

SPURIOUS VICTORIANS:
IMITATION AND THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY NOVEL

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... *there is* no new thing under the sunne.

—Ecclesiastes 1:9

The sun shone, having no alternative, on the nothing new.

—Samuel Beckett, *Murphy*

Abstract

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In *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, Jerome J. McGann writes, ‘[A]n author’s work possesses autonomy only when it remains an unheard melody’. For the published and successful writer in the nineteenth century, such autonomy was often unattainable. Publications such as *The Pickwick Papers* inspired an array of opportunistic successors, including stage plays, unauthorized sequels, jest books, song books, and shilling and penny imitations. Despite the proliferation, this strain of writing is rarely studied. This thesis recovers ephemeral, scurrilous texts, often anonymous or pseudonymous, and reads them in the context of their canonical sources. Retrieving bibliographical environments, it demonstrates how plagiaristic, parodic, and willfully unoriginal works impacted on the careers of three novelists: Charles Dickens, Edward Bulwer Lytton, and George Eliot.

The thesis argues that formal distinctions among modes of Victorian writing—criticism, parody, and plagiarism—often blur. Further, it argues that our understanding of a particular novelist’s work must be broadened to include sequels, spinoffs, and imitations: to know a particular author means to know the spurious and oftentimes bad (morally or aesthetically) works that the author inspired. The Spurious Victorians of the title form something of countercanon to the ‘major’ writers of the period. Thomas Peckett Prest,

Rosina Bulwer Lytton, and Joseph Liggins, among many others, informed and influenced the literary history that has in turn denied them admission.

William Makepeace Thackeray wrote, 'If only men of genius were to write, Lord help us! how many books would there be?' Of course, Victorian print culture found room for the genius and the subgenius, Boz as well as Bos. 'Spurious Victorians' recovers works that have been lost from view in order to better understand the process by which an individual authorial voice emerged amid an echo chamber of competing, imitative voices.

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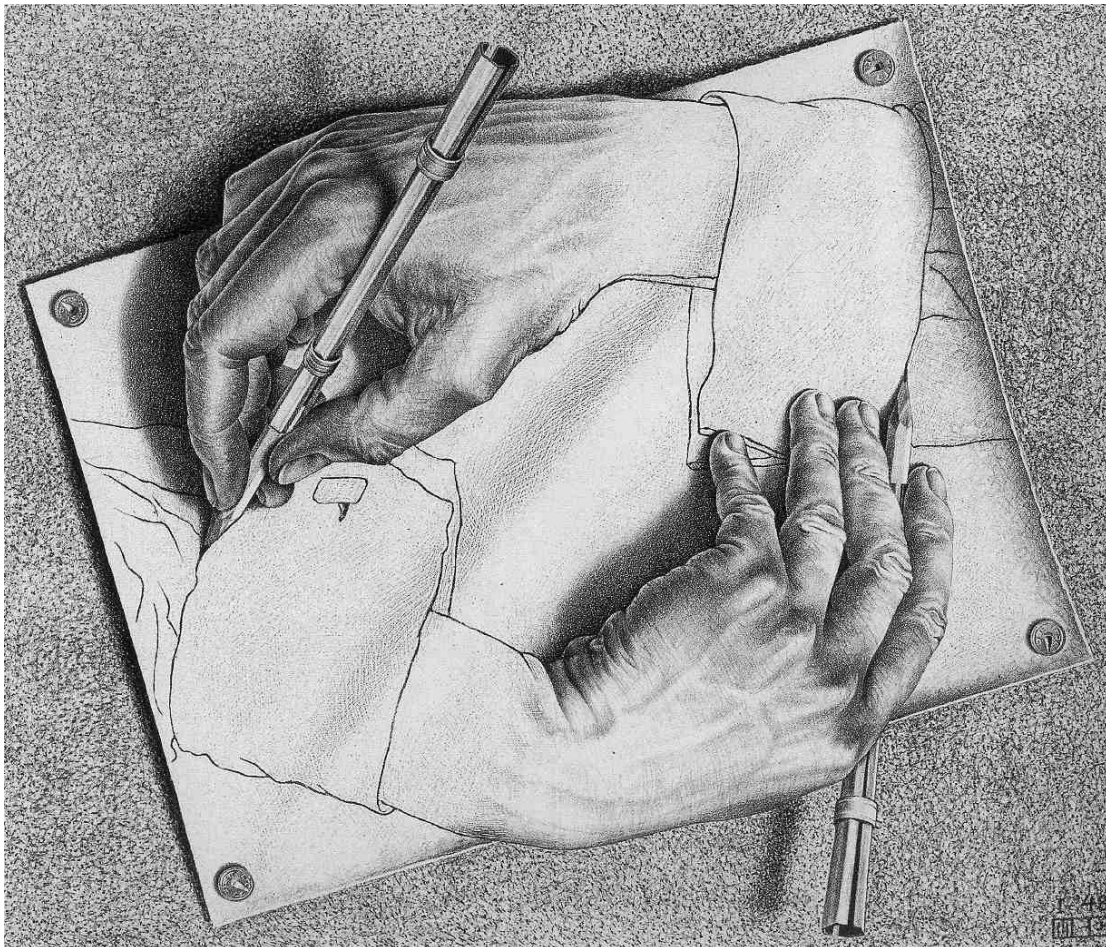
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PROLOGUE



... only God is creatively autonomous.

—J. Hillis Miller

The Life and Adventures of Valentine Vox, the Ventriloquist, by Henry Cockton, tells the story of a young man who discovers a talent for imitating the voices of others. In this comic and rambunctious novel, published from 1839 to 1840, the eponymous hero deploys his ventriloquial powers in a number of typical English scenes—Parliament, Guildhall, an auction house—and everywhere creates the same result: distemper, accusation, chaos. From its opening chapter, the novel is attuned to reproduction and reproducibility. Valentine's father, Jonathan Vox, 'had been cast in an insinuating mould'—that is, he is something of a reproduction himself—and his wife presents him with 'the perfect similitude of a son'.¹ While the earliest chapters are sketch-like and anarchic, the work eventually resolves into a conventional romance and a critique of the private-asylum system, seen through the wrongful incarceration of family friend Grimwood Goodman. But the novel is most potent in its scenes of ventriloquial mischief. For those privy to the nature of Valentine's ability, the result is closer to narrative. For instance, he generates a scene of criminal intrigue when he simulates the voices of robbers climbing down a chimney. The police and a chimney sweep fail to dislodge these 'invisible burglars'. Grimwood, who knows Valentine's secret, laughs at their futile efforts, and he is 'irrepressibly delighted with the evening's

¹ Henry Cockton, *The Life and Adventures of Valentine Vox, the Ventriloquist* (1839–1840; reprint, London: Willoughby and Co., 1849), 3, 4.

entertainment'.²

Steven Connor calls *Valentine Vox* 'one of the strangest publishing successes of the later half of the nineteenth century'.³ In the preface to the volume edition, Cockton articulates claims for the figure of the ventriloquist that make it sound something like a novelist: 'The power of an accomplished Ventriloquist is well known to be unlimited. There is no scene in life in which that power is incapable of being developed: it gives its possessor a command over the actions, the feelings, the passions of men, while its efficacy in loading with ridicule every prejudice and every project of which the tendency is pernicious cannot fail to be perceived at a glance.'⁴ The ventriloquist thus commands men as the novelist commands his or her characters, and both the ventriloquist and the novelist can use ridicule in an attempt to cure society of its ills. Cockton's protagonist, however, is something of a nonentity; he floats through the narrative merely to instigate moments of mayhem. For Connor, Valentine's 'emptiness, his polyphonic perversity, is his power'.⁵ Because Valentine is no one, he can be anyone.

Valentine Vox, the story of a superb imitator, was itself imitated after its publication. Thomas Peckett Prest, writing as Timothy Portwine, produced *The Adventures of Valentine Vaux; or, The Tricks of a Ventriloquist*, and *Parley's Penny Library*, a weekly periodical, offered a condensed version of

² Ibid., 46.

³ Steven Connor, *Dumbstruck: A Cultural History of Ventriloquism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 316.

⁴ Henry Cockton, preface to *Valentine Vox*, v.

⁵ Connor, *Dumbstruck*, 320.

Cockton's novel.⁶ (Both Prest and *Parley's* will return in the pages that follow.) Indeed, the figure of the ventriloquist is a sensible place to begin this study of nineteenth-century plagiarism, parody, and literary imitation. To ventriloquize is to speak with the voice of another, often as if from a different location, whether that of a 'dummy', which became the standard vehicle in the late nineteenth century, or from offstage or elsewhere (*ventriloquism* is the Latinized form a Greek word, *engastrimythos*, which means to speak from the stomach, not the mouth).⁷ Helen Davies refers to 'the ventriloquial condition' as 'the sense of not "owning" our words, of always speaking in echoes', and the term *ventriloquism* has frequently been used to refer to authors who write in the vein of others.⁸ Nicholas Dames cites a Geraldine Jewsbury review of George Eliot's 1859 novel *Adam Bede* and finds that 'Jewsbury's ventriloquism of Eliot here is not entirely successful'; in *Possession*, A. S. Byatt ventriloquizes Victorian poetry, and the standard biography of her fictional poet Roland Ash is entitled *The Great Ventriloquist*.⁹ Robert

⁶ [Thomas Peckett Prest], *The Adventures of Valentine Vaux; or, The Tricks of a Ventriloquist* (London: E. Lloyd, [1839–]1840); *Parley's Penny Library; or, Treasury of Knowledge, Entertainment and Delight*, vol. 1. (London: Cleave, [1841]).

⁷ Connor, *Dumbstruck*, 397, 50.

⁸ Helen Davies, *Gender and Ventriloquism in Victorian and Neo-Victorian Fiction: Passionate Puppets* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 34. Davies also claims that the process is gendered: to be 'ventriloquized' is 'a feminized condition' (8), although *Valentine Vox*, for example, undercuts this argument. Valentine tries his talent on men, women, animals, objects. Further, the prototypical dummy, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, was a recalcitrant boy.

⁹ Nicholas Dames, 'On the Protocols of Victorian Citation', *Novel: A Forum on*

Browning, a poet whom Roland Ash to some extent ventriloquizes, mastered the form of the dramatic monologue, in which two voices are kept in equilibrium (the poet's and the narrator's)—'the double perception', according to Alan Sinfield.¹⁰ Moving away from the poetic 'I' of the previous generation of English poets, Browning imitates the voices of his supposed narrators.

As early as the *Wasps*, ventriloquism and imitation were connected: the audience learns that Aristophanes previously collaborated with other writers and was therefore 'slipping into other people's stomachs in imitation of the seer Eurycles'.¹¹ Eurycles, it should be noted, was a Greek soothsayer and a ventriloquist.¹² In Steven Connor's account, ventriloquism, through much of its history, was associated with magic or demonic possession; a demon must borrow someone's identity in order to be made manifest.¹³ In later centuries, plagiarists would feel compelled to write like someone else or with the borrowed words of someone else: forms of possession. Connor argues that '[m]odern, secular ventriloquism becomes associated with

Fiction 42, no. 2 (Summer 2009), 328. See A. S. Byatt, *Possession: A Romance* (New York: Random House, 1990).

¹⁰ Alan Sinfield, *Dramatic Monologue* (London: Methuen and Co; New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1977), 33.

¹¹ Aristophanes, *Wasps*, trans. Alan H. Sommerstein (Warminster, Wiltshire: Aris and Phillips, 1983), 101.

¹² Mentioned in Plato's *Thaetetus* (*Thaetetus*; *Sophist*, trans. Harold North Fowler, Loeb Classical Library [1921; reprint, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987], 397).

¹³ Connor, *Dumbstruck*, 101. Similarly, Penelope Vox says of Valentine, her son, 'I'm quite certain the poor boy's possessed' (Cockton, *Valentine Vox*, 20).

mimicry and similitude, with the taking of another's voice'.¹⁴ By the nineteenth century, ventriloquism evolved into forms of popular entertainment. Charles Mathews, who influenced the young Charles Dickens, performed one-man shows, such as *Mail Coach Adventures* (1818) and *The Trip to Paris* (1819); each would typically conclude with a 'monopolylogue', in which Mathews used ventriloquism and mimicry to portray the complex interactions of a handful of characters.¹⁵ A similar performer, William Edward Love, was celebrated in an 1831 pamphlet, which seems to have inspired elements in *Valentine Vox*.¹⁶ The *Illustrated London News*, in 1843, praised Love for 'imitating the voices of persons of all ages, grades and professions'—which could be the commendation for a mid-Victorian novelist.¹⁷

Sir Walter Scott, who died in 1832 and served as a professional model for many Victorian writers, was 'something of a connoisseur of

¹⁴ Connor, *Dumbstruck*, 224.

¹⁵ Ibid., 265–267. For more, see Robert Douglas-Fairhurst, *Becoming Dickens: The Invention of a Novelist* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 84–86.

¹⁶ Connor, *Dumbstruck*, 290–292.

¹⁷ Quoted in Connor, *Dumbstruck*, 294. Poets, such as Browning, were also adept at imitating voices. For Charles Dickens as a type of ventriloquist, see Patrick O'Donnell, "A Speeches of Chaff": Ventriloquy and Expression in *Our Mutual Friend*, *Dickens Studies Annual: Essays on Victorian Fiction* 19 (1990), 247–279. This article also reprints a theatrical bill for Love that claims, 'AT THE END OF THE PIECE, MR. LOVE WILL INTRODUCE AN ECCENTRIC FINALE BY ALL THE CHARACTERS (NINE) AT ONCE'.

ventriloquism'.¹⁸ In addition to whatever enjoyment he gleaned from this popular art form, he employed a type of literary ventriloquism in his fiction. After the anonymous publication of *Waverley*, in 1814, he published as 'The Author of *Waverley*' or through a variety of guises, such as Templeton and Clutterbuck. The *Tales of my Landlord* series was supposedly 'Collected and Arranged by Jedidiah Cleishbotham, Schoolmaster and Parish-Clerk of Gandercleugh'.¹⁹ As K. K. Ruthven notes, Scott produced 'mock-provenances' for several novels.²⁰ According to one such account, the manuscript for *Tales of my Landlord* was left among the papers of 'Peter, or Patrick, Pattieson' and inherited by Cleishbotham: 'I conceived myself entitled to dispose of one parcel thereof, entitled, "Tales of my Landlord," to one cunning in the trade (as it is called) of bookselling. He was a mirthful man of small stature, cunning in counterfeiting of voices, and in making facetious tales and

¹⁸ Connor, *Dumbstruck*, 307.

¹⁹ See the title page to [Walter Scott], *Tales of my Landlord, Collected and Arranged by Jedidiah Cleishbotham, Schoolmaster and Parish-Clerk of Gandercleugh*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: John Murray, 1816). The introduction alters this attribution slightly: 'COLLECTED AND REPORTED BY JEDIDIAH CLEISHBOTHAM, PARISH-CLERK AND SCHOOLMASTER OF GANDERCLEUGH' (1:1).

²⁰ K. K. Ruthven, *Faking Literature* (2001; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 43. Roger Chartier mentions the eighteenth-century precedence for such practice, such as 'the fictional device of a manuscript found by chance' (*The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994], 39).

responses.’²¹ ‘Counterfeiting of voices’, of course, evokes a ventriloquist, and the ‘facetious tales and responses’ suggest the complex prefaces, provenances, and multiple identities that Scott generated. In the foregoing example, Pattieson’s manuscript is assigned to Cleishbotham, who transfers it to an unnamed agent of the press (possibly Scott)—as many as three fictionalized identities. One anonymous nineteenth-century publication found that the novelist ‘fattened on mystification’.²² For Gérard Genette, these prefaces are ‘the most fascinating part of Scott’s oeuvre’.²³

Scott’s fiction was in turn ventriloquized, reproduced, parodied, and staged throughout the century. Ann Rigney refers to a ‘Waverley phenomenon’, comprised of derivative texts that evince ‘a desire to prolong and intensify the memory of stories that had given pleasure’.²⁴ Rigney argues that ‘[t]he usual way of judging the cultural impact of writers is by counting the number of new editions and sales figures. An alternative is to examine the intensity with which the work is replicated in other cultural expressions’.²⁵ In

²¹ [Scott], *Tales of my Landlord*, 1:16, 1:18.

²² Quoted in [W. J. Fitzpatrick], *Who Wrote the Waverley Novels? Being an Investigation into Certain Mysterious Circumstances Attending their Production and an Inquiry into the Literary Aid which Sir Walter Scott May Have Received from Other Persons* (London: Effingham Wilson; Edinburgh: John Menzies; Dublin: W. B. Kelly, 1856), 21.

²³ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (1997; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 288.

²⁴ Ann Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 13, 52.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

fact, the Waverley phenomenon expanded beyond print culture to include Scott-inspired place names throughout the English-speaking world, such as Waverley Place, in New York City. The dramatists were often first at appropriating Scott's narratives. After *Guy Mannering* appeared at Covent Garden, in 1816, 'virtually all of the novels of the Great Unknown were immediately staged within months of their publication'.²⁶ Among prose imitations, *Walladmor*, *Frei nach dem Englischen des Walter Scott* was published in Germany, in 1823, with two further volumes in 1824. Supposedly translated from a novel by Scott, *Walladmor* was in fact written by the pseudonymous Willibald Alexis. He claimed that if he were ever imprisoned, 'he would write a novel in the style of Scott'.²⁷ This little jest contains the suggestion that an author's style can be seen as a form of escape, an intellectual flight from the bounds of confinement; on the other hand, this statement also implies that to write like Scott is itself a form of imprisonment. Seamus Perry argues this point regarding G. K. Chesterton, whose parody of Robert Browning makes the poet seem trapped by his own style: 'a sort of prison from which he could not escape'.²⁸ With some inexactitude, L. H. C. Thomas calls *Walladmor* a 'parody' but also a 'forgery' of 'Scott's technique as a novelist'; an alleged translation that is also forgery (or parody) indicates some of the formal confusion that confounds such works.²⁹ *Walladmor* was

²⁶ H. Philip Bolton, *Scott Dramatized* (London: Mansell, 1992), vii.

²⁷ L. H. C. Thomas, "'Walladmor': A Pseudo-Translation of Sir Walter Scott", *Modern Language Review* 46 (January 1951), 219.

²⁸ Seamus Perry, 'Sweet Counter-Song', *Times Literary Supplement*, 20 August 2010, 4.

²⁹ Thomas, "'Walladmor'", 218, 220. Such terminological slipperiness will be

itself translated into English, by Thomas De Quincey, in 1825.

For Rigney, *Ivanhoe* is ‘the Scott novel that has generated the greatest number of versions of itself on page, stage, and screen’.³⁰ H. Philip Bolton identifies *Ivanhoe; or, The Jew’s Daughter* (aka *Ivanhoe; or, The Jew of York*) as the earliest dramatization; it opened at the Surrey Theatre, on 20 January 1820, soon after the book’s publication.³¹ Condensations of the three-volume novel, in the form of chapbooks, also appeared, including *Ivanhoe; or The Knight Templar, and the Jew’s Daughter* (1821). Bolton estimates that forty-two such ‘penny dreadful’ publications derived from this one title.³²

To catch a glimpse of this Waverley phenomenon, consider two nineteenth-century prose iterations of *Ivanhoe: Richard of England* and *Rebecca and Rowena*. *Richard of England; or, The Lion King*, a curious reworking of *Ivanhoe* elements, was published anonymously and is attributed to Thomas Archer. The central love triangle is retained; King Richard and the crusades grow in prominence; and the story of Rebecca and the Templar is diminished. Archer changes the names of Scott’s fictional characters: *Ivanhoe* is now Eustace de Vere; Cedric becomes Oswald; Rowena, Alena; and Rebecca takes her mother’s name, Rachael (sometimes Rachel). While ostensibly a new narrative (hence the title), *Richard of England* frequently descends to verbatim plagiarism. A description of Rowena is applied to Alena, and Archer borrows liberally from Scott’s tournament: ‘Five knights, chosen by lot, now

considered later in the prologue.

