



Notes

Introduction

1. Many of Reade's works have recently been made available by Dodo Press, a subsidiary of the innovative new publisher The Book Depository in the UK.
2. The critic for the *Dublin University Review* stated that "the taste of the age has settled the point, that its [fiction's] proper office is to elevate and purify" (qtd. in Page 50). The *Athenaeum* used the same phrase in its negative review of Collins's *Basil* in which the critic writes, "the proper office of Art is to elevate and purify" (qtd. in Page 48). In his essay on Milton, Thomas Babington Macaulay praises the work of the poet for its ability "not only to delight but to elevate and purify" (28).
3. For an excellent discussion of *Man and Wife*, see Lisa SurrIDGE, "Unspeakable Histories: Hester Dethridge and the Narration of Domestic Violence in *Man and Wife*" (*Victorian Review* 22.2, Winter 1996: 161–85).
4. I have not consulted first-hand the critical biography by Leone Rives, *Charles Reade: sa vie, ses romans* (Paris: Imprimerie Toulousaine, 1940).

I Sensation Fiction and the Emergence of the Victorian Literary Field

1. Bachman and Cox do not provide evidence to support their statement on Reade's possible influence on Collins although Peters also makes a similar but qualified statement, "He has sometimes been implicated in the supposed decline of Wilkie Collins's fiction; but it is too simple to suggest that Reade took over from Dickens as Wilkie's mentor" (282). Nicholas Rance writes of Collins that "Charles Reade, gout, and...remarkable quantities of laudanum...have commonly been blamed for the withering away of the novelist" (129). These remarks are curious and misleading, for Reade does not appear to have

- influenced Collins. On the contrary, Reade greatly admired Collins's powers of invention, a quality he felt was lacking in his own work. He once wrote, "I lack the true oil of fiction" (qtd. in *Memoir* 198). When Reade was serializing *Put Yourself in His Place* for *Cornhill*, he asked for Collins's advice. Collins wrote a detailed letter that included many suggestions but was generally quite positive. Reade noted on the letter, "I was so fortunate to please him at last" (qtd. in Peters 282).
2. In 1836, the notorious Irish critic William Maginn of *Fraser's Magazine*, who had made his reputation with this kind of vituperative reviewing, found himself challenged to a duel by Grantley Berkeley, the author of a book *Berkeley Castle* (1836) whom he had maligned. Before challenging Maginn, Berkeley assaulted and injured publisher James Fraser with a whip.
 3. In a footnote, Collins is careful to note "the distinction between a penny journal and a penny newspaper" (159). The journals, rather than the newspapers, supplied the public with new fiction.
 4. The youngest of nine children, Reade was born to a landed but not wealthy family in 1814. His father acted out the role of the typical country squire but his mother exhibited some exceptional qualities. In her early life his mother's intellectual circle included such famous figures as Franz Joseph Haydn, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and William Wilberforce, but during her married life she converted to an evangelical Low-Church variety of Christianity. She urged Reade to go to Magdalen College at Oxford where she expected him to eventually take orders. Reade inherited his mother's sensitive and intellectual nature as well as, perhaps, her domineering personality, even as he rejected her evangelical Christianity. At the age of seventeen, Reade reluctantly agreed to attend Magdalen and apparently spent a stormy but highly successful time there as an undergraduate. Despite his nonconformism, he passed his examinations with honors, won an essay prize, and found himself, at age twenty-three, with a "demyship," which, upon completion of his studies, entitled him to a lifetime fellowship at Oxford that included a perpetual, if modest, stipend and a suite of rooms. For most of his life, Reade maintained this lucrative part-time job, even though it was a quasi-religious position that mandated celibacy, a regulation that Reade bridled against his whole life.
 5. Christie Johnstone is based on Reade's own experience. In the late 1830s, Reade journeyed to Scotland where he met and apparently fell in love with a young woman, invariably described by biographers as a "fishwife" and the model for the title character in Reade's novel *Christie Johnstone*. Reade and his "Christie" apparently worked in a modest herring-fishing enterprise. The unmarried couple conceived a son, Charles Liston. According to Burns, "Reade lived with this girl (whenever his circumstances and Mrs. Reade permitted) from 1838

or 1839 up to the time of her death in 1848, following the birth of her son" (37). J.M.S. Tompkins, in a review of Leone Rives's untranslated critical biography *Charles Reade: sa vie, ses romans* (Paris: Imprimerie Toulousaine, 1940) writes of Reade's "ten-year series of holidays in Scotland" (363). Apparently no record survives of the true nature of his relationship to his common-law wife and son during those years. According to Burns, Reade's domineering mother who had become well aware of her son's wayward lifestyle, compelled him "to treat Christie as a mistress, his son as a godson—as a means of preserving his Fellowship and as the price of retaining her own love and respect" (38).

Although the "godson," Charles Liston, later collaborated on the *Memoir*, a document that purports to be full record of Reade's life, its reticence on the nature of Reade's relationship with his son and the mother of his son is puzzling. Aside from Coleman's anecdotal account, my research into Reade's life and work has turned up little information about the life of Charles Liston from the time of his birth, until the time that Reade formally "adopted" him, apparently in the 1870s. The mother's name is apparently either unknown to or unrevealed by biographers and critics. In *Christie Johnstone*, in which several characters are named Liston, Reade compares favorably the vibrancy of the relatively humble Scottish people who worked in the fishing industry with the affectations of those of the middle and upper classes.

6. There were exceptions to the three-volume rule. One of the most prominent examples is George Eliot's *Silas Marner*. According to Lewis Roberts, in 1861, Mudie placed an order for 3,100 copies of that book ("Trafficking in Literary Authority," *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 34, 2006: 3).
7. See Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837–1914* (New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1995); Catherine Golden, *Images of the Woman Reader in Victorian British and American Fiction* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); Guinevere L. Griest, *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970); and Lewis Roberts, "Trafficking in Literary Authority: Mudie's Select Library and the Commodification of the Victorian Novel" (*Victorian Literature and Culture*, 34, 2006: 1–25).
8. Reade's *Cream*, a one-volume work, consisted of two stories: "Autobiography of a Thief," material cut from *It Is Never Too Late to Mend*; and "Jack of All Trades." Although Mudie claimed that *Cream* was "quite unworthy of Mr. Reade's high reputation, or of a place in any select library" (qtd. in Griest 141), he may have banned this book more because of its format than its content. *Richard Feverel* was Meredith's first novel, and Mudie may have felt comfortable banning it as the work of an unproved author.

9. According to Griest, when Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* was published to obvious popular acclaim, Mudie vied with other circulating libraries "to see which firm would purchase the largest number of copies" (22). Griest also notes that Braddon, who lived until 1915, was one of the few authors to actively resist the demise of the three-volume novel in 1895, so successful had that form been for her (204–07). Braddon enjoyed an unusually cordial relationship with Mudie's and, in 1868 in her periodical *Belgravia*, she published a series of "Mudie Classics" that she dedicated "in compliment to the eponymous chief of the circulating library" (qtd. in Griest, 148).
10. See Schroeder 1988, Nemesvari 2000, Rosenman 2003, Kushnier 2002, D.A. Miller 1988, Nemesvari 2002 (*English Studies in Canada*).
11. This and the following quotation are found in Reade's notebooks. Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. CO171, No. 91. All references to the Parrish Collection are published with permission of the Princeton University Library.
12. Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. CO171 Box 91.
13. In a letter, probably written some years later, to Wilkie Collins, Reade refers directly to all his various lawsuits on issues from libel to copyright infringement. He regrets not stopping by to see his friend before leaving town because of an illness "brought on I believe by the worry and anxiety of Reade v. this thief, Reade v. that rogue, and Reade v. the other swindler." Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. CO171 Box 21. Published with permission of the Princeton University Library.
14. Although Elwin suggests that Reade's admiration for Dickens "verged on idolatry" (191), problems in their relationship flared up at times. When Reade's *Hard Cash* began its serialization in *All the Year Round*, Dickens felt compelled to try to neutralize some of the attacks on medical professionals but in the end settled for inserting an awkward disclaimer (see Chapter 2).
15. Collins reflections on Forster's 1872 three-volume biography, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, were first printed in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (January 20, 1890, 3) and extensively excerpted in the *New York Times* (February 16, 1890). Reprinted at: <<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9B0CE0D6143BE533A25755C1A9649C94619ED7CF>>
16. The citation "LL," followed by a volume number and page number, here and throughout, refers to the Charles Reade Collection at the London Library.

17. The phrase “a crime not to be named among Christians” is a fairly explicit reference to sodomy. William Blackstone, in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1769), refers to

the infamous crime against nature committed either with man or beast. A crime which ought to be strictly and impartially proved and then as strictly and impartially punished. . . . I will not act so disagreeable a part to my readers as well as myself as to dwell any longer upon a subject the very mention of which is a disgrace to human nature. It will be more eligible to imitate in this respect the delicacy of our English law which treats it in its very indictments as a crime not fit to be named; “peccatum illud horribile, inter christianos non nominandum” (that horrible crime not to be named among Christians). (Vol. IV, 215–16)

The comment by the American reviewer sent me back to *A Terrible Temptation* several times in vain efforts to find a reference that could possibly suggest sodomy, after which I can only conclude, with Reade, that some of his critics were indeed “prurient prudes.”

18. This quotation and the one that follows were transcribed from documents in the Morris Parrish Collection in the box labeled “Scrapbook of the attorney William D. Booth who represented Charles Reade, Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins and other literary lights and theatrical lights in the American law courts, with his clients’ original autograph letters.” The scrapbook consists of a copy of *Griffith Gaunt* (Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869) with letters from Reade pasted in the front pages and back pages. Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Morris L. Parrish Collection. Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. CO171, No. 91. Published with permission of the Princeton University Library.
19. Reade’s ideas on copyright can be found in *The Eighth Commandment* and in “The Rights and Wrongs of Authors” in *Readiana*.
20. Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. CO171 Box 21. Published with permission of the Princeton University Library.
21. Although Reade and Eliot wrote unflattering comments about each other, they actually met socially from time to time. Elwin describes Reade’s feeling for Eliot as “one of respect for having the courage to live with Lewes as his mistress” (266). Elwin also recounts a visit to Reade at Magdalen in 1873 by Eliot and Benjamin Jowett. Several critics in periodicals, including *Once a Week*, described Eliot’s *Romola* as an imitation of Reade’s *The Cloister and the Hearth*. Posterity has been much kinder to Eliot than to Reade, in part for reasons explained by Poovey who places responsibility for canon-formation on “critics [who]

gradually distinguished their work from journalism [and] gained a home and a function in American and British universities" (448–49). Poovey's argument suggests that criticism from the nineteenth century still exerts a powerful influence over the literary canon.

