced that the plate would be 'engraved in the best manner' by Joshua Kirby Baldrey – the son of the drawing-master in Ipswich – who was already engraving Bunbury's designs at this time.

Over 18 months in the making, Kendall's An Offering to Charity was published on 21 October 1786, and accompanied by a broadside reproducing the Latin mottoes which had adorned the proscenium arch, and the Epilogues spoken by Masters Heigham and Soame. Considering this engraving within the broader context of Kendall's print-selling activities, this paper will show how he deliberately tailored his designs to appeal to the cultural tastes of the Bury St Edmunds elite, working in dialogue with high art genres – history painting, biblical subjects, and 'grand manner' portraiture – in a programme of local elevation, awarding local events the gravitas of British History, promoting the place of local artists within the English printmaking school, and raising local school boys to the status of saints.

Isabella Mann, King's College London
'Beheld near at Hand': Handling Portrait Miniatures and Tender Feelings in the Eighteenth Century

This paper argues that portrait miniatures were made to be 'beheld near at hand' and investigates the tender feelings created by tactile encounters with them. A portrait miniature can only be properly 'beheld', that is observed, when it is held close to one's eyes by their hand. When 'beheld near at hand' portrait miniatures 'touch' the person holding them, evoking sensitive, tender feelings that are expressed using intimate language. Touching also becomes a mode of communication in these tender moments and the sources used in this paper demonstrate how tactility can operate in passive and active modes. To feel tenderly towards something is to hold it dear and the sources I investigate show how the handling of portrait miniatures created tender affection in the beholder. This tenderness also extends to feelings of physical sensitivity as the sensation of handling the miniature makes the beholder feel tender and I argue this shows how the portrait miniature 'touches' back. Moreover, one who beholds a portrait miniature is simultaneously beholden to it, which entails a dynamic of responsibility and indebtedness. Using a range of sources that are traditionally regarded as literary – novels, poems and plays – and personal documents alongside them, I argue that there is an inverse proportionality between the smallness of handheld miniatures and the magnitude of tender feelings they generate when beheld. In these sources the sense of touch is often entangled with the sense of sight and at times it can be difficult to distinguish tactile descriptions from visual ones. However, as the field of touch studies has demonstrated, the sense of touch deserves careful analysis because it is the primary contact sense and broadens our understanding of historical material experience. Tracing tactile

encounters in literature and personal correspondences gives novel insights into the subjective material experiences of portrait miniatures and sheds light on our understanding of material culture, sensory history and the history of emotion.

Olga Baird, Independent Scholar & **Ascold V. Smirnov**, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University)
Music in the picture: the portrait of Countess Maria Anna Dembowska (1774) in the castle Cerveny Kamen (Slovakia)
In the rooms of the Slovakian museum-castle Červený Kameň, several 18th century portraits of noble girls are displayed. They depict pupils of the school which was opened in 1754 at the monastery Notre Dame in Pressburg (today Bratislava). It was under direct patronage of the Empress Maria-Theresia, and quickly gained a high reputation in the Central Europe. Among pupils there were noble girls from Hungary, Slovakia, Poland, Croatia, Bohemia.
The portraits present young ladies in formal but festive blue dresses, with the traditional attributes which reveal their interests, knowledge and skills. The portraits were painted on the span of 20 years, between 1754-1774. Most of them were created by Pressburg portrait artist Daniel Schmiddely (1705-1779), who also taught art at the Notre Dame school. Today, the portraits are relatively well known. They became the subject of research by Slovakian historians more than 20 years ago, and today there is a number of academic publications, studying the portraits.

The present paper considers the only portrait from the series: the one of the Countess Maria Anna Dembowska who was painted holding a musical score. The former researchers traditionally interpreted the score as an "attribute" which refers to sitter's interest in music, but they never tried to investigate the music depicted. However, the musical notes have been painted very clearly and even words of the score are easily readable. It is the beginning of the aria «Giovinette vaghe e belle» from the opera «L'Amor artigiano» by Florian Leopold Gassmann (1729-1774) on the libretto by Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793). On the background of the painting, another musical manuscript is depicted which is recognised as one of "Divertissementos" by Georg-C hristoph Wagenseil (1715-1777).
In the process of research, some quite usual shortcomings of cross-countries academic research were revealed and partly rectified. The Slovakian researchers know from the monastery documents that Maria Anna Dembowska arrived in school from Poland in 1771. But they do not know about her origin, about her family social position and its participation in political and cultural events of the era. From the other side, because of Maria Anna's departure from Poland, the Polish researchers lost her from their view. They do not know that she studied at the prestigious school in Pressburg and was musically gifted, that her portrait was painted, has been survived and can be seen today. The research gave a chance to establish the lost date of Maria-Anna's death, to clarify historical and social context of her life and to connect scattered bits and pieces of historic information.

Renata Schellenberg, Mount Allison University
Collecting Cultures in Eighteenth-Century Germanophone Europe
At a time when most Western European countries were centralizing collections of artworks in national public museums, collecting in German-speaking Europe was still considered a private endeavour, an activity secluded from the views of the general public, and thus largely taking place within the private sphere. This paper traces the development of collecting culture in German-speaking Europe in the long eighteenth century, by examining its gradual development from a highly individualized preoccupation to a more public-fronting engagement. It explores the role discursivity played in promoting collecting as a popular pastime and the different means by which collectors tried to legitimize their collections and

collecting activities to a curious public. Finally, this paper also charts the rise of a new set of cultural agents (art dealers, brokers) whose presence increasingly determined the social, intellectual and cultural value of collecting practices, and whose efforts professionalized the endeavour as a whole, modifying collecting into a matter of work, rather than of enjoyment alone.

59	**Music and Dance**
Room:	Dobb's Room 1 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Michael Burden**, University of Oxford
Speakers:	**Susan de Guardiola**, Independent Scholar

"As 'tis Danced": Manuscript Annotations to Essex's *For the further improvement of dancing...*

In 1710, John Essex published <>, an English translation of Raoul-Auger Feuillet's 1706 treatise <>, a French treatise describing the steps and methods of performance of English country dances and including choreography in diagram form for numerous country dances. Essex's translation included diagrams for some of the country dances published by Feuillet as well as new choreography of his own.

While both Feuillet's original and Essex's translation are well-known to scholars in country dance history, and the diagrammed choreographies have been the subject of extensive reconstruction and practice, it is not immediately obvious to those working from a single physical copy or a microfilm or scan of Essex's work that the individual physical copies have been subject to an unusual number of differing manuscript annotations to the dance diagrams. Some of these may be classed as simple corrections of errors, but the frequent alterations to a single diagram in particular suggest genuine disagreement in the performance of the figure, particularly in light of contemporary verbal descriptions of the dance. This paper will briefly present the publication history of Essex's treatise, followed by a bibliographic survey of ten known surviving individual copies with an overview of the different manuscript annotations in each copy. Particular consideration will be given to the most heavily annotated diagram as indicative of the tension between the "work" of the choreographer or dancing master and "play" in the apparent widespread active engagement with and alteration of the choreography by social dancers and in the light of possible adaptations made in utilizing the dance for the stage. The presentation will conclude with an examination of the significance of changes made and not made to the printing plates for the unique 1715 "presentation copy" of Essex's treatise, dedicated to the Princess of Wales.

