

NOTES

Introduction

1. Frank Whitson Fetter's foundational *Development of British Monetary Orthodoxy, 1797–1875* usefully summarizes the situation. The years between 1790 and 1796 saw no prosecutions for forgeries of Bank of England notes, but between 1797 and 1815 there were 257 capital convictions, in addition to 321 convictions for possession. While in 1806 barely 3,000 forged notes were presented to the Bank, by 1817 that number had grown to nearly 29,000, of which only 839 were of denominations over £2. Between 1816 and the first two months of 1818 there were 56 capital convictions and 200 convictions for possession (71–72). Paul Baines discusses how forgery became “more decisively criminalized” (7) from Elizabeth I's reign onward.
2. The controversy regarding forgery legislation grew to a high pitch in the 1820s and 1830s, particularly as jurors became increasingly unwilling to convict, knowing well the weight of the sentence attached to convictions (Brigham 340–43). In 1832 the Forgery Act and Coinage Offences Act abolished capital punishment for all such offenses, except forgery of wills and powers of attorney to transfer stock; capital punishment for these latter two offenses was abolished by the Forgery Act of 1837 (Gatrell 618; Philips 233). However, Gatrell points out that embezzlement by servants of the Bank of England remained a capital crime until 1861, when treason and murder alone remained statutory capital offenses (618). The last public execution took place in 1868.
3. As the work of Martha Woodmansee and Mark Rose has shown, issues of aesthetics and economics sharply converge in debates over plagiarism, piracy, copyright, and the status of authorship. See also Ian Haywood's *The Making of History*, Margaret Russett, Susan Stewart, and Kathryn Temple.
4. Randall McGowen's work has been critical in redressing this situation, illuminating forgery's relationship to the development of criminal law and to broader cultural questions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
5. Considering the case of Dr. William Dodd, along with those of such infamous literary forgers as William Henry Ireland and Thomas Chatterton, Paul Baines's *The House of Forgery in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (1999) considers forgery in relation to the aesthetic and historical contexts of the period, while offering a theoretical consideration of forgery's relationship to an emerging industrialized, capitalist state and to literary production. Ian Haywood's *Faking It* (1987) considers literary and artistic forgery in its social and historical contexts.
6. The emphasis on the creative magnetism of the forger of art and literature often illustrates, as Kathryn Temple suggests, the critical tendency “to demonize literary transgression more

- than historicize it" (9). While "histories" of fraud, fakes, swindlers, and hoaxes proliferate in popular forms to this day, they are typically more illustrative of the persistent cultural fascination with imposture and fraud of all kinds than they are pertinent to an understanding of the particular cultural complexities that contributed to the understanding of the crime. Sonia Cole's *Counterfeit* (1955) and Lance Salway's *Forgers* (1978), e.g., contain a certain amount of useful historical detail, but also exhibit a marked fascination with this particular villain. Anthony Grafton's *Forgers and Critics* (1990) and Nick Groom's *The Forger's Shadow* (2002) are among a range of works of criticism that deal especially with literary forgery (especially that of Thomas Chatterton, William Henry Ireland, and T.J. Wise). In their tendency to sensationalize the forger, such works, as Temple rightly observes, often engage in an interpretation of forgers "individually and diagnostically" (9). Grafton's hyperbolic argument that, as Temple claims, is "charged with moral fervour" (9), especially reminds us of how the discourse of forgery-as-disease continues to haunt the present: "the desire to forge, in other words, can infect almost anyone: the learned as well as the ignorant, the honest person as well as the rogue. . . . Forgery evidently tempts the virtuous as well as the weak, and had been practiced by those who condemned it most sharply" (48–49). In her recent treatment examination of the art forger, Aviva Briefel effectively scrutinizes the construction of the "forger-genius" (23), pointing out how the conventional view of the forger as a "quasi-revolutionary figure" (20) has made him the subject of much fascination. K.K. Ruthven also offers a critical examination of "the family romance of patriarchal scholarship," claiming that "monistic editorial theory is a romantic ideology of literary authorship, which conceives of the text as an autonomous object produced by an individual genius" (40). Charting a range of accounts of literary forgery, Ruthven aptly observes that "[b]y far the most common way of writing about literary forgery is to trope it as playfulness" (52).
7. Kevin McLaughlin's *Paperwork* makes many provocative links between money and nationalism, claiming that a "dominant strain" in the English imagination saw "paper as the counterfeit currency of a fraudulent Revolutionary promised land, . . . a figure of what was identified with the destructive and illegitimate 'financial revolution' of England's own origins" (14–15).
 8. It is in this context useful to clarify what I see as important distinctions between forgery and its frequent bedfellow, the counterfeit. The two terms frequently are used interchangeably, in literature, in journalism, and in common speech. This represents an overlap to which economic and legal changes have in part contributed, and a degree of fluidity I am willing to accept. Essentially, I primarily employ the term "forger" and consider this a study of "forgery," since those are the terms attached to the crime during the period of my study. Henry Mayhew, e.g., in his well-known *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861), defines forgery as "the fraudulent making or altering of a written instrument, to the detriment of another person" (IV:380). But, importantly, implicit in counterfeiting is the possibility of mass production, which carries with it a sense of anonymity: the criminal behind it is frequently unknown. For reasons I hope this study illustrates, forgery frequently connotes an individual act, a crime against an individual, such as a forged will or, indeed, a forged letter, and frequently, if not nearly always, an act of writing or (in the case of mass-printing of forged notes) a textual artifact. Making a useful distinction between plagiarism and its "antithesis," Susan Stewart identifies forgery's (here literary) crime as "an inappropriate and entirely invented *singularity*" (55). See also Margaret Russett on the distinction between counterfeiting and forgery, "the more obviously textual offense" (9).
 9. Alexander Welsh's provocative argument in *George Eliot and Blackmail* regarding the "pathology of information" (31) that informs much of the period's literature is relevant here. This pathology is grounded in the vulnerability and deceptive quality of information as symptomatic of problems in social relations. It is easier to diagnose a symptom of "illness" rather than health, and society thus exhibits a preoccupation with its various ills—crime, poverty, disease—and "crime stories tell of the system gone wrong" (Welsh 34). Like blackmail, the literary treatment of forgery is symptomatic of this tendency toward pathology,

- registering the potential disruption of an economic system increasingly dependent on the exchange of information, on paper transactions, and, by extension, the vulnerability of conventional means by which individual identity and credit are determined. Novels such as Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* (1861), Ellen Price Wood's *East Lynne* (1861), and Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862) dwell insistently on the unreliability of texts that apparently confirm identity, particularly the character and history of an upper-class individual. Such novels frequently insist on a connection between corrupt individuals who have refashioned their identities by means of falsified texts—in the form of handwriting, telegrams, newspaper advertisements, and obituaries. Braddon's *Lady Audley* perfects the art of trafficking in false images, especially her own. Like the forgery-ridden economy, print culture is thus a repository for diseased information, and, as *Lady Audley*'s "madness" shows, disease inducing. Athena Vrettos makes a convincing argument for the association between sensation fiction and the perceived "transmissibility of emotions from text to reader" (97).
10. The frequent narrative focus on the fragmented text and the fallibility of narration and testimony in nineteenth-century fiction is suggestive of what Patrick Brantlinger terms a "crisis in observation" that dominated the period (*Reading* 152). As Flint suggests, while "reproductive" technologies such as photography to a large degree "promised an enhanced role for ocular proof in modern society" (30), the mass production and dissemination of printed objects and images also undermined the reliability of interpretation. See also Nancy Armstrong.
 11. Much critical attention has thus aptly focused on Victorian literature's persistent depiction of the closeting of illicit sexual relationships and illegitimate children, that "paradigmatic skeleton in the cupboard" (Teichman 87). In "Nobody's Secret: Illegitimate Inheritance and the Uncertainties of Memory," Jenny Bourne Taylor connects illegitimacy, that "prototypical family secret" (581), to nineteenth-century psychological theories. See also Ann R. Higginbotham and Lisa Zunshine.
 12. The convergence of forgery and illegitimacy in this conceptual economy begins at the level of language. Ian Haywood and Jenny Teichman both aptly begin their studies of forgery and illegitimacy respectively with reference to the *OED*, which demonstrates the extensive linguistic connections between "forgery" and "illegitimacy," connections that are reinscribed by nineteenth-century discourse. "Forgery" is chiefly defined as "the making of a thing in fraudulent imitation of something; also, especially the forging, counterfeiting, or falsifying of a document" or "something forged, counterfeited, or fabricated; a spurious production" (Haywood, *Faking It* 6). The *OED* meanwhile defines "illegitimate" as "1. not authorized by law; irregular, improper; 2. not born in lawful wedlock, bastard; 3. not correctly deduced or inferred," and it defines "bastard" as: "1. (child) born out of wedlock or of adultery, illegitimate; 2. (of things) unauthorized, hybrid, counterfeit" (Teichman 1). The etymology of the word "adultery" also demonstrates the connection between illicit sexuality and forged reproductions. "Adultery" is derived from the Latin *adulter*, which has as its primary meaning "adulterer," but can indicate the offspring of an adulterous person, as well as the sense of "mixing wine with water," "debasement," or "diluting," from which we can see the connections to genealogy and blood lines. Yet it also has an alternative meaning: "counterfeiter of coins."
 13. In *Illegitimate Power: Bastards in Renaissance Drama*, Alison Findlay lists more than seventy plays involving bastard characters from the period 1562 to 1588.
 14. The bastard's contribution to a ruler's successional anxiety becomes most explicit when used satirically, as in Middleton's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606–07). This parodic play overtly depicts bastardy and counterfeiting as concomitant means of subverting the legitimacy of national power. The locus of substitution and deceptive exchange and imitation in the play, Vendice, the bastard son of the ruling Duke, spends most of his time "quickly turn[ing] into another" (I.ii.134), adopting the name Pialto ("plated") as part of his disguise. He