2 Saying "No" to Power: *It Is Never Too Late to Mend and Hard Cash*

1. Halperin quotes from *Remarks on Marx: Conversations with Duccio Troubadori*. Trans. R. James Goldstein and James Cascaito (New York: Semiotext(e), 1991): 37–39.
2. See also Foucault's 1975–76 lectures at the College de France in *Society Must Be Defended*, Ed. Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana. Trans. Françoise Ewald and Alessandro Fontana (New York: Picador, 2003).
3. One need only consider events sponsored by the U.S. government since September 11, 2001, such as the Patriot Act, legalized torture, wiretapping, Guantanamo, and secret prisons in Europe, most of which are still in operation as of this writing.
4. Miller remarks that "the most notable reticence in Foucault's work concerns precisely the reading of literary texts and literary institutions, which though often and suggestively cited in passing, are never given a role to play within the disciplinary processes under consideration" (viii, n.1). Carla Freccero suggests a reason for this: "Foucault may not have used much fiction, because it could not be easily generalized into the theoretico-historical sweep of the argument" (42).
5. Bourdieu's critique of Foucault's methodology is briefly stated in "Flaubert's Point of View." He refers specifically to "Réponse au cercle d'épistémologie" (*Cahiers pour l'analyse* 9, Summer 1968: 9–40):

Michel Foucault undoubtedly made the most rigorous formulation of the bases of structuralist analysis of cultural works. Retaining from Saussure the primacy accorded relationships and well aware that no work exists by itself, that is, outside the relationships of interdependence that connect it to other works, Foucault proposed the term "field of strategic possibilities" for the "system of regulated differences and dispersions" within which each particular work is defined. But, close to the use that semiologists make of a notion like semantic field, he explicitly refused to seek elsewhere than in the field of discourse the explanatory principle of each discourse in the field. Faithful to the Saussurian tradition and to its division between internal and external linguistics, Foucault affirmed the absolute autonomy of this "field of strategic possibilities," of this episteme. He dismissed as "a doxological illusion" (why not just say sociological?) the claim to discover what he calls

“the polemical field” and in “the divergence of interests or mental habits of individuals” (which is to say, everything that I was covering at about the same time with the ideas of field and habitus) the explanatory principle for everything that takes place in “the field of strategic possibilities,” the only reality with which, according to him, a scientific approach to works has to contend. (542–43)

6. Going further than his two now-canonical works, in *No Name* (1862) Collins presents a similarly nontraditional narrative as he constructs the novel to emulate a theatrical production with “scenes,” instead of “books,” chapters within the scenes, and intervals “between the scenes” (Collins had previously tampered with convention by referring to the volumes in *The Woman in White* as “epochs,” as Harrison Ainsworth had done in *Jack Sheppard*). And although *No Name* is unified by a general narrator, this unity is consistently interrupted by long letters and statements from the characters that undermine the authority of the omniscient voice. Magdalen, the heroine of *No Name*, is a consummate actress who consistently changes her identity and enlists the aid of a professional conman to deceive family and friends in an effort to reverse and avenge the injuries done to her by “the Sense of Propriety” (228). Moreover, in *Armadale* (1866) Collins gives half of the narrative over to his sympathetically portrayed villainess, Lydia Gwilt. Collins’s novels encourage reader sympathy for these wayward women and consistently question the moral universe in which they live. In their fragmented narrative structure and in their implicit lack of faith in a moral center, Collins’s novels point ahead to the experimentation of many modernist works.
7. In an interview well after the publication of *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault describes his work as an attempt to avoid such a totalizing system: “I am attempting, to the contrary, apart from any *totalization*—which would be at once *abstract* and *limiting*—to open up problems that are as *concrete* and *general* as possible, problems that approach politics from behind and cut across societies on the diagonal” (“Politics and Ethics,” 375–76). As examples of concrete and general problems, Foucault includes “the relation between sanity and insanity; the question[s] of illness, of crime, of sexuality,” themes often addressed in sensation novels. Foucault adds that “it has been necessary to try to raise [these issues] both as present-day questions and as historical ones, as moral, epistemological, and political problems” (376). Miller bases his argument, not on Foucault the activist but primarily on the Foucault of *Discipline and Punish*, which represents what I have called a “theoretically pure” approach that ignores some contemporary realities. Miller takes these theoretical tools and employs them in a totalizing theory—“abstract and limiting”—in the analysis of an entire field of literary expression.

8. Le Fanu's novella presents a particularly vivid example of the way the apparent intentions of an author can run directly counter to the implications of his work. Le Fanu was an Anglo-Irish reactionary who, more than most authors, upheld the tangible trappings of power of Victorian society. He supported the British colonial presence in Ireland and promoted other conservative views through his proprietorship of several Protestant newspapers in Dublin. Yet Le Fanu's fiction reveals little of his political views or his professed moral values. We can read the ending of his famous novella—with the decapitation of the lesbian vampire Carmilla—as his overt expression of disapproval of challenges to patriarchal heteronormativity. Yet along the way, “Carmilla” presents aggressive lesbian desire as exciting, attractive, and titillating. Readers coming to the end of the story are unlikely to forget the ravenous and insatiable sexual appetite that Carmilla embodies in the text. Nineteenth-century readers who reached the conclusion of such a novel (and many others) must have been intrigued by the considerable and often highly unruly actions of the women and felt that experience of sympathy or identification cannot be nullified by a seemingly unambiguous lesson in morals or civics. Rather, the representation of transgressive behaviors or challenging characters produces an effect that cannot be entirely erased by the punishment of such improper actions.

Collins presents conscious opposition to the tyranny of propriety. In *No Name*, Magdalen, states, “I have lived long enough in this world to know that the Sense of Propriety, in nine Englishwomen out of ten, makes no allowances and feels no pity” (228). Magdalen has been scorned by society and robbed of her inheritance when it is revealed that her parents were not married. As she tries to regain her fortune, she uses deception to overcome the formidable obstacles placed in her path, and she succeeds through trickery in marrying the man she hates the most, the man who is the beneficiary of her purloined inheritance. After she has achieved her goal, Magdalen triumphantly states, “I am no longer the poor outcast girl, the vagabond public performer, whom you once hunted after. I have done what I told you I would do—I have made the general sense of propriety my accomplice this time” (436). In *No Name*, Magdalen inhabits a variety of identities to pursue her legally questionable but morally just purposes, and she represents, perhaps, Collins's most profound indictment of the Victorian sense of propriety. Still, even in *No Name*, Collins resorts to an improbable and conventional ending as Magdalen, after her temporary triumph, is brought to the brink of ruin only to be saved by her sister Norah who, after stoically suffering disgrace, ends the novel by fulfilling the requirements of the domestic marriage plot.

9. Discussing endings in Victorian novels, Joseph Allen Boone notes how critics have come to view them as either “closed” or “open,” and

that the former usually applies to those works that conclude with a successful marriage and generally uphold cultural norms. And although most critics view the “open-ended” novel as an innovation of modernism, Boone contends that novels such as *Daniel Deronda* (1876) and *Wuthering Heights* (1847) are similarly open in that they do not conclude with a traditional resolution of the marriage plot (146–47). He sees such works as part of a “countertradition” to typical narratives of heterosexual love. Boone concedes that some critics (including Miller in an earlier work) have pointed out that “the repressed ‘discontents’ of *any* narrative ultimately violate its sense of finality” (original emphasis 146), but he nevertheless finds that a “closed” ending generally works to restore order. However, some novelists, such as Collins, seem “artificially” to force this closure, as if trying to shut a Pandora’s box of transgressions against cultural norms that the novels have unleashed. Boone notes that the adoption of more “open-ended” narratives in the “modernist breakthrough... was the result of many converging forces, [and that] of these, the revolt against marriage themes had an impact” (147). In many sensation novels—such as *The Woman in White*, *No Name*, *Lady Audley’s Secret*, *Aurora Floyd*, *Griffith Gaunt*, and *A Terrible Temptation*—marriage figures as a weapon for gain, for revenge, or for other motives, or as a travesty. In this sense of the distrust of the institution of marriage, a line can be drawn from the sensation novel to the works of late Victorians such as Gissing and Hardy, straight through to the modernists.

10. Walter and Laura share a house with Marian Halcombe while Walter plots the downfall of Count Fosco. At one point, he feels it necessary to marry Laura ostensibly to protect her. There is very little attention devoted to the actual wedding of Walter and Laura. Walter, as narrator, simply states, “Ten days later we were happier still. We were married” (581). The text gives no explanation whatsoever of how Walter could legally marry Laura, who at this time was presumed dead by society. One explanation may be that when Walter says, “We were married,” he is telling the reader that he and Laura had consummated their relationship and were now living together as man and wife. In light of Collins’s own irregular living situation with Caroline Graves and Martha Rudd, this seems plausible.
11. Despite his reading of *The Woman in White* as complicit with disciplinary power, Miller offers an otherwise compelling analysis of the novel in which he presents perceptive insights into Collins’s manipulations of contemporary gender constructions. Particularly insightful are his comments on “homosexual panic” and the general displacement or misrecognition of sexual desire in several of the novel’s characters. Miller suggests that “nervousness,” traditionally recognized as a feminine characteristic, spreads to all of the novel’s major characters “who are variously startled, affrighted, unsettled, chilled, agitated,

flurried" (149). Suggesting that "the novel makes nervousness a metonymy for reading," Miller finds that "every reader is consequently implied to be a version or extension of the Woman in White, a fact that entails particularly interesting consequences when the reader is—as the text explicitly assumes—male" (151, 153). Miller concedes Collins's skill in achieving an uncertain gendered response in the reader. He refers to the famous remark by Karl Ulrichs, the nineteenth-century German advocate of homosexual rights, who spoke, in a phrase he is credited with originating, of "a woman's soul trapped in a man's body."

Ulrichs's comment suggests to Miller three related phenomena: "(1) a particular fantasy about male homosexuality; (2) a homophobic defense against that fantasy; and (3) the male oppression of women that... extends that defense" (155). However, from this illuminating discussion, Miller concludes that by confusing the gender identification of its readers, the novel is ultimately concerned with "enclosing and secluding the woman in male 'bodies,' among them institutions like marriage and madhouses" (155–56). Miller adds that the novel is concerned not just with policing "women, who need to be put away in safe places or asylums, but men as well, who must monitor and master what is fantasized as the 'woman inside' them" (156). Miller strains to identify "male bodies" with institutions such as madhouses to permit the text to fit into his overarching theory of the novel. As Donald E. Hall remarks, "Miller is not convincing when he claims that women are effectively 'contained' in *The Woman in White*," and he argues that "Marian remains strong and subversive" at the novel's end (164). Although Miller is correct to find that *The Woman in White* raises anxieties in the male reader about the potential "woman inside" him, the very banality of the novel's ending does little to allay this uneasiness.

The diffuse narrative voices of Collins's novel scarcely authorize placing women in madhouses, for the confinements of both the title character and the heroine are presented as grossly unjust. And except for the admittedly banal ending, the novel portrays marriage as a trap for women. Aside from his conclusion on these points, Miller's analysis here is compelling. Nearly all his comments about "nerves" and gender have a resonance that enhances our reading of *The Woman in White*. In an essay on the same novel, Richard Nemesvari relies to some degree on Miller's work. And although he too suggests that the novel attempts to contain the forces it had released and explored, his conclusion is much more tentative. Nemesvari writes of Collins's novel that "in its nervous acknowledgement of secrets that cannot be fully named, it reveals what it is trying to hide and foreshadows the collapse of the authority that it is struggling so hard to create" (2002: 626). Miller contends, on the contrary, that the novel succeeds in creating or bolstering that authority. In her study of affect in the sensation novel *Mixed Feelings* (1992), Ann Cvetkovich comments on the

“impossibility of separating the mechanisms of subversion and recuperation or designating a particular text as intrinsically liberatory or reactionary” (55). The readings of Miller and Nemesvari highlight this difficulty in *The Woman in White*: Both find the novel eager to uphold contemporary values but they take different views of the success of the novel’s supposed project. Yet Nemesvari’s analysis identifies some of the contradictions that make this novel in particular and sensation fiction in general so compelling. Written for a predominantly middle-class audience, this novel, after taking its readers into a dark world of madness, crime, and deception, concludes with improbable banalities that can hardly restore order.

