Title
Walking London: Urban Gaits of the British Novel, Jostling, Prowling, Wooshing, 1855-1909

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Walking London:

Urban Gaits of the British Novel,

Jostling, Prowling, Wooshing, 1855-1909

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in English

by

Ji Eun Lee

2020

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Walking London:

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Doctor of Philosophy in English

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

Professor Jonathan H. Grossman, Chair

"Walking London" examines a trio of novels in relation to the development of the city of London. I define walking in the everyday sense of bipedal ambulation but also as a convergence between the self and the environment. Walking defined as such invites us to rethink agency implied in the most basic mobility that is believed to distinguish upright humans from animals that walk on all fours, in the context of the material conditions of the streets assailing the autonomy of human individuals. In novels by Charles Dickens, Bram Stoker, and H. G. Wells, many characters walk London, and their pedestrian gaits are different depending on the modes of the urban environment developing at the time.

From the year 1855, in which the Metropolitan Board of Works (MBW) was established, the Victorian urbanization of London aimed at reorganizing urban space in accordance with the

anthropocentric order in control of environmental threats to London's human denizens. Their efforts, however, were challenged by densely crowded streets, cross-species encounters, and accelerating traffic. My first chapter reads Dickens's *Little Dorrit* in the context of the notoriously crowded streets in mid-nineteenth-century London, where people walked, jostling and jostled. Jostling involves unintentional collisions between characters and, at the level of form, between multiple plots, and generates unplanned efficacy of collectives. My second chapter focuses on Dracula as a rabid stray dog, which prowls in and across London blurring the human-animal binary implemented in urban space. The novel's narratives also prowl, as does Dracula, emulating animal intelligence, not human, in the way they rely on instant perception lacking reflection. My third chapter examines the loss of locus in accelerated movement effected by the commercially industrialized London described in Wells's *Tono-Bungay* and the reformulation of the novel as a genre unsettling the reading subject along the narrative flow. The city and its novelistic gaits reshape individual, retrospective, and self-directing capacity as collective, un-controlled, and void of agency in urban mobility and the novel's form.

The dissertation of Ji Eun Lee is approved.

Ursula K. Heise

Sarah Tindal Kareem

Saree Makdisi

Jonathan H. Grossman, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2020

To my parents,

who believed in me and still do.

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2019 "Prowling in London: Canines in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*," Victorian Interdisciplinary Studies Association of the Western United States (VISAWUS), "Victorian Stakes & Stakeholders," Seattle, WA, November 7-10

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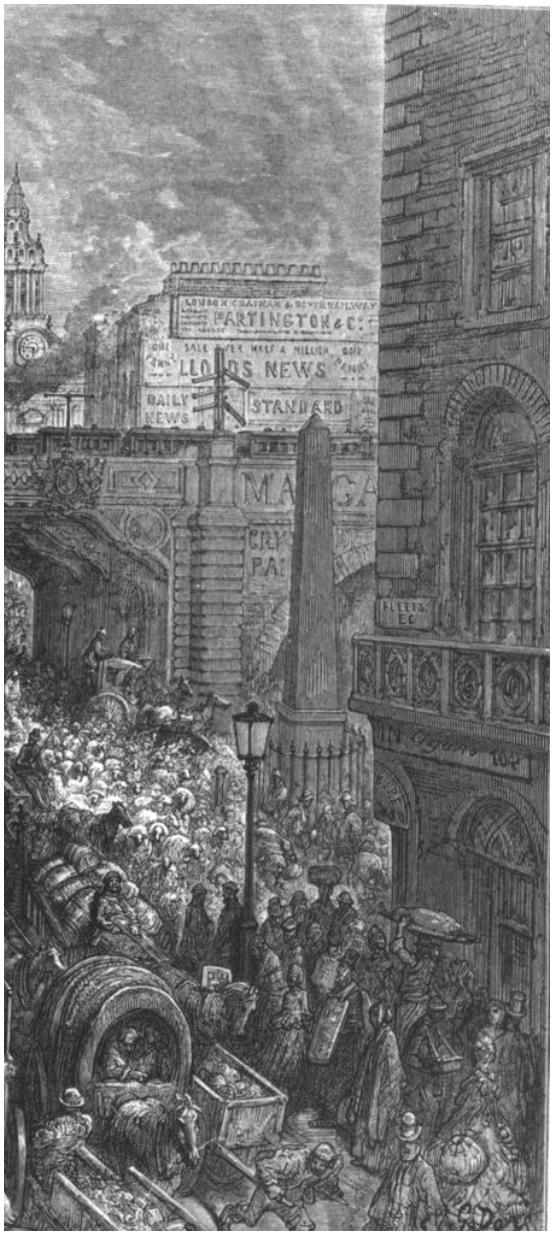
Interview conducted by Corey Brooks (forthcoming)

