Wrong contre, or Vis a vis: natural accidents in practising Quadrille dancing (1817), Lewis Walpole Library

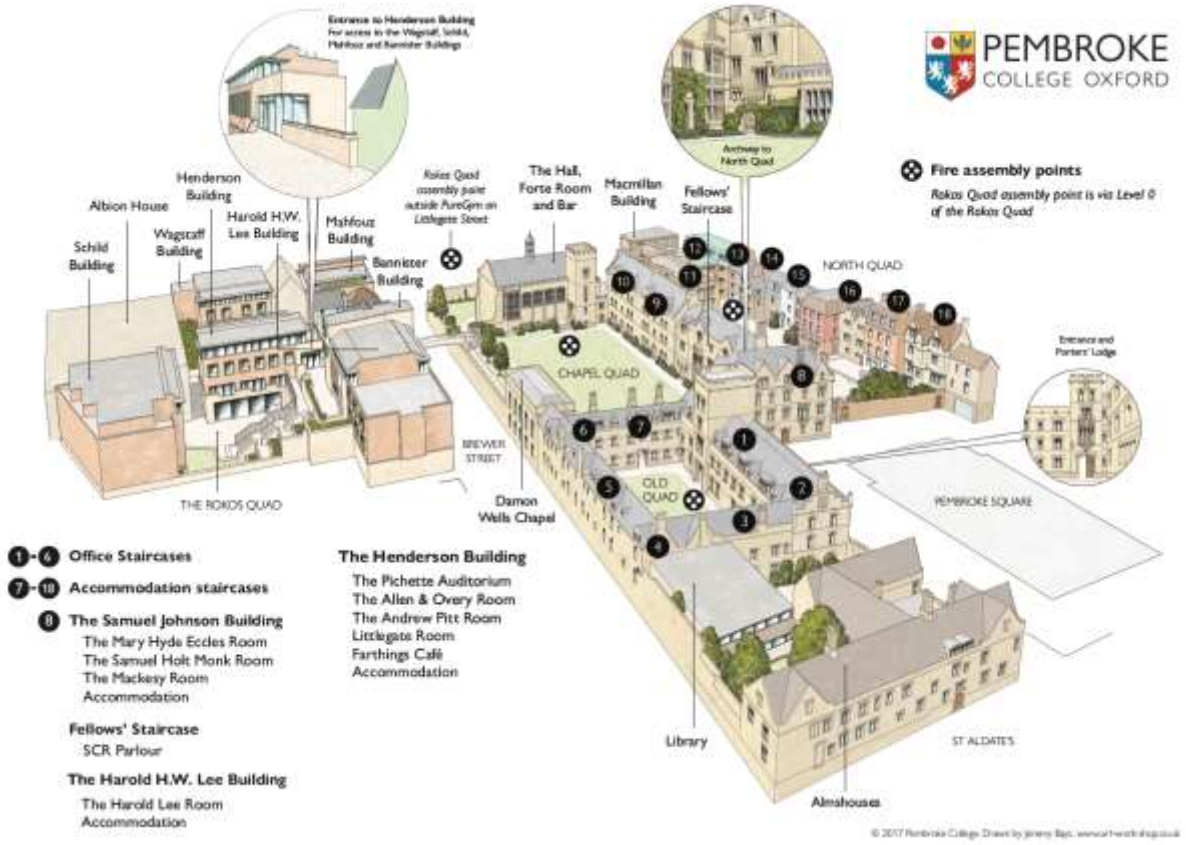
BSECS 54th Annual Conference:
'Bodies and Embodiment'

8-10 Jan 2025

Pembroke College, University of Oxford

Contents

Venue Map


PEMBROKE
COLLEGE OXFORD
Entrance to Henderson Building
For access to the Wagstaff, Schild, Mahfouz and Bannister Buildings
Archway to North Quad
Fire assembly points
Rokos Quad assembly point is via Level 0 of the Rokos Quad
Henderson Building
Albion House
Harold H.W. Lee Building
Wagstaff Building
Schild Building
Mahfouz Building
Bannister Building
Rokos Quad assembly point outside PureGym on Littlegate Street
The Hall, Forte Room and Bar
Macmillan Building
Fellows' Staircase
NORTH QUAD
CHAPEL QUAD
OLD QUAD
BREWER STREET
THE ROKOS QUAD
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The Henderson Building
The Pichette Auditorium
The Allen & Overy Room
The Andrew Pitt Room
Littlegate Room
Farthings Café
Accommodation

From the President

It is my great pleasure to welcome you to Pembroke College, Oxford, for our 54th Annual Conference! This is a new venue for BSECS, having been at St Hugh's College for many years, so it is an exciting departure for the Society. The new venue enables us to explore hybrid conferencing for the first time, which we are trialling this year, and which we plan to adopt more systematically in future. For regulars and new attendees alike, the venue will be unfamiliar at first, so BSECS Council colleagues and college staff will be on hand to help you find your way around. The BSECS conference is famously friendly and convivial, so hopefully Pembroke will soon feel like home, even if it is a long way from the Rose and Crown!

Our theme this year is 'Bodies and Embodiment'. Since I work on this area myself, I am particularly looking forward to discussions on this theme. Scholars of the body have often identified the eighteenth century as a key period of change. The scientific revolution ushered in new ways of thinking about human anatomy and bodily health, and these connected to wider debates within the Enlightenment about the relative statuses of different sexes, races and social classes. Medical and scientific theories of the body were therefore not politically neutral, but related to questions of power and exclusion. Of course, the body itself had long been a metaphor for the state or the social order, and these political ideas developed in new ways over the course of the century. As well as ideas and metaphors of the body, the eighteenth century contained real people with real bodies. These bodies walked, danced, slept, fought, worked and played, among countless other everyday functions: the question of how scholars today should study quotidian corporeal activities in the past in a vexed one, given that they were rarely written down. Eighteenth-century bodies were adorned with clothes, wigs, hats, shoes and other material articles: fashions often changed rapidly, and were an important part of the new consumer culture. This could result in a refined body, but bodies also did unrefined things such as farting, sweating and vomiting: bodily functions were frequently the focus of humour and satire. Many bodies were disabled or endured illness and injury: the century thought about such bodies in distinctive ways, and people in this period had particular medical and material strategies for living with disability. The question of bodies and embodiment therefore adds to our understanding of the century in myriad ways. And given that the eighteenth century was foundational to the modern world in so many respects, it also sheds light on current attitudes, beliefs and behaviours.

We are delighted that Prof David Turner from the University of Swansea will be delivering a keynote lecture on this theme. David is a leading historian of disability, and will open our conference with a lecture entitled 'Histories of Resistance: Disability, Agency and Embodiment in the Long Eighteenth Century'. David will also join us for our traditional closing roundtable at **14:30 on Friday**, where we reflect on the papers and discussions that have taken place at the conference.

David's keynote on the history of disability is especially welcome as the Society has a strong focus on equality, diversity and inclusion. We would encourage you to attend the listening event at **16:30 on Thursday**. This is led by our Vice President Dr Karen Lipsedge, and is an opportunity for our members to tell us about their experience of the Society, and to help us make it more accessible. Please also come along to the Annual General Meeting at **17:00 on Wednesday**. This is an opportunity for members to hear about the wide range of activities that the Society is involved in, and to offer feedback on how it can better work for you.

BSECS is proud to support postgraduates and early career researchers. We strive to make the conference as welcoming as possible, and this year we will again be running our successful mentoring scheme, and holding a reception sponsored by our publisher Wiley. Congratulations

to the recipients of our conference bursaries, which we will announce at the annual conference dinner on Thursday. This is one are one of the many ways in which we provide financial support for those starting out in their scholarly careers, so please do visit our website to find out about our prizes and awards.

We are also proud to publish an academic journal, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. As a member you receive four issues of the journal every year, and I hope that you enjoy reading it as much as I do. Please do consider submitting your work to the journal, and it is especially pleasing to see papers that I have heard at the conference appear in *JECS*. I would encourage you to discuss ideas for articles with the General Editor Prof Kate Tunstall, who will shortly be stepping down after five very successful years at the helm.

This is my first conference as President of BSECS. I have been involved in the Society since I was a postgraduate, when my PhD supervisor Prof Frank O'Gorman encouraged me to come to the conference, and I have been a regular ever since. BSECS has long been my scholarly home, and it is the greatest privilege of my career to be asked to lead it. This year has been busy as we have been preparing to move to a new conference venue, amongst many other things. It has been terrific to work with colleagues on the BSECS Council, and I never cease to be impressed by their dedication and professionalism. Particular thanks to our four PG/ECR representatives, who staged a very successful conference in Uppsala this year, and to the conference team who have worked so hard to make this event happen.

Finally, can I thank you for contributing to this conference! Whether as a speaker, a chair, a panellist or an appreciative member of the audience, it is the delegates that make the conference what it is. Enjoy what promises to be three excellent days, and I hope that you will return to Oxford for our conference next January.

Matthew McCormack
University of Northampton
President of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies

Chair Guidance (In-Person & Hybrid)

Thank you for agreeing to chair at the BSECS 54th Annual Conference: 'Bodies and Embodiment'. 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 if 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 & Hybrid panels

- 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.
- If you are experiencing technical issues, please reach out to a member of the conference organisation team or email conference.academic@bsecs.org.uk. We have dedicated tech support to assist with sessions.
- *For hybrid panels*: A member of the conference organisation team will be on hand to log in and start the Zoom session for online delegates.
    - If a delegate asks a question in the chatbox, you will be able to see this and they can ask the question after the presentation.

Starting the panel

- Explain how the session will run (i.e. questions after each paper or after all papers have been delivered).
- *For hybrid panels*: At the start of each hybrid session the chair will brief attendees about how the session will run and will give a quick etiquette reminder. They will read out the following script ahead of each session:
  Welcome to the session. Before I introduce the speakers, we would like to cover a few etiquette rules. All attendees will be muted for the whole session. This is to limit noise disturbances. If you would like to ask a question, please type it in the chatbox. If you are experiencing technical difficulties, please privately message [insert hosts name], who will be able to assist you.
- 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. **Panellists should be presenting 15-minute papers.** 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.
- *For hybrid panels*: We want to encourage as much discussion as possible, but this is a little trickier to manage in Zoom. Attendees can type a question in the chat box. The chair will then ask on their behalf. If additional clarification is needed, chairs may invite the attendee to speak. Once the speaker has responded, the chair will mute the attendee again.

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.

Guide for Delegates

Venue & Accessibility:

- Pembroke College | Access Guide
- One of Pembroke's main lifts, the Hall Lift [connecting Bar, Hall, Forte Room] and Chapel Quad Lift [allowing disabled access across the bridge], will not be operational during the BSECS Conference.
- Room accessibility:
  - Henderson Building (Rokos Quad)
    - Pichette Auditorium – Ground floor, accessible
    - Harold Lee Room – First floor, Henderson Lift access unaffected
    - Allen & Overy Room – First floor, Henderson Lift access unaffected
    - Andrew Pitt Room – First floor, Henderson Lift access unaffected
    - Littlegate Room – First floor, Henderson Lift access unaffected
  - Samuel Johnson Building (Chapel Quad)
    - Mary Hyde Eccles Room – Ground floor, access unaffected
    - Mackesy Room – accessed via stairs
  - Fellows' Staircase (Chapel Quad)
    - SCR Parlour - Ground floor, accessed by two steps or ramp
  - Dining Hall and Forte Room, Dining Hall Building (Chapel Quad) – accessible via Hall Lift
  - Chapel (Chapel Quad) – step-free access
- In addition to the Dining Hall, breakfast and lunch will be offered in Farthings Café (an accessible space in the Henderson Building) for those wanting a quieter space to eat.
- Moving between Rokos Quad and Chapel Quad between panel sessions will require delegates with accessibility needs to exit via the Porter's Lodge and go around to the Schild Gate. We have scheduled a 10-minute break between sessions to give delegates time to move between rooms in response to last year's Listening Event feedback. Pembroke College student helpers will be in place to help with wayfinding and getting between buildings. A video of the accessible route can be found here: https://we.tl/t-2VGJ2MFKAw
- The Pichette Auditorium, Harold Lee Room, Mary Hyde Eccles Room, and Allen & Overy, Andrew Pitt, and Littlegate seminar rooms have hearing induction loops.
- Participants in the BSECS Mentoring Scheme can meet in Farthings Café.
- eduroam is available at Pembroke College.
- The Pembroke College Chapel will be the venue for the annual conference concert on Thursday evening. The space was selected for its eighteenth-century history and acoustics, and is an inclusive space welcoming people of all faiths or none.

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.
- This year we had an overwhelmingly positive response to our conference theme, so much so that we have a much higher number of submissions. To this end, we have maximised the number of BSECS members to share their research by expanding panel capacity to four (80-minute sessions). **This means that we ask panellists to prepare papers that are 15 minutes in length**, so that there is plenty of time for discussion afterwards. There are some sessions with panels of three presenters, but these have been accommodated in shorter time slots (65-minute slots), also requiring speakers to present 15-minute papers.

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 avoid using coloured paper. Handouts should be briefly described orally or read aloud.
- Accessibility copies of papers may be shared in advance through the BSECS online platform, as links or pdf files. BSECS 2025 ACCESS COPIES - Dropbox
- 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.

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.

Audiences and Networking:

- Not all disability is visible.
- It is okay to leave and come back at any point. If you need to do so, just ensure to keep noise to a minimum.
- Someone who may want to speak with you might need to stay seated - that doesn't mean they are not available for networking.
- Temperature in the building may vary. Make sure to have plenty of water with you and move around to find a comfortable spot in the venue as required.
- If there are faulty flashing lights in the room, these will be turned off.
- You are welcome to stay for the whole event, but you don't need to attend every session.
- We kindly ask all attendees to use inclusive language throughout the event. This includes adopting anti-racist, non-sexist, and non-discriminatory terms that recognise and respect the diversity of participants.

Other Opportunities:

- Zack White (University of Portsmouth), host of the Napoleonic Wars Podcast, will be available during coffee break to 'vox-pop' interested conference delegates. This is always done on a 'no-obligation' basis, but essentially constitutes spending c. 5 minutes talking about a delegate's research. It's a fast-paced way to bring a range of brilliant delegates and their exciting research to the podcast's audience of 2,000 individuals who tune in each week. He will have a table set up in the Harold Lee Room during the coffee breaks.
- Pembroke College's Archivist and Librarian have put together a rare book/document display from the eighteenth century for BSECS 2025.
- Tag us in your conference memories on Bluesky at @bsecs.bsky.social with #BSECS2025

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 officer: Karen Lipsedge k.lipsedge@kingston.ac.uk.

BSECS
British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies

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/RW3sqz5VUt. 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 12 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 Harold Lee Room (Henderson Building).

Johns Hopkins University Press
Manchester University Press
Wordsworth Grasmere
Brepols Publishers
Adam Matthews Digital
Boydell and Brewer
Liverpool University Press

BSECS 54th Annual Conference: 'Bodies and Embodiment'
8th-10th Jan 2025
Pembroke College, University of Oxford
Long Programme

WEDNESDAY 8 JANUARY	
8:30-9:30	Coffee and Registration (Henderson Building, Ground Floor)
09:30–9:45	WELCOME ADDRESS, Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building) **Matthew McCormack**, BSECS President

9:45-11:00	PLENARY LECTURE: **Histories of Resistance: Disability, Agency and Embodiment in the Long Eighteenth Century**
Room:	Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building) ** Overflow space will be available in the Allen & Overy Room.
Chair:	**Matthew McCormack**, BSECS President
Speaker:	**David Turner**, Swansea University
Abstract:	Disabled people's political activism is often assumed to be a product of the modern age, but for centuries people with physical, sensory and intellectual impairments have found ways to push back against negative societal framings of bodily difference and advocate for their needs. This paper explores the manifold dimensions of 'disabled' people's resistance in Britain from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Using sources ranging from Poor Law petitions to autobiographies and works of history and biography, it examines the strategies by which people with impairments from a range of social backgrounds have represented their experiences, claimed community with people in similar situations, and asserted a moral right to compassionate treatment by others in society. The paper provides an overview of developments while asking questions about how we frame disabled people's political activism over the longue durée, how pre-modern perspectives can deepen our understanding of disabled people's histories, and how we can develop more inclusive eighteenth-century studies.

11:10:12:30	WEDNESDAY SESSION I
1	**Reading Skins: Approaching Appearances in Eighteenth-Century Studies Roundtable**
Room:	Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building)
Abstract:	This roundtable on the different and diverse ways of 'reading' the skin in the long eighteenth century (1660–1830) aims to explore and understand the importance of physical appearances under the theme of Bodies and Embodiment. The speakers will discuss various interpretations of the skin within eighteenth-century literature and culture, including conceptualisations of beauty, ageing, disease and health, satire, as well as disability, racial discrimination and femininity. Following the individual speaker's presentations, the roundtable will draw out commonalities and open-up the discussion on how to approach appearances, and particularly those associated with marginalised groups, within eighteenth-century studies, moving into broader collaborative discussion with the audience. The intention of this roundtable is to underscore the importance of reading skin as a means of understanding broader social and cultural conceptions concerning race, gender, bodies and health, and how they intersect and circulate within eighteenth-century Britain, and beyond.
Chair:	**Gillian Williamson**, Independent Scholar
Speakers:	**Katie Aske**, Edinburgh Napier University **Karen Lipsedge**, Kingston University **Katie Snow**, University College Dublin **Victoria Barnett-Woods**, Washington College **Margarette Lincoln**, National Maritime Museum

2 **The Politics of Visual and Print Culture**
Room: Allen & Overy Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Noelle Gallagher**, University of Manchester
Speakers: **Matthew McCormack**, University of Northampton
Stick to your last: shoemakers and the Georgian satirical print
Shoemakers and cobblers were frequently depicted in British visual satire in the Georgian period. While to a certain extent this provides a visual record of the shoe trades, this paper explores the ways in which the medium of the satirical print used the figure of the shoemaker to make social and political points. A common expression from the time was "shoemaker, stick to your last", suggesting that one should not venture opinions on matters beyond one's sphere of expertise. This maxim was applied to shoemakers themselves, who had a reputation for learning and for involvement in radical politics. The depiction of shoemakers in political situations such as discussion groups or election contests cast doubt on their ability to participate meaningfully in politics, suggesting that they should indeed stick to what they know. The paper examines whether this had conservative implications, at a time when political reformers were seeking to redraw the boundaries of citizenship.

Freya Walker, University of Glasgow
Unsettling Bodies: Race, Sexuality, and Colonial Anxiety in George Cruikshank's 'Middling Heat in the West Indies' (1817)
This paper investigates the representation of interracial unions and their offspring in Middling Heat in the West Indies (1817), a visual satire by George Cruikshank. Published shortly after the abolition of the British transatlantic slave trade, this print provides a vivid reflection of ongoing anxieties surrounding race, sexuality, and British identity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. While satirical, the image reveals deep-rooted societal concerns about the consequences of racial mixing, particularly in the context of Britain's colonial territories. By focusing on the intersections of race, gender, climate, and social hierarchy, this paper seeks to unpack the layers of meaning within the print and situate it within the broader framework of British visual and material culture.
A central theme of this work is the depiction of Black male bodies and their implied relationships with white women, symbolising fears of miscegenation and challenging the boundaries of racial purity. Cruikshank's caricature of Black men as hypersexualized figures speaks to broader racial stereotypes and the moral panic that surrounded interracial unions in British society. Yet, the satire's emphasis on white women's bodies—especially their flushed complexions and stylised riding habits—introduces another dimension to the piece, suggesting concerns not only about racial mixing but also about white women's sensuality and their susceptibility to the "exotic" and "dangerous" climate of the colonies. The ambiguous depiction of ruddy cheeks, whether a result of the oppressive heat or exaggerated makeup, evokes questions about health, morality, and the effects of the colonial environment on British women. Here, the body becomes a site of contested meanings, where race, climate, and social status intertwine. Drawing on gossip studies, critical race theory, and visual satire analysis, this paper will explore how the print reflects both overt and subtle anxieties regarding white women's sexuality and the possible consequences of mixed racial unions. While the print does not overtly focus on offspring, the implications of these unions reverberate through the work, signalling deep concerns about racial purity and British identity post-abolition. This paper also situates Middling Heat in the West Indies within the context of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century debates on climate and corporeality. Drawing on works by Jan Golinski and Vladimir Janković, as well as the art historical scholarship of Angela Rosenthal and Caroline Palmer, it will investigate how the print reflects contemporary theories about climate's impact on the body, particularly female bodies. The juxtaposition of the refined, aristocratic manners of the plantocracy with the brutal realities of the plantation labor system complicates the image, highlighting the tension

between maintaining British "civilization" and confronting the moral and physical decay associated with colonial life.
Ultimately, this paper argues that the satire is not just a humorous commentary but a complex reflection of British fears about race, climate, and the integrity of the body—both individual and institutional. Its publication in December 1817, following abolition, invites us to consider why anxieties about interracial unions and the moral health of the empire persisted well into the post-slave trade era, and what this reveals about British society's ongoing struggle to reconcile its colonial practices with its ideals of national identity.

Natalee Garrett, The Open University
Embodying Queenship: Queen Charlotte in Visual Culture, 1761-1818
Elena Woodacre has argued that global queenship studies can be explored through three core areas of inquiry: "family", "rule", and "image." This paper examines the "image" or visual representations of Queen Charlotte of Great Britain (1744-1818), in both "fine" art and "popular" art. The images discussed will reflect the many facets that made up Charlotte's identity as queen consort: a patroness, a mother, an emblematic figure, and at times, a villainess.
The positive aspects of Queen Charlotte's identity were consciously shaped in official portraits by artists including Johan Zoffany, Benjamin West, and Thomas Gainsborough. Despite the regal grandeur evident in many of their official portraits, Queen Charlotte and George III were often laughingly referred to as 'Farmer George and his wife' in the British press and in satirical prints. This humble image was mirrored by many of Queen Charlotte's portraits, which included traditional motifs of royal portraiture blended with a more domesticated image of the royal family. For example, Benjamin West's 1779 portrait of Queen Charlotte depicts her standing beside her queenly regalia, but with her thirteen young children playing harmoniously in a rural tableau in the background. This paper will consider how far Queen Charlotte's portraits contributed to what Marilyn Morris has called a domesticated, "middle-class" image of the British monarchy in the late Georgian period. The 14ncreaseing power of Parliament gradually reduced the political clout of the monarchy in late eighteenth-century Britain, and in Queen Charlotte's portraits, it is possible to see the evolution of a new, "modern" form of royalty centred on ideals of Christian morality and familial devotion.
In addition to considering these "official" images of Queen Charlotte, the paper will also examine "popular" images such as engravings and satirical prints which circulated in urban centres across Britain. These "popular" images offer drastically different representations of the queen consort; by mocking her supposed parsimony and alleged political interference they challenged the idealised queenly image displayed in her official portraits. By comparing "official" and "popular" visual culture like this, it is possible to appreciate the difficulty queen consorts faced in managing their public image in this era. As someone who acted as queen consort for fifty-seven years, visual representations of Queen Charlotte are numerous, and they provide a valuable insight into the position of royal women in eighteenth-century Britain.

Ella Harford, Swansea University
The Scandalous Female Body in Print Culture
The female body became an increasing source of scrutiny during the long eighteenth century. The many works of historians on sex and gender such as Randolph Trumbach's Sex and the Gender Revolution (1998), David Turner's Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex and Civility in England, 1660-1740 (2002) and Faramerz Dabhoiwala's The Origins of Sex: A History of the First Sexual Revolution (2012) testifies to a growing discourse about sex amongst men and women who lived during the eighteenth century. An explosion of printed materials regarding sex and sexuality from the mid eighteenth century meant that elite women increasingly featured in printed publications. Satirical prints which depicted elite adulterous women such as Seymour

Worsley, Georgiana Cavendish and Queen Caroline provided a public platform for them to be mocked and ridiculed. Other prints which showcased the adultery of women emphasised the victimisation of the cuckolded husband. This paper will analyse how the bodies of adulterous women were represented in in a variety of print culture between 1770 and 1830. It will compare the idealised female body and behaviour in conduct literature and novels to depictions of the adulterous woman in the press. The ways in which the female body is portrayed in newspapers and periodicals can allow us to see how these materials use discursive techniques to represent adultery as fictitious accounts do. The adulterous female body became a site of contested representation. While some artists such as Isaac Cruikshank and James Gillray mocked elite women for adultery in their caricatures, other prints showed women as a victim of the male seducer. The undesired adulterous behaviour of elite women depicted in prints cast an unrefined representation of elite bodies compared to the refined body of the virtuous young lady presented in conduct literature and novels. By comparing conduct literature and novels with prints, my paper will demonstrate how the adulterous female body could be read against the grain.

3 **Complicating Maternal Bodies and Motherhood**
Room: Andrew Pitt Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Elizabeth Schlappa**, Newcastle University
Speakers: **Aditi Upmanyu**, University of Oxford

The Maternal Body on Display in the Late Eighteenth-Century Women's Novels: Amelia Opie, Mary Robinson, and Charlotte Smith

As citizenship, patriotism and national identity gained ethical currency in the long eighteenth century, maternity became vested with political meaning as well. Mothers were expected to impart moral instruction to the child and embody model conduct which in turn would a generation of model citizens. Toni Bowers analyses the constructions of maternity in literature and culture and how these consolidated an increasingly restrictive definition of 'virtuous maternity'. By the 1790s, the French Revolution and its ideals influenced how women novelists (re)imagined maternity and mother-child relationships. My paper examines how three progressive women novelists, Amelia Opie, Marie Robinson, and Charlotte Smith, re-script the maternal body in their fiction, drawing from their political views of the Revolution.

I argue that these women novelists define maternity and expand its scope beyond the biological and the legitimate to explore surrogate, adoptive, unwed maternities and other models of alternative mothering. The female body becomes an important marker to signal this evolution of the mother from a domesticated and reproductive body to one that is more visibly and transgressively in the public domain. The mother becomes a professional writer, artist, or actress and earns an income for survival while performing caregiving duties. Alternatively, she is forcibly displaced, incarcerated, or confined and separated from the child. Therefore, the maternal body is rendered vulnerable and is simultaneously liberated by simply existing outside the confines of domesticity.

While physical mobility becomes a significant marker of a redefined maternal body, the body further becomes 'seen' through a display of physical signs of affection such as through the evocative images of the child on the mother's bosom, the daughter throwing herself on the mother's neck, the child's physical proximity to the mother, and the physical resemblance between the mother and the child. These signs often articulate not just love and tenderness but also maternal trauma arising from separation from the child, economic instability, and the absence of socio-political autonomy these women experience as mothers and because of their 'deviant' maternal condition. Lastly, post-partum thoughts of bodily self-harm, 'self-murder', and suicide become common as the heroine negotiates her maternal identity whilst experiencing social, political and other forms of disenfranchisement and are embedded in the narratives I will examine in my paper.

Clementine Garcenot, University of York

Maternal Bodies: childbearing and childrearing in a time of Revolution (1789-1799)
This paper will address the strain that the French Revolution put on aristocratic women's bodies, and especially on their reproductive health. From 1789 until their emigration a few years later, female aristocrats witnessed traumatic scenes and were the victims of violence, enduring starvation and injury. Thus, they were in a constant state of emotional distress and physical discomfort. Miscarriages, premature births and infant mortality were frequent occurrences. Additionally, these circumstances impaired their ability to breastfeed. This paper will examine how these multiple issues transformed these women's experience of motherhood into one characterised by hardship and tragedy.
This paper will consist in a literary analysis of two memoirs, the marquise de la Rochejaquelein's Memoirs (written in 1799) and the marquise de la Tour du Pin's Journal of a Fifty-Year Old Woman (written in 1820). These works of life-writing portray the national events as complicating their authors' attempts at establishing a healthy family life. At the beginning of the Revolution, both women were in their early adulthood and starting a family. However, Tour du Pin went into hiding for months during the Terror in Bordeaux (1793-1794), and Rochejaquelein followed the royalist army on the frontlines during the Vendean War (1793-1796). I will investigate their accounts of their struggle to carry babies to term and keep them alive after their birth, resulting in differing perceptions of the role of a mother. Although critics and historians have studied family life in the Ancien Régime and nineteenth century contexts, the revolutionary era has been underdiscussed. I bring these texts together for the first time, using an interdisciplinary approach by treating this text for both their literary and historical value, as well as engaging in cross-national scholarly debates.

Chandini Jaswal, Panjab University
Becoming 'Maryam': Mothering in the Early Mughal World — Understanding the Complexities of Motherhood in the Mughal Court Politics by Analysing Visual Culture
In the annals of Mughal history, women are conspicuously absent. Anonymised in court histories as the Pardeh-gīyan ("Veiled ones of the Kingdom") and the 'Ismat qubāb ("Cupolas of Chastity") — women of the Mughal harem were acknowledged as individuals only when they became "Royal Mothers" to sons. Referred to only by their pious, maternal titles: Marẏam Mākanī ("Mary of the World"), Marẏam uz-Zamānī ("Mary of the Age") — the court histories stripped these women of their identity, silencing their political aspiration.
In reality, however, it was often only through motherhood that royal women were guaranteed power. A Mughal Mother, if successful in raising a strong emperor candidate, could become a counsellor, an arbitrator, a trader, a patron, and a diplomat in the court.
'Mothering' not only made the biological mothers powerful, it also elevated her cohort: milk mothers, governesses, and even stepmothers. The public display of their power through elaborate ceremonies — such as the son's birth, circumcision, marriage, and coronation — served as performative acts that reinforced their authority and the legitimacy of their sons.
Ultimately, the obsession with being acknowledged as the future emperor's caretaker became so intense in the Mughal world that childless co-wives with 'strong lineage' would not only adopt other royal children of a 'lesser' co-wife but even adopt grandsons born in the family.
This research examines the ways in which motherhood was embodied in the Mughal world — beginning with a discussion on depiction of "pious mothers" in Mughal reproductions of "Mary and Child", the elaborate ceremonies organised by the harem — - highlighting the strategic use of motherhood in presenting power and authority in Mughal court. Additionally, it also explores how ethnic lineages and unconventional mothers (viz. milk-mothers, mothers-in-law) rose to power, contributing to the political culture of the Mughal court.

Rebecca Ford, University of Nottingham

Writing across the generations: Charlotte Sophie Countess Bentinck, and Sophia Hawkins Whitshed

This paper considers the presence of bodily experiences in the correspondence between Charlotte Sophie, Countess Bentinck (1715-1800), and her granddaughter, Sophia Hawkins Whitshed, née Bentinck (1765-1852). Afgter an unhappy marriage and early separation from her husband, Charlotte Sophie lost contact with her two children, but in the final ten years of her life, while settled in Hamburg, she developed a close epistolary relationship with her grandchildren, and especially with her granddaughter Sophia, who was initially travelling in Europe before marriage, motherhood and the the revolutionary wars required her to return to England. Although Charlotte Sophie and Sophia do not meet in person until several years into their correspondence, and then for only a few weeks, their epistolary relationship is quickly figured through metaphors of the (animal) body; Charlotte Sophie nicknames Sophia 'la petite chatte', and describes Sophia's relationships with her husband and with others, including Charlotte Sophie herself, in terms of Sophia's deployment of her 'patte de velours'.

Moreover, this correspondence, marked as it is by Charlotte Sophie's old age and illness, and the death of numerous friends and relatives, also engages with the embodied experience of life across the generations. Despite – or perhaps because of – the fact that Charlotte Sophie and Sophia rarely meet in person, and for much of the correspondence are writing across a significant geographical distances, physical bodily experiences – both their own, and those of others – are a recurrent topic of conversation throughout the correspondence. From discussions of pregnancy, childbirth and breastfeeding, through accident and illness, to death and its effects on the living, I argue that the correspondent's accounts of, and discussion of, these experiences are key to the development of their relationship across the non-physical 'space' of the correspondence.

4 **Traveling Bodies**

Room: Littlegate Room (Henderson Building)

Chair: **Ben Jackson**, University of Manchester

Speakers: **Alun Withey**, University of Exeter

The Motion of the Coach: Motion sickness and land travel in the Eighteenth Century

In a recent article Hannah Holmberg highlighted the need for more attention to be paid to the minutiae of travel; the mundane, quotidian and everyday as well as the broad themes and grand narratives. One element of the praxis of travel in the past that has so far attracted little study- either in travel or medical history – is that of motion sickness. Whilst some attention has been paid towards seasickness, the ways in which pre-modern travellers over land, and on specific forms of transport, coped with queasiness on the road remains largely overlooked. We therefore know little about its supposed causes or medical conceptions, potential remedies or the extent to which the likelihood of discomfort and vomiting in any way acted to deter prospective travellers.

This paper explores the ways in which motion sickness on land, and particularly in coach and carriage travel, was understood and experienced in the eighteenth century. As it will argue, although the concept of 'travel sickness' did not exist in its modern form, there was widespread acknowledgement that different kinds of motion could upset the body's delicate balance. Various explanations were put forward as to the specific causes of sickness on the move, including 'swimmings' in the head, excitement of the humours and the effects of violent movements or sitting backwards in coaches. Whilst not in large numbers, suggested remedies for motion sickness appeared occasionally in medical literature, advertisements and popular/proprietary medicines.

Drawing on a wide range of sources including medical texts, popular culture and personal records, this paper both offers a new dimension to our understanding of the experience of pre-modern travel, and historicises what was an uncomfortable and troubling condition.

Amanda Westcott, University of Oxford

The Royal Tour of 1789: Travelling Bodies at the Court of George III

Following his first serious illness and the Regency Crisis of 1789, King George III (1760-1820) embarked upon a major tour of the West Country, travelling through Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall for nearly three months. Far from a simple, convalescent retreat to the seaside at Weymouth, this tour in many ways emulated an early modern royal progress and reassembled an exclusive, aristocratic court circle in venues alternative to London and the ceremonial center at St. James's Palace. Courtier country houses were principal among these venues, as royal travel also helped to reconcile the king to the ruling classes following a period of critical instability for his rule. Though scholarship has regularly highlighted George's increasing public appeal while he travelled in 1789, this paper instead seeks to underscore the socio-political ramifications of the king's illness and subsequent recovery within the court itself. What did recovery involve for the "royal body" at this time, both physically and politically? Moreover, what was the effect of travel on the "body" of the court and the many members it encompassed? The principal sources examined for this study include the correspondence and memoirs of courtier families themselves, many of whom held positions in the king and queen's separate households and hosted the royal party at their country houses. The 1789 royal tour was not only an opportunity for aristocratic courtiers to witness George's restoration to health and ensuing popularity among his subjects but also to support certain elements of his kingship, particularly his martial interests. While touring, for example, the king sailed aboard warships with his attendants and oversaw a grand naval review in Plymouth Sound alongside high-ranking military officers. Likewise, the court circle that George convened during this tour upheld a strict hierarchy of bodies as it placed an exacting emphasis on social rank in order to bolster his position and corresponding "dignity" as king. Royal travel thus magnified the king's efforts during a period of recovery and reconciliation among his court, highlighting the organization of this travelling body and the loyalties of aristocratic bodies within it.

Wendy McGlashan, Independent Scholar

'The People stink so horribly of Garlick that they make one sick': Henry William Bunbury and the embodiment of marketable Grand Tour stereotypes

In 1769, Henry William Bunbury (1750-1811), the second son of Rev. Sir William Bunbury, 5th Baronet, vicar of Mildenhall, Suffolk, embarked on the Grand Tour. Armed with travel books including Joseph Addison's Remarks on Several Parts of Italy (1705), Thomas Nugent's The Grand Tour (1749), John George Keysler's Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy and Lorrain (1760), and Daniel Webb's Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting (1760), Bunbury journeyed through France and Italy, departing from Paris that June. After sailing in a Felucca from Antibes to Nice, he complained in his journal 'in the most Southern parts of France, at Nice & Genoa, the People stink so horribly of Garlick that they make one sick & in their Inns you are tormented with bugs, fleas & knats', adding we 'should have been tempted to live in our boat, had we not, by good luck, met with a Lady . . . who was kind enough to lend her House', and at an inn at the top of the Apennines, 'the Beds having the appearance of being well stock'd with Vermin', Bunbury chose to sleep in his Chaise. At Pietramala, he met with Richard Dalton, artist, picture-dealer and librarian to George III, and at Florence, both Bunbury and Dalton had sat to caricature portraits by the British artist Thomas Patch.

Beginning with analysis of Bunbury's journals, this paper will explore his formative engagement with existing travel writing. It will then show how, on his return to England in 1770, Bunbury exploited his elite social networks to disseminate Grand Tour stereotypes in a marketable visual form: working with established London publishers such as Matthew and Mary Darly to produce etched caricatures, typified by his French Peasant – a character he humorously embodied at a Masquerade at the Haymarket Opera-House, appearing as 'a French woman in wooden shoes' – and exhibiting his comic genre scene La Cuisine de la Poste at the prestigious Royal Academy exhibition.

Catherine Jones, University of Aberdeen
Foreigners in Muscovy and the Hetmanate in a Time of War and Popular Revolt (c. 1655-c. 1721)
Studies of early modern travel have often focused on the Grand Tour, a journey undertaken by young gentlemen from northern Europe to southern Europe, with the art and antiquities of Italy, especially Rome, as its culmination. More recently, scholars have brought to light broader patterns of travel undertaken by people of more varied backgrounds, and with different motivations: for example, tours to the German courts and Vienna that might be intertwined with, or take place independently of, the Italian itinerary; travels in Russia, undertaken by men in military or other forms of service; or tours of Scandinavian countries, undertaken by enlightened radicals and others.
This paper examines the art and inner lives of travel, not only for elites, but also for less exalted individuals seeking to further their education or find work abroad. I focus on the diary of Patrick Gordon (1635-1699), Scottish mercenary officer in Russian service from 1661 to 1699, who was based in Ukraine for part of the 1670s and 1680s; the journal of Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655-1727), Swedish scholar and diplomat, who travelled to Muscovy in 1684 as a member of a Swedish embassy to Moscow, and who remained in the country until 1687 to study the Russian language and Russian affairs; and the correspondence of Robert Areskine (1677-1718), Scottish doctor in Russian service from 1704 to 1718, chief physician to Peter I, and President of the Apothecaries' (later Medical) Chancery.
The life-writing of Gordon, Sparwenfeld, and Areskine is generally categorised in Western European and Russian history and historiography under the heading of 'foreign' accounts of Russia. However, as Paul Bushkovitch notes, this classification 'ignores the radical differences among the foreigners' as well as 'the unique features of the records of foreigners who to a greater or lesser degree integrated themselves into Russian life'. This paper analyses the modes of description and (self-)representation of Gordon, Sparwenfeld, and Areskine; their local and international networks; and the insight their writing provides into knowledge circulation in Muscovy, the Hetmanate, and beyond in an age of war and popular revolt.

5
Room: Mary Hyde Eccles Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Chair: **Ros Ballaster**, University of Oxford
Speakers: **Anne Lister (1791-1840)**

Stephen Turton, University of Oxford
Anne Lister's Bodily Philology
Language was an important tool in Anne Lister's understanding and fashioning of her sexual and corporeal self. In her private papers, she collected anatomical and physiological words from dictionaries, she mused on the etymologies of sexual terms, and she coined her own expressions to talk about her body and those of her lovers. As such, Lister's language practices might be read as a 'queer philology' in more than one sense—'queer' being the name that Lister habitually gave to her and her partners' genitals. This paper argues for the importance of Lister's archive in the study of historical 'sex lives' as recently articulated by Joseph Gamble: the personal infrastructures of knowledge and affect through which individuals come to inhabit particular bodies, and which collectively underlie a society's broader discursive structures of sexuality, race, and gender. At the same time, Lister's writings show how a single sex life can circumvent and reinvent the discursive ordering of its world to make sense of its emotions and experiences in novel ways.

Charley Matthews, University of Edinburgh & University of Stirling
"Painful thinking wears our clay": body and mind in the literary life of Anne Lister
Anne Lister was a keen, prolific, and varied reader, and the diaries record what, where, and for how long they read books and periodicals, and what they thought of these textual encounters. Lister's writing intersperses discussion of their romantic life with quotes from Rousseau and biblical criticism, they juxtapose accounts of masturbation

with problems of classical translation, and they turn to treatises on agriculture and veterinary dictionaries to understand how to run their estate and care for their beloved horses. This tension between body and mind, between the immanent and the transcendent, is of course a key feature of late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century philosophy, and Lister's diaries provide us with an extraordinary account of how these tensions were navigated by a sharp literary mind in their daily struggles to live life on their own terms. In this paper, I will discuss some examples of Lister's reading of Rousseau's Confessions, and how a queer thinker navigated developing understandings of the body-mind dichotomy. I will argue that selectively emulating Rousseau's confessional style helped Lister to understand their own gendered and embodied experience of the people around them. This example from the margins may help to illuminate how Lister's peers experienced this body-mind tension when reading texts informed by eighteenth-century philosophy.

Constance Halstead, University of York
Blood and ink: how Anne Lister's menstrual record structures time in her juvenile journal 1806-1810

This paper addresses the linguistic, textual, and symbolic forms through which Anne Lister materialised her bodily experience of menstruation into legible marks on the pages of her journal. Lister's journal is a vast resource in the history of menstruation. She tracked her own and her lovers' menstrual cycles, detailing experiences of and practices relating to monthly bleeding. Records of Lister's reading and conversations illuminate the political, biological, and social complexity of menstruation, particularly in its relationship to gender, sexuality, and embodiment. Over the 24 year span of her journal, Lister consistently penned two small dots next to the date on which her menstruation began and obscured textual references to menstruation in her 'crypthand' cipher. The form of Lister's early menstrual records is, however, far less consistent. This paper offers a close reading of Lister's juvenile journal (1806-1810), tracing the experiments with language and form through which Lister sought to find a suitable system of documenting menstruation. It considers how Lister learnt to employ her physical and intellectual resources (including ink and blank paper, the skills of note keeping, and her classical learning) to navigate the generic and gendered expectations of how menstruation might be recorded in a journal. The result was a semantically obscure but visually ostentatious record. I argue that the non-standard textual form of Lister's menstrual record visually and temporally structures the mise-en-page of the juvenile journal, imposing a bodily rooted understanding of time which is at odds with other models of time prioritised by Lister in her later journal.

Zoe Copeman, University of Maryland College Park / The Warburg Institute
Women's Access to Anatomical and Surgical Knowledge in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain

Current scholarship on Ann Lister and her love life is robust, challenging the predominant heterosexual narrative and providing insight into the history of sex, sexuality, and gender. While Lister's trysts are some of the most riveting parts of her diaries, her meticulous recording of her life also provides unique insight into the access eighteenth-century women would have had to scientific knowledge. Contracting a sexually transmitted disease at an early age, Lister became obsessed with medicine. Her interest might have started with diagnosing her condition, but it soon evolved into a lifelong pursuit to understand the human body. Still, Lister was unable to identify the location of the clitoris until decades after she began her medical studies. Examining the life writings of Lister as well as other turn of the century British women like Frances Burney, Hester Lynch Thrale, and Elizabeth Montagu, this paper investigates the type of access that women had to anatomical and surgical knowledge and how this knowledge affected the ways in which they understood and envisioned their own bodies. While the eighteenth century saw the dramatic expansion of print culture (and more medical knowledge was made available), equally important to this study is how these women

engaged with that material. Lister read treatises on women's genitalia and attended lectures on female anatomy, yet it was not until referring to an illustrated treatise intended for medical students (notably men) that she finally found the clitoris. In much of the material these women had access to, reproduction was the sole purpose of their primary and secondary sex characteristics. That is to say, late eighteenth-century women's access to medical knowledge was great, and yet this material often embodied women's worth almost exclusively through their reproductive qualities.

6 **Moving bodies, depicting passions: a glimpse on the eighteenth-century pantomime ballet**

Room: Mackesy Room (Samuel Johnson Building)

Chair: **Amanda Danielle Moehlenpah**, Colgate University

Speakers: **Petra Dotlačilová**, Universität Basel

Images of horror: Visual Narrativity in Noverre's ballet *Hypermnestre*

French choreographer Jean-Georges Noverre (1727–1810) was one of the main personalities promoting and experimenting with the new genre of ballet d'action or pantomime ballet. Apart from emphasising the role of gesture and expression in the narrative ballet, he also stresses the role of costumes in the genre, since they are crucial for audience's understanding of the story as well as for its stronger emotional effect. His concept of costume aligned with the ongoing debate in the European theatre, which lead to a fundamental costume reform.

For several years, Noverre collaborated with the costume designer Louis-René Boquet (1717–1814), who also worked for the Paris Opera and the French court theatre. He highlighted Boquet's unique art of costume making, through which he was able to define characters and their dramatic situations.

This presentation treats concretely a case of ballet tragique Hypermnestre, co-created by Noverre and Boquet in Stuttgart in 1764, which was extraordinary for the terrifying topic and its execution in dance. Simultaneous analysis of Noverre's programme and Boquet's costumes (via drawings and manuscript notes) illuminates the role of the costumes and props in ballet's dramaturgy. A particular attention is given to the expression of character's dramatic situation and emotional state, as well as to the unusual and inventive use of costume for dead spirits and demons.

Nika Tomasevic, University of Teramo

Iconographies of corporeality. Pantomime dancers in late eighteenth-century Italy through costume sketches

In the Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets (1760), Jean-Georges Noverre offered the first written systematization of different choreographic types (sérieux, demi-caractère, and comique ou grotesque). Based on corporeality, expressive skills, and technical abilities, he corresponded this arrangement with a classification of dancers. The Noverrian subdivision was, in fact, a written record of performance practices that had been in use in France, as evidenced by early sketches made by Jean-Baptiste Martin for the Opéra in the 1730s. At that time, such a classification did not yet exist in Italy: ballet programs or costume sketches indicate that Italian dancers were divided into ranks based on their interpretive abilities and performing skills.

As a result of the spread of the Lettres across the peninsula, Italian dance masters began to absorb the French classification of dancers, adapting it to their practices (an example of this is Gennaro Magri's Trattato teorico-prattico di ballo, 1779).

Through the analysis of costume sketches depicting dancers in various poses, this paper aims to clarify the original divisions into ranks and how they were represented. Starting with the album Figures with their clothes au naturel (Florence, 1760), the characteristic parts, technical peculiarities and movements of Italian dancers before the Noverrian reform will be identified. Subsequently, the study will compare the Florentine figures with those represented by Leonardo Marini between 1769 and 1798 for the Teatro Regio in Turin. This second approach will illustrate how the French genre system

influenced the development of new dimensions and variations of corporeality in Italian pantomime dance after 1760.

Annamaria Corea, Sapienza University of Rome

Bodies compared. The pantomime ballet in Naples in the 1770s and 1780s

During the 1770s, the dance at the San Carlo theatre in Naples was characterized by a significative change in aesthetics and taste following the arrival of the dancer and choreographer Charles Le Picq together with his partner Anna Binetti. As one of Noverre's most eminent pupils, he promoted the new form of ballet d'action by staging tragic and mythological subjects which were placed alongside the traditional grotesque balli for about a decade in order to please the Neapolitan public. At that time, Le Picq's works appeared innovative not only for the "serious" subjects, already experimented by Onorato Viganò on the same stage in the previous theatrical seasons, but also for the representation of a new dancing body. The French-trained dancer – graceful, elegant, and harmonious in his movements – seemed to the Neapolitans not to dance because he did not jump, as Ferdinando Galiani reported.

Starting from this statement, this paper aims to consider the reception of the "reformed" pantomime ballet in Naples and to focus on the aspects concerning the French trained dancer's body compared to the Italian grotesque dancer. The relevance of this turning point is demonstrated by some contemporary writing such as the two short pamphlets published in Naples in 1774 within the "querelle" between the principal proponents of the narrative ballet, Noverre and Angiolini, the unpublished translation by the choreographer Domenico Rossi of Noverre's treatise Les Lettres sur la danse et sur les ballets (1778), and above all Gennaro Magri's Trattato teorico-prattico di ballo (1779), particularly interesting and precious for the detailed information about the dance technique. Through a collation of sources, such as some of the above quoted texts, together with the ballet programs and the archival documents in the State Archives of Naples ("Segreteria di Casa Reale" fund), the aim of this contribution is also to investigate the language of gestures used by the dancers to play characters and embody passions.

Stefania Onesti, University of Siena

From Text to Stage: exploring Onorato Viganò's *La figlia dell'aria* (Venice, 1792)

Onorato Viganò (1739-1811) is regarded as an eminent figure in the evolution of Italian pantomime ballet. A talented dancer proficient in both the grotesque and serious styles, he was also a skilled choreographer and impresario, and he founded a distinguished family of dancers. The concept of the "learned" choreographer, as described by the theorists of the ballet d'action, is exemplified by his ideas and works.

During the 1792 Carnival season, La figlia dell'aria ossia L'innalzamento di Semiramide by Onorato Viganò was staged at Venice's Teatro San Samuele. The ballet was based on the «dramma favoloso» by Carlo Gozzi. Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to consider Gozzi's dramma as a mere source of inspiration; the Italian writer was also the ballet's librettist, working in close collaboration with Viganò. The Gozzi collection at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana preserves a precious manuscript containing two texts: the draft of the ballet's Argomento and a detailed «Programma» (i.e. the description of the ballet divided in five acts). The first one was printed in the opera libretto in 1792, the second one instead was not published. This latter document seems to serve as a kind of staging guide for the artists involved in the production (dancers, musicians, set designers, etc.) and probably can be considered as the result of the collaboration between Gozzi and Viganò.

The «Programma» provides detailed notes regarding the scenography, the dancers' entrances and exits, the character's passions, the musical qualities and the costumes. It fulfils the functions proposed by Giuseppe Carpani in Memorie per servire alla storia degli spettacoli del Teatro di Milano (1774), providing a practical framework for all those involved in the ballet staging.

The aim of this presentation is to use La figlia dell'aria as a case study in order to figure

out how dance, pantomime and the other visual elements of the performance could interact with each other on the Italian stages in the latter decades of the eighteenth century.

7 **The BSECS Book Club 'Reading Pedagogies: Engaging Students with Eighteenth-Century Literature'**

Room: SCR Parlour (Fellows' Staircase)

Abstract: As scholars of the eighteenth century will know, the literature of the period is as vibrant and eclectic as the period and people who gave it life. Ironically however, the richness and diversity of literary forms and modes that make the eighteenth century so attractive to scholars also make it a challenge to teach coherently to undergraduates, many of whom have little prior experience reading earlier texts and only scant knowledge of the political, cultural, and social backdrops of the century.

Our panel seeks to explore various innovative approaches to engaging students this through two inter-connected sessions. In the first, the 'BSECS Book Club', conference attendees are in invited to read Eliza Heywood's 1725 novel Fantomina, which celebrates its 300th anniversary in 2025. Attendees are then invited to participate in a guided book club session that will explore the novel in relation to the conference theme of 'Bodies and Embodiment' before encouraging book clubbers to reflect upon how both collaborative reading and reading for pleasure might support engagement with eighteenth-century texts.

In the second session, the panel will take the form of a roundtable on the pedagogical use of collaborative reading, annotation, editing and other so-called 'real-world' assessment practices with respect to teaching the eighteenth-century. Panellists will present 10-minute micro-papers that seek to address the challenges of teaching eighteenth-century literary texts both through reflecting on their own experiences as students and teachers of eighteenth-century literature and through the discussion of case studies of successful pedagogical practice. Micro-papers will be designed to generate discussion points that will then enable the sharing of knowledge and best practice in an open forum for the remainder of the session.

Chair: **Nicholas Seager**, Keele University

Speakers: **Amy Louise Blaney**, Keele University
Joanna Yates, Keele University
Rachel Adcock, Keele University
Adam James Smith, York St John University

12:30-14:00 LUNCH, Dining Hall (Chapel Quad)

14:00-15:20 WEDNESDAY SESSION II

8 **Disability and Disabling in Eighteenth-Century French Art, Literature, and Performance**

Room: Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building)

Abstract: This panel seeks to draw attention to the presentation and representation of disabled bodies in eighteenth-century French art and performance. With reference to examples from the second half of the century (1740s-1790s), the panellists consider how different cultural frameworks and artistic media can situate and highlight bodies that have been socially, culturally or historically marginalised on account of their nonconformity to aesthetic and social norms. A central concern of the panel is with the way that differences can be reinforced, and lack of agency reiterated, unless conscious and careful consideration is given to the ways in which bodies are allowed to relate to each other in a given space. To show (that is, to make visible through artistic representation) a body that is not our own can transform that body into a show (or spectacle), often thereby subjecting it to the derisory, critical or misunderstanding gaze of others. Nonetheless, the act of showing is often the first step towards reframing perspectives and correcting assumptions.

Chair: **Suzanne Aspden**, University of Oxford

Speakers: **Emma Barker**, Open University

The Representation of the Blind in the Visual Culture of the French Revolution

The most fully realised of the revolutionary festivals designed by the artist Jacques-Louis David was the Festival of Unity, held in Paris on 10 August 1793 to mark the first anniversary of the founding of the French Republic. The festival procession featured a crowd of people who were intended to offer an image of the newly regenerated society, in which people mixed together regardless of traditional distinctions of class and race. In the midst of the crowd, David reported: "the interesting pupils of the institution for the blind, dragged on a rolling platform, offered the touching spectacle of honourable misfortune". The participation in the festival of pupils of the school for the blind founded in 1785 by Valentin Haüy gave expression to a universalising conception of citizenship that embraced the blind along with other marginalised groups. At the same time, however, the pupils were infantilised by being transported rather than walking in the procession while David's language identifies them as objects of pity rather than as fellow citizens. Their ambiguous place within the festival can be seen as exemplary of the difficulty that the revolutionaries had of conceiving of the blind as fellow citizens, not least because the French Republic relied so heavily on visual means in order to instil a sense of national identity. The young blind people who participated in the Festival of Unity would, of course, not have been able to see the spectacles that David staged at each of the five Parisian landmarks that punctuated the processional route.