- frequently exalts in the speed and pervasiveness of spurious sexual and economic reproduction in his society, envisioning the making of bastards as a frenzied counterfeit operation where “cuckholds are a coining, apace, apace, apace, apace!” (II.ii.142). The product of “treason on the lawful bed” (iv.i.24), the bastard ultimately murders the Duke, reinforcing the position of forgery and bastardy as threats to patriarchal authority. In his discussion of *The Revenger’s Tragedy*, Michael Neill examines the way in which the female body, of course, plays a specific role in the production of this kind of disruptive force: the bastard child “could only be defined as its mother’s son. Such an offspring by his very existence constituted a challenge to the patriarchal order and its fictions of legitimate descent” (398). Such a view persists into the Victorian period.
15. Sidney Laman Blanchard’s short fictional autobiography, “A Biography of a Bad Shilling” (1851), offers a satirical counter to the counterfeit’s lack of history: The shilling “was cast, to use an appropriate metaphor, upon the world” like most of his companions who were likewise “mysteriously ushered into existence” (61) and circulates until he is ultimately discovered and nailed to a shop counter “as an example to others” (70).
 16. Apprehension about polluted economies becomes exacerbated to the point of parody in a novel such as Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897), where the mass but illegitimate control of English property threatens to dominate via a disease of the blood.
 17. As Christopher Herbert shows, social documents, such as Mayhew’s *London Labour and the London Poor* and controversial legal changes, such as the Contagious Diseases Acts, register a perceived need for social monitoring and surveillance.
 18. It is worth noting that the gendered emphasis here—on the forger’s parodic imitation of the straw *man*—is significant. The forger in nineteenth-century narratives is typically male (statistics on forgery offenses by gender generally contradict this extreme disproportionality—see F.G.P. Neison and Lucia Zedner). Examples of women forgers in literature exist, such as the elusive Lydia Gwilt, who forges letters in order to aid what amounts to an inheritance theft in Wilkie Collins’s *Armada* (1866), or Lady Mason in Trollope’s *Orley Farm* (1861), who forges a codicil to her husband’s will. At the end of the century C.J. Cutcliffe Hyne’s short story, “The Banknote Forger” lays the crime at the feet of a woman photographer. Yet like Lady Audley of *Lady Audley’s Secret* or Lady Carlyle of *East Lynne*, women tend far more frequently to be associated with generalized dissembling and deceit or identity theft. This very tendency seems to register women’s exclusion from the economic sphere and assumptions about their limited power of creative invention. Aviva Briefel takes up these issues in her discussion of art forgery and of women copyists (19–52). Presumed to lack the creative capacity of the male genius, women cannot forge, but only copy.
 19. See Philips, 230 ff.
 20. Contemporary theoretical formulations of such concepts as exchange, originality, and authenticity can aid our understanding of the forger’s exemplification of the ways in which similar notions about the circulation of legitimate bodies govern conceptions of economic and sexual interaction. Mary Poovey’s recent work on Victorian finance sets forth a particularly useful framework for approaching the relationship between the development of the modern economy and literature. In “Writing about Finance in Victorian England,” she aptly contends that “one cannot think historically without the assistance of modern theoretical paradigms because these paradigms constitute the interpretive lenses through which we know the past—through which we create what counts as knowledge about the past for us” (39). See also Poovey’s wide-ranging *Genres of the Credit Economy* (2008), as well as recent work on Victorian literature and finance by Josephine M. Guy, Nancy Henry, Tara McGann, and Nicholas Shrimpton in Frances O’Gorman’s collection, *Victorian Literature and Finance* (Oxford 2007).
 21. Identifying the “pattern of explicitly nonbiological phantasmic self-reproduction” in *Great Expectations* as symptomatic of the novel’s “genealogical lack” (181), Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt suggest that this absence opens up “novelistic space for seemingly random imaginary bonds” (181). They convincingly argue for the way in which *Great*

- Expectations* signals “the death of the plot of genealogical identity and rightful inheritance” (178) in Dickens’s writing, a plot that had occupied “stories like Tom Jones’s . . . which climax with the discovery of *who one is*” (179). These stories, they continue, had earlier “been replaced by those of Anne Eliot or Becky Sharp, who made their own destinies independently of their origins” (179).
22. In her discussion of imposture and Romanticism, Russett likewise sees the “bastard-imposter” as anticipating “his nineteenth-century successor, the ‘self-made man,’”; such figures, she claims “coalesce memorably in Heathcliff of *Wuthering Heights*, a novel she identifies as a “revival” of the “forgery-romance” of the eighteenth century (31).
 23. Others before me who have taken up the issue tend to proceed in this vein. See, e.g., Laura Elise Ciolkowski’s “Forging Femininity: Counterfeit, Craft, and the Making of Femininity.” Briefly alluding to forgery’s legal history, Ciolkowski addresses the way the “capitalist fiction of value . . . enables the forger to capitalize on the Victorian faith in appearances” (14), but primarily deploys forgery as a metaphor for understanding the construction of gender in the Victorian period, by which “a feminine visage” could be substituted “for a pure soul” (14).
 24. Like Osteen, Patrick Brantlinger, John Vernon, Marc Shell, and a range of critics in Osteen and Martha Woodmansee’s collection, *The New Economic Criticism* (1999), have made important claims about the relationship between literary and financial economies and about the currency of realism as a form. Forgery’s kinship with writing influences both the literary depiction of this crime and its perpetrator; such a depiction often reveals the Victorian writer’s increasing consciousness about the reproduction of text and the capacity of the written word to (re)produce reality—as well as money—within the Victorian literary marketplace. The forger’s connection to false or unreal forms of writing may be seen as emblematic of what Brantlinger sees as realism’s mimetic failure:

[R]ealism . . . posits the direct convertibility of reference into referent, or of a sort of paper credit (words on pages) into the gold standard of reality. . . . Yet even at its most self-confident, novelistic realism is haunted by the ghost of that failure [of mimesis], which on one level is nothing more than awareness of its debt to, or difference from the real. (*Fictions* 144)
- Peter Brooks puts it summarily: “Realist fictions labour under the burden of accusation that they are lies that don’t know it, lies that naively or mendaciously believe they are truths” (Brooks 6). If, as Brooks suggests, realism provides “the sense of being able to play with and therefore to master the real world, a way to bind and organize its energies” (228), the forger’s appearance in literature may itself illustrate authors’ awareness of the fallaciousness of that endeavor.