Joe Lockwood, Newcastle University
Who Should Have Won the Prize Musick?
In 1699 a musical competition was announced in London: composers were invited to set the same masque text by Congreve on a classical subject—the Judgment of Paris. Four entries were produced and were performed in London's Dorset Garden Theatre in 1701. The organisers of this 'Prize Musick' were prominent participants in British factional politics. The competition, intended to invigorate English theatrical music, formed part of a larger Whig humanistic 'cultural programme' in the early years of the eighteenth century to reform English arts according to Whig principals: a project which would entail bringing Handel to London a decade later. The Prize Musick was a disaster. While the choice of subject might have seemed clever, in fact the musical contest sowed as much strife as had the mythological one. An unexpected candidate, John Weldon, was awarded first prize, and the other candidates were bitterly disappointed: Daniel Purcell never composed another full-length dramatic work, and Gottfried Finger left England altogether. Critics from the eighteenth to the

twenty-first centuries have disagreed about who should have won: Finger himself thought that Purcell's music was the best; Charles Burney thought Purcell's was the worst; and modern audiences have unanimously preferred John Eccles's setting. As this paper will show, Purcell located the source of his disappointment in tensions between the competition's organisers' and composers' understandings of musical humanism: the 'Sort of Painting in musick, as well as Poetry' his published entry's preface identified as the equivalent of Horatian imitatio. The paper will explore how the competition's disastrous fallout and the continued confusion about the rightful winner points to fractures in eighteenth-century humanistic understandings of music, and in Whigs' attempts to use musical humanism to reform culture in their own image. As scholars have shown, the Judgment of Paris was customarily read by Whigs as a cautionary tale about the consequences of abandoning rationality for pleasure. But—I will demonstrate—in the composers' musical depictions of Venus's seductiveness, prodesse and delectare can be seen to struggle against one another rather than work together, as was the humanistic ideal. Just how seductive should the competition's entrants have allowed their Venus to appear? As in later eighteenth-century examples where music was used to demonstrate the dangers of unreason (as in Mozart's Queen of Night), music's eloquence threatened to break free of its humanistic role and so undermine the Enlightenment ideological structure it was meant to buttress.

Katie Mennis, Christ's College, Cambridge
Latin Translation and Early Romanticism: Bourne, Smart and Cowper
The translation of English poetry into Latin might seem an exercise fundamentally at odds with the emergence of an 'early romantic' poetics in the works of figures such as Christopher Smart and William Cowper. This paper argues that the translation of English poetry into Latin was in fact surprisingly generative for early romantics and early romanticism. An unexpected history of the development of a new, arguably proto-romantic poetics can be traced through the lens of Latin translation, from Alexander Pope and Vincent Bourne to Smart, Cowper and Charles Lamb.

While 'Latinizing' English works in print was more common and important for vernacular literary culture in the seventeenth century than has been recognised, the practice became almost entirely institutionalized in the late-eighteenth century – confined largely to the nineteenth-century classroom. The Latin translations of Pope and others that Smart composed at Cambridge are surely prime examples of what Robert Browning called 'the void and null' of his career before the turning point in his work precipitated by an illness around 1756. Cowper's great admiration of the Latin poetry and translations of his schoolmaster Bourne (which he shared with Lamb) has been dismissed as a 'love of the man as a man' and a 'personal matter' (Mark Storey); Cowper's own Latin translations of English poems have been completely neglected.

Both Smart and Cowper were influenced by Bourne's much-admired Latin translations of popular English ballads, songs and odes: one of Smart's earliest poems is a Latin version of the Welsh song 'Fanny, Blooming Fair', 'in the manner of Mr. Bourne'. Cowper (and Lamb) translated Bourne's poems into English, as well as imitating his practice of Latinizing English poems. Bourne's original poetry has attracted some attention, to account for its wide readership and Cowper's and Lamb's praise, with Bourne being identified as a 'classical romantic' (Estelle Haan). His translations of English poems have not featured prominently in these discussions.

The idea of Latinization is not inherently at odds with romanticism, of course: indeed, Goethe remarked upon seeing a Latin translation of Hermann und Dorothea that 'I saw [the poem] like in a mirror which as we know has its own magic power. Here I recognized my mind and my muse in a much more learned language, both identical and different ... I don't want to think about that any longer, for such a comparison would take me too deeply into the text.' Latin translation took Smart and Cowper deeply into their own texts and others', offering them new constraints, affordances, and approaches to language, which influenced and sometimes manifested their proto-romantic poetic energies. Smart's translation of Pope's 'Ode for Music', in particular, was formative for his approach to the ode, linguistic difference, representation, even confinement, resurfacing in unexpected ways in the Jubilate Agno. In the final year of his life, Cowper returned to childish things – Gay's Fables, Bourne and Latin translation – producing (among other Latinizations) a self-translation of 'The Cast-Away', which provides an astonishing, alternative expression of the despair of the English original. Through these readings, this paper will provide a new approach to comparing Smart, Cowper, and the role of their biographies and the contingencies of publication in their reception; revaluate the notion of 'early romanticism' through an new lens, and reflect on the changing affordances and role of Latin as a medium across the eighteenth century.

Francesca Gardner, University of Cambridge
'Pastoral play? Pope's Singing Contests
Pastoral has long been defined as a generic space for leisure (otium) and play; the singing contest, one of the three main subgenres of pastoral alongside the elegy and the love complaint, is usually said to facilitate rather than disrupt this tone. This paper examines the interaction of pastoral competition and the concept of the 'pleasant place' (locus amoenus), another key pastoral trope, in the late eighteenth century. The two features have been interlinked since the pastoral of Theocritus and Virgil; healthy, 'sporting' pastoral contests take place in a peaceful space, usually beneath the shade of a tree—this is vital for the participants' mutual intelligibility. What happens to the bucolic contest, therefore, when its interlocutors lose, in both senses of the term, common ground? When there are no longer sensible parameters through which to make sense of and enjoy pastoral otium—such as in the dispersal of a village's population as they move to urban areas or migrate overseas, as commonly documented in the poetry of the period—dark parodies of alternate verse emerge in which idyllic, rule-based, adjudicated call and response breaks down, and the playfulness of pastoral with it. The paper considers earlier contexts (from classical pastoral to the illustrations accompanying John Ogilby's pastoral translations), lesser-known late eighteenth-century texts, and better-known late eighteenth-century texts examined in a new light: from the first studies of Goldsmith, Crabbe, Cowper, and Wordsworth as manipulating the conventions of pastoral competition in their focus on the perceived breakdown of village and rural life, to Thomas Coombe's 1775 'Edwin; or, The Emigrant: an Eclogue', featuring the hostile 'singing contest' of an ex-villager of Goldsmith's Auburn with a Native American, taking place in a disorienting, mazy forest at night in contrast to the sunny green and shady tree of his former village. A disintegration of the structured turn-taking of the pastoral contest in a coherently defined space results in a kind of hypertrophy of its characteristics; before even considering the blending of pastoral and georgic in the period, the breakdown of the concept of pastoral play occurs within the genre itself.

60	**Botany and Nature**
Room:	Dobbs Room 2 (Main Building)
Chair:	**Brycchan Carey**, Northumbria University

Speakers:	**Joanna Yates**, Keele University

Joanna Yates, Keele University
Erasmus Darwin's 'Commonplace Book' and the Enlightenment Organisation of Knowledge
This paper considers the relationship between Erasmus Darwin's 'Commonplace Book' and his philosophical positions as reflected in his published works. The 'Commonplace Book' is an overlooked source in studies of Darwin; it provides a window into the mind of the 18th century polymath who embodied the Enlightenment belief that the human condition could be improved by the application of experiment, observation, and reason. The entries recorded within this document can be divided relatively evenly into three general categories: Medical Practice, Natural History (including science and weather), and Engineering (designs and inventions). The first category contains entries that detail medical case histories, describe treatments founded in contemporary medicine, and posit the application of new science to effect more patient-centred cures. The second category, containing Darwin's observations on Natural History, includes notes on experimental and theoretical science, and postulations on possible mechanistic casuality in biological life-cycles and global weather systems. Finally, the entries grouped as Engineering offer a repository of numerous diagrams, descriptions, and examinations of practical and theoretical mechanical inventions. From this deconstructed perspective, the object can be regarded as a record of a historical moment and a testament to Enlightenment thought and practice on a grand scale. However, as a whole, the document can be considered a micro-archive through which Darwin engages in the production and authorisation of his philosophical oeuvre. This paper will consider both approaches to determine how the 'Commonplace Book' contributes to the interpretation of Darwin's overall philosophical journey that culminates in his final work, The Temple of Nature (1803).