In this paper, I will explore how such tensions inform representations of the blind in the visual culture of the French Revolution more broadly. Examples to be discussed include paintings and sculptures by David and other artists that feature blind men of classical antiquity such as Belisarius and Homer as well as popular graphic imagery such as caricatures in which blind figures play an allegorical function. A key point of reference will be Haüy's use of images and spectacle in order to promote his school, of which the pupils' participation in the Festival of Unity is one example.

Amanda Danielle Moehlenpah, Colgate University

Double (Dis)abling: A Re-Reading of 18th-century Ballet Pantomime

Eighteenth-century ballet pantomime is often celebrated as a turning point in the history of danced performance. Although the kinetic language of gesture had long been integral to spectacular genres such as opéra-comique, "high" Baroque opera traditionally isolated dance from the dramatic action. By asserting the narrative autonomy of dance from vocalised accompaniment and underscoring the visual agency of the body, the Enlightenment period contributed to the development of the art form in what has often been acclaimed as a unique and daring way.

Yet, technically and physically, the gestural language of dance mutes dancers. It isolates the body from its own sound-making capacities, thereby dis-abling the performers. In the case of socially marginalised or non-majority characters, dance doubly disables. Without recourse to other forms of dramatic expression, these bodies are literally and figuratively muted; they have no voice either on or off the stage.

In this paper, I reconsider the historical phenomenality of eighteenth-century ballet pantomime by reframing the language of dance as a complex, soundless voice, simultaneously capable of enabling and disabling the dancer. I consider a corpus of three comedy ballets, united by the narrative theme of Chinese wisdom and its European perception, to focus on how lyrics and lyricism interact in the story to give "voice" to each of the characters (Jacques-André Naigeon, Les Chinois, comédie en un acte...suivi des Noces chinoises, divertissement [1748/49]; Jean-Baptiste François De Hesse, L'Operateur chinois, ballet pantomime [1748/49]; Jean-Georges Noverre, Les Fêtes chinoises [1754]). My intention is to encourage a scholarly perspective that acknowledges how a dancing body may not have been clearly understood in the Enlightenment world of pantomime ballet.

Julia Prest, University of St Andrews

Voicing Disability in Monsigny-Lemonnier's *Le Cadi dupé* (1761)

The opéra-comique by Monsigny (music) and Lemonnier (libretto) Le Cadi dupé was first performed at the Saint-Germain fairground theatre in February 1761. The work, set in Ottoman Baghdad and featuring Turkish Muslim characters, is usually understood as an example of the popular orientalist mode. This paper will explore a more notable–but overlooked–aspect of the opera: its discussion of the physical impairments or disabilities of one of its central characters–a young woman called Ali. Disability is discussed or "voiced" at three main moments: first, by a woman pretending to be Ali who voices the negative views of Ali's father Omar towards his own daughter's disabilities. Here Ali's disabilities are described as defects (défauts) and are listed using a musical motif–and cumulative effect–that was clearly intended to be comical. The comical element is enhanced by the fact that the Cadi, to whom the song is addressed, can see no evidence of the impairments in question and is thoroughly confused. A few scenes later, Omar appears before the Cadi in person and sings of the horror and fear that his daughter's impairments inspire. Another musical motif that seemingly has Omar straining in the upper register of his baritone voice suggests that this too was intended primarily to be comical. After a long build-up, Ali, who was originally performed by a non-disabled male tenor, is brought on stage in a wheelbarrow and dressed comically (comiquement). Her cross-casting, disability drag and musical line that includes potentially awkward leaps appear to invite the audience to laugh at Ali and at the awkward social situation in which the characters find themselves. Here the laughter does not target Ali's physical impairments, as such, but rather her supposedly delusional reading of her physical disabilities as something positive. At one point Ali sings "je me pique d'être unique" (I pride myself on being unique)–a line, alongside several others, that nonetheless invites a more complex reading of disability. I shall explore these eighteenth-century, operatic attitudes towards disability before considering how a modern production of Le Cadi dupé might reclaim and redirect its humour in a way that speaks to inclusive audiences today.

Caitlin Sturrock, University of Bristol

Rational Deafness: The Sourde-Muette in *Pauliska, ou la perversité moderne* (1797-1798)

Deafness in eighteenth-century France was a growing fascination; the 1770s marked a period of shifting societal perceptions of the sourd-muet. The Abbé de l'Épée published his treatises on the education of the sourds-muets, institutionalising his methods from the school he opened the decade before, and Pierre Desloges published his influential Observations d'un Sourd et Muet, sur un cours élémentaire d'éducation des sourds et muets in 1779, which marked one of the first interventions of a sourd-muet into these debates. Such a vision of deafness continued into the Revolution, where the sourd-muet was no longer just a figure of fascination but one to imitate. The Revolution turned away from spoken language in favour of the incorruptible form of gesture during the growing paranoia surrounding the abus des mots. At the end of the eighteenth century, hearing and speech became irrational; this irrationality underpins the case study of this paper: Jacques-Antoine de Révéroni Saint-Cyr's Pauliska, ou la perversité moderne.
Published over two volumes in An VI (1797-1798), Révéroni Saint-Cyr's Pauliska follows the virtuous comtesse as she moves across borders – from Poland to Italy – in search of safety for herself, her lover – Ernest – and her son – Edvinski. Facing the Baron d'Olnitz, the counterfeiters under the Danube, and Salviati's group of mesmerists, Pauliska oscillates between imprisonment and freedom to finally end reunited with Ernest and Edvinski. Although it is a novel marked by violence and sadism, at its close, virtue triumphs and the mesmerists are punished. Mirroring the Revolution's own rejection of spoken language, hearing and sound become similarly irrational in Pauliska. Although mesmerism is founded on the experiences of the body – notably the auditory experiences – the mesmerists pervert rather than promote understanding. In light of this, this paper argues that the remedy to this irrational hearing

is found in the eponymous character's deafness and muteness. Here, Pauliska is virtuous and rational precisely because she is a sourde-muette.

9 **Sex, Race, and Health**
Room: Allen & Overy Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Karen Lipsedge**, Kingston University
Speakers: **Liberty Collard**, Northeastern University London
William Sancho and the politicisation of the Black body in late eighteenth-century London
William Sancho (1775-1810), the first Black publisher in the Western world, was involved in both the development of the modern medical movement and the abolitionist movement at the end of the long eighteenth century. William, the son of the more famous Charles Ignatius Sancho (1729? -1780), provides an excellent case study of an under-explored Georgian polymath, whose life story can provide us with a new lens to explore both top-down and quotidian experiences of the politicisation of the Black body in eighteenth-century London.
As Secretary to Dr George Pearson's Vaccine Pox Institute, William played a central role in the development of the first successful vaccination against smallpox. William was involved in sending out vaccines, foreign correspondence, compiling data, fundraising and publishing scientific reports in London newspapers, the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal and the Philosophical Magazine. Several vaccination groups were competing in central London at this time, with both Pearson and Edward Jenner wanting to claim success of the eradication of the deadly disease, a politicisation of the eighteenth-century body.
William was also involved in abolitionist circles and the growing canon of race theory towards the end of the century. William was a subscriber and speaker for the African Institution and a Steward for the African and Asiatic Society. William was personally requested to publish William Wilberforce's work, a "...letter on the abolition of the slave trade..." William's work in the fields of both medicine and abolition can be connected by a footnote added to the fifth edition of his father's Letters, published by William himself in 1803. The footnote adds Johann Blumenbach's essay, "Observations on the Bodily Conformation and Mental Capacity of the Negroes" to Joseph Jekyll's biography prefacing the Letters, showing the development of 'science' and race theory alongside each other in this period. William's work shows how ideas of the body were inherently intertwined in this period.
Finally, as well as exploring William's work within two of the most pivotal movements occurring at the end of the eighteenth century, the politicisation of William's body itself as a Black African man will also be considered. A posthumous account published by Thomas Dibdin claimed William died of alcoholism. Dibdin's comment – focused on the connection between the body and mental self – was a personal attack, likely racially motivated. As the only piece published at the time, this has become the traditional end to William's story. However, the archive helps us to reconstruct a different picture. Currently unpublished records show that William suffered badly from gout throughout his lifetime. This was likely the real cause of his early death, aged just 35, during the peak of his career. Therefore, William's life story allows us to view both Black individual bodies and the broader scientific and abolitionist movements at the end of the eighteenth century through a new perspective.

Minji Huh, University at Albany, State University of New York
The Motley Colonial Landscape and the Abolitionist Movement: John Thelwall's *The Daughter of Adoption*
Diseases exemplify Europeans' ambivalence toward foreign or non-European settings, which are often feminized and racialized as sites of stasis, and the cautious quality of their excursions to overseas colonies. As historian Mark Harrison states, "[B]y the end of the eighteenth century, there was a recognizable genre of medical literature which catered specifically for those venturing to warm climates" (4). Within this context, I

contend that John Thelwall's The Daughter of Adoption (1801) exposes the medical concerns of travelers to the colonies that arose from their fear of hot climates, which were thought to hasten the spread of infectious diseases (i.e., seasoning sickness). As much as Thelwall's novel reflects the materiality of the modern self, it also reveals the production of pathological discourses about otherized people (as well as nonhuman entities) based on biopolitical categorization by race and gender. I also discuss the related importance of sensibility in elucidating the ecological dimensions of the immunological procedures depicted in this novel. The sensibility of the body makes it difficult to assess the extent to which the state's security mechanisms have been successful in eliminating (possible) risks.

Noelle Gallagher, University of Manchester
Gout, Sex, and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Print Culture

Elizabeth Schlappa, Newcastle University
Carnal ecstasies and the 'contempt of men': women's sexual bodies in Georgian medicine

This paper explores understandings of women's sexual bodies and the nature of their pleasures in Georgian medical discourse. With the primacy of the penis widely celebrated in erotica and pornography, the sexual culture of eighteenth-century Britain has been described as an essentially phallocentric paradigm which emphasised vaginal penetration above all else. In contrast, I argue, the medical authorities of the day were under no illusions about whether women necessarily required a penis – real or artificial – for sexual satisfaction. Though medical texts acknowledged both vagina and uterus as organs of pleasure, these came a distant second to the clitoris, which reigned on as women's principal source of pleasure and desire. This pre-Freudian sexual universe understood the various forms of female pleasure not as conceptual opposites, as would become the case in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but as augmenting one another. In this diverse but essentially clitorocentric landscape, no inherent suspicion or negativity attached to clitoral pleasure, which remained integrated into models of reproductive intercourse.

Nevertheless, rising alarm about masturbation and its supposedly dire effects gave medical commentators plenty of reasons to worry about this array of pleasurable possibilities. Some writers wrung their hands about the exquisite sensitivity of the clitoris, occasionally even suggesting dulling its sensation to reduce masturbatory temptation. Others were more alarmed by self-defloration; still others decried all techniques as equally depraved, or declined to comment on such indecent details. Almost all, however, considered that self-stimulation was genuinely (albeit regrettably) satisfying for women. Despite advising parents to marry daughters with dispatch before they took matters into their own hands, physicians gloomily acknowledged that self-pleasure retained its attractions after marriage. Perhaps worst of all, women who discovered the pleasures of their own bodies could be expected to lose interest and enjoyment in partnered sex. Though theories of conception came and went, pleasure remained resolutely linked to fertility in the Georgian medical world, and warnings about sexual apathy were stalked by the spectre of sterility.

10 **Collecting Objects and Knowledge**
Room: Andrew Pitt Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Sean Moore**, Trinity College Dublin
Speakers: **Amy Solomons**, University of Oxford
Reconstructing Dispersed Collections: The Library of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762) was an eighteenth-century writer, traveller, pioneer and aristocrat whose legacy of introducing and advocating for smallpox inoculation is still celebrated today. Beyond her celebrated status, Lady Mary was also a keen reader who amassed a collection of over 250 books during her lifetime. This paper discusses Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's books held in three locations: the Bute

Collection at Mount Stuart, the Harrowby Collection at Sandon Hall and the National Library of Scotland. It recovers Lady Mary's role as an active commentator, reader and curator of her own collection during her lifetime. This paper, and the wider project from which it arises, draws upon the dispersed, fragmentary collections of Lady Mary's reading, held in both public and private libraries, for the first time.

Hardeep Singh Dhindsa, King's College London

White Ghosts, Marble Bodies: touching and viewing classical sculptures as a way of affirming European Whiteness

In this paper I offer a different understanding of how race, material culture, and scientific treatises on the senses bled into the connoisseurial act of collecting classical sculptures. I argue that sensory and spatial interactions with these objects affirmed the viewer's Whiteness through their proximity to them. Starting with the senses of touch and sight, I discuss how contemporary Enlightenment treatises that racialised these senses were a core component of engagement with classical collections. Using psychogeographical methodologies, I then hypothesise a way in which sculptures became vehicles of White identity through existence in the same space as the White viewer. Part of this involves situating my arguments within the realm of 'unreality', the deeply unstable identification process where the conflation of beige skin and yellowing marble is presented as a sepulchral experience.

Touch, a sense that has largely disappeared from the twenty-first century museum, played an important role in consolidating the relationship between viewer and object during the eighteenth century. Touch, however, also inferred notions of power and possession. Here I will explore how learned Britons operating within different intellectual communities understood touch, or 'virtual touch' as some scholars have described, drew Greco-Roman marble sculptures into the matrix of racial categorisation through descriptions of smoothness and form. It will also consider how non-European bodies could be classified as distinctly nonclassical through the same lenses, through both skin texture and hair texture.

Conversely, the pleasure or enjoyment achieved through looking at sculpture was reiterated across the eighteenth century. As well as allowing connoisseurs and philosophers to exclude those who lacked the ability to appreciate these sculptures from circles of taste and beauty, sight also worked to differentiate the physiognomic attributes of classicised Europeans and 'ugly' non-Europeans. As Edmund Burke argued, bodies that were 'rough and angular' were unpleasant to look at, while the African in Hegel's and Cuvier's works was marked by his 'irregularity'. I will also explore the breakdown of these categories when non-Europeans 'assimilated' to European levels of civility, highlighting the flexuous nature of Whiteness in this period.

The aim of this paper then, is to (re)contextualise networks of knowledge that drew together various groups of people operating across the empire, from connoisseurs to travel writers, natural historians to medics, artists to classicists, for all of whom touch and sight played important empirical roles in their respective works.

Stephanie Holt, Natural History Museum & University of Oxford

Rediscovering the collections of Thomas Pennant in the Natural History Museum's collections

Many of Thomas Pennant's natural history collections were donated to the Natural History Museum between 1911-1918 by the Earl of Denbigh. In line with Museum policy, these were dispersed between the various relevant departments across earth and life sciences. However, with a collection of over 80 million specimens to care for, the passage of over 100 years, and numerous curators overseeing the specimens, the collection as an entity tied to one person has become harder to trace. As part of the Curious Travellers project, we are reconnecting Pennant's collection digitally through discovering and telling narratives of their collection, history, and modern conservation. This talk will highlight some of these treasures of the Museums collections, and discuss

the processes we have been going through to refocus attention on Pennant, his work, his associates, and the preserved 'bodies' of specimens in his collection.

Barbara Lasic, Sotheby's Institute of Art
'Splendours and Treasures of a Courtesan': interrogating and contextualising Sophie Arnould's art collections
Described by the Goncourt Brothers as 'the personification of all the heroines of lyric tragedy', Sophie Arnould was arguably one of the most celebrated performers of her day. She joined the Paris Opera in 1757 and was praised by English actor David Garrick as the 'singer of her generation and the only cantatrice who touched [his] heart'. Actress, singer and courtesan, the mistress of the Comte de Lauraguais and the fashionable royal architect François-Joseph Belanger, she was well-acquainted with the Parisian beau-monde. Immortalised by the sculptor Jean Antoine Houdon in her lead-role as Iphigenie by composer Christoph-Willibald Gluck, Arnould collected art in her own right as evidenced by the 1778 sale catalogue of her collection partially illustrated by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin. She assembled indeed a small but distinguished collection which has so far escaped rigorous scholarly scrutiny. Containing old master paintings, lacquer, mounted hardstones and oriental porcelain, it boasted provenances to some of the most important collectors of the day such as Blondel de Gagny or Louis-Jean Gaignat. Through an examination of her sale catalogue as well as a visual interrogation of Belanger's plans for her (unbuilt) neoclassical townhouse, this paper aims to reconstruct Arnould's collecting practices and locate them within the context of late eighteenth-century Parisian taste. It will argue that at a time when, according to Diderot, 'virtue and probity [were perceived as] rare amongst comedians', Arnould used her collection to transcend the barriers of her profession and construct a polite scenography for the performance of her cultural and social identity.

11 **Gender, Body & Place**
Room: Littlegate Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Pilar Botías Domínguez**, University of Córdoba
Speakers: **Rachael Johnson**, University for the Creative Arts
Beach Bodies: Understandings of Women's Bodies at the Georgian Seaside
From the early eighteenth century, seaside resorts grew as exciting spaces for leisure, pleasure, and health. The Georgian elite flocked to resorts such as Brighton and Margate to bathe in the sea, dance in the assembly rooms, and promenade along the seafront. Though seaside resorts initially sought to replicate the social and medical blueprint that had proven so successful for the inland spas, the unique coastal topography soon meant that Georgian society began using this space in new and distinct ways. As a result, not only were existing conceptions of the body, which had been established at the spas, instated at the seaside, but new meanings were also forged, joining, rather than replacing, what had come before.
This paper will explore the meanings placed on women's bodies as they entered into the sea. These were many, varied and often contradictory. Sea-bathing women, for example, were often portrayed as 'nymphs' – beautiful and exotic creatures who found their natural home in the waves. Objects of desire, a commonly satirists' trope depicted lecherous old men standing on the clifftops, spying on the bathing women through telescopes. Medical discourse, meanwhile, presented women as recipients of a new incarnation of water cure. Submersing bodies in seawater, it was claimed, could cure a wide range of illnesses. In medical treatises, women's bodies were listed as success stories of cures performed, or as warnings of what might happen if physicians' instructions were not obeyed. Alongside traditional medicine, the discourse of fashionable illness, transplanted from inland spas, encouraged women to combine fashionable sociability with the display of illness. But whilst sufferers of Romantically-inspired diseases hoped to gain cultural capital through a display of their afflictions, seaside resort writers instead ridiculed these fashionable invalids. Many seaside writers preferred to focus on the romantic possibilities presented by visitors' bodies, capitalising

on the beach as a liminal space, situated beyond the polite constraints of the resort. The beach and the sea offered freedom from constraint, with all the possibilities and dangers this presented.
How did sea-bathing women navigate the multiplicity of meanings being placed upon their bodies? By exploring the different ways women's bodies were viewed, this paper hopes to shed light on the experience of eighteenth-century sea-bathing. The horse-drawn bathing machines which trundled down beaches into the sea contained real women with real bodies: what thoughts might they have had as the doors opened and they took their first steps into the sea?

Li Hui Tsai, St. John's University, Taiwan
Romantic Subjectivity and Female Bodies in Mary Robinson's Memoirs
In her important study of Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London, Gillian Russell offered a prehistory of Romanticism and identified the eighteenth century as the era that witnessed a transformation in the roles of women of fashion, from spectatorial objects to sociable subjects. Focusing on the history of the Pantheon in the 1770s, Russell analyzed the representations of female bodies in the public performances of women of fashion, particularly the presence of actress and singer Sophia Baddely at the Pantheon, through an account of a visit to this venue in the Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Robinson. Like Fanny Burney's novel Evelina, Robinson's narrative depicted the Pantheon primarily as a site of sexual pursuit. Robinson's account exposed how women felt endangered by the sexual politics of Pantheon spectatorship and the eroticization of female bodies. Yet, as Russell argued convincingly, Robinson's writing also showed how women might exploit body politics to represent themselves as sociable subjects.
In the discussion that follows, I will continue Russell's work to envision female bodies and Romantic subjectivity across a wider variety of public spaces by tracing not only the history of the Pantheon but also the histories of Vauxhall Gardens and Ranelagh Gardens. I will explore how these cultural spaces transformed social relations and networks of power in early Romantic-period London. My work revises the traditional interpretation of the Pantheon as a site of sexual pursuit for women of fashion through a different interpretation of the literary spaces presented in the Romantic period regarding gender and metropolitan culture. I will examine Robinson's memoirs as a work of sentimental literature, contrasting it with satirical political pamphlets like Vauxhall Affray, to suggest that the association of public women with illicit desire was not created by women of fashion and their self-representations, but rather created by their misogynistic opponents as a mockery of public women's performances. This will help enhance our understanding of Robinson's memoirs and their place in the history of Romanticism, while also uncovering the polemics surrounding representations of women's bodies and subjectivity in a culture of misogyny. By situating Robinson's writing within this historical framework, my work offers an alternative interpretation in which women perceived these cultural and literary spaces as sites of intellectual pursuit rather than sexual pursuit.

Lisa Kraege, Brown University
Embodied Prospects: Pope's Iliad and Montagu's "Constantinople"
In June of 1717, Alexander Pope wrote to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu while she was abroad in Turkey about reading his translation of Homer in the same "climate that animated him." "You may ... in your own Window, contemplate the Fields of Asia, in such dim & remote prospect, as you have of Homer in my translation." In December of the same year, Montagu wrote the poem "Constantinople," the fourth stanza of which begins "Here from my Window I at once survey / The crouded City, and Resounding Sea / In Distant views see Asian Mountains rise / And lose their Snowy Summits in the Skies." This actualization of Pope's imagined "prospect" in his translation reveals a triangular interchange between text, body, and place that this paper will explore. I will consider Lady Mary Montagu's poem "Constantinople" and Turkish Embassy Letters alongside Alexander Pope's Iliad and their exchanges about Homer while Montagu was

in Turkey. I argue that Pope's translation maps or models a new mode of bodily orientation towards the past that Montagu enacts on the spot.
Pope's Iliad has often been called "visual," and it consistently attends to the position of the viewer onto the scene of action. But Pope also modeled this perspective in a map of the Trojan plain that was included in the second volume of the translation. The map looks out and over the landscape of the plain in the tradition of the topographical survey or travel map. It is a map that guides the viewer in how to see the place of the poem. It's also a map that translates the imagined into the terms of the real, invoking a viewing body that is put into particular relation to place. By translating Homeric space into cartographic terms, Pope's prospect becomes a spatial projection that can be literally read as a map that will guide the reader to a particular location. Montagu's poem and letters engage Pope's translation as both physical object and guide for how to see her surroundings, leading to a kind of embodied reading in situ. The place itself becomes a landscape to overlook in the same way that one "looks over" a page. In viewing the real world as if it is a book, Montagu models a way of reading, suggested by Pope's geographical realism, that demands presence on the spot. Turkish people become characters, and their fashions become evidence of the continuity of the past, like the belt of Menelaus that "exactly ressembles" the belts now worn by men. Montagu reads the appearances of those around her as if they are figures on a map of the past.
Both Montagu and Pope's gazes are also shaped by their own bodies, and this paper also explores how the prospect view is shaped by the body of the viewer. Pope's disability and Montagu's gender disallow them from free movement beyond prospect and projection, confining each to their own "window" onto the world. I argue that Pope's Iliad presents poetic sight not as abstract but as local, situated, and embodied.

Shirley F Tung, Kansas State University
Embosomed Arboreal Landscapes and the Maternal Breast in Wollstonecraft's Scandinavian Travelogue (hybrid)
My paper explores Mary Wollstonecraft's conflation of the Scandinavian forest with the female body in _Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark_. Wollstonecraft draws explicit parallels between nature's bosom and her own breasts from which her weaning one-year-old daughter, Fanny Imlay, is separated during the Norwegian leg of the journey. Building upon the connection that she makes in _The Vindication of the Rights of Woman_ (1792) between breastfeeding and the education of children, the maternal breast appears again in _A Short Residence_ to signify its continued importance even after it concludes 'discharging the tenderest maternal office'. Throughout her Scandinavian travel narrative Wollstonecraft employs sublime imagery (such as 'a lake embosomed in pine-clad rocks') while meditating upon her role as the educator and the sole protector of her daughter, thus reconfiguring the maternal breast as a bastion-like sanctuary that fosters sensibility. By emphasizing that physical nutriment and psychological nurturing both originate in the female bosom, Wollstonecraft politicises the role of the mother as integral to the survival of future generations and to society as a whole.
Yet, this portrait of active and empowered femininity is undermined in the latter half of her travelogue when she depicts trees destroyed by man-made fires used to promote cash crops. Abiding by her claim to 'note the present state of morals and manners [to] trace the progress of the world's improvement', Wollstonecraft characterises commerce as a metaphorical blight on the tree of life and reveals the social inequity underlying contemporaneous masculine discourse surrounding femininity and nature.
Wollstonecraft aligns herself with male-authored, metropolitan natural histories both to subvert their complacent assertions and to co-opt them for her own purposes, challenging the problematic depictions of nature that equate the feminine with disordered sensibility and justify the disenfranchisement of the female sex. I argue that _A Short Residence_ aims to convince readers to understand social progress in maternal terms, rather than in the context of mercantile profit or the received narrative of man's domination over feminised nature. Wollstonecraft gestures to the necessity of a program

of equitable social justice and sustainable land management that puts the proto-eco-feminist Romantic aesthetic theory of 'right feeling' into practice.

12 **Radical Voices: Translation and Revolutionary History (1782-1815)**

Room: Mary Hyde Eccles Room (Samuel Johnson Building)

Abstract: This panel considers how the insights of translation studies can be used to reconstruct transnational histories of revolution and overcome the 'methodological nationalism' (Beck 2007) that still prevails within much of the historiography on the revolution. At the same time, it points to some of the challenges in reconstructing the role played by translation in establishing transnational networks of solidarity in this tumultuous period when the meaning and direction of history was still being shaped, whether by translators or other protagonists of the revolution. Its point of reference is the UK-based Radical Translations Project (radicaltranslations.org), in particular the forthcoming anthology 'Radical Voices: Revolutionary Discourses of Translation (Routledge 2024) co-edited by the panel members.

Chair: **Rosa Mucignat**, King's College London

Speakers: **Sanja Perovic**, King's College London

The Paratext as Historical Source: Some Reflections from The Radical Translations Project

This paper will discuss the significance of translators' paratexts – a rich but still often overlooked historical resource. It will show how paratexts reveal not just the translator's voice but also serve as a privileged space for the construction of translational narratives of Revolution. It will also address some of the methodological difficulties attendant to any study of paratext, where the translator may well be articulating an agenda quite different from what the author of the source text intended. When it comes to identifying the role of translation in consolidating international networks of solidarity, these paratextual 'meta-statements' are illuminating but also slippery, as translators address the problems of regime change, censorship and other obstacles to the communication. This paper will conclude by showing how paratexts allow us to link the circulation of ideas and texts to the translator as an important social and political actor in their own right.

Rosa Mucignat, King's College London

Belated Precursors: Temporalities of Revolution in the Italy's Republican Triennium (1796-1799)

Broadly speaking, historians agree that the defining factor in the Italian triennium was the relation of the Italian patriots to France. Italian revolutionaries have long been seen as ineffectual imitators of the French, not only by their detractors, who relished in calling them 'giacobini' as a way of discrediting them, but also by political fellow travellers such as Vincenzo Cuoco and Ugo Foscolo. These accusations echo in most nineteenth- and twentieth-century accounts of the Risorgimento, whose 'failure' Gramsci attributed to the inability of the enlightened elites to win popular support. Only recently historians have started to propose more nuanced interpretations of the republican triennio. But how did the historical actors themselves conceive of their position vis-á-vis the French model, especially after the French revolutionary army had occupied large parts of the Italian peninsula? How did they carve a space for themselves in the French narrative of revolution originating in France, or construct an alternative genealogy of revolution with Italian-speaking lands at its centre?

Many Italian radicals were prolific translators from the French. Their approach to the rendering, adaptation and in some cases wholesale rewriting of French 'originals' illuminates not only the political agendas of the moment but also more profound questions of self-figuration and the framing of events in time. Why is Italy lagging behind in the timeline of revolution? How can it catch up? Was there a time when Italy was leading in the history of freedom? Can it one day return to be the source of revolutionary initiative? This paper will look at a selection of Italian paratexts to interrogate how translators negotiated cultural transfer in their own terms, resisting

French patronage but welcoming the ideas of the French Revolution, even picturing Italy succeeding where France had failed.

Jacob McGuinn, Northwestern University London
The 'succession of events' and the 'time-traveller' in Helen Maria Williams translator's prefaces
The English writer Helen Maria Williams was most famous in her day as a poet turned reporter on the events of the French revolution, providing volumes of 'letters' from Paris recounting the events in sympathetic and sentimental detail. Yet she was also, with John Hurford Stone at the English Press on rue Vaugirard, a publisher and translator of radical materials, and a republican hostess of international radicals and republicans. Considering prefaces to two of these translations, Bernadin Saint-Pierre's Paul and Virginia in 1795 and the (fraudulent) Letters of Louis XVI from 1803, this paper examines the entanglement of these tasks. Her prefaces reflect on events in process at the time of publication – and most particularly on the position of the translator as judge on events – raising questions of the time and timeliness of translation, and the connections between narration and history in these revolutionary situations. They historicise the translator's position in the revolution's timeline. But they also indicate a way to read transactions between narrative and revolution in other translations of fiction. The paper uses Williams's reflections to frame these interactions between history and translation as they are staged in the paratexts of other translations of radical and revolutionary fiction.

Nigel Ritchie, King's College London
When paratexts talk: Deciphering the unknown translator of Mary Wollstonecraft's Rights of Woman
In June 1792, the French translation of Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, her ground-breaking call for the promotion of female rights through education, Défense des Droits des Femmes, was published in Paris and Lyon, less than six months after its appearance in London. It was the first translation of her work into French. Its appearance came eighteen months after the publication of her Vindication of the Rights of Men (1790), an early response to Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790), which was well received in French Anglophone circles and helped to energize the British radical movement.
While the anonymous translation had no translator's preface, it did include extensive translators' footnotes within the second volume, which appear to be the work of two people, a man and a woman. This paper will use this paratext, and extensive prosopography built up by the KCL Radical Translations database, to propose an identification for the most likely candidate for the invisible "homme de lettres" advertised by Wollstonecraft's French publisher within the pages of the Chronique de Paris. Proposing a close reading of textual clues against a background of biographical and historical context, the paper aims to demonstrate how translation scholars and historians can mutually benefit from each other's disciplines to illuminate the liminal spaces of both.

13 **Performing Bodies: Ludic, Political, and Amateur**
Room: Mackesy Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Abstract: This panel examines different functions of performance, with particular attention to embodiment. Our papers run from an early eighteenth-century interest in how an on-stage performance of a game allows for critique of that game, through to a late eighteenth-century closet drama's simultaneous evocation and denial of the embodiment of performance, and a new overview of some of the first opportunities for amateurs to produce theatrical events for semi-public audiences in purpose-designed venues. Running through all three papers are the questions of what it means to take to the stage (or not): what can be achieved there, who gets to tread the boards, and how such performances are received.

Chair: **David Francis Taylor**, University of Oxford

Speakers: **James Harriman-Smith**, Newcastle University

'That Way might give her Person to my Arms, but where's the Heart?': Centlivre's Weaponized Games

Susanna Centlivre's The Gamester (1704-5) and The Basset Table (1705) are both adaptations of earlier, French works about gambling games. In both her plays, however, Centlivre chooses to do two things differently: she brings the gameplay onto the stage in a pair of unusually long game-within-a-play scenes; and she complicates these games by having one of their players weaponize the game to achieve an ulterior goal. Angelica disguises herself as a young man to beat Valere at hazard and cure him of his ruinous addiction to gaming; Sir James Courtly bends the rules of basset to bankrupt Lady Reveller and open her heart to Courtly's friend, Lord Worthy.

This paper analyses the antics of Courtly and Angelica as a particular kind of staged game. If we think of any game as a kind of performance, then a game-within-a-play, like (but not identical to) a play-within-a-play, is a kind of compound performance-in-a-performance. Centlivre's weaponized staged games, however, are, properly speaking, triple compounds of performance: Anne Bracegirdle plays Angelica, who plays a young man, who plays at hazard. This tripling effect, I argue, not only allows Centlivre's characters to use a game against each other, but also Centlivre herself to hold up early eighteenth-century gambling culture for critique.

Helen Dallas, University of Oxford

Habeas corpus: Robert Southey's Wat Tyler and 'having the body'

In 1794, Robert Southey responded to the British government's repressive measures, including the suspension of habeas corpus, by writing the historical drama Wat Tyler. In the historical Wat Tyler's 1381 Great Rising, Southey found significant parallels to his present moment, and explored them in 'A Dramatic Poem'. This paper will interrogate this formal choice of writing Wat Tyler as a 'dramatic poem' or 'closet drama'. Certainly, such a politically incendiary play would never have been granted Licence for performance, but there is something fascinating about Southey's decision to approach such fundamentally embodied concerns as riot, revolution, trials and political detention in a form that simultaneously evokes and denies the embodiment of performance. Following on from this, I will discuss the afterlife of Wat Tyler, and its place within the connected issues of political detention and embodiment. The play was published for the first time in 1817, another year in which habeas corpus was suspended. Southey himself had by that point turned his back on his youthful radicalism, and had become both Poet Laureate and a Tory, vociferously opposed to protests and in favour of censorship of the 'seditious press'. He was infuriated by the publication of Wat Tyler, and attempted, unsuccessfully, to assert copyright over the play and thus suppress its circulation. The language used around this contentious publication implies the text to be almost an embodied rebel itself, which I will further explore. Finally, I will gesture to the moment the play at last became embodied in performance, by the Chartists in the 1840s, and how the text's complex relationship to embodiment from 1794 lead to that moment.

David Coates, University of Warwick

From the Classical to Caricature: Visual Traces of British Private and Amateur Theatricals in the Long Eighteenth Century

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the popularity of private and amateur theatricals were rapidly increasing. The first amateur dramatic clubs and societies were founded in this period and a number of establishments emerged to enable amateur enthusiasts to come together to produce theatrical events for semi-public audiences in purpose-designed venues. The amateur theatre 'movement' was beginning – a century earlier than has been previously thought.

This paper analyses an array of visual materials relating to private and amateur theatricals from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such images are

scarce and have been gathered from public and private collections across Britain and the USA over the last 15 years. This paper will consider what these visual traces can tell us about the practices of amateur theatre and their most enthusiastic practitioners at this crucial point in the development of the amateur theatre movement. It will reveal how amateur theatre participants had agency over how their endeavours were captured in visual images, drawing attention to key tropes in their choice of emblems and methods of recording their activities, for example. In contrast, it will show how these same activities were depicted by those on the 'outside', including in widely circulated satirical caricatures.

14 **Forging Family Dynamics**
Room: SCR Parlour (Fellows' Staircase)
Chair: **Rachel Bynoth**, Bath Spa University
Speakers: **Elaine Chalus**, University of Liverpool

'William is but poorly': Fortitude, Family and Faith in the Face of Illness

The diplomatist, Lord William Hervey, died of consumption on 6 May 1850. He was only forty-four. Only two years earlier, Lord William, the third son of the marquess of Bristol, had been an up-and-coming diplomat in Paris. Having served as Private Secretary to Canning in 1825 and then as a diplomat in Vienna (1828–30) and Madrid (1831–c.1836), Lord William had had the status, the connexions, the languages, and the socio-political nous needed to carve out a glittering diplomatic career. He also had a charming, bilingual wife, Cecilia (Cicey, née Fremantle) and a growing family.

This paper traces the deterioration of Lord William's health, as hope of recovery faded, and draws predominantly upon the diaries of Lady William and her mother for the last fourteen months of Lord William's life to explore the practical and emotional demands that his illness placed upon Lady William. It argues that the progress of his illness led to shifting dynamics of power in the marriage as Lady William, as wife, mother and carer, effectively took on the role of head of household well before she was widowed. It contends that the fortitude with which she dealt with her husband's extended decline stemmed from her character; her experience of growing up in a predominantly female-headed household; her strong Catholic faith; and the support of the extended Fremantle and Hervey families.

Shinji Nohara and Craig Smith, University of Glasgow

Between Family and Political Economy: A Dispute Over the Divisions of Scottish Moral Philosophers' Lectures

In eighteenth-century Scotland, moral philosophy was taught in universities, and this discipline helped shape the philosophical and pedagogical development not only in Scotland and England, but also in America, Germany, and France. It also paved the way for the rise of social sciences. Adam Smith developed his political economy in his lectures on moral philosophy, a science of which his Wealth of Nations constitutes a part. While Smith was regarded as one of the most influential scholars among Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, his system of moral philosophy was not universally adopted by other Scottish moral philosophers.

It is less researched that some of these philosophers disagreed with Smith's lecturing system. Indeed, Thomas Reid and James Beattie adopted different systems of moral philosophy. Their approaches, in particular, incorporated the subdivision of oeconomy, not political economy. In it, Reid and Beattie discussed the duties and rights of familial relationships, such as those between husbands and wives, parents and children, and masters and servants. This section was newly introduced by Francis Hutcheson.

Although the section on oeconomy appears Aristotelian, influential seventeenth-century scholars of natural jurisprudence, such as Grotius and Pufendorf, did not adopt this category. Unlike Hutcheson, Reid, and Beattie, Smith did not adopt the subdivision of oeconomy. Despite the extensive secondary literature on Scottish moral philosophy, the differences in the subdivision of this science remain insufficiently explored.

By examining unpublished student notes and the published writings of Scottish moral

philosophers, this presentation aims to unpack the implicit ideological dispute over the relationship between the concepts of family and the public. The trajectory of family roles had been a point of ideological conflict before the eighteenth century. Pufendorf and Locke moved from Hobbes's question of how self-interested, unsociable individuals come to establish a political society, to what motivates individuals to form families as the basic unit of social association. This shift influenced Hutcheson and Scottish moral philosophers, who moved moral philosophy away from patriarchal structures toward a distinction between familial and political authority. For them, sovereignty was not justified by reference to familial relationships.

Beyond this point, they diverged on whether moral philosophy should include political economy. In addition to Smith, Adam Ferguson also lectured on political economy (as "public oeconomy") in his moral philosophy course, while Reid and Beattie did not adopt this element. By considering Reid and Beattie's accounts of how familial relationships form the basis of morality, we can better understand why they excluded political economy from their systems. This analysis reveals the limitations of economic argumentation for Scottish moral philosophers.

Emily Cotton, University of Leicester

Elite Female Involvement in Men's Marriage Brokering

This paper examines the female side of eighteenth-century elite marriage-brokering networks based upon correspondence and diaries. Focusing upon managing marriage from the point of view of the groom, I analyse how women could provide a range of services and perform a multitude of roles influencing a young man's marriage choice and negotiations. Mothers, sisters, and 'kinswomen', which might include female relatives and friends, could serve as intermediaries, negotiators, advisors and social agents in bringing an aristocratic marriage into effect, or by opposing and attempting to block a match they did not approve of. By looking beyond the involvement of parents, it becomes clear that both married and unmarried women felt a strong duty to concern themselves with a groom-to-be's impending nuptials.

Barclay and Carr argue that women served primarily as helpmeets to men in the social arenas they participated in. They view women's authority and access to education and public debate as resting on their ability to improve the position of men rather than enabling them as autonomous agents. In this paper I argue rather that women did act as autonomous agents: they were distinct social actors on the marriage mart who helped to initiate, broker, negotiate and fulfil a number of marriage in elite eighteenth-century society, and they were in fact expected to do so by their contemporaries. Women were central to the functioning of eighteenth-century marriage brokering and, by extension, to elite society. Many elite women participated in the social arena and managed dynastic fortunes, and as such found a way to exert power in the service of their families and friends. A study of such participation fleshes out the scanty references of 'friend' and 'kin' involvement in marriage brokering. The cooperation of a range of elite females, on acceptable terms, could have significant advantages for a young man on the cusp of marriage.

The paper will draw on a number of case studies to illustrate women's involvement in men's marriage brokering, including Lady Anne Powlett, who unsuccessfully petitioned on behalf of her nephew the Duke of Bridgewater for Lady Dorothy Savile's hand in matrimony in 1719. The paper will also illustrate how sisters like Theresa Parker could be commissioned by their brothers to find them a suitable wife and could advise such men on what attributes to prioritise when identifying an 'acceptable' young lady. The paper will also look at how women could attempt to block or oppose matches they disapproved of, as with the Duchess of Devonshire's outright rejection of her son's marriage in 1748 to Lady Charlotte Boyle, on account of the significant age difference between the couple. The dispute culminated in a temporary separation between the Duchess and her husband, and she was never reconciled to her son or his wife.

This paper will overall illustrate such women as influential social actors on the marriage

market for young men, as the correspondence shows that such a role was viewed as natural for elite, eighteenth-century women.

Rita J. Dashwood, Ghent University
'A Long Chronicle Ended on a Comma'? — Mary Verney's Inheritance of Claydon House
The first thing that Mary Verney (1737-1810) did when she inherited Claydon House from her uncle Ralph, the second Earl Verney, in 1791, was to tear down two thirds of it. This decision was so little understood by her successors to the estate that when the time came for a relation, Margaret Verney (1844-1930), to write a history of the Verneys, Mary received little attention and no praise. Within this history of the Verneys, Ralph was a good-hearted visionary, and Mary just his unmarried, childless successor, responsible for "the expensive and thankless task of destroying the Marble Hall and the half-finished ballroom," the two thirds that he had added to the house (Verney Letters 308). As Margaret Verney herself says, "There is such a contrast between the last male owner of Claydon and the gentle maiden lady...who succeeded to what was left of his great possessions, that it is as if a long chronicle ended on a comma" (Verney Letters 308). At age 54, Mary may have been the new owner of Claydon House, but she never lived there herself, instead preferring to remain in Kent. What would have possessed her to make tearing down such a large part of the estate her priority upon inheriting it? The difficulty in gathering a true picture of what Mary would have been like in life is due, to a very large extent, to the nature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century section of the catalogue at the Claydon House archives. While "The archive probably contains the largest unbroken collection of family letters from seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England," the later periods are not nearly as well covered, no letters of Mary's having survived (Whyman, Sociability and Power 5). By piecing together the existing sources on Mary, this paper will consider her role as heiress to Claydon House, her complicated relationship with her uncle and the inheritance he left her, and the ways in which she diverged from his style of property management, paving the way for her own.

15:30-16:50	WEDNESDAY SESSION III
15	**Sensing the Eighteenth Century**
Room:	Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building)
Chair:	**Debra Bourdeau**, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University
Speakers:	**Erika Wicky**, Université Grenoble Alpes / LARHRA

Perfume, Olfactory Atmosphere and Decorative Arts in 18th-century France
Nowadays, it is commonly said that due to the hygienic conditions of the time, the splendid salons of the 18th century—and those of Versailles in particular—reeked of a smell that would be intolerable to us today. However, according to the historical sources of the time, neither the heavy perfumery of the Louis XV era nor the legendary excremental stench of Versailles was the main olfactory concern of people living in the 18th century; rather, they experienced scents that did not persist through to the present day, even though they were extremely strong. Indeed, one of the most important olfactory concerns of the 18th century was the smell of the paints and varnishes used to decorate paneling, furniture, and the various objects found in salons such as fans, tattling shuttles, nécessaires, patch boxes, candy boxes, snuff boxes, bound books, and harpsichords adorned with Martin varnish. In fact, the main olfactory nuisance in the salons of the time was inextricably linked to their visual beauty, and the smell of varnish appears to have been an invisible actor in the history of decorative art.
Unlike the inconveniences arising from what we would judge today as a lack of hygiene, the smell of paint and varnish is an endogenous nuisance. Although it is certainly not a scent that piques our contemporary imagination as much as the mention of multitudes of chamber pots, it was much more feared at the time for its unpleasantness and the illnesses it could cause. Therefore, the aim of studying the smell of varnishes is not only to learn about the particular circumstances of 18th-century salons' olfactory atmosphere

but also to understand how contemporaries perceived their smell. To understand the olfactory implications of the salon experience and to overcome the challenge presented to the historian by the ephemerality of scent, in this paper, the conceptions and representations of olfaction will be analyzed through the study of a wide range of historical sources documenting the perception of the particularly present and complex odor of varnish.
As several historians, including Alain Corbin (1982), have noted, a new sensitivity to odors emerged in the 18th century that increased people's negative responses to strong smells and heightened the demand for fragrances that were not only pleasant but also light and subtle. How was this expressed in the salon, perceived both as a luxurious space and a site of elite sociability? This focus on the smell of varnish aims to illustrate how the scent of materials intertwined with the pleasures of decorative arts, both in the entire space of the salon and in relation to the small objects handled within it. Since varnished objects and décor were simultaneously fashionable, highly desirable items and sources of olfactory nuisance, they present an intriguing case study to highlight the paradoxes and complexities of the olfactory culture of the period.

Rebecca Owen-Keats, University of Birmingham
Embodying Noise and Noisy Bodies in William Hogarth's 'The Four Times of Day' (1738)
Before industrialisation and the noisy machines that came with it, early eighteenth-century England may be considered a sonically quiet period of history. However, quiet is not a word to describe William Hogarth's sequence, The Four Times of Day, first printed in 1738. My paper will examine the four images within the sequence, exploring Hogarth's embodiment of noise through the bodies that populated London.
In the series, Hogarth's satire implies the noise of the city, generated not through roaring traffic or roadworks as today, but through the multitude of noisy bodies. Whether as a part of a crowd or as an individual, the citizen of eighteenth-century London was partly responsible for the city's noise. Hogarth's scenes are full of point-of-audition figures, who hear on behalf of the viewer, while his depictions of London's inhabitants, with their wide mouths and hyperbolic expressions suggest how they, even while generating the noisy soundscape of the city, could seemingly ignore it with ease. A child's implied wail may catch the ear of a compassionate viewer, while those within the scene may appear unmoved by it.
Hogarth's images often embody noise, and to consider this series through the lens of implied sound opens it to new readings – how does Hogarth imply sound, how does gender and class influence how we perceive noise makers, and who in eighteenth-century society was able to generate, or ignore, noise? Sounds transient nature disrupts the static and composed images, better reflecting the chaotic city and the rowdiness of its inhabitants. In Noon, for example, the street may visually divide the Huguenot Protestants from the drunken revellers, but their noise mingles together, creating an incoherent and distinctly noisy soundscape.
The Four Times of Day charts the ebb and flow of bodies, and the noise they generate, through the city at different times, making it an ideal case study for considering eighteenth-century urban soundscapes. My paper will discuss these implied soundscapes and how combining the visual with the suggested audible can deepen our understanding of both the image, eighteenth-century city life and the human body as both noise generator and potential listener in the historic past.

Sigrid de Jong, ETH Zurich
Female Embodied Experiences in the Metropolis: Sensing Paris and London
'The streets of Paris are narrow, dark, and dirty; but we are repaid for this by noble edifices, which powerfully interest the attention. The streets of London are broad, airy, light, and elegant; but I need not tell you that they lead scarcely to any edifices at which foreigners do not look with contempt.'
Author Helen Maria Williams (1761-1827), visiting Paris from London, explored the

streets and edifices of the French metropolis, noting how her body reacted to the city. Written during the turbulent period of the French Revolution, her books of letters, in which this passage was published, offer vibrant testimonies to how a city in architectural, social and political transformation effects an observer coming from a rival metropolis. Her physical experiences are vividly recorded in these letters, and show how Williams was increasingly immersing herself in Parisian society and in the city. These Letters from France, published in eight volumes from 1790-1796, and in several editions, often treat Paris and London in comparison, first analysing both cities on an aesthetic level before turning to much more political issues. While moving through the metropolis, Williams observes the built environment, recounting how she is witnessing the social-political events in Paris, or admiring the presentations of advocates of the abolition of slavery. Williams was one of many female observers walking across the city and exploring all its aspects through movement and through its effect on the senses, recording their observations in pamphlets, letters or novels. These women were encountering all the problematic elements a dense city scape can offer the explorer: the dirt, the danger, the noise, as well as the positive ones: the impressive buildings, the gardens, the sounds of conversation and laughter, feeling the sun or the rain affecting their impressions. Their accounts address the female perspective of such encounters, and offer a variety of bodily and mental experiences that are obtained through physical movement, influenced by the effects of the weather or the time of day, but most of all by the agenda of the observer. This paper proposes to explore how these female authors show a bodily awareness of the metropolis, and how they use their embodied observations as a method to analyse and understand the eighteenth-century city and its problems and developments. Their appeals for change were motivated by their own sensory observations and embodied movements.

Vincent Gonzales, University of Colorado
Reading the Eye: Sympathy and Vision of Abstruse Musings in Coleridge's "Eolian Harp"
The eighteenth-century eye was more than an organ providing sensations to the brain, and the debate over if these sensations were products of the external world or products of the mind itself were challenged by art and culture. How could nature inspire the mind and speak to the heart if the body was a mere instrument, and likewise the eye, to be swayed and played upon with visions like the passing breeze upon an eolian harp? In this paper, I attempt to argue that Coleridge's "sympathetic vision" inspired him, as nature did, to challenge the passive notion of the eye and motivate musings on "abtruser reasonings" which gave rise to alternate aesthetical ponderances. While Coleridge's poetry depicts many sentiments of the eye, I focus on "Effusion XXXV (The Eolian Harp)" because of its poem's vibrant imagery. Within this paper, I revisit the prevailing theories of vision as well as the work of Frances Hutcheson and Lord Kames to provide context regarding aesthetics with their epistemological underpinnings emanating from earlier philosophers, and where Coleridge's break from these theories provided the incentive to question, within his poetics, the "authorized function" of visual perception. In sum, I intend to speak to how writers integrated the position of their bodies with their vision to create the desired effects.

16 **Experiencing Illness through Space, Place and Objects**
Room: Allen & Overy Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Karen Harvey**, University of Birmingham
Speakers: **Anna Jamieson**, University of Birmingham
Finding Agency in the Institution: The Material World of Elizabeth Hitchcock at Lancaster Asylum
On Christmas day in 1841, a female patient at Lancaster asylum started a new diary. Written in neat handwriting and covered in newspaper, Elizabeth Hitchcock's diary describes her incarceration at Lancaster asylum in illuminating detail. Documenting her feelings about her confinement, fellow patients and asylum life, Hitchcock's diary also

describes her near daily material practice: making wristbands and sleeves, straps and collars, bedgowns, button holes, pincushions and even dolls with their own miniature outfits.
Historians of nineteenth-century women and material culture are increasingly preoccupied with exploring how material practices informed female strategies of identity, agency, negotiation and creativity. Interrogating the ways in which patients engaged in meaning making through material artifacts, this paper combines these arguments with ongoing debates in the medical humanities and material culture. It examines Hitchcock's rich material practice, exploring the therapeutic potential that Hitchcock gleaned from her material world, and the ways that these material processes spoke to creativity, craft and care.

Emma Marshall, University of York
Bodies, beds and boundaries: Sickbeds and privacy in the early eighteenth-century home
This paper focuses on the domestic 'sickbed' to examine a set of embodied, affective and social experiences of illness. It is particularly interested in 'privacy', both as a personal state rooted within physical space and as a socio-emotional quality within relationships. How can we identify this in contemporary discussions of being ill in or upon the bed? And what does it tell us about patienthood and the politics of household space during illness, a simultaneously personal and communal experience? The paper draws on correspondence and diaries to explore the diverse ways in which sufferers and caregivers navigated material and imagined thresholds in and around the bedchamber. The 'sickbed' was as much an idea as an object. An ephemeral space with diverse and fluid associations, physical, mental and emotional comfort and pain were experienced here. It could be a site of confinement and aloneness, but also of intense social and bodily activity, including healthcare, housework and sick-visiting. By highlighting material and social strategies used to regulate access to the sickbed and bedchamber, this paper explores the construction, expression and negotiation of agency and intimacy during illness.

Ella Sbaraini, University of Cambridge
Proximities of care: mental health strategies in lower-order households, 1760-1840
This paper examines how lower-order households navigated members' experiences of mental ill health in eighteenth-century England. Tying into scholarly work on non-institutional spaces of care, it stresses the importance of physical proximity in fostering caring relationships within and between poor households, and across kinship boundaries, especially in highly 'lodgerly' cities like London. Drawing upon over 2000 coroners inquests, it explores how people used everyday items, and especially food and drink, to offer material and emotional comfort to those in mental distress. In so doing, it resituates food gifts as common, ordinary items of care for both body and mind, rather than unusual or special objects of status, particularly in communities with limited access to other resources. Overall, it proposes that ad hoc, neighbourly arrangements were key to poor people's material and spatial strategies of mental health care during this period.