12. Baldrige also acknowledges Nancy Armstrong’s *Desire and Domestic Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), Leonard J. Davis’s *Resisting Novels* (New York: Methuen, 1987), and John Stratton’s *The Virgin Text* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).
13. In the novel, after the dismissal of Warden Hawes, Mr. Eden has the crank examined and finds that “the value of their resistance stated on their lying faces was scarce one-third of their actual resistance” (197). In a footnote, Reade explains, “Men for two years had been punished as refractory for not making all day two thousand revolutions per hour of a 15 lb. crank, when all the while it was a 45 lb. crank they had been vainly struggling against all day. The proportions of this gory lie never varied. Each crank tasked the Sisyphus three times what it professed to do. It was calculated that four prisoners, on an average crank marked 10 lb., had to exert an aggregate of force equal to one horse; and this exertion was prolonged, day after day, far beyond a horse’s power of endurance” (197).
14. Invented in 1818, the treadmill, sometimes called treadwheel, was a large device on which groups of prisoners, placed side by side, were forced to tread on steps or “paddles,” thereby powering a machine similar to those used industrially (which employed the labor of horses or oxen rather than humans) to pump water or to grind corn. However, in prisons the treadmill was a punishment device and nothing was produced by the power generated by the prisoners. A huge wheel turns by the power generated by the prisoners and if a convict could not keep pace, he or she would fall off the device. In 1838, vertical separators were installed on treadmills to enforce an inmate’s isolation from his neighbors on either side. The treadmill was still in use in England late in the century and Oscar Wilde’s *Ballad of Reading Gaol* refers to it:

We banged the tins, and bawled the hymns
And sweated on the mill,
But in the heart of every man
Terror was lying still. (124)

The shot-drill was a commonly practiced exercise in prison in which an inmate was compelled to carry a cannonball from one location to another, and then carry it back again to its original location. Or alternately, it was an exercise in which prisoners passed, from one to another, a cannonball down a line. Reade does not refer to this punishment in *Never Too Late to Mend*.

15. Reade argued against the death penalty in specific cases. It is unclear whether he opposed capital punishment in principle. See “Protest against the Murder at Lewes Gaol” (347) and “Hang in Haste, Repent at Leisure” (329–42) in *Readiana*.
16. In “Our Dark Places,” Reade writes, “A relative has only to buy two doctors . . . and he can clap in a madhouse any rich old fellow that is spending his money absurdly on himself instead of keeping it like a wise man for his heirs; or he can lock up any eccentric, bodily-afflicted, troublesome, account-sifting young fellow” (*Readiana* 395–96).
17. Jenny Bourne Taylor cites the case of Eliza Nottridge, a “wealthy and eccentric spinster, who insisted on living in a millennial community, the ‘Abode of Love.’” This institution is the subject of the 1956 novel by Aubrey Menon, entitled *The Abode of Love: The conception, financing, and daily routine of an English baram in the middle of the 19th century described in the form of a novel*, as well as a recently published “memoir” *Abode of Love: Growing Up in a Messianic Cult* (2007) by Kate Barlow, the granddaughter of a cult member. Taylor implies that Eliza Nottridge was a harmless eccentric but that Conolly, in the pay of her relatives, testified that she was “imbecilic, visionary, and fanatical” and should be confined to an asylum (qtd. in Taylor 40). Taylor notes how this contradicts Conolly’s earlier judgment that “no lunatic should be confined unless dangerous to himself or others” (qtd. 40).
18. Lillian Nayder believes that by the time of the separation, Catherine needed very little convincing because of Dickens’s cruel treatment of her (Private correspondence. August 14, 2005). Nayder is at work on a biography of Catherine Hogarth Dickens.

3 Sex and Sexuality, Gender and Transgender

1. As a case in point, Taylor suggests that “the seventy-five men executed for sodomy in Holland between 1730 and 1732 would probably not share [Foucault’s] indifference to the reality of sexual repression” (99). As late as 1836 in *Sketches by Boz*, Dickens recounts a visit to Newgate Prison where he observed “three men, the nature of whose offence rendered it necessary to separate them from their companions in guilt,” an oblique reference to their convictions for buggery (202). Dickens notes that “the fate of one of these prisoners is uncertain, some mitigatory circumstances having come to light since his

trial” (202). As for the two others, the turnkey tells Dickens that they “are dead men” (202). Undoubtedly Dickens had visited John Smith and James Pratt, convicted sodomites who were hanged at Newgate in 1835. It is uncertain whether these were the last executions in England for the crime of buggery, but even if the case of Smith and Pratt is unusual, it supports, to some degree, Taylor’s point that sexual repression was very much alive at the beginning of the Victorian era. Sodomy was also a capital crime during the early modern era, a generally far less repressive period. Severe legal sanctions against sexual “crimes,” although seldom invoked, often remained on the books even in sexually permissive societies. Only in 2003, did the Supreme Court strike down antisodomy laws in the United States.

2. Levy discusses Henry Mayhew’s *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861) and early nineteenth-century texts by Stonestreet (see Levy, 28). Although Mayhew’s text is often sympathetic to the working class, it was used to justify new legal codes.
3. Ironically, although the 1885 law was designed to be used primarily against the lower classes, its most celebrated victim was the upper-class Oscar Wilde in 1895.
4. Of the class nature of the emergence of sexuality, Foucault writes, “The primary concern was not repression of the sex of the classes to be exploited, but rather the body, vigor, longevity, progeniture, and descent of the classes that ‘ruled.’ This was the purpose for which the deployment of sexuality was first established, as a new distribution of pleasures, discourses, truths, and powers; it has to be seen as the self-affirmation of one class rather than the enslavement of another: a defense, a protection, a strengthening—at the cost of different transformations—as a means of social control and political subjection” (HS 123).
5. Circumcision came to be widely practiced, ostensibly for reasons of health, in the mid-nineteenth century. See Robert Darby on the history of male circumcision in Europe and America (737–57). See also Ornella Moscucci’s study of male and female circumcision in the Victorian era (60–78). It is significant that, in contrast to today’s customs in parts of Africa where it is practiced primarily among the poor, female circumcision (including clitorrectomy), although never widely employed in England and the United States, was generally imposed on girls from middle- and upper-class families who, according to their parents and doctors, showed too much interest in their genitals. Foucault notes that, “at the end of the nineteenth century, at any rate, great surgical operations are performed on girls, veritable tortures: cauterization of the clitoris with red hot irons was, if not habitual, at least fairly frequent at that time” (P/K 217). Intersex activist Cheryl Chase points out that the practice persisted in the United States, at least in cases of children with “ambiguous genitalia,” until it was

banned in 1996. Chase notes that “now they call it ‘clitoral reduction’ or ‘clitoral recession’ or ‘clitoroplasty’ because the word ‘clitorectomy’ has come to be equated with barbarism, child abuse, and mutilation” (Hegarty and Chase 76). Chase adds that “the distinction between African ‘clitorectomy’ and Western ‘clitoroplasty’ is purely political” (76).

6. In Chapters 38 and 39 of *A Terrible Temptation*, two seven-year-old cousins, a boy and a girl named Compton and Ruperta, develop something very close to a love affair. The boy’s mother Lady Bassett is indulgent of their friendship but the text relates, “Whether she would have remained as neutral, had she known how far these young things were going, is quite another matter; but Compton’s interviews to her were, naturally enough, very tame compared to the reality, and she never dreamed that two seven-year-olds could form an attachment so warm as these little plagues were doing” (174).
7. Judith Walkowitz discusses how women fought the acts with “lurid tales of ‘instrumental rape’” and how at “public meetings repeal spokesmen would display the vaginal speculum and explain its use to a horrified audience” (109). She quotes a woman who refers to “these monstrous instruments” and how the medical men “tear the passage open first with their hands, and examine us, and then they thrust in instruments, and they pull them out and push them in, and they turn and twist them about; and if you cry out they stifle you” (qtd. 109).
8. Kahn’s *Psychopathia Sexualis* is not to be confused with Krafft-Ebing’s more well-known work of the same name published in 1886.
9. Leopold von Sacher-Masoch was outraged that Krafft-Ebing used his name to label a sexual perversion. Krafft-Ebing defended himself in this way: “I refute the accusation that I have coupled the name of a revered author with a perversion of the sexual instinct, which has been made against me by some admirers of the author and by some critics of my book. As a man Sacher-Masoch cannot lose anything in the estimation of his cultured fellow-beings simply because he was afflicted with an anomaly of his sexual feelings” (160). Krafft-Ebing’s remark is disingenuous because he must have known that Sacher-Masoch would certainly lose the estimation of many of “his cultured fellow-beings” by being branded a pervert. We need only look at what happened to Wilde a decade later.
10. Sutherland probably bases this assessment of Reade on some of the more unusual clippings in the notebooks.
11. This excerpt is problematical for several reasons because Thompson essentially misquotes Besant in addition to supplying the incorrect page number. She does not indicate that the first sentence is a paraphrase of two sentences in Besant’s article (211), and she (or her editor) neglects to place an ellipsis between the first and second sentences,

and within the third sentence. The third sentence that Thompson quotes—without using ellipses—is a radically condensed version of a long sentence by Besant. Thompson quotes him: “What he loves most is the true, genuine woman with her perfect abnegation of self.” What Besant wrote is that “what he loves most is the woman whom fashion has not spoiled; the true, genuine woman, with her natural passion, her jealousy, her devotion, her love of admiration, her fidelity, her righteous wrath, her maternal ferocity, her narrow faith, her shrewdness, even her audacity of falsehood when that can serve her purpose, and her perfect abnegation of self” (211–12). These unacknowledged omissions fundamentally alter Besant’s meaning. Among the comments by Besant that are left out are the following: “She is exactly like man, like ourselves but with womanly qualities. Like ourselves, she ardently desires love” (211); the following completes the sentence of which Thompson provides only the first few words: “She is always in the house and therefore her mind runs in narrow grooves” (211). Besant may have written this passage to expand on a comment he made earlier in the same essay: “It is a great injury, for instance, what we have done to women in withholding from them the liberal education” (200). In that, Besant agrees with Reade’s sentiments expressed throughout his work.

I have spent some time discussing Thompson’s misreading of Reade because hers is one of the few critical analyses of this neglected author in recent years. Work by Ann Grigsby, Mary Poovey, and others is discussed elsewhere in this text.

12. Elwin also quotes “a letter addressed to Reade from the members of the Women’s Medical College of the New York Infirmary, expressing their pleasure that ‘your keen-pointed pen has been used so effectively on behalf of our English sisters, and so on behalf of all women’” (312).
13. It is reasonable to assume that Reade’s natural son, Charles Liston Reade, still living in 1911, arranged for the publication of “Androgynism” in *The English Review*. Although he was Reade’s heir, because he was illegitimate he was subjected to greater inheritance taxation than a child born in wedlock would have been. Several of his letters to his lawyers complain of this situation, and he may have sold the rights to the story to raise money.
14. The quotations in this clipping from Reade’s notebooks, and the two that follow in this paragraph, are from a column called “The Weeklies” (perhaps in the *London Times*, July 15, 1860) that includes brief summaries of articles in regional newspapers. Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. CO171, No. 99, p. 16. Published with permission of the Princeton University Library.