Chapter One

1. I take my title from a portion of a speech made by Winston Churchill, then home secretary, to the House of Commons on 20 July 1910 (xix, column 1354). Dickens’s attitude toward capital punishment anticipates the tenor of Churchill’s sentiments:

The mood and temper of the public, in regard to the treatment of crime and criminals, is one of the most unflinching tests of the civilisation of any country. A calm and dispassionate recognition of the rights of the accused against the state and even of convicted criminals against the state, a constant heart-searching by all charged with the duty of punishment, a desire and eagerness to rehabilitate in the world of industry all those who have paid their dues in the hard coinage of punishment, tireless efforts towards the discovery of curative and regenerative processes, and an unflinching faith that there is a treasure, if only you can find it, in the heart of every man—these

- are the symbols which, in the treatment of crime and criminals, mark and measure the stored-up strength of a nation, and are sign and proof of the living virtue in it.
2. On the effects of Courvoisier's execution on Dickens, see also Ackroyd, *Dickens*, 312–14.
 3. In addition to Phillip Collins, see Jeremy Tambling, John R. Reed, and Sean Grass. On Dickens's journalism and capital punishment in particular, see John M.L. Drew, 84.
 4. Commenting on the "flood" of property legislation in the eighteenth century, David Hay observes that between 1688 and 1820, "the number of capital statutes grew from about 50 to 200. Almost all of them concerned offences against property" (18). See also Leon Radzinowicz (I: 4, 148).
 5. In such a context, as Susan Stewart observes, "[P]roperty... becomes surrounded by a discourse of genealogy, production, and reception—a merger of the attributive systems for persons as well as the attributive systems for things" (16).
 6. Blackstone's influential *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–69) perhaps most strongly bear this out. As Regina Hewitt observes, "[O]ne must be struck by his emphasis on property, his celebration of property rights and property holding, and his sense that property makes legal persons and political participants" (300).
 7. The press' portrayal of the "Yorkshire Coiners" reveals the violence with which coiners, like forgers, were frequently associated in the late eighteenth century. The gruesome details of the gang's murder of a public official—at least as it was reported—makes explicit the conceptual connection between physical and economic assault, between the violation of the body and the very act of coining: with large nails in their shoes, they supposedly *stamped* on their victim's breast until his death. The coiners, who would go on to hang, are identified as part of a vast criminal "network": a "gang of villains, who are connected together in *bodies*, in different *parts* of the country, [they] carry on their *illicit* trade of clipping and coining the current coin of this kingdom" (qtd. in Salway 77, emphasis added). For a lengthier treatment of this case, see John Marsh.
 8. I use this term advisedly. Recent revisionist thinking has complicated our understanding of eighteenth-century capital legislation, showing, as McGowen suggests, how the "argument that the criminal law constituted a 'bloody code' became standard trope for the reform movement" (118). Antony E. Simpson also challenges "naïve" and "patronizing" views of criminal law in the Romantic period (68). Outlining the critical debate surrounding the use of discretion under the "bloody code," Peter King describes some of the ways in which the English system avoided enforcing its severest penalties (263). He points out, for e.g., that jurors frequently required "a higher level of positive proof" (233) in the cases of capital crimes, such as forgery, since pardons for such offenses were a rarity. See also Emsley, 10 ff.
 9. In addition to Baines's thorough discussion of the Dodd case, see also John Burke.
 10. Dickens is here, in his Preface to the Cheap Edition (1849), quoting a May 1777 speech to Parliament by Sir William Meredith.
 11. See also Sarah Bakewell's *The Smart: The Story of Margaret Caroline Rudd and the Unfortunate Perreau Brothers* (2001).
 12. The financial crisis of 1772 was especially critical in heightening anxiety about the vulnerabilities of the monetary system: "Crises after this date spread more widely, producing more bankruptcies, entangling people who might not have been touched by earlier periods of distress" (Andrew and McGowen 153).
 13. See Goldie Morgentaler on the grotesque and Dickens's views of aesthetics in *Barnaby Rudge*.
 14. In Dickens's version of events, Dennis ultimately faces execution, whereas in the historical account, Dennis was in fact permitted to live: although tried and convicted for his participation in the riots, he was pardoned in order that he might "execute his fellow rioters" (301 n.4).
 15. His 1856 collection, *After Dark*, contains "A Stolen Letter," which is often said to be indebted to Poe's "Purloined Letter" (1845). At central issue is a certain Mr. Davager's attempt to extort 500 pounds from the soon-to-wed Mr. Francis Gatliffe. Davager has in his

- possession a letter containing the confession by the deceased father of Gatcliffe's fiancée—the man had forged the signature of a close friend on a bill of exchange in order to prevent his fall into bankruptcy, and his “consequent dishonour” (57). Situating, as is common, forgery as an action of public disgrace that can temporarily conceal shameful debt and bankruptcy, the extortionist threatens to publish the letter in the newspaper. In exposing the woman's father, Davager would bring permanent disgrace to all those connected with the forger, including his daughter. Gatcliffe senior would thus object to her marriage to Francis. However, the lawyer–narrator succeeds in extricating the letter from the hands of the villainous Davager by means of penetrating his abstruse mathematical formula that ultimately reveals the letter's place of concealment within a carpet.
16. In *The Ring and the Book*, forgery and illegitimacy notably converge in the figure of Pompilia: when her husband, Guido Franceschini discovers that she is not an heiress, but a “bastard-babe / Of a nameless strumpet” (V. 770–71), he murders her, along with her parents, claiming she was also a forger and an adulteress.
 17. On the South Sea Bubble as national trauma, see Silke Stratmann.
 18. For discussion of the rise in executions for forgery during the Restriction and the increased ease of forgery of banknotes during this period, see Fetter (71–73) and Alex J. Dick (383, 389).
 19. On property crimes and the execution of members of the poorer classes, see Linebaugh's *The London Hanged*.
 20. Writing in *Blackwood's* in 1872, David Robinson offers a contemporary view of the often vexed relationship between the country banks and the Bank of England. For further discussion of the Bank of England during this period, see Alec Cairncross and Richard Roberts.
 21. Martineau's didactic mode in fact reveals the public's general lack of understanding of the functioning of the monetary system and the way its exploitation could plague the individual. The main narrative contains interpolated discussions about key aspects of the monetary system and monetary policy, such as the Restriction, the mass issuance of paper money, the relationship between country banks and the Bank of England, inflation, and white-collar fraud.
 22. The events and characters of the case turn up in other works of fiction as well. In his discussion of the controversy surrounding forgery legislation in the early decades of the nineteenth century, V.A.C. Gatrell usefully reminds us that London attorney James Harmer was the “prototype of Jagers in *Great Expectations*” (435). Harmer had clients such as Lord Hertford, the libertine upon whom “the unspeakable Lord Steyn” (Gatrell 435) in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* was modeled. Lord Hertford was notably a victim of Fauntleroy's frauds, but Harmer, “the greatest lawyer of the day . . . [and] the prince of Old Bailey attorneys” (Bleackley 26) managed Fauntleroy's defense.
 23. *Orley Farm* offers a rather rare portrayal of a woman who *literally* forges in this period. As we will see in chapter two's discussion of *Little Dorrit* and *Ruth*, nineteenth-century literary representations of female fraudulence in this period often far more readily link women to generalized deceit and dissembling, to the repression of history and truth or to the production of other forms of illegitimate issue, often the illegitimate child. Like *Orley Farm*, such novels, I suggest, show the level of deception to which women are often driven when entrapped by the machinations of exploitative legal, bureaucratic, and social systems. In its sympathetic treatment of Lady Mason's plight, Trollope's narrative shows what an otherwise moral woman can be driven to in the face of limited legal protection and autonomy.
 24. With reference to Trollope's *Autobiography*, Skilton (ix–x) discusses this feature of the novel in relation to Trollope's attempt to “achieve the difficult union” (ix) of realistic and sensational features in his novel. On Trollope, realism, and the literary marketplace, see also Jonathan Rose (401) and J. Jeffrey Franklin, who situates the distinction the “formal project” of Trollope's novels in relation to “the familiar distinction between paper and gold, the make-believe and the real” (507).

25. The widespread effect of such crimes on the community was much in evidence. As would be the case with the fall of Overend in 1866, vast numbers were affected by the fall of the Berners Street Bank, showing, as George Robb suggests, that “[w]hite collar crimes affected not only individuals but the entire economy, contributing to commercial malaise and a breakdown of trust” (10). This breakdown would reach a tragic climax in the financial crisis of 1825–26, in which the “banking failures and frauds of the 1820s,” such as the failure of Fauntleroy’s bank, played no little part, delivering “a severe blow to the nation’s confidence in private banks” (Robb 19).
26. On the excesses of George IV, see David Saul.
27. See, e.g., Peter Thoms’s reading of Laura as “a symbol into which Hartright and Marian project their notions of the true and the right” (189).
28. This was a situation with which Collins, of course, had much familiarity. The editors of *The Letters of Wilkie Collins* (1999) explain that Collins’s unconventional lifestyle—he had at least two common-law wives—raised concern about public scrutiny among his heirs, who have themselves been haunted by “the stigma of illegitimacy” (I: ix). Like many of his novels, *No Name* (1862) deals with illegitimacy, and it explicitly confronts the way in which the marginalization of the illegitimate is entrenched in law and in social attitudes. Glyde’s forgery seemingly manifests the imposter’s own self-hatred at his sense of nonidentity and his desperate desire for that which he can never possess—legitimacy. Stana Nenadic expands on the intersection of financial, genealogical, and psychological crises in Collins’s work.
29. In his letters Collins consistently draws a connection between money and secrecy. He is forever gleefully exclaiming to his correspondents, often his mother (who kept his money in her bank account until the success of *The Woman in White* at which point he obtained his own), about the amount he expects to receive for his next installment or book, and then he immediately demands their secrecy. On this point, see Ilana Blumberg, 162–64.
30. On Glyde’s feminization, see Denisoff, 47.
31. In an original reading of *The Woman in White*, “Fosco Lives!” A.D. Hutter argues against the typical acceptance of Fosco’s death at the novel’s conclusion, claiming that in Fosco’s biography (which is supposedly but, according to Hutter, implausibly written by Madam Fosco), “we see the unmistakable hand of Fosco himself” (198). Hutter identifies Fosco’s covert survival as consistent with the theme of resurrection that occupies other contemporary novels such as Dickens’s *Great Expectations*, *A Tale of Two Cities*, and *Our Mutual Friend*.