2015 "Ruins of the Past in the Present: The Reconfiguration of Modernity in the Moller Villa."
Urban China, issue 72, October 2015, pp. 100-107.



–Detail from Gustave Doré, "Ludgate Hill," *London: A Pilgrimage* (1872)

Introduction

Gustave Doré's engraving of Ludgate Hill in *London: A Pilgrimage* (1872) shows below a heavy sky a jumble of diverse walkers, vehicles, animals, and tangible things that constitute the streets and give a sense of what it felt like to walk the congested, chaotic London of the time. Pedestrians intermingle with one another and even with the vehicle traffic as the road has no dividing line or space. The demographics of the pedestrian population are complex: a gentleman with a hat and a lady wearing a luxurious bulky dress walk right next to a peddler selling items from his neck-basket, a sandwich-man wearing an advertising board, and a porter carrying a big plate over his head. The cloudy, foggy sky at top of the engraving suggests that walking London in such weather might feel like immersing oneself in the dense air texture.

Doré's representation of London filled with so many undistinguishable people and things contrasts with what the text of the book in which the image appears aims to provide. The title *London: A Pilgrimage* gives an impression that walking London would be an orderly process leading to a holy space streamlined by "picturesque" scenes (Jerrold 2). The author Blanchard Jerrold suggests as much also in his textual elaborations.[1] In the text preceding the engraving of

[1] Doré and Jerrold, the engraver and the writer of *London: A Pilgrimage*, walked multiple places in London, escorted by a non-uniformed police officer, to observe and record urban poverty at first hand. Doré's engravings and Jerrold's textual descriptions were published first in 12 individual instalments and later as a single volume. West notes the discrepancy between their tones: "[Jerrold's] tone and manner contrast strongly with some of Doré's illustrations, many set at night and lingering on the gloom of decrepit London streets and the desperate underclass who inhabit them. [. . .] The eighteenth-century British artistic tradition of representing the poor as disheveled, rather than filthy; rural, rather than urban; and contended, rather than despondent, was reversed

Ludgate Hill, Jerrold declares, "Waking London is, indeed, a wonderful place to study, from the park where the fortunate in the world's battle are gathering roses, to the stone-yard by Shadwell where, at day-break one chilly morning, we saw the houseless, who had had a crust and a shake-down in the casual ward, turn to the dreary labour by which it was to be paid" (117). In the chapter titled "Work-A-Day London," the scenes of poverty are complemented by the beautiful natural image of the park side, and Jerrod joyfully lists various groups of people who walk in different gaits fitting their social positions and the material conditions of the places where they appear: "the vanguard of the army of Labour" "*trudge* on their way" (114, my emphasis), while "gentlemen who live at east [of the West End], *amble to and fro* the early burst in the park" (115, my emphasis); "Irish girls [. . .] buy their flowers, for the day's *huckstering* in the City" (116-17, my emphasis). Unlike this graceful perspective attuned to the individuals living elegantly or earnestly despite hard conditions, Doré's engravings depict an urban environment that engulfs the walkers and renders them into dismal, solemn gray-shaded contours in space.

This dissertation, titled "Walking London," examines a trio of novels in relation to the development of the city of London. I analyze the perspective of a city-walker, whose walking reveals their position as a subject inseparable from the urban environment they encounter during walking. Looking at three Victorian and Edwardian novels that prominently feature characters who walk the streets of London, I argue that city-walking merges individuals with the chaotic urban streets, where space-bound social, class identities no longer hold and instead agency diffuses—becoming collective, un-controlled, and most especially simply absent.