15. Traub refers to an “ideology of chastity” in early modern England. And although this ideology evolved, many of its elements hold true for the Victorian era as well.
16. Of tribadism, Traub writes that, “despite the rhetorical focus on penetration, [the discourse on the tribade] actually fail[s] to distinguish carefully between specific sexual acts: vaginal or anal penetration, rubbing of clitoris on thigh or pudendum, and autoerotic or partnered masturbation” (194–95). Regarding a sexual supplement, Terry Castle identifies a dildo in Fielding’s *The Female Husband* (1746) in a reference to an item of a “vile, wicked, and scandalous a nature” found in the protagonist’s trunk (610).
17. Reade’s brief and hollow condemnation of this “monstrous perversity” is similar to Henry Fielding’s rote condemnation of “unnatural lust” in *The Female Husband*.
18. Judith Walkowitz writes that “a strong female subculture was a distinguishing feature of nineteenth-century prostitution” (25–26) and that “prostitutes were well-known to aid each other in times of distress, to ‘club together’ to pay for a proper funeral or to raise money for bail or a doctor’s fees” (27).
19. Halberstam’s comment that “it really does indeed matter” is relevant also to Reade’s relationship with Laura Seymour. Does it matter whether or not they had a sexual relationship? I believe it does because such knowledge would point to Reade’s intimacy with female sexuality—a fact that would add validity to his sympathy and estimation of women.
20. As noted below, Reade never met Wilde. But it may be significant that Reade’s close friend and eulogist Robert Buchanan was one of the few public figures who defended Wilde both before and after his conviction. In a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* of April 16, 1895, Buchanan wrote, “Is it not high time that a little charity, Christian or anti-Christian, were imported into this land of Christian shibboleths and formulas? Most sane men listen on in silence while Press and public condemn to eternal punishment and obloquy a supposed criminal who is not yet tried or proved guilty. . . . I for one wish to put on record my protest against the cowardice and cruelty of Englishmen towards one who was, until recently, recognised as a legitimate contributor to our amusement, and who is, when all is said and done, a scholar and a man of letters.” Qtd. in Michael Foldy, *The Trials of Oscar Wilde* (Yale University Press, 1997): 60. reprinted on the internet at: <<http://mysite.wanadoo-members.co.uk/robertbuchanan/html/wilde.html>>
21. According to John Lockhart, Walter Scott’s *Guy Mannering* (1815) and Tobias Smollet’s *Peregrine Pickle* (1751) included incidents on the case of James Annesley who claimed to be heir to the estate of the Earle of Annesley in Ireland in 1743 (*Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter*

- Scott. Bart.: A New Edition, Vol. IV.* Boston: Ticknor and Field. 1861: 211). The Tichborne case has been covered by many. The University of Texas Tarlton Law Library presents a in-depth description of the case from *Famous Trials of the Century* by J.B. Atlay, M.A. (London: Grant Richards, 1899) reprinted at < <http://tarlton.law.utexas.edu/lpop/etext/atlay/tichborne.htm>>
22. Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. CO171, No. 99, p. 10. Published with permission of the Princeton University Library.
 23. See Jex-Blake's account of the incident, reprinted by Helena Wojtczak on the website, *Notable Women of Victorian Hastings*, <<http://www.hastingspress.co.uk/history/19/sjbspeech.htm>>
 24. Hall notes that Josephine Butler, a Victorian feminist, "decried the forced medical examination of prostitutes as a form of legally-sanctioned sexual assault" (192).
 25. See Finkelstein, "A Woman Hater and Women Healers: John Blackwood, Charles Reade, and the Victorian Women's Medical Movement"; see also Hill, "Examining Women: Charles Reade's *A Woman Hater*, Lesbian Contagion, and the Debate on Medical Education for Women."
 26. Jex-Blake, Finkelstein 342.
 27. This and the following quotation are from a posting by Jen Hill, Victoria listserv, June 4, 2003.
 28. Reade favored extremely baggy pants for his own dress. Ellen Terry refers to "his loose trousers, each one a yard wide at least" (55).
 29. Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. CO171, No. 99, p. 11. Published with permission of the Princeton University Library.
 30. In the late 1840s, Reade spent many evenings at the Garrick Club where he noted a picture on the wall of a celebrated eighteenth-century actress and wrote, "I am in love with Peg Woffington," whose life he later fictionalized in a play and a novel (qtd. in *Memoir* 194). Throughout his life, Reade continued to be fascinated by actresses. In 1846, he met the popular actress Fanny Stirling who introduced him to Tom Taylor, one of the leading playwrights of the day. Like Reade, Taylor had an academic background and had been a scholar at Cambridge. Also, like Reade, he rejected many of the trappings of contemporary academia, in particular the piety. Taylor and Reade succeeded in cowriting *Masks and Faces* (1852), a tribute to Peg Woffington. The play was conceived by Reade but was polished by the more experienced Taylor. The process of composing the play proved painstaking as Taylor had to continually tear up much of Reade's excessively wordy dialog. The play, starring Fanny Stirling in the title role, became one of the hits of the season

of 1852–1853 at the Haymarket Theatre. Reade developed a serious passion for the actress and sought to collaborate with her in theatrical ventures, and perhaps much more. The incipient affair was thwarted by the intervention of Reade’s mother when she surprised the couple in person, driving Mrs. Stirling away (see Coleman 89). It must have been humiliating for Reade, at the age of 37, to see his mother intervene again in his personal life as she had in her refusal to accept Christie Liston as his wife. Around this time, Reade suffered his breakdown(s) and retired from London to spend time at sanitariums in Malvern and Durham. When he recovered, he returned to the theater in London where he embarked on his second significant romantic relationship: again, the object of his affections was an actress.

31. For Ellen Terry’s account of Reade, see her autobiography, *The Story of My Life*
32. Laura Seymour, who had acted in one of Reade’s earlier, unsuccessful plays, is described in the *Memoir* as “a brave and benevolent woman” with “brains” who was “well-looking off the stage” and “knew every one who was any one in the land of Bohemia” (179–80). She provided Reade with valuable advice on both his plays and novels, proving to be a supportive companion throughout the rest of his life. As the *Memoir* notes, “She was his literary and dramatic partner, and with her he discussed his plots, situations, and characters. To her criticism he submitted his dialog. She possessed the faculty of perceiving at a glance how the lines would play and how each chapter would read” (242). In addition, she administered their household and served as host at the couple’s many private functions attended primarily by theatrical people. Despite all these shared projects and activities, many still believe that Seymour served merely as Reade’s close friend and housekeeper for the rest of her life, and that the couple did not have a physical relationship.

At the time of the success of *It Is Never Too Late to Mend* (1856), Reade’s first major novel, Seymour was married to a man who had run up considerable debts. To assist her, Reade moved into what the *Memoir* describes as “a spacious mansion in Bolton Row” in London and, in “an eccentric arrangement,” provided a home for Seymour and her debt-ridden husband who was lodged in “a suitable retreat below stairs,” a phrase that suggests a servant’s quarters (234). In addition to Mrs. Seymour and her husband, Reade housed two boarders inherited from Seymour’s former home (234). When Seymour’s husband and one of the lodgers died, and the other moved on, she and Reade continued to live together. They lived in Bolton Row until 1869 when they moved to Knightsbridge where they both resided until their deaths. Seymour died in 1879.

Heartbroken at her death, Reade finally surrendered to the call of religion, falling in his last years under the influence of a puritanical

clergyman, the Rev. Charles Graham, although he bridled at times under this man's teachings, according to which, Reade had lived a life of sin. Graham unsuccessfully urged Reade to give up his passion for the theater. Graham later wrote, "he said to me, 'I have now cut off the right hand and cast it from me: I am done with the theatre.' But here it is only right to say that in the meshes of that evil net he allowed himself to be again entangled" (qtd. in Elwin 355). Elwin notes that "religious scruples rapidly evaporated" when the theater called, and that Reade embarked on a last theatrical venture in 1882 (355). With our knowledge that Reade revised "Androgynism," the sexually ambiguous story, in 1883, we can question the ultimate sincerity of his devotion to a rigid Victorian Christianity. He lingered on for several years after the death of Seymour and died in 1884.

Many of the published obituaries refer to Reade's attachment to Seymour and his decline after her death. Tellingly, these obituaries do not mention her name or, in some cases, even refer to the nature of their relationship. The *Times*, for example, wrote that "about six years ago a heavy sorrow fell upon Mr. Reade, and the light of his life seemed to be extinguished" (LL8, April 12, 1884, 6). The *World* reported in its obituary that "some half a dozen years since, Charles Reade's life was saddened by a great loss" (LL8, April 16, 1884, 20). The *Graphic* referred to "the effects of a severe domestic bereavement" (LL8, April 19, 1884, 22). If Reade and Seymour had been married, the published accounts would certainly have mentioned her name, but because of Victorian notions of propriety the periodicals resorted to euphemisms.

Part of the epitaph on Seymour's tomb reads,

Here lies the great heart of Laura Seymour, a brilliant artist, a humble Christian, a charitable woman, a loving daughter, sister, and friend, who lived for others from her childhood. . . . When the eye saw her it blessed her, for her face was sunshine, her voice was melody, and her heart was sympathy. . . . This grave was made for her and for himself by Charles Reade, whose wise councillor, loyal ally, and bosom friend she was for 24 years; and who mourns her all his days. (LL8 *Evening Standard*, April 15, 1884, n.p.)

Reade's biographers, Compton Reade, John Coleman, and Malcom Elwin, unanimously dismiss the idea that his relationship with Laura Seymour was anything but platonic, insisting that they were never lovers, and that they lived for a quarter-century together as master and housekeeper. In an article for *Harper's* published just after the author's death in 1884, Robert Buchanan writes, incredibly, that Reade "lived and died a bachelor" and that his relationship with Seymour, "from first to last, was one of pure and sacred friendship" (602). The *Memoir*, always eager to present its subject as an upright

Christian gentleman, asserts that Reade “would have punished the man who dared to insinuate that Mrs. Seymour was his mistress” (183). In a review in the *Atlantic Monthly*, E.H. House rightly criticizes the *Memoir* for presenting Reade as “endowed with more than mortal properties...unexampled in nobleness, purity, and moral majesty” (145). Yet House too insists that Reade and Seymour lived together chastely and faults Reade for not marrying her to preserve the reputation of their eccentric relationship and to “save her from cruel scandal,” even though “there was no passionate attachment on either side” (153). To modern readers this belief strains credibility.

We know that Reade did not take seriously the vow of celibacy mandated by his position at Oxford, because we have the evidence of his common-law marriage to Christie Liston in the 1830s and the 1840s. Tompkins convincingly writes that “it does not seem that this resentful victim of a celibacy enforced by the conditions of his Fellowship at Magdalen was ever long without a stable and domestic, even though imperfectly sanctioned, union with a woman” (363). Even if we know little about the identity of Christie Liston, we have the very tangible physical evidence of Charles Liston, whom Reade himself acknowledged as his son late in his life. We know that both Reade and Seymour were denizens of a Bohemian theatrical milieu not known for conforming to conventional notions of morality. Yet, Compton Reade feels compelled to insist on a nonsexual relationship because “if Charles Reade’s partnership with a practical woman of the world was of the nature of a morganatic marriage, their lives would have been a brazen fraud” (183). Reading this statement, we must remember that Compton Reade was a Victorian clergyman related by blood to his subject, and that he collaborated on the *Memoir* with Reade’s son. He had a vested interest in presenting his famous relative to the world in a whitewashed condition. His denials are either disingenuous or hypocritical or both.

Perhaps more surprisingly, Elwin in his 1931 biography, although considering it “unlikely” that Reade and Seymour had a carnal relationship, states that

if we remember Reade’s reputation as an eccentric and a Bohemian, it would be wonderful if he contrived to live openly with a mistress for twenty-five years in the heart of the Victorian era, without such a clamour of scandal that its reverberations must have resounded in the ears of the next generation. (94)

With this remark Elwin too dismisses the idea. Yet, one need only look at the relationships of George Eliot and George Henry Lewes; Wilkie Collins and Martha Rudd (*and* Caroline Graves); Mary Elizabeth Braddon and John Maxwell; or even Charles Dickens and Ellen Ternan, or to consider the irregularities in the relationships of

Dante G. Rossetti, John Ruskin, and William and Jane Morris, to realize that some artists did “brazenly” defy the standards of the era. In her biography of Collins, Catherine Peters notes that Eliot, Collins, and Reade were not welcome in polite company, such as parties given by publisher George Smith, unless they left their companions at home. Peters asserts that “Reade and Eliot insisted on having their partners recognized” and that Collins had no problem with that condition (281). Burns is nearly alone when he writes, “That Reade lived platonically with Mrs. Seymour seems altogether unlikely,” but he adds that such an arrangement was “by no means impossible” (321). According to Tompkins, Leone Rives (Reade’s French biographer) “reasonably refuses to regard as Platonic” the relationship of Reade and Seymour (364). But in general, scholars who have studied Reade’s life and work either deny or skirt the possibility that Reade and Seymour were lovers. Yet it seems inconceivable that they were not.