Chapter Two

1. Identifying *Little Dorrit* as illustrative of the way in which “Victorian life was increasingly indebted to banking and all its permutations” (80), Gail Turley Houston situates the novel in the context of the “dramatic and hasty increases in extending credit and establishing new bank facilities occurring in the 1850s,” which contribute to the crash of 1857.
2. Bewailing his father’s bankruptcy and subsequent suicide following a disastrous speculation, the speaker of “Maud” sees his context as a time “[w]hen only the ledger lives, and when only not all men lie; / . . . but a company *forges* the wine” (I: 34–35, emphasis added). Rebecca Stern provocatively situates this opening tirade against various poisons in relation to the contemporary climate of commercial fraud in general and to the fraudulent practices of food adulteration that was plaguing consumers in particular.
3. It is interesting to note that Evans also wrote a fictional account of Henry Fauntleroy, *The Banker’s Daughter* (1870–73). Evans seemed to have maintained a persistent fascination with Fauntleroy and the figure of the corrupt banker generally. Evans saw the repeated commercial crises and the climate of fraud and mistrust that persisted since the railway mania in 1845 as responsible for cultivating a “lowered standard of commercial morality” (3).

4. Laing Seton's *Great City Frauds of Cole, Davidson, and Gordon, Fully Exposed* (1856) also discusses many of these cases. George Dilnot's introduction to *The Trial of Jim the Penman* (1930) offers an account of the barrister James Townsend ("Jim the Penman") Saward. A "gambler by temperament" (13), this "consummate forger" is claimed by Dilnot to be the "first to make forgery an organized business" (12), and his techniques were followed ever since.
5. Representations of literal and figurative forgery continue to abound throughout the century, particularly in sensation and detective fiction. Like Collins's fiction of the same period, Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* (1861), e.g., shows the implication of manipulated and fraudulent textual artefacts—news reports, grave stones, telegraphs—in what may be considered the "forging" of an entire identity.
6. Successive crises occurred in 1825–26, 1837, 1847, 1857, and 1866. Banks in fact continued to fail more frequently than other type of company: According to Poovey, of the 291 banks established between 1844 and 1868, only 16 percent were still in operation beyond 1868 (21–22).
7. According to Mitchell, the novel is "set in an approximation of the present, the 1840s or early 1850s" (xv), although she aptly suggests that the events of the first chapter seem to occur in the 1830s (rightly so, given Captain Brown's praise for the recent installment of *The Pickwick Papers*, which was serialized in 1836–37). Chapters 3, 4, and 5 move us further backward in time to the 1770s. This entire period saw persistent economic unrest, and banks would continue to fail into the 1860s, culminating with the devastating collapse of Overend, Gurney, & Co. in 1866.
8. Andrew Miller's work on Gaskell is particularly relevant here. Miller's discussion of *Cranford* in his book *Novels behind Glass* (1995) usefully shows the connection between Victorian visual and commodity cultures. Focusing on the legacy of the development of joint-stock companies, his essay, "Subjectivity Limited: The Discourse of Liability in the Joint Stock Companies Act of 1856 and Gaskell's *Cranford*," effectively describes the ramifications of this act for the cultural understanding of personal and public identity in a corporatized economy.
9. Gaskell's portrayal of Matty's substitution of paper with gold draws points to long-standing debates about the use of paper money and its purely representative value, an issue I revisit at greater length in chapter three. In her discussion of the relationship between the gold standard and the shift in the understanding of the copy in art, Nancy Armstrong shows what the reappearance of forgery in the texts at issue here suggests—how a "rupture between sign and substance troubled the national economy from 1782 until the 1830s, the period during which England groped its way toward a monetary system" (46). Over time, Armstrong suggests, the copy began to usurp the position of the original, a process dramatized by the "policies that brought about a standard paper currency in England" (45).
10. Derrida's interpretation of the gift insists on its absolute exclusion from exchange relationships, which are always circular (12), an understanding that renders impossible even the very title of Marcel Mauss's well-known work, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1925). Derrida acknowledges this work as "monumental," but illustrates Mauss's central misunderstanding and misuse of the term "gift" (24 ff.), attributing Mauss's conceptual limitations to a myopic nostalgia for a society based on an ethics of giving. Like many others, Derrida also takes issue with the hegemonic "unity of [Mauss's] semantic horizon" (26), as it collapses the activities of vastly different cultures under the term, "gift." Osteen and Woodmansee also identify Mauss's vision of exchange as "naïve Utopianism" (29). Derrida's connection between the forgery and the gift is most useful for our purposes here, although Gaskell's treatment of giving shows the close ties between the gift and exchange relationships (as Dobson's attempt to purchase a gift shows) rather than their mutual exclusivity, and an envisioning of generative exchange relations as those informed by ethics of honest giving.

11. Derrida's use of the term "countergift" verbally manifests this inversion. The effect of the countergift is literalized in Baudelaire's short story, "Counterfeit Money," which forms the primary focus of Derrida's study. In this story, two men emerge from a tobacco store, and one gives a counterfeit coin to a destitute man in the street.
12. James William Gilbert's "Ten Minutes of Advice about Keeping a Banker" (1839) is just one illustrative example of the newness of those financial instruments and mechanisms that we now take for granted. Gilbert explains for his reader the activities of a bank, who (i.e., members of which class) ought to keep a bank account, and why, how to properly present oneself at the bank, open an account, maintain a passbook and proper records of account, how to make deposits and withdrawals, and so on. This period also saw the development of periodicals, such as *The Economist* (1843) and *Banker's Magazine* (1844).
13. Louise Henson views "The Panic" in *Cranford* as Gaskell's portrayal of a "mental epidemic" that relates to contemporary developments in psychology and Gaskell's notions about superstition and mesmerism.
14. Natalie Rose persuasively argues that the flogging of Peter by his father exemplifies its use as a means of encoding appropriate masculine behavior in the period (509). Indeed, Peter emerges from his flogging episode "looking as haughty as any man—indeed, looking like a man, not a boy" (*Cranford* 53). He goes on to fulfill a masculine plot of adventure and economic success abroad, ultimately returning to restore his sister's security and perpetuate her reliance on the protection of others. Nonetheless, the chief debt here is, in many respects, owed to the "speculative" efforts of Mary Smith.
15. Hilary Schor too is convinced that Mr. Smith is Adam Smith (116), noting the epistolary evidence for Gaskell's (albeit wary) enthusiasm for Smith's work. Another possible model for Mary's father may be W.H. Smith, whose publishing practices she describes in useful detail. In November 1848, Smith opened the first Smith bookstall at Euston Station, ran lending libraries, and issued portable editions of novels, "the yellow books," of which *Cranford* was the first (85).
16. Gaskell's treatment of economic fraud has received little attention, but critics have frequently focused on the prevalence of the lie in her narratives. Recent studies in this vein are Deirdre d'Albertis's *Dissembling Fictions* (1997); John Kucich's *The Power of Lies: Transgression in Victorian Fiction* (1994); and Dorothy McGavran's "Honesty Admits Discourse: Lying in the Fiction of Elizabeth Gaskell" (1994).
17. Over the course of the century, women novelists continue to draw a conceptual connection between the crime of forgery and other forms of fraud in their narratives of social critique. See, e.g., Charlotte Yonge's *The Clever Woman of the Family* (1865), which engages with the "surplus women" debate, and Margaret Oliphant's *Phoebe Junior* (1876), a treatment of class, the Church of England and corruption, and "the woman question."
18. According to Nancy Henry, the novel apparently "blurs the outlines of time, place and action" (xxv) in a manner that structurally corresponds to the heroine's perpetual state of "oblivious forgetfulness" (xxvii). Yet Henry goes on to offer an extremely convincing and detailed analysis of the novel's relationship to current events, such as the elections of 1837 and 1841, the Treaty of Nanking, which ended the Opium War in 1842, and the typhus epidemic of the same year, in order to conclude that the novel's "action is set between the winters of 1830 and 1843" (xxxiii). Alan Shelston places the action of the novel in the 1830s (459 n.3).
19. Homans's well-known study, *Bearing the Word*, makes important claims about the link between reproduction and representation in writing by women such as Gaskell. Particularly relevant here is her discussion of the long-standing conception of the maternal body as the passive receptor of impregnation by male "texts" (157); the view of the female body as a mint that coined men's offspring persisted in nineteenth-century science. Biomedical discourse on inheritance, pregnancy, and genealogical traits reinscribed the illegitimate child

