# Recovering Thomas Anstey Guthrie (1856–1934): Genre and Geography

by

Hayley Smith

Canterbury Christ Church University

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# ABSTRACT

Following the publication of his first and most successful novel, *Vice Versâ; or, a Lesson to Fathers* (1882), Thomas Anstey Guthrie ("F. Anstey") was plunged into an elite literary and social world, one within which he became recognised – first and foremost – for this comic fantasy narrative. This thesis asks how we might look *beyond* this lasting association to recover and reassess an extensive and varied career, one which was eclipsed by its best-known novel. In doing so, it offers itself as a critical research tool that (re)positions Guthrie amongst the literary landscape of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century as a literary geographer; a writer interested in the representation of the real and conceptual spaces and places contained within his texts.

The geographies discussed in the following chapters each imagine an interaction between the real and the fantastical. Such boundary-breaches and hybridities frame a discussion on how and for what purposes these encounters take place. The project argues that they meet in complex and confusing ways to imagine, explore, and represent the concrete and abstract sites within which they occur. These conceptualisations consequently serve to construct several spatial representations that enable Guthrie to reveal the instability and disorder of the real and the conceptual spaces and places of lived experience.

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## INTRODUCTION
## Out of 'the waters of oblivion': Reassessing Thomas Anstey Guthrie

> Do we not in sleep live in a fantastic fairy kingdom where everything is capable of transformation, where there is no stability belonging to the physical world, where one man can become another or two men at the same time, where the most improbable things look simple and natural, where events often occur in inverse order, from end to beginning, […] where we talk with the dead, fly in the air, pass through walls, […] die and remain alive?
> P. D. Ouspensky, *A New Model of the Universe*[1]

'Authors […] have their fates – often undeserved', Thomas Anstey Guthrie writes in his posthumously-published autobiography, *A Long Retrospect* (1936), 'and once submerged in the waters of oblivion are not easily restored to animation'.[2] This rather sombre sentiment, one which pervades many of the pages of *A Long Retrospect*, is a feeling that Guthrie is very much inclined to attach to his own literary career. Indeed, by the time that Guthrie sat down to write his autobiography, he had long believed himself to have drowned in those same perilous waters. So much so, in fact, that Guthrie unhappily recalls how in 1930 – nearly fifty years after he rose to fame – he had resigned himself to the belief that, as a writer, he was 'all but forgotten'.[3] In the early 1880s, however, Guthrie's literary career was only just beginning. Following the publication of his first novel, *Vice Versâ; or, a Lesson to Fathers* (1882) – a fantastical narrative within which a father and his son exchange bodies – Guthrie took the country by storm, with one reviewer in *Blackwood's Magazine* even noting that his novel made 'all England shriek with laughter'.[4] Soon plunged into the most elite social and literary circles because of his success, Guthrie might well have felt suddenly projected into a fairly surreal dream. The remarkable reception of *Vice Versâ*, however, had lasting consequences: "F. Anstey" – the pseudonym that Guthrie adopted after a magazine called *Mirth* made a minor printing error in 1878 – came to be known, first and foremost, as a comic fantasist.[5]

Despite his best efforts, this label was one which Guthrie simply could not manage to shake. Even those writing about Guthrie in the late-twentieth century returned to his contributions to comic fantasy: Colin Manlove, for example, discussed how Guthrie's innovative technique of 'playing high magic against everyday reality' was so significant that he managed to inspire succeeding generations of comic fantasy writers.[6] In a similar vein, David Pringle argued that Guthrie was the 'first writer to specialize' in this subgenre.[7] Both statements, accurate though they may be, ultimately reinforce the contemporary assessments attached to Guthrie. By contrast, this thesis asks how we might look

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[1] P. D. Ouspensky, *A New Model of the Universe: Principles of the Psychological Method in its Application to Problems of Science, Religion, and Art* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1997), p. 95.
[2] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect* (London: OUP, 1936), p. 144.
[3] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 386.
[4] Anonymous, 'Three Young Novelists', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, September 1884, p. 308.
[5] *Mirth* attributed one of Guthrie's earlier short stories to "F. Anstey" rather than the intended "T. Anstey". See: F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 96.
[6] Manlove notes that between 1910-1912, 'we find the Ansteyan mode refined and elaborated' by succeeding fantasy writers like Edith Nesbit. See: Colin Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), pp. 123–125.
[7] David Pringle, *The Ultimate Encyclopedia of Fantasy* (New York: The Overlook Press, 1999), p. 32.

*beyond* these all-too-familiar readings of Guthrie's work and investigate the unexplored realms and regions of Guthrie's career to re-evaluate and reposition him within his contemporary literary landscape. This is not to suggest that this thesis intends to dismiss *Vice Versâ* and Guthrie's association with comic fantasy; instead, it proposes to work towards a much more holistic image of a prolific writer whose predominantly ignored yet substantial literary career demands recovery and reassessment.

I choose this description – the "realms" and "regions" of Guthrie's career – strategically, as an interest in geography and spatiality is, in fact, what drives the thesis and ties it together. In this attempt to firmly resituate Guthrie amongst recent scholarship, then, I reassess his writing using a spatial lens, all the while interested in the places and the spaces contained within his narratives, as well as their boundaries, the erosion of these borders, and the implications of their breakdown. Complementing and contained within these discussions are explorations into the boundary-breaches and hybridities that both feature within and constitute Guthrie's work. In examining Guthrie's writing in this way, the thesis ultimately proposes to position Guthrie amongst the literary landscape of the period as a literary geographer. In doing so, it investigates Guthrie's interest in and representation of the real and conceptual spaces and places found within his texts and sees Guthrie identify these sites as unstable, or at least, as regions which threaten instability. These are discussions which I return to, in detail, below.

This Introduction is divided into four parts; first, given the limited research surrounding Guthrie and his career, I believe it is necessary to offer a brief biography that captures the most significant moments of his personal and professional life. Seventy-seven years is, however, difficult to condense, so it is worth acknowledging that I cannot avoid making some chronological leaps to the events most relevant to this project. After providing this short overview of Guthrie's life and career, I return to a more general discussion on literary geography and spatiality. By reviewing this research, I expand upon the thesis's overarching arguments and demonstrate how I adopt and adapt current scholarship on literary spatiality within my own work. Finally, I survey the field of research specifically pertaining to Guthrie and, in doing so, I clarify how my work both interacts with current scholarship and how it serves to fill the gaps.

### *Who was Thomas Anstey Guthrie?*

Guthrie was born in Kensington, London on 8 August 1856 to Thomas A. Guthrie, a military tailor and businessman, and Augusta Amherst Guthrie (née Austen), a musician and composer, primarily of

hymns.[8] Guthrie's autobiography suggests that his was a childhood of education and leisure, a period of happiness interrupted only briefly when he started to go to school. His schooldays are afforded a great deal of attention in *A Long Retrospect*, not least because Guthrie's depiction of the school in *Vice Versâ*, called 'Crichton House', was based – in part, at least – on some of his own experiences.[9] Nevertheless, the real identity of Guthrie's 'Crichton House' was actually Sutherland House in London.[10] In his dormitory, Guthrie's love for literature and storytelling began to reveal itself; indeed, as Guthrie recalls, 'I became established as a storyteller, beginning by repeating all I could remember of Nicholas Nickleby and Hans Andersen, and proceeding in time to endless improvisations of my own'.[11] Guthrie soon moved from Sutherland House to King's School College and then to Cambridge, where his 'passion for scribbling' took hold.[12] His earliest publications appeared in magazines such as *The Undergraduates' Journal* and *The Cambridge Tatler*; the latter the publication within which the first instalments of *Vice Versâ* – originally called 'Turned Tables' – were printed in serial form. The sudden and untimely death of Guthrie's mother on 5 August 1877 interrupted the progress of this story, and both 'Turned Tables' and Guthrie's interest in writing were set aside. It was not until 1880 that Guthrie returned to 'Turned Tables' and decided to finish the story. After working on the manuscript and searching for a publisher for some time, *Vice Versâ* was finally accepted by Smith, Elder & Co. on 27 March 1882.

A rising star following the immediate success of this novel, Guthrie gave up a career in Law and was projected into a new world, one within which he met much-celebrated writers like Alfred Tennyson, Henry James, Rhoda Broughton, Rudyard Kipling, and Bram Stoker, to name only a few. Yet despite this initial achievement, Guthrie's literary career in the wake of *Vice Versâ* arguably resembles that of the protagonist of his second novel, *The Giant's Robe* (1884). Mark Ashburn, the aspiring but unsuccessful writer of this narrative, is described as a man who – often like Guthrie – 'gave frantic chase to the will o' the wisp of literary fame'.[13] Indeed, while Guthrie published many books after his first narrative – from the comic fantasies (including *The Tinted Venus* in 1885 and *A Fallen Idol* in 1886) to the '"serious"' novels (like *The Pariah* in 1889) – none achieved the dizzying success of *Vice Versâ*.[14] While Guthrie attributes this, in part, to the fact that he 'allowed too much

[8] In 1848, Austen composed an alternative tune to the hymn 'We Sing the Praise of Him Who Died', called 'St. Agnes'. See: 'We Sing the Praise of Him Who Died', *HymnTime* <http://www.hymntime.com/tch/htm/w/s/t/p/wstpohwd.htm> [accessed 16 November 2022].

[9] It is worth mentioning that 'Crichton House' is also the title given to the chapter which details Guthrie's schooldays. By introducing his recollections in this way, Guthrie arguably plays to *Vice Versâ* while he simultaneously laments the impact of the novel upon his career.

[10] Peter Merchant, '"A Kind of Odour of Salem House": *David Copperfield* and Thomas Anstey Guthrie', in *Dickens and the Imagined Child*, ed. by Peter Merchant and Catherine Waters (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 131–147, p. 135.

[11] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 53.

[12] Ibid., p. 85.

[13] F. Anstey, *The Giant's Robe* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1884), p. 14.

[14] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 206.

time to pass' between the publication of his books, he also admits that 'when one appeared it was found to be in a totally different vein from that of the last'.[15] The latter of these two reasons likely holds more credit; after all, the publication of *Vice Versâ* set high expectations for further comic fantasy narratives, but Guthrie's second novel immediately sought to distance itself from this subgenre. While the decision was certainly one which disappointed Guthrie's contemporary readers, it importantly signalled his desire to resist literary categorisation and write across genres. It is this inability to easily define Guthrie's career that this research project chooses not only to explore, but to embrace.

In 1886, Guthrie also began to contribute to the immensely popular contemporary periodical, *Punch, or the London Charivari*, and in 1887 – now clearly recognised (or arguably even typecast) for his humorous writing – he was invited to join the staff at the iconic Punch table.[16] During Guthrie's time at *Punch*, he wrote some of his better known comic scenes and sketches and republished them in collections including *Voces Populi* (1890 and 1892), *Puppets at Large* (1897), and *Salted Almonds* (1906). He also published a handful of comic dramas, such as *The Man from Blankley's* (1893), *Under the Rose* (1894), and *Love among the Lions* (1898). In the final years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, Guthrie – while still publishing short stories and novels – also turned to the theatre and later to the cinema to reinvent his earlier works.[17] Although this did not always prove to be the most successful enterprise – in fact, only *The Man from Blankley's*, *The Brass Bottle*, and *Vice Versâ* managed to reach the stage – Guthrie's efforts to move with the changing cultural climate certainly remind us of his fluidity as a writer.[18] His final novel, *In Brief Authority*, was published in 1915, in the midst of a war which Guthrie reflects upon with sadness in his autobiography. There was little joy after the ceasefire in 1918, though, for the following month saw Guthrie's younger brother, Leonard, unexpectedly killed on Christmas Eve after he was hit by a tube train at Notting Hill Gate. Although this tragedy is not included in *A Long Retrospect*, Guthrie's diaries and personal correspondences illuminate the grief which he felt in the aftermath of Leonard's death: '[t]here may be as bitter Christmas Days left for us – there can never be worse'.[19] Guthrie was to live for many more Christmases before he died at his home in Kensington on 10 March 1934. His ashes were placed at the foot of his brother-in-law's grave at the Church of St. Peter the Apostle in East Blatchington, East Sussex.

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[15] Ibid., p. 391.
[16] For more on Guthrie's involvement with *Punch* magazine, see Chapter Three.
[17] At this time, Guthrie was also interested in adapting European plays and dramas. Examples of these include *Four Moliere Comedies* (1931) and *Three Moliere Plays* (1933).
[18] For more on Guthrie's career, see: Jenny Stratford, 'F. Anstey', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 33, 1/2 (1968), 80–85.
[19] London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 63573, fol. 120r. For more on Leonard's death, see: Peter Merchant, 'With Collies Graven on His Heart: The Canine Projections of Thomas Anstey Guthrie (1856–1934)', *Cahiers victoriens et édouardiens*, 88 (2018) <https://doi.org/10.4000/cve.3800>.

*An 'epoch of space': literary spatiality*

As Robert Tally Jr. points out, 'space and spatiality […] have always been part of literature and literary studies'.[20] From Dickens's London to James Joyce's illustration of Dublin – which, as Joyce famously noted, aimed to 'give a picture of Dublin so complete that if the city suddenly disappeared from the earth it could be reconstructed out of my book' – it is clear that space and place have always been integral to literature.[21] Nevertheless, it is only since the dawn of the 'epoch of space', as Michel Foucault describes it, that the humanities underwent a 'spatial turn', during which critics turned their attention from matters of time and temporality to an interest in space and spatiality.[22] Tally suggests that this shift was connected to postmodernism; to the feelings of place and displacement resulting from the Second World War; and to the technological advances that condensed spatial and temporal relations, the effect of which is described by the Marxist geographer, David Harvey, as 'time-space compression'.[23] In response to this changed understanding of time and space, Harvey notes, 'we [became] much more sensitized to what the world's spaces contain'.[24] The 'spatial turn', then – as Tally explains – 'is thus a turn towards […] an understanding of our lives as situated in a mobile array of social and spatial relations that, in one way or another, need to be mapped'.[25] While it is difficult to pin down the spatial turn to one specific date, many critics consider the publication of Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1974) to be a significant moment in its development, not least because this text claimed that space should not simply be understood as an 'empty container', but as an active force that shapes social relations and power dynamics.[26] Not too long after, Tally claims, 'a

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[20] Robert T. Tally, Jr., 'Introduction: The reassertion of space in literary studies', in *The Routledge Handbook of Literature and Space*, ed. by Robert T. Tally Jr (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 1–6, p. 1.
[21] Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 67–68.
[22] Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', trans. by Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, 16, 1 (1986), 22–27 (p. 22); Robert T. Tally, Jr., *Spatiality* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 16.
[23] See Tally, Jr., *Spatiality*, pp. 17–20; David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), p. 147.
[24] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, p. 294.
[25] Ibid., pp. 16–17.
[26] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 13. It is worth acknowledging, however, that the interest in literary space and place was not necessarily "new"; in fact, an earlier form of literary geography predates it by many years. William Sharp's *Literary Geography* (1904) offered a collection of essays which introduced the subject as 'a direct extension of biographical interest in the topographical background of the author' and included photographs of a range of locations relevant to recent literary texts and their creators. This kind of "literary tourism" was not always welcomed, though. One memorable critic was Virginia Woolf, who argued that it was impossible to find any true reality in the places contained within fiction, a space of imagination. 'A writer's country is a territory within his own brain', Woolf writes, 'and we run the risk of disillusionment if we try to turn such phantom cities into tangible brick and mortar. We know our way there without signposts or policemen, and we can greet the passers by without need of introduction. No city indeed is so real as this that we make for ourselves and people to our liking; and to insist that it has any counterpart in the cities of the earth is to rob it of half its charm'. See: Sally Bushell, *Reading and Mapping Fiction: Spatialising the Literary Text* (Cambridge: CUP, 2020), p. 17; Virginia Woolf, 'Literary Geography', in *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, ed. by A. McNeillie, 4 vols (London: Hogarth Press, 1904–1912), I, (1986), 32–36 (p. 35).

good deal of the most important work being done in the humanities and social sciences was, in some way or another, tied to matters of space, place, and mapping'.[27]

For literary critics, such discussions consequently fell under the umbrella term of spatial literary studies: an area of research tied together by an interest in the study of space and place in both real and fantasy worlds, as well as in the representation of what Edward Soja calls '*real-and-imagined* places' (original emphasis).[28] These can be understood as hybrid landscapes which see the conflation of a '"real" geography' with 'the representations of space we carry in our minds'; indeed, according to Soja, they are places wherein '[e]verything comes together […]: subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable'.[29] At the same time, though, critics have also chosen to embrace the study of intangible literary landscapes. This is outlined and discussed by Tally, who explains how spatial literary scholars may well choose to engage with space and place 'in a more figurative sense'.[30] By this, Tally means to suggest that literary spatiality can encompass the exploration of both diagrammatic and non-diagrammatic representations of space and place, just as it also includes the analysis of physical and nonphysical environments.[31]

Crucially, it is this inclusive definition and understanding of the study of space and place which I adopt throughout my readings of Guthrie's texts. In applying this framework to my thesis, then, I find that the geographies of Guthrie's texts can be understood as both physical or material (like a city) and abstract or conceptual (a psychological or social space). Contained within these environments are boundaries which, in some way, are breached, eroded, or crossed. To that end, this discussion ultimately serves to position Guthrie as a literary geographer: an author concerned with imagining and exploring space and place, with boundaries and hybridities, and with the implications of the dissolution of the borders contained within such physical and abstract terrains and environments.

I suggest that we understand Guthrie's geographies as figurative or imagined models of the spatial relations, layouts, and structures of a given landscape. They are 'figurative' and 'imagined' in both Guthrie's own texts and within my own thesis, for neither he nor I choose to visualise these spatial representations. In part, I have made this decision because to draw, plot, or map the physical

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[27] Tally, Jr., 'Introduction: The reassertion of space in literary studies', p. 2.
[28] Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), p. 6.
[29] Robert T. Tally, Jr., *Topophrenia: Place, Narrative, and the Spatial Imagination* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), p. 3; Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 56.
[30] Tally, Jr., 'Introduction: The reassertion of space in literary studies', p. 3.
[31] Perhaps unsurprisingly, there are critics who take issue with Tally's claim that literary spatiality should or could encompass the analysis of figurative or abstract environments and maps. Andrew Thacker, for example, has suggested that 'the spatiality of texts' can only be properly engaged with using 'actual maps'. See: Tally, Jr., 'Introduction: The reassertion of space in literary studies', p. 3; Andrew Thacker, 'The Idea of a Critical Literary Geography', *New Formations*, 57 (2005/6), 56–73 (p. 64).

geographies imagined and explored by Guthrie (like London, for example) constitutes a digital humanities project well beyond the scope of this thesis. At the same time, though, the abstract sites examined by Guthrie are also much more difficult to visualise, not least when we turn to Guthrie's interpretation of the complexities of the human psyche. With all this in mind, then, this thesis suggests that Guthrie's representations of space and place can best be understood as imagined literary geographies.

It is also worth acknowledging that Guthrie's representations of space and place deliberately choose what to include and what to exclude, 'to help the user see what needs to be seen'.[32] Like a map, they are – as Mark Monmonier says – full of 'white lies', already constructed with their own motives, ideologies, and interpretations in mind.[33] As we read Guthrie's writing with this spatial lens, then, we must keep in mind that the geographies he offers readers are not always reliable, for they have been manipulated according to his own agenda. This is not to suggest their irrelevance, though; in fact – to borrow a statement made by Susan Schulten in a discussion surrounding the value of maps – Guthrie's geographies 'are important not despite their flaws, but because of them'.[34] Guthrie's spatial representations therefore remain significant *because* they offer his own conceptualisation of the spaces and places contained throughout his texts. The narratives should not therefore be understood as "mirrors" or exact reflections of the landscapes within them, but as distorted representations of space and place that are based on Guthrie's own understanding and interpretation of those geographies. To that end, then, they can be ultimately understood as – like Soja says – both "real-and-imagined".

At the same time, it is also important to point out that Guthrie's representations of space and place do not seek to offer readers any sense of certainty, security, or order. In fact, his narratives are concerned with visualising and making visible *disorder*, as is frequently illustrated by the boundary-breaches that take place throughout them. Consequently, each chapter of this thesis reveals how Guthrie imagines and represents the instability – or, at least, the potential instability – of the spaces and places of lived experience. Perhaps it is no surprise that Guthrie is interested in recognising and visualising the instability of these landscapes, given that his contemporary world so often found itself in flux. Alongside many other changes and developments, advances in transport and technology transgressed spatio-temporal boundaries by allowing people to travel and communicate across vast distances; social and gender norms were challenged and reshaped by protests including the New Woman movement; and the changing political landscape saw the British Empire losing control as it frantically captured territory in the Scramble for Africa and fought in the First and Second Boer Wars.

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[32] Mark Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 25.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Susan Schulten, *Mapping the Nation: History and Cartography in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 46.

Amid such an unstable world, Guthrie's interest in spatiality and his efforts as a geographer are – albeit somewhat counterintuitively – both appropriate and timely. Indeed, his representations of space and place are both shaped by and sit alongside the wider contemporary obsession with taxonomy and mapping: practices which enabled the Victorians to identify and categorise the people and the world around them.[35] These were deployed for a variety of reasons: social researchers investigated and recorded London's poverty and crime; scientists and doctors documented the spread of diseases like cholera by plotting the contaminated regions of the city; and diagrams and maps of the British Empire served to legitimise and aid Britain's political and imperial ideologies.[36] While Guthrie's efforts to understand and represent space and place therefore situate him alongside those similarly interested in geography and spatiality, his commitment to revealing the instability of the spaces and places of lived experience simultaneously distances him from many of his contemporaries. After all, the geographies that he describes and explores ultimately serve to remind readers that it is not quite as easy to distinguish and catalogue the world and everything therein as many might well have wanted to believe.

### *Recent scholarship on Guthrie*

Although it remains relatively slim, recent scholarship on Guthrie has sought to distance itself from the assessments that categorise him as a comic fantasist. In doing so, a handful of studies have re-evaluated both *Vice Versâ* and Guthrie's lesser-known texts. Peter Merchant has offered the most significant contribution to the field of research on Guthrie, with his interests ranging from *Vice Versâ* to Guthrie's love for his pet dogs. In his readings of *Vice Versâ*, Merchant has measured the impact of Dickens upon Guthrie's writing and explored the connections between *Vice Versâ* and one of Guthrie's shorter and much more tragic stories, called 'Marjory' (1885).[37] In addition, Merchant has provided a revised edition of an underappreciated psychological thriller/horror narrative, called *The Statement of Stella Maberly* (1896). This version is accompanied by unpublished and unseen manuscripts related to the text, including a short story called 'The Statement of V. M.' – a madness memoir which prefigures *Stella* – and 'An Evil Spirit' (1916), a screenplay based on the novel.[38]

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[35] As Pamela K. Gilbert notes, '[b]y the early to mid-nineteenth century, maps were everywhere', aided not least by developments in lithography. See: Pamela K. Gilbert, 'The Victorian Social Body and Urban Cartography', in *Imagined Londons*, ed. by Pamela K. Gilbert (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), pp. 11–30, p. 11.

[36] For more, see for example: Gilbert, *Imagined Londons*; Schulten, *Mapping the Nation*; *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartography*, ed. by Alexander J. Kent and Peter Vujakovic (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018); and Thomas J. Bassett, 'Cartography and Empire Building in Nineteenth-Century West Africa', *Geographical Review*, 84, 3 (1994), 316–335. For more on the evolution of mapping, see vol. 1–4 and vol. 6 of *The History of Cartography* (various editors).

[37] Peter Merchant, 'Tales Told Out of School: Anstey's Relation to Dickens and *Vice Versâ*', *The Dickensian*, 102, 470 (2006), 232–239; Peter Merchant, '"A Kind of Odour of Salem House": *David Copperfield* and Thomas Anstey Guthrie', pp. 131–147.

[38] F. Anstey, *The Statement of Stella Maberly*, ed. by Peter Merchant (Richmond: Valancourt Books, 2017).

Importantly, Merchant's reissue establishes a new set of connections with *Vice Versâ* by recognising that Guthrie does not only deploy the supernatural to incite comedy.

I utilise this significant contribution to the study of this much-neglected text in Chapter One, not by considering the trajectory of the narrative – a point discussed by Merchant in both the introduction to his revised issue of *Stella* and in an article on the proposed screenplay – but by delving into Guthrie's exploration and representation of the psychological space of the human mind.[39] In a recent contribution to the *Palgrave Encyclopedia of Urban Literary Studies*, Merchant has also examined Guthrie's vision of London, arguing that he conceptualises the city through its people and places in order to invent 'a gazetteer of his own [...] which sought to ensure a truer reflection of London's late Victorian variety'.[40] In dialogue with Merchant, then, Chapter Three examines Guthrie's efforts to create two illustrations of London, the first detailing the socio-spatial hybridity of the city – indeed reflecting upon London's 'variety' – and the second examining Guthrie's conceptualisation of the sounds and voices of the contemporary metropolis. I return to both discussions in my chapter overview below.

Other recent scholarship surrounding Guthrie's fantasy novels has been conducted by Shuhita Bhattacharjee, Victoria Ford Smith, and Claudia Nelson.[41] In an examination into Richard Marsh's *The Goddess: A Demon* (1900) and Guthrie's *A Fallen Idol* (1886), in which a Jain idol wreaks havoc in Victorian London, Bhattacharjee argues that Guthrie offers an illustration of late-Victorian fears surrounding an invasion from the East.[42] Her subsequent study into Marsh's *The Mahatma's Pupil* (1893) and Guthrie's *A Fallen Idol* is similarly interested in the relationship between the East and the West and specifically examines the dynamics between the Theosophical mahatma and chela.[43] The former of these discussions is one that I call attention to at the beginning of my final chapter, the first half of which examines two invasion narratives including *A Fallen Idol*. While Bhattacharjee and I both read this novel as one which imagines contemporary anxieties surrounding the potential threat of

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[39] Peter Merchant, 'Introduction', in *The Statement of Stella Maberly*, ed. by Peter Merchant (Richmond: Valancourt Books, 2017), pp. viii–ix; Peter Merchant, 'Thomas Anstey Guthrie's Madhouse Shuffle: Steps toward a nightmare scenario', *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*, 42, 2 (2015), 146–163.

[40] Peter Merchant, 'Thomas Anstey Guthrie ("F. Anstey") (1856–1934)', *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Urban Literary Studies*, ed. by J. Tambling (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020) <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62592-8_134-2>.

[41] Sarah Alexander's research into Guthrie's *Tourmalin's Time Cheques* (1891) also provides a valuable contribution to the field. In this story – arguably one of the earliest examples of a time-travel paradox narrative – Peter Tourmalin dreams that he strikes a Faustian bargain on board a steamship with a banker who (quite literally) treats time as money. In her paper, Alexander argues that Guthrie's story illuminates the temporality of finance capitalism. See: Sarah Alexander, 'Saving Time: Nineteenth-Century Time Travel and the Temporal Logic of Late Capitalism', *Victorian Studies*, 60, 2 (2018), 208–217.

[42] Shuhita Bhattacharjee, 'The Insurgent Invasion of Anti-Colonial Idols in Late-Victorian Literature: Richard Marsh and F. Anstey', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 61, 1 (2018), 66–90.

[43] Shuhita Bhattacharjee, 'Of Mahatmas and *Chelas*: Theosophy and the "Cartography of the Supernatural" in Richard Marsh and F. Anstey', *Victorian Popular Fictions*, 1, 2 (2019), 147–163.

an invasion, Bhattacharjee focuses on anti-colonial insurgency in London while I concentrate upon the threat of transculturation, or the cultural "bleeding" of the East into the West.

Rather than studying *A Fallen Idol*, Victoria Ford Smith and Claudia Nelson turn to Guthrie's most celebrated fantasy text – *Vice Versâ* – in their respective examinations into the role of age inversion in Victorian literature. Ford Smith's interest surrounds the nature of child-adult collaborations and the ways in which age inversion might offer children the authority to facilitate such partnerships.[44] Although Ford Smith omits *Vice Versâ* from the body of her discussion on the grounds that the narrative imagines less of a partnership between father and son and more of an 'assumed difference, even enmity' amid the pair, she does acknowledge that Guthrie's novel ultimately 'promotes empathy between father and son'.[45] Nelson similarly records the mutual understanding between generations by the end of the narrative, but she additionally recognises the novel's determination to make the reader reassess the values on which they place the most significance (from economic to domestic/familial).[46] In the final discussion of this thesis, I reread *Vice Versâ* not necessarily as a didactic instrument with which Guthrie emphasises the importance of mutual empathy, but with an interest in the unstable site of the body.

Finally, Beth D. Fleischman's thesis – the only other thesis on Guthrie's writing – provides a useful starting point for scholars working on such an extensive and varied career. The dissertation sees Fleischman survey Guthrie's work from *Vice Versâ* to his final publications in *Punch*, thereby providing a crucial inventory of Guthrie's career.[47] My project takes a different approach from Fleischman's by choosing to discuss fewer publications and arranging them thematically. In doing so, my work offers several in-depth analyses and positions itself as a critical research tool with which future scholarship might interact with Guthrie and his career.

## *Chapter overview*

Each of the chapters contained within this thesis position Guthrie as a geographer, one interested in exploring and charting different physical and abstract terrains and the implications of the erosion of their boundaries. Complementing and, at times, constituting these conversations is an investigation into Guthrie's representation of the hybridities contained within these environments. By situating Guthrie as a literary geographer, these chapters simultaneously understand him to be concerned with charting the instability of the landscapes contained within his writing. It is important to note that every

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[44] Victoria Ford Smith, *Between Generations: Collaborative Authorship in the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017), pp. 145–146 .

[45] Ibid., p. 145.

[46] Claudia Nelson, *Precocious Children and Childish Adults: Age Inversion in Victorian Literature* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2012), pp. 135–163.

[47] Beth D. Fleischman, 'F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie), Late-Victorian Humorist' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of South Carolina, 1981).

chapter speaks of narratives which are – to some degree and in some way – fantastical.[48] This is also the case even in those texts located in the very real city of London. Such illustrations of the city constitute a breach between fantasy and reality (while also containing them) because – as this Introduction has already pointed out – Guthrie's depictions are never completely accurate, nor can they be when Guthrie selectively chooses what to include and what to omit within his representations of the multifarious and ever-changing cityscape. As in a map, then, 'neither the real nor the image remains, no longer is there a distinction between reality and fiction: everything has become either fiction or reality. The space is indeed utopian, nowhere at all'.[49] Such a setting arguably resembles the imaginative space from the introductory 'Custom House' extract in Nathanial Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (1850). The 'floor of our familiar room has become a neutral territory', Hawthorne writes, 'somewhere between the real world and fairy-land, where the Actual and the Imaginary may meet, and each imbue itself with the nature of the other'.[50] Guthrie's writing similarly sees fantasy and reality interact in this complex way, even in the texts that focus their attention upon contemporary London.

A brief note, here, on the terminology deployed throughout this thesis hopes to help frame the forthcoming chapter synopses. Indeed, it is worth remembering that when I refer to a representation of a physical location like the city of London or the buildings therein, for example, I opt to use the term *place* to denote a particular point or position. On the other hand, my discussions surrounding Guthrie's understanding of conceptual or abstract landscapes instead utilise the word *space*. In doing so, this description serves to recognise not only the immateriality of such geographies, but it also speaks to their fluidity, flexibility, and changeability. At the same time, though, I choose to regularly deploy topographical terminology – *borders*, *boundaries*, *margins*, and so on – in my discussions on both the actual *and* the abstract geographies represented by Guthrie. After all, such topographical vocabulary provides a tangible framework for imagining and exploring spatial relations, structures, and layouts. Consequently, I find it appropriate to adopt this language as I examine the complexities contained within Guthrie's illustrations of space and place.

The first chapter, '"Somewhere between the real world and fairy-land": Late-Victorian Fantasy Literature and the "Topography" of the Human Mind', distances itself from a traditional reading of Guthrie's fantasy fiction by moving away from his comic fantasy narratives and turning, instead, towards his psychological thrillers/horror stories. In doing so, this chapter aligns itself with the research conducted by Merchant, whose above-mentioned work on *The Statement of Stella*

[48] This interest in fantastical narratives necessarily excludes certain texts from this project. These include *The Giant's Robe* and *The Pariah* (1889), as well as Guthrie's comic social dramas: stories and dramatic dialogues within which the unfortunate protagonist finds himself in an unfamiliar social situation.

[49] Jean-Marc Besse, 'Cartographic Fiction', in *Literature and Cartography: Theories, Histories, Genres*, ed. by Anders Engberg-Pederson (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2017), pp. 21–43, p. 24.

[50] Nathanial Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1878), p. 38.

*Maberly* recovered both the narrative and *Stella*'s predecessor, 'The Statement of V. M.' (1886). Chapter One offers a discussion on both texts as well as on two short stories, 'The Breaking Point' (1919) and 'A Meeting that Made Amends', the latter of which is an unpublished manuscript composed in 1915. Throughout this chapter, I refer to these texts as Guthrie's "parapsychological" narratives, a term that describes those stories which see an intrusion of the paranormal (or seemingly paranormal) upon the protagonist's mind. In my readings of these texts, I ultimately examine Guthrie's conceptualisation and representation of the "topographies" of the human psyche. Even though my readings of Guthrie's texts do not adopt a psychoanalytic lens, I discuss Guthrie's representation of the mind in a similar way to Sigmund Freud. As Nicholas Dion explains, Freud's deployment of spatial categories served as a means of conceptualising the psyche; they provided a model which was 'intentionally spatial but not physically so'.[51] Although he first imagined the mind as 'multi-layered', Freud later developed his initial ideas to further detail and understand its 'topographies, boundaries, metaphors, [and] spatial relations'.[52] In a somewhat similar vein, this chapter suggests that Guthrie explores and represents the landscape of the psyche by imagining the boundaries and boundary-breaches which might take place within the conscious and unconscious mind, from the often-fragile divisions between the imagination and our understanding of reality to the possibility of psychic communication. When read alongside one another, then, these investigations see Guthrie construct what I call a *psycho-cartography*; that is, a study of the space of the human psyche. Through this psycho-spatial examination, Guthrie identifies the instability – or, at least, the potential instability – of the psyche. After all, the mind is revealed to be unpredictable in each of these texts; something which, at any time, might transgress its margins and descend into unfamiliarity and confusion.

Chapter Two, '"Stories for Boys and Girls": Guthrie, Activism, and the Emotional Geography of London', turns from the mind to the city of London and examines Guthrie's writing for *and* on behalf of children. The first half of the chapter – in part, at least – considers a selection of articles originally published in contemporary periodicals and recognises Guthrie's investment in child welfare and children's wellbeing. At the same time, though, these publications investigate how Guthrie imagines London by assessing and exploring the emotions of the capital, thereby enabling Guthrie to visualise and investigate the emotional geography of late-Victorian London. Emotional geographies, as Liz Bondi, Joyce Davidson, and Mick Smith explain, are concerned with 'the spatiality and temporality of emotions, with the way they coalesce around and within certain places'.[53] Consequently, '[a]n emotional geography […] attempts to understand emotion – experientially and

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[51] Nicholas Dion, 'Spacing Freud: Space and Place in Psychoanalytic Theory' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2012), p. 22.
[52] Dion, p. 65; p. 1.
[53] Joyce Davidson, Liz Bondi, and Mick Smith, 'Introduction: Geography's "Emotional Turn"', in *Emotional Geographies*, ed. by Joyce Davidson, Liz Bondi, and Mick Smith (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), pp. 1–16, p. 3.

conceptually – in terms of its socio-*spatial* mediation and articulation rather than as entirely interiorised subjective mental states' (original emphasis).[54]

Guthrie's emotional geography of the city, this discussion claims, sees Guthrie interested in sites of middle-class philanthropy. These sites – those which erode socio-economic divisions by offering social inclusivity to working-class children – see the children within them cared for, nurtured, safe, and happy. In turn, these places deconstruct what I call *emotio-social* demarcations. By this, I mean that the distressed and miserable working-class children represented in Guthrie's appeals – those who stand in a long line of tragic fictional Victorian children, like Charles Dickens's Oliver Twist and Tiny Tim – are understood to suffer because of the social conditions into which they were born. However, when the children in Guthrie's stories enter places of social inclusivity, their suffering (temporarily) eases and they experience feelings of happiness, security, and comfort. Emotio-social demarcations consequently point towards the relationships between emotions and those experiencing them. Thus, this part of the chapter sees Guthrie promote the organisations and schemes of his articles by recognising the valuable implications of their social inclusivity, thereby tying his interest in activism to his geography of the city. At the same time, the sites considered by Guthrie – in their breaching of socio-economic and emotio-social divisions – speak to the unfixed borders and the hybridity of the metropolis, thereby signalling the instability of late-Victorian London.

The second part of this chapter is connected to the first in its shared interest in conceptualising London's emotional geographies. This discussion, however, employs and explores a series of children's narratives – those contained in the collection, *Paleface and Redskin, and Other Stories for Boys and Girls* (1898) – to consider the ways in which the experiences and emotions of the protagonists shift as they travel through or enter different areas of the city. As these places are bound up in their own problematic social and socio-economic issues, Guthrie once again ties his interest in activism and reform to his representation of the capital. Both parts of Chapter Two therefore explore Guthrie's emotional geographies of London to investigate his interest in the invisible socio-spatial boundaries operating throughout the city and examine the implications of the breakdown of these divisions. Just as Guthrie imagines the instability of the mind in Chapter One, this discussion similarly sees Guthrie record a city which is not ordered but disordered, one which – with its boundary-breaches and socio-spatial hybridities – threatens instability. While this reading of Guthrie as a geographer remains the primary focus of the chapter, such a discussion necessarily gestures towards the fluidity of Guthrie as an author. In doing so, it ventures beyond the interpretations that determine Guthrie as a comic fantasist to establish him, even if for a brief period, as a children's author.

[54] For more on emotional geographies, see *Emotional Geographies*, ed. by Joyce Davidson, Liz Bondi, and Mick Smith.

The third chapter, '"A man for *Punch*": Guthrie as Journalist and Geographer', takes a leaf from the first part of Chapter Two – that which focuses on the journalistic petitions published on behalf of children – and explores Guthrie's role within and his contributions to the immensely popular satirical magazine, *Punch*. In doing so, this chapter positions Guthrie as both urban journalist and literary geographer. The first part of the discussion argues that Guthrie imagines London by deconstructing the city into a series of specific political and cultural sites to reproduce and engage with the contemporary discourses and events taking place within them. These sketches and scenes, when read alongside one another, see Guthrie's dramatic dialogues visualise Victorian London by illuminating various locations across the capital. As in the previous chapter – within which Guthrie records the implications of movement across the metropolis – Guthrie's role as a geographer is tied up in an interest in London's geographical and social boundaries and the city's sites of hybridity and socio-spatial fluidity. Once more, then, Guthrie's conceptualisation of the capital reveals it to be a place of instability.

The second half of Chapter Three subsequently employs a selection of *Punch* scenes and sketches to explore the representation of the voices of late-Victorian London, a discussion which, in part, demonstrates Guthrie's interest in representing the familiar noises of the city's streets and pinpointing them amongst certain places in the capital. At the same time, this discussion shows Guthrie to privilege an alternative vision of London; that is, one which favours the *sounds* of the capital instead of its sights, thereby positioning itself as an audial guide to the city. This conversation consequently situates itself alongside scholarship which similarly seeks to privilege the non-visual senses and recognise the 'multisensual' and 'multidimensional' nature of the spaces and places which we inhabit.[55] Such illustrations are valuable, not least – as Yi-fu Tuan explains – because '[a]n object or a place achieves concrete reality when our experience of it is total, that is, through all the senses'.[56] In turning towards senses other than the visual, then, Guthrie's *Punch* pieces ultimately seek to offer a fuller experience of the capital. His sketches enhance (what Kevin Lynch calls) the 'imageability' or the 'legibility' of the city – thereby referring to the qualities that contribute towards the clarity of our mental map of an urban environment – by offering sensory illustrations that 'invite the eye and the ear to greater attention and participation'.[57] In its depiction of the soundscapes of the city, then, Guthrie's audial guide to the metropolis – manipulated though it may be – crucially serves to facilitate its navigation. It is worth pointing out that this part of the chapter is therefore interested more in this representation as a tool constructed by Guthrie to understand and record the contemporary city and less with the instability that such an illustration reveals to audiences. Nevertheless, instability is still implied; after all, the concoction of voices emerging from the public sites of London gesture towards

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[55] Paul Rodaway, *Sensuous Geographies: Body, Sense and Place* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994), p. 4.
[56] Yi-fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (St. Paul, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 18.
[57] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1960), pp. 9–10.

the presence of a similar socio-spatial fluidity to that which is found in the *Punch* texts featuring in the first part of the chapter.[58]

The fourth and final chapter, '"Topsy-Turveydom": Magical Movements and Metamorphoses', returns to the more overt fantasy texts from Guthrie's *oeuvre*: those within which the supernatural very clearly encroaches upon the ordinary, subsequently prompting a series of magical transformations and transgressions. This discussion finds two sites within which these take place: first, the country (England), and secondly, the body. Both are imagined and understood, by Guthrie, as unstable (or, at least, as potentially unstable), as is evidenced by the spatial breaches contained within the selected texts. Indeed, the first part of the chapter considers two invasion fiction narratives, *A Fallen Idol* (1886) and *The Brass Bottle* (1900), to visualise and chart the "infiltration" of the East within the West. Through the contravening of these East/West binaries, then, Guthrie imagines Victorian England as a place of insecurity and instability. Although the stories that I explore in this part of the chapter are set in London, this discussion looks beyond the capital and turns instead towards the global relations that are incorporated into these narratives. In doing so, it argues that these texts can therefore be understood as ones that construct a geopolitical geography; that is, a spatial representation which – like the geopolitical map – serves to illustrate global relations and trends.[59]

The second part of the final chapter moves away from an examination of the country and instead considers the body. It examines Guthrie's first and best-known novel, *Vice Versâ*, alongside a story originally published in *Strand* magazine, called *Only Toys!* (1903), the latter of which was credited as *Vice Versâ*'s successor by an anonymous reviewer in the *St James's Gazette*.[60] In my analysis of these texts, I adopt and adapt the discussions posited by geographers including Luke Whaley and Robyn Longhurst to examine how Guthrie imagines the body as a site of instability. In part, at least, I suggest that this instability stems from the body's ability to transform in unexpected – and sometimes disconcerting – ways. While this allows Guthrie to imagine the body as fluid and changeable, it also enables him to explore the consequences of bodily liminality by illustrating the negotiation of the unfamiliar body. At the same time, this discussion argues that Guthrie conceptualises the body by representing its relationship to the environment(s) within which it is located. This chapter consequently suggests that Guthrie's stories offer readers a *corporeal geography*: a spatial study examining the ways in which bodies and bodily identities are negotiated within different places. Such an illustration serves to reveal how – as Whaley suggests – 'body and place [are] mediated by "porous" boundaries'; or, in other words, that body and place are intrinsically

[58] While it is beyond the scope of this chapter, the (re)creation of a complete audial map of the voices and sounds of Guthrie's late-Victorian London might identify and expose additional socio-spatial hybridities as they existed in the capital at this time.
[59] Anna W. Moore and Nicholas A. Perdue, 'Imagining a Critical Geopolitical Cartography', *Geography Compass*, 8, 12 (2014), 892–901 (p. 892).
[60] Anonymous, 'The Spirit of Childhood', *St James's Gazette*, 11 January 1904, p. 19.

connected.[61] As the above mentioned texts see their characters enter different locations and find their bodily identities shaped by their environment(s), then, this chapter subsequently argues that Guthrie imagines the body to be porous and permeable and changeable, ultimately pointing towards its instability.

I end the thesis with some final thoughts that gesture towards the ways in which other scholarship might interact with my project. 'Conclusions, and Beginnings', then, suggests that this thesis serves not only as criticism that researchers might wish to consult when considering Guthrie's own writing, but as a case study that supports the revival and reconstruction of similarly "lost" literary careers, not least those which have been forgotten and/or eclipsed by the publication of their most famous book. The recovery of any literary career – one seen in full, rather than in part – undoubtedly has implications for literary databases, too, whilst it simultaneously enables new connections to be made between narratives, people, places, and histories. It sheds light on what we might have missed and reveals stories that are yet untold. These are discussions which I expand upon in the thesis's conclusion.

Crucially, then, 'Recovering Thomas Anstey Guthrie (1856–1934): Genre and Geography' seeks to retrieve and reassess Guthrie's greatly overlooked literary career. As it ventures beyond the deeply entrenched connection between Guthrie and the comic fantasy subgenre, the thesis identifies him as both a writer and geographer and examines how he understands and explores the spaces and places of lived experience, as well as the breakdown of the boundaries of these environments and the implications of such breaches and hybridities. With this in mind, my research intends to work towards recovering Guthrie from those aforementioned "waters of oblivion" and resituate him amongst the literary landscape of the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century. In turn, it serves as a tool with which future researchers might interact with this much 'neglected novelist', as well as with other authors whose careers have been similarly ignored or dismissed by literary scholarship.[62]

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[61] Luke Whaley, 'Geographies of the Self: Space, Place, and Scale Revisited', *Human Arenas*, 1 (2018), 21–36 (p. 26).
[62] Roger Lancelyn Green, 'A Neglected Novelist: "F. Anstey"', *English: Journal of the English Association*, 11, 65 (1957), 178–181.

# CHAPTER ONE
## 'Somewhere between the real world and fairy-land': Late-Victorian Fantasy Literature and the "Topography" of the Human Mind

Fantasy experienced a great upheaval during the nineteenth century. Originally exiled because of the supposed association with daydreamers, children, and the mentally ill, fantasy was aligned – in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, at least – with 'delusion, hallucination, or simply wishful thinking'.[63] These fairly derisory connotations located fantasy (and fantasy literature) at the margins, they held, as Stephen Prickett notes, 'little more than clinical interest to sane and practical citizens'.[64] According to Prickett, though, by 1825, things had changed: '[f]rom being terms of derision, or descriptions of daydreaming, words like *fantasy* and *imagination*' – the former generally understood as the expression of impossible or improbable desires through vivid mental imagery, and the latter denoting the mental production or formation of ideas, objects, or situations not present to the senses – 'suddenly began to take on new status as hurrah-words'.[65] In the wake of these transformations, the fantasy genre took flight. Indeed, the extraordinary success of marvellous and magical texts – like the Grimm Brothers' fairy-tales, Hans Christian Andersen's own fantastical collection, Edward Lear's *Book of Nonsense* (1846), and Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) – hauled this genre from the fringes of nineteenth-century literature and repositioned it firmly at the centre.[66] As the century wore on, fantasy literature continued to evolve: authors like Charles Kingsley and George MacDonald adapted the secondary world narrative established in *Alice* and constructed magical landscapes of their own, subsequently inspiring a whole host of later writers (like C. S. Lewis, for example) to invent similarly fantastical Other-worlds within which they situated their protagonists.[67] Of course, late-Victorian readers also witnessed fantasy literature interact with other genres, like the Gothic; a collaboration which resulted in the production of some of the best-known fantasies of the Victorian era, such as Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886) or Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897). Such narratives dealt closely with the psychological and frequently

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[63] Stephen Prickett, *Victorian Fantasy* (Hassocks: The Harvester Press, 1979), p. 1.
[64] Ibid., p. 2.
[65] Prickett, *Victorian Fantasy*, p. 2. As Gary K. Wolfe points out, Samuel Taylor Coleridge's debate on fancy and imagination in 1817 played a crucial role in 'the birth of the modern fantasy narrative'. His 'famous distinction', Wolfe continues, legitimised 'the notion of a vocabulary of the fantastic'. See: Gary K. Wolfe, 'Fantasy from Dryden to Dunsany', in *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature*, ed. by Edward James and Farah Mendlesohn (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), pp. 7–20 (p. 9).
[66] Once upon a time, fantasy fiction and fairy tales were considered unsuitable literature, even for children. In fact, in the early years of the nineteenth century, E. Nesbit's grandfather – Anthony Nesbit – cautioned against these stories. He argued that they 'generally exhibit pictures that never had any existence, except in the airy imaginations of the brain'. He recommended, instead, reading the pious and didactic works of Evangelical authors. By the time that the Grimm Brothers released their fairy tales, though, children were able to access this genre with far fewer restrictions than in the early-nineteenth century. I return to a discussion on the development of children's fantasy fiction in Chapter Two. See: Doris Langley Moore, *E. Nesbit: A Biography* (Philadelphia and New York: Chilton Books, 1966), pp. 2–3.
[67] For more on the influence of Charles Kingsley and George MacDonald, see: *Informing the Inklings: George MacDonald and the Victorian Roots of Modern Fantasy*, ed. by Michael Partridge and Kirstin Jeffrey Johnson (Hamden: Winged Lion Press, 2018).

contained characters who found themselves haunted. As Prickett points out, the latter decades of the nineteenth century were plagued by turbulent social, political, and technological anxieties; 'by monsters from dreams and nightmares, from irrational fears, and from the vast abyss of the past which the new sciences had uncovered'.[68] It was fitting, then, that the ever-evolving fantasy genre and its collaborations with the gothic 'gave form to those […] potent spectres'.[69]

Guthrie was not celebrated for his secondary world (portal) fantasies or his psychological fantasies, though.[70] In fact, as the Introduction points out, it was for the publication of his first and most famous fantasy novel, *Vice Versâ* (1882) – a book which Guthrie admits both 'made' and 'mar[red]' his literary career – that Guthrie was recognised and remembered.[71] This chapter looks beyond *Vice Versâ* and Guthrie's similar comic fantasy narratives and instead offers an analysis of a selection of fantasy texts that give rise to the uncanny and elicit feelings of uncertainty, dread, fear and/or horror. These stories – which will, for the purposes of this chapter, be referred to as Guthrie's "parapsychological" texts – all employ a slippage between the paranormal and the psychological; they confuse and distort the two by dealing with the intrusion (or, at least, the apparent intrusion) of the paranormal upon the protagonist's mind and perception of reality.[72] In my discussion on these texts, I ultimately examine Guthrie's representation of the "topographies" of the human psyche. Indeed, this chapter argues that Guthrie's narratives serve to imagine, explore, and understand the boundaries of the mind and record them amongst a *psycho-cartography*; that is, a study of the space of the psyche. This psycho-spatial examination, framed by all its boundary-breaches, consequently enables Guthrie to recognise and reveal the instability – or, at least, the potential instability – of the human mind.

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[68] Prickett, *Victorian Fantasy*, p. 95. For more on fin-de-siècle fantasy fiction, see: Nicholas Ruddick, 'The fantastic fiction of the fin-de-siècle', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Fin-de-Siècle* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), pp. 189–206.

[69] Prickett, *Victorian Fantasy*, p. 95.

[70] Examples of Guthrie's portal fantasies include the short story 'The Adventure of the Snowing Globe', published in *Strand Magazine* in 1905, as well as *In Brief Authority*, published in 1915.

[71] London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 54289, fol. 213r. While he was praised for his contribution to 'humorous or satirical fantasy', Guthrie's fantasy texts were simultaneously criticised by writers including Colin Manlove as comedies which carried 'no deeper meaning'. Stephen Prickett concurs with this assessment, arguing that even Guthrie's better-received fantasies – like *The Tinted Venus* (1884), *A Fallen Idol* (1886), and *The Brass Bottle* (1900), for example – are 'situation-comed[ies]', which, '[a]s in most light comedy', introduced readers to 'a thinner simpler [world] than the one we all know'. See: Colin Manlove, *Modern Fantasy: Five Studies* (Eugene: Resource Publications, 2020), p. 11; Prickett, *Victorian Fantasy*, p. 217.

[72] As the texts featuring within this chapter see the lives of their respective protagonists disturbed by the imposition of a paranormal entity, readers might draw the conclusion that they are – to borrow Farah Mendlesohn's term – intrusion fantasies. In such stories, Mendlesohn explains, 'the world is ruptured by the intrusion, which disrupts normality and has to be negotiated with or defeated, sent back whence it came, or controlled'. Although the fantastic entities certainly appear to integrate themselves – with or without malice – into the lives of the protagonists found within the pages of these four parapsychological narratives, it can be difficult to distinguish where an intrusion begins and where one ends. After all, these texts revolve around mental health, psychology, and consciousness, discussions in which we often struggle to place fixed certainties. The term intrusion fantasy may therefore be better applied to Guthrie's comic fantasies, such as *A Fallen Idol* or *The Brass Bottle*. See: Farah Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics of Fantasy* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2008), p. 115.

The first part of this chapter will read the previously mentioned *Statement of Stella Maberly* alongside its predecessor, an unpublished manuscript called 'The Statement of V. M.' (1888). These texts similarly imagine how the mind, while once so familiar, can so easily appear "foreign" to us; our own thoughts and feelings can establish themselves as intruders, or rather – as Sigmund Freud describes them – as 'alien guests'.[73] As the female protagonists of these two hallucination horrors mistake their madness for the supernatural, Guthrie plays around with his understanding of and interest in the complexities of mental health as he visualises the distorted and deteriorating boundaries of a troubled and confused mind, thereby highlighting its instability. The second half of the chapter begins in a similar vein to the last, with an exploration into the representation of psychological intrusion in a short story called 'The Breaking Point', republished in *The Last Load* in 1925. This discussion is complemented by the chapter's final investigation, one which focuses upon an unpublished story called 'A Meeting that Made Amends'.

As in both *The Statement of Stella Maberly* and the novella's predecessor, 'The Breaking Point' and 'A Meeting that Made Amends' – both of which were written and set around or during the First World War – similarly confuse the psychological and the paranormal. While 'The Breaking Point' bears similarities to the texts in the previous part of the chapter and sees Guthrie employ the return of the dead to visualise and explore trauma and traumatic memories, 'A Meeting that Made Amends' distances itself from Guthrie's other parapsychological narratives. Here, the spectral visitant is no delusion; in fact, this final text sees Guthrie – overshadowed by the horrors of the First World War – explore the potentially legitimate existence of psychic phenomena, such as telepathy. This necessarily raises questions surrounding the boundaries of human consciousness and the possibility of a spiritual afterlife. Although the psychical connections contained within this story are heavily motivated by Guthrie's interest in death and grief, they simultaneously speak to his recurring interest in psychology and the workings of the human mind. The second half of the chapter therefore adds to the first as it further conceptualises and imagines the shadowy spaces and boundaries of the psyche. 'The Breaking Point' and 'A Meeting that Made Amends' can consequently be read as narratives which additionally serve to conceptualise the human mind and build upon Guthrie's psycho-cartography. In doing so, they further recognise and reveal the instability of the psyche, of one of the many spaces and places of lived experience.[74]

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[73] Sigmund Freud, 'A Difficulty in the Path of Psycho-Analysis', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: The Hogarth Press, 1955), XVII, pp. 135–144 (p. 141).

[74] I am aware of the difficulty in labelling texts that deal with mental health issues as "fantasies" because the term often signals a degree of volition, while much of this discussion – on the contrary – argues that mental illness and mental anguish are conceptualised as intrusive and undesired entities. Nonetheless, the incorporation of the paranormal within these narratives necessarily requires us, as readers, to consider them as fantasies (because they are not based in a concrete reality). As Guthrie utilises these instances of legitimate as well as illegitimate paranormal activity to explore the workings of the human mind, I find it appropriate to discuss them in a chapter that covers his neglected fantasy fiction.