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here by Doré, whose illustrations of London are aesthetically pleasing but hardly picturesque" (177). For more information, see West 175-77.

In this dissertation, I define walking in the everyday sense of bipedal ambulation but also as a convergence between the self and the environment, and the novels that concern me narrativize the paradoxical deformation of agency in self-directed walking. In novels by Charles Dickens, Bram Stoker, and H. G. Wells, characters step out across London and their pedestrian gaits are different depending on the modes of the urban environment developing at the time. In Dickens's *Little Dorrit* (1855-57) which was published at the time when London's streets became intensely congested because of the huge increase in population and traffic, we see Amy Dorrit and Arthur Clennam jostled by the crowds. In the packed city streets, unintentional collisions prevail, causing accidental, uncertain intervolvement between the characters and, at the level of form, between multiple plots. In Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), Dracula's prowling in and across London and his affiliation with canines evoke the fear of stray dogs pervading London at the time. In the 1890s, the urbanization of London aimed at implementing a human-animal binary in the spatial urban structure by expelling livestock animals outside of the city and domesticating pets inside the city. But stray dogs were everywhere in London, and with them the fear of rabies. I argue Stoker's novel's narratives prowl, as does Dracula, emulating animal intelligence, not human, in the way they rely on instant perception lacking reflection. In Wells's *Tono-Bungay* (1908-1909), which was published when pneumatic tubes and railways were accelerating city life alongside its wholesale commercialization, the protagonist George Ponderevo and the novel's eponymous patent medicine "woosh"—flashing without agency along the flow. Here the city streets inundate London's denizens with commercial advertisements (of the sort evident on the buildings in Doré's engraving), electric lights, and other passers-by. The absence of locus directing the movement generically reformulates the novel's form by emptying out the locus of the character-narrator in alignment with the city's unsettling power. Three novels: each illuminates pedestrians walking in

London in different ways as about the loss of agency for a mode of mobility that one might otherwise be tempted partly to define by its step-by-step intentionality.

I. How History Matters

The year 1855, which is the year that the Metropolitan Board of Works (MBW) was established, marks a memorable turning point in the urbanization of London. The Victorian urban projects led by the MBW were geared towards an anthropocentric reshaping of the urban structure—rather than aesthetic as Regency London was—to safeguard humans from environmental invasion and to distinguish between the territories of the city's legitimate upper-middle-class human citizens and its illicit nonhumans or dehumanized urban poor. While the urban projects in Regency London were mostly visual reformations tailored to the modern, rational, and imperialistic taste of the upper class,[2] the main goal of MBW and its successor the London County Council (established in 1889) was to regulate the environmental factors threatening the existence of the human inhabitants of the city, including congested urban traffic, densely-packed slums, the Great Stink from the river Thames, dense fog, accelerated transportation, commercial advertising billboards crowding the skylines, and animals crowding the streets.[3]

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[2] Regency London was marked by Prince Regent's and his architect John Nash's project to gild London with neoclassical style buildings imitating the Roman Empire, which produced a sense of national pride in the post-Napoleonic period. In accordance with this imperial pride of the urban vista, Regency London promoted the gentlemanly promenade of leisure. Regent Street was built for "those who have nothing to do but to walk about and amuse themselves," as John Nash notes in his *Report from the Select Committee on the Office of Works* (1828). Regent Street also served as a boundary that completely divided London into the affluent West End and the poor East End. John Nash, in the same report, writes, "The new street will provide a boundary and complete separation between the Streets and Squares occupied by the Nobility and Gentry, and the narrow Streets and meaner Houses occupied by mechanics and the trading part of the community."