³⁰ Rigney, *Afterlives of Walter Scott*, 15.

³¹ Bolton, *Scott Dramatized*, 345–346. The publication date of *Ivanhoe* is 1820, but it appeared in late 1819.

³² *Ibid.*, 342.

advanced slowly into the area; a single champion riding in front, and the other four following in pairs.’³³ Yet Archer deletes the mention of Scott’s credited source (the Wardour manuscript) as well as the narrator’s sudden glance at a future perspective: ‘Their escutcheons have long mouldered from the walls of their castles.’³⁴ By cutting analeptic and proleptic references, Archer flattens the historical dimensions of *Ivanhoe*; *Richard of England* retains the surface pleasures of Scott’s narrative but not its depth. In other places, the plagiaristic novel simplifies the language of its predecessor (‘the fearing discomfiture and disgrace’ becomes ‘fear of being conquered’), and archaisms are modernized (‘stript’ becomes ‘stripped’).³⁵ Although much of *Ivanhoe* takes place in the north, *Richard of England* relocates scenes to southern England and London in particular—to move closer, perhaps, to the urban readers who were its likely audience. ‘The scenes of the past’, Rachael explains, ‘are about to be reacted here.’³⁶

Rebecca and Rowena: A Romance upon Romance (1850) also extends Walter Scott’s novel, but the function is now parodic. Written by William Makepeace Thackeray and attributed to his pseudonym Michael Angelo Titmarsh, *Rebecca and Rowena* is an example of Rigney’s ‘desire to prolong’ a

³³ [Thomas Archer], *Richard of England; or, The Lion King* (London: F. Hextall, n.d.), 36. Cf. [Walter Scott], *Ivanhoe; a Romance*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co.; London: Hurst, Robinson and Co., 1820), 1:156. For Rowena, see [Scott], *Ivanhoe*, 1:73; for Alena, see [Archer], *Richard of England*, 4.

³⁴ [Scott], *Ivanhoe*, 1:156.

³⁵ Ibid., 1:268; [Archer], *Richard of England*, 377; [Scott], *Ivanhoe*, 1:269; [Archer], *Richard of England*, 378.

³⁶ [Archer], *Richard of England*, 67.

narrative. What is more, Thackeray's work stands as a correction to its forerunner: 'Ivanhoe's history *must* have a continuation.'³⁷ Like many readers before or since, Thackeray believed that *Ivanhoe* belongs with *Rebecca*, the daughter of Isaac of York. Rowena, 'that vapid, flaxen-headed creature', is 'unworthy of *Ivanhoe*'.³⁸ In the process of continuing and correcting Scott's novel, Thackeray transforms its characters into Thackerayan characters: melancholic, hypocritical, despairing, shallow. *Ivanhoe* himself, like many characters in *Vanity Fair* (1847–1848), gets what he wants and regrets it. Further, it is appropriate that in this imitative work King Richard is recast as a plagiarist; he claims to have written the music and lyrics to a song, but 'he had stolen every idea'.³⁹ While Thackeray was willing to steal ideas from Walter Scott, he resists describing a scene of hunger because such was already achieved by Dante: 'my efforts may be considered as mere imitations.'⁴⁰

Beyond this attention to *Ivanhoe*, Scott's mode of historical writing was replicated in the early Victorian period by successors such as William Harrison Ainsworth, whose historical novels include *The Tower of London* (1840) and *Old St. Paul's: A Tale of the Plague and the Fire* (1841). G. P. R. James, one of the most plodding of Scott's epigones, was, for the *Edinburgh*

³⁷ William Makepeace Thackeray, *Rebecca and Rowena: A Romance upon Romance*, in *The Christmas Books of Mr M. A. Titmarsh* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1879), 107. Thackeray previously sketched some ideas in 'Proposals for a Continuation of *Ivanhoe*', a two-part article that appeared in *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, in 1846.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 126.

Review, a clear disciple: 'his whole tastes and modes of thinking have grown into a singular harmony with those of the great original from which he drew.'⁴¹ Even as late as 1880, in French-speaking Canada, the phenomenon could still be felt. *Le manoir mystérieux*, by Frédéric Houde, plagiarized Walter Scott's 1821 novel *Kenilworth*.⁴²

But the Waverley phenomenon was not unprecedented. During the eighteenth century, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), *Pamela* (1740), and *Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767) were subject to a variety of 'autographic' and 'allographic' successors.⁴³ These terms, employed by Nelson

⁴¹ 'Recent English Romances', *Edinburgh Review* 65, no. 131 (April 1837), 183. George Kitchin refers to 'amateurs and bunglers who imagined that the thing could be done according to recipe' (*A Survey of Burlesque and Parody in English* [Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1931], 253–254). The cooking metaphor also appears in 'Literary Recipes', *Punch; or, The London Charivari*, 7 August 1841, 39; [W. H. Mallock], *Every Man his Own Poet; or, The Inspired Singer's Recipe Book* (Oxford: Thomas Shrimpton and Son, 1872). The latter is ascribed to 'a Newdigate Prizeman'.

⁴² Andrea Cabajsky, 'Plagiarizing Sir Walter Scott: The Afterlife of *Kenilworth* in Victorian Quebec', *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 44, no. 3 (Fall 2011), 355. In an analogue to the Waverley phenomenon, Chris Baldick makes a case for Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) as 'a modern myth' (*In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity, and Nineteenth-Century Writing* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987], 1).

⁴³ 'Approximately 40 reactions to *Tristram Shandy* appeared in print before Sterne's death in 1768' (Anne Bandry, 'Imitations of *Tristram Shandy*', in *Critical Essays on Laurence Sterne*, ed. Melvyn New [New York: G. K. Hall and Co., 1998], 39). Titles include *The Life and Opinions of Miss Sukey Shandy, of Bow-Street, Gentlewoman. In a Series of Letters to her Dear Brother Tristram Shandy, Gent.* (London: Printed for R. Stevens, 1760); *The Life and Opinions of Bertram*

Goodman in *Languages of Art*, were redefined by Gérard Genette to refer to works that are produced by their originating artists (autographic) or by others (allographic).⁴⁴ In the case of *Robinson Crusoe*, Daniel Defoe published an autographic sequel, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe; Being the Second and Last Part of his Life, and of the Strange and Surprising Accounts of his Travels round the Three Parts of the Globe* (1719). For the allographic, the numbers are legion. J. K. Welcher counts 277 eighteenth-century imitations, and variants continued to appear well into the nineteenth century, including *The Catholic Crusoe* (1862), the hopeful *Le dernier Crusoe* (1860), and *Der schweizerische Robinson, Oder der Schiffbrüchige Schweizer-Prediger und Seine Familie* (1812, later filmed by Walt Disney, as *The Swiss Family Robinson*).⁴⁵ For David A. Brewer, *Gulliver's Travels* is similarly 'an

Montfichet, Esq; Written by Himself, 2 vols. (London: Printed for C. G. Seyffert, [1761]). Samuel Richardson referred to 'a *Shandy-age*' (quoted in Thomas Keymer, *Sterne, the Moderns, and the Novel* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002], 1). For Defoe, Swift, and Richardson, see below.

⁴⁴ Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 161. For Goodman the terms refer not to individual works but to art forms. The autographic are those for which there is a sharp distinction between an original and a forgery (e.g. painting); the allographic are those for which that distinction is less pronounced (e.g. sheet music or photography) (Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* [London: Oxford University Press, 1969], 113).

⁴⁵ J. K. Welcher, 'Gulliver in the Market-place', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, no. 217 (1983), 127n7; Carl Fischer, 'The Robinsonade: An

inexhaustible public resource'.⁴⁶ Welcher counts some four hundred variants by approximately two hundred different writers. Gulliver himself appears as the 'author' of many such offerings, even when the texts have little to do with Jonathan Swift's book.⁴⁷

In a study of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor create a vivid picture of an eighteenth-century novel's complex afterlife. 'Richardson's novel is valuably illuminated by the appropriations and transformations, the resistant readings and creative misreadings, that followed its publication.'⁴⁸ Within a year of *Pamela*'s appearance, in November 1740, publishers offered *Pamela Censured*, *Anti-Pamela*, *The True Anti-Pamela*, and *Shamela*. In Keymer and Sabor's account, *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* and its ilk compelled Richardson to prepare an autographic sequel, which he published in December 1741 (dated 1742); it became clear that 'he alone no longer controlled, and could not close down, the fictional world he had opened'.⁴⁹ Earlier, in May 1741, Richardson wrote an advertisement, '*To the PUBLICK*', disavowing *Pamela's Conduct* and

Intercultural History of an Idea', in *Approaches to Teaching Defoe's Robinson Crusoe*, ed. Maximillian E. Novak and Carl Fisher (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2005).

⁴⁶ David A. Brewer, *The Afterlife of Character, 1726–1825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 41.

⁴⁷ Welcher, 'Gulliver in the Market-place', 126, 134.

⁴⁸ Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor, *Pamela in the Marketplace: Literary Controversy and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 51.

promising his ‘OWN CONTINUATION ... with all convenient speed’.⁵⁰ As Richardson wrote privately, ‘I saw all my Characters were likely to be debased, & my whole Purpose inverted’.⁵¹

This thesis analyzes Victorian plagiarisms, parodies, and imitations—the successors to the successors to Defoe, Swift, Richardson, and Scott. The three test cases are Charles Dickens, Edward Bulwer Lytton, and George Eliot. One feature that imitated Victorian novels share with their eighteenth-century forebears is that many are what Terry Castle calls ‘charismatic texts’: ‘those with an unusually powerful effect on a large reading public.’⁵² The charismatic text ‘creates in readers a desire for “more of the same”’; further, there is a ‘deep unconscious nostalgia for a past reading pleasure’.⁵³ Despite this continuity, one could cite many ways in which the conditions of printing and bookselling changed by the mid-nineteenth century from the days of Pope and Johnson: steam printing, machine-made paper, rail travel, increased literacy, the growth of periodicals, the expansion of circulating libraries, and the reduction of taxes on knowledge.⁵⁴ For Brewer, the quintessential

⁵⁰ Quoted in Keymer and Sabor, Pamela *in the Marketplace*, 61.

⁵¹ Quoted in Keymer and Sabor, Pamela *in the Marketplace*, 57.

⁵² Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 133.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁵⁴ John Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics: An Historical Study of Copyright in Britain* (London: Mansell, 1994), 123. For the eighteenth century’s anticipation of some of these developments, see Welcher, ‘Gulliver in the Marketplace’, 127.

eighteenth-century literary derivative employs ‘character migration’—fictional characters stray from their textual origins. As he states, ‘[T]he characters in broadly successful texts were treated as if they were both fundamentally incomplete and the common property of all’.⁵⁵ This process certainly continued: Samuel Pickwick, of *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* (1836–1837), strayed into all manner of literary, subliterary, and nonliterary variants. Victorian imitation also drew attention to the figure of the author and evinced an effort to embody or possess successful novelists of the day, including Dickens, Bulwer, and Eliot.

By uncovering ephemeral, scurrilous texts—in many cases ignored or undertheorized for the past century and a half—this thesis charts their interaction with their canonical antecedents. The Spurious Victorians of the title form something of a countercanon or a subgenre, a neglected counterpart to the ‘Victorian Novel’ as taught in universities and construed by literary criticism.⁵⁶ Margaret Cohen refers to the ‘great unread’, and John Sutherland, among others, demonstrates how our canon of frequently read and reprinted

⁵⁵ Brewer, *Afterlife of Character*, 78, 2.

⁵⁶ Nick Groom makes a similar case for forgery. James Macpherson, Thomas Chatterton, and William Henry Ireland form ‘an anti-canon’ (*The Forger’s Shadow: How Forgery Changed the Course of Literature* [London: Picador, 2002], 142). For more on forgers and forgery, see Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (London: Juliet Gardiner Books, Collins and Brown, 1990); Mark Jones, ed., *Fake? The Art of Deception* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Ruthven, *Faking Literature*; Jonathon Keats, *Forged: Why Fakes Are the Great Art of our Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

novels is only a small fraction of the century's fictional output.⁵⁷ This thesis focuses attention on works that are drawn to three centripetal figures (Dickens, Bulwer, Eliot)—whether for inspiration or exploitation, whether to emulate or to castigate—in order to deepen and complicate our understanding of nineteenth-century authorship.

The bulk of this prologue will be used to excavate historical backgrounds and to clarify methodological issues. This discussion will be developed in four strands: a brief history of originality and unoriginality in literature, the impact of copyright law, methodology, and terminology.

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The first book tyrannizes over the second.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

Unoriginality is nothing new. Walter Jackson Bate quotes a scribe from 2000 B.C. who feared that everything had already been said before.⁵⁸ Marilyn Randall suggests the complexity that is involved when one ventures into the regions of originality and unoriginality: “The history of “plagiarism” is

⁵⁷ Margaret Cohen, quoted in Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013), 45; John Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers*, rev. ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), chap. 8. Cf. Nigel Cross, *The Common Writer: Life in Nineteenth-Century Grub Street* (1985; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), introduction.

⁵⁸ W. Jackson Bate, *The Burden of the Past and the English Poet* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1971), 3–4.

tentacular, involving not only concepts of copyright and intellectual property, but also questions of authorship, authority, originality, and imitation.’⁵⁹ Confronting the mass of nineteenth-century literary imitations, one encounters anonymous and pseudonymous texts; part-issue and penny publications; works that are incomplete, infrequently or never reprinted, rarely read, woebegone, lost. As Franco Moretti writes, ‘*You enter the archive, and the usual coordinates disappear*’.⁶⁰ Although I have used the terms *imitation*, *plagiarism*, and *parody* in the foregoing pages, there is a degree of instability at work in these paraliterary offerings. In 1741, Solomon Lowe wrote to Samuel Richardson to commiserate about the *Pamela* phenomenon and ‘the Labours of the press in Piracies, in Criticisms, in Cavils, in Panegyrics, in Supplements, in Imitations, in Transformations, in Translations, &c’.⁶¹ A similar diversity is on display in a twentieth-century *Dickensian* article, which claims that Charles Dickens ‘suffered at the hands of literary hacks of the period, who, having no imagination or ability of their own, adapted, continued, plagiarized or stole the fruit of his brain’.⁶² That this anonymous author resorts to four verbs—*adapted*, *continued*, *plagiarized*, *stole*—suggests some indecision about what is going on.

The range of terms that could be used to describe this corpus, with varying degrees of accuracy, is vast indeed: *imitation*, *adaptation*, *appropriation*, *transformation*, *repetition*, *re-mediation*; *satire*, *parody*,

⁵⁹ Marilyn Randall, *Pragmatic Plagiarism: Authorship, Profit, and Power* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), xii.

⁶⁰ Moretti, *Distant Reading*, 180.

⁶¹ Solomon Lowe, quoted in Keymer and Sabor, *Pamela in the Marketplace*, 1.

⁶² ‘Charles Dickens in Chancery’, *Dickensian* 10, no. 8 (August 1914), 216.

*pastiche, travesty, burlesque, lampoon, caricature, spoof; forgery, counterfeit, hoax; intertext, metatext, hypertext; sequel, prequel, continuation, fanfiction, remake, revival, reboot; paraphrase, summary, condensation, digest, précis; allusion, quotation, reference, parallel, homage; copy, piracy, palinode, plagiarism, palimpsest.*⁶³ While the present thesis will not investigate every one of these historically complex terms, it is worth noting that formal and generic shifts are at work when one surveys what Gérard Genette calls 'literature in the second degree'.⁶⁴

Originality has its adherents. Johann Joachim Winckelmann states, 'Of scholars and artists, general history immortalizes only inventors, not copyists, only originals, not collectors'.⁶⁵ By 1840, Thomas Carlyle's lecture 'The Hero as Man of Letters' could praise the 'original man' who is not a 'borrowing or begging man'.⁶⁶ Isaac D'Israeli, however, sounds a little less certain: 'It is

⁶³ Processes that might overlap with some of the forms mentioned include influence, mimesis, mimicry, impersonation, translation. For other lists of possibilities, see Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 59; Adrian Poole, *Shakespeare and the Victorians* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2004), 2; Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (London: Routledge, 2006), 3, 18. Harold Bloom's six revisionary ratios could also join the list (*The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* [1973; reprint, London: Oxford University Press, 1975]).

⁶⁴ The subtitle of his book *Palimpsests*.

⁶⁵ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, quoted in Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982), 49.

⁶⁶ Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History. Six Lectures. Reported, with Emendations and Additions* (London: James Fraser, 1841),

generally supposed that where there is no QUOTATION, there will be found most originality'.⁶⁷ He settles for a syllogism: if this, then that. Paul K. Saint-Amour suggests that originality (so-called) may be little more than the result of an 'originality effect': 'the great individuals loom large because others are blotted out, forgotten.'⁶⁸ For Robert Macfarlane, 'Originality and plagiarism are in many ways the invisible men of literary history'.⁶⁹

That history can be traced to the Greeks. Plato was skeptical of the arts: poets, in his estimation, rank somewhere below gymnasts and prophets.⁷⁰ In the Platonic theory of Forms, our world of phenomena is the reflective shadow of inaccessible ideas; therefore, human works of representational art are merely copies of the copy. Aristotle, on the other hand, is the great theorist of *mimesis*: 'it is an instinct of human beings, from childhood, to engage in mimesis' because 'everyone enjoys mimetic objects'.⁷¹

290.

⁶⁷ I[saac] D'Israeli, 'Quotation', in *A Second Series of Curiosities of Literature: Consisting of Researches in Literary, Biographical, and Political History; of Critical and Philosophical Inquiries; and of Secret History*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1823), 1:75.

⁶⁸ Paul K. Saint-Amour, *The Copywrights: Intellectual Property and the Literary Imagination* (2003; reprint, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 10.

⁶⁹ Robert Macfarlane, *Original Copy: Plagiarism and Originality in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 13.

⁷⁰ Richard McKeon, 'Literary Criticism and the Concept of Imitation in Antiquity', in *Critics and Criticism: Ancient and Modern*, ed. R. S. Crane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 159.

⁷¹ Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Stephen Halliwell, in *Aristotle Poetics; Longinus*

Nick Groom notes that ‘mimesis is commonly translated as “imitation”’, but Richard McKeon finds that ‘the term is vague, inadequate, primitive’.⁷² Groom adds that mimesis further suggests ‘portrayal, representation, reproduction, copying, aping’.⁷³ Despite its liabilities, the term *imitation* has been used in English to suggest the practice recommended by classical rhetoricians for orators and writers.⁷⁴

In the neoclassical period, ‘capturing the spirit of the original author’ was the admirable goal of any imitation—hence the many poetic reworkings of Horace.⁷⁵ Through imitation, a writer finds him- or herself. ‘Your own Wit will be improved’, claimed Henry Felton, in 1709.⁷⁶ According to Samuel Johnson’s *Rambler*: ‘When the original is well chosen and judiciously copied, the imitator often arrives at excellence, which he could never have attained

on the Sublime; Demetrius on Style, Loeb Classical Library (1995; reprint, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 37. See also Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (1946; reprint, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

⁷² Groom, *Forger’s Shadow*, 33; McKeon, ‘Literary Criticism’, 148.

⁷³ Groom, *Forger’s Shadow*, 33.

⁷⁴ McKeon, ‘Literary Criticism’, 169. For instance, prosopopoeia (writing in character) was a rhetorical exercise.

⁷⁵ Richard Terry, *The Plagiarism Allegation in English Literature from Butler to Sterne* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 137. *Imitation* in this thesis refers to *literary* imitation and not the attempt to emulate the morals or behaviour of another.