33. In *De Profundis*, Wilde refers to his relationship with Lord Alfred Douglas (“Bosie”) as “our ancient affection” (3).
34. Reade and Oscar Wilde apparently never met but one day they nearly encountered each other. Coleman reports the following:

During the unfortunate Oscar Wilde’s “green carnation-and-sunflower” period, Reade remarked:

“Ah! That airy young gentleman is a *poseur*, there’s no mistake about that; but he’s a deuced sight cleverer than they think. A fellow doesn’t take a double-first at Oxford for nothing; besides he has written some noble lines. Then he knows a lot about painting. I saw him, one morning at the Academy, spot, with unerring accuracy, every picture worth looking at. It’s true there were not a great many; but such as they were he spotted ‘em.”

(At, or about this time, happening to meet this hapless genius at a garden-party at Miss Braddon’s, I mentioned incidentally what Reade had said.)

“Bai Jove!” exclaimed the creator of the Green Carnation, “I’m delighted. I saw the old lion that day at the show, and longed to introduce myself; but he looked so austere and unapproachable that, with all my cheek, I dared not. Tell him so, and say, had I only known what he said to you, I should have been the proudest ‘fella’ in the Academy that day!” (266)

4 Sensational Paradigms: Reade’s *Griffith Gaunt* and Braddon’s *Aurora Floyd*

1. See Felber’s “The Literary Portrait as Centerfold: Fetishism in Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s *Lady Audley’s Secret*,” *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 35, No. 1. Sept. 2007: 477–88.

2. This quotation from *The Round Table* and those immediately following are transcribed from documents in the Morris Parrish Collection at the Princeton Library, box CO171 No. 91, labeled, "Scrapbook of the attorney William D. Booth who represented Charles Reade, Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins and other literary lights and theatrical lights in the American law courts, with his clients' original autograph letters." The scrapbook consists of a copy of *Griffith Gaunt* (Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869) with letters from Reade pasted in the front and back pages. Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists, Box CO171, No. 91. Published with permission of the Princeton University Library.
3. See John Vincent's discussion of Swinburne's *Lesbia Brandon* in *Novel Gazing*, edited by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Duke University Press (1997): 269–97.
4. *Maid, Wife, or Widow* is the subtitle of *The Cloister and the Hearth*, and it refers to the uncertain social status of the heroine Margaret Brandt.
5. See Judith Walkowitz's discussion in *Prostitution and Victorian Society*.
6. Another example of Reade's aversion to blood sports can be found in *A Simpleton* when, in Africa, the protagonist Christopher Staines has an eland in the sights of his rifle:

He aimed long and steadily. But just as he was about to pull the trigger, Mind interposed, and he lowered the deadly weapon. "Poor creature!" he said, "I am going to take her life—for what? for a single meal. She is as big as a pony; and I am to lay her carcass on the plain, that we may eat two pounds of it. This is how the weasel kills the rabbit; sucks an ounce of blood for his food, and wastes the rest. . . . Man, armed by science with such powers of slaying, should be less egotistical than weasels. . . . I will not kill her. I will not lay that beautiful body of hers low, and glaze those tender, loving eyes that never gleamed with hate or rage at man, and fix those innocent jaws that never bit the life out of anything, not even of the grass she feeds on. . . . Feed on, poor innocent." (358–59)

7. This and the following citation from the late Chris Willis are taken from "Mary Elizabeth Braddon and the Literary Marketplace: A Study in Commercial Authorship" on *The Mary Elizabeth Braddon Website*, <<http://www.chriswillis.freemove.co.uk/meb2.html>>
8. See Gilles Deleuze, "Coldness and Cruelty," 1969; Gaylyn Studlar, *In the Realm of Pleasure*, 1986; Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*, 1992, Carol Siegel, *Male Masochism*, 1995.
9. Here again, we see how Reade demonstrates sympathy for, rather than judgment of, the "fallen woman." The wayward woman is seen as "betrayed," rather than judged as a sinner.

10. See Sedgwick's *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosexual Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); and Rene Girard, *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure*. Trans. Yvonne Freccero (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).

5 Reade, Race, and Colonialism

1. Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. CO171, Box No. 94, pp. 2, 18. Published with permission of the Princeton University Library.
2. Reade's *Put Yourself in His Place* is known as a broadside against violence perpetrated by trade unions, but a reading of the novel (not discussed here) would show that it portrays the abuses of organized capital as much as or more than those of organized labor. In the *Memoir*, Compton Reade correctly notes that "the author was no more a friend of the tyranny of capital than the tyranny of labor" and refers to the "judicial attitude of a writer who had as little liking for the brutality of plutocracy as for the brutality of rattening" (341, 342). *Put Yourself in His Place* bears some comparison to Dickens's *Hard Times* (1854) but the former demonstrates considerably more subtlety in its depictions of capital and labor.
3. Foucault sees racism as part of the same process of "biopower" that "made it possible to execute or banish criminals, . . . The same applies to madness, and the same applies to various anomalies" (258). Foucault's statement relates to his thesis in *Discipline and Punishment, Madness and Civilization*, and *The History of Sexuality*, all of which argue that "biopower" seeks to segregate those who do not conform to a standard.
4. See entry on Laurence Oliphant, *Notable Names Data Base*. <<http://www.nndb.com/people/972/000102666/>>



Works Cited

Archives

- Charles Reade Collection at the London Library. London, England.
Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novels. Manuscripts Division,
Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University
Library. Princeton, NJ.

Other Primary and Secondary Sources

- Altick, Richard. *The Presence of the Present: Topics of the Day in the Victorian Novel*. Columbus: University of Ohio Press, 1991.
- Anonymous. "Belle Lettres." *Westminster Review*, Vol. 86, No. 30 (Oct. 1866).
In *Wilkie Collins: The Critical Heritage*. Edited by Norman Page: London
and New York: Routledge, 1974: 158–60.
- . "Charles Reade's Novels." *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (Oct.
1869).
- . "Our Sensation Novelists." *The Living Age*, Vol. 78 (Aug. 22, 1863):
353–54. Jan. 10, 2003. <<http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~mactavis/vso/reviews/reviews.htm>>
- . "Six Reasons Why Ladies Should Not Hunt," *The Field*, April 15,
1854. *Aurora Floyd*, by Mary Elizabeth Braddon. Edited by Richard
Nemesvari and Lisa Surridge. Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press,
1998: 607–19.
- Archibald, Diana C. *Domesticity, Imperialism, and Emigration in the Victorian Novel*. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2002.
- Auerbach, Nina. *Communities of Women: An Idea in Fiction*. Cambridge:
Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Aytoun, W.E. "The Rights of Women." *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*,
Vol. 92 (Aug. 1862): 183–201.
- Bachman, Maria and Don Richard Cox. "Introduction." *Blind Love* by
Wilkie Collins. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2004. 9–50.
- Bladrige, Cates. *The Dialogics of Dissent in the English Novel*. Hanover,
NH: Middlebury College Press, University Press of New England,
1994.

- Belsey, Catherine. "Love as Trompe-l'oeil: Taxonomies of Desire in *Venus and Adonis*." *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Autumn 1995): 257–76.
- Besant, Walter. "Charles Reade," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 29 (Aug. 1882): 198–214.
- Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Blackstone, William. *Commentaries on the Laws of England, Vol. IV*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1769.
- Boone, Joseph Allen. *Tradition and Counter-Tradition: Love and the form of Fiction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Booth, Michael. "Melodrama and the Working Class." *Dramatic Dickens*. Edited by Carol Hanbury Mackay. London: Macmillan, 1989.
- . "The Metropolis on Stage," *The Victorian City*. Edited by H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff. London: Routledge, 1973. 211–24.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "Flaubert's Point of View." Translated by Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson. *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Spring 1988). 539–62.
- Braddon, Mary Elizabeth. *Aurora Floyd*. Edited by Richard Nemesvari and Lisa Surrige. Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 1998.
- . *Lady Audley's Secret*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 1987 [1861].
- . *Vixen: A Novel*. New York: American Publishers, 1899 [1979].
- Brandabur, A, Clare. "George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*." *Peace Review A Journal of Social Justice*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2001): 221–28.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. "Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent." *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Autumn 1985): 166–203.
- . "What Is 'Sensational' about the 'Sensation Novel?'" *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (June 1982): 1–28.
- Brody, Jennifer DeVere. *Impossible Purities: Blackness, Femininity, and Victorian Culture*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Brooks, Peter. *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- Burns, Wayne. *Charles Reade, A Study in Victorian Authorship*. New York: Bookman Associates, 1961.
- . *The Flesh and the Spirit in Seven Hardy Novels*. Alpine, CA: Blue Daylight Books, 2002.
- Burns, Wayne, and Emerson Grant Sutcliffe. "Uncle Tom and Charles Reade." *American Literature*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Jan. 1946): 334–47.
- Buchanan, Robert. "Charles Reade." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 69, No. 412 (Sept. 1884). 600–06.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Butler, Judith. *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

- Carnell, Jennifer. *The Literary Lives of Mary Elizabeth Braddon*. Hastings, East Sussex: Sensation Press, 2000.
- Casey, Ellen Miller. "‘Other People’s Prudery’: Mary Elizabeth Braddon." *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, Vol. 27 (1984): 72–82.
- Castle, Terry. "Matters Not Fit to Be Mentioned: Fielding’s *The Female Husband*." *ELH*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Autumn 1982): 602–22.
- Coleman, John. *Charles Reade: As I Knew Him*. London: Treherne & Co. 1903.
- Collins, Wilkie. *Armada*. London: Oxford University Press, 1989 [1866].
- . *Basil*. New York: Dover, 1980 [1852].
- . *The Dead Secret*. London: Oxford University Press, 1997 [1857].
- . *Heart and Science*. Edited by Steve Farmer. Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 1996 [1883].
- . *Hide and Seek*. London: Oxford University Press, 1993 [1854].
- . *The Letters of Wilkie Collins*. 2 vols. Edited by William Baker and William M. Clarke, New York: St. Martins, 1999.
- . *Man and Wife*. London: Oxford University Press, 1995 [1870].
- . *The Moonstone*. London: Oxford University Press, 1988 [1868].
- . *My Miscellanies*, New York: Peter Fenelon Collier & Son. n.d. [1863].
- . *No Name*. New York: Penguin, 1994 [1862].
- . *The Woman in White*. New York: Penguin, 1985 [1860].
- Cornwallis, Kinahan. "Letters and Reminiscences of Charles Reade." *Lippincott Magazine*. Dec. 1885. 581–90.
- Cregan-Reid, Vybar. "Bodies, Boundaries and Queer Waters: Drowning and Propopoeia in Later Dickens." *Critical Survey*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (2005): 20–33.
- Cvetkovich, Ann. *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- . *Mixed Feelings: Feminism, Mass Culture, and Victorian Sensationalism*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- Darby, Robert. "The Masturbation Taboo and the Rise of Routine Male Circumcision: A Review of the Historiography" (Review Essay). *Journal of Social History* (Spring 2003): 737–57.
- Deleuze, Gilles, "Coldness and Cruelty." *Masochism*, New York: Zone Books, 1991 [1969].
- Dellamora, Richard. *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.
- Dickens, Charles. *Bleak House*. New York: Penguin, 1972 [1853].
- . *Letters of Charles Dickens*, Vol. 11. Edited by Madeleine House, Graham Storey, Kathleen Tillotson, Margaret Brown. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- . *Little Dorrit*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982 [1857].
- . *Martin Chuzzlewit*. New York: Signet, 1963 [1844].
- . *Sketches by Boz*. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1999. [1836].