- as fostered apart from paternal surveillance in a female body, that “potentially dangerous growth medium” (156).
20. Bradley Deane’s recent claims about “how thoroughly the domestic and the political overlap” (119) in a novel such as *Mary Barton* have equal application here.
 21. Jenny Bourne Taylor describes in greater detail the punitive implications the New Poor Law had for unmarried mothers, many of whom were considered to be “deliberately producing children in order to claim from the parish” (“Representing” 130).
 22. The attitude of the Bensons’ housekeeper, Sally, toward a local unmarried mother registers this connection between illicit sexuality, illegitimacy, and criminality: “Why there was that Nelly Brandon’s child as was left at the door . . . but I went off and told th’ overseer, and th’ mother was *caught*” (148; Ch. 14; emphasis added). See Higginbotham on how the criminalization of “concealment,” which “made secret childbirth a capital offence if the child died, even if there was no evidence of murder” (267), was intended to discourage infanticide. The penalty was reduced to two years in 1803, but concealment was still “the most common crime connected with the death of an illegitimate infant” (268). On infanticide during this period, see also Lionel Rose.
 23. As of 1834, fornication was no longer a punishable offense in England (Teichman 21).
 24. Acton further intensifies anxieties by suggesting that prostitutes may frequently reintegrate themselves into society by posing as virtuous women. In her discussion of *Ruth* in *Unstable Bodies* (113–31), Jill L. Matus offers an illuminating discussion of Greg’s views on female passionlessness, as well as Acton’s “nightmare” vision of women moving “unchecked and at will from sexual hire to marriage and motherhood” (125).
 25. On this point, see Jenny Bourne Taylor, “Representing,” 120–21.
 26. Audrey Jaffe offers a provocative reading of the class tensions that vex the relationship between Bradshaw and Benson in the novel, tensions that she sees as being displaced onto the fallen woman plot.
 27. See Herbert, 203.
 28. Critics have persistently struggled with *Ruth*’s death, which for many rings hollow given the critique of the fallen woman’s plot that had gone before. Charlotte Brontë’s complaint, “Why should she die? Why are we to shut up the book weeping?” (qtd. in Schor 72) is frequently cited in this regard. Schor, however, provocatively suggests that her death “may be an attempt to murder fiction itself, to reveal the tension between the pleasures of ‘invention’ and the viciousness of plot” (73) and to remind her readers of “the excessively plotted lives women lead” (75).
 29. The centrality of the structure of the prison in the novel invites Foucauldian readings, such as that provided by Natalie McKnight. McKnight focuses on the prominence of surveillance in the novel, but I would suggest that of primary significance is the portrayal of the failure of the social and institutional gaze to locate identity in the novel. The success of Merdle most emphatically reveals the widespread interpretative failures of society.
 30. Patricia Ingham’s analysis of *Little Dorrit* is thoughtful and incisive. I do not, however, read Amy’s participation in maintenance of her family’s fictions quite as “negatively” as Ingham.
 31. See Jenny Bourne Taylor’s “Nobody’s Secret” for a useful contextualization of the connection between illegitimacy, a state of “absolutely unknowable paternity” (566–67), and memory in Victorian culture.
 32. I counter Claudia Klaver’s assertion that a poststructuralist reading of the novel would be reductive. Such a theoretical approach is useful for understanding Dickens’s portrayal of a society haunted by lack and its fragmentary effect on identity.
 33. In *The Hell of the English: Bankruptcy and the Victorian Novel* (1986), Barbara Weiss discusses the nineteenth-century narrative response to the sharp increase of bankruptcy in the period. Bankruptcy often becomes a kind of cultural unveiling, revealing, in its massive

- numbers in the mid-century, the precarious states of individual financial stability and of the fiscal situation of the nation more generally.
34. Daniel Novak examines the “tension between bodily fragmentation and totalized wholeness” (32) in *Little Dorrit*, showing how the sense of self-alienation that permeates the culture is manifested in the fragmentation of Merdle’s body, “a monstrous product of dismemberment and rearticulated collage” (39). Although he does not consider Merdle’s connection to Sadleir, Novak does address forgery in its contemporary context to a degree. He reviews the way the forgery reveals the fact that the act of assigning value to certain paper money is a “communal leap of faith” (37), but more provocative is his suggestion that the portrayal of Merdle corresponds to contemporary forgery “collage” techniques. Such an argument might also usefully account for the portrayal of the illegitimate body in the novel, especially since it too is concealed or “forgotten” and re-presented as whole. Tatiana M. Holway positions the consumption of “economic fictions” (25) more thoroughly within the broader contexts of Dickens’s period.
 35. The sacred and the secular intersect throughout the novel. Reed interestingly sees a comparison between the financial failures in the novel and the Old Testament Plagues of Egypt and sees Mrs. Clennam as having deeply “confused the secular and the spiritual” (246). While Merdle may be seen as the anti-Christ, Ingham notes that *Little Dorrit* is frequently figured as a miniature priestess, ministering to her father’s needs: “Her domestic services takes on a sacramental tone that in a mid-Victorian text is faintly blasphemous in giving her even a minor priestly role” (108). Herbert addresses the conflict between the sacred and the secular in the novel and the anxiety around money’s position as an “object of veneration” and something filthy, which Merdle’s name of course represents.

Chapter Three

1. Qtd. in Churchill, 77.
2. See Virginia Hewitt on the link between British financial practices and “imperial ambition” (97).
3. See also Matthew Rowlinson on “nationalist sentiment during the era of high capitalism” (62).
4. Many critics have commented on the nostalgic quality of the novel. See Delany (19) and Van (78)
5. With detailed reference to Trollope’s notebooks, John Sutherland (481–85) describes the various changes Trollope made to Melmotte’s nationality (“ambiguously Jewish, French, or American” [481]) and fate over the course of his plans for the novel (he had considered, e.g., putting Melmotte on trial).
6. On anti-Semitism and representations of art forgers and dealers, see Briefel, 116–45.
7. Identifying the “unnaturalness and illogic” of this moment as symptomatic of the novel’s anti-Semitism, Cohen (70 ff.) claims it is consistent with the vampiric quality attributed to Melmotte, who intensifies in physicality and “brutishness” (71) over the course of the novel.
8. Karen Odden draws a parallel between the deceptive paper fictions that enabled bubble companies of the kind Trollope dramatizes here and Lady Carbury’s “puffery, or the exaggeration of value” (139) where her novels are concerned.
9. The “consumption” of what is metaphorically his own body by a god-like figure who was said to “hol[d] the world of commerce in his right hand” (204) adds an interesting dimension to Murray Baumgarten’s reading of the novel. Baumgarten situates Melmotte in the context of the Jew’s typical identification as sacrificial lamb, whose death is necessary for society’s purification. See also Kermode, who suggests that “Melmotte is a scapegoat as well as an intruder, a great man as well as a sordid villain” (xv).