⁷⁶ Henry Felton, quoted in Trevor Ross, ‘The Fate of Style in an Age of Literary Property’, *ELH* 80, no. 3 (Fall 2013), 754.

without direction.’⁷⁷ In 1832, *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country* suggested that a writer ‘must accumulate a stock of ideas by extensive reading, and improve his style by the sedulous study of the best models’.⁷⁸ ‘Stock’ is a suggestive word, since it implies a storehouse, a financial instrument, and a cooking process in which matter is simmered and reduced to its essence. Browning, in 1842, could still subscribe to the ancient ideal: ‘Genius almost inevitably begins to develop itself by imitation.’⁷⁹ In a more mundane frame of mind, James Brander Matthews reminds us that ‘[t]he man who plants cabbages imitates too’.⁸⁰

According to various literary-historical accounts, the so-called Romantic movement in Great Britain deviates from this imitative tradition. Zachary Leader refers to ‘spontaneity, originality, genius’, and Linda Hutcheon cites a similar trio, ‘genius, originality, and individuality’; K. K. Ruthven asserts that under such conditions, ‘the text is an autonomous object

⁷⁷ Samuel Johnson, *Rambler*, no. 164 (12 October 1751), in *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, ed. E. L. McAdam, Jr., et. al., 23 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958–2012), 5:107.

⁷⁸ ‘Historical Romance. No. I. Sir Walter Scott and his Imitators’, *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country* 5, no. 25 (February 1932), 17.

⁷⁹ Robert Browning, ‘Essay on Chatterton’, in *The Complete Works of Robert Browning*, ed. Roma A. King, Jr., et. al., 17 vols. (Athens: Ohio University Press; Waco, TX: Baylor University, 1969–2011), 3:165.

⁸⁰ [James] Brander Matthews, ‘The Ethics of Plagiarism’, in *Pen and Ink: Papers on Subjects of More or Less Importance*, 3d. ed. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1902), 52. This article originally appeared in 1886.

produced by an individual genius'.⁸¹ Opposed to this Romantic figure is the 'the scribbler, the journalist or literary drudge'.⁸² Robert Macfarlane, drawing on the work of George Steiner, distinguishes '*creatio*' ('creation as generation') from '*inventio*' ('creation as rearrangement'), with the autonomous Romantic author striving for the former.⁸³ Macfarlane writes, '1840 can usefully be considered as the high-water mark of originality as *creatio* in Britain'.⁸⁴ Yet from 1839 to 1840, as John Sutherland indicates, fifteen imitations of *The Pickwick Papers* were on sale.⁸⁵ At a moment when *creatio* seemed ascendant, *inventio* was not far behind. Tilar J. Mazzeo further complicates the story: Romantic writers 'did not, in fact, insist on the impossible goal of ex nihilo creation that has often been attributed to them'. Rather, 'Romantics were centrally concerned with narrative mastery, domination, and control over borrowed materials'.⁸⁶ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, famously, was accused by De Quincey of 'unacknowledged obligations' and 'barefaced plagiarism', particularly of German sources that Coleridge translated but failed to assimilate. The irony, in De Quincey's retelling, is that that the poet did not

⁸¹ Zachary Leader, *Revision and Romantic Authorship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), viii; Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms* (1985; reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 4; Ruthven, *Faking Literature*, 40.

⁸² Andrew Bennett, *The Author* (London: Routledge, 2005), 60.

⁸³ Macfarlane, *Original Copy*, 6.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁸⁵ Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction*, 92.

⁸⁶ Tilar J. Mazzeo, *Plagiarism and Literary Property in the Romantic Period* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 153, 30.

need to steal; yet '[w]ith the riches of El Dorado lying about him, he would condescend to filch a handful of gold from any man whose purse he fancied'.⁸⁷

For Alexandre Dumas, 'the man of true genius never steals, *he conquers*'.⁸⁸ Dumas knew of what he spoke. He employed a number of writers to work as his subalterns, in various forms of collaboration. August Maquet, it has been asserted, is the actual author of *The Three Musketeers* (1844) and *Twenty Years After* (1845), but only the name 'Alexandre Dumas' ever appeared on the title pages of these products of corporate authorship.⁸⁹ By 1896, the *Scottish Review* could proclaim, 'There are no greater borrowers than those whom we regard as the classics of literature'.⁹⁰ H. M. Paull takes the argument a step further: 'The history of plagiarism is indeed the history of literature.'⁹¹ Such a statement can be corroborated by canonical writers who, at different times, have been accused of pilfering from others: Chaucer, Montaigne, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson, Webster, Milton, Molière, Voltaire, Sterne, Scott, Coleridge, Tennyson, Dickens, George Eliot—a veritable Norton anthology of literature.

⁸⁷ [Thomas De Quincey], 'Samuel Taylor Coleridge', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* 1, no. 8 (September 1834), 510–511. Cf. Norman Fruman, *Coleridge, the Damaged Archangel* (New York: George Braziller, 1971).

⁸⁸ 'Literary Impostures.—Alexandre Dumas', *North American Review* 78, no. 163 (April 1854), 329.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 336.

⁹⁰ J. Cuthbert Hadden, 'Plagiarism and Coincidence', *Scottish Review* 27 (April 1896), 339.

⁹¹ H. M. Paull, *Literary Ethics: A Study in the Growth of the Literary Conscience* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1928), 103.

If *plagiarism* can refer to the efforts of a canonical author as well as the careless essay of a hasty undergraduate, then perhaps the term is too vague to be of any service. Thomas McFarland, in *Originality and Imagination*, defines *plagiarism* as ‘the appropriating, in the name of an individual’s needs, of the insignia of another individuality, and it is therefore censured in a way that imitation and influence are not’.⁹² The ‘therefore’ is not quite earned here: why ‘censured’? Why is allusion noble and plagiarism a fault—the ‘Original Sin of literature’, for Stephen Orgeli, or rather ‘the unoriginal sin’, according to Robert Macfarlane?⁹³ A more cogent exposition can be found in Peter Shaw’s article on ‘Plagiary’. He defines *plagiarism* as ‘the art of using the work of another *with the intent to deceive*’.⁹⁴ The extent to which deception was intended is a question to which subsequent chapters of this thesis will return. Shaw also finds in plagiarism a ‘hysterical revolt against the tyranny of originality’ and compares the plagiarist to the kleptomaniac; as in De Quincey’s account of Coleridge, ‘what is stolen may not be needed’.⁹⁵ In the nineteenth century, Ralph Waldo Emerson made the point that ‘it is as difficult to appropriate the thoughts of others, as it is to invent’.⁹⁶ Some plagiarists work quite hard at it; they bury clues, cover their tracks,

⁹² Thomas McFarland, *Originality and Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 22.

⁹³ Stephen Orgeli, quoted in Christopher Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets* (2002; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 231; Macfarlane, *Original Copy*, 3.

⁹⁴ Peter Shaw, ‘Plagiary’, *American Scholar* 51, no. 3 (Summer 1982), 327.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 336, 332.

⁹⁶ Ralph Waldo Emerson, ‘Quotation and Originality’, in *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Richard Poirier (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 434.

paraphrase, update metaphors. Yet all this effort, for Shaw, demonstrates ‘the desire to be caught’, a need for ‘self-exposure’.⁹⁷ If one does not want to be caught, surely the safest course is abstinence. Martin Amis, whose 1973 novel *The Rachel Papers* was plagiarized, believes that ‘there must be something of the death wish in it’.⁹⁸ Indeed, plagiarism is a form of self-abnegation, an unwriting of the self, an erasure.

For Hillel Schwartz, plagiarism is a ‘cultural addiction’ and ‘a defiance of capitalism’.⁹⁹ Yet plagiarism predates capitalism in its modern, industrialized forms. The English word derives from the Latin *plagiarius*: a kidnapper, someone who abducts children or slaves. ‘[K]idnappers in Cicero’s time were called *plagiarii*’, explains one nineteenth-century journalist.¹⁰⁰ The root, *plaga*, can refer to a net, which could be used to capture people, but it can also refer to a stripe or a lash, as in the punishment inflicted.¹⁰¹ The metaphoric use of *plagiarius* is attributed to the Roman writer Martial. A number of his epigrams refer to literary thievery, sometimes practiced by Fidentinus: ‘Rumor has it, Fidentinus, that you recite my little books in public

⁹⁷ Shaw, ‘Plagiary’, 330, 331.

⁹⁸ Quoted in *ibid.*, 331. For more on *The Rachel Papers* episode, see Thomas Mallon, *Stolen Words: Forays into the Origins and Ravages of Plagiarism* (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1989), chap. 3.

⁹⁹ Hillel Schwartz, *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles* (New York: Zone Books, 1996), 315, 314.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Literary Impostures’, 308n.

¹⁰¹ Robert L. Patten, *Charles Dickens and ‘Boz’: The Birth of the Industrial-Age Author* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 171; ‘Literary Impostures’, 308n.

just like your own. If you want the poems called mine, I'll send you them for nothing. If you want them called yours, buy out my ownership.'¹⁰² Martial here asserts the monetary value of his literary productions; poetry is a commodity that can be bought and sold. In Epigram 52, the word *plagiario* is used, in reference to the 'kidnapper' of Martial's 'little books'.¹⁰³

These epigrams were translated into English verse, in 1577, by Timothe Kendall. Soon after, forms of the word *plagiarism* appeared in English. At the end of the sixteenth century, Joseph Hall referred to 'a Plagiarie sonnet-wright'.¹⁰⁴ The more familiar *plagiarism* and *plagiarist* can be traced to 1621 and 1674, respectively, according to the *OED*. But through the seventeenth century, the word *plagiaries* could still refer to those who steal physical books. In *A Dictionary of the French and English Tongues*, Randle Cotgrave translates the French word *plagiarie* as 'a booke-stealer, or booke-theefe' but also as 'one that fathers other mens workes upon himselfe'.¹⁰⁵ By 1775, *plagiarism* approached our modern understanding, as in John Ash's definition: 'one that clandestinely borrows the thoughts or expressions of another.'¹⁰⁶

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a species of 'source hunter' or 'plagiarism hunter' arose: journalists who performed pre-electronic-era

¹⁰² Martial, book 1, epigram 29, in *Epigrams*, trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb Classical Library, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 1:61.

¹⁰³ Martial, book 1, epigram 52, in *ibid.*, 1:81. The Latin text appears on 1:80.

¹⁰⁴ Joseph Hall, quoted in Terry, *Plagiarism Allegation*, 18. This example is also cited in the *OED*.

¹⁰⁵ Randle Cotgrave, quoted in Terry, *Plagiarism Allegation*, 19.

¹⁰⁶ John Ash, quoted in Terry, *Plagiarism Allegation*, 4.

searches to discover borrowings and concordances.¹⁰⁷ Tennyson referred to 'editors of booklets, bookworms, index hunters, or men of great memories and no imagination'.¹⁰⁸ Such hunters were 'eagle-eyed' or 'argus-eyed'; Harold Bloom calls them 'those carrion-eaters of scholarship, the source hunters'.¹⁰⁹ The *Spectator*, in an article entitled 'The Cry of Plagiarism', explains their motivation and method: 'There are some genial critics who seem to make it their business to catch the literary man tripping, entrap him into telling an apparent lie, and then confront him with parallel columns.'¹¹⁰ Besides the ironic note of 'genial', this passage casts the plagiarism hunter as the aggressor, looking to 'catch' or 'entrap' a victim. Walter Scott, one such victim, railed against the practice: 'It is a favorite theme of laborious dulness to trace out such coincidences; because they appear to reduce genius of the higher order to the usual standard of humanity, and, of course, to bring the author nearer a level with his critics.'¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Macfarlane, *Original Copy*, 41: 'a species of literary journalist which specialized in tracking down allusions, borrowings, and derivations.' One forerunner is *Momus Triumphans*, which lists plays and their sources (Gerard Langbaine, *Momus Triumphans; or, The Plagiaries of the English Stage* [1687; reprint, Los Angeles: University of California, 1971]).

¹⁰⁸ Alfred Tennyson, quoted in Paull, *Literary Ethics*, 123.

¹⁰⁹ W[illiam] Barnes, 'Plagiarism and Coincidence; or, Thought-Thievery and Thought-Likeness', *Macmillan's Magazine* 15, no. 85 (November 1866), 73; Hadden, 'Plagiarism and Coincidence', 336; Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading* (1975; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 17.

¹¹⁰ 'The Cry of Plagiarism', *Spectator* 66, no. 3270 (28 February 1891), 306.

¹¹¹ Walter Scott, quoted in Matthews, 'Ethics of Plagiarism', 25. An example of

Other writers shared this skepticism about plagiarism hunting and about the usefulness of promoting ‘originality’ as a literary virtue. In the words of Emerson, ‘There never was an original writer. Each is a link in an endless chain’.¹¹² He developed these ideas further in an 1876 essay, ‘Quotation and Originality’, which argues that ‘there is no pure originality. All minds quote. Old and new make the warp and woof of every moment. There is no thread that is not a twist of these two strands’.¹¹³ Paul K. Saint-Amour uses the term ‘apologists’ to describe those who want to minimize the category of plagiarism or absolve individual cases.¹¹⁴

For many, the charge of plagiarism could be forgiven if the alleged plagiarist improved on the source. An anonymous article in the December 1823 *London Magazine* articulates this point: ‘Few readers care how a man’s ideas are come by, so they be forcibly and fervently brought out.’¹¹⁵ Originality is not prized here, rather the force of an argument. One important innovation in this article is the suggestion that ‘[n]ew thoughts and new modes of expression are literary property’.¹¹⁶ This marks a transition from an eighteenth-century view that a writer owns only the words on the page to a later view that ‘modes of expression’—‘tone, style, and voice’, according to

such ‘laborious dulness’ can be found in ‘Recent Poetic Plagiarisms and Imitations’, *London Magazine*, December 1823, 602–604; March 1824, 277–285.

¹¹² Ralph Waldo Emerson, quoted in McFarland, *Originality and Imagination*, 14.

¹¹³ Emerson, ‘Quotation and Originality’, 427.

¹¹⁴ Saint-Amour, *Copywrights*, 241n37.

¹¹⁵ ‘Recent Poetic Plagiarisms and Imitations’, 601.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 597.

Mazzeo—are the rightful property of any author.¹¹⁷ Now a plagiarist could borrow the *style* of another. Yet the *London Magazine* separates ‘culpable plagiarism’ (that is, ‘without improvement’) from a more productive kind.¹¹⁸ The article develops an optimistic narrative of art as progressive, accumulative; the plagiarist-poet ‘should regenerate the thoughts of his inferiors, giving them the cast of his own mind’. Such benign plagiarism rescues ‘[i]solated ideas, originating with men of scanty imagination’, which otherwise would be lost.¹¹⁹ The poet-plagiarist thus provides a service to humankind, as long as he or she fully assimilates the source in question.¹²⁰

Plagiarism in Anglo-American culture is not, strictly speaking, a

¹¹⁷ Mazzeo, *Plagiarism and Literary Property*, 96.

¹¹⁸ ‘Recent Poetic Plagiarisms and Imitations’, 597.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 598.

¹²⁰ Thomas Noon Talfourd argued that such a process does not apply to certain works: *King Lear* and *Clarissa*, for instance, ‘cannot be added to meaningfully’ (quoted in Chris R. Vanden Bossche, ‘The Value of Literature: Representations of Print Culture in the Copyright Debate of 1837–1842’, *Victorian Studies* 38, no. 1 (Autumn 1994), 45. Walter Jackson Bate concedes that the ‘literature of knowledge’ (i.e. non-fiction) ‘can always be superseded’ in a way that the *Iliad* and *King Lear* cannot (*Burden of the Past*, 8). Marcel Proust, among modern writers, would challenge the accumulative thesis presented in the *London Magazine*: ‘each individual starts the artistic or literary endeavour over again, on his own account A writer of genius today has everything to do. He is not much further advanced than Homer’ (*Against Sainte-Beuve and Other Essays*, trans. John Sturrock [London: Penguin Books, 1988], 11).

crime.¹²¹ For Alexander Lindey, ‘Plagiarism and infringement are not the same thing, though they overlap’.¹²² Saint-Amour calls plagiarism ‘an ethical rather than a legal transgression’, and Peter Shaw finds it to be ‘a breach of professional ethics’.¹²³ In the Romantic period, plagiarism was more of an aesthetic category: to plagiarize is to write badly, to fail to exert Percy Bysshe Shelley’s ‘power of assimilating’ over found materials.¹²⁴ Yet the development of copyright law in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain necessarily informs any study of Victorian literary reproduction.

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How dare you thus unlawfully invade
Our Properties, and trespass on our Trade.

—Edward Ward

Although authorship and plagiarism have origins in the ancient world, copyright is ‘a specifically modern institution’.¹²⁵ Mark Rose, in *Authors and*

¹²¹ Harold Bloom disagrees: ‘plagiarism seems to me a legal rather than a literary matter’ (Harold Bloom et. al., ‘Plagiarism—A Symposium’, *Times Literary Supplement*, 9 April 1982, 413).

¹²² Alexander Lindey, quoted in Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets*, 224.

¹²³ Saint-Amour, *Copywrights*, 19; Shaw, ‘Plagiary’, 336.

¹²⁴ Percy Bysshe Shelley, quoted in Mazzeo, *Plagiarism and Literary Property*, 132.

¹²⁵ Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 3.

Owners: The Invention of Copyright, argues that this institution was born at a particular historical moment in ‘printing technology, marketplace economics, and the classical liberal culture of possessive individualism’. For Rose, ‘Copyright is founded on the concept of the unique individual who creates something and is entitled to reap a profit from those labors’.¹²⁶ The philosophical foundation lies in John Locke: a man owns himself and therefore owns his own labour.¹²⁷ The legal development of copyright also led to a changed understanding of works of art themselves. ‘No longer simply a mirror held up to nature, a work was also the objectification of a writer’s self’, Rose explains. He makes the canny point that the novel and the biography, two forms that specialize in clarifications of the self, grew in prominence after the advent of copyright.¹²⁸ As the law developed in Great Britain, a key distinction was made between idea and expression. ‘Dressed in language, the writer’s ideas became a property that could be conveyed from owner to owner in perpetuity according to the same principles as a house or a field.’¹²⁹

The older, medieval view of literary property was that whoever owned a manuscript could do what he or she liked with it. If a bookseller purchased a

¹²⁶ Ibid., 142, 2.

¹²⁷ ‘The *Labour* of his Body, and the *Work* of his Hands, we may say, are properly his’ ([John Locke], *Two Treatises of Government: In the Former, the False Principles, and Foundation of Sir Robert Filmer, and his Followers, Are Detected and Overthrown. The Latter Is an Essay Concerning the True Original, Extent, and End of Civil Government* [London: Printed for Awnsham Churchill, 1690], 245). I have modernized orthography when quoting older texts: no long s, no ligature.

¹²⁸ Rose, *Authors and Owners*, 121.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 91.

manuscript from an author, then that bookseller could print it, burn it, cut it into pieces, rewrite it, or sell it to a competitor. Buying a manuscript was no different from buying linen or cloth. For Rose, 'True copyright is concerned with the rights in texts as distinct from the rights in material objects'.¹³⁰ John Sutherland finds this notion rooted in a Platonic view that a work of art transcends any particular manifestation.¹³¹ In the eighteenth century, Johann Gottlieb Fichte separated 'physical [*körperlich*] and ideal [*geistig*] aspects of a book'.¹³² William Enfield, in a 1774 pamphlet, drew on William Blackstone in order to divide the 'corporeal' from the 'incorporeal': 'corporeal' are things of the senses, and 'incorporeal' are, according to Blackstone, 'creatures of the mind'.¹³³ For Enfield, both types can be deemed property and thus protected by law.¹³⁴

One thing that you cannot copyright, it seems, is style. Although D'Israeli maintained that 'an author can have nothing truly his own but his Style' and the 1823 *London Magazine* found that 'modes of expression' belong to an author, copyright law does not cover style per se.¹³⁵ Trevor Ross explains in a recent article that 'copyright protects the expression of a style in a work, but not the style itself to the degree that it can be abstracted from

¹³⁰ Ibid., 9.

¹³¹ John Sutherland, in Bloom, 'Plagiarism', 414.

¹³² Martha Woodmansee, *The Author, Art, and the Market: Rereading the History of Aesthetics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 51.