## ‘Haunted or mad!’: Mental Anguish and Mental Illness in ‘The Statement of V. M.’ and *The Statement of Stella Maberly*

‘Insanity with all its delusions is but a waking dream’
Leonard G. Guthrie, *Functional Nervous Disorders in Childhood*[75]

‘Tell me, am I insane?’
Guy de Maupassant, ‘Am I insane?’[76]

In *A Treatise on Insanity and Other Disorders Affecting the Mind* (1835), James Cowles Prichard, a British physician and ethnologist with a strong interest in psychiatry, wrote of the behaviour of “monomaniacs”: patients suffering with a form of insanity in which ‘some particular illusion or erroneous conviction [is] impressed upon the understanding’.[77] After ‘sustain[ing] some unexpected misfortune’, Prichard claims, a monomaniac

> fixes upon some particular circumstance of a distressing nature, and this becomes afterwards the focus round which the feelings which harass him concentrate themselves. This circumstance is often some real, occasionally some trifling act of delinquency […] In other instances an *unreal phantom* suggests itself […] which at first *haunts the mind* […] and is at length admitted as reality (my emphasis).[78]

The language used by Prichard to explain these episodes of psychological confusion resembles the descriptions of hallucinations presented by other Victorian physicians. Henry Holland, for example, refers to these visual disturbances as ‘spectral images or illusions which come unbidden into the mind’.[79] Such discussions undeniably supernaturalise the human mind; in these extracts psychiatric delusions are presented as abstract, otherworldly, intruders. This depiction is hardly surprising, given the liminality of ghosts and spirits: they are recognised as both dead and alive; simultaneously past and present; neither tangible nor intangible. Their ambiguity – in the nineteenth century, at least – aligned well with the incomprehensible human psyche. As mental illnesses were similarly confusing and indistinct, it served Victorian physicians well to conceptualise psychiatric conditions using the supernatural.

The descriptions made by physicians spilled into literature from the period, with authors frequently turning to the supernatural to illustrate a character’s troubled mind. This psychologization of the Gothic, Elton E. Smith and Robert Haus argue, gained substantial traction as the nineteenth

[75] Leonard G. Guthrie, *Functional Nervous Disorders in Childhood* (London: OUP, 1907), p. 72.
[76] Guy de Maupassant, *The Horla and Others*, ed. by M. Grant Kellermeyer (Fort Wayne: Oldstyle Tales Press, 2016), p. 29.
[77] James Cowles Prichard, *A Treatise on Insanity and Other Disorders Affecting the Mind* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1835), p. 12. Prichard was well-known for his theories surrounding the alleged condition of moral insanity, defined as a ‘madness consisting in a morbid perversion of the natural feelings, affections, inclinations, temper, habits, moral dispositions, and natural impulses’. For more on Prichard’s work on moral insanity, see pp. 12–25.
[78] Prichard, *A Treatise on Insanity*, p. 28.
[79] Henry Holland, *Chapters on Mental Physiology* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852), p. 115.

century wore on: external threats like werewolves 'thinned into impalpable ghosts [...] and finally interiorized into malign forces living in people's heads. The haunted house became *The Haunted Mind*'.[80] Indeed, Edgar Allen Poe's 'The Tell-Tale Heart' (1843), for example, sees the protagonist acutely aware of what he calls other-worldly noises, noting that he hears sounds from both Heaven and Hell; Charlotte Perkins Gilman's 'The Yellow Wallpaper' (1892) visualises her character's descent into insanity as she, like Poe's narrator, externalises her "horror" through tangible objects and imagines her inanimate bedroom wallpaper come to life ('[t]he front pattern does move – and no wonder! The woman behind shakes it!'); and the protagonist of Guy de Maupassant's 'The Horla' (1887) attributes his illness to a supernatural origin, declaring that '[s]omebody possesses my soul and governs it!'.[81] Just as psychiatric patients may find their understanding of their environment altered by their mental illness, the psychological disorientation illustrated within these texts demonstrates how these characters are unable to distinguish between their external and internal realities. By blurring the actual and the imaginary in this way, the narratives elicit feelings of the uncanny (the *unheimlich*) – that 'species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been familiar' – as the once recognisable and well-known psyche appears increasingly foreign and *un*recognisable.[82] Such psychological distortions and disorientations find themselves in need of a suitably ambiguous representation. As a result, and perhaps somewhat unsurprisingly, the troubled human mind is often conceptualised with the help of the Gothic.

Similar manifestations of the psychologized Gothic appear in two of Guthrie's parapsychological texts, 'The Statement of V. M' and *The Statement of Stella Maberly*.[83] Throughout both texts, Guthrie employs seemingly paranormal entities to imagine mental illness and mental anguish. In doing so, he visualises and explores the distortion and collapse of the boundaries separating the actual from the imaginary; indeed, these texts see the eponymous Stella and her predecessor, Violet, suffer from delusions that are, in fact, 'unreal phantoms'. In 'The Statement of V. M.', Violet's mental illness is recognised and represented through her visual and auditory

[80] The Victorian Gothic underwent a series of transformations as the nineteenth century wore on, with writers borrowing and adapting conventional Gothic tropes even as the overall focus of their narratives shifted. Sensation fiction, for example, a popular genre in the 1860s and 1870s, often infused criminal biographies with the Gothic; Imperial Gothic saw a series of late nineteenth-century novels located specifically in the British Empire; while Gothic fiction published at the fin-de-siècle revealed countless anxieties about evolution, science, and medicine and identified the human body as the site of horror. See: Elton E. Smith and Robert Haus, 'Introduction: Victorian Literature and the Shifting Use of the Supernatural', in *The Haunted Mind: The Supernatural in Victorian Literature*, ed. by Elton E. Smith and Robert Haus (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1999), pp. vii–xiv (p. xi).
[81] Edgar Allen Poe, *A Selection of Short Stories and Poems* (London: Legend Press, [n.d.]), p. 9; Charlotte Perkins Stetson, 'The Yellow Wallpaper', *New England Magazine*, January 1892, pp. 647–656, p. 654; Guy de Maupassant, *The Horla and Others*, p. 45.
[82] Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. by David McLintock (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 124.
[83] 'The Statement of V. M.' remains in the British Library, however Peter Merchant's edited edition of *The Statement of Stella Maberly* has recovered this unpublished text and printed it alongside *Stella*. For the purposes of this discussion, my references to the manuscript will be taken from Merchant's republication instead of the British Library. Consequently, I will cite page numbers rather than the folios.

hallucinations: she sees and hears (what she believes to be) ghosts, her deceased loved ones, the devil, and some sort of afterlife. Alongside the breaching of the boundaries separating fantasy and reality, the spatial and temporal are also transgressed as Violet records flashbacks as well as the details surrounding moments of telepathic communication with her loved ones.[84] In *The Statement of Stella Maberly*, Guthrie takes this paranormal conceptualisation of mental illness one step further and imagines Stella's psychiatric distress as an even more dangerous entity: a demon. As the first half of this chapter will demonstrate, *Stella Maberly* illustrates the eponymous protagonist's mental deterioration and decline through the introduction of an allegedly demonic presence, one which Stella believes to have possessed her friend. Crucially, as Violet and Stella's "haunted" minds envision a muddling of their external world and their interior psychological "world", these texts see Guthrie visualise and explore the consequences of the erosion of the boundaries separating what we recognise as reality from what we accept as imaginary. By employing these women to explore the tenuous relationship that we may so frequently have with ourselves, then, 'The Statement of V. M.' and *The Statement of Stella Maberly* attempt to record and understand the complicated space of the human mind, thereby positioning them as psycho-cartographic investigations that examine and expose the potential instabilities contained within this abstract site.

Both texts situate themselves as psychological Gothic narratives, stories in which typical Gothic tropes and conventions meet protagonists with psychological and emotional vulnerabilities, subsequently provoking feelings of dread, unease, or fear (for both the characters and the audience). Such texts destabilise the reader: they often include unreliable, unstable, or troubled narrators; emotional trauma and/or abuse (sometimes suggesting that the narrator is in a situation in which their psychological disorientation is the result of another's actions); and episodes of visual and auditory hallucinations – features which ultimately serve to disorientate the reader and raise questions about the narrator or protagonist's understanding of reality. 'The Statement of V. M.' and *The Statement of Stella Maberly* certainly meet the expectations of a psychological Gothic narrative. 'V. M.', a short unpublished manuscript composed during the final months of 1888, can be identified – as Merchant explains – as a 'piece of purported autopathography'; an autobiographical narrative documenting the influence of an illness or disability upon the author's life.[85] Violet's statement does indeed situate itself as this type of text by calling attention to the fact that it was "written" while she was detained at London's Bethnal House Asylum, an institution with which Guthrie was familiar. As Merchant explains, Guthrie's friend and brother-in-law was the son of Dr John Millar, the superintendent of the asylum in the early 1880s.[86] Doubtless Guthrie's visit to the Millars' house in the spring of 1882

[84] The telepathic connections that I highlight here will be discussed in the latter half of this chapter, during my analysis of Guthrie's 'A Meeting that Made Amends'.
[85] Peter Merchant, 'Introduction', in *The Statement of Stella Maberly*, ed. by Peter Merchant (Richmond, VA: Valancourt Books, 2017), p. viii.
[86] Millar was succeeded by John Kennedy Will in 1886. See: Merchant, 'Introduction', p. viii.

would have offered Guthrie an opportunity to familiarise himself with Bethnal House Asylum and with Millar's work.[87] Violet's statement takes readers through the events leading to her current incarceration, recounting the details of her mental anguish, her hallucinations, and her troubled second marriage. The narrative (fragmented and disjointed as it often proves to be) recalls several moments of precognition, includes flashbacks, and features extensive descriptions of her hallucinations and visions. When the narrative ends, readers are left to draw their own conclusions about Violet's incarceration at Bethnal House Asylum.

Just like 'The Statement of V. M', *Stella Maberly* immediately locates itself as a psychomedical text. Described by one contemporary reviewer as 'a study of madness', the novella was originally published as a text 'Written by Herself', thereby instantly gesturing towards its place as a madness memoir.[88] In a preliminary note to this quasi-autobiographical narrative, one which offers a confession that bears similarities to the document found within James Hogg's *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824), readers see Stella – that 'wicked woman', as she was described by the aforementioned reviewer – insist, like Violet does, that the following document accounts for the events leading up to her current incarceration.[89] The story begins when Stella becomes a companion to a schoolfriend, a woman called Evelyn Heseltine. The pair live quite peacefully together for a while, but the arrival of Hugh Dallas – whom Stella believes to be Evelyn's romantic interest – provokes jealousy. After an argument one night over Hugh's increasing visits, Stella recommends that Evelyn take a sleeping draught; one which has potentially deadly side effects for those with heart conditions, just as Evelyn does. The following morning, when Stella remembers this medical warning, she recoils in horror at her murderous thoughts and races to Evelyn's bedroom, only to find herself unable to wake her friend. Convinced that she has killed Evelyn in all but deed, Stella bargains with any sort of deity to bring her friend back to life. Evelyn's subsequent re-animation prompts joy, at first, quickly followed by dread: the only explanation for the revival seems to be that Evelyn must have been possessed by an evil spirit and brought back from the dead. Plagued by this belief, Stella describes the torment that she suffers at the hands of this demon and the subsequent accusations of insanity which she faces from those from whom she seeks help. Soon after Evelyn and Hugh are married, Stella visits them at their new home, only to find Evelyn drastically changed. Readers may conclude that Evelyn's physical changes are due to her heart disease (which seems to have made her extremely ill), but Stella instead believes that the demon is draining the life from her friend. Taking it upon herself to remove the evil presence from Evelyn's body, Stella strangles her friend to death. In his grief for his wife, Hugh subsequently takes his own life, at which

[87] Millar also published *Hints on Insanity* in 1861, a text with which Guthrie was likely familiar, given his close relationship to the Millar family. See: F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect* (London: OUP, 1936), p. 118.
[88] Anonymous, 'The Statement of Stella Maberly', *Bookman*, May 1896, p. 58.
[89] Ibid.

point Stella's narrative ends as she finishes her report detained in an asylum.

*Psychiatry in the Nineteenth Century*

As Guthrie wrote both 'The Statement of V. M' and *The Statement of Stella Maberly* during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, it is worth outlining the psychiatric landscape within which he composed his work, as well as the personal interests and motivations underpinning his writing. At the beginning of the 1800s, physicians possessed a rather rudimentary knowledge of psychiatric disorders, and it was one that differed very little from that of the previous century. George Cheyne's *The English Malady; or, a Treatise of Nervous Diseases of all Kinds; as Spleen, Vapours, Lowness of Spirits, Hypochondriacal, and Hysterical Distempers, Etc*, published in 1733, serves as an example of one such investigation. As Janet Oppenheim points out, despite *The English Malady*'s contemporary influence and popularity, the jumbled title immediately suggests an inability to distinguish and categorise one psychological condition from another.[90] Amalgamating nervous disorders with other afflictions like hysteria, melancholy, and hypochondria left medical professionals (and the public) confused not only about the cause of such illnesses, but also how to treat them. Treatments in asylums were changing throughout the former part of the nineteenth century, though, departing from earlier methods of restraint and instead opting for "moral management", a tactic championed by advocates of non-restraint like Phillipe Pinel in France and William Tuke in England.[91] These therapeutic treatments focused on ensuring that patients felt as if they were contributing to the community by providing them with a routine that included both work and leisure. Importantly, moral management was seen as revolutionary. In fact, as Elaine Showalter notes, when Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum opened in 1851, it was advertised as a vision of humanitarianism, reform, and progress; all idealised virtues very much in keeping with the aims of the recent Great Exhibition unveiled just a few months prior.[92]

Charles Dickens famously declared his support for this new dawn in psychiatric care in 'A Curious Dance Round a Curious Tree', an article published in *Household Words* in 1852. Comparing the dehumanising restraints used in earlier institutions, where patients 'were chained, naked, in rows of cages', to the therapeutic treatment of moral management, Dickens – as Richard Currie notes –

[90] Janet Oppenheim, *"Shattered Nerves": Doctors, Patients, and Depression in Victorian England* (Oxford: OUP, 1991), p. 13.
[91] Tuke's York Retreat was opened in 1796 and introduced "moral management" to patients across England. See: Andrew Scull, 'The Social History of Psychiatry in the Victorian Era', in *Madhouses, Mad-doctors, and Madmen: The Social History of Psychiatry in the Victorian Era*, ed. by Andrew Scull (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), pp. 5–32 (p. 10).
[92] Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980* (London: Virago Press, 1987), p. 24.

demonstrated his 'determination to insist that Victorian psychiatry treat[ed] the insane humanely'.[93] This type of treatment, however, also involved more ostensibly benign supervision and surveillance; it was more protective, more custodial. As Showalter points out, these tactics mirrored the domestic environment in which women were so often confined in their homes.[94] Gilman's short story, 'The Yellow Wallpaper', serves as a particularly well-known illustration of the potential medical/domestic confinement faced by women in the nineteenth century. The female protagonist notes the smothering (and silencing) she endures at the hands of John, her physician-husband, a man who insists upon the "rest cure".[95] 'There comes John', she frantically scribbles down, 'and I must put this away, – he hates to have me write a word'.[96] John's determination, both as a doctor and as a husband, to impose this method of "benevolent" treatment ultimately exposes how both medical authorities and the institution of marriage sought to diminish female voices and female agency.[97] Guthrie's unpublished 'The Statement of V. M.' arguably resembles Gilman's short story as Guthrie similarly pays attention to the medical/domestic entrapment of the female protagonist. Not only is Violet's second husband neglectful (Violet writes 'he locked his bedroom door' to keep his wife from bothering him) and emotionally abusive (he gaslights her to undermine her credibility as a witness to his involvement in a murder: '[m]y Husband said it only showed how mad I was to conceive such a thing'), he also might be able to have his wife incarcerated in an asylum.[98] Acknowledging her husband's connections, Violet writes, '[m]y husband & [the doctor] great friends. Easy to have me sent to an Asylum' (p. 111). As Merchant notes,

> [t]hat the Victorians used diagnoses of madness to manage mutinous women is a conclusion often reached by social historians today, but to find such suspicions voiced by the Victorians themselves is rare. If [Guthrie] means them to be given any credence, then marriage rather

[93] Charles Dickens, 'A Curious Dance Round a Curious Tree', *Household Words*, 17 January 1852, p. 385; Richard A. Currie, '"All the Year Round" and the State of Victorian Psychiatry', *Dickens Quarterly*, 12, 1 (1995), 18–24 (p. 18).
[94] Showalter, *The Female Malady*, p. 50. See also: Elaine Showalter, 'Victorian Women and Insanity', *Victorian Studies*, 23, 2 (1980), 157–181.
[95] Pioneered by Silas Weir Mitchell, an American physician, the "rest cure" was an enforced regime of bed rest and isolation, without any forms of intellectual activity or stimulation.
[96] Stetson, 'The Yellow Wallpaper', p. 649.
[97] For more on 'The Yellow Wallpaper' see, for example: Charlotte Perkins Gilman, 'Why I Wrote The Yellow Wallpaper' <https://www.americanyawp.com/reader/18-industrial-america/charlotte-perkins-gilman-why-i-wrote-the-yellow-wallpaper-1913/> [accessed 15 February 2022]; Michelle A. Massé, 'Gothic Repetition: Husbands, Horrors, and Things That Go Bump in the Night', *Signs*, 15, 4 (1990), 679–709; Rula Quawas, 'A New Woman's Journey into Insanity: Descent and Return in *The Yellow Wallpaper*', *Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association*, 105 (2006), 35–53; Carol Margaret Davidson, 'Haunted House/Haunted Heroine: Female Gothic Closets in "The Yellow Wallpaper"', *Women's Studies*, 33, 1 (2004), 47–75.
[98] F. Anstey, 'The Statement of V. M.', in *The Statement of Stella Maberly*, ed. by Peter Merchant (Richmond, VA: Valancourt Books, 2017), p. 120; 112. All future references will be from this edition and will be given in parentheses following quotations.

> than Bethnal House Asylum is the institution in which Violet M. has found herself restrained.[99]

Perhaps when Violet admits that her 'life was so haunted', then, she suggests that she is plagued by more than just ghosts (p. 120). Indeed, it is not only her visions of the deceased that trouble her, but the ubiquitous spectre of marriage, too, consequently gesturing towards a rather different type of "haunting".[100]

Despite efforts to try and distance themselves from somewhat vague theories of insanity circulating before the nineteenth century, alienists – as they came to be known by the 1860s – failed to provide any definitive answers on the causes of insanity. The late-Victorian era did, however, see a prevalent interest in degeneration and atavism and the application of degeneration theory to psychiatric patients, with psychiatrists such as Emil Kraepelin framing chronic mental diseases as evolutionary "errors". The continual uncertainty and the lack of understanding surrounding contemporary psychiatric conditions arguably influenced the illustrations of mental distress and mental illness found within 'The Statement of V. M.' and *Stella Maberly*. By conceptualising Violet and Stella's respective psychiatric conditions as incomprehensibly fluid, shapeshifting presences that plague the lives of these women, mental illnesses are recognised for their ambiguity and uncertainty. Without a definitive origin or explanation, mental distress is both a visible, physiological problem and, at the same time, an invisible, intangible, psychological one. The indeterminacy of Violet and Stella's conditions crucially contributes towards their paranormal representation. At the same time, this depiction leaves readers wondering whether Violet and Stella might sometimes also be *sane*. After all, the spectres that represent Violet and Stella's respective psychiatric conditions are not always visible: they swiftly appear and then soon disappear. By illustrating Violet and Stella's respective mental illnesses in this phantasmatic and phantasmagorical way, Guthrie provides a complex image of mental health as he visualises the constantly shifting status of his protagonists' sanity. As a result, Guthrie's texts continually destabilise readers by preventing them from knowing whether the protagonist is reliable or unreliable, ultimately ensuring that they feel just as disorientated as their narrator. These narratives, then, consequently leave readers questioning whether their sanity is as tenuous and as uncertain as Stella and Violet's.

Guthrie's interest in and understanding of the workings of the human mind also stemmed from two sources rather close to home. The first of these, and certainly the more distressing of the two, was the deterioration and decline of Guthrie's father during the final months of 1888.[101]

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[99] The exception to this rule is, of course, Sensation fiction. In the narratives of Mary Elizabeth Braddon or Wilkie Collins, for example, the authors clearly voice concerns surrounding deliberately incorrect diagnoses of female madness. See: Merchant, 'Introduction', pp. ix–x.

[100] It is worth pointing out, here, that we can arguably conceptualise both the asylum and marriage as sites of entrapment, even though the former is a physical and locatable place.

[101] Guthrie's father died on 14 February 1889.

Guthrie's diaries record several upsetting incidents involving his father's mental agitation and confusion during this time. On 4 November 1888, for example, he writes that he found his father 'getting up and dressing at 7am and found asleep in dining room. Wanting to know who that was in the chair – a vacant one'; on 16 November, Guthrie writes 'P. [for Pater] complaining that he was fancying himself in a strange house'; and on 25 November 'P. gloomy again – inclined to self-accusation'.[102] With his father's deterioration in mind, as Merchant suggests, it is perhaps not so surprising that 'The Statement of V. M' and the subsequent *Stella Maberly* 'should have been interested […] in hallucinations, and in what happens when all distinction disappears between reliable report, on the one hand, and fabrication or false memory, on the other'.[103] Guthrie's interest in psychiatry and mental health was additionally influenced by the work of his younger brother, Leonard, who was by the end of his medical career an established paediatrician and neurologist. In fact, around the same time that Guthrie was composing 'The Statement of V. M.', Leonard was appointed as a physician at the Paddington Green Children's Hospital and at the Regent's Park Hospital for Nervous and Epileptic Diseases.[104] Leonard's position undoubtedly influenced 'The Statement of V. M.'. As Merchant points out, Guthrie 'could not have convincingly described the psychomedical symptoms that are necessarily woven into this self-styled record of "Mental Struggles" […] without the specialist knowledge to which his brother's studies and professional standing gave him access'.[105] The combination of these two personal influences likely contributed towards Guthrie's continual interest in contemporary psychiatry and mental illness throughout the final decades of the nineteenth century.

### *Representing the space of the mind: constructing a psycho-cartography*

*The Statement of Stella Maberly*, Merchant explains, is 'hosted by the shell of another story'; 'the idea for which', Guthrie admits in his autobiography, 'had haunted me for some years'.[106] *Stella Maberly* therefore often resembles its predecessor, most strikingly in the seemingly paranormal representations of psychiatric distress and mental illness. Indeed, what begins with spectral manifestations of mental anguish in 'The Statement of V. M.' evolves into the conceptualisation of mental illness as an intrusive demonic force in *Stella Maberly*. In addition to this, though, both narratives present themselves as a type of "found footage": a quasi-autobiographical manuscript that has been handed, by Violet, to her physicians, and by Stella, to the publisher. This narrative style was often employed by Gothic writers during the period, as is evidenced by similarly "genuine" personal accounts found

[102] London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 63551, fols. 69v and 70r.
[103] Merchant, 'Thomas Anstey Guthrie's Madhouse Shuffle', p. 151.
[104] Merchant, 'Introduction', p. viii–ix. For more on Leonard's medical career, see: 'Obituary', *British Medical Journal*, 4 January 1919, pp. 28–29.
[105] Merchant, 'Thomas Anstey Guthrie's Madhouse Shuffle', p. 151.
[106] Merchant, 'Introduction', p. vii; F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 230.

in canonical Gothic texts such as Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) or Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897).[107] Within these novels, just as in Guthrie's 'Statement of V. M.' and *Stella Maberly*, the "textual artefact" narrative is employed to offer the illusion of authenticity.

Despite the apparent validity of such reports, though, readers soon learn that Guthrie's female protagonists might not be the most reliable narrators after all. Violet's document begins with an introductory statement, claiming that her memoir offers 'a detailed account of the difficulties & misery that I had to contend with during the time that I was so troubled by the hearing of […] the voices at least some of dear relatives whom I knew were dead' (p. 107). Immediately after this, she shifts to the next section of her story, subtitling it 'Voices & Shadows or Mental Struggles' (p. 107). Not only does this subtitle pose a question to the reader (does the following account describe a legitimate paranormal intrusion, *or* does it illustrate a psychiatric condition?), the disjointed structure seen at the narrative's opening – as well as the fragmentation featuring throughout the rest of the text, a narrative which consists of tangents, temporal shifts, and omissions – highlights, as Alexia Mandla Ainsworth describes it, 'the growing fragmentation' of the character.[108] The structural disintegration in 'The Statement of V. M.' thereby gestures towards both Violet's unreliability as a character as well as her forthcoming mental decline.

*Stella Maberly* similarly offers itself as an authentic account when the publisher appears to confirm that the document is legitimate: '[t]he manuscript of this book', the professed publisher writes, 'was placed in my hands with an express stipulation that I should not reveal the writer's identity until, or unless I received authority to do so'.[109] Although this statement undoubtedly raises many questions – who "authorised" this anonymity? Is there more to the story? Is the writer alive or dead? – the publisher's corroboration and deliberate omission of the author's identity appears to afford the report some validity. Nonetheless it does not take long before Stella's readers are offered some initial hints that her narrative might not be entirely dependable, as the testimony begins

> I, Stella Maberly, have determined to make a full statement of all the circumstances in my life which led me to commit an act that, in itself, would seem a crime deserving of nothing but condemnation. I shall write it rather for my own satisfaction than that of others, for there may be a time when, as has been the case before, my memory grows confused. (p. 3)

Recalling her experiences with bouts of confusion, disorientation, and potentially even amnesia, Stella – just like Violet – gestures towards her distorted understanding of reality, consequently establishing

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[107] For more on this, see: Alexia Mandla Ainsworth, 'Constructing Evil through the Epistolary in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*', *The Macksey Journal*, 1 (2020), 1–14.
[108] Ainsworth, 'Constructing Evil', pp. 3–4.
[109] F. Anstey, *The Statement of Stella Maberly*, ed. by Peter Merchant (Richmond, VA: Valancourt Books, 2017), p. 2. All future references will be from this edition and will be given in parentheses following quotations.

her as an unreliable narrator, despite the seeming authenticity of her quasi-autobiographical manuscript.

When Guthrie calls attention to Stella's confused understanding of the past, he simultaneously looks back to an earlier narrative within which memory, distortion, and disorientation present themselves as the primary focus. This text, called 'Shut Out', a short story originally published in *Longman's Magazine* in 1884 – a year which witnessed, as Ian Hacking explains, advances in the 'sciences of memory' – sees Guthrie play around with amnesia, false memory, and mental confusion.[110] In this piece, readers meet Wilfred Rolleston as he journeys home from school. He describes his elation over the forthcoming school holidays, and most especially at the possibility of spending time with his mother and with his romantic interest, a girl called Ethel. When he arrives home and knocks on the front door, though, there is no one there to let him in. Unsurprisingly distressed, he begins to cause quite the commotion, consequently forcing a passing police officer to involve himself in the scene. The police officer tells the man to move on, at which point Ethel, now a woman, emerges from the house next door and says that she knows – or rather, knew – the dishevelled man when he was a young boy. By the end of the story, both Wilfred and Guthrie's readers realise that the protagonist was incorrectly imagining himself as a child.

Wilfred's mental disorientation and distorted perception of his environment are confirmed when he sees his family home as it really stands in the present: 'all shuttered and dark' with 'some of the windowpanes […] broken'.[111] The dilapidated house, standing in striking contrast to its previous description as one full of liveliness, excitement, and energy, is the image of Wilfred's shattered mind. As Wilfred walks away from his childhood home at the end of the narrative – headed nowhere in particular – readers recognise that he is completely lost; not just physically, but psychologically, too. After all, as Kevin Lynch points out in *The Image of the City* (1960), '[t]he very word "lost" […] means much more than simple geographical uncertainty'.[112] Throughout 'Shut Out', then, Wilfred's confused conflation of past with present and fallacy with truth speaks to Guthrie's commitment to understanding the troubled and disorientated human mind, an interest which is developed, not too many years later, in 'The Statement of V. M.' and *Stella Maberly*. It is within these texts that we find the sustained construction of a psycho-cartography, one which – in part, at least – imagines and

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[110] Hacking notes that the mid-1870s to the mid-1880s saw significant developments in the understanding of memory, trauma, and multiple personality disorders. See: Ian Hacking, *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and the Sciences of Memory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 128.

[111] F. Anstey, 'Shut Out', *Longman's Magazine*, June 1884, pp. 165–173, p. 171. The painful description of Wilfred's desolate family home arguably mirrors the feelings of devastation experienced by Guthrie following the death of his mother. Indeed, when Augusta Amherst Austen unexpectedly died in August 1877, her death shook the family. In *A Long Retrospect*, Guthrie writes '[w]hat her death meant to us all […] I shall not try to put into words. It seemed incredible that she should be dead, impossible to imagine what life would be without her. […] And now, almost without warning, she had been taken from us, and our home was left desolate forever'. See: F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 94.

[112] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1960), p. 4.

explores the ways in which the mind might confuse the past with the present, thereby breaching the margins which separate memory from reality. For Wilfred and Stella, of course, these boundaries are not strictly fixed and instead bleed into one another. Yet those who misread the characters' convictions (at first, at least) are similarly implicated; indeed, just as Wilfred and Stella's confusion points towards the instability of their mind, Guthrie's readers are also left questioning whether their misunderstanding of the characters' reliability is a sign of their own disorientation.

Both 'The Statement of V. M.' and *Stella Maberly* also reveal their respective protagonists' previous mental distress and anticipate a forthcoming episode of decline; in fact, in 'The Statement of V. M.', Violet is acutely aware of her turbulent mental health. 'I thought what an awful misfortune it would be', Violet confesses in her manuscript, 'were Mind & Body to give way again. I had been ill once some years before' (p. 108). This earlier breakdown was caused by the sudden death of her first husband, a '[s]hock so great that for close on 2 years I dragged on a miserable existence in a Lunatic Asylum' (p. 111). The present episode of Violet's mental decline, however, seems to lack a definitive catalyst; even before she witnesses her husband participate in a murder, she recalls how she heard 'whispering' outside her bedroom, adding that as she 'entered [her] room it seemed as if the owners of the voices entered with [her]' (p. 108). The permeation of these voices gestures towards a blurring of psychological boundaries; here Violet's exterior and interior reality appear distorted, consequently signalling to readers the beginning of her mental decline.

In a similar vein, the infiltration of the "paranormal" represents the protagonist's psychological collapse in *Stella Maberly*, as she recalls how the 'evil, mocking spirit' that had possessed Evelyn's body 'glided into my room and stood by my bedside, like some lovely apparition in her white robe and with her fair hair floating loose about her shoulders' (p. 71). This vision of Evelyn is undeniably steeped in the supernatural; indeed, the way she enters Stella's bedroom mirrors the unrestrainable movements of vampires and of ghosts, not least the vampiric Carmilla in Sheridan Le Fanu's eponymous Gothic novella (1872), who enters Laura's bedroom and stands by her bed in a 'loose dress', with her 'hair down and cover[ing] [her] shoulders'.[113] Stella herself knows that the supernatural knows no limits: 'I did not dare to lock my door', she notes, because 'I knew that it would be but a vain protection' (p. 81). Guthrie is not necessarily interested in representing a physical invasion, here; rather, he intends for Evelyn's intrusion to imagine Stella's unmanageable psyche. Indeed, with Stella's obsessive and irrepressible thoughts – as she herself calls them – understood to be uncontrollable, the illustration of the demonic-Evelyn invading the bedroom visualises Stella's

[113] Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, *Carmilla* (New York: Scholastic Book Services, 1971), p. 53. Although it is not the focus of this discussion, it is worth pointing out that the similarities between the vampiric Carmilla and Evelyn also point towards the possibility of a romantic or sexual relationship between Stella and Evelyn. This is perhaps not so surprising, given the undertones of lesbianism which often appear throughout the narrative. After all, the women have an intimate relationship (before Evelyn's "possession", at least) which is threatened by the arrival of Hugh. His presence consequently prompts Stella's jealousy, paranoia, and obsessions.

delusions as intrusive entities, thereby revealing the extent of her mental illness. Just like the whispers that enter Violet's bedroom, Evelyn's transgression visualises a collapse in both physical *and* psychological boundaries, thereby enabling Guthrie to begin to construct a spatial representation of the mind that serves to reveal the instability of the psyche.

It is worth adding, however, that Stella's decision to leave her bedroom door unlocked simultaneously implies a degree of involvement and reminds readers of an earlier confession. Speaking about her 'secret grievance' against Evelyn, Stella admits that she 'nursed' her 'mental attitude […] until it was an absorbing and imperative necessity to find fresh food for it' (p. 22). This suggestion figures Stella as a mother to her dangerous thoughts; they are, to quote Shelley, her 'hideous progeny'.[114] By acknowledging the role that Stella plays in the development of her invasive and unmanageable thoughts and beliefs, Guthrie presents a nuanced vision of mental illness; one which envisions Stella's distress to be an invasive and hostile enemy while simultaneously recognising it to be a product of her own mind, thereby presenting the protagonist as actively complicit in her suffering.

Although Stella does not acknowledge any previous psychiatric episodes in the same way as her predecessor, Violet, she does recognise that her mental health has been a frequently tumultuous part of her life. In fact, in a statement which resembles Miss Wade's autobiographical narrative, 'The History of a Self-Tormentor' – found within Charles Dickens's *Little Dorrit* (serialised between 1855 and 1857) – Stella documents how her 'black moods' were a 'paralysing force which would not relax by any effort of [her] own will' (p. 6). The concept of one's will, as Oppenheim notes, was one which 'virtually all Victorian and Edwardian attitudes toward mental health and illness were constructed'.[115] Those suffering with mental health disorders were considered incapable of controlling their minds; the sufferer 'lost all ability to regulate thought, feeling, or conduct, and the power to govern instinctual drives'.[116] Stella's description of the 'paralysing force' which governs her in such moments of mental anguish reveals the tenuous and volatile relationship that she has with her own mind. By admitting her inability to control such feelings, she dismisses the concept of one's will and exposes the reality of the struggle felt by those with mental health conditions. When Stella's 'demons were not aroused', however, she describes herself as a 'natural, bright, impulsively demonstrative child' (p. 6). Here, Stella's split personality is reminiscent of the duality found in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886). The 'horror' that Jekyll experiences as he considers his 'other self' is similarly noted throughout Stella's recollection of her relapses; indeed, both Jekyll and Stella appear possessed by a power which "transforms" them into someone else entirely.[117] The concept of

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[114] Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein; or the Modern Prometheus* (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1831), p. xii.
[115] Oppenheim, *"Shattered Nerves"*, p. 43.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Robert Louis Stevenson, *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1886), p. 137.

the "split self" was an emerging one in the late-Victorian era, both to contemporary psychiatrists as well as contemporary writers. As Jill L. Matus notes in a discussion on *Strange Case*, 'the words Stevenson gives to Jekyll at the outset of his confession suggest that the author was aware of developments in the emergent psychology of multiple selves: "[m]an is not truly one, but truly two"'.[118] Published ten years after *Strange Case*, Guthrie's *Stella Maberly* similarly touches on this contemporary interest in – what we would now describe as – dissociative identity disorder (formerly known as multiple personality disorder) as Stella articulates how this 'paralysing force' "changes" her from one person into another. This representation of Stella's mind, one which possesses the ability to "transform" her feelings, thoughts, and behaviours, undoubtedly speaks to Guthrie's interest in exposing the potentially unstable space of the psyche.

Alongside these recollections of Stella's mental health, she additionally highlights – albeit inadvertently – her inherited insanity by detailing her mother's similar temperament. In these descriptions, her mother is introduced as a woman suffering with some form of psychiatric condition, as well as a potential source of contamination. She was 'cursed', Stella writes, 'with so violent a temper that it soon became impossible to live with her. Where or how she died I don't know; for my father was always reserved on the subject' (p. 5). Gesturing towards the seemingly supernatural illness haunting her mother's mind, Stella subsequently defines her own temperament, admitting that she was capable of 'rebellious rages […] so violent that they left me, when their force was spent, weak and exhausted for hours afterwards' (p. 6). In the Maberly family, the apple appears to fall not very far at all from the tree. In fact, it appears as if Stella may have inherited the "curse" of her mother's madness. As Kelly Hurley explains, in the nineteenth century heredity was considered 'an invisible source of contamination'; at this time all types of physical, mental, and moral diseases were perceived as transmissible.[119] More often than not, mothers were blamed for supposedly infecting their children with such conditions. In 1835 Prichard wrote that '[i]diots who are at large wander about the country, and the females often bear children', while Jean Étienne Dominique Esquirol similarly notes in his *Mental Maladies* (1845) that '[i]nsanity is rather transmissible by mothers, than by fathers'.[120] These contemporary beliefs about the transmission of disorders influenced the representation of the deviant female contaminant found in Sensation literature. Texts like Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862), for instance, see the eponymous protagonist describe how her mother's insanity contaminated her own mind, writing how no one suspected the '"hidden taint that I had sucked in with my mother's milk"'.[121] Such a statement consequently emphasises how this female secretion was figured as an invisible agent of infection. Stella is similarly

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[118] Jill L. Matus, *Shock, Memory and the Unconscious in Victorian Fiction* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), p. 161.
[119] Kelly Hurley, *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism, and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), p. 66.
[120] Prichard, *A Treatise on Insanity and Other Disorders*, p. 241; Jean Étienne Dominique Esquirol, *Mental Maladies: A Treatise on Insanity* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), p. 49.
[121] Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Lady Audley's Secret* (Oxford: OUP, 1998), p. 393.

imagined as a woman "infected" by her own mother and her heredity. Although she fails to make this connection, her father is well-aware of it. In his eyes, his daughter's behaviour is so like her mother's that he begs '"God grant she may not grow up like her […]!"', clearly emphasising his concerns surrounding their similarities and alluding to Stella's inherited psychiatric condition (p. 6).

Stella's arrival at Tansted House – the place in which she resides with her schoolfriend, Evelyn – offers the final hint of Stella's impending psychological collapse. Stella's description of the house presents a classically Gothic building: 'through a gateway and under an ivy-covered arch […] Tansted House was a delightful old Tudor or Caroline mansion' (pp. 15–16). The wildness of the entrance to this mansion, described as overgrowing with ivy, symbolically foreshadows an unruliness and lack of control in Stella's own mind. Inside the house, Stella goes on to record, 'Evelyn took me up at once to a pretty chintz-hung bedroom opposite her own' (p. 16). The chintz in Stella's bedroom, this multi-coloured cotton fabric with a vibrantly busy florid pattern, recalls the 'florid arabesque' found in 'The Yellow Wallpaper'.[122] Detailing this similar décor arguably serves to predict how *Stella Maberly* is another 'schizophrenic text', a term used by Gabrielle Rippl to describe Gilman's story.[123] Resembling the phantasmagorical and transformative wallpaper from Gilman's story, which moves from being inanimate to animate, the chintz in Stella's bedroom hints at Stella's forthcoming delusions about the re-animation of her ostensibly deceased friend while simultaneously gesturing towards her own imminent mental decline.

In a discussion on psychiatry in the Victorian era, J. P. Williams notes that physicians often sought to distinguish the early stages of psychiatric delusions from the advanced stages, the latter of which '"acquire a complete mastery over [the patient]"'.[124] As their narratives progress, readers recognise the all-encompassing weight of Violet and Stella's respective delusions, those which are visualised through episodes of visual and auditory hallucinations.[125] Violet's aural illusions include voices, repetitive noises, and music. While it is worth acknowledging the voices that she hears, this discussion chooses to focus instead on the latter two manifestations of sound. In doing so, it moves from a discussion surrounding typical auditory manifestations of mental illness and recognises other, less obvious episodes of Violet's heightened sensory awareness to demonstrate their significance in

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[122] Stetson, 'The Yellow Wallpaper', p. 653.

[123] Gabrielle Rippl, 'Wild Semantics: Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Feminization of Edgar Allen Poe's Arabesque Aesthetics', in *Soft Canons: American Women Writers and Masculine Tradition*, ed. by Karen L. Kilcup (Iowa City: Iowa University Press, 1999), pp. 123–141 (p. 131).

[124] W. B. Carpenter, *Principles of Mental Physiology*, 4th edn (London: Henry S. King, 1876; 1st edn, 1874), p. 673, cited in J. P. Williams, 'Psychical research and psychiatry in late Victorian Britain: trance as ecstasy or trance as insanity', in *The Anatomy of Madness: Essays in the History of Psychiatry*, 3 vols, ed. by W. F. Bynum, Roy Porter, and Michael Shepherd (London: Tavistock Publications, 1985; repr. Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), I, pp. 233–255 (p. 241).

[125] I return to a brief discussion on Violet's visual hallucinations in the second part of the chapter as I consider her traumatic flashbacks.

the illustration of her mental anguish.[126] Even at the very beginning of the manuscript, Guthrie introduces Violet as someone acutely aware of the noises around her. She hears, for example, what seems to be 'water dropping from ceiling on to carpet – like very large drops falling at intervals with a thud' (p. 108). While this appears harmless and perhaps even insignificant, the amplified sound produced by their falling – the hyperbolic "thud" that they create as they hit the floor – reveals to the reader Violet's heightened aural awareness. It also immediately highlights how Violet confuses her internal reality with her external reality as the leak seems to lack a legitimate source: '[w]ent to part where sound proceeded', Violet admits, 'but strangely enough the sound seemed to come from an opposite direction', thereby suggesting that the sound originates from within her own mind (p. 108). The emphasis placed on Violet's heightened receptiveness resembles that of similarly troubled protagonists featuring throughout other Gothic narratives. Poe's 'The Tell Tale Heart', for instance, sees the narrator and protagonist respond to his aural surroundings: '[h]ave I not told you', he asks the reader, 'what you mistake for madness is but over-acuteness of the senses? [...] there came to my ears a low, dull, quick sound, such as a watch makes when enveloped in cotton'.[127] Crucially, the similarities between Poe's narrator and Guthrie's narrator arguably point towards sound as an indicator of mental distress.

After demonstrating Violet's awareness of the spectral sounds surrounding her, like the ghostly water droplets, 'The Statement of V. M' also sees Violet plagued by other auditory hallucinations, including music. In fact, Violet records several instances in which she is troubled by mysterious music, and these moments are often tied to other visual or auditory hallucinations. She writes, for example, about the time that she heard a 'loud note or sound from the trombone after string or violin sent forth another loud sound – more like the snapping of a string than anything else' (p. 116). During this episode, she also sees a 'reflection of female form gliding towards [the] door', arguably resembling synaesthesia; a neurological condition in which the stimulation of one sensory pathway, such as taste, triggers another sensory pathway, like sight (p. 116).[128] Melissa Kendall McLeod argues that both sound and ghostly apparitions similarly possess a liminal and transitory nature.[129] It is fitting, then, that the inexplicable music that Violet hears often presents itself at the same time as her other ghostly visual hallucinations. Such episodes of sensory overload appear to torment and torture the narrator; indeed, it is during these moments – when Violet's senses are

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[126] It is worth noting that analysing sound and other non-visual stimuli in literature might open new paths for Victorian studies. It points towards considering texts from neurodiverse perspectives, like synaesthesia, mentioned in the following paragraph.
[127] Poe, *A Selection of Short Stories and Poems*, p. 12.
[128] Although synaesthesia is still being investigated, it was also – perhaps rather surprisingly – a popular area of research in the late-nineteenth century. Indeed, synaesthesia was considered by contemporary occult and psychical researchers, such as Annie Besant and Charles W. Leadbeater, both ardent theosophists. Their book, *Thought-Forms* (1901) studies the visualisation of thoughts, experiences, emotions, and sounds.
[129] Melissa Kendall McLeod, 'Sound of Terror: Hearing Ghosts in Victorian Fiction' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Georgia State University, 2007), p. 5.

bombarded with multiple stimuli all at once – that she is (understandably) most distressed. So much so, in fact, that in the moments following the above-mentioned recollection, she even declares 'I could come to no other conclusion than that I was haunted either by devils or angels' (p. 116).

In the scenes within which Violet is "haunted" by music, Guthrie also raises questions about her marriage. As Merchant notes, Violet's second husband is a music teacher.[130] Thus, the music that plagues Violet stems from her troubled marriage. This is hardly surprising, considering what her husband is capable of; in fact, Violet recalls how she witnessed her husband assist a murder. Indeed, as she hid in a closet, surrounded by 'the skulls of some poor creatures who probably committed self-destruction' – simultaneously placing her in close proximity to those with suicidal tendencies and lessening the distance between life and death – Violet watched her husband and his friend, a so-called doctor, admit a woman and pour a 'mixture down her throat' (p. 110). As she concludes this recollection, Violet remembers '[h]ow [the patient] tried to struggle and scream' before she died (p. 110). It might be beneficial to approach this scene from a similar critical perspective as the one offered to Lucy Westenra's mutilation and decapitation in Stoker's *Dracula*. As Carol Margaret Davidson points out, the graphic abuses against Lucy's vampiric body are symbolically determined as gang-rape.[131] The scene before Violet, one which ultimately enables Guthrie to capture and expose contemporary medical abuses against women, presents itself as a similarly figurative episode of sexual and physical abuse as Violet watches two violent men (both of whom possess authority over the patient) violate the powerless female body.[132] With such disturbing and frightening memories attached to her second husband, it is little wonder that music and songs repeatedly haunt her; indeed, for Violet, these sounds distort the cultural experience of music and signify trauma and distress. Crucially, though, Guthrie is interested in representing Violet's auditory hallucinations – symptoms of the deterioration of the mind – to detail and explore the psyche. This psycho-cartography, then, one which details the ways in which our understanding of reality might appear so distorted as the boundaries separating the actual from the imaginary erode and collapse, ultimately serves to imagine the potential instability of the human mind.

Stella's psychiatric condition similarly reveals itself through a series of visual and auditory hallucinations; however, throughout this latter text, Guthrie's conceptualisation of mental illness takes the shape of a powerful, demonic force, too. This is established approximately mid-way through the

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[130] Merchant, 'Thomas Anstey Guthrie's Madhouse Shuffle', p. 150.

[131] Carol Margaret Davidson, 'The Victorian Gothic and Gender', in *The Victorian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion*, ed. by Andrew Smith and William Hughes (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 124–141 (p. 139).

[132] Medical abuses against women often featured in contemporary fiction; Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* (1860), for example, imagines the deliberately wrongful confinement of a woman. Real cases of wrongful confinement have long since been recognised by social historians, but medical abuses certainly extended beyond such incarcerations. Women were also policed under the guise of medicine, and gynaecological surgeries were especially rife with experimentation and abuse. For more on gynaecological surgery during this period, see: Ann Dally, *Women Under the Knife: A History of Surgery* (Edison: Castle Books, 2006).

text, when Stella believes that she has provoked the demonic possession of Evelyn, whose name rather ironically means *life* or *living*.[133] Upon finding (what appears to be) Evelyn's corpse, and horrified by the knowledge that she has allowed her friend to take a potentially fatal sleeping draught, Stella's narrative recounts how, in a moment of

> reckless raving I besought whatever power there might be – good or evil, angel or devil, on earth or in hell – that heard me, to come to my aid now in my desperate extremity, and make that which was dead alive. […] while I still knelt, the sun rose and shot a level ray of crimson gold into the room, suffusing Evelyn's pale, pure face with the hue of life and health (pp. 44–45).

Although Evelyn's reanimation seems almost angelic in these initial moments, Stella soon decides that her friend's revival is far more sinister than she first believed. Only a short while later, Stella notes the change in Evelyn, stating that she 'had at last recovered her appetite. I had already noticed that Evelyn was eating more heartily than I ever remembered to have seen her, and with a daintily sensuous enjoyment' (p. 49). Evelyn confirms Stella's suspicions about her physical appetite, stating that she feels '"ravenous"' (p. 49). This voracious appetite recalls the insatiable hunger felt by the unfortunate protagonist of one of Guthrie's earlier narratives, 'The Singular Case of Samuel Spoolin', originally published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1885. In this short, comic story, Samuel claims that his body has been possessed by two rowdy and unmanageable demons, one of which, called Bimbo, is 'extremely particular about what Samuel ate'.[134] The insatiable appetite demonstrated by both Samuel and Evelyn – a trope which traverses the boundaries separating comedy from horror – crucially borders on the bestial and the inhuman. So much so, in fact, that Evelyn is even described by Stella as a 'different *creature*', thereby dehumanising her because of her newfound appetite (my emphasis, p. 50). In a discussion on food, eating, and the Gothic body, Elizabeth Andrews considers how certain appetites – from starvation to cannibalism – both control and transform the body in Gothic texts. In the eighteenth-century Gothic novel, a villain's physical and sexual appetites were, according to Andrews, 'excessive'; they drove him to possess his victim's bodies.[135] Texts like Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) certainly attest to this claim; indeed, the villainous monk from the novel, Ambrosio, "possesses" his female victims by assaulting and/or killing them. While the demonic-Evelyn does not attempt to physically control Stella, Stella does believe that she seeks to

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[133] Evelyn derives from Eve, meaning "to live" or "to give life".
[134] F. Anstey, 'The Singular Case of Mr. Samuel Spoolin', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1 June 1885, pp. 942–952, p. 947.
[135] Elizabeth Andrews, 'Devouring the Gothic: Food and the Gothic Body' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Stirling, 2008), p. 152.

possess her *psychologically*. The voracious appetite exhibited by Evelyn at the breakfast table, then, consequently anticipates – to Stella, at least – Evelyn's desire to torment and control her mind.[136]

Consequently, as the narrative continues, readers learn how Evelyn's 'new self', or rather, the spectre of Stella's mental illness, taunts and harasses Stella. Evelyn, Stella writes, would 'sit by my pillow and whisper the most appalling threats and gibes in my reluctant ear' (p. 81). Such 'poisoned whispers', as Stella describes them, demonstrate the extent of her delusions, clearly reinforcing the text's status as a hallucination horror or – to again borrow Gabrielle Rippl's term – a 'schizophrenic text' (p. 89). To a modern audience, at least, the voices that Stella hears would likely be described as symptoms of schizophrenia. According to neurologists, auditory hallucinations 'are one of the most salient positive symptoms in schizophrenia […] What characterizes auditory hallucinations is that the patient experiences "someone speaking to him/her" that is perceived as a reality, with an origin outside of the self'.[137] What is crucial, though, is not the diagnosis; rather, it is that Stella experiences these perceptions as though they were real, clearly demonstrating how there is a miscommunication, in her own mind, between what she believes to be real and what is actually true. By employing the demonic-Evelyn as the embodiment of Stella's mental illness, Guthrie explores how our minds may easily trick us, how reality may become so unrecognisable, and how the divisions between the actual and the imaginary might so easily erode as our understanding of the world deteriorates, crucially visualising the decline of Stella's psychological boundaries. In his representation of this collapse, Guthrie ultimately begins to construct a psycho-cartography which sees the abstract space of the mind detailed and explored. In doing so he finds the mind to be a site of fragility, one which, at any moment, might deteriorate, thereby signalling the instability of this abstract environment.

'The Statement of V. M.' and *The Statement of Stella Maberly* see their eponymous protagonists both plagued by episodes of self-haunting; that is, as Vernon Lee (the pseudonym of Violet Paget) describes in *Hauntings: Fantastic Stories* (1890), when the 'genuine ghost' is 'one born of ourselves'.[138] Indeed Guthrie's 'Statement of V. M.' and *Stella Maberly* similarly seek to

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[136] When Stella notes Evelyn's increased hunger, she subtly alludes to Evelyn's other newly awakened physical desires, too. In fact, while Evelyn was once previously described as 'too spiritual somehow to be associated with earthly passion', she now consumes food with 'sensuous enjoyment' (p. 20). Such a change also hints at Evelyn's newfound sexual interest, which Evelyn's subsequent pursual of Hugh seems to confirm. She is consequently transformed from the ideal Victorian woman – 'spiritual, non-sexual, self-disciplined' – into a woman with an uncontrollable interest in satisfying her physical desires. The satiation of Evelyn's physical desires is not necessarily surprising, though, given her name; after all, as "Evelyn" derives from "Eve", Guthrie immediately associates Evelyn Heseltine with the Biblical Eve. Just like Eve in Genesis, who gives in to temptation when she eats the apple in the Garden of Eden, Evelyn also "falls" – at least, in Stella's eyes. This is represented through both her newfound physical appetite as well as the allusions to her awakened sexual "appetite". See: Anna Krugovoy Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), p. 3.

[137] Kenneth Hugdahl, Else-Marie Løberg, Karsten Specht, and others, 'Auditory hallucinations in schizophrenia: the role of cognitive, brain structural and genetic disturbances in the left temporal lobe', *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 1, 6 (2008), 1–10 (p. 2).

[138] Vernon Lee, *Hauntings: Fantastic Stories* (London: John Lane, 1906), p. x.

investigate and conceptualise the human mind, an interest anticipated by earlier, shorter narratives such as Guthrie's 'Shut Out'. As Beth Fleischman rightly points out, 'Shut Out' and *The Statement of Stella Maberly* (and, I would add, 'The Statement of V. M.', too), exemplify just 'how destructive the sense of alienation can be'.[139] While Fleischman speaks of the *social* isolation seen in these texts, it is worth instead acknowledging the impact caused by the *psychological* isolation experienced by the female protagonists of these two narratives. Certainly, it is Violet and Stella's respective psychological alienation – their detachment from their reality and their confused understanding of what is real and what is not – which Guthrie appears to be most interested in articulating throughout 'The Statement of V. M.' and *The Statement of Stella Maberly*. By employing the paranormal to illustrate Violet and Stella's delusions, Guthrie attempts to detail the fragile nature of the human mind and explore the tenuous grasp that we may so often have upon reality. These texts ultimately establish themselves as fictional explorations into the mind by visualising the distortion and deterioration of psychological boundaries. When read alongside one another, these parapsychological narratives contribute towards the construction of Guthrie's psycho-cartography of the human mind; one which ultimately serves to reveal the instability of this abstract space. Guthrie later builds upon this illustration of the psyche using two further parapsychological texts, both of which similarly locate themselves in and around the First World War. These are the stories upon which the remainder of the chapter chooses to focus its attention.

[139] Beth D. Fleischman, 'F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie), Late-Victorian Humorist' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of South Carolina, 1981), p. 176.