10. Nicholas Dames situates his analysis of memory and forgetting in Collins's works in relation to developments in nineteenth-century physiology, suggesting that *The Woman in White* and *The Moonstone* mark "the birth of amnesia as a cultural and scientific fact" (171).
11. Beyond this, *The Sign of Four* invites obvious comparison with *The Moonstone* in its focus on a foreign stolen treasure, its near-paranoiac portrayal of threats of foreign invasion, and its emphasis on the brutal violation of the white woman's body.
12. Lillian Nayder offers a useful discussion of Collins's complex and equivocal attitude toward empire, India, and race.
13. This *apparent* epistemological instability afforded by the various narrative "testimonies," can be seen as consistent with D.A. Miller's views on the narration of *The Moonstone*: despite the various voices to which we are given access, ultimately, "the novel is thoroughly monological—always speaking a master-voice that corrects, overrides, subordinates, or sublates all other voices it allows to speak" (54). Thus, he claims, regarding the fate of Ablewhite—"the nature of things is so arranged that Godfrey's crime inevitably designates and punishes itself" (49).
14. Ablewhite has been effectively connected by many readers to the novel's portrayal of cultural hybridity and exposure of the fantasies and fallacies of British nationalism and colonial endeavor. See Carens on Ablewhite's association with "Mohammedian despotism" (254) and, especially, Ian Duncan on the novel's "imperialist panic."
15. Much attention has been given to the portrayal of the personal and cultural effects of opium in *The Moonstone* and in Victorian texts more generally. Barry Milligan describes how fears about opium addiction "gained cultural currency in the latter half of the century, figuring prominently in the uneasy representations of opium dens in London's East End" (27). Among the best-known depictions of the opium den are Dickens's *Edwin Drood*, Conan Doyle's "The Man with the Twisted Lip," and Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards's thorough and wide-ranging *Opium and the People* (1981) offers an extended examination of opium in nineteenth-century English culture.
16. Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf), 1993.
17. As Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi explain, "The entire imperial system on which Britain's trade was delicately balanced depended on the funds it could extract from other commodity trades through opium, either in tax or profit. And as the scale of the empire grew, so too did that dependence" (7).
18. See also Schmitt (*Alien* 66) and Milligan on the "smuggling operations" of the East India Company (20–21).
19. Schmitt points out that the demand for Chinese goods, especially tea, "occasioned a severe trade imbalance that, because the British produced no goods the Chinese would accept in exchange, Britain was forced to make up in silver" (*Alien* 66). According to Brook and Wakabayashi, Britain's traffic in opium ultimately "tilted the balance of global trade to benefit the West, robbing the Qing empire of the silver that had been flowing in for several centuries" (3–4), effectively facilitating the "hemorrhaging of the Chinese economy through the rapid outflow of silver to pay for the opium imports" (7).
20. Identifying opium as "an indisputable part of the fabric of daily life in Victorian England" (100), Piya Pal-Lapinski convincingly links opium to notions of racial hybridity, suggesting that "opium also signified a kind of racial or cultural 'poisoning'" (100).
21. While overlooking the relevance of Ablewhite's forgeries to her argument, Blumberg nonetheless offers a provocative reading of the way in which the novel "foregrounds the egoism lurking in supposedly altruistic exchange" (163) in its rendering of the gift and theft as "opposite sides of the same coin" (162). The bequest of the Diamond—"a dubious act of generosity" (169)—is the most prominent example of this conflation, for this gift to Rachel is indeed "the novel's primary sign of violent appropriation" (169).
22. On this point, see also North, 133.

23. Hyde's physical degeneracy has received much thoughtful contextualization in relation to emerging concepts of consciousness and psychoanalysis, evolutionary theory, and racial and criminal stereotypes that were consolidated by the work of criminologists such as Lombroso. As Patrick Brantlinger suggests, Hyde "reflects the stereotype of the Irish hooligan" (*Reading* 175) in his ape-like appearance and "dwarfish" (Stevenson, *Jekyll* 41) stature. See also Stephen Arata, 11–53.
24. Early in the nineteenth century, England became the first major economic power to adopt a full-fledged gold standard, which worked to reinforce the perceived essential value of gold, especially at a time when paper money was under much scrutiny (Kynaston dates the formal adoption at 1816; others identify it as 1821, which followed the Coinage Act of 1816 once the Restriction period ended in 1821). The 1844 Bank Charter Act tied the issue of notes to gold reserves, thus according paper money more "integral" value than before. Russell Ally offers a useful history of the gold standard in the nineteenth century (6 ff.). Varying views on the gold standard (and its relationship to paper currency) in the earlier part of the century can be found in such tracts as Cobbett's "Paper against Gold" (1810) and Robert H. Patterson's "Gold and Social Politics" (1863).
25. Faced with increasing pressure for a bimetallic standard, advocates for gold identified silver as the fraudulent double of authentic currency, representative of "counterfeit value and the commoner," all the while maintaining "essentialist arguments about the transcendent value of gold, linked explicitly with claims for the transcendent value of aristocratic classes and their virtues" (Wood 62–63). Bimetallists meanwhile sought to put silver's "common" associations to their own use, proclaiming it the empowering champion of class agency fueled by speculative investment, the "metal of the people," while consistently targeting gold as the conservative symbol of aristocratic privilege. See also Walter Benn Michaels (139 ff.) on the debates between "gold conservatives" and "silver radicals" or "free silverites" in the United States during the same period.
26. Ted Wilson discusses the racial implications of the gold/silver divide, suggesting that a racial hierarchy was maintained by such things as the Indian silver rupee and the "gold supremacism" that developed in the late nineteenth century in the context of global trade (147–48).
27. Their struggle for economic and physical ascendancy can be seen as an almost parodic expression of what Benn Michaels identifies as the desire governing "the logic of the gold standard": "the desire to be equal to oneself... to make yourself equal to your face value, to become gold" (22).
28. Later, Stevenson planned to revisit the issue of cultural hybridity in another mutiny novel, which was to be entitled *The White Nigger* (Swearingen 193).
29. Writing on gold and silver in *Blackwood's* in 1863, Robert H. Patterson predicted that "the passion for gold will, at no distant time, carry bands of adventurers into the heart of Africa, that greatest waste place of the earth" (82). In 1886, the discoveries of gold in South Africa eliminated the potential for "assaults on the Bank's allegedly slender gold reserves" (Van-Helten 534). London immediately began importing gold, and, as "the gold era in Africa began in earnest" (Worsfold 263) "London's hegemony over global financial and trading patterns" (Van-Helten 534) was confirmed, as was its position as "the Metropolis of the Commerce of the World" (Harcourt, qtd. in Mayhew 176). The African gold discoveries consolidated London's position as the seat of the world's gold market at a time when the international economy was "undergoing... massive expansion, and a growing number of countries [were] adopting gold as their monetary base" (Ally 12). A.G. Ford points out that the sheer "knowledge that gold was always on the way to London... and that the Bank could always 'tap' this flow, buttressed confidence in sterling" (33). This led to the establishment of what was in effect a global "sterling standard" (Ally 12).
30. The actual discoveries of gold in South Africa in 1886 and its importation into Britain from the Witwatersrand did not occur until just after the publication of *Jekyll and Hyde*,

- but Stevenson's other activities suggest that he was certainly attentive to events occurring in Africa. In 1881, the year *Treasure Island* was published serially, he wrote a short piece entitled "Protest on Behalf of Boer Independence." Although the Boers were, according to Stevenson, "possibly enough misguided," he thoroughly indicts Britain's treatment of the Boers, "whom we have tried ineffectually to brutalize" (97).
31. Richard Dury discusses the physical hand as a verifier of identity and the negative connotations of the left or "backward" hand. See also Elaine Showalter, 75 ff.
 32. Particularly relevant here is Nancy Armstrong's study of nineteenth-century "photographic realism" and what she identifies as the growing "reversal of the mimetic priority of original over copy" (5) in the period. She notably situates this reversal in relation to the history of the gold standard. I return to Armstrong's argument in chapter four.
 33. See Ronald Thomas, "Making Darkness Visible" and "The Mugshot and the Magnifying Glass" (*Detective* 111–30).
 34. It includes the potential crime of blackmail, the suspicion of which carries homosexual overtones (see Robert Mighall xix ff.) and, as Simon Joyce suggests, shows Utterson's "overwhelming need to relegate Hyde to the criminal underclass" (170).
 35. The "double" text of the narrative itself is of interest here: Stevenson, it is well known, burned the first text, perhaps because of its sexual content (Danahay 15). Brantlinger also addresses Stevenson's ambivalence toward the work in *The Reading Lesson*, offering a persuasive reading of *Jekyll and Hyde* "as an unconscious 'allegory' about the commercialization of literature and the emergence of a mass consumer society" (167). Hyde, in this view, emerges as a "personification of the reading masses" (171).
 36. On this point, see Simon Joyce, 164 ff.
 37. Indeed *Jekyll and Hyde's* treatment of inheritance and authorship raises questions about Stevenson's own sense of himself as an heir and an author. Like many of the relationships between men in *Jekyll and Hyde*, Stevenson's relationship with his father was primarily maintained in economic terms. Brantlinger, among others, explains the extent to which Stevenson was "able to fall back on his father" (*Reading* 166) for money. Even though Stevenson was intent on supporting himself with his writing, he was nonetheless repeatedly forced to do so, until his father's death and his receipt of a comfortable inheritance. See also Danahay, 11–13.
 38. It includes the potential crime of blackmail, the suspicion of which carries homosexual overtones (see Mighall xix ff.). See also Elaine Showalter, Stephen Heath, and William Veeder for discussions of repressed sexual identity and homosexuality in Stevenson's tale.
 39. See Emsley (255–59), Fetter (71–73), and Philips (233).
 40. Jekyll's reproduction of the self in the form of Hyde represents an aberrant form of masculinity. Shaw aptly terms Hyde's position as heir a "grotesque enactment of perverse paternal influence" (92). Katherine Bailey Linehan's "'Closer than a Wife': The Strange Case of Jekyll's Significant Other" considers the absence of female characters in the tale, which is an apt extension of Jekyll's act of self-replication.
 41. Ronald Thomas argues that the pronominal switching (the confusion of "I" and "he") in Jekyll's "Full Statement" shows how "the formal dualism typical of the detective story—in which an incoherent, fragmentary narrative sequence is replaced by a coherent and complete one—becomes a formal and psychological schizophrenia in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*" (*Dreams* 238). See also Simon Joyce, 169.