- Dowling, Linda. *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Doyle, Arthur Conan. *Through the Magic Door*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, & Co. 1923.
- Edwards, P.D. "Introduction." *Aurora Floyd*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. vii–xxii.
- Eliot, George. *The George Eliot Letters*. 9 vols. Edited by G. Haight. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954–78.
- . "Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Dred*, Charles Reade's *It Is Never Too Late to Mend* and Frederika Brenner's *Hertha*." *Selected Essays, Poems, and other Writings*. Edited by A.S. Byatt and Nicholas Warren. London: Penguin, 1989: 378–88.
- . "Natural History of German Life." *Selected Essays, Poems, and other Writings*. Edited by A.S. Byatt and Nicholas Warren. London: Penguin, 1989: 107–39.
- Elwin, Malcolm. *Charles Reade: A Biography*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1936.
- Eribon, Didier. *Insult and the Making of the Gay Self*. Translated by Michael Lucey. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- . *Michel Foucault*. Translated by Betsy Wing. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Faderman, Lillian. *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendships and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present*. New York: William Morrow, 1998 [1981].
- Felber, Lynette. "The Literary Portrait as Centerfold: Fetishism in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret*." *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Sept. 2007): 471–88.
- Fielding, Henry. *The Female Husband*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960.
- Finkelstein, David. "A Woman Hater and Women Healers: John Blackwood, Charles Reade, and the Victorian Women's Medical Movement." *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Winter 1995): 330–52.
- Flint, Kate. *The Woman Reader, 1837–1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Foldy, Michael. *The Trials of Oscar Wilde*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Foucault, Michel. *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France 1974–1975*. Translated by Graham Burchell, New York: Picador, 2003.
- . *Archaeology of Knowledge*. Translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.
- . *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage, 1979.
- . *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1, An Introduction*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Pantheon, 1978.
- . *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. Translated by Richard Howard. New York: Pantheon, 1988.

- Foucault, Michel. *Mental Illness and Psychology*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Harper, 1954.
- . “Politics and Ethics: An Interview.” Translated by Catherine Porter. In *The Foucault Reader*. Edited by Paul Rabinow. New York: Pantheon, 1984.
- . *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*. Edited by Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon, 1980.
- . “Preface.” *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983. xi–xiv.
- . *Remarks on Marx: Conversations with Duccio Trobadori*. Translated by R. James Goldstein and James Cascaito. New York: Semiotext(e), 1991.
- . *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975–1976*. Edited by Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana. Translated by Françoise Ewald and Alessandro Fontana. New York: Picador, 2003.
- . “What Is Enlightenment?” Translated by Catherine Porter. In *The Foucault Reader*. Edited by Paul Rabinow. New York: Pantheon, 1984.
- Freccero, Carla. *Queer/Early/Modern*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Golden, Catherine. *Images of the Woman Reader in Nineteenth-Century British and American Fiction*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.
- Gravatt, Denise Hunter. “‘A rod of Flexible steel in that little hand’: Female Dominance and Male Masochism in Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s *Aurora Floyd*,” in *Straight Writ Queer: Non-normative Heterosexual Desire in Literature*. Edited by Richard Fantina. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006. 109–23.
- Griest, Guinevere L. *Mudie’s Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970.
- Grigsby, Ann. “Charles Reade’s *Hard Cash*: Lunacy Reform through Sensationalism.” *Dickens Studies Annual*, Vol. 25 (1996): 141–58.
- Halberstam, Judith. *Female Masculinity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Halperin, David M. “How to Do the History of Homosexuality.” *GLQ*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2000): 87–122.
- . *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Hall, Donald E. *Fixing Patriarchy: Feminism and Mid-Victorian Male Novelists*. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Hammet, Michael. “Introduction.” *Plays by Charles Reade*. Edited by Michael Hammet. London: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 1–37.
- Harrison, Kimberly. “Political Persuasion in Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s *The Octoroon, or the Lily of Louisiana*.” In *Victorian Sensations: Essays on a Scandalous Genre*. Edited by Kimberly Harrison and Richard Fantina. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006: 212–24.

- Harrison, Kimberly, and Richard Fantina (eds.). *Victorian Sensations: Essays on a Scandalous Genre*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006.
- Hays, Michael. "Representing Empire: Class, Culture, and the Popular Theatre in the Nineteenth Century." *Imperialism and Theatre*. Edited by J. Ellen Gainor. London and New York: Routledge, 1995. 132–47.
- Hegarty, Peter and Cheryl Chase. "Intersex Activism, Feminism and Psychology." In *Queer Theory: Readings in Cultural Criticism*. Edited by Iain Morland and Annabelle Willcox. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005. 70–80.
- Henderson, Ian. "Jacky-Kalingalooonga: Aboriginality, Audience Reception and Charles Reade's *It Is Never Too Late to Mend* (1865)." *Theatre Research International*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (July 2004): 95–110.
- Hill, Jen. "Examining Women: Charles Reade's *A Woman Hater*, Lesbian Contagion, and the Debate on Medical Education for Women." Paper presented at the Victorians Institute Conference, Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2000.
- . Post to Victoria listserv, Victoria Archives, June 4, 2003, <LISTSERV@indiana.edu>
- House, E.H. "Anecdotes of Charles Reade," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 60, No. 360 (Oct. 1887): 525–39.
- . "Personal Characteristics of Charles Reade." *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 60, No. 358 (Aug. 1887): 145–57.
- Howells, William Dean. *Heroines of Fiction*, Vol. II. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1903.
- Huggins, Nathan. *Harlem Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Hughes, Winifred. *The Maniac in the Cellar*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- James, Henry. *Notes and Reviews: A Series of Twenty-Five Papers Hitherto Unpublished in Book Form*. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1968.
- Jex-Blake, Sophia, "Speech for admission to the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, 1871." *The Englishwoman's Review* (April 1871). *Women of Hastings and St. Leonards*. Website by Helena Wojtczak <<http://www.hastingspress.co.uk/history/19/sjbspeech.htm>> Jan. 16, 2005.
- Kendrick, Walter. M. "The Sensationalism of *The Woman in White*." *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (June 1977): 18–35.
- Korobkin, Laura Hanft. "Silent Woman, Speaking Fiction: Charles Reade's *Griffith Gaunt* [1866] at the Adultery Trial of Henry Ward Beecher." In *The New Nineteenth Century: Feminist Reading of Underread Victorian Novels* by Barbara Harman. New York, London: Garland, 1996. 45–62.
- Krafft-Ebing, Richard von. *Psychopathia Sexualis*. New York: G.P. Putnam & Sons, 1965 [1886].
- Kushnier, Jennifer S. "Educating Boys to Be Queer: Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret*." In *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 30, No. 1. Cambridge University Press, 2002: 61–75.

- Le Fanu, Joseph Sheridan. "Carmilla." *In a Glass Darkly*. Herefordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1995 [1872].
- Levy, Anita. *Other Women: The Writing of Class, Race, and Gender, 1832–1898*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Lockhart, John Gibson. *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott. Bart.: A New Edition, Vol. IV*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1861.
- Loesberg, Jonathan. "The Ideology of Narrative Form in Sensation Fiction." *Representations*, Vol. 13 (Winter 1986): 115–38.
- Lott, Eric. "Love and Theft: The Racial Unconscious of Blackface Minstrelsy." *Representations*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (July 1992): 23–50.
- Mallon, Thomas. *Stolen Words: Forays into the Origins and Ravages of Plagiarism*. New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1989.
- Mansel, H.L. (unsigned). "Sensation Novels." *The Quarterly Review*, Vol. 113, No. 226 (April 1863): 482–514.
- McCandless, Peter. "Liberty and Lunacy: The Victorians and Wrongful Confinement." *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Spring 1978): 366–86.
- McCarthy, Justin. "Charles Reade." *Modern Leaders: Being a Series of Biographical Sketches*. New York: Sheldon, 1872. 192–201. Reprinted on *The Victorian Web*, <<http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/rea/mccarthy.html>> 18 Aug. 2006.
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington. *Critical and Historical Essays* contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, 5th edition in 3 vols. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1883.
- Meyer, Susan. "'Safely to Their Borders': Proto-Zionism, Feminism, and Nationalism in Daniel Deronda." *ELH*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (Fall 1993): 733–58.
- Miller, D.A. *Narrative and Its Discontents*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- . *The Novel and the Police*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Moscucci, Ornella, "Clitoridectomy, circumcision and the politics of sexual pleasure in mid-Victorian Britain." *Sexualities in Victorian Britain*. Edited by Andrew H. Miller and James Eli Adams. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1996.
- Nayder, Lillian. "Agents of Empire in *The Woman in White*." *Victorian Newsletter*, Vol. 83 (Spring 1993): 1–7.
- . "Rebellious Sepoys and Bigamous Wives: The Indian Mutiny and Marriage Law Reform in *Lady Audley's Secret*." *Beyond Sensation: Mary Elizabeth Braddon in Context*. Edited by Marlene Tromp, Pamela K. Gilbert, Aeron Haynie. Albany: SUNY Press, 2000. 31–42.
- . *Unequal Partners: Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins, and Victorian Authorship*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.
- . *Wilkie Collins*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1997.
- Nemesvari, Richard. "'Judged by a Purely Literary Standard': Sensation Fiction, Horizons of Expectation, and the Generic Construction of

- Victorian Realism." *Victorian Sensations: Essays on a Scandalous Genre*. Edited by Kimberly Harrison and Richard Fantina. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006: 15–28.
- . "The Mark of the Brotherhood: The Foreign Other and Homosexual Panic in *The Woman in White*." *English Studies in Canada*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Dec. 2002): 603–27.
- . "Robert Audley's Secret: Male Homosocial Desire and 'Going Straight' in Lady Audley's Secret." *Straight With a Twist: Queer Theory and the Subject of Heterosexuality*. Edited by Calvin Thomas. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000. 109–21.
- Nemesvari, Richard, and Lisa Surridge. "Introduction." *Aurora Floyd*. Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 1998.
- Oliphant, Margaret (unsigned). "Novels." *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (Sept. 1867): 257–80.
- Orwell, George, Sonja Orwell, and Ian Angus. "Charles Reade." First published: *New Statesman and Nation*. London: Aug. 17, 1940. Reprinted *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*. Jaffrey, NH: David R. Godine Publisher, 2000 [1968]: 34–37.
- Page, Norman (ed.). *Wilkie Collins: The Critical Heritage*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974.
- Palmeri, Frank. "Cruikshank, Thackeray, and the Victorian Eclipse of Satire," *SEL*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Autumn 2003): 753–77.
- Peters, Catherine. *The King of Inventors: A Life of Wilkie Collins*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Phillips, Walter C. *Dickens, Reade, Collins: Sensation Novelists*. New York and London: Garland, 1979 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1919].
- Poovey, Mary. "Forgotten Writers, Neglected Histories: Charles Reade and the Nineteenth-Century Transformation of the British Literary Field." *ELH*, Vol. 71, No. 2 (Summer 2004): 433–53.
- Rae, G. Fraser (unsigned). "Sensation Novelists: Miss Braddon," *North British Review*, 43 (1865): 180–204.
- Rance, Nicholas. *Wilkie Collins and Other Sensation Novelists*, Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1991.
- Reade, Charles. "Androgynism; or Woman Playing at Man." *The English Review*, Vol. 9, Nos. 1–2 (Aug.–Sept. 1911): 10–29, 191–212.
- . "Charles Reade's Opinion of Himself and of George Eliot." *Bookman*, Vol. 18 (1903): 252–60.
- . *Christie Johnstone in The Works of Charles Reade in Sixteen Volumes: Peg Woffington and Other Stories*. New York: P.F. Collier & Son. N.D. [1853].
- . *The Cloister and the Hearth, or Maid, Wife, and Widow*. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869 [1861].
- . (with Dion Boucicault) *Foul Play. Works of Charles Reade*, Vol. 4. New York: Collier, n.d. [1868].