Spectral Visitants in 'The Breaking Point' and 'A Meeting that Made Amends'

I sometimes hold it half a sin | To put in words the grief I feel
Lord Alfred Tennyson, *In Memoriam A.H.H.*[140]

I have made no secret of my conviction, not merely that personality persists, but that its continued existence is more entwined with the life of every day than has been generally imagined; that there is no real breach of continuity between the dead and the living; and that methods of intercommunion across what has seemed to be a gulf can be set going in response to the urgent demand of affection, [...] LOVE BRIDGES THE CHASM.
Oliver Lodge, *Raymond; or, Life and Death*[141]

Although Alfred Tennyson's well-known poem *In Memoriam* (1850) was published over fifty years before *Raymond* (1916), Oliver Lodge's controversial investigation into psychical research, both texts similarly concern themselves with death, grief, and memorialisation. This is perhaps unsurprising, given that the spectre of death haunted not only the nineteenth century but the twentieth century, too, as fatalities caused by poverty, disease, and a lack of medical care in Victorian England met the sheer devastation of the First World War and the following Spanish flu pandemic. With death ever-present, contemporary citizens consequently turned to acts of mourning and memorialisation to honour their loved ones: large cemeteries were erected to remember the dead; wealthier families paid for photographs to be taken of or with the deceased; spirit photography thrived; and Spiritualism and psychical research abounded.[142] The latter of these frequently found themselves the focus of both fiction and non-fiction texts; indeed, while short stories like Henry James's 'The Friends of the Friends' (originally published as 'The Way it Came' in 1896) and Rudyard Kipling's 'Wireless' (1902) offered readers illustrations of spiritual communication and telepathy, members of the Society for Psychical Research instead set out their parapsychological studies in *Phantasms of the Living* (1886) and *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death* (1903). Like James and Kipling, Guthrie's writing similarly involved itself in conversations surrounding death and the possibility of communicating with the dead. These discourses emerge in Guthrie's 'The Breaking Point', originally published in *Strand Magazine* in 1919 and republished in the collection *The Last Load* in 1925, as well as in 'A Meeting that Made Amends', one of Guthrie's many unpublished manuscripts. Both texts see a spectral visitant introduce itself into the life of the respective male protagonist. As this discussion will demonstrate though, for Guthrie, the spectres that appear in these two short stories ultimately speak to his ongoing interest in contemporary psychology. This may not be so shocking, given that *Stella Maberly* employs Evelyn's apparent return from the dead to visualise the eponymous protagonist's mental illness. In a similar vein, 'The Breaking Point' and 'A Meeting that Made

[140] Lord Alfred Tennyson, *The Poetical Works of Alfred Tennyson*, 12 vols (London: Macmillan and Co., 1891), VI, p. 11 (verse V, ll. 1–2).
[141] Oliver Lodge, *Raymond; or, Life and Death* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1916), p. 83.
[142] I expand upon the Spiritualist movement and the subsequent investigations into psychical research later in this chapter, during my discussion on 'A Meeting that Made Amends'.

Amends' – both overshadowed by the horrors of the First World War and a renewed contemporary interest in the human psyche – serve to further explore and conceptualise the human mind.[143]

As in *The Statement of Stella Maberly*, the protagonist of Guthrie's 'The Breaking Point' is plagued by an unreal spectre. Readers are introduced to Richard Alston shortly after the end of the First World War, in mid-December 1918. With the war and his memories of serving in the army seemingly behind him, Richard merrily returns from an evening with Cynthia Royle – the sister of Richard's deceased friend and fellow soldier, Nugent – to whom he has just proposed. As he journeys back, though, Richard hears strange rustling sounds and feels as if something frightening were following him. After investigating, he finds a note that appears to be addressed to him, forbidding him to see Cynthia again. Soon, Richard finds notes addressed to him not just on the street, but scrawled across a theatre programme, too, all of which tell Richard to leave Cynthia lest she find out the truth about her fiancé. After seeing some of these notes signed off with Nugent's initials, Richard concludes that he is being contacted by the ghost of Cynthia's brother. One night, after ignoring these threats, Cynthia and Richard go to dinner and Richard believes that he sees Nugent in the restaurant. He finally tells Cynthia the truth: when he and Nugent were captured as prisoners during the War, he offered sensitive information to secure their release, at which point Nugent and the German officer were killed in a shelling. Physically unharmed, Richard escaped with the knowledge that he betrayed not only his friend but his country, too. Upon hearing this, Cynthia ends the engagement. Richard, now left alone in the restaurant, confronts the "spectre" of Nugent Royle, only to find that the man in front of him bears no resemblance to his fallen friend at all.

In her discussion on 'The Breaking Point', Beth D. Fleischman commends Guthrie's examination of the effects of the First World War on England's soldiers as well as the story's impartiality. Fleischman argues that the blame is not placed on Richard for 'breaking down under extreme pressure', nor on Cynthia for her 'patriotism' at the end of the narrative; rather, she suggests, the real 'villain in the story' is 'war itself'.[144] While this discussion does not dispute Fleischman's claim that the narrative's ultimate villain is the First World War, it delves deeper into Guthrie's representation of the shattered mental health of contemporary soldiers. Building upon Andrew Smith's *Gothic Fiction and the Writing of Trauma, 1914-1934: The Ghosts of World War One* (2022), within which Smith argues that the figure of the ghost is deployed 'to address a diverse range of contexts which are all related to trauma', this discussion suggests that Guthrie utilises the (alleged)

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[143] The manuscript of 'A Meeting that Made Amends' is undated but, according to Guthrie's diaries, it was originally drafted in the early months of 1915. See: London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 63570, fol. 168v.

[144] Guthrie's 'The Breaking Point' might therefore also be aligned with stories that similarly visualise the villainy of war, including – for example – 'The Birds' by Daphne du Maurier (published in *The Apple Tree* in 1952). This text sees a farmer, his wife, and their community attacked by a horrific flock of birds. The story is said to represent the experience of Britons during the Second World War. See: Fleischman, 'F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie), Late-Victorian Humorist', pp. 190–191.

return of Nugent to visualise the *return* of Richard's trauma.[145] This depiction of Richard consequently highlights Guthrie's interest in and understanding of trauma and traumatic memories in the aftermath of the First World War. This part of the chapter therefore continues to investigate Guthrie's interest in and visualisation of the boundaries of the human mind. In his representation of trauma, then – that which sees the past bleed into the present and fact confused with fabrication – Guthrie adds to his psycho-cartography and further exposes the instability contained within the space of the human psyche.

While 'The Breaking Point' builds upon Guthrie's earlier parapsychological narratives, as we see the story once again exploring mental health, 'A Meeting that Made Amends' instead posits the existence of the crisis-apparition and our potentially legitimate ability to communicate telepathically with loved ones.[146] Set in the days before the outbreak of war – and, at the epilogue, a couple of months into the war – 'A Meeting that Made Amends' introduces readers to Valentine Imbert and his friend. After spending some time abroad to distract Valentine from his recent split from Phyllis Betton, the pair return to England to the news of impending war. Upon hearing this, the aptly named Valentine hopes for a reconciliation and decides to spend his remaining days of peace with Phyllis. As he travels to her family home, his car breaks down, and he is forced to walk some distance through a small town in which he and Phyllis took tea some months earlier. Nostalgically reflecting upon these happy memories, he looks up to find Phyllis stood in the market square. The pair reconcile and head to the tearoom which they previously dined in, but Phyllis appears tired and insists that Valentine rush to collect the car and take her home. By the time that Valentine manages to return to the tearoom, Phyllis has vanished, so he heads to London to find her and receive some answers. At her house in London, he is met with grave news: Phyllis, Valentine learns, died following a fatal horse-riding accident that same afternoon. Her younger sister, Dorothy, informs Valentine that Phyllis was alive after the fall and that she was helped home unconscious. As she lay there, Dorothy says, Phyllis seemed to be talking to Valentine, and just before she died, she woke and told Dorothy that all was well between them again, and that she would wait for Valentine and see him again in the afterlife. In the epilogue, Phyllis appears to keep her word: just before Valentine dies during the war, his soldier servant says he looked happy, as if he were finally reunited with someone whom he had not seen in a long time. As in the Greek myth of Phyllis, love is shown to conquer death.[147] 'A Meeting that Made

[145] Andrew Smith, *Gothic Fiction and the Writing of Trauma, 1914-1934: The Ghosts of World War One* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), p. 19.

[146] According to the Society for Psychical Research, a crisis-apparition (also known as a death-wraith) is a spectral vision of a person seen 'at moments of crisis or at the hour of death'. See: Frederic W. H. Myers, *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903), I, p. 8.

[147] According to Greek mythology, when Phyllis – abandoned by her lover, Demophon – dies of grief and heartbreak, she is transformed by the gods into an almond tree. When Demophon returns and embraces the almond tree, it blossoms, ultimately suggesting that love triumphs death. Thomas Matthew Rooke's watercolour painting, 'Phyllis Deserted' (1900), pictures the almond tree blossoming and Phyllis's return to life. See: Mike Dixon-Kennedy, *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1998), p. 109.

Amends' therefore involves itself in contemporary conversations surrounding psychical experiences and human consciousness, thereby positioning this text alongside 'The Breaking Point' as a psycho-cartographic investigation of the invisible – and, importantly, unstable – space of the human mind.

*'[T]here was no escape': return, trauma, and 'The Breaking Point'*

Although 'The Breaking Point' revolves around the alleged haunting of Richard Alston, the story is itself simultaneously *haunted* by previous textual and conceptual "ghosts". Just as *Stella* was haunted by 'The Statement of V. M.', 'The Breaking Point' similarly revisits two earlier scenarios, one of which is contained within Guthrie's diary. Indeed, in January 1889, Guthrie took to his diary to record an ostensibly insignificant anecdote from his day: '[i]dea for a [...] supernatural story', Guthrie writes, '[w]alking home late at night pursued by a piece of paper rustling behind [...] on the pavement. Thinking it was blown by wind at first. Struck by its pertinacity'.[148] It transpired that this initial idea was as persistent as the rustling piece of paper, as Guthrie returned to the scenario around thirty years later as he set out to compose 'The Breaking Point'. Guthrie's expansion of this fleeting moment from 1889 also drew upon and adapted a previously published narrative, though; 'The Wraith of Barnjum', originally printed in *Temple Bar* in 1879. This story offers a similar, but much more humorous, illustration of the return of the dead. Here the narrator recalls how, after pushing his friend, Barnjum, over the edge of a cliff, he begins to see his friend's ghost. Readers soon learn, however, that Barnjum survived the fall and that the so-called spirit plaguing the narrator was merely a visual representation of his guilt. After making peace with the living-Barnjum, the spirit 'suddenly "gave" all over, and, shrivelling up into a sort of cobweb, was drawn by the draught into the fireplace, and carried up the chimney'.[149] 'The Breaking Point' undeniably revisits this earlier supernatural narrative and repurposes the death-wraith for a timely and tragic exploration into mental health and trauma. From the metaphorical spectre which the story centres around to the revision of earlier texts and scenarios, readers might rightly conclude that 'The Breaking Point' is a narrative plagued by all sorts of ghosts.

Just as 'The Breaking Point' is haunted by the past, so too is the traumatised mind. The concept of trauma, defined as a 'psychic injury [...] one caused by emotional shock the memory of which is repressed and remains unhealed', began to make an appearance in the mid- to late-Victorian era.[150] As Jill Matus points out, it was introduced 'when the label for a physical wound came to be associated with a mental state. A precondition of that shift was that the mind had to be conceived of as

[148] London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 63551, fol. 71v.
[149] F. Anstey, 'The Wraith of Barnjum', in *The Black Poodle and Other Tales* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896), p. 113.
[150] 'trauma, *n.*', *OED* (Oxford: OUP, 2022) <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/205242?redirectedFrom=trauma> [accessed 3 May 2022].

[…] vulnerable – like the body'.[151] The concept of trauma appeared around the same time as the mid-Victorian boom in railway travel, or rather, it responded to the aftermath of railway accidents and the long-term impact of railway-related injuries on contemporary survivors.[152] The railway notably presents itself as a site of trauma and haunting in Charles Dickens's short story, 'The Signal-Man' (1866), which sees the haunted, eponymous signalman tell the narrator about a spectral apparition that continually appears to him before a terrible accident takes place.[153] With 'powerlessness, heightened vigilance and a sense of impending doom, uncanny re-enactment, and terror at the relived intrusion' all appearing throughout the story, 'The Signal-Man' offers readers a 'tale of horror' while simultaneously exploring several 'characteristics of late-modern trauma'.[154] Demonstrating the similarities between the trauma narrative and the ghost story, Matus concludes that 'to be traumatized is arguably to be haunted', a statement to which, as this discussion will soon demonstrate, Guthrie's 'The Breaking Point' certainly attests.[155]

While 'The Breaking Point' is Guthrie's first sustained exploration into trauma, his earlier 'The Statement of V. M.' briefly incorporates a symptom of trauma – flashbacks – to illustrate the deterioration of Violet's mental health.[156] She sees her hand 'covered with blood,' adding that she 'washed it in several waters but no change – whole hand deep crimson extending to first joint of the wrist' (p. 113). This anecdote immediately precedes Violet's recollection of the time that she killed a woman: '[s]uddenly it flashed upon me – painful circumstance many years before – now horribly vivid,' she writes in her manuscript (p. 114). After recalling her crime, she finishes '[t]his is the only way in which I can account for the stain', a mark at once both physical and psychological (p. 114). Violet's flashback, like Wilfred's memory in 'Shut Out', breaches normative temporal boundaries; after all, it is *simultaneously* past and present. It therefore offers an image of a confused and fragmented mind – one reinforced by the disjointed structure of Violet's writing – whilst also gesturing towards Guthrie's interest in flashbacks and traumatic memories. As mentioned above, by the end of the nineteenth century the Victorians were increasingly aware of the concept of trauma.

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[151] Matus, *Shock, Memory and the Unconscious*, p. 7.
[152] Ibid., p. 52. For more on Victorian railway accidents and trauma, see: Ralph Harrington, 'The Railway Accident: Trains, Trauma, and Technological Crises in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry, and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870–1930*, ed. by Mark S. Micale and Paul Lerner (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp. 31–56.
[153] Dickens knew first-hand the trauma of a railway accident; in fact, he was travelling on the train involved in the Staplehurst rail crash on 9 June 1865. Although he and his fellow travellers survived the crash, he lost his voice for two weeks following the accident, suggesting that he was suffering with some form of post-traumatic stress disorder.
[154] Matus, *Shock, Memory and the Unconscious*, p. 98.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Matus explains that trauma is not 'at the disposal of the subject, but rather able itself to possess the unremembering subject by obtruding on the present in the form of dreams, flashbacks, and hallucinations'. Violet's flashbacks – those memories that take control of her and act *upon* her – are not only a symptom of her trauma, but they also signal her powerlessness and vulnerability. As Matus explains in her discussion on 'The Signal-Man', these feelings are characteristic of both the ghost narrative and of the late-modern understanding of trauma. See: Matus, *Shock, Memory and the Unconscious*, p. 92.

Here we see Guthrie engaging with this contemporary interest and awareness as he demonstrates how Violet's past has left her with mental "wounds" which return, as Matus points out, just like ghosts, to haunt her.

While 'The Statement of V. M.' touches on trauma, Guthrie returns to the concept and develops an extended trauma narrative in 'The Breaking Point'. Of course, as the story was written just after the end of the First World War, it locates itself amongst a landscape of trauma. Before traumatic stress disorders began to be understood – a turning point marked by the publication of Sigmund Freud's essay, 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle' (1920) – wartime trauma was called shellshock; a term coined by Charles Samuel Myers in 1915.[157] A diagnosis of shellshock captured a plethora of physical and psychological behaviours, including an inability to talk, walk, eat, or sleep; visual and auditory hallucinations; nightmares and flashbacks; and headaches, to name only a few. Despite the overwhelming number of men suffering with symptoms of shellshock, the condition was at first so poorly understood that treatments ranged from electrotherapy to the talking cure. While Guthrie was likely allowed glimpses into the medical understanding of shellshock because of his brother, he would have almost certainly been exposed to wartime trauma without Leonard's help, given the pervasiveness of shellshock during the war.[158] Such observations feed into Guthrie's depiction of Richard's trauma in 'The Breaking Point', as readers are met with an immediate admission of shellshock. As Guthrie introduces Richard, the narrator says

> It was amusing now to remember that not very long ago, as he had walked down that broad and commonplace thoroughfare, illuminated along its centre by cones of dim light, with its prim two-storeyed houses standing back behind their walled gardens, he had had a vague fear as of something hostile that was following with a stealthy rustle. He had been afraid to turn his head lest he should see – what, he did not know precisely. It showed how shaken his nerves must have been, for now, though he heard rustling again, he knew perfectly well what was causing it – simply a few fallen leaves drifting in the night-breeze.[159]

Calling attention to his previously 'shaken [...] nerves', Richard implies that he used to suffer from shellshock. This is confirmed later in the text when Cynthia wonders whether Richard's 'poor nerves' might be 'still all ajar after the horrors he had been through' (p. 538). Evidently, though, Richard's trauma is still very present. Indeed, the moment of repetition found within the above

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[157] Charles S. Myers, 'A Contribution to the Study of Shell Shock', *The Lancet*, 13 February 1915, pp. 316–320.
[158] Leonard Guthrie's work as a neurologist prompted occasional contributions to contemporary discussions surrounding shellshock, as is evidenced by a comment in the 'Special Discussion on Shell Shock Without Visible Signs of Injury' (1916). Here he discusses treatments for male 'hysteria' (also known as shellshock) and suggests that an 'unexpected emotional or physical shock' is the most effective treatment for such 'functional neuroses'. See: 'Special Discussion on Shell Shock Without Visible Signs of Injury', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 25 January 1916, p. xli.
[159] F. Anstey, 'The Breaking Point', *Strand*, 1919, pp. 534–542, p. 535. All future references are to this edition and will be given in parentheses following quotations.

quotation – in which Richard walks down the same eerie street – triggers the return of his earlier feelings and anxieties, gently gestured towards by his increasing hypervigilance and paranoia. This uncanny scene serves to signal the impending resurfacing of his trauma. Just like the victims of shellshock whose 'horrific memories of the war' were 'buried deep within them' and returned, symptomatically, to haunt them, Richard's trauma, once buried within his psyche, similarly intends to revisit.[160] In its initial representation of trauma – the repetition, the flashbacks, the paranoia, and the hypervigilance – 'The Breaking Point' begins to build upon Guthrie's psycho-cartography as the distortions between the actual and the imagined and the past and the present reveal the instability of the boundaries of the mind.

It does not take long before these boundaries collapse, at which point Richard's terror and paranoia fully present themselves again. The narrator tells readers that the 'former sensation of being pursued by something subtly malevolent had begun to return. Alston quickened his pace, but without escaping the sound. […] the rustle continued to follow him, [and] he became uneasy once more' (p. 535). Just as Violet 'stuff[s]' her ears with 'cotton wool' to escape the sounds around her in 'The Statement of V. M.', Richard's heightened auditory awareness similarly situates him in a long line of troubled protagonists whose acute sensory perception signals their psychological distress (p. 121). The emphasis on Richard's sensitivity to noise is undoubtedly also relevant because of the constant sounds of shelling and fighting which he was exposed to during the war. When Myers first wrote of shellshock in 1915, the condition was named to reflect the assumed association between the soldiers' psychological and physiological symptoms and the shelling that they experienced in battle. In a similar vein, then, Richard's heightened awareness of the rustling sound behind him links his present mental distress with noise, just like the diagnoses ascribed to men suffering with shellshock during the First World War. As it turns out, though, the sound following Richard was made by a piece of crumpled paper. Nevertheless, the note menacingly bears Richard a warning: '"*I forbid you to see her again. You know why*"' (original emphasis, p. 535). The narrator then informs readers that '[o]nly one person had the right or the knowledge to have written thus to him. And that person was dead' (p. 535). While the note importantly signals the first of Richard's visual hallucinations – a symptom of his trauma and one which serves to build upon Guthrie's conceptualisation and representation of the psyche – it also points towards contemporary discourses pertaining to spiritual communication.

In fact, during the late-nineteenth century and in the early-twentieth century, spiritual contact was often imagined with the help of communication technologies such as the telegram, the telephone, and the postal service. As Pamela Thurschwell notes, throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century a number of discourses – including the occult, the psychological, and the technological – converged, consequently establishing 'shifting models of the permeability and suggestibility of the

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[160] Suzie Grogan, *Shell Shocked Britain: The First World War's Legacy for Britain's Mental Health* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword History, 2014), p. 19.

individual's mind and body'.[161] In other words, spiritual communication with the dead was understood in a similar way as technological communication with the living, as both breached boundaries by transmitting information instantaneously across long and previously inaccessible distances with very little effort. Such discourses frequently overlapped in fiction too, as in Kipling's story 'Wireless'. During one scene in 'Wireless', the breakdown in the technological connection is likened to the interruption of a séance: '"Have you ever seen a spiritualistic séance? It reminds me of that sometimes – odds and ends of messages coming out of nowhere – a word here and there – no good at all"'.[162] In a similar vein, Guthrie's 1886 comic fantasy *A Fallen Idol* sees letters and the postal service used to discuss and visualise spiritual communication. Here, as Shuhita Bhattacharjee explains, the theosophist Axel Nebelson 'likens the precipitation of material objects to telegraphy', while 'technological breakdowns, most notably a malfunctioning postal system' criticise unsuccessful attempts at spiritual contact.[163] These converging discourses of technological and occult communication are revisited and revised in 'The Breaking Point' (now with much more gravity) as Richard believes that Nugent is writing to him; indeed, after finding another piece of paper signed with Nugent's initials, Richard concludes that '[Nugent] had been striving [...] to establish communication' (p. 536).

It transpires, however, that this supposed contact is the product of Richard's traumatised mind. At the theatre, after noticing another threatening note scrawled across a page of the programme, Richard panics: '[w]hen [Cynthia] had seen those terrible words', he wonders, 'what would she think, what would be her next words to him?' (p. 538). When Cynthia does not respond to the message, though, Richard's 'mind cleared', as he realised 'these denunciations seemed to be visible to none but himself' (p. 538). As they appear only to his own eyes, Richard convinces himself to consider them merely as 'galling reminders of *what he had hoped to forget*' (my emphasis, p. 538). The language that Richard uses to describe these memories clearly positions them as traumatic; they are events that he later admits he was '"not allowed to"' forget, thoughts and feelings from which 'there was no escape' (pp. 540–541). As in other Gothic fiction produced during and following the First World War, this description also 'evokes feelings of claustrophobia' and suggests that Richard is 'psychologically entrapped' by his feelings and his trauma.[164] The resurfacing of such traumatic memories – intrusively, involuntarily, inexplicably – sees Guthrie capture the real 'invisible enemy' of the story:

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[161] Pamela Thurschwell, *Literature, Technology and Magical Thinking, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), p. 2.
[162] Rudyard Kipling, 'Wireless' (1902) <https://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/tale/wireless.htm> [accessed 5 May 2022].
[163] A short *Punch* piece, 'More About the "Psychic Parcel Post"', sees Guthrie similarly poke fun at psychical contact. See: Shuhita Bhattacharjee, 'Of Mahatmas and *Chelas*: Theosophy and the "Cartography of the Supernatural" in Richard Marsh and F. Anstey', *Victorian Popular Fictions*, 1, 2 (2019) 147–163 (p. 153); F. Anstey, 'More About the "Psychic Parcel Post"', *Punch*, 18 October 1905, pp. 283–284.
[164] Andrew Smith, *Gothic Fiction and the Writing of Trauma*, p. 81.

not Nugent, as Richard believes, but, like the turbulent mental health of Stella and Violet, Richard's obtrusive and distressing trauma (p. 536).

This undoubtedly culminates at the end of the narrative as Richard mistakes 'a solitary figure […] in the act of writing' for Nugent (p. 540). After convincing himself that 'the high, tanned forehead and the steel-blue eyes were those of Nugent Royle', Richard confesses his guilt to Cynthia (p. 540). This prompts a change in "Nugent's" face: '[w]as it his fancy', Richard wonders, 'or did the eyes in the mirror look less hard?' (p. 541). As in 'The Wraith of Barnjum', the embodiment of Richard's guilt softens and diminishes as he confronts his emotions, visualising and reinforcing Julian Wolfreys's suggestion that 'to be haunted is the on-going process of coming to terms with one's being'.[165] When Cynthia leaves, Richard confronts the man who looks like Nugent. Unlike Evelyn, who is – to Stella, at least – at once both completely unrecognisable and yet entirely familiar, the man in front of Richard turns out to be a total stranger. It was 'his overwrought nerves', Richard concludes, which had 'tricked him into exaggerating a chance resemblance' (p. 542). The so-called spectre of Nugent is consequently revealed to be an extension of Richard's troubled psyche, positioning the ghost, as Shane McCorristine argues, as a 'reflect[ion] of the haunted nature of the self'.[166] 'The Breaking Point' therefore deploys the illusory letters and Nugent's alleged ghost to imagine and explore the return of Richard's wartime trauma. In doing so Guthrie offers his own conceptualisation and representation of the traumatised mind and builds upon the psycho-cartography which he begins to construct when he composes 'The Statement of V. M.' and *Stella Maberly*. By recording and exploring Richard's psychological distortions and disorientation, Guthrie once again imagines the psyche not as a site of stability, but of instability.

### *'"I can hope to see her again"': telepathy, consciousness, and 'A Meeting that Made Amends'*

'A Meeting that Made Amends' stands apart from Guthrie's other parapsychological narratives; indeed, rather than suggesting that the spectral visitant is the product of a troubled and traumatised mind, this text instead proposes that spiritual encounters might well be legitimate experiences. Basing itself on contemporary accounts of similar telepathic encounters documented by the Society for Psychical Research, 'A Meeting' ultimately proves that Valentine communicated with Phyllis at the hour of her death. If the telepathic connection described between Valentine and Phyllis is real,

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[165] While Richard's confession is certainly significant, it is not necessarily curative. Even though his honesty allows him to recognise that his paranoia tricked him into believing that Nugent was sat in the restaurant, he nevertheless still leaves convinced that [Nugent's] 'secret and terrifying messages […] were real' (p. 542). This is important, not least because it demonstrates Guthrie's understanding of the complexity of trauma; indeed, 'The Breaking Point' implies that confronting the past does not – and cannot – *immediately* resolve Richard's suffering. See: Julian Wolfreys, *Victorian Hauntings: Spectrality, Gothic, the Uncanny and Literature* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002), p. 18.

[166] Shane McCorristine, *Spectres of the Self: Thinking about Ghosts and Ghost-Seeing in England, 1750-1920* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), p. 5.

Guthrie's narrative posits, then what does the encounter mean for both our understanding of the spiritual world and our understanding of the boundaries of our mind and of human consciousness? To answer these questions it is, at first, essential to situate the story amongst contemporary conversations surrounding Spiritualism and psychical research.

Historians tend to agree that the hugely popular Spiritualist movement began – in part, at least – in a farmhouse in Hydesville, New York on 31 March 1848. It was there that Margaret and Kate Fox (also known as the Fox sisters) claimed that they were successfully contacting the spiritual world through a series of communicative knocks. Not too long after, as Jennifer Bann notes, the sisters 'began touring the region with similar performances', prompting many other Americans to call themselves '"mediums" capable of relaying messages' and consequently shifting spiritualism 'from an anecdote into a movement'.[167] Spiritualism soon established itself in England; in fact, by the 1860s séances, table-turning, and spirit-rapping flourished while mediums claimed to be able to make contact with the dead.[168] Despite its popularity, however, many still remained wary of the Spiritualist movement. Among these were the earliest members of the Society for Psychical Research (SPR): psychologist Edmund Gurney; poet, classicist, and philologist Frederic W. H. Myers (who later coined the term "telepathy"); philosopher and economist Henry Sidgwick; physicist William Fletcher Barret; and journalist Edmund Dawson Rogers.[169] These men were the first involved with the SPR, an organisation which sought 'to investigate scientifically the claims of spiritualism and other paranormal phenomena'.[170] As Janet Oppenheim notes, they demanded science and objectivity, stating that 'the same scrupulous attention to evidence found in the scientist's laboratory […] would characterize their own inquiries in the shadowy world of psychical phenomena'.[171] There were six

[167] Even though Kate and Margaret Fox played a significant part in the development of Spiritualism, it is worth remembering that they were not the first to claim to possess spiritual powers – it just so happened that these girls were well-documented and managed to tour the country. Alongside the influence of the Fox sisters, though, there were also other factors shaping the movement's success at this time. As Jennfier Bann explains, spiritualism positioned itself as an alternative to other contemporary pseudo-scientific movements like that of mesmerism, suggesting that Spiritualists took advantage of other significant crazes and adopted and adapted them to suit their own needs. See: Jennifer Bann, 'Ghostly Hands and Ghostly Agency: The Changing Figure of the Nineteenth-Century Specter', *Victorian Studies*, 51, 4 (2009), 663–685 (p. 666).
[168] Spiritualism retained its grasp despite competition from other occult movements such as Theosophy and the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. For more on spiritualism and its place in contemporary society, see for example: Janet Oppenheim, *The Other World* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985); Kenneth D. Pimple, 'Ghosts, Spirits, and Scholars: The Origins of Modern Spiritualism', in *Out of the Ordinary: Folklore and the Supernatural*, ed. by Barbara Walker (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995), pp. 75–89; and Ronald Pearsall, *Table-rappers: The Victorians and the Occult* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2004).
[169] The SPR was founded in 1882.
[170] Thurschwell, *Literature, Technology and Magical Thinking*, p. 1. It is worth reiterating that spiritualism and psychical research were not synonymous terms. As Janet Oppenheim notes, while spiritualists 'did not hesitate to assert the reality of communication with the dead and to accept as genuine most of the phenomena they witnessed at seances', psychical researchers 'on the other hand, trod with greater circumspection and even, in some cases, scepticism'. Crucially, the latter 'were attracted to the subject not only because it offered a chance to prove immortality, but also because it presented the opportunity to explore the mysteries of the human mind'. See: Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p. 3.
[171] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p. 119.

initial areas of investigation for the SPR: thought-transference, mesmerism, mediumship, Reichenbach phenomena, apparitions and haunted houses, and séances. Some were given more attention than others; indeed, while 'little space in the early volumes of the SPR *Proceedings* was devoted to physical manifestations', Oppenheim points out, 'virtually every volume, right down to World War I, contained papers on thought transference, automatic writing, trance speech, or Myers's pioneering work on subliminal consciousness'.[172]

It was not long before the SPR released some of its most significant investigations, including the co-authored *Phantasms of the Living* in 1886, which documented over seven hundred cases of ghost-sightings and posited that such encounters could be explained with the help of telepathy. Telepathy, a form of 'occult relation or communication between people at distance', was first introduced in 1882 in the earliest volume of the SPR's *Proceedings*: 'we venture to introduce the words *Teleaesthesia* and *Telepathy* to cover all cases of impression received at a distance'.[173] *Phantasms of the Living* – the title itself suggesting that the SPR was focusing on 'phantasms of the dying and the just-dead, i.e. phantasms of the living' – argued that the majority of ghost-sightings were, in fact, crisis-apparitions: visions of a dying or recently deceased person telepathically communicating with a recipient.[174] Not only did the SPR's theory suggest that there might be some form of consciousness after death, it also sought to explore and investigate the human mind. Indeed, according to Frederic Myers, crisis-apparitions were created by an unexplored realm of our consciousness: the subliminal self, as he calls it in *Human Personality and Its Bodily Survival After Death*. 'The word subliminal', Myers writes,

> has already been used to define those sensations which are too feeble to be individually recognised. I propose to extend the meaning of the term, *so as to make it cover all that takes place beneath the ordinary threshold, or say, if preferred, outside the ordinary margin of consciousness*; not only those faint stimulations whose very faintness keeps them submerged, but much else which psychology as yet scarcely recognises; sensations, thoughts, emotions, which may be strong, definite, and independent, but which, by the original constitution of our being, seldom emerge into that supraliminal current of consciousness which we habitually identify with ourselves (my emphasis).[175]

Bearing similarities to the Freudian model of the unconscious, Myers uses the subliminal self as a site within which parapsychological activity (like telepathic communication) can be experienced. When Guthrie plays around with themes of telepathy and the subliminal consciousness in 'A Meeting', then,

[172] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p. 120.
[173] Roger Luckhurst, *The Invention of Telepathy* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), p. 1; 'Report of the Literary Committee', *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, 1 (1882-83), p. 147.
[174] McCorristine, *Spectres of the Self*, pp. 139–140. For more on telepathy, see Luckhurst, *The Invention of Telepathy*.
[175] Frederic W. H. Myers, *Human Personality and its Bodily Survival After Death*, I, p. 14.

he involves himself amongst contemporary discussions surrounding psychical research and the boundary-breaching nature of human consciousness. In doing so the narrative which he creates simultaneously constitutes a psycho-spatial investigation into the unfixed boundaries of the human mind.

It is perhaps not so surprising that Guthrie's parapsychological narrative materialises during the First World War, given the revived interest in spiritualism and psychical research at this time. As McCorristine notes, 'we cannot ignore the sense that a general re-enchantment took place in England regarding the dead in society following the outbreak of World War I'.[176] At this time, death and mourning hovered across the globe; as Jay Winter notes, by 1920 bereavement was a 'universal history'.[177] '[I]t is not an exaggeration', Winter adds, 'to suggest that every family was in mourning: most for a relative – a father, a son, a brother, a husband – others for a friend, a colleague, a lover, a companion'.[178] The 'magnitude' of such devastation and loss is, as George M. Johnson rightly points out, 'difficult to comprehend'.[179] Consequently the 'interest in the paranormal and the after-life [...] deepened. It was inevitably and inextricably tied up with the need to communicate with the fallen'.[180] In this landscape of mourning, spiritualist stories and images were shared not only by soldiers fighting at the front but also by their loved ones at home, often 'lift[ing] the burden of grief borne by their families'.[181] A notable example includes the above mentioned *Raymond*, a text which documented the Lodge family's communication with their son after he was killed in battle. Given the scale of loss and devastation caused by the First World War, it is apt that Guthrie's 'A Meeting' introduces Phyllis's crisis-apparition, telepathy, and (the implication of) some sort of afterlife to offer hope and comfort to those facing unprecedented amounts of grief.

While 'A Meeting' is certainly a timely exploration into telepathy, a previous publication – co-authored by Guthrie and Andrew Lang – suggests that Guthrie's interest in psychical communication was not necessarily a new one.[182] Indeed, 'From the Ghost's Point of View', originally published in *Time* in January 1885, sees the narrator recount the story of a man who is killed in a railway accident. What is most relevant about this text, though, is not the content but the

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[176] McCorristine, *Spectres of the Self*, pp. 222–223.
[177] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014), p. 1.
[178] Ibid., pp. 1–2.
[179] George M. Johnson, *Mourning and Mysticism in First World War Literature and Beyond: Grabbling with Ghosts* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 4.
[180] Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, pp. 57–58.
[181] For more on Spiritualism at the front, see: Leo Ruickbie, *Angels in the Trenches: Spiritualism, Superstition and the Supernatural During the First World War* (London: Robinson, 2018).
[182] Lang had a rather complicated relationship with psychical research. While he was the president of the SPR in 1911 and remained continually interested in psychic phenomena and folklore, he retained an ongoing sense of scepticism. This is neatly summarised in a piece from the *New Review* in 1893, in which Lang writes '[a]mong so many momentous alterations of belief, I do not mind confessing that I feel myself gradually going over to the Psychical Society. Almost (but not quite) they persuade me to be a Psychicist'. See: 'Psychical Research', *The Andrew Lang Site* <https://andrewlang.org/psychical-research/> [accessed 5 May 2022].

composition. This was later discussed by Lang in 1893 in his regular column, 'At the Sign of the Ship', published in *Longman's Magazine*. Discussing examples of literary telepathy, he writes

> The same sort of thing once occurred to myself. On the seashore at St. Andrews I thought of writing an essay or tale, 'From the Ghost's Point of View'. In a few days I came to London, and met with the author of *Vice Versa*. I was beginning to tell him about my notion, when he said that it had also just occurred to him, and that he had it down in his note-book, under the title 'From the Ghost's Point of View'. We wrote a tale of that name together, and published it in a magazine far from popular, and now, I think, dead. But we could not absolutely establish the co-incidence of date, as I keep no note-book.[183]

As Guthrie's diary from 1885 was destroyed, it is impossible to corroborate Lang's statement. Nevertheless, if Lang and Guthrie *did* similarly – and simultaneously – think up 'From the Ghost's Point of View', it is hardly a stretch to imagine that such an occurrence would have likely intrigued and influenced Guthrie, given his well-established fascination with psychology. Much more conclusively, though, 'The Statement of V. M.' certainly attests to Guthrie's interest in telepathy and his involvement in such conversations well ahead of the First World War. Indeed, as Violet recalls the death of her first husband – her 'greatest bereavement' – she writes '[l]ying awake that night heard my name pronounced in my husband's voice in one long expiring sigh', adding '[n]ext night […] figure of husband occupied chair – said "My Darling Wife, do not grieve for me for you shall never see me again in this world." […] Next day news of his death' (p. 111). In a similar episode, Violet admits that she was 'possessed with a strong desire to be home again – felt as if something dreadful occurred or was going to occur. I jumped up. As I did so I heard the dear sweet voice of my little daughter say "Mother Mother"' (p. 115). When Violet returns home, she receives a letter 'containing the sad tidings of my favourite child. She died of scarlatina fever' (p. 116).[184] Here readers find fictional experiences akin to the numerous cases of telepathy documented in *Phantasms of the Living*. Most of these reports, *Phantasms* claims, were 'death-cases, in the sense that the percipient's experience either coincided with or very shortly followed the agent's death'.[185] Whether or not Violet's accounts are reliable, they still significantly demonstrate Guthrie's interest in and commitment to representing psychical phenomena and telepathy. These bewildering spiritual

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[183] Andrew Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship', *Longman's Magazine*, June 1893, p. 186.

[184] In the latter episode, Violet experiences another psychic phenomenon: precognition. This suggests, as *Phantasms of the Living* notes, that the role of the telepathic percipient (the recipient of the vision) might be far more active than passive. For more on this in *Phantasms*, see: Edmund Gurney, Frederic W. H. Myers, and Frank Podmore, *Phantasms of the Living*, 2 vols (London: Trübner and Co., 1886), II, pp. 244–245 and pp. 265–266.

[185] Representations of the crisis-apparition frequently appear in late-Victorian literature, as in Henry James's previously mentioned short story, 'The Friends of the Friends'. See: Gurney, Myers, and Podmore, *Phantasms of the Living*, II, p. 26.

encounters are then revisited decades later in 'A Meeting that Made Amends' and recorded amongst his psycho-cartography.

Just as Violet sees a vision of her first husband and child around the time of their respective deaths, so too does Valentine see and communicate with Phyllis's death-wraith in 'A Meeting'. This begins when Valentine reaches the market square that he and Phyllis previously visited. After thinking about the time they spent together, Valentine looks to the town-hall, when 'his heart leaped suddenly, for there, on one of the steps of the heavy portico, stood Phyllis herself'.[186] He notes that Phyllis 'wore a riding skirt with a linen coat & a broad-brimmed panorama' and that she 'was alone, but [...] looking anxiously down at that narrow street to her right, the street that led to the railway station, as though she had arrived for a rendezvous for which the other person had been unaccountably late' (f. 82r). While Phyllis's anxious glances towards the liminal site of the train station are inexplicable at first, they carry much more meaning when Valentine learns of Phyllis's death at the end of the story. In fact, Phyllis's death transforms the train station from a site of worldly and physical travel to a site of spiritual travel. Guthrie suggests, therefore, that Phyllis's hurried expression was a response to the little time she had remaining in this world before her departure.

Valentine's description of Phyllis also finds itself infused with significance by the end of the narrative: as Dorothy tells Valentine the news of her sister's death, she recalls how she was dressed in riding clothes because she fell off her horse during a riding accident. Such an anecdote serves to corroborate Valentine's earlier experience in the market square. Similarly, his memory of the precise hour of his afternoon meeting aligns with Dorothy's account. '"It must have been about half past four"', Dorothy says, prompting Valentine's surprise and confusion: '"[h]alf past four!" he repeated, with a sudden recollection of how the Townhall clock had struck the half hour while he had stood [...] in the Market Square that afternoon with Phyllis' (f. 94r). It is a well-known fact that the Victorians were not only preoccupied with time, but that it was also frequently deployed by nineteenth century writers and artists for both realistic and figurative purposes. Thus, the clock, at once a household item and a symbolic reminder of the passage of time, can often be found as a recurring motif in many Victorian texts, including Charles Dickens's *A Christmas Carol* (1843), Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* (1860), and Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865). In Guthrie's 'A Meeting that Made Amends', then, the image of the clock chiming at the time of Phyllis's demise situates this object as an emblem of impermanence, thereby reminding readers of the brevity of both time *and* life. Valentine's well-documented encounter with Phyllis's crisis-apparition – that which, like Violet's traumatic flashbacks, sees the collapse of the normative boundaries of space and time – resembles the similarly detailed accounts of psychic experiences contained in *Phantasms of the*

[186] London, British Library, Add MS 54289, fols. 71–95, (f. 82r). All future references will be to this manuscript and folio numbers will be provided in parentheses following quotations.

*Living*. In one typical example a child tells her aunt that her cousin, Davie, had died.[187] At the same moment, the aunt 'chanced to look at the clock, and saw it was just 4'.[188] That evening she received a telegram saying that Davie had drowned '"at 4 o'clock […] while skating on Kenka [*sic*] Lake"'.[189] Such details, as in Dorothy and Valentine's shared account, undoubtedly serve to uncannily verify the psychic phenomena.

Valentine's experience is further corroborated when Dorothy repeats snippets of their conversation and concludes with Phyllis's own account of the afternoon meeting, thereby literalising the mediating role of the medium. When Phyllis regained consciousness, Valentine learns, she said to Dorothy

> "Dolly […] I've seen Val again, & we've made it up, I had only such a little time with him, & then I had to go, before I could say goodbye. Tell him I couldn't help it – I would have stayed longer if only I could. And say he is not to grieve too much, because he knows now how dearly I love him & always shall. It isn't as if we're parted for ever, & he is to remember that, when the time comes, I shall be there on the other side, waiting for him" (f. 94r).

Corroborating Valentine's experience using an external source (albeit one without the power to confirm what Phyllis's final words really meant), these lines serve to validate the protagonist's telepathic encounter, thereby suggesting that the human mind is capable of experiencing psychic phenomena.[190] Unlike Violet, Stella, and Richard, then, Valentine is consequently able to leave convinced that his encounter 'had been no hallucination', but that Phyllis's 'intense longing to come to him before it was too late had pervaded over all material restrictions, & she had been so actually with him as though in bodily presence' (f. 95r). Such a statement is, of course, reminiscent of contemporary beliefs, not least Oliver Lodge's above-mentioned assertion that '[l]ove bridges the chasm'. Crucially, though, Valentine's contact with Phyllis is no delusion; rather, it proposes the legitimacy of telepathy and supports contemporary psychical research into human consciousness and the subliminal self. It suggests that the mind is a space with unstable borders; after all, Phyllis's death-wraith – the image of her consciousness now no longer restricted to her own body – travels to meet Valentine to reconcile with him. Such boundary-breaches contribute towards Guthrie's understanding

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[187] Edmund Gurney, Frederic W. H. Myers, and Frank Podmore, *Phantasms of the Living* (London: Trübner and Co., 1886), I, p. 247.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Phyllis's final words to Dorothy – and to Valentine – also demonstrate that their earthly separation is merely temporary: '"I haven't lost her for ever"', Valentine concedes, '"as I thought I had! I can hope to see her again – perhaps it mayn't be even very long before I do"' (f. 95r). Valentine's wish is seemingly granted in the epilogue; in fact, in his final moments of life his soldier-servant admits that Valentine looked '"as if he'd just recornised someone he hadn't met for a long while & bin wanting to see most particular"' (f. 95r). Their implied reunion suggests that physical separation is temporary and that we will once more meet our loved ones on the "other side". 'A Meeting' can therefore also be understood as a narrative which sought to offer comfort and hope to contemporary readers, those facing devastation and grief on an unprecedented scale.

and representation of the human mind, enabling him to further construct his psycho-cartography. In doing so this illustration of the psyche demonstrates how the boundaries of the mind can – when necessary – be transgressed, consequently revealing to readers the instability of this abstract and complicated space.

### *Conclusion: A Topography of the Mind*

'Before disputing about whether or not there are ghosts outside of us', William T. Stead writes in *Real Ghost Stories* (1891), 'let us face the preliminary question, whether we have not each of us a veritable ghost within our own skin?'[191] Although the spectral visitants are certainly employed for different purposes in 'The Breaking Point' and 'A Meeting that Made Amends', Stead's question serves well to summarise both texts. Indeed, in 'The Breaking Point', readers find Guthrie employ the alleged return of the dead to represent and conceptualise the return of trauma and traumatic memories, while 'A Meeting that Made Amends' engages with and supports contemporary discussions surrounding the psychic capabilities of the unconscious subliminal self. Both narratives are therefore ultimately tied together by Guthrie's interest in and understanding of psychology and the human mind, locating the spectral visitants of these stories within 'our own skin'. The illustrations of the psyche contained within 'The Breaking Point' and 'A Meeting that Made Amends' therefore serve to build upon Guthrie's earlier investigations, 'The Statement of V. M.' and *The Statement of Stella Maberly*. All four parapsychological narratives situate themselves as investigations, each imagining, exploring, and representing the invisible space of the psyche. Engaging with the contemporary understanding of mental health and human psychology, from the visual and auditory hallucinations in *Stella* to human consciousness in 'A Meeting that Made Amends', Guthrie's parapsychological narratives ultimately attempt to record and understand the human mind. In doing so Guthrie represents this intangible and ambiguous landscape. It is this psycho-cartography – one which records and visualises the many boundary-breaches contained within the mind – that serves to suggest the instability – or, at least, the potential instability – of the space of the human psyche.

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[191] William T. Stead, *Real Ghost Stories*, ed. by Estelle W. Stead (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1921), p. 18.

## CHAPTER TWO
## 'Stories for Boys and Girls': Guthrie, Activism, and the Emotional Geography of London

Prior to the publication of the exciting and entertaining adventures found in unforgettable stories such as Lewis Carroll's *Alice* books (1865-1871) – the first instalment of which, as Marah Gubar explains, played a significant role in 'shift[ing] the focus of children's literature from instruction to delight' – Victorian children were often presented with texts which banished fantastical interactions and favoured the dissemination of practical advice.[192] John Newberry's *A Little Pretty Pocket Book* (1744) – the first "modern" children's book – serves as an example of this type of guide to childhood, the title itself evoking notions of instruction for child-protagonists and child-readers alike. *A Little Pretty Pocket Book* paved the way for a similar group of censored children's stories to emerge throughout the late-eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century, with writers such as Maria Edgeworth, Mary Martha Sherwood, and Sarah Trimmer establishing themselves as hugely successful children's authors.[193] Like many of their contemporaries, these women 'insisted that childhood was centrally important as a site for redeeming individual souls and reforming society'.[194] Early-Victorian children's narratives consequently tended to feature pious children, frightening authority figures (mirroring the Old Testament God), and strict punishments for any "sins". The first volume of Sherwood's series *The History of the Fairchild Family* (1818), for example, sees the Fairchild children taken to see the body of a dead man still fixed within a gibbet as a punishment for their relatively harmless quarrelling.[195] Guthrie, writing about his own childhood in *A Long Retrospect* (1936), notes how '[t]here was a time when my mother read aloud to us from *The Fairchild Family*. But a spirit of irreverence came over us, and she and we laughed so much that I think the readings were given up'.[196] He similarly recalls his reaction to other relentlessly moral texts that he read as a boy, mentioning, for example, how *Ministering Children* – written by Maria Louisa Charlesworth and published in 1854 – 'always affected me with the profoundest melancholy'.[197]

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[192] Marah Gubar, 'The Victorian Child, c. 1837-1901', *Representing Childhood* <http://www.representingchildhood.pitt.edu/victorian.htm> [accessed 17 November 2021]. As Farah Mendlesohn and Michael Levy explain, fairy tales and fantasy stories – like those including talking animals, for example – were originally considered damaging to the impressionable child's mind. As the century wore on, however, the perception of these narratives 'underwent a shift from the fairy tale as near horror to the fairy tale as conveyor of clear moral guidance'. Fairy tales and fantasy stories subsequently came to be considered useful tools in the moral and behavioural education of children. See: Farah Mendlesohn and Michael Levy, *Children's Fantasy Literature: An Introduction* (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), p. 35. For more on the changing landscape of Victorian children's fiction, see: pp. 11–47.
[193] Mendlesohn and Levy, *Children's Fantasy Literature*, p. 23.
[194] Lewis C. Roberts, 'Children's Fiction', in *A Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. by Patrick Brantlinger and William B. Thesing (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2002), pp. 354–355. For more on the changing ideologies surrounding children and childhood in the Victorian era, see: Gubar, 'The Victorian Child, c. 1837-1901'.
[195] Mary Martha Sherwood, *The History of the Fairchild Family; or, The Child's Manual*, 3 vols (London: F. Houlston and Son, 1822), I, pp. 56–61.
[196] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect* (London: OUP, 1936), p. 24.
[197] Ibid.

In poking fun at and critiquing these narratives, Guthrie's comments (retrospectively) gesture towards his later preference for the children's fantasies written in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, many of which were absent from Guthrie's childhood. During these decades, Victorian England witnessed the dawn of what came to be known as the "Golden Age of Children's Literature", a period which introduced readers to a host of unforgettable characters residing within the pages of stories like Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1894), Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* (1908), and J. M. Barrie's *Peter and Wendy* (1911). Guthrie's journey into the world of late-Victorian children's literature coincides with this literary epoch, but his contribution appears more fortuitous than deliberate. In fact, the collection *Paleface and Redskin: and Other Stories for Boys and Girls* (1898) only appeared after the publisher, Grant Richards, enquired as to whether Guthrie would be interested in reissuing a number of his previously published short stories.[198] Despite Guthrie's initial concerns surrounding the public's potential dissatisfaction at finding the volume to contain his earlier material, he subsequently agreed to the terms of Richards's contract.[199] Later that year *Stories for Boys and Girls* was printed, containing 'Paleface and Redskin', 'The Good Little Girl', 'The Story of a Sugar Prince', 'Don: the Story of a Greedy Dog', 'A Toy Tragedy', 'A Farewell Appearance', and 'Tommy's Hero'.

While this collection marketed these tales at children and strategically incorporated artwork by Gordon Browne, a children's fiction illustrator, their publication history undeniably confuses the intended readership.[200] Contemporary reviewers similarly highlighted how this assortment of stories might entertain both adult and child-readers, with one author writing that they 'appeal to young and old instantly'.[201] Another labels the volume 'just the thing for a Christmas gift-book', adding that the stories will likely 'find favour with a younger generation than that to which they were first addressed'.[202] Just like Guthrie's hugely successful *Vice Versâ* (1882), a novel which was read widely by all ages, the stories contained within this collection appear to distort and disrupt the boundaries between the adult and child-reader. It is worth pointing out, then, that these stories speak to Guthrie's own literary fluidity, thereby situating him as an author whose writing rejects strict categorisations. Very few studies have been conducted into Guthrie's children's fiction, and even fewer provide an

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[198] This collection will hereafter be referred to as *Stories for Boys and Girls*.
[199] Princeton, University of Princeton Special Collections, F. Anstey Collection, C1068, AM15034. Folio numbers are not provided in this collection, but the letters concerning this agreement are dated 16 January 1898 and 19 January 1898. They can be found in box 1, folder 1.
[200] 'Paleface and Redskin' was originally published in *Graphic* on 25 December 1887; 'The Good Little Girl' in *Longman's* in March 1890, 'The Story of a Sugar Prince' (previously 'A Nursery Lamia') in *Graphic* on 25 December 1880'; 'Don: The Story of a Greedy Dog' in *Atalanta* in June 1888; 'A Toy Tragedy' on 25 December 1883 in *Graphic*; 'A Farewell Appearance' in *Longman's* in March 1890; and 'Tommy's Hero' in an undated issue of *Aunt Judy's Magazine* (volume IV, issue V). The stories were then reissued in *The Black Poodle and Other Tales* (1884) and *The Talking Horse and Other Tales* (1892), both of which were marketed at adults. The contents did not receive another revival until their republication in *Stories for Boys and Girls*.
[201] Anonymous, 'Our Christmas Bookshelf', *Graphic*, 10 December 1898, p. 6.
[202] Anonymous, 'Christmas Books', *The Athenaeum*, 3 December 1898, p. 788.

analysis of the stories from this volume. Nevertheless Beth Fleischman has considered how 'Guthrie's works are typical of late-Victorian children's stories', arguing that despite their departure from the pious narratives read by Guthrie as a child, they are ultimately tales of '"improve[ment]"'.[203] Rather than focussing on the moral lessons underpinning these stories, Colin Manlove instead pays attention to their humour, claiming that 'The Good Little Girl' and 'The Story of a Sugar Prince' parody earlier works of children's literature.[204] What these two discussions suggest, though, when considered alongside one another, is that Guthrie's collection utilises and reimagines the conventions and tropes used in earlier children's narratives – from the didactic to the fantastic – to simultaneously educate and entertain his adult and child-readers.

While this combination underpins many of the texts contained within this chapter, I focus less on Guthrie's interest in entertaining his readers and more on his commitment to educating them. Such efforts take place in an assortment of articles and stories. Indeed, the first half of the chapter focuses on a selection of overtly philanthropic appeals written on behalf of children and published outside of the collection *Stories for Boys and Girls*. This discussion – in part, at least – finds the journalistic texts contained within it to reveal Guthrie's investment in child welfare and children's wellbeing. At the same time, though, the first part of the chapter argues that these publications see Guthrie imagine and understand the city of London by constructing an *emotional geography*; that is, a representation of the city which illustrates the relationship between emotion and place. To do so, Guthrie records sites of middle-class philanthropy within which socio-economic boundaries collapse and the working-class child is no longer distressed and unhappy but instead nurtured and content, thereby eroding emotio-social distinctions, too. Such a depiction is undeniably problematic, but not necessarily surprising; after all, by the 1880s, it was not only 'widely believed that the poor in particular were [...] morally bankrupt', but it was also acknowledged that the conditions in which they lived frequently brought with them disease, crime, and suffering.[205] The working-class children within Guthrie's texts are consequently understood to be stereotypically miserable on account of the circumstances into which they were born.

Crucially, though, the *same* children are also found to experience *positive* emotions when located within the places of philanthropy that are plotted onto Guthrie's emotional geography of the city. Thus, when Guthrie recognises the feelings that are attached to these sites of socio-economic and emotio-social erosion, he implies that they are the result of the social inclusivity offered by such places. In turn this promotes these endeavours and ties Guthrie's interest in social reform and activism to his emotional geography of London. These organisations and institutions, then – those which

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[203] Beth D. Fleischman, 'F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie), Late Victorian Humorist' (unpublished doctoral thesis, 1981), p. 197.
[204] Colin Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), p. 175.
[205] Harry Hendricks, *Child Welfare: Historical Dimensions, Contemporary Debate* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2003), p. 25.

breach socio-economic and emotio-social demarcations, even if only for a short while – gesture towards the instability of the metropolis. After all, these sites signal that London contains within it many places that serve to deconstruct the invisible borders separating different communities. It is the implications of such boundary-breaches (that is, the "transformative" powers of the places that collapse social divisions) that Guthrie is interested in exploring as he constructs an emotional geography of late-Victorian London.

Although the second part of the chapter similarly finds itself interested in Guthrie's London, this discussion turns away from an examination of his philanthropic petitions and moves towards an analysis of the fantasy stories collected within *Stories for Boys and Girls*. As in Guthrie's adult fantasy fiction, these narratives also incorporate conjunctions between the real and the fantastical; here, humans interact with sentient non-humans, and animals and objects often emerge as the protagonists of their stories. In my discussion on these tales, those which adopt and adapt the it-narrative, I suggest that Guthrie further builds upon his emotional geography of the city. In doing so, he details the emotions and experiences endured by the protagonists as they travel through or enter different areas and places in London, environments which are each tied to their own contemporary social and socio-economic issues. Thus, it is the problematic implications of movement that are imagined in these stories, rather than the positive effects of the breaching of divisions. As this discussion will later demonstrate, this once again enables Guthrie to connect his interest in activism and reform to his emotional geography of the capital.[206] Simultaneously, though, when the characters in *Stories for Boys and Girls* move across the city, Guthrie reveals the permeability of the capital's boundaries and borders. Both parts of the chapter are therefore ultimately concerned with Guthrie's creation of London's emotional geography and the ways in which this reveals a landscape that is unstable. Indeed, the city is imagined as a site of fluidity: one with no fixed certainties or demarcations, and one within which the invisible borders of the city threaten to erode. Crucially, it is these boundary-breaches that signal the instability of the late-Victorian metropolis.