Chapter Four

1. Joseph Bristow offers a useful discussion of the extensive Wilde criticism in this regard.
2. Osteen also makes reference to a literal example of this in the case of the notorious nineteenth-century American forger, "Big Bill the Queersman" (370 n.11).

3. Current understanding of the relationship between bastardy, forgery, and aesthetics is, I would suggest, primarily a legacy of modernism and its criticism. Studies of the literary convergence of forgery and illegitimacy typically cluster around authors writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the literary impulse to interrogate the economies of realism and identity is most overt. In his work on economics in James Joyce, Mark Osteen suggests that Joyce undermines the belief that money explains and stabilizes value and “expose[s] tensions in the concept of originality, genuineness, ownership, and value upon which the economies of money and realism are founded” (358). Similarly, the work of Jean-Joseph Goux reveals the extent to which André Gide’s employment of counterfeiting and forgery in his literary works has implications for an understanding of the “demise” of realism. In *Les Faux-Monnayeurs* (1925) Gide shows explicitly how forgery, like bastardy, is a theft of authorship, aligning counterfeiting with literary production and illegitimacy in a way that altogether questions the status of textual authorship as a category. However, the novelistic representation of forgery has important implications for authors’ responses to realism prior to the twentieth century. As Brantlinger so aptly observes, “[N]ineteenth-century realists... often already, well before Gide, metaphorized their novels as counterfeit money” (*Reading* 140).
4. Long relegated to Hardy’s “minor” fiction, *A Laodicean* has suffered from a critical history marked alternatively by derision and puzzlement. Peter Widdowson notes that “together with the *Hand of Ethelberta*, *A Laodicean* is probably the most execrated and disregarded of all Hardy’s novels” (93). Critics have typically taken issue with the protracted European travelogue and with the seemingly pointless insertion of such characters as Paula’s uncle, Abner Power. The varied and incongruous modes of the text—“realism, social comedy, romance, sensation, melodrama” (Widdowson 105)—have also provoked criticism. Yet in a convincing argument, Widdowson goes on to suggest that the text exhibits a conscious self-reflexivity that sets out, through various forms of generic parody, to interrogate realism as a form, and that often goes undetected. The novel has aptly received increasing attention in recent years, particularly regarding its focus on nineteenth-century technologies and the novel’s generic self-reflexivity. Richard Taylor aimed to revise the status of Hardy’s “lesser novels,” including *A Laodicean* in his full-length study in 1982, and Jane Thomas has more recently addressed Hardy’s “minor” fictional works in *Thomas Hardy, Femininity and Dissent: Reassessing the Minor Novels* (1999). John Schad’s introduction to the 1997 Penguin edition of the novel is the most thoughtful treatment of Hardy’s engagement with philosophy, architecture, replication, and modernity in the novel to date. The novel’s apparent “generic confusion,” I would suggest, can be better understood through close attention to Hardy’s portrayal of the forger, William Dare, and his exploits.
5. Hardy’s sustained interest in the textual artifact and the dangerous power of the deceptive text emerges forcefully in his fiction. The plot of the deceptive text frequently intersects with that of illegitimacy. We need think only of Fanny Robin’s child, the bigamous marriage that produces the second Eliza Jane in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, or Hardy’s short story, “On the Western Circuit,” which, like *A Laodicean*, overtly brings together forgery—here forged letters—and illegitimacy. Among the most recent studies of genealogy in Hardy is Tess O’Toole’s *Genealogy and Fiction in Hardy* (1997), but O’Toole’s reading is primarily thematic, focused “on the way heredity acts as an idea upon the imagination of its subjects” (12). Following Gillian Beer, Jed Mayer, conversely, situates his reading of *Tess* in relation to the contemporary scientific context of memory and evolutionary biology.
6. The gymnasium scene is the novel’s most “notorious” (Ball 35) and has received a great deal of critical attention for its exemplification of Hardy’s fascination with voyeurism. It also identifies Paula as an emblematic New Woman, dressed as she is in her “pretty boy’s costume” (169) while she completes her various exercises. Jane Thomas outlines the growing emphasis on women’s physical education in the period (105–06).
7. J.B. Bullen notes that railway engineering “was explicitly modern, it had no precedent, and unlike traditional building, it was free of the trammels of historicism” (133).

8. The issues of identity, imitation, and linguistic manipulation converge in Paula and De Stancy's performance in *Love's Labour's Lost*, a play that aptly concerns mistaken identity, role reversals, and the use of performance to win elusive female affection. De Stancy's appropriation of the lines from *Romeo and Juliet* during his performance as King of Navarre produces an eclectic text of sorts that adds to the *Love's Labour's Lost* plot issues of alliance, genealogy, and onomastics, given the family feuding that serves as the backdrop to the love plot in *Romeo and Juliet*. The "kiss, real or counterfeit" (236) that De Stancy swindles from Paula is described in terms that point to the danger of his exploitation of language: "It was a profanation without parallel" (234). This notion of "profanation" also positions Paula as the exploited text, signaling De Stancy's willing manipulation of her in an effort to claim sole authorship of the course of their romance plot.
9. While this sequence has frequently been derided by readers as a seemingly unnecessary relocation of the action of the novel, Michael Flavin's point that "gaming-houses in England had been abolished by the 1845 act" (73) may explain Hardy's need to remove the action to the continent.
10. George Eliot's 1876 novel seems to resonate here and, indeed, in many aspects of *A Laodicean*: the usurping heroine, the role of the diamond necklace, the focus on uncertain racial origins, and, of course, the plot of concealed illegitimacy.
11. Flavin usefully contextualizes the gambling sequence and Dare's speculative strategies in *A Laodicean*. He notes that Abraham de Moivre's *The Doctrine of Chances: A Method of Calculating the Probabilities of Events in Play* was first published in 1718. It "details methods for winning at card and dice games, raffles, lotteries and investments. It has been described as 'the first modern book on probability theory'" (72).
12. The connection becomes particularly apposite if we account for the intimate relationship between the telegraph and gambling. Flavin notes that the telegraph system "was a significant factor in the growth of off-course betting on horse racing, allowing results to be transmitted with speed all over the country" (70). The telegraph thus fostered the erosion of conventional property relations and the relevance of labor, encouraging a culture of parasitic economic advancement based on speculative dealings.
13. In "Writing and Copying in the Age of Steam" Alexander Welsh addresses the connection between the copy and authority in the nineteenth-century industrial economy.
14. Somerset aptly finds Havill a "spurious article" (71). Havill built the Unitarian chapel that Paula's father had commissioned and, finding himself threatened by Somerset's arrival, writes a letter to the paper denouncing Paula's plans for the renovation of the Castle. Dare later finds "the original draft" (128) and blackmails him. This "forged" letter restarts the architectural competition, which renews Havill's access to the lucrative contract for castle renovations. Later, Dare encourages Havill to copy Somerset's design, and, when the two break into the castle, Dare carefully makes a tracing of it. This part of the plot is notably propelled by Havill's insolvency. He is motivated to join forces with Dare in order to pay his debts, and, in fact, the whole notion of a competition for the work between the two architects arises from Somerset's sense of unworthiness for the 100,000 pounds Paula initially offers him for his work.
15. See Barthes for the way in which photography always involves erotic elements of surprise and revelation; to surprise the subject is the *Operator's* "essential gesture" (32).
16. In "Making Darkness Visible" Ronald Thomas offers an engaging discussion of the significance of photography and "photographic visual powers" (134) in nineteenth-century fiction, particularly that of Conan Doyle and Dickens, which is equally applicable to the function of photography in *A Laodicean*. See also Peter Brooks, who claims that "[i]t is not coincidental that photography comes into being along with realism, with the lens imitating the retina to reproduce the world" (3).
17. C.J. Cutcliffe Hyne's story, "The Banknote Forger" (1899), shows very literally this conceptual connection, as photography is employed in a massive forgery scheme. Here, William