- . *Griffith Gaunt; or, Jealousy*. Boston, Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869 [1866].
- . *Hard Cash: A Matter-of-Fact Romance*. Boston, Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869 [1863].
- . *It Is Never Too Late to Mend: A Matter-of-Fact Romance*. Boston, Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869 [1856].
- . *It Is Never Too Late to Mend. Plays by Charles Reade*. Edited by Michael Hammet. London: Cambridge University Press, 1986 [1865].
- . *Masks and Faces Plays by Charles Reade*. Edited by Michael Hammet. London: Cambridge University Press, 1986 [1852].
- . *A Perilous Secret*. London: Chatto and Windus. 1904 [1886].
- . “Propria Quae Maribus” (“The Bloomer”). *Works of Charles Reade*, Vol. 4. New York: Collier, N.D. [1857].
- . *Put Yourself in His Place*. New York: P.F. Collier & Son, n.d. [1870].
- . *Readiana. Works of Charles Reade*, Vol. 9. New York: Collier, n.d. [1882].
- . *A Simpleton: A Story of the Day*. New York: P.F. Collier & Son, n.d. [1873].
- . *A Terrible Temptation: A Story of the Day*. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1871.
- . *The Wandering Heir*. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1872.
- . *A Woman-Hater: A Novel*. New York: Norman L. Munro Publisher. n.d. [1877].
- Reade, Charles L. and Compton Reade. *Charles Reade, D.C.L., Dramatist, Novelist, Journalist: A Memoir Compiled Chiefly from His Literary Remains*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887.
- Rives, Leone. *Charles Reade: sa vie, ses romans*. Paris: Imprimerie Toulousaine, 1940.
- Roberts, Andrew. *The Lunacy Commission*. 1981 on Middlesex University website, <<http://www.mdx.ac.uk/www/study/01.htm>> London. 21 Oct. 2006.
- Roberts, Lewis. “Trafficking in Literary Authority: Mudie’s Select Library and the Commodification of the Victorian Novel.” *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 34 (2006): 1–25.
- Roberts, Shirley. *Sophia Jex-Blake: A Woman Pioneer in Nineteenth-Century Medical Reform*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Rosenman, Ellen Bayuk. “‘Mimic Sorrows’: Masochism and the Gendering of Pain in Victorian Melodrama.” *Studies in the Novel*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Spring 2003): 22–43.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.
- . *The Question of Palestine*. New York: Times Books, 1980.
- Sala, George Augustus. “The Cant of Modern Criticism.” *Belgravia*, Nov. 1867. *Aurora Floyd*, Mary Elizabeth Braddon. Edited by Richard Nemesvari and Lisa Surridge. Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 1998: 607–19.

- al-Salim, Farid. "Upper Class Victorians and the Quest for a Jewish Homeland." Paper presented at the 16th Middle East History and Theory Conference, University of Chicago, May 11–12, 2001. <http://cas.uchicago.edu/workshops/mehat/past_conferences/PapersWeb.html>
- Schroeder, Natalie. "Feminine Sensationalism, Eroticism, and Self-Assertion: M.E. Braddon and Ouida." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, Vol. 7 (1988): 87–103.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Siegel, Carol. *Male Masochism, Modern Revisions of the Story of Love*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Smith, Elton E. *Charles Reade*. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1976.
- Stamp, Gavin, "In carceri." *Apollo*, Vol. 160, No. 510 (Aug. 2004): 84–85.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.
- Studlar, Gaylyn. *In the Realm of Pleasure: von Sternberg, Dietrich, and the Masochistic Aesthetic*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- SurrIDGE, Lisa. "Unspeakable Histories: Hester Dethridge and the Narration of Domestic Violence in *Man and Wife*," *Victorian Review*, Vol. 22 (1996): 161–85.
- Sutcliffe, Emerson Grant. "Charles Reade and His Heroes." *Trollopian*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Mar. 1946): 3–15.
- . "Charles Reade's Notebooks." *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (1930): 64–109.
- . "Foemina Vera in Charles Reade's Novels." *PMLA*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (Dec. 1931): 1260–79.
- . "Unique and Repeated Situations and Themes in Reade's Fiction." *PMLA*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (Mar. 1945): 221–30.
- Sutherland, John. *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2006.
- Suzuki, Mihoko. *Subordinate Subjects: Gender, the Political Nation, and Literary Form in England, 1588–1688*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Swinburne, Algernon Charles. "Charles Reade," *The Complete Works of Algernon Charles Swinburne, Bonchurch Edition, Vol. XIV*. New York: Russel and Russel, 1925: 346–75.
- Takei, Akiko. "Miss Havisham and Victorian Psychiatry." *Japan Branch Bulletin of the Dickens Fellowship*, No. 25 (Oct. 2002): 39–54.
- Tatz, Colin. "Genocide in Australia," *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Nov. 1999): 315–52.
- Taylor, Gary. *Castration: An Abbreviated History of Western Manhood*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Taylor, Jenny Bourne. *In the Secret Theatre of Home: Wilkie Collins, Sensation Narrative, and Nineteenth-Century Psychology*. London and New York: Routledge, 1988.

- Terry, Ellen. *The Story of My Life*. New York: Schocken Books, 1982 (1908).
- Thackeray, William Makepeace. *Catherine: A Story, Little Travels, The Fitz-Boodle Papers, etc., etc.* London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1869.
- . “Preface.” *The History of Pendennis*. Edited by John Sutherland. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. lv–lvii.
- . *Vanity Fair*. London: Penguin, 1985.
- Thompson, Nicola. “‘Virile’ Creation Versus ‘Twaddlers Tame and Soft’: Gender and the Reception of Charles Reade’s *It Is Never Too Late to Mend*.” *Victorians Institute Journal*, Vol. 23 (1995): 193–218.
- Todd, Margaret. *The Life of Sophia Jex-Blake*. London: Macmillan, 1918.
- Tompkins, J.M.S. “Review of *Charles Reade: sa vie, ses romans*.” *The Review of English Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 67 (July 1941): 363–66.
- Traub, Valerie. *Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England*. London: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Trollope, Anthony. *An Autobiography*, Vol. II. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1883.
- . *Barchester Towers*. London: Penguin, 1987 [1857].
- . *The Warden*. London: Oxford University Press, 1998 [1855].
- Vicinus, Martha. “‘Helpless and Unfriended’: Nineteenth-Century Domestic Melodrama.” *New Literary History*, Vol. 13, No. 1, On Convention: I (Autumn 1981): 127–43.
- . *Intimate Friends, Women Who Loved Women: 1778–1928*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Walkowitz, Judith. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Wilde, Oscar. *De Profundis, The Ballad of Reading Gaol & Other Writings*. London: Wordsworth Classics, 2002.
- Willis, Chris. “Mary Elizabeth Braddon and the Literary Marketplace: A Study in Commercial Authorship.” *The Mary Elizabeth Braddon Website*. 1998. <<http://www.chriswillis.freemove.co.uk/meb2.html>>
- Wintle, Sarah. “George Eliot’s Peculiar Passion.” *Essays in Criticism: A Quarterly Journal of Literary Criticism*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Jan. 2000): 23–43.
- Wojtczak, Helena. *Notable Women of Victorian Hastings* website, <<http://www.hastingspress.co.uk/history/19/jex.htm>>: Jan. 16, 2005.
- Wolff, Robert Lee. “Devoted Disciple: The Letters of Mary Elizabeth Braddon to Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 1862–1873.” *Harvard Library Bulletin*, Vol. 22 (1974): 1–35, 129–61.



Index

- Adam Bede* (1859) 3, 22, 23, 163
Ainsworth, Harrison 12, 20, 171n
al-Salim, Farid 157, 198
Altick, Richard 15, 17, 189
“*Androgynism*” 7, 81, 85, 88, 89, 91,
92, 99, 101, 103–6, 115, 162, 163,
179n, 183n, 196
Archaeology of Knowledge 4, 192
Archibald, Diana C. 83, 84, 189
Archive of Feelings, An 104, 191
Argosy 28, 132
Armada (1866) 8, 26, 30, 38, 50,
143, 158, 159, 171n, 191
Athenaeum 25, 131, 165n
Atlantic Monthly, The 28, 132, 133,
184n, 194
Auerbach, Nina 135, 189
Aurora Floyd 3, 77, 26, 38, 123, 125–27,
129, 130, 131, 136–41, 143, 144–46,
163, 173n, 185n, 189, 190, 192, 193,
196, 198
Austen, Jane 12, 20
Aytoun, W.H. 111

Bachman, Maria E. 13, 165n, 189
Baldrige, Cates 51, 175n, 189
Barbaster Towers (1857) 22, 199
Belgravia (periodical) 129, 168n, 198
Belsey, Catherine 78, 190
Bentham, Jeremy 56, 57
Besant, Walter 2, 84, 85, 164, 178n,
179n, 190
Bhabha, Homi 154, 190
Blackwood, John 83, 110, 111, 112,
113, 114, 181n, 192, 199
Blackwood's 26, 83, 110–12, 130,
189, 196
Bleak House (1853) 2, 3, 23, 25, 86, 191
“*Bloomer, The*” (1857) 7, 86, 115, 116,
118, 119, 120, 163, 197
Booth, Michael 19, 190
Booth, William D. 33, 34,
169n, 186n
Boucicoult, Dion 7, 121, 158, 197
Bourdieu, Pierre 6, 13, 14, 17, 29, 30,
47, 190
Bowdler, Henrietta 78
Braddon, Mary Elizabeth 1, 3, 8, 12,
13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 27, 30, 31, 38, 49,
63, 106, 125, 126, 129, 131, 138, 139,
140, 142, 143, 145, 146, 160, 168n,
184n, 186n, 189, 190, 191, 196,
198, 199
Brandabur, Clare 158
Brandt, Margaret 77, 83, 159, 186n
Brantlinger, Patrick 12, 132, 147,
155, 190
Brody, Jennifer DeVere 105, 106, 190
Brooks, Peter 18, 19, 190
Broughton, Rhoda 12
Bulwer Lytton, Edward 20, 131
Burns, Wayne 8, 20, 24, 30, 82, 144,
151, 152, 158, 159, 166n, 167n,
185n, 190
Butler, Judith 7, 91, 92, 94, 106,
190, 191

Carlyle, Thomas 24, 38, 52, 147
“*Carmilla*” (1872) 3, 28, 50, 172n,
172, 195

- Carnell, Jennifer 17, 18, 191
 Casey, Ellen Miller 3, 140, 191
 Castle, Terry 98, 103, 166n,
 180n, 191
Catherine (1840) 21, 26
Christian Remembrancer 11
Christie Johnstone 22, 24, 25, 86, 109,
 118, 119, 162, 166n, 167n, 197
Cloister and the Hearth, The (1861) 1,
 22, 24, 27, 30, 36, 39, 51, 77, 83, 125,
 126, 131, 132, 134, 141, 143, 144,
 162, 163, 169n, 186n, 197
 Coleman, John 8, 33, 34, 85, 131, 132,
 152, 182n, 183n, 185n, 191
 Collins, Wilkie 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 12, 13, 16,
 18, 21, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 38,
 49, 50, 51, 85, 131, 142, 143, 146,
 158, 159, 165n, 166n, 168n, 169n,
 171n, 184n, 186n, 189, 191, 196, 199
 Conan Doyle, Sir Arthur 77, 192
 Conolly, Dr. John 73, 74, 176n
 Contagious Disease Acts 77, 80, 81,
 102, 135
 Cornwallis, Kinahan 35, 132, 191
 Cox, Don Richard 13, 165n
Cream (1858) 26, 167n
 Cregan-Reid, Vybarr 118, 119, 191
 Criminal Law Amendment Bill 80,
 114
 Cvetkovich, Anne 7, 104, 174n, 191