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[206] It is important to note that there are several instances throughout these above-mentioned stories and appeals during which Guthrie simultaneously perpetuates both progressive and conservative (often patronising) attitudes in his representation of class. Indeed, these depictions simultaneously highlight the need for social reform, inclusion, and change whilst reinforcing contemporary stereotypes and prejudices surrounding the working classes, their language, behaviours, and living conditions. While I call attention to some of these within my discussions, this chapter nevertheless chooses to focus – first and foremost – on Guthrie's activism and calls for reform. With all this in mind, then, it is worth acknowledging that my interpretations are certainly not the only readings of class that scholars might draw from these texts.

<u>‘Ransoming childish sufferers from pain’: London, Emotion, and Social Reform</u>

With one in every three citizens under the age of fifteen, Gubar writes, ‘Victoria’s England was a child-dominated society’.[207] During an extraordinary period of industrialisation and urbanisation, not to mention population growth, a large proportion of these children found themselves living in unaffordable and insanitary housing, often accompanied by several family members. Children residing in such conditions would frequently be required to contribute to the household income, and if paid employment was unobtainable, they might need to turn to crime. At the same time, Victoria’s reign saw England move from an eighteenth-century position on children (that they were born with original sin) to the belief that the mind at birth appears to be, as John Locke noted in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689), like ‘white paper’, or a “tabula rasa” .[208] With the child’s mind likened to a blank canvas, childhood became understood as a crucial period of development, distinguished as ‘the stage when the mind is most malleable’.[209] Children were consequently absolved from responsibility: their actions were seen as the unavoidable repercussions of their upbringing and of the environment in which they lived. As a result, those residing in the harshest of conditions came to be pitied by contemporary authorities, social reformers, writers, and artists alike, with their sentimental and tragic illustrations of desperate children stirring the affections of even the sternest of hearts.

While the nineteenth century saw the publication of a wave of literary narratives calling for social reform, such as the well-known activism found in Charles Dickens’s *Oliver Twist* (1837) and *Bleak House* (1853), for example, the Victorians were simultaneously bombarded with social surveys and essays detailing the horrific circumstances in which the poorest of citizens found themselves. Child labour was exposed as an ongoing issue for the most desperate households; child prostitution was described in W. T. Stead’s ‘The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon’ (1885); and studies such as Andrew Mearns’s *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883) and George Sims’s *How the Poor Live* (1883) revealed the extent of the cramped and insanitary living conditions rife amongst the slum districts. Both Mearns and Sims similarly demonstrate the desperation of impoverished children in London, with the former writing that ‘[t]he child-misery that one beholds is the most heartrending and appalling element’.[210] Flooded with representations of the neglected child, Victoria’s England soon saw policy makers and social reformers campaign to establish legislation and initiate schemes that aimed to alleviate some of the suffering. Examples included the inauguration of the Education Act in

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[207] Gubar, ‘The Victorian Child’.
[208] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 25th edn (London: Thomas Tegg, 1825), p. 33.
[209] Tess Cosslett, *Talking Animals in British Children’s Fiction* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), p. 9.
[210] Andrew Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1883), p. 21.

1870, as well as the introduction of compulsory education for elementary school children in 1880.[211] Organisations such as the NSPCC were additionally founded in the last decades of the century, with legislation regarding child cruelty introduced in 1889.[212] At the same time, parish councils were responsible for those living within the region's boundaries and elected members dealt with issues including public health and the modernisation of local residences, problems undoubtedly affecting both adults and children.

Late-Victorian philanthropists similarly attempted to improve the lives of contemporary children. In a contribution to *The Woman's World* in 1888, Mary Jeune – also known as Lady St. Helier, a London County Council alderman and passionate activist – reflects upon several contemporary initiatives and children's charities dedicated to remedying some of the plights faced by impoverished Victorian children. Amongst these, Jeune describes Penny Dinners for School Children, a scheme offering impoverished children a 'dinner of good soup and a large piece of bread in the interval between schools'; the Children's Country Holidays Fund (CCHF), a charitable organisation designed to send underprivileged children away for a holiday in the fresh air and country surroundings; and an initiative situated in Islington, where working-class children were provided with an indoor playroom to enjoy educational and recreational activities.[213] Appeals on behalf of such charitable organisations soon began to crop up in contemporary newspapers and periodicals. One of these petitions, 'A Stepney Playroom', written by Guthrie and published in *Time* in August 1885, sought to describe and support the efforts of a late-Victorian playroom.[214] In his report on the work conducted by volunteers at this playroom and the many benefits to their endeavours, Guthrie identifies the emotions contained within this building and records them amongst his emotional geography of the city, all the while acknowledging the role that the site's commitment to social inclusivity has upon the feelings connected to the playroom. Consequently, the playroom initiative is not only promoted by Guthrie as he acknowledges the value of its work and the effect it has on emotio-social divisions, but

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[211] Despite efforts to regulate and control child labour, unregulated working and childcare responsibilities continued past the end of the century. In 1901, for example, 300,000 children were still working outside of school hours. See: 'The 1870 Education Act', *UK Parliament* <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/school/overview/1870educationact/> [accessed 6 July 2021].

[212] For an overview of the founding of the NSPCC, see: Hendricks, *Child Welfare*, pp. 23–33.

[213] Mary Jeune, 'The Children of a Great City – II', *The Woman's World* (London: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1888), pp. 253–258. Penny Dinners for School Children was one of several similar early efforts to provide school children with some sort of substantial meal during their day. In 1906, the Education (Provision of Meals) Act was introduced, thereby making it the school's duty to offer children from lower income households a school meal. For more on the evolution of this service, see: Hendricks, *Child Welfare*, pp. 66–72.

[214] This issue of *Time* also includes Samuel Barnett's 'Modern Babylon', an article discussing the social problems facing contemporary Londoners. Importantly, 'Modern Babylon' suggests possible ways of alleviating the suffering of underprivileged children; one of which, Barnett says, might well be the establishment of 'sufficient spaces […] for free play'. Recreational play is consequently imagined – albeit briefly – as a useful developmental device for working-class children. Later in the volume, then, readers would find 'A Stepney Playroom' in dialogue with Barnett's 'Modern Babylon' as Guthrie delves into the inclusive educational, social, and moral opportunities provided by children's playrooms. See: Rev. Samuel Barnett, 'Modern Babylon', *Time*, August 1885, pp. 129–133, p. 132.

its presence also imagines London as a city containing hybridities; one within which invisible boundaries collapse and one which is not, therefore, as strictly demarcated as readers might expect.

As so little information pertaining to these playrooms exists, a brief introduction to this charitable initiative and a note on Guthrie's participation in the discourses surrounding this scheme frames the forthcoming discussion. Although Guthrie's essay may, in fact, be one of the most comprehensive accounts of the scheme, his article aims to describe the purpose of the playroom and the impact of this site upon the children whom he finds there, rather than documenting the details surrounding the inauguration of the initiative. In fact, in his discussion, he only pays brief attention to a nameless 'lady' who wanted to 'hire a room in an East-End district for an afternoon each week […] and invite some twenty or thirty children at a time to pass a couple of hours or so more pleasantly than they were accustomed to'.[215] While this 'lady' may be credited with introducing the scheme, there are so few records surrounding the playrooms – and potentially a good few of them: Mary Jeune, as we saw, documented the one located in Islington – that it is difficult to pinpoint where or when the first officially opened its doors.[216] In *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882), however, Walter Besant gestures towards a (very vague) timeframe within which these East End playrooms might have first welcomed their guests. In this novel, Angela Messenger, a wealthy Cambridge graduate, determines to establish a recreational venue in the East End of London, seeking to bring some pleasure to this 'Joyless City'.[217] Angela asserts that, in this place, 'there exists nothing […] for the imagination to feed upon'.[218] To resolve this, she opens a venue in Stepney – somewhat like the People's Palace constructed in Mile End – with 'three large halls', one of which 'might […] be a children's playroom'.[219] Angela's desire to establish a children's playroom in London's East End suggests that the concept of recreational play as an instrument of social reform began to gain traction in the early- to mid-1880s.

A letter published in the *Charity Organisational Review* in December 1885 similarly documents the commitment to social change demonstrated by the eponymous playroom of Guthrie's article. In an appeal to his audience for volunteers, Arthur R. Price writes

> I should be very grateful if any ladies or gentlemen would find time to help at a playroom in Stepney. This playroom has been open on Tuesday and Friday for the last two years […] Every Tuesday and Friday from 200 to 350 children of this very poor neighbourhood flock to

[215] F. Anstey, 'A Stepney Playroom', *Time*, August 1885, pp. 173–179, p. 174. All future references will be to this version of the text and will be given in parentheses following quotations.
[216] For Jeune's discussion on the playroom in Islington, see Jeune, p. 256. The playroom she discusses may have been opened by George Trout Bartley, MP for Islington North from 1885 to 1906.
[217] Walter Besant, *All Sorts and Conditions of Men: An Impossible Story* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers), p. 164.
[218] Ibid., p. 166.
[219] Ibid., p. 167.

> the hall; there they have swings, rocking-horses, dolls, toys, games, and fairy stories to their hearts' content. The noise is indescribable, but their happiness is perfect. After school, instead of drifting about the streets till their parents return from work or going home, twice a week they really enjoy themselves for an hour and a half. [...] Anyone who is sufficiently interested can read a good account of the playroom in the number of *Time* for August.[220]

According to Price, the Stepney playroom –opened in 1883 at the 'Congregational Hall, Medland Street, close to Stepney Station' – offered many underprivileged children a place of leisure and enjoyment.[221] At the time, such pleasures were generally afforded to children from wealthier families. As Alix Bunyan points out, from the 1870s, middle-class adults (and especially parents) 'began to take a more formal interest in children's toys, theatre, and books, and to explore their developmental possibilities'.[222] By offering working-class children similar opportunities, then, the playroom is established as a place of social inclusivity which worked towards breaching the divisions between privileged and underprivileged children.

Guthrie reiterates how the playroom serves to deconstruct these socio-economic boundaries in 'A Stepney Playroom' when he notes that such an enterprise 'conciliate[s] and remove[s] [...] class-prejudice' (p. 179). While Beth Fleischman suggests that this activism is 'remarkably idealistic', it is certainly not out of character, nor out of touch with contemporary efforts.[223] The university settlement movement, for example – established by Samuel and Henrietta Barnett in 1884 – saw "settlement houses" introduced in underprivileged areas to unite the rich and poor. There, volunteers would live within these houses and offer support (in the way of education, healthcare, and day-care) to their lower-income neighbours.[224] Importantly, though, such efforts, like the playroom in Stepney, signal not only a bridging of the invisible socio-economic divisions operating across the city but – as we will see – they also illustrate the erosion of the emotio-social demarcations which accompany

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[220] Arthur R. Price, 'Come and Play', *Charity Organisation Review*, 1, 12 (December 1885), p. 501.
[221] Ibid. Medland Street no longer exists. It appears instead to have been incorporated into The Highway. See Figure 1.
[222] Alix Bunyan, 'The Children's Progress: Late-Nineteenth-Century Children's Culture, the Stephen Juvenilia, and Virginia Woolf's Argument with Her Past' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2001), p. 29.
[223] See: Fleischman, 'F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie)', p. 200. Efforts to remedy the late-Victorian housing problem and bridge the social divide between wealthier and poorer areas of the city were well-established in the last decades of the century. Examples include the Quaker model villages and the accommodation provided in garden cities. Public libraries were similarly considered a facility which would introduce social inclusivity and bridge the division between socio-economic classes. For more on these model villages, for example, see Jan Marsh, *Back to the Land: The Pastoral Impulse in Victorian England from 1880 to 1914* (London: Quartet Books Limited, 1982); W. Alexander Harvey, *The Model Village and its Cottages: Bourneville* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1906); and Adrian Raymond Bailey, 'A Quaker Experiment in Town Planning: George Cadbury and the Construction of Bournville Model Village', *Quaker Studies*, 11, 1 (2007), 89–114.
[224] Guthrie was a supporter of Barnett's scheme and an associate of Toynbee Hall, the first "settlement house", and accounts of his donations can be found in several of their annual reports. Such records of this investment and his support for the playroom initiative gesture towards Guthrie's ongoing interest in remedying the divisions separating the rich and the poor. See: Universities' Settlement in East London, *Tenth annual report of the Universities' Settlement in East London* (London: [n. pub], 1894), p. 17; 26.

them. In doing so the presence of this site amongst Guthrie's emotional geography points towards a representation of London that exposes its unfixed borders, highlighting the instability of the metropolis.

It does not take long before readers recognise the deterioration of the city's socio-economic and emotio-social demarcations in 'A Stepney Playroom' as Guthrie begins to plot the emotions of this site. At first, the article conjures images of unhappy and impoverished children, those who possess 'few memories they will ever care to cherish; their earliest experiences have been bitter and rough and unlovely' (p. 173). These children, those 'sitting on doorsteps or kerbstones in any filthy backstreet', sound remarkably like the children residing in '[a]n airless court' in Guthrie's 'The Country of Cockaigne', an appeal published in *Punch* and written on behalf of the above-mentioned CCHF on 17 August 1895 (p. 174).[225] Like the CCHF and other middle-class charitable organisations and schemes, though, late-Victorian playrooms sought to intervene and offer children some time away from the 'cold dark streets or the crowded living-room', places full of potential corruption, danger, and sickness (p. 175). All sorts of children, Guthrie notes, some 'healthy-looking, tolerably clean and decently dressed', and some 'appallingly unclean and ingeniously ragged', were able to utilise the playroom as a place of 'hitherto undreamed-of security' (pp. 175–176). Here, then, Guthrie suggests that the playrooms – with their breaching of socio-economic boundaries – sought to offer *every* child an environment in which they felt happy, comfortable, and safe for a few hours a week, an objective which undoubtedly appealed to contemporary philanthropists and reformers horrified at the cruel realities of the lives of many working-class children. In doing so, Guthrie begins to point towards the emotions connected to this site and locates it amongst his emotional geography of the capital.

Further into the article, Guthrie expands upon the emotions that accompany the inclusive playroom by emphasising its important social and educational benefits and highlighting the ways in which the children contained within this site are disciplined. This advocacy on behalf of London's playrooms was in keeping with contemporary beliefs surrounding the benefits of group play and structured recreational activities. These were (and still are) considered crucial to a child's physical, mental, and moral education. If a child's mind was a blank canvas, then organised peer activities were surely significant tools to be employed in its development. In an article assessing the introduction of boys' clubs in the late 1800s and early 1900s – predominantly those appearing in America – Roberta J. Park notes how such organisations combined physical activity with morality.[226] 'It was imperative', Park explains, 'that all forms of learning be infused with a strong moral sense'.[227] As schools assumed

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[225] F. Anstey, 'The Country of Cockaigne', *Punch, or the London Charivari*, 17 August 1895, p. 76. Any future references are to this page of the text.
[226] Roberta J. Park, '"Boys' clubs are better than policemen's clubs": Endeavours by Philanthropists, Social Reformers, and Others to Prevent Juvenile Crime, the Late 1800s to 1917', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24, 6 (2007), 749–775.
[227] Ibid., p. 754.

'increasing responsibility for […] training the body, the senses and the will (moral nature) […] more attention was being given to what could be learned through "training the hand"'.[228] Late-Victorian and Edwardian schools and recreational groups consequently used structured 'games, play, vacation camps and nature study, music, drama and uplifting social events' to influence the development of the physical, the mental, and the moral.[229] In *The Power of Play* (1905), British clergyman George Hamilton Archibald wrote of the benefits of children's play, arguing that it acts as 'a developer of the inventive and creative instincts'.[230] He adds that play brings about 'tremendous possibilities of character building', a sentiment which Guthrie would likely be inclined to agree with; indeed, *Only Toys!* (1903) recognises the significance of recreational play as the child protagonists are required to engage in imaginative play to understand and develop their own identity.[231] Like Archibald, Margaret Alden impresses the educational and moral importance of play in *Child Life and Labour* (1908), urging for it to be 'an essential part of the curriculum'.[232] She records how 'England is rapidly following in the footsteps of New York in this direction', clearly demonstrating how the significance attributed to recreational play was being felt on both sides of the Atlantic in the early 1900s.[233]

With all this in mind, then, it is little surprise when readers find Guthrie's essay detail how the playroom's volunteers teach children to play sensibly with and socialise amongst one another, thereby situating this space as a microcosm of society. While Guthrie avoids stating this quite so brazenly as Lady Jeune, who writes that the scheme 'humanise[s] and tame[s]' the children, he clearly stresses the importance of disciplining the playroom's attendees, noting that '[t]he chief duties of those who superintend […] are to prevent any oppression and disorder' (p. 176).[234] In one disciplinary episode, Guthrie describes the cries of a small boy who was caught smuggling a toy at the end of playtime. He was 'brought up for judgement, howling bitterly', Guthrie notes, 'more it seemed from fear than penitence. Prison, or a whipping at the very least, was what he probably expected' (p. 178). Finding himself instead 'gently told that he must not do it again, kissed and consoled, with permission to come again if he promised to be good […] must have been a novel and suggestive experience to him' (p. 178).[235] Crucially, the child's crime is not punished with violence in this scene. Rather, the boy is

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[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid.
[230] George Hamilton Archibald, *The Power of Play: The Place and Power of Play in Child-Culture* (London: Andrew Melrose, [n.d.]), p. 7.
[231] Ibid. I return to a discussion on *Only Toys!* in Chapter Four.
[232] Margaret Alden, *Child Life and Labour* (London: Headley Brothers, 1908), p. 68.
[233] Ibid., p. 69.
[234] Jeune, 'The Children of a Great City – II', p. 256.
[235] It is worth pointing out that comparing the methods of discipline employed by volunteers to the potentially violent tactics deployed in some households also highlights Guthrie's desire to challenge acts of cruelty and violence against children; in this case, those inflicted under the disguise of discipline. Guthrie's acknowledgment of this issue is in keeping with contemporary efforts to reduce acts of cruelty against children. The emergence of the NSPCC, for example, and the passing of the Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection of, Children Act in 1889 both demonstrated the work that was being done in the late-Victorian era to remedy the

comforted and the volunteers attempt to prevent any further incidents by disciplining him, but with kindness. To a child brought up in London's East End, Guthrie suggests, this interaction is far from familiar. Thus, the emotions that the child feels within the playroom are plotted onto Guthrie's geography of London and understood to be brought about by the introduction of a site which collapses socio-economic divisions. At the same time, the erosion of socio-economic and emotio-social demarcations within the playroom ultimately points towards Guthrie's London as one which might best be understood for its hybridity and unstable borders.

Figure 1: Medland Street, documented in an OS map (1893-1896). Just below Medland Street, we find the Congregational Hall mentioned in Guthrie's 'A Stepney Playroom'.[236]

The emotions attached to the playroom are most obviously noted when Guthrie considers (in a rather Dickensian manner) the ways in which the site alleviates the physical and emotional suffering of its guests and the subsequent joy and happiness that such remedies bring with them. 'Round the fireplace sat a little ring of ragged and bare-footed children', Guthrie writes, 'who crouched as near as they could to the fire and basked in the novel sensation of warmth in winter; […] they sat there, hugging their knees and happy' (p. 177). Collapsing the boundaries between the city and the country, he continues '[t]here was a large fir-tree which had been used for Christmas Eve festivities, and under its boughs sat a little group of children, who told you gleefully "they were in the country"', but 'for some of them […] the only country that they knew was compressed under that tree' (p. 178). Although 'A Stepney Playroom' was published ten years before 'The Country of Cockaigne', Guthrie's essay appears to foreshadow how the poorest of children ascribe a quasi-mythological status to the countryside. Indeed, in 'The Country of Cockaigne', readers are introduced to the eight-year-

ongoing problem of child cruelty. For more, see Hendricks's discussion on child cruelty and the introduction of the NSPCC: Hendricks, *Child Welfare*, pp. 23–40.

[236] Screenshot of an OS map of London (1893-1896), taken from *Layers of London* <https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/overlays/os-maps-1893-1896> [accessed 11 August 2023].

old Jimmy as he delivers a monologue to his friend, Florrie, which nostalgically recalls his time in the countryside. When Jimmy is not offered another trip to the country at the end of the narrative, then, his illustration of this idyllic countryside – and the possibility of visiting it again – seem to be as unlikely as a trip to the mythological Land of Cockaigne.[237] In a similar vein, the children huddled under the fir tree in the playroom in Stepney seem to be completely unfamiliar with the pleasures of the countryside. While the playroom is, therefore, praised for providing its guests with these small moments of happiness and joy, these emotions are also understood spatially, too, as Guthrie locates them within this site and plots them onto his emotional geography of the city. By recording and highlighting the emotions attached to the playroom, then, Guthrie recognises the value of the work conducted in them. At the same time, though, this site speaks to the hybridity of the capital: a place which – as the playroom attests – contains within it breaches in socio-economic and emotio-social divisions. By incorporating this location amongst his emotional geography of the metropolis, then, Guthrie ultimately illustrates the interaction and intersection of the city's many boundaries and reveals these borders to be unfixed and unstable.

Guthrie's interest in exploring the emotions of London extends beyond 'A Stepney Playroom' though; indeed, other philanthropic appeals on behalf of children additionally hope to further illustrate the emotions attached to different places in the city. These pieces find themselves concerned with children's healthcare and pay attention to the emotions emerging within one particularly well-known institution: Great Ormond Street Hospital. It is worth pointing out that Guthrie's interest in the physical and mental health of children was likely influenced by his brother, Leonard. This is hardly surprising, given that Leonard worked directly with children at the Paddington Green Children's Hospital and published two medical texts on childhood illnesses – *Interstitial Nephritis in Childhood* in 1897 and *Functional Nervous Disorders in Childhood* in 1907 – as well as a fictional collection called *Hospital Sketches* (1902), a series of scenes detailing authentic examples of consultations from the hospital. Leonard's own experiences therefore offered his brother an insight into the urgent demand for children's medical care as well as the financial challenges that children's hospitals faced; problems which ultimately motivate Thomas Guthrie's representations of Great Ormond Street Hospital.[238]

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[237] The Land of Cockaigne is an imaginary, mythological paradise from medieval folklore where inhabitants can find an unlimited supply of food and drink. In Cockaigne, as Herman Pleij notes, '[o]ne only had to open one's mouth, and all that delicious food practically jumped inside'. Such images of Cockaigne and the countryside bleed into one another in Guthrie's article when Jimmy tells Florrie that he was able to '"eat as many"' berries as he liked in the country, thereby distinguishing between the scarcity of food currently on offer in London and the infinite abundance of nourishment provided in the country. See: Herman Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life*, trans. by Dianne Webb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p. 3.

[238] After qualifying, Leonard's first appointment was as a house-surgeon at the Paddington Green Children's Hospital, an achievement which 'directed his attention to the study of disease in early life'. At the time of Leonard's death in 1918, he was a senior physician at the hospital. The Guthrie brothers appear to share an

The former of these, a sketch called 'Two Visits', was published in *Punch* on 31 January 1900. In 'Two Visits' the narrator foreshadows a distressing vision of the future of the hospital – in a style like that of Marley's ghost – by demonstrating the potential damage which would ensue if it were to run out of money. While the former vision shows Mr. Punch greeted by a group of unwell but happy and comfortable children, surrounded by compassionate and attentive staff and a vibrant and well-equipped institution, the second vision sees him enter a desolate building, only to learn that the Hospital ran out of funds and that the children were sent home. With a sigh of relief, readers learn that Mr. Punch's second "visit" is merely a dream, and the piece ends with a request for donations. Nine years later – but in a similar vein – Guthrie contributed 'Winnie' to the charitable collection *In A Good Cause*, the profits of which were donated to Great Ormond Street Hospital.[239] In 'Winnie' readers follow a young, sick girl as she undergoes and recovers from an operation. Read alongside one another, then, 'Two Visits' and 'Winnie' similarly appeal for public donations by recognising the quality of care and attention, both medical and emotional, that was provided by the Hospital; another place which, in opening its doors to *all* children, eroded contemporary socio-economic and emotio-social divisions. In doing so Great Ormond Street Hospital is not only positioned amongst Guthrie's emotional geography and promoted for its valuable work, but it is also understood as another place in London that speaks to the instability of the capital.

To work on the sketch of 'Two Visits', Guthrie took the opportunity to visit Great Ormond Street Hospital himself; in fact, in January 1900, as he was planning his sketch, his diaries record two trips to the children's hospital. On the first occasion, after a '[l]ong talk w[ith] Adrian Hope', the Hospital's secretary at the time of the article's publication, Guthrie described how he was '[m]uch impressed by it all'.[240] Guthrie's praise for the work conducted at the Hospital – both in his diary and throughout 'Two Visits' and 'Winnie' – recalls the accolades bestowed upon this institution by Charles Dickens decades earlier. Indeed it bears similarities to both 'Drooping Buds' (1852), an essay concerned with the recent opening of the Hospital, and 'Between the Cradle and the Grave' (1862), an article appealing for funds by reminding readers of the impressive work conducted there.[241] At first, at

interest in child welfare and social activism; indeed, *Hospital Sketches* often brings up issues surrounding children's education and child labour. See: 'Obituary', *British Medical Journal*, 4 January 1919, p. 28.

[239] Guthrie also wrote a short humorous story, 'A Very Bad Quarter of an Hour', for another edition of *In a Good Cause*. See: F. Anstey, 'A Very Bad Quarter of an Hour', in *In a Good Cause: A Collection of Stories, Poems, and Illustrations*, ed. by Margaret S. Tyssen Amherst (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, & Co., 1885), pp. 137–146.

[240] London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 63557, fol. 49r.

[241] Great Ormond Street Hospital was opened in 1852 by Charles West. For more on Dickens and Great Ormond Street Hospital, see: Charles Dickens, 'Drooping Buds', *Household Words*, 3 April 1852, pp. 45–48; Charles Dickens, 'Between the Cradle and the Grave', *All the Year Round*, 1 February 1862, pp. 454–456; Howard Markel, 'Charles Dickens' work to help establish Great Ormond Street Hospital, London', *Lancet*, 354 (1999), 673–675; Jules Kosky, *Mutual Friends: Charles Dickens and Great Ormond Street Children's Hospital* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989); and chapter 3 of Katharina Boehm, *Charles Dickens and the Sciences of Childhood: Popular Medicine, Child Health, and Victorian Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 79–112.

least, Guthrie even seems to use Dickens's texts as a template for his own. In 'Between the Cradle and the Grave', for instance, Dickens attentively describes the well-equipped and lively building, noting how the nurseries were 'bright with pictures and besprinkled with small toys' and filled with 'uniformly happy' patients.[242] Following Guthrie's visit to Great Ormond Street Hospital – during which he recorded that 'the wards contained a '[b]owl of goldfish, plants, boys in ocean coloured gowns, girls in scarlet' – he takes a leaf from Dickens's articles and similarly details the features of the hospital in 'Two Visits', calling attention to 'plants, flowers, toys, a bowl of gold-fish here and there'.[243] The appeal immediately presents itself, therefore, as Dickensian in both content and tone.

As in 'Between the Cradle and the Grave', Guthrie also recalls the emotions contained within the hospital as Mr. Punch tells readers that the '[s]mall convalescents sat […] in happy and intimate silence' (p. 76). The faces of these children would 'light up', the narrator adds, 'at a caressing touch' or the 'playful word' of the nurses caring for them (p. 76). Such children include a boy called Albert, a patient with a diseased hip-joint. Albert captures the emotions found within the hospital when he volunteers to remain there on account of his satisfaction with the care provided by the staff, declaring that he is '"too happy with "Sister"' (p. 76). Likewise, in 'Winnie', the arrival of an anonymous, attractive, caring female visitor prompts the eponymous child-protagonist to question 'whether fairies are still to be met with', adding she 'shouldn't wonder if the pretty lady was one'.[244] While Guthrie uses these scenes to illustrate the compassion provided by medical staff and visitors and the happiness of the children who reap the benefits of their devotion – thereby appealing to his audience for donations – his illustration also positions Albert's 'Sister' and Winnie's 'fairy godmother' as maternal surrogates to the children. Reminding readers of Great Ormond Street Hospital's (ostensibly) philanthropic female visitors, Winnie's surrogate god*mother* appears to replace her biological mother during her recovery.[245] As the visitor and the devotion she offers is described to be quasi-mythical and

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[242] Dickens, 'Between the Cradle and the Grave', p. 455.

[243] This anecdote is not the only one that finds its way into 'Two Visits'. Indeed, Guthrie also incorporates characters inspired by the patients that he met at the hospital. In the text readers are introduced to Johnnie, for example, a boy suffering with some form of heart disease, who 'seemed to have spent more of his few years in hospital than out of it' (p. 76). Mr. Punch tells readers that when Johnnie 'last left he told the "Sister" "it was all right, for he should soon be back". And so he was – the very next week' (p. 76). This statement can be found in an earlier diary entry following Guthrie's visit to the hospital: 'Johnnie Morris, aged 10', Guthrie jots down, '[h]ad been 15 weeks here last time & on leaving had said "Never mind, I shall soon be back again, Sister!"'. The deliberate recreation of this exchange speaks to Guthrie's use of imagination and mimicry in the reproduction of real interactions and people. This is a discussion which I return to in Chapter Three. See: Millar Bequest, Add MS 63557, fol. 50r; F. Anstey, 'Two Visits', *Punch: or, the London Charivari*, 31 January 1900, pp. 76–77. All future references will be to this version of the text and will be given in parentheses following quotations.

[244] F. Anstey, 'Winnie, an Everyday Story', in *In A Good Cause: Stories and Verses on Behalf of the Hospital for Sick Children*, ed. by F. Anstey, Sir Gilbert Parker, Owen Seaman and others (London: John Murray, 1909), pp. 1–78 (p. 25). All future references to the text will be given in parentheses following quotations.

[245] Victorian ladies frequently visited Great Ormond Street Hospital as a fashionable "hobby". Sometimes they would simply look at the children – thereby transforming them into a spectacle – but sometimes they would assist the nursing staff by entertaining the children. These actions serve as a contemporary example of slumming, within which members of wealthier classes would spend time in environments of a lower-economic

magical, then – a depiction which recalls the representation of the seemingly mythological countryside in 'A Stepney Playroom' and 'The Country of Cockaigne' – Mr. Punch implies that Winnie's biological mother is unable to provide her daughter with the same amount of compassion and the same standard of care as the philanthropic women calling at the Hospital. In a similar vein, the attention provided by Albert's "Sister" in 'Two Visits' (another maternal figure) presumably supersedes the care afforded to him in his own home. In his depictions of the Hospital and the treatment afforded to the children within it, then, Guthrie identifies this place as one of (allegedly unfamiliar) happiness, security, and comfort and plots these emotions of the Hospital onto his geography of the metropolis. In doing so, it gives Guthrie an opportunity to tie his interest in social activism to his emotional geography of the city as he promotes the work of the Hospital by detailing the emotio-social boundary-breaches contained within it.

The unsettling medicalization of the working-class children outlined above re-emerges during Mr. Punch's second "visit" to the Hospital. Upon re-entering the now vacant building, Mr. Punch is shocked to learn that the children were sent '"back to their poor homes, and insufficient food, and air, and space"' (p. 77). The Hospital is consequently imagined as a haven for suffering children, an escape from the dangerous and diseased streets which extend into homes. In her reading of Dickens's depiction of the vulnerable child, Katharina Boehm explains how *A House to Let* (1858) concludes with the 'image of the public space of the hospital [...] as the ideal home for the neglected child'.[246] Socio-political discourses surrounded the children's hospital, Boehm argues, because the building became 'a symbolic home for the homeless children of London's streets'.[247] Guthrie's illustration of Great Ormond Street Hospital appears to be in touch with these narratives; indeed, the image of the comforting and inclusive ward sharply contrasts the little care provided by the poorest of families. The Matron tells Mr. Punch, '"we had to send every child home [...] to such care and comfort as its parents can give it, which is little enough, for most of them are very poor"' (p. 77). The hospital in 'Two Visits' is crucially positioned as a site of physical recovery *and* a site that remedies neglect, thereby reinforcing the image of Great Ormond Street Hospital as a 'symbolic home' for the most disadvantaged of children. This sentimental and Dickensian illustration of the Hospital undoubtedly appealed to the wealthier philanthropists that we find featured in 'Winnie'; in fact, the public was so impressed by the appeal that on 1 March 1900, Guthrie took to his diary to record that the fund was 'nearly [at] £11,000'.[248] Crucially, though, it is the hospital's breaching of the boundaries separating

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and social status. For more on Victorian slumming, see: Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

[246] Katharina Boehm, '"A Place for More than the Healing of Bodily Sickness": Charles Dickens, the Social Mission of Nineteenth-Century Pediatrics, and the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children', *Victorian Review*, 35, 1 (2009), 153–174 (p. 153).

[247] Ibid., p. 159.

[248] As the instances of philanthropy explored throughout this discussion speak to Guthrie's dedication to '[r]ansoming childish sufferers from pain', it may not be too much of a surprise to learn that Guthrie's investment in child welfare and children's wellbeing reached his very own pocket. After his death in 1934, for

the wealthy and the poor that Guthrie suggests remedies neglect and creates for its inhabitants a happy and comforting environment. After all, this is a place in which socio-economic borders erode as Great Ormond Street Hospital offers *all* children care and attention, in turn supporting the deconstruction of emotio-social divisions. By locating the hospital within his emotional geography, then, Guthrie further identifies the hybrid sites contained within the city and simultaneously gestures towards London's unfixed borders and instability.

### *Conclusion*

'A Stepney Playroom', 'Two Visits', and 'Winnie' undoubtedly reveal Guthrie's interest in and commitment to philanthropy. After all, these texts appeal to the public's sympathies in the hope that readers will donate and subsequently liberate 'childish sufferers from pain', a line taken from a short verse written by Guthrie and contained within a souvenir collection of verses, short stories, and cartoons which were sold to raise money for Great Ormond Street Hospital.[249] This interest in child welfare, however, can also be tied to Guthrie's role as a literary geographer. Indeed these texts allow Guthrie to construct an emotional geography of the capital, one that highlights the emotions found in different locations across late-Victorian London. Guthrie therefore identifies the emotions attached to the sites contained within his representation of the city – the playroom in Stepney and Great Ormond Street Hospital – and suggests that these are places in which the working-class child feels happy, comfortable, nurtured, and safe. Such feelings, Guthrie suggests, are the result of a bridging of the socio-economic divide: it is the social inclusivity and equality offered in these places that foster these emotions. On the one hand, the playroom initiative and Great Ormond Street Hospital are therefore recognised as valuable charitable endeavours, enabling Guthrie to promote their work and connect his interest in reform to his emotional geography. Simultaneously, though, the playroom and the hospital are understood as places in which socio-economic and emotio-social boundaries collapse. Consequently, Guthrie records the city's sites of hybridity and, in doing so, he ultimately reveals how he understands the metropolis to be a place of unfixed borders and unstable boundaries. As in this part of the chapter, the forthcoming discussion sees Guthrie equally interested in revealing instability and detailing the implications of such instability. To do so, though, this chapter turns from his journalistic,

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example, Guthrie left '£200 to the Hospital for Children; £200 to the Children's Hospital, Paddington Green; £50 to the Children's Country Holidays Fund; [and] £50 to the Lady St. Helier's Children's Country Holiday Fund'. These examples stand as evidence of Guthrie's commitment to gathering donations *as well as donating*, ultimately demonstrating his continual investment in child welfare. See: Millar Bequest, Add MS 63557, fol. 63r; Anonymous, 'Benefactions of "F. Anstey"', *Times*, 15 May 1934, p. 11.

[249] The full verse reads: '[y]ou, generous aiders at this Matinée, | Seek no reward – yet more than gold you gain; | Ransoming childish sufferers from pain, | By pleasure that you give their friends to-day'. See: F. Anstey, 'Avant-propos', in *In A Good Cause: Souvenir of a Performance Given on Thursday Afternoon, May 3, at the Palace Theatre, in Aid of Mr. Punch's Fund for the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street.* (London: Whitefriars Press, 1900), p. 1.

philanthropic appeals and looks towards the adapted it-narratives contained within his 1898 volume of children's fiction, *Stories for Boys and Girls*.

Motion and Emotion: Representing the City

'"I always believe [...] that people never give dogs half credit enough for feeling things, don't you?"'
F. Anstey, 'A Canine Ishmael'[250]

'"Of course, the dolls and animals feel things most", said Joan.'
Mrs. H. C. Cradock, *Peggy and Joan*[251]

According to Mark Blackwell, the it-narrative – also called the circulation narrative, or the talking-object narrative – can be described as a subgenre of fiction in which inanimate objects or animals function as the central character to the story.[252] 'Sometimes these characters enjoy a consciousness – and thus a perspective – of their own', Blackwell writes, thereby highlighting the subjectivity that such stories provided their non-human protagonists.[253] This non-human narratorial perspective, one which saw and heard things to which 'traditional human (or humanoid) narrators may not be privy', began to gain traction in the eighteenth century, with stories such as Francis Coventry's *The History of Pompey the Little: Or, The Life and Adventures of a Lap-dog* (1751) and Mary Ann Kilner's *The Adventures of a Pincushion* (c. 1780) positioning this subgenre on the literary map.[254] Although some Victorian writers understood this subgenre to be one which might pragmatically tutor children – Annie Carey, for example, published her *Autobiography of a Lump of Coal; A Grain of Salt; A Drop of Water; A Bit of Old Iron; and A Piece of Old Flint* in 1870 – others saw the it-narrative as one that 'perform[ed] the possibility that humanity can continue outside human beings'.[255] By attributing fictional things with a consciousness and interiority, such narratives consequently hoped to teach empathy, compassion, and equality.[256] These important characteristics, ones which were (and are) especially marketable at children, ultimately reveal how we, as humans, treat (or *should* treat) these non-human things, and all the more crucially, those whom these fantastical beings represent.[257]

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[250] F. Anstey, *The Talking Horse and Other Tales* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1892), p. 280.
[251] Mrs. H. C. Cradock, *Peggy and Joan* (London: Blackie and Son, 1922), p. 15.
[252] Mark Blackwell, 'Introduction: The It-Narrative and Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory', in *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. by Mark Blackwell (Cranbury: Rosemont Publishing & Printing Corp., 2010), pp. 9–18 (p. 10).
[253] Ibid.
[254] Elaine Freedgood, 'What Objects Know: Circulation, Omniscience and the Comedy of Dispossession in Victorian It-Narratives', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 15, 1 (2010), 83–100 (p. 84).
[255] Ibid., p. 88. While the eighteenth-century it-narrative was not originally marketed at children, the Victorians saw how this genre possessed the potential to influence younger audiences. It-narratives from the nineteenth century consequently utilised their sentient protagonists to teach children about morality and humanity. See: Leah Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 108.
[256] Leah Price argues that the genre of the it-narrative – and the necessary anthropomorphization of inanimate objects found within these stories – enriches our ability to empathise. See: Price, *How to Do Things with Books*, pp. 125–126.
[257] For further reading on the it-narrative, see: Crystal B. Lake, 'Feeling Things: The Novel Objectives of Sentimental Objects', *The Eighteenth Century*, 54, 2 (2013), 183–193; Monica Flegel, 'Everything I Wanted to Know about Sex I Learned from My Cat: Animal Stories, Working-Class "Life Troubles," and the Child Reader in Victorian England', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 41, 2 (2016), 121–141; and Christian Lupton, 'The Knowing Book: Authors, It-Narratives, and Objectification in the Eighteenth Century', *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, 39, 3 (2006), 402–420.

Such stories teach their readers by introducing them to non-human protagonists which, as Lois Kuznets points out, are 'objects in the eyes of humans and with perhaps similar stories to tell'.[258] The adapted it-narratives in Guthrie's *Stories for Boys and Girls* certainly see his sentient protagonists reveal their own stories; indeed, they relay their experiences and feelings as they move across the city and enter different spaces of the capital. On their travels these objects and possessions experience and explore a range of contemporary social and socio-economic problems, such as animal cruelty and social inequality and discrimination. Such topics are well aligned with the it-narrative because these texts necessarily contain different subject-object relations.[259] In detailing the experiences and emotions of the protagonists as they enter different parts of London and are caught up in these issues and discourses, then, these tales – this discussion claims – serve to build upon the emotional geography of the capital that we see Guthrie begin to construct in his writing on behalf of children. However, given that the protagonists of Guthrie's it-narratives all find themselves – by the end of their stories – with more problems than they had at the beginning, readers might rightly conclude that it is the disastrous consequences of their movement that Guthrie finds himself interested in detailing throughout these tales of tragedy. Once again, this allows Guthrie to tie his interest in social activism and reform to his emotional geography of London. At the same time, the socio-spatial fluidity of the protagonists – those who cross the city's borders but certainly do not construct them; an important distinction that highlights their limited authority and their inability to exert control amongst the sites that they have entered – also speaks to the permeability and porosity of the capital's boundaries. Guthrie's emotional geography therefore further exposes the city as a place of unfixed divisions and demarcations. For better or, in this case, for worse, such boundary-breaches reveal the instability of late-Victorian London.

Amongst the sentient beings that Guthrie employs throughout his collection, we see animals appear within these entertaining and educational narratives. Animals are, of course, deeply entrenched within children's literature; after all, since Aesop's fables, the animal narrative has been employed to teach morality to children. Animal autobiographies – a popular subgenre of fiction in Victorian England, developed from the eighteenth-century it-narrative – were similarly predisposed to instruction.[260] *Black Beauty*, written by Anna Sewell and published in 1877, serves as one of the most successful examples of this literary subgenre; in fact, by employing the eponymous horse as her narrator, Sewell presented readers with one of the best-known animal welfare novels. Crucially, then, literary animals were understood to be able to teach readers, as Tess Cosslett notes, 'benevolence and

[258] Lois Kuznets, *When Toys Come Alive: Narratives of Animation, Metamorphosis, and Development* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 138.
[259] For more on thing theory, see: Bill Brown, 'Thing Theory', *Critical Enquiry*, 28, 1 (2001), 1–22; Bill Brown, *A Sense of Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Elaine Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things*; Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. by Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).
[260] Flegel, 'Everything I Wanted to Know about Sex I Learned from My Cat', p. 122.

humanity'.[261] This is certainly something that Guthrie picks up on in his 1896 psychological Gothic narrative, *The Statement of Stella Maberly*, in which the cruel murder of the household dog serves to highlight the malevolent nature of Stella's nemesis. Cruelty to animals, therefore, actively pre-empts cruelty to humans. Children's literature similarly encourages readers to identify 'with the owner who treats his pets or possessions with care', thereby educating audiences on the 'rights, privileges, and obligations of ownership' as well as the importance of compassion and empathy.[262]

There is one animal, though, more so than any other, that Guthrie returns to throughout his literary career. The dog, as Peter Merchant points out, was 'to be the subject of many of his [...] stories'.[263] 'A Farewell Appearance', originally published in *Longman's Magazine* in February 1883, certainly attests to this statement. Undoubtedly one of the more tragic of Guthrie's stories, 'A Farewell Appearance' revolves around a dog called Dandy. After defiantly refusing to execute any more of his owner's tricks, he runs away from his home, only to be swiftly abducted by nearby thieves. Dandy – who, at this point in the narrative, resembles the kidnapped Florence Dombey from Dickens's *Dombey and Son* (1848) – is soon sold to the directors of a Punch and Judy show and treated appallingly: he is physically abused, underfed, and unloved. At the end of the narrative Dandy's owner, Hilda, spots her missing pet performing in the show and the pair manage to reunite, but upon his return home, Dandy – exhausted from the suffering that he has endured – dies in Hilda's arms.[264] As readers are allowed access into Dandy's emotions and experiences as he moves across the capital, 'A Farewell Appearance' consequently reveals the treatment afforded to Dandy as he travels between different socio-economic and socio-spatial environments. Indeed, in the middle- and upper-class Victorian home, the dog is cherished as a priceless, sentimental belonging, but in London's dangerous streets, the animal's value is purely commercial. Dandy becomes a transactional possession whose worth depends on his ability to work. By revealing and criticising Dandy's changing worth within different geographic contexts through the consciousness and interiority and emotions of Dandy, Guthrie constructs an emotional geography of London and ties his interest in social reform to

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[261] Cosslett, *Talking Animals in British Children's Fiction*, p. 10. For more on animals in literature, see: Margaret Blount, *Animal Land: The Creatures of Children's Fiction* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1975); Catherine Elick, *Talking Animals in Children's Fiction: A Critical Study* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers., 2015); and *Animals and their Children in Victorian Culture*, ed. by Brenda Ayres and Sarah E. Maier (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020). For further reading on the Victorians and animals, see: Sarah Amato, *Beastly Possessions: Animals in Victorian Consumer Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015); Ivan Kreilkamp, *Minor Creatures: Persons, Animals, and the Victorian Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018); and Deborah Denenholz Morse and Martin A. Danahay, *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007).

[262] Lynn Festa, 'The Moral End of Things', in *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England*, pp. 309–328 (p. 320).

[263] Peter Merchant, 'With Collies Graven on His Heart: The Canine Projections of Thomas Anstey Guthrie (1856–1934)', *Cahiers victoriens et édouardiens*, 88 (2018) <https://doi.org/10.4000/cve.3800>.

[264] It is worth acknowledging that Dandy's tragic death bears similarities to the demise of the fictional fallen woman, as is imagined in texts like Ellen Wood's *East Lynne* (1861).

this illustration of the city. In turn, this emotional geography – one which imagines London through its boundaries and boundary-breaches – also exposes the instability of the metropolis.

In ‘A Farewell Appearance’, readers find Dandy’s emotions to be dependent upon the relationships that he has with various people in different places of the city. Thus, while Dandy appears to function as a possession and performer to both Hilda, his devoted child-owner, as well as to the showmen who snatch him from her, the former prompts a different emotional response to the latter because of the *environment* in which Dandy is situated. These dichotomous geographies see Dandy afforded two conflicting types of worth, so when Dandy circulates across the city, he moves from an area in which he is sentimentally valued to one within which he is economically valued, thereby triggering very different emotions. It is little surprise that ‘A Farewell Appearance’ includes this representation of Dandy in the Victorian middle-class home, given the contemporary upper- and middle-class preoccupation with animals and with pet-keeping.[265] Indeed, no animal did so well in the nineteenth century as the domestic pet. As Harriet Ritvo points out, by the mid-1800s, ‘the Victorian cult of pets was firmly established’.[266] Pets, especially dogs, were perceived as members of the middle- and upper-class household and frequently acquired a privileged status within their Victorian families. As Phillip Howell points out, the sentimental value of these furry companions is revealed in the ‘emblematic and significant places for animals invented by the Victorians’, one of which was a dog’s cemetery erected in Hyde Park.[267] ‘These dogs’ memorials, erected from around 1881’, Howell writes, ‘leave no doubt as to the depth of their owners’ affection and sense of loss’.[268] In both his diaries and autobiography, Guthrie (an avid dog-lover himself) retrospectively reflects on the grief he experienced following the loss of his pets. Recalling the death of one of his most cherished dogs, Jock, Guthrie writes, ‘I said good-bye to him for the last time and […] arranged for his burial in the Dog’s Cemetery, where he now lies. I have spent happier birthdays than that 8th of August 1922’.[269] A diary entry from July 1898 similarly sees Guthrie speak of the grief he continued to experience after the death of another of his beloved dogs, Bran, who passed away the previous September. ‘Thinking a good deal about my poor Bran & all his affectionate ways’, Guthrie admits, ‘[w]ishing I had him again, looking back over his shoulder to see if I was following, or jumping up to lick my hand’.[270]

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[265] The Victorian era witnessed an ever-increasing interest in animals and animal welfare. As a result, the early-Victorian era saw animals provided with greater legal protection than children. Indeed the Cruel Treatment of Cattle Act (sometimes called “Martin’s Act”) was introduced in 1822 and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded in 1824. While such changes by no means resolved the suffering and abuse endured by many animals, the introduction of these organisations and bills demonstrated a new dawn in animal welfare.

[266] Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 86.

[267] Phillip Howell, ‘A Place for the Animal Dead: Pets, Pet Cemeteries and Animal Ethics in Late Victorian Britain’, *Ethics, Place & Environment*, 5, 1 (2002), 5–22 (p. 7).

[268] Ibid., p. 8.

[269] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 403.

[270] London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 63555, fol. 162r.

Such entries – infused with both love and grief, two sides of the same coin – corroborate the sentimentality attached to pet-keeping in the nineteenth century.

At the beginning of Guthrie's story, then, when readers find Dandy in the middle-class home, they anticipate that he will be treated with kindness and compassion. This expectation is met as we find Hilda attempt (somewhat in vain) to make Dandy execute the tricks she has taught him. As she introduces Dandy to her new doll, she says '"Dandy, you ought to bow and say something nice and clever, only you can't; so you must give Angelina your paw instead"'.[271] Here, Hilda inadvertently objectifies Dandy by positioning the dog as a plaything and likening him to Hilda's doll. Nevertheless, Hilda still assigns Dandy value and treats him with compassion, even after his outburst. In fact, despite his attack on Angelina, Hilda employs benevolence throughout her admonishments, telling her pet '"[y]ou deserve to be well whipped […] but you do howl so. I shall leave you to your own conscience […] until […] you come here and say you're sorry and beg both our pardons"' (p. 237). Bearing similarities to the punishment inflicted upon the small boy in Guthrie's 'A Stepney Playroom', this conflation of 'compassion' and 'discipline', as Harriet Ritvo notes, was a common feature in Victorian children's literature, not least because it sought to teach children the appropriate way to discipline their "inferiors".[272] The treatment of Dandy in this scene reiterates the sentimentality often attached to pets in the space of the Victorian middle-class home. This, of course, has implications for the emotions that are connected to this space. Such feelings are described by Dandy later in the story when – while on London's dangerous streets – he recalls the 'comfortable home' that he once resided in (p. 247). Similarly, when Dandy and Hilda are reunited at the end of the story, readers are told of the 'frantic joy' that the dog experiences upon being held in his owner's 'loving arms' (pp. 262–263).

By comparison, it is amongst London's working-class streets that Dandy is miserable and distressed because he is treated as an economic commodity rather than a beloved pet. Dandy's movement between these spaces immediately follows Hilda's chastisement, as he runs away from Hilda and into the arms of dog-thieves. Dog-stealing was such a problem in Victorian England that the Dog Stealing Bill was introduced in 1845 and identified dogs as property, meaning that those who stole and were found guilty of stealing were liable to be punished for theft. Thieves often also tried to extort reward money from their victims, thereby playing upon the invaluable emotional attachment that owners felt toward their animals. As Olivia Rutigliano points out, this crime was geographical: thieves operated in 'hubs in working class neighbourhoods where London's wealthy rarely entered'

[271] F. Anstey, *Paleface and Redskin; and Other Stories for Boys and Girls* (London: Grant Richards, 1898), p. 235. All future references to 'A Farewell Appearance' will be from this collection and will be given in parentheses following quotations.
[272] Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, p. 132. A similar depiction of the disciplining of pets emerges in 'Don: The Story of a Greedy Dog'. In this tale the child-protagonist, Daisy, employs a compassionate but effective way to educate her aunt's dog.

and dog-stealers, or dog "nippers", ventured into wealthier districts where they surveyed 'bourgeois homes with valuable pets', arguably 'a neat reversal of the usual relation between the bourgeoisie and the city's poor'.[273] Elizabeth Barrett Browning's dog, Flush, for example, was said to have been watched for some time before being stolen in 1844.[274] Guthrie appears to be well aware of these dognapping tactics at the beginning of 'A Farewell Appearance' when – following Dandy's rebellious departure from his home – the narrator reveals how 'an experienced dog-stealer had long had his eye upon him, and Dandy happened to come across him that very morning' (p. 238). Tempted with 'delightful suggestions about him of things dogs love to eat', Dandy followed the

> broken-nosed, bandy-legged man till they reached a narrow lonely alley, and then just as Dandy was thinking about going home again, the stranger turned suddenly on him, hemmed him up in a corner, caught him dexterously up in one hand, tapped him sharply on the head, and slipped him, stunned, into a capacious inside pocket (p. 238).

While the image of the thief's curved legs and his misaligned nose foreshadow his "crooked" – or malevolent and devious – actions, his physical description arguably gestures towards his social class, too. In fact, his bowlegs are potentially the result of rickets, a childhood disease which commonly plagued impoverished areas of Victorian England.[275] This allusion to the thief's socio-economic status and the geographic environment in which he operates hints at Guthrie's forthcoming depiction of the different treatment and value afforded to Dandy on London's streets; indeed, he implies that (working-class) dog "nippers" sought to use and abuse animals for their own mercantile gain.

The narrator soon provides a striking comparison between the middle-class home and the working-class street in a scene during which the dog-thief sells his victim to the showmen. Like Hilda, he forces Dandy to execute similar performances, telling the buyer '"[y]ou see him sit up and smoke a pipe and give yer his paw, now"' (p. 242). The thief continues to

> put Dandy through these performances on the sloppy counter. It was much worse than being introduced to Angelina; but hunger and fretting and rough treatment had broken the dog's spirit, and it was with dull submission now that he repeated the poor little tricks Hilda had taught him with such pretty perseverance (pp. 242–243).

Although Dandy is positioned as a performer in this scene, just as he is at the beginning of the narrative, the dog-thief undoubtedly differs from Hilda because of the transactional intentions underpinning his demands: Dandy's worth, to the seller and the buyers, depends on his ability to

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[273] Olivia Rutigliano, 'The Dognapping of the Century', *Medium*, 7 January 2020 <https://medium.com/truly-adventurous/the-dognapping-of-the-century-8169f538f295> [accessed 5 November 2021]; Phillip Howell, *At Home and Astray: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2015), p. 58.
[274] Howell, *At Home and Astray*, p. 58.
[275] Rickets can cause problems with bone growth, leading to curved spines and bowlegs.