Soile Ylivuori, University of Helsinki
Medical electricity, patient experience, and the material construction of knowledge
Hovering somewhere between a scientific breakthrough and quackery, medical electricity became a hugely fashionable treatment for pretty much all possible ailments in Georgian Britain. This paper explores the embodied experiences of electrotherapy patients as situated in the material context of the treatment. Examining how electrical equipment, space, and practitioners affected the patient experience, the paper argues that the material-emotional assemblage of the treatment event served to validate medical electricity as a respectable cure despite its dubious epistemological foundation.

17 **Nature and Naturalists**

Room: Andrew Pitt Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Peter Budrin**, Queen Mary University of London
Speakers: **Brycchan Carey**, Northumbria University

From Natural History to Natural Theology: The Eighteenth-Century Clerical Naturalist at Work

The figure of the clerical naturalist, sometimes called the 'parson naturalist', is superficially familiar to scholars of both clerical life and Enlightenment science through individuals such as Gilbert White, the celebrated author of The Natural History of Selborne (1789). Until now, however, clerical naturalists have been the subject of only one study: Patrick Armstrong's limited and problematic The English Parson Naturalist (2000). In this paper, I share research from my British Academy/Wolfson-funded project 'The Parish Revolution' in which I examine the personal, rhetorical, and cultural history of clerical naturalism as it was practiced and published in the British Isles and Empire between 1660 and 1859. Drawing on data I have collected on over a thousand clerical naturalists (listed at https://www.brycchancarey.com/naturalists), I will offer a brief quantitative analysis of their collective education, denomination, clerical careers, nationality, regionality, and scientific specialism to demonstrate their enormous diversity and productivity before briefly focusing on some important individuals such as John Ray, William Derham, William Borlase, Griffith Hughes, Gilbert White, and William Paley. I will show how their work reflected personal, epistolary, and literary networks deeply influenced by the 'physico-' or natural theology that posited that the nature and existence of the creator could be determined by study of the creation, and which asserted that practicing natural history was both a pleasure and a religious duty. While natural theology is today rarely consulted either by scientists or theologians, clerical naturalists, I conclude, were nonetheless integral and important participants in the development of the modern life sciences.

Tom Keymer, University of Toronto

Jane Austen and the Jurassic

Ecocritical scholarship on 19th-century literature has explored the impact on Victorian writers of the new geological and palaeontological science and the dizzying apprehension of deep time that came with it: the fluid hills and primeval dragons of Tennyson's In Memoriam (1850); the startling elephantine lizard of Dickens's Bleak House (1852-3); the grim, haggard cliff of Hardy's A Pair of Blue Eyes (1872-3), where "the immense lapses of time each formation represented had known nothing of the dignity of man." Writing a generation or two earlier, Jane Austen might seem a less promising candidate for this kind of analysis. Her contemporaries, however, were already growing alarmed by what a pioneering geologist of 1805 called "the abyss of time," and in the next decade the fossil-hunting excavations of Mary Anning and others on the Dorset coast, notably Anning's sensational ichthyosaur discovery of 1811, were attracting widespread attention. Austen made at least three extended visits to Lyme Regis during this period, met Anning's father and probably Anning herself, and writes, in the pivotal Lyme chapters of her last completed novel Persuasion (1817), a sublime evocation of coastal erosion unlike anything else in her fiction. What happens when we read Austen's work in this unfolding context, with its interest in human phenomena—cold-bloodedness and predation; the unstable stratification of rank or class; social and dynastic survival or extinction—for which geology and palaeontology were beginning to offer new metaphors?

Angus Sutherland, Edinburgh Napier University

'A later and more sudden emergence from barbarity': James Hogg's Ettrick and Southern Uplands in the late eighteenth century

Even those who have never read him know James Hogg (1770-1835) as the Ettrick Shepherd, and can readily imagine him as such. From Hogg's autobiographical writings we catch glimpses of him thus employed, taking refuge in some rude bothy on an exposed hillside in the Southern Uplands of Scotland. Such images seem to support the

still widespread perception that Hogg emerged from the peasantry and a pre-modern rural scene. In fact, it is precisely his self-determination as a shepherd—as a shepherd of a novel, aspirational sort—which affirms that Hogg belonged to a countryside in the throes of profound social, economic and environmental transformation. Not only belonged to, but played an active, though not uncritical part in hastening that transformation. Shepherds for hire were integral to the agricultural 'improvement' and commercialisation of the Scottish Borders in the eighteenth century, much as they were to the clearance of the Scottish Highlands in the nineteenth.
Locating the young Hogg is a notoriously difficult business, with biographical accounts tending to gloss his early years. But it is possible to describe his surroundings in greater detail and with greater precision, using archival and secondary materials concerning the region at that time. In this paper, I will attempt to give bodily form not to the Ettrick Shepherd, but to the shepherd's Ettrick, and its environs, as they existed in the latter half of the long eighteenth century, a period spanning Hogg's birth in 1770 and the publication of his important yet neglected Shepherd's Guide (1807). In doing so, the young Hogg's absence might start to assume more of a presence, even if only in outline.

Taylin Nelson, Rice University
Ecologies of Enslavement, Ecologies of Abolition
This paper argues that shark entries in 18th-century natural histories present consistent access for historical records of life aboard slave ships, and the entangled more-than-human ecologies both above and below the surface. Sharks were observed and entwined in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and natural historians provided insight into how sharks were an integral part of the slave ship ecology as food for passengers/prisoners and as tools of violence and oppression, revealing what I call a "slave ship ecology." These natural histories—in their destruction and complete economization of the enslaved African body, and in their narrative weaponization of sharks as vicious, "man-eating" beasts—actually create narratives that later serve abolition. In his autobiography, Equiano reveals the inhumanity of a sailor who mistreats a shark on the slave ship where he is held captive. In Equiano's sympathy, and anger, are the echoes of creaturely positionality that refuse to be obliterated.

18 **Aphra Behn's Bodies**
Room: Littlegate Room (Henderson Building)
Abstract: Aphra Behn's works are keenly aware of the body: its pleasures and pains, its facilities and imperfections. In this panel we explore both the metaphorical and the physical presence of bodies in three different genres of Behn's writing: drama, poetry and prose fiction. Mel Evans and Gillian Wright both address issues of attribution: Evans using computational methods to reassess The Revenge, an anonymous play often included in Behn's dramatic corpus; Wright reappraising the authenticity of a collection of poetry said to have survived to 1707 in Behn's 'own Hand'. Gevirtz examines Behn's treatment of the enslaved and self-enslaved body in The History of the Nun.

Chair: **Elaine Hobby**, Loughborough University
Speakers: **Mel Evans**, University of Leeds
'The imperfections of my body': querying Aphra Behn's dramatic corpus and the attribution of *The Revenge* (1680)
The Revenge (first performed 1679-80) is traditionally attributed to English playwright Aphra Behn (c.1640-1689), despite its anonymous performance and publication. As an adaptation of Marston's The Dutch Courtesan, the readiness of Restoration and eighteenth-century audiences to treat the play as Behn's raises interesting questions about the stylistic and dramatic values associated with her work and of this play. In this paper, I take two complementary perspectives to explore the play's status as part of the corpus of Behn's works. Firstly, I identify the social discourse surrounding the play, and reflect on the cultural and political implications of a willingness to insert female authorship into the 'anonymous' space, read within the wider context of Restoration

drama. Secondly, I use computational stylistic methods to examine the language of The Revenge, comparing it with Behn's dramatic works, and a larger corpus of Restoration drama. Computational stylistics uses quantitative techniques to identify language patterns across works, revealing characteristics associated with genre, time-period, authorial style and other literary, social and historical concepts. The findings suggest a strong likeness between Behn's dramatic writing and The Revenge, despite the complicating voice of Marston's source text. I reflect on nature of the stylistic overlaps and differences between The Revenge and Behn's known works, and what this suggests about the readiness of past (and present) readers to see and to accept Behn's authorship.

Gillian Wright, University of Birmingham
'all writ with her own Hand': Aphra Behn's poetry in *The Muses Mercury* (1707-08)
Between March 1707 and January 1708, twelve poems attributed to the late Aphra Behn appeared in The Muses Mercury: Or, The Monthly Miscellany. The miscellany's editor, John Oldmixon, claimed to have had access to an original manuscript source for Behn's poems, describing them as 'all writ with her own Hand in a Person's Book who was very much her Friend'. While two of the poems were printed for the first time in Oldmixon's periodical, ten had already been published during Behn's lifetime, albeit sometimes in significantly different textual versions and in a few cases without attribution.
In this paper I survey all twelve of the 'Behn' poems in The Muses Mercury, focusing on issues of genre, date, and social connectedness. Comprising mainly songs, verse epistles and occasional lyrics, the poems span the entire chronological range of Behn's career, from the early 1670s to the late 1680s, and foreground some of her most important personal and professional connections. I also reassess Oldmixon's claims to have worked from a handwritten authorial manuscript, reading the range of materials included in The Muses Mercury in relation to recent scholarship on Behn, poetry and patronage. I conclude by considering what The Muses Mercury texts, if genuinely authorial, may tell us about Behn's revision, excerption and repackaging of her own work.

Karen Bloom Gevirtz, Independent Scholar
Ottoman Slavery and *The History of the Nun* (hybrid)
Aphra Behn's narrative The History of the Nun is, among other things, a war story. The narrator dates events to the seventeenth-century wars between European powers for control of the Low Countries. Behn creates parallels between her story and the Revolution of 1687-88 that was unfolding at the same time. Two of the main characters, Villenoys and Henault, join the European troops trying to break the Ottoman siege of Candia (1644-69), which was part of the Venetian empire. The siege, in fact, introduces another whole theater of war: the Mediterranean. By the late 1680s when Behn was writing, Ottoman ships had been seizing European shipping in the Mediterranean for the better part of a century, and captured Europeans were often enslaved. Sometimes they could be ransomed, re-captured by European ships, or even escape, but at any given moment hundreds if not possibly thousands of them suffered captivity.
Henault's enslavement is a very visible disappearance, so to speak. True, Ottoman slavery is a convenient and credible plot device to make him un-sense-able. The device also strengthens the narrative sense of taking place in the now and the not-now at the same time. However, the confinement and silencing of this male body is a counterpart to the confinement and silencing of Isabella. Both people are enclosed and neither can speak freely; both have that condition imposed on them. But whereas Isabella is taught to internalize and self-impose these restrictions on her mind and body, making escape impossible, Henault's restrictions are always externally imposed, making escape possible. Behn puts readers inside Isabella's head, as well: the focus on her thoughts and feelings, not to mention their volatility and energy, work against the sense of limitation. Henault's body makes the brutality of it very visible and painful indeed.

19 **Ideas and Enlightenment(s)**

Room: Mary Hyde Eccles Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Chair: **Roger Maioli**, University of Florida
Speakers: **Roger Maioli**, University of Florida

Rewriting the History of Relativism: the Case of the Enlightenment

Long neglected, the history of relativism in the Enlightenment has been the topic of a number of surveys in recent years. These studies, however, have been ambivalent on whether there was indeed such a thing as Enlightenment relativism. Following Isaiah Berlin's contention that the eighteenth-century witnessed the emergence of pluralism rather than relativism, historians have concluded that the Enlightenment at best prefigures nineteenth-century developments in relativistic thinking. In response, this paper will argue that relativism, especially of the moral type, was a recognizable thesis in eighteenth-century Britain and France. It was articulated through rejections and defenses, by philosophers and imaginative authors, from Ralph Cudworth and Ann Radcliffe to Julien Offray de la Mettrie and Alberto Radicati, and it inflected Enlightenment reflections on aesthetic and moral values as well as on human hierarchies.

Heewon Chung, University of Seoul

'That every valuable foreign work be translated into the Makar tongue': A Translatable Utopia in Thomas Northmore's *Memoirs of Planentes*

In Thomas Northmore's Memoirs of Planetes (1795), a relatively neglected utopian prose of the late eighteenth-century, learning a language is the first step required in order to understand the "laws and manners" of Makar, an imaginary utopian state. Tracing the radicalism embedded in the republic of letters of Britain in the 1790s, this presentation reads Northmore's Memoirs as a fiction of a translatable utopia that accentuates the democracy of knowledge and public communication as a basis of a republic. The constitution of Makar vouches "that every valuable foreign work be translated into the Makar tongue," and in order to promote the progress of philosophy, it recommends the creation of a universal language that will spread the language of enlightenment all around the globe. Alike with Thomas More's Utopia (1519), the fiction aspires for a blueprint of a state based on the ideal of the commonwealth, i.e. public welfare; however, unlike More's utopia, it praises the commerce as blessings that brings the cosmopolitan flow of commodity that accelerates the global happiness of mankind. Against the backdrop of the late eighteenth-century literary sphere, this study defines Northmore's utopia as a translatable one in light of the tradition of the republic of letters, especially focusing on the double dimensions of translation that allow communication across the borders of nations, and that also facilitates diffusion of philosophy to the common people of Britain within the idea of commerce as the social interchange of thoughts, opinions, and sentiments.

Marine Ganofsky, University of St Andrews

From Disenchantment to Re-enchantment; or, Challenging Religious Magic in 18th-Century French Libertine Fiction

This paper examines how French libertine fiction of the long 18th century sought to "disenchant" the flesh from religious superstition, while simultaneously "re-enchanting" it through secular pleasure and reason.

In the long 18th century, reason and science were uncovering that mysterious phenomena had no magic behind them, revealing the supernatural as simply unexplained nature. Despite this, the Church continued to perpetuate a magical worldview steeped in miracles and exorcisms. To Enlightenment philosophes, revealed religions were mere organised impostures. Montesquieu and Sade compared popes to magicians, d'Holbach likened prophets to charlatans, while Voltaire assimilated clerics to wizards. They argued that the Church used religious superstitions to keep its "dupes" ignorant, fearful, and thus easier to control. The alleged magic present in Catholic beliefs and practices was thus not just an affront to common sense but an obstacle to the human right to happiness. Sexuality, in particular, had been spoiled with the chimerical

notion of sin and the fear of Hell. With the pursuit of pleasure at stake, it is no wonder that libertine fiction became a vivid medium for these critiques.
Through close analysis of three key texts—*Vénus dans le cloître* (1683), *Thérèse philosophe* (1748), and Sade's *Philosophie dans le boudoir* (1795)—this paper traces the evolution of anticlerical pornographic literature's program which challenged the Church's moral stranglehold on erotic pleasure. These so-called "philosophical novels" seek to free the flesh from the "mirific" demons attached to it by religious tradition. Through the motif of a young woman's sexual counter-education (female sexuality being particularly repressed), these works depict a journey from religious obscurantism to secular enlightenment which their authors describe as a blissful emancipation from all the supernatural fears fuelled by religious magical thinking. Only when the libertine apprentice learns that Satan does not haunt the flesh, and that neither pious mortifications nor lustful appetites have supernatural bearing, can these appetites be understood as the innocuous manifestations of natural instincts. Only then can these be indulged with neither shame nor guilt.
This research contributes to ongoing debates about the nature of secularisation during the Enlightenment. Rather than resulting in a disenchanted world, libertine fiction suggests that the decline of religious magic led to new forms of secular wonder, centred on the pleasures of the body and the marvels of rational thinking. By examining how these texts reframe enchantment, this paper offers insights into the complex relationship between religion, sexuality, and modernity in 18th-century French thought.

Jessica Goodman, University of Oxford
'The habit of having a body': The role of the physical form in French afterlife fictions
What happens to the body after death? This paper examines this question from the perspective not of medicine or religion, but of fiction; specifically, the different forms of afterlife fictions produced across the eighteenth century in France.
In dialogues of the dead, like Fontenelle's Nouveaux dialogues des morts (1683), famous people are brought into conversation in a posthumous setting, with varying degrees of dis/embodiment. In uchronia texts like Mercier's L'An 2440 (1771), the protagonist dreams himself into a future version of Paris, and explores its physical reaches in his dreamer's outmoded body. And in tales of metempsychosis, like Montesquieu's Histoire véritable (written across the 1730s), Pythagorean philosophy is revived to imagine individual souls leaving their old bodies behind and entering into new 'envelopes' at the moment of death.
These imagined afterlives are often read from a philosophical perspective, placing the emphasis on the cerebral: what the people of the past might teach us about our own times, or the notion of individual identity as it derives from the mind. In what are couched as projections, dreams and fictions, this focus is perhaps unsurprising. And yet in the texts themselves there is a curious insistence on the body, even in scenarios from which it is specifically said to be absent.
In this paper, I read the presence/absence of the body in these imagined afterlives, examining the role it plays in their construction of future worlds and past-future individuals. I suggest that whilst identity is indeed a crucial preoccupation, the constant presence of the physical 'envelope' serves as a figure for how that identity is externally as well as internally constructed, and that therefore the body comes to represent the very process of imaginative (re)creation that the texts themselves enact.

20 **Re-Reading Austen**
Room: Mackesy Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Chair: **Roxanne Brousseau**, Université de Montréal
Speakers: **Hannah Wilson**, University of Cambridge
'Erotic and Neurotic': The Necklace as Courtship Gift in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*
While Jane Austen's novels seldom offer detailed descriptions of objects, the material goods she depicts are often invested with high significance for her plots and character development (Sandie Byrne, 2014; Barbara Hardy, 2000). Gifted objects are particularly

pivotal in shaping romantic connections within her novels. Drawing on Barbara Hardy's assertion that in Austen's fiction, "the course of true love is strewn with objects", this paper proposes that a closer examination of the symbolic affordances of gifted objects reveals how their materiality contributes to a broader (and often darker) conception of grateful gift exchange—one that extends beyond simply facilitating a smooth progression toward romantic love.

Using the gifted necklaces presented to Fanny Price by her suitors Henry Crawford and Edmund Bertram in Mansfield Park (1814) as its principal case study, this paper uncovers how Austen's specific choice of the necklace encapsulates the tensions between romantic expectation and the latent implications of dominance and vulnerability within this exchange. Building on Marcia Pointon's reading of the necklace as an object "both erotic and neurotic," I examine how the marbling of sensuality and potential violence embodied within this gift leaves Fanny grappling with the difficulties of expressing her gratitude. By focusing on the limits of Fanny's language, Austen draws attention to the unspeakable aspects of gratitude and desire. Certain emotional experiences—particularly those that carry sexual undercurrents—resist straightforward articulation, existing instead in the gaps, pauses, and unspoken depths of Fanny's relationships with Edmund and Henry. By foregrounding the materiality of courtship gifts, particularly the necklace, this paper offers a re-consideration of the intricate dynamics of gratitude, desire, and power in Austen's portrayal of courtship.

Amory S. Zhao, University of Cambridge

Boredom and the Articulation of Desire: Female Experiences of Consumer Culture in the Long Eighteenth Century

In this paper, I will discuss the veiled presence of boredom in novels (Jane Austen's Northanger Abbey and Maria Edgeworth's Ennui) at the turn of the nineteenth century, situating these depictions within contemporaneous socioeconomic frameworks and ideologies. As a descriptor for an indeterminate sense of lack and dissatisfaction, boredom is a deliberate form of inaction that eludes understanding and articulation. It presents itself as an oxymoron, constantly oscillating between sensations of stagnancy and restlessness—an ailment that cannot be easily cured by socially sanctioned means of entertainment or fulfilment. While Patricia Meyer Spacks' monograph Boredom remains the most comprehensive literary examination of the concept, she quickly dismisses those who posit boredom as a 'capitalist plot' for its insistence on the 'externality of boredom's causes'. This paper argues that boredom emerged in response to the uneven economic power of the eighteenth century—a phenomenon exaggerated by the growth of consumer culture and commercial capitalism. Trinkets and baubles circulated through fashionable society, readily available for those possessing the right capital. At the same time, women, lacking in social and political currency, could rarely remove themselves from the recurrent demands of sexual, domestic, and affective labor. I argue that boredom becomes a question of economic power, standing for its subjugation or lack within the public sphere of money and trade. To be bored is the condition of double alienation, to be alienated from the commodities that promise its alleviation and the domestic labor that promises affective returns.

My paper will first analyze Austen's Northanger Abbey, specifically the sense of agoraphobia that emerges as Catherine attends her first assembly. In the novel, Catherine's boredom reveals her inadvertent participation in the mindless circulation of bodies in the ballroom but also paradoxically her inability to participate in 'the exchange of a syllable' without the formal introduction of an authority figure. The heterosexual marriage plot becomes the only resolution by subsuming the woman under a male, frequently pedagogical figure. Yet, the presence of boredom in Northanger Abbey and other novels deconstructs such narrative structure that leaves its ideological ends unsatisfying and undisguised. Second, my paper draws on Burney's Evelina and its extended depiction of shopping that expands the abstract resonance of boredom to a material register. The inane repetition of fashion constructs female consumers as almost mechanical in their indiscriminate pursuit of novelty. Although frequently described as a

psychological and affective position, boredom maintains a distinctly structural manifestation in its adherence to a cyclical pattern of consumption that disrupts psychological and/or biological temporal rhythms. Recognizing boredom as a specific relation of power, the sensation of emptiness does not only connote a self-indulgent posture of non-engagement but also a calculated response to disenfranchisement and economic disempowerment that persisted through fiction at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Yoko Kubo, Nihon University/University of Reading

Managing the Body: Toilet and Eating Restrictions for Women in Austen's Works

The 'toilet situation' for women during the Regency and Victorian periods exemplifies how physical needs were subordinated to social norms and morality. Due to the lack of public toilets in outdoor spaces, women's access to such facilities was restricted, confining them largely to the home or locations where toilets were available. This bodily restriction, often referred to as the 'urinary leash,' significantly limited women's movements and actions, symbolising how their physical presence was constrained by societal expectations.

Direct historical records regarding how women managed these physical needs are sparse, and novels from the period rarely address the topic explicitly, likely due to societal taboos. This absence may have been intentional, reflecting social sensitivities of the time. It is probable that such challenges women faced during extended outdoor activities were consciously omitted from historical narratives and literary representations alike.

This presentation examines how women's physical freedom was subject to social rituals and etiquette in Jane Austen's works, including Emma and Pride and Prejudice. In particular, I will analyse scenes where men and women separate after meals and explore how depictions of women eating and drinking very little at balls and social gatherings could imply an intention, perhaps, to reduce the need for toilet breaks. Additionally, attention will be given to scenes of outdoor activities, such as the picnic at Box Hill in Emma, which may symbolise the possible difficulties women faced in attending to bodily needs during picnics or walks. In such settings, women were likely expected to suppress physical urges for extended periods, adhering to social expectations even in outdoor environments.

Furthermore, the observed tendency of women to refrain from eating and drinking in social contexts suggests a possible repression of physical needs to align with manners and social norms. This presentation aims to analyse how these day-to-day restrictions (toileting, eating) affected women's physical embodiment and contributed to the construction of societal norms and the idealised image of women at the time. By focusing on this 'management of the body,' I will explore how these norms likely reinforced societal control over and suppression of women's bodies and actions.

Yuka Hiromoto, University of Oxford

Character, Narrator and 'History' in Austen

This presentation explores the metafictional conflict between characters and narrators in Jane Austen's works, expanding Alex Woloch's argument (2003) about the contention among characters (as represented persons) for more 'space' in narrative. While Woloch examines how Pride and Prejudice (1813) 'represent[s] characters becoming minor within a complex narrative system,' this presentation focuses on the behaviour of narrators who make characters minor. It attempts to replace the stereotype of Austen's narrator as an impersonal 'god,' as D. A. Miller puts it (2003), with a hypothesis that her self-serving narrators are much closer to mortals.

One form of conflict between a character and the narrator occurs when a character's 'history' is squeezed into Austen's stories. 'History,' in this sense, is a cliché of eighteenth-century novels that anecdotally introduces the past of a character, typically a melancholic person or someone's natural child; the technique can be observed in novels such as those by Charlotte Smith. Because such 'histories' encourage readers' sympathy

and immersion, they are often lengthy and there is less tension between the embedded (hi)story and the larger narrative of the novel in which it is contained.
In contrast, Austen's 'histories' are short and concise: in Sense and Sensibility (1811), for instance, Mrs Jennings 'had already repeated her own history to Elinor three or four times'; in Emma (1815), Mr Woodhouse narrates the 'history' of 'Harriet's cold' and 'of his own and Isabella's coming [to Randalls], and of Emma's being to follow.' These dissected 'histories' suggest the narrator's irritation at the intrusion into the narrative by self-appointed 'historians' – that is, characters. The overlap between a character's ambition to usurp narration and a narrator's eagerness to stifle such presumption somewhat levels the intellectual inequality that their roles in the novel initially establish. This rivalry impairs the conventional stereotype of Austen's godlike narrator.
By comparing Austen's usage of such inserted 'histories' with those found in eighteenth-century novels such as those by Charlotte Smith and Walter Scott, with which Austen was familiar, this presentation shows how Austen transforms 'history' from a means to dramatise a character's sentimental monologue into an indication of a narrator's undermined authority. Such 'histories,' an arena where narrators vie with characters for dominance, make the narrator less a specific, privileged individual than a role, that is played by one character after another.
I will close the argument made in this presentation by suggesting that Austen's idea of 'history' as interruption is closely connected with her broader scepticism about the myth of teleology and linear progress. This scepticism prescribes the digressive narration of her History of England (1791), a burlesque English history that Austen wrote when she was a teenager. The narrator of the History of England, a self-professed 'partial, prejudiced, & ignorant Historian,' is far from impersonal and resembles the narrators in her novels, in that his or her attempt to display authority over historical characters is overshadowed by an anxious craving for narrational control. The past Austen imagines is less an ornament that flatters the more learned present than an autonomous entity that eludes and ridicules any attempt to create a smooth, causal narrative between the past and the present.

21 **Corporeality, poise and 'self-fashioning' in moments of crisis from Defoe to Lord Ferrers**

Room: SCR Parlour (Fellows' Staircase)

Abstract: This panel brings together three papers around the themes of body and character, re-examining the way in which prominent early 18th-century figures responded to moments of high crisis in their careers. Daniel Defoe was subjected to time in the pillory for his publications, and the first paper will consider how his writings before and after this reflected his experience. Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, is best known as a devious politician (as well as Defoe's patron) but paper two will consider his self-presentation during his time as secretary of state. The third will consider several prominent individuals, from Harley to Lord Ferrers, examining their behaviour during high-profile trials, how the public responded to them, and whether their attitudes impacted on the outcomes.

Chair: **Emrys Jones**, King's College London

Speakers: **Penny Pritchard**, University of Hertfordshire

Corporeality and 'the lumber of the world' in Defoe's Writing during and immediately after The Shortest Way Trial

Andreas Mueller observed in 2013 that 'while the repercussions of The Shortest Way changed Defoe's career from pamphleteer and poet to hack journalist and novelist have been thoroughly explored, comparatively little attention has been paid to Defoe's authorial self-representation immediately before and after his time in the pillory'. His article outlines extensive evidence, leading up to the last three days of July 1703, of Defoe's tangible fear of the corporeal suffering he anticipated from 'his enforced embrace of the "cruel machine".'
Given the adjoining historical narrative that Defoe's supporters 'pelted him with flowers'

on the pillory, this paper considers a wider analysis of the various machinery to which both Defoe's body and his complex, multiple, authorial personae were subjected in this tumultuous period. Selected metaphors from Defoe works published just before and after The Shortest Way will be explored, not least their evocation of Seneca's 'lumber of the world' image as translated by what John McVeagh referred to, fifty years ago, as Defoe's 'unquestioned favourite' writer', John Wilmot:

Dead, we become the lumber of the world,
And to that mass of matter shall be swept
Where things destroy'd with things unborn are kept.
Devouring time swallows us whole;
Impartial death confounds body and soul.
[...] With his grim, grisly dog that keeps the door,
Are senseless stories, idle tales,
Dreams, whimseys, and no more.

Alan Marshall, Bath Spa University

The 'instability of all human grandeur': Robert Harley and the presentation of his political self

This brief paper explores the character, voice and physical style of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford (1661-1724). It will especially examine the ambiguities in Harley's methods of presenting himself to others on the political stage when he was secretary of state (1704-1708).

Amongst contemporaries, and later historians, Harley acquired a distinct reputation for dissimulation, and concealment in his political life. Yet, beyond a personal quirk of his psychology what did this really mean for Harley the political performer? How did such elements of concealment, cunning and dissimulation fit into his political world? And why did he use these skills?

While we can see Harley at work on several levels in his career, he was especially involved in numerous examinations of prisoners when he was secretary of state and from these manuscripts, we can catch both Harley's public voice and judge his 'self-fashioning' performances on these occasions. However, his partiality for secrecy also created inner tensions in his projected gentlemanly persona and these elements will also be explored here.

Robin Eagles, History of Parliament Trust

'Bring up the bodies': attitude and poise in state trials from Oxford to Ferrers

In 1717, after two years spent in the Tower of London, Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, was finally brought before a special court constructed in Westminster Hall to answer impeachment charges. Oxford was the most high-profile of several of Queen Anne's former ministers to be attacked by the new Whig government and he was ultimately to be acquitted after the case collapsed, leaving court to three loud huzzas from the public watching the proceedings.

This paper will consider how Oxford presented himself both to his fellow peers, sitting in judgment on him, and to the wider public, and consider whether his much-vaunted bravery and refusal to take the easy way out by giving in to the new administration made any material difference to the outcome. It will then go on to make similar comparisons with the trials of the Jacobite lords in the aftermath of the 1715 and 1745 rebellions, and finally the trial of Earl Ferrers for murder in 1760. In each case, the trials were large public events, attracting substantial crowds. The demeanour of those on trial was closely watched and commented on, and the paper will consider the contrasting ways in which the defendants presented themselves and how this did (or did not) sway opinion about them.

22 **The Oxford Edition of the Writings of Alexander Pope: Homer and the 1717 Works Roundtable**

Room: Forte Room (Dining Hall Building)

Abstract:	The Oxford Edition of the Writings of Alexander Pope will present all of Pope's original and translated verse, his prose and his correspondence in a major scholarly reassessment of the corpus. The various nature of Pope's literary productions will require a range of editorial approaches. But one distinctive feature of the edition is its emphasis on Pope as a maker of books as well as of texts. Choices of format, sequencing, pagination, ornamentation, annotation and so on all make significant contributions to the meanings of Pope's works in print. This roundtable will involve presentations from the volume editors responsible for two of Pope's major and coordinated book projects: the translation of Homer and the Works of 1717. Homeric translation was, by volume, the dominant part of Pope's production in the first half of his career, and the subscription system of publication for the Homer both consolidated Pope's social relationships and established him financially. The Works was designed to complement the Homer translations, and Homeric imitation, translation and appreciation are structuring features of the 1717 book. As a means of introducing colleagues to the work of the edition, encouraging discussion of its principles, and opening a conversation on editorial practice more broadly, the volume editors will each present a brief talk on a striking aspect of their work so far. Topics covered by the presentations will include reference to historical people in poems and under- or unacknowledged sources and analogues. We hope that the roundtable will be an opportunity for future users of the edition to see into the process of its construction and help refine the practice of its editors.
Speakers:	**Louise Curran**, University of Birmingham **Ian Calvert**, University of Bristol **Joseph Hone**, Newcastle University **Valerie Rumbold**, University of Birmingham **Henry Power**, University of Exeter **Tom Jones**, University of St Andrews

16:50-17:15	COFFEE BREAK **Harold Lee Room (Henderson Building)**	MEET YOUR MENTOR We encourage mentors and mentees to reach out to each other, and then use this time to grab a coffee and have a chat. **You can meet up by the registration desk and then head to the nearby Farthings Café.**

17:00-18:15	BSECS ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, Pichette Auditorium All BSECS members are warmly invited to attend. ** Overflow space will be available in the Allen & Overy Room.

18:30-19:30	WILEY-BLACKWELL & POSTGRADUATE RECEPTION	MEET YOUR MENTOR
Harold Lee Room and Isaacson Terrace (Henderson Building) All BSECS members are warmly invited to attend to welcome & support PG delegates.		We encourage mentors and mentees to reach out to each other, and then use this time to grab a coffee and have a chat. **You can meet up by the registration desk and then head to the nearby Farthings Café.**

19:30-21:00	DINNER, Dining Hall (Chapel Quad)

THURSDAY 9 JANUARY	
9:00-10:20	THURSDAY SESSION I
23	**The politics, potential and pitfalls of 'embodiment' Roundtable**
Room:	Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building)
Abstract:	A material turn in the academy has prompted an emphasis on 'embodiment' in several disciplines. This roundtable brings together scholars in different fields, working with different approaches and from different career stages to discuss the 'what', 'how' and 'why' of 'embodiment' in eighteenth-century studies. Drawing on their current projects (into pain, the lives of the clergy, experiences of the body and slavery), they will reflect on what 'embodiment' means in their research. What is driving their focus on embodiment? How do they approach embodiment through their sources? What are they doing when they study 'embodiment'? And what are the challenges and limits of this category in their work? How, when 'all' we have – arguably – is language, do they manage the challenge of studying embodiment?
Chair:	**Karen Harvey**, University of Birmingham
Speakers:	**Lisa Cody**, Claremont McKenna **Karen Harvey**, University of Birmingham **Ben Jackson**, University of Manchester **Soile Ylivuori**, University of Helsinki
24	**Complicating Genre and Form**
Room:	Allen & Overy Room (Henderson Building)
Chair:	**Conrad Brunstrom**, Maynooth University
Speakers:	**Dana Lew**, University of Toronto **Eating People and Genres in *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*** The early novel is often described as imperialistic because of its tendency to appropriate other forms of literature. I prefer the term cannibalistic. At a time when generic boundaries were still in flux, the early novel exhibited an insatiable appetite. The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman (1778), the first work of European fiction set in New Zealand / Aotearoa, is a prime example of a cannibalistic novel. It is also a fascinating though overlooked contribution to the genre that has significant implications for understanding the novel, travel literature, and satire in the period. Unlike sentimental novels en vogue in the late eighteenth century, Hildebrand Bowman follows the satirical mode of Defoe and Swift and the more recent pessimistic satire of Smollett. The novel complicates accounts of Captain Cook's second voyage to the Pacific and Scottish Enlightenment stadial theory by blurring fact and fiction. In the novel's retelling of the infamous 1773 Grass Cove "massacre" on Queen Charlotte Sound / Tōtaranui—where ten sailors from the HMS Adventure were killed and supposedly eaten by Māori—Bowman, a midshipman on the voyage, escapes the cannibals (or Carnivorrians) and encounters various "savage" Indigenous peoples who recall the progressive stages of conjectural history. Lance Bertelsen (2017) and Michelle Burnham (2019) have brought renewed attention to Hildebrand Bowman by focusing on the novel as an experiment of stadial theory. My paper, by contrast, argues that the novel "cannibalizes" period-specific conventions of travel literature in the long eighteenth century and does so with a satirical edge. Set against the backdrop of recently published accounts of Cook's second voyage, Hildebrand Bowman echoes pseudo-travelogues such as Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver's Travels (and even Humphry Clinker) to confront the generic issue of distinguishing novels from travel books. By offering an alternative history of the South Seas, Hildebrand Bowman suggests that travel literature is inseparable from the novel. This presentation will first discuss how the novel's opening chapter reads as a Robinson Crusoe chapbook, an accelerated version of the popular tale. In its ambiguous portrayal of the Carnovirrians, I contend that Hildebrand Bowman

mirrors Crusoe's cannibals and rewrites the Grass Cove "massacre" to underline inconsistent eyewitness accounts of the historical incident. Next, I move to the third people Bowman encounters, the Olfactarians, and their curious connections with the Māori. I consider how the Olfactarians, who Bowman determines are not cannibals, trouble the novel's representation of the Carnivorrians: for if Bowman's cannibals at Grass Cove are not Māori, then who do they represent? Last, I turn to another eyewitness account from Cook's second voyage that informs Hildebrand Bowman: Captain Richard Pickersgill's "cultural experiment" where a group of Māori devour a piece of human flesh onboard Cook's Resolution. In the novel, it is Bowman who eats a juicy piece of venison with seeming "relish" and remarks that "I never remember to have eat anything with so much pleasure" as the Olfactarians watch on. I argue that the novel defamiliarizes Pickersgill's experiment to reveal the limits of the imperial gaze.

David Francis Taylor, University of Oxford

Inchbald's Discordant Form

This paper argues that the Elizabeth Inchbald's style is resolutely committed to tonal and generic discordance and that her works – principally her plays but also her novels – seek to elevate disjunction to the level of form in an endeavour in which the political and aesthetic are inseparable. Of course, sentimentalism is often a consciously disjunctive mode in this period, especially in its deployment of fragmentary form in prose fiction. Yet Inchbald's discordant form distinguishes itself from these models both in the extremity of the generic collisions it engineers (an extremity to which the abbreviated length of a play, as compared with a novel, is especially conducive) and also in the political implications of these collisions. In her comedies she often runs the different registers, and structural logics, of the comic and the sentimental against one another in a manner that denaturalizes the generic protocols of both – and which thereby also exposes the contrivance of the marriage plot. As Mary Wollstonecraft wrote in her review of Inchbald's Nature and Art – a novel in which readers often find a troubling shift of mode between the satirical first volume and the sentimental second – Inchbald's 'transitions' are so 'abrupt' that they 'snap the thread of the fiction.' This snapping of fiction's thread is, this paper suggests, exactly where we can locate both Inchbald's style (and we are hardly accustomed to thinking of eighteenth-century playwrights as having a style) and also the politics of that style.

Emily McDermott, King's College London

Whispering in the Wings: Sterne and Garrick's Epistolary Peep Behind the Curtain

Tristram Shandy defies generic categorisation. Tristram becomes irate when he tries to describe the next "scene" and finds his "actors" are stuck on the stairs. One-line chapters feel more like stage directions. Tristram rehearses his story in front of his reader. And the rehearsal is not going well. Knowledge of the novel's theatrical vocabulary is well-established. Yet, this paper aims to demonstrate that Tristram Shandy's theatrical language is no accident. Sterne travelled to London and Paris to see the latest plays, sought relationships with respected theatrical figures and was actively pursuing theatrical goals. Through analysing Sterne's epistolary relationship with David Garrick – as well as other theatrical figures, such as Ignatius Sancho and Catherine Fourmantel – this paper charts Sterne's embodiment of a new, theatrical identity and positions him, not as a novelist who uses theatrical techniques, but as a yearning playwright pouring his failing theatrical ambitions into the body of his novel. Beginning with Sterne's "cold email"-style letter to Garrick before the release of the first two volumes of Tristram, I trace how viewing the role of Tristram as a Garrick-like actor-manager

makes sense of his participation both in the action of the novel and behind it. My paper will establish the body on the stage, within the bounds of the story, and the body behind the curtain managing it by examining Sterne's reverence of the theatrical writer-manager. This splitting of Tristram into dual bodies (writer-self and manager-self) mirrors the splitting of Sterne into two bodies in his letters: the anxious, anguished writer in his private correspondence with friends versus the oleaginous writer managing his reputation in correspondence with Garrick. This paper will draw Tristram Shandy's miscellany of stage techniques into a cohesive, theatrical interpretation, explore the perils of multi-hyphenism in relation to eighteenth-century notions of splitting the "self" and elasticise our definition of the novel to accommodate Sterne's embodiment of a new, hybridised genre.

Fredrik Renard, Stockholm University
Rousseau's Romance
This talk investigates Jean-Jacques Rousseau's reception of two of the oldest narrative forms in the Western tradition, epic and romance. I argue that Rousseau encompasses a range of elaborations on the two forms, making him a pivotal point of intersection between tradition and modernity in the eighteenth century. Two versions of his reception will be discussed in particular. On the one hand, Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse and Les Confession prolong the traditional conflict between epic and romance, and the struggle to somehow contain romance within the epic, into modernity. The two works can be read as an attempt to integrate the centripetal force of romance into the epic temporality of the collective. Yet at the same time, the hierarchical ordering of epic and romance in relation to one another is shifting underneath the rehearsed pattern, preparing for a reversal of the two forms. This reversal takes place in Rousseau's last work, the Les Rêveries du promeneur solitaire. The talk explores the implications of this reversal for the meaning of romance in modernity.

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Room: Mary Hyde Eccles Room (Samuel Johnson Building, Chapel Quad)
Abstract:

Representations of the Body in the Plays of Joanna Baillie

Scottish playwright, poet, and theatre theorist Joanna Baillie (1762-1851) has been the subject of considerable scholarship over the past 30+ years, after essentially disappearing from the literary canon on her death in 1851. Her 28 plays, dozens of poems and song lyrics, hundreds of letters to prominent correspondents, as well as critical acclaim during her lifetime, place her in a position for significant critical attention. In addition, a rehearsed reading of her comedy The Tryal (1798) at The Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds, scheduled for October 2024, will provide students, academics and theatre-lovers an opportunity to engage in one of her un-staged comedies. This panel addresses aspects of Baillie's plays, with an emphasis on bodies and embodiment, which extends to possible staging ideas/opportunities as well.

Chair: **Judith Bailey Slagle**, East Tennessee State University
Speakers: **Christopher Bundock**, University of Essex
"'Tis ev'ry where, where med'cine cannot cure": Amputation and Nervous Phantoms in Joanna Baillie's *Count Basil*
Early in Joanna Baillie's Count Basil, readers are introduced to Geoffry, a war veteran who is, in his own words, "marr'd, and mangl'd." Melissa Whalen says that by "[d]rawing the audience's attention away from the large-scale spectacle of the procession, Geoffry renders his own disabled body a spectacle that is nevertheless salutary for the audience, a reminder of his individual heroism and sacrifice." Whalen thinks that Geoffry instigates a healthy sympathy that stands in contrast to the exciting but ultimately enervating display of military force. However, while he may offer the audience a point of sympathetic focus, I will draw on medical-scientific literature from the period to argue in this paper that

Geoffry also performs a dislocation of feeling that cuts against the grain of collective cohesion.

Cleo O'Callaghan Yeoman, Universities of Stirling, Glasgow, and Edinburgh
"In examining others we know ourselves": Embodying Moral Improvement via Spectatorship in Joanna Baillie's Dramatic Theory
In the 'Introductory Discourse' to Plays on the Passions (1798), Joanna Baillie presents drama as the optimal literary locus for facilitating moral self-improvement. Positing that '[i]n examining others we know ourselves', Baillie contends that by watching a play's characters experience universal passions, before considering their own conduct, spectators of that play will become morally improved.
In 1811, Mary Brunton dedicated her first novel, Self-Control, to Baillie. In its preface, Brunton adapts Baillie's dramatic theory to present Self-Control as a tool for moral self-improvement: by observing the virtuous conduct embodied by the novel's heroine, and then applying her example to themselves, readers will become improved by embodying the same principles.
This paper argues that Brunton's critically neglected expansion of Baillie's theory deepens our understanding of Baillie's central role in shaping long-standing discussions of spectatorship and self-improvement. It thus elucidates an underexplored aspect of Baillie's legacy in eighteenth-century Scottish women's writing.

Bethan Elliott, University of York
"'Tis not in nature": The Body of Sarah Siddons and Joanna Baillie's Dramatic Tableaux
The role of Valeria in Joanna Baillie's historical tragedy Constantine Paleologus relies heavily on the body of the actress to create expressive tableaux. However, Baillie draws the audience's attention to not only the beauty of character's poses, but their artificiality and ambiguity. As the Vizier Osmir finally states, Valeria's movements 'a wond'rous mixture seem/Of woman's loveliness with manly state... Strange, and perplexing, and unsuitable. 'Tis not in nature'. In this paper, I will draw on the play Constantine Paleologus, Baillie's critical prefaces, and her correspondence to examine the ways in which Baillie constructs her heroines. In particular, I will demonstrate how Baillie drew upon the acting style of Sarah Siddons in the construction of Valeria and how Baillie relied on the bodies of actors to mediate the psychological processes she sought to explore.

Robert Price, London Academy of Music & Dramatic Art
Rehearsed Reading of Baillie's *The Tryal*
Robert Price will be directing a rehearsed reading of Baillie's The Tryal in Bury St Edmunds on October 23, 2024. This will not be a paper as such, but instead a brief commentary on this first-time rehearsed reading. Because the performance has not yet occurred, this is but a sketch of what we hope the presentation to be.

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Room: Littlegate Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Nora Baker**, Université Libre de Bruxelles
Speakers: **David McCallam**, University of Sheffield

Education in the Eighteenth Century

A Spartan Embodiment? A Plan for Radical Republican Schooling in the French Revolution
Michel Le Peletier's posthumous 'Plan d'éducation nationale', presented to the Convention by Robespierre in July 1793, is often described as 'Spartan'. This paper proposes an interrogation of this identification through a close reading of Le Peletier's text and its disputed reception among fellow revolutionaries. While it is possible to loosely align some of the plan's principles and practices with a

physically intense Spartan upbringing, especially as described by Plutarch, it is equally possible to find a number of significant divergences from what was accepted at the time as a Spartan education. It also reveals that it is not the author of the plan but its opponents who stress its alleged 'Spartan' qualities; the better to denounce its unsuitability for late eighteenth-century France. What emerges as most 'Spartan' about the plan is, in fact, its channelling of an embattled republican zeitgeist in the summer of 1793.
At the heart of this conception of republican education is the body of the child, to be moulded into the model future citizen. As such, Le Peletier's plan reclaims childhood as the primary responsibility of the state, not the family, and chimes with the radical constitution of June 1793 that made orphans and foundlings wards of state, rewarded maternal breastfeeding, and encouraged patriotic adoptions. Above all, the plan earns the title of 'Spartan' because it affirms a revolutionary Jacobin culture centred on the martyred republican body – be it the corpse of Le Peletier himself or those of child soldiers killed in the name of the state in its bloody civil wars. However, this classical incarnation of republicanism, translated into an educational project, survives only as long as its radical promoters hold sway in the Revolution.

Catherine Dille, Richmond American University London
Whipping and Scourging for their Books: Corporal Punishment in Eighteenth-Century Boys' Schooling
In examining evolving attitudes towards childhood in early modern Britain, some scholars have assumed a corresponding relaxation in approaches to corporal punishment. Locke's conception of the rational child and advocacy of more lenient methods of discipline is echoed in the advice of theorists on education that 'the language of blows need seldom be used to reasonable creatures' (Edgeworth, Practical Education). Evidence from the nation's schoolrooms tells a different story as children's bodies, particularly those of boys, continued to be sites of correction. Testimonials, court records and correspondence make clear that coroporal punishment not only persisted but was widely used.
Schoolmasters defended their legal right to discipline, and a scale of punishment operated in schools, from raps on the hand to severe beatings enacted with diverse instruments and according to loosely codefied customs. For pedagogues who lacked the art of 'gentle management' the rod was an essential tool of control over increasingly large classes. Discipline in some public schools was delegated as a privilege to senior boys, effectively institutionalising the practice.
Unlike corporal punishment conducted in the privacy of the home, school discipline was meant to operate on the principle of shame before one's peers and was typically carried out on the 'bare posteriors'. The semi-public nature of these punishments was seen as critical to maintaining order, while beatings conducted in secret aroused suspicions of sensual pleasure on the part of the master. As the age of university matriculation rose over the century, boys remained in school longer, until seventeen or eighteen, leading to heightened sensitivities around shame, exposure and sexuality involved in corporal punishment. In response, boys developed various strategies to cope with these experiences, including humour, bravado, and fantasies of revenge, as well as creating rituals of solidarity associated with punishment. Such strategies not only helped boys endure the regimen of flogging but also fostered a sense of corporate defiance, allowing them to navigate a disciplinary system that, as has recently been argued, became an institutionalised rite of passage into elite manhood and a culturally significant element of public school life lasting well into succeeding centuries.

Leif Bjarne Hammer, University of Oxford
The Body in the University: Scholars Suffering in Eighteenth-Century England and Denmark

On January 15th, 1768, Thomas Fry (1718-1772), head of St John's College, Oxford, complained about his health. "I felt pains in my Shoulder" he said, and by the next day, the pain had settled in his left foot and "proved to be a touch of the Gout". In 1720, Hans Barhow (1704-1754), noted regarding his student life at the University of Copenhagen, that he "ate little and drank water. Used coarse black stockings that were sweaty". University scholars were sick and healthy, ate and drank, adorned their bodies with clothes and accessories, and conducted quotidian corporeal activities in university spaces, among a myriad of other things. How they did these things matter to our understanding of scholarly bodies, and by extension, our understanding of scholarly identity and culture in the eighteenth-century University, for scholarly identities were embodied, negotiated, and performed. This paper examines instances of scholarly suffering caused by sickness, material conditions, and everyday functions and practices in the universities of Oxford and Copenhagen in the eighteenth century.
Contrasting scholarly bodies in these dissimilar universities in the two very different socio-political contexts of eighteenth-century English and Danish society allows us to study the underexplored degree to which their situatedness affected their scholarly identity and culture.
By examining diaries and letters, satirical and critical accounts, along with visual material such as engravings, this paper will illuminate how suffering scholarly bodies were not just lived but conceived of and perceived. Honing in on this aspect of eighteenth-century scholarly bodies at Oxford and Copenhagen opens up new questions about how clerical their identities were; about where they belonged in the century's cultures of anxiety and complaint; about where they were situated between the learned pedantry of the past and Enlightenment politeness and sensibility; about the changing relationship between the corporate and individual identity of university scholars; and about their position in society and the public sphere. Seeing how scholarly bodies were embodied as temporal and situated in local contexts, this paper will contribute to the turn towards sensory and emotional histories of universities, as well as to the cultural history of the (often underestimated) eighteenth-century University, and to our broader understanding of eighteenth-century physical bodies.

Ingrid Schreiber, University of Oxford
Melancholy as Illness and Metaphor in the German Enlightenment (hybrid)
In the early modern world, students and scholars were considered particularly susceptible to the disease of melancholy. My paper explores this phenomenon of "scholarly melancholy," focusing on German-speaking Europe during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Reconstructing the conversations of so-called "philosophical physicians" in Hanover, Saxony, and Prussia, it suggests that scholarly melancholy must be understood in two interrelated ways: first, as an illness afflicting individual bodies, which compromised the natural harmony between gut and mind and produced both physical and psychological symptoms; second, as a metaphor wielded to critique social bodies, including the scholarly class, academic institutions, and, not infrequently, society at large. Occupational pathologists regarded melancholy as just one disease among many plaguing those who pursued academic or literary work. The life of the mind was simply incompatible with somatic health, they argued; mental overexertion and a sedentary lifestyle disturbed the cognition-digestion nexus to the point of illness. It was this characterisation of melancholy—as a physiopathology of holistic imbalance—which allowed it to function as a vehicle for social critique. Against a backdrop of concern about the utility of academia, the melancholic diagnosis served to communicate disapproval of perceived social disorder, including idleness, pedantry, and luxury. Commentators criticised the vices and excesses of scholarship, which they considered emblematic of a degenerate, unnatural modernity. The paper elucidates the myriad factors which informed how

scholarly melancholy was conceptualised during the German Enlightenment, including humoralism, neurology, Lutheran moralism, proto-anthropology, pseudo-Aristotelian theories of genius, the peculiarities of the German pedagogical system, and the broader European preoccupation with hypochondria and civilization. It reflects on the mind-body relationship in early modern medicine, the use of illness as metaphor, and the connection between somatic and social disorder.

27 **Social Revolutions and Reforms**
Room: Andrew Pitt Room (Henderson Building, Rokos Quad)
Chair: **Brycchan Carey**, Northumbria University
Speakers: **Gönül Bakay**, Bahcesehir University

Embodied Intelligence: The Mechanical Turk in the 18th Century (hybrid)

Eighteenth century saw the invention of the automaton, a self-moving machine which contains the principle of motion within itself. In 1769, Empress Maria Theresa of Austria-Hungary invited Wolfgang von Kempelen to watch a performance by a French conjurer. Kempelen, a civil servant, was unimpressed by the conjurer's tricks and claimed that he "could do better." In response, he constructed a mechanical figure in oriental attire, seated behind an ornate cabinet, capable of playing chess. Because of its dress, the machine was named "The Turk." Kempelen's invention sparked heated debate about the capacity of machines to replicate or surpass human faculties. Could machines eventually exceed human intelligence? Many artists before Kempelen had created machines resembling animals: Leonardo da Vinci designed a flying machine inspired by birds in the 15th century; Johann Müller constructed a mechanical eagle; and in the 18th century, James Cox built an eight-foot-tall mechanical elephant. These automatons paved the way for the invention of the computer and, ultimately, artificial intelligence.

Many notable chess players competed against the Turk and were defeated. The Turk toured Europe, allowing the public to witness this extraordinary chess player for a small fee. Some players attempted to trick the machine by making false moves, but to no avail; the Turk would simply correct the errors by placing the pieces in their right positions. Even Napoleon Bonaparte, who faced the Turk said "Come on comrade, here's to us two" with a laugh, was unable to solve its secret. Aside from playing against formidable opponents, the Turk also had expressive features: it would shake its head when encountering a false move and nod two or three times in approval of successful moves. Despite the Turk's triumphs, it was widely believed that a human player must have been hidden inside, as it seemed impossible for a machine to respond intelligently to chess moves. However, the audience couldn't determine where this human might be concealed, with some speculating that a dwarf was somehow hidden inside the machine. While playing, the Turk's gloved hand would move, resting beside a chess piece, then it closed its fingers to move it. Once the Turk was ready, Kempelen would walk to the left side of the machine, inserting a key into an aperture to wind up a clockwork mechanism. A distinct sound could be heard, signaling that the automaton was ready to play. Every ten to twelve moves, Kempelen would wind up the mechanism again, but otherwise, he kept his distance from the Turk.