[3] The city-wide street improvement projects initiated by the MBW and continued by its successor

Walking London, especially in the years 1855 to 1909, was an act of physically converging oneself with a disorderly urban environment full of dense materials, crowds, vehicles, animals, etc. My first draft of this introduction contained a mishmash of London history, which I will briefly glance at here. London's population, which hit 1,096,000 in 1801 (making London the world's biggest city at the time), dramatically doubled in 1851 when it reached 2,651,000.[4] This huge increase in population as well as the increase in street traffic as shown in the growing number of vehicles—12 licensed cabs in 1823 vs. 3,500 in 1853, 12 omnibuses in 1830 vs. 800 by 1853—and people who were forced to live in the streets after being displaced by the eviction for New Oxford Street in 1845, Victoria Street in 1851, and other slum clearances, all made the streets of

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the London County Council (est. 1889) were aimed at smoothing the traffic by constructing new large streets such as Shaftesbury Avenue, Charing Cross Road, and New Oxford Street, widening Coventry Street, and clearing slums in notoriously crowded areas such as Monmouth Street and Seven Dials (White 54-60). To resolve the great stink of Thames sewage pervading the city and infecting people, the MBW redirected the sewage from the shores of the Thames, with its chief engineer Joseph Bazalgette, by building sewers in the Victoria, Chelsea, and Albert Embankments along the Themes and completing the constructions by 1875, which also helped to speed the traffic flow by serving as elegant walkways and railways (White 48-55). Not by the MBW, but similar efforts to control the disorderly urban environment were taken by the Parliament. The London fog was continuously regulated by smoke and air pollution legislation such as the 1853 Smoke Nuisance Abatement (Metropolis) Act, 1863 Alkali, etc., Works Regulation Act, the 1875 Public Health Act, and 1891 Public Health (London) Act (Kessel 52). To regulate the chaos of urban traffic filled with animals, the Metropolitan Streets Act (1867) stipulated that "cattle [are] not to be driven through streets within certain hours." The Smithfield Removal Bill was passed in Parliament in 1852, and the livestock market in Smithfield was closed in 1855 and was moved to Copenhagen Fields. In 1868, a dead-meat, not live-meat, market opened in Smithfield. The acceleration of the traffic flow was curtailed by the Locomotives on Highways Act in 1896 and the new Act that followed in 1904 (Plowden 22; Barker 163)

[4] "1801 Census: population of inner London and outer boroughs 1,096,000, making London the world's largest city" (Manley xvi). Also see Warnes.

London more congested.[5] Besides people and vehicles, tangible materials and climatological pollution also pervaded the streets. The Great Stink—the disastrous stink of the decayed river Thames in 1858—swallowed up the entire city of London.[6] Human urine contaminated fancy public places like Trafalgar Square because there were no free public toilets till the late Victorian period.[7] The London fog, mixed with dust, dirt, and smoke, was so dense and ubiquitous that ladies had to wash their face and hands regularly if they wanted to stay clean and others without means to bathe became black-faced after spending hours walking on the streets.[8] Mud became so ubiquitous on macadam pavement after the 1820s.[9] Gentlemen walked awkwardly with turned-up trousers, and ladies, who had to wear ankle-long, bulky skirts for decency, skillfully walked through the mire and spread mud and dust to omnibus passengers; this weird walking style of the

[5] The slum clearances continued throughout the nineteenth century, which increased the number of people living in the streets instead of their homes. "Twenty-five major slum-clearance schemes were carried out in London between 1876 and 1900 by the MBW and the LCC," and the result was a huge number of homeless people—17,500 between 1878 and 1881 alone (White 58).

[6] See White 51-53. Also see Jackson and Nathan 81-84.

[7] See Jackson's *Dirty Old London* 156-80.

[8] For the history and effect of London fogs, see Jackson's *Dirty Old London* 212-37; Jackson and Nathan 133-34; and Ackroyd, *London: the Biography* 422-34.