"work". Located in this unfamiliar and dangerous environment, then, Dandy becomes a commercial commodity rather than a sentimental possession. This newfound fiscal importance is further illustrated when Dandy is haggled for and subsequently exchanged in a commercial transaction. '"He's not worth to us not the lowest you'd take for him"', the buyer argues, citing Dandy's age and lack of training to justify his negotiation (p. 243). The dog-thief returns the bargain, saying '"I'll tell you 'ow fur I'm willing to meet yer […] you shall have him, seein' it's you, for –"' (p. 243). This offer is successful, and 'by the end of the interview Dandy had changed hands, and was permanently engaged as a member of Mr. Punch's travelling company' (p. 243). Dandy's objectification and circulation bears similarities to the trade of donkeys in Carlo Collodi's *The Adventures of Pinocchio*, published in 1883. After their transformation into donkeys in Toyland, Pinocchio and his schoolfriend are led to 'the market-place', where 'buyers were not wanting. Lamp Wick was bought by a peasant whose donkey had died the day before from overwork. Pinocchio was bought by the director of a company of clowns and circus men'.[276] Like Dandy, who (after his abduction) is figured as a marketable product, the turnover of these donkeys/boys highlights the commerciality of animals (and children) as well as their potential to be exploited for mercantile gain. The site of criminal exchange that Dandy finds himself in is crucially linked to his depression and distress, feelings which very clearly differ from Dandy's emotions in the middle-class home. Not only is the dog's spirit 'broken', but readers also later learn that his exchange made him '[feel] a very reduced and miserable little animal' (p. 242; p. 252). Dandy's exchange might therefore also be read as a Marxist critique of the workings of a capitalist society, given that Dandy experiences exploitation (the appropriation of value from workers), reification (the commodification of labour), and alienation (the disconnection of the worker from essential aspects of their humanity) during his transaction.[277]

It is worth acknowledging, here, that – as in *Pinocchio* – the similarities between Dandy – after his theft – and impoverished Victorian children arguably also point towards Guthrie's interest in child welfare. Susan J. Pearson has pointed out that the nineteenth century established a cultural association between animals and children, with both sharing a 'mutual status as objects of the sentimentalizing gaze'.[278] The Victorian sentimentalization of impoverished children certainly resembles the depiction of Dandy as he suffers at the hands of the showmen; in fact, as Dandy becomes increasingly exhausted and depressed, he admits that he 'never could forget what […] he

[276] Carlo Collodi, *The Adventures of Pinocchio*, trans. by Walter Cramp (Cambridge, MA: Ginn & Company, 1904), p. 175.
[277] While it is beyond the scope of this discussion, it is nevertheless worth pointing out that this critique of the capitalist society into which Dandy is exchanged does not quite fit with Guthrie's later position on the socialist society of gnomes found within Guthrie's final novel, *In Brief Authority* (1915). As Fleischman points out, even though this story contains a 'more progressive economic system', Guthrie criticises the 'well-meaning Socialists […] who had little practical knowledge and expertise to back up their idealistic theories'. See: Fleischman, 'F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie)', p. 88.
[278] Susan J. Pearson, *The Rights of the Defenseless: Protecting Animals and Children in Gilded Age America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 39.

was; and often, in the close sleeping-room of some common lodging-house, he dreamed of the […] home he had lost, and Hilda's pretty […] face' (p. 247).[279] The bleak reality of Dandy's/the impoverished Victorian child's impermanent, insanitary, and potentially dangerous accommodation strikingly contrasts the love offered by Hilda within the idyllic, domestic home. As an object of circulation, Dandy also bears similarities to Victorian depictions of underprivileged contemporary children working and residing in inner-city slums. As the first part of this chapter pointed out, the poorest of families would often rely on children bringing in some form of income to support the household, consequently prompting middle- and upper-class charities and child welfare advocates to expose the horror of the economic value placed on working-class children. In fact, the NSPCC often demonstrated how neglect and abuse were frequently class-oriented problems. In their attack on child life-insurance policies, for example, a scheme predominantly used by the working classes, the NSPCC's campaigns visualised how 'children [were] reduced to commodities'.[280] Dandy could easily be a child circulating in illegal and/or abusive transactions in the city's slums, then, thereby demonstrating – once again – Guthrie's interest in reforming the lives of impoverished Victorian children.

Crucially, though, readers learn that the exploitation of Dandy and the above-mentioned emotions triggered by the cruelty inflicted upon him occur within a working-class environment. The narrator alludes to the working-class area in which the dog will soon find himself when they offer a description of the dog-thief, but the socio-economic environment into which Dandy is transferred is confirmed later in the narrative when he describes the way in which the 'ill-dressed and dirty persons', with their 'rough […] advances', treated him (p. 247). By situating Dandy on the working-class streets of London, then, Guthrie consequently implies that animal exploitation and abuse were geographical and class issues. This was a position reinforced by contemporary animal welfare charities. The RSPCA, for example, claimed that members of the working-classes were more likely to inflict suffering upon animals. According to Ritvo, '[i]n the view of the RSPCA and its supporters, [the] threat came from the uneducated and inadequately disciplined lower classes'.[281] Although this narrative was not always recycled throughout animal autobiographies – Mark Twain's *A Dog's Tale* (1903), for example, instead critiques those living in 'fine great house[s]' for their unethical (mis)treatment of animals – stories like Virginia Woolf's *Flush: A Biography* (1933), based upon the aforementioned abduction of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's dog, recall this Victorian cartography of

[279] Dandy's class-swapping bears similarities to characters like David Copperfield who move between social classes.
[280] Monica Flegel, '"And now Tom being killed, and all spent and eaten": Children, Consumption and Commerce in Nineteenth-Century Child-Protection Discourse', in *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, ed. by Dennis Denisoff (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), pp. 217–230 (p. 218).
[281] Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, p. 135.

animal abuse.[282] As in Guthrie's 'A Farewell Appearance', it is 'the *places* of Flush's nightmare ordeal among dog stealers [which] are central to this story and its significance' (original emphasis).[283]

By revealing Dandy's emotions as he travels across the city, then, Guthrie constructs an emotional geography and imagines and understands London through the emotions that are triggered in different places of the capital. As these emotions are connected to the ways in which Dandy is treated by Hilda and by the thieves and showmen, Guthrie ties his interest in animal welfare to his emotional geography of the capital. In a similar vein to the narrative propagated by the RSPCC, 'A Farewell Appearance' suggests that it is in the middle-class home – within which Dandy is treated as a member of the family – that animals are comfortable, safe, and loved, while the working-class streets of London – those which treat the dog as a commodity – bring with them hardship and anguish. While Guthrie's emotional geography of the city records a place with socio-economic boundaries, it also understands these borders to be permeable. Indeed it illustrates how, in late-Victorian London, boundaries are often breached or threaten to be breached, as 'A Farewell Appearance' sees the working classes penetrate middle-class neighbourhoods to claim their victims and the dog is subsequently transferred across the city. In a somewhat similar vein to the first part of the chapter, then, when Guthrie visualises the capital's instability by imagining the ways in which sites of social inclusivity collapse socio-economic and emotio-social demarcations, the breaching of socio-spatial boundaries in Guthrie's narrative speaks to London's instability. After all, Dandy's movement signals the fluidity of the city: it is a place within which borders are unfixed, porous, and continually threaten to erode. Of course, it is the problematic consequences of this deterioration which 'A Farewell Appearance' is interested in detailing to its readers.

[282] Mark Twain, *A Dog's Tale* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1904), p. 13.
[283] Howell, *At Home and Astray*, p. 54.

Figure 2: 'The Return of the Prodigal' by George Percy Jacomb-Hood, published in *In A Good Cause: souvenir of a performance given on Thursday afternoon, May 3, at the Palace Theatre, in aid of Mr. Punch's fund for the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street*. The drawing offers an illustration of Dandy and Hilda's reunion, shortly before his death.[284]

Guthrie's geography is not only constructed with the help of animals, though; in fact, toys are also allowed an interiority and consciousness that enables them to voice their emotions and feelings as they move between different spaces in the city. Guthrie's introduction of a toy to his it-narrative is well-suited, given that toys have long demonstrated their 'social and educational' potential. Indeed, we need not strain to recall their use in gendered play, nor must we spend too much time searching for evidence of the didactic potential of the 'rational toy-shop', a proposal put forward by Richard and Maria Edgeworth in *Practical Education* (1798).[285] As Kuznets points out, though, toys and toy stories additionally 'embody human anxiety about what it means to be "real"'; they contain both 'developmental and existential concerns' with which readers can identify.[286] As toys in literature are simultaneously presented as 'mass-produced things that also possess individual consciousness', their existence blurs the lines dividing subject and object, animate and inanimate, and real and

[284] George Percy Jacomb-Hood, *The Return of the Prodigal*, from *In A Good Cause: souvenir of a performance given on Thursday afternoon, May 3, at the Palace Theatre, in aid of Mr. Punch's fund for the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street* (London: The Whitefriars Press, 1900) <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/axs9a975/items?canvas=67> [accessed 11 August 2023].
[285] Kuznets, *When Toys Come Alive*, p. 2; Christina Hardyment, *Dream Babies: From Locke to Spock* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1983), p. 27.
[286] Kuznets, *When Toys Come Alive*, pp. 1–2.

fantastical.[287] Such distortions similarly appear in Guthrie's 'A Toy Tragedy', another tale reprinted in the collection *Stories for Boys and Girls*.

The drama of 'A Toy Tragedy' takes place within a nursery room belonging to a girl called Winifred, in which readers meet Ethelinda, Winifred's new doll from Regent Street. She sits alongside a humble Jester from the Lowther Arcade (who is helplessly in love with her), a fairy, and a malevolent mechanical clock known as the Sausage Glutton.[288] Bored by the monotony of Winifred's nursery, Ethelinda secures a deal with the Sausage Glutton to make her the heroine of a romance, one involving Winifred's cousin, Archie. The prospect of this sinister bargain concerns the Jester, so he asks the fairy to help Ethelinda. She tells him that she cannot intervene, but that she can grant him one wish and warns him to use it wisely. The following day, Ethelinda's dream becomes a reality: as Archie and Winifred play together in the nursery, he introduces Ethelinda to the story. She quickly learns that Archie's game is not so benevolent, and as the narrative unfolds, Ethelinda finds herself ready to be beheaded. In a moment of self-sacrifice, the Jester wishes to take Ethelinda's place. His wish is granted, and soon readers learn that the headless doll lies in a dustbin, while Ethelinda appears to have learnt nothing from her narrow escape. In a similar vein to 'A Farewell Appearance', Guthrie's 'A Toy Tragedy' is also concerned with the emotions connected to different geographic environments. This time, the place upon which the story focuses its attention is the children's nursery, a site of leisure afforded to upper- and middle-class children. Following his move from the Lowther Arcade, the Jester finds himself in a nursery rife with class prejudice, discrimination, and social inequality. Consequently, Guthrie employs the experiences of the nursery's sentient residents to detail the emotions attached to this troubling place. In doing so, Guthrie builds on his emotional geography and (once again) ties his interest in social reform to this representation of late-Victorian London. At the same time, this emotional geography also reveals the unstable borders of the capital; indeed, the Jester and Ethelinda's interactions within the privileged nursery suggest that the city is a socio-spatially porous one, a site within which the boundaries separating socio-economic communities – and those contained within them – might easily erode. It is the threat of this instability and its consequences which Guthrie's illustration of the city chooses to explore.

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[287] Lewis C. Roberts, '"It's a dangerous world out there for a toy": Identity Crisis and Commodity Culture in the *Toy Story* Movies', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 42, 4 (2017), 417–437 (p. 419).

[288] The Jester's unrequited love for Ethelinda resembles a ditty published seven years after the original publication of 'A Toy Tragedy' in Guthrie's *The Black Poodle* (1884). Composed by Fred Cape, the comic ballad 'The Tin Gee-Gee', also known as 'The Lowther Arcade', sees a talking tin soldier complain that the doll he loves favours a toy marked with a higher price: '[t]here's a pretty little dolly-girl over there, and I'm madly in love with she; | But now that I'm only marked one-and-nine, she turns up her nose at me, | She turns her little wax nose at me and flirts with two-and-three'. See: 'The Tin Gee-Gee', *Monologues* <http://monologues.co.uk/musichall/Songs-T/Tin-Gee-Gee.htm> [accessed 13 March 2023]. For more on this song, see: Rohan McWilliam, 'Fancy Repositories: The Arcades of London's West End in the Nineteenth Century', *The London Journal*, 44, 2 (2019), 93–112 (p. 108).

At the beginning of the narrative, readers are almost immediately introduced to two toys with distinct backgrounds. On the one hand, there is Ethelinda, 'a particularly handsome doll' from Regent Street who is described to have 'thick golden hair, arranged in the latest fashion' and 'a costume that came direct from Paris'.[289] In contrast to Winifred's fashionable, expensive, Regent Street doll, the unnamed Jester is, according to Ethelinda, a 'shabby common creature', one originating from the less respectable repository of toys held in the Lowther Arcade (p. 190). Victorian arcades were essentially modern-day shopping centres originally marketed at the wealthier classes, but the construction of the Lowther Arcade in 1831 prompted different social groups to meet as the West End began to tempt middle-class customers.[290] At the same time, the Lowther Arcade opened its doors to middle-class children, too, subsequently paving the way for children's consumerism.[291] Originating from this place of hybridity, then, the Jester is understood for his connection to a place with few social divisions or distinctions. This is, however, a problem for Ethelinda as she wishes to uphold these demarcations but her encounter with this toy in the nursery instead threatens their collapse.[292] The Jester's origins consequently provoke Ethelinda's prejudices and class distinctions, which, as Kuznets notes, have 'always been exploited in doll books'.[293] Such depictions often served a didactic purpose: '[p]lain, sturdy dolls […] criticized the pretensions of aristocratic but more flimsy elaborate dolls, as well as those of their aristocratic owners, with their weak morals'.[294] Likewise, 'A Toy Tragedy' sees Guthrie call attention to Ethelinda's and the Jester's respective backgrounds in order to subsequently recognise the treatment that the toys face – both by their owners and by each other – in the space of the nursery.

From the Jester's very first encounter with Ethelinda, he faces prejudice and discrimination. Indeed, during their interaction, she determines him to be unsuited to the privileged site of the nursery, a decision likely reinforced by the way in which he gained access to it. Indeed, the Jester's place in the nursery is complicated by the fact that he did not move from the Arcade to the nursery but, rather, that he *was moved* between them. This is an important distinction, given the contemporary

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[289] F. Anstey, 'A Toy Tragedy', in *Paleface and Redskin; and Other Stories for Boys and Girls* (London: Grant Richards, 1898), p. 188. All future references will be to this edition and will be given in parentheses following quotations.
[290] McWilliam, 'Fancy Repositories' p. 94.
[291] Ibid, p. 95.
[292] It is worth adding that Ethelinda is also likely concerned about the Jester because of his previous proximity to a different type of "consumption"; one which reeked of indecency. Indeed, opposite the Lowther Arcade stood the Lowther Bazaar, a marketplace associated with 'vulgarity'. As the bazaar provided 'a place for well-off men to ogle the shop girls', it allowed for 'the arousal of sensory appetites and the male gaze', undoubtedly emphasising its association with social impropriety. The combination of the Jester's successful climb up the social ladder and the indecency to which he was so closely connected positions him – in Ethelinda's eyes, at least – as a toy with an unsavoury past. See: Rohan McWilliam, 'The Bazaars of London's West End in the Nineteenth Century', in *Paraphernalia! Victorian Objects*, ed. by Helen Kingstone and Kate Lister (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 17–36 (p. 30).
[293] Kuznets, *When Toys Come Alive*, p. 103.
[294] Ibid.

attitudes surrounding social mobility. In theory, the Victorians believed that anyone could succeed in the world through hard work, a position promoted not least by (the aptly named) Samuel Smiles in his influential book, *Self-Help* (1859). Apart from the old, the very young, and the disabled, then, those who "failed" to improve their lives by climbing the socio-economic ladder were blamed for their misfortune and considered responsible for their own suffering. Consequently, when the Jester traverses class boundaries not through work but, rather, by luck, he is deemed additionally unfit for the nursery. His initial conversation with Ethelinda therefore positions him as the target of her prejudiced attack:

> "I came from the Lowther Arcade," [the Jester] said.
> "Oh, really?" drawled Ethelinda; "then, of course, this would be quite a pleasant change for you."
> "I don't know," he said; "I like the Arcade. It was so lively; a little noisy perhaps […] but very cheerful. Yes, I liked the Arcade."
> "Very mixed society there, isn't it?" she asked; "aren't you expected to know penny things?"
> "Well, there *were* a good many penny things there," he owned, "and very amusing they were. There was a wooden bird there that used to duck his head and wag his tail when they swung a weight underneath – he would have made you laugh so!"
> "I hope," said Ethelinda freezingly, "I should never so far forget myself as to laugh under any circumstances – and certainly not at a *penny* thing!
> "I wonder how much *he* cost?" she thought; "not very much, I can see from his manner. But perhaps I can get him to tell me. Do you remember," she asked aloud, "what was the – a – the premium they asked for introducing you here – did you happen to catch the amount?"
> "Do you mean my price?" he said; "oh, elevenpence three farthings – it was on the ticket."
> "What a vulgar creature!" thought Ethelinda, "I shall really have to drop him (original emphasis, pp. 190–191).

Even though Ethelinda derides the Jester, here, it is *she* whom the narrative ultimately presents as the "clown" within this exchange. Her social snobbery and judgement – that which mirrors (in miniature) the attitudes of the wealthier classes – serves to criticise the very real problem of class prejudice in Guthrie's contemporary society. At the same time, this scene also allows Guthrie to begin to add to his emotional geography of London as the Jester recollects his time in the Lowther Arcade and tells readers how he felt there. Most significantly, of course, he describes it as 'very cheerful'. Thus, the joyful Lowther Arcade – a place of social hybridity and inclusivity, and one which bears similarities to the playroom in Stepney – already stands in striking contrast to the contempt and resentment contained in Winifred's nursery, a site of division and hostility.

Ethelinda is not the only character in the narrative whom readers find to perpetuate prejudice and inequality, though; indeed, both Winifred and Archie, Winifred's sadistic cousin, present audiences with additional illustrations of discrimination and cruelty. In fact, Archie even takes his discrimination further and combines it with violence.[295] According to Kuznets, Victorian toy narratives often represented boys as particularly destructive when engaging in doll play. In 'A Toy Tragedy', Archie's behaviour is so appalling that when he tries to play with Winifred, she hesitates at first, recalling the time when he 'played at being a slave-driver […] and you made me sell you my old black Dinah for a slave, and then you tied her up and whipped her. I didn't like *that* game!' (original emphasis, p. 207). In Victorian toy narratives, 'black female dolls', Kuznets points out, were 'generally placed in roles convenient to those in power'.[296] While Winifred's recollection consequently reveals how Archie malevolently relishes the hegemony afforded to wealthy, white families, it also exposes the subject-object relations between humans and toys as well as between the power*ful* and power*less*. Indeed, coercing Winifred into *selling* her doll converts Dinah (and importantly, the black woman she represents) into a transactional commodity; a transformation in keeping with Page duBois's assessment that slaves were situated 'where the subject and object intersect'.[297]

Winifred's horror at Archie's behaviour bears similarities to the repulsion produced by the actions of another of Guthrie's fictional characters, one appearing in *The Pariah* (1889). During this novel, the titular outcast, Allen Chadwick, participates in an impersonation of a minstrel show. For the most part, the audience expresses their shock at Allen's conduct; Allen's stepmother reveals that she is 'too angry' for words, while his stepsister describes her 'contempt' for the routine.[298] The condemnation of Allen and Archie's respective performances consequently challenges such behaviours and encourages both adult and child audiences to distance themselves from these characters. Crucially, though, Archie's treatment of Winifred's Dinah doll visualises a suggestion posited by Kuznets; that, '[w]hen manipulated by human beings – adults or children – toys embody all the temptations and responsibility of power'.[299] Winifred's recollection is therefore significant, as Archie's behaviour imagines and criticises the ways in which the powerless members of society risk persecution at the hands of the powerful.

Although she is not violent like her cousin, Winifred has similar social prejudices which determine how she treats her toys. This is best seen at the end of the narrative when the Jester meets

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[295] Kuznets, *When Toys Come Alive*, p. 100.
[296] Kuznets, *When Toys Come Alive*, p. 104.
[297] It is worth pointing out that Dinah's fate as a commodity also resembles Dandy's, however – in 'A Toy Tragedy' – it is the forced complicity of the child that ultimately determines the doll's destiny. See: Page duBois, *Slaves and Other Objects* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 30.
[298] F. Anstey, *The Pariah* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1889), p. 77.
[299] Kuznets, *When Toys Come Alive*, p. 2.

his tragic fate. His death is the result of a deal that Ethelinda makes with the Sausage Glutton, a grotesque mechanical figure that perches on the top of an old German clock.[300] Their bargain sees her whisked into a game with Archie and Winifred in which she is the "heroine" of the tale. Soon, though, Archie threatens to 'cleave Ethelinda's soft wax neck', a graphic and disturbing description that positions him as a butcher and displaces her from a semi-human object during doll play to one which resembles meat (p. 224). While this moment undoubtedly aligns the malevolent Archie with the sinister figure of the Sausage Glutton who mechanically slices the sausages on his plate, the threat to Ethelinda's life simultaneously prompts the heroic Jester to intervene and take her place. In the struggle, Ethelinda loses a chunk of her hair, but the Jester is chopped in two. The narrator then tells readers that 'Winifred, left to herself again, was so absorbed in sobbing over Ethelinda's sad disfigurement, that she quite forgot to pick up the split halves of the Jester's head which were lying on the nursery floor' (p. 229). Winifred's disinterest in the mutilation of the Jester brings with it implications pertaining to the emotional value placed on her toys. Indeed she attaches a greater "worth" to Ethelinda because she was purchased in Regent Street, while the Jester is disregarded because he originated from the Lowther Arcade. The different treatment afforded to the toys in this scene is foreshadowed earlier in the story, when the Jester tells Ethelinda that Winifred '"doesn't care much about me, and that cousin of hers, Master Archie, gives me rather a bad time of it when I come in his way, but really she's very polite and attentive to *you*"' (original emphasis, p. 193). Importantly, the stress placed at the end of this statement implies that the crucial difference between the Jester and Ethelinda is their "socio-economic background". With this in mind, then, it is little surprise when Winifred disregards the Jester's execution at the end of the story.

The treatment of Dinah, the Jester, and of Ethelinda is consequently connected to the emotions contained within the space of the nursery. Of course, these vary according to each toy and the treatment afforded to them. Although Ethelinda is loved and cared for – so much so, in fact, that as she faces her death she longs to feel once again 'safe in tender-hearted little Winifred's arms' – the Jester's and Dinah's experiences are of sadness and distress (p. 225). The above-mentioned statement delivered by the Jester undoubtedly confirms these emotions as he reveals just how little attention, kindness, or care both Winifred and Archie offer him. By comparing the emotions felt within the

[300] The Sausage Glutton – perhaps unsurprisingly, considering his name – sits 'with a plate of sausages on his knees, and a fork in one hand. Every minute he slowly forked up a sausage from the plate to his mouth, and swallowed it suddenly, while his lower jaw wagged, and his narrow eyes rolled as it went down in a truly horrible manner' (p. 198). The repetitive action of shovelling these sausages into his mouth presents readers with an image of the Sausage Glutton's insatiable appetite and greed. Carolyn Daniel argues that gluttony is associated with selfishness, adding that 'monsters who threaten to consume […] act outside cultural and social prohibitions and represent the antithesis of civilized humanity'. Children's literature and fairy-tales certainly incorporate all sorts of villains with monstrous appetites, from the witch who tries to fatten and eat the children in 'Hansel and Gretel' (1812) to the wolf that consumes Little Red Riding Hood. These characters – just like the Sausage Glutton – are figures who, as Daniel suggests, demonstrate their malevolence and immorality through their grotesque displays of consumption. See: Carolyn Daniel, *Voracious Children: Who Eats Whom in Children's Literature* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), p. 42; p. 139.

nursery to those experienced at the Lowther Arcade, Guthrie constructs an emotional geography that is tied to his interest in social reform. After all, the nursery – socio-spatially fluid though it may be – is evidently *not* a site of equality. Unlike the positive implications of the hybridity found in the Lowther Arcade, Great Ormond Street Hospital, and the Stepney playroom (sites within which the collapse in social demarcations motivates their inauguration), the meeting of social groups and the implied instability of the city's invisible borders is instead viewed as a threat in the children's nursery, a place inherently connected to the privileged classes. This site consequently contains prejudices and inequalities, as is visualised throughout 'A Toy Tragedy'. Thus, it is London's unfixed socio-spatial boundaries and the problems encountered by those that breach these unstable borders that Guthrie's emotional geography is interested in revealing.

### *Conclusion*

Given the confused publication history of the texts considered in this part of the chapter, it is impossible to suggest that 'A Farewell Appearance' and 'A Toy Tragedy' – amongst other tales from *Stories for Boys and Girls* – were only ever targeted at children. Yet their inclusion within the collection from 1898 speaks to Guthrie's commitment to direct his interest in social activism at a new, younger audience, readers who were 'especially open to and in need of influence, control and shaping'.[301] In doing so, Guthrie adopts and adapts the it-narrative and offers his non-human protagonists an interiority and consciousness that allows them to tell readers their own stories. These stories relay the experiences and emotions of animals and toys as they travel across and enter different spaces of the city, thereby allowing Guthrie to construct an emotional geography of late-Victorian London. Readers follow Dandy as he is introduced to hardship, suffering, and sadness following his displacement from the home to the underprivileged streets, while the Jester – a toy moved not from but *to* the home (and specifically the nursery) – similarly grapples with a lack of belonging because of the prejudice and discrimination faced within this environment. As these sites are connected to contemporary social issues, then, Dandy and the Jester's movement – and the problems that they face *because* of their movement – enable Guthrie to tie his emotional geography of the capital to his interest in social reform. Simultaneously, when Dandy and the Jester are relocated to different places in the city, they also breach socio-spatial boundaries, thereby revealing the permeability and the fluidity of the divisions of the metropolis. It is a place which is therefore understood not as static and fixed but as hybrid and unstable. Guthrie's illustration of the socio-spatial instability of late-Victorian London is a discussion on which the first part of Chapter Three also concentrates. Rather than focusing on his writing for children, though, the following chapter instead chooses to investigate

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[301] Dennis Denisoff, 'Small Change: The Consumerist Designs of the Nineteenth-Century Child', in *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, pp. 1–25 (p. 1).

Guthrie's *Punch* career to further understand and explore his interest in and commitment to imagining and exploring the contemporary city.

# CHAPTER THREE
## ‘A man for *Punch*’: Guthrie as Journalist and Geographer

In January 1887, Guthrie joined one of the most prestigious and respected literary societies in Victorian London and carved his initials into their iconic mahogany table, a rite of passage which forever cemented his place in this exclusive club. This ‘self-styled “literary brotherhood”’ was none other than *Punch*, established by Henry Mayhew and Ebenezer Landells in 1841.[302] After contributing to *Punch*’s weekly humorous and satirical magazine, *Punch, or the London Charivari*, in 1886 with an article ‘on the reflections of a Guy Fawkes’, Guthrie was taken on as a regular writer.[303] He was also provided with ‘a retaining fee of three guineas a week […] without any obligation to contribute except when [he] felt inclined’.[304] By the end of the year, *A Long Retrospect* notes, F. C. Burnand – the magazine’s editor at the time – invited Guthrie to the *Punch* table, an offer which was soon accepted.[305] As Guthrie notes in his autobiography, ‘I felt […] that it was no small distinction to be connected with what is admittedly the greatest humorous paper in the world, and I never had the least doubt that I should be the gainer by it’.[306] Guthrie’s assessment of *Punch* was correct: it was certainly ‘no small distinction’ to be associated with this literary society. As Patrick Leary explains, the influential *Punch* club ‘wielded a power far beyond the individual reach of the writers and artists who belonged to it’.[307] *Punch* was ‘[s]o much a part of the cultural landscape’, Leary adds, that the American dramatist Brander Matthews even suggested that *Punch* was ‘not a mere comic weekly; it is a British institution as solidly established as The London Times or the Bank of England or the Established Church or the Crown itself’.[308] Evidently, it paid to be associated with *Punch*.

Despite regularly contributing to *Punch* until the 1920s, at which point, as R. G. G. Price states, he ‘dropped out gradually’, Guthrie remains largely ignored from studies surrounding

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[302] Patrick Leary, *The Punch Brotherhood: Table Talk and Print Culture in Mid-Victorian London* (London: The British Library, 2010), p. 1.
[303] Although Guthrie’s autobiography recalls that his first contribution to *Punch* was ‘Faux et Pretera Nihil’ in 1886, his diaries suggest differently. In fact, on 29 April 1885 Guthrie records ‘[j]ust contributed “The Official Ollendorff” in *Punch*’. See: F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect* (Oxford: OUP, 1936), p. 157; London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 63551, fol. 32v.
[304] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 157. *Punch* was surprisingly flexible with contributors. This is personally attested to by Guthrie in a diary entry from 1897. During a period of (what appears to be) depression following the death of a beloved dog, Guthrie was suffering – according to his brother, Leonard – with ‘brain fatigue’. Leonard told his brother that he should give up *Punch*, but the editor would not hear of it. Instead, Guthrie was told to ‘do nothing for 6 months or a year […] but the salary must go on just the same’. See: London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 63555, fol. 48r.
[305] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 157.
[306] Ibid., p. 180.
[307] Leary, *The Punch Brotherhood*, p. 1.
[308] Patrick Leary, ‘“The Immortal Periodical”: *Punch* in the Nineteenth Century’, *Punch Historical Archive 1841-1992* <https://www.gale.com/intl/essays/patrick-leary-immortal-periodical-punch-nineteenth-century> [accessed 30 May 2022].

*Punch*.[309] This is perhaps not so surprising, given the limited research pertaining to the *Punch* staff. In fact, while *Punch* has been investigated for its popularity, its influence, its representations of politics, art, science, sport, fashion, and religion (to name only a few), scholarship surrounding each member of this literary society and their individual role within it remains slim, not least because of the enormity of such a task.[310] Less attention still has been offered to Guthrie and his lengthy *Punch* career. Nevertheless, M. H. Spielman's invaluable *The History of Punch* (1895) – arguably the most comprehensive study into *Punch*'s staff to this day – provides a survey of Guthrie's contributions to the magazine, records his best-known sketches, and praises his examination of contemporary London and its citizens.[311] Price's *A History of Punch* (1957) follows suit, similarly detailing the power of Guthrie's observations and arguing that it is in Guthrie's *Punch* verses – like *Mr. Punch's Model Music Hall Songs*, for example, a set of humorous parodies of contemporary music hall songs and dramas – that readers best see 'the observant […] side of [Guthrie's] mind'.[312] In keeping with this interest in Guthrie's illustration of contemporary society, Fleischman additionally argues that Guthrie's *Punch* writing sought to 'ruthlessly [expose] the imperfections of the Victorians in all areas of life', a statement to which his perceptive imitations of Victorian behaviours, ideologies, and idiosyncrasies certainly attest.[313]

This chapter works towards rectifying the gap in research surrounding Guthrie's writing for *Punch* by revealing what he – quite literally – brought to the table.[314] In doing so, it utilises a selection of contributions to the magazine, predominantly those later reprinted in *Voces Populi* and *Puppets at Large: Scenes and Subjects from Mr. Punch's Show* (1897), to position Guthrie as both journalist and

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[309] Although his contributions tailed off in the later years of his life, Guthrie's final *Punch* piece was published one week before his death in 1934. See: R. G. G. Price, *A History of Punch* (London: Collins, 1957), p. 152; Jenny Stratford, '"F. Anstey"', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 33, 1/2 (1968), 80–85 (p. 83).
[310] For more reading related to *Punch*, see for example: Brian Maidment, 'The Presence of *Punch* in the Nineteenth Century', in *Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affair*, ed. by Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler (Heidelberg: Springer, 2013); M. Constanzo, '"One Can't Shake Off the Women": Images of Sport and Gender in *Punch*', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 19, 1 (2002), 31–56; Amy Matthewson, 'Satirising imperial anxiety in Victorian Britain: Representing Japan in *Punch* Magazine, 1852-1893', *Contemporary Japan*, 33, 2 (2021), 201–224; Shu-chuan Yan, '"Politics and Petticoats": Fashioning the Nation in *Punch* Magazine 1840s–1880s', *Fashion Theory*, 15, 3 (2011), 345–371; Leary's aforementioned *Table Talk*; Jamie W. Johnson, 'The Changing Representation of the Art Public in "Punch"', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 35, 3 (2002), 272–294; and Richard Altick, *"Punch": The Lively Youth of a British Institution, 1841-51* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997).
[311] Some of Guthrie's better-known *Punch* pieces include the sub-series *Voces Populi*, a sequence of humorous dramatic dialogues documenting both real and imagined conversations taking place amongst London, and *Baboo Jabberjee*, an ongoing narrative detailing the life and adventures of a fictional Indian man living in Victorian England. Guthrie's *Voces Populi* sketches were reprinted in two collections of the same name, the first in 1890 and the second in 1892. The *Baboo Jabberjee* series was similarly reprinted in 1897 and a sequel was released in 1902 under the title *A Bayard from Bengal*.
[312] The *Mr. Punch's Model Music Hall Songs* series was reprinted in 1892. See: Price, *A History of Punch*, p. 144.
[313] Beth D. Fleischman, 'F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie), Late-Victorian Humorist' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of South Carolina, 1981), p. 134.
[314] I say 'work towards', here, because to assess Guthrie's entire *Punch* career is far beyond the scope of this chapter.

geographer. The first half of the chapter sees Guthrie conceptualise London by deconstructing the city into specific political and cultural sites to reproduce and subsequently engage with the contemporary discourses and events taking place within them. The discussion then goes on to suggest that, when read alongside one another, these *Punch* pieces also offer a spatial study of Victorian London – one which sees Guthrie's dialogues illuminate and imagine different locations across the metropolis. In addition, and in a similar vein to the second half of the previous chapter within which sentient non-human protagonists moved through the metropolis, Guthrie's role as a geographer is tied up in his interest in imagining London's geographical and social boundaries (and the consequences of the erosion of such boundaries) as well as the city's sites of hybridity. As this discussion demonstrates, there are multiple occasions within which Guthrie acknowledges such sites and highlights the implications of socio-spatial movement and interaction across or within them. The attention paid to such fluidity and porosity consequently exposes the city and its unfixed boundaries as unstable. It is this instability, this part of the chapter argues, which Guthrie's representation of London is ultimately interested in revealing.

Figure 1. *The Mahogany Tree* by Linley Sambourne, 1901. This wood engraving shows the staff at a Jubilee dinner offering a toast to a statue of Punch, pictured in the centre of the drawing. The man stood on the left of the illustration is F. C. Burnand, and Guthrie is sat on his left hand-side.[315]

[315] Edward Linley Sambourne, *The Mahogany Tree*, 1901, wood-engraving on india paper, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. See: <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O734393/the-mahogany-tree-caricature-edward-linley-sambourne/> [accessed 11 August 2023].

The second half of this chapter then employs a selection of *Punch* pieces to explore the representation of the so-called "ordinary" voices of late-Victorian London; a discussion which simultaneously reveals how Guthrie illuminates the lives of "typical" contemporary citizens whilst also crucially positioning such subjects amongst – to borrow Alice Turner's phrase – an 'audial map' of the capital.[316] This privileges an alternative illustration of the city, one which recognises London as a multi-sensory place to explore. This is important not least because Guthrie's "audial map" of the metropolis offers a much more holistic impression of the city; after all, as Bertrand Westphal points out, '[t]he experience of an environment comes from all the senses'.[317] Although this part of the chapter pays the most attention to how Guthrie's auditory study of the city can be used as a tool to document and navigate London, it is worth acknowledging that the instability of the city is still implied. Indeed, the variety of voices that emerge throughout London signal a similar socio-spatial fluidity and porosity to that found in the *Punch* texts contained within the first part of the chapter.

It is also worth remembering that Guthrie's vision of London not only *contains* hybridities but *constitutes* a hybrid illustration of the city in itself; indeed, his conceptualisation is a distorted amalgamation of imagination and mimicry, of fantasy and reality.[318] In this way, it resembles Thomas Hardy's Wessex or Charles Dickens's London, both of which offered audiences an uncanny site for readers to explore.[319] As David Seed notes in a discussion on the latter of these two writers, 'Dickens resituated exploration nearer to the reader's familiar territory and engaged in a kind of local tourism that ironically implies both the proximity to the reader of the places visited and the unfamiliarity of

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[316] Alice Turner, 'The Only Way is Dickens' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Leicester, 2020), p. 74. It is worth noting that the second part of this chapter offers an edited version of my discussion on Thomas and Leonard Guthrie's representation of "ordinary" London voices. See: Hayley Smith, 'Traces of the Ordinary: The Guthrie Brothers and the Voices of Victorian "Nobodies"', in *Ordinary Oralities: Everyday Voices in History*, ed. by Josephine Hoegaerts and Jan Schroeder (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2023) <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111079370-007> [accessed 1 August 2023].
[317] Bertrand Westphal, *Geocriticism: Real and Fictional Spaces*, trans. by Robert T. Tally, Jr. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 132.
[318] In addition, Guthrie's representations of both London and Londoners are further distorted (inadvertently or otherwise) by Guthrie's own ideologies and attitudes. As I point out at the beginning of Chapter Two, Guthrie's depictions of social class in his petitions and stories are often influenced by and perpetuate contemporary stereotypes and prejudices. While these are not limited to the working classes in this chapter (thereby suggesting a progressiveness like that previously described in Chapter Two), such illustrations are no less patronising. Although these representations are not the focus of this chapter and instead my discussions are concerned with both Guthrie's construction of a socio-spatial geography of London and his audial guide to the city, it is nonetheless worth acknowledging that, once again, these scenes and sketches might also be read for their problematic representations of class.
[319] Hardy's Wessex is such a blend of fact and fiction – with one often being difficult to distinguish from the other – that, as H. C. Darby has pointed out, guidebooks and maps of Wessex have appeared in print since the original publication of the Wessex novels and poems. Similar attention has been paid to Dickens's distorted London, with his first son (also called Charles Dickens) releasing a guidebook to London in 1879 under the title *Dickens's Dictionary of London*. For more, see: H. C. Darby, 'The Regional Geography of Thomas Hardy's Wessex', *Geographical Review*, 38, 3 (1948), 426–443 (p. 430); T. Edgar Pemberton, *Dickens's London; or, London in the Works of Charles Dickens* (London: Samuel Tinsley, 1876).

those places'.[320] Following in Dickens's footsteps, then, Guthrie similarly conflates familiarity and unfamiliarity – fact and fiction – to construct his own version of the metropolis; one which ultimately distinguishes itself from its predecessors as it exposes the city's hybridity, instability, and disorder. As in the first chapter of the thesis, within which we saw Guthrie exploring the frequently confused human mind, the hybridity of Guthrie's London – at once both real and imaginary – serves to destabilise the reader, forcing them to question what is real and what is not. While this chapter contains discussions on boundary-crossings and hybridity, Guthrie's shift to comic journalism also crucially demonstrates another example of Guthrie's own *literary* fluidity. Indeed, carving his initials into *Punch*'s table only served to confirm a new chapter in Guthrie's career. By the late-1880s Guthrie was, as Spielman points out, 'a man for *Punch*'.[321]

[320] David Seed, 'Touring the Metropolis: The Shifting Subjects of Dickens's London Sketches', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 34 (2004), 155–170 (p. 157).
[321] M. H. Spielman, *The History of Punch* (London: Cassell and Company, Limited), p. 396.

Guthrie's '"eidometropolis"': Reporting and Recording Late-Victorian London

"I am sure I shall be very happy to show London to you."
Charles Dickens, *Great Expectations*[322]

In *Going Astray: Dickens and London* (2009), Jeremy Tambling discusses how much of Dickens's writing (like the often-celebrated *Sketches by Boz* (1833-1836), for example) presents audiences with an '"eidometropolis"', or rather, 'an image […] or a representation of the metropolis'.[323] Such illustrations of the city were far from limited during the nineteenth century; indeed, as Simon Joyce explains, London's 'rapid and largely unplanned population expansion of around 20 percent between 1820 and 1840' – growth which, in itself, introduced the conditions that produce hybridity – brought with it a number of 'new forms of urban journalism and fiction'.[324] During these decades major periodicals such as the *London Magazine* and the *Illustrated London News* attempted to accurately detail ordinary London life; social investigators like Henry Mayhew catalogued the city's populations and trades in *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851); and cartographers including John Tallis mapped out London by 'display[ing] maps and the elevations of buildings in the main streets'.[325] Like Tambling, Lynda Nead similarly considers the various forms of urban investigation in *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets, and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (2000), within which she calls attention to John Timbs's *Walks and Talks about London* (1865). Crucially, though, it is Timbs's description of the text as a '"book-walk through the streets of the metropolis"' in which *Victorian Babylon* finds itself most interested, with Nead suggesting that Timbs's definition of this literary form reveals 'something about the relationship between the spaces of the city and the fictional imagination. The book is a substitution for the city streets and enables the reader to visualise the places in the text as though out walking'.[326]

This 'way of seeing' the city – to borrow John Berger's phrase – and writing *about* the city is coincidentally recalled in an anonymous review of Guthrie's 1890 collection of *Voces Populi*, published in *The Sporting Gazette* on 29 November 1890.[327] As in many other contemporary reviews of the text, Guthrie is praised for his representation of the city and its inhabitants; indeed, the author writes that '[e]verything is absolutely faithful to life, the characters, the incidents and the situations being accurate transcripts of those we see around us every day'.[328] However the reviewer also adds that the 'great advantage' to *Voces Populi* is that 'one can enjoy it feet on fender, in deshabille and

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322 Charles Dickens, *Great Expectations* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1867), p. 96.
323 Jeremy Tambling, *Going Astray: Dickens and London* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2009), p. 21.
324 Simon Joyce, *Capital Offenses: Geographies of Class and Crime in Victorian London* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), p. 3.
325 Tambling, *Going Astray*, p. 18.
326 John Timbs, *Walks and Talks about London* (London: Lockwood and Co., 1865), p. 39, cited in Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets, and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 58.
327 John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corp, 1972).
328 Anonymous, 'Voces Populi. (Reprinted from *Punch*.) By F. ANSTEY. With Twenty Illustrations by J. Bernard Partridge. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.', in *The Sporting Gazette*, 29 November 1890, [n. p].

slippers, at one's "[own] fireside"'.[329] The reviewer therefore implies that Guthrie's *Voces Populi* – and, I would add, many other *Punch* scenes and sketches that also engage with and reproduce ordinary events and situations taking place in London – are akin to Timbs's "book-walk"; 'an intellectual, sedentary form of tourism in which the images of London exist through the text and where walking is achieved by reading'.[330]

At the same time, though, it might also be conducive to approach Guthrie's vision of the metropolis using a discussion posited by Blanche H. Gelfant in *The American City Novel* (1954). Here, Gelfant proposes that there are three types of city novel: the '"portrait" study, which reveals the city through a single character'; the '"synoptic" study, [...] which reveals the total city [...] as a personality in itself'; and the '"ecological" study, which focuses upon one small spatial unit such as a neighbourhood or city block and explores in detail the manner of life identified within this place'.[331] Guthrie's *Punch* pieces can be understood, in part, as "ecological" studies into urban life, with this method 'having as its protagonist not a single person but a spatial unit – a city neighbourhood, block, or even an apartment house'.[332] While this process of deconstruction illuminates just one region of the capital at a time, it is nevertheless tied to Guthrie's efforts to conceptualise the city panoramically. After all, by selecting and exploring these places and illuminating specific areas of London, Guthrie's sketches can be understood as small pieces which "fit together" to form a larger puzzle. Consequently, when positioned alongside each other, his dialogues find themselves constructing a complete image of the metropolis, one which offers a broader illustration of London. Simultaneously resembling a "synoptic" view of the city too, then, Guthrie's *Punch* writing serves at once to reveal the 'total city' as well as the compartmentalised city. Crucially, this allows Guthrie to offer an image of London that resembles the "book-walk" described within *Walks and Talks* whilst he also constructs a comprehensive view of the metropolis.

It is with all of this in mind, then, that we might begin to understand Guthrie's writing for *Punch* magazine – particularly those scenes and sketches later reprinted in *Voces Populi* and *Puppets at Large* – and recognise how, in turn, such texts ultimately serve to represent and conceptualise contemporary London. Indeed, this part of the chapter argues that, in visualising the city, Guthrie's *Punch* writing deconstructs London into a series of specific political and cultural locations – museums, parks, galleries, and so forth – to reproduce and respond to the contemporary discourses and events taking place within them. This necessarily required Guthrie to stay apace with late-Victorian journalism, demanding – I believe – the recognition of and a discussion pertaining to Guthrie's role as a successful urban reporter. These sketches offer more than just an account of

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329 Ibid.
330 Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, p. 58.
331 Blanche H. Gelfant, *The American City Novel* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), p. 11.
332 Ibid., p. 12

Guthrie's journalism, though; in fact, as these texts are tied to several locations across the city, Guthrie can be additionally positioned as a literary geographer as he imagines and explores London with the help of his "ecological" and "synoptic" studies of the capital. Guthrie's role as a geographer is also connected to his interest in conceptualising London's geographical and social boundaries, as well as the breakdown of these boundaries and the subsequent sites of interaction within the metropolis. In keeping with the nineteenth century interest in recognising and representing contiguous spaces across the metropolis, then, Guthrie's London is imagined as a city not divided by strict and stable borders but instead connected by a multitude of exchanges and interactions and movements, all of which occur at once. It is this hybridity, instability, and simultaneity that Guthrie therefore chooses to reveal in his representation of the metropolis. As an urban reporter and urban geographer, Guthrie might be said to resemble the speaker in the preface to Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima* (published as a book in 1886), whose work was ultimately dedicated to 'the attentive exploration of London'.[333]

*The political city: Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park*

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given that nineteenth-century London was rife with political change and debate, Guthrie's deconstruction of the metropolis often saw the capital conceptualised through its sites of political activity. As is mentioned above, this required Guthrie to stay afloat with the pace of contemporary politics, but it also involved acknowledging the role of these locations as unstable sites of social and political interaction and exchange. Although other places certainly crop up throughout the *Punch* sketches, Guthrie appears particularly interested in identifying and engaging with Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park as areas of political activity and hybridity. Guthrie's knowledge of the political debates and discourses taking place within these sites and his replication of such discussions within *Punch* initially serve to determine his role as an urban reporter for the magazine. A first example of Guthrie's urban journalism can be found in the 'Voces Populi' sketch, 'Trafalgar Square', originally published in *Punch* on 29 October 1887. In this scene, Guthrie reproduces the details pertaining to a meeting of the unemployed in Trafalgar Square; an event which actually inspired Guthrie's 'Voces' series.[334] In nineteenth-century London, Trafalgar Square was a popular place for political demonstrations and protests, some of which, like the rallies on 8 February 1886 (sometimes referred to as Black Monday), incited riots and lootings in the West End, with the demonstrators therefore traversing geographical and social boundaries.[335] In the aftermath of Black Monday, Trafalgar Square

[333] Henry James, 'Appendix: Preface to New York Edition', in *The Princess Casamassima*, ed. by Adrian Poole (Cambridge: CUP, 2020), pp. 829–841, p. 829.
[334] I return to a discussion on the composition of Guthrie's 'Voces Populi' in the second half of the chapter.
[335] I return to my point on the transgression of geographical/social binaries later in this discussion. See: Anonymous, 'Today in London riotous history, 1887: police attack demonstrators on "Bloody Sunday"', *past tense*, 13 November 2019 <https://pasttenseblog.wordpress.com/2019/11/13/today-in-london-riotous-history-1887-police-attack-demonstrators-on-bloody-sunday/> [accessed 6 September 2022].

remained a site of political action and exchange, with processions and meetings in October and November 1887 similarly culminating in violence and lootings.[336]

It is this scene of political chaos which Guthrie imitates in October 1887.[337] In his autobiography, *A Long Retrospect* (1936), Guthrie recalls his encounter with the demonstrators in Trafalgar Square. He writes that he

> had noticed a body of roughs surging past the National Gallery and into Cockspur Street, and on going down Pall Mall […] later, I found nearly all the shop fronts […] smashed, and being hastily boarded up. It was not till I saw the evening paper that I learned that the mob had looted all the jewellers' shops on their route, swept up St. James's Street, along Piccadilly, and into the Park, where they pulled the astonished footmen off the boxes of landaus and barouches, and insulted the occupants, who naturally thought that the day of Revolution had come.[338]

Guthrie responds to the chaos by condemning the violence instigated by the '*roughs and loafers*' of the Square (original emphasis).[339] In fact, as *A Long Retrospect* adds, '[i]t need hardly be said – and it was the point of my article – that the genuine unemployed took no part in all this violence; they merely listened […] while the scum of London took advantage of the opportunity'.[340] The final lines of 'Trafalgar Square' see Guthrie denounce the actions of the rioters and sympathise with the '*genuine artisans out of work*' as they 'wearily' assert '"I dunno as I see what good all this 'ere is a goin' to do *hus*!" [*And no more does Mr. Punch*]' (original emphasis). Guthrie's report on the political unrest in 'Trafalgar Square' also concurs with the information published in contemporary periodicals and newspapers. In a column published in *The Times* on 19 October 1887, for example, the author writes that the 'rough lot' protested in 'the usual inflammatory character, harping on the text that the miserable condition of the people was due to the rapacity and luxury of the rich'.[341] Guthrie incorporates this material into his 'Voces' scene by including a speaker who asks the crowd, '"Feller Citizens, are you *Men* that you stand by with folded 'ands, while unlimited food and wealth lays within a stone's throw?"'. The orator's comment, significant – in part – because it reveals how Guthrie often constructed sketches using a blend of his own experiences and second-hand sources,

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[336] The demonstrations and protests in Trafalgar Square culminated on 13 November 1887, a date which later adopted the name "Bloody Sunday". While protesting about unemployment, coercion in Ireland, and the arrest of William O'Brien, MP, violence ensued between the police and the demonstrators. Approximately 75 people were injured and 400 arrested.

[337] For more details surrounding the day and the subsequent arrests, see: Anonymous, 'The Unemployed: Conflicts with the Police', *The Morning Post*, 19 October 1887, p. 5; Anonymous, 'The Mob and the Police: Riot in Hyde Park', *The Times*, 19 October 1887, p. 7.

[338] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect* (London: OUP, 1936), p. 179.

[339] F. Anstey, 'Voces Populi: Trafalgar Square', *Punch, or the London Charivari*, 29 October 1887, p. 201. All future references will be to this page.

[340] Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 180.

[341] Anonymous, 'The Mob and the Police', p. 7.

also sees the speaker, in his references to geographical proximity and wealth, gesture towards Trafalgar Square and its surrounding areas as sites of socio-economic antithesis *and* fusion. While this was a suggestion which, as Pamela Gilbert notes, was 'not frequently commented upon at the time', it was certainly not out of touch with the research conducted by contemporary social reformers including Charles Booth.[342] In fact, as Gilbert explains, Booth's well-known poverty maps highlighted 'the proximate relationship between wealth and poverty', thereby visualising 'what had long been folkloric wisdom: that although extreme wealth clustered together, the upper middle class lined the front of large streets that backed onto and turned into side streets and courts of decreasing affluence'.[343] In a similar vein, then, Guthrie's sketch situates itself in dialogue with these less-frequent representations of the city by deploying the orator to acknowledge the juxtaposition of the wealthy and the poor, ultimately pointing towards the unstable boundaries operating throughout London.

It is not only in Trafalgar Square that Guthrie observes and reproduces political activity, though; indeed, Hyde Park is established as another key site of unrest and agitation. Like Trafalgar Square, the Park was a favourite spot for demonstrators and protesters in the nineteenth century. Guthrie immediately confirms the park's role as a scene of political debate in a piece called 'More *Pot-Pourri* from the Park', originally published in *Punch* on 11 July 1891. It is worth pointing out that the title itself – a domestic image which collapse the boundaries between the public and private spheres – importantly gestures towards Guthrie's interest in hybridity as it emphasises how Hyde Park contains an assortment of topics and discourses, ones which Guthrie consequently recalls and replicates in his sketch. In 'More *Pot-Pourri* from the Park', the scene opens at '*The Park, near Cumberland Gate, on almost any fine afternoon*' (original emphasis).[344] By pointing out the frequency of these discussions, Guthrie reveals Hyde Park to be a site of regular political debate. This was also confirmed by other journalists during the period; indeed, in the above-mentioned article featuring in *The Times*, for example, the author reminds readers of 'the mischievous gatherings [in the Park] which have now become a daily occurrence in London'.[345] In another 'Voces Populi' article, titled 'Sunday Afternoon in Hyde Park' and first published on 20 July 1889, Guthrie offers audiences a selection of voices from this location. Alongside other political issues, Guthrie turns (as in 'Trafalgar Square') to Irish politics and includes speakers demanding justice for the Irishmen and women recently evicted from their homes. Guthrie is, here, referring to the ongoing Land Wars in Ireland, a

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[342] Pamela K. Gilbert, 'The Victorian Social Body and Urban Cartography', in *Imagined Londons*, ed. by Pamela K. Gilbert (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), pp. 11–30 (p. 24).
[343] Ibid.
[344] F. Anstey, 'More Pot-Pourri from the Park', *Punch*, 11 July 1891, p. 13. All future references are to this page of the text.
[345] Anonymous, 'The Mob and the Police', p. 7.

period of agrarian unrest and conflict beginning in 1879.[346] From 1886 to 1891, Ireland saw the Plan of Campaign implemented, during which time Irish politicians encouraged tenant farmers to cease their rent payments. This led to major tensions between landlords and tenants in places such as Tipperary and consequently many Irishmen and women were evicted from their homes. In 'Sunday Afternoon in Hyde Park', an Irishman addresses the crowd on this political issue, saying

> "And I'd just like to ask ye now, as liberty-loving Englishmen, how would ye feel – hwhat would ye think – hwhat would ye do – if here, in this great Metropolus, ye saw a man barbarously turned out of house and home, for no other rason in the worrld [...] than being unable or unwilling to pay his rint? Would ye call that Civilisation?"

As in the reproduction of the demonstrations in 'Trafalgar Square', the incorporation of these recent developments in Anglo-Irish politics serves to demonstrate how Guthrie kept up to date with the political landscape of the late-nineteenth century and replicated contemporary discourses and debates within his sketches. These efforts ultimately help to identify Guthrie as an urban journalist for *Punch* magazine.

While Guthrie's representations of Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park undoubtedly speak to his efforts in urban reporting, they also crucially position him as a geographer. Not only do these locations find themselves recorded within Guthrie's "eidometropolis", but they are also tied to Guthrie's interest in geographical and social movement and porosity. As the title of 'More *Pot-Pourri* from the Park' suggests, these places are ones of hybridity and amalgamation. When readers find a '*Parnellite and an anti-Parnellite*' engaged in a debate in Hyde Park, then, Guthrie acknowledges that this location contains political antitheses – groups and discourses which diametrically oppose one another – however he simultaneously and almost paradoxically recognises that these dichotomies are contained within one area (original emphasis).[347] Such public places are therefore imagined as sites of hybridity; ones which contain social and political binaries but not ones which can necessarily be *defined* by them. Presenting audiences with a nuanced and complex image of the city, Guthrie ultimately employs these political permeations and amalgamations to point towards the porosity and instability of the metropolis and the locations contained within it. To better understand Guthrie's somewhat confusing representation of the city and his refusal to demarcate London into strict geographical and social or political binaries, it might be conducive to turn to a discussion posited by Sarah Wise. Wise's research considers how the writers George Gissing, Margaret Harkness, and Richard Whiteing all attempted to reject the supposedly strict east-west binaries of poverty and wealth

[346] For more on the Land League and the Land Wars in Ireland, see chapter seventeen ('The Politics of Parnellism') in R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London: Penguin Books, 1989).