Cope, “a young fool in the way of frittering away his money” (508) is “accused of systematically uttering forged Bank of England thousand-pound notes” (509). The story notably brings together many of those issues relevant to Hardy’s novel. In addition to the intersection of forgery and photography, the story emerges in the context of a speculative and cosmopolitan culture. The narrator and his friends are on the train to Aintree for Grand National Day, and they begin by playing cards and end up speculating about their betting odds. Willie Cope, the accused forger they speak of, is said to have seen “how much money a man could spend if he set his mind to it” (508) and engages in all kinds of gambling schemes. He typically made his bets in 1,000-pound notes in order to gain fame. The forgeries’ circulation initially suggests the dangerous impact of an expanded global economy, for it seemed that the

prosecution . . . could prove beyond argument that the last fifty of these trifling pieces of paper which Cope had drawn from various banks had been carefully and cunningly duplicated; that Cope, with his own fingers, had paid away the reproductions; and that the originals, after being saved up till their number amounted to some fifty odd, had been simultaneously cashed in Constantinople, Moscow, Berlin, Genoa, Monte Carlo, Marseilles, Lyons, and Paris. This pointed to an extensive organization, but none of the confederates could be traced. Bank of England notes are good all the world over; and these which were passed on the continent were genuine. (510)

Cope is ultimately vindicated, however, when the forgeries are revealed to be the remarkable work of an under kitchen maid of “fine old criminal stock” (517)! She employed a complex method of photography in order to produce the spurious notes, which were “so artfully made that they passed unchallenged through all the country banks, and for a while even at the Bank of banks in the City” (510).

18. Dare’s photograph, forged as it is, offers a literal manifestation of Barthes’s discussion of the photographic *punctum* and shows how photography’s subversive relationship to history corresponds to his own. The *punctum* is a detail that attracts or distresses the viewer by announcing what is *not* represented in the photograph—it speaks to the absence of identity, and it “pricks” (Barthes 49) and confronts the viewer with a kind of violence, which Nancy Shawcross succinctly identifies: “the *punctum* pierces through in the photograph and opens up the wound” (99). Hardy depicts in very literal terms the kind of wounding that photography, in its capacity to dislocate identity from its origin, can inflict.
19. In his essays on art and realism, Hardy engages with what Nancy Armstrong terms nineteenth-century “photographic realism” (157). As Arlene M. Jackson explains, with useful reference to Hardy’s “The Profitable Reading of Fiction” (1888) and “The Science of Fiction” (1891), “Hardy disparages the kind of literary realism based on mere photographic detail, and dismisses the photograph as incapable of the selectivity that is the basis of art. If literal detail is not art, then the photograph, since it copies inventorially, cannot be art” (93). Jackson also examines the way the photograph forms “an essential part of the novel’s iconography” in Hardy’s *Jude the Obscure* (1895) (104 ff.). See also Jennifer Green-Lewis, 77–88.
20. The central plot involving Michael Snowdon’s fortune is equally symptomatic of this culture. Recalling Dickens’s Magwitch, the now-wealthy Snowdon returns from Australia and, like a similar kind of “false father,” aims to “make” a gentlewoman of his granddaughter, Jane. His version of gentility is, however, far different from Magwitch’s: in an act that resembles the nullification of the gift we saw in *Cranford*, Snowdon is bent on a kind of “money laundering” or purification of his fortune by limiting Jane’s education and forcing her to give up her inheritance for philanthropic purposes—“to make her,” in the words of Sidney Kirkwood, “into an impossible sort of social saint” (236). The inheritance plot, however, is ultimately altogether botched not only by the grandfather’s perverse intentions,

but also by Jane's own scheming father, Joseph Snowdon, who loses all the money in a speculation.

As Stephen Gill suggests, "Other novels, *Little Dorrit* or *The Way We Live Now*, for example, deploy the *idea* of money more variously and imaginatively, but none conveys the *reality* more starkly than *The Nether World*" (xiv). Yet while Gissing's narrative fiction clearly takes a different form—in its realism—than the critiques of realism and of the commodification of art offered in the works of Hardy and Wilde, I would suggest that his employment of fraud and inheritance in *The Nether World* can be seen as a parodic treatment of those features that tend to structure earlier realist narratives. The novel's negation of the success models offered by such narratives emerges as a rejection of earlier realist conventions, especially those that hinge upon the realization of an idealized romantic love that claims to transcend the commercial sphere. Identifying romantic love as "the most striking absence of all" (xvii) in the novel, Gill also points to the similarity between *The Nether World* and *Great Expectations*, especially their endings: "Instead of enabling the union of the two figures who are clearly meant for each other—Jane and Sidney—it separates them" (xxi). Yet *The Nether World* shows how the undeserving are rewarded in order to suggest that in the *reality* of such a world there no longer exists any hierarchy of value. I thus concur with Paul Delany, who claims that in his treatment of marriage as embedded within "the persistent action of economic forces" Gissing "helps to move the novel from its origins in romance into modernity" (51).

In discussing "the gesture of hostility concealed within the charitable impulse" in Gissing's fiction (199), Frederic Jameson points out that *The Nether World* "is best read, not for its documentary information on the conditions of Victorian slum life, but as testimony about the narrative paradigms that organize middle-class fantasies about those slums" (186). See also John Goode on the novel's "economic actualities" (211) and Aaron Matz on Gissing's "Ambivalent Realism."

21. The issue of artistic forgery thus provocatively intersects with the issues of authenticity and originality that are shared by the fiscal forgery. Indeed, the intense legislative and cultural focus on economic fraud in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries coincided with the appearance of legendary literary forgers, such as Chatterton and William Henry Ireland, who were since and continue to be vastly romanticized. Even work as recent as Nick Groom's *The Forger's Shadow* (2002) rather uncritically reinscribes Chatterton as the "patron saint of neglected and martyred geniuses" (Saint-Amour 98). Such a characterization exemplifies the lasting critical impulse to unquestioningly connect forgers to the spectral, a maker of false images, of doubles, all the while romanticizing their achievements and perpetuating a kind of apotheosis of the art forger, an apotheosis that Collins seems to implicitly warn against.
22. This convergence will continue. Osteen, e.g., notes Joyce's fascination with Jim "the Penman" Seward, a notorious forger of the 1850s (376). Wainewright's criminal history, it should be noted, made him a figure of literary interest prior to Wilde. Dickens had come across Wainewright in prison in 1837. Wainewright's biographer, Jonathan Curling identifies him as the prototype for Dickens's rendering of "the bad man of *Little Dorrit*," Rigaud Blandois, and Jonas Chuzzlewit. Dickens also made him the basis for his villainous Julius Slinkton in his 1859 "melodramatic novelette" (Curling 358), *Hunted Down*. Wainewright would also form the model for Bulwer-Lytton's 1846 *Lucretia* (Curling 369). For a more recent "fictional autobiography" of Wainewright, see Andrew Motion.
23. Browning's poetics offer fruitful ground for the consideration of forgery's relation to aesthetic production. In this regard, see C.D. Blanton.
24. The appearance of Browning's essay in 1842 notably coincides with an important milestone in the development of English copyright law. See Catherine Seville on the 1842 Copyright Act.

25. For discussion of the psychological implications here, see Nancy Jane Tyson on Dorian's "dissociative identity" and "*autoscopia*" (103) and Pamela Thurschwell on the novel's engagement with the discourse of hypnosis.
26. In his discussion of forgery in Joyce, Osteen reminds us that the term "stereotype," like cliché, refers to that kind of printing "that used a solid plate or type-metal cast taken from a form, rather than the form itself. That is, cliché or stereotyped printing uses not an original plate to make copies, but a copy of a plate; what is produced are thus copies of a copy" (362). Like stereotypes, clichés "are by definition worn-out coins, terms whose origins have been lost or effaced by constant circulation" (362). Thus, the stereotyped behavior here is merely the repetition of typed behavior, which, like new technology, renders obsolete the value of the original.
27. "The Decay of Lying" interestingly shows in its very language the lasting conceptual connection between textual/aesthetic and physical reproduction: "The Greeks, with their quick artistic instinct . . . set in the bride's chamber the statue of Hermes or of Apollo, that she might bear children as lovely as the works of art that she looked at in her rapture or her pain" (64).

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