Karenza Sutton-Bennett, University of Ottawa
"A Rose by Any Other Name Would Smell as Sweet": Women's Uneven Informal Study of Botany in Periodicals
In 1735 Swedish taxonomist and botanist Carl Linnaeus published his book Systema Natraue that controversially changed the way that plants were studied in Europe with his system that sexually categorized plants. In England studying of botany remained mostly unchanged by Linnaeus's work until 1760 when "botomania" finally travelled across the Atlantic Ocean with James Lee's popular publication, An Introduction to botany: containing an explanation of the theory of that science, extracted from the works of Dr Linnaeus. Linnaeus's system was a huge step forward in botany, but it also complicated women's involvement in studying plants and gardening. Charlotte Lennox's The Lady's Museum (1760-61) actively represents how women could study natural philosophy to revel in the "divinity" of nature by examining insects and animals, but it did not cover the topic of botany. However, one year before Lennox's periodical, Benjamin Martin's The General Magazine of Arts and Sciences (1755-64) covers the topic of botany in a serialized article titled "Theology as a Science." Martin uses Linnaeus's sexual system to describe the part of the plants, but re-focuses the fructification of plants as the design of the creator and that studying botany was appreciating God's work. The magazine was addressed to men and women readers with its intent to give readers a comprehensive knowledge in natural philosophy. In this presentation, I will examine how women informally studied botany in the eighteenth century by looking at how authors either avoided or altered Linnaeus's work to make it suitable for middle-class women and how Martin's periodical in particular helped women re-claim studying botany as an "entertaining" and "profitable" way for them to spend to their time.

Angel Rojas, California State University, Fresno

Diffusing non-European Traditional Knowledge in British Imperial Natural History: The Botanical Insights of Maria Riddell and Mary Ann Parker

Maria Riddell (1772-1808) and Mary Ann Parker (1765 – 1848) were two British women who, in the late eighteenth century, travelled throughout the British Atlantic and Pacific, visiting places such as the Leeward islands, Antigua, Madeira, Cape Town, and Sidney, Australia. Riddell visited and wrote about the natural history of the Portuguese colony of Madeira and the British Caribbean islands in her manuscript, Voyages to the Madeira and Leeward Islands, writing and recording information on the flora, fauna, and the people living there. In comparison, Mary Ann Parker wrote about the physical description and lifestyle of the people inhabiting Southern Africa and Australia in her travel book A Voyage Round the World. Scholarship has concentrated on the literary symbolism of their works on maternity and national identity. Only a few scholars discussed Riddell and Parker's work in the context of science and imperial frameworks. These two women pushed the boundaries on accepted activities for leisure and types of labor for women in early modern Europe, which stimulated the growth of scientific knowledge. I argue that both Riddell and Parker's work creates an understanding of the practices of African and Indigenous botanical knowledge that became diffused and circulated within the metropole, thus adding to British imperial knowledge of the colonial environment. Maria Riddell and Mary Ann Parker offer a glimpse into the intersection of early modern science and anthropology based on the interconnections between African, Indigenous, and colonial peoples' botanical knowledge through British women's travel narratives.

Yoko Kubo, Nihon University, College of Art (Tokyo, Japan)
Leisure and the Culture of 'Picnic': Revisiting the 'Picnic Scene' in Jane Austen's Emma

Hence inroads into distant vales, and long
Excursions far away among the hills;
Hence rustic dinners on the cool green ground,
Or in the woods, or by a riverside
Or fountain—festive banquets that provoked
The languid action of a natural scene
By pleasure of corporeal appetite.
（William Wordsworth, The Prelude, II:91-97）
Fresh butter, tea-kettle, and earthenware,
And chafing-dish with smoking coals, and so
Beneath the trees we sat in our small boat
And in the cover ate our delicate meal
Upon the calm smooth lake.　（II:152-6）

William Wordsworth, a pivotal voice of the English Romantic period, documented his formative years and the profound influence nature had on him in The Prelude. The excerpt portrays his summertime activities, underscoring the outdoor meals and celebrations he cherished with friends. Such experiences align with the contemporary concept of 'picnic/picnicking,' a revered British summer tradition celebrated during National Picnic Week in June. It is more than just a meal, fostering community amidst nature's splendour.

The UK proudly hosts The National Trust, a distinguished conservation organisation established in the late 19th century, tasked with preserving historical landmarks and natural parks, including the renowned Lake District. A haven for Wordsworth, this region boasts iconic picnic sites like Windermere. Although Wordsworth did not directly contribute to the Trust's foundation, his seminal role in nurturing a British reverence for nature and its bearing on national ethos is

incontrovertible. Scholars, such as Andrew Hubbell, note that Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy played pivotal roles in popularising such picnics, embedding them into the national spirit. For Wordsworth, these natural escapades profoundly shaped his ethical beliefs, accentuating the relationship between nature and moral development.

It is widely acknowledged that the term 'picnic' originated from French words in the mid-18th century, first adopted into English by the Earl of Chesterfield in 1748. The Oxford English Dictionary explains 'picnic' as originally a 'fashionable social entertainment in which each person present contributed a share of the provisions,' and now a 'pleasure party including an excursion to some spot in the country where all partake of a repast out of doors' (OED 1a). Its appeal peaked among the aristocracy in the 18th century with the Pic-Nic Society, an ensemble of affluent gentlemen. They convened in a private London theatre, accompanied by meals, wine, and performances, emerging as a hub for notorious gossip. However, it was not until the Victorian age that 'picnic' transmuted into a leisure activity, and the term gained ubiquity in English. This shift was influenced by myriad factors, including the economic growth from the Industrial Revolution, urban pollution, escalating urbanisation, the development of the railway network, the establishment of public parks, and the emergence of the middle class, enabling individuals to revel in the suburban outdoors. Victorian novelists like Charles Dickens and Anthony Trollope depicted 'picnics' set against idyllic landscapes, often pivoting the narrative on the protagonists' conduct and discourse in these serene locales.

Jane Austen's Emma introduces a pivotal 'picnic' event at 'Box Hill' in Surrey, a site intertwined with national pride and Romantic ideals. Traditional interpretations of this episode bifurcate into two ways: a reflection on Emma's moral maturation or a critique of England's socio-political milieu in the nascent 19th century. A more recent interpretation by William Galperin suggests a synthesis of these perspectives, resonating with the overarching themes of the Romantic era, intertwined with the era's historical and political contexts.

In this paper, I will explore the 'Box Hill' episode, juxtaposing diverse academic viewpoints. I will argue that Austen's portrayal of 'picnic/picnicking' reflects the transitional essence of the times, bridging the Romantic and Victorian periods, emblematic of the 'Regency Era.' This scene, harmonised with Wordsworth's reflections, indicates the dynamic cultural resonance of leisure and 'picnic' culture during these formative years of British heritage.

61	**Animals and farming**
Room:	MGA Lecture Room (Mary Gray Allen Building)
Chair:	**Adam Bridgen**, University of Leeds
Speakers:	**Malcolm Hay**, University of Oxford

Animals at Work and Play in the Poetry of Robert Burns
Henry Mackenzie's description of Robert Burns as the 'Heaven-taught ploughman' readily acknowledges the poet's occupation as a farmer. This agrarian perspective in his poetry has long been acknowledged by critics since Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect was published in 1786. What is less appreciated is the importance that animals play in his verse. My paper will analyse how Burns's poems contend that nonhumans are worthy of moral consideration. A position he justifies by showing them at work and play.

In The Twa Dogs. A Tale different animals figuratively represent both rural labourers and their leisured masters. In the act of playing, Luath and Caesar model to the reader how different economic and social classes can harmoniously

interact. This didacticism is reinforced via the playful narrative voice that Burns deploys. These dogs, though, are more than simple cyphers for their human counterparts. As the poem's waggish title of being A Tale gestures towards, they occupy a double position as both figurative and literal creatures. By representing them engaging in an act consistent with their real natures, they transcend their fabula status and re-establish their credentials as authentic animals. The ability of play to unite disparate beings, whether man or animal, is thus a paradigm for nonhumans to replicate.