[347] Once again, Guthrie finds himself reporting upon Irish politics and the changes happening within Ireland at the time by including these contrasting characters. The anti-Parnellite movement was fuelled by the recent exposition of Parnell's affair with Katherine O' Shea, an event which led to the split of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

in the final decades of the nineteenth century. After reminding readers that, as P. J. Keating notes, by the turn-of-the-century, 'East [London] would eventually supersede all other regions of London as the epitome of squalor and poverty', Wise argues that her chosen authors challenged such geographical and social demarcations, instead suggesting that – in the late-nineteenth century – poverty was also bleeding into the West End.[348] Most relevant and applicable to this discussion on Guthrie's London, though, is Wise's implication that the city is socio-spatially flexible and permeable. Guthrie's sketches similarly detail how different communities and groups traverse their demarcated regions and interact with one another in Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park, consequently enabling Guthrie to imagine these places as hybrid and unstable.

This is not to suggest that Guthrie refuses to acknowledge the sites of political antithesis contained within London. Indeed, Peter Merchant calls attention to this in a discussion on two of Guthrie's *Punch* sketches, 'Canvassers and Canvassed' and 'The Other Side of the Canvas' (published on 23 July 1892 and 30 July 1892, respectively).[349] Merchant considers how these pieces see Guthrie create 'contrasts of location' which '[replicate] in miniature the bilaterality of […] London'.[350] Certainly, when the middle-aged gentleman, Mr. Carlton-Jermyn, 'in a faultless get-up', canvasses for a Conservative candidate in a 'narrow South London street of two-storeyed houses, with a Rag-and-Bone Shop at one end and a Public House at the other', he appears rather out of place.[351] In the opposing sketch, 'The Other Side of the Canvas', readers meet Mr. Benjamin Gulcher, 'an ardent Radical Artisan', who is campaigning in Portman Square on behalf of the Labour candidate.[352] These satirical scenes demonstrate the unfamiliarity of the canvassers amongst their respective socio-economic environments, with Guthrie poking fun at both men as they fail to understand the people and places around them. While the rejection of Carlton-Jermyn and Gulcher from these contrasting residential locations reinforces the suggestion that London is a city containing areas of socio-political division, the sketches set in those public sites of the metropolis – like Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park

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[348] It is worth pointing out that the mobility of London's poverty is also highlighted in Dickens's *Bleak House* (1852-1853). Readers follow, for example, the impoverished crossing-sweeper – named Jo – as he travels around London and is constantly told to "move on". Guthrie's understanding of the porosity of the city, then, demonstrates how aspects of Guthrie's London were likely inspired by Dickens's London. See: P. J. Keating, 'Fact and Fiction in the East End', in *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, ed. by M. Wolff and H. J. Dyos, I (London: Routledge, 1973), p. 585, cited in Sarah Wise, 'Povertyopolis: Beyond the East-West Binary in the Late-Nineteenth-Century London Literary Imagination', *The London Journal*, 46, 3 (2021), 300–315 (p. 305).
[349] The first of these two pieces was inspired by Guthrie's own experiences canvassing for the Conservative candidate for North Lambert. He explains his friendship with Stanley in his autobiography, recalling that '[Stanley] had married the beautiful and gifted Miss Dorothy Tennant, and as I was already a friend of hers, and of her mother and sister, Mrs. Frederick Myers, I found myself enrolled as one of his canvassers, and frequently met him at dinner at Mrs. Tennant's house in Richmond Terrace'. See: F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 138.
[350] Peter Merchant, 'Thomas Anstey Guthrie ("F. Anstey") (1856–1934)', *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Urban Literary Studies*, ed. by J. Tambling (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020) <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62592-8_134-2>.
[351] F. Anstey, 'Canvassers and Canvassed', *Punch*, 23 July 1892, p. 28.
[352] F. Anstey, 'The Other Side of the Canvas', *Punch*, 30 July 1892, p. 46.

– nevertheless reveal that London is a place which cannot be determined by these demarcations.[353] Even though these places find within them antithetical groups and ideologies (the Parnellite and the anti-Parnellite, the Socialist and the Capitalist, and so on), they are ultimately sites wherein different communities meet and exchange. They are better understood, then, as sites of hybridity.

According to Alan Robinson, 'the salient feature of Victorian London was *mobility*' (original emphasis).[354] When readers of Guthrie's *Punch* pieces find political groups interacting in Hyde Park, then, or when they see demonstrators transgressing social and geographical boundaries by moving into the West End and looting from its stores, London is represented as a city without strictly defined borders. According to Guthrie, the metropolis is *more* than just a place of division and binaries; rather, it is acknowledged and understood as a city containing unstable sites of fusion and exchange. On the one hand, then, these selected works from *Punch* engage with and report upon the sites of political activity across London and position such places amongst Guthrie's image of the metropolis, crucially determining Guthrie to be an urban reporter and literary geographer. However, they also expose and explore how these public sites are ones which defy strict demarcations and boundaries, as the groups contained within them, even though they may differ from one another, bleed into a single location.[355] Such sites are included within Guthrie's vision of the metropolis and ultimately serve to reveal his interpretation of the instability of late-Victorian London.

### *The cultural city: Regent Street Tussauds and the Crystal Palace*

Just as Guthrie kept his eye on the contemporary political pulse of Victorian England, he also paid close attention to London's socio-cultural landscape during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, as is evidenced in the *Punch* publications located within contemporary cultural attractions and tourist hotspots. Often set in museums, galleries, and exhibitions across London, these sketches – like those revolving around Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park – also serve to demonstrate Guthrie's role as both urban journalist and geographer. Indeed, these places are similarly reported upon and positioned amongst Guthrie's illustration of the city, but they also illuminate how London's cultural institutions and attractions were sites representative of the city's social porosity and hybridity. Perhaps it is not so surprising that these locations see a traversing of social boundaries, given the role

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[353] Merchant, 'Thomas Anstey Guthrie ("F. Anstey") (1856–1934)'.

[354] Alan Robinson, *Imagining London, 1770-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 45.

[355] Although these sites of hybridity and fusion imagine and contain interactions between different political groups and communities, their exchanges might well be considered unproductive. After all, the characters contained within these politically charged public places frequently shout over one another, disagree, and fight. Even when Guthrie's subjects do not listen to each other, though, they are always "heard" by the reader. Whether they agree with or contest the political opinions propagated by a given character, Guthrie's reader *must* acknowledge different ideologies as they consume the sketch. In this way, then, the public sites of the metropolis are ultimately represented as socio-spatially porous and hybrid entities that – to some degree, at least – imagine and facilitate communication and exchange.

of museums and exhibitions in the nineteenth century. In part, at least, these places were interested in social reform and education. They opened their doors to members of the working classes and provided visitors with increasingly accessible admission hours and prices. As Kate Hill explains, these sites were ‘configured so as to try and reshape working-class identities and remake the way they consumed culture’.[356] Nevertheless, Hill continues, museums and galleries simultaneously retained their status as middle-class sites of leisure, positioning them as ‘part of a project to define and maintain middle-class identities through elite consumption’.[357] There are conflicting social purposes, then, to the museum/gallery, already hinting at the impending hybridity contained within these locations. This part of the discussion narrows the vast assortment of London’s cultural institutions to two specific sites, the Regent Street waxwork museum and the Crystal Palace – attractions which come to feature amongst Guthrie’s ‘At the Regent Street Tussaud’s’ and ‘Telephonic Theatre-Goers’.[358]

‘At the Regent Street Tussaud’s’, originally published on 17 January 1891, sees Guthrie reproduce a typical scene from Louis Tussaud’s waxwork museum and details the conversations of the visitors as they move through the exhibitions. It might be helpful to note that this museum differed from the well-known Madame Tussauds on Marylebone Road. Opened by Louis Tussaud – the great-grandson of Marie Tussaud, creator of the Madame Tussauds museums – on 24 December 1890, the Regent Street waxwork museum was considered a ‘formidable rival’ to the original.[359] The exhibition consisted of an assortment of models, ‘so as to depict little scenes or incidents, after the fashion of the famous Musée Grévin’, a museum in Paris founded by Arthur Meyer in 1882.[360] Readers find Guthrie reporting upon this cultural institution by detailing the responses of the visitors to these contemporary scenes. This is illustrated, for example, before the ‘*Hampstead Tableaux*’, a scene referring to the recent murder of Phoebe Hogg and her infant daughter by Mary Pearcey on 24 October 1890 (original emphasis).[361] As they view the models, the spectators say

> “Dear, dear, there’s the dresser, you see, and the window, broken and all; it’s wonderful how they can *do* it! And there’s poor Mrs. ’OGG – it’s real butter and a real loaf she’s cutting, and

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[356] Kate Hill, *Culture and Class in English Public Museums, 1850-1914* (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 125.
[357] Ibid, pp. 125–126.
[358] The Regent Street Tussauds was destroyed in a fire on 20 June 1891, less than half a year after it opened. Guthrie’s interest in it speaks to the attraction’s immediate popularity in the early days of its opening. See: Anonymous, ‘Theatres’, *Graphic*, 3 January 1891, p. 6.
[359] Anonymous, ‘Theatres’, *Graphic*, p. 6.
[360] Ibid.
[361] On the evening of the 24 October 1890, a woman’s body was found in Hampstead; her skull had been crushed and her head was nearly severed from her body. A black perambulator was discovered about a mile away and an eighteen-month-old baby was found dead in Finchley. The victims were eventually identified as Phoebe Hogg and her daughter. The lover of Phoebe’s husband, Mary Pearcey (whose name often changes in news reports surrounding the crime), was charged with murder. She maintained her innocence throughout the trial but was hanged on 23 December 1890. For more on the murders, see: Nell Darby, ‘The Hampstead Murder: Subversion in Press Portrayals of a Murderess’, *Law, Crime and History*, 1 (2018), 5–20; Mark Aston, *Foul Deeds and Suspicious Deaths in Hampstead, Holborn & St. Pancras* (Barnsley: Wharncliffe Books, 2005), pp. 98–106.

> the poor baby, too! … Here's the actual casts taken after they were murdered. Oh, and there's MRS. PEARCEY wheeling the perambulator – it's the *very* perambulator! No, not the very one – they've got *that* at the other place, and the piece of toffee the baby sucked. Have they really! Oh, we *must* try and go there, too, before the children's holidays are over. And this is all? Well, well, everything very nice, I *will* say. But a pity they couldn't get the *real* perambulator!" (original emphasis)[362]

As is illustrated by the responses reproduced by Guthrie in this sketch, the Pearcey murder case attracted an extraordinary amount of attention. In fact, while the Regent Street museum included a scene of the crime, Madame Tussauds introduced a model of Mary Pearcey to their "Chamber of Horrors" exhibit and even went so far as to obtain the pram and the contents of Pearcey's kitchen for the display.[363] The spectators' acknowledgement that the '"*very* perambulator"' is kept '"at that other place"', then, refers to the purchases made by Madame Tussauds and connects the two sites through this conversation.

In part, at least, Guthrie reports upon this cultural institution as he documents the visitors' responses to the sensational spectacle of horror. Visibly excited by such a morbid model scene – with someone declaring '"it's wonderful how they can *do* it!"'– the crowd are only disappointed by the lack of authenticity, soon turning their attention to "that other" museum for an additional thrill. This sense of voyeurism resembles that found in another two of Guthrie's texts, the former of which, 'In the Snake-House at Feeding Time' (1880), sees the speaker document the spectators' simultaneous horror, interest, and enjoyment as they watch live animals fed to a snake. 'Rat and boa face each other', the speaker tells audiences in this essay, 'and then the former sniffs the cold metallic head before it, with its innocent pink muzzle, in unsuspecting curiosity. We hold our breaths, for there is something in the situation really interesting'.[364] In a similar vein, the *Punch* sketch '"Combining Amusement with Instruction"' (1892) sees a group of visitors admiring a range of torture instruments in the Maddox Gallery, with the crowd described as '*conscious that they are spending a very pleasant and profitable afternoon*' (original emphasis).[365] Such examples arguably serve to reveal a contemporary "attraction of repulsion". This phrase, 'belonging almost by exclusive right to Dickens', might also be applied (in Guthrie's case, at least) to describe his commitment to detailing the public's contemporary search for and fascination with sensation, scandal, and horror.[366]

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[362] F. Anstey, 'Voces Populi. At the Regent Street Tussaud's', *Punch*, 17 January 1891, p. 25. All future references will be to this page of the text.
[363] Anonymous, 'The Hampstead Murderess', *The Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 10 December 1890, p. 5.
[364] F. Anstey, 'In the Snake-House at Feeding Time', *Time*, September 1880, p. 612.
[365] F. Anstey, '"Combining Amusement with Instruction"', *Punch*, 27 February 1892, p. 100.
[366] Rick Allen, 'John Fisher Murray, Dickens, and "The Attraction of Repulsion"', *Dickens Quarterly*, 16, 3 (1999), 139–152 (p. 139).

Just as Guthrie was interested in the encounters between political groups and the collation of communities in the *Punch* texts set in Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park, he is keen to document the meeting of different social groups within 'At the Regent Street Tussaud's' so that he can explore and expose the socio-spatial porosity of this location. On the one hand, Guthrie hints at the socio-economic status of those visiting the attraction by employing speakers who mispronounce the name of the victim, calling Phoebe Hogg '"Mrs. 'OGG"' and omitting the initial letter *h*.[367] Nevertheless, this piece also sees Guthrie mock members of the wealthier classes as he satirises the snobbishness of two elderly women viewing a model representative of life in Sandringham Palace, a scene which – in keeping with Guthrie's interest in hybridity – constitutes a boundary-breach as domestic life blurs into curated fantasy. When the first woman reads the catalogue and tells her friend that '"[i]t says here that 'the note the page is handing *may* have come from Sir Dighton Probyn, the Comptroller of the Royal Household"', the second speaker replies, '"[h]e's brought it in in his fingers. Now *that's* a thing I never allow in *my* house. I always tell Sarah to bring all letters [...] in on a tray!"' (original emphasis). 'At the Regent Street Tussaud's', then, sees Guthrie documenting (and satirising) these social groups whilst he simultaneously demonstrates their proximity within this cultural institution, thereby illuminating the fluidity and permeability of this public place. Amy Woodson-Boulton confirms the porosity of the public museum in a study considering its relationship to Victorian society, within which she states that these attractions 'were part of the development of urban spaces that allowed, or even fostered, the self-conscious performance of identity – including class identity – *by making people visible to one another*' (my emphasis).[368] It is this insistence on making visible the spectators and their encounters within the museum that Guthrie, as an urban journalist and geographer, intends to expose to his readers, crucially enabling him to highlight the public museum as a place of socio-spatial porosity and instability.

As in 'At the Regent Street Tussaud's', social classes find themselves meeting in an article called 'Telephonic Theatre Goers' (1892), a sketch set in the recent Electrical Exhibition at the Crystal Palace. This piece focuses on only one aspect of the exhibition: the théâtrophone.[369] The théâtrophone (or "the theatre phone") was a telephonic distribution system invented in Paris and first demonstrated in 1881. Commercialised in 1890 by Compagnie du Théâtrophone, the théâtrophone successfully enabled users to listen to opera and theatre performances on the telephone.[370] It is worth

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[367] While the second part of this chapter delves into Guthrie's linguistic representation and experimentation, it is worth acknowledging that the inclusion and/or exclusion of the letter *h* was a common stereotype utilised in Victorian fiction. It was frequently deployed to represent Cockney Londoners or to stigmatise the speech of the less privileged or the less educated.

[368] Amy Woodson-Boulton, 'Victorian Museums and Victorian Society', *History Compass*, 6, 1 (2008), 109–146 (p. 112).

[369] At the time Guthrie wrote the sketch, the Crystal Palace had only recently opened their Electrical Exhibition. See: Anonymous, 'The Crystal Palace Electrical Exhibition', *Times*, 4 April 1892, p. 14.

[370] For more on the origins of this invention, see: Melissa Van Drie, 'Know it Well, Know it Differently: New Sonic Practices in Late-Nineteenth Century Theatre-Going. The Case of the Theatrophone in Paris', in *The*

acknowledging that the théâtrophone is an appropriate technological device to feature in a piece that deals with the meeting of social groups and the hybridity of the museum. Indeed, by connecting listeners to operatic and theatre performances taking place from afar, the théâtrophone reveals its ability to traverse spatial boundaries.[371] What's more, this invention breached social boundaries, too, by permitting those from less privileged socio-economic backgrounds to access entertainment primarily targeted at wealthier citizens. As the writer in *The Electrical Engineer* puts it, '*[a]nyone* [...] can be put into communication with a certain theatre and listen to the performance for five minutes' (my emphasis).[372] The théâtrophone, then – fittingly woven into a sketch which sees the museum imagined not as a place of segregation but as a site of connection – is positioned as a tool with which users could traverse social and spatial boundaries.

In a similar way to the théâtrophone, the Crystal Palace also sees social classes mix and transgress their previously demarcated social and spatial boundaries. Readers are introduced, on the one hand, to a '*Superior Young Lady*' and her suitor (original emphasis, p. 208). She is, as her description implies, an ardent social climber, one displeased by any association with those of a lower socio-economic status. This is revealed during a conversation between the couple:

> *A Superior Young Lady* (to *her* Admirer). I just caught a glimpse of the people inside. They were all sitting holding things like opera-glasses up to their ears – they did look so ridiculous!
> *Her Admirer*. Well it's about time they gave us a chance of looking ridiculous, their ten minutes must be up now. I've been trying to think what this put me in mind of. I know. Waiting outside the Pit doors! doesn't it you?
> *The Sup. Y. L.* (*languidly, for the benefit of bystanders*) Do they make you wait like this for the Pit?
> *Her Admirer*. *Do they make you wait!* Why, weren't you and I three-quarters of an hour getting into the Adelphi the other evening?
> *The Sup. Y. L.* (*annoyed with him*). I don't see any necessity to bawl it out like that if we *were* (original emphases, p. 208).

Here, Guthrie clearly ridicules the Superior Young Lady's inexcusable snobbery as her *real* social status is exposed to the visitors surrounding the pair. Embarrassed at the suggestion that she is of the same class as those waiting to enter the Pit at the Adelphi Theatre, readers see Guthrie illustrate her

*Auditory Culture Reader*, ed. by Michael Bull and Les Back (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 205–216; Frederic M. Delano, 'How the Parisian Enjoys the Opera at Home', *Scientific American*, September 1925, pp. 174–175.
[371] The théâtrophone, with its ability to transgress physical boundaries and connect users from different parts of the world, also found itself – as did many other technological inventions at the time – likened to spiritual communication. In this piece, for example, Guthrie describes the voices at the end of the théâtrophone as 'ghostly'. I talk more about technological/spiritual communication and connections in Chapter One. See: F. Anstey, 'Telephonic Theatre-Goers', *Punch*, 30 April 1892, p. 208. All future references will be to this version of the text and citations will be given in parentheses following quotations.
[372] Anonymous, 'Notes', *The Electrical Engineer*, 30 August 1889, p. 161.

flaws in the same way that he highlights the pretentiousness of the elderly women at the Louis Tussaud's waxwork museum. It is instances such as these which, as Beth Fleischman rightly suggests, see Guthrie 'ruthlessly [expose] the imperfections of the Victorians'.[373] Importantly, though, the Superior Young Lady's shortcomings are the result of a *lack* of social division in the Crystal Palace.

This is reinforced by the introduction of another couple who stand in striking contrast to the Superior Young Lady and her suitor. Rather than finding the théâtrophone a device which makes people appear '"so ridiculous"', the woman in this second couple, called Polly, is in awe of how this invention can connect listeners to previously inaccessible theatres. Through Guthrie's telescopic lens – that which allows the audience to view the interactions taking place amongst this scene – readers find Polly speaking to her partner and telling him, '"[b]e quiet, can't you? I can't hold the tubes steady if you will keep making me laugh so. […] Oh, ALF, I can hear singing – can't you? Isn't it lovely!"' (p. 208). While Polly speaks from the perspective of those unable to attend theatre or operatic performances and therefore confirms the contemporary praise afforded to the théâtrophone, her playful comment to Alf and his half-hearted interest in the exhibition also supports Kate Hill's assessment of the public museum or gallery. Indeed Hill suggests that, for the working classes, these sites also functioned as places of leisure and socialisation rather than just education.[374] In the Crystal Palace, then, readers see Polly presented in striking contrast to the Superior Young Lady, thereby demonstrating – in a similar vein to the sketches set in Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park – how antitheses are contained within this one place. Guthrie consequently conceptualises this cultural institution through its social mobility and hybridity; it is understood and imagined as a porous site within which different social groups gather.

In a discussion on London's urban expansion, Henry Wheatley writes that 'a complete account of its history is more than one man can successfully grapple with […] it is only by dividing it into parts, and describing each part separately in detail, that justice can be done to the subject'.[375] Indeed, this "ecological" study of the metropolis, as Blanche Gelfant calls it, certainly seems – to Guthrie, at least – the most efficient way of understanding and conceptualising the city. In part, by deconstructing London into a range of locations, Guthrie manages to explore the political and cultural sites of the city and position them amongst his "eidometropolis". He also, however, conceptualises these places by highlighting the interactions and exchanges that occur within them, crucially revealing their hybridity. Consequently, his sketches are different to those representations of London which demarcate communities and groups into specific areas. Instead, the locations which Guthrie chooses for his *Punch* sketches are presented as places which can be identified by their socio-spatial mobility

[373] Fleischman, 'F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie), Late-Victorian Humorist', p. 134.
[374] Hill, *Culture and Class in English Public Museums*, p. 134.
[375] Henry B. Wheatley, *Round about Piccadilly and Pall Mall: Or, A Ramble from Haymarket to Hyde Park* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1870), pp. ix–x.

and porosity. While Guthrie acknowledges the antitheses contained within these locations, like the political dualities in Trafalgar Square or the class divisions in the Regent Street waxwork museum, the texts considered ultimately suggest that these oppositions – those meeting and interacting within these places – speak to the hybridity of London. In recognising and revealing London's lack of boundaries, Guthrie crucially imagines the capital to be an unstable site of permeability and porosity. On the one hand, then, it is this representation of the city that Guthrie presents as his "eidometropolis". There is, however, a second illustration of London offered to readers, too; one which, as the next part of the chapter suggests, ultimately concerns itself with *sound*. It is towards this "audial map" that we now turn.

'Unseen Lives': Observing, Representing, and Plotting the Voices of London(ers)

> …One walked of course with one's eyes greatly open, and […] such a practice, carried on for a long time and over a considerable space, positively provokes […] the urgent appeal […] to be interpreted and […] reproduced.
> Henry James, retrospective preface to *The Princess Casamassima*[376]

> I take refuge in the unpretending assemblage of honest common-life sounds.
> Charles Lamb, *Essays of Elia*[377]

'In more ways than one', John Picker writes in *Victorian Soundscapes* (2003), the 'Victorians were hearing things'.[378] In fact, noise was inescapable: from the chug of the railways to the songs of the music halls, contemporary citizens were forced to pay attention to the symphonies circulating their world. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this interest in understanding noise extended to an investment in listening to (and replicating) voice; indeed, technologies such as the phonograph, the electric telegraph, and the microphone, for example, offered ways of accurately hearing, recording, and transcribing speech. Such devices were, as Ivan Kreilkamp has pointed out, 'seen as the means by which writing might move one step closer to orality and the presence of voice', thereby reproducing speech as animated, imperfect, and authentic as the sounds articulated amongst the streets.[379] These sound-recording technologies, inventions which coincided with the beginnings of Guthrie's career, crucially managed to 'transform everyday life'.[380] The sounds of spoken speech were not only recorded by these modern devices, though; indeed, prior to their invention, urban journalists also took to replicating and archiving the soundscapes of the city. Charles Dickens, for instance – not the first author to record the intricacies and intimacies of city life, but certainly amongst the most-celebrated of them – is even described by Steven Marcus as 'a kind of written recording device for the human voice'.[381]

Writers from the latter decades of the nineteenth century similarly sought to experiment with language and dialogue to reproduce the speech uttered by contemporary Londoners; or rather, the voices of Victorian 'nobodies', as one contemporary reviewer in *The Academy and Literature* chose to describe them.[382] 'The nobodies', the author writes, 'have come greatly to the front in literature of late years. In life they remain nobodies, in literature they are somebodies with a following'.[383] These alleged nobodies – those living in the suburbs, bustling through the streets, lost within the crowds –

[376] Henry James, "Appendix: Preface to New York Edition", p. 829.
[377] Charles Lamb, *Essays of Elia* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, n.d.), p. 87.
[378] John M. Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), p. 6.
[379] Ivan Kreilkamp, *Voice and the Victorian Storyteller* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), p. 72. For more on the phonograph, see: Matthew Rubery, 'Thomas Edison's Poetry Machine', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 18 (2014) <https://19.bbk.ac.uk/article/id/1447/> [accessed 7 July 2022]; Oliver Read and Walter L. Welch, *From Tin Foil to Stereo: Evolution of the Phonograph* (Indianapolis: H. W. Sams, 1976). For Victorian auditory technologies and earlier shorthand systems, see: Lisa Gitelman, *Scripts, Grooves, and Writing Machines: Representing Technology in the Victorian Era* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
[380] Rubery, 'Thomas Edison's Poetry Machine'.
[381] Steven Marcus, 'Language into Structure; Pickwick Revisited', *Daedalus*, 101 (1972), 183–202 (p. 192).
[382] Anonymous, 'The Nobodies', *The Academy and Literature*, 8 March 1902, p. 247.
[383] Ibid.

are defined by the reviewer as the 'men and women who can be lumped together by the hundred thousand'.[384] Texts concerned with the lives of these people serve as examples of 'honest reporting': a phrase devised by Harold Biffen, the unsuccessful writer of George Gissing's *New Grub Street* (1891), to describe his reproduction of 'the day-to-day life of the vast majority of people'.[385] While this ostensibly 'sordid and dull' subject seems far removed from iconic accounts of the heroic, the famous, or the marginalised, Gissing's novel – just like the fictitious record of a London clerk and his family in George and Weedon Grossmith's *The Diary of a Nobody* (1892) – exemplifies a recurring interest in listening to and documenting the voices, indeed the lives, of contemporary 'nobodies'.[386] As the anonymous author of "The Nobodies" goes on to suggest, Guthrie's *Voces Populi*, a collection of scenes and sketches originally published in *Punch* magazine, similarly commits itself to the reproduction of the voices of ordinary Victorians.[387] Praised for its ability to capture everyday situations, characters, and conversations and imaginatively recreate them in print, *Voces Populi* is recognised by this anonymous author for striking a 'new note of observation'.[388] As this part of the chapter intends to explore the reviewer's assessment, most of the texts contained within this discussion have been selected from Guthrie's 'Voces Populi' series.

As in the sketches explored within the previous part of the chapter, the urban spectatorship conducted throughout 'Voces Populi' similarly takes place across several different sites in London, many of which might arguably be described as "non-places": sites of transience and anonymity.[389] By observing his subjects in these environments and recreating them in his writing through a combination of imitation and imagination, Guthrie positions himself as an urban journalist and provides readers with a study that contains a range of late-Victorian voices. In the 2015 colloquy, 'Why voice now?', Martha Feldman suggests that 'voice […] may reveal us'.[390] Perhaps this is unsurprising, given that voice is necessarily active and ultimately demands our attention. For Guthrie, the ascription of voice to his characters certainly serves to reveal such ordinary speakers to their contemporary world. It is

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[384] Ibid.
[385] George Gissing, *New Grub Street* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1891), p. 265.
[386] Anonymous, 'Recent Fiction', *The Speaker*, 18 April 1891, p. 473.
[387] 'The Nobodies', p. 247. Rather strikingly, the anonymous author of the article also inadvertently praises the 'honest reporting' of a collection written by Guthrie's younger brother, Leonard Guthrie. Although I talk about Leonard's *Hospital Sketches* (1903) in my above-cited chapter in *Ordinary Oralities*, 'Traces of the Ordinary', the focus of this chapter remains solely on Guthrie's contributions to *Punch*.
[388] Ibid.
[389] According to Auge, "non-places" can be understood in contrast to "places": locations which possess a strong sense of identity, belonging, and social significance for the individuals within them. On the other hand, non-places are used for transit, consumption, or other temporary purposes. While it might be conducive to note that many of the sites in Guthrie's sketches can be described as non-places, I choose not to make this point a priority throughout my discussion, given that Auge's ideas are tied to his interest in the impact of modernity and urbanisation on space and human experience. By contrast, my chapter pays attention to the ways in which Guthrie utilises voice to illuminate the lives of late-Victorian Londoners and to construct an audial guide to the metropolis. See: Marc Auge, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. by John Howe (London: Verso Books, 1995).
[390] Martha Feldman, 'Why voice now?', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 68 (2015), 653–685 (p. 658).

this which transforms Guthrie's characters from "nobodies" into *somebodies*; indeed, by employing voice to expose these speakers not for their uniqueness but for their familiarity, Guthrie recognises and explores the existence of the individuals that constitute a vast proportion of the contemporary metropolis.

In addition, this part of the chapter also proposes that Guthrie locates these (typically) overlooked subjects amongst his auditory representation of nineteenth-century London, situating him (once again) as both urban journalist and geographer. This builds upon Peter Merchant's above-mentioned work surrounding the conceptualisation of Guthrie's London.[391] While Merchant explores Guthrie's vision of the metropolis using a '"geography of emotions"', this discussion suggests that Guthrie's representation of London might also be understood through the sounds and speech emerging from the capital.[392] It focuses more, then, on investigating Guthrie's "geography of sound". Thus, the observation and reproduction of the sounds and dialogues heard across different locations in London enables Guthrie's *Punch* writing to present itself as an audial guide to the city, one which locates real citizens amongst the panorama and imagines the cityscape linguistically. In doing so, Guthrie facilitates the reader's navigation of the capital, not least because his multi-sensory representation of the metropolis contributes to what Kevin Lynch calls the *imageability* of the city; that is, 'that quality […] which gives [an object] a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer'.[393] There is, of course, also something strikingly Dickensian about Guthrie's map-making; as Alice Turner argues, *Sketches by Boz* charts the voices of London 'onto a soundscape of the city'.[394] This discussion consequently concurs with Merchant's suggestion that Guthrie 'stands in a line of Victorian and Edwardian novelists […] whose writing is distinguished by its deployment of London locations' by arguing that Guthrie, like Dickens, sought to provide his readers with a 'kind of audial map' of the metropolis.[395]

### *'Verbal photography': Observing and Representing London(ers)*

In a re-examination into late-Victorian and early Edwardian slum writing, Oliver Betts considers how the nineteenth century became increasingly preoccupied with 'seeing and the visualisation of Victorian society'.[396] A number of texts and genres consequently emerged out of this Victorian interest in the observation of London and the translation of its sights into the visual imagination,

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391 Merchant, 'Thomas Anstey Guthrie ("F. Anstey") (1856–1934)'.
392 Ryan Heuser, Franco Moretti, and Erik Steiner, 'The Emotions of London', *LiteraryLab Pamphlet*, 13 (2016) <https://litlab.stanford.edu/LiteraryLabPamphlet13.pdf> [accessed 26 July 2020], cited in Merchant, 'Thomas Anstey Guthrie ("F. Anstey") (1856–1934)'.
393 Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1960), p. 9.
394 Turner, 'The Only Way is Dickens', p. 59. For a discussion on Dickens's use of voice in *Dombey and Son*, see: Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes*, pp. 15–40.
395 Merchant, 'Thomas Anstey Guthrie ("F. Anstey") (1856–1934)'; Turner, 'The Only Way is Dickens', p. 74.
396 Oliver Betts, '"Knowing" the late Victorian East End', *The London Journal*, 42 (2017), 257–272 (p. 259).

including, for instance, slum fiction like Walter Besant's *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882) and social investigations such as Charles Booth's poverty maps. Urban journalism often also appeared in periodicals like the above-mentioned *Illustrated London News*, *Punch; or, the London Charivari*, and *Graphic* (founded in 1869), all of which observed and reported upon everyday life in contemporary London. Such periodicals frequently saw urban journalism collide with social satire, illustrated – for example – by the work of William Makepeace Thackeray and George Rose (who wrote under the pen name 'Arthur Sketchley'). The latter of the two men, for example, introduced audiences to a middle-aged, lower middle-class woman called Mrs Brown who offered readers her thoughts and opinions on Victorian customs, contemporary fads, and tourist hotspots, almost as if she were a socio-cultural guide to the nineteenth century.[397] In *A Long Retrospect*, Guthrie recalls the pleasure he felt on reading Sketchley's work in the contemporary periodical, *Fun*, acknowledging the 'uproarious delight with which, curled up in a big arm-chair, I first made "Mrs. Brown's" acquaintance'.[398] Influenced by these satires and socio-cultural commentaries on Victorian England, Guthrie's 'Voces Populi' series – amongst many other *Punch* sketches – similarly sought to survey, replicate, and reimagine episodes from everyday life. To do so, Guthrie turned to dialogue.

The dramatic dialogues composed by Guthrie undoubtedly relied upon his ability to record the details of his chosen speakers and conversations, albeit selectively, before imaginatively reconstructing them in print. Describing the method by which he composed his 'Voces' series in his posthumously published autobiography, Guthrie notes that inspiration struck when he encountered 'a meeting of the Unemployed in Trafalgar Square', a scene which provided him with a topic.[399] This rather fortunate visit inspired Guthrie to search the city for a subject to use within his sketches. As it turned out, though, this tactic was not always successful: in a diary entry from 17 June 1907, for example, Guthrie wrote that, while ambling around Earl's Court, he found 'no peg to hang a sketch on'.[400] This futile attempt was far from an anomaly; in fact, only days earlier, Guthrie records how he '[s]pent the afternoon [from] 4 to 7.30 in the [Japanese] Village, hoping for a subject, but came away unsuccessful'.[401] Nonetheless, the frequency with which this rather opportunistic method was used prompted M. H. Spielman to call attention to it in *The History of Punch*. Guthrie, Spielman writes, would visit 'the needful spot, where he would try to seize the salient points and the general tone, the speakers and the scene', sometimes combining 'hints and anecdotes received from his acquaintance with his own experience and invention; on rarer occasions he would happen upon an incident which

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[397] Mrs. Brown's monologues were published between 1866 and 1882. Possibly the best-known of Thackeray's social satires can be found in *Vanity Fair* (the subtitle of which, 'A Weekly Show of Political, Social and Literary Wares', immediately indicated the magazine's interest in satirising nineteenth century society) as well as in his collections of sketches, such as *Sketches and Travels in London*.
[398] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 26.
[399] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 179.
[400] London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 63564, fol. 151r.
[401] Ibid., f. 152r.

could be worked up into a sketch very much as it actually occurred'.[402] Arguably resembling Iain Sinclair's notion of 'eye-swiping' – a 'scanning of the urban landscape for creative material' – Guthrie's method of extracting information from the metropolis likens him to the nineteenth-century *flâneur*: a person who strolls around a city observing society.[403] In a somewhat similar vein to the original literary character from nineteenth century Paris, then, who sauntered around the metropolis and positioned himself as an urban explorer, Guthrie is found to move across the city searching for a subject for his 'Voces Populi' sketches.

Crucially, this method of observation and the above-mentioned examples gesture towards Guthrie's recreation of the local and the common, of ordinary speakers and their conversations. Guthrie does not only survey the metropolis, then, but he also "writes" it. Such a suggestion is very much in line with an idea posited by Michel de Certeau; that is, that the wanderer or pedestrian is the 'real [author] of a city: "They are not localized; it is rather they that spatialize"'.[404] Guthrie's realistic (re)constructions of London and its inhabitants did not go unnoticed by contemporary critics; indeed, in a review of one of his earlier novels, *A Fallen Idol* (1886) – a fantasy narrative in which the ill-fated protagonist's life is chaotically interrupted by the arrival of a supernatural Jain idol – *The Times* wrote that '[o]ne of Mr. Anstey's special gifts […] is his extraordinary knowledge of the humours of the humbler classes of Londoners'.[405] Pointing out memorable Cockneys in Guthrie's earlier work, such as the entertaining cabman in *Vice Versâ*, or the unfortunate delivery boy from the aforementioned *A Fallen Idol*, the reviewer admits that these characters are 'impossible to forget'.[406] Such a comment highlights Guthrie's ability to successfully showcase "ordinary" citizens to his contemporary readers. Guthrie's reproduction of Londoners in 'Voces Populi' similarly illuminates his ability to chronicle the concealed lives of the masses. A reviewer in *The Speaker* shares this sentiment, commending Guthrie for acting as a 'guide' to the city's inhabitants.[407] 'With Mr Anstey at our side', the author declares, 'it is pleasant to watch the crowd'.[408] For this writer, Guthrie's 'Voces Populi' sketches enable readers to observe the interactions and dialogues of those obscured by their numerical vastness. By revealing their 'unseen lives' (as Guthrie puts it in a diary entry from 10 May

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[402] Spielman, *The History of Punch*, p. 398.
[403] Kirsten Seale, 'Eye-swiping London: Iain Sinclair, photography and the *flâneur*', *Literary London: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Representation of London*, 3, 2 (2005) <http://www.literarylondon.org/london-journal/september2005/seale.html#22A> [accessed 16 August 2022].
[404] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Randall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 97, cited in Robert T. Tally, Jr., *Spatiality* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 129.
[405] I return to a detailed discussion on *A Fallen Idol* in the final chapter of the thesis. See: Anonymous, 'A Fallen Idol', *The Times*, 10 June 1886, p. 10.
[406] Ibid.
[407] Anonymous, 'First Impressions', *The Speaker*, 17 September 1892, p. 360.
[408] Ibid.

1907), 'Voces Populi' consequently transforms ordinary citizens from "nobodies" into "somebodies".[409]

Capturing the speaker's personality, their idiosyncrasies, and their humour were significant details in the composition of Guthrie's characters. Consequently, a great deal of time was dedicated to recording the most striking characteristics of those whom Guthrie encountered, and his notebooks certainly attest to this investment. On a page of a largely undated notebook, Guthrie provides a list of character sketches, jotting down observations about the ordinary men and women whom he encountered on his travels. A '[s]eedy person at restaurant', '[t]he drunken snob in Oxford St, 19 July', and 'the communicative passenger […] going to Scotland' are amongst those who catch his attention.[410] One note, however, must have stuck in Guthrie's memory more than the others. So much so, in fact, that an argument between '[t]he drunken old gentleman & the cabman' – recorded on 20 March 1888 – later evolved into a 'Voces' sketch called 'The Cadi of the Curbstone', eventually published in *Punch* in January 1890.[411] 'The Cadi of the Curbstone', a dialogue between an elderly drunken man, his cabman, and a police officer, is recalled in *A Long Retrospect* and described as an 'absolutely unexaggerated description' of the event.[412] Guthrie opens by locating the men near Hyde Park, where an elderly gentleman

> suddenly stopped the cab in which he has been driving, and, without offering to pay the fare, has got out and shuffled off with a handbag. The [cabman] has descended from his seat and overtaken the old gentleman, who is now perceived to be lamentably intoxicated. The usual crowd springs up from nowhere, and follows the dispute with keen and delighted interest.[413]

Guthrie could well be a member of this crowd, observing – with his fellow witnesses/readers – the drama as it develops. This example not only demonstrates how Guthrie's *Voces* were inspired by everyday realities, but the attempt to reproduce the scene additionally speaks to his interest in capturing and reproducing typical encounters with ordinary Londoners.

The verisimilitude of 'Voces Populi' can be further identified in 'At the British Museum', a scene in which readers "overhear" a selection of conversations taking place in various exhibitions of the museum. In the Ancient Egypt exhibit, an exchange occurs between a frightening governess and a young boy. After recording the attendance of these characters in his notebook, Guthrie jotted down the following snippets of speech, 'I don't like seeing people so dead as that' and '[n]ot a place to

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[409] On his way to Rotherfield, Guthrie records how he heard the '[m]urmers and laughs of unseen lives', thereby gesturing towards his interest in listening to and documenting the soundscape of his environment. See: London, British Library, Add MS 63564, fol. 132v.
[410] London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 54280, fol. 24r; fol. 43v; fol. 15r.
[411] Ibid., fol. 54r.
[412] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 182.
[413] F. Anstey, 'Voces Populi. The Cadi of the Curbstone', *Punch*, 18 January 1890, p. 29.

bring a little boy to'.[414] Guthrie's sketch later incorporates these scraps of dialogue into the conversation. As the aptly named Miss Goole and Harry, the small child, enter the exhibit, Harry is visibly disturbed by the mummies. Shaking, he says '"[n]o, I'm not frightened, Miss Goole – only if you don't mind, I – I'd rather see a gentleman not *quite* so dead. And there's one over there with a gold face and glass eyes, and he looks at me, and – please, I don't think this is the place to bring such a little boy as me to!"'.[415] Guthrie's notebooks and diaries consequently reveal how 'Voces Populi' sought to employ a significant amount of mimicry in the imaginative reconstruction of speech (as in the dialogues from Trafalgar Square, Hyde Park, and the British Museum), arguably establishing this collection as a study into and a (re)presentation of the lives of ordinary late-Victorians living in London.

Sound, Walter J. Ong argues, 'is related to present actuality rather than to past or future'.[416] The visual reproduction of sound or, rather, the *illusion* of sound – that which gives the reader the impression of "eavesdropping" into an actual conversation, as in the above mentioned 'At the British Museum' – similarly intends to produce the impression of 'present actuality'. Reviewers praised 'Voces Populi' for this very reason, acknowledging how Guthrie's sketches resembled 'a humorous verbal photography of extraordinary vividness'.[417] For many readers, the 'extraordinary vividness' of the 'Voces' sketches stemmed from Guthrie's efforts to imitate the dialect heard in late-Victorian London, most notably the Cockney accent. Commenting upon the Cockneys filling the pages of 'Voces Populi', Spielman continues, ''Arry is no longer a symbol or a type [...] he is a definite person [...] and what he says could not [...] possibly have been said in any other way, nor by any other person'.[418] His subjects are no longer dismissed by their comparative vastness, nor are their voices tuned out and absorbed into the city's soundscape. A similar sentiment is expressed in a contribution to *The Saturday Review*, as the author recognises how 'familiar do they [the voices] sound as the oft-heard yet unregarded humours of the crowd'.[419] Highlighting the attention afforded to the reproduction of (somewhat ironically) underheard dialogue, the reviewer commends Guthrie's ability to replicate the ordinary, disembodied voices of London.

Phonetic representations of the Cockney dialect were well-established during the Victorian era; in fact, one of the most influential fictional Cockneys, Dickens's Sam Weller – appearing in *The Pickwick Papers* (serialised from 1836 to 1837) – is described by John Forster as 'being as ordinary

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[414] London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 54281, fol. 17r.
[415] F. Anstey, 'Voces Populi. At the British Museum', *Punch*, 13 September 1890, p. 132.
[416] Walter J. Ong, *The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 111–112.
[417] Spielman, *History of Punch*, p. 398.
[418] "'Arry" and "'Arriet" were phrases used to describe a "typical" Cockney man and woman. See: Spielman, *History of Punch*, p. 398.
[419] Anonymous, 'Voces Populi', *The Saturday Review*, 18 October 1890, p. 465.

and perfect a reality […] as anything in the London streets'.[420] While Dickens's efforts to replicate non-standard speech – the memorable substitution of the letters *v* and *w*, for example – were applauded in the mid-Victorian era, praised for revealing the 'impropriety, ungrammaticality, and energy' of voice, Andrew Tuer, writing predominantly in the last two decades of the century, recognised just how outdated these depictions had already become.[421] He believed that Cockney was 'constantly in a state of evolution' and that contemporary writers needed to keep up with these changes.[422] Instead of employing earlier conventions to recreate Cockney dialogue, then, Tuer presented alternative ways of phonetically reproducing this dialect. William Matthews subsequently identified five new ways in which Tuer phonetically reproduced the Cockney voice:

> *Long a pronounced long i: myke, engyged, relytions, eyen't, acquyntince*
> *Long i pronounced ah or oi: tahm, quaht, nahn, mah, bah, or noight, loike, moine, foine, toime.*
> *Long o pronounced ow: owm (home), Jowve, now (no), sowp, down't, bouth, stoun*
> *Ow pronounced ah or aow: flahs (flowers), paounds, naow, abaout, craown*
> *Short u pronounced like short e: entil, ether, kentry, seppers, inselt, etc*. (original emphasis).[423]

It is Guthrie's experimentation with Tuer's new phonetics and the amalgamation of old and new forms of representation for which he is given credit; in fact, George Bernard Shaw even goes so far as to describe Guthrie as 'the first author to give general literary currency to Mr. Tuer's new phonetics'.[424]

This phonetic representation of dialogue, described by Peter Ackroyd as the 'graphic embodiment of speech', is contained within 'Voces Populi'.[425] In 'Bank Holiday', for example,

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[420] John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens* (London: Bradbury, Evans, and Co., 1872), p. 110.
[421] Kreilkamp, *Voice and the Victorian Storyteller*, p. 77.
[422] Andrew Tuer, *"Thenks Awf'lly!"* (London: The Leadenhall Press, 1890), p. vi. It was not until the 1880s, Peter Ackroyd explains, that modern Cockney emerged, flourishing in venues such as music halls where songs and ditties offered descriptive accounts of Cockney jaunts and excursions. Parodies of such songs and scenes were composed and compiled by Guthrie in the collection *Mr. Punch's Modern Music-Hall Songs and Dramas* (1892). One of these, titled 'The Frankly Canaille', sees the Cockney narrator recall an intoxicated trip to Kew Gardens whilst blaming an allegedly drunken horse for the chaotic journey. In this parody of the foibles of typical Londoners, Guthrie introduces 'The Frankly Canaille' as a 'valuable human document' and consequently demonstrates his continual interest in the representation of "ordinary" citizens. It is also worth noting that – as in 'Voces' – the representation of the Cockney dialect, mannerisms, and humour found within 'The Frankly Canaille' further reveal how Guthrie sought to distance himself and his writing from earlier, outdated illustrations of Cockney and move towards a fresher depiction of the dialect, as proposed by Tuer. See: Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2000), p. 165; F. Anstey, *Mr. Punch's Model Music Hall Songs and Dramas* (New York: United States Book Company, 1892), p. 54.
[423] William Matthews, *Cockney Past and Present: A Short History of the Dialect of London* (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1970), p. 65.
[424] George Bernard Shaw, 'Mr. Pinero's Past', *The Saturday Review*, 5 February 1898, p. 170.
[425] Peter Ackroyd, *Dickens* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1990), p. 125.

Guthrie employs linguistic experimentation to replicate the dialogue he overhears on his return journey from the Crystal Palace. In his autobiography Guthrie recalls the inspiration for one of the characters featuring in the sketch, a 'fellow [traveller], a noisy and far from sober ruffian, whose ditties and remarks I noted down under his drunken nose'.[426] The return journey documented in 'Bank Holiday' does indeed feature an 'Old Gentleman' who 'has come out with the object of observing Bank Holiday manners' (arguably bearing some similarities to Guthrie himself) and a drunken man called 'Ole Fred'.[427] As Ole Fred bustles into the carriage, he causes quite the stir, and subsequently the Old Gentleman asks him to quieten down. Displeased at this request, Ole Fred replies

> OLE FRED. Shet up, old umbereller whiskers! (*Screams of laughter from women and children, which encourage him to sing again.*)
>
> […]
>
> THE MAN BY THE WINDOW. 'Ere, dry up, Guv'nor – 'e ain't 'ad enough to urt 'im, 'e ain't!
>
> CHORUS OF FEMALES (*to* O[ld]. G[entleman].). An' Bank 'Oliday, too—you orter to be ashimed o' yerself, you ought! 'E's as right as right, if you on'y let him alone!
>
> OLE FRED (*to* O. G.). Ga-arn, yer pore-'arted ole choiner boy! (*sings dismally*) […] Any man 'ere wanter foight me? Don't say no, ole Frecklefoot![428]

Readers hardly need to strain to see how Guthrie employs phonological deviations to replicate the Cockney accent. Amongst other conventions, he includes the omission, and, in an earlier interaction between Ole Fred and the Old Gentleman, the acquisition of the letter *h*, '''e ain't 'ad enough to urt 'im'' and ''heverythink'', respectively. While the dropping and the misapplication of the letter *h* is considered one of the key characteristics of the Cockney dialect, it also indicates, according to Lynda Mugglestone, a 'social difference, a symbol of the social divide'.[429] Yet, despite the social division between the Old Gentleman and Ole Fred, as is illustrated by their dialectical differences, 'Bank Holiday' pokes more fun at the priggishness of the former man than at the drunken clamour of the latter. Throughout this piece, Guthrie also employs eye dialect, such as ''orter'', and the replacement of vowels with the letter *i*, represented in ''ashimed''. Tuer's new phonetics are scattered amongst this piece, too; here readers see Guthrie include a long *i* pronounced *oi*, seen in ''choiner'' and ''foight''; a short *u* pronounced *e*, in ''shet up''; and – earlier in the scene – a long *a* pronounced like a long *i*, ''dyes''/days. Alongside these phonetic deviations, Guthrie also introduces non-standard

[426] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 181.
[427] F. Anstey, 'Voces Populi. Bank Holiday', *Punch*, 8 August 1891, p. 69.
[428] F. Anstey, 'Voces Populi. Bank Holiday', pp. 69–70.
[429] Lynda Mugglestone, *"Talking Proper": The Rise and Fall of the English Accent as a Social Symbol* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), p. 95.

syntax, such as the inclusion of multiple negatives ("'e ain't 'ad enough […] 'e ain't!"'). The combination of phonetic and syntactical experimentation crucially ascribes the characters in this scene with vibrancy, energy, and humour: they are animated by Guthrie's representation of voice. This ascription of voice signals Guthrie's interest in and commitment to highlighting the familiar presence of (often overlooked and ignored) speakers like Ole Fred.

The recreation of dialect spoken by "ordinary" Londoners arguably carries additional weight and significance when deployed within sketches such as the above-mentioned 'The Country of Cockaigne'. Originally published in 1895 and reprinted two years later within the collection *Puppets at Large: Scenes and Subjects from Mr. Punch's Show* – the title of which demonstrates how Guthrie is, once again, concerned with the lives of contemporary citizens – this scene sees the underprivileged Jimmy speak to his friend, Florrie, as they sit in an impoverished back street in London. Jimmy describes his joy at the possibility of returning to the blissful countryside for a holiday with his warm and hospitable previous hosts. After a member of the CCHF meets with Jimmy's parents, though, he returns to Florrie the following day to relay the bad news: his application has been rejected on account of the charity's limited funds.[430] In a plea to the readers of *Punch*, therefore, Guthrie requests that donations should be made to the charity so that the CCHF can provide children like Jimmy and Florrie with an opportunity to temporarily escape the dangerous streets of London. The monologue begins as Jimmy tells Florrie that he is '"goin' ter wyte about 'ere till the lidy comes"' to meet with his parents and determine whether he shall be sent to the countryside for a vacation.[431] Jimmy is eager to have his recent '"happlication"' accepted, telling Florrie that she, too, would travel to the country '"fawst enough if yer knoo what it was loike"'.[432] Here, Guthrie utilises similar phonetical and syntactical deviations to those appearing throughout Ole Fred's speech in 'Bank Holiday'. The letter *h* is often misused, consequently encouraging *Punch* readers to distinguish Jimmy as both a Cockney and an underprivileged child; vowels are frequently substituted for one another (*i* for *a* in '"lidy"'); and Tuer's new phonetics make another appearance, as is seen in Jimmy's exchange of the long *i* for a long *a*, as in '"wyte"'/wait, and the long oi for i, as in '"loike"'. Of course, Jimmy is just one in a line of impoverished fictional characters illustrating and exposing the suffering faced by real children in the nineteenth century. He resembles, for example, Jo from Dickens's *Bleak House*, whose similar dialectical differences support their shared role as a symbol of poverty and neglect.[433]

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[430] Although the CCHF footed most of the cost of the holiday, parents were expected to make a small payment, one which was judged according to their earnings. An example of the financial contributions made by parents can be found in the *BMJ*: '14,048 children were sent away last year to 366 country centres at a cost of £9,178 7s. 9d., of which the parents contributed £2,819 16s. 11d.'. See: Anonymous, 'Children's Country Holidays', *British Medical Journal*, 30 June 1888, p. 1395.
[431] F. Anstey, 'The Country of Cockaigne', *Punch, or the London Charivari*, 17 August 1895, p. 76.
[432] Ibid.
[433] For more on the character of Jo, see: Trevor Blount, 'Poor Jo, Education, and The Problem of Juvenile Delinquency in Dickens' "Bleak House"', *Modern Philology*, 62, 4 (1965), 325–339.

While Guthrie's attempts at the recreation of the familiar serve, as in 'Bank Holiday', to recognise the presence of often-overlooked characters and bring them to life, 'The Country of Cockaigne' also animates Jimmy to inject pathos into the scene. After employing such linguistic experimentation, then, readers are met with the impression that they are "overhearing" Jimmy's monologue, consequently evoking sympathy for the boy (and, importantly, prompting donations). Thus, the transformation of Jimmy from a "nobody" into a "somebody" – fabricated through the incorporation of his speech – carries additional significance because Jimmy speaks on behalf of other invisible and impoverished children for the financial help of *Punch*'s contemporary readers. 'The Country of Cockaigne' arguably demonstrates, therefore, how the reproduction of familiar dialogue and dialect – and the subsequent transformation of the speakers from "nobodies" into "somebodies" – is as useful in the construction of Guthrie's poignant sketches as it is in his comic ones.

### *Towards an audial map of London*

In her discussion on Dickens's *Sketches by Boz*, a collection which Guthrie's own illustrations of everyday London life arguably resembles, Alice Turner suggests that Dickens 'creates a network of London voices, providing a kind of audial map of the city from which London voices emerge'.[434] By employing differences in dialect, she continues, Dickens 'demarcate[s]' social groups and communities and pinpoints them within this imagined map of the metropolis. In doing so it prompts an association between the setting of the sketch and the soundscape described by Boz, encouraging readers to believe that, if they were to travel to, say, the 'streets in the vicinity of the Marsh-gate and Victoria Theatre', they might very easily overhear the same sounds and voices – those of the bartenders, the singers, and the vendors selling 'cloudy rolls of "best fresh"'– that Boz himself details in his sketch.[435] Guthrie's writing for *Punch* magazine arguably serves a similar purpose by constructing an audial map of the metropolis, enabling readers to identify which sounds and voices might emerge from specific sites and places across the city. He offers a panoramic view by introducing readers to several voices and dialogues from a particular location.

In 'Saturday Night in the Edgware Road', for example, a short scene later reprinted in the collection *Puppets at Large*, attention is paid to the 'tradesmen' who 'stand outside their shops and conduct their business with a happy blend of the methods of a travelling showman and a clown'.[436] In the Edgware Road, readers might easily see and hear the other 'promenaders', the 'housewives with covered baskets' who 'oscillate undecidedly from stalls to shops', and the '[m]aids-of-all-work' who

[434] Turner, 'The Only Way is Dickens', p. 74.
[435] Charles Dickens, *Sketches by Boz* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1894), pp. 51–52.
[436] F. Anstey, 'Saturday Night in the Edgware Road', *Punch*, 13 April 1895, p. 172.

stroll past the markets arm-in-arm.[437] The variety of characters included in this scene undoubtedly reminds us of Guthrie's interest in documenting the socio-spatial porosity and the unstable boundaries of the city, as we see both housewives and domestic servants positioned alongside one another. These women, like the readers, "overhear" the street merchants as they try to make their sales. The 'Burlesque Butcher', for instance, is the first to speak up, declaring '"[n]ow then, all o' you there! Buy, buy, buy! Just give yer minds to spendin' yer money! […] Where *does* the Butcher git this *luverly* meat? What can I do fur *you*, Marm?"' (original emphasis).[438] Meanwhile, the fishmonger's assistant bursts into song, almost transforming this everyday scene into a theatrical performance. By replicating the vendors' voices and songs and offering a snapshot of the sounds from the Edgware Road, Guthrie consequently positions himself as a "guide" to this site and identifies the voices and people that readers should expect to find within the city, firmly situating the Edgware Road amongst his audial guide to London.