Daniel Deronda (1876) 23, 129, 157,
 158, 173n, 190, 195
David Copperfield 38, 126, 150
Dead Secret, The (1857) 23, 27, 191
 Defoe, Daniel 63
 Deleuze, Gilles 45, 140, 144, 186n,
 191, 193
 Dellamora, Richard 122, 191
 Dickens, Charles 2, 3, 15, 16–18, 21,
 22, 24, 27, 29, 30–32, 36, 38, 52,
 73–75, 84, 115, 118, 134–36, 145,
 150, 160, 165, 168n, 169n, 176n,
 177n, 184n, 186n, 190, 191, 193,
 196n, 198
Discipline and Punish (1979) 6, 39, 40,
 41, 42, 45, 46, 49, 52, 54, 59, 61,
 63, 171n, 187n, 192
 Dowling, Linda 122, 192
 Du Cane, Sir Edmund 59

East Lynne (1861) 3, 128, 145
 Edwards, P.D. 3, 126, 139, 146, 192
 Eliot, George 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 15, 17, 20,
 21, 31, 29, 36, 37, 129, 131, 137, 152,
 157, 158, 169n, 184n, 185n, 192, 196
 Elwin, Malcom 8, 16, 32, 33, 37, 59,
 83, 84, 110, 111, 113, 137, 168n, 169n

 Faderman, Lillian 7, 91, 93, 192
 Fahrenstock, Jeanne 128, 129, 130,
 145, 146
 Felber, Lynette 128, 192
Female Husband, The (1746) 98, 103,
 180n, 191, 192
Field, The (periodical) 137, 138, 189
 Fielding, Henry 20, 28, 31, 98,
 103, 192
 Finkelstein, David 109, 110, 111, 112,
 113, 114, 181n, 192
 Flint, Kate 26, 126, 138, 167n, 192
 Forster, John 30, 73, 74
 Foucault, Michel 4–7, 39, 40–46,
 48, 49, 51, 52, 54–57, 59, 61, 62,
 64–67, 77–79, 82, 83, 85–87, 91,
 153, 170n 171n, 177n, 187n, 192, 193
Foul Play (1868) 7, 81, 121, 122, 123,
 158, 162, 163, 197
 Freccero, Carla 179n, 193
 Freud, Sigmund 80, 137, 140

 Girard, Rene 145, 187n
 Gissing, George 146, 163, 173n
Gold 52, 151
 Golden, Catherine 26, 167n, 193
 Gravatt, Denise H. 140, 141, 193
Great Expectations (1861) 16, 142
 Green, Thomas 89, 90
 Griest, Guinevere 26, 167n,
 168n, 193

- Griffith Gaunt* (1866) 1, 7, 23, 27–31, 33, 82, 83, 85, 86, 110, 115, 123, 125–28, 130, 132, 133–36, 138, 139, 143–46, 163, 169n, 173n, 185n, 186n, 194, 197
- Grigsby, Ann 75, 179n, 193
- Halberstam, Judith 7, 88, 93, 94, 95, 102, 103, 104, 106, 109, 193
- Halfpenny Journal* 16, 17
- Hall, Donald E. 102, 135, 174, 181n, 193
- Halperin, David M. 7, 49, 45, 80, 122, 170n, 193
- Hammet, Michael 9, 85, 193, 197
- Hard Cash* (1863) 1, 2, 6, 24, 27, 38, 39, 41, 45, 51, 62–64, 66–68, 70, 72–75, 79, 83, 86, 109, 119, 147–49, 163, 168n, 170n, 190, 193, 197
- Harrison, Kimberly 17, 20, 193, 194, 196
- Hays, Michael 150, 151, 153, 159, 194
- Heart and Science* (1883) 3, 191
- Heller, Tamar 3
- Henderson, Ian 152, 154, 194
- Hide and Seek* (1854) 23, 24, 191
- Hill, Jen 114, 181
- History of Sexuality, The, Vol. 1* 46, 78–80, 187n, 192, 198
- Howells, William Dean 77, 194
- Huggins, Nathan 154, 194
- Hughes, Winifred 3, 19, 77, 102, 111, 129, 134, 144, 194
- Intimate Friends* (2003) 105, 199
- It Is Never Too Late to Mend* (1856) 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 33, 37–39, 51, 55, 84, 147, 167n, 170n, 176n, 182n, 192, 194, 197, 199
- Jack Sheppard* (1840) 20, 21, 171n
- James, Henry 1, 129, 151, 164, 190
- Kahn, Heinrich 81, 82, 178n
- Kendrick, Walter M. 12, 194
- Korobkin, Laura Hanft 77, 85, 194
- Krafft-Ebing, Richard von 80, 82, 87, 140, 178n, 194
- Lady Audley's Secret* (1861) 23, 26, 27, 28, 50, 63, 118, 128, 130, 145, 168n, 173n, 185n, 190, 192, 195, 196
- Langford, John 83, 110
- Le Fanu, Sheridan 12, 195
- Levy, Anita 80, 81, 177, 195
- Lewis, Matthew 20
- Living Age* 22, 189
- Loesberg, Jonathan 12, 195
- Longworth, Theresa 129
- Lott, Eric 152, 195
- Madness and Civilization* (1965) 6, 39, 41, 46, 54, 63, 64, 66, 187n, 192
- Mallon, Thomas 34, 195
- Man and Wife* (1870) 3, 27, 165n, 191, 198
- Mansel, Henry 23, 128, 129, 195
- Maquet, Auguste 34
- Martin Chuzzlewit* (1842) 31, 32, 191
- Masks and Faces* (1852) 105, 120, 181n, 197
- Maunder, Andrew 3
- Mayhew, Henry 80, 177n
- McCandless, Peter 63, 195
- McCarthy, Justin 15, 21, 22, 32, 36, 59, 195
- Melodramatic Imagination, The* (1976) 18, 190
- Memoir* 8, 32, 40, 60, 62, 166n, 167n, 181n, 182n, 183n, 184n, 187n, 197
- Mental Illness and Psychology* (1953) 39, 63, 64, 193
- Meyer, Susan 157, 158, 195
- Middlemarch* (1871) 2, 23, 134, 137
- Miller, D.A. 3, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 147, 168n, 170n, 171n, 173n, 174n, 175n, 195
- Monthly Review* 15
- Moonstone, The* 8, 48, 49, 72, 158, 159, 191

- Morley, Henry 59
 Mudie, Charles 25, 26, 167n, 168n
 Mudie's Select Library 22
My Miscellanies 16, 191
- Nayder, Lillian 86, 176n, 195
 Nemesvari, Richard 12, 27, 137, 168n,
 174n, 175n, 189, 190, 196, 198
Never Too Late 40, 41, 42, 44, 45,
 51–53, 55, 56, 59, 60, 62, 63, 66, 75,
 86, 144, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 155,
 156, 159, 162
 Newgate novels 12, 20, 21, 44, 46,
 131, 176n, 177n
No Name (1862) 23, 26, 27, 30, 38, 50,
 171n, 172n, 173n, 191
Novel and the Police, The (1989) 7, 46,
 47, 195
- Octoroon, The* (1861) 16, 17, 158, 193
 Oliphant, Margaret 16, 20, 26, 130,
 131, 157, 187n, 196
Oliver Twist (1837–1839) 16, 20, 21, 163
 Ouida 8, 198
- Pall Mall Gazette* 25, 30, 35, 90, 168n
 Palmeri, Frank 30, 196
Peg Woffington (1852) 25, 105, 120,
 162, 181n, 197
Perilous Secret, A 118, 162, 197
 Peters, Catherine 24, 146, 165n,
 166n, 185n, 196
 Phillips, Walter C. 4, 5, 11, 16, 20,
 21, 24, 25, 74, 75, 196
 Poovey, Mary 6, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23,
 25, 33, 47, 132, 164, 169n, 179n, 196
Put Yourself in His Place (1868) 2, 119,
 163, 166n, 187n, 197
- Quarterly Review* 15, 128, 195
- Rae, W. Fraser 129, 196
Ralph the Heir (1872) 35, 131
 Reade, Charles Liston 8, 179n
- Reade, Compton 8, 32, 183n, 184n,
 187n, 197
Readiana 3, 4, 16, 24, 29, 33, 53, 64,
 73, 83, 157, 162, 169n, 176n, 197
 Rich, Adrienne 87
 Roberts, Andrew 73, 197
 Roberts, Lewis 167n, 197
 Roberts, Shirley 197
Rookwood (1834) 12, 20
 Rosenman, Ellen Bayuk 19, 168n,
 197
Round Table 28, 29, 132, 133, 186n
 Ruskin, John 38, 52, 147, 160, 185n
- Said, Edward 147, 158, 159, 160, 198
 Sala, George Augustus 129, 198
Saturday Review 21, 22
 Schroeder, Natalie 3, 139, 168n, 198
 Scott, Walter 12, 181n, 196
 Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky 145,
 186n, 198
Selected Essays (George Eliot) 2, 5, 17,
 37, 152, 192
 Sensation fiction 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13,
 14, 17, 20, 23, 29, 33, 46, 49, 123,
 128, 130, 147, 162
 Sensation novels 5, 19, 22, 23, 24, 27,
 36, 49, 51, 82, 128, 130, 139, 162,
 171n, 173n
 Seymour, Laura 120, 137, 157, 180n,
 182n, 183n, 184n, 185n
 Siegel, Carol 142, 186n, 198
Silas Marner (1861) 23, 167n
Simpleton, A (1873) 8, 119, 120, 143,
 147, 148, 149, 155, 186n, 197
 Smith, Eliot E. 1, 8, 27, 35, 36, 85, 131
 Smith, Elton E. 85, 100, 144, 198
 Smollett, Tobias 20, 28
 Stamp, Gavin 60, 198
 Sterne, Laurence 20, 28
 Stonestreet, G.C. 80, 177n
 Stoler, Ann Laura 150, 198
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher 61, 133, 148,
 158, 192

- Studlar, Galyn 144, 186n, 198
 Surridge, Lisa 137, 165, 189n, 190,
 196, 198
 Sutcliffe, Grant 55, 89, 151, 158,
 190, 198
 Sutherland, John 1, 73, 74, 75, 82,
 178n, 198
 Suzuki, Mihoko 78, 198
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles 1, 115,
 134, 136, 198

 Tatz, Colin 153, 199
 Taylor, Gary 78, 199
 Taylor, Jenny Bourne 3, 74,
 176n, 199
 Taylor, Tom 181n
Terrible Temptation, A (1871) 2, 16, 23,
 27, 30–32, 37, 81, 83, 161, 162,
 169n, 173n, 178n, 193
 Thompson, Nicola 84, 85, 178n
 179n, 199
 Tichborne Affair 107, 109, 181n
 Tillotson, Kathleen 3, 191
 Todd, Margaret 112, 199
 Tozer, Kate 92, 99, 105, 159, 163
 Transvestism 83, 89, 91
 Traub, Valerie 94, 95, 180n, 199
 Trollope, Anthony 2, 15, 17, 21, 24,
 27, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 84, 131, 199
 Tuke, William 41, 64, 65, 73

Uncle Tom's Cabin 61, 148, 156

Vanity Fair (1848) 21, 25, 30, 163, 199
 Vicinus, Martha 19, 70, 103, 105
 Victoria, Queen 61, 114, 115,
 181n, 194
Vixen (1879) 140, 143, 163, 190

 Walkowitz, Judith 80, 178, 180,
 186n, 199
Wandering Heir, The (1872) 7, 8, 91,
 94, 106, 109, 120, 126, 143, 147,
 155, 156, 197
Westminster Review 11, 37, 189
White Lies (1857) 16, 34
 Wilde, Oscar 60, 82, 105, 122,
 175n, 177n, 178n, 180n, 185n,
 192, 199
 Willis, Chris 139, 186n, 199
 Wintle, Sarah 137, 199
Woman-Hater, A (1876) 2, 81, 84, 95,
 109–15, 119, 120, 121, 163, 197
Woman in White, The 22, 27, 28, 48,
 49–51, 128, 171n, 173n, 174n, 175n,
 191, 194, 195, 196
 Wood, Ellen 3, 28, 58

 Yelverton Case 128, 129

 Zola, Emile 34