Following a tradition of poems such as Thomson's The Seasons and Cowper's The Task, Burns's canon also contains verse that ardently express their disdain for blood sports. Two such poems are On Seeing a Wounded Hare and Song, composed in August. These poems articulate a growing concern in the eighteenth century that this pastime is unnecessarily cruel and morally indefensible. Even though Burns's views on hunting are sometimes ambiguous, his compassion for the animals he encounters as a farmer is heartfelt and genuine. In both poems, he compares the playful nature of nonhumans against the cruel activity of man. This is encapsulated in the double sense of the word 'sport' in On Seeing a Wounded Hare. Where hunting is decried as a 'barb'rous art', the poem's narrator confesses to the hare that 'I'll miss thee sporting o'er the dewy lawn'. If both man and animals engage in play, Burns leaves his readers in no doubt which pastime is favourably received by God, the creator of all living things. As in The Twa Dogs, nonhumans become creatures to meditate on. Not only should humans treat them with kindness, but they should also see their form of play as a morally edifying act.

Sophia Nash, University of Glasgow
Bloodsport: The influence of racing and field sports on the combat effectiveness of British mounted troops in the long eighteenth-century
The horse, in Britain, represents a cultural lodestone bound inextricably to the institutions of monarchy and the military, but also to the leisure and sporting pursuits which became entrenched in British, or at least English, national identity during the long eighteenth-century.

The development of racing and the English thoroughbred horse which began under Charles II following the Restoration, and the tradition of riding fast to hounds which became fashionable under George III, bookend the period in terms of solidifying the influence of equestrian culture on the spheres of both work and play.

These developments progressed alongside what can be regarded as the defining period for the British officer class and the professionalisation of the British Army as part of the fiscal-military state.

This is also a fascinating time for the history of horsemanship and is where the foundations for modern equitation were laid, but is relatively little-covered in terms of the cascade effect of this into mounted warfare and military equitation. My wider research (as a final-year PhD researcher in War Studies)explores developments and training in military horsemanship and the influence this had on the combat effectiveness of British mounted troops through the period, for both good and ill, also seeking to redefine notions of 'success' via the examination of small engagements over more widely-studied set piece battles.

It is commonly assumed that a tradition of racing and field sports would equal 'good' cavalry, but closer reading suggests the influence of hunting, in particular,

had much to answer for in terms of the attitudes of many amongst the officer class, who were largely drawn from aristocratic or elite backgrounds.

This paper will explore the connections between the parallel developments of racing and field sports and the rise of the professional army officer, as well as the crossover created by the aspirational culture which connects cavalry with the 'gentlemanly pursuits' of hunting and racing, often leading to problematic battlefield outcomes.

James Wood, University of East Anglia
Blake's Plow
Soon after his arrival at Felpham, William Blake wrote in a letter to Thomas Butts "Work will go on here with God speed–. I met a plow on my first going out at my gate the first morning after my arrival & the Plowboy said to the Plowman. "Father The Gate is Open." This anecdote ties Blake's work as an artist (who carved "furrows" on the metal plates on which he worked with his graver) with the earthy labours of the plowboy and the plowman. In Blake's manuscript poem The Four Zoas (c. 1796-1807 the plow serves to connect imaginative and agricultural labour at the same time that it lays bare the violence and compulsion that attends both word-work and plow-work. I argue that in The Four Zoas, Blake uses the linguistic proximity of the plow and the pillow (which contains the word "plow" within itself) to reconnect the active and violent work of the plow with the passive and pacific rest of the pillow. Urizen's consistent association with the plow and his emanation Ahania's equally consistent association with the pillow implies that the very opposition between labour and rest themselves is a consequence of the fallen state in which the pair find themselves, a predicament Blake attempts to bridge by means of the plow-pillow in which rest and labour endlessly pass into one another.

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

11:30-13:30 62 Room: Abstract:	FRIDAY SESSION II **The Georgians at Play: Making Space for Entertainment in Eighteenth-century England** Maplethorpe Hall Founded in 1937, in response to the wholesale demolition during the interwar period of a number of very significant 18th and early-19th century buildings, The Georgian Group played a critical part in campaigning for the introduction in 1947 of the national listing system that gives legal protection to buildings and landscapes of special architectural and historic interest. In the last 86 years it has developed as a membership group and since 1971 has served as one of six National Amenity Societies that make a vital, expert contribution to heritage protection through the planning systems in England and Wales, both secular and ecclesiastical. The aims of the Group are: to save Georgian buildings and designed landscapes from destruction or disfigurement, encouraging their appropriate repair and reuse; and to stimulate public knowledge and appreciation of Georgian architecture, town planning, and taste as demonstrated in the applied arts, design and craftsmanship. In other words, Conservation and Education. Our work aims to champion new research into the architecture of the Georgian period and this panel, chaired by Georgian Group Director David Adshead, brings together three papers exploring the places of entertainment and play in the eighteenth century. Delivered by Dr Juliet Learmouth, Lydia Smith and Dr Meg

Kobza the papers will show new perspectives on public and private
entertainments and the spaces they shared.

Chair: **David Adshead**, The Georgian Group
Speakers: **Juliet Learmouth**

**Sumptuous Entertainments and spectacular vistas: The relationship between
private entertainment and public space in Georgian London, c. 1700–60**

On 27 April 1749, London's Green Park provided the setting for a magnificent
firework display to celebrate the peace treaty of Aix la Chapelle. Whilst the public
crowded into temporary seating stands erected in the public space of the park, the
most privileged members of society had the opportunity to witness the event from
the private interiors of the various grand town houses overlooking the scene.
According to a report in the Remembrancer, the Duke of Devonshire and the
Earl of Bath invited 'great numbers of the Nobility and Gentry' to view the
fireworks from their houses in Piccadilly, whilst Sir Charles Sheffield invited
several guests to witness the event from Buckingham House in St James's Park.
Meanwhile, the Earl and Countess of Middlesex entertained the Prince and
Princess of Wales in their mansion in Arlington Street providing them with an
exceptional view of the performance.

As this example suggests, a fine outlook was a highly prized feature of the
eighteenth-century London town house especially in relation to elite
entertainment. Another highly sought-after address was Whitehall's Privy Garden
where several of the properties benefited from spectacular views over the river
Thames, often a site of pageantry and display: The houses of the Duke of
Richmond, the Duke of Montagu, the Countess of Portland and the Earl of
Pembroke all served as entertainment spaces offering privileged vantage points
over events on the river including the annual Lord Mayor's show, the launch of
Prince Frederick's golden barge in 1732, the firework display arranged by the
Duke of Richmond to celebrate his daughter's birthday in 1737, and the frost fair
which took place when the river iced over in the winter of 1739–40 .
Based on such examples, this paper explores the interaction between the private
space of the noble London town house and the public spaces of the capital in
relation to entertainment. It shows how the elevated viewpoint offered from the
windows of the town house enhanced the experience of the guests at the grand
balls, assemblies and banquets of the propertied elite, whilst at the same time
reinforcing their sense of social separation and distinction. It also considers such
events from the perspective of the crowds in the public arena looking up towards
the richly illuminated interiors of the aristocratic mansions. The paper draws on
visual sources, including prints such as Jan Kip's etched panorama of London
taken from the roof of Buckingham House (c. 1720) and paintings such as
Canaletto's View of the Thames and the City from Richmond House (c.1747), as
well as archival sources, including letters, travel diaries and newspapers, thereby
offering a more nuanced understanding of the interwoven nature of private and
public entertainment spaces in eighteenth-century London.

Lydia Smith, King's College, London
**'Beyond description grand and agreeable' Ephemeral architecture, the landscape
and entertainment in Georgian Britain**

In July 1774, Lord Stanley hosted a lavish 'fête champêtre' in the gardens of his
estate, The Oaks, in Surrey to mark his upcoming marriage to Lady Elizabeth
Hamilton. The celebrated architect Robert Adam constructed a 'a very
magnificent amphitheatre' or temporary ballroom which also served as a stage
and supper room for several hundred guests drawn from Britain's social elite.
Joining this exciting panel on entertainment in Georgian buildings, this paper will
explore 'play' through the ephemeral architecture, temporary structures and
garden buildings used by the social elite in Georgian Britain to entertain in their

landscape gardens and pleasure grounds. Garden buildings and ephemeral architecture provided engaging spaces and spectacular stage settings for large scale Georgian entertainments involving fireworks, illuminations, mock naval battles and musical performances. This paper will focus on their role within several specific iterations of the designed landscape; the urban park, pleasure grounds and landscape gardens of country houses. These events include pre-nuptial and birthday celebrations, supper in an illuminated grotto or folly and maritime or military celebrations to name a few. It will demonstrate how a greater attention to the use of such landscapes, as large and highly adaptable spaces, can expand our understanding of the Georgian experience of leisure and pleasure in an age of significant social, cultural and artistic development. This paper will be divided into two parts, the first concerned with the use of existing garden buildings which were adapted and enhanced for the purposes of elite entertainment. The second will look at ephemeral architecture created specifically for the purpose of large scale entertaining such as extending or creating new interior spaces or for decorative uses including fireworks and illuminations.