To dispel suspicion, Kempelen would show the inside of the machine to the audience before the game began to demonstrate that no one was concealed inside. During the Turk's first demonstration at the Viennese court in 1770, he opened the main compartment and removed three items: a small casket, a red cushion, which he placed under the Turk's left arm, and a board with gold letters, which he set on a table. Kempelen would then invite members of the audience to ask questions, and the Turk would respond by pointing to the letters on the board.

Several theories were raised about the functioning of the Turk. Nearly a century later, Edgar Allan Poe came close to solving the mystery, suggesting that the automaton contained cleverly hidden compartments that could conceal an expert chess player, effectively tricking the audience. His guess was correct, and as he had also surmised, many of Kempelen's actions were performed primarily to distract the onlookers.
Kempelen built his automaton mainly for amusement, knowing that playing chess and engaging in conversation were seen as indicators of intelligence at the time. However, he may not have realized that his use of intelligence, deception, concealment, trickery, and illusion would pave the way for groundbreaking technological advancements, eventually leading to computers and, later, the marvels of artificial intelligence.

Marleen Waffler, FAU Erlangen
"The key to all knowledge": Mathematics as Embodiment of the Advancement of the New Sciences in John Arbuthnot's *An Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning* (1700)
The advent of the Scientific Revolution propelled the slow, but gradual institutionalisation of mathematics at Scottish and English universities. This academic field, which had existed solely on the sidelines of paradigmatic Aristotelian learning for centuries, now experienced renewed interests by scholars such as John Arbuthnot, founding member of the Scriblerus Club. Arbuthnot's own career as renowned Physician in Ordinary at Queen Anne's court, and creator of the satirical persona of John Bull, had started out with occupations as math teacher and private tutor to the children of affluent London families. During this time, he compiled his work An Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning, making the case for the utility of mathematical calculation and thought. In Arbuthnot's eyes, this trait of the new academic discipline was universal, spanning realms as diverse as architecture, language, music, the tallying of household expenses, and painting, but further extending to all aspects of human life, including its employment as moral protection from vices, and exercise for mind and body.
Purposefully selecting the genre of the essay as vehicle for his reasoning, Arbuthnot aimed to reach an audience beyond the walls of the Royal Society, expressly contending the significance of a mingling of practical experience and theoretical thinking, to facilitate inventions and improvements made for the direct use and benefit of society at large, as exemplified by the then still unresolved problem of a reliable method to determine the longitude at sea. To Arbuthnot, mathematics not only served as one of the elements in the toolkit of the evolving sciences, but provided their unparalleled representation. Mathematics, as this paper argues, to Arbuthnot thus embodied the perceived advancement of learning enabled by the paradigm shift in knowledge production, reception, and transmission effected by the Scientific Revolution.

Lucy Powell, University of Oxford
The Wantonness of Tyranny: Spiders in the Bastille
A spider in prison is both gaoler and inmate; free and in prison; and for the human inmates of this paper, a source of horror, object of affection, and cause of grief. This paper will explore the vexed motif of the spiders that hang in fictional portraits of the pre-revolutionary Bastille. It begins with William Eden's Principles of Penal Law, (1771), and the incongruous story he tells of the incarcerated Count de Lauzun, who tames a spider in order to prevent himself from going mad. The keeper, 'conversant in scenes of wretchedness', destroys the object of his affections and after his release, Lauzun reports that his grief at the incident was stronger than that of a 'fond mother', over the loss of her 'darling child'. I trace this thread back to the texts that spawned Eden's: Tobias

Smollett's Peregrine Pickle (1751), in which Cadwallader trains up a cluster of spiders in the Bastille, and then destroys them in a fit of madness; Archibald Arbuthnot's Life of Lovat (1746) and Constantin De Renneville's History of the Bastille (1715) in which a pet spider in the Bastille is fed balls of bread. And the more common French version of this story, in which the historian Paul Pellisson, incarcerated in the Bastille in 1661, trains a spider with the help of a 'dull Biscayner' who plays it the bagpipes. And I end by following the tamed spider to a call for funds to rebuild Gloucester's prisons by George Onesiphorus Paul, (1784) and finally to the 6th edition of Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments (1790). The competing valences of the spider in a ancient French prison, both a creature that delights in entrapment, and a potential source of solace and companionship to the human inmate, will be seen to stage some of the most problematic ironies of the prison reform movement: the new prisons had to both socially rehabilitate and punish inmates, with neither process impeding the action of the other. A prison sentence would, for the first time, replace the death penalty in a great many cases, yet had to elicit 'a just terror, a real terror', in the population both inside and outside the prison's newly redesigned walls. These ironies come to a head in what Foucault has called the 'prison revolution': the Penitentiary Act of 1779 which, it has recently emerged, was drafted and pushed through parliament by William Eden.

Phil Connell, University of Cambridge
The London Revolution Society Revisited
The Society for the Commemoration of the Glorious Revolution is well-known to historians, largely because its activities provided a crucial impetus to the composition of Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France. Burke's Reflections sealed the reputation of the Revolution Society as an organ of political and religious radicalism and the initial, fateful point of contact between the French revolutionary regime and its English admirers. This paper presents a new account of the Revolution Society, which departs in significant respects from the image it acquired in the wake of Burke's polemic. It does so, in the first instance, by returning our attention to the centenary celebrations of the 'glorious revolution' in November 1788. At this point, it will be argued, the Revolution Society possessed a very different reputation to that which it would take on two years later, and a more complex and consequential relation to parliamentary politics than we have hitherto assumed. But a re-evaluation of the Society's activities during this period also throws broader light on the relationship between commemorative practices and partisan political identities on the eve of the French revolution, as the mental incapacity of George III threatened a major constitutional crisis during the winter of 1788-89.

28 **Self-Fashioning Bodies**
Room: Mackesy Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Chair: **Sreeja Chowdhury**, Presidency University
Speakers: **Katie Aske**, Edinburgh Napier University
'The Face! why that is every thing, Madam;': Advice, Ownership and Beautiful Bodies in the Eighteenth Century
The anonymous Universal Letter-Writer; or Epistolary Preceptor (1757)* includes a letter addressed 'To Madam de V---, Just recovered of the Small-pox, who was preserved from being marked, by a Remedy prescribed by the Author'. This author exclaims 'The Face! why that is every thing, Madam; it is the Face makes a Person handsome; it is that gives Security for the rest which is unseen, and its Beauty too is diffused to every Part which is seen'. In this direct address, claiming to have prevented Madam de V-- from contracting smallpox and thus saving her 'Face', the author highlights that, thanks to his remedy, she is now 'my Debtor for the finest Complexion in the World; that the Lillies and

Roses, of which it is composed, belong to me'. The letter poses the issue of ownership in concerns for women's beauty––how it is judged, seen, defined, interpreted, and created by and for women; questions that fuelled prominent debates and critiques throughout the eighteenth century. The means and methods by which to procure or enhance beauty, physical and moral, seen and unseen, whether through cosmetic products, or the refinement of one's manners, were often prescriptive, and maintained a central concern in many of the period's advice books aimed at women. This paper looks to contextualise some of the intertwining and dominant narratives that concerned beauty advice in the period, and to highlight the issue of ownership in the definitions of women's beauty.

* Anon., The Universal Letter-Writer; or Epistolary Preceptor (London: Printed for J. Wilkie, 1757), pp. 218–220; same title, but not by Thomas Cooke.

Jean Alexandre Perras, IZEA, Martin-Luther Universität

Women's hairdressing in 18th-century Rouen: a female fashion trade under male pressure

The expansion of the fashion market in the eighteenth century was particularly noticeable in the field of hairdressing, which historians have shown to be of great importance in the everyday lives of both men and women during this period. Most of this research has focused on representations of hairdressing (both its discourses and its visual representations) or on consumption data, and has mainly focused on the city of Paris, as has most work on the history of French fashion during the Ancien Régime (Festa 2005; Gayne 2004; Kwass 2006; Markiewicz 2018; Powell and Roach 2021). In order to shed new light on this area, this paper will focus on the practice of hairdressing in Rouen, where women's labour was particularly important and partly governed by female guilds (Bargier 2018; Hafter and Kushner 2015). In particular, women's hairdressing was traditionally administered by the centuries-old female guild of bonnetières, brodeuses, enjoliveuses and coiffeuses (Perras 2023).

This paper aims to show how the increasingly lucrative trade of women's hairdressing became the subject to competition from male actors, such as the guild of barbiers-perruquiers and the free trade of coiffeurs pour dames (women's hairdressers). The male pressure on the female hairdressers' guild left many traces in the administrative archives of the city of Rouen, which I will examine here. The paper will begin by highlighting the moral nature of the prerogatives of the bonnetières-coiffeuses guild over women's hairdressing. It will then summarise the legal arguments used by barbiers-perruquiers to secure this market share. Finally, it will detail the attempts by the coiffeurs pour dames to gain the right to perform women's hairdressing outside the control of the guilds. By refocusing the study of fashion from the point of view of the actors involved in its production, this paper will examine the social impact of the transformations of this market, which underwent major restructuring throughout the eighteenth century.

Marlies Ehrenpaar, University of Vienna

Excusez-moi Madame, we can see your nipple

Jean-Jacques Rousseau classifies fashion as something inherently feminine. Rousseau suggests, women's opinions should be valued in matters concerning the senses and bodily matters, including fashion and physical appearance. He acknowledges the allure of female beauty and the charm of women's mannerisms and adornments. He finds that men are naturally drawn to these qualities, acknowledging the influence of societal expectations and the arts women learn to enhance their attractiveness. Rousseau also critiques certain aspects of contemporary fashion, particularly the use of stays to achieve an unnaturally slender waist.

What he does not address, however, is the transformative effect of stays on the

female bosom, by elevating it to the extent of nipple exposure. Late eighteenth-century fashion, with its tightly fitted bodices and low-cut necklines, frequently led to partial exposure. This nip-slip effect is evident in fashion plates from the Galerie des Modes et des Costumes, as well as in painted portraits and miniatures. While today such instances might be seen as accidental or even as "wardrobe malfunctions," their representation in art suggests a deliberate stylistic choice, challenging the notion that they were unintentional.
This paper argues that the partial exposure of the female bosom in late-eighteenth-century French art mirrors the visibility of this aesthetic within upper-class society, where it was not limited to artistic representation but appeared in real social settings. Through a detailed analysis of how and in which spaces this exposure was considered acceptable, the paper examines the factors that enabled this display. This approach highlights how contemporary attitudes toward modesty contrast sharply with present-day perspectives, which often judge such exposure with modern sensibilities.

Charlotte Vallis, University of York
"No woman looked truly and perfectly good in men's clothing except the Empress herself..." The gendered portrayal of Empress Elizabeth of Russia, 1741-1761
Elizabeth Petrovna was Empress of Russia for twenty years, from 1741-1761. She was the fourth of only five women to rule over Russia, all of whom reigned in the eighteenth century. Although there were some precedents to follow, Elizabeth's predecessors had not necessarily been popular and to rule as a woman remained challenging. Indeed, in spite of the fact that Elizabeth was the daughter of Peter the Great, the throne did not pass directly to her, and she came to power in a coup. Elizabeth intended to reign fully, unlimited by perceptions of weakness attributed to her gender. She thus embraced both feminine and masculine characteristics in her reign. Evgenii Anisimov has highlighted, for example, how Elizabeth legitimised herself by emphasizing her patrilineal descent, staking a claim as Peter's militaristic heir. Simultaneously, however, Elizabeth combined this with her matrilineal heritage: her mother had been the first empress regnant, elevated by her own militaristic actions. An important area in which Elizabeth combined masculinity and femininity was in her visual presentation. Although Elizabeth was a consummate consumer of fashion- one oft-cited fact is that on her death, there were 15,000 dresses in her wardrobes- she often chose to dress as a man at key moments of her reign and was painted in male attire on several occasions. This paper will consider Elizabeth's visual presentation in the context of shifting understandings of gender during the eighteenth-century, arguing that, as suggested by historians like Conrad Brunstrom, gender was performative. Whilst Sylvana Tomaselli has highlighted the perceived importance of women in civilising society in the eighteenth-century, Ritchie Robertson has argued that the Enlightenment's new biological understanding of gender led some to argue against women's critical capabilities. By embracing both masculine and feminine attire in her reign, Elizabeth was able to represent both feminine virtues and masculine strength, overcoming perceived gender limitations. She could physically embody a legitimising connection to her formidable imperial father, Peter the Great as well as her ground-breaking mother, Catherine I. Transgressing gender norms in this way served only to strengthen Elizabeth.

29 **Theatrical and Social Dance**
Room: SCR Parlour (Fellows' Staircase)
Chair: **Hillary Burlock**, University of Liverpool
Speakers: **Moira Goff**, Independent Scholar
Serious, Grotesque and Scenical: Dancing Bodies on the London Stage

The year 1712 saw the publication of An Essay towards an History of Dancing by the dancer and dancing master John Weaver. Much of the work was devoted to dancing in classical antiquity, but in his final chapter Weaver turned to the stage dancing of his own time – which he wished to reform by emulating the mute narrative and expressive skills of the 'Roman Pantomimes'. Weaver defined three different genres of theatrical dancing: 'Serious', which drew on the style and technique developed at the court of Louis XIV and practised at the Paris Opéra; 'Grotesque', which he described as 'wholly calculated for the Stage' and notably virtuosic; and 'Scenical', which he declared 'differs from the Grotesque in that the last only represents Persons, Passions and Manners; and the former explains whole Stories by Action'. He linked scenical dancing to the expressive performances of the commedia dell'arte, although he drew a clear distinction between the two. Later, in his The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes published in 1728, Weaver revised his definitions, bringing together the serious and the scenical as forms of 'Serious Dancing' and limiting 'Grotesque Dancing' to 'such characters as are quite out of Nature; as Harlequin, Scaramouch, Pierrot, &c.', while admitting that his fellow professionals saw it as 'all Comic Dancing whatever'. Weaver's approach was not entirely theoretical, for he worked over many years as a dancer and choreographer in London's theatres and put his ideas into practice at the Drury Lane Theatre in 1717 with his danced afterpiece The Loves of Mars and Venus. Entr'acte dances were advertised in playbills and newspapers from the early 1700s as 'Serious', 'Comic' and occasionally 'Grotesque'. And, although 'Scenical Dancing' was not mentioned, there were undoubtedly a number of dances and dance works that incorporated narrative. In this paper, I will bring Weaver's genres together with dances and dance works seen on the London stage and try to identify their different lexicons of movement and bodily presentation. I will also explore how these different types of dancing might have been viewed and understood by audiences of the time.

Chloe Valenti, National Trust

Playing, dancing and listening bodies: concerts and balls at the New Assembly Rooms in Bath

Since the publication of James H. Johnson's Listening in Paris: A Cultural History, musicologists have taken a close interest in questions surrounding audience behaviours and the concert-going experience in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of these have focused on how the audience as both a collective body and as individual bodies negotiated the social etiquette of the music performance space. Central to the debate are the ears of the audience, and listening practices as an indicator of audience attentiveness to, absorption in, and intellectual engagement with, the performance of concert music.

William Weber has challenged the notion that the more diverse behaviours of eighteenth-century concert audiences (including moving around and talking) suggest that they were less engaged listeners than the relatively still and silent audiences of later periods. What might be our understanding of bodies and behaviours in other eighteenth-century music contexts, where the distinction between performer and listening audience was less defined?

The New Assembly Rooms in Bath was famed for its balls and dances. In these contexts visitors could be both audience and performer: they could both listen and make sounds, movement was encouraged, and the listening ear was not necessarily privileged over other senses such as sight and touch. The musicians were not always the focus of the audiences' eyes or ears, and had to watch and listen to the dancers themselves as an integral part of the performance. Musicians and dancers communicated with each other, and all moved around the spaces of the Rooms, yet rules of social etiquette, architectural design, dress and behaviour – both audience-led and those stipulated by the management of the Rooms – created order within the diversity of behaviours, and separated social groups

within the public space.
The blurring of performer and audience during balls at the New Assembly Rooms raises the question of to what extent our understanding of the musical and social practices of the eighteenth-century concert can be applied to balls. Uncertainty regarding what the body of musicians looked and sounded like, from the number of musicians in the band, to the instruments and music they played and their performance style, add to this complexity. Unlike concert musicians, dance band instrumentalists were rarely named in advertisements, and depictions of concert band musicians and dance band musicians vary widely, even though many instrumentalists worked in both. To what extent did perceptions of their social status in different performance contexts influence how they were listened to? Just as the listening experience has been infused with moral judgments about behaviour, so too was the ball experience for both musicians and audiences.

Mary-Jannet Leith, University of York
"Ready to dance a Reel, morning, noon or night": Scottish dancing in late eighteenth-century London
This paper will explore the explosion in Scottish dance in fashionable London space after 1780, and the complex socio-cultural and musical network enabling it. This phenomenon will be crystallised through the dancing body of Jane Maxwell, 4th Duchess of Gordon (1748-1812), whose diasporic patronage of London-based Scottish musicians and dancing masters strongly influenced elite tastes. Countless newspaper reports reveal the popularity of Scottish dance at fashionable London entertainments from the 1770s. While Scottish dancing was a recreation enjoyed in London by both sexes, the private and public entertainments in which it featured were usually hosted by elite women of great social influence, most notably Jane, Duchess of Gordon, whose pride in her Scottish heritage was widely reported by her contemporaries. Determined to defend Scottish culture from widespread criticism by other women of her class, Jane defiantly established a trend for tartan in elite space, and always featured Scottish dances in her own entertainments. Having established the Duchess's personality and societal influence, I will focus on contemporary descriptions of her dancing body, and the tension between femininity and Scottishness in the assembly room. I will also question whether the energetic and unrestrained style of Scottish dancing (particularly reeling) offered access to an alternative performative mode of femininity and physicality otherwise unacceptable for women in London's polite space.
The craze for Scottish dancing in London in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was enabled by the increased presence of skilled Scottish musicians and Scottish dancing masters. Jane, Duchess of Gordon regularly patronised the London-based Scottish fiddler John Gow (1764-1826), brother of the better-known Edinburgh-based Nathaniel Gow (1763-1831), and John's much sought-after band of musicians performed from the 1790s for a plethora of fashionable entertainments held by London's Scottish organisations and many others besides. The largely Scottish membership of Gow's band, visible in the extensive records of the Highland Society of London, underlines the presence of a diasporic group of musicians active in the capital. One member of Gow's band was George Jenkins, a cellist and Scottish dancing master who spent extended periods of time in London, and whose presence reveals the demand for the teaching of Scottish dance amongst consumers in this period. This paper will argue for a dynamic network comprising of Scottish musicians, dance masters, and elite diaspora Scots, who together contributed significantly to the popularity of Scottish culture in late eighteenth-century London and beyond.

30 **Eighteenth-Century Music**
Room: Forte Room (Dining Hall Building)

Chair: **Thomas Archambaud**, University of Glasgow

Speakers: **Abi Kingsnorth**, Canterbury Christ Church University

A Monstrous Shape – The Early Modern Body as Monstrous in English Broadside Ballads

With the scientific revolution's prominence in thinking about human bodies in the early modern world, by what means can we understand how the interpretation of the body changed in everyday life for the lowest sorts? Ballads allow us to examine how popular culture depicted bodies for entertainment, education, and criticism. From extreme hairstyles that transformed women into otherworldly prideful creatures, to romantic stories in which the body metamorphosed, ballads expose the early modern body as a site to decorate, display, and alter one's character, gender, and humanity.

This paper will demonstrate how ballad writers used creative, radical, and at times unholy depictions of gender nonconformity in songs to create entertainment, laughter, and fear.

Daniel Johnson, Birmingham Newman University

'He Sets the Pris'ner Free': Hymns, Missions, and Slavery

This paper examines the ways hymns were used to propagate evangelical Christianity to enslaved peoples in the Caribbean in the long eighteenth century. Evangelical hymns, pioneered by Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley, relied upon a robust theology of the affections, bodily experienced and voiced through the act of singing. Tethered to the doctrines that fuelled the evangelical movement, the affective piety of hymnody proved to be an effective means of traversing the boundaries of race, status, class, and language. Building upon extensive recent archival study at the John Rylands Research Institute and Library, this paper demonstrates that hymns were a vital means by which Christianity was communicated; in turn, the emancipation and abolition movements were fuelled by hymns as enslaved peoples utilised their message to voice the causes of liberation and justice. Methodist missionaries began Christianising enslaved peoples in the Caribbean from the 1760s onwards, and the work was later advanced by figures such as Thomas Coke, William Knibb, and Joshua Marsden. This paper will give particular attention to the use of the Pocket Hymn Book, considering its content and reception. In order to redress the white-centric historiographies of evangelical missionary endeavours, this paper will give particular attention where possible to the voices of enslaved and freed peoples.

Yiyun Liu, Queen's University Belfast

Embodying Temperament and Cosmic Order: Handel's *Acis and Galatea* Through the Lens of Werckmeister's Musical Doctrine

This paper revisits Handel's Acis and Galatea (1718) by applying Andreas Werckmeister's theory of musical proportions and temperament to analyze the representation of emotions, bodies, and cosmic order in the work. Werckmeister's philosophy, particularly his exploration of numerical harmony and its impact on human emotions and temperaments, offers a critical framework for interpreting the innovative relationship between Handel's music and the literary text. By focusing on the humoral theory of the four temperaments—sanguine, choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic—this study will uncover how Handel assigns these emotional dispositions to key characters, with Acis embodying the melancholic temperament and Galatea transitioning from melancholic to phlegmatic as she exercises her divine power.

The emotional and physiological shifts of Acis's death, Galatea's grief, and Acis's subsequent resurrection are not merely narrative devices but are instead deeply embedded in the cosmic and moral order conveyed through Handel's choral settings. By exploring the structural role of chorus in amplifying these emotional transitions, this paper demonstrates how Handel employed Werckmeister's

	musical proportions to govern both individual and collective emotional responses. The chorus, as a governing force, facilitates the restoration of universal harmony, particularly in the final transformation of Acis into an immortal stream, symbolizing the re-establishment of order through divine agency. Further, this analysis situates Acis and Galatea within the intellectual landscape of early 18th-century British theatre, where debates surrounding the rational and emotional capacity of music were prominent. Handel's work, composed in the collaborative environment of the Cannons circle, reflects the synthesis of German musical philosophy and English dramatic traditions. By integrating Werckmeister's theological and numerical doctrines with the affective power of music, Acis and Galatea transcends contemporary theatrical conventions, positioning Handel's choral settings as a critical intervention in shaping British operatic and theatrical aesthetics. This paper aims to contribute to the conference theme of "Bodies and Embodiment" by exploring how Handel's music, grounded in the corporeal theory of humors and cosmic harmony, provides a governance framework for the emotional and physical embodiment of the characters, with particular focus on the role of female agency in restoring cosmic order.

10:20-10:40	COFFEE BREAK	MEET YOUR MENTOR
Harold Lee Room (Henderson 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. **You can meet up by the registration desk and then head to the nearby Farthings Café.**

10:40-12:00	THURSDAY SESSION II
31	**The Power of Exchanging Diverse Stories: Impact, Experience, and Enhancement**
Room:	Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building)
Abstract:	This pedagogically centered panel will focus on the curricular and co-curricular enhancements to students' education when mediated through experiential learning activities and inclusive practices. As a form of pedagogy, experiential learning is framed on the understanding that individuals learn through experiencing the world around them. As individuals have their own lived experience, how one interprets a work, enters a space, or perceives new environments, is mediated through that individual's lived experience. By giving students access, physically and virtually, to a variety of spaces, ideas can be tested, and students can "experience" what they "know" in the abstract, producing an unprecedented range of learning, assessment, and feedback. As the speakers on this panel recognize, our students' education hinges upon the importance of focused reflection and the opportunity to share these reflections. We also believe that diverse stories need to be acknowledged and shared, particularly in experiential learning contexts. As scholars of the long eighteenth century, coming from a range of disciplines, including, literature, culture, historic preservation and history, we know how important the period has been in crafting our understanding of the modern world, including the range of voices that were recorded and produced for a reading public, as well as those that were left hidden in plain sight. This diverse range of stories is what we want and need to share with our own students. By using the conference theme of bodies and embodiment as a framework for our discussions, this panel will combine the history, literature, and culture of the eighteenth century with experiential learning pedagogy of the present day to show how the eighteenth century was foundational to the modern world and sheds light on current attitudes, beliefs and behaviours. Panelists will also share their own

stories and teaching strategies, to show the power of the voice intersects with experiential learning, in a myriad of dynamic, nuanced and exciting ways.

Chair: **Adam James Smith**, York St John University

Speakers: **Victoria Barnett-Woods**, Washington College

Storrs Hall: Truth, Beauty, and the Whitewashing of History

For her contribution, Victoria will discuss an annual trip to the Lake District that she leads wither her Washington College (Maryland, USA) students. During this trip, American students visit major Lake District sites and read Romantic poetry and conduct other critical visits, as connected to a summer course. One of these critical visits is Storrs Hall, an exclusive luxury hotel which claims close proximity to the country's largest national park. According to its website, it was frequented by the Lakeland poets William Wordsworth and Robert Southey and is both architecturally pristine and idyllically situated on the edges of Windermere Lake. What is also mentioned, though in a deeply buried section of the site's history, is its connection to John Bolton, "whose fortune was derived from his activities as a slave trader." When the American students visit Storrs Hall, they are both introduced to the grandeur and exclusivity of the location. The students are also asked to consider the various sources of invisible labor that made that site what it is today. These questions of exclusivity, exploitative and invisible labor and the transatlantic slave trade are compounded by the fact that Storrs Hall is private property, with non-paying visitors possibly requested to leave the premises. During this trip and particularly in this moment, students contemplate, discuss, and reflect upon the beauty of the site and the multiple histories that occupy a single space. It is a powerful example of experiential learning and exploring the multiple stories that a single space can provide.

Karen Lipsedge, Kingston University

Speaking Treasures of Quiet Beauty: Using Country House Collections to Engage Diverse Visitors in a Conversation about our Shared National Histories

Since 2020, museums, universities, and the Church, as well as some country houses, have enhanced efforts to seek new ways to uncover and communicate the hidden stories of colonialism and slavery, often as part of a wider strategy to decolonise and dismantle the systemic and structural inequalities embedded at the heart of our institutions. While some have questioned the extent to which contemporary exhibitions or the rewriting of the narrative of a historic building can change the structures of empire that remain central to many societies, Karen will use the work Kenwood House has undertaken to respond to the needs of diverse audiences, by using dress-up to tell the hidden stories of the people who lived there from an intersectional and inclusive perspective.

Using Kenwood House as a case study, Karen will argue that using dress-up has the potential to tell the stories of previously unheralded peoples and objects at the centre of our country houses and, as a consequence, to breathe life into our 'treasures of quiet beauty'. It also helps to transform our 'quiet' country houses into an inclusive, vibrant, learning space where all visitors can feel included in a conversation not only about how our shared national history shapes who we once were, but also continues to inform who we are and will be as a nation. By letting country house collections speak, we can help our students to engage actively in a dynamic exchange between the past and the present, in a way that helps us to break these silenced voices of our past artfully and together create a way for them to continue to be heard and understood in the future.

Jeff Cowton, Wordsworth Trust

Being Wordsworthian'. Walking in the footsteps with the words of William and Dorothy Wordsworth

Wordsworth Grasmere, a museum site based around the Wordsworth's home of Dove Cottage (1799-1808), welcomes groups of students and others for single or multi-day sessions of experiential learning. A typical experience involves time in the very home of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, a session exploring and handling books and manuscripts of 200 years ago, a walk literally in the footsteps of their daily walks, and reflective / creative sessions pulling together learning from the time spent together. These are sessions which Jeff has developed over the last 12 years and mostly leads by himself– as a curator, they provide some of the most rewarding experiences of the role and provide him with new understandings of the poetry from the lived experiences of those taking part. This illustrated presentation will outline a typical immersive experience, providing evidence of impact from the words of those taking part. Whilst many of these case studies will feature student groups, he will also demonstrate how this form of learning can benefit people from diverse backgrounds outside of the academy. In turn, he shares these latter examples with students who may be considering community-focused museum work as a post university vocation.

Hillary Burlock, University of Liverpool
Georgian Dance and Embodied Knowledge: Motion, Senses, and Experiential Learning
Experiential learning, or 'learning by doing', shapes what and how people remember, in deep and enduring ways. Physical experiences are embedded in implicit memory, encoded through motion and emotion in the brain. Based on the premise that learning is not an outcome but a process, Hillary Burlock will discuss the cumulative value of experiential learning and purposeful reflection as tools for broadening insight into eighteenth-century life.
For dance historians, bodily practice provides an essential lens for deeper reflection upon historic dance treatises and musical scores, and modern interpretations. Insights into the carriage of the body, the placement of feet and legs, and the gestures and eye contact used to communicate during the dance, all illuminate the skill and endurance necessary to dance with grace and ease, the community forged during the dance, and the performance pressures associated with minuets or quadrille solos. Modern bodily practice invaluably informs historical research, interpretation, and pedagogical method. Conversely, the ephemerality of dance and bodily experiences in the ballroom require historians to investigate other sources to flesh out its performance.
Hillary Burlock's paper contextualises eighteenth-century dance as embodied expressions of gender, status, performativity, sociability, and hegemony. Through practice, she argues for experiential learning as a mode of uncovering the unspoken dynamics of bodies in space and embodied knowledge, both in the eighteenth and twenty-first centuries.

32 **Global Material Culture and the Body I**
Room: Allen & Overy Room (Henderson Building)
Abstract: This panel emerges from a collaboration between Historians of Eighteenth-Century Art and Architecture (HECAA) and York's Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies (CECS). It takes inspiration from HECAA's international / online reading group devoted to new work in global material culture studies and CECS's research strengths in material culture, knitting these research areas to the conference theme on 'Bodies and Embodiment'. The panel will have an interdisciplinary focus and importantly will draw in more voices from History of Art, a discipline less represented at BSECS than those of English and History. We hope it will be linked to a second panel, chaired by a member of HECCA. Both panels make ample room for the research of ECRs and pay serious attention to the intersection of the global with material culture studies--and key development in this area of research.

Chair: **Chloe Wigston Smith**, University of York

Speakers: **Kaitlin Grimes**, Flagler College

From Luxury to Rapacity: The Politics of Anglo-Indian Ivory Furniture in the Nabobian Country Home

Throughout history, ivory has been connoted as a luxurious global commodity used in the production of uniquely elite and sumptuously rare objects that projected the power of its patron. With Britons, like Horace Walpole, adorning their homes with ivory-inlayed furniture, the material became a semiotically-charged colonial material that illustrated the owner's wealth, erudition, and global reach. But what happens to ivory's materiality when its owner is a loathed figure, like the English nabob? How does ivory's meaning change to illustrate the rapacious qualities of these Company men and even highlight nabobian corruption? This paper seeks to answer how the nabobian body played a role in the reception of ivory furniture in 18th-century England. Focusing on Anglo-Indian ivory furniture made in India and brought to England by Company nabobs, I look towards the second half of the eighteenth-century to illustrate how ivory furniture interacted and projected imperial luxuriousness and exoticism within the nabobian country home. As an illustration of the nabob's Indian tenure and English origination, I argue that Anglo-Indian ivory furniture became a negatively charged object that supported and even aided in England's unease with the nabob's reviled hybridity in the English domestic landscape. As the nabob bought up tracts of English land to display Indian materiality, Anglo-Indian ivory furniture – and the ivory itself – became a material vehicle that visually propagated the tenuous English and Indian identity of the nabob. Focusing on ivory's placement within the realms of 'luxury' and 'exotic', I explore the material's connection to other aspects of global material culture – like Indian textiles adorning the English body and British-produced ivory furniture – to illuminate how materiality can change based on ownership and reputation. By interrogating the reciprocal relationship of the nabobian body to Anglo-Indian ivory furniture in the English country house – in contrast to Indian textiles and British furniture – a new formulation of the mutability of global material culture emerges. This paper ultimately seeks to elucidate how ivory's politics turned from a luxurious material to one that explicated rapacity in the 18th-century world.

Joanna De Groot, University of York

Fashion, Gender, and Globalisation: Towards a Decolonial and Intersectional History of Shawls, c. 1780-1830

In the late eighteenth century the movement of shawls made in South Asia beyond that area began to refigure these garments/accessories as articles of wear and as objects of skilled production and long-distance investment and exchange. These processes had important material and cultural dynamics, seen in the lived practices of shawl production and use and in the representations of those practices in art and literature. As newly varied groups became shawl wearers, and as the making of shawls influenced by South Asian practices developed in England, France, and Russia around 1800, such garments/accessories acquired both new cultural meanings and new material roles.

In this presentation I will explore the emergence of discourses around the production, use and acquisition of shawls in France and England from the 1780s to the post-Napoleonic period, focussing on two themes. Firstly, I will look at the role of shawls in the reconfiguring of class and gender dynamics in those societies as shawl-wearing expanded beyond elite circles and became coded as a distinctively female practice. This will open up a discussion of notions of "fashion" and "luxury" in discourses of class and gender and of the shifting [in]visibility of these categories, including the invisibility of productive as opposed

to consumption practices. An analytical comparison of contrasting images of Emma Hamilton and Josephine de Beauharnais as shawl wearers will provide the stimulus for that discussion. Secondly, I will locate the history of shawl use, shawl production, and their meanings within the paradigm of 'exoticising the domestic/ domesticating the exotic', a feature of many socio-cultural developments in Britain and France from the mid-eighteenth century. This will allow consideration of how global and colonial exchanges between Britain, France, and a wider world were simultaneously intimate and large-scale, familiar and exotic, domestic and global. Depictions in art, advertising, and fiction will be explored as expressions/evidence of the interactions between these elements. Exploration of these themes will contribute to a conversation about decolonial and intersectional approaches to material culture and cultural production in the long eighteenth century.

Shing-Kwan Chan, Princeton University

Queering the Fold: The Painted Fan and the Embodiment of Male Same-Sex Desire in Early Modern China

This paper explores the intersection of early modern Chinese material culture and the body by examining a painted fan from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century that portrays male same-sex desire. As a handheld accessory intimately connected to the body's gestures and movements, the fan served as both a tactile object and a canvas for subversive expression. Focusing on this homoerotic painted fan, this paper reveals how it mediates private desires and public personas, unfolding complex narratives of queer expression. Central to the analysis is the concept of "tactical morality," which refers to the strategic use of moralistic imagery to veil homoerotic content, thereby navigating the sociocultural constraints and potential censorship of the time. In particular, the depiction of opium paraphernalia and hungry ghosts adds layers of meaning related to yearning, morality, and the otherworldly, complicating the relationship between the object, the body, and societal norms. The depiction of human and spectral bodies on the fan not only represents queer desire but also engages the viewer in a haptic experience; handling the artifact becomes an intimate interaction with its narratives. Situated within the broader context of material culture, the fan embodies a dual role as personal indulgence and public accoutrement. This duality underscores the complexities of visualizing and communicating queer affects in early modern China, where expressions of same-sex desire were both pervasive and policed. Through an interdisciplinary lens combining art history, material culture studies, and queer theory, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of how tactile objects like painted fans can encode and convey nuanced expressions of desire in early modern China. It challenges traditional moralistic readings of such artifacts, urging a re-examination of their surfaces to unfold the rich, often veiled narratives beneath.

Lauren Bradshaw, Winterthur Museum / University of Delaware

Tactilities of Transience in English & Early American Layette Pincushions, 1760-1800

My research focuses on the material traces of maternal touch found in a specific class of pincushions that were given as maternity gifts in England and Early America predominantly in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. These objects exemplify transitory moments in the lives of both mothers and their infants as well as the formational bonds created by sensory exchanges such as swaddling and diapering. They additionally embody a multitude of tactile and temporal modalities including the innate ephemerality of their design. As the messages and motifs are formed utilizing the exposed heads of pins as a design element, the aesthetic and sentimental value must be sacrificed by mothers grasping the pin heads and sliding them from their points of origin that were

carefully placed by the hands of the attentive maker. Hopeful messages spelled out in pins such as "Welcome Little Stranger" also take on anticipatory temporal significance as they would often be created before the birth of the child and would shift in meaning if either the mother or the child did not survive the birth. The scarred surfaces of these objects serve as a kind of haptic repository for the movements of a young mother, leaving a mark almost as a form of punctuation every time a pin is removed or returned. Directly opposed to notions of maternal sentiment, these objects retain an inherently violent tactility in that they are capable of injuring infants, which was a common occurrence for babies getting stuck with their diaper pins prior to the advent of safety pins in the mid-nineteenth century. The superstition "more pins, more pain" caused mothers to fear that if they received the gift before the birth that there would be an increase in labor pains which allegedly led to the removal of all pins and therefore the destruction of the commemorative design. This practice can also be contextualized within the culturally universal tendency to relate corporeal sensation with various ritualistic objects such as amulets, reliquaries, and effigies.

33 **Reading and Language**

Room: Andrew Pitt Room (Henderson Building)

Chair: **Cleo O'Callaghan Yeoman**, Universities of Stirling, Glasgow, and Edinburgh

Speakers: **Conrad Brunstrom**, Maynooth University

"EvelEEna versus EvelYna": Frances Burney, pronunciation, and putting prosody into prose

This paper offers one very specific piece of evidence regarding the correct pronunciation of Frances Burney's first novel. This evidence is not conclusive but might invite fresh ways of addressing this and related issues. Rhyme can obviously serve as a pronunciation guide, but this paper suggests that metre can also be of value. When names are subjected to metrical discipline, the extent to which syllables are stretched and contorted can be revealing. The extent to which the phonetic totality names can be extrapolated from poetic contractions is instructive in an age dominated by popular theories of eloquence and emphasis. There are larger implications to this question. The paper will consider ways in which cross referencing poetry with prose might offer interesting suggestions for the implied soundscape of prose fiction.

The discussion of "correct" pronunciation of names has, in any case, far more considerable consequences within the world of Burney's social commentary. There is a strange intimidatory power attached to names whose pronunciation is counter-intuitive – names that "most people" are liable to get wrong. When a mispronounced name provokes mirth and censure among those keen to display their inside knowledge, then outsiders and ingenues may fear to attempt to say such a name out loud. A name who may not be named is the most powerful name of all.

Luisa Signorelli, University College London

Hamlet's Advice to the Speakers: Shakespeare and the Study of Elocution in Eighteenth-Century Britain

In 1756, one year after the publication of Samuel Johnson's Dictionary, Thomas Sheridan's British Education presented another plan to bring English 'to a state of perfection'. In an age of anxiety about linguistic deterioration, Sheridan found a standard of expression in the vernacular literary past, especially in Shakespeare. Sheridan's reliance on Shakespeare's exemplary language is not unlike the plans for the standardisation of English designed by Johnson and many others. His elocutionary concerns, however, cast Shakespeare's influence beyond style, into the sphere of eloquence and delivery: it is Shakespeare's 'skill in oratory' from which, Sheridan argues, Shakespeare – and the British people, if they follow his example – derive their 'superiority over all ... nations'.

The manifold efforts for the codification of English in the eighteenth century have been extensively researched. But while most scholarship is interested in the standardisation of grammar and pronunciation, efforts to establish a national system of vernacular oratory are still understudied, especially given the long-lasting effects of these ideas on British education. Elocutionary thinkers popularised the study of vernacular literature by grounding the teaching of rhetoric on the delivery of belles lettres. This principle found its application in specially composed anthologies, most notably the extremely successful The Speaker (1774) and Elegant Extracts (1783), which were among the first widely adopted textbooks in Great Britain and the colonies.

This paper draws from more than 1,000 extracts from Shakespeare found in elocutionary anthologies to explore his role in the establishment and standardisation of British oratory. As this paper will demonstrate, the elocutionists primed Shakespeare's text for intuitive declamation by redirecting their readers to the 'punctuational stage directions' of Johnson's edition. Mediated by Garrick's 'naturalistic performance', the reception of Shakespeare's style – dramatic and 'natural' at once – articulated the dilemma between nature and art, or spontaneity and performance, that lay at the foundation of elocutionary training. At a time when the correct expression of the 'passions' was a matter of civic virtue, Shakespeare's words – and especially Hamlet's advice that the players 'o'erstep not the Modesty of Nature' – infused the tension between authenticity and emotional control with the same moral implications found in contemporary theories of moral sentiments. This paper will read this paradox as a form of criticism. It is Shakespeare's status as the unlearned poet of 'Nature' that makes his text a tool to teach the 'Art' of speaking. As Shakespeare's mastery over the spontaneous expression of the passions helped prospective orators calculate their emotional responses, the very act of learning from his works pointed to the impossibility of replicating his genius.

Anaclara Castro-Santana, National Autonomous University of Mexico

Completing the Word-Mangler's Body from Page to Stage: Of Mrs Slipslop and Mrs Malaprop

Mrs. Malaprop, from Richard Sheridan's The Rivals (1775), epitomizes the "word-mangler" type in stage comedy with her comical misuse of sophisticated language. She is often compared to earlier theatrical figures like Shakespeare's Dogberry and Bottom, as well as Congreve's Lady Plyant from The Double Dealer (1699). Recent scholarship also recognizes the influence of Mrs. Tryfort from Frances Sheridan's A Journey to Bath (c. 1765), a connection previously understated.

A cross-generic foray, however, reveals that Mrs. Malaprop more closely resembles Mrs. Slipslop from Henry Fielding's Joseph Andrews (1742), a novel familiar to Sheridan's contemporaries. Not only do both characters make humorous linguistic mistakes, but their errors have more layers of meaning and are harder to decipher than those of their theatrical predecessors. This complexity, I argue, results from their blending of dramatic and novelistic traits. Mrs. Slipslop, the creation of a playwright who turned to fiction out of need, exhibits theatrical exaggeration and sonority in her discourse. (Not coincidentally an early reviewer labelled her "the soubrette of the comedy"). Similarly, Mrs. Malaprop combines dramatic flamboyance with novelistic depth, delivering intricate lines that test the audience's understanding—as Leigh Hunt famously suggested. This contributes to make The Rivals as much an "acting play" as a "reading play", to use Fielding's distinction.

Besides their sanctimonious hypocrisy and pairing with elder male foils (Parson Adams and Sir Antony Absolute, respectively), Mrs. Slipslop and Mrs. Malaprop share physical traits. Both are childless, unattractive, middle-aged women—which distinguishes them from the male Dogberry and Bottom, and from Congreve's

young and sexy blunderer.
The conveyance of these characters' physicality varies from one work to the other. Of Mrs. Malaprop we know little, other than she is "close to fifty". Mrs. Slipslop is depicted in far greater detail as bulky, grotesquely disproportionate, bovine in appearance, and feline in demeanor. This exhaustive textual portrait is substituted by the live embodiment of Mrs. Malaprop on stage, whose presence and utterances are linked to the body of the actress portraying her (originally, the corpulent Jane Green, who was 56 and specialized in eccentric elderly ladies). Mrs. Slipslop's body is confined to textual descriptions, activated by readers' imaginations, while Mrs. Malaprop can be read and imagined, as well as seen and heard in performance, through the real body she temporarily inhabits. To complicate matters further, as theatrical audiences increasingly comprised novel readers (as Ross Ballaster and Marcie Frankie recently note), viewers of The Rivals could bring the textual body of Mrs. Slipslop from an earlier reading of JA to their experience of Mrs. Malaprop on stage. Conversely, readers of Fielding's novel who had seen The Rivals could adjust their mental image of Mrs. Slipslop based on the stage portrayal. While these reconstructions are speculative, they deepen our understanding of the interplay between text and stage, and the distinct ways dramatic and novelistic imaginations shape characters. This is what my paper sets out to do.

Joseph Turner, University of Oxford
Elegance and Truth in Hester Lynch Piozzi's British Synonymy
Introducing "British Synonymy, her Attempt at Regulating the Choice of Words in Familiar Conversation", to its readers in 1794, Hester Piozzi defined the purpose of her book by a contrast with the more dignified (and implicitly more valuable) productions of her male counterparts: 'If then to the selection of words in conversation and elegant colloquial language, a book may give assistance, the Author [...] modestly offers her's; persuaded that, while men teach to write with propriety, a woman may at worst be qualified—through long practice—to direct the choice of phrases in familiar talk'. Having described the art of grammar, the 'province of men and scholars', in elevated terms, Piozzi swiftly dismisses any claim that her own work might lay to 'excellence', which is 'in truth superfluous to a work like this, intended chiefly for a parlour window, and acknowledging itself unworthy of a place upon a library shelf': 'And although the final cause of definition is to fix the true and adequate meaning of words or terms, without knowledge which we stir not a step in logic; yet here we must not suffer ourselves to be so detained, as synonymy has more to do with elegance than truth'. Contemporary reviewers seemed inclined to take Piozzi's self-deprecating preface at face value: the "British Critic", for instance, made its judgement of the book in light of the fact that its author 'has aspired to make it rather entertaining than profound, rather convenient for colloquial reference, than a grave and philosophical production, directed to the metaphysical refinement and improvement of our language'.
This paper, however, will pay closer critical attention to Piozzi's claim that 'synonymy has more to do with elegance than truth', terms which turn out not to be as mutually exclusive or opposed as the 'Preface' makes out. Alongside the accents of modesty and self-deprecation that characterise that 'Preface', Piozzi can be seen to make a case for the real significance and moral value of her work, which has to do with its attempt to educate its readers in the making of judgements: between the meaning of one word and another, but also between virtue and vice, good and evil. The paper will consider both the complex, ironic language of Piozzi's 'Preface' and the substance of the entries that follow it, which are often striking for their inclusion of literary digressions, anecdotes, and moral reflections in excess of what her lexicographical endeavour would seem strictly to require. Comparisons will be made with both earlier and later synonymies (such

as those of Trusler and Crabbe), and the paper will conclude by suggesting the literary significance of Piozzi's book and its relationship to the work of other writers, including Johnson and Austen.

34 **Political Culture in Literature**
Room: Littlegate Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Phil Connell**, University of Cambridge
Speakers: **Lara Taylor**, Northeastern University London

'This Fascinating Poison': Beer and the Corruption of the Body and The Body Politic in Cowper's *The Task* and Trotter's 'An Essay, Medical, Philosophical, and Chemical, on Drunkenness, and Its Effects on the Human Body'

This paper will map how beer's relation both to the literal body and the body politic changed during the 18th century. It will discuss how the changing rhetoric surrounding alcohol resulted in beer's cultural discourse shifting its focus from health to corruption. In 'Hints Respecting the Effects of Hard Drinking' (1787) the physician J. Lettsom refers to alcohol as 'this fascinating poison.' His description points to changing views on alcohol and the body that occurred in the late 18th century. The 1751 Gin Act caused the Gin Craze to wane and the temperance movement gained momentum. Alcohol, no longer viewed as 'aqua vitae', was seen as poisonous to the body. Alcohol is 'fascinating' because of its potential to become addictive, and because physicians and philosophers alike had become interested in alcohol's impact on consciousness and in the implications of this impact on the relationship between the mind and body. That alcohol could affect both the physical body and the thinking mind undermined the established model of Cartesian dualism that viewed consciousness and the body as essentially separate, and therefore allowed for the separateness and immortality of the soul. Beer, capable of rousing the spirits without befuddling them, became the embodiment of balance for a nation that could not bring itself to embrace teetotalism.

This paper will explore beer within the body politic through a comparative reading of Cowper's 'The Task' (1785) and Trotter's 'An Essay, Medical, Philosophical, and Chemical, on Drunkenness, and Its Effects on the Human Body' (1804). It will focus on beer's developing association with corruption and luxury. Beer's relationship with the body is more nuanced than that of spirits. Beer sits in a grey area between food and drink, and medicine and poison. Many early modern ales had the consistency of watery porridge. Butter Beer, popular in the late 16th and early 17th centuries and combining eggs, oats, butter, sugar, nutmeg, ginger, cloves and sugar, was arguably a liquid meal. Yet the snowballing commercial success of 18th century brewers and burgeoning of modern pub-culture meant beer started to be drunk, not as a necessity, but as an affordable luxury. As a result, beer became tainted with allegations of corruption associated with luxury. In Trotter's essay and Cowper's poem, beer, as a consequence of commercialisation, is a symbol of greed and corruption rather than productivity. Trotter likens commercialised beer to a disease spreading outwards from the city and infecting the countryside. 'This poisonous morning beverage' he writes, 'was, till lately, confined to the metropolis and its vicinity; but has now, like other luxuries, found its way into all provincial towns.' As demonstrated by these two authors, beer's relationship to the body takes on new significance over the course of the 18th century. No longer regarded as a tonic, 'this fascinating poison' starts to embody the corruption of both the mind-body relationship and the body politic.

Jonathan Perris, University of Oxford

The Pathology of Burke's "Two Great Evils"

Amidst the slew of East India Bills tabled throughout the 1770s and 1780s, Edmund Burke emerged as a prominent critic of East India Company abuses. In

his parliamentary diatribes, Burke frequently employed the imagery of the perceived illicit practices of Company officials as "infecting" the organic body politic – the force of which, for Burke, was such that might overwhelm the immunogenic capacity of British virtue. He was, to borrow Michael J. Franklin's words, "horrified by its virulent potential to infect public life". Moreover, as in the Indian question, the imagery of the body national as a self-organised, organic phenomenon in constant epidemiological jeopardy would also come to course through his later Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790). This discourse of disease would form much of the rhetorical foundations of Burke's confrontations with what he called the "two great evils" of Jacobinism and "Indianism" and beyond. Indeed, bodily process is also foundational to the aesthetic philosophy he had earlier developed in his Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful (1757). In this, too, Burke's seminal physiologisation of the sublime might immediately draw analogy with contemporary medical descriptions of the overwhelming bodily operation of disease – say, with the account of hydrophobia as analogous to something like emotional excess in the widely circulated An Essay on the Hydrophobia (1753) by Burke's physician father-in-law, Christopher Nugent.

This paper, then, draws together for examination these three Burkean politico-historical and philosophical frameworks – Indianism, Jacobinism and sensational aesthetics – within a context of rapidly changing contemporary understandings of medical science, human physiology and, in particular, epidemiology. I examine how Burke draws on not only the language but also the various conceptual workings of eighteenth-century conceptions of disease. In particular, I suggest that Burke employed both of the two most prominent (and ostensibly opposed) theories of disease in the eighteenth century – the contagionist and the miasmic models – and in so doing mapped his political conception of juridical–imperial sovereignty to the respective associations of these models with conservative and reformist approaches to containment. In this rhetoric, the binding together of these models with Burke's physiological politico-aesthetic dialectic thereby formed a protean rhetoric of nationhood in which physiology is a mediating category through which national ontology is conceptualised and assimilated.

Baiyu Andrew Song, Andrew Fuller Centre for Baptist Studies

"To have free liberty": William Winterbotham (1763–1829) and his prison treatises

In the 1790s, William Pitt, Jr.'s (1759–1806) ministry tried several political radicals, as the government felt the political tremor inspired by the French Revolution on the continent. Among these radicals was William Winterbotham (1763–1829), a Baptist minister at Plymouth, after he preached two sermons to commemorate the storming of the Bastille. Unlike his fellow radical nonconformists such as Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), Theophilus Lindsey (1723–1808), Robert Robinson (1735–1790), and Mark Wilks (1748–1819), Winterbotham was the only radical minister tried and sentenced to imprisonment at Newgate, which in turn made him a nonconformist celebrity. Besides receiving frequent visits from known personnel, Winterbotham also penned two treatises on America and China while at Newgate. Though he had never been to either continent before, Winterbotham's careful research and detailed description made these treatises become the kingdom's best sellers. Despite recent scholarly interests in Winterbotham's radicalism, little attention has been paid to his prison experience, especially his composition of the two historical treatises. This paper explores how Winterbotham understood his imprisonment and the intended outcomes of his treatises. By exploring both primary and secondary sources, this paper argues that while being imprisoned, William Winterbotham used his treatises to explore and present options for civil liberty in both America and China.

Carol Stewart, University of East Anglia
Embodiments of Republican Virtue: Female Chastity as a Mode of Civic Agency in Penelope Aubin's Early Fiction
Penelope Aubin is routinely referred to in criticism as an Anglican and a Tory, but to date there has been no political contextualisation of her fiction, nor any political readings of it. With heroines determined to maintain their chastity despite the temptations of wealth and status or the threat of rape, Aubin has more usually been seen as a moral writer offering female exemplars of virtue to counter the scandalous fiction of her contemporaries Delariver Manley and Eliza Haywood. Yet the Prefaces to Aubin's novels are often highly political in character. Her paratexts bear all the hallmarks of republican or Country polemic: a picture of national decline; a sense of all-pervading corruption; nostalgia for supposedly lost values, whether literary, social, moral or religious; and the insinuation that British liberty is under threat. Her language is often very close to that of John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon in Cato's Letters, the chief expression of Country opposition before Bolingbroke's Craftsman.
The Country bête noir is self-interest, and republican heroes are those classical figures like Cinncinnatus who defended his country and then spurned rewards and honours, or Cato, who committed suicide rather than compromise his own integrity by accepting a pardon from Julius Caesar. Aubin regenders civic republicanism's ideal, disinterested citizen as a woman defending her 'virtue', always synonymous with female chastity. Maria, in The Noble Slaves, tears out her own eyeballs rather than witness the shame of her own rape. Aubin creates situations where women can be heroic, independent and even violent in the defence of their own integrity. To the extent that their examples may effect moral reform, the women achieve national importance and a kind of civic agency—but only at the price of self-denial.