¹³³ William Blackstone, quoted in William Enfield, *Observations on Literary Property* (London: Printed for Joseph Johnson, 1774), 9.

¹³⁴ Enfield, *Observations on Literary Property*, 10.

¹³⁵ Isaac D'Israeli, quoted in Ross, 'Fate of Style', 778.

expression'.¹³⁶ Style, which a reader may perceive and appreciate, is not protected by law: only the particular manifestation of that style in a text. Ross points out the irony that 'copyright is grounded on a notion of individuation yet is indifferent to individual achievements in style'.¹³⁷ This issue will return in the chapters that follow. Charles Dickens and Edward Bulwer could, to some extent, protect particular novels under the auspices of copyright, but the Dickensian or Bulwerian style so important to the success of those works was fair game for the aspiring imitator. This exception for style, as delineated by Ross, runs counter to the history of copyright—a domain that has grown temporally, spatially, and conceptually over the years.

Copyright in Great Britain was born in a 1710 Act of Parliament, although Adrian Johns notes that the word *copyright* was 'nowhere used in the original law'.¹³⁸ In previous centuries, forms of proto-copyright existed through royal patent and the Stationers' Company of London (chartered under Queen Mary, 1557). These two modes of protecting authors and

¹³⁶ Ross, 'Fate of Style', 748.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 774.

¹³⁸ Adrian Johns, *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 45. He also qualifies that copyright did not reach 'roughly its modern form' until the 1770s (109). The case of *Donaldson v. Becket*, in 1774, ended the possibility of perpetual copyright. See Rose, *Authors and Owners*, 92–103; Joseph Loewenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 13–22. Thomas Becket variously spelled his surname with one or two *t*'s, and the case is sometimes referred to as *Donaldson v. Beckett*.

booksellers often fell into conflict.¹³⁹ After the Regulation of Printing Act lapsed in 1694, a fifteen-year period followed in which piracy ran rampant; no authority was in place to stop it. Evoking the image of the *plagiarius*, Daniel Defoe, in a 1710 periodical, complains about literary kidnapping: ‘these Children of our Heads are seiz’d, captivated, spirited away, and carry’d into Captivity’. In the same work, he also endorses ‘a Law to prevent Barbarity and PyracY’.¹⁴⁰ Such a law received royal assent from Queen Anne and was enacted on 10 April 1710.¹⁴¹ Under the terms of the law, older works were protected for twenty-one years; new works, for fourteen years, after which rights reverted to the author, if living, for another fourteen years.¹⁴²

Through the nineteenth century, Parliament occasionally expanded the term of copyright but did little to expand or clarify the breadth of its coverage. In 1814, the term was extended to twenty-eight years or the life of the author—whichever was longer. This decision ‘put the author at the very centre’ of what

¹³⁹ Johns, *Piracy*, chap. 2.

¹⁴⁰ Daniel Defoe, ‘Miscellanea’, *A Review of the State of the British Nation* 6, no. 129 (2 February 1710), 516, 515.

¹⁴¹ The full title is ‘An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by Vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of Such Copies, during the Times therein Mentioned’.

¹⁴² For more on copyright history, see Augustine Birrell, *Seven Lectures on the Law and History of Copyright in Books* (London: Cassell and Company; New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1899); Rose, *Authors and Owners*; Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*; Loewenstein, *Author’s Due*; Larissa T. Castillo, ‘Natural Authority in Charles Dickens’s *Martin Chuzzlewit* and the Copyright Act of 1842’, *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 62, no. 4 (March 2008), 435–464.

had previously been a law to protect the interests of booksellers.¹⁴³ Such an adjustment also meant that copyright in a work necessarily died with its biological author—an innovation that living writers with children found unsettling and unfair. Thomas Noon Talfourd, lawyer, playwright, Member of Parliament, and friend to many writers, introduced a number of bills from 1837 to 1841 to extend copyright's length once again. Although he lost his seat, in 1841, a new law was enacted, on 1 July 1842: now the copyright term was forty-two years or the life of the author plus an additional seven years—whichever was longer.

John Feather points out that the 1842 law 'was ambiguous about abridgements, anthologies, magazine and newspaper articles, translations, dramatizations and many other matters'.¹⁴⁴ Because early copyright law rarely addressed such paraliterary works, decision-making rested in a series of legal cases. As early as 1704, Defoe warned that a book, perhaps costing one pound, could be undercut by cheap condensations, 'perswading People that the Substance of the Book is contain'd in the Summary of 4s. price'.¹⁴⁵ Yet eighteenth-century authorities 'gave wide latitude to derivative works, including abridgments, sequels, and translations'.¹⁴⁶ In *Gyles v. Wilcox*, a legal case from 1740, the Lord Chancellor decided that an abridgement 'may with great propriety be called a new book' because of 'the invention, learning,

¹⁴³ Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 124.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁴⁵ Daniel Defoe, *An Essay on the Regulation of the Press* (London: n.p., 1704), 20.

¹⁴⁶ Ross, 'Fate of Style', 760.

and judgment' required.¹⁴⁷ *Dodsley v. Kinnersley*, a 1761 case, deemed that an abridgement of Johnson's 1759 novel *Rasselas* was 'not a piracy'.¹⁴⁸ In the 1774 case *Anonymous v. Newbery*, the Lord Chancellor determined that a particular abridgement was 'not an act of plagiarism' but rather 'an allowable and meritorious work'.¹⁴⁹ By the nineteenth century, according to Augustine Birrell, many believed that 'a good, honest abridgement was a new book and in no sense a piracy'.¹⁵⁰ Robert L. Patten sums up the matter thus: 'in Britain both the law and the courts had allowed parodies, sequels, adaptations, abridgements, and some kinds of imitation to be protected by copyright.'¹⁵¹ This tension between original works and their derivatives will be examined in the chapters that follow.

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In the vast Library there are no two identical books.

—Jorge Luis Borges

¹⁴⁷ Philip Yorke, Lord Hardwicke, quoted in Joseph J. Beard, 'Everything Old Is New Again: Dickens to Digital', *Loyola of Los Angeles Law Review* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004), 24.

¹⁴⁸ E. T. Jaques, *Charles Dickens in Chancery: Being an Account of his Proceedings in Respect of the 'Christmas Carol' with Some Gossip in Relation to the Old Law Courts at Westminster* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1914), 40.

¹⁴⁹ Henry Bathurst, Lord Apsley, quoted in Beard, 'Everything Old Is New Again', 25.

¹⁵⁰ Birrell, *Seven Lectures*, 158.

¹⁵¹ Patten, *Charles Dickens and 'Boz'*, 168.

Thus far, the prologue has addressed issues involving originality and unoriginality and the impact of copyright law. Two strands remain: methodology and terminology. There are a number of theoretical models by which one could attempt to map Victorian imitation: intertextuality,¹⁵² Bakhtinian dialogism,¹⁵³ Bloomian misprision.¹⁵⁴ My methodology is closer to

¹⁵² Julia Kristeva coined the term *intertextuality* ('Word, Dialogue and Novel', in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi [1986; reprint, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002], 37). Roland Barthes qualifies that the term does not refer to source study and 'influences' ('From Work to Text', in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. Vincent B. Leitch et. al. [New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 2001], 1473). For recent overviews, see Michael Worton and Judith Still, eds., *Intertextuality: Theories and Practice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); Graham Allen, *Intertextuality*, 2d ed. (London: Routledge, 2011).

¹⁵³ Mikhail M. Bakhtin's essential works include *Rabelais and his World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (1968; reprint, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson (1984; reprint, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (1981; reprint, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990). A relevant critique appears in Margaret A. Rose, *Parody: Ancient, Modern, and Post-modern* (1993; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹⁵⁴ In *A Map of Misreading*, Bloom clarifies that the form of influence that concerns him 'has almost nothing to do with the verbal resemblances between one poet and another' (19). That said, Thomas McFarland asserts that plagiarism could be a seventh revisionary ratio (McFarland, *Originality and Imagination*, 22), while Linda Hutcheon says that parody could join the list (*Theory of Parody*, 96).

textual materialism or cultural history: through archival research, I examine print culture and the lived conditions that helped to shape nineteenth-century fiction. By necessity, this study uses biographical materials as well, and Rosemarie Bodenheimer has been an important model for her synthesis of literary-critical and biographical modes of writing. In addition, I draw on the work of bibliographers and editorial theorists, such as Jerome J. McGann and D. F. McKenzie, both of whom advocate a sociology of texts.¹⁵⁵ Publisher, editor, compositor, proofreader, bookbinder—all play roles in the making of books.

For McGann, ‘Literary production is not an autonomous and self-reflexive activity; it is a social and an institutional event’. In *The Beauty of Inflections*, he argues that ‘every work of art is the product of an interaction between the artist, on the one hand, and a variety of social determinants on the other’.¹⁵⁶ McKenzie clarifies that his field of endeavour, bibliography, ‘has nothing to do with bibliographies’.¹⁵⁷ He reminds us that the word *bibliography* means “the writing out of books” ... generating new copies and

¹⁵⁵ The *OED* traces the term *sociology* to 1842, which makes it a Victorian development.

¹⁵⁶ Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 100; idem, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations into Historical Method and Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 119.

¹⁵⁷ D. F. McKenzie, ‘Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices’, in *Making Meaning: ‘Printers of the Mind’ and Other Essays*, ed. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 63.

therefore in time new versions'.¹⁵⁸ In their introduction to a collection of McKenzie's writings, Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez explain, '[T]he meaning of a book is not the product of the author's intentions alone, but of the intentions and actions of all the agents involved in its production and reception'.¹⁵⁹ Consequently, McKenzie is less sanguine about New Critical notions such as a 'verbal icon', a 'free-standing artefact', and a '*well-wrought urn*'.¹⁶⁰ For McKenzie, a tension emerges between two views of a literary text. In the first view, a text is 'authorially sanctioned, contained, and historically definable'; according to the second view, a text is 'always incomplete, and therefore open, unstable, subject to perpetual re-making by its readers, performers, or audience'.¹⁶¹ Writing *The Pickwick Papers*, for instance, Charles Dickens perhaps imagined that he was composing text No. 1, but his imitative successors decided that the book was, in fact, No. 2.

A further distinction emerges in the field of textual criticism between the *work* and the *text*. G. Thomas Tanselle, following the bibliographical insights of W. W. Greg and Fredson Bowers, argues that 'the work can only be reconstituted through the application of critical judgment to each element of every surviving text'—such texts might include, for instance, a 1966 Clarendon edition and a 2003 Penguin paperback. The work, then, transcends its manifestations in individual, printed texts, 'subjected to the hazards of the

¹⁵⁸ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: The British Library, 1986), 8.

¹⁵⁹ Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, 'Editorial Introduction', in McKenzie, *Making Meaning*, 6.

¹⁶⁰ McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, 16–17.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

physical'.¹⁶² In a better known formulation, Roland Barthes agrees with the distinction but inverts the definitions: 'the work is a fragment of substance, occupying a part of the space of books (in a library for example)', whereas 'the Text is a methodological field'.¹⁶³ Here the text is the totality of a literary existence and the work its fragmentary manifestation in the actual. McGann supports Tanselle's version of the dyad when he writes, parenthetically, of 'the "work" being a series of specific "texts"'. Later, McGann clarifies his aside: 'we must reconceive the literary "text" as the literary "work," i.e. as a related series of concretely determinable semiotic events that embody and represent processes of social and historical experience'.¹⁶⁴ I will return to the work/text distinction later in the prologue.

In addition to the insights of twentieth-century bibliographers, an important theoretical precursor is Gérard Genette. *Palimpsests* and *Paratexts*, in particular, provide models for studying the margins of literature. A palimpsest is a parchment on which more than one text can be written; earlier layers sometimes show through or can be recovered.¹⁶⁵ In his book *Palimpsests*, Genette develops theories of literary imitation: 'in order to imitate a text, it is inevitably necessary to acquire at least a partial mastery of

¹⁶² G. Thomas Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism* (1989; reprint, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 27, 93. Recall John Sutherland's view of the Platonic work of art.

¹⁶³ Barthes, 'From Work to Text', 1471.

¹⁶⁴ McGann, *Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, 52; idem, *Beauty of Inflections*, 10.

¹⁶⁵ Genette, *Palimpsests*, 398–399.

it, a mastery of that specific quality which one has chosen to imitate.’¹⁶⁶ The word *palimpsest* itself was prominent in nineteenth-century Britain, and Josephine McDonagh cites instances of its use from Coleridge, De Quincey, and George Henry Lewes.¹⁶⁷ Into the terminological confusion alluded to in the foregoing pages, Genette injects a host of additional terms: *intertextuality*, *paratextuality*, *metatextuality*, *architextuality*, and *hypertextuality*. The last is the most important in the pages of *Palimpsests*. A predecessor text is a *hypotext*; a *hypertext* is one that follows. European literary history provides many examples, such as the *Aeneid*, a hypertext to Homeric hypotexts the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. But Genette further qualifies that the *Odyssey* itself, while not exactly a sequel or a continuation to the *Iliad*, can be deemed a hypertext to it.¹⁶⁸ It is perhaps no accident that the *Odyssey*, that hypertext at the foundation of Western culture, became ‘the favorite target of hypertextual writing’.¹⁶⁹ But hypertextuality extends beyond the range of Homer, Virgil, and their successors. Indeed, ‘there is no literary work that does not evoke (to some extent and according to how it is read) some other literary work, and in that sense all works are hypertextual’.¹⁷⁰ Nineteenth-century hypertexts, then, do not represent a novelty; rather, they partake of a long tradition.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 6.

¹⁶⁷ See Josephine McDonagh, ‘Writings on the Mind: Thomas De Quincey and the Importance of Palimpsest in Nineteenth Century Thought’, *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism* 10, no. 2 (1987), 207–224.

¹⁶⁸ There is, of course, the possibility that the *Odyssey* is the older work, and the hypertextuality flows in the other direction.

¹⁶⁹ Genette, *Palimpsests*, 180.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 9.

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Piracy, Plagiarism and Confusion.

—Daniel Defoe

One problem with Victorian imitation is what to call it. For the fourth and final strand of this prologue, I will explore the issue of terminology. Earlier, I offered a long list of potential candidates, and I have already introduced *imitation*, *plagiarism*, and *hypertext*. It lies beyond the scope of the present thesis to delineate every terminological possibility, but in this section, I will investigate three terms could be used to describe the efforts of the Spurious Victorians: *adaptation*, *sequel*, and *parody*. The last, because of its historical complexity, requires a lengthier treatment.

In some ways, *adaptation* may be a more appropriate term than *plagiarism* for some of the imitative works examined in the chapters that follow. Linda Hutcheon, in *A Theory of Adaptation*, refers to ‘deliberate, announced, and extended revisitations of prior works’.¹⁷¹ These terms accurately describe Thomas Peckett Prest’s many revisions of Dickens’s early narratives; Prest’s efforts were ‘deliberate’ in that they were no accident, ‘announced’ in so far as each title is a clear corruption of an earlier one, and ‘extended’ in that each publication extends the limits of a Dickens text. Sarah Cardwell further compares literary or ‘cultural adaptation’ with ‘biological

¹⁷¹ Linda Hutcheon with Siobhan O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 2d. ed. (London: Routledge, 2013), xvi.

(genetic) adaptation'. In the former, as in the latter, there is a process of species survival: some genetic elements in a source text are passed on to subsequent generations.¹⁷² Whereas the biological form of adaptation supposes improvement over time, Hutcheon mentions the reverse assumption in the case of literary adaptations: 'an adaptation is likely to be greeted as minor and subsidiary and certainly never as good as the "original."' Yet adaptations offer 'the comfort of ritual combined with the piquancy of surprise'—a formula that could also serve for sequels.¹⁷³

Autographic and allographic sequels, as we have seen, flourished in eighteenth-century Britain, and this thesis will consider a number of nineteenth-century examples. Sequels, of course, are more familiar to twenty-first-century audiences than antique forms such as *palinode*, and Marjorie Garber points out that the most familiar sequel is the New Testament, which turns the Hebrew Bible into a 'prequel' and thus an 'Old' Testament.¹⁷⁴ Garber refers to a 'sequel-effect', by which the ontology of a text is changed by the appearance of a successor; the earlier text is now designated 'the original'.¹⁷⁵ Terry Castle memorably states that 'sequels are always disappointing' because readers 'persist in demanding the impossible: that the sequel be different, but also *exactly the same*'; yet sequels inevitably create difference.¹⁷⁶ Genette, ever methodical, divides what he calls 'continuations' into four categories:

¹⁷² Sarah Cardwell, *Adaptation Revisited: Television and the Classic Novel* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 13.

¹⁷³ Hutcheon with O'Flynn, *Theory of Adaptation*, xiv, 4.

¹⁷⁴ Marjorie Garber, *Quotation Marks* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 78.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization*, 133, 134.

‘*proleptic*’ (our sense of the sequel), ‘*analeptic*’ (a prequel), ‘*elleptic*’ (that which fills a narrative gap), and ‘*paraleptic*’ (a new narrative that runs concurrently, like a subplot).¹⁷⁷ On the other hand, D. A. Miller offers some skepticism about the possibility of sequels and prequels. That which is outside a novel is non-narratable, such as the ‘quiescence’ before the beginning and after the end.¹⁷⁸ Further, that which is non-narratable does not generate stories and therefore cannot be the source of sequels and prequels (by the same logic, closure is also impossible, because narrative is the thing that narrates and cannot be expected to stop).¹⁷⁹ Thackeray, in *Rebecca and Rowena*, responds to the condition that Miller describes: ‘the books we delight in have very unsatisfactory conclusions, and end quite prematurely with page 320 of the third volume’.¹⁸⁰ Obviously, this was a publishing convention: there was no artistic reason for novels to appear in three (rather than four or seven) octavo volumes of roughly three hundred pages each.¹⁸¹ Anticipating Garber’s sequel-effect, Thackeray refers to *Ivanhoe* as ‘the former part of this history’.¹⁸² The efforts of allographic sequels, such as *Rebecca and Rowena*, is to push beyond the temporal and generic limitations of any

¹⁷⁷ Genette, *Palimpsests*, 177.

¹⁷⁸ D. A. Miller, *Narrative and its Discontents: Problems of Closure in the Traditional Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), ix.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 5, 267.

¹⁸⁰ Thackeray, *Rebecca and Rowena*, 105.

¹⁸¹ There was, of course, a professional reason. See Guinevere L. Griest, *Mudie’s Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), especially chap. 3. By the 1890s, this convention was dead.

¹⁸² Thackeray, *Rebecca and Rowena*, 109.

‘original’ text.

Rebecca and Rowena is also a work of parody. Regarding this word and its near synonyms, the experts agree: ‘Dictionary definitions do not help’; ‘[t]he dictionaries are not helpful’ and ‘not very helpful here’.¹⁸³ What are parody, burlesque, travesty, burlesque travesty? It depends on whom you ask and when you ask. M. H. Abrams, in *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, uses *burlesque* as the keyword. *Burlesque* probably comes from the Italian word *burla* (‘a joke or a trick’) and was ascendant in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁸⁴ Burlesque ‘does not require a specific literary model’, which draws it away from parody.¹⁸⁵ George Kitchin blurs the distinction between burlesque and parody, although he agrees that burlesque can target either literary or extra-literary subjects, such as ‘Balliol week-end parties’.¹⁸⁶ To add to the complexity, Abrams separates high and low burlesque, and John D. Jump further divides the field into four categories: ‘Travesty’, ‘Hudibrastic’, ‘Parody’, and ‘Mock-Poem’ or ‘Mock-epic’.¹⁸⁷ *Travesty*, in turn, comes from

¹⁸³ Hutcheon, *Theory of Parody*, 25; Dwight Macdonald, ‘Some Notes on Parody’, in *Parodies: An Anthology from Chaucer to Beerbohm—and After* (1960; reprint, London: Faber and Faber, 1964), 557; J. G. Riewald, ‘Parody as Criticism’, *Neophilologus* 50, no. 1 (1 January 1966), 125.

¹⁸⁴ Rose, *Parody*, 54.