The soundscapes contained within Guthrie's dramatic dialogues also tend to find themselves saturated with non-vocal noises, too; in fact, they are equally integral to the construction of this geography of sound. In the 'Voces Populi' sketch, 'At an East-End Poultry Show', originally published on 5 November 1887, Guthrie reproduces a whole host of sounds and voices to recreate a sonic snapshot of the event. Held at The People's Palace in Mile End, the scene – likely inspired by a recent poultry show at The People's Palace which took place a couple of weeks prior – unsurprisingly incorporates dialectical differences (as in 'Saturday Night on the Edgware Road') to distinguish the visitors and exhibitors as belonging to the working classes.[439] Alongside these voices, though – and in a somewhat similar vein to the creatures found in Guthrie's it-narratives – the animals at the show are also given a "voice". In fact, a cockerel appears as involved and as interactive as the human spectators at the poultry show, with the creature allowed to respond '*derisively*' and '*encouragingly*' as he crows '"[c]rocky-rocky-roo!"' (original emphasis).[440] Similar non-vocal aural landscapes are included at the beginning of 'In a Fog'. At a thoroughfare near Hyde Park, at approximately eight o'clock in the evening, readers learn that there is '*[n]othing visible anywhere, but very much audible; horses slipping and plunging, wheels grinding, crashes, jolts, and English as she is spoke on such occasions*' (original emphasis).[441] Without their sight, the individuals lost within the fog rely upon their ears to construct their environment, and in doing so, they overhear the sounds of animals, of vehicles, and of speech.

[437] Ibid.
[438] Anstey, 'Saturday Night in the Edgware Road', p. 172.
[439] Anonymous, 'The People's Palace', *Times*, 15 October 1887, p. 8.
[440] F. Anstey, 'Voces Populi. At an East-End Poultry Show', *Punch*, 5 November 1887, p. 214.
[441] F. Anstey, 'Voces Populi. In a Fog', *Punch*, 7 March 1891, p. 109.

The details recorded in this chaotic, everyday scene serve to reveal Guthrie's conceptualisation of a city 'alive with sound'.[442] In his presentation of these soundscapes, then, Guthrie presents an auditory "guide" to the multi-sensory city. As in *Sketches by Boz*, the reader of Guthrie's dramatic dialogues might similarly expect to hear these sounds and voices materialising from the location. At the same time, it is worth pointing out that sound and speech are not only understood as strictly place-based, but as simultaneously mobile, too, as is demonstrated by Guthrie's frequent deployment of "unfixed" characters and voices, including, for example, cab drivers and train passengers; subjects that both embody and remind readers of the movement of the city. Guthrie can be understood and acknowledged, therefore, as both an urban reporter (as he reveals and represents the city and its inhabitants) *and* a literary geographer (as he creates an audial "guide" to the metropolis). While it has not been the focus of this part of the discussion, it is worth reiterating that the variety of voices that Guthrie records amongst his auditory representation of the capital (and their mobility) serve to gesture towards a similar socio-spatial fluidity and hybridity to that explored in the first part of the chapter. In keeping with the earlier discussion, then, the voices recorded at individual sites across the city once again point to Guthrie's interest in detailing the erosion of socio-spatial borders, subsequently exposing to audiences the instability of late-Victorian London.

'The voices of the people', Turner writes in her discussion on *Sketches by Boz*, 'are as much part of the scenery as the visual features described in the scenes'.[443] This is also the case in Guthrie's *Punch* dialogues and, most notably, his 'Voces' sketches, although it is worth adding that the inclusion of non-vocal sounds additionally serves to further contribute towards Guthrie's panoramic vision of the city. Guthrie is consequently able, by experimenting with and representing "ordinary" or everyday speech, to individualise his characters (and the people they represent) by recognising them for their familiarity. In a discussion on Dickens's depiction of London, Brian Robinson notes that Dickens gives less attention to the sites 'dominated by classes whom [he] felt were only too able to speak for themselves'.[444] Guthrie shares this interest in focusing on those places in London which contain inhabitants generally excluded from representations of the city due to their numerical vastness and ordinariness; the so-called "nobodies" of contemporary society. Just as the reviewer of the article in *The Academy and Literature* points out, then, Guthrie's dialogues manage to transform contemporary "nobodies" into contemporary "somebodies" through the acquisition of voice. In addition, by concentrating upon the voices of those living in late-Victorian London, Guthrie speaks to the nineteenth-century interest in and awareness of different 'sonic environment[s]'.[445] His commitment to detailing the soundscapes of the metropolis encompasses both vocal and non-vocal

[442] W. H. Preece, 'The Microphone', *Nature*, 20 June 1878, p. 209, cited in Picker, p. 4.
[443] Turner, 'The Only Way is Dickens', p. 74.
[444] Brian Robinson, 'Charles Dickens and London: The visible and the opaque', *GeoJournal*, 38, 1 (1996), 59–74 (p. 61).
[445] Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes*, p. 11.

sounds, consequently enabling him to offer readers sonic snapshots from a range of locations throughout London. In a similar vein to the previous part of this chapter, within which we saw Guthrie deconstruct the city into a series of political and cultural locations to create an eidometropolis, Guthrie uses representations of "ordinary" dialogue to construct an audial map of the city. This allows readers to navigate the city as they embark upon Guthrie's auditory "tour" – thereby situating it as a tool which observes, represents, and charts London – crucially ensuring that Guthrie's *Punch* writing positions him as both urban reporter and literary geographer. The final chapter of the thesis looks beyond Guthrie's interest in imagining London, though, and turns instead to assess his understanding and representation of two final sites of instability: the country and the body.

# CHAPTER FOUR
## 'Topsy-Turveydom': Magical Movements and Metamorphoses

The other night, from cares exempt,
I slept – and what d'you think I dreamt?
I dreamt that somehow I had come
To dwell in Topsy-Turveydom!
W. S. Gilbert, 'My Dream'[446]

According to his autobiography, *A Long Retrospect* (1936), Guthrie was first introduced to W. S. Gilbert's *The Bab Ballads* when he encountered these verses in the pages of the popular nineteenth-century periodical, *Fun*.[447] In his recollections, Guthrie admits that these poems brought him 'intense joy' as a boy, but he adds that they also influenced his life as a man.[448] In fact, it was to this collection of poetry that Guthrie returned many years later, as a writer, as he wondered whether he might 'contrive something' which similarly 'abounded in […] transformations and exchanges of bodies'.[449] Such instances of magic and the supernatural are consequently contained not only in Guthrie's first and best known novel, *Vice Versâ* (1882) – a narrative within which a father and son famously exchange bodies – but in many of his other comic fantasy stories, too. In these texts, the protagonists often find themselves in a situation or amongst surroundings with which they are unfamiliar, or they are the victims of some sort of fantastical metamorphosis or transgression. It is these stories, those which contain within them some of the most overt episodes of fantasy, upon which this final chapter of the thesis chooses to focus its attention.

This chapter finds two sites within which these transgressions and transformations take place: first, the country (England), and second, the body. Both are imagined and understood as sites of instability or as sites which might threaten instability. To demonstrate this, the first part of the chapter concentrates upon Guthrie's invasion fiction narratives, *A Fallen Idol* (1886) and *The Brass Bottle* (1900). Although very little research has been conducted into these stories, Shuhita Bhattacharjee's essay on the former of the two narratives insightfully ties Guthrie's deployment of the novel's eponymous idol to the anti-colonial fears circulating London at the time.[450] While my discussion

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[446] W. S. Gilbert, 'My Dream', in *The Bab Ballads*, ll. 1–4 <https://gsarchive.net/bab_ballads/html/my_dream.html> [accessed 1 March 2023]. The poem 'My Dream' was later the inspiration for a one-act operetta by Gilbert called *Topsyturveydom*, first performed on 21 March 1874 in London.

[447] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect* (London: OUP, 1936), p. 26. It is worth noting that *A Long Retrospect* also notes how Guthrie imitated the name which Gilbert used to sign off his writing ("Bab") when he signed some of his drawings. 'I signed these "Dod"', Guthrie writes, 'which was my youngest brother's family name, and my responsibility for them was known only by a few of my particular friends'. See: p. 88.

[448] Ibid, p. 26.

[449] Ibid., p. 91.

[450] Shuhita Bhattacharjee, 'The Insurgent Invasion of Anti-Colonial Idols in Late-Victorian Literature: Richard Marsh and F. Anstey', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 61, 1 (2018), 66–90. While Fleischman's thesis points out that *A Fallen Idol* is 'fascinat[ed] with the occult', it also spends a fair amount of time talking about the satire which Guthrie directs at the art world in this novel. See: Fleischman, 'F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie), Late-Victorian Humorist', p. 72.

similarly finds Guthrie interested in exploring England's contemporary anxieties, this chapter instead argues that these invasion narratives – those which situate themselves amongst a subgenre of late-Victorian literature that was interested in imagining the invasion of England by foreign powers and territories – serve to imagine the "infiltration" of the East within the West. As my discussion points out, Guthrie understands these invasions to be the result of – and a complication of – imperialism. In his visualisation of the collapse of the borders separating the East from the West, then, Guthrie consequently imagines Victorian England as a place of insecurity and instability. This part of the chapter therefore looks towards Guthrie's depictions of the global relations contained within these invasion fiction stories. Consequently, I suggest that we might read these narratives as texts which see Guthrie construct a geopolitical geography; that is, a spatial representation which – like the geopolitical map – seeks to illustrate global relations and trends.[451]

The second part of this chapter moves away from Guthrie's conceptualisation of England's global relations and turns instead to an examination of the body. To do so, it considers *Vice Versâ* as well as an adapted "portal-quest" fantasy narrative, called *Only Toys!* (originally published in *Strand* magazine in 1903).[452] This discussion claims that the body is understood and represented by Guthrie as a site which ultimately functions – just like London in the previous part of the chapter – as a microcosm for exploring larger concerns. This part of the chapter begins by suggesting that the body is imagined as unstable because of its ability to transform unexpectedly. While this enables Guthrie to imagine the body as a site of fluidity and disorder, it also allows him to explore the implications of bodily metamorphosis by representing the negotiation of the liminal body. Simultaneously, though, this discussion argues that the body can be understood in relation to the landscape within which it is located. Building upon the research conducted by geographers including Robyn Longhurst and Luke Whaley – both of whom similarly examine the ways in which body and place are connected – this chapter subsequently suggests that *Vice Versâ* and *Only Toys!* can be read as *corporeal geographies*; or, spatial studies that explore how bodies and bodily identities are negotiated within different locations.[453] Indeed, as *Vice Versâ* and *Only Toys!* see their protagonists enter different environments and experience a change in their identities, this chapter claims that Guthrie imagines the body to be porous and permeable. In keeping with the previous chapters of the thesis, this representation of the body's fluidity ultimately points towards Guthrie's understanding of its instability.

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[451] Anna W. Moore and Nicholas A. Perdue, 'Imagining a Critical Geopolitical Cartography', *Geography Compass*, 8, 12 (2014), 892–901 (p. 892).

[452] Given the limited scholarship surrounding this little-known text, I find it appropriate to return to a brief discussion on Guthrie's adoption and adaptation of – what Farah Mendlesohn describes as – the "portal-quest" fantasy at the beginning of my analysis of *Only Toys!*. See: Farah Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics of Fantasy* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2008).

[453] I return to a discussion on Longhurst and Whaley's respective research later in the chapter. See: Luke Whaley, 'Geographies of the Self: Space, Place, and Scale Revisited', *Human Arenas*, 1 (2018), 21–36; Robyn Longhurst, *Bodies: Exploring Fluid Boundaries* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).

'This is England, not Arabia': Invasion at the Heart of the Empire

…and what an awful thing if that man, that monster, be really in London!
Bram Stoker, *Dracula*[454]

"Egypt is in London, indeed"
Arthur Henry Sarsfield Ward, *Brood of the Witch-Queen*[455]

As Rebecca Stott points out, the fin-de-siècle was a period plagued by feelings of 'suspicion, intolerance and perceived vulnerability'.[456] One of the many concerns haunting Britain at the turn-of-the-twentieth century was the threat of a potential invasion. Such anxieties initially centred upon France and Germany, with Britain particularly shaken by the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. As Ailise Bulfin explains, '[t]he speed and decisiveness of Germany's unexpected victory over France made a powerful impact not just on the countries involved, but on all the European imperial powers, especially Britain'.[457] A decade later, the possible construction of a channel tunnel only served to amplify contemporary fears, as Britain once again felt that the country was defenceless and vulnerable to an attack from her neighbours.[458] In the final years of the nineteenth century, though, hostility from European rivals no longer preoccupied the Victorian imagination; instead, Britain looked further afield and focused on the perceived threat of an invasion from those in the East. The above quotations from Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) and Arthur Henry Sarsfield Ward's *The Brood of the Witch-Queen* (1918) serve as examples of the contemporary literary response to such invasion anxieties and indicate how these fears persisted well into the twentieth century.[459] These titles are just two of many concerned with invasion, with other stories such as Richard Marsh's *The Beetle* (1897), *The Goddess: A Demon* (1900), and *The Joss: A Reversion* (1901), similarly offering sensational narratives that illuminated, and often reinforced, the contemporary anxieties felt by the West.[460]

Such tales featuring fears of invasion have been studied by researchers including Stephen Arata, Minna Vuohelainen, and Ailise Bulfin.[461] Arata argues that, in *Dracula* and similar narratives,

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[454] Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1897), p. 174.
[455] Sax Rohmer, *Brood of the Witch-Queen* (New York: McKinlay, Stone & Mackenzie, n.d.), p. 191.
[456] Rebecca Stott, *The Fabrication of the Late-Victorian* Femme Fatale*: The Kiss of Death* (Hampshire: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1992), p. 5.
[457] Ailise Bulfin, '"To Arms!": Invasion Narratives and Late-Victorian Literature', *Literature Compass*, 12, 9 (2015), 482–496 (p. 484).
[458] These contemporary anxieties surrounding the channel tunnel are fears which, I believe, Guthrie even comments upon himself in an article titled 'The Seizure of the Channel Tunnel'. See: F. A., 'The Seizure of the Channel Tunnel', *Time*, 7 (April–December 1882), pp. 91–121.
[459] Ward wrote under the pseudonym "Sax Rohmer". For more on *Dracula* as an invasion text, see Stephen D. Arata, 'The Occidental Tourist: "Dracula" and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization', *Victorian Studies*, 33, 4 (1990), 621–645. For more on Egyptian invasion stories, see (for example) Roger Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse: The True History of a Dark Fantasy* (Oxford: OUP, 2012).
[460] For more on Richard Marsh and the imperial Gothic, see Part III of *Richard Marsh, popular fiction and literary culture, 1890-1915: Rereading the Fin de Siècle*, ed. by Daniel Orrells, Minna Vuohelainen, and Victoria Margree (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).
[461] Patrick Brantlinger's discussion on 'imperial Gothic' fiction – examples of which include Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1902) – is also worth a mention, given that one of this subgenre's key features, according to Brantlinger, is 'an invasion of civilization by the forces of barbarism or demonism'. This type of invasion,

the authors present anxieties about 'reverse colonization'; that is, when 'a terrifying reversal [...] occur[s]: the colonizer finds himself in the position of the colonized, the exploiter becomes exploited, the victimizer victimized'.[462] In part, Arata explains, these fears were 'responses to cultural guilt': '[i]n the figure of the marauding, invasive Other, British culture sees its own imperial practices mirrored back in monstrous forms'.[463] Minna Vuohelainen finds such doppelgängers scattered throughout a popular subgenre of fin-de-siècle literature, called 'invasion Gothic': a term used to define those texts which see 'British identity, security, and superiority placed under threat from a foreign, often supernatural, monster, which reveals insecurities, anxieties, and phobic responses already latent within the British nation'.[464] In these stories, the intruder deliberately locates itself at the centre of the British Empire, crucially bringing the horror directly to London.[465] In keeping with Arata's suggestion that reverse colonization sees 'imperial practices' unleashed upon the colonisers, then, Vuohelainen – alongside other critics including Ailise Bulfin – similarly interprets invasion narratives featuring Gothicised intruders as literary responses to contemporary anxieties surrounding the ramifications of imperialism.[466] During a period within which, as J. A. Hobson points out, 'the empire was on everyone's lips', it is little surprise that imperialism gave way to these concerns surrounding allegedly vengeful and hostile territories "fighting back" against their colonisers.[467]

It is against this landscape of imperialism and anxiety that Guthrie writes two of his fantasy narratives, *A Fallen Idol* and *The Brass Bottle*. In a somewhat similar vein to *Vice Versâ*, these stories see a supernatural, colonial object fall into the hands of an unlucky protagonist, both of whom soon

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however, is less concerned with the potential threat of a colonial territory attacking Britain (as in Vuohelainen and Bulfin's research) and more interested in dramatizing contemporary fears surrounding degeneracy, regression, and decline. See: Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 230.

462 Arata, 'The Occidental Tourist', p. 623.

463 Ibid.

464 Minna Vuohelainen, '"You Know Not of What You Speak": Language, Identity and Xenophobia in Richard Marsh's *The Beetle: A Mystery* (1897)', in *Fear, Loathing and Victorian Xenophobia*, ed. by M. Tromp, M. Bachman, and H. Kaufman (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2013), pp. 312–330 (pp. 316–317).

465 Ibid., (p. 316).

466 Bulfin's research examines the origins of Britain's invasion anxieties and explores how these concerns were imagined in a range of popular fiction narratives from the late-nineteenth century. In doing so, Bulfin argues, these texts sought to employ and manipulate the themes, tropes, and conventions of gothic writing. See: Ailise Bulfin, *Gothic Invasions: Imperialism, War and Fin-de-Siècle Popular Fiction* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018).

467 Although Britain's empire was at its most successful between 1830 and 1930, the pressure of rival imperial powers in Europe threatened Britain's global position. Consequently, the final years of the nineteenth century saw a period of aggressive conquest for territory, with some of the country's most notorious efforts, amongst others, including the 'scramble for Africa' and the British occupation of Egypt. With this continual colonisation of territories came the threat of unrest and hostility. This was not necessarily a new anxiety; indeed, the Indian Mutiny of 1857 serves well to demonstrate how Britain was resisted and challenged. As Britain continued to occupy more and more land, though, the late-Victorians became increasingly concerned with the possibility of further conflict and preoccupied with the idea that 'some form of invasion' might soon take place in England. See: Ailise Bulfin, *Gothic Invasions*, p. 9.

realise that the item is much less of a blessing and much more of a hindrance.[468] Indeed, *A Fallen Idol* centres around Ronald Campion, an aspiring artist, as he comes into the possession of a Jain idol. Initially set in India, the narrator introduces readers to the idol and explains how – after the fall of Seringapatam – it is recovered in nineteenth-century England and gifted to Ronald by his fiancé, Sybil Elsworth. It does not take long before readers realise that the idol is the bearer of bad luck: the boy delivering the present is nearly killed while travelling to Ronald's house; Ronald's landlord falls after insulting the idol; and it even manages to kill Sybil's aunt's dog. The idol then interferes with Ronald's career, spoiling two pieces of artwork and ruining both his reputation and engagement. Towards the end of the novel, though, a theosophist called Axel Nebelson (despite being frequently mocked for his incompetence) concludes that the Jain idol needs to be returned to India to defeat the threat it poses to society. The idol is subsequently cast out of London, consequently removing the threat of an Eastern invasion from Victorian England.

*The Brass Bottle* details a not too dissimilar story of invasion. This narrative follows Horace Ventimore, aspiring architect, as he finds himself the owner of a magical brass bottle. Appropriating two of the stories contained within the influential *One Thousand and One Nights* – a collection which shaped the Victorian imagination of the Middle East – Guthrie's story sees the protagonist open the bottle to release a jinni, whose presence soon plagues Horace.[469] Indeed, Horace's relationship and career, like Ronald's, soon face serious difficulties because of the jinni's involvement. It is only when Horace manages to trick the jinni into returning into the bottle – thereby borrowing the ending of the tale 'The Fisherman and the Jinn' – that Horace breaks free from the grasp of the jinni's powers. In the final pages, the jinni is trapped back in the bottle and thrown into the river, subsequently containing the threat of an invasion from the Middle East and restoring peace to the heart of the empire.

While *A Fallen Idol* and *The Brass Bottle* both contain features of the invasion Gothic subgenre – after all, they both imagine how the capital is invaded by a supernatural intruder originating from the periphery of the British Empire – Guthrie's narratives do not sit entirely comfortably alongside the invasion Gothic texts of writers such as Bram Stoker, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Richard Marsh. In part, this is because *A Fallen Idol* and *The Brass Bottle* are not completely Gothicised and often employ humour in the treatment of their respective invasions. This is significant,

[468] While it is not the focus of this discussion, it is worth pointing out that the frequent introduction of foreign objects to Guthrie's stories might also encourage us to think about the ways in which these things interact with the study of Victorian material culture. Shuhita Bhattacharjee discusses this in more detail and explains how the concerns about the Indian idol-objects in the fiction of Marsh and Guthrie serve as 'a reflection of the anxieties surrounding the large pool of colonial commodities that produced mercenary and cultural tensions in Britain by capturing the domestic market and imagination'. See: Bhattacharjee, 'The Insurgent Invasion of Anti-Colonial Idols in Late-Victorian Literature: Richard Marsh and F. Anstey', p. 74.

[469] Guthrie admits that he was interested in and influenced by the stories in *One Thousand and One Nights*. In his autobiography, *A Long Retrospect* (1936), he writes that he owned 'a three-volume illustrated edition of Lane's *Arabian Nights* from which I made careful extracts'. See: F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 234.

not least because the use of humour within invasion literature necessarily challenges the assumption that these narratives can only ever incite fear, paranoia, and anxiety. This complicates both the reader's response to the instability felt by the breaching of global demarcations throughout these invasion narratives, just as it challenges and destabilises genre boundaries. At the same time, though, Guthrie's stories also differ because they are less concerned with vengeful colonies "fighting back" and more interested in how the British Empire opened a figurative door to the East, one which, as Laura Otis puts it, enabled movement 'in more than one direction'.[470] Such traffic, of course, threatened to bring with it the invasion of foreign people, cultures, and beliefs. Thus, while Guthrie certainly responds to contemporary concerns surrounding the potential threat of an invasion and participates within this climate of anxiety, he navigates it differently to other late-Victorian authors. In this adaptation of a familiar subgenre of popular literature, then, these texts might prompt us to reconsider the ways in which Victorian writers responded to contemporary invasion anxieties.

This part of the chapter therefore reads *A Fallen Idol* and *The Brass Bottle* as narratives which imagine, visualise, and chart the intrusion and infiltration of the East within the West. To that end, the arrival of the idol and the jinni – objects tied to imperial conflict – bring with them the incursion of Eastern ideologies, beliefs, cultures, and peoples. England, therefore, is imagined as a place of transculturation: a 'contact zone' which sees 'disparate cultures meet[ing], clash[ing], and grappl[ing] with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination'.[471] Through this contravening of the boundaries separating East and West, periphery and centre, Guthrie imagines late-Victorian England as a site of insecurity and subsequently highlights global instability. As in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, this discussion on Guthrie's invasion narratives sees London at the centre of the drama. Instead of concentrating upon the relations within London, though, this reading of *A Fallen Idol* and *The Brass Bottle* looks *beyond* the capital and instead imagines the relations between the heart of the empire and her territories across the globe. The focus, therefore, shifts from the national to the international. In turn, this discussion argues that Guthrie uses these two invasion narratives to construct a geopolitical geography or, in other words, a representation of contemporary global relations. This discussion can, therefore, be situated alongside the previous chapters of the thesis, those interested in Guthrie's efforts – as a literary geographer – to imagine and explore the spaces and places of lived experience and reveal such sites to be ones of instability and disorder.

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[470] Laura Otis, *Membranes: Metaphors of Invasion in Nineteenth-Century Literature, Science, and Politics* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), p. 104.
[471] Mary Louise Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone', *Profession* (1991), 33–40 (p. 34). See also the Introduction to Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Narrative and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

## *Encountering the East in* A Fallen Idol

To a large extent, at least, *A Fallen Idol* documents the invasion of the East amongst the West; indeed, it is the Jain idol's threatening incursion in the capital that brings with it the collapse of racial, religious, and cultural divisions.[472] Importantly, the idol's journey to England is immediately identified as the result of imperial conflict. Towards the end of the prologue, the narrator reveals that during Tipu Sultan's reign in Mysore, '[t]emples of various denominations were wantonly destroyed, and the idols buried by their custodians until brighter days should dawn'.[473] '[P]ossibly some such fate as this befell [the idol]', the narrator continues, 'for no record of it is to be found later than the fall of Seringapatam and the annexation of Mysore by Great Britain' (p. 33). These historical references contextualise the idol's movement by locating it amongst scenes of imperial violence: the Third and Fourth Anglo-Mysore Wars of the late-eighteenth century. During these attacks, the British defeated Tipu Sultan and claimed large areas of Mysore as their own. According to Piers Brendon, Mysore was 'in every sense a prize when the British invasion culminated, on 4 May 1799, in the second and final victory at Seringapatam'.[474] This was, not least, a result of Britain's anxieties surrounding Tipu Sultan, with his hostility towards the West and his ferocious reputation. Nothing better exemplifies Tipu in the British imagination 'than his most celebrated artefact. This was a wooden tiger which, at the turn of a handle, roared while attacking a European soldier, who raised his arm and moaned despairingly'.[475] With these images of Tipu in mind, Britain did not hesitate to revel in their imperial victory in Mysore.

After the fall of Seringapatam, there was a significant amount of looting. As Brendon explains, '[s]oldiers ransacked the Tiger's [Tipu's] fabulous lair. They raided the treasury, leaving a trail of gold pagodas across the floor. They stole rings, bracelets, necklaces and diamond aigrettes by the pocketful'.[476] In a similar vein, it is the idol in Guthrie's narrative which is 'dug up' and taken, as Sybil notes, by 'Captain Somebody', thereby determining that its involuntary journey – that which bears similarities to the theft and transportation of the eponymous diamond in Wilkie Collins's *The Moonstone* (1868) – is the result of imperialist violence and conquest (pp. 60–61). At the end of the

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[472] I say 'to a large extent' because the novel also pays a great deal of attention to the arrival of theosophy, a quasi-religious belief system inspired by Buddhism and founded by Helena Blavatsky in the 1870s. I choose not to discuss Guthrie's treatment of theosophy in this part of the chapter, though, because it is the novel's idol, rather than the theosophist, that threatens to dangerously alter the landscape of late-Victorian England by travelling from the periphery of the empire to the heart of its imperial operations.
[473] Tipu Sultan ruled Mysore between 1782 and 1799. See: F. Anstey, *A Fallen Idol* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1902), p. 33. All future references will be to this edition and will be given in parentheses following quotations.
[474] Piers Brendon, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire 1781-1997* (London: Vintage Books, 2008), p. 43.
[475] This automaton – held at the V&A in London – left such an impression that it might even serve as the inspiration for the mechanical goddess of Richard Marsh's invasion Gothic narrative, *The Goddess: A Demon*. For more on this, see: Neil Hultgren, 'Automata, plot machinery and the imperial Gothic in Richard Marsh's *The Goddess*', in *Richard Marsh, popular fiction and literary culture*, pp. 148–167.
[476] Brendon, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire*, p. 44.

nineteenth century, it was the possible consequences of such conflict – specifically, a 'counter-invasion', as J. Jeffrey Franklin describes it – which were amongst the most pressing of concerns.[477] As Britain's imperial endeavours severed the division between the East and the West, people became increasingly worried that the permeable boundaries once 'separating […] nations, races, cultures, or religions' might soon become 'the connection […] joining' them.[478] When the idol is transferred from India to England, then, it signals more than just a collapse in geography.

The narrative soon shifts to London, in which readers learn that the idol is purchased in the West End as a gift from Sybil to her fiancé, Ronald. He eventually finds a home for the idol at his art studio in St John's Wood, the place within which the idol performs some of its cruellest tricks.[479] Placed upon 'a little Chinese pedestal round which a gaudy dragon curled itself', the idol is immediately tied to this serpentine-shaped creature and associated with the concept of Christian sin. Sybil's aunt, Mrs Staniland, soon reinforces the suggestion that there is something inherently insidious about the idol when she insists that her unsettled dog is barking at '"that very hideous little image"' (p. 76). The implication is, of course, that her distressed pet can sense the sinister and hostile nature of the statue, just as Evelyn's dog appears (to Stella, at least) to recognise its owner's malevolence in the above-discussed *The Statement of Stella Maberly* (1896). At the same time, though, Staniland's description of the idol's unpleasant appearance – just one of many similar comments made throughout the novel – determines the statue's external ugliness to be a sign of its internal corruption. As Geoffrey Oddie notes in a discussion surrounding Victorian missionary accounts of Hinduism, '[t]he demonic and ugly appearance of gods was for some […] a symbolic reminder of the irrational and misguided devotion they could inspire'.[480] Mrs Staniland's account of the Jain figure, then, participates within and reinforces these contemporary prejudices towards non-Christian religions.

Guthrie's participation amongst contemporary discourses surrounding non-Christian faiths also extends to the late-Victorian response to Jainism. However, in comparison to other Eastern religions, such as Buddhism and Hinduism, for example, Guthrie's contemporaries knew very little about Jainism.[481] Indeed, even though research into this religion began before the nineteenth century, scholarship remained slim. It was, therefore, often regarded as a confusing, or 'hodgepodge', religion,

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[477] J. Jeffrey Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion: Buddhism and the British Empire* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008), p. 7.
[478] Ibid., p. 8.
[479] St John's Wood is an appropriate place to situate Ronald's studio as it was understood, at the time, to be an area for artists; so much so, in fact, that it contained a group of Victorian artists known as the "St John's Wood Clique".
[480] Geoffrey Oddie, *Imagined Hinduism: British Protestant Missionary Constructions of Hinduism, 1793-1900* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006), p. 49.
[481] With such little information surrounding Jainism, writers representing this faith were also able to employ a great deal of invention.

and there was a great deal of uncertainty surrounding its origins.[482] In fact, it was only in the latter years of the Victorian era – and with the publication of the influential translations of H. Jacobi that 'furnished clear textual proof for the historical independence of the Jaina tradition from Brahmanism and Buddhism' – that Jainism began to be somewhat better understood.[483] Despite the significance of Jacobi's texts and translations, he nevertheless still admits that this religion was 'all but virgin soil'.[484] Crucially, then, the Victorians had little material to inform their perception of Jainism, and what they did have was heavily filtered. Christian missionaries, for example, considered Jainism to be a 'coldly austere religion […] with no "heart"'.[485] In part, this resulted from the Christian denunciation of Jain practices such as idol worship, an act perceived as immoral and primitive. Guthrie himself reveals in *A Long Retrospect* that one of the reasons he chose to utilise Jainism in the text was because worshippers '[honour] the images of departed saints', suggesting that there was enough criticism surrounding the practice of idolatry to justify the attachment of Jainism to the narrative's eponymous villain.[486] This assumed connection between idolatry and immorality crops up throughout the novel; in one scene, for example, after laying down offerings to the idol in an attempt to appease it, Ronald laments '[w]ho could have thought that he would sink to such Paganism as this? to lay offerings before a barbarous idol […] Let no one imagine that Campion did not feel this degradation – he despised himself for it bitterly' (p. 200).

What's more, Jainism was further critiqued and mocked, just like Hinduism, for its 'intellectual frailty' and its allegedly irrational beliefs and traditions, such as the doctrine of *ahimsa* (non-violence). Edward Washburn Hopkins, for example, derisively notes in his commentary on *ahimsa*, '[the Jain] may not hurt or drive away the insects that torment his naked flesh'.[487] Guthrie's *A Fallen Idol* similarly satirises this doctrine; indeed, at the beginning of the novel, as an insect flies into the Jain priest's eye, Guthrie hyperbolically emphasises its death. The narrator tells readers that, 'with a groan of horror, [the Jain] covered his eye with his hand, and rushed into the vestibule followed by his anxious flock', soon gasping '"[a] fly in it, my children! […] take it out ere it die!"' (p. 23). Readers are soon sarcastically informed that 'the stricter Jains are most averse to the destruction of

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[482] Mitch Numark, 'The Scottish Discovery of Jainism in Nineteenth-Century Bombay', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 33, 1 (2013), 20–51 (p. 26). See also: Leslie C. Orr, 'Orientalists, Missionaries, and Jains: The South Indian Story', in *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India*, ed. by Thomas R. Trautmann (Delhi: OUP, 2009), pp. 263–287.
[483] Peter Flügel, 'Jainism', in *Encyclopedia of Global Studies, Vol. 3*, ed. by K Helmut Anheier and Mark Juergensmeyer (Thousand Oakes: Sage, 2012), pp. 975–979 (p. 976).
[484] Jacobi's comparison of the little-understood Jain religion to "unconquered" ground is undeniably troubling. Indeed, as J. Jeffrey Franklin notes in *The Lotus and the Lion* (2008), the British "discovery" of Buddhism 'represented a form of imperial appropriation of the religious other, a form of discursive violence that supplemented the physical violence of conquest and occupation'. Similar metaphors are used by Jacobi to illuminate the West's desire to simultaneously conquer Eastern religions and Eastern territory. See: Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p. 5.
[485] Jeffrey D. Long, *Jainism: An Introduction* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2009), p. 176.
[486] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 205.
[487] Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The Religions of India* (London: Ginn & Company, Publishers, 1895), p. 285.

any form of life, and take every imaginable precaution – even to wearing cloth respirators – against the involuntary swallowing of the minuter insects' (p. 23).[488] In this over-exaggerated illustration of *ahimsa*, then – alongside the above-mentioned comments regarding idol-worship – it becomes clear that Guthrie is participating within (and reinforcing) contemporary attitudes towards Jainism.

After distressing and soon killing Mrs Staniland's dog, the idol decides to interfere with Ronald's career by drastically altering two pieces of artwork, one of which is to be displayed in the well-known West End art gallery, the Grosvenor. The first painting afflicted by the idol's presence is a portrait of Sybil. After Ronald decides to include the idol in the piece – as a small nod towards their relationship – the painting sees the once beautiful Sybil transformed into her monstrous double, with the idol almost infecting and corrupting her image. Unaware of the consequences of painting the idol into the portrait, Ronald looks on in shock at his 'hideous progeny' – to borrow Mary Shelley's famous phrase – when it is displayed at the Grosvenor for the first time.[489] He asks himself:

> Was he mad or dreaming, or what was this horrible thing that had happened to it? The bewitching face on which he had bestowed such loving labour, he now saw distorted as by the mirror of some malicious demon, yet without losing a dreadful resemblance to the original. Gradually he realised how subtle and insidious those alterations were, how the creamy warm hue of the cheeks with the faint carmine tinge had faded into a uniform dull white, and the delicately accented eyebrows which, combined with the slightly Oriental setting of the eyes, had given such piquancy to Sybil's expression, were inclined at an ultra-Chinese angle, while the wide, innocent, guileful eyes were narrowed now and glittering with a shallow shrewdness (p. 130).

In a scene which might well conjure up images of the sinister transformation of Dorian Gray's portrait in Oscar Wilde's scandalous 1890 novella, the features of the idol and of Sybil seem to bleed into one another just as Dorian's sins appear upon his grotesque painting. By placing the pair in such close proximity and detailing the changes to the now-Eastern Sybil, Guthrie highlights a collapse in the geographical distance separating the East from the West and imagines how the idol's 'counter-invasion' subsequently threatens racial divisions. Indeed, it is the threat of some form of racial "infection" or "corruption" that is positioned as the primary concern in Sybil's portrait. Although Sybil was previously described with eyes 'just Oriental enough to be piquant' and 'full red lips curved into a little smile of disdainful submission', her somewhat "exotic" appearance is highly eroticised and acknowledged as an advantage (p. 41). However, when her transformation leaves her with a 'uniform dull white' face and 'shrewd' eyes 'inclined at an ultra-Chinese angle', Sybil appears as a

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[488] When readers learn that the Jains use a cloth respirator to avoid ingesting insects, the narrator arguably compares the worshippers to those concerned by the thought of inhaling *miasma*, a kind of poisonous air.
[489] Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein; or the Modern Prometheus* (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1831), p. xii.

monstrous caricature of an Eastern woman.[490] It becomes clear, then, that Sybil's appearance now transgresses the boundaries separating fascination from repulsion, thereby rendering her as "ugly" as the idol. Consequently Sybil – whose name aptly means prophetess or fortune teller – is presented as a threat to the country, not least because of her ability to reproduce and give birth to mixed-race children of her own. Similar racial anxieties pervade the pages of many other stories published at the fin-de-siècle, including Stoker's *Dracula*. As Arata notes, when the novel's New Woman, Lucy Westenra, is 'deracinate[d]' by the titular vampire's kiss, the 'only way to counter this process is to "re-racinate" her by reinfusing her with the "proper" blood'.[491] Crucially, then, the "contaminated" Sybil, just like Lucy, possesses the potential to alter the racial landscape of late-Victorian England.

The threat to contemporary England is soon reinforced when readers learn of the damage inflicted upon a second piece of artwork. After Lionel Babcock, a rival artist, asks Ronald to add a figure to his scene of the idyllic English countryside, he is outraged by Ronald's decision to include a 'disproportionately large' Indian yogi 'squatting in the air in the exact centre of the picture' (p. 151). The size and position of the figure are surely significant; after all, he fills the most eye-capturing space in the scene and viewers cannot help but notice his overwhelming presence, thereby implying that the threat to this idyllic image is both large and unavoidable. '"I brought you a thoroughly English scene"', Lionel cries, '"I told you I wanted some picturesque and appropriate foreground object. Now, a half-naked n— may be picturesque, but I'll be shot if it's appropriate"' (p. 151). He adds, '"[w]hen did you ever see anything nearer that than a n— minstrel in Epping Forest, I should like to know?"' (p. 151). Although Babcock is often mocked and shown to be a comic and frequently narrow-minded character (suggesting that readers should not necessarily sympathise with him nor his situation), his comments nevertheless still participate within the climate of xenophobia that both shapes and is shaped by contemporary invasion anxieties. The issue, for Babcock, is not just the breaching of the geographical East/West boundaries, but the subsequent infiltration of Eastern peoples, cultures, and religions and the "contamination" of the country. This anxiety is represented, in this instance, in the figure of the Indian yogi. As Franklin points out, when 'Oriental noblemen – whether Brahmins, rajas, lamas, begums, yogis, or pashas – lurk at the margins of many Victorian texts', their inclusion gestures towards 'a process of cultural transformation […] in Britain' as they are understood to be 'an unforeseen byproduct of the counter-invasion to which empire opened the doors'.[492] Once again, then, Ronald – under the idol's influence – exposes the potential consequences of a collapse in the geographical, racial, and cultural boundaries that separate the East and West. What once lay safely at the periphery of the British Empire instead now moves to the centre of its operation.

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[490] Depictions of the desirable, exotic woman entered the European imagination in the latter half of the nineteenth century. For more on this, see: Piya Pal-Lapinski, *The Exotic Woman in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction and Culture: A Reconsideration* (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005).
[491] Arata, 'The Occidental Tourist', p. 632.
[492] Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p. 8.

The novel therefore responds to and participates within the contemporary climate of anxiety surrounding the threat of an invasion by imagining how the borders separating Britain from her territories were porous and ultimately unstable. In doing so, it constructs a geopolitical geography which imagines and reveals the instability of the world.

### *Meeting the Middle East in* The Brass Bottle

In a similar vein to *A Fallen Idol*, *The Brass Bottle* offers an invasion narrative that sees the protagonist tormented by a supernatural object. In this tale, however, Guthrie deploys a jinni to imagine the invasion of late-Victorian England and visualises the consequences of his arrival by detailing the introduction of Middle Eastern architecture, people, and cultures to the metropolis. As he travels across the city and even beyond the capital itself, the jinni's presence, like the idol's, interferes with the contemporary landscape, often wreaking havoc upon the places that he visits. Once again, then, this breaching of the geographical divisions separating the East and the West brings with it the threat that other – racial, cultural, and religious – boundaries might well be just as porous and permeable, thereby dramatizing late-Victorian fears surrounding the potential invasion of Britain. *The Brass Bottle* can therefore be read as a narrative which visualises the deterioration of the unstable borders and boundaries separating the heart of the empire from the territories at her periphery, thereby allowing this novel to further build upon the geopolitical geography that Guthrie begins to construct when he writes *A Fallen Idol*.

As in *A Fallen Idol*, the opening pages of *The Brass Bottle* describe how the unfortunate protagonist Horace Ventimore, an aspiring architect, accidentally comes into the possession of a magical brass bottle. As a favour to the man whom Horace hopes to be his father-in-law, Professor Futvoye – described as the 'most learned archaeologist' and the owner of a collection of excavated artefacts, thereby setting up the Professor as a man who appropriates these items for himself – Horace heads to a London auction house to secure some items and impress the Professor.[493] This obsession with collecting excavated objects is a recurring feature in many mummy-revenge invasion narratives, and one with often dire consequences. Indeed, we see this in texts such as Arthur Conan Doyle's *Lot No. 249* (1892) and Bram Stoker's *The Jewel of the Seven Stars* (1903). As Roger Luckhurst explains, '[c]ollecting becomes […] a potential route of contamination', a way in which the intrusive entity might manage to infiltrate.[494] Thus, when the narrator indicates that Futvoye is interested in expanding

[493] F. Anstey, *The Brass Bottle* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1900), p. 3. All future references will be to this edition and will be given in parentheses following quotations. It is worth acknowledging that Futvoye's collection – functioning like a miniature museum – might also be understood as a heterotopic space of 'indefinitely accumulating time'. After all, it is a site within which the collector 'enclose[s] in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes', consequently positioning the museum or collection as 'a place of all times that is itself outside of time'. See: Michel Foucault, trans. by Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, 16, 1 (1986), 22–27 (p. 26).
[494] Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse*, p. 176.

his collection and sends Horace on a mission to bid for some artefacts, readers are left feeling that the act of collecting these items will come at some serious cost.

Horace only manages to successfully bid for the eponymous brass bottle, an item not even on the Professor's wish-list. Before he purchases the bottle, readers are given the impression that there is something unusual about it; indeed, the auctioneer says '"Now we come to Lot 254, gentlemen […] a capital Egyptian mummy case in fine con – No, I beg pardon, I'm wrong"' (p. 20). Correcting himself, the man continues '"[t]his is an article which by some mistake has been omitted from the catalogue, though it ought to have been in it. Everything on sale today, gentlemen, belonged to the late General Collingham. We'll call this No. 253a"' (p. 20). Gesturing towards Conan Doyle's above-mentioned *Lot No. 249*, a short story within which an Egyptian mummy comes to life, Guthrie implies that the brass bottle is an equally supernatural artefact. In fact, as the auctioneer puts it, '"the thing itself may be more than it looks"' (p. 22). As in *A Fallen Idol*, when Sybil tells Ronald that the idol was seized by 'Captain Somebody', the brass bottle is similarly established as an item that was appropriated by an English officer with colonial victories. The bottle is therefore tied to imperial violence and conflict and its movement to Britain allows Guthrie to position this story as one which, yet again, betrays fears surrounding the possibility of a 'counter-invasion' from the East and the subsequent transformation of England into a cross-cultural 'contact zone'.[495]

After he is released from his '"infernally ugly"' bottle – a description which contrasts this container with the elaborate receptacles used to house European relics, whilst simultaneously recalling the symbolic external appearance of Ronald's above-mentioned idol – the jinni makes his first entrance in Horace's rooms at Vincent Square in Westminster (p. 42). It is significant that Guthrie chooses to situate the intruder not just in London, but within a short distance from the Houses of Parliament; indeed, with anxieties surrounding a counterattack in mind, the jinni's proximity to this famous building speaks to contemporary fears regarding the loss of political control that is necessarily tied to a potential invasion. When Horace opens the lid to the bottle, the room is at first filled with smoke, 'through which [Horace] dimly discerned the figure of a stranger, who seemed of abnormal and almost colossal height' (p. 44). The magnitude of this figure serves to present him as monstrous, in turn establishing him as supernatural and non-human. The narrator continues,

> But this must have been an optical illusion caused by the magnifying effects of the smoke; for, as it cleared, his visitor proved to be of no more than ordinary stature. He was elderly, and, indeed, venerable of appearance, and wore an Eastern robe and head-dress of a dark-green hue. He stood there with uplifted hands, uttering something in a loud tone and a language unknown to Horace (p. 44).

[495] Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone', p. 34.

The description of the man's clothes and language undeniably serves to position him as the narrative's "Other", thereby establishing his place as both an outsider and an intruder. Readers learn that this man, the jinni, is called Fakrash-el-Aamash and is '"one of the Green Jinn"' (p. 47). He also advises his host to '"[d]emand […] and thou shalt receive"' (p. 49). Here, Guthrie's representation of Fakrash offers a hybridised jinni. As Mark Allen Peterson notes, *jinn* refers 'to the free-willed, invisible beings of Middle Eastern and Islamic lore', while the term *genie* describes 'the Orientalist construct of powerful, wish-granting beings trapped in objects'.[496] Peterson explains that, over time, the understanding of this mystical being shifted as stories about these powerful jinn reached the West, transforming 'the free-willed, potentially dangerous jinn of Arab folklore' into 'the enslaved gift-giving genies of global folklore'.[497] This 'transmogrification of such fearsome jinn' began, Peterson adds, 'with the appropriation by Western print capitalism of the most widely circulated collection of jinn tales, *'Alf Layla wa Layla*', otherwise known as *One Thousand and One Nights*.[498] The jinni in Guthrie's tale borrows features from both the jinn and the genie: he is free-willed and, at times, dangerous, while simultaneously enslaved and bound to answer the wishes of his master. What Guthrie presents readers with, then, is a hybrid character whose cross-cultural transformation was representative of the ongoing Western adaptation of traditional jinn.

It is worth pointing out that the jinni of *The Brass Bottle* is immediately associated with Islam, a faith which – in the final years of the nineteenth century – had gained a small (albeit impressive) following in England. The connection to Islam is partly implied; after all, as Peterson explains '[a]lthough belief in jinn predates Islam, their inclusion in revelation makes them an article of faith for most Muslims'.[499] Nevertheless the jinni's connection to Islam is reinforced during his introduction to Horace, as he reveals that he lived in '"the Garden of Irem"', thereby making reference to Iram, or Iram of the Pillars (p. 47). Iram is mentioned in the Qur'an and is understood to be a lost city, region, or tribe ('[h]ave you not considered how your Lord dealt with 'Aad – [With] Iram – who had lofty pillars').[500] It became better-known to the West when the story 'The City of Many-Columned Iram and Abdullah Son of Abi Kilabah' was translated into English and included within the fourth volume of Richard Francis Burton's *The Book of One Thousand and One Nights* (1885).

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[496] Mark Allen Peterson, 'From Jinn to Genies: Intertextuality, Media, and the Making of Global Folklore', in *Folklore/Cinema: Popular Film as Vernacular Culture*, ed. by Sharon R. Sherman and Mikel J. Koven (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2007), pp. 93–112 (p. 93).
[497] Ibid. This image of the gift-giving genie is one that the twenty-first century imagination still knows very well; indeed, Disney's *Aladdin* (1992) popularised the original folktale and cast Robin Williams as the memorable voice of the Genie.
[498] This shift, Peterson argues, is often tied to 'ambivalences about globalization and consumption'. See Peterson, 'From Jinn to Genies', p. 97; p. 94.
[499] Peterson, 'From Jinn to Genies', p. 95.
[500] Qur'an, Al-Fajr 6–14.

This reiteration of the connection between Guthrie's jinni and Islam is a timely one; indeed, as is mentioned above, the late-1880s saw Islam begin to gain traction in Britain. This was thanks to Abdullah Quilliam, previously known as William Henry Quilliam, a solicitor specialising in criminal law and living in Liverpool. After returning from a trip to Morocco, Quilliam converted to Islam and founded the Liverpool Muslim Institute in 1887, which also functioned as the first mosque in England.[501] Quilliam acquired a decent congregation and left such an impression that he even secured a good number of converts; in fact, in an article in the *Sunday Telegraph* from 1896, the author notes that 'last year there were 24 converts, making 182 who, since 1887, have renounced Christianity or Judaism'.[502] In response to this ever-developing interest in Islam, mosques began to make an appearance: in 1889, for example, Woking erected the first purpose-built mosque, while temporary mosques also popped up in central London, one of which was even located in Regent's Park. According to an entry in *The Crescent*, this building – described in 1896 as 'the temporary Mosque, Albert Street, London' and later called 'London Temporary Mosque, Regent's Park, N. W.' in 1898 – hosted 'a number of Mohammedans from various parts of the world'.[503] This record is significant, not least because it reveals how the influx of Muslims travelling to London destabilised the geographical and religious divisions separating the West from the East. An article in the *Manchester Clarion* encapsulated this contemporary feeling; as Ron Greaves points out, the author appeared 'surprised "at the turning of the tables", the idea that the East was actually engaged in trying to convert the West'.[504] Crucially, then, Quilliam's introduction of Islam to England only highlighted and reinforced anxieties surrounding these unstable global boundaries. Guthrie plays with these late-Victorian concerns surrounding the infiltration of Islam by employing a jinni to permeate the country's borders, thereby gesturing towards the ongoing changes to the religious landscape of England.

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[501] It is interesting to note that Quilliam was recognised for his hybridity. As Greaves explains, 'Sheikh Abdullah Quilliam, the eccentric Sheikh al-Islam of the British Isles, was also William Quilliam, a Victorian gentleman, property owner and well-known lawyer who mixed throughout his life with the gentry and with public figures from the city's commercial, legal and political elites'. These two "faces" of Quilliam were, to his contemporaries, unsettling: they were the consequence of a collapse between the East and the West. A scene from *The Brass Bottle* serves to highlight Quilliam's duality. Towards the end of the novel, Horace persuades the jinni to lose his Eastern robes and wear the clothes of an English gentleman: 'his green turban and flowing robes suddenly resolved themselves into the conventional chimney-pot hat, frock-coat, and trousers of modern civilization' (pp. 231–232). Here the jinni's hybridity resembles that of not only Quilliam but of Muslim converts, too. Indeed his appearance conceals his transculturation, crucially destabilising both those around him as well as Guthrie's readers. See: Ron Greaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain: The Life and Times of Abdullah Quilliam* (Markfield: Kube Publishing, 2010), p. 4.

[502] *Sunday Telegraph*, 29 October 1896, cited in Greaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain*, p. 3. In his efforts to introduce Islam to England, Quilliam travelled across the country giving lectures and gained an international reputation. He also set up two newspapers, 'the weekly *Crescent* and the monthly *Islamic World*', the former a 'newspaper that carried any news from across the globe that might be of interest to a Muslim reader, while the latter was produced in the style of an academic journal'. The newspapers alone demonstrate Quilliam's success at connecting the West and the East as ideas and discussions were shared, internationally, between Muslims. See: Greaves, pp. 80–81.

[503] Anonymous, *The Crescent*, July 1896, p. 841; Anonymous, *The Crescent*, January 1898, p. 37.

[504] Greaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain*, p. 2.

The novel's primary concern is not necessarily Islam, though; in fact, it is the jinni's influence upon Britain's architecture and the changes he makes to the physical landscape of England that the narrator chooses to concentrate upon throughout the story. To do so, Guthrie's narrative details the impact that the jinni has upon sites within and beyond London; the first of which imagines the transformation of Horace's own home in Vincent Square. After Horace complains to the jinni that his house offers little luxury and space to host a dinner party for the Futvoyes, the jinni endeavours to meet Horace's demands. Consequently, what was once Horace's familiar home takes on a strikingly different appearance. Indeed, the narrator tells readers that after passing 'under the old wrought-iron arch that once held an oil-lamp, and up a short but rather steep flight of steps which led to a brick porch built out at the side', Horace opened his door to find himself 'spell-bound with perplexed amazement, for he was in a strange house!' (p. 118). On opening the door and entering the building, Horace quite literally crosses an invisible threshold: one which sees him travel from the well-known city streets of London to the unfamiliar Middle East.

Instead of the 'modest passage with the yellow marble wall-paper, the mahogany hatstand, and the elderly barometer [...] which he knew so well', Horace 'found an arched octagonal entrance hall, with arabesques of blue, crimson, and gold, and richly embroidered hangings' (p. 119). In addition, readers learn that the building contained a 'pillared hall and a lofty domed roof, from which hung several lamps, diffusing a subdued radiance', while '[t]he walls were covered with blue-and-white Oriental tiles' (p. 122). The house quite overtly oozes Orientalism and prompts both fascination and repulsion from his guests; indeed, while Sylvia admires Horace's home, telling him '"[h]ow clever and original of you to transform an ordinary London house into this!"', the landlord – Mr Rapkin – is simultaneously horrified by the alterations to his property (p. 133).[505] While the description of and the responses to the jinni's renovation undoubtedly participate within and perpetuate contemporary attitudes towards the East, the building also functions as an uncanny site within which the 'spell-bound' Horace experiences an overwhelming sense of disorientation.[506] This building in central London is not at all what both Horace and readers expect to encounter. What we believe *should* be behind Horace's front door transforms under the influence of the jinni, thereby enabling Guthrie to reinforce contemporary anxieties surrounding the collapse of geographical and cultural divisions and the consequences of such boundary-breaches on the urban landscape. With the

[505] Despite Sylvia's approval of Horace's home, she is notably disturbed by the arrival of his new servants, describing them as "a little creepy-crawly to look at" (p. 140). Here, as in Richard Marsh's *The Beetle* or in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, Sylvia's comment serves to present a 'phobic conflation of the foreign with the parasitic'. Sylvia's comment therefore participates within contemporary xenophobic discourses and further emphasises how such language shapes and is shaped by fears of both the foreign and of invasion. See: Minna Vuohelainen, '"You Know Not of What You Speak"', p. 316.

[506] Horace's disorientation – although much more comic – arguably resembles the confusion experienced by Wilfred Rolleston in Guthrie's 'Shut Out' (discussed in Chapter One).

transgressions between periphery and centre closely documented in this scene, *The Brass Bottle* finds itself constructing a geopolitical geography that serves to imagine and explore global instability.