35
Archaeo-Theatre History and the Legacy of Robert D. Hume Roundtable
Room: Mary Hyde Eccles Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Abstract: This panel features papers by several contributors to a forthcoming festschrift in memory of the late Robert D. Hume. Deborah C. Payne will open with an overview of Robert D. Hume's contributions to genre criticism, material culture, and historical methodology and suggest how he reshaped our understanding of Restoration and eighteenth-century theatre history and performance.

Chair: **Mita Choudhury**, Purdue University Northwest
Speakers: **Deborah Payne**, American University
Hume's Legacy
Juan Antonio Prieto-Pablos, Universidad de Sevilla
Reassessing the Restoration Comic Hero
Ros Ballaster, University of Oxford
'Others who are haunted by poetic divills like me': Sisters and the Stage in Polwhele, Behn, and Boothby
Matthew Kinservik, University of Delaware
The Suppression of the Royalty Theatre Reconsidered
Bridget Orr, Vanderbilt University
'Stain'd and Sullied': women and slavery in Sedley's *Bellamira*

36
New Approaches to Rape Studies
Room: Mackesy Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Abstract: Frances Ferguson's foundational 'Rape and the Rise of the Novel' (1987) drew attention to the 'perverse collusion between the structural passivity of the female body' and legal as well as psychological obstacles in women's capacity to consent. Toni Bowers powerfully asserts in Force or Fraud: British Seduction Stories and

the Problem of Resistance, 1660-1760 (2011), 'Eighteenth-century seduction stories ... shed light on anxieties with "British" self-definition that remain pertinent in our own day' and 'reveal connections between resistance practices of many kinds'. Valuing these and other earlier debates, this panel acknowledges that critical discourse has evolved in its priorities and politics.
To reflect new strategies of addressing rape, this panel brings together scholars whose talks will engage current movements against sexual violence and assess how we approach gender-based violence in eighteenth-century literature and culture. The goal is to, in a small but powerful way, foster solidarity and transform the analysis of sexual violence in eighteenth-century studies.
The wide circulation of the #MeToo movement in online spaces since 2017 has renewed scholarly interest in eighteenth-century sexual violence and leads us to call for revisions of older methodological approaches. We take our cue from Erin Spampinato who, writing in differences (2021), deprioritizes 'adjudicative' methods of approaching rape in literature—that is, scholars' legalistic weighing of characters' motivation and criminal conduct. Spampinato offers a 'capacious' conception of sexual violence enabling critics to register a greater number of acts as harmful and worthy of scholarly engagement. Questions these talks may address include: What are the historical continuities—and discontinuities—between eighteenth-century sexual violence and contemporary definitions of 'rape culture'? What methodological strategies can bring sexual assault in historic depictions from the margins to the centre of critical attention? What kinds of scholarly futures can a focus on sexual violence, broadly conceived, unlock? How can twenty-first century lenses resituate and reconfigure former methodologies and offer responsible ways to analyse literary and historical representations of sexual violence?

Chair: **Laura Davies**, University of Cambridge

Speakers: **Jolene Zigarovich**, University of Northern Iowa

Opium, Senseless Bodies, and Rape in the Eighteenth-Century Novel

Looking at the expanded availability of opium through the colonial trade, as well as eighteenth-century rape trials involving unconscious victims, this talk locates the increasing frequency of the incapacitated victim rape plot. In its close readings of rape in eighteenth-century fiction, it makes specific claims about body politics and autonomy in the period. The talk closely analyses early literary examples of anesthetised rape scenes, such as occur in Mary Davys's The Accomplish'd Rake and numerous Penelope Aubin novels, as well as the most discussed drugged rape in English literature: that of Richardson's Clarissa. It then examines the "Clarissa effect": various fictional interpretations of incapacitation such as depicted in John Cleland's Genuine Memoirs of the Celebrated Miss Maria Brown and Matthew Lewis's gothic novel The Monk. Framed by recent high-profile drugged rape cases in the US and UK, the talk claims that by examining this particular rape history and its forms of silence, as well as continued investigations into assault cultures and histories, we can better understand our current culture's violent and disturbing inheritance.

Roxanne Brousseau, Université de Montréal

The Rape Victims' Body: Site of Violence and Medical Contestation

This presentation examines the evolving roles of medical practitioners in the context of the crime of rape through an analysis of Old Bailey trial reports and medical texts. Midwives initially provided medical care for rape victims; as the eighteenth century progressed, however, physicians and surgeons increasingly took precedence in both medical and judicial contexts, an often-distressing change for victims because of the intimate nature of medical examinations. Indeed, trial reports reveal the invasive and often traumatic nature of medical examinations or what is frequently described as a secondary violation. More

broadly, the female victims' body becomes a site of contestation, where medical men, among others, discuss and disagree upon the meaning of rape and its physical manifestations. Contradictions arise in the discourse surrounding the female body, which is characterised as powerful enough to prevent instances of rape but also sometimes deemed responsible whenever a rape transpires. Moreover, while the body serves as evidence of rape, the signs of violence are simultaneously often insufficient to establish a rape occurred. The bodies of female victims — where medical authority plays out — reveal the problematic aspects of legal-medical understandings of the crime of rape.

Rebecca Anne Barr, University of Cambridge
Reading between the lines: new critical rape studies and eighteenth-century culture
In an important article on the new critical rape studies, Erin Spampinato coined the term "adjudicative reading" to describe the scholarly tendency to mimic processes when assessing fictional representations: taking on the terminology but also the procedures of a deeply-flawed criminal justice system renowned for failing rape victims. The forthcoming special issue of Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture responds to Spampinato's demand that literary studies cast off the structural misogyny of the law as a structure for analysis. As Kathy Lubey's article on 'Sexual Remembrance in Clarissa' argues, scrutinizing the historical specificities of rape beyond canonical trauma narratives may recuperate differing modes and registers of harm; oblique or accretive methods of registering sexual violence, and forms of assault beyond the violation of cisgender women by cisgender men that was the imaginative fodder for so many eighteenth-century novels.

37
Room: SCR Parlour (Fellows' Staircase)
Chair: **Elaine Chalus**, University of Liverpool
Speakers: **Sarah Milligan**, University of Northern British Columbia
Positioning of Prostitution: Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies and Hierarchal Spaces in Urban London, 1761-1794
During the eighteenth-century, upper-class Londoners spent a significant portion of their time captivated with narratives detailing the movement, location, and descriptions of sex workers. From the period of 1760 to 1794, a directory titled Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies infamously highlighted the eighteenth-century's obsession with sex and prostitution through its detailed conceptualizing of prostitutes' descriptions and locations. The growing historiography on prostitution in eighteenth-century London presents discourse on the relationship of gender and class in connection to sexualization and objectification. These concepts facilitate further consideration of the spatial positioning of each prostitute body and their connections to hierarchal identification. This paper navigates how brothels, bagnios, and the home each promote certain prostitute identities from low-classed and ill-behaved to trustworthy and affluent. In doing so, this paper navigates the intricacies of the positioning of sex workers in gendered and classed spaces through the anecdotes written by the authors of Harris's List. This paper emphasizes the link between prostitution and spatiality through the gendered and classed sentiments of both place and identity. Along with Harris's List, this paper also investigates supporting documents such as travelling and rambling directories to further conceptualize spatial aspects of London. Ultimately, this paper asserts that the hierarchal status of a prostitute and therefore her marketability in Harris's List was often determinate to the physical location that the woman resided. Each location, in turn, defined the perfect prostitute.

Yihong Zhu, King's College London

The Bodies That Walked, Slept, Worked and Played: Nightwalkers in Eighteenth-Century London

Eighteenth-century London witnessed not only the improvement of public street lighting and paving, but also increasing efforts to reform the system of night policing. While these displayed the authorities' endeavour to keep the nocturnal city under surveillance, London's streets at night were also occupied by those who exploited them as working space, those who had no choice but to sleep rough, and night-time ramblers such as the one in John Dunton's Night-Walker (1696), whose moralistic standpoint is inescapably intertwined with an inclination for pleasure-seeking. To study the history of London's nocturnal street life, therefore, is to take a look at the bodies that walked, slept, played and worked on the street at night and how their activities displayed the complex power dynamics within this nocturnal social field.

In The Practice of Everyday Life (1984), de Certeau uses a binary model of voyeur/walker to explain the conflict between order and anarchy on the urban streets: the "voyeur-god" is an "all-seeing power" who produces the language of the city, while the "walker" is one of "the ordinary practitioners of the city" who live "down below" and conform to the vocabulary and syntax created by the voyeur (de Certeau 92-3). Whereas de Certeau recognises the power of the weak to somehow modify the dominant order, his overly simplified model fails to produce "a more vigorous and multi-dimensional account of the complex manner in which bodies, power, mobility and urban forms intersect within the contemporary city" (Morris 681). Similarly, in Nightwalking (2015), Matthew Beaumont reinforces the opposition between the categories of the "noctambulant" and the "noctivagant" but downplays the fact that the complication of both social reality and literary images very often defies easy categorisation.

My paper suggests a remedy to the problematic binary distinctions made by these critics by studying specific types of night-time walkers represented by different texts and the ways they engage with the nocturnal urban space, which is marked by a variety of factors including their attachment to a particular class, gender, or occupation. I will start with a discussion of how the word "nightwalker" acquired a particular gendered meaning at the turn of the eighteenth century, which was closely associated with the policing of female activities at night, and then move on to a wider range of social groups and different styles of nightwalking, and explore how the nightwalking figure is characterised in different kinds of eighteenth-century literary texts. The power dynamics in the nocturnal streets, as I will show, display much more complexity and multidimensionality than binary models suggest, and this is even more complicated by the authorial perspective in literary writings.

Deborah Simonton, University of Southern Denmark

Inscribing the Town on Women's Bodies: Public Health and Public Order in Eighteenth-century Aberdeen

This paper focuses on heath, women's bodies, and disorder in the eighteenth-century town. Uproar and unruliness permeated eighteenth-century urban culture, while town authorities struggled to assert control and produce a healthy town for the common good. The Burgesses of eighteenth-century Aberdeen, as the effective 'citizenry,' imagined cleaner, more open and salubrious spaces in which to conduct social activities. So disorderly women constituted a specific challenge to urban propriety and the 'healthy' town not only to order but also to sexual mores, and potentially to physical health.

The physical health of inhabitants was a recognised civic responsibility and by 1700 Aberdeen had at least four hospitals, although these were intended to care for the aged and infirm, and a further three were added during the century.

	Venereal disease was prevalent throughout the century, and one strategy for dealing with incurable diseases was exclusion, usually targeting women. Thus, the link between health and behaviour, especially sexual misdemeanour, was clearly present and 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' were both physical and metaphorical. Women deemed to be 'loose' and sexually promiscuous, figured large in Aberdeen Council efforts to create a healthy and virtuous civic society. The association of 'uncleanness' with female sexuality, and a sense that this reverberated on the health of the town was significant. Thus, the town resorted to excluding unhealthy factors, like the 'unclean' bodies of suspect women. Banishment was widely used as a tool for getting rid of people who did not fit into the ideal of a 'healthy' town. It was deliberately public as a demonstration of power, meant not only to punish but also to shame offenders. It was usually accompanied by physical shaming, putting women in the stocks, often labelling them on their breasts and then riding them out of town to tuck of drum, making a spectacle of them and their shamed bodies. Order, sociability, and a self-conscious awareness of how the town projected itself were central to Aberdonian's sense of civic identity and civility. In rejecting the 'filth and nastiness' of the past, public disorder and unclean behaviour had to be eradicated. Public female behaviour was an integral part of this agenda. The victims were, therefore, women of the labouring classes, who were seen as noisy, unclean, bawdy and disruptive—even when they were not overtly creating havoc. Vagrants, suspected 'loose' women, fish hawkers and disruptive women were cleared from the streets and even the town itself. Thus, women's bodies were policed according to a concept of civic nicety and politeness. The humiliation and shaming that characterised punishments focus attention on the importance of monitoring and controlling civic spaces.

12:00-13:30	LUNCH, Dining Hall (Chapel Quad) If you would like a quieter space to eat, please visit Farthing's Café (Henderson Building)

13:30-14:50	THURSDAY SESSION III
38	**Embodied Knowledge: The Body in 18th Century British Disciplines Roundtable**
Room:	Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building)
Abstract:	As the Enlightenment's emphasis on reason and abstraction began to shape intellectual inquiry in 18th century Britain, the body remained a vital site of engagement for various disciplines. This panel seeks to explore how different fields – from medicine and natural philosophy to art and literature – utilized the human body as a means of understanding the world. The panel will examine how each discipline approached the body's embodiment, asking questions such as: How did medical professionals like John Hunter and William Cullen conceptualize the body in their anatomical and pathological studies? In what ways did Enlightenment thinkers like David Hume and Adam Smith incorporate bodily experience into their philosophical treatises on human nature? How did artists like Henry Fuseli and Jean-Augustin Daragne utilize the human form to explore themes of beauty, morality, psychology and the sublime? We will also consider how 18th century Britain's cultural and social shifts – such as the rise of urbanization and consumerism – influenced perceptions of the body. For instance, how did the growth of the middle class affect attitudes towards the body and its representation in art and literature? What role did the body play in shaping national identity and cultural norms? Through a multidisciplinary approach, this panel will demonstrate that the body was not just a passive receiver of knowledge but an active participant in shaping various fields. By examining the ways in which different disciplines approached the body's embodiment, we can

gain a deeper understanding of 18th century Britain's intellectual, cultural, and social landscape.

Chair: **Stan Booth**, University of Winchester
Speakers: **Stan Booth**, University of Winchester
Rachel Carnell, Cleveland State University
Maddy Mant, University of Toronto
Matt Cathey, Wofford College
Chanson Bullard, Wofford College
Chris Mounsey, University of Winchester
Karissa Bushman, Mercy University

39 **Life Writing and Self-Fashioning**
Room: Allen & Overy Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Jessica Goodman**, University of Oxford
Speakers: **Declan Kavanagh**, University of Kent
Writing Blind: Michael Clancy's Memoirs (1750)
In the prefacing dedication to the first volume of his Memoirs, Michael Clancy declares that: "The Story I presume to offer to Your Lordship, is the Narrative of a Life full of Variety and Troubles, from perhaps too little an Attention to the proper Means of acquiring the Gifts of Fortune, or a mistaken Course in the Pursuit of them, not duly Considering their real use." Clancy's Memoirs recount his early life and education in Ireland at Trinity College Dublin, and in France, as well as his travels in Spain. In the title pages, he styles himself 'MD.' Whilst Clancy most likely engaged in some medical training in France, this period is not detailed in his narrative. The work is notably unfinished too. Whilst the advertisement that follows the second volume announces that: "The Author then, proposes to continue his Narrative ....", no third volume was ever published. The first volume reads in the vein of the picaresque novel; Clancy travels from Dublin, Ireland, to Spain and later to France in a journey that somewhat approximates in tone the maritime manoeuvrings of Swift's fictional Lemuel Gulliver. His account is More interestingly, Clancy wrote the two volumes of his Memoirs after the loss of his vision. In the second volume, an unidentified editorial voice announces Clancy's blindness in the following way: "The Author in the Year 1737, had the Misfortune of losing his sight by a Cold, which rendered him incapable of his profession." Whilst the reader is told that he had to abandon practicing medicine due to his blindness, there is no detail given in Clancy's own voice about how he experienced the loss of his sight. Given that the Memoirs are told to us in Clancy's voice up until this point, this sudden shift in register is particularly stark. In this paper, I read Clancy's life writing for what it can reveal about embodiment, blindness, and travel in eighteenth-century Europe. In doing so, I argue that certain environments, such as: carriage interiors; the space under tree canopies; libraries; and roads, provide Clancy with a spatial and material setting for rich descriptions of impaired embodiment.

Emma Stanbridge, Keele University
Frances Reynolds's Recollections of Samuel Johnson
Frances Reynolds (1729-1807), primarily known as a painter, was also a poet, essayist, and biographer. As a writer, Reynolds was mentored by Samuel Johnson, with whom she became acquainted in 1756 via her brother, Sir Joshua. Reynolds and Johnson enjoyed an intimate friendship, and she would later paint his portrait. Yet, relatively little is known about Reynolds's life compared to Johnson's other female friends, such as Frances Burney, Hannah More, and Hester Thrale Piozzi. Following Johnson's death in 1784, Reynolds set to work writing her Recollections of Dr. Johnson. Although it remained unpublished during her lifetime, it is a rare instance of a biography of Johnson written by a

woman in the eighteenth century, and its use of anecdote, attention to minutiae to exploit character, and emphasis on Johnson's interaction with a female domestic sociability deserve attention. Using the three surviving manuscript drafts of Recollections, this paper appraises the overlooked biography. I will highlight the significance of Recollections as an example of Johnsoniana, showing how Reynolds reconciles Johnson's charitable ideal of biography with an anecdotal mode adopted from Thrale Piozzi's Anecdotes (1786) that favours insight into domestic privacy to reveal authentic character, and undercuts the masculine sociability of Johnson's club participation in early biographies.

Mar Manyé de Gibert, Universitat de Barcelona

Immortalising a biographical subject: two portraits by Gregori Maians i Siscar

As Catherine N. Parke states in Biography: Writing Lives (2002), the primary urge to celebrate and commemorate, as well as the impulse of life against death, were and continue to be among the chief motives for writing lives. Among the many characteristics of biography that are aimed at immortalising its subject, we find the portrait. During the modern age, biographers often included, either in the first or last pages of their works, a written or engraved portrait of the biographee. In the Eighteenth century, this tendency was far from being overcome, and biographers still usually started or concluded their writings with an image of the biographical subject. Gregori Maians i Siscar (Oliva, 1699-1781) is a prime example of this trend.

Intensely devoted to philology, bibliography, history, and literary criticism, this Valentian polygraph and key figure of the Spanish Enlightenment wrote over twenty lives dedicated to saints, scholars, nobles, jurisconsults and poets. Being well acquainted with the customs of his time, he took care to complement some of his biographies with a portrait. This paper examines two of these depictions, one included in his Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1737), and the other in his Vita Thomae Vicentii Toscae (1754), which, although drawn by the same biographer, have little in common.

To begin with, Maians does not describe Cervantes, but merely recovers a self-portrait of the author and incorporates it into his text; in the second work, however, the biographer himself carefully depicts one of his friends. Consequently, in the first portrait we are presented with a text that portrays the subject's flaws, as Cervantes does not hesitate in talking about his own sharp features, lack of teeth, grey hairs, and small mouth. In contrast, the flaws remain hidden in the second portrait, as Maians, when portraying Tosca, limits himself to describing his subject's virtues. Further, in the latter portrait, only language is used, whereas the first portrait includes a drawing alongside the text.

Despite the differences between one portrait and another, however, they share a common purpose: to bring the biographee back to life, to let the reader see him walk, write, speak, suffer, think, and live. Despite the different approaches to both portraits, the common objective of immortalising the subject stands out, and warrants further analysis.

Gary Kelly, University of Alberta

Embodied Self-fashioning: Young John Clare Negotiates the Literate/Literary Turn

Accounts of first and early encounters with and uses of print are scarce, from the labouring poor even scarcer, and from the transition to modernity scarcer still. Clare's account of his entrance into the print world available to those like himself in his time and his description of that world as he encountered it have special value, then, for our understanding of print culture as lived out by one of those not expected, by himself, his peers, or his society at large—and perhaps also academic book historians—to acquire from and through print the sense of self-reflexive personal identity widely considered to be distinctively modern. Clare's

account of his reading matter during youth is provocative for its breadth and diversity, from street literature of kinds generations old through representatives of recent literature of Sensibility to recent and current redactions of emergent modern expert knowledges, illustrating the broad transformation of cheap and cheapish print, old and new, downmarket and not, occurring in the onset of modernity. This in itself would be valuable for understanding the lived experience and uses of print, and the role of these in self-fashioning, then and now. But Clare's account includes a wide range of his feelings and sensations, locations of occurrence, responses of peers and anticipated responses of his 'betters'. So, whereas most surviving accounts of experiencing print and such uses come from middle-class people and later, when the congruent distinctions and hierarchies of class, culture, and print were ostensibly established in a permanent (and continuing) culture war, Clare's account, and especially his descriptions of embodied and located reading, enables us to grasp and meditate on the embodied transition to self-consciously 'modern' subjecthood as a form of sublation of the embodied self, while Clare's social alienation remained, with poem-making, then emerging as THE discourse of self-sublimation, as therapy. This would be interesting in itself but is more so because Clare consciously came from a class (yes!) widely supposed, then and now, often even by themselves, to be relatively lacking in such subjecthood, perhaps incapable of it, being 'mere' labour, mere body. Some consequences for our practice of such recognition are outlined by way of conclusion.

40 **Studying Emotions**

Room: Andrew Pitt Room (Henderson Building)

Chair: **Rachel Bynoth**, Bath Spa University

Speakers: **Philip Smallwood**, Birmingham City University and Bristol University

How to be Happy? Abraham Cowley's "Essays, in Verse and Prose"

No best life is lived entirely without pain; but there is a difference between what the world says will make you happy, and the personal happiness you discover in yourself, by actual experience and self-knowledge. This is a more profound distinction than is commonly appreciated but one that the habits of materialist society have usually obscured. In his "Essays, in Verse and Prose" Abraham Cowley pays homage to the classical origins of this wisdom through his urgent sense of life's present pleasures, its fragility, its finitude and its absurd delusions. What practical steps, Cowley asks, must we take to be happy? The titles Cowley accords to his "Essays" signal his interlocking answers to this key question: "Of Liberty," "Of Solitude," "Of Obscurity," "Of Agriculture," "Of Greatness" (and why best to avoid it), "The Garden" (and why tending it makes for content and for satisfying self-containment), "Of Avarice" (and its delusions), "The Dangers of an Honest Man in Much Company" (cf. "Of Solitude"), "The Shortness of Life and Uncertainty of Riches," "The Danger of Procrastination" (since life is short), and Cowley's autobiographical "Of My Self." Serving as an anthology of verses, a contextualizing commentary on such verses, a work of classical translation, a work of classical imitation and paraphrase, a location for original work hitherto unrevealed, this array of topics offers a set of intimately connected approaches to the search for happiness and shares elements of the appeal made by the miscellany poems that would come into being under the auspices of Dryden in the decades to follow. This paper offers an exposition of the "Essays, in Verse and Prose" from this point of view.

William Layng, University of Toronto

"Lopping diseased Limbs": Puppets as Sites for Fantasies of the Joyful Deconstruction of the Human Body in Samuel Foote's Puppet Shows

In Samuel Foote's (1720-1777) long and infamous career as playwright, comedian and mimic, there are two instances in which he proposes the puppet

body's superiority over the human body; these instances are his "Tragedy A la Mode" (1763) and "The Primitive Puppet Shew" (1773), in which he frequently compares the human body's susceptibility to illnesses to the always-ready puppet body's capacity to be taken apart and reconstructed. I propose that Foote's puppet shows offer puppets as sites of fantasy for the joyful deconstruction and amputation of the human body. In doing so, I will offer an analysis of how Foote subtly invokes the longstanding and contentious "thinking matter debate" of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to suggest to his audiences that whether matter can think isn't as important as what kinds of matter can entertain. Furthermore, I will analyze how Foote's own body, sporting a wooden prosthetic leg from 1766 onwards, challenges what Foucault calls the "clinical gaze," emerging with the birth of the clinic in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and which attempted to reduce bodies to mere empirical "surfaces." I will argue that Foote purposefully offers his self-proclaimed "part-puppet" body as a site that refuses reduction to an empirically understandable surface, instead offering his disabled body as a site of joy, non-sensical humor, and obfuscation. Foote therefore leads his audience's gaze away from the pathological connotations of the clinic in favor of comedic enterprise and celebration of his disabled body. Finally, I will argue that a court scene in his second puppet show attempts to reject simple representations of legal personhood by questioning whether his consciousness is in his flesh body or his wooden leg, further complicating the question of thinking matter by asking where in matter thought and blamability are found.

Flora Lisica, Northeastern University London

Tragedy, Sympathy and Disgust on the Romantic Stage

In 'On the Tragedies of Shakespeare Considered with Reference to their Fitness for Stage Representation' (1811), Charles Lamb notes his preference for reading Shakespeare's plays rather than seeing them staged: 'to see Lear acted,—to see an old man tottering about the stage with a walking-stick, turned out of doors by his daughters in a rainy night, has nothing in it but what is painful and disgusting'. This paper concerns the conflicting emotions of sympathy and disgust documented by viewers and readers of tragedy at the end of the eighteenth century and start of the nineteenth. It explores the significance of these responses in the context of the two dominant forms of consumption of tragic drama in the period: reading plays in the 'mental theatre', as Byron referred to it, and seeing them embodied on stage.

Lamb's self-professed disgust goes against his own, and a number of his contemporaries', belief that the purpose of tragic drama is to elicit sympathy for the represented suffering, and to subsequently develop one's capacity for fellow-feeling. For instance, in 'Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres' (1783), Hugh Blair argues that the pleasure in tragedy stems from the fact that it shows to us that we are 'feeling as we ought, and [...] entering, with proper sorrow, into the concerns of the afflicted'. Similarly, in the 'The Plays of the Passions' (1798) Joanna Baillie contends that 'sympathetic curiosity' is 'our best and most powerful instructor' and that through sympathy with tragic suffering, 'we are taught the properties and decencies of ordinary life', causing one to becoming 'more just, more merciful, more compassionate'. Similar readings are also implied by contemporary translations of Aristotle's Poetics, such as Thomas Twining (1789), Henry James Pye's (1792) and Thomas Taylor (1811).

But for a number of commentators, this sympathetic response is only possible when tragedy is read, and not when it is staged. In 'Hints from Horace' (1811, pub. 1831), Byron writes that 'The gladiatorial gore we teach to flow, / In tragic scene disgusts though but in show', while William Hazlitt and Baillie suggest that tragedy needs to be careful so as to avoid such an effect. For Lamb, 'what we see upon a stage is body and bodily action; what we are conscious of in reading is

almost exclusively the mind, and its movements': the sympathetic response depends on an imaginative engagement with the fiction which is a purely mental kind, and is impeded when a character is bestowed with a physical presence by an actor, and by the sheer physicality of the theatrical medium.
My paper explores these contradictions by reading contemporary accounts of tragedy in the context of notions of aesthetic taste and disgust, taste's visceral, unwelcome counterpart. It argues for the significance of the relationship between the bodily and the imagined, and for both disgust as well as sympathy, for the period's understanding of tragic drama.

Nora Baker, Université Libre de Bruxelles
Visions, Violence, and Feelings in Accounts of the Wars of the Cévennes (1702-1710)
In the early years of the eighteenth century, a series of guerrilla uprisings took place in south-western France. This mountainous, primarily Occitan-speaking part of the country was home to a particular strain of Calvinism, characterised by its engagement with mysticism. Following the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes – which effectively banned Protestant worship in Louis XIV's kingdom – many an inhabitant of the Cévennes region was recorded as having gone into a trance, uttering prophetic messages in perfect standard French. Catholic officials, such as Intendant Nicolas de Lamoignon de Basville (1648-1724) and the Abbé François de Langlade du Chayla (1647-1702) sought to stamp out this kind of behaviour. The repressive tactics of the latter man came to an abrupt end when his house was stormed by local Protestants. Sources differ as to how du Chayla met his death on that occasion, but the general consensus among historians is that the attack marked the start of the Wars of the Cévennes, also known as the Camisard Wars – with the word 'Camisard', used to denote the rebels, ostensibly deriving from the Occitan 'camisa', or 'shirt'.
In the aftermath of the fighting, a number of those involved in the Camisard campaigns took refuge in England. Reactions among the mainstream Huguenot community were mixed: some found the apocalyptic visions of their southern cousins deeply convincing, others less so. The resulting kerfuffle saw three members of the 'French Prophets' movement sentenced to the pillory for two days in winter 1707.
Whereas previous scholarship has focused on the reception of the Camisards in England, or on quantitative details related to the wars, this paper will explore the emotional impact of the mysticism-infused fighting in which the prophets engaged. I will look at the accounts left by three Camisard leaders, Élie Marion (1678-1713), Abraham Mazel (1677-1710), and Jean Cavalier (1681-1740), analyzing how each writer recounts their relationship with violence, as well as with the embodied experience of having prophetic visions. Particular attention will be paid to the depiction of the self, especially to episodes where the authors claim to have given up their bodily agency, taken over by 'divine inspiration'. I contend that the writings of Marion, Mazel, and Cavalier could be considered to belong to the 'military memoir' genre, but that the religious and socio-cultural specificities of the Camisard milieu render these accounts unique and valuable examples of the early eighteenth-century autobiographical text. An emotions-focused approach to these accounts will thus contribute to our understanding of the development of subjectivity at the start of the 1700s.

41 **Science and Anatomy**
Room: Littlegate Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Natalee Garrett**, The Open University
Speakers: **Dorothy Johnson**, University of Iowa
The Enigma of Embodiment: Art and Anatomy in 18th-Century France (hybrid)

In this paper I explore salient moments in the remarkable role of anatomy in art making during the second half of the 18th-century in France. In this period a new conceptualization of the human form emerged as artists sought to replace the putative dichotomy of inside and outside, a dichotomy accentuated by Cartesian philosophy, into something akin to a paradox in which inside and outside are balanced. This change is also seen in competing critical and aesthetic narratives that inflected the art of this time. The famous sculptor Houdon would be one of the first to embrace the narrative and expressive possibilities proffered by the visualization of the interior of the body. In the 1760s, while still a student at the French Academy in Rome, he was commissioned to create a life-size figure of St. John the Baptist Preaching. Because he believed fervently in the foundational importance of anatomy in forging a simulacrum of the human figure, he made the extraordinary decision to first sculpt its anatomized twin, an Ecorché, that would inform the anatomical verism of the St. John and also demonstrate that what lies beneath the sheath of the skin proffers an anatomical narrative that is usually hidden from view, a biological story that informs all of human life. Understanding this biological story became a principal goal of late Enlightenment medicine, exerting an indelible impact on art during a period in France when art and the natural sciences were seen as mutually beneficial and aligned. From the mid-century onwards, new developments in lavishly illustrated anatomy books made for artists as well as surgeons and three-dimensional models in wax and other media, inflected artists' quests for anatomical verism in the depiction of the human form. This resurgence of interest in the importance of anatomy for artists is paralleled in fluctuations in the art curriculum at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. During the Rococo period, the study of anatomy had been increasingly disparaged and ultimately removed from curriculum. The impact can be seen in the typical Rococo formulations of the human figure in which anatomical verism did not play a role. After 1750, anatomy was again considered for the art curriculum in spite of strong dissenting positions by critics, theorists, and philosophes, including Diderot. When Houdon gave his Ecorché as a gift to the French Academy, it was immediately adopted as a pedagogical tool and replicas were soon used by art academies throughout Europe. After the Revolution, not mere observation but actual participation in dissection became a requirement for student artists. For the first time an anatomy theater was installed in the Louvre where artists lived and worked. Why was intimate knowledge of anatomy considered so important to the depiction of the human figure in the age of neoclassicism which valued ideal beauty? And what role did Enlightenment philosophical and medical ideas play in this development? Through specific examples used as case studies, this paper seeks to answer, in part, these questions.

Dawn Kemp, Royal College of Surgeons of England

Amputation: a dramatic act. The case of Samuel Foote

Contemporary representations of surgical operations in Britain in the Eighteenth-Century are rare. The indelicacy of presenting moments of extreme human agonies, even by the most celebrated satirists, was largely deemed beyond acceptable taste. Protection of the surgeons' professional space from the public eye was important to contain fear and anxiety of the surgeons' practice, and guarding against patient exploitation was as important to hospital governors, keen to maintain a hospital's reputation and to gain donations from wealthy benefactors, as to the patients themselves.

A recently recovered oil painting, stolen from the Hunterian Museum at the Royal College of Surgeons of England in 1983, provides a unique visual record of the practice of surgery in Britain in the mid 1700s. Its return to the Hunterian last year presented an opportunity to re-evaluate the painting known only, for the last four decades, through badly cropped copies made into postcards, framed prints

and, latterly, digital copies of the copies on the web.
Set in an operating theatre it depicts a male patient in agony undergoing an above the knee amputation of his left leg. The patient is surrounded by what appear to be six medical men: surgeons, their assistants and a physician. The operation is being viewed from a two-tiered gallery by ten relatively young men, none wearing wigs. One onlooker, in the front row, is of African heritage. The paper challenges attributions by Lord Russell Brock, from the 1960s and 1970s, published in the Annals of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, setting the scene in the men's operating theatre of St Thomas's Hospital, London in the 1770s and the identification of the man of African heritage as the Polynesian, Omai.
Through cross referencing the key figures depicted in the painting with contemporary oil portraits, engravings and prints the medical figures are identified as being associated with St George's Hospital, London with the setting likely being the operating theatre of St George's.
With the identification of the surgeons, and the likeness to contemporary images, the patient is identified as the comic actor Samuel Foote. Foote had his leg amputated in February 1766, following a fall from a horse at a hunting party attended by the Duke of York. The paper brings new information to bear on the circumstances surrounding, arguably, the most famous leg amputation of the century; the social networks connecting medicine, the arts, theatre and the nobility and why the painting may have been commissioned.

Elena Romero-Passerin, University of Exeter
Popular Science in la Specola: a Statistical Analysis of the Audience of the Museum of Science in Florence in the 1780s
The museum of la Specola, founded in Florence in 1775, was a museum dedicated to natural sciences and physics. It was created under the auspice and with funds from the Grand-Duke, Peter-Leopold of Habsburg Lorraine, with the mission to help educate the people of Tuscany. As an attraction, the museum was extremely successful, with several thousands of visitors coming through its gates every year that it was open between 1775 and 1799.
This paper uses sources from the museum of la Specola to study the audience for scientific attractions in the late eighteenth century. Public scientific demonstrations and their success with the eighteenth-century public has been an important topic of enquiry in the historiography, but one for which sources are limited. The studies produced have been based on a variety of sources, most of tell us more about the performers or attractions themselves than the audience. Only a few private natural history collections kept detailed traces of their visitors, giving us an insight into the habits of museum going for small, usually elite, communities (a couple hundreds of visitors a year at most). La Specola, however, conserved rare sources that allow for statistical analysis of its very large audience (more than 2,000 in 1783, and more than 9,000 a year by 1787), which this paper will explore through the use of a database. The paper will present this data analysis and show the diversity of the audience for natural sciences and physics as well as the social practices that were associated with museum going. I will in particular highlight the participation of women, families, and non-elite audiences, who are noticeably harder to find in the studies based on private collections.

42
Women's Studies Group 1558-1837: Gendered Bodies and Embodiment
Room: Mary Hyde Eccles Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Abstract: The Women's Studies Group 1558–1837 has consistently contributed to the annual BSECS conference, fostering insightful dialogue on women's experiences in early modern and eighteenth-century contexts. This year's panel, aligning with the theme of "Bodies and Embodiment," delves into a range of interdisciplinary approaches. The panel explores female travel writers and the border-crossings of women's bodies in a predominantly male-dominated tradition. It further

spotlights the physicality of women in eighteenth-century London who participated in competitive sports, offering a fresh perspective on female athleticism. Expanding into philosophical terrains, the discussion interrogates the concept of the 'word made flesh' by engaging with contemporary issues of virtual reality and artificial intelligence, viewed through the frameworks of Bishop George Berkeley's immaterialism and Kantian deontology. The panel also examines the themes of apparitions and disembodiment within female correspondence, expanding the conversation on the presence of women in written exchanges.

Chair: **Megumi Ohsumi**, University of Oxford

Speakers: **Jasmin Bieber**, University of Konstanz

The Rhetoric of Silence of Long 18th Century Women Travellers

Aphra Behn's Oroonoko (1688) and Frances Brooke's The History of Emily Montague (1769) are works of exceptional cultural magnitude. Whereas Behn's novella is commonly registered as an anti-slavery romance, Brooke's account is hailed as the first 'Canadian novel'. While these honorary titles are contestable, the voices of their female characters nonetheless resonate throughout time. Their rhetoric is the source of countable debates on their political ideologies and societal critiques. Present yet commonly not the vocal point of scholarship's attention is the lack of rhetoric by marginalized individuals and communities; a lack of the uttered word is then conflated with a lack of agency. This paper will not refute such concerns present in literary debates ever since Gayatri Spivak's pivotal question on the subaltern's ability to speak but rather unravels silence as a vocal means of self-expression.

Drawing from Behn's and Brooke's literary productions, the paper will refer to travelling as a central stylistic and contextual device in both examples. With the travel writing tradition of the late 17th to the 18th century being marked as predominantly masculine, such early ventures by authors with a distinctly female narrative voice resulted in – both literal and metaphorical – border-crossings of female bodies moving about male-coded places. Travellers and the women they meet during their journeys will be scrutinized for identity mediation through, for instance, social transitions marked by spatial and bodily liminality, vernacular expressions of affection and belonging and utilizing the body as a silent mode of resistance. The recurring 'how' and 'what' of travel writing discourse are, thus, extended to include the 'who' and 'where': Whose voices and lack of such constructs these literary representations and consequently from whose perspective does the recipient glance into these unfamiliar spaces? And where do women locate themselves when they negotiate their experiences through and with other women?

Peter Radford

All Ages, Shapes and Sizes: the Corporeal and Sporting Woman in the Long Eighteenth-Century

Eighteenth-century women of all ages, shapes and sizes competed in Britain in a wide variety of sports for prizes and for money. They used their strength, endurance, and skill to run, ride, row, and fight competitively; they also played tennis, cricket, football and curled, and were good at it and often attracted large crowds. The author's data-base identifies over 2,000 female runners and over 500 cricketers. These competitors were of all ages, married and unmarried; in one inter-county cricket match the players ranged from 14 to 60 year of age with the 60-year-old deemed to be the best bowler and batter in her team (Surrey), and age-groups in running races provided competition for a wide range of ages – '15 and under', 15 to 40, 16 to 24, 16 to 30, under 25, over 35, 17 to 40, and 'old women.' They were also of a wide range of sizes; one runner who had entered a 3-mile race was said to be 'pretty fat,' others were described as 'robust' or

'delicate tho' weak' looking, some were tall, some short, etc. Women's shape and size, and physical prowess was also important elements in how some women were able to make a living in London, and some came from continental Europe to do so. These included Italian, French, and Portuguese (as well as British) women who appeared in 'strong woman' acts; one was 16 years old, and one lived to be 103. Whole troops of female rope-dancers, and female gymnasts and tumblers also earned their living in London and the major British cities; some of these were said to Turkish, French, or Bavarian. The way these women were described will be discussed in terms of the prevailing attitudes of the public and their families towards them, and also their importance in publicly demonstrating the physical powers of women, at a time when they were commonly perceived to be the 'weaker vessel' with the expectation that they would behave accordingly.

Sean Moore, Trinity College Dublin

George Berkeley and Embodiment: The Uses of Deontological Textualism for 18th-Century Missionary Work

This paper not only will contend that Cultural Imperialism was brought to the British Empire by the Secret Service, but also examines how the English Secret Service divisively created Identity Politics within the British Isles and impinged upon Indigenous Identities via interventions in the press like George Berkeley's A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge of 1710. It will discuss our current context of virtual reality and artificial intelligence as originating in Church of Ireland Bishop George Berkeley's 'immaterialism' thesis and in Immanuel Kant's deontology. I will explain the savage impulses of violence to the body in our current 'rape culture object' era that stem from the historical and current missionary conversion strategies of low-church Puritans – some within the Church of Ireland like Berkeley in the 18th-century and now like many U.S. Protestants in general today. Like C.S. Lewis satirizing the character of a stalker of Indigenous People in The Screwtape Letters, I will provisionally term Berkeley a 'psychotic imperialist patient' – what Harry Bracken has called 'something of a 'nut'' to his Anglican Communion contemporaries – in an attempt to 'boomerang' towards the 'Screwtapes' of the world his act of naming Catholics like J.R.R. Tolkein 'patients'.

This paper will argue that we must be professorial critics of the textualism and deontology of digital information like virtual reality and artificial intelligence as a new potential form of enslavement. It also will discuss what Luke Gibbons and Sara Suleri term the 'cultural terror' that accompanies what David Berman calls the 'kidnapping' of Indigenous Intellectuals via a study the case of Samsom Occam as a Native American convert to Puritan Conquistadorism – the imperialist himself operating through what Homi Bhabha calls a 'hybrid Mimic Man'. In the words of T.B. Macaulay, Berkeley was trying to design a 'Mimic Man' as 'a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect' – or a class of persons like the Indigenous peoples of the British Isles or of North America. This paper will claim, to the contrary, that we are emphatically embodied and therefore are material – not 'immaterial' – objects ourselves and to each other as the philosopher's ontological 'thing-in-itself'. Further, it will claim that the Early Modern Protestant Reformation belief in textuality – what Max Von Weber refers to as the Calvinist idea of salvation through Bible reading alone (Sola Scriptura) – was designed as a virtualizing mediation in the form of writing to colonize the mind of an Indigenous person as Berkeley and Macaulay strategized. Finally, this paper will explain that the Theological doctrine of the Incarnation – the 'word made flesh' – embraced by all Christian denominations is an antidote to the idea of the 'cultural terror' associated with the process of the colonization of the mind.

Carolyn D. Williams, University of Reading

"A very civil apparition": the frustrations of disembodiment in the works of two eighteenth-century women writers

Elizabeth Singer Rowe (1674-1737) was celebrated for the piety of her verse and prose: her 'Friendship in Death: In Twenty Letters from the Dead to the Living' (1728) gives an unremittingly moral and pious cast to a genre that had previously been better known as a form of satire. The letters are sometimes presented as substitutes for a dead person's appearance as a spirit, or as follow-ups when the appearance has failed to produce the desired effect because the person who saw the spirit was too frightened to pay proper attention to the ghost's message. The ghosts sometimes include accounts of the efforts they made to appear harmless, and even appealing, but to no avail.

Writing at the end of the century, Cassandra Leigh Cooke (1744-1826), an aunt of Jane Austen's, treats a similar problem in a different form, and at greater length. An important plot thread of her two-volume novel Battleridge (1799) is based on the story of an encounter between the pious Dr Scott and a well-intentioned spectre whose efforts to save the fortunes of a virtuous family afflicted by undeserved hardships are almost thwarted by the unnecessary terror of his observer: the source is The Secrets of the Invisible World Disclos'd (1729) by Daniel Defoe (1660-1731). In Cooke's novel, the ghost initially appears to the lady of the house, who responds by lapsing into a permanent nervous breakdown: the fact that this is regarded as worse than all the other calamities the family has been suffering must, one feels, be a source of frustration to the ghost. He then appears to Dr Scott, who is just as frightened as he is in Defoe's account, but manages to retain his presence of mind and ultimately, by paying attention to the ghost's instructions, is able to find a missing document and thus pave the way to the happy ending. As with Singer's work, the general effect is to arouse sympathy for the ghost: although he arouses a certain amount of terror, the obvious signs of irritation at the way in which his efforts are received are designed to remind the reader that ghosts have feelings too.

Perhaps these ghosts were particularly attractive to eighteenth-century women authors because they knew from experience what it was like to be embodied in a form whose appearance aroused, if not terror, at least distrust in many observers.

43
Room: Mackesy Room (Samual Johnson Building)
Chair: **Katie Noble**, University of Oxford
Speakers: **Stephen Gregg**, Bath Spa University

Research and Practice

Students and old books: how to do things with small special collections

This paper describes a project for undergraduate students in an English literature programme at a small-to medium sized, post-92 university. The project is part of the programme's ongoing aim to sustain the teaching of book history in collaboration with the university's library which has only a very small collection (c.40) of pre-1800 titles. The project is part of a strand that sits within the programme's final-year project modules and that offers an alternative to the traditional dissertation. In this case, we worked with library and its need for its small rare-book collection to be catalogued; importantly, we also enable students to create independent 'spin off' projects from the cataloguing tasks. This paper will detail the project's pedagogical rationale and employability framework; it will explain how students are supported by a framework of training in library cataloguing systems and bibliography; finally, it will describe the kinds of independent work students created for their 'spin-off' projects.

Jonas Fischer, University of Helsinki

The Transmission of the Classics in Early Modern Britain. Studying the Transformation of Classical Texts and Perceptions on their Canonicity in the 18th Century and Beyond

This paper will look for discrepancies between different editions of the same classical works printed in early modern Britain and available in ECCO (Eighteenth Century Collection Online). The hypothesis here is that it will be possible the show change resulting from the existence of multiple different textual traditions and transmission lines, which again result in the printing of (slightly) different text versions and different understandings of the same texts. Such a result could then allow statements about which version can be considered canonical in a certain timeframe. This is important because it advances our understanding of how an early modern reader might have understood a text. While the transmission of texts and discrepancies have been studied before, this paper will also be a proof of concept, showing how a new version of the Receptionreader, the Editionreader, developed by the Computational History Group Helsinki can be employed to study the development of texts over multiple editions with greater detail and a faster workflow than was possible before, enabling us to take a more precise look at the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in the classical canon in early modern Britain.
Furthermore, the popularity of a given author or work also deserves consideration in this context. It will be approximated by the number of known editions in the ESTC (English Short Title Catalogue) database for a given timeframe. The popularity of a work has a role here since it is foremost one of multiple aspects that helps us to determine whether a work or author can be considered part of the early modern British classical canon at a certain point in time. But there is also another aspect to popularity, since it changes the way in which the canonicity of a work and alterations to said work are negotiated. For a work only discussed in a small scholarly circle an alteration may quickly become canonical with the spread of a good argument for the alteration. On the other hand changes in the canonicity of very popular works or groups of works, like the fables of Aesop and the poems of Virgil for example, can involve a lengthy process of negotiations in society at large and between the expectations of many different groups of actors like scholars, editors, printers, readers or patrons. Detecting these negotiation processes in the works themselves requires a huge effort in reading and comparing, which is exactly one of the points of this paper: No longer doing this work manually, but tackling core humanities tasks with the aid of digital tools.
The underlying work for this paper is part of efforts within the Marie Skłodowska-Curie doctoral network MECANO (The Mechanics of Canon Formation and the Transmission of Knowledge from Greco-Roman Antiquity) and the Computational History Group Helsinki.

Emma Mitchell, Brunel University, University of London
'Pictures of lascivious women': desire and disgust in Georgian harlotry
The 1761 edition of Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies, an annual directory of London sex workers, names a total of one hundred and sixty-eight women. The entries contain descriptions of the physical appearance and temperament of these women, the services they offer, and in some cases, anecdotes about their lives and routes into prostitution. Together, these portraits draw a detailed picture of what is deemed valuable and what is worthless in the mid-eighteenth-century sexual female body. The objectification and commodification of often vulnerable and abused women is presented as titillating amusement for the text's knowing male audience, and this practice, of publicly dissecting and evaluating the bodies of sex workers, continues to this day, from OnlyFans, to Pornhub, to Spearmint Rhino. Such practices now compete with feminist discourses of sex work as inherently exploitative, and discourses of sex work as legitimate, and often empowering, labour, to shape the public understanding of sex work and sex workers. This practice-based paper takes Harris's List as creative source and prompt to weave erasure poetry, memoir, fiction and critical reflection into a

cyclical narrative that centres the voices of the women selling access to their bodies in the sexual marketplace of Covent Garden.

44 **Enlightenment Transformations: Bodies, Metaphors, and Norms**

Room: SCR Parlour (Fellows' Staircase)

Abstract: This panel examines eighteenth-century representations of the body, and--in the words of the panel's first paper--how they metaphorically embody 'values that are political, cosmological, religious and moral.' Analyzing works by Bernard Mandeville, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and Adam Smith, among others, this panel contends that metaphorical representations of the body are key for understanding normative transformations in Enlightenment aesthetic, ethical, and medical discourses.

Chair: **Roger Maioli**, University of Florida

Speakers: **Andrea Gatti**, University of Bologna

The Paradox of the Body in 18th-Century English Aesthetics

The term "body" is a polysemic one, and it obviously takes on different meanings depending on whether one looks at it from the perspective of biology, chemistry, medical practice, art, or even jurisprudence and physiognomy. This multiplicity of references is a linguistic and conceptual reflection of the nature of the body itself, which in its physical existence is structured in such a way as to impose a distinction between 1) The body that presents itself to sensory perception; 2) The invisible inner body (skeleton, internal organs, blood and lymphatic system) that lies behind it; 3) The body represented by the faculties responsible for cognitive and emotional functions.

Against the background of the theories that investigated the body in the eighteenth century (from materialism to animism, from mechanism to spiritualism, from formalism to symbolism), this paper aims to consider the aesthetic debate that took place around the body in the modern age, highlighting the difficulties, contradictions and limitations common to the assumptions and positions of much of the critical literature of the eighteenth century – often heterogeneous, if not contradictory.

The aim is to isolate certain specific aspects of the eighteenth-century aesthetics of the body which, on the one hand, make it ideally suited to the formal canons that prevailed at the time: the mathematical-proportional paradigm, for example; and, on the other hand, make it a canon of art, in a sense that is not only figurative or representational, but also metaphorical, embodying values that are not only aesthetic but also political, cosmological, religious and moral. This leads to a close examination of the eighteenth-century concept of the body and the paradox it represents as an idea in the philosophical and aesthetic literature of the period; next, the symbolic value of the body as a canon or model, not only in terms of form but also of function; and finally, the implications of such aesthetic theories for the representation of the body in eighteenth-century English art history.

David Alvarez, DePauw University/Ghent University

Bodies, Aesthetics, and Sociability in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's The Turkish Embassy Letters

As she begins her account of the Ottoman Empire in The Turkish Embassy Letters (1763), Lady Mary Wortley Montagu describes the women she meets in a hamman, or Turkish bath, as aesthetic objects. The women, "all being in the state of nature, that is, in plain English, stark naked...walked, and moved with the same majestic grace which Milton describes of our general mother. There were many amongst them as exactly proportioned as ever any goddess was drawn by the pencil of Guido, or Titian." Montagu's description of the naked bodies of the Ottoman women has been frequently criticized as a form of oppressive

aestheticization. Isobel Grundy, for example, deplores Montagu's comparison of the living bodies of women to "Italian and English art works (thus denying their ethnicity and corporeality)" and Felicity Nussbaum contends that in this passage Montagu seeks to "impersonate a male voyeur." By taking up this male, Eurocentric aesthetic gaze, Montagu's work thus contributes to orientalist representations of the Ottoman Empire.

This paper revisits such arguments by thinking about Montagu's depiction of the hammam in relation to the rest of her book, particularly her letters about Africa and Roman Catholic Europe. In her description of the bodies and fashions of Europeans and Africans, Montagu clearly identifies a form of "oppressive aestheticization." She criticizes the fashions of European and African women as constraining, disfiguring, dehumanizing and, above all, anti-social. In contrast, the letters about Ottoman women stage the aestheticization of the body in ways that promote a mutual desire for cross-cultural communication and sociability. As Daniel O'Quinn observes, "cultural alterity is understood through acts of aestheticization." He asserts, though, that Montagu's work seeks to "overcome" such acts. I argue, however, that in the hammam and elsewhere in the Letters, the proper aestheticization of the body is an incitement to intimacy and cosmopolitan sociability.

Anthony Pollock, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Normative Disembodiment in Ethics and Economics: Adam Smith's Impartial Spectators

This paper intervenes in ongoing debates about "The Adam Smith Problem" by arguing that Smith's ideal of the disembodied impartial spectator—first articulated in his Theory of Moral Sentiments (TMS 1759)—also plays a crucial role in his critique of corporate imperialism later brought forward in The Wealth of Nations (WN 1776), with surprising multidirectional implications. Smith insists upon the link between ethical impartiality and disembodiment from the opening sections of TMS, where he asserts that the expression of passions arising from the body are so "loathsome," "disagreeable," and "disgust[ing]" that they are incapable of generating sympathy even in well-disposed onlookers (TMS 1.2.1.3). Indeed, in his further elaboration of impartial spectatorship Smith distinguishes explicitly between the necessarily flawed "eye of the body" and "what may be called the natural eye of the mind," a decorporealized faculty of imagination which enables us to achieve the proper distance from the people and objects under our synthesizing judgment (TMS 3.3.2). Without this salutary capacity for disembodied perspective, Smith argues, we would be more concerned about a "frivolous" injury "to [our] little finger" than the utter "annihilation" of "a hundred millions of our brethren" in an earthquake on the other side of the globe (TMS 3.3.4).

It is precisely this position of scalar detachment that Smith later uses in WN as a corrective to the embodied and situated perspective of East India Company merchants he describes as disastrously mismanaging British imperial territories in South Asia. For Smith, merchants who wantonly burn crops and displace Indigenous farmers in the name of short-term profits prove themselves "incapable of considering themselves as sovereigns, even after they have become such" (WN IV.vii.c.103/637): this failure of mercantile imagination has both a temporal dimension and a "spatial" or "systemic" one, as the merchant does not see the causal interconnectedness of the different sectors of the economy upon which his own prosperity depends, and thus disavows his reliance upon the people whose lives and life-worlds he treats with instrumental disregard. EIC merchants, Smith clarifies, need to see like a sovereign in order to implement strategies to sustain "the happiness . . . of their subjects" and "the improvement . . . of their dominions" (WN V.i.e.26/752). In the end, it is the disembodied philosopher figure who models this sovereign systems literacy, one which

"renders their understanding, in an extraordinary degree, both acute and comprehensive" (WN V.i.f.51/783).
Ultimately, this provocative conceptual crossover between the two major texts in Smith's oeuvre reveals the limitations of both the cosmopolitan universalism of Smith's ethical theory, on the one hand, and his highly qualified commitment to what the French Physiocrats referred to as laissez-faire capitalism, on the other.