¹⁸⁵ Fred W. Householder, Jr., ‘ΠΑΡΩΔΙΑ’, *Classical Philology* 39, no. 1 (January 1944), 5.

¹⁸⁶ Kitchin, *Survey of Burlesque and Parody*, xxii. In the US, burlesque developed as a low form of vaudeville, sometimes incorporating striptease.

¹⁸⁷ M. H. Abrams, ‘Burlesque’, in *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 6th ed. (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1993), 17; John D. Jump,

travestire, 'to disguise' or 'to change clothing'.¹⁸⁸ Travesty debases, brings high matters low; it is thus the reverse of mock-heroic, which elevates the mundane. To add to the chaos, Genette prefers the eighteenth-century French word *pastiche*, from the Italian *pasticcio* ('paste' or 'mixture'); Margaret A. Rose explains that pastiche is 'used as a synonym for parody ... especially in French literature'.¹⁸⁹ Frederic Jameson further defines *pastiche* as 'blank parody, parody that has lost its sense of humor', and David Bromwich explains that 'parody and pastiche are hard to tell apart' because 'parody and writing are hard to tell apart'.¹⁹⁰

To escape the verbal quagmire, it makes sense to return to origins. *Parody*, like *plagiarism*, is rooted in the ancient world and thus predates the various coinages of *burlesque*, *travesty*, and *pastiche*, all of which responded to contemporary (often fleeting) artistic forms. In part because of its antiquity, *parody* is used as the central term by two important theorists, Linda Hutcheon and Margaret A. Rose. Moreover, parody, both the word and practice, was ascendant in the nineteenth century. William Maginn, in an

Burlesque (London: Methuen and Co, 1972), 2. Abrams's statement that 'parody has been the favorite form of burlesque' is typical of the confusion here (18).

¹⁸⁸ Rose, *Parody*, 55.

¹⁸⁹ Genette, *Palimpsests*, 89; Rose, *Parody*, 72.

¹⁹⁰ Fredric Jameson, 'Postmodernism and Consumer Culture', in *Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (1983; reprint, London: Pluto Press, 1985), 114; David Bromwich, 'Parody, Pastiche, and Allusion', in *Lyric Poetry: Beyond New Criticism*, ed. Chaviva Hosek and Patricia Parker (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 328. Foster's volume was previously published as *The Anti-Aesthetic*.

unsigned 1819 article, referred to ‘this age of parody’.¹⁹¹

The first parodist, according to Aristotle, was Hegemon of Thasos.¹⁹² None of his work has survived. The English word *parody* comes from *ode* (a song or a chant) and the prefix *para*, which can mean ‘alongside’ but also ‘against’—consider a paralegal or a paradox. A *parode* is a song ‘sung in imitation of others’, and *parodia* suggests ‘singing beside’, which could mean ‘off key’ or ‘in another voice’.¹⁹³ Hutcheon insists that *parodia* does not imply ridicule; it is ‘repetition with difference’.¹⁹⁴ For Seamus Perry, parody is a ‘counter-song’.¹⁹⁵ In the ancient world there was a *Deiliad*, ‘an *Iliad* of cowardice’, according to Genette; and the parodic work *Batrachomyomachia*, which concerns a mock-Homeric battle between frogs and mice, is extant.¹⁹⁶

One traditional view is that parody is bad, aesthetically and morally. William Hone stood trial in December 1817 when he parodied Christianity in a

¹⁹¹ [William Maginn], ‘John Gilpin and Mazeppa’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* 5, no. 28 (July 1819), 434. Incidentally, this was the year of Queen Victoria’s birth.

¹⁹² Aristotle, *Poetics*, 35.

¹⁹³ For *parode*: Rose, *Parody*, 280; for *parodia*, Genette, *Palimpsests*, 10.

¹⁹⁴ Hutcheon, *Theory of Parody*, 32.

¹⁹⁵ Perry, ‘Sweet Counter-Song’, 3.

¹⁹⁶ Genette, *Palimpsests*, 11. An early English translation attributes the latter to Homer himself (*Homer’s Battle of the Frogs and Mice. With the Remarks of Zoilus. To Which Is Prefix’d, the Life of Said Zoilus* [London: Printed for Bernard Lintot, 1707]). For more on parody in antiquity, see Householder, ‘ΠΑΡΩΔΙΑ’; Rose, *Parody*, chap. 1; Simon Dentith, *Parody* (2000; reprint, London: Routledge, 2005), chap. 2.

number of publications (he was acquitted).¹⁹⁷ Later in the century, Matthew Arnold called parody ‘a vile art’, and George Eliot denounced it as a ‘moral imbecility’ and a ‘befooling drug’.¹⁹⁸ In the preface to *Hamlet Travestie* (1810), John Poole states, ‘The objection most commonly urged against burlesques and parodies in general, is, that they tend to bring into ridicule and contempt those authors against whose works they are directed’.¹⁹⁹

More often, nineteenth-century critics lauded the virtues of parody. Francis Jeffrey, writing anonymously in the *Edinburgh Review*, offers a definition:

to be able to borrow the diction and manner of a celebrated writer to express sentiments like his own—to write as he would have written on the subject proposed to his imitation—to think his thoughts in short, as well as to use his words—and to make the revival of his style appear a natural consequence of the strong conception of his peculiar ideas.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ John Keats recorded his reaction in a letter to his brothers: ‘Hone the publisher’s trial, you must find very amusing; & as Englishmen very encouraging—his *Not Guilty* is a thing, which not to have been, would have dulled still more Liberty’s Emblazoning (*The Letters of John Keats, 1814–1821*, ed. Hyder Edward Rollins, 2 vols. [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958], 1:191).

¹⁹⁸ Matthew Arnold, quoted in Kitchin, *Survey of Burlesque and Parody*, xix; George Eliot, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1879), 182.

¹⁹⁹ John Poole, preface to *Hamlet Travestie*, in *Nineteenth-Century Shakespeare Burlesques*, ed. Stanley Wells, 5 vols. (London: Diplima Press, 1977–1978), 1:5.

²⁰⁰ [Francis Jeffrey], review of *Rejected Addresses; or, The New Theatrum*

The final clause is striking: the notion of a ‘natural consequence’ in which style flows from idea. It is noteworthy that Jeffrey suggests that parody focuses on the ‘celebrated’ rather than the obscure writer; to borrow from the unknown and unrecognized may well constitute plagiarism. However, ambiguities develop in this passage, especially Jeffrey’s use of ‘his’. With ‘the subject proposed to his imitation’, does ‘his’ refer to the writer who is being imitated or the one creating the imitation? Similarly, consider ‘the strong conception of his peculiar ideas’. Whose ideas? The parodist or parodee? Further, ‘to think his thoughts in short’ might mean to think his thoughts as result or consequence, but the phrase could also mean to think his thoughts, only now shortened or truncated. Nonetheless, Jeffrey is enthusiastic about parody: ‘it commonly has the advantage of letting us more completely into the secret of the original author’.²⁰¹ This espousal of parody continued as the century progressed. The *Athenaeum*, in 1871, still conflated *parody*, *burlesque*, and *caricature* but conceded that parodic modes increase, rather than decrease, the stature of their targets: ‘A man who finds himself the subject of a caricature may thank his stars that he is thought worth the caricaturing.’²⁰² By 1885, the *Saturday Review* could enthuse, ‘[T]o parody a writer is really to pay a compliment to his popularity’.²⁰³ More recently, Bromwich has

Poetarum, *Edinburgh Review* 20, no. 40 (November 1812), 435.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 436.

²⁰² Review of *La Parodie chez les Grecs, chez les Romains, et chez les Modernes*, *Athenaeum: Journal of English and Foreign Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music and the Drama*, no. 2279 (1 July 1871), 12.

²⁰³ Quoted in Walter Hamilton, *Parodies of the Works of English and*

summarized this optimistic view: ‘*That it can be parodied*, most readers would admit, is one good test of an individual style.’²⁰⁴ Somewhat tautologically, then, a writer is parodied because he or she is worth the parodying.

From the early nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, collections of parodies generally meant collections of poems. *Rejected Addresses; or, The New Theatrum Poetarum* (1812) is comprised of supposed compositions from Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lord Byron, Walter Scott, Robert Southey, and others (only three of the entries are prose); *The Poetic Mirror; or, The Living Bards of Britain* (1816) presents a familiar list of Byron, Scott, Wordsworth, and James Hogg (himself the presumed author). From 1872, the parodic work *Every Man his Own Poet; or, The Inspired Singer’s Recipe Book* offers literary recipes on how to write like (or parody) Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, and the pre-Raphaelites. In the 1880s, Walter Hamilton compiled six large volumes of parodies; only one-third of the last volume covers prose. By 1912, Arthur Quiller-Couch could write in another anthology, ‘The material, then, on which Parody works is Poetry’.²⁰⁵ There are good reasons for an identification between poetry and parody. Lyric poems tend to be short and so lend themselves to both parodic treatment and to anthologizing. Further, nineteenth-century poetry offers two features ready

American Authors, 6 vols. (1884–1889; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967), 2:103.

²⁰⁴ Bromwich, ‘Parody, Pastiche, and Allusion’, 328.

²⁰⁵ Arthur Quiller-Couch, ‘Foreword on the Gentle Art’, in *Parodies and Imitations Old and New*, ed. J. A. Stanley Adam and Bernard C. White (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1912), vii.

made for parody: namely, the built-in repetitions of metre and rhyme. Many parodies recreate the rhyme scheme of a target poem; some even rhyme *with* the original poem—a form of silent or supplementary rhyme.

Parodists of prose fiction, on the other hand, often have longer sources to emulate, and these sources generally lack the obvious, systemic structuring of conventional verse. That said, masters of prose parody have produced worthy collections, such as Thackeray's *Punch's Prize Novelists* (1847), F. Bret Harte's *Condensed Novels and Other Papers* (1867), and Max Beerbohm's *A Christmas Garland* (1912). Furthermore, Simon Dentith makes the case that nineteenth-century novelists such as Austen, Thackeray, and Eliot use parody 'as a kind of guarantee of their own realist credentials'.²⁰⁶ This tradition recalls Cervantes and Henry Fielding: the novel employs parody to correct and move beyond its predecessors.²⁰⁷ Dickens, too, deploys parody in his fiction. To cite one of many examples, Kate, in *Nicholas Nickleby* (1838–1839), reads aloud from a three-volume novel entitled *The Lady Flabella*, a wicked parody of the silver-fork or fashionable school of fiction.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Dentith, *Parody*, 30. Bromwitch argues that parody was a developmental stage for Austen, Thackeray, and others: 'a particular stage of the maturing of a writer' ('Parody, Pastiche, and Allusion', 328).

²⁰⁷ Richardson, at least, noted Fielding's debt: 'The Pamela, which he abused in his Shamela, taught him how to please' (Samuel Richardson to Lady Bradshaigh, [December 1749], in *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson*, ed. John Carroll [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964], 133).

²⁰⁸ Even before this number appeared, in December 1838, Dickens was identified in the press as a 'parodist' ([T. H. Lister], 'Dickens's Tales', *Edinburgh Review* 68, no. 137 [October 1838], 76). For more, see Tore Rem, 'Dickens and

However, this thesis is not an account of parodic, imitative, or plagiaristic works produced *by* canonical writers but rather versions *of* the canonical produced by others. Because there is no satisfactory English word that encompasses all of the examples in the chapters that follow, I will employ *aftertext* as an umbrella term. In Carolyn Wells's *A Parody Anthology*, she uses 'after' to mean 'after the manner of': 'After Omar Khayyam', 'After Chaucer', 'After Shakespeare'.²⁰⁹ Genette in fact refers to 'after-texts' to describe 'revisions and corrections made to an already published text'.²¹⁰ I will broaden the scope of *aftertext*, because it is concise and multivalent. Victorian aftertexts were published after—that is to say, chronologically—and many are 'after' the manner, sense, style, or creative ambitions of some earlier text or writer. In some cases, aftertexts are also 'after' their sources in a more aggressive way, as in the threatening phrase 'I'm coming after you'. Aftertexts come after, in more than one sense, as they simulate, interrogate, and duplicate their predecessors.

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Je prends mon bien où je le trouve.

—Molière

Parody' (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1998); Rosemarie Bodenheimer, *Knowing Dickens* (2007; reprint, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010).

²⁰⁹ Carolyn Wells, ed., *A Parody Anthology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), ix.

²¹⁰ Genette, *Palimpsests*, 399.

This thesis posits two arguments. The first is that there is a boundary blurring among various forms of Victorian writing: fiction, journalism, parody, plagiarism. Ostensible criticism, published in a periodical, veers into parody, and parodic or plagiaristic works often mount insightful critiques. Dwight Macdonald echoes a number of commentators when he claims that parody ‘is a form of literary criticism’.²¹¹ Nineteenth-century literary critics, in turn, could be accused of plagiarism; Nicholas Dames refers to ‘extensive, prolonged, often contextless citation’.²¹² It was a tendency of Victorian quarterly and monthly reviewers to fill their columns with small-font quotations of great length, a practice ‘betraying its essential laziness’. For Dames, the critic who cites too much may be mistaken for ‘being a fan’.²¹³ This first argument reflects the terminological discussion above. Traditional formal categories—criticism, plagiarism, parody—proved less than stable in the period.

The second argument draws on the teachings of textual criticism and the aforementioned distinction between the work and the text. Following the Anglo-American tradition of Tanselle and McGann (and reversing the definitions supplied by Barthes), I here refer to the *work* as the totality of a literary entity. Further, this thesis makes a case for expanding the work (so defined) to include aftertextual productions: imitations, plagiarisms, sequels, and so on. A conventional view would find that such excrescences are

²¹¹ Macdonald, ‘Some Notes on Parody’, 559.

²¹² Dames, ‘On the Protocols of Victorian Citation’, 326. Cf. Leah Price, *The Anthology and the Rise of the Novel: From Richardson to George Eliot* (2000; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 138.

²¹³ Dames, ‘On the Protocols of Victorian Citation’, 326.

peripheral to the study of literature and the arts; Peter Lamarque, for instance, argues that parody and forgery ‘are not part of, and do not contribute to, the oeuvre and its achievement’.²¹⁴ His reason is that parody is humourous and forgery dishonest. The following chapters attempt to undermine this stance and broaden our sense of the literary work (Lamarque’s ‘oeuvre’). Arguments in favour of the validity of aftertexts as a source of literary knowledge depend on the notion of dichotomy: that which is not-*x* helps us to see with greater clarity that which is *x*. As Joseph Loewenstein remarks, ‘Transgression is one of the historian’s most useful data’.²¹⁵ Alexander Welsh makes a similar case for pathology as an epistemological practice: to examine that which is ill or aberrant (i.e. literary plagiarism) increases our understanding of the healthy subject.²¹⁶ Such dichotomizing stands at the root of the European literary tradition; ancient librarians separated genuine from spurious texts for each author and termed them ‘*gnesioi*’ and ‘*nothoi*’.²¹⁷ One cannot produce a canon unless there is something that is not in it.

In the nineteenth century, aftertexts proved to be something more than an annoyance or an infringement on the property rights of successful novelists; imitation, in many cases, shaped the reception and altered the courses of each novelist’s career trajectory. It also appears that aftertexts

²¹⁴ Peter Lamarque, *Work and Art: Explorations in the Metaphysics of Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 151.

²¹⁵ Loewenstein, *Author’s Due*, 27.

²¹⁶ Alexander Welsh, *George Eliot and Blackmail* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 35. His thinking here draws on H. T. Buckly.

²¹⁷ Grafton, *Forgers and Critics*, 12.

reverse causality: because a writer is parodied, his or her compositions are distinct and distinguished; because a writer is imitated, that writer is considered original. A seminal argument can be found in Edward Young's 1759 pamphlet *Conjectures on Original Composition*. While the existence of 'illustrious Examples' may 'engross, prejudice, and intimidate' the latter-day writer, Young also suggests that originals themselves are productive: 'an *Original* author ... will probably propagate a numerous offspring of Imitators, to eternize his glory.'²¹⁸ Joel Weinsheimer, in an article on Young's thesis, finds that a work of art 'is not original until it originates, and what it originates are imitations. The originativity of the original depends of its being imitated, and so disseminated, by readerly writers'.²¹⁹ By this view, aftertexts that mimic, in some fashion, *Oliver Twist* (1837–1839) or *Adam Bede* do not diminish or deplete their sources; rather, these reproductions make the originals *original* in that they originated something. Further, as will be seen, Dickens, Bulwer, and Eliot were not passive witnesses to such aftertextual attentions. In each case, the originating novelist was compelled to pivot away from the imitators, to undercut or outperform them, and to change narrative modes and forms of publication in order to distinguish him- or herself from the epigones. Anonymous, hackneyed, and willfully unoriginal writers are thus part of the literary history from which they have often been excluded; they also shaped that literary history and influenced—in a seeming reversal of

²¹⁸ [Edward Young], *Conjectures on Original Composition*. *In a Letter to the Author of Sir Charles Grandison* (London: Printed for A. Miller, 1759), 17, 68.

²¹⁹ Joel Weinsheimer, 'Conjectures on Unoriginal Composition', *Eighteenth Century* 22, no. 1 (1981), 66.

cause and effect—three iconic novelists of the nineteenth century.

So why Dickens, Bulwer, and Eliot? Other writers were certainly subject to nineteenth-century imitation. Captain Frederick Marryat's 'naval fictions were much emulated in the 1830s by a number of other authors who were also Captains', and Ainsworth's *Jack Sheppard* (1839) prompted a 'Jack Sheppard mania', with works including *Eventful Life and Unparalleled Exploits of Jack Sheppard* and *Eventful Life and Unparalleled Exploits of the Notorious Jack Sheppard* (both 1840).²²⁰ John (aka Jack) Sheppard turned posthumous 'author' with *The Life and Adventures of Jack Sheppard* (1840), among other titles. It should be noted that Sheppard was an historic figure, so facsimiles of his story in print and on the London stage were not strictly a response to Ainsworth's imaginative achievement. Beyond Marryat and Ainsworth, Benjamin Disraeli's *Coningsby* prompted William North's *Anti-Coningsby; or, The New Generation Grown Old* (both 1844), and Lewis Carroll's *Alice* books inspired theatrical, musical, visual, and prose recapitulations. The Brontë sisters might seem to have offered tempting possibilities for would-be imitators, but Patsy Stoneman finds that there were 'no derivations of *Wuthering Heights* before the 1880's'.²²¹ *Jane Eyre*, first published in 1847, was produced on stage in the late 1840s and 1850s, and Stoneman identifies a number of fictions that draw on Charlotte Brontë's

²²⁰ Matthew P. M. Kerr, 'With Many Voices: The Sea in Victorian Fiction' (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2012), 8; 'William Ainsworth and Jack Sheppard', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* 21, no. 122 (February 1840), 228.

²²¹ Patsy Stoneman, *Brontë Transformations: The Cultural Dissemination of Jane Eyre and Wuthering Heights* (London: Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1996), 6.

novel, such as Julie Kavanagh's *Nathalie* and Dinah Maria Craik's *Olive* (both 1850).²²²

Yet in the cases of Dickens, Bulwer, and Eliot, the production of aftertexts was more intense, immediate, and sustained. The aftertexts analyzed in the subsequent chapters meet two criteria: temporal and generic. In terms of the first, the aftertexts discussed are roughly contemporary with their sources (or, in the case of some serialized fictions, precisely concurrent). This temporal limitation thus excludes works of fiction that are retrospective, written decades or perhaps over a century later. The aftertexts of this thesis appeared during the lifetimes of the originating authors, when the publishing and cultural conditions of the source text still prevailed and that text itself was a current work and not a historical artefact or 'classic'. The second criterion is to focus (as much as possible) on works of prose—that is, publications that draw closest to the imaginative medium used by Dickens, Bulwer, and Eliot. It is certainly the case that Victorian dramatists were among the most aggressive of literary borrowers, and this thesis will occasionally venture into theatrical terrain. Yet it also remains the case that a stage adaptation of a novel constitutes a change of medium—a medium with its own history, traditions, and pragmatic contingencies.