A similar incident occurs not in the capital but on land belonging to Horace's only client. In their first meeting Mr. Samuel Wackerbath, who had '"lately bought a few acres on the Hampshire border"', tells Horace that he was '"thinking of building […] a little place there, just a humble, unpretentious house"' with '"simple comforts"' and '"unassuming elegance"' (p. 63). As in *A Fallen Idol*, when Lionel Babcock presents Ronald with a landscape of the English countryside and requests that he paint an "appropriate" figure in the foreground, Wackerbath insists upon a traditional property that is well-suited to the idyllic, rural surroundings. Readers of Guthrie's 1886 invasion narrative know too well, though, the fate of Babcock's painting. Like Babcock, Wackerbath soon arrives at Horace's office '"disgusted"' with the building (p. 187). '"It's a ridiculous tomfool cross between the Palm House at Kew and the Brighton Pavilion"', Wackerbath cries (p. 191). Just like the Royal Pavilion, the property – built not by Horace but by the jinni to win favour with his host – boasts impressive domes and large arches and an extravagant interior design with Islamic architectural features. Comparing the building to the Palm House only further exoticizes and Others the jinni's creation by establishing both the site and its contents as "foreign" and unfamiliar. This moment therefore contains a similar sense of destabilisation to that experienced by Horace as he returns to his home, as the building does not seem to "fit", as it should, amongst its surroundings. Here, though, the boundaries separating the East from the West collapse outside of the city, thereby allowing Guthrie to imagine and visualise how the erosion of such borders might enable the Middle East to contaminate the landscape of England far beyond the capital.

Wackerbath's dissatisfaction prompts Horace to tell the jinni, '"[t]his is England, not Arabia. What credit can I gain from being […] the architect of an Oriental pavilion, which […] is preposterous as a home for an average Briton?"' (pp. 197–198). Horace's comment – divisive as it attempts to be – exposes the increasing hybridity of the country. Indeed Wackerbath's land, like Horace's house, is presented as a 'contact zone' within which the boundaries between East and West collapse, consequently producing – what Horace and his client determine to be – a 'monstrous hybrid'.[507] Crucially, then, their anxieties about the jinni's masterpiece once again speak to fin-de-siècle concerns surrounding the ever-likely possibility of a counter-invasion and the consequent threat of transculturation. England's borders are imagined as porous, meaning that a collapse in the geographical divisions separating the East and the West threatens to bring with it a disruption to social, cultural, and ideological boundaries, too. This novel therefore actively participates within contemporary discourses surrounding England's vulnerability and the possibility of a foreign invasion. In doing so, it charts the movement of the East both to and amongst the West and reveals the

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[507] Johan Höglund, 'Catastrophic Transculturation in *Dracula*, *The Strain* and *The Historian*', *Transnational Literature*, 5, 1 (2012), 1–11 (p. 2).

instability of the boundaries separating the periphery of the British Empire from its centre.

## *Conclusion*

At the end of both *A Fallen Idol* and *The Brass Bottle*, the supernatural, Eastern threat is safely removed from England. Under the advice of Axel Nebelson the Jain idol is returned to India, while the jinni is tricked back into his bottle and later thrown into the river. Although these stories deploy different resolutions, the narratives similarly abide by the expectations of late-Victorian invasion fiction, which – in an attempt to restore peace and stability to their fictional representations of the country – insist that the intrusive threat must return to the periphery. Despite their expulsion from England, though, the idol and the jinni are not entirely forgotten; in fact, at the end of *The Brass Bottle*, Horace even admits that '[n]ot for the first time did it seem strange – incredible almost […] – that all these people should be so utterly without any recollection of events which surely might have been expected to leave some trace upon the least retentive memory' (p. 354). Just as Horace remembers, so do Guthrie's readers: they recognise that the threat – while controlled in these instances – is ever-present, still eerily lurking in the background and hovering just beyond the country's borders. *A Fallen Idol* and *The Brass Bottle*, then, serve to participate within and respond to contemporary invasion anxieties. Indeed, after the empire opens a door to the East and the idol and jinni arrive in England, London and its surrounding areas transform into monstrous sites of transculturation. These places see the periphery of the empire bleed into its centre, thereby collapsing the social, cultural, religious, and racial divisions separating the East and the West. Guthrie's invasion narratives therefore construct a geopolitical geography that reveals increasingly permeable boundaries, ultimately presenting readers with an illustration of an insecure and an unstable world. The second part of this chapter turns away from Guthrie's interest in and representation of the international landscape of the late-nineteenth century and, in doing so, it departs from a discussion on one of the largest places of lived experience and instead looks to one of the smallest; that is, the body.

## Place and the Body in *Vice Versâ* and *Only Toys!*

Of bodies changed to other forms I tell;
You Gods, who have yourselves wrought every change
Ovid, *Metamorphoses*[508]

Few texts have influenced and inspired literary representations of transformation in the same way as Ovid's magnum opus, *Metamorphoses*. Indeed, the poem offered stories of bodily transmogrification and change which impressed canonical writers including Dante, Chaucer, and Shakespeare, each of whom subsequently adopted and adapted the mythologies within their own works. Guthrie similarly finds himself absorbed by the stories of physical metamorphosis contained in Ovid's poem, apparent not least in his 1885 fantasy narrative, *The Tinted Venus*. In this story, Guthrie modifies the tale of Pygmalion and Galatea and introduces readers to an unfortunate hairdresser, called Leander Tweddle, who inadvertently animates the statue of a goddess at a pleasure garden in Kent by placing an engagement ring on her finger.[509] Guthrie's interest in bodily transformation extends beyond this one novel, though; in fact, the theme finds itself central to several of his fantasies including *The Statement of Stella Maberly* (discussed in Chapter One), which revolves around the disturbing physical reanimation of the titular character's friend. Perhaps unsurprisingly, though, the most memorable example of bodily metamorphosis from Guthrie's collection of writing is the one which launched his career. This story, *Vice Versâ; or, A Lesson to Fathers* (1882), recounts the consequences of Paul Bultitude's half-hearted wish to be a schoolboy once again. As he holds the magical Garudâ stone and utters this fateful request, Paul suddenly finds himself trapped inside his son's body. Not long after, Dick wishes to look like his father and the magical stone allows for another bodily transformation. With Paul's wish now granted, he is forced back to school, only to endure a series of challenges and confrontations in this unfamiliar (but not entirely alien) environment. Meanwhile, Dick – pretending to be Paul – adopts a different approach to fatherhood and spends most of his time playing with his younger siblings and neglecting the family business. After a difficult escape from the school and the headmaster, Paul finally returns home, and the Garudâ stone is used to reverse the effects of the transformation. By the end of the novel, Paul and Dick learn to understand one another and the pair are rewarded with an improved relationship.[510]

Just like *Vice Versâ*, Guthrie's *Only Toys!* (1903) – a story credited as *Vice Versâ*'s successor by an anonymous reviewer in the *St James's Gazette* – similarly contains an episode of bodily

[508] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. by A. D. Melville and ed. by E. J. Kennedy (Oxford: OUP, 1986), p. 1.
[509] For the myth of Pygmalion and Galatea, see: *Metamorphoses,* Book X. For Guthrie's novel, see: F. Anstey, *The Tinted Venus* (London: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1885). Although Guthrie was not involved with the adaptation, *The Tinted Venus* was turned into a silent film in 1921. The film is now considered lost, but a handful of stills remain in the British Film Institute archives.
[510] As Peter Merchant points out, Paul's ultimate "transformation" – that which sees him become a more empathetic father – plays upon the story of the conversion of his Biblical namesake. While on the road to Damascus, Saul – a persecutor of Christians – was blinded by a bright light. When he arrived in Damascus, he began to preach the word of God and became known as Paul the Apostle. See: Peter Merchant, 'Tales Told Out of School: Anstey's Relation to Dickens and *Vice Versâ*', *The Dickensian*, 102, 470 (2006), 232–239 (p. 237).

transformation.[511] In this story, readers meet two children, Torquil and Irene, as they tirelessly toil over their homework during the Christmas holidays. They are interrupted by the arrival of Santa Claus, who asks them why they are spending all their time with their schoolbooks and neglecting their toys. To teach Torquil and Irene a lesson, Santa shrinks the children and forces them to meet their now animated playthings. Unfortunately, playtime ends rather unsuccessfully and Torquil and Irene continue to insist that their toys are "stupid" and undeserving of attention. Upon his return, then, Santa decides to transport the children to a different world; one that offers a much more accurate reflection of contemporary society and one within which the children struggle to operate and exist. At the end of the story, as the children recognise that they have mistreated their toys and realise that they have much to learn about the world, they wake up in their nursery and the dream-narrative ends.

While critics have chosen to focus – first and foremost, at least – on the moral messages which underscore these two narratives, this discussion instead moves away from those conversations surrounding Guthrie's didacticism and, as in the previous chapters, turns towards his interest in imagining and exploring the unstable spaces and places of lived experience.[512] In this part of the chapter, the emphasis falls on the site of the body or, as Adrienne Rich describes it, 'the geography closest in'.[513] As Carl Bonner-Thompson and Peter Hopkins note, geographical research surrounding the body began to emerge in the early 1990s.[514] At this time, the body came to be understood as a 'surface to be mapped, a surface for inscription, as a boundary between the individual subject and that which is Other to it, as the container of individual identity, but also as a permeable boundary which leaks […] and is penetrable'.[515] A significant amount of research pertaining to bodily geographies has since been undertaken by feminist geographers, many of whom have focused on the ways in which gender and gender power dynamics are influenced and exposed by place and space.[516] Scholarship has

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[511] Anonymous, 'The Spirit of Childhood', *St James's Gazette*, 11 January 1904, p. 19.
[512] Victoria Ford Smith, for example, has suggested that the bodily exchange in *Vice Versâ* prompts 'an experience that (as the book's title suggests) teaches the paterfamilias sympathy for his son'. Claudia Nelson shares this sentiment, arguing that it is only by 'literally stepping into his son's shoes' that Paul is brought 'into sympathy with his children', while Beth Fleischman similarly focuses upon the moral of the novel and writes that '[t]he object lesson of the story seems to have been that parents ought to be more sympathetic towards their children'. As in the criticism surrounding *Vice Versâ*, *Only Toys!* has also been commended – by contemporary reviewers, at least – for the moral lesson that takes place at the end of the tale, with one author describing the story as 'an excellent moral lesson for superior children'. See: Victoria Ford Smith, *Between Generations: Collaborative Authorship in the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017), p. 145; Claudia Nelson, *Precocious Children and Childish Adults: Age Inversion in Victorian Literature* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2012), p. 146; Fleischman, 'F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie), Late-Victorian Humorist', p. 37; Anonymous, 'Juvenile Books', *The Athenaeum,* 19 December 1903, p. 825.
[513] Adrienne Rich, *Blood, Bread, and Poetry: Selected Prose 1979-1985* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), p. 212.
[514] Carl Bonner-Thompson and Peter Hopkins, 'Geographies of the Body', *Oxford Bibliographies*, 27 April 2017, doi: 10.1093/OBO/9780199874002-0157.
[515] Linda McDowell and Joanne P. Sharpe, 'Introduction', in *Space, Gender, Knowledge: Feminist Readings*, ed. by Linda McDowell and Joanne P. Sharpe (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 3.
[516] See, for example: *Space, Gender, Knowledge: Feminist Readings*, ed. by Linda McDowell and Joanne P. Sharpe; *A Companion to Feminist Geography*, ed. by Lise Nelson and Joni Seager (Oxford: Blackwell

additionally been conducted into the body as a place of sensory exploration, with critics situating the body as a site which 'contributes both to spatial and temporal perception, being like a ship and its anchor in our life-long geographical experience'.[517] Most relevant, however, to this discussion on *Vice Versâ* and *Only Toys!* is the work of geographers including Robyn Longhurst and Luke Whaley. Both similarly argue that the body and its surrounding environment are made up of porous and unfixed borders. According to Longhurst, '[t]he spaces of bodies themselves and the spaces of places do not remain clearly separable but make each other in everyday ways'.[518] Whaley similarly suggests that there is an 'intimate relationship' between body and place within which the body allows for the 'fluid-dynamic inclusion of place', but he also acknowledges and emphasises the importance of recognising the 'body-*as*-place' (original emphasis).[519] These arguments – that of the "body-as-place" and of the permeable relationship between the body and its surrounding environment – are adapted by this part of the chapter in order to explore Guthrie's representation of the body in *Vice Versâ* and *Only Toys!*.

In part, at least, this discussion explores how Guthrie imagines the body as an unstable place, because it can (and does) transform. That the body can change is hardly new or surprising information. After all, we know that our bodies undergo a series of natural processes and changes every day: the body gains weight, hormones fluctuate, temperatures adjust, and cells are replaced. Although the body is understood to be a site that constantly transforms, when it metamorphosises *unexpectedly*, the alteration prompts – what Caroline Bynum describes as – the '[destabilizing] of expectation'.[520] Surprising changes, like Paul's physical transformation into Dick, then, challenge the expected process of bodily development and distort the character's experience of their body and identity. Consequently, Guthrie imagines the body as a place that is fluid and unfixed whilst he simultaneously explores the implications of this (often disturbing) liminality by illustrating the negotiation of the unfamiliar body. At the same time, this part of the chapter also sees Guthrie conceptualise the body by examining the ways in which it is understood in relation to its surrounding environment. Building upon the research conducted by geographers including Longhurst and Whaley, though, this chapter additionally suggests that Guthrie's stories serve to construct a *corporeal geography*: a spatial study that imagines and explores how bodies and bodily identities are negotiated within different locations. When *Vice Versâ* and *Only Toys!* see the characters contained within these narratives enter different environments and find their bodily identities influenced by their surroundings, then, Guthrie's corporeal geographies reveal the body to be porous and permeable and changeable, ultimately pointing towards its instability.

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Publishing, 2005); and Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

[517] Paul Rodaway, *Sensuous Geographies: Body, Sense and Place* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994), p. 31.

[518] Robyn Longhurst, *Bodies: Exploring Fluid Boundaries*, p. 8.

[519] Luke Whaley, 'Geographies of the Self: Space, Place, and Scale Revisited', pp. 26–27.

[520] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone Books, 2005), p. 31.

*'"Dick, who am I?"': transformation, identity, and place in* Vice Versâ

In 1856, Pierre Jules Théophile Gautier published *Avatar: or, The Double Transformation*; a tale within which Octave de Saville, a man helplessly in love with the married aristocrat, Countess Prascovie Labinksa, acts under the advice of a mysterious physician called Balthazar Cherbonneau, who promises to use his Eastern magic to swap the bodies of Octave and of Count Olaf, Prascovie's husband. The similarities between *Avatar* and Guthrie's own subsequent body-swap narrative were not lost on one contemporary reviewer writing in *The Academy* in 1882. Both stories, the author explains, see 'two souls changing bodies, so that, the outer man [remains] the same, [and] the inner man becomes quite different'.[521] Whether or not Guthrie read *Avatar* before writing *Vice Versâ*, the body-swap which takes place in his novel undeniably resembles Gautier's, although *Vice Versâ* certainly contains a much more comic episode of bodily exchange.[522] Just as Guthrie destabilises contemporary invasion literature by employing humour within *A Fallen Idol* and *The Brass Bottle*, his use of comedy throughout *Vice Versâ* (and not least Paul's monstrous transformation) similarly complicates the genre boundaries of Victorian fantasy fiction.

With a nod to Paul Dombey, the owner of the eponymous shipping company in Dickens's *Dombey and Son* (1848), the narrator introduces the first victim of *Vice Versâ*'s magical transformation as 'Paul Bultitude, Esq. (of Mincing Lane, Colonial Produce Merchant)', a title which – as Claudia Nelson points out – immediately emphasises Paul's priorities and capabilities.[523] 'Introduced to us by business (not home) address and profession', Nelson writes, '[Paul] clearly has no talent for family life'.[524] This is reinforced when readers learn that Paul 'was [sat] alone in his dining-room at Westbourne Terrace after dinner', an image which suggests that 'even in his own body Paul is more or less estranged from his entire circle' (p. 1).[525] This is indeed the case for many reasons; not only has Paul 'been a widower for some years', he also navigates a strained relationship with his brother-in-law and takes little interest in his children (p. 4).[526] In fact, Paul finds his children so troublesome that he is described as 'one of those nervous and [fidgety] persons who cannot

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[521] Anonymous, 'New Novels', *The Academy*, 15 June 1882, p. 44.
[522] As many of Guthrie's diaries were destroyed before 1893, it is impossible to know for sure whether Guthrie was influenced by Gautier's *Avatar* before he published *Vice Versâ* in 1882.
[523] F. Anstey, *Vice Versâ; or, A Lesson to Fathers* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1882), p. 1. All future references will be to this edition and will be given in parentheses following quotations.
[524] Nelson, *Precocious Children*, p. 144.
[525] Ibid.
[526] It might be worth reiterating, here, that Guthrie unexpectedly lost his own mother in 1877, five years before the publication of his first novel. As *A Long Retrospect* points out, Guthrie stopped writing the manuscript of *Vice Versâ* at the time of her death and only returned to it years later. It is possible that the death of Guthrie's mother may have influenced the representation of Paul's estrangement in the novel. By this, I do not suggest that Paul's strained familial relationships – those which, in part, at least, seem to be the result of their mother's death ('no doubt the loss of a mother's loving tact [...] had done much to make the relations between parent and children more strained than they might otherwise have been') – serve to mirror the feelings of Guthrie's father (pp. 4–5). However, it is possible that Paul's status as a widower may well gesture towards the tragedy experienced by Guthrie's father five years earlier. See: F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, pp. 93–94.

understand their own children, looking on them as objectionable monsters whose next movements are uncertain – much as Frankenstein must have felt towards *his* monster' (original emphasis, p. 4). Here, the extent to which Paul cannot understand or predict the behaviour of his children is comically imagined by aligning them with one of the most unforgettable horror figures in Western literature. In doing so, and by further describing the children as "objectionable monsters", they are both Gothicised and positioned as Other by their own father, crucially marking the (perceived) differences between them.

Paul's metamorphosis, then – ironically foreshadowed by these comments about his son – is, in his view, at least, quite the "monstrous" transformation. After telling Dick, '"I only wish, at this very moment, I could be a boy again, like you"', readers learn that Paul 'felt a slight shiver, followed by a curious shrinking sensation all over him. It was odd, too, but the arm-chair in which he sat seemed to have grown so much bigger all at once' (p. 22). This moment of metamorphosis (and Paul's confused response to it) undoubtedly resembles the many episodes of shape-shifting that feature throughout Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865). Indeed, just as Alice drinks a potion which makes her body shrink, thereby prompting her to exclaim '"[w]hat a curious feeling! […] I must be shutting up like a telescope"', Paul undergoes a similar bodily transformation that leaves him equally bewildered.[527] As he questions why Dick has burst into a fit of laughter, Paul looks into the mirror – a classic symbol of self-reflection and a theme which undeniably underscores the novel – only to '[start] back in incredulous horror […] He had expected to see his own familiar portly […] presence there – but somehow, look as he would, the mirror insisted upon reflecting the figure of his son Dick' (p. 24).[528] Soon after, when Dick says to his father that he wishes that he were '"a man like you were just now"', Paul is forced to '[see] his unscrupulous son swell out like the frog in the fable, till he stood there before him the exact duplicate of what Paul had so lately been' (p. 32).[529] This comparison not only visualises the physical changes that Dick undergoes, but it also hints at the forthcoming problems and challenges that are to be incited by the exchange.

Everything about this scene of metamorphosis is uncanny: that 'species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been familiar'.[530] Indeed, both the image that Paul faces in the mirror and the image of his own body standing opposite him, like an eerie doppelgänger, are *unheimlich*, at once both familiar and frighteningly unfamiliar. This sensation is soon reinforced as Paul 'rapidly passed his hands over his person', only to find that he 'felt unusually small and slim […] it was with an agony rarely felt at such a discovery that he realised that, for the

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[527] Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1866), p. 11.
[528] Guthrie similarly deploys the mirror as a symbol of self-reflection in 'The Breaking Point' (discussed in Chapter One).
[529] Here, Guthrie references the story of 'The Frog and the Ox', just one of many of Aesop's fables. The tale sees a frog try to inflate itself to the size of an ox and burst in the attempt.
[530] Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. by David McLintock (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 124.

first time for more than twenty years, he actually had a waist' (p. 40). Even though the narrative clearly remains comic in tone, the description of Paul painstakingly discovering the changes to the once well-known contours of his figure presents a disturbing image wherein the body is recognised – not just by readers, but now by the *characters*, too – as unstable, unfixed, and capable of significant and unexpected change.

This episode of bodily transformation consequently serves to destabilise Paul's identity. Perhaps this is not too surprising; after all, as Bynum points out in *Metamorphosis and Identity*, '[c]hange is the test, the limit, of all denotations of the term "identity"'.[531] In a scene which resembles the nonsensical discussion that takes place between Alice and the Caterpillar in Wonderland (wherein the Caterpillar asks Alice who she is), readers see Paul experience an identity crisis as soon as his metamorphosis is complete:

> "The worst of it is" [Paul] added plaintively, "I don't understand who I'm supposed to be now. Dick, who am I?"
> "You can't be me," said Dick authoritatively, "because here I am, you know. And you're not yourself, that's very plain. You must be somebody, I suppose," he added dubiously.
> "Of course I am. What do you mean?" said Paul angrily. (pp. 25–26)[532]

It is significant that Paul is concerned with identifying *who* he is while trapped in his son's body, given that the Victorians were so interested in labelling and categorising one another based on how they looked or appeared. As the previous discussion on *The Brass Bottle* pointed out, Abdullah Quilliam – in part, at least – faced disapproval because his conversion to Islam confused the public's understanding of the image of the Victorian gentleman. Unsettling his contemporaries by destabilising their rigid categories of identity, Quilliam was no longer simply "seen" as a well-respected Liverpudlian lawyer and property-owner and instead became known (and frequently ridiculed) for his transcultural hybridity. In a somewhat similar vein, when Paul sheds the body of the overweight Victorian businessman and adopts the small body of his son, it disturbs his understanding of the once-so-inflexible demarcations of identity that were determined by his external appearance. So much so, in fact, that he even describes his new form as '"wrong"' because it forces him to confront an unexpected liminal identity (p. 31). By demonstrating how Paul struggles to perceive and understand himself following his bodily transformation, then, Guthrie explores the Victorian construction of identity 'via threats to it'.[533]

Paul's negotiation of this bewildering bodily liminality is best seen when he is forced out of his home and taken back to school. Rather than examining Paul's experience of his body amongst the

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[531] Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity*, p. 19.
[532] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, p. 60.
[533] Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity,* p. 32.

school grounds, though, this discussion chooses instead to investigate a scene within which he meets Dick's peers and headmaster, Dr Grimstone, at the train station before they all travel back to Crichton House.[534] While this location – yet another site of liminality, and an appropriate setting, therefore, for Paul to experience his new hybrid identity – is undeniably beyond the boundaries of the school gates, the train station and those contained within it can nevertheless be interpreted as extensions of the school's landscape, not least because – by Guthrie's own admission – the reunion on the platform formed a significant part of the experience of "returning to school".[535] This is confirmed in *A Long Retrospect*, when Guthrie recalls how the headmaster regularly '[met] boys at the London terminus. I should not have thought myself that this was so very unusual, but it was certainly his habit'.[536] Comparing his own experience to Paul's, Guthrie adds 'I had many journeys back to school with him and a personally conducted party, and I did not find them more agreeable than did Mr. Bultitude'.[537] As this rather painful meeting is acknowledged as the first hurdle in the return, the train station can best be understood as a place tied to the school.

Throughout this scene at the station platform, the landscape surrounding Paul is primarily understood to be formidable and frightening because of the headmaster's presence. In fact, readers learn that the unfortunate father felt less 'like a British merchant in the presence of his son's school-master' and more like 'an unhappy guinea-pig expecting the advances of a boa' (p. 50). This comparison, one which reminds readers of the helpless creatures fed to the reptiles throughout Guthrie's essay 'In the Snake-House at Feeding-Time' (1880), signals how Paul's body is vulnerable and powerless.[538] This is soon emphasised when the narrator reinforces Grimstone's authority by describing him as 'a tall and imposing personage, with a strong black beard and small angry grey eyes, slightly blood-tinged; he wore garments of a semi-clerical cut and colour, though he was not in orders' (p. 51).[539] While the representation of the headmaster's large and towering body recognises his

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[534] The character of Dr Grimstone was inspired by the headmaster of Sutherland House. As Merchant notes, 'on Anstey's own authority "undoubtedly the original" of *Vice Versâ*'s Dr Grimstone, was Samuel Wesley Bradnack'. See: Peter Merchant, '"A Kind of Odour of Salem House": *David Copperfield* and Thomas Anstey Guthrie', *Dickens and the Imagined Child*, ed. by Peter Merchant and Catherine Waters (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 131–147 (p. 135).
[535] The liminality of this location is also made apparent by Phyllis's frantic glances toward the railway station shortly before her earthly departure in 'A Meeting that Made Amends'.
[536] Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 58.
[537] Ibid.
[538] F. Anstey, 'In the Snake-House at Feeding-Time', *Time*, September 1880, pp. 610–617.
[539] The "semi-clerical" outfit worn by Grimstone in this scene establishes him as a quasi-religious figure. Such a description sets him up to successfully deliver lengthy and exaggerated sermons to the boys, one of which – for example – chastises the pupil for bringing sweets into the school: '"I tell you, once for all, that I will not allow you to contaminate your innocent schoolmates with your gifts of surreptitious sweetmeats"', Dr Grimstone says, adding '"I will not expose myself or them to the inroads of disease invited here by a hypocritical inmate of my walls. The traitor shall have his reward!"' (p. 102). Such chastisements resemble the condemnations found in children's fiction such as *The History of the Fairchild Family*, a book which – as Chapter Two notes – Guthrie ridiculed when he was a boy. It is also worth pointing out that Grimstone's satirised speeches were, according to Guthrie, semi-realistic. Indeed, in his autobiography, Guthrie notes that he was inspired by the sermons delivered by his own headmaster, however he also points out that the 'examples of his oratory […] are of course

overwhelming presence (in the same way as the Hindu man sat in Epping Forest in Ronald Campion's previously discussed painting), it also serves to demonstrate just how *small* Paul's body is, by comparison. Not only is it small though, but Paul's body is even more strikingly described as 'shrinking involuntarily', a report which – while it allows readers to imagine Paul cowering – also plays upon the narrator's account of the earlier physical transformation experienced at the beginning of the story (p. 52). As Goldie Morgentaler rightly points out in a discussion on Dickens's Oliver and Carroll's Alice, 'considerations of size are seldom value-free', with smallness often '[defined] […] negatively' and only existing positively in descriptions of Victorian children and women, both of whom were considered 'vulnerable and in need of protection'.[540] Paul is consequently understood as "lesser" or "lacking" because of his small size, in ways which would not apply to Dick; after all, while Dick will one day shed his "fragile" form and develop into a man, Paul's body has instead regressed during the transformation. The emphasis placed on the depiction of Paul's shrunken (and arguably somewhat feminised) body, then, consequently visualises the little power and authority that he now possesses whilst trapped within the small body of his son.

The connection between Paul's body and authority is not only recognised by Guthrie's readers, though, but by Paul, too; in fact, he concedes that he 'used to consider himself a fairly prominent object, whatever might be his surroundings', but now he 'began to feel an altogether novel sensation of utter insignificance upon that immense brown plain of platform and under the huge span of the arches' (p. 52). Just like Dr Grimstone's towering body, Paul's 'fairly prominent' former body – also described at the beginning of the novel as 'portly' – quite literally *took up* space (p. 2).[541] Consequently, Paul's previous corporeal form allowed him to understand and experience his body as an object with power, agency, and influence (p. 2). However, amongst the imposing railway station and within the headmaster's presence, Paul's childlike, feminised body is one which takes up very little space. It is therefore recognised, as Paul himself admits, as an object that is 'feeble and powerless' (p. 54). It is significant that Paul highlights his surroundings within the above-mentioned statement, as it suggests that his bodily experience is further affected by and understood in relation to the places which it inhabits. As Paul experiences his shrunken body (and limited authority) at the railway station, then, *Vice Versâ* consequently constructs a corporeal geography that charts the negotiation of the body – and bodily identity – within the school and reveals the permeable and porous body to be threatened by continual change according to its surroundings. As a site constantly

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burlesqued to some extent, but he did fulminate very much on those lines'. See: Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 53.

[540] Goldie Morgentaler, 'The Long and the Short of Oliver and Alice: The Changing Size of the Victorian Child', *Dickens Studies Annual*, 29 (2000), 83–98 (pp. 89–90).

[541] It is worth noting that Paul's "portly" body also suggests a greediness – both physical and financial – to his character; after all, his big appetite is fuelled by his large wallet.

in flux, therefore, the body, and our experience of the body, is understood and imagined to be unstable.

### Only Toys!*: fantasy, transformation, and corporeal cartographies*

In *Rhetorics of Fantasy* (2008), Farah Mendlesohn offers a new classification system which seeks to categorise the different ways in which the fantasy world meets the protagonist in a range of texts situated within this diverse genre. One of these, Mendlesohn explains, is the 'portal-quest fantasy': 'simply a fantastic world entered through a portal [...] Crucially, the fantastic is *on the other side* and does not "leak". Although individuals may cross both ways, the magic does not' (original emphasis).[542] At the same time, Mendlesohn adds, these stories 'are almost always quest novels and they almost always proceed in a linear fashion with a goal that must be met'.[543] While memorable examples of this type of fantasy novel include C. S. Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* (1950), we might also locate some of Guthrie's stories, including *Only Toys!*, within this category of fantasy. Given the limited research pertaining to this text, though, it is worth briefly acknowledging the ways in which Guthrie adapts certain aspects of the "portal-quest" story within his own narrative. Indeed, he presents readers not with a physical portal – not Lucy's wardrobe, nor Dorothy's cyclone – but instead includes a psychological "portal" that allows his protagonists to encounter the fantastic. As is the case in a handful of Guthrie's fantasy stories, such a gateway is offered by the dream.[544] While Guthrie was fascinated by the vast subject of human psychology – as Chapter One serves to demonstrate – he was often particularly interested in understanding his own dreams. In fact, he often turned to his diaries to note many of them down; not long after Leonard's death, for example, Guthrie records the following in his journal: '[s]lept & dreamed that I was at 6 [Phillimore Gardens], going down to the old schoolroom, heard dear Len playing piano, knew that we should not have him long & resolved to make the most of it'.[545] Waking up from a dream like this might well have felt like leaving a fantasy world. It is little surprise, therefore, when we find Guthrie adopting the trope of the dream within some of his fantasy stories and employing it as a psychological "portal" that offers his protagonists a way into another realm. Perhaps it is best, then, to describe *Only Toys!* and Guthrie's

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[542] Farah Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics of Fantasy*, p. xix.
[543] Ibid.
[544] Early in the text, Guthrie hints that the journey will be framed by a dream. Here, the narrator tells readers that, 'because they had the curried chicken and roly poly pudding for dinner', the children 'were not feeling so alert as usual'. Readers of Guthrie's fantasy fiction should know that this heavy dinner might incite a forthcoming dream, as is also illustrated in *Tourmalin's Time Cheques* (1891). Indeed, this tale sees the protagonist's time-travel explained by a dream that was merely the result of a curry. This recurring trope of consuming a large meal before experiencing a wild dream recalls Victorian dream theories, one of which posited that certain foods/drinks might incite dreams.
[545] 6 Phillimore Gardens in Kensington, London was Guthrie's childhood home. See: London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 63573, fol. 123r.

similar stories not necessarily as *portal*-quest fantasies but, as J. S. Mackley notes in a discussion surrounding Mendlesohn's *Rhetorics of Fantasy*, as *dream*-quests.[546]

Guthrie's adoption and adaptation of the "portal-quest" narrative does not end there, though; in fact, he also modifies the quest that the children embark upon within *Only Toys!*. While Torquil and Irene certainly undergo an adventure which, by the end of the story, serves to teach them a lesson, the journey is not quite the usual 'metaphor for a coming of age', nor does it necessarily '[provide] a space for the protagonists to grow up'.[547] In fact, it is less about "growing up" and, bizarrely, more about *growing down*, positioning the story as a strange sort of inverted-*bildungsroman*. This is not to suggest that the children's experiences in *Only Toys!* do not contribute towards their development and growth. However, they ultimately learn that they still have lots *to learn*. While the beginning of the narrative therefore sees Torquil and Irene convinced that they '"have no time to spend on toys, which Torquil says, are a babyish pursuit –"', at the end of the tale their attitudes have shifted.[548] Speaking to her toys in a closing scene, Irene promises '"[w]e can do all the moving and talking for you"', adding '[a]nd then, if you're silly, it will be all our fault. And we really do know a little – not much, though – about some things. Don't be afraid – we'll come back to you"'.[549] Resembling the transformation found in Guthrie's story, 'The Good Little Girl' (originally published in *Longman's Magazine* in 1890) – a text which revises Charles Perrault's fairy tale, 'Diamonds and Toads', and sees the self-righteous protagonist, Priscilla Prodgers, learn to curtail her intellectual and moral superiority – Torquil and Irene's journey similarly transforms them from the precocious, arrogant youngsters they once were and reminds them that they are, in fact, children.

As in *Vice Versâ*, the drama of *Only Toys!* begins following a physical transformation which takes place during Santa's first visit. After insisting that they are '"a good deal too big"' to play with their toys anymore, Torquil and Irene soon

> find themselves perched on the edge of their chairs a long way from the carpet, and only just able to see each other's heads across an immense stretch of tablecloth. At first they could not understand why the table and the tumbler of water, and the colour-box and inkstand, had all grown so enormous; but the next moment they saw the reason. The change was in themselves; they had suddenly become no bigger than middle-sized dolls![550]

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[546] J. S. Mackley, '"It's coming through!": "Leakage" in portal-quest fantasies', paper presented to *The Limits of Fantasy*, 21 November 2014. Other examples of Guthrie's dream-quest fantasies include 'The Adventure of the Snowing Globe' (originally published in *Strand* magazine in 1905) and *In Brief Authority* (1915).
[547] Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics of Fantasy*, p. 7.
[548] F. Anstey, *Only Toys!*, *Strand*, January 1903, pp. 103–112 (p. 103). As the story was serialised between January and June 1903, I will cite all quotations from the text within the footnotes.
[549] F. Anstey, *Only Toys!*, *Strand*, June 1903, pp. 703–712 (p. 712).
[550] Anstey, *Only Toys!*, January 1903, p. 105.

As Fleischman rightly points out, the image of Torquil and Irene's shrunken bodies set in contrast to their gigantic surroundings presents readers with 'fantasies about size-change' like those found in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*.[551] The scene is also additionally Carrollian because of the language that it deploys; indeed, the transformation introduces readers to the first (of many) examples of word play. As in *Alice's Adventures*, there is a 'confusion between physical size and chronological maturity' in *Only Toys!* as the children believe that Santa has misinterpreted the phrase "too big".[552] In a discussion on *Alice*, Morgentaler notes that 'the many puns […] hint at the fluidity of language, at the way in which the same word or words may change from meaning one thing to meaning another'.[553] Just like Carroll, then, Guthrie is similarly interested in playing with language and demonstrating its slipperiness and confusion throughout *Only Toys!*.[554] Although less attention is paid, by Guthrie, to the unexpected physical transformation that the children undergo in this scene than it is to the episode found in *Vice Versâ*, this metamorphosis – during which their bodies shrink to the size of dolls – also sees the body defy physical expectations, just as it does when Paul finds himself trapped inside his son's small body. As in the previous discussion on Guthrie's body-swap narrative, then, the ever-changeable body is once again imagined by both readers *and* characters as a site that is unfixed and unstable.

It is only after their bodily transformation that the children, like Paul, find themselves in unfamiliar environments. Their first destination is not the school, though, but their nursery, within which they discover their now-animated toys moving and talking as though they were real. These toys, however, are not "clever" enough for Torquil and Irene, and the children soon mistreat them, belittle them, and reveal to them that they are "only" toys. Santa's magic then transports the children to a different (Toy)land; one within which, he warns, '"you will find Toys which even you will admit are not too childish for you, and I can assure you that their surroundings are much more like the real thing"'.[555] Perhaps it is not too surprising that this cautionary comment positions the "real" world as threatening, given the limited power and authority possessed by the Victorian child. It does not take long for the children to realise that the land they now find themselves trapped within is, in fact, a much more accurate representation of their intimidating contemporary world. Indeed, as they look down from the top of a hill, they see

> a tiny town of what looked like real houses; in the centre was a square, where a market seemed to be going on; there was a farm, with real ricks and haystacks, and white and brown cows grazing in green meadows, beyond they could see the gleam of railway lines, which

[551] Fleischman, 'F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie), Late-Victorian Humorist', p. 195.
[552] Morgentaler, 'The Long and the Short of Oliver and Alice', p. 92.
[553] Ibid.
[554] While it is beyond the scope of this discussion, a closer reading of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Only Toys!* would serve to illuminate Carroll's influence on Guthrie's own writing.
[555] F. Anstey, *Only Toys!*, *Strand*, April 1903, pp. 466–475 (p. 467).

> were not laid in a circle, like a toy-shop railway, but stretched away to a vanishing point, as rails ought to do. And on one side there was the sea, shining and heaving, and a ship of some sort was lying at anchor in the harbour – they could just see the tops of her masts above the house-roofs.[556]

It might be conducive to consider this elaborate landscape to bear similarities to the toy-city, like the one that – as Lois Kuznets notes – 'E. Nesbit […] built with her children and [brought] to life in *The Magic City* (1910)'.[557] Importantly, though, this is not a city designed for children. Irene realises this when 'she notice[s] that everybody they met was grown up; but this […] was only because all the children were at school'.[558] As a result, Torquil and Irene come to recognise just how out of place their child-bodies are within a city full of adults. To realise this, though, the children's bodies and their bodily identities must first be destabilised by their surrounding environment, just as Paul's are in *Vice Versâ*.

Crucially, Torquil and Irene's bodily experiences are influenced and impacted by their encounters with the (pseudo) adults inhabiting this landscape. Indeed, in the adult-centric (toy) city, the children's bodies are Othered by those surrounding them. This is first established during a scene within which the children visit the local painter in the hope that they will earn some money if they sit for a portrait. After making 'a circle of his thumb and forefinger, through which he inspected' the children, the artist tells Torquil and Irene that he cannot paint them because they '"have features, yes – but features of dolls"'.[559] Here, the painter's (undoubtedly ironic) comment serves not only to position the children as alien and determine the differences between them – much like Paul does when he equates his son to Frankenstein's monster – but by likening the children to dolls, he subtly implies that, within this adult-dominated world, they have as little power as the objects to which they are being compared. With their bodies seen and imagined differently to the ways in which the children previously understood and experienced them, Torquil and Irene are now consequently forced to begin negotiating a confusing and liminal bodily identity.

Towards the end of the narrative, the painter's suggestion resurfaces and the children's bodies are soon completely distorted by those surrounding them when they are not just *likened* to toys, but instead identified *as* toys. During a court case which (yet again) resembles a scene from *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, the defence claims that Torquil and Irene – after failing to buy a ticket to

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[556] Anstey, *Only Toys!*, April 1903, p. 467. It is also worth pointing out, here, that the description of the landscape allows for – what Mendlesohn describes as – a 'guided tour' of the city. This consequently reinforces the narrative's place within the (adapted) "portal-quest" subgenre. See: Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics of Fantasy*, p. xix.

[557] Lois Kuznets, *When Toys Come Alive: Narratives of Animation, Metamorphosis, and Development* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 118–119.

[558] Anstey, *Only Toys!*, April 1903, p. 470.

[559] Anstey, *Only Toys!*, April 1903, p. 473.

board a train – '"belong to a race of beings so inferior and unintelligent as to be beneath the notice of the law – that they are, in short, nothing more nor less than ordinary Toys!"'.[560] This damning judgement consequently forces Torquil and Irene – now fully negotiating a strange liminality which finds them perceived as non-human and inanimate – to experience their bodies, like Paul, as objects with little agency. These feelings culminate when the Queen and the Judge insist on dissecting the children to see whether they contain any '"quicksilver"'.[561] Reversing Torquil's earlier desire to watch the toy-painter opened up so that he could '"see his [clock]works"', then, this scene instead sees Torquil and Irene confronted with the realisation that it is, in fact, *their* bodies that are now as powerless and vulnerable as the objects that they previously threatened with mutilation and cruelty.[562] In doing so, the children come to recognise just how little agency and authority their bodies possess in the adult-centric city. As in *Vice Versâ*, then, Guthrie's *Only Toys!* similarly constructs a corporeal geography that plots the children's negotiation of their bodies and bodily identities onto the landscape of the city. As in Guthrie's body-swap narrative, this reveals how bodies (and the identities attached to them) remain fluid and changeable as they find themselves in different environments, thereby pointing towards Guthrie's understanding of the permeable, unfixed, and unstable site of the body.

### *Conclusion*

In its examination of Guthrie's representation of one of the smallest places of lived experience, this discussion suggests that *Vice Versâ* and *Only Toys!* understand and conceptualise the body as a site of instability. To do so, Guthrie's stories simultaneously represent the fluid and changeable body as well as the experience of the liminal body within its surrounding environment. Consequently, Guthrie constructs a corporeal geography that imagines and explores the negotiation of the body and of bodily identity within different locations. As this reveals how the landscape influences Paul, Torquil, and Irene's understanding and experience of their respective bodies, Guthrie suggests that bodies and places are contained by permeable and porous boundaries and that they possess the potential to influence and affect one another. Guthrie's representations crucially serve to demonstrate how the body is threatened by continual change, thereby suggesting that he ultimately understands and imagines this site as (yet another) place of uncertainty and instability.

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[560] Anstey, *Only Toys!*, June 1903, p. 706.
[561] Anstey, *Only Toys!*, June 1903, p. 709.
[562] Torquil's desire to dissect his toys recalls the malevolence of Archie as he attempts to behead Ethelinda in Guthrie's above-discussed children's story, *A Toy Tragedy* (see Chapter Two). While it is beyond the scope of this discussion, it is worth pointing out that the threats of live dissection and experimentation received by the toys and the children might well also allow Guthrie to briefly allude to vivisection. See: F. Anstey, *Only Toys!*, *Strand*, February 1903, pp. 225–234 (p. 230).

# CONCLUSION
## Conclusions, and Beginnings

In the early hours of the morning, on 27th December 1864, Thomas and Leonard Guthrie were woken by an unexpected noise and a 'strange red glow that did not look like any kind of sunrise'.[563] The Guthries soon discovered the cause of this ominous occurrence when they realised that a nearby wooden shed was on fire and 'blazing furiously'; so much so, in fact, that Guthrie retrospectively recalls how 'the flames [rose] almost to the level of our roof and [made] our window panes so hot that we could not bear our hands on them'.[564] Frightened by the thought that the flames might spit into their garden and set alight their own home – a place of safety and security – the two young boys sought comfort from their mother's reassurances as they watched the fire together from the bedroom window. Later that morning, though, Guthrie still could not shake the memories of the previous night. 'I have a recollection of playing with my Prussian soldiers when I came downstairs that morning, and of finding little joy in them', he writes in his autobiography, adding '[m]y world had suddenly become insecure, and not even tin soldiers could restore my confidence in it'.[565] While Guthrie speaks with hindsight in *A Long Retrospect* (1936), his admission nevertheless highlights that, as he watched the fire threaten the fragile boundaries of his home, he understood that the world was a much less certain place, and one filled with many more unfixed demarcations, than he previously realised. Such a recollection aptly serves to point towards Guthrie's later interest in representing the instabilities of the spaces and places that he inhabited, an argument upon which this project has ultimately chosen to focus its attention.

This thesis has looked beyond the previous scholarly assessments surrounding Guthrie – those primarily preoccupied by *Vice Versâ* (1882) and Guthrie's role as a comic fantasist – to recover and reposition his career amongst the literary landscape of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In doing so, it has argued that we might best understand Guthrie as a literary geographer: a writer whose narratives are interested in imagining and exploring a variety of both abstract and physical locations, from the human psyche and the body to London and the wider world. As the representations of these environments and landscapes contain within them a series of boundary-breaches and hybridities – including psychological, social, cultural, and bodily transgressions and amalgamations – this project has suggested that Guthrie's geographies consequently serve to reveal (his own understanding of) the instability and disorder of the spaces and places of lived experience. In a discussion on *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), Goldie Morgentaler notes that the world into which Alice enters 'is a land of infinite metamorphosis, where nothing can be predicted because

[563] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect* (London: OUP, 1936), p. 19.
[564] Ibid.
[565] F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect*, p. 19.

nothing stays the same, a wonderworld where the only stable element is instability'.[566] As this thesis has pointed out, Guthrie's narratives suggest that one need not fall down the rabbit hole to find instability, but that it is already around and within. Exploring and exposing instability consequently serves to demonstrate Guthrie's efforts to understand and imagine the unfixed and uncertain spaces and places within which he existed. Just as Guthrie's autobiography recalls how his family home was threatened by the fire at Phillimore Gardens, then, his representations of space and place similarly reveal that the landscapes discussed were constantly fraught with insecurity as they continued to change, or at least were threatened by change, on a regular basis.

Each chapter of this thesis has explored one or more of Guthrie's literary geographies. The first chapter closely examined four parapsychological narratives: texts which imagined both the real and apparent intrusion of the paranormal upon the protagonist's psyche. These stories visualise a series of psychological boundary-breaches, from the confusion and conflation of reality and fantasy to the transgression of the margins of human consciousness. In turn, this chapter suggested that Guthrie's representations of such concerningly permeable and unfixed psychological borders serve to construct a psycho-cartography; a study into the "topography" of the human psyche. For Guthrie, this is not a space of certainty; rather, it is one of disorder, confusion, and unfamiliarity. Ultimately, then, this chapter argued that Guthrie's parapsychological stories imagine the human mind to be a space of instability.

The second and third chapters moved away from Guthrie's interest in the mind to his 'real-and-imagined' conceptualisations of London.[567] Chapter Two examined a handful of texts written for and on behalf of children and argued that these journalistic appeals and short stories connect Guthrie's interest in social reform and child welfare to his emotional geography of the capital. While the first half of this discussion suggested that Guthrie promotes contemporary philanthropic organisations and schemes by imagining and exploring the ways in which they deconstruct socio-economic boundaries and emotio-social demarcations, the second half of the chapter instead argued that Guthrie's adapted it-narratives record the problematic implications of the erosion of the city's boundaries. Unlike the children contained within those texts featuring in the first part of the chapter, the sentient protagonists of Guthrie's it-narratives detail their suffering as they move between and enter different areas of the capital, thereby enabling Guthrie to further link his emotional geography of London to his interest in activism and reform. This chapter was therefore tied together by Guthrie's interest in understanding and imagining the unstable social and socio-economic boundaries of contemporary London as well as the implications of the breakdown of these demarcations.

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[566] Goldie Morgentaler, 'The Long and the Short of Oliver and Alice: The Changing Size of the Victorian Child', *Dickens Studies Annual*, 29 (2000), 83–98 (p. 91).
[567] Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), p. 6.

Chapter Three continued to investigate Guthrie's representations of London by analysing his contributions to *Punch* magazine. In doing so, the first part of the chapter suggested that Guthrie's sketches deconstruct the city into a series of political and cultural locations to engage with and reproduce the discourses taking place within these sites. When read alongside one another, though, these scenes individually contribute towards Guthrie's eidometropolis: an image of the capital which uses dialogue to illuminate different places across the city. At the same time, Guthrie's sketches often reveal these sites to be socio-spatially fluid and porous, thereby highlighting the hybridity and instability of the city. The second part of the chapter concentrated upon Guthrie's experimentation with and representation of the voices of contemporary Londoners. Such illustrations consequently enable Guthrie to use his sketches to construct an audial map with which readers can navigate the metropolis. In keeping with parts of Chapter One, within which we frequently found Guthrie imagine the confused and disorientated mind using sound, this audial guide to the city ultimately suggests that Guthrie often deploys representations of sound to make sense of an environment.

As in the first chapter of the thesis, the final discussion assessed a selection of Guthrie's more overtly fantastical stories; those which see a conflation between the real and the supernatural. Unlike the parapsychological tales featuring in Chapter One, though, the narratives contained in Chapter Four are examples of Guthrie's comic and "portal" fantasies. The first part of the discussion analysed Guthrie's invasion narratives and argued that, when read alongside one another, these stories construct a geopolitical geography that imagines and visualises the infiltration of the East within the West. The second half of the chapter turned from the largest place of lived experience to the smallest and instead examined the site of the body. The discussion ultimately suggested that Guthrie interprets the body as both fluid and porous. In part, this is because of the body's ability to change unexpectedly. At the same time, though, Guthrie imagines the body as a site which must be understood according to the environment within which it is located. This part of the chapter consequently suggested that Guthrie's stories construct a corporeal geography; an investigation into the ways in which bodies and bodily identities are negotiated within different locations. Although they dealt with vastly different landscapes, then, both parts of this final chapter were nevertheless connected by their shared attempt to represent and record instability.

As in Chapter One, the discussions contained within Chapter Four often reinforce Guthrie's recurring interest in the frequently troubling conflation of the familiar and the unfamiliar, and in the uncanny sense of disorientation that arises from such hybridity. Such feelings, however, are not exclusive to those texts upon which this thesis concerns itself (narratives that see reality and fantasy meet); in fact, they also feature in many of Guthrie's satirical comedies and comic dramas. With this in mind, then, it is worth pointing out that there are evidently many more texts which find within them further examples of Guthrie's interest in uncertainty, disorder, hybridity, and instability. Crucially, though, each of these above-mentioned chapters support the thesis's overarching claim; that is, that

Guthrie can be (re)positioned amongst his contemporary literary scene as a geographer. As each discussion has demonstrated, Guthrie's representation of the spaces and places of lived experience reveals the landscapes contained within his texts to be, in some way and to some extent, unstable. His narratives consequently plot and imagine the disorder and instability of these locations and, in doing so, they offer a valuable insight into his interpretation of the real and conceptual sites within which he existed.

Individually and collectively, these discussions contribute toward the recovery and reassessment of a vast and varied, albeit greatly neglected, author. While this thesis offers a way of rethinking both Guthrie's literary career and literary outputs by examining his interpretation of the instability of the spaces and places of lived experience, the spatial lens adopted throughout the study and the subsequent focus on literary geographies simultaneously allows us to better understand Guthrie's literary identity. As this thesis has pointed out, Guthrie's literary geographies reveal him to write across multiple genres (including psychological horror, comic fantasy, journalism, and social realism) and period boundaries (as he navigates the move from the late-1800s to the early-1900s), just as they highlight his interest in writing for intergenerational audiences. Examining Guthrie's literary geographies, then, reveals something other than Guthrie's understanding of the instability of these environments. Indeed, Guthrie's representations of space and place, written across different genres and for different audiences, also speak to Guthrie's own unstable authorial identity. In offering a much more holistic image of Guthrie's writing, his interest in spatiality, and the fluidity of his identity, this thesis provides the first sustained critical re-evaluation into this author and offers itself as a significant research tool with which future scholars studying him might wish to interact.

By positioning Guthrie as a literary geographer and suggesting that he is ultimately concerned with representing the instability of the spaces and places of lived experience, this project also appeals to scholars researching the ways in which the landscapes explored by Guthrie were imagined and understood by those individuals experiencing them during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. At the same time, the individual recovery of this overlooked Victorian author – or, in fact, of *any* ignored or forgotten writer – works towards a fuller understanding of the contemporary literary landscape. This thesis does not only have implications for those researching Guthrie, then, but also for those working on Victorian popular fiction and the late-Victorian literary landscape.

While this thesis is relevant to both the student of Guthrie and the student of his contemporary literary scene, it also serves as a case study that supports the recovery, recuperation, and reassessment of similarly ignored and forgotten careers, not least those which have been eclipsed by the publication of their most famous text. Previously "forgotten" authors such as Jerome K. Jerome, A. A. Milne, or Richard Marsh serve as examples of writers who once met such a fate, as their best-known stories,

like Guthrie's *Vice Versâ*, clouded an assessment of their wider work.[568] Upon their critical reassessment, however, these authors – now no longer understood only in part – have been disentangled from the hitherto-fixed classifications and associations imposed upon them by the book for which they were primarily known. While this thesis sought to release Guthrie from his lasting association with *Vice Versâ*, it also serves to assist researchers working on other neglected writers by offering itself as an example with which those students can interact.

Projects like these have further implications for literary databases including *At the Circulating Library: A Database of Victorian Fiction, 1837-1901* (which currently categorises Guthrie as a '[h]umorous writer' and attributes just thirteen titles to his name), or the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (which similarly determines Guthrie as a 'humorous writer', even though the article later goes on to acknowledge his cross-genre hybridity).[569] By supporting these databases, this thesis also opens up opportunities for further research pertaining to or enabled by Guthrie, including – for example – closely investigating Guthrie's vast contributions to *Punch* magazine to construct a database that plots countless London voices onto a map of late-Victorian London to better understand the changing demographics of the contemporary city; further establishing Guthrie's artistic fluidity by examining his role as a playwright, an aspiring screenwriter, and as a drawer and painter; and analysing Guthrie's diaries to gain a clearer insight into the operations at *Punch* and the relations between staff members during the late-nineteenth and the early-twentieth centuries. At the same time, this case study into Guthrie's interpretation and representation of the spaces and places of lived experience highlights the variety of ways in which contemporary writers were engaging with such spatial discourses during this period. After all, this thesis reveals Guthrie to have highlighted the complexities of the landscapes within which he existed, from the psycho-cartographies that attempt to represent the mind to the corporeal geographies that depict the negotiation of the body. Whether Guthrie's contemporaries illustrated space and place in similar or dissimilar ways, this thesis might well prompt literary scholars of the long-nineteenth century to reconsider how other writers were also interacting with and conceptualising such matters at this time.

In one of Guthrie's short Gothic stories, *The Curse of the Catafalques* (republished in the collection *The Black Poodle and Other Tales* in 1884), the final scene sees the unnamed protagonist flee from a haunted house within which he was meant to marry his fiancée. Refusing to provide

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568 For more on Jerome, see Carolyn W. de la L. Oulton, *Below the Fairy City: A Life of Jerome K. Jerome* (Brighton: Victorian Secrets Limited, 2012); for more on Milne, see Ann Thwaite, *A. A. Milne: His Life* (London: Faber and Faber, 1991); and for more on Marsh, see Minna Vuohelainen, *Richard Marsh* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015).

569 Troy J. Bassett, 'Author: F. Anstey', *At the Circulating Library: A Database of Victorian Fiction, 1837–1901* <http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/show_author.php?aid=337> [accessed 8 August 2023]; Douglas Woodruff, revised by Clare L. Taylor, 'Guthrie, Thomas Anstey [*pseud*. F. Anstey]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33614> [accessed 8 August 2023].

readers with any clarification surrounding the cause of the horrors contained within the building, Guthrie's hero and narrator instead confesses that 'those who may have followed my strange story with any curiosity and interest may be slightly disappointed at its conclusion, which I cannot deny is a lame and unsatisfactory one'.[570] This is a sentiment which many might well have believed to aptly foreshadow the trajectory of Guthrie's literary career. This is not too surprising, of course; after all, as this thesis has often pointed out, *Vice Versâ* ensured that Guthrie – or, rather, "F. Anstey" – was best-known for the comic fantasy novel which launched him to fame. By looking beyond *Vice Versâ*, though, this thesis offers a much more holistic image of Guthrie's career, thereby reminding us that literary categorisations might not be quite as simple and certain as they often appear and that we should embrace such fluidity, diversity, and variety to properly recover careers, people, connections, and stories. The recovery and reassessment of Thomas Anstey Guthrie is a crucial case study that ultimately serves to support such a statement.

[570] F. Anstey, *The Black Poodle and Other Tales* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896), p. 231.

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