This paper arises out of Lydia's PhD project, titled 'Spectacle and performance in the designed landscapes of eighteenth-century Britain' which evaluates how a greater attention to spectacle and performance can contribute to understanding landscapes as spaces and stages of elite and national culture.

Meg Kobza, Newcastle University
Pre-gaming and Party Houses: The Masquerade and the London Townhouse
At the turn of the eighteenth century the masquerade had shifted from the pinnacle of ostentatious exclusivity to becoming a commercially accessible entertainment that required no more planning than a moment's notice. With masquerade tickets and habits readily available onsite or nearby, the middling sorts could now enjoy the once elusive pastime of their superiors. This did not discourage elite participation per se, though it did inspire a shift in behaviour. Rather than arrive directly at the masquerade, the women of the fashionable crowd such as Mrs Orby Hunter, Mrs Broadhead, the Duchess of Ancaster, and Mrs Althea Hunter, hosted viewing parties prior to a night's masked entertainment at a commercial venue. Entry was granted by presenting a calling card or invitation—reminiscent of the days of Teresa Cornelys' subscription list in the 1770s. In some instances, masked revellers never made it to the intended masquerade at the Pantheon or Ranelagh but remained at these London residences instead. Town houses also hosted full masquerades, which provided respite from the common crush of Ranelagh or the Pantheon and allowed the elite to mingle with only their peers.

This paper will examine the relationship between the masquerade and the townhouse and how the townhouse continued the masquerade's exclusive nature into private spaces of the elite. Building on Mark Rothery and Jon Stobart's work on the townhouse, this paper will explore how the townhouse masquerade functioned as a space of revelry and conspicuous consumption as well as hospitality. It will also shed light on the impact of women in maintaining the masquerade's popularity and exclusivity through their circulation of limited invitations. The paper will draw on a range of sources including existing invitations, newspaper reports, novels, and diary entries.

63	**ROUNDTABLE: Playing with the Past, Working for the Future: A Roundtable on Eighteenth-Century Medievalisms**
Room:	Maplethorpe Seminar Room
Anstract:	The study of medievalism (here defined, as per Louise D'Arcens's denotation in The Cambridge Companion to Medievalism, as the reception, interpretation, or

recreation of the European Middle Ages in post-medieval cultures), has long been recognised as a significant current in nineteenth-century literature and culture. However, whilst it is acknowledged that the cultural phenomenon of nineteenth-century medievalism is a distillation of more than a century's interest in the medieval past, eighteenth-century medievalisms remain comparatively overlooked. Far from being indifferent to medieval past, antiquarians, philosophers, scholars, and poets from across the long eighteenth-century increasingly turned to history in search of both poetic inspiration and cultural validation.

Our panellists will consider how a variety of writers from across the newly formed Kingdom of Great Britain engaged with both real and imagined pasts as a means of addressing contemporary concerns. Our discussions will consider the ways in which medievalism provided eighteenth-century writers with the means to rejuvenate contemporary poetry, reclaim contested spaces, and explore often conflicted ideas about nationhood, cultural memory, and identity.

Medievalism is multi-temporal by nature and our roundtable will invite both panellists and attendees to consider how our own perceptions of eighteenth-century medievalisms are bound up with contemporary debates about historic periodisation, disciplinarity, and temporality. Our discussions will showcase a diverse range of critical positions whilst also inviting panellists and audience members to anticipate future directions for scholarship in this burgeoning field.

Chair:	**Nicholas Seager**, Keele University
Speakers:	**Amy Louise Blaney**, Keele University
	Lotte Reinbold, Selwyn College, University of Cambridge
	Felicity Brown, Christ Church College, Oxford

64	**WORKSHOP: Electronic Enlightenment: Recreating the World's First Social Network**
Room:	Louey Seminar Room
Facilitator:	**Jack Orchard** & **Mark Rogerson**, Electronic Enlightenment, Bodleian Libraries

65	**Preaching, Clergymen and Education**
Room:	Winston CS Wong Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	**Mark Rothery**, University of Northampton
Speakers:	**Baiyu Andrew Song**, Andrew Fuller Centre for Baptist Studies
	"The men in Ninive who dwelt": English Clerical Lifestyle in Conversion Narratives during the Evangelical Revival
	Daniel Johnson, University of Leicester
	"The Fairground is my Parish": Evangelical Preaching and Recreation Spaces
	Carys Brown, Trinity College, University of Cambridge
	Religious child's play in eighteenth century England

66	**Playing with Politics c.1670-1770**
Room:	Ho Tim Seminar Room (Dickson Poon/China Centre Building)
Chair:	Mark Knights, University of Warwick
Speakers:	**Angela McShane**, University of Warwick
	Playing at politics with The New Buckingham Ballad
	Kendra Packham, University of Newcastle
	'Tristram Shandy' at the Hustings: Political Appropriations of Sterne, the Novel, and the Humour and Narrative of Elections in Eighteenth-Century England
	Robin Eagles, History of Parliament
	Tourism and the old Palace of Westminster

67	**Women's Studies Group 1558-1837. 'Women's work and leisure: discourse across the long 18th century**
Room:	Hamlin Room 1 (Main Building)
Abstract:	WSG once again proposes a panel showcasing the wide-ranging work of its members, this year across three 'departmental divides': History, Literature and History of Art . This panel covers the late seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. It considers women's changing attitudes to needlework as work, their responses to the developing masculine culture of architectural criticism, their engagement with natural science, and their commercial potential as artists.
Chair:	**Gillian Williamson**, Independent Scholar
Speakers:	**Amanda Pullan**, University of Toronto

"When this you see, remember me": Seventeenth-century curious work through eighteenth- century eyes

This paper examines how one woman, Mary Winter Maitland, living in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain, sought to preserve the handiwork of her great-great grandmother, a seventeenth-century embroidered cabinet. Thanks to her efforts, this cabinet is part of the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection today. From Maitland's letters, it is possible to see how maternal gifting functioned in the long eighteenth-century when property ownership and inheritance remained a largely male domain. We also can discern much about eighteenth-century views on women's work -particularly embroidery, which was still expected work for a woman of middling to upper class to perform, but also play, embroidery being a "curious" art that encouraged imagination. This paper focuses on one woman's account about women's work. It sits against larger questions about gendered notions of work and play, the social life of things, and the role of women in maintaining family histories.

Matthew Lloyd Roberts, University of Cambridge
'Your modern Vanity of BUILDING': Gender and architectural connoisseurship in England, 1650–1750

As architecture became a growing and newly formalised subject of public debate in England from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, how were questions of architectural enthusiasm, taste and perception demarcated through discourses of gender? This paper will explore the gendered nature of architectural discourse, from the letters of Sir Christopher Wren, via the travel diaries of Celia Fiennes, to the Grub Street Press. Of particular interest are a series of debates about female education and architecture in The Female Tatler and The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal. Much has been written about masculinity and femininity as descriptive categories of architectural meaning, but to date eighteenth-century debates about the gendered nature of architectural discourse have not been adequately accounted for. In considering the way that masculinity and homosociality structured cultures of architectural connoisseurship, and the way that women responded to this cultural norm, this paper will offer new insights into the social and gendered connotations in the new realm of public debate about the built environment.