One other pattern emerges that makes the aftertexts of Dickens, Bulwer, and Eliot especially important to the student of literary history. These texts, to varying degrees, usurp authorial identity and control: the stable, autonomous author is tested by acts of literary theft and identity theft. All three cases involve questions of names and nomenclature. Charles Dickens

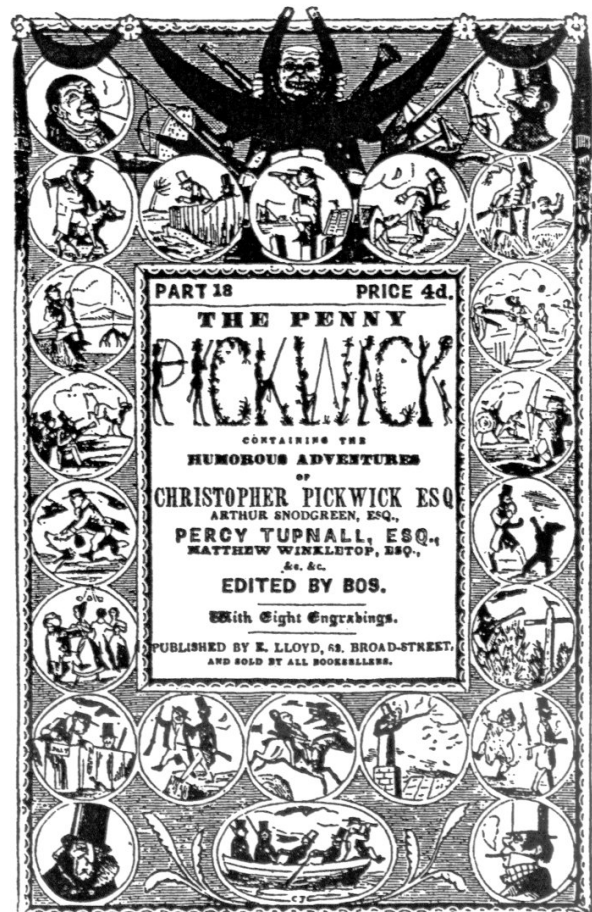
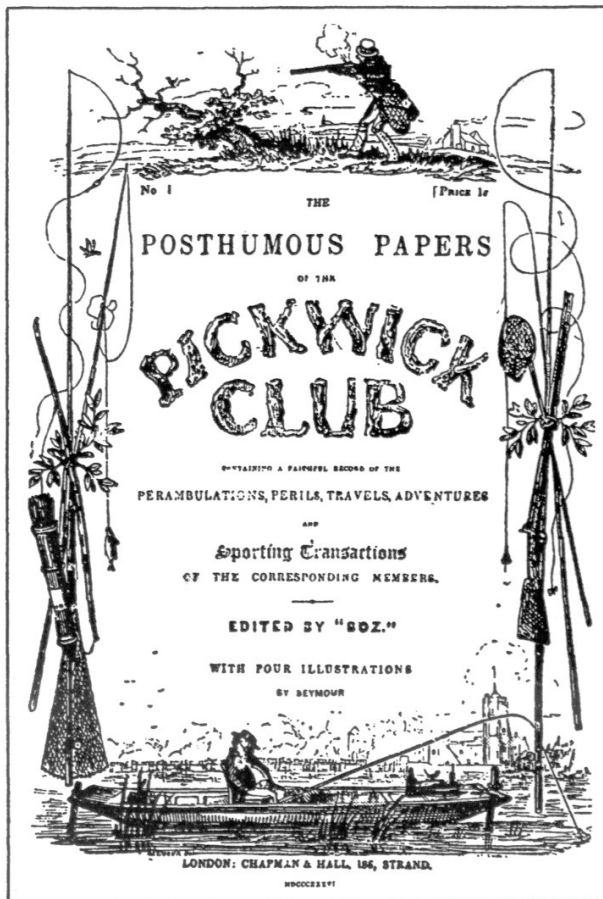
²²² Ibid., 18–24.

found that his early penname Boz was refashioned into Bos and Poz and Quiz; Edward Bulwer Lytton felt threatened when his wife published novels under her married name—*his* name—Bulwer Lytton; and there were deceptive authors who claimed to be George Eliot or, less plausibly, Adam Bede. Spurious Victorians are thus ‘other’ to canonical authors; they are counterfactuals; their work, counterfictions. Thomas Peckett Prest, Rosina Bulwer Lytton, Joseph Liggins, and Edith Simcox, among others, prove, in this account, to be alternate versions of Dickens, Bulwer, and Eliot: the lesser-known writers are iterations of what might have been.

The chapters that follow will not promote a Whig view of history, and they will not argue for dialectic; there will be thesis and antithesis but no synthesis. Instead, spurious imitation is the shadowy twin to the major writers of the period, the secret sharer, that which knows something about the originating author that he or she may not know about him- or herself. Once that knowledge is revealed, an originating author is obliged to deny it, reckon with it, or outmaneuver it. Through imitation, ventriloquism, and identity theft, Spurious Victorians inform literary history and the construction of authorship; they helped to shape the nineteenth-century canon that in turn denied them admission. Neglected, plagiaristic texts illuminate the process by which an individual authorial voice emerged amid an echo chamber of competing, imitative voices.

PLAGIARIZING *PICKWICK*:

Imitations of Immortality



Whatever is felicitously expressed risks being worse expressed.

—Isaac D’Israeli

Will the perennial bachelor Samuel Pickwick ever marry? Will he travel abroad? Will he die? Will he be mistaken for a lunatic and locked in an asylum? These and other questions remain unanswered by *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*. Into this narrative void hastened a league of imitating authors, with imitative names such as Bos and Quiz and Poz; they knew the answers and were keen to share them in exchange for shillings and pence. While the club imitations fabricate something new out of a borrowed cloak, other aftertexts are more wilfully plagiaristic. They are *Pickwick* branded—that is, they trade on obviously derivative titles, such as ‘An Omitted Pickwick Paper’—and they pilfer characters, ideas, and plotlines from Dickens’s book.

I have christened this second batch ‘prostheses’—artificial extensions to the *Pickwick* corpus. Pickwick prostheses make available aspects of the original that are omitted, muted, implied, curtailed, forgotten, repressed, or secreted to distant corners. They interpret and interpenetrate with *The Pickwick Papers* and stand, alongside the club imitations, among the earliest and most vivid responses to Dickens’s text. Two categories emerge: works that retain the Pickwickian innocence and those that draw on darker, hidden energies and discover instances of anti-Semitism, racism, and sexual desire.

By way of introduction to the prostheses, it will help to foreground a specimen from the field. *The Penny Pickwick*, by ‘Bos’, may or may not be the best of the lot, but it is certainly the longest; it was published weekly, from 1837 to 1839, and was gathered into twenty-eight monthly parts. It will be

recalled that this work earned the wrath of Dickens's allies and an aborted legal action on the part of his publishers. The defendant in the case, Edward Lloyd, a bookseller and eventually a publisher, maintained offices in Wych Street and, later, Broad Street, Bloomsbury. He paid his literary labourers very little: sometimes 10s. for the contents of an eight-page weekly number.²²³ By this reckoning, a worker might receive £2 a month, in contrast to Dickens's £14 3s. 6d. (for fewer pages) in the original agreement for *Pickwick*.²²⁴

One of Edward Lloyd's most prolific authors was the inimitable Bos. His collected works include *The Sketch-Book by 'Bos'*, *The Penny Pickwick*, *Oliver Twiss*, *Nickelas Nickelbery*, and *Mister Humfries' Clock*.²²⁵ By general consensus, Bos is taken to be the nom de guerre of Thomas Peckett Prest, 'a shadowy figure', according to Mary Teresa McGowan.²²⁶ Prest later turned to penny dreadfuls, and he may have written *The String of Pearls* (1846–1847), which is the story of Sweeney Todd. In April or May 1838, while *The Penny Pickwick* was still appearing weekly, Prest began *Pickwick in America*, which was published from 1838 to 1839.²²⁷ It has also been suggested that Prest is the anonymous author of *Posthumous Papers of the Cadgers' Club*. So it is

²²³ James, *Fiction for the Working Man*, 33.

²²⁴ Letter from Chapman and Hall to Charles Dickens, 12 February 1836, *CD Letters*, 1:648. Dickens at first provided text for twenty-four pages. After Seymour's death the monthly page count eventually increased to thirty-two.

²²⁵ Bos's *Twiss* (1837–1839), *Nickelbery* (1838–1839), and *Mister Humfries' Clock* (1840) are discussed in chap. 2.

²²⁶ McGowan, 'Pickwick and the Pirates', 366.

²²⁷ When published in volume form, this work gained an exclamation point: *Pickwick in America!*

possible that he generated two *Pickwick* imitations simultaneously for most of 1838 and some of 1839. Dickens, we recall, wrote only one *Pickwick* at a time. For his service to literature, Thomas Peckett Prest ‘died a pauper in a cheap lodging house’.²²⁸

Like the club imitations, *The Penny Pickwick* was offered weekly, in eight-page numbers, with double-column print and two illustrations; later, the work was issued in two volumes with a revised title, *The Post-Humourous Notes of the Pickwickian Club*. Bos deviates from Boz in that the principal characters’ names are vaguely corrupted. Christopher Pickwick leads Arthur Snodgreen, Percy Tupnall, and Matthew Winkletop. Mr Pickwick’s trusty servant is one Samivel Veller. Jovial Mr Wardle, for instance, appears as Mr Warner, of Mushroom Hall, Violet Vale. Mrs Bardell is transposed to Mrs Pardell; Mrs Rogers becomes Mrs Dodgers; Cluppins is Tuppins; and Raddle is Faddle. Mr Jingle is absent from the proceedings, presumably replaced with Simon Shirk (aka Horatio Brutus Guff), who speaks in broken, Jingle-like utterances.

Appropriately, for a work that is so double-voiced, *The Penny Pickwick* is itself filled with doubles and replicas. On one occasion the narrator admits that his text is merely the copy: ‘The annexed speech is but a phantom of that splendid harangue’ (126). *The Penny Pickwick* also reproduces the Pickwick phenomenon itself. For instance, the Royal George is redubbed the Pickwick Arms, and tradesmen offer Pickwick hats and ‘Patent Double-Sighted Pickwickian Spectacles’ (124) (‘double-sighted’ here is an apt term). More significantly, Christopher Pickwick, that doppelgänger to his namesake

²²⁸ James, *Fiction for the Working Man*, 33.

Samuel, is often mistaken for others within the pages of *The Penny Pickwick*. Bos's Mr Pickwick is chased by two men who believe that he is an escaped lunatic. In the echo chamber of Bos's universe, one of the pursuers is even named Sam. The image of a Pickwickian loon roaming the English countryside is an inspired metaphor for a *Pickwick* imitation. In any case, the forces of law/social control pursue and then incarcerate the errant being. Once imprisoned, Christopher Pickwick is about to receive shock treatment when the 'shocking mistake' is suddenly rectified and the real lunatic captured (23).

Repetition forms an important part of Bos's elongated art. Nearly two hundred pages later, Christopher Pickwick is mistaken for one Humphrey Crisp, who abandoned his wife and six children (not unlike Jinkins, Tom Smart's rival, in 'The Bagman's Story'). Pickwick reads the description of Crisp in a posted notice—'sixty years of age, rather stout, bald of head', plus green spectacles and 'black cloth gaiters'—and he experiences the uncanny. "What a strange thing!" he remarks (192). It is perhaps unsurprising that a Dickens aftertext would offer such a moment. As Rosemarie Bodenheimer suggests, 'Freud's idea of the uncanny as a return of repressed but intimately familiar material is something that Dickens knew, not in theoretical terms of course, but in experiential ones'.²²⁹ Freud's 1919 essay explains that 'the uncanny is that species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been familiar'.²³⁰ After an etymological discussion, he

²²⁹ Bodenheimer, *Knowing Dickens*, 7.

²³⁰ Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. David McLintock (1919; reprint, London: Penguin Books, 2003), 124.

concludes that *das Heimliche* ('the homely') fuses with its seeming opposite, *das Unheimliche* ('the unhomely'); thus, the uncanny is that which is known and unknown, familiar and forgotten.²³¹ For Dickens, *The Penny Pickwick* may have seemed a species of the uncanny: his own text returned to him, now made strange by the interventions of Bos.

But this was only one of many Pickwick prostheses. The effort of all these works is to extend *The Pickwick Papers* beyond the already copious limits that Dickens offered the world from 1836 to 1837. Each prosthesis marks an intervention, a coming-to-terms with that which Dickens had wrought. Some texts insist on extending Mr Pickwick into the past and the future. For a novel published over twenty months, with many instances of what David M. Bevington dubbed 'Seasonal Relevance', *Pickwick* is strangely atemporal.²³² The very first sentence mentions 'that obscurity' which shrouds 'the earlier history' of the book's hero (1). Philip Rogers pursues this notion and argues that 'Pickwick represents a triumph over time'. Indeed, Mr Pickwick lacks 'relations that link him to the past'; he has no nephew Fred and no Cheeryble brother.²³³ Steven Marcus agrees that 'Pickwick is a man without a history, created, as it were, entirely in the present'.²³⁴ In W. H. Auden's famous essay on the novel, he notes, 'In our minds Mr. Pickwick is born in middle age with independent means'.²³⁵

²³¹ Ibid., 134.

²³² Bevington, 'Seasonal Relevance'.

²³³ Rogers, 'Mr. Pickwick's Innocence', 28.

²³⁴ Marcus, *Dickens from Pickwick to Dombey*, 25.

²³⁵ W. H. Auden, 'Dingley Dell and the Fleet', in *The Dyer's Hand and Other Essays* (New York: Random House, 1962), 416.

The *Pickwick* prostheses disagree. Either they misunderstand Dickens's purpose in concealing Pickwick's past or they willfully ignore this choice in an attempt to make the protagonist more palpable, more subject to the laws of biography and biology. *The Penny Pickwick* informs its readers that Christopher Pickwick's ancestors were 'mercantile men' (96) and that they hailed from Guzzelton, England (112). 'I had the distinguished honour to serve in the Guzzelton Royal Volunteers, in 1804', announces the *Penny Pickwick*. Bos is alert to the novelty of the occasion: 'This was the very first intimation that Mr. Warner, or any of the Pickwickians, had received of Mr. Pickwick's military exploits' (158). In 'Winkle's Journal (Omitted in *The Pickwick Papers*)', which was published in the *Metropolitan Magazine*, in 1838, readers learn that Pickwick received a gentleman's education. Both he and Winkle 'conversed in Latin and Greek' while reposing in the Angel Inn, Oxford. Their Greek is a bit rusty, as Winkle admits: 'Mr. Pickwick and myself had quite forgotten that mellifluous language.'²³⁶

But the question that most piques the *Pickwick* prostheses is, of course: where did Samuel Pickwick get his money? George Orwell notes that Pickwick 'had "been in the city," but it is difficult to imagine him making a fortune there'.²³⁷ Rather, we can imagine him giving one away. Percy Fitzgerald mentions that its hero was 'an export merchant apparently' but cites no

²³⁶ 'Winkle's Journal (Omitted in *The Pickwick Papers*)', *Metropolitan Magazine*, October 1838, 164. Subsequent references to this edition will be made parenthetically within the text.

²³⁷ Orwell, 'Charles Dickens', 52.

evidence for this.²³⁸ *The Penny Pickwick* offers another possible profession for its Pickwick, Christopher, when Rosa Dupps (the Rachael Wardle figure) threatens to expose him as ‘A BODY SNATCHER!’ ‘How did you get your wealth, sir?’ the woman demands. ‘[R]ecall the silent graves, robbed of their ghastly tenants!’ (94). Bos’s subsequent aftertext, *Pickwick in America*, suggests that Pickwick (now Samuel once again) is a colonist of sorts. The narrator boasts that he has access to information that ‘escaped the notice of the former clever historian of this distinguished gentleman’.²³⁹ Indeed, Pickwick owns property in the United States that ‘devolved to [him] on the death of his father’ (2). It also escaped the notice of Boz that Samuel Pickwick ever had a father. All these prostheses delineate Pickwick’s emptied-out past and link him to inexorable time.

Corresponding to Samuel Pickwick’s obscure past is his cloudy future. Anny Sadrin argues that ‘Pickwick has no future; except, of course, the simplest of futures, which is death’.²⁴⁰ Such a suggestion contradicts Dickens’s triumphant opening sentence, which introduces ‘the immortal Pickwick’ (1). Yet the prostheses attempt to make the immortal mortal; drawing Mr Pickwick closer to the race of ordinary men narrows the gap between an emulating author and Charles Dickens. ‘Mr. Pickwick’s Hat-Box’, which appeared serially in *The New Monthly Belle Assemblée*, in 1840, offers

²³⁸ Percy Fitzgerald, *Pickwickian Studies* (London: The New Century Press, 1899), 70.

²³⁹ [Thomas Peckett Prest], *Pickwick in America* (London: E. Lloyd, [1838–1839]), 2. Subsequent references to this edition will be made parenthetically within the text.

²⁴⁰ Sadrin, ‘Fragmentation’, 25.

a dose of mortality. This work opens with ‘the decease of ... Mr. Pickwick’.²⁴¹ In the next installment, a quasi-literate ‘correspondent’ counters that Pickwick is still alive and cites ‘Master humfrey’s klok’ as proof (Dickens reintroduced Pickwick in *Master Humphrey’s Clock*, in May 1840). The editor of the ‘Hat-Box’ refers his correspondent to ‘Johnson’s Dictionary for the word “posthumous”’ and argues that Master Humphrey does not indicate when exactly ‘Mr. Pickwick paid him a visit’.²⁴² In ‘Hat-Box’, the Pickwickians proceed to ransack the earthly remains of the late Pickwick, in a mode that anticipates the death of Scrooge, also without issue, in the vision of the third Christmas spirit (although the affect is reversed). ‘Mr. Tupman seized his defunct leader’s coat, Mr. Winkle his long-to-be remembered tight unmentionables, Mrs. Bardell rushed to secure Mr. Pickwick’s shirts (being that article of apparel which is placed the nearest to the heart).’²⁴³ This scene also suggests the efforts of Dickens’s literary successors, who divest *The Pickwick Papers* for their own use and benefit.

Other visions of Pickwick’s future appear in Percy Fitzgerald’s *Pickwickian Studies* and the anonymous work *Pickwick in India*. Fitzgerald, besides writing multiple books on *Pickwick*, felt compelled to generate his own prosthesis on the subject of Pickwick Yet To Come. Upon retirement in Dulwich and the demise of his eponymous club, Samuel Pickwick joins yet

²⁴¹ ‘Mr. Pickwick’s Hat-Box’, no. 1, *New Monthly Belle Assemblée*, June 1840, 305.

²⁴² ‘Mr. Pickwick’s Hat-Box’, no. 2, *New Monthly Belle Assemblée*, August 1840, 83.

²⁴³ ‘Mr. Pickwick’s Hat-Box’, no. 1, 305.

another society, the ‘Dulwich Literary and Scientific Association’.²⁴⁴ ‘Literary’ is a telling term in that, after the publication of *The Pickwick Papers*, Dickens’s hero is a creature of literature as well as science. At one meeting, the inevitable Mr Blotton makes an appearance and disputes with his old nemesis—an example of eternal recurrence. But Fitzgerald’s primary aim is to illustrate the death of Pickwick. Unlike the ignominious affair in ‘Mr. Pickwick’s Hat-Box’, Fitzgerald’s version is a glorious coda: ‘The funeral *cortège* left the Dell at ten o’clock, and was one of the most striking displays of public feeling that Dulwich has seen for many years.’²⁴⁵ In contrast, *Pickwick in India* awards its hero a harsher end. This prosthesis appeared from 1839 to 1840, in the *Madras Miscellany*, a title that recalls *Bentley’s Miscellany*. After seven installments, the serial abruptly stopped and left its protagonist literally at sea. A later note informs the concerned reader that ‘Mr. Pickwick *has* been devoured by a Shark!’²⁴⁶ That Mr Pickwick, who consumes so much in the course of his peregrinations, ends his immortality as luncheon for a carnivore is, somehow, apt. However, the note qualifies that ‘the Shark is but a figurative one’.²⁴⁷

Besides representations of Pickwick’s past and future, the prostheses also contain alternate versions of the self. These redescribe not only Mr Pickwick but other characters as well. Some of these rewrites are subtle shifts, mere emendations. For instance, *Pickwick*’s Sam Weller is assigned no

²⁴⁴ Fitzgerald, *Pickwickian Studies*, 107.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 112.