[9] "[M]acadam was a mix of tiny (less than two-inch) granite stones, spread over a prepared surface and then rammed" into the streets (Flanders 34). For more information on macadam, see Turvey, "Street Mud, Dust and Noise" 131-33. The pavement of streets—most of which were macadam and granite after street pavement in the 1820s—always produced mud, and when muddied, became dangerous for pedestrians. Wood was "smooth and noiseless," but it was not durable and was equally dangerous when mud surfaced the wooden pavements, so it had to be replaced by granite after the brief vogue of wooden road-surfacing in the West End in the 1840s. For the information on the materials used for street-paving in London, see Flanders 34-37; Jackson's *Dirty Old London* 26-38, 45; and Jackson and Nathan 134.

upper class surprised an American writer in 1852.[10] Horse-dung was everywhere on the streets due to the heavy traffic of horse-drawn carriages, cabs, and omnibuses, and its smell filled every district in London.[11] Not only horses but livestock animals were travelling across London; "By mid-century over 2,500 cattle and nearly 15,500 sheep traversed the traffic-chocked streets twice weekly, before their purchasers drove them back out once more" (Flanders 128); "dairy cattle [. . .] supplied milk to many city dwellers"; "pigs [. . .] supported the domestic economy of the poor"; and "dogs [. . .] ranged the streets" (Mason, *Civilized Creatures*, 2 quoted in Howell 8). Especially, stray dogs were numerous in London. A newspaper article titled "The Dogs They Captured" (1889) reports: "22,937 stray dogs, captured this year in the streets of London by the police, have been received at the Battersea Home." Electrification, and also motorization, mobilized and accelerated people's movement across multiple sectors in the city. With the faster speed and lower travel cost made available by electrified motors, electric traction gradually replaced horse-drawn carriages, buses, and carts as well as steam-engine underground railways from the 1890s onwards and became universal by the 1910s.[12] The absence of traffic lights in the streets of London increased

[10] "It was said that an Englishman abroad could always be recognized by his turned-up trousers, a practice which became second nature"; "in the cramped conditions of the London omnibus crinolined skirts of females spread mud and dust over the knees of fellow passengers" (Jackson, *Dirty Old London* 29). "The final recourse for ladies, of whom decency required skirts down to their ankles, was simply to wear a pair of stout boots and have a very agile step. In 1852, an American writer called David Bartlett noted, for instance, that 'An American town-bred lady would as soon think of swimming up the Thames against the tide, as walking far in such ankle-deep mud, but English ladies do it, and with consummate dexterity too" (Jackson and Nathan 134).

[11] For the horse-dung and dust on the streets, see Jackson's *Dirty Old London* 7-45; and Flanders 50-52.

[12] For the number and the rate of increase of motor buses and motor cars, see Barker "Urban Transport" 162-63. For the development of electrified railways—tubes—in London, see ibid., 159-60.

the disorder that made walkers' cross-class, cross-species encounters more intense and put the acceleration out of control.[13] The telling of urban history is as dense and chaotic as the city itself became.

My understanding of London history and its changing urban environment heavily draws on the following sources. Roy Porter's *London: A Social History* (1994) is one of the most comprehensive history books about London, starting from the day of Londinium to the Thatcher years, tracing its reputation as a world city back into the past with the foresight to predict the deterioration in the present. Peter Whitfield's *London: A Life in Maps* (2006) renders this chronology of London into a visible layout by incorporating contemporary maps telling the essential facts about each period. Peter Ackroyd's *London: The Biography* (2000) tells the biography of London from the day of its inception up to the present time as if narrating a story of human life, by incorporating literary quotations into the texture of his narrative recording the diverse demographics of the city, food and entertainment cultures, urbanization, fog, smoke, affluent districts, slums, buildings, and the immensity of London which defies the linear

[13] The first traffic signal was constructed at the junction of Parliament Street and Bridge Street in 1868, but it was soon destroyed by a gas explosion, and it was not until 1929 that the traffic lights again appeared in London. See Winter 34-36, 83 and Flanders 45. The traffic in London was notorious, and traffic accidents were normal in Victorian London. For the number of traffic accidents that happened in Victorian London, see Adolphe Smith and John Thomson, *Street Life in London* (1877): "Perhaps this [the decrease in the number of small cab proprietors] accounts for the decrease in the number of fatal accidents; for there were only 87 persons killed in the streets during the year 1875, while the average for the previous six years amounted to 123 violent deaths. On the other hand, there was an increase of 136 more persons maimed and injured than during the previous year, the total being 2704; but it would be unfair to blame the cabmen for this long list of casualities. The light carts, used for the most part by