Rachel Feldberg, University of York
'From Crocodiles to the Structure of the Universe: Jane Ewbank's Engagement with the Natural World'

From examining a live crocodile, admiring a collection of dried plants, to visiting rural-industrial sites, hearing Charles Sylvester speak on the emerging science of 'Galvanism' and taking notes at lectures on the philosophy of chemistry given by Thomas Garnett and Henry Moyes, the Journal of Jane Ewbank evidences the breadth of her engagement with the natural world as part of a rich cultural life in York between 1803 and 1805, where she attended the theatre and concerts alongside her interest in science events.

Aged twenty six at the time of her Journal, Ewbank was the daughter of a well-connected York druggist and part of a network of thoughtful, philanthropic older, women. At a time when ideas of revolutionary chemistry and developments in earth science were unsettling the public imagination, this paper teases out the observational and reflective practices which spoke to her critical engagement with natural phenomena. It traces the role of sociability and public lectures in what for Ewbank was a conscious project of self-education, and examines the impact of print materials on her understanding of the idea of science. In particular, it considers the role of Ewbank's 'reading list' alongside the new opportunities afforded by subscription libraries, as she employed books to access established and contemporary thinking on natural philosophy and religion and to negotiate her own position. And it identifies how Ewbank's thirst for learning translated into the active transmission of knowledge to her ten year-old niece who accompanied her to a dramatic lecture on thunder and lightning.

Hannah Moss, National Trust
"Why, you have a fortune in your own fingers!": Art as Work in Margaret Holford's First Impressions; or, The Portrait (1801) and Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice (1813)
Jane Austen's decision to rename her working draft of Pride and Prejudice (1813) has widely been cited as a direct consequence of the publication of a Minerva Press novel with the title First Impressions in 1801 (Southam 1964, Tanner 1986, Mandal 2013). However, Margaret Holford's First Impressions (1801) has not received any critical attention beyond linking the title to that of Austen's manuscript for Pride and Prejudice. Holford's novel has been written off as a long, melodramatic tale not worthy of consideration alongside Burney, Edgeworth and Austen. However, the text's engagement with aesthetic theory makes a valid contribution to the debates surrounding the value of art and how it should be appraised – particularly in terms of a woman's access to an artistic education and ability to make judgements. The heroine's appraisal of a portrait is common trope in novels of the era, but First Impressions particularly stands out for having a whole chapter dedicated to the artist heroine viewing and copying the art housed in the picture gallery of the country house where she works.

The orphaned heroine, Maria Clive, blushes when Mrs Brown the housekeeper exclaims: "Why, you have a fortune in your own fingers!" (1801, 156), in response to seeing the miniature portrait Maria has skilfully copied from an original by Romney, and questions why Maria does not use her artistic talent to earn a living, rather than continue in the uncertain position she occupies in the household between companion and governess. When Maria has to flee the predatory advances of her suitor, her artwork is something she takes with her owing to its potential to be sold. Art is presented as a viable means for women to earn money when men cannot be depended upon. However, it is telling that Jane Austen's artist heroines never resort to selling their wares.

Whilst we do not know if Austen actually read First Impressions, the fact that both novels share a pivotal gallery scene has not previously been noted. This essay, therefore, seeks to analyse how these two authors use art in their work to describe the aesthetic appreciation of a prospective lover, and enter the debate as to whether art as an accomplishment or professional pursuit. Developing Elizabeth Neiman's argument that 'Minerva authors communicate with each other by way of constant and often subtle modifications on or infractions to popular formulas' (2015, 635), and that by borrowing 'popular literary conventions, they connect their writings to seminal literary and philosophical texts' (534), I propose that the conversation runs through the wider literary marketplace, with Austen

responding to these tropes – as seen with her own use of a gallery scene in Pride and Prejudice.

68	**New Directions in the History of the Book**
Room:	Hamlin Room 2 (Main Building)
Abstract:	Building upon a movement that sees the history of the book recovering from a perceived conservatism, 'New Directions in the History of the Book' showcases some of the finest new research undertaken at our northern universities, prompting a reconsideration of the radicalness of the discipline. This panel demonstrates the rich avenues of enquiry prompted by the intersection of bibliography with the 'sexy knowledge' of cultural studies, covering methodologies as varied as queer studies, feminist recovery, and regional histories in order to shed new light on the materials and personnel of the book trades and in the process platforming marginalised voices and approaches and telling important new stories about the histories of the material text.
Chair:	**Helen Williams**, Northumbria University
Speakers:	**Sam Bailey**, Newcastle University

Rough Trade: Printing Queer Sex in Eighteenth-Century Britain
Homosexual pornography was not part of a 'literary underground' in eighteenth-century Britain, rather, books depicting sex between were part of a far more porous 'grey market' which made up much of the conventional print trade. This paper draws on the methods of analytical bibliography to demonstrate that books depicting sex between men were printed alongside a great variety of legitimate books. In two case studies: the so-called 'Rochester's' Sodom (174-) and the mysterious Love Letters Between a Certain Late Nobleman and the Famous Mr. Wilson (1723), this paper will use typographic evidence as part of the study of textual attribution, to connect seemingly unrelated texts that were produced alongside each other, and to show that graphic design connected erotic, political and conventional books in ways that textual evidence alone cannot detect.

Beth DeBold, Newcastle University
"Hath putt herselfe an Apprentice:" two cousins and the Stationers' Company
This paper will trace the lives and careers of two apprentices bound to the Stationers' Company in the 1660s: the cousins Henry and Joanna Nye. For families seeking to make connections among London's mercantile elite, apprenticing a child with one of the livery companies could be a useful strategy. For those interested in gaining connections to the production and movement of information, an apprenticeship with the Stationers' Company was invaluable. While the majority of apprenticed youngsters would have been boys, a few girls were bound or served informal apprenticeships, as well. In August of 1666, Joanna Nye became the first young woman to be formally bound as an apprentice to the Stationers' Company. She followed in the footsteps of her elder cousin, Henry Nye, bound to a member of the Company in 1662. But while the path Henry would take as an apprentice and eventual freeman of the Company has been well described, Joanna's experience as a young woman affiliated with the Company has received less examination. This paper will draw on probate, marital, and Company records to examine the life of the first woman apprentice formally bound to the Stationers' Company, what this can tell us about its external relationships, and how considerations of gender can illuminate the different strategies that apprenticeship served.

Adam James Smith, York St Johns University
Printed in York and London: Christopher Wyvill's Yorkshire Freeholder (1870) and London's Interest in Regional Intrigue
Authored by Christopher Wyvill, chairman of the Yorkshire Association, The Yorkshire Freeholder ran for 20 weekly issues between January and May 1780. It

was also published and sold simultaneously in York and London. This essay-periodical playfully acknowledges its own attempts to invert the typical trajectory of syndicated news, treating London readers to updates from the city of York rather than vice versa. It generates much humour from the unsustainable fiscal challenges of reversing the flow of news in this way and makes frequent reference to the pleasures and pitfalls of attempting to entertain two geographically disparate audiences simultaneously. The paper's fictional editor, Lancerlot Lackrent Esq (a relative, it is implied, of fellow gentleman of Yorkshire, Tristram Shandy), explains from the outset his goal to build solidarity with London readers who will surely be moved to campaign for the forgotten rights of ill-treated Yorkshiremen of quality when they read his weekly updates. From them on, Wyvill spins a narrative about the paper's reception in London; one which fades from enthusiastic endorsement to apathy and disinterestedness, until eventually Lackrent announces the periodical's imminent demise. This paper will investigate the play between Lackrent's fictional account of the paper's dual audience and the remaining evidence of its actual history in print, arguing that Wyvill's metafictive account of the paper's own hubristic attempt to build solidarity with London Reformers was actually intended primarily to reassure his York-based readers of their own political self-sufficiency.