²⁴⁶ ‘Preface to the Volume’, *Madras Miscellany*, July 1839–March 1840 (Madras: J. B. Pharoah, 1840), n.p.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

particular age, but *The Penny Pickwick*'s Samivel Veller is twenty-four (Dickens's age at the commencement of his book). Further, Sam Weller's initial employer, the White Hart, 'used Day and Martin' for blacking (92); Samivel Veller, by contrast, 'gave the indifferent boots an indifferent dash of Warren's' and later insists, '[N]othing but Varren's unadulterated' (86–87). Samivel, unlike Samuel, thus evinces a preference for a brand with strong Dickensian connotations. Augustus Snodgrass, in *The Pickwick Papers*, is ostensibly a poet, but the reader is spared his poetic effusions. Seizing this opportunity, several prostheses quote directly from Snodgrass's poetry. In George W. M. Reynolds's *Pickwick Abroad; or, The Tour in France*, Snodgrass is something of a plagiarist as well; he drafts Pickwick's life and adventures into a *Pickwickiad*, 'in twenty cantos written' (re: twenty monthly numbers).²⁴⁸ Sometimes, the alternate versions of the Pickwickian selves are not merely different but better—removed from Regency roughhouse and elevated to Victorian virtue.²⁴⁹ In 'An Omitted Pickwick Paper', published in an American gift annual, in 1841, Samuel Pickwick and Tony Weller are discovered walking from church.²⁵⁰ While Mr Stiggins's flock attends chapel, no one in *Pickwick*, it seems, ever goes to a *church*. Further, in 'Noctes Pickwickianae' (1840), Reynolds casts the lot of imbibing Pickwickians as teetotallers, whereas temperance, in *Pickwick*, is associated with the hypocrisy of Stiggins ('all taps is vanities' [482]).

²⁴⁸ George W. M. Reynolds, *Pickwick Abroad; or, The Tour in France* (1837–1839; reprint, London: Henry G. Bohn, 1864), 101.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Bowen, *Other Dickens*, 67: 'a last gasp of Regency England.'

²⁵⁰ 'An Omitted Pickwick Paper', in *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir* (Boston: William D. Ticknor, 1841), 51.

Of course, alternate versions of Pickwick himself appear in many prostheses. The genial old man turns nasty, vengeful, ambitious. In *The Penny Pickwick*, he pursues an opportunity to stand for Parliament and is ‘dazzled by the prospect of becoming an M.P.’ (113). He stands as a liberal against the Tory, Sir Gregory Graspall. Yet Pickwick’s politics are ineffable: ‘we cannot say whether he was radical, whig, conservative, or destructive; but we are inclined to think he must be a beautiful combination of all four’ (122). Fortunately, he loses the election, or Thomas Peckett Prest would have been obliged to start yet another serial, ‘Pickwick in Parliament’. Further, distinctions between Pickwick and his fellow corresponding members blur. At times he transforms into a Winkle-like coward, in particular when challenged to a duel. In *Pickwick in America*, he flees rather than run the risk of killing his opponent, and in *The Penny Pickwick*, on the way to the field of honour, he complains of the cold air and suddenly limps with gout.

All of these examples are relatively benign. The Pickwick prostheses are more instructive and their readings more pointed when they animate the darker energies of Dickens’s text and illuminate absences. Call it the return of the repressed: the seemingly un-Pickwickian trinity of anti-Semitism, racism, and sex.²⁵¹ There is an element of topsy-turvy at work—a dose of Bakhtinian ‘carnival laughter’.²⁵² *The Penny Pickwick*, for instance, turns the noble fool Samuel Pickwick into the ignoble fool Christopher Pickwick. But the prostheses also offer, in many cases, working-class readings of a middle-class

²⁵¹ For Freud on the return of the repressed, as it relates to the uncanny, see *Uncanny*, 147–148.

²⁵² Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, 11.

text. To turn Dickens's novel into a penny serial or theatrical production increases its access to a wider public—and to that public's tastes and cultural biases. The efforts of Bos, in particular, seem to want to ascribe lower-class foibles to the bourgeoisie. A banker may be 'intoxicated' and a pauper 'drunk', but they both have the same blood alcohol level.

Anti-Semitism might seem an unlikely feature to find in the descendants of *Pickwick*. Is it a random mutation? In fact, this feature derives from the repressed Jewish origins of Samuel Pickwick. When Dickens 'thought of Mr Pickwick', he may have been referring to an actual person.²⁵³ Moses Pickwick was a 'celebrated coach proprietor', who later owned the White Hart Hotel in Bath.²⁵⁴ Percy Fitzgerald quotes a Mr Peach who lived in that city and claimed that the Pickwicks 'must have been a Jewish family'.²⁵⁵ Peach's evidence is mainly the family's preference for Biblical names: Moses and Eleazer, his grandfather. (Not to mention Samuel.) Legend held that Eleazer was a foundling, picked up in the village of Wick, hence 'Pick-Wick'.²⁵⁶ Fitzgerald confuses the legend by stating that it was the *grandson* who was the foundling, although Fitzgerald may have conflated Moses of Bath with Moses of Egypt.²⁵⁷ Furthermore, the name Moses Pickwick would have

²⁵³ Dickens, 1847 preface, 44. On the ambiguity of this phrase, see Marcus, *Dickens from Pickwick to Dombey*, 20.

²⁵⁴ Edwin Pugh, *The Charles Dickens Originals* (1912; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1975), 85.

²⁵⁵ Fitzgerald, *History of Pickwick*, 14.

²⁵⁶ B. W. Matz, *The Inns and Taverns of 'Pickwick': With Some Observances on their Other Associations* (London: Cecil Palmer, 1921), 173.

²⁵⁷ Fitzgerald, *Pickwickian Dictionary*, 178.

doubly signified for Charles Dickens. Besides the acoustic connection between Dickens and *Pickwick*, young Charles ascribed to his brother Augustus the nickname Moses ('in honour of the *Vicar of Wakefield*', according to Forster). Through childish jesting, 'Moses' became 'Boses', which was adopted into Dickens's pseudonym, Boz.²⁵⁸ So when Dickens thought of Moses Pickwick, he thought of a successful, possibly Jewish businessman for whom he would have had at least linguistic affection.

George Orwell, writing in 1939, when one would have been sensitive, argues that Dickens 'shows no prejudice against Jews'.²⁵⁹ At least in *Pickwick*, references to Jews are few and innocuous. In chapter 2, the narrator quotes from the notebook of Samuel Pickwick and finds 'soldiers, sailors, Jews, chalk, shrimps, officers, and dockyard men' (11). Leo Hunter later reports that 'Solomon Lucas the Jew in the High Street, has thousands of fancy dresses' (149). Again relying on Old Testament names, Percy Fitzgerald suggests that Solomon Pell, Tony Weller's legal friend, 'was likely a Jew solicitor'.²⁶⁰ Memorably, Moses Pickwick himself is represented in his namesake novel. When Sam is affronted to find 'Moses' attached to the 'magic name' Pickwick on the Bath coach, the very next Wellerism a telling one: 'as the parrot said ven they not only took him from his native land, but made him talk the

²⁵⁸ John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, 3 vols. (1872–1874; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1:83. Ruth Richardson challenges this origin story in "'BOZ": Another Explanation', *Dickens Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (March 2013), 64–65. See also William F. Long, "'Boz": Reinforcement of the Received Wisdom', *Dickens Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (June 2014), 165–166.

²⁵⁹ Orwell, 'Charles Dickens', 71.

²⁶⁰ Fitzgerald, *Pickwickian Dictionary*, 268.

English langvidge arterwards' (374). This is a parable of the immigrant, the exotic outsider (such as an eastern European), who must learn English and assimilate. Later, Sam complains to Mary that he has been 'walkin' about like the wanderin' Jew—a sportin' character you have perhaps heerd on' (417). So here the Jew is associated with perambulating, that favourite Pickwickian pastime, and he is a sporting character as well, a fitting figure for the 'Sporting Transactions' of the Pickwick Club.

Imitations of *The Pickwick Papers* exploit the novel's Jewish undercurrent in unsurprisingly crass ways. A standard riff in nineteenth-century comedy seems to be the Jewish figure breaking the rules of *kashrut* and consuming pork. In 'Winkle's Journal', a Welshman tells an anecdote of two Jews who try bacon; heaven responds with violent thunderclaps (168–169). *Sam Weller's Budget of Recitations* includes a poem entitled 'Jewish Mutton'. An accompanying illustration depicts a Jewish-looking waiter serving 'Roast Pork' to a black-bearded Semite, who smiles in anticipation.²⁶¹ One theatrical version of *Pickwick* adds a Jewish reference not found in the original. Mrs Bardell's attorneys, Dodson and Fogg, are affiliated with no particular religious group; yet in T. H. Lacy's *The Pickwickians; or, The Peregrinations of Sam Weller*, Mr Pickwick bemoans that '[a] couple of roguish lawyers, of the Jewish tribe, have got hold of her and persuaded her to commence proceedings'.²⁶² Typically, *The Penny Pickwick* descends to the lowest level. The narrator refers to Holywell Street as '[t]hat dirty receptacle

²⁶¹ *Sam Weller's Budget of Recitations* (London: J. Clements, 1838), 161.

²⁶² T. H. Lacy, *The Pickwickians; or, The Peregrinations of Sam Weller* (London: Samuel French, [1837]), 38.

for old clothes, old books, impudent Jews, and indefatigable “barkers!”²⁶³ Further, ‘Jews are perfect savages in their anxiety to do business at any place’ (108–109).

If the Jew is the other to the European Christian, then a dark-skinned non-European is subject to more prejudice. The club imitations offer a few examples. When Sir Peter Patron and his Wonderful Club members are set upon by the police, he remarks on the swarthy ‘complexion’ of the newcomers and asks, ‘Are we in Algiers?’ (11). An angry Black-Berry, in *The Cadgers’ Club*, is described uncharitably as a ‘black pudding in revulsions’ (16).

Imitative Wellerisms also take up the theme, as in this example from *Pickwick Abroad*: ‘as the vite man said to his-self ven he got among the selvidges vich made a fire to eat him.’²⁶³ *The Penny Pickwick* delights in a grotesque description of Christopher Pickwick’s seventy-year-old servant, a black man named John White:

His skin was a beautiful Day and Martin hue, his nose, upon moderate calculation, measured eight inches across—entirely monopolized the extent of his face. ... Beneath his nose was a gap—we cannot call it a mouth ... this awful cavern was environed by two immense rolls of flesh—which nature had probably intended for lips (6–7)

While the anti-Semitism of the prostheses can claim at least a possible Pickwickian provenance, such ‘comedy’ as the above seems far from Dickens’s work. Certain intervening culture-texts may be responsible. In 1836, T. D. Rice presented the character Jim Crow in London, and it was a popular

²⁶³ Reynolds, *Pickwick Abroad*, 4.

success.²⁶⁴ By 1837, William Thomas Moncrieff's play *Sam Weller; or, The Pickwickians* allowed its title character to sing the song 'Jim Crow', not to advance the narrative, but simply because the number was a specialty of the role's performer, W. J. Hammond.²⁶⁵

For obvious reasons, *Pickwick in America* offers the most robust array of Pickwickian racism. Besides the shallow laughter derived from stereotypes, this prosthesis is compelling in that it offers African-American doubles to elements in Dickens's book. Sam Weller meets his counterpart in a boots figure named Sambo. According to Sam, Sambo 'gets his livin' by aggrawatin' boots an' shoes into a polish equal to his own phiz' (78). This last bit of whimsy suggests physiognomy as well as the *Pickwick* illustrator Hablot K. Browne (aka 'Phiz'). The fat boy, Joe, finds a fat facsimile of himself in an African-American waiter named Maximilian Jupiter: 'he was in fact, a second edition, (*black letter* edition,) of that ponderous and somniferous juvenile!' (33). Even the Pickwickian urge to socialize in clubs has its equivalent in the New World. Sam attends a meeting of the so-named '*Society for the*

²⁶⁴ Curiously, Rice was also considered to be inimitable: 'He is, in fact, the only real representative of the character he professes to play that has yet appeared on the stage, and as he is the copyist of no predecessor, so will his imitators find it difficult to give any translation of his peculiarity and originality' (review of *A Flight to America; or, Ten Hours in New York*, *Times*, 8 November 1836, 5).

²⁶⁵ The song is also known as 'Jump Jim Crow'. In an early instance of product placement, the printed version of the play includes a note: 'This song is Published with the Music, and a Likeness of Mr. HAMMOND, by Limbard & Co., 143, Strand' (William Thomas Moncrieff, *Sam Weller; or, The Pickwickians* [London: Printed for the Author, 1837], 21n).

protection and cultivation of the morals of the infant Niggers!' (98). Further, like some of Dickens's imitators, African-American businessmen employ elevated, polysyllabic terms. '[D]irty shops and cellars' are rechristened 'Emporiums' or 'Establishments' (102). Because Prest was ignorant enough to fail to notice that slavery was illegal in New York State by 1838, a delegation of black men calls upon 'Mishter Pickvicky' to assert their rights (230). Pickwick's compassionate speech in response borrows abolitionist language ('are we not all brothers'), and he grants the petitioners £20 (231). Yet in *Pickwick in America*, as in the America of the 1830s, the issue was unresolved.

It can certainly be argued that the racism found in these prostheses ranges beyond Dickens's original and owes more to the wider culture's stereotypical assumptions and modes of 'ethnic' humor. In the case of *Pickwick* and sex, the situation is more imbricated. To begin with, for a protagonist in an English novel, Samuel Pickwick is strangely uninterested in courtship. Such a function is outsourced to his fellow corresponding members: Tupman, Winkle, and Snodgrass. Indeed, the late chapters of *Pickwick* evolve (or devolve) into Roman New Comedy; obdurate fathers (and brothers) stand in the way of true love, and love prevails. (Note that the name of forbidding Mr Winkle, Senior, appears on a brass plate 'in fat Roman capitals' [538].) In terms of Mr Pickwick and sex, the experts agree: 'Sex, for example, is no temptation for him'; 'even sexual love is almost outside his scope'; and 'the almost complete extinction of sex'.²⁶⁶ Then there is Peter

²⁶⁶ Auden, 'Dingley Dell', 416; Orwell, 'Charles Dickens', 98; James R. Kincaid, *Dickens and the Rhetoric of Laughter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 23.

Ackroyd's pithy summary: 'No sex.'²⁶⁷ Appropriately for a novel thus scrubbed of romantic affect, the female characters appear as 'predatory spinsters' and 'husband-hating wives'; there is a 'deep anxiety about sexuality'.²⁶⁸ Samuel Pickwick would rather go to *jail* than enjoy the nuptial favours of Martha Bardell.

There is a counterview to this. Fitzgerald asks, '[W]hat is the chief note of this immortal work? *Kissing*'.²⁶⁹ He argues that Mr Pickwick 'seized every opportunity of kissing the young ladies'.²⁷⁰ John Glavin offers a more nuanced observation: 'repeatedly, Pickwick blunders into erotically pregnant situations'.²⁷¹ In Eatanswill, Pickwick is mistaken for a voyeur. 'Putting on his spectacles to look at a married 'ooman!' wails an alarmed bystander. Another complains of his 'vicked old eye', as if Pickwick were a cyclops, capable of seeing only one thing, through monocular vision (131). Fitzgerald suggests a Freudian reading of Pickwick's nocturnal encounter with Miss Witherfield.²⁷² In looking for his watch, the old bachelor is really looking for something (or someone) else. Once entrapped with the lady in the double-bedded room, '[i]t was quite impossible to resist the urgent desire to see what was going forward. So out went Mr. Pickwick's head again'—thus piercing the membrane of the

²⁶⁷ Ackroyd, *Dickens*, 197.

²⁶⁸ Bowen, *Other Dickens*, 62.

²⁶⁹ Percy Fitzgerald, *Pickwick Riddles and Perplexities* (London: Gay and Hancock, 1912), 30.

²⁷⁰ Fitzgerald, *Pickwickian Studies*, 14.

²⁷¹ John Glavin, *After Dickens: Reading, Adaptation and Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 89.

²⁷² Fitzgerald, *Pickwickian Studies*, 15.

bed curtains (233).

If sex in *Pickwick* is a loaded but unfired pistol, then the Pickwick prostheses pull the trigger. Samuel Pickwick must learn about human fallenness from his more-knowing servant; Christopher Pickwick needs no such instruction. In *The Penny Pickwick*, he plays the conventional lover to the widow Rosa Dupps and asks, 'But what are roses compared to the blossom of your lovely cheeks ...?' (50). In a most un-Pickwickian manner, he competes with his friend Tupnall for the widow's affections. The narrator reports that 'the too fascinating Pickwick had completely clouded all [Tupnall's] prospects of bliss!' (40). Dickens's Pickwick, who 'burst like another sun' (5), is recast as a cloud. A hundred pages later, Christopher Pickwick again turns sexual aggressor—now with a married woman, Mrs Charlotte Squib, wife of the editor of the Guzzelton *Mercury* (a revision of Winkle's tangle with Mrs Pott). Unlike Boz's Pickwick, who would not endure the artifice of fancy dress, Bos's Pickwick attends a masquerade as Cupid. He points his arrow towards Mrs Squib, who is in the guise of Pysche (Prest's consistent spelling). 'Cupid and Pysche found themselves alone!' (154). Nestled in a bower, they kiss and are discovered. The result is a lawsuit in which Mr Squib claims damages of £2000. It is a fascinating rewrite of the Bardell case. Dickens's character is sued for what he does not do (marry his landlady); Prest's is called to account for what he *does*.

Other prostheses also make available the subterranean sexuality of *The Pickwick Papers*. In *Pickwick in America*, the hero pursues adultery once more: he 'felt himself in love to the eye-brows with the wife of another man!' (72). The Miss Witherfield encounter is then reworked in a way that reveals the sexual longing implicit in the original. Resting in bed, Pickwick sees a

ghost enter his room. '[D]etermined to fathom the awful mystery', he follows the spirit and grabs it—only to find himself embracing the married woman of his desire, Mrs Major Peterkin Mucklebuddy (93). (She is prone to sleepwalking.) What is an unfortunate error in Dickens's account becomes a moment of wish-fulfillment. Matthew Magnumfundum romances two ladies at once. Caught in this 'duplex courtship', he considers suicide (11). Non-Pickwick characters are also sexualized. The Stiggins figure in *The Penny Pickwick*, named Smirkins, boards with Mrs Veller and craves more than her pineapple rum. We find the good lady 'embraced by Smirkins, who was imprinting a thousand sweet "kisses of peace" upon her lips!' (173). Mr Veller disposes of his faithless bride by selling her to Smirkins 'for two and sixpence', plus expenses (179)—a moment that anticipates *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886).