Mauro Simonazzi, Università degli Studi di Milano

Hypochondria between physiology and psychology in the 18th century: the case of Bernard Mandeville

The debate on hypochondria that developed between the mid-sixteenth and eighteenth centuries focuses on the mind-body problem. It is a significant debate in the culture of early modern England because it intersects the most controversial issues of the time: the role of the passions and the possibility of controlling them through reason, the relationship between the process of civilization and nervous diseases, and the scientific status of medicine.
In the medical field, three major paradigms are compared, which presuppose different conceptions of body physiology and which give rise to different therapeutic models: the galenic model, the iatrochemical model, and the empiricist model. The aim of my paper is to show that Bernard Mandeville develops an original talk-therapy of hypochondria, which has as its premise that the cause of the disease consists of a lack of self-esteem. Reflection on the relationship between self-esteem and society leads Mandeville to develop a theory that we might call in modern terms "social aesthetics," which values "social appearances."
In the first part of my paper I will explore the relationship between the symptoms of hypochondria (somatic and psychological) and its causes through the analysis of Mandeville's two major works, The Fable of the Bees and the Treatise of the Hypochondria and Hysterick Diseases. In the second part, however, I will focus on the peculiar conception of self-esteem and social esteem, which are involved in hypochondriac disorders.

15:00-16:10 THURSDAY SESSION IV

45 **Beyond the Hinterland: Imperial Projects and their European Intermediaries, 1650–1815**

Room: Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building)

Abstract: The early modern world of global empires has always been transnational in nature, crossing the borders of territories, religions and languages. For a long time, scholarship has looked at overseas empires, and the British Empire in particular, through a nationalised lens. While histories of nation-states have generally been globalised, historiography on colonial empires remains surprisingly national in scope, as Daniel Hedinger and Nadin Hée have recently argued.
Inspired by connected and global approaches, historians have thus increasingly turned towards a transimperial history of overseas empires by looking at the hinterlands of imperial centres as zones of recruitment and resource extraction in the American, Asian and African colonies as well as in Europe. Taking up Ann Laura Stoler's and Frederick Cooper's call to bring together the 'metropole' and the 'colony' in a 'single analytic field', recent studies have looked at the Scottish and Dutch in the British Atlantic, revealing stories of migrants from a variety of lands who helped shape the Atlantic world through boundary-crossing networks. Meanwhile, others have traced 'inter-imperial cooperation' in French overseas companies by studying collaborative relationships emerging between settlers and migrants across imperial boundaries. For the British Empire, Stephen Conway has championed 'Britannia's auxiliaries', revealing the extent to which British imperialism was dependent on foreign talent. In Conway's account, foreign

helpers, such as mercenaries from Germany or Switzerland, play a subservient role to an essentially 'British' Empire, raising the question of the agency of those who worked for overseas institutions. This new focus on transimperial mobility has thus led to a number of studies on the mediating role of brokers, agents and intermediaries as 'trans-imperial subjects' of the brokered world of the long eighteenth century.

This panel builds on this research to decentralise older, nationalised narratives of the British, French and Dutch colonial empires. By looking at various European and British intermediaries of overseas empires through a transimperial lens, it will discuss and question the concept of the 'hinterland' during the long eighteenth century from 1650 to 1815. Can European hinterlands, such as the French and British trading posts in the Mediterranean, which Cornel Zwierlein has likened to 'imperial unknowns', be compared to colonial territories in Africa or Asia? The four papers of this panel will explore networks of imperial competition and collaboration, religious institutions and institutional agency, networks of trade as well as cultural patronage and the role of European families for colonial administration. The panel highlights the role of European intermediaries in colonial and European hinterlands, bringing the hinterland to the metropole and vice versa, by revealing the cosmopolitan networks of colonial institutions, local brokers and their European mediators.

Chair: **Aditi Gupta**, University of Oxford

Speakers: **Esther Mijers**, University of Edinburgh

The Caribbean as an Intercultural Zone: The Role of 'Intermediaries' in the Settlement of Tobago

The Caribbean in the early modern period was an area of collaboration and competition. Initially a theatre of war of the Protestant powers against Spain, it soon became an area of imperial interaction in which European powers clashed and competed with each other as much as they did with Spain. Viewed from this perspective, it was an intercultural zone, which added a European dimension to an already diverse area where local peoples became part of the quest for colonies, often with disastrous consequences. Islands were settled, contested and changed hands, with help from a large, international cast of characters. The result was a tangled web of individuals, networks and interests, in which those with a particular skill set were sought out and thrived. Not hindered by national allegiances, they have been identified as intermediaries, boundary-crossers, factors and agents, and to some extent have been studied before. This paper will examine and untangle their role in the settlement of Tobago. Contested between the English, French and the Dutch, Tobago's story includes Scots, Kurlanders and Huguenots, and is both unique and typical for the messy road to empire, providing us with a glimpse of 'what might have been'. Focusing on the long eighteenth century, especially the second half of the seventeenth century and its influence on the developments of the early eighteenth century, this paper will set the case of Tobago in a wider comparative context with a view of extracting some initial conclusions on the role of early modern imperial agents in the eastern Caribbean.

Philippe Bernhard Schmid, University of Basel

Informing Empire: Jean-Frédéric Ostervald and the Swiss Intermediaries of the SPCK/SPG

The career of the Swiss minister Jean-Frédéric Ostervald (1663–1747) from Neuchâtel was connected to the rise of two English colonial institutions, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) und the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), between 1699 and 1714. The contact with the two corporations was first established through a minister from St. Gallen, but it was Ostervald whose career would profit most from the two

missionary societies. Educated at the academies of Saumur and Geneva, he was ordained at Neuchâtel in 1683. His Traité des sources de la corruption (1700) fits well with the aims of the societies to bring about a second Reformation of Christian life. Mediated by the societies, an Anglo-Swiss channel of communication between Reformed and Anglican clergy developed. Some of Ostervald's writings were translated by the two societies and circulated in India and North America through their missionaries. Ostervald's catechism, which was translated into English, and his treatise on corruption were both made mandatory reading for missionaries of the SPG. Eamon Duffy has already observed that the foreign correspondence of the SPCK and the SPG had been dominated by Swiss clergy during the early eighteenth century. Duffy interprets this 'correspondence fraternelle' as a 'product of a sense of crisis, of a protestantism under threat' during the War of the Spanish Succession, before the societies turned their eyes towards the colonies following the Peace of Utrecht. In my paper, I will illustrate that even before 1714 the colonial nature of the societies placed Swiss ministers in their service in a triangle of networks between the Swiss Reformed Churches, the information-gathering societies in London and their missionaries in India and North America.

Thomas Archambaud, University of Glasgow

A Franco-British Empire: Sir John Macpherson and the European Intermediaries of the EIC

This paper will explore transnational cooperation under the short-lived governance of Bengal by Sir John Macpherson (c. 1745–1821). A native of the Isle of Skye and educated at King's College, Aberdeen, Macpherson joined the English East India Company (EIC) in 1769. An Elected member of the Supreme Council of the Company, Macpherson was appointed governor-general of British Bengal in 1785. Macpherson's pro-French policies culminated in the signing of a commercial treaty with the French East India Company in April 1786. His correspondence reveals that the treaty, intended as a companion piece to the Eden-Rayneval agreement, should be understood within the context of William Pitt's active negotiations with the European powers following the Treaty of Paris in 1783. The treaty offers a good example of Macpherson's 'neutral ground' strategy, i. e., the idea of India as an arena of different but converging interests between the European powers. Macpherson's discussions with the French governor of the East India Company, François de Souillac, was facilitated by the dispatch of Colonel Charles Cathcart as his commercial and diplomatic proxy, who operated at the interstices of post-Jacobite networks, physiocratic ideology and post-Mughal diplomacy. A cosmopolitan polyglot, who was fluent in English, French, Portuguese and Persian, Macpherson defended a form of global ancien régime imperialism based on semi-private Company rule, the management of differences and post-Mughal cultural arbitration. This paper will examine how Macpherson pushed the logic of cooperation to the limits of legality. His controversial association with Charles-Louis Dangereux, a French agent in Chandernagor, offers a good example of how the salt and opium trade could circumvent Britain's monopoly. Macpherson's promotion of Dangereux's free trade arrangements offers an occasion to reflect on the importance of European intermediaries in the consolidation of the British Empire in the age of revolutions.

46

Burney Society UK Panel on Embodiment

Room: Allen & Overy Room (Henderson Building)

Abstract: This panel explores embodiment through the writing of Frances Burney and her half-sister Sarah Harriet Burney. The first paper, by Lucy- Anne Katgely examines Sarah Harriet Burney's exploration of physical appearance as a complex marker of ethical and social status within 18th-century aesthetic norms.

Through her nuanced portrayals of beauty, deformity, and nonconformity, Burney critiques the linkage of physical traits to moral worth and societal inclusion. The last two papers both focus on Frances Burney. The paper by Trudie Messent examines Frances Burney's ill-health and melancholy at Court and proposes a typology of the term 'melancholy' as used by Burney in her novels. The third paper, by Beth Stewart, explores the concept of 'hypersensitivity' and how an excess of emotion can lead to a breakdown of selfhood, and temporary ability to function physically, socially or emotionally.

Chair: **Miriam Al Jamil**, Independent Scholar

Speakers: **Lucy-Anne Katgely**, University of Bath

Beauty and Bias: Gendered Embodiment and Social Deformity in Sarah Harriet Burney's Novels

This paper examines Sarah Harriet Burney's exploration of physical appearance as a complex marker of ethical and social status within 18th-century aesthetic norms. Through her nuanced portrayals of beauty, deformity, and nonconformity, Burney critiques the linkage of physical traits to moral worth and societal inclusion, particularly in Country Neighbours. By contrasting characters such as the socially scrutinised Helen Tracy and the ungainly yet morally upright Lord Glenmorne, Burney reinterprets the Beauty and the Beast theme to critique the gendered aesthetic ideals of her era. Specifically, she emphasises the selective scrutiny applied to women's bodies, illustrating how men's character often supersedes physical appearance. Unlike her sister Frances Burney, who subtly resists conflating virtue with beauty, Sarah Harriet Burney selectively employs physical descriptions to interrogate biases surrounding gender, race, and embodied social expectations.

Contextualised within contemporary theories of aesthetics by Edmund Burke and William Gilpin, Burney's characters engage in debates over "true beauty" as a quality of depth, emotion, and expression, rather than mere superficial allure. This paper argues that Burney's narrative strategies redefine deformity and conformity as reflections of 18th-century gendered and racial biases, inviting a re-examination of the embodied social experience. By positioning both beauty and ugliness as constructs with ethical and social implications, Burney critiques the hierarchical conventions of appearance, ultimately revealing physical form as a contested and socially modulated aspect of virtue and humanity.

Trudie Messent, Independent Scholar

"Melancholy was the existence, where Happiness was excluded": Frances Burney's ill-health and melancholy at the Court of George III and references to 'melancholy' in her novels

Frances Burney was already the renowned author of Evelina (1778) and Cecilia (1782) when, in June 1786, Queen Charlotte offered her the post of joint Keeper of the Robes at the Court of George III. Frances was hesitant to accept this offer, aware of the emotional impact of being confined at Court and isolated from family and friends. However, it was unlikely that Burney anticipated that, less than four years later, she would so dramatically pen the title quote in her 28 May 1790 Journal entry. The exploration of Burney's personal experiences of ill-health and melancholy whilst at Court provides one perspective on melancholy in her life and works.

It is tempting to assume that Frances Burney's references to melancholy in her novels arise from her time at Court, but her use of the term 'melancholy' in all four of her novels, including Evelina and Cecilia, which predate her time at Court, suggests that Burney was aware of the eighteenth-century preoccupation with the embodiment of melancholy and its literary applications.

This paper will trace the persistence of the association of melancholy with ill-health, from the four humours theory, which argued that an excess of black-bile

humour was associated with melancholy, to later theories which were increasingly medical rather than philosophical, focussing on the role of the nerves in psychosomatic conditions.
Frances Burney's repeated use of the term 'melancholy' in all four of her novels will then become the focus of this paper, which will examine in depth the range of contexts in which Burney mentions melancholy. This paper will then propose a tentative typology of the term 'melancholy' in Frances Burney's eighteenth-century novels.

Elizabeth Stewart, Sussex University
Literary Aesthetics as Philosophical Intervention within the works of Frances Burney
"You could not see and know her, and remain unmoved by those sensations of affection which belong to so near and tender a relationship." – Frances Burney, Evelina.
In her 2010 article, 'Burney's Evelina and Aesthetics in Action', Melissa Pino offered a fresh and intriguing reading of Burney's first social novel. She argued that Evelina was an intricately crafted satirisation of contemporary aesthetics, and an example of 'a well-informed dialogue with eighteenth-century [philosophers including] Burke, Locke and Hume.' This idea, that 'a woman of the tender age of twentyish, lacking a formal classical education, bound by eighteenth-century social strictures, further challenged by the disembodying tendency of her chosen genre' could complete such an intellectual feat was received by Pino's colleagues with 'varying degrees of bemusement and disbelief'. However, this notion of Burney's utilisation of aesthetics as a philosophical intervention seemed, albeit on a smaller level, to take root within the field of Burney studies, and the following year G. Gabrielle Starr released her insightful article on 'Burney, Ovid, and the Value of the Beautiful', which considered Burney's adaption of an Ovidian framework of aesthetics within Evelina (1778) and The Wanderer (1814).
After this point, explorations into Burney's literary aesthetics have lost momentum. Yet, the influence of aesthetic philosophers, including Hume, Burke, and Shaftesbury, is present throughout Burney's novels. Hume, especially, can be argued to have a significant role in both Evelina (1778) and Camilla (1796) in particular his theory of the working and ever-transforming mind, and how we perceive sensory impressions and emotions and process these into internalised schema. Indeed, it was through the tracing of Hume within Burney's work that my concept of 'hypersensibility' – a counter to Wendy Ann Lee's 'insensibility' – originated, considering how an excess of emotion can lead to a breakdown of selfhood, and temporary inability to function physically, socially, or emotionally.
This paper will continue the trend begun by Starr and Pino, and expand my work into Burney's philosophical work. My paper will explore how Burney engages with the aesthetic theories of the period, with a focus on the way physiological and emotional reactions to external sensory stimuli can act as a form of knowledge creation for female readers. Ultimately, my paper will consider how Burney establishes a form of sentimental empiricism through her use of aesthetic philosophy within her social novels, Evelina (1778) and Camilla (1796).
My paper will draw upon the works of modern scholars on Burney and aesthetics such as Starr and Pino, alongside eighteenth-century philosophers including Edmund Burke, Antony Ashley Cooper, and David Hume.

47
Electronic Enlightenment in Practice
Room: Andrew Pitt Room (Henderson Building)
Abstract: This panel will bring together two papers by graduate student researchers and a presentation by the editors of Electronic Enlightenment: Lives and Letters. The focus of the panel is on how a digital resource, such as Electronic Enlightenment,

facilitates novel research into the Enlightenment. After an interactive introduction to Electronic Enlightenment, two papers will show Electronic Enlightenment in practice. The first one will contrast the representation of slavery using Electronic Enlightenment and items from the Special Collections at the Bodleian Libraries; the second paper will present on the topic of classical literacy in eighteenth-century epistolary exchanges, introducing NLP (natural language processing) to identify classical references in Electronic Enlightenment.

Chair: **Nicole Pohl**, Oxford Brookes University

Speakers: **Nicole Pohl and Jack Orchard**, Electronic Enlightenment; Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

Electronic Enlightenment in Practice: an Introduction to Electronic Enlightenment: Lives and Letters

This paper will introduce the audience to the unique resource, Electronic Enlightenment: Lives and Letters, and through interactive tasks, demonstrate how a unique resource such as Electronic Enlightenment can generate ground-breaking new research.

Tessa van Wijk, Radboud University

Slavery and the Slave Trade in Electronic Enlightenment: Biased Data

This paper will showcase research methodologies to find and explore references to the slave trade and management of plantations in Electronic Enlightenment. It will showcase how we need to reflect on the nature of primary sources relating to the slave trade, how data sets often offer mere simplistic answers to biased questions. Thus, as resources such as Electronic Enlightenment will provide planters' data, this paper will show that new research questions need to be developed to unearth the silences and absences. A focus on health and well-being of the enslaved in the Barham papers (Special Collections of the Bodleian Library), and the Simon Taylor letters (Electronic Enlightenment) presents a beginning of this.

Sorcha Tisdall, Electronic Enlightenment, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

Civis litterarum sum: Classical References in the Letters of the Enlightenment

The Republic of Letters that cultivated the Enlightenment was driven by scholarship rooted in Classical education. Embedded quotations and references in Greek and Latin are commonplace, and played a core role in the communication and development of ideas. Using natural language processing (NLP) methods, I systematically identify embedded use of Greek and Latin in a large corpus of Enlightenment letters provided by Electronic Enlightenment. Using this, alongside sender and recipient identities and locations, I conduct a network analysis of correspondence in order to model the role of Classical references in structuring the relationships and information flows of the Enlightenment. From this data, I determine the extent to which Classical literacy was a barrier to entry to the Republic of Letters, and to which there were circles and networks that embraced or evaded a reliance on Classical references.

48 **New Directions in the History of Knowledge**

Room: Littlegate Room (Henderson Building)

Abstract: This panel challenges assumptions about the history of knowledge at a time of expanding global trade and socio-economic change. It presents new ideas, definitions, and case studies about the gathering, analysis, and circulation of scientific information. Our 'scientists' were a diverse group of little-known non-elites with enquiring minds. Their stories reveal shifts in what type of information was valued over the eighteenth-century, and who had the right to spread it. The activities of these individuals were situated in a range of locations from local

domestic households to British spa towns, to French colonial outposts. In the process of collecting and sharing their data, experiments, travels, and correspondence, they created new webs of international networks. Thus, we are able to explore the diffusion of knowledge in its local and global contexts, Although all of our scholars were active participants in a deep-rooted information culture, their motives for circulating knowledge differed. Some sought personal improvement or focused on solving everyday practical problems. Others created cultural institutions. Still others were bent on commercial gain or used information to support the colonial state. This opening up of knowledge to new creators and audiences had an impact on cultural and intellectual life. The effects of these citizens' efforts on socio-economic and political change are also explored and evaluated.

Chair: **Leonie Hannan**, Queen's University Belfast

Speakers: **Susan Whyman**, Independent Scholar

Edmund Rack: Master of Knowledge in Eighteenth-Century Bath

In a dark-room outfitted with electrifying machines, the Bath Philosophical Society discussed 'Phosphorical Light and Electricity' in 1780. Its Quaker founder, Edmund Rack, led experiments with help from the scientist, Joseph Priestley and astronomer, William Herschel. Why was this scientific organization established in a spa-town dedicated to pleasure? And why was a self-taught, former shopkeeper respected by prominent scientists?

To answer these questions, I place Rack in the framework of the history of knowledge and present him as a cultural broker with a mission to create local knowledge and circulate it to the wider world. By looking at Bath, anew, in its local, national, and global contexts, we see that Rack's unlikely choice of Bath was ideal. Filled with international visitors at a time of expanding global trade and socio-economic change, it had resources to develop scientific institutions. By publishing a book just before settling there, Rack arrived anonymously as a man of letters, in 1775.

New sources reveal Rack's pre-Bath networks in East Anglia, London, Philadelphia, the Atlantic World, Europe, and beyond. They link Bath to global traders, abolitionists, preachers, scientists, authors, publishers, and international societies. With their help, Rack founded the Bath-&-West Agricultural Society and the Bath Philosophical Society, with 11 future Royal Society members. In addition, he authored at least 20 publications on topics from turnips to salvation, including a survey of Somerset, with over 700 subscribers.

Rack's location at the intersection between scholarly and practical learning shows shifts in what knowledge was valued, and who had the right to spread it. His practical skills, entangled networks, and outlier status produced a new type of local knowledge, which connected people of common interests and different socio-economic backgrounds. Still, Rack faced barriers in transforming Bath's culture, when his Survey was suppressed. His story reveals a tug-of-war between forces for widening and narrowing access to information.

Yet scientists like Priestley knew Rack was creating an innovative scientific community. My work reconstructs the hidden information networks and practices that helped men like Rack become cultural brokers. He joins the global phenomenon of entrepreneurial go-betweens who became masters of knowledge over time and space.

Leonie Hannan, Queen's University Belfast

Individuals, institutions and the labour of domestic knowledge (hybrid)

Drawing on the findings of A Culture of Curiosity: science in the eighteenth-century home (open access, Manchester University Press, 2023), this paper explores little-known eighteenth-century 'scientists' through their correspondence with institutions and the periodical press. It argues that the household was a site

of emergence in terms of enquiry in this period and also that analysis of the home brings to the fore an important repertoire of knowing and doing, alongside a diverse range of enquiring hands and minds.
When knowledge is described as 'know-how' it loses some esteem. Nevertheless, knowing how to conduct a range of complex material processes was a prerequisite for running an orderly and productive home. For lower status people, as much as for the new industrialists of this period, the urge to solve problems and to create new and better ways of doing useful things was a powerful motivation.
This paper considers how everyday, domestic issues prompted individuals to experiment with materials and techniques in the hope of sharing productive strategies with wider society. Even when an innovation was not directly motivated by a domestic problem, the experimental practice of these letter-writers clearly displayed the knowledge and skills honed by work in the home, garden or field. The examples incorporate those who sought knowledge about the natural world for its own sake and those who were mainly concerned with the potential for commercial gain. Many were motivated by a combination of the two.
By situating enquiry as one facet of domestic labour, this paper reflects on the dichotomous categories and hierarchies imposed upon our histories of knowledge. It draws inspiration from economic historians who have identified the way analysis of early modern work has been distorted by the gendered connotations of the word 'domestic'. The paper makes the case for a deep-rooted culture of curiosity in the eighteenth-century British world, one birthed and reared in the dynamic ecology of home.

Sarah Easterby-Smith, University of St Andrews
Amateur colonial science (hybrid)
This paper focuses on the scientific activities undertaken by two French colonial households between the 1750s and 1770s: the de Lanux family on the Île Bourbon (now Réunion) and the Anquetil de Briancourt family in Surat, India. Both engaged in collecting data and in sharing information among local and global networks. Yet in spite of the apparent parallels between the two families, they also present a strong contrast in terms of their overall motivation for pursuing science, and the final outcome of their activities. While the de Lanux family offer an impression of a household focused on gathering and sharing information of use to the colonial state, the de Briancourts' connection with the metropole was less sustained. Amateur colonial science, for this household, ultimately became much more about personal improvement than about serving the aspirations of the colonial state.
As such, their behaviour presents a corrective to many of the underlying assumptions in the historiography on colonial science. Seeking to understand why colonial families such as the de Briancourts practised science in the way that they did, I will discuss the range of activities that they, and the de Lanuxes, were engaged in, with whom they shared information and to what end. Taken together, the examples ask us to revise our assumptions about what kinds of scientific data was accrued and circulated around the French empire between the 1750s and 1770s.

49 **Re-Reading Haywood**
Room: Mary Hyde Eccles Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Chair: **Brycchan Carey**, Northumbria University
Speakers: **Pilar Botías Domínguez**, University of Córdoba
Transgressive bodies: psychological hedonism and female libertinism in Eliza Haywood's *Fantomina: or, Love in a Maze* (1725)
Eliza Haywood's Fantomina: or, Love in a Maze presents a female character who incarnates four different personae. The unnamed Lady uses her body as four

different women to fulfil her sexual appetites. Out of curiosity and boredom, she would like to experience her own sexual freedom. The first impersonation is a strumpet named Fantomina, followed by a maidservant named Celia, a widow named Mrs Bloomer and finally, Incognita whose face remains unknown by using a mask. The Lady is forced to reinvent herself in order to win Beauplaisir's affections over and over again, metamorphosing into four different women who represent diverse social categories. What begins as a whimsical attitude evolves into a reckless predatory game in which the Lady's carnal desire is never fully satisfied. The narrator describes the Lady as: "... young, a Stranger to the World, and consequently to the Dangers of it ... [she] did in every Thing as her Inclinations or Humours render'd most agreeable to her" (Fantomina 41-42). In this paper, I argue that the Lady's hedonistic activities are both physical and psychological. Not only does this female libertine delight in her own feminine sexuality, but she also finds pleasure in fuelling her ego as manipulator. She seeks an exclusive sexual relationship which entraps her in a consuming obsession with ownership. Fantomina ends with the protagonist getting pregnant and, consequently, she is sent to a monastery in France. This punishment could be interpreted as the inevitable outcome for women who trespass the bounds of decorum and propriety. Libertinism does not apply to women and men alike and Haywood skilfully makes us reflect on the consequences of indulging in pleasure, especially for female characters.

Namita Sethi, Janki Devi Memorial College, University of Delhi

Embodying Virtue and Power: The 'Magic Perspective' of Delarivier Manley and Eliza Haywood

Women writers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century foreground the physicality of their women characters to explore themes of desire, virtue, and political power. Taking inspiration from Aphra Behn, Delarivier Manley and Eliza Haywood often portray physical beauty and desire as realms of delusion and corruption in the private and public spheres, while at the same time tantalizing the readers with scandal, intrigue and seductive frames of the feminine form.

In The Adventures of Rivella (1714), a fictional biography of herself, Delarivier Manley uses descriptions of Rivella's body and her ability to seduce the reader through her craft of writing for promoting and defending herself as a partisan writer in a hostile literary marketplace.

In Eliza Haywood's The Adventures of Eovaaii (1736), a satiric oriental fiction is used to present the dangers as well as temptations of exercising sexual agency, for a Princess who serves as a model of political selfhood. With the gift of a magic perspective Eovaii achieves insights into virtue and education about the mechanics of power: both state political and sexual politics.

The female body and its functions, adultery, illegitimate births, pregnancy, rape and its aftermath, and many such themes that were excluded in the mid to late eighteenth century and nineteenth century novel, found ample representation in the fiction of these two writers. Though political satire was the express end of these writings, they offer interesting insights into the complicated terrain negotiated by women in their pursuit of virtue and equity in the long eighteenth century.

Carmen Borbély, Babes-Bolyai University

'Any endowment of the Body': Malleable Bodies and the 'Prosthetic Imagination' in Haywood's Speculative Fiction

As the definition of 'prosthesis' featured in The New World of Words: Or, Universal English Dictionary (1706) indicates, the supplemental logic of a surgical art that could compensate for bodily deficiencies, primarily by 'fill[ing] up with Flesh' the 'hollow' or 'wanting' areas of anatomical lack, was edging its way into

the popular imagination by the turn of the eighteenth century. Yet as the numerous instances of precarious 'natural' bodies in Eliza Haywood's satirical speculative fiction show, even resorting to various 'soft', rather than 'harsh' or intrusive, enhancement technologies (dioptric, cosmetic, sartorial, or mnemonic) to overcome the insufficiencies of age, gender or class risks trapping them in the 'double bind' of prosthesis, with its simultaneous enabling (restorative) and disabling (mutilating) potential (see David Wills 1995; Sarah S. Jain 1999). In Adventures of Eovaai, Princess of Ijaveo (1736), for instance, there is a sense in which unaided, natural vision is myopic, lame and imperfectly suited to cope with differences in scale and substance between the multiple worlds traversed by the protagonist, yet the use of visual framebreaking devices, such as gigantic looking-glasses or Halafamai's telescope, both corrects impaired sight and deceives it, disclosing or concealing the rather unstable divide between bodily integrity and deformity. By contrast, in The Invisible Spy, published in 1755, one year after William Hay's Deformity: An Essay and Sarah Scott's translation Agreeable Ugliness, Haywood engages, on the one hand, in a defence of the 'natural' body's vulnerability to disability as the guarantor of moral agency and integrity, as her sarcastic reference to lank cheek plumpers for or to the fungibility of bodies (monkeys and 'burlesque belles') underneath fashionable garments suggests. On the other hand, the central trope of the narrative, condensed in the two fabulous appendages that transform Exploralibus into a flaneur/flaneuse who can survey and record contemporary scenes unhindered by the limits of corporeality, taps into the optimism that technology can enable a (provisionally) disembodied consciousness. Focusing on these two fantasy narratives, this paper looks at how Haywood's speculative fiction interrogates the role of prosthesis as a placeholder of the divide between 'natural' and 'artificial' bodies, and the extent to which, in Peter Boxall's terms (2020), it contributes to shaping the modern novel's 'prosthetic imagination'.

50 **Sense of Place: Eighteenth Century Experiences of the Garden**

Room: Mackesy Room (Samuel Johnson Building)

Abstract: This panel explores how garden spaces were sensed and experienced through the body in the eighteenth century. Despite recent scholarly advancements in the history of the senses and the history of smell in particular, gardens as yet have received surprisingly little attention in this area. Traditionally placing emphasis on design, studies in garden history frequently acknowledge that gardens were designed to please the eye, but the focus on the visual components alone does not allow for the other senses. Gardens are complex sensory landscapes, and historical accounts frequently reference floral fragrances, the music of birdsong, and feasting on garden produce as part of the experience. As one landscape historian recently observed, many studies 'leave out, quite strikingly and fundamentally ... the human experience of landscape' (Burchardt, 2024). By focusing on sensory experiences of the garden, these papers add texture and complexity to our understanding of historic gardens and offer new interpretive possibilities that revive key components of historical experiences that have been frequently overlooked in scholarship. Each of the papers show how – referencing unpublished diaries, letters and poems as well as published recipe books – people interacted with and immersed themselves in gardens through employing all their senses.

Chair: **Ruby Rutter**, University of Manchester

Speakers: **Jon Stobart**, Manchester Metropolitan University

Tasting the fruits of success: from kitchen garden to dining table

Historians have long recognised the importance of the kitchen garden in furnishing the country house table with status symbols, such as pineapples and melons, and with more quotidian produce, from cabbages and carrots to potatoes

and pears. Considerable resources were poured into the infrastructure and labour necessary to create a productive garden (Floud, 2019). Rather less familiar are the ways in which country house owners engaged their senses in the garden, smelling, tasting and touching fruit as it came into season, and how their senses were re-engaged at the dinner table. In this paper, we read diaries and letters to discover the pleasure taken or disappointment felt in fruit freshly picked from the tree or eaten at dessert. Drawing on a range of manuscript and published recipe books, we also explore the ways in which flavours were enhanced, augmented or transformed through the addition of other ingredients and through different cooking methods. Overall, the paper seeks to recover something of house owners' interest in and descriptions of taste as a visceral experience, and how these responded to new influences such as exotic fruit or new modes of cooking (cf. Bickham, 2020).

Helen Brown, Independent Scholar

From quiet retreat to "deafening" crowds – sound, hearing and listening in the Georgian country house garden

The Georgian country house garden was a versatile social arena. Often characterised as a quiet rural retreat from the overwhelming noise of the city, country house gardens were spaces of meditation, reading, and contemplation. This idyllic rural image was held in direct contrast with noisy and busy spaces such as towns and cities and the country house itself. However, this was not the full story of Georgian gardens. These large, open spaces were occasionally opened to a broader public for grand events such as landowner majority celebrations and weddings, cricket matches, and local fairs. These events temporarily transformed the garden space with a loud and lively atmosphere. This paper highlights the auditory experience of the garden as highly changeable and reflective of its role as a dynamic social space. Sounds were spatially specific, with natural and man-made noises growing and diminishing in volume for visitors as they moved around the space. Unlike sight, sound has less harsh boundaries. Hearing and listening could happen within and outside the borders of a designed garden thus extending the scope of garden experience into both the house and wider countryside. Approaching gardens through sound, hearing and listening repopulates the garden with visitors, staff members, family members, and wildlife. It also reminds us that gardens were important domestic and public spaces that were designed to be experienced beyond simply looking at and admiring its aesthetic properties.

Jemima Hubberstey, Historic Royal Palaces

"My senses are by no means reconciled": Sensory Experiences and the Gardens at Wrest Park

This paper explores the sensory references to the gardens at Wrest Park, written in the surviving letters and poems of the literary circle that frequently met there in the mid-eighteenth century when it was owned by Jemima Marchioness Grey (1722-1797) and her husband, Philip Yorke (1720-1790). In these accounts, sensory recollections of the gardens are central to the writers' experiences and draw attention to their physical presence within the landscape. This paper explores how far these accounts reflect both the writers' sense of belonging and connection to Wrest Park, as well as the role the gardens played in nurturing their mental and physical wellbeing.

The first part of the paper explores how epistolary accounts deliberately recreate an imaginary revisitation and allow both the writer and reader to share in the experience of garden visiting from afar. For Yorke's sister, Lady Elizabeth Anson (1725-1760), her return to London prompted nostalgia as she recalled of the smells, sounds, and sights in the gardens at Wrest recently lost to her, writing to Grey, 'my senses are by no means reconciled to their situation', as her hearing

grieves the loss of birdsong, and her smell suffers by the loss of the perfumes of hay and honeysuckle. Equally, when writing to her aunt and childhood friend, Mary Gregory (1719-1769), Grey took pains to describe the gardens as fully as she could, describing the rich array of sounds and smells through different parts of the gardens. Neither of these accounts are particularly interested in the language of taste; instead, the authors are far more concerned with recreating the physical experience so that, through the medium of the letter, they might share once more in the enjoyment of the gardens.
The second part of the paper explores how far visitors' physical immersion in the rich sensory landscape of the gardens contributed to a sense of wellbeing. In many respects, the gardens offered escape and respite – not only in features such as the hermitage and shaded woodland, but in inhabitants taking notice of their surroundings and benefitting from country air. The benefits of the gardens at Wrest were extolled in the coterie's poetry too, one poem particularly invites the reader to 'in its wide garden breathe a purer air'. Ultimately, by paying closer attention to the senses, this paper argues that garden accounts can reveal not only inhabitants' connection to place, but the way in which gardens contributed to their wellbeing and enjoyment.

51 **The Uses of Books**

Room: SCR Parlour (Fellows' Staircase)

Abstract: This panel examines the diverse ways that British women and men used eighteenth-century books. How did books move through commercial distribution networks, and who handled them along the way? What social, psychological, or creative needs did books meet for their readers, and how were different kinds of books bought, circulated, and read differently? Every extant eighteenth-century book has traveled through the intervening centuries to find its place in a twenty-first century library, archive, collection, or other setting. How can this history give us greater insight and self-awareness about our own practices of scholarly reading?

Chair: **Adam James Smith**, York St John University

Speakers: **Jo Butler**, Keele University

'Her Mother's Books': recovering women's text work in regional England

Local agents were essential for access to books outside of the capital. However, much remains unknown about the operations of the 'country booksellers', and the number of women working in the regional print trade has been significantly underestimated. Drawing on research in progress which surveys over 300 women who worked in the print trade in the English Midlands between 1700 and 1830, this paper shines new light on both regional access to books and the role of women in distributing printed communications. The record is often silent for women's book trading activity, but glimpses can be found in the books themselves. The books that were subscribed to and sold by, printed by or for, bought and even stolen from women text workers offer rich material for consideration. Published accounts will be evaluated against such evidence of women's work, using the case study of Lichfield Bookseller Sarah Johnson and the glimpses of her work which can be found in the writings of Anna Seward, Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, and the historiography of the following centuries. This paper will demonstrate how the books that women traded can be used to disrupt the patriarchal histories which have obscured women's key role in regional access to knowledge.

Amelia Dale, Australian National University

Harris's List Among the Collectors: Bibliophilia and Scopophilia

This paper examines the uses to which collectors put the long-running eighteenth-century directory of London sex workers, Harris's List of Covent-

Garden Ladies (1760-1794). It argues that the afterlife of Harris's List exemplifies a form of gendered textual connoisseurship important for the history of literary studies. This paper will trace how collectors such as Joseph Haslewood (1769-1833) and Henry Spencer Ashbee (1834-1900) and enthusiastic historians like Horace Bleackley (1868-1931) and E.J. Burford (1905-1997) elaborate upon the List's treatment of connoisseurship and catalogue through their various practices of repackaging, indexing, illustrating and annotating Harris's List. Drawing on recent scholarship that recognises the importance of nineteenth-century collectors to the history and ongoing practices of literary studies as a discipline, this paper analyses how the legacy of collectors plays out in the gendered history of criticism on eighteenth-century erotic writing.

Jacob Sider Jost, Dickinson College
Paranoia and Diversion in William Cowper
This paper argues that eighteenth-century reading practices—the intensive reading of a classical and religious canon, paired with extensive reading in ephemeral and contemporary print—shaped the expression of the poet William Cowper's lifelong melancholy and religious despair. In his periods of depression, Cowper was a paranoid reader, unable to read without applying texts to himself. In times of recovery, Cowper used reading as a pastime and diversion, carefully distancing himself psychologically from the contemporary and classical books he read and translated. In his most successful poetry, however, Cowper was able to take the question of resemblance as a topic of poetic investigation, depicting his own mind without falling into despairing paranoia.

16:10-16:30	COFFEE BREAK	MEET YOUR MENTOR
Harold Lee Room (Henderson 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. **You can meet up by the registration desk and then head to the nearby Farthings Café.**

16:30-17:30	**Listening Event** The aim of the annual listening event is to strengthen the BSECS member voice by providing an opportunity for members to meet and share their opinions and feedback about Access and Inclusion at BSECS. Themes from the event will be captured and fed back to the Committee to allow for learning and, where possible, action.
Room:	Pichette Auditorium ** Overflow space will be available in the Allen & Overy Room.
Chair:	**Karen Lipsedge**, Kingston University

17:45-19:00	SPECIAL PLENARY ROUNDTABLE Eighteenth in the Twenty-First Century: Elections and Democracy
Room:	Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building) ** Overflow space will be available in the Allen & Overy Room
Chair:	**Matthew Grenby**, Newcastle University
Speakers:	**Elaine Chalus**, University of Liverpool **Kendra Packham**, Newcastle University and Institute of English Studies **Rob Saunders**, Queen Mary University of London **Susan Banducci**, University of Birmingham

19:15-20:15	CONCERT featuring **The Warleggan Village Band**
Room:	Pembroke College Chapel The Pembroke College Chapel will be the venue for the annual conference concert on Thursday evening. The space was selected for its eighteenth-century

	history and acoustics, and is an inclusive space welcoming people of all faiths or none. The Pembroke College Bar (Chapel Quad) will also be open at this time as a social space before dinner.

20:30–22:00	**BSECS ANNUAL CONFERENCE DINNER, Dining Hall (Chapel Quad)**

FRIDAY 10 JANUARY	
9:00-10:20	FRIDAY SESSION I
52	**Eighteenth-Century Materialities**
Room:	Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building)
Chair:	**Chloe Wigston Smith**, University of York
Speakers:	**Hannah Moss**, National Trust
	Embroidery & Embodiment: Copies after Angelica Kauffman's 'Shakespeare's Tomb' (c. 1772)
	Recent research, including my own PhD thesis, has sought to reevaluate the status of copies during the eighteenth century. For example, in her study of pictorial embroidery in England (2019), Rosika Desnoyers argues for the value of the copy, positioning it as a means of engaging in aesthetic debate, with 'copying from great works of antiquity' to be considered 'both a means of learning and a measure of one's sophistication and erudition.' Furthermore, Rachel Harmeyer has argued that by choosing to copy 'moral and didactic subjects', such as Angelica Kauffman's 'Hector and Andromache' (1768), 'young women employed the genre of history painting to demonstrate that their needlework was no empty accomplishment, but an encapsulation of their education'(2022). I aim to further this argument by considering the production of copies as an act of embodiment which positions the creator in relation to their forebears. Angelica Kauffman is an artist who certainly understood the power of copies to spread an image – so much so that Amanda Vickery has described her artistic output as akin to brand-building, noting 'she probably creating paintings deliberately to appeal to the print trade' (2020). Her commercial awareness meant that admirers of her work could buy into the Angelica aesthetic through furnishings or fans, porcelain or prints, but this paper will focus on how Kauffman's work could be replicated at home in embroidery or silk work. An image frequently replicated during the long eighteenth century, on both sides of the Atlantic, was Kauffman's allegorical depiction of Fame laying flowers at the tomb of Shakespeare, and I intend to focus on the inter-medial life of this particular image. 'Shakespeare's Tomb' was painted c. 1772 as a companion piece to 'Shakespeare's Birth', and the image was subsequently engraved by Francesco Bartolozzi and published as a print in 1782. The print version not only includes an except from John Gilbert Cooper's poem 'The Tomb of Shakespeare: A Vision' (1755), which is thought to have inspired Kauffman, but the image is dedicated to Elizabeth Montagu, who had published her 'Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare' in 1769 – thus aligning Montagu and Kauffman as figures who have worked to shape the Bard's legacy. Embroidered copies made after this print display scope for creativity, with some examples missing any reference to Shakespeare, and yet I will argue that each replication contributes to the dialogue initiated about art, poetry, creativity and legacy.
	Anna Myers, University of Edinburgh
	George Cooper's 1769 Tea Chest, William Shakespeare, and the Canonization of the English National Poet
	William Shakespeare is believed to have planted a mulberry tree at his home, New Place, in Stratford-upon-Avon circa 1609. In 1756 the tree—'venerated' by the local populace as 'belong[ing] to the immortal Shakespeare'—was cut into blocks and sold by then resident the Reverend Francis Gastrell. Capitalizing on the contemporary conception of the mulberry tree and its wood as a material connection to Shakespeare, local entrepreneurs carved the blocks into objects, ranging from snuff boxes and writing standishes to scales and pastry cutters. The historical significance of Shakespeare's mulberry tree and the objects made from its wood, known as 'mulberry' or 'Shakespeare relics', has often been examined in the context of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century consumer culture

and literary tourism. Taking a tea chest made from Shakespeare's mulberry in 1759 as a case study, this paper situates these objects within the history of Shakespeare's canonization as the English national poet. Through an interdisciplinary approach that spans material culture, English literature, and the history of emotions, it interrogates the functional and aesthetic values of the tea chest as an object in relation to its classification as a relic. Scrutiny of the chest illustrates how mulberry 'relics' could embody the space between alternate realms occupied by a god-like Shakespeare and become touchstones that channelled the playwright's divinity through to the material domestic landscape of eighteenth-century daily life.

Romane Mahy, Free University of Brussels

Embodiment in Sculpture: Aesthetic and Symbolic Representations of Actors in Eighteenth-Century Busts, Statues, and Monuments

This paper examines the sculptural representations of actors through busts, statues, and monuments during the period from 1750 to 1830, a transformative era in artistic expression that emphasized the concept of embodiment. During this time, the actor emerged as a significant subject in sculpture, reflecting a diversification in the types of personalities portrayed. No longer limited to royal or mythological figures, sculptors began to represent a broader range of cultural icons, including prominent actors who shaped public taste and identity.

As sculptural portraiture expanded to include actors, the aesthetic choices made by sculptors became crucial in conveying the subjects' emotional depth and public personas. Busts and statues were not merely representations of physical likeness; they served as a means of idealization, embodying contemporary ideals of beauty, virtue, and celebrity. The works of prominent sculptors like Louis-François Roubiliac and John Flaxman exemplify this duality, where the blend of realism and idealization allowed for a rich visual language that elevated actors to the status of cultural icons.

The iconographic qualities of these sculptures are also significant, particularly in the representation of David Garrick as Shakespeare. This portrayal not only highlights Garrick's dual identity as both a leading actor and a revered playwright but also underscores the cultural importance of Shakespearean drama in the period. Statues of Garrick often depict him in contemplative poses, suggesting the weight of his artistic legacy and his deep connection to the theatrical tradition. Similarly, representations of Sarah Siddons as the "Tragic Muse" position her within a lineage of artistic greatness, aligning her with mythological figures and emphasizing her role as a conduit of emotional truth. These choices celebrate individual achievements while connecting the actors to broader cultural narratives, making their representations emblematic of artistic and societal aspirations.

Symbolically, these sculptural forms served to reinforce the actors' significance within the public sphere. Statues and monuments were often placed in prominent locations—public squares, theaters, or civic spaces—where they became part of the collective memory and identity of the community. This visibility conferred an enduring legacy upon the subjects, transforming them into figures of inspiration and cultural pride. The embodiment of these figures in public contexts reflects changing perceptions of actors, who transitioned from transient performers to celebrated icons worthy of commemoration.

Moreover, the materials used in these sculptures—such as marble, bronze, and terracotta—played a vital role in shaping their reception. The choice of medium not only indicated the artist's technical skill but also affected how the audience engaged with the work. For instance, marble busts conveyed a sense of permanence and grandeur, while terracotta offered a more intimate, tactile experience. The durability of these materials allowed for the longevity of the actors' images, further solidifying their place in cultural history.

In conclusion, the busts, statues, and monuments of actors during the eighteenth century reflect a rich interplay of aesthetic choices, iconographic elements, and symbolic significance. These sculptural representations embody not only the physical characteristics of the actors but also the complexities of identity, celebrity, and cultural values in the public sphere. This panel aims to deepen our understanding of how these works functioned within their historical contexts, illuminating the lasting impact of actors on the artistic and social fabric of the era.

Esther Rollinson, University of Manchester
"Her Resignation & Fortitude in her last moments were Lessons from which, I hope, the rest of us have or shall profit.": Death, Mourning, and Materiality in the Catholic Household c.1680–1800
This paper explores the diverse ritual practices that surrounded the experiences of death in eighteenth-century Catholic households. Within it, I argue that the lived realities of dying in the Catholic home can only really be understood through an examination of the points of interaction between distinct mourning cultures, which were shaped by fashion and by faith respectively. Inherently connected to the conference's theme of bodies and embodiment, this paper investigates how Catholic men and women navigated the loss of friends and family members through their social networks and their domestic spaces.
For Catholics, the end of life was marked by a specific intensity of ritual prayer, which created a distinct affective environment around the bodies of the dying. Drawing especially on the diary entries and letters of the Catholic gentlewoman Charlotte Bedingfield [née Jerningham] (1770-1854), as well as on surviving material objects and records taken from Catholic wills, this paper explores the nature of the Catholic deathbed. I examine the extent to which Catholics in the eighteenth century continued to rely on well-established rites drawn from the Ars Moriendi, and I consider how Catholics continued to be encouraged to reflect on the Passion of Christ and to call on the intercession of both the Virgin Mary and the saints during the last hours and days of their lives. In so doing, I reflect also on the ways in which Catholic deathbed cultures were distinct from those broader cultures of death, which were largely shaped by English Protestantism.
Alongside this, however, the paper seeks to reveal how Catholics simultaneously and willingly embedded themselves within a fashionable mourning culture, which grew up apace with the growing consumerism of the century. The second half of this paper thus explores how Catholics engaged with the richly embodied culture of mourning, which has been described in detail by Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin. This part of the paper illustrates how Catholics invested in mourning clothing and mourning jewellery, often at considerable expense, and how these objects were used to reflect on the transitory nature of life and the impermanence of the body. Using surviving material examples, this paper highlights these important points of interaction between religious and polite cultures, both of which relied on objects and materials to facilitate the expression of emotion at the end of life.
In exploring these points of interaction, this paper highlights the lived realities of dying for Catholics in the eighteenth century. It illustrates the necessity of understanding Catholic engagement with both religious and fashionable mourning cultures and argues that both provided support and comfort to those navigating a period of great instability and loss.

53 **Challenging Stereotypes and Identities**
Room: Allen & Overy Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Thomas Archambaud**, University of Glasgow
Speakers: **Ben Jackson**, University of Manchester
Thinking Queer with the Eighteenth-Century Anglican Clergy

The eighteenth-century established church's attitudes to gender and sexuality are well documented, as are those of individual clergymen expressed in print. Clerical marriage, as a cornerstone of the Protestant Reformation, helped to reduce the association of clerical masculinity with sodomy and, by the seventeenth century, clerical marriage was both commonplace and expected by parishioners. Eighteenth-century clerical life-writing reveals that many clergymen longed for the earthly pleasures of matrimony and clergy wives were an important weapon in the parish administrative arsenal performing significant pastoral and social functions. Both in print and in pen, Anglican clerics were keen upholders of patriarchal tradition and heterosexual orthodoxy. But can the Anglican clergy of eighteenth-century England, traditional in outlook and conservative in lifestyle, be 'queered'? What does 'queering' mean in such contexts? What can historians learn from adopting a queer approach to this, most traditional, of social groups? To answer these questions, this paper explores the possibilities of 'thinking queer' with the Anglican clergy and applies 'New British Queer History' approaches of 'thinking queer'. Building particularly the work of Laura Doan and Matt Houlbrook, its aim is not necessarily to argue that eighteenth-century clergymen possessed queer sexual subjectivities, while the possibilities of such an approach will be explored, but to ask what we learn about the clergy by adopting a 'queer-as-method' approach to their identities, their emotional and embodied experiences, and their homosocial and heterosocial relationships. In doing so, the paper examines clerical life-writing to argue that these men's professional status placed them in a precarious relationship to forms of social and masculine authority and thus in the 'in-between' space of the queer. Indeed, the paper argues that the intensity of religious belief and sentiment underpinned the queer dynamics of clerical interpersonal relationships. It particularly thinks about queer temporalities of clerical masculinities, building on the work of Jack Halberstam and Elizabeth Freeman. In doing so, the paper inserts the clergy, religion, and profession into the histories of eighteenth-century masculine intimacies, disturbing perceptions of the Anglican clergy that remain today.

Gillian Williamson, Independent Scholar

Under scrutiny: a Black voter in Westminster in 1749

The morning of Tuesday 28th November 1749: a body of men leaves the streets around Hungerford Market and walks across the Strand to Covent Garden Piazza to cast their votes in the Westminster Parliamentary by-election. The group we are interested in will poll for Viscount Trentham, the government candidate. Among them is John London, victualler, of One Tun Alley, a narrow passageway leading from the Strand to Hungerford Market.

The electoral race is vituperative and the result tight. When the polls close on 8th December Trentham has beaten the opposition candidate, independent Sir George Vandeput, by just 157 votes in a contest where 9,465 voted. The Vandeput campaign immediately calls for a scrutiny – a retrospective challenge to some of the votes cast. John London's vote is one such. And in the scrutiny records we find out something about John London apart from his occupation and address. He is a Black man – and so the earliest known Black voter in Britain (Charles Ignatius Sancho voted in Westminster in 1774 and 1780).

John London is archivally elusive but this paper uses the scrutiny record and other brief vignettes of his life to consider how John London is defined as Black in some records but not others and how his embodied racial and his social class identities intersect in mid-century Georgian London. His recovered life is also a timely reminder to us not to 'think white' as the default when researching in the archives.

Aditi Gupta, University of Oxford

Countering Stereotypes in the Eighteenth Century: A Frenchman's Treatises on India

This paper will shine a light on the historical treatises of Jean-Baptiste Gentil (1726-1799), a Frenchman who spent twenty-five years in India. While serving as the military advisor to the prince of Awadh, Gentil amassed a huge collection of art and manuscripts in Sanskrit, Persian and other Indian languages. One of the early Frenchmen to get interested in orientalism, Gentil wrote four treatises in French: Historical Treatise on the Kings of the Mughal Empire (1772), History of Coins (1773), Historical Treatise on the Emperors of Hindustan (1774), and Gods of Hindustan (1774)—compiled using first-hand knowledge from ancient indigenous sources, a rare practice for any European collector.

In these treatises, cultural mediation takes place through the interplay of text and company-style illustrations. Gentil translates three Persian historical sources — Abul Fazl's Ain-i-akbari, a sixteenth-century detailed document recording the administration of the Mughal Empire under Emperor Akbar; Sujan Rai's Khalasat at-Tawarikh (1696), a chronicle of the Mughal Empire in the northern Indian subcontinent; and Muhammad Qasim Firishta's Tarikh-i Firishta, a history of the Muslim rulers of India up to the early seventeenth century.

In this paper, I would like to argue that Gentil acted as an intermediary between the two cultures. He compiled these texts using legitimate sources (texts, discussions with learned local scholars). To this day, these treatises stand testimony to his attempt at compiling reliable knowledge on Indian history and culture to ultimately counter stereotypes that were propagated in Europe by travellers to the Mughal empire a century before.

54

Gothic Bodies

Room: Andrew Pitt Room (Henderson Building)

Chair: **Daniel Johnson**, Birmingham Newman University

Speakers: **Yael Shapira**, Bar-Ilan University

"How deadly pale thou look'st, my love": Repeating the Dead Male Body in Isabella Kelly's Gothic Fiction

My paper will focus on a particular figuration of the human body that repeats itself in the novels of Isabella Kelly (c. 1759-1857), a once-popular, now-forgotten author who was a prominent contributor to William Lane's Minerva Press. As might be expected of Minerva novels, famous (or rather infamous) for their reliance on successful formulas, Kelly makes repeated use of tropes from the popular genres of the day, especially sentimental and Gothic fiction. In particular, she seems to be enamored of scenes in which a woman confronts the dead body of a beloved man – usually a lover, but sometimes a father or guardian – and responds to the sight with profound grief, if not delirium and death. As I will show, scenes of this kind – whether brief or extended –appear in every one of Kelly's Minerva novels from 1794 to 1801, and they are particularly conspicuous and plentiful in her third novel, The Ruins of Avondale Priory (1796).