69	**Form and fold in long-eighteenth century letter writing**
Room:	Dobbs Room 1 (Main Building)
Abstract:	Social historians of letter writing have reinvigorated our understanding of correspondence as a networked practice, informed by both explicit and tacit knowledges. Susan Whyman has emphasised the significance of correspondents' literacy, and Eve Tavor Bannet, in Empire of Letters, their 'letteracy': 'the collection of different skills, values, and kinds of knowledge beyond mere literacy that were involved in achieving competency in the writing, reading and interpreting of letters'. What, how, when, and where correspondents wrote belong to a letter's meaning, and are manifest in its form. But what are the formal properties of epistolary writing - if indeed we are to think of letters as a form rather than a discourse? This panel seeks answers to this question from both on and off the epistolary page, treating 'form' as a issue at once of materiality or format, and rhetoric or genre. Papers on Hester Lynch Piozzi and Jane Austen, a range of amatory correspondents, from Dorothy Osborne to Charles Victor de Bonstetten, and John Keats, take a literary-critical approach to letter-writing, close-reading a small number of authors' letters, artfully and playfully composed. They also seek, within their close reading, signs of correspondents' tacit knowledge: of how to fold, time, and space a letter; of how it will be conveyed to its destination; of how to sustain relationships in the form of tiny gestures or little nothings.
Chair:	**Jennie Batchelor**, University of York
Speakers:	**Louise Curran**, University of Birmingham

'Notions and Facts in the Letters of Hester Lynch Piozzi and Jane Austen'
This paper examines the 'flight & fancy & nonsense' of Hester Lynch Piozzi's epistolary style and explores its influence on Jane Austen's letters. Austen quotes this phrase, taken from Piozzi's 1788 edition of Samuel Johnson's letters (part of her brother's library at Godmersham), in a letter of 1808, and at one point in 1799 desires to write the whole of one letter 'in [Piozzi's] stile'. A central concern of this paper is the distinction Austen makes between letters as vehicles for news and modes of formal, often mock-epistolic, experimentation, an aspect of letter-writing that also preoccupies both Piozzi and Johnson. 'I flatter myself I have constructed you a Smartish Letter, considering my want of Materials', Austen writes to her sister in 1807, 'But like my dear Dr Johnson I beleive I have dealt more in Notions than Facts.—' The correspondence of both writers plays around with 'notions' and 'facts' whilst registering a deep ambivalence about distinguishing too readily between the two. William McCarthy has described

Piozzi as an 'innovator' in her 'promotion of the personal letter to literary status'. I will end by considering the import of this statement in the light of these connections.

Sarah Haggarty, University of Cambridge
'Love letters, folds and time'
'The folding of the letter [...], its status as a, or even the, folded thing, can remain largely unspoken [...], axiomatic in an age before envelopes', writes Hester Lees-Jeffries in a recent issue of Inscriptions. Drawing on work by scholars of early-modern drama such as Lees-Jeffries, and inspired too by Jana Dambrogio and Daniel Starza Smith's work on 'letterlocking', this paper takes the long-eighteenth century love letter as exemplary of just such a 'folded thing'. How did writers actually fold and seal their love letters, and how were folded letters manipulated by senders, carriers, and recipients? What can folded letters tell us about epistolary space, presence and absence, and in particular, epistolary time? Finally, what does the folding and unfolding of love letters disclose of correspondents' understanding of privacy and secrecy, whether of epistolary writing, networked selves, or affection? This paper addresses these questions with reference to letters, both actual and fictional, by Dorothy Osborne, Philip Stanhope fourth Earl of Chesterfield, Hester Lynch Piozzi, Charles Victor de Bonstetten, and others.

Oliver Herford, University of Birmingham
'Insides and Outsides of Letters and Mail-Coaches: John Keats and the Materiality of Correspondence'
This paper considers John Keats as an early nineteenth-century writer whose letters stand in an unusually active and imaginative relation to the eighteenth-century technologies that sustained postal correspondence in Britain until the 1840s: the mail-coach as a means of conveyance for both letters and passengers, and the folding formats that allowed a sheet of letter paper to be sealed and posted without using a separate envelope or cover. These material conditions of the construction and delivery of letters across the long eighteenth century produce an unstable dynamic of inside and outside surfaces and spaces, which Keats in the 1810s recognises as a distinct affordance of epistolary form. This paper starts from a letter in which Keats draws a joking analogy between the letter itself (as a material object with an interior and an exterior) and the vehicle it will be carried in (which accommodated both inside and outside passengers), and it goes on to explore his sense of the inside/outside dichotomy in a series of collaborative letters, co-written with friends and often addressed to pairs of recipients – in which the material doubling of letter and mail-coach, and of inside and outside zones of the letter paper, releases in the text a doubling and redoubling of spatial-material analogies, personas and addressees, puns and allusions. In analysing these examples of epistolary play, the paper attempts to model a literary-critical approach to the three-dimensional materiality of the folded letter.

70	**Dirty hands: industrialism, environmentalism, war and slavery in long eighteenth-century literary and visual culture**
Room:	Dobbs Room 2 (Main Building)
Abstract:	This panel will reassess the emergence of the industrial revolution, uniquely born in and tied to eighteenth-century Britain, from the new perspective of environmentalism and the Anthropocene. We will reconsider the impact of 'dirty' or heavy industry on the artistic and literary imagination and the ways in which the tropes of violation of the landscape engage with current debates about carbon capitalism, global conflict, and the legacies of transatlantic slavery. Each speaker will present case studies from their current research, and topics will range across many genres and media including the georgic, topographical poetry and prints,

landscape painting, industrial tourism, eco-poetics, engineering, and the 'plantation picturesque'.

Chair:	**Ian Haywood**, University of Roehampton
Speakers:	**Ian Haywood**, University of Roehampton

"The 'apocalyptic' industrial landscape"

This paper will focus on a series of industrial scenes by the artist George Robertson. In 1788 the leading printsellers John and Josiah Boydell issued six prints by Robertson showing views of Coalbrookdale, the symbolic birthplace of the British industrial revolution and its iconic single-span Iron Bridge. The scenes are evenly split between picturesque natural beauty and sublime industrial horror, and can be regarded as one of the first attempts to visually choreograph pollution. I will argue that the key visual technique used to convey the disfigurement of the natural world was a literal imposition of 'apocalyptic' modernity (Klingender) onto existing topographical conventions. It is well-known that the industrial sublime became a new tourist spectacle and a highlight of innovative British art in the hands of Turner, but the focus on this foundational moment of industrial art, for which there was clearly a public demand, allows us to see (literally) the divisive contours of the new Anthropocenic culture which, I will argue, extended all the way to 'picturesque' Caribbean plantations.

Silvia Riccardi, Umeå University

"Branching forth": From Darwin's Industrial Sublime into Blake's Eternal Nature

In his Botanic Garden (1791), Erasmus Darwin captured "the state of science" in industrial Britain (Klingender). The work presents the beautiful and the sublime through "natural objects," "scientific theories," and "industrial processes," articulating aesthetics and the living world through the lens of industrial application. It includes illustrations by William Blake which notably push scientific knowledge toward the boundaries of mysticism. In Blake's illuminated books, "fibres of life" (Jerusalem) echo Darwin's "living fibre" and yet stigmatize natural perception and the deceptiveness of the "Corporeal Vegetative eye" (A Vision). This relation to Darwin's work is significant in the cultural response to scientific information which was circulating in London at the turn of the century. It prompts questions about the notion of 'nature' and the tension between creation and regeneration beyond materialism. This paper explores these concerns, defining Blake's forms of biomorphism as a symbiotic relation between humans and plants which crucially counterbalances the emergence of anthropocentric unease and bares an important connection to industrial art.

John Gardner, Anglia Ruskin University

'Thomas Love Peacock's "Iron Chickens" Coming Home'

Thomas Love Peacock compartmentalised work and play to an extent that borders on negative capability. Although described as a 'hater of modernity', Peacock was an indefatigable champion of iron steamships, and directly responsible for the first built in the 1830s. As well as commissioning four tugs at the start of the 1830s, Peacock commissioned six gunboats—his 'iron chickens'– all of which saw service in the First Opium War with China between 1839 to 1842. Living in his new 'age of iron', Peacock was certainly a gunboat diplomat through his work for the East India Company. As Sylva Norman writes, 'Few among those who study Peacock as a novelist, literary essayist, and poet have penetrated far into the specialized world he entered in the East India Company's service.' Working at the EIC from January 1819 until his retirement thirty-seven years later, Peacock promoted the latest industrial technology, commerce (to include opium), and war. I examine the reasons why Peacock, who has been called a 'liberal', became an originator of the iron gunboat.