George W. M. Reynolds presents a more wholesome vision. In 'The Marriage of Mr. Pickwick', which appears in *Master Timothy's Book-Case* (1842), Pickwick indeed gets married. This narrative finds a young lady separated from her friends one night. When a policeman seizes her for walking the streets unchaperoned, Pickwick intervenes and is arrested himself. Again, the Bardell plot is inverted: Reynolds's hero is punished for aiding, rather than abandoning, a female. Chaste Pickwick is soon aflame with desire: 'his imagination conjured up, amid his slumbers, the graceful form and fascinating countenance of Miss Teresina Hippolyta Sago.'²⁷³ After improving his relations with her family, he proposes to the twenty-year-old girl: 'I have decided upon a step which I ought to have taken twenty years

²⁷³ Reynolds, 'Marriage of Mr. Pickwick', 495.

ago!’²⁷⁴ (At which point she would have been zero years old.) Even more inappropriately, on the wedding day, Pickwick wishes that he married ‘some thirty years previously’ (she would have been negative ten).²⁷⁵ While inept at mathematics, Reynolds generates a Pickwick that Dickens did not foresee: the bourgeois house-husband.

In other instances race impinges on Pickwickian sex, and gender boundaries are tested. *Pickwick in America*’s Mr Tupman fancies a ‘brown lady’, and we find him ‘in the very act of forcibly purloining from her chocolate physiognomy [*sic*] a delicious kiss’ (39). So Tupman’s sexual exploits now raise questions of miscegenation, rape, and possible cannibalism (since her ‘chocolate’ is ‘delicious’).²⁷⁶ The Miss Witherfield fiasco, a favourite among imitating authors, is revisited several pages later. Sleeping in a hotel, Pickwick is attacked by a rat, and he runs into another room, where he finds himself in the presence of a ‘hideous, fat, unwieldy black lady’ (52). She screams at the intrusion and loses consciousness. The gentleman tries to restore her and ‘bathe[s] her dark temples with a basin of water’—an exchange of fluid that suggests sexual contact (52). But the interracial affairs that are merely suggested here are fully developed in *The Penny Pickwick*. John White, the black servant, loves Betty Bodger, the ‘red-armed, scarlet-faced maid of all work’ (32). Yet it is not their different races, but age that is the impediment. Betty argues that ‘ve are both on us too YOUNG to marry yet’ (34), although we learned that John is seventy. Later, when she relents, Bos

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 529.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 540.

²⁷⁶ According to the *OED*, to *tup* means to copulate.

allows the interracial marriage to proceed.

Finally, the subtext of an all-male club, with its ‘potential for transgressive behaviour’, is made manifest in a few of the prostheses.²⁷⁷ In *Pickwick Abroad*, Tupman confesses to (again) falling in love. His leader asks if the object is ‘female sex’. “‘What other sex would you have me select?’” exclaimed the astonished Mr. Tupman.’²⁷⁸ ‘Winkle’s Journal’ holds one answer. This anonymous work offers a gay reading of *The Pickwick Papers*. Winkle, narrating his own story, seems attracted to a lively newcomer named Springer. Winkle ‘found his dancing perfection’; ‘I made up my mind that if I danced, I would dance opposite Mr. Springer’ (172). During the figures, Mr Winkle ignores his ostensible, female partner, whom he dismisses with the cognomen ‘Terpsichore’; and he admits, ‘I was too busy watching the manoeuvres of the officers’ (173). Winkle avoids dancing with a number of aggressive Irishwomen, and he somehow ends up on the floor with Samuel Pickwick. Miss Janette scolds Winkle ‘for being “so naughty a boy”’; undisturbed by this critique, he pays more attention to the Marquis of Worcester, whom Winkle describes as ‘handsome as the statue of Apollo’ (175). Winkle is finally compelled to take a turn with Mrs Fitzherbert O’Toole: ‘I suffered myself to be conducted to the sacrifice’ (175). Dancing with a female, he is now clumsy. ‘I fell flat on my waistcoat and nose’ (176)—that is, the crushed nose of sexual impotence. Pickwick demands that Winkle return home and ‘expose’ himself no more (176). By delineating Winkle’s perspective, this brief work reinterprets his character and suggests something

²⁷⁷ See note 76.

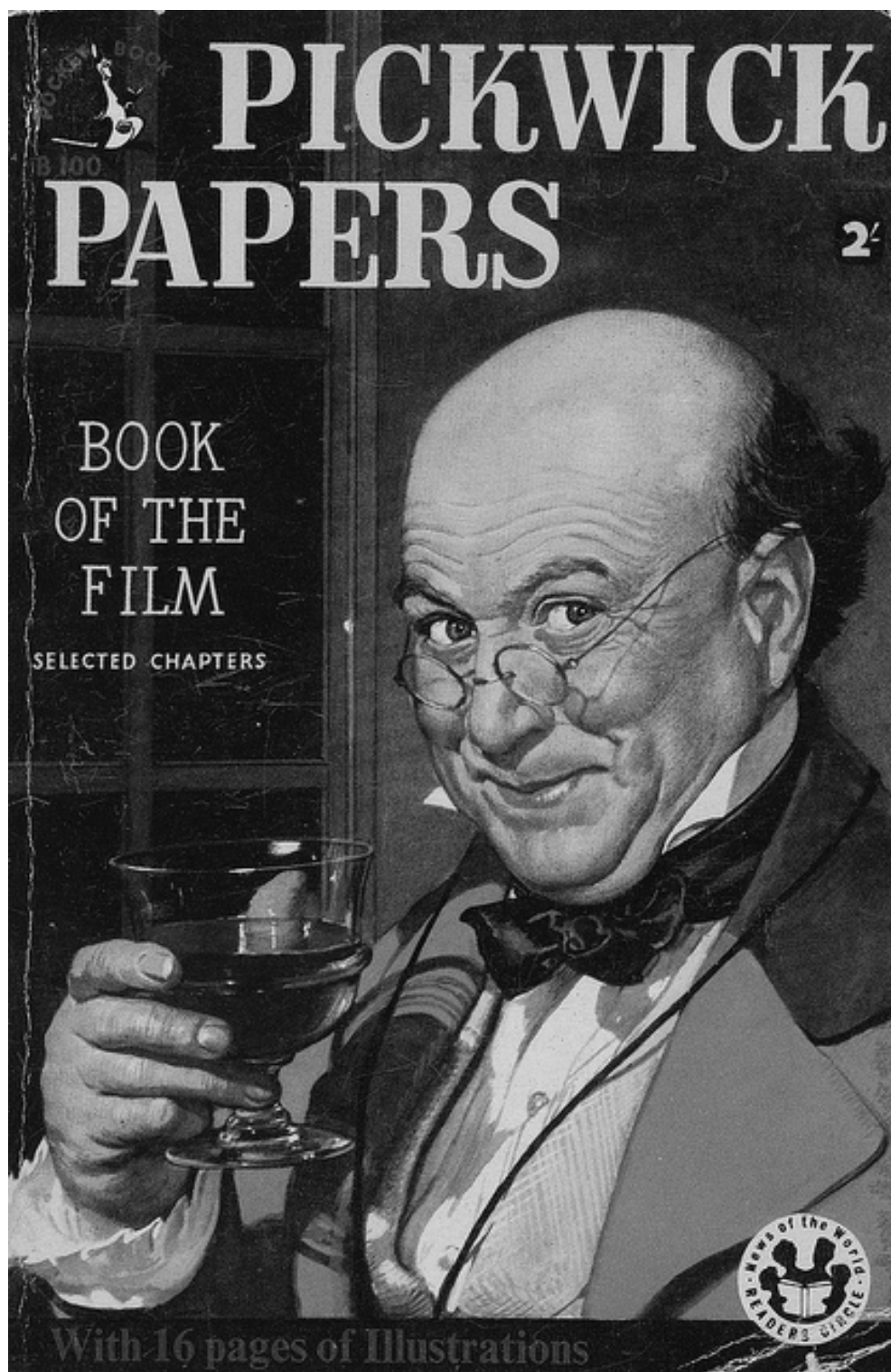
²⁷⁸ Reynolds, *Pickwick Abroad*, 79.

about the nature of homosociality.

Like the devil, who can quote scripture for his own ends, the Pickwick prostheses offer sometimes radical revisions of Dickens's work. They uncover the *Pickwick* that they want to read or need to believe or desire. The trajectory is often one of elevation or degradation. In Reynolds's hands, alcoholic Pickwickians turn water-drinkers, and a wayward bachelor eases into marriage. Prest's work draws closer to Bakhtin's notion of 'grotesque realism'. An already-earthly text is made more so; in Bakhtin's terms, 'it is a transfer to the material level, to the sphere of the earth and body'.²⁷⁹ Pickwick prostheses defamiliarize; they alienate and estrange. Despite such interventions, the prostheses profess continuity with *The Pickwick Papers*. They fill temporal gaps; they are the stories that Boz forgot to relate.

²⁷⁹ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, 19.

POSTSCRIPT,
POSTHUMOUS PAPERS,
AFTERTEXTS



... he who lights his taper at mine, receives light without darkening me.

—Thomas Jefferson

A study of this sort precludes the possibility of closure because the Victorian novelists are ever available for the next spurious iteration. While the focus here has been near-contemporary aftertexts, produced under the same cultural conditions that shaped the originating fictions, imitations can arrive long after those conditions have faded. In the later decades of the nineteenth century and in the centuries that followed, echoes and appropriations of Victorian novels continued to appear. The BBC has made a mini-industry out of the nineteenth-century novel and maintained countless members of British Equity in regular employment. It would require a second DPhil (or more) to delineate all the possibilities and permutations. To conclude the present thesis, however, it might be worthwhile to consider some of the later manifestations of Victorian fiction, either in print or in other media, and the various forms of aftertextuality.

To take one example: the *Pickwick* phenomenon did not die after the initial bout of productivity, in the late 1830s and early 1840s. Subsequent decades saw the publication of further aftertexts, such as *The Adventures of Marmaduke Midge, the Pickwickian Legatee* (undated, but probably from the 1840s). This book holds little Pickwickian relevance, except that its title character discovers that he is the nephew and heir to the late Samuel Pickwick. In Elizabeth Gaskell's *Cranford* (published in Dickens's *Household Words*, from 1851 to 1853), Mr Brown is abstracted by the pages of *Pickwick* just before he is killed by an oncoming train. By the 1860s, four American sisters could form their own, imitative Pickwick Club in Louisa May Alcott's

novel *Little Women; or, Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy* (1868–1869). The twentieth century, of course, translated *Pickwick* into new media. Almost as soon as there were motion pictures, there were motion pictures based on the writings of Dickens. Cinematic versions of *Pickwick* appeared in 1912, 1913, 1921, and 1952.²⁸⁰ The BBC broadcasted a radio play, ‘Bardell v. Pickwick’, in 1927, and a similar television play in 1938, before almost anyone could reasonably expect to have owned a television.²⁸¹ On the heels of Lionel Bart’s *Oliver!* (1960), London saw the première of a musical *Pickwick* (1963). Epidemiology has also descried a medical condition called Pickwickian Syndrome, in which overweight people have difficulty breathing. In 2015, Stephen Jarvis produced yet another Pickwickian aftertext, *Death and Mr Pickwick*, a novel that reasserts illustrator Robert Seymour’s role in the origin of Dickens’s book—as one character explains, ‘the collaborator gets forgotten’.²⁸²

Of course, *Death and Mr Pickwick* is part of a larger movement of neo-Victorianism.²⁸³ Allographic sequels and other counternovels forcefully intervene with beloved Victorian texts. Jean Rhys’s *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966), famously, reconstitutes the narrative of *Jane Eyre*, and Peter Carey’s *Jack Maggs* (1997) operates in a similar fashion on *Great Expectations*. Among nineteenth-century American novels, Herman Melville’s *Moby-Dick; or, The Whale* (1851) earned an aftertext entitled *Ahab’s Wife; or, The Star-*

²⁸⁰ Engel, *Annotated Bibliography*, 44.

²⁸¹ Bolton, *Dickens Dramatized*, 75–76, 96.

²⁸² Stephen Jarvis, *Death and Mr. Pickwick* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015), 67.

²⁸³ For more on this term and its origins, see Davies, *Gender and Ventriloquism*, 1.

Gazer (1999). The list goes on. In the words of novelist Jonathan Lethem, ‘I like art that comes from other art’.²⁸⁴ Darren Werschler has developed a ‘transmedia theory’, based on the notion that ‘storytelling now takes place across multiple media platforms’.²⁸⁵ One can enjoy the book, the movie, the book based on the movie, the TV show, the video game, the YouTube parody, and maybe the theme-park attraction.

One issue that remains contested in that of copyright. When the multimedia appropriations are offered by a single entity, such as the Walt Disney Company or Warner Bros., there is little to contest. In Great Britain, from the nineteenth century onward, copyright has expanded both temporally (longer terms) and conceptually (a greater number of protected forms). As a result, Paul K. Saint-Amour refers to ‘copyright creep’ and the ‘shrinking public domain’.²⁸⁶ The trend is similar in the United States. The 1998 Sonny Bono Copyright Term Extension Act, named for the late congressman and singer, extended copyright once again, in part, it seemed, to protect intellectual

²⁸⁴ Quoted in Ann Jamison, , et. al., *Fic: Why Fanfiction Is Taking Over the World* (Dallas: Smart Pop, 2013), 377.

²⁸⁵ Darren Werschler, in *ibid.*, 369. For the transmediation of Victorian authors, see, for instance, Jay Clayton, *Charles Dickens in Cyberspace: The Afterlife of the Nineteenth Century in Postmodern Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); John, *Dickens and Mass Culture*.

²⁸⁶ Saint-Amour, *Copywrights*, 4, 5. Cf. Laura J. Murray, ‘Plagiarism and Copyright Infringement: The Costs of Confusion’, in *Originality, Imitation, and Plagiarism: Teaching Writing in the Digital Age*, ed. Caroline Eisner and Martha Vicinus (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press and the University of Michigan Library, 2008), 180: ‘this increasingly copyrightous world.’

properties about to fall into the public domain, including Mickey Mouse. Legal scholar Lawrence Lessig attempts to recalibrate the discussion by introducing the computing terms ‘RO’ and ‘RW’: ‘Read/Only’ and ‘Read/Write’.²⁸⁷ RO is the culture of consumption, in which professionals produce works of art, and everyone else is the grateful recipient. In RW culture, consumers play an active role: they can rewrite, remix, send up, or sample earlier works. Stimulated by twentieth-century advances such as Xerox technology, audiocassette and videocassette recorders, and the Internet, RW is the culture of the YouTube video and fanfiction.²⁸⁸

Fan derives from *fanaticus*, a devotee, possibly a servant, and possibly frenzied or inspired.²⁸⁹ Ann Jamison traces the notion of fanfiction (also known as fanfic or fic) to the success of that late-Victorian phenomenon, Sherlock Holmes. Arthur Conan Doyle’s detective first appeared in 1887; Jamison notes, as an aside, that ‘[t]he mimeograph was invented in 1890’.²⁹⁰ Holmes was duplicated, in *Punch* and elsewhere, almost immediately. Obviously, this thesis has shown that Conan Doyle’s detective was not the first literary character to be thus honoured.

²⁸⁷ Lawrence Lessig, *Remix: Making Art and Commerce Thrive in the Hybrid Economy* (2008; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 2009), 28.

²⁸⁸ Cf. Lessig on technological advances (*Remix*, 101–102). For *dojinshi*, a related phenomenon in Japanese culture, see David S. Roh, *Illegal Literature: Toward a Disruptive Creativity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), chap. 2.

²⁸⁹ Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture*, rev. ed. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 12.

²⁹⁰ Jamison, *Fic*, 4.

Henry Jenkins's *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* elucidates the urge to rewrite an existing work: 'Undaunted by traditional conceptions of literary and intellectual property, fans raid mass culture, claiming its materials for their own.'²⁹¹ Whether the source is a British novel, such as *Robinson Crusoe* or *Oliver Twist*, or an American television series, such as *Star Trek* (1966–1969 and subsequent voyages) or *Twin Peaks* (1990–1991), 'fans actively assert their mastery over the mass-produced texts which provide the raw materials for their own cultural productions'.²⁹² Recalling the title of A. S. Byatt's neo-Victorian novel *Possession*, Lev Grossman argues that writers of fanfiction want to do more than read a particular work or spend time in its story-world: 'fanfiction asserts the rights of storytellers to take possession of characters and settings from other people's narratives and tell their own tales about them'.²⁹³ Jamison further defines fanfiction as 'writing that interrupts, reimagines, or just riffs on stories and characters other people have already written about'.²⁹⁴ She adds that the efforts are usually amateur—that is, produced for *amour*, not for profit—and that the creators are often categorically 'Other' to the mainstream: 'Fanfic is disproportionately written by women, queers, and others who are underrepresented or excluded from economies of financial *and* cultural capital'.²⁹⁵ While the term *fanfic* might suggest teenagers posting unremarkable fiction on the Internet, the form has its success stories.

²⁹¹ Jenkins, *Textual Poachers*, 18.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁹³ Lev Grossman, foreword to *Fic*, by Jamison, xii.

²⁹⁴ Jamison, *Fic*, 17.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 284.

Snowqueen's Icedragon wrote 'Master of the Universe', an online fan narrative inspired by the *Twilight* series (2005–2008); this particular aftertext was later published in book form as *Fifty Shades of Grey* (2011), by E. L. James.²⁹⁶

Are the Victorians to blame? More to the point: did the Spurious Victorians prefigure such developments? The urge to commandeer a story or character seems much the same whether in a Pickwickian aftertext or a fan-produced narrative. A different cultural context exists, however, because of changes in copyright law. *Cheveley* and *Gwendolen*, for instance, were commercial endeavours, offered by for-profit publishers. As I have shown, such aftertexts, albeit spurious, were perfectly legal. Under the conditions of Saint-Amour's 'copyright-creep', similar publications produced now might face challenges in the courts. Neo-Victorianism is perfectly safe: to produce a sequel or spinoff to a long-out-of-copyright novel is deemed harmless in the eyes of the law. For example, Stephen Jarvis can write *Death and Mr Pickwick* or *Death and Mr Scrooge* or *Death and Mr Dombey*, and no Pickwickian or Dickensian legatee can stop him. However, for aftertexts based on works still under copyright, the legal free-for-all, which enriched publisher Edward Lloyd, is no longer available. Margaret Mitchell's bestselling *Gone with the Wind* (1936) was still under copyright when an aftertext entitled *The Wind Done Gone* (2001) appeared; the heirs and successors to Mitchell sought—and briefly gained—an injunction against the later book, the very victory that eluded Chapman and Hall in their case against *The Penny Pickwick*, in 1837.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ Both are pseudonyms used by Erika Mitchell.

²⁹⁷ For more on *The Wind Done Gone*, see Saint-Amour, *Copyrights*,

There is also the issue of reception. Victorian aftertexts, as I have shown, changed the reception and sometimes the career trajectories of the originating novelists. Dickens altered his publication format with *Master Humphrey's Clock*; Bulwer rewrote the early novels of Edward Bulwer; and Eliot moved away from certain modes of reminiscence when Liggins claimed those reminiscences. Moreover, aftertexts offer readings, and each reading informs our interpretation of a Victorian source-text: we see Dickens, Bulwer, or Eliot through the lens of the works that they inspired. Fanfiction of contemporary media today can certainly perform a similar function. Further, imitations, sequels, and parodies have the power to reverse chronology. One experience of belatedness is to encounter a parody or a sequel before the originating text; inevitably, the 'original' must then be read through the prism of the aftertext. As Marjorie Garber demonstrates with her discussion of the 'sequel-effect', once an aftertext is produced, the source-text is altered forever.

The foregoing chapters have traveled the byways of literature—the neglected, the obscure, the unoriginal, and the insipid. Deviating from the canon as construed by literary historians, this thesis has recovered a number of anonymous and pseudonymous texts that imitate three Victorian novelists in order to denigrate the popular, build on their successes, or associate, even obliquely, with the reigning authors of the day. Thomas Peckett Prest, Rosina Bulwer Lytton, Joseph Liggins, and Edith Simcox are Spurious Victorians—counterparts to the canonical—whose shadowy existence in literary memory makes that of the great authors burn a little brighter.

Bibliography

N.B. The present study exerts itself to blur somewhat the distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' texts, so to make such a division in the bibliography seems unwise. Instead, the following sources are divided into chronological categories: I (Pre-1901), including later reprints, and II (1901 to the Present).

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