Having surveyed Kelly's fascination with the dead-male-body motif in the first part of the paper, I will use the second part to discuss the challenge of interpreting and understanding such repetition. Until the last two decades or so, scholarship on late eighteenth-century Gothic fiction was largely uninterested in Minerva's formula novels, dismissing them en masse as uninteresting "imitations" of work by better-known novelists, especially Matthew Lewis and Ann Radcliffe. Given the common perception – than as now – that Minerva authors were little better than machines assembling one novel after another out of repurposed parts, repetition in such fiction was seen as evidence of its essential critical worthlessness.

Drawing on recent developments in the study of Romantic-era popular fiction and in particular on the current rethinking of Minerva authorship, I will propose an alternative to this traditional view. If we put aside inherited notions and agree

to grant Kelly the agency of an author, I will argue, we will see that her dead men are far from meaningless: rather than ready-made elements of fiction recycled in a "manufacturing" process, they are a series of experiments Kelly conducts in revising the long-extant literary trope of the dead female body – that object of morbid, erotic fascination prominent not only in the canonical Gothic of Kelly's day, but in the work of such esteemed predecessors as Richardson and Shakespeare. Kelly, I will claim, is repeating what others had repeated before her, while, in fact, veering away from their example in a resonant and suggestive way. On its broadest level, my paper will seek to demonstrate how the changing understanding of Minerva authorship opens up new interpretive possibilities, as well as a renewed understanding of how influence worked in the late eighteenth-century literary marketplace.

Elizabeth Hinds, Duquesne University

Posthumous Revenge: Shared Bodies and Self-Harm in Hoggs' Justified Sinner

The 18th and 19th centuries were clouded by dark fears associated with the body and its posthumous treatment—fears driven by the proliferation of body snatchers, grave robbers, anatomy theaters, and the violent punishment of criminal and suicide bodies. To end up on an anatomist's table was a fate universally dreaded. Yet, in 1822, Thomas De Quincey published the startling declaration that he would gladly surrender his corpse to an autopsy, writing: "It will give me pleasure to anticipate this posthumous revenge and insult inflicted upon that which has caused me so much suffering in this life" (Appendix 142-3). Throughout his writings, De Quincey blames his body for its pains and addictions and characterizes it as his enemy. The act of offering his body to the anatomists, then, manifests as a radical kind of self-harm motivated by his personal body hate.

Seen within this historical framing, Robert's actions within The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner can also be read as a radical expression of self-harm and a plan for "posthumous revenge." In this paper, I will argue that Robert's chief motivation is not a naturally despotic character or religious extremism, both of which constitute the two most common readings of the novel. Instead, I argue that Robert's downward spiral is propelled by a hatred of his own body and virtually nothing else, as he spends the narrative wishing to escape his body, punish his body, and even enact "posthumous revenge" upon it. I justify this reading by defining Robert, Gil-Martin, and George as one ontological "body" according to the tropes and structure of the gothic doppelgänger —a relationship made possible by their bodies' porous boundaries. Under this framework, the three characters' desires to harm each other create a cycle of self-harm and self-destruction that eventually results in the ignoble destruction of Robert's body (his suicide) and the continual posthumous violence inflicted against it. Overall, I hope to prove that a focus on Romantic historical mindsets transforms this theological novel into an exploration of the era's burgeoning body anxiety.

Sreeja Chowdhury, Presidency University

Spectres of Empire: Early Gothic Literature's Colonial and Oriental Hauntings

The seeds of the late eighteenth century Gothic literature is said to lie in England's anti-Catholic resistance and religious intolerance. However recent research, particularly that of Maria Purves, has brought into light at least the partial fictitiousness of such claims. She maintains that although Catholic emancipation was unable to establish itself in England before 1829, Catholic sympathies loomed in England by and large in the eighteenth century. With the Catholics off the table, she points out that it was the repressive secular hegemony that the Gothic novelists were fighting against. However, through re-readings of Horace Walpole's The Castle of Otranto, Clara Reeve's The Old English Baron,

Mathew Greogory Lewis' The Monk:A Romance, and The Anne Radcliffe books, this paper attempts to argue that early Gothic novels are not merely concerned with England's internal religious tensions but also with its anxieties around burgeoning imperialism, and exorcising fears of such colonialist and orientalist discourses.

As England was strengthening its colonial status, its obsession with the Orient was also becoming overpowering. England witnessed an influx of colonial reports detailing the exotic, the magical, and sometimes the terrifying aspects of newly encountered lands and peoples from the far Carribean and, even India. These posed a potential threat to White man's supremacy, which is what , as I endeavour to evince, these Gothic novelists were fighting against. This can be instantiated in Lewis' The Monk: A Romance by the incident of Ambrosio's drugging Antonia to a temporary coma-inducing sleep, followed by him restoring her to normalcy, and violating her body. This episode, in Edward Long's The History of Jamaica Or, General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of that Island, with Reflections on Its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, Climate, Products, Commerce, Laws, and Government, closely resembles his account of a temporary state which of "lifeless, no pulse, nor motion of the heart, being perceptible ;..." induced by "a cold infusion of the herb branched colalue" which lasted "till, on being rubbed with another infusion (as yet unknown to the Whites), the effects of the colalue gradually went off, the body resumed its motions, and the party, on whom the experiment had been tried, awoke as from a trance..." The fact that Lewis owned vast lands in Jamaica, within four miles of Savanna-la-Mer only adds to this assertion of him having a vested interest in Jamaica and thus, having come across these Jamaican 'obeah'[magic] tales while composing his book.

The turn to the imperialist and the oriental that the later Gothic of the nineteenth century has been much credited to have taken [with England's consolidation of imperialist power being complete], has seldom been the terms to study the Early Gothic. Therefore, through many such explorations of the aforesaid Gothic texts, this essay attempts to situate the Early Gothic in the imperial and the oriental, and how its development was directly affected by England's concerted efforts at colonial dominance.

Debra Bourdeau, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University

Hogarth's The Four Stages of Cruelty and the Invention of Body Horror

The first use of the term "body horror" (sometimes "biological horror") is widely attributed to Phillip Brophy in the essay "Horrality: The Textuality of Contemporary Horror Films," and originally was narrowly focused on cinematic representations of grotesque physical abuses of the body in what Ronald Cruz calls an "inexplicable violation of humanity." Examples have included John Carpenter's The Thing, David Cronenberg's The Fly or even David Lynch's Eraserhead. This definition has been expanded to include non-human violations and mutations, and critics have subsequently looked to literature—particularly Gothic fiction—for early predecessors. As a result, Mary Shelley's Frankenstein, H.G. Wells' The Island of Dr. Moreau, and Franz Kafka's The Metamorphosis are now typically discussed as body horror examples.

This presentation will explore even earlier origins of body horror, specifically in the four-plate series The Four Stages of Cruelty by William Hogarth. In these 1751 engravings, Tom Nero progresses from torturing animals to the brutal near decapitation of his lover and ends up on the anatomist's table in a graphic public dissection that includes a bubbling cauldron and a dog feasting on his heart. Hogarth unflinchingly displays a variety of aberrations that alter the body, both human and animal: wings are tied to a cat as it is pushed from a window; a pigeon is blinded with a heated stick; a pregnant woman is brutally slaughtered in the street. Nero's "reward" is to have his own body callously dismembered.

Hogarth's descent into body horror in Four Stages is an important initial foray into what would emerge as an important subgenre that feeds on a fear of the body displayed in unnatural ways (through mutilation or grotesque transformation) and an even greater terror associated with a loss of control and bodily autonomy.

55 **Lifecycles**
Room: Littlegate Room (Henderson Building)
Chair: **Megumi Ohsumi**, University of Oxford
Speakers: **Sebastian Mitchell**, University of Birmingham

Kindness and Cruelty: Hogarth's depiction of children

Through his work and fundraising for the Foundling Hospital, William Hogarth has acquired a reputation for his indulgence and fondness of children. There are many images which demonstrated his charitable and concerned disposition. He produced for the hospital an ink drawing with a pathetic abandoned infant who yelps for aid; and he painted for the benefit of the same institution a grand historical painting with an anxious red-haired Moses as a young boy standing before Pharaoh's daughter (with his mother in the background). This sympathetic vision also extends to his domestic arrangements. There is a frank and affecting portrait of a young boy, with no trappings of wealth or status, as part of his painting, 'Heads of Six Servants of the Hogarth Household' (1750-55). Hogarth and his wife, Jane, were a childless couple, but regularly fostered children from the Foundling Hospital. Jane also oversaw the network of wet nurses for abandoned children in and around Chiswick.

However, one of Hogarth's contemporaries took a very different view on his attitude to minors. He claimed Hogarth detested children, and that the ugliness and cruelty with which the artist frequently depicted them provided ample evidence of his real feelings. This paper will argue that both positions of indulgence and dislike are true, and indeed could be true in almost the same moment. The presentation will focus on Hogarth's series, both paintings and prints, 'The Four Times of the Day' (1756-57). Across the four images, Hogarth demonstrates a range of attitudes toward children without any obvious attempt to reconcile these. It seems that for the most part, the satirical thrusts of the pictures are aimed at the upper classes and lower orders while leaving the middle ranks unscathed; yet the penultimate image is a depiction of a middle-station family, similar to Hogarth's own status, which reveals a complicated psycho-sexual dynamic in its account of the parents and their children.

Ashley Xiong, The Institute of Comparative Literature and Cultural Studies, Peking University

Commodifying Agelessness: The De-Naturalized Female Body in Defoe's Realist Novels

This paper examines the portrayal of "ageless" and "naturally alluring" female protagonists in Defoe's novels, who, despite claiming to be "the mere work of nature," are ultimately depicted as de-naturalized symbols. Through close readings of Roxana and Moll Flanders, this study first considers how these protagonists' bodies serve as commodified symbols within an economic framework. Beyond their ability to exchange beauty and sexuality for wealth, their roles as mothers and caretakers are also commodified: childbearing is rendered emotionally detached and subject to midwives who control both child-rearing and the larger prostitution economy—thus reinforcing the denaturalization of the female body.

Furthermore, these protagonists' engagement with clothing intensifies this commodification. Roxana's dressing and undressing rituals serve to prepare her for male attention while also symbolizing her shifting emotions, contrasting, for instance, her favored Turkish dress with the Quaker attire she adopts later.

Meanwhile, Moll disguises herself in various lower-class outfits to enhance her success in theft, underscoring her body's value as a versatile commodity. Contrasting with A Journal of the Plague Year, Defoe's treatment of the body takes on a markedly different realism: female bodies appear grotesque, lifeless, and devoid of allure, while clothing becomes a contagion vector. Yet, even during the plague, women continue to seize upon clothing, underscoring the view that, for Defoe's ageless protagonists, the body is reduced to a commodity like clothing—its survival dependent on external symbolism and unable to retain exchange value in the face of aging or illness.
Religious and medical discourses of the period further contextualize Defoe's depiction of agelessness: the protagonists exhibit concerns about sinfulness over mortality, mirroring the religious disciplinary perspective on the body, while Stahl's medical theories, viewing the body as inherently lifeless, support this de-naturalized portrayal. This paper contends that Defoe's depiction of the ageless, de-naturalized female body functions as a transitional symbol at the intersection of Enlightenment ideologies, revealing how this feature occupies a unique position within the emergent scientific discourse on aging and realist novelistic practices.

Philip Trotter, University of Toronto
"In what a heighth of Extasie do those bless'd Spirits roll": Elizabeth Rowe, Religious Affects, and Friendship in Death
What is life after death like, and what is it like to live as if already dead? Elizabeth Rowe (1674–1737) considers Reformed eschatology in Friendship in Death (1728), a collection of fictional letters from the dead to the living, and endeavours "to make the Mind familiar, with the Thoughts of our Future Existence." What distinguishes Rowe from her like-minded contemporaries, however, is the distinctive form her didacticism takes: she tries to inculcate in her readers "as it were, unawares, an Habitual Persuasion of [the soul's immortality], by Writings built on that Foundation, and addressed to the Affections and Imagination." Rowe embraces what is potentially illicit, fictionality, amusement, and religious affects (most prominent in her much-praised, aestheticized manner, or "extasie"), to bring about social and moral reformation. In this paper, I argue that Rowe blends fiction, belief, and feeling to represent "Future Existence" to her readers in such a way as to persuade them to substitute what is worldly for what is unworldly: to live as if already dead, or, as Rowe puts it her personal letters, to "Exist in the state of departed Spirits." The distinctive form of Rowe's didacticism in Friendship in Death facilitates faith, if not in the four last things (death, judgement, heaven, and hell), at least in the fiction itself. Her blend of fiction, belief, and feeling enables readers to read on as if letters from the dead, and life after death, are fact. Although literary critics have discussed Rowe's prose fictions, including Friendship in Death, in relation to fictionality, entertainment, and the development of the novel, most scholarship has underplayed the religious aspects of her prose fictions and repeated assumptions about secularization and literary form. Besides furthering understandings of Rowe's didacticism, manner, and Friendship in Death, this paper begins to redress the misunderstood relationship between the religious, the secular, and the rising novel.

56 **Satirical Bodies**
Room: Mary Hyde Eccles Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Abstract: Eighteenth-century satire has a complex relationship with bodies. As a mode of critique which relies on exaggeration, satire frequently involves caricature and, consequently, eighteenth-century satirical print is heavily populated by grotesque and distorted bodies. At the same time, the satirist frequently figured their critique as a bodily attack, often drawing upon a medieval conflation of character and body. In this reading, the sick body is a symptom of a sick mind, and the

satirist is akin to a physician who will obliterate the malignant qualities of the patient's character to restore their bodily health. Targeting the body also raises fundamental questions about the definition of satire, which according to some eighteenth-century practitioners should only critique 'corrigible' faults (things that can be changed about the individual). The matter is complicated, of course, when incorrigible characteristics—both real and imagined—are evoked to critique a corrigible one. Recent crossover between satire studies and the history of emotions has also drawn attention to the "affect" of satire, and the ways satire is experienced by the body, both by individuals and by publics. This panel brings together a range of scholars presently working on these relationships between satire, bodies, and the embodied effects (and affects) of satire. It is our aspiration that this panel will provide the basis for further collaboration on this topic and foreground a novel way of parsing and analyzing discussion of the body in eighteenth-century satirical concepts.

Chair: **Wendy McGlashan**, Independent Scholar

Speakers: **Katie Snow**, University College Dublin

An Embodied Politics of Drunkenness: Caricaturing the Irish in the Long Eighteenth-Century

This paper examines how caricaturists set out an embodied politics of Irish drunkenness in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Exploring prints by satirists including George Cruikshank, William Elmes and Thomas Rowlandson, it argues that images of Irish subjects fighting, dancing, kissing, singing, swaggering, vomiting, urinating, bleeding, sweating, crying and suffering from skin conditions like rhinophyma (colloquially known as "whiskey nose" or "gin blossom") traced stories of shame – and shamelessness – which rested at the heart of political justifications for colonialism and the denial of self-rule. Turning to the body to enliven stereotypes about the drunken Irish, caricaturists drew on medico-cultural narratives about the personal, social and political consequences of "problem" drinking as expressed by physicians such as Thomas Trotter, Benjamin Rush and Anthony Forthergill and temperance writers including William Carleton. Each of these authors claimed the ugly, awkward, and often devastating physical impact that excessive drinking had upon the body, as well as its tendency to fracture familial bonds and working life. The physical laxity and unruliness of the intoxicated Irish body, I show, served as a visual metaphor for the moral looseness supposedly plaguing the body politic. Examining caricatures which cast the drunken Irish body as abject, bestial and incapable of effective self-governance opens up new understandings of the role that satirical art played in biopolitical conversations about bodily surveillance and regulation.

Charlotte Goodge, University of York

The Fat "Deformity" of the Billingsgate Fishwife

The exaggerated fatness of the lower-ranking woman in literary and visual culture, as explored in this paper, reveals a middling desire to ensure the social immobility of their real-life counterparts. In particular, the fatness of the lower-ranking women working in trade whom I label as "working women" is presented as an aesthetic "deformity". This deformity is unique to those of the working woman's social rank and is especially notable in the numerous visual caricatures made of Billingsgate fishwives by Thomas Rowlandson from the 1780s to c.1810. The creation and perpetuation of the billingsgate fishwife stereotype, I will argue, articulates the middling sort's intention to establish preconceptions of and prejudices against the working woman. These caricatures demonstrate how the working woman's fatness both resolutely acts – to borrow and reapply the sentiments William Hay uses to describe physical disability – as "an Obstruction in the Way to Favour" and ensures that she will never be considered "upon a

Par" with her middling superiors. Instead, satires of the working woman insist on her deformed fatness as well as all the distasteful behaviours and aesthetic qualities signified by it. Vulgarity (as social rank) and superficial deformity are thus conflated in the figure of the working woman. This conflation both evokes mistrust and distaste towards her and reinforces the stasis of her situation at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Gráinne O'Hare, Newcastle University

'I wish his Spirit was in my Flesh': women's bodies as a site of anti-Methodist satire

In his introduction to The Minor (1760), Samuel Foote provided the following explanation for his taking the role of the brothel-keeper and Methodist convert, Mrs Cole: 'Mrs O'Shochnesy has return'd the part of the bawd; she says she is a gentlewoman, and it would be a reflection on her family to do any such thing. [...] If it had only been a whore, says she, I would not have minded it; because no lady need be asham'd of doing that.' Jane Moody observes that The Minor was considered to be an 'outrageous' play due to 'Foote's blasphemous conflation of the rhetoric of Methodism and the business of prostitution.' Yet Foote was far from the only satirist to undermine the Methodist movement through images of sex workers and female promiscuity. Anti-Methodist satirists in the eighteenth century co-opted infamous figures including Mary Hamilton, Lucy Cooper, Jennie Douglas, and Mary Toft to fan the flames of mistrust around Methodism by conflating it with female debauchery, deceit, avarice, and corruption (both of body and of soul). This paper will examine how satires and caricatures of the eighteenth century used sexualised imagery of women's bodies to discredit the growing Methodist movement and criticise the perceived inherent femaleness of its practices, while simultaneously marginalising and erasing its prolific female leaders.

Adam James Smith, York St John University

The Satirist-as-Doctor of Diseased Bodies in Early Eighteenth-Century Print

When John Dryden famously stated that the 'true' satirist is 'no more an enemy to the offender than the physician to the patient, when he prescribes harsh remedies to an inveterate disease', he was participating in what Mary Claire Randolph has termed the 'medical model of satire.' This figurative conception of satire, which uses language associated with the practice of medicine to articulate, critique and contest rival theories of satire, appears across a wide range of early modern texts. The satirist retained a metaphorical association with the medical practitioner into the eighteenth century. Although the suggestion that satire might literally prove a 'harsh remedy' to medically-diagnosable faults in its victim's character and personality became a largely figurative conceit, it is also true that many satirists were also employed as medical practitioners during this period. Examples include: John Arbuthnot, Samuel Garth, Mark Akenside and later comic novelists Tobias Smollett and Oliver Goldsmith. This paper will explore the ways in which the specific metaphor of the satirist-as-doctor was deployed within a broader culture of medical mockery, developing alongside the public's growing public understanding of—and scepticism towards— both medicine and satire.

57

Laurence Sterne and 'The Shandean'

Room: Mackesy Room (Samuel Johnson Building)

Abstract: In 2024, long-running Sterne journal The Shandean moved online after 33 years of life as a paper-only publication. Now published by Liverpool University Press, The Shandean retains all the much-loved features of the paper journal – scholarly articles, shorter notes, numerous illustrations, book reviews, and a Sterneana section – but makes the journal's contents available to a more globally

widespread audience of readers and contributors. To celebrate The Shandean's new incarnation, this panel offers a short presentation on the journal itself, and three papers reflecting different aspects of the journal's typical contents. The Editors welcome contributions on Sterne, on the Age of Sterne, and all aspects of Sterne-related material to the present day.

Chair: **Amelia Dale**, Australian National University
Speakers: **Mary Newbould**, Kazimierz Wielki University
'The Shandean': A brief presentation
This overview of the former paper journal and of the new-look online Shandean will introduce all aspects of the journal's contents, aesthetic, and remit. With comments from fellow-editors Jakub Lipski, Helen Williams, and Amelia Dale.

Peter Budrin, Queen Mary University of London
The Squiggle of a Sternean Life: Editing Sterne in Soviet Moscow
Sterne's editors are often imagined as "learned commentators" whom Sterne himself mocks in Tristram Shandy. Based on archival and oral history work, this paper, a postscript to a multi-year project on Sterne's reception in the Soviet Union, will recount the unlikely biography of Stepan Babookh, a Ukrainian literary critic with a fascinating and adventurous life. This biography sheds light on Babookh's encounter with Sterne's fiction, his career in literary criticism, and his impassioned reading of A Sentimental Journey.

Flavio Gregori, Ca' Foscari University
Laurence Sterne and Happiness
An examination of the ambivalent (potentially ambiguous) nature of Sterne's conception of happiness. Should it be regarded as fragmentary, given the disjointed representation of contingent life in his works, or is it to be seen as unified and complete, but only in an ideal sense? Is happiness an attainable state within this world, or is the experience of this 'sublunary' world inherently tinged with gloomy discontent?

Paul Goring, The Norwegian University of Science and Technology
'Sentimental economics and Laurence Sterne in Edal Village: Or, The Fortunate Lottery Ticket' (1780)
This paper examines the anonymous and largely forgotten Edal Village (1780), a two-volume novel revolving around the question of how to use a sudden windfall – a win on the state lottery – in responsible, socially beneficial ways. The paper will examine the work's explicit and implicit connections to Laurence Sterne's fiction (thus far uncharted by scholars of Sterneana). It will also be argued, though, that in economic terms the model of Sterne falls short for the author since the lottery prize situates the action in a fiscal realm far removed from the small-change charity explored by Sterne in A Sentimental Journey. Supplementing Gillian Skinner's Sensibility and Economics in the Novel, the paper will consider how Edal Village uses the lottery as part of an intervention into contemporary debates concerning charity.

58 **Eighteenth-Century Poetry**
Room: SCR Parlour (Fellows' Staircase)
Chair: **Conrad Brunstrom**, Maynooth University
Speakers: **Amy Wilcockson**, University of Glasgow
The Body and the Mind: Robert Fergusson at 250
October 17 2024 saw 250 years since the death of the Scottish poet Robert Fergusson (1750-1774). A key Edinburgh poet, whose works influenced Robert Burns, Fergusson wrote distinctive and lively poems including his magnum opus 'Auld Reikie', which detailed the raw reality of city life. He discussed fashion and

consumer culture in 'Braid Claith', commented on food, drink, and bodily functions in 'A Tavern Elegy' and 'To Dr Samuel Johnson: Food for a New Edition of his Dictionary', and satirically conveyed the thoughts of animals in 'The Sow of Feeling' and 'The Peasant, the Hen and Young Ducks'. Whilst the body is a key component of Fergusson's poetry, it is also important to his own personal history. Following periods of mental ill health, Fergusson is often considered a tragic figure. He died in Edinburgh's Bedlam Asylum at the age of 24 after a fall down a flight of stone steps caused a brutal head injury.
Using research gathered as part of the ongoing The Leverhulme Trust-funded project 'The Works of Robert Fergusson: Reconstructing Textual and Cultural Legacies', this paper will examine Fergusson's use of the body and embodiment in his poetry. It will go on to discuss the medical legacies implemented immediately following his death, and which have continued to resonate to the present day.

Dylan Carver, University of Oxford
The Other Threshers: In Search of Stephen Duck's Plebeian Neighbours
Perhaps apart from Burns, Stephen Duck is the eighteenth century's most famous labouring-class poet. His education and literary career, especially his poem 'The Thresher's Labour', have long been a touchstone for scholars working on literature and social hierarchy during the period. Partly as a result of this focus, his later poems—which were written after he came under the protection of Queen Caroline, and after he ceased to work as an agricultural labourer—have often been neglected, or dismissed for their inauthenticity. This situation is now changing, and Jennifer Batt, in Class, Patronage, and Poetry in Hanoverian England (2020), has done much to bring the inherent literary and historical interest of the later poems into focus. Batt has also pieced together the early biographical and literary sources, so that we now possess the clearest view yet of the entire arc of Duck's literary career, from the moment when he first started to attract provincial patronage (and retrospectively even further back, to his early schooling), through to his ordination, and to the final years he spent preaching and writing as the vicar of Byfleet. In some ways, the purpose of this paper is to provide an alternative counterfactual history. What would have happened, I ask, if Duck had never been "discovered"? If he had never managed to attract literary patronage, and had thus remained a poor thresher and day labourer? Another way of putting this question is simply to ask what actually happened to the neighbours that Duck had to leave behind when he rose into celebrity. What happened to the other threshers mentioned in the poem?
To answer these questions, I will be discussing previously unstudied manuscript material relating to Duck's native village, Charlton, near Pewsey. The extensive eighteenth-century manorial records held at the Wiltshire and Swindon Archives enable us to begin constructing a collective portrait of the anonymous working men and women that appear in the background of Duck's biography and collected verse. This picture, moreover, is inevitably a double portrait; for most of the records were produced by and for the local gentry, John Ivory Talbot, John Talbot Jr, and their neighbouring cousins, the Davenports. As we shall see, often the labouring population of the Talbot estate feature in these records merely as names in a bundle of receipts, or tenants to be moved on after enclosure. At other times, however, the labourers impose themselves, intruding into the correspondence of their landlords, or appearing in the manorial court book for alleged misdeeds. Reviewing these documents therefore points us, I will be arguing, towards an older concept of class, less concerned with glass ceilings and social mobility than with what E. P. Thompson called a 'field-of-force'.

Katherine Ding, Stanford University
Spirit Possession: The Neuroscience of Blake's Embodied Inspiration

What does it mean for a spirit to be embodied? What is William Blake talking about when he writes, "we who dwell on earth can do nothing of ourselves, every thing is conducted by Spirits, no less than Digestion or Sleep"? I explore the uncanny parallels between the twenty-first century neuroscience of interoception ("sensing turned inward") and Blake's physiological description of inspiration as "spirits" at work in his arms, brain, and nerves. Although, as John Mee has observed, he lived and worked in a cultural milieu that elevated poetic experience by sanitizing and segregating politely self-composed feelings from unruly bodily passions, Blake stubbornly insists on both the bodily location of his poetic compositions and attributed its source to "dictations" arising from beyond his self-composure. But if Blake's claim that he composes "by dictation" has long led to insinuations of madness, he would find unlikely supporters among twentieth-first century neuroscientists, who remind us that even acts we consider volitional are something of a misnomer. "Your brain uses prediction to initiate your body's movements," neuroscientist Lisa Feldman Barrett writes, "these predictions appear even before you have any conscious awareness or intent about moving your body." My paper closely examines scenes of poetic and prophetic inspiration in Milton and Jerusalem to explore what forms of agency are possible within a non-volitional experience of embodiment.

Tara Lee, The University of Hong Kong

A 'Labyrinth more tortuous than that of Daedalus': Neuroplasticity, Manuscript Poetics, and Preformationist Cognition in Blake's The Four Zoas

In this post-genomic age, life has increasingly become identified with plasticity. 'We are living,' writes Catherine Malabou, 'at the hour of neuronal liberation, and we do not know it.' We are not, however, the first generation to discover the mind's powers of self-shaping. Romantic-era writers like Blake were keenly aware of the mind's active participation in its own formation. Moreover, they were also aware of how the brain's plasticity implied vulnerability as much as it suggested self-creative potential. Reading how Blake's The Four Zoas, as an unfinished manuscript, formally registers Blake's troubled fascination with evolutionary, emergent models of the mind presented by the likes of Erasmus Darwin, this paper argues that in an age where neuroscience seems to promise itself as a "biology of freedom," Blake's scepticism is worth examining for its reminder that the concept of neuroplasticity is not a new one. Situating Blake's biomimetic, autopoietic verse against the poetry of Erasmus Darwin and Edward Young, this paper argues that The Four Zoas asks the reader to bear witness to how the nervous mind and the sinuous text collaborate in giving unreliable body to thought. Attending to the complicated ending of the poem, it reveals the preformationist ideal of cognition hidden in the poem's final apocalyptic fantasy of self-destruction: the release of seeds of vision from 'the clotted gore & from the hollow den' of material embodiment.

59

Embodied Emotions

Room: Forte Room (Dining Hall Building)

Abstract: The panel as a whole examines various aspects of the embodiment of emotions, particularly anxiety and anger. Papers examine these through a variety of sources including conduct books, letters, diaries, prints, literature, to showcase lived experience in the eighteenth century.

There is a particular focus on gender across the panel, in particular the gendering of emotional expression and the embodiment of emotion as displayed through surviving sources. Another theme is the relationship between the textual and visual sources which discuss emotion and embodiment.

Together, there is both a wide exploration of different situations where emotions are embodied but papers offer crossover in the focus on certain emotions,

methods of interpretation or lens such as gender, offering a profuse and rich discussion on an important topic.

Chair: **Elaine Chalus**, University of Liverpool

Speakers: **Rachel Bynoth**, Bath Spa University

'My Heart is Panting': The Embodiment of Anxiety in the Eighteenth-Century

My work on the Canning letters discusses the expressions of anxiety for a variety of reasons: to persuade, to demonstrate care and love, to demand and gain affection yet this only works when there is a common understanding of how anxiety is embodied – how did these correspondents understand how anxiety felt?

This paper examines a selection of conduct literature, satirical prints, literature, letters and other sources to begin to examine understandings of the embodiment of anxiety in the latter half of the eighteenth-century. It uses this as a basis for discussing some of the language utilised in the letters to denote the embodied feelings of anxiety, painting images of distress, listlessness, panic, anger and horror. In this way, it looks to the broader societal understandings of anxiety to understand how it was these understandings of the embodiment of anxiety which made the expressions in the letters so powerful within the relationships and consider how societal and media portrayals of anxiety shape personal contemporary understandings.

Ruby Rutter, University of Manchester

'She is Born to Please': Emotional Labour, Mental Health, and the Pressure of Domestic Performance for Elite Women in the Eighteenth-Century Country House

Writing in 1736, Elizabeth Lechmere née Howard (1701-1739) praised the manners of Lady Jane Archibald Hamilton (1704-1753) following a recent dinner party, exclaiming that she was 'born to please' having displayed a 'a pleasing civility' with 'nothing forced in her manner, but a proper notice of everyone at Table'. Elizabeth's observation of Jane's performance painted the picture of the perfect hostess, capable of meeting the needs of others without effort or strife— in short, the ideal elite woman.

However, letters and diaries of women like Lady Jane reveal the acute emotional pain and suffering that striving to embody such domestic perfection triggered, with many developing incredibly serious mental health issues and adopting alarming behaviours to self-regulate and cope with demands placed on them socially, culturally, and by their families.

This paper examines the mental worlds and emotional labour of elite women in the eighteenth-century country house, drawing on the principles of emotional labour as explored by Arlie Russell Hochschild in The Managed Heart (1983) to demonstrate how pernicious gender and class ideals and expectations were on elite women's wellbeing. This paper reveals a side to elite women's lives that are rarely— if ever— considered, providing the emotional framework that supports and illuminates wider discussions surrounding women's activity in the English country house and the home more generally.

Shahira A. Hathout, Independent Scholar

'Re-membering', Re-thinking, and Re/fusing in the Anthropocene: Reading Visual and Textual Aesthetics in Rousseau's Discourse on Inequality (1755) and Reveries (1776)

In his Reveries of the Solitary Walker (1776), Rousseau casts a retrospective look at his life work and relations. I argue that 're-membering' (Barad 2007) Rousseau's embodied experience with culture and nature calls for re-thinking the violence enacted by the enlightenment's dualisms and categorizations and enfolded in the present Anthropocenic moment to create two competing

possibilities for the future: The first is the possibility to affirm co-constitution and re-fusal (i.e. fusing back) of dualities like culture and nature to be 'natureculture' Haraway (2003), mind and body, as well as the imperial European 'man' and the Other on the basis of indeterminacy, accountability, and ethical co-existence. The second possibility is a withdrawal and refusal (i.e. rejection) of engaging with the constructed world of imperialism and extractivism that enacted these dualities in the first place (Colebrook 2024). The paper discusses this tension in Rousseau by reading the visual: Mayer's 18th century engraving of Rousseau, titled J. J. Gathering Herbs at Ermenonville, that accompanies Rousseau's Reveries (1776) alongside Dominique Sornique's engraving of Rousseau's savage man, titled Il retourne chez sez Égaux or He returns to his Equals, that accompanies Rousseau's Discourse on the Origin of Inequality (1755), and textual compositions of his work through one another.

Emily Cock, Cardiff University
Embodied Costs: Gertrude Savile and the anxious management of health and household
The account books of unmarried gentry woman Gertrude Savile (1697-1758) capture the economic effects of anxiety and ill health in early modern England. Read alongside her diaries, they provide an insight into a lived experience of disability highly inflected by gender and social position.
In this paper, I draw on these manuscript resources to investigate the anxious management of health and household between mistress and servants (male and female) as embodied actors.

10:30-11:50	FRIDAY SESSION II
60	**Transatlantic Bodies and Politics**
Room:	Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building)
Chair:	**Karen Lipsedge**, Kingston University
Speakers:	**Ross Nedervelt**, Florida International University

Periphery Island Petitioners and Security Policy in the British Atlantic, 1763-1775
Great Britain's maritime dominance in the Atlantic and Caribbean following the Seven Years' War heralded a new era of commercial stability and prosperity for British subjects in the Americas. Colonists living on the Atlantic periphery's non-sugar-producing islands attempted to capitalize on Britain's supremacy to improve their economic situation and importance within the empire. Bermudians, Bahamians, and Turks Islanders sought to influence intercolonial relations and activities within the British Atlantic world via parliamentary and administrative action, which leveraged their colonies' strategic position along trade routes to gain greater financial and security investment from the metropole. Border-sea colonists employed information on foreign activities along the Caribbean and North American trade routes to influence British policy and military activities in ways that bolstered provincial interests. To demonstrate this, I analyze petitions from Turks Islanders and seasonal Bermudian laborers, as well as Bermudian and Bahamian official and personal correspondence, through borderlands/border-seas and Atlantic world perspectives. Bermudians, Bahamians, and Turks Islanders used petitions to the British administration to compel regulatory and policy action against neighboring colonial and imperial governments, who endeavored to supplant the islanders with their settlers to secure access to resource wealth, trade, and strategic military significance. Complaints centered on informing British colonial and naval officials of foreign privateering and military interference with the islanders' settlement and commercial activities. The petitions and complaints reveal the islanders' colonial and international positions and motivating interests, particularly regarding commercial and legal interests at Turks Island, and along the Windward and

Mona passages. Furthermore, they illustrate how marginalized groups employed existing legal and political norms and practices to exert agency on colonial and imperial affairs. The islanders' influence on imperial security policy reemerged following the American Revolution as land and sea borders solidified between the United States and the British Empire.

Anne-Marie Libério, Paris 8 University

"Very Noble Cricks" and Baptized Slaves' "Edifying Manners": Anglicanizing Goose Creek (SC), Fort Hunter and Schenectady (NY), from 1702 to 1778

In a letter from Goose Creek, South Carolina, sent on April 15, 1707, Anglican missionary Francis Le Jau informed the Society for the Propagation of Gospel (SPG) in London, "tis the greatest pity imaginable to see how many various opinions had been spread by a multitude of teachers of all sorts and persuasions. (...) I could find very few that understood Christianity."

This paper analyzes the British Crown's imperial efforts to Anglicanize its North American colonies. The foundation of the SPG was a major step toward this end. The royal charter granted to the Society in 1701 thus regretted that "many (...) Colonies [were] wholly destitute, and unprovided of a Mainteynance for Ministers". Thanks to the SPG, the colonists would no longer "be abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity", nor "draw[n] over to Popish Superstition". Although non-Christians were not mentioned in the charter, evangelizing Native Americans and African slaves became the main task for a certain number of SPG missionaries.

Emphasis will be put on 3 out of 9 missionaries appointed to the parish of Saint James Goose Creek from 1702 to 1765, and 4 of the 13 missionaries who mainly interacted with the Six Nations in the north of the colony of New York, from 1704 to late 1778, in the midst of the American Revolution.

Paul Staiti, Mount Holyoke College

Jane McCrea's Slaughtered Body: The American War, Martyrdom, and Transatlantic Politics

A seemingly small episode occurred on July 26, 1777, when 26-year-old Jane McCrea left her family home in upstate New York in order to rendezvous with her fiancé, David Jones, an American fighting with the advancing British under General John Burgoyne. On that day, two years into the American War, Native warriors in the employ of Burgoyne were tasked with bringing her into camp in order to marry Jones. The operation went horribly wrong. The warriors fought over custody, and when Americans attempted to rescue her, she was killed and scalped, following a long-standing custom among Native Americans.

Though she was hardly the only civilian killed during the Northern Campaign, and despite the fact that we know almost nothing about her or her thoughts on independence from Britain, McCrea's damaged corpse became the Americans' most effective propaganda tool in winning over support for the cause. American newspapers carried elaborate notices of her grotesque killing, and in short order seventy percent of British newspapers featured her death. On the floor of Parliament, she was the political cudgel effectively wielded by William Pitt, Edmund Burke, and John Wilkes to denounce the Tory government of Lord North. Eventually, she became a mythic subject for poets, historians, and painters, and after the American Revolution she would become the poster girl for justifying Indian Removal during the Jefferson and Jackson administrations.

This paper introduces McCrea and outlines the political uses of her violation. What were the multiple political consequences of using the assailed body of a young, white, innocent, and betrothed Christian woman during and after the war that established the United States? What fatal path did her death create for Native Americans? And how did works of art, in particular John Vanderlyn's spectacularly visceral 1804 painting of her, create the endlessly repeated racist

trope of white women ravished by native inhabitants thought to be irredeemable savages?

Emma Pearce, Glasgow School of Art
Viewing Gloster: The Visual Culture of "Runaway" Advertisements in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica
In May 1779, a detailed description of an enslaved man named Gloster appeared in the Jamaica Mercury newspaper. This description was written by Gloster's enslaver, who sought Gloster's return after he had "runaway" three months prior. The evocative textual content of "runaway" adverts such as Gloster's has been much analysed by historians; despite the aims of the adverts to capture and re-enslave the individuals they describe, they also pay seldom-seen attention to the individuality of enslaved people. This paper builds upon a large body of literature considering the evocative textual content of "runaway" adverts but aims to alternatively consider the visual culture of the Gloster's advert and its context within the Jamaica Mercury newspaper. It examines how the white producers of the Jamaica Mercury newspaper deliberately appealed to the 'white gaze' of newspaper readers through the repetition of "runaway" notices and their accompanying illustrations. However, this paper argues that although these adverts attempt to extend surveillance over enslaved individuals through their visual design, the disconnect between the descriptions of enslaved people in the newspaper and the unknown location of their physical person ultimately demonstrates a failure to maintain the surveying 'white gaze.'

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Pain, Piss, and Poison: Inscribed Bodies and Sensational Texts
Room: Allen & Overy Room (Henderson Building)
Abstract: This panel will discuss deafening prints, painful epistolary exchanges, and poisonous novels to investigate the ways in which diverse cultural forms mediated powerful sensory experiences in relation to shifting conceptions of the body during the long eighteenth century. Ros Ballaster has argued that this period was characterised by a 'new aesthetics' which was 'based on the turn from meaning [...] to sensation and sense-experience'. These papers will address diverse sources from across the period to consider the ways that contemporary visual and literary media attempted to comment on, comprehend, and communicate the frequently tumultuous sensory and emotional lives of Georgian Britain. Drawing on recent scholarship on the history of the senses, the history of emotions, and the medical humanities, the panel will consider the mediation of embodied experience in the prints of William Hogarth, the correspondence of religious dissenters, and the sensational Gothic novels of Charlotte Dacre. The papers are connected by an interest in how eighteenth-century artists and authors used cultural forms to express and interpret potent sense-experiences - desire, disgust, pain, and passion - as well as the ways these mediated accounts of disruptive sensations were thought to influence those who encountered them. These somatic exchanges were concomitantly being scrutinised in medical and scientific writings which investigated the perception of sensory information and the relationship between the body and the mind. Scientific discoveries and debates about the workings of the senses and the nervous system offered new subjects for eighteenth-century writers and artists to document, whilst simultaneously adjusting the perception of how their cultural productions influenced the bodies and minds of their audience. The hierarchies of aesthetic value that emerged in response to the period's articulations of sense-experience were themselves conceived and constructed as corpuses in correspondence with eighteenth-century debates around how to regulate Britain's body politic and protect it from destabilising socio-cultural influences. The panel will consider what visual and literary sources can reveal about embodied experiences in eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Britain whilst attending to contemporaneous discourses which sought to

define and delimit individual and collective bodies and how they should feel, think, and act.

Chair: **James Lesslie**, St Mary's University, Twickenham

Speakers: **Angela Platt**, St Mary's University, Twickenham

'A mortal paleness is on her cheek but glory in her soul': Textualising Pain through Religious Narratives

An embodied approach to illness was significant in letters of dissenting families from 1780-1850. For them, as others, religious narratives importantly gave them the space to process their pain and find meaning. These narratives often identified pain through physical illness, physical deterioration or physical responses to emotional pain (such as grief, rejection or anxiety). By situating these experiences within a religious framework, these dissenters made sense of their pain. Furthermore, for evangelically-inclined dissenters these narratives were often understood within the particular framework of the atonement. For them, the meaning and purpose of pain was sanctification – a retributive though, mainly, redemptive implement of God's fatherly love. Whilst sharing in their atonement framework, these denominations display nuanced differences in their pain narratives, as Baptists and Congregationalists emphasised the sin that required the atonement whilst Quakers emphasised a suffering with Christ.

Stewart McCain, St Mary's University, Twickenham

'Enough to make a man deaf to look at': Sensing Bodies and Sensory Spaces in Hogarth's Visual Satire

Enough to make a man deaf to look at'- such was Henry Fielding's assessment of Hogarth's The Enraged Musician, a print which features prominently in studies of eighteenth-century senses and particularly soundscapes. (Barlow, 2005; Grande and Raz, 2023). Such prominence is perhaps unsurprising, given that Hogarth's career in the visual arts spanned a period of profound sensory change. Urbanization, new consumer goods and changes in interior design- all transformed the look, taste, sound, smell and feel of the everyday. Eighteenth century Londoners crowded and jostled in newly thronged, noisy streets, pursued by the stench of open sewers and animal manure. They sipped coffee, lounged on upholstered furniture, and dressed in soft, colourful imported cottons. Life, in short, was framed by sensual delights and miseries largely unknown just a few decades ago. (Cockayne, 2007; Vila, 2014).

Hogarth, the foremost visual chronicler and satirist of his times, with his interest in 'low' subjects and his own penchant for indulging the senses in food and song, offers us an unparalleled window into this world of sensing. From the tangible jostle of the crowds in his earliest surviving print, the South Sea Scheme (1724) through the appetizing joint of beef in The Gate of Calais (1748), the convivial drinking in Beer Street (1751), and the general hubbub of the city in The Enraged Musician (1741), the sensual was both texture and subject of Hogarth's art and satire.

This paper will draw upon embodied scholarship of the senses and their intersection with the subjective and emotional past to ask what Hogarth's work can tell us about eighteenth century sense experiences, and its role in the production of social and urban during the period. (Howes and Classen, 2013; Smith, 2021; Boddice, 2017).

James Lesslie, St Mary's University, Twickenham

'not in the world a more subtle poison': Corpses and Corpuses in Charlotte Dacre's The Passions (1811)

Contemporary reviews of Charlotte's Dacre's controversial gothic novel Zofloya, or the Moor (1806) pathologized its author, connecting her 'extravagant language' with somatic corruption and diagnosing her as suffering from 'maggots in the

brain', an 'infectious' condition that her 'ravings' risked communicating to their readers. Both the medical terminology used in these proscriptions of Dacre's writing and the gendered constructions of corporeal and mental capacity that underpin them have been the focus of recent scholarship on Dacre's work, which has reestablished her prominent and contested status within early-nineteenth-century British literary culture. Studies (Cross, 2016; Airey, 2023) have highlighted her creative responses to the corpuses of Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Robinson, whose transgressive lives and writings were refashioned by critics during the revolutionary era as scandalous exempla of unnatural intellectual and physical energies. Others (Craciun, 2002; Kremmel, 2022) have connected her persistent interest in transgressive impulses and influences with eighteenth-century medical writings such as William Buchan's Domestic Medicine (1769) and Bienville's Nymphomania (1775) to show how her writings dramatize emerging scientific discourses which sought to regulate and rationalize the body according to gendered binaries. This paper will discuss how Dacre's last novel The Passions (1811) combines an engagement with what the Anti-Jacobin called the 'poison of corruption' administered by her literary predecessors with a critique of contemporary medical theories that scrutinised sexuality, sensibility, and nervous disorders, particularly Thomas Trotter's A View of the Nervous Temperament (1807). Trotter's popular work maligned the novel as a 'species of literary poison' potentially 'fatal' to 'the female mind' which was both symptom and cause of wider social disorder. This pathologization of the works that Dacre both consumed and produced is examined in The Passions which explores and exploits the reciprocal influences of literary corpuses and corporeal bodies to critique social and cultural hierarchies predicated upon essentialised conceptions of gender and genre. Its anti-heroine Appollonia Zulmer uses the 'subtle poison' of sensational literature to disorder a society that has rejected and defamed her for testing normative notions of physical and mental difference. This epistolary novel's formal experimentation examines the physical and mental effects of writing and reading and its representation of dangerous sensations intervenes in debates about the corruptive influence of emergent (sub)cultural forms that connect eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century literary, scientific, and medical cultures through bodies both real and imaginary.

62 **Military Bodies**

Room: Andrew Pitt Room (Henderson Building)

Abstract: Militaries have a complex and innate relationship to the bodies of those who served as military personnel. In the eighteenth century they sought to shape bodies through uniforms, to regulate movements, and control individuals through corporal punishment. Likewise, illness, injury, and death were constant attendants to conflict. Britain's wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries bought new dimensions to military bodies too. The scale of conflict involved more people in the armed forces, leaving a larger historical trace for us to work with. As Britain's armed forces expanded to become a global, multi-national, and multi-ethnic force, so distinctions about race and class came to the fore as conquest extended the Empire. This panel takes these political, military, and social changes as avenues to explore the changing relationships and attitudes to military bodies. The practical needs to manage ever increasing and diverse forces, alongside debates about physical punishment, set the East India Company's approach to corporal punishment at odds with other Imperial and military mindsets. The global range of these conflicts meant distance disrupted mourning rituals and the tangibility of death for those grieving. And the sheer numbers of wounded, and the nature of their wounds, exposed the inadequacy of existing methods of assessing needs and the provision of support, giving us insights into the appeals an individual made to secure recognition and the financial aid that it meant.

Chair: Matthew McCormack, University of Northampton

Speakers:

Zack White, University of Portsmouth

To flog, or not to flog: Connundrums of command, control, and the soldier's body in the British Indian Ocean Region, 1795-1830

In 1835 the East India Company's Army took the unprecedented step of outlawing the practice of flogging amongst its sepoy troops. What made this decision all the more poignant was that at precisely the same moment, the British Parliament was embarking upon an enquiry into the continuation of the practice within the British regular army which would ultimately decide that flogging was a necessary evil. The fact that the EIC was taking a more enlightened approach and transitioning away from the punishment of its soldiers' bodies, at a time when the British army was more ambivalent, raises curious questions on the inconsistencies with which corporal punishment was meted out across the British Empire. Drawing on a substantial database of court martial cases from both British regular and EIC forces, this paper explores why soldiers' bodies were afforded different treatments, and how these more lenient measures for sepoys can be reconciled with the racial prejudices that were commonplace across the British empire in the early-nineteenth century. Drawing upon letters alongside court martial data, it will be argued that the challenges of command and control in India compelled the sepoys' white officers to treat their men with greater respect than their colleagues in the regular army offered to their white rank and file. The paper will also set these debates around the use of corporal punishment within the wider context of discussions of flogging in the British Parliament, to offer an interesting case study through which to reinterrogate the notion of the Foucauldian shift. In the process it will become apparent that, notwithstanding shifts within the wider British public's attitudes, pragmatic considerations fundamentally drove both the King's and EIC's armies' approaches to the question of corporal punishment.

Séverine Angers, University of York

'Mourn not – he lies where soldiers lie': Negotiating the Absent Body in British Military Families' Mourning Experience, 1793-1815

The new immense scale of battles and campaigns during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars led to an unprecedented number of British men dying in military service overseas. They were buried hundreds of miles away from Britain, and this entailed that their families at home had to mourn without a body. This was highly disruptive to mourning rituals that helped with the resolution of grief in bringing tangibility to death. While this was also a feature of previous wars, the improvement of postal communications during the wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century had a significant impact on the negotiation of the absent body in the mourning experience. Drawing on the rich correspondence exchanged between British military men posted overseas and bereaved families in Britain, this paper will explore how the absent bodies of the fallen were made present in letters. It will illustrate how representations of the military body were framed as a comforting discourse for bereaved families, often occluding the messiness of death at war to rather construct an idealised military death. These discussions also highlight different attitudes towards bodies depending on military rank. On the other end, these letters inform us about families' anxieties about the fate of their loved one's body. The state played a very limited role in the care of the war dead and families chiefly relied on individual connections with the army to gain insights into the circumstances of the death of their relative and in the retrieval of their properties. As such, this paper will also evaluate the role of objects in mourning as the only remaining tangible remains of the fallen. Looking at the negotiation of the absent body, therefore, makes us consider this painful and intimate experience of family life as a mediated experience between the front and home.

Kevin Linch, University of Leeds

Wounded and deserving: British Army officers navigating institutions for military injuries

The scale of Britain's conflicts at the turn of the 18th century meant that thousands of service personnel in Britain's armed forces were wounded in combat. Though this era of total war may not have witnessed any more radically destructive military technologies, the scale of mobilisation, coupled with some advances in surgery and medical care, meant that there were more veterans whose bodies bore witness to the physical impact of their military service. Though there were institutions and financial provisions to support these men, they were often insufficient to meet demands. This paper draws upon a case study of a British Army Officer to highlight the sometimes obtuse and rigid system of pensions and support granted for injuries gained through military service. With several gunshot wounds from his time in the celebrated 95th Rifles Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Sir Alexander Cameron was perhaps an extreme case of the impact of war on bodies. Yet remarkably he was not an amputee, and this meant he had to campaign to be awarded an additional pension that was a more just recompense for his service and his needs. Through a series of letters and medical examinations in the 1810s and 1820s that document his case, we can explore differing perspectives and attitudes towards a militarised body. In one perspective his case represents the improvements in medical treatment for battlefield wounds, whilst on the other it demonstrates how arbitrary rules (and their rigid enforcement) by the state was misaligned with the lived experience of those whose body had been transfigured by military service.

Andrew Dorman, Trinity College Dublin

'A military man [...] is won by generous treatment and humanity': Individuality, identity and autonomy of soldiers in eighteenth-century Ireland

Historians have struggled to engage with the military presence in eighteenth-century Ireland in a meaningful way. For nationalist historians, the army represents the oppression of the penal laws and served only to stamp out the 1798 rebellion. Traditional military historians find little appealing in an army which repelled invasions infrequently and had a reputation for indiscipline and poor quality.

However, from a social perspective, this force offers a fascinating case study of individuality, labour, and masculinity in the eighteenth century. It was an organisation with a constant demand for new workers, whose access to manpower was restricted by an over-cautious civil power. Its workforce, contrary to popular belief, was not a brutalised body of automatons. Rather, soldiers in this period demonstrated a nuanced and stratified approach to workplace conditions, wages and self-worth. Actions such as mutiny or misbehavior offer useful proxies for workplace unrest, and the army in Ireland's bad reputation makes it the perfect example to examine these pushbacks against perceived mistreatment.

This paper marries qualitative and quantitative techniques to examine the experience and motivations of the soldiers who voluntarily offered their bodies to the military establishment. It considers how and why Irishmen would join an army that was sometimes seen as an occupying garrison, and their lives in a red coat after enlistment. Finally, it presents new examinations of identity and Irishness within this force, asking what impact military service might have on the body, mind and individuality of the men in uniform.

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Workshop: Why me? Why not me? Creative journaling and self-care practices for the purposeful researcher

Room: Littlegate Room (Henderson Building)

Abstract: This creative writing workshop employs a range of techniques and prompts to explore our creative relationship with our research. The session begins with an introduction to a Jungian conceptual framework followed by a series of writing prompts and somatic practices that ask us to consider the role of the self and our bodies in the work that we do, so that we might express perspectives about both in a variety of ways. The workshop will also offer trauma-informed strategies for keeping ourselves safe when working with distressing subject material. Participants should wear comfortable clothes, (we will move as well as a write), and bring writing materials and paper; all other materials will be provided. We will finish with an opportunity for participants to share their work. No previous writing experience is necessary; this is a place of open-hearted enquiry and play.