71	Unveiling the Shadows of the Past: Crime and Criminal Procedures in Eighteenth Century Societies
Room:	MGA Lecture Room (Mary Gray Allen Building)
Chair:	**Declan Kavanagh**, University of Kent
Speakers:	**Chris Mounsey**, University of Winchester

Maria Edgeworth and the Jew Bill of 1753

In her novel Harrington (1817), Maria Edgeworth attempts to make good an accusation made against her by an American woman, of vilifying Jewish characters in her early novels. The plot revolves around the eponymous hero who overcomes early-learned antisemitism, to fall in love with a Jewish woman, and to desire to marry her so much that he will go against his family and friends. At the point of marriage, Harrington is informed that Berenice Montenero is in fact not Jewish.

This paper will address two major issues of historical interpretation which suggest Edgeworth was not thorough in her research for the novel. First, she argues that as a boy, Harrington supported his Tory MP father's attempt to quash the short-lived bill, which was intended to allow rich Jews to buy citizenship, in an act of antisemitism. Against this, William Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England, which published speeches from the debates of the Jew Bill, demonstrates that though the Tories wanted to quash the bill, it was for very different reasons than antisemitism. The Tories accused the Whig party of corruption, of extorting money from wealthy Jews who could gain citizenship by other non-financial means, and of spreading fake news of general civil unrest about the passing of the Jew Bill, in order that the Whigs could lead its revocation as quickly as possible, and probably before the Whig corruption was exposed.

Second, newspaper stories and advertisements demonstrate that a groundswell of antisemitism in England, was a myth. The story of the polish merchant Henry Simons, who was accused then exonerated of perjury (1752), suggests that unfair treatment of a Jew was not popular with the English public. Likewise, though the London Evening Post published a number of unpleasantly antisemitic letters at the time of the Jew Bill, the letters might be argued to be part of the obfuscation of the real motive for the bill, since the same newspaper published many advertisements of Jewish activities, not least the marriages of Jews to Gentiles.

Debbie Webber, University of Winchester

'Mischief dreaded': Fear and Emotion in Eighteenth-Century Crime Narratives

Violence was common in both political and public life in the eighteenth century and was 'as English as plum pudding', according to Roy Porter. Yet, instead of fearfully turning away from reading about murder, mayhem, and executions, it would seem people turned towards them. Philosopher Bernard Mandeville believed that 'Mischief dreaded' had nothing to do with actual danger but how one felt to be in danger. Was the emotion of fear contained in these crime narratives, and if so, how was it represented? Although they included elements of sermonizing and education, did they also contain facets of entertainment? There has been excellent research on the anxiety-inducing effects of eighteenth-century crime in print, but this only allows us a glimpse of the wealthy who were educated and rich enough to pen their thoughts in diaries and letters. While we cannot know what poorer people thought of such crime narratives, I propose to pivot instead away from readers and towards the words published, to examine what they offered. I explore the emotion of fear contained in tracts written about a notorious group of smugglers in Sussex, the Hawkhurst Gang, with particular focus on one text published in 1749 by a 'gentleman of Chichester'. In illustrating the many different forms of fear, consumers of crime narratives could discover

that such emotion depended on space, imagination, or proximity, and sometimes on contagion, a lesson we could learn from these texts today.

Anthony O'Connell, University of Winchester
The Seat of Power: An exploration of the growing significance of the jury in the 18th Century, reflected in their changing seating positions
During the 18th century the courts of law underwent rapid change, as they shifted away from the character-based trail system, towards an institute focused on higher standards, fact-based evidence, and professional legal representation. Against this change, a growing importance was placed on of the jury, and the importance of peers, and not professionals, being ultimately responsible for defendant's final verdict.

Therefore, this paper will consider the growing importance of the jury in legal proceedings, with an emphasis placed on their position within the Old Bailey's due process as the century progressed, and how this was reflected in their changing physical positioning, and treatment within the courtroom environment.

Stan Booth, University of Winchester
Medical mistake or medical negligence: It's all in the detail
Immanuel Kant noted that 'In law a man is guilty when he violates the rights of others. In ethics he is guilty if he only thinks of doing so.' Due to the positional authority, does this skew the perception and logic when gut instinct overrides what should be a more considered analysis of the patient, especially given the time constraints or emergency of a medical situation.

This paper will explore the complexities of the legal system in the 18th yesterday in relation to what could be perceived as medical negligence. As a century of Enlightenment, cultural and societal change was reflected in many areas of science and medicine. By exploring case studies, the paper will show how in the Eighteenth century innovation caused concern just as much as it does in the modern era. At the heart of this, lay increases and definitions in the characteristics of medical practice and education, which affected how a case of negligence is perceived and adjudicated. The paper will look at the rise of medical negligence cases and the legal responses in outcomes. With this comes a rise in ethical understanding and its impact on more formidable groups within society. By drawing connections between historical cases and modern medical malpractice. This paper will contribute to the broader understanding of contemporary issues in medical negligence.

13:30–14:00	CLOSING ROUNDTABLE
Room:	Maplethorpe Hall
Chair:	**Brycchan Carey**, BSECS President
Speakers:	To be announced

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:

CRITICKS EDITOR
Adam James Smith

CRITICKS SUBJECT EDITORS
Fine Art: Miriam Al Jamil
Media: Gráinne O'Hare
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Prizes, Awards and Funding

For full details of all BSECS awards, please visit: https://www.bsecs.org.uk/prizes-and-awards

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 are 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.

Full details of which can be found here: https://www.bsecs.org.uk/conferences/annual-conference/awards/

Winners for the 2024 prizes will be announced shortly before the conference.

The 2023 ECR winners were:
Ella Sbaraini
Philippe Bernhard Schmid
Amanda Pullan
Corrina Readioff
Karenza Sutton-Bennett **(K)**

The 2023 PGR winners were:
Emma   Mitchell **(C)**
Francesca Gardner **(B)**
Jacob Baxter
Ioannes Chountis
Helen Dallas
Elizabeth DeBold
Ella Harford
Sophie Johnson
Henry   Mason
Matthew Roberts
Beth Stewart
Alice Tartari
Joseph Turner
Fauve Vandenberghe
Clementine Garcenot
Edward Hardiman
Malcolm Hay
Julia Pohlmann
Luisa Signorelli
Leah Warriner-Wood
Lois Wignall

(C) = Committee Award

(K) = Keymer Award

(B) = Burden Award

<p style="text-align: center;">**The British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies President's Prize**</p>

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.

The winner of the 2023 President's Prize: Katie Noble, University of Oxford

<p style="text-align: center;">**The British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Research Fellowships**</p>

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: 1 February in any year

Past Winners
2023
Dr Sarah Wride, Tutor University of York, Words and Means: Maria Edgeworth and the Woman Writer as Legislator, 1795-1848

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 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.

Past Winners
2023
Dr Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland, Royal Conservatoire of Scotland**,** "They could drive me from that profession [and ...] take from me the ONLY INCOME I have': The case of Dorathea Jordan and #SheSaid'

2022
-Dr Natalee Garrett Open University/St Andrew's, '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, 'Princess Charlotte of Wales's Early Childhood on Shooter's Hill and her Patronage of the Visual Arts'

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
2023
Christopher Garibaldi, PhD Candidate, University of Cambridge, The Royal Palaces at Newmarket from 1609 to 1728

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

In partnership with the Birmingham Eighteenth-Century Centre, BSECS offers a fellowship of £400 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: 1 February 2024

Past winners
2023
Hannah Wilson, University of Cambridge

2022
Alice Rhodes, University of York, 'The Matter of Speaking: Bodies and Voices in Romantic Literature'

BSECS Career Development Award

A Career Development Fellowship of £1500 is intended to support a defined research output in the field of eighteenth-century studies. The application window opens 1 September and closes 1 February each year.

This annual scheme will offer up to two awards of £1500. This money 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:

Past Winners
2023
Dr Eleanor Greer
Dr Katie Snow
Dr Anna Jamieson
Dr Wendy McGlashan

2022
Dr Natalee Garrett
Dr Louise Ryland-Epton
Dr Robert Stearn

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