Chair: **Emma Mitchell,** Brunel University, University of London
Speakers: **Emma Mitchell,** Brunel University, University of London
Limit of 20 participants – Why Me? Why Not Me? – Registration Google Docs

64 **The Eighteenth-Century British Novel and the Arts: Project Launch Roundtable**
Room: Mary Hyde Eccles Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Abstract: 'Inter-Artistic Contexts for the Development of the Early English Novel' is an NCN-funded project run by Jakub Lipski, Mary Newbould and Joanna Maciulewicz at Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz between 2021 and 2025. This roundtable will be an opportunity to present the main results of the project, including the key output - 'The Edinburgh Companion to the Eighteenth-Century British Novel and the Arts'. The roundtable participants will each briefly present their contribution to the project.

Chair: **Jakub Lipski and Mary Newbould**, Kazimierz Wielki University
Speakers: **Przemysław Uściński**, University of Warsaw
Paul Goring, Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Joanna Maciulewicz, Adam Mickiewicz University

65 **Performing Bodies**
Room: SCR Parlour (Fellows' Staircase)
Chair: **Helen Dallas**, University of Oxford
Speakers: **Anthony Zhang**, Durham University
Performing Bodily-Social Experiences: The Empirical Poetics in Restoration Comedy
This paper argues that Restoration comedic playwrights consciously developed an empirically grounded proto-realism poetics, wherein stage actions represented specific bodily and social experiences. The actors' bodies in dramatic action transitioned from embodying idealised and abstract images based on verisimilitude in classical poetics to representing particularised figures grounded in empirical observation. The bodies on stage inhabited the same material dimension as the audience. Previous studies have extensively examined this practical tendency in Restoration comedy; still, they have not yet acknowledged its significance in the history of poetics.
Since Ben Jonson, it has been customary to transform contemporary society and its citizens' 'humour' into comedic subjects. Dryden's renowned concept of the 'imitation of nature' was the pioneering theory to bridge classical poetics and the Jonsonian tradition. This concept redefined 'nature' to encompass particular actions related to the audience's everyday bodily experiences, rather than merely human actions derived from a universal structural order. The depiction of the empirical world has shifted daily life's particularities, once conveyed through the historical genre, into the focus of comedy. In their comments on Jonson, other playwrights, such as Edward Ravenscroft, similarly demonstrated an awareness of

the relationship between comedy and social experience, consciously viewing comedy as a 'mirror of the times.' Thomas Southerne's The Wives Excuse (1691) further explores this poetics by presenting its characters envisioning their situations as a play-within-a-play of the same title. This meta-narrative approach illustrates how the public becomes both the material and collaborator for comedic writings. While this poetics, similar to classical theory, still aims to stimulate a sense of self-recognition in the audience, the spectacle now presents not merely the probability of their actions but an accurate and vivid mirror image of their bodily lives.
Thus, comedy derives its meaning from its connection with the audience. Southerne's play, with its repeated emphasis on public self-display, underscores the contemporary perception of the comedic stage as a public venue where playwrights engage with, analyse, and explore the audience's social appearance through the performance of their bodily experiences. This empirical and experimental inclination resonated with the paradigm shift introduced by the Scientific Revolution of that era. The emphasis on particularity also positioned comedy as a precursor to the poetics of the novel, which gained significance through similar features and rose to prominence a few decades later. Through this poetics, Restoration playwrights self-consciously distinguished English comedy from French neoclassicism, marking a pivotal step towards establishing a national literary identity at the onset of the long eighteenth century.

Jacqueline Malchow, Independent Scholar

Performing ideal femininity – Actresses caught between the public and the private sphere

Ideals and norms of gender changed when the educated middle classes became more established in Germany from the middle of the 18th century onward. The new ideal of the rational, educated man of the Enlightenment was placed in opposition to the weak and emotional woman who would only be tainted by education. Using the buzzwords "virtuousness", "temperance", and "decorum", the middle-class woman was banished from the visible space to the seclusion of her home, while public spaces were declared the male sphere. These ideal images were spread through society journals, literature, and the theatre genre of domestic tragedies, among others. And it was the recurrent embodiment of this ideal femininity on stage that reinforced those new gender norms. But by their acting itself, the actresses explicitly contradicted the ideal: they operated confidently and obviously in this newly deemed male sphere, presented themselves and their bodies, and made their voices heard. Regardless of their reinforcing gender norms by performing them on stage and in their private lives, their job inevitably destabilized those same norms.
At the same time, the audience hardly distinguished between the characters portrayed on stage and the people portraying them. This only increased when the newly popular "natural" acting style blurred the lines perceived between performance and personality. And with the theatre being proclaimed a morally educational institution, the moral conduct of the performers now had to be spotless for their acting to be considered believable. Furthermore, members of the then still marginalised acting profession often over-compensated for their ill-reputed profession with their morality to be accepted by society and thus strictly adhered to middle-class norms like virtuousness and diligence.
Actors and especially actresses were caught between these ideals, demands, and the necessity to entertain the audience. Through the example of Dorothea and Charlotte Ackermann, sisters and lead actresses of the theatre in Hamburg, I will showcase the multifaceted issues of embodying the ideal feminine, not only on a stage. As actresses, they embodied the two then prevalent acting methods called hot and cold acting respectively. While one disseminated her roles logically and depicted them according to ideals of nature, femininity, and decorum, the other

more or less became her stage character for the duration of a performance. Contemporary critiques and descriptions of both actresses Ackermann and their art show clearly how their private lives were put under scrutiny and their conduct was lauded as much if not more than their work. By playing formative female characters of domestic tragedy like the eponymous Emilia Galotti or the epitome of innocent virtue as Ophelia in the wildly popular local adaptation of Hamlet, both sisters embodied and formed the ideal feminine of their time.

Juliana Beykirch, Newcastle University
"A very Monster in a Bartholomew-Fair": Embodied Performance, the London Fairgrounds, and Generic Innovation
In the preface to his translation of Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy's De Arte Graphica (1695), John Dryden voices his dismay about the increasing popularity of farce on English stages by comparing farce to a grotesque painting: "a Farce is that in Poetry, which Grotesque is in a Picture . . . A very Monster in a Bartholomew-Fair for the Mob to gape at for their two-pence" (xxvi). In doing so, Dryden connects the late seventeenth-century London stage's taste for farce with the London fairgrounds and the 'monstrous' bodies on display there.
This paper reconstructs the influence of the embodied modes of performance associated with the London fairgrounds on the mainstream theatre. In it, I trace a period of intensifying artistic exchange between the London theatres and fairground culture, which started in the 1680s and culminated in the pantomime boom of the 1720s. During this period, fairground entertainments were becoming increasingly sophisticated, acquiring both the technical capabilities of and borrowing from the repertoires of the patent houses. In addition, there was increased crossover in terms of personnel, with patent theatre actors beginning to perform on the fairs during the summer months and even building up their own fairground booths and performing companies. The modes of performance which emerged from this creative exchange – modes such as farce or pantomime, which, like their fairground precedents, centred the spectacular display of the body in motion – soon began to be performed on the stages of the London theatres, including the patent houses. As I will demonstrate, these modes were decried as 'monstrous' by critics like Dryden who invoked the language of physical deformity when discussing them.
This paper argues that fairground culture was a major influence on the commercial theatres of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It also positions the fairground performers who engaged in modes of performance which revolved around the display of spectacular physicality – extraordinarily embodied 'monsters' and travelling performers as well as foreign acrobats or mountebanks – as significant contributors to generic change and the popularisation of pantomime.

12:00-13:30	LUNCH, Dining Hall (Chapel Quad) If you would like a quieter space to eat, please visit Farthing's Café (Henderson Building)

13:30-14:40	FRIDAY SESSION III
66	**Networks of Sociability**
Room:	Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building)
Chair:	**Sean Moore**, Trinity College Dublin
Speakers:	**Ross Lowton**, King's College London
	William Blake's 'A Family of New South Wales': A Study in Colonial Networks In 1792, John Hunter's 'Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island' appeared in print in London. One of the large number of illustrations in this text was A Family of New South Wales, created by William Blake, with significant alterations, after an illustration by Philip Gidley King. This

image, interesting in its own right for its unique portrayal of Indigenous Australian bodies and society by the norms of the period, also offers us a way into examining the various networks of co-operation and influence, as well as professional and personal connections, that underpinned the circulation of imperial knowledge and stereotypes. This paper will do so by placing the engraving within a broad range of contexts, from the journal in which it was printed and Blake's larger body of visual and poetic work to the role of bookseller John Stockdale and Australian Governor-General-cum-draughtsman King amongst other more tangential connections. This explorative analysis will demonstrate the entrenchment of this single image in a vast network of imperial interests and conduits of knowledge, both drawing on information gathered in the New South Wales colony and transmitting that to the British public and establishment. This, in turn, helps us expand the field of those 'involved' in the colonisation of Australia well beyond those active agents of the settlement's founding and expansion to include a plethora of Britons who wrote, sold, discussed or, like Blake, illustrated this appropriated land and its native peoples.

Sarah Leanne Phillips, Sorbonne Université/ Voltaire Foundation
'Crip' Kinship in the Letters of Voltaire and Madame du Deffand

Voltaire insisted on the importance of good health and great friendships. 'There is no happiness in this world, for our body, except to have all five senses in good condition, and, for our soul, to have a friend' he wrote, adding, 'everything else is but a chimaera' ('il n'y a de bonheur dans ce monde, pour notre corps, que d'avoir ses cinq sens en bon état, et, pour notre âme, que d'avoir un ami; tout le reste n'est que chimère'). This paper explores the friendship between Voltaire and the salonnière Madame du Deffand, whom 19th-century critic Sainte-Beuve described as 'alongside Voltaire, the purest classic in prose of this era' ('avec Voltaire, dans la prose, le classique le plus pur de cette époque').

Du Deffand, known for her visual impairment, also contended with profound mental health challenges, particularly depression. Her blindness, which began in her late twenties and worsened over time, significantly impacted her sense of self. Alongside this impairment, she faced acute isolation and loneliness, exacerbated by the restrictive expectations of her time. Known for her wit and intelligence, du Deffand hosted a salon that attracted Enlightenment figures, yet her mental health struggles often culminated in periods of despair, as shown in her Essai sur l'ennui. Her writings reveal a complex landscape of anxiety, depression and philosophical rumination.

Her relationship with Voltaire was of singular importance; their letters reveal a mutually vulnerable, supportive companionship that this paper argues exemplifies 'crip' kinship. Their correspondence reveals how 18th-century friendships could encompass crip qualities of mutual dependency and shared intellectual embodiment. Voltaire's prolific work as a philosopher and writer suggests inexhaustible energy, yet his letters reveal a man beset by ailments including digestive issues, eczema, and smallpox. While critics have questioned the severity of his health conditions, Voltaire's descriptions illustrate his self-perception as a man afflicted by chronic illness.

Voltaire's correspondence with du Deffand provides a framework for exploring attitudes toward his health, and for examining the role of disability within friendship in the eighteenth century. The paper touches upon the role of 'crip' humour. René Pomeau has observed that Voltaire's descriptions of his enterocolitis are provocative ("en des termes d'une drôlerie hautement suggestive"), suggesting that Voltaire used humour not merely as a coping mechanism but as a tool for connection. This paper suggests that Voltairian wit and humour could have stemmed from such coping mechanisms and explores how this form of play can contribute to crip friendship.

The relationship between Voltaire and du Deffand exemplifies how disability can

foster bonds, encouraging companionship based on shared physical and intellectual experiences that defy normative expectations. The paper draws on the work of scholars such as Alison Kafer, who argues that 'Crip relations challenge [...] expectations of independence and autonomy, suggesting that [...] interdependency can be mutually reinforcing and politically transformative' (Feminist, Queer, Crip, 2013), and Eli Clare, who discusses how disability reshapes relationships, cultivating closeness and support in unexpected ways (Exile and Pride, 1999).
The paper primarily explores how the shared intimacy and vulnerability between Voltaire and Madame du Deffand shaped their friendship, fostering a unique bond, characterised by mutual affliction, intellectual affinity, and philosophical exchange.

Martin Calder, Independent Scholar
An Adornment to Her Age and Country: Restoring the Life of Anne Kennicott
When in 1788 the potter Josiah Wedgwood decided to add a group of 'Femmes Célèbres' to his popular series of portrait medallions, Heads of Illustrious Moderns, he included a number of female worthies, inspirational women, who possessed qualities he admired: independence, intelligence and industry. Anne Kennicott was one of these: a woman of letters, intellect and culture, active in scholarly, literary and artistic circles in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Her place in society is characterised by grace and charm in the cultivation of friendships. Her eloquent memorial at Windsor Parish Church of St John the Baptist, where she was buried in 1830, describes her thus:
'Her superior talents and acquirements, combined with the most attractive manners, conciliated the friendship and affection of many of the most eminent persons of both sexes, who adorned her age and country.'
Yet the whereabouts of her Wedgwood medallion is unknown and no image of it exists. Nowadays she is little known. The first part of her memorial gives an indication of how she is remembered: 'Relict of the Reverend Benjamin Kennicott DD, formerly Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.' If she is remembered at all, it is as the wife of her more famous husband, Benjamin Kennicott, Canon of Christ Church, Keeper of the Radcliff Library, distinguished Hebrew scholar, best known for the illuminated Bible that bears his name. Anne was a supportive wife, she learned Hebrew after her marriage in 1771, to assist her husband in his scholarly endeavours, and she was also a person of letters, of intellect, and a figure in society in her own right. She was a widow for 47 years, living a long life independent of her husband. She is associated with Dr Johnson, David Garrick and his wife the dancer Eva-Maria, the poet Richard Owen Cambridge, the novelist Fanny Burney, and society beauty Maria Duchess of Gloucester. She was especially close to the religious writer Hannah More, through whose acquaintance she was introduced to the Clapham Sect of Abolitionists, including William Wilberforce, and became a favourite of Princess Charlotte, daughter of the Prince of Wales. But who was she? For Hannah More, she was a sounding board for More's ideas on the education of girls. More was present at the death of her husband in Oxford in 1783, she broke the news to her, drew up a sketch of his character, and helped Anne come to terms with the consequences of her bereavement, both emotional and financial.
Anne Kennicott personifies eighteen-century ideas of reciprocity and sociability. By association she is concerned with the important moral and intellectual questions of the age, and with figures both progressive and reactionary. Her life is perceived through other people's lives. The aim of this paper is to survey the primary material available to restore the life she lived independently.

67 **Global Material Culture and the Body II**
Room: Allen & Overy Room (Henderson Building)

Abstract: This panel emerges from a collaboration between Historians of Eighteenth-Century Art and Architecture (HECAA) and York's Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies (CECS). It takes inspiration from HECAA's international / online reading group devoted to new work in global material culture studies and CECS's research strengths in material culture, knitting these research areas to the conference theme on 'Bodies and Embodiment'. The panel will have an interdisciplinary focus and importantly will draw in more voices from History of Art, a discipline less represented at BSECS than those of English and History. We hoped it will be linked to a second panel, chaired by a member of HECCA. Both panels make ample room for the research of ECRs and pay serious attention to the intersection of the global with material culture studies--and key development in this area of research.

Chair: **Chloe Wigston Smith**, University of York

Speakers: **Loïc Derrien**, Parsons School of Design

Materializing a New Kingdom: Piqué Objects at the Court of Naples in the Eighteenth Century

Only in the past two decades have a number of scholars started paying serious attention to the central role of colonialism, with its disastrous human and environmental costs, in the making of luxury European decorative arts during the early modern period. It is with the hope of building on these recent efforts that this paper provides a close analysis of the different steps and implications involved in the making of piqué objects at the court of Naples between 1725 and 1765. The term 'piqué' refers to a specific technique that Neapolitan artisans applied with a mastery that was unmatched in Europe. The particularity of their achievements resided in their ability to combination of tortoiseshell, mother-of-pearl and gold to create spectacularly ornate and dazzlingly luxurious pieces that ranged from boxes and ewers to inkstands and spinning wheels.

This paper makes use of the method outlined by Sarah Cohen, Cynthia Kok, Britanny Luberda and Sophie Tunney to look at the extraction and refinement methods of tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl in the making of piqué objects for the court of Naples. We provide a discussion of the meticulous artisanal processes through which three of the most precious colonial materials were transformed and rearranged, resulting in an obliteration of the trauma their materiality carries. We then turn to the design and iconography of piqué objects and argue that these obscured their disturbingly violent origins through the ubiquitous practice in early modern European decorative arts that Madeleine Dobbie has identified as the "aesthetics of diversion." Finally, we draw upon Mari-Tere Alvarez and Charlene Villaseñor Black's approach to argue that the transformation of tortoiseshell, mother-of-pearl and gold in making piqué objects with chinoiserie motifs highlights Naples' specific position as a newly autonomous kingdom part of the wider Spanish empire.

Michela Degortes and Giuseppina Raggi, Universidade Nova; University of Coimbra

Do Clothes Make the Sitter? Global and Allegorical Fashions in José Conrado Rosa's Mascarade Nuptiale

The paper focuses on a portrait currently known as the Mascarade Nuptiale, which is kept in the French Musée du Nouveau Monde in La Rochelle. Painted in 1788 by the Portuguese artist José Conrado Rosa, it represents a group of eight little black people who lived at the court of the Queen of Portugal, Maria I of Braganza (1734 – 1816). This painting has recently witnessed an increase in scholarly interest, because of the originality of its subject and iconographic composition. Moreover, one of the elements that makes this work exceptional is the refinement with which the artist has painted the clothes. Five of the figures are elegantly dressed in European fashion, while one of the women wears a dress

with geometric pattern whose rich material recalls the fabrics that converged in Lisbon from the global trade routes. The other two figures are semi-nude: one uses canonical iconographic attributes of the allegory of America while the second wears a simple black and white striped thong. As this paper aims to prove, this last pattern was chosen to enhance the subject skin, marked with vitiligo. The presentation shall question the origin of this iconography and the history of the sitters through the analysis of their clothes, the objects they hold (a flute, a tamburello) and of the scenario, placing them in the Portuguese cultural and artistic context of the 18th century.

Ann Hewitt, Detroit Institute of Arts

Anatomical Decorative Art in the Eighteenth Century

In Greek mythology the god of satire, Momus, mocked Hephaestus for not providing humans with a window to observe their hearts and souls. However, increased understanding of the human body beginning in the Renaissance and surging during the Age of Enlightenment resolved this problem, as anatomy became the rage in eighteenth century Europe. In the Winterthur Museum Collection, a partial, and very unique hot chocolate set made of Qing Dynasty Chinese export porcelain is painted en grisaille with depictions of various medical illustrations, including the dissection of a man's torso on a saucer, three scenes of a fetus in utero on a chocolate cup, and various muscles of the heart on the exterior of a sugar bowl cover. The interior of the cover is inscribed with text in Dutch, identifying it as "The Anatomy Tableware, painted by Pleun Pira, 1761." Another saucer belonging to this set was recently acquired by The Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, and depicts a different torso dissection. Pleun Pira was a ceramic painter in Amsterdam, one of the very few who signed his work at the time. The same year, in Great Britain, a silver trophy cup attributed to Nicholas Crisp was presented to Dr. William Hunter, the renowned British anatomist by his students. The front of this trophy evokes Rembrandt's "Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp", depicting an idealized scene of a dissection. A grouping of figures surround a body on a table, inscribed with the Latin phrase "Non Sibi Sed Toti," (Not for himself but for others). It is currently in the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow. My research explores how these two examples of material culture, while outwardly disparate in form, materiality, and image, share the cultural zeitgeists of this time and reflect the globalization of the modern world. Each object followed a trajectory shaped by eighteenth century networks that stretched across geographical and cultural boundaries.

68

Digital Embodiment: Elizabeth Montagu's Online Corpus

Room: Andrew Pitt Room (Henderson Building)

Abstract: The Elizabeth Montagu Correspondence Online currently houses the images of around 4000 letters written by Elizabeth Montagu (1718-1800) to 104 correspondents over a period of 68 years. This vast digital database brings together Montagu's writing from over 34 libraries, archives, and private collections worldwide into one online corpus. Using this body of letters as inspiration, this panel explores the wider outputs currently in progress at EMCO. As a panel, these papers provide an interdisciplinary exploration of Montagu's online body in order to display the diverse sites available for the interpretation (or reinterpretation) of her vast life writing. Traversing English literature, history, and material culture studies, this collection of papers seeks to showcase the variety of different avenues for research EMCO prompts.

Uniting these papers is an attention to the ways in which Montagu's online body is representative of the settings, methods, and circumstances in which her letters were penned. Fundamentally, the outputs at EMCO aim to lean into what can be gained by putting these papers online; their digital state does not necessarily mean the loss of the physical.

Chair: **Nicole Pohl**, Oxford Brookes University

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

"I have taken a med[i]cine ... that writing does not well agree with": Epistolary Bodies and the Material Culture of Letter Writing in Elizabeth Montagu's Correspondence

On the 16th of November 1742, Elizabeth Montagu wrote to her close friend and fellow Bluestocking the Duchess of Portland apologising for the short length of her letter: "I have taken a med[i]cine of Dr Sandys to day that writing does not well agree with, therefore excuse this short letter." In this brief statement Montagu draws attention to two important components of her letter-writing process. In the first instance, she makes the direct statement that a short letter is worth little value; in apologising for the length of her missive, Montagu reaffirms the notion that the longer the letter, the better valued it is to the recipient. Secondly, in using her physical state as a direct aggressor to the state of her letter, Montagu links her physical body to the body of the letter itself; as her health is poor, so too is her written word.

With these notions in mind, this paper explores the material and embodied process of letter writing in the papers digitised on the Elizabeth Montagu Correspondence Online. In combining the material hallmarks of her papers (their seals, ink, folds etc) with the bodily process of writing itself, this paper will demonstrate how Montagu's letter writing was not only an act of self-expression, but also a tangible extension of her person. This paper goes some way towards uniting scholarship on the Bluestocking's use of material culture with the growing body of work on the material process of letter writing and, in doing so, will demonstrate how letter exchange was more than a means of correspondence. It was, rather, a material exchange in and of itself. In exploring the material composition of her pages alongside the embodied process of writing, this paper explores how Montagu blurs the lines between her physical body and her epistolary body. By way of a conclusion, the paper closes with a nod towards the extent to which these letters transform once more in their current online corpus and questions how this "body" of letters is yet another extension of Montagu's self.

Charlotte Emily Crawshaw, Northumbria University

'We borrow our evening's amusement from books': Digital Embodiment of Elizabeth Montagu's bookshelf

This paper will explore the research outcomes of the digital bookshelf project hosted on Elizabeth Montagu Correspondence Online – the purpose of this project is the track, map and record mentions of texts in Elizabeth Montagu's large corpus of correspondence. This project is the culmination of embryonic research begun by past EMCO research assistants Drs Jack Orchard and Anna Senkiw.

This paper seeks to explore the practical value and outcomes of digital projects through a case study of the digital bookshelf project. The digital bookshelf will enable users to understand Elizabeth Montagu as an intellectual and a significant member of literary history – the digital bookshelf project aims to enhance research accessibility by making Montagu's literary habits and reading practices freely available to scholars. The paper will discuss the practicalities of digital projects such as these and the overall value of the digital humanities in Eighteenth-Century Studies. The paper will highlight the methodology employed by the digitisation and analysis of Montagu's library, revealing previously unexplored connections between works she read, both for recreation and rational development, and the socio-cultural context of the Bluestockings. Through a comparative analysis of unique texts and user engagement metrics, this paper will evaluate how the project has facilitated interdisciplinary collaboration and

fostered scholarly engagement with women's literary contributions. Furthermore, the paper will discuss the transformative potential of digital tools in reconfiguring access to historical texts, thereby enhancing our understanding of gender dynamics and literary discourse in the period.

Abby Hammond, Northumbria University
Business Lives and Afterlives: Women in the Eighteenth-Century North East
This comparative paper tracks the lives and afterlives of two women across the eighteenth century in the North East. Jane Clavering (1669-1735) and Elizabeth Montagu (1718-1800) were actively involved in the booming coal trade surrounding Newcastle-upon-Tyne, particularly after the deaths of their husbands. This paper explores their business activities, using the historical lens of their two distinctive funeral monuments to access new interpretations of their lives. Previous discourses of commemoration have been characterised as distinctly male, yet memorials act as hugely productive starting points for new research on women, allowing scholars to not only reflect their lives but also to explore the contemporary societal values that commemoration attempted to convey. As Peter Sherlock has acutely pointed out, 'monuments offer the opportunity to see how elite women engaged with [the] social order'. The choices behind the graves, including the language employed, the location of the memorials, and the materiality of the stones, are all revealing in understanding the lives of those who were buried below. In questioning who made these choices prompts insights about the agency women had in their own memorialisation. Employing the vast collection of Montagu's letters digitised thanks to the Elizabeth Montagu Correspondence Online project, alongside court records, periodicals, and funerary monuments, this paper seeks to unite the fields of memorial studies, business studies, and social history to understand the ways in which women performed business and how these aspects of their life were commemorated after their deaths.

69
Performative Bodies: Female Frailty and Mobility in Eighteenth-Century Fiction
Room: Littlegate Room (Henderson Building)
Abstract: This panel focuses on the narrative function of female bodies and their performances by discussing the fiction of Daniel Defoe, Eliza Haywood, and Oliver Goldsmith. Since the publication of Ian Watt's seminal work The Rise of the Novel, it has become conventional wisdom to note the preoccupation of early English fiction with issues of social mobility in the new and emerging societal order of long-eighteenth-century England. In the novels read by Watt's 'middling classes,' social mobility is often intricately related to, and understood in terms of, the spatial movement, physical appearance, and performance of human bodies. Thus if, in many of these stories, the fates of female characters bear some relation to their perceived virtue, then female virtue must, in turn, be made manifest by the (in)visibility, changeability or steadfastness, or physical beauty (or lack thereof) of women's bodies. By connecting the social successes (marriage) or failures (death) of female characters to their bodily performances, this panel will explore how female frailty and mobility are depicted in the works of Defoe, Haywood, and Goldsmith.

Chair: **Shang-yu Sheng**, National Sun Yat-sen University
Speakers: **Di-Feng Chueh**, Feng Chia University
(In)Visible Female Bodies in Daniel Defoe's Roxana: The Fortunate Mistress
In Daniel Defoe's last novel Roxana: The Fortunate Mistress (1724), Defoe presents to readers a woman who "has traded her virtue, at first for survival, and then for fame and fortune" and this makes the novel read like a dark autobiography of the said woman, as John Mullan points out in his introduction on the back cover to the OUP edition. According to Mullan, the "darkness" of

this novel is related to both how Roxana, the self-titled character, cannot "escape her own past" and how she "fails to triumph over [her] weaknesses." However, Roxana is not the only female character who attempts to survive in this novel. This paper intends to focus on Roxana and two other female characters whose body performances are at the same the key to their survival and failure. By examining how Roxana, Amy, her servant, and Susan, her eldest daughter, struggle with their misfortunes, the (in)visibility of their respective bodies will reveal the values of female body to the three characters, to other people, or to society. These values will sometimes make them desirable and hospitable, but at times despicable and horrible to other characters or even to themselves. These performative bodies will become examples to re-value how female characters were conceptualized in eighteenth-century novels and how these conceptualizations respond to advice or suggestions for female health and behavior illustrated in eighteenth-century medical pamphlets or conduct books.

Shang-yu Sheng, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan

Love in Role Play: Women, Social Performance, and Cultural Scripts in Eliza Haywood's Fiction

In her amatory fiction as well as the Female Spectator, Eliza Haywood experiments with the multifaceted possibilities of women's lives within the moral parameters of eighteenth-century English polite society. Her early writings, in particular, reuse stock character types and situations from the pastoral and classical traditions to explore how the pursuit of female desire results in freedom, pleasure, and agency, as well as pain and social punishment, for her young heroines. Defying the confines of domestic life and roles, Haywood's smartly capable protagonists employ playacting – through disguise and deception – to remake their identities and recreate social situations, as well as new forms of social capital, that allow them access to life experiences which would otherwise be impossible.

The identities adopted by Haywood's heroines are generally not novel ones: they draw on character types, hence reproducing cultural scripts with which an eighteenth-century, middle-class, theater-going readership would have been familiar. In many of Haywood's stories about love, courtship, and seduction, the men are easily fooled, as they seem to fall thoughtlessly into the masculine roles that correspond to the role of the heroine in disguise. For instance, in Fantomina, when faced with the protagonist variously dressed as an innocent servant girl, grieving widow, or mysterious, grand lady, Beauplaisir correspondingly becomes the worldly master of the house, obliging gentleman on the road, and unknowing rake ironically seduced as if in an oriental romance. The heroine's successful deception relies on her knowledge, and skillful manipulation, of conventional gender narratives, which presume the accurate male reading of and reaction to the performance of the female body. Drawing examples from across Haywood's fiction, this paper will discuss female role play, social performance, and cultural scripts in narratives of love and courtship.

Bo-Yuan Huang, National Chiayi University

Living in a Material World: Female Characters in The Vicar of Wakefield

Oliver Goldsmith's The Vicar of Wakefield (1766) offers a nuanced portrayal of human frailty, particularly through the vanity and intemperance of its female characters, which heighten the Vicar's adversities. This paper examines Olivia, Sophia, and Deborah, focusing on how their desires and societal pressures exacerbate the Vicar's misfortunes. Olivia's obsession with beauty and social status leads to her seduction and elopement, symbolising the consequences of unchecked vanity. Sophia, though more cautious, is likewise drawn into a pursuit of material security, but is ultimately unable to prevent the family's downfall. In contrast, Deborah, the Vicar's wife, embodies a more sophisticated but equally

problematic form of vanity. Her ambitions for social mobility, often clashing with the Vicar's values, drive the family into financial instability as she seeks wealthier marriages for her daughters. This ambition worsens the consequences of Olivia's and Sophia's actions.
This paper argues that these female characters are central to understanding the impact of vanity and intemperance on the Vicar's identity as a priest, husbandman, and father. As a priest, his moral authority is undermined by the household's behaviour; as a husbandman, his efforts to maintain the family's modest estate are undone by financial strain; and as a father, his authority is weakened by his daughters' susceptibility to vanity. Through these struggles, Goldsmith critiques both personal flaws and societal pressures, showing how they intertwine to undermine the Vicar's status as the paterfamilias.

70
Books that Matter: Gender and Print in the Long Eighteenth Century
Room: Mary Hyde Eccles Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Abstract: The history of the book is the history of bodies: human bodies at work; as subjects of inquiry and desire; and of corporate bodies. Books are described in bodily terms: a book has a head, a tail, and joints. We thus cannot consider a history of print without turning to bodies, and without addressing gender. Recent work by Kate Ozment, Lisa Maruca, Sarah Werner, Carlisle Yingst, and Elise Watson has sought to read gender back into the material and social worlds of print, as well as understanding the book as a gendered object. This panel, with reference to Judith Butler and Bodies that Matter (1993), seeks to examine the intersections of gender and the book in England during the long eighteenth century.

Chair: **Joseph Hone**, Newcastle University
Speakers: **Elizabeth DeBold**, Newcastle University
Mistresses of the Trade: Women Stationers and their Apprentices
The London Stationers' Company, like all of London's livery companies, has long been viewed (accurately) as a boys' club. Yet, although a minority, women have nevertheless participated in its corporate life, work, and networks. One of the major ways they did so was through the Company's system of bonded servitude and training: apprenticeship. While the few women bound as apprentices in the Company before 1750 rarely went on to work directly in the book trade, many women established in the Company and working in the business of the trade acted formally as Mistresses, binding young men as apprentices and freeing them to become Company members. This paper will provide the first close examination of women as Mistresses in the Stationers' Company. Women in such positions took on the masculinised authority of a Master in the context of the legal documentation and traditional power structures of apprenticeship, but as women, were subject to the norms of a patriarchal society and the male-dominated corporate body and trade in which they worked. This paper will consider the anxieties, power dynamics, and realities of such relationships, as well as providing a statistical background.

Helen Williams, Northumbria University
Sarah Hodgson and the Arabic Bible
Sarah Hodgson (1760-1822) is perhaps best known for publishing Thomas Bewick's History of British Birds (1797-1804). She was a younger daughter of Thomas Slack and Ann Fisher, leading printers in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (UK), and inherited the bookselling and printing business upon her parents' death. This paper explores Hodgson's printing and bookselling innovation through her pioneering Arabic Bible (1811), which positioned her at the cutting-edge of the controversy over colonial print endeavour as well as a copyright case. Through an analysis of manuscripts at Tyne and Wear Archives, the Bodleian Library

Oxford, and the British Library, I explore how her well-established radical Unitarian network becomes a key element in retrieving her work from the clutches of an Oxford printing coup. Through this example, I reflect on feminist recovery as activism, and how the histories of women in the book trade intersect with colonial histories and can unpack the simultaneously local and transnational impacts of bookselling.

Sam Bailey, Newcastle University
Boys in Print
Eighteenth-century books were decorated with images of naked boys. There are so many putti and cherubim that adorn the pages of the printed book that their presence almost becomes mundane. Jeffrey Masten puzzled over the problem of this proliferation of nude, sometimes sexualised images of boys in the seventeenth-century. This paper takes up Masten's provocation to consider 'boys in print' and seeks to describe the effects of boys on the books which they ornament. Why did otherwise mundane, and frankly boring books, contain images of male homosexual desire? Drawing on the methods of scholars such as Laurie Maguire, Tamara Atkin, and Hazel Wilkinson, who have recently found value in looking at the page as well as reading it, this paper reads the libidinal, the erotic, and the sensuous into images of male bodies on the printed page. How do we look at these boys, and how do they look at us?

71
Eighteenth-Century Dancing Bodies
Room: Mackesy Room (Samuel Johnson Building)
Abstract: This panel brings together three examples of eighteenth-century dancing bodies and the discourses surrounding them: the serious and comic dancers who worked together to stage a series of revivals of the French heroic pantomime ballet Mirza on the east coast of the United States in the 1790s; the pathology of vertigo and the so-called "confusion" of the imagination which sets the stage for the medical reception of the German waltz in France in 1799 and the "dance mania" of the 1800s; and the bodies of the Paris Opera's dance students, known as the "rats d'Opéra" both as they worked and as they were perceived by their male observers.

Chair: **Elizabeth Claire**, CNRS (EHESS)
Speakers:
Elizabeth Claire, CNRS (EHESS)
Dancing the embodied imagination: the case of voluptuous seeing
This paper explores the philosophical contribution of Marcus Herz on the pathology of vertigo, contrasting his reading of "voluptuous seeing" with the work of Rahel Levin Varnhagen on waltz-vertigo. At the intersection of social dancing, literary romanticism, and medical philosophy, the "voluptuous seeing" and "confusion" of the imagination described by Herz sets the stage for the medical reception of the German waltz in France in 1799 and the "dance mania" of the 1800s.

Olivia Sabee, Swarthmore College
Adapting Mirza for American Audiences
In 1779, Maximilien Gardel debuted his ballet Mirza, significantly revised into a three-act spectacle that expanded on a one-act version premiered at Versailles earlier that year. Mirza was popular and well-received, so much so that Gardel eventually created a less successful sequel, and it remained in the repertory of the Paris Opera through the revolution and beyond, enjoying a run of at least twenty years. Yet during the 1790s, Mirza also enjoyed considerable success in the United States. It was performed in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Providence, and Charleston, forming a core piece of the repertoire performed by the company of Jean-Baptiste Francisqui and Alexandre Placide, two French dancers

who had fled the Haitian Revolution and established itinerant careers in the eastern United States. Using newspaper advertisements and journalistic accounts of the production, this presentation compares the multiple variants of Francisqui and Placide's Mirza and Lindor with Gardel's Mirza.

Emmanuelle Delattre-Destemberg, Université Polytechnique Hauts de France (Valenciennes) / Maison Française d'Oxford

From dancing bodies at work to imagined dancing bodies: the case of opera rats

The bodies of dance students, the so-called 'rats d'Opéra', are the focus of much attention in Paris: of opera lovers, of men of letters, of theatre directors. We will therefore seek to compare the professional reality of these bodies at work with their bodies as perceived through the eyes of the men who surround the young dancers, leading us to question the social imaginary of dancing bodies at the Paris Opera at the end of the 18th century and up to the middle of the 19th century.

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Bodies and Embodiment in the Writings of Lucy Hutchinson

Room: SCR Parlous (Fellows' Staircase)

Abstract: Across her Restoration writings, the Republican writer Lucy Hutchinson turns to the spaces of Eden and the family estate at Owthorpe, to explore and negotiate loss. Variously in her epic, Order and Disorder, her Memoirs of her husband (the regicide John Hutchinson), and her manuscript Elegies, we find her caught between a nostalgic presentation of the enclosed spaces of Eden and Owthorpe, and the activities that take place within them, as well-ordered, harmonious, and fruitful, and representations of them that describe or imply the chaos of the fallen world or Restoration settlement.

This panel explores these contradictions in three ways: Young's paper, 'Beyond the Apple', investigates the cultural codes of power and privilege that are embodied in food eaten by the material bodies of Hutchinson's Eden in Order and Disorder; Girling's paper, '"This table faintly represents That face"', examines Hutchinson's memorialisation of her husband in Elegies and Memoirs, especially in terms of her presentation of him as embodied in the material objects and spaces of their manorial estate at Owthorpe; Paice's '"Empaled ... from ye common Ground"' considers Owthorpe's references to 'empaled' (enclosed) land in her descriptions of Eden and the grounds at Owthorpe as embodiments both of a lost paradise (Hutchinson's presentation of it) and of an approach to land management that returns us once more to questions of power and privilege.

Chair: **Megumi Ohsumi**, University of Oxford

Speakers: **April Girling**, University of Worcester

"This table faintly represents That face": Embodiment and memorial in Lucy Hutchinson's Elegies

My paper will respond to the theme of embodiment in Lucy Hutchinson's Elegies, focusing on the collection as a form of memorial. Written following the death of her husband, regicide John Hutchinson, the collection and their estate at Owthorpe stand in for his body while also representing Hutchinson's anti-royalist and Protestant beliefs. Returning to their estate following his death, Hutchinson finds herself displaced in spaces that once represented not only their devotion to each other but to the Republican cause. At the height of grief, Hutchinson's religious and political loses are inextricable and in seeking to embody her husband within the estate she ultimately highlights his absence. In order to explore these ideas, my analysis will focus on two of the Elegies, 'On the Picture in Armour' and 'To the Gardin att O', exploring how Hutchinson moves from traditional forms of memorial, such as portraits, to less traditional forms in likening the depleted grounds to her own emotional and political situation. Through these discussions I aim to demonstrate what Hutchinson's Elegies can reveal about the religio-political climate of the Restoration (as a key period of

change) and her responses to this. Material taken from Hutchinson's Memoirs will support my discussion of the collection and offer another example of the memorialisation of her husband.

Rosamund Paice, Northumbria University
'Empaled ... from ye comon Ground': Enclosure and Environmental Depletion in Lucy Hutchinson's Edens
This paper is part of a wider project that argues that literary analysis can be used to uncover land overwritten by political upheavals, environmental change, and shifting landscape fashions. In this my focus is the manorial grounds of Lucy Hutchinson's Owthorpe Hall. Owthorpe's Hall was demolished but the ghost of its gardens remains in 'Linear banks, hollows, terraced areas and a well' (Nottinghamshire Historic Environment Record M884). My paper will enter the lost ground that Hutchinson presents as an enclosed Eden by means of a close reading of her poetry against contemporary and historical records of the site. I will focus on Hutchinson's celebration of her late husband's gardening 'improvements', including the contentious act of enclosure signalled in her reference to him 'empal[ing] ye comon Ground' ('To the Gardin att O'). Here, the 'empale[d]' Eden of Owthorpe (an Eden abandoned by its God, Colonel Hutchinson) proves a counterpart to the 'impale[d]' Eden in her epic poem, Order and Disorder (1679). I will unpack Hutchinson's nostalgia for a lost private Eden against a wider story of environmental depletion.

Sharon Young, University of Worcester
Beyond the apple: food in Lucy Hutchinson's Order and Disorder
As an exegetical account of Genesis, Lucy Hutchinson's Order and Disorder (partially published in 1679), the critical focus on food, where it exists at all, largely rests on Eve's, and then Adam's, eating of the apple in canto IV. However, the wider text is replete with detail about the provision, husbandry and eating of other foodstuffs. Some of this georgic detail may be explained as the daily logistics of both Eden and the wilderness; Adam and Eve and their descendants have to eat something. However, as Molly Wizenberg explains, "[f]ood is never just food" but rather a pervasive cultural index of a range of affiliations, associations and identities (2009, 1). Food is also a marker of power and privilege, dividing communities by wealth and status.
This paper will discuss the importance of food for Hutchinson's across the wider text as indicative of Hutchinson's political and religious negotiations in response to the shifting grounds of the Restoration. More specifically, I will argue that Hutchinson's use of food in her epic allows her to reconfigure the connection between eating and knowledge.

14:40-15:00	COFFEE Harold Lee Room (Henderson Building)

15:00-16:00	CLOSING ROUNDTABLE
Room:	Pichette Auditorium (Henderson Building)
Chair:	**Matthew McCormack**, BSECS President

Online Conference

BSECS delegates may participate in the online conference in the Steinway Room (off the Pichette Auditorium) or join with the Zoom details provided onsite in the printed programme.

11:10-12:30	**Texts and Textuality**
Chair:	**Charlotte Crawshaw**, Northumbria University
Speakers:	**Jingyue Wu**, ShanghaiTech University **Dunton's Athenianism and Gildon's The Post-Boy Rob'd His Mail (1692-93)** The main subject of this paper is Charles Gildon's experimental epistolary fiction, The Post-Boy Rob'd of His Mail (1692-93 first edition; 1706 second edition). Though little known today, this fiction of Gildon was a popular read in its time. In our own time, its crucial importance as an influential early experiment in the epistolary form is well recognized by several eminent scholars in eighteenth-century studies, including Michael McKeon (2005), Christopher Flint (2011), Paula R. Backscheider (2013), and Thomas Keymer (2014). Their explorations of The Post-Boy Rob'd make it possible for us to better appreciate the significance of its epistolary experimentation from different perspectives. But one may still detect in their explorations the influences of Robert Adam Days' seminal but problematic 1966 account of The Post-Boy Rob'd, which for Backscheider, is still 'the best' after all these years. Day's influences, this paper argues, are partly responsible for the scholarly neglect of two critical dimensions of Gildon's epistolary experimentation in The Post-Boy Rob'd that are closely related to each other. One is its connection with Dunton's Athenianism and the other is the significant role played by this connection in its engagement with the 'first modern moral revolution' in England—the reformation of manners movement. **Catherine Fleming**, Columbus State Community College **Haywood's Idalia and the Dangers of External Validation: Contaminated by your Love** It is increasingly well recognized that much of Haywood's career, including her dramatically fantastical romances, was focused on teaching young women how to successfully navigate eighteenth century society. While acknowledging the turbulent passions of young romance and using that passion to drive her narratives, Haywood writes about the importance of controlling the passions to retain visible propriety and remain within the boundaries of acceptable behavior, demonstrating the ways in which violating the strict social codes regulating women's behavior could ruin a woman's life. Novels like her Life's Progress Through the Passions foreground her concern with reconciling internal desires and external boundaries. But despite the vibrant depictions of passion which led her to be labelled the "Great Arbitress of Passion," Haywood's characters are most often seen as performing emotion and examined for their external actions and reactions rather than looked at through the lens of psychological health. Haywood's self-evidently fantastical Idalia might seem an odd choice of narrative to examine as a realistic depiction of psychological health, but its unlikely events are driven by an all-too-common mistake: searching for external rather than internal validation. In our current psychological understanding, there is "broad agreement that deriving self-esteem from emotional support, other's approval or competence is an unreliable and vulnerable basis for self-esteem," leaving individuals constantly seeking external validation to support their self-image.

David Rosson, University of Helsinki
Reception Reader: Exploring Text Reuse in Early Modern British Publications

How do we study intellectual history of the Enlightenment period? Mostly by digging through old books. Doing that with machines is a lot faster and more comprehensive than doing it by hand. All text is understood in relation to other text, to get to the meaning. Our research group applied a bioinformatics technique to find hidden linkages and connections amongst hundreds of thousands of books published in Britain in the 18th century. This alternative-format presentation gives a brief overview of our work on digital infrastructure and user interfaces, and the potential scholarly research use cases these tools can support.

The Reception Reader is a web tool for studying text reuse in the Early English Books Online (EEBO-TCP) and Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) data. Users can: 1) explore a visual overview of the reception of a work, or its incoming connections, across time based on shared text segments, 2) interactively survey the details of connected documents, and 3) examine the context of reused text for "close reading". We show examples of how the tool streamlines research and exploration tasks, and discuss the utility and limitations of the user interface along with its current data sources.

14:00-15:20 **Community and Identity**

Chair: **Helen Williams**, Northumbria University
Charlotte Crawshaw, Northumbria University

Speakers: **Charlotte MacKenzie**, Independent Scholar
The Society of Skilful Aunts and narratives of women and community in Georgian Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly

Healthcare on the Isles of Scilly was organised by women, referred to collectively as the Society of Skilful Aunts. In non-fiction, their activities were used to illuminate flaws and gaps in contemporary medical practice and army organisation in the 1740s. While confirming that distinctive customs and practices continued in remote island and rural communities of the British Isles.

Sarah Scott's Millenium Hall (1762) and the Willyams sisters' Coquetry (1818) later described imaginary communities of women located in Cornwall. Both novels explore community organisation while describing individual recovery or adaptation following trauma, loss, or ill health. Providing an oblique critique of Georgian conduct and society.

All three women writers may have been aware of Robert Heath's account of life on the Isles of Scilly, which was published in 1750. Their decisions to locate the communities of women they described in Cornwall may be more than incidental. And it is likely that the Willyams sisters, of Carnanton in Cornwall, had also read Sarah Scott.

Sarah Burdett, University of Cambridge
'Nothing but a Potatoe': Eliza Macaulay's Theatrical Embodiment of Irishness

The dramatic career pursued in Dublin by the critically-neglected, yet daringly bold playwright, actress, poet and political campaigner, Eliza Macauley, provides a fertile lens through which to advance scholarship in the field of eighteenth-century Irish theatre studies, by providing unique insight into the opportunities and challenges afforded to English-born female playwrights by the processes of national exportation and transnational exchange. During a decade spent in Ireland (1808-1818), Macauley formed

an intimate friendship with the Irish Minerva press author, Frances Peck: a recent convert to Catholicism, whose writings betray a commitment to revolutionary, anti-union and proto-feminist agendas; she authored a melodrama for the Royal Hibernian Theatre – which she dedicated to Peck; published and gave dramatic readings of a poetry collection – in which she celebrated her close relationship with Peck; delivered one woman shows at the Fishamble Street Theatre; and wrote a bold polemic against the male management at the Crow Street Theatre, where she had worked (before her controversial dismissal) as a tragic actress. Upon her return to London, Macauley was disowned as an English woman, vilified in publications including Oxberry's Biography as a potato-loving lesbian, whose time in Ireland had fostered in her a taste for opposition. This paper proposes that Macauley's Irish networks – both friendly and hostile – are fundamental in shaping her dramatic writings and intra-national reputations. Reading Macauley's melodramatic adaptation of Sir Walter Scott's poem Marmion (Royal Hibernian Theatre, 1811) against the dual back-drop of her friendship with Peck, and her public fall out with the management at the Crow Street Theatre, I make a case for interpreting the play as a rich allegorical amalgam, which combines anti-unionist, pro-Catholic sentiment, with a polemical exposé of the ill-usage of financially vulnerable women (of which Macauley was one) within the patent theatre.

Tanner Ogle, Texas A&M University

Ruins & Remembrance: Jacobite Impressions on the British Environment

Historians have long viewed British victory in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 and its subsequent policies in Scotland as completing the Act of Union of 1707. However, scholars of Jacobitism, travel literature, and the British Empire have yet to fully appreciate the destructive nature of the '45 and how the ruins left in its wake kept its memory alive through the 1770s and 1780s. Using travel narratives to trace ruins left by the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, I contend that the '45 was a traumatic event that directly affected much of Great Britain and consequently became a formative moment—not just in British history—but throughout the empire. As Britain's most destructive domestic conflict between the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639-1653) and the World Wars, the '45 was exceptionally traumatic and experienced by much of the British populace, while imperial subjects watched anxiously from the periphery. In assessing ruination, I define ruins as any entity physically or psychologically marred by a past experience. Consequently, people encountered the past through ruined estates, landscapes, and human bodies. Britain thus provided what Pierre Nora referred to as an environment of memory where living memories of the '45 abounded among the populace in both Scotland and England. By encountering these sights, imperial subjects engaged the 'historical sublime', or the incomplete traces the past made on the present, which laid an epistemological foundation for people to better understand their past and themselves. Although scholars of Jacobitism, the British Empire, and the American Revolution rarely consider the persistent influence of the '45 and Jacobitism into the 1770s, the ruins of the Jacobite Rising not only reminded Britons of a formative moment in their recent past, but changes in imperial politics.

15:30-16:50	**Power Dynamics**
Chair:	**Gillian Williamson**, Independent Scholar **Charlotte Crawshaw**, Northumbria University
Speakers:	**David Hunter**, University of Texas at Austin

The Taylor and Young Families and their Musical Engagement Funded by the Profits of the Slave Economy

The exploitative trajectory of the Taylor and Young families began with John Taylor ensuring that the Royal Navy was supplied with old growth white pine masts extracted from the forests of northeastern America, and that the Caribbean and North American colonies were supplied with enslaved Africans. The Young family put subsequent shipments of the enslaved to work on its plantations in Antigua, St Vincent, and Tobago. Throughout the period, the Taylors and Youngs participated in the buying of music and art, engaging with leading musicians and artists of the day. Family images, whether painted on canvas or on walls, were not only a status symbol but also an opportunity to remember, to project, and to articulate sentiment. Music-making, whether at home, or by attending concerts or the opera, or being a publication's dedicatee, functioned similarly. The horrors of racial slavery in the Caribbean and North American colonies provided the funds necessary for these families to engage with beauteous sights and sounds in Britain.

Carlos Perez-Crespo, Catholic University of Chile

Rousseau's idea of executive power and monarchy

There is extensive literature on how Rousseau's social contract theory links the concept of sovereignty to legislative power. However, there is very little literature on the concept of executive power and monarchy in Rousseau. My paper aims to explain Rousseau's concept of executive power and monarchy. In his Social Contract (1762), Rousseau points out that the power to make laws is a will, while the power to execute laws is a force. The law is nothing but the expression of the general will. For the Genevan philosopher, there is a hierarchy of law-making power over executive power. Rousseau says that the government (the executive power) is "simply a commission, a job, in which the leaders—mere officials of the sovereign—exercise in its name the power that it has lodged with them" (B. 3, Ch, 1). Similarly, in his Considerations on the Government of Poland (1772), Rousseau argues against the executive power of the monarch and therefore suggests that the monarch should have, at most, a ceremonial power in the new constitution of the Polish state. The monarch, as a ceremonial figure, does not rule or legislate. Rousseau proposes here the idea of the monarch being elected. In contrast to Montesquieu's theory of the balance of powers, Rousseau thinks that an executive or representative monarch threatens popular sovereignty. I conclude that Rousseau's concept of executive power has had a lasting impact on intellectual history because it is seen as a defense of democracy and the legislature against executive power.

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:

Prizes, Awards and Funding

For full details of all BSECS awards, please visit: https://www.bsecs.org.uk/prizes-and-awards. We draw delegates particular attention to the following awards, all of which have a deadline of 1 February 2025:

The Dunscombe-Colt Fellowship at the Bodleian Library
The BSECS-Bodleian Fellowship
The BSECS-Georgian Papers Fellowship
The Boydell and Brewer BSECS Career Development Fellowship
The Digital Prize
The Teaching Prize

Please direct any questions about awards to James Harriman-Smith on james.harriman-smith@ncl.ac.uk

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 2025 prizes will be announced shortly before the conference.

The 2025 Independent Scholar winner is:
Rachael Johnson

The 2025 Capacity-Building winner is:
Sreeja Chowdhury

The 2025 ECR winners are:
Andrew Dorman
Daniel Johnson
Mary-Jannet Leith
Ross Nedervelt

The 2025 PGR winners are:
Thomas Archambaud
Lauren Bradshaw
Jo Butler
Marlies Ehrenpaar
Leif Bjarne Hammer
Chandini Jaswal
Gráinne O'Hare
Jonathan Perris
Luisa Signorelli (STR)
Emma Stanbridge
Freya Walker (C)

(C) = The BSECS Committee Award, which recognizes a particularly interdisciplinary paper or one which pioneers a new area of 18th-century studies.
(STR) = the BSECS-STR Award, which supports a graduate student involved in research on British theatre (broadly defined) in the long eighteenth century.

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

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

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

The winner of the 2024 President's Prize: Emma Mitchell, Brunel University, University of London

The British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Research Fellowships

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

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

Applications open: 1 September in any year

Deadline: 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

2024
Lorna Clark, Carleton University, 'Frances Burney in the Royal Household, 1786–91'

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'

2021
Mary-Jannet Leith, University of Southampton, 'The Role of Music in the Georgian Royal Household'

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'

2019
Dr Hillary Burlock, Queen Mary University of London, 'Politics and social dance at the royal court'

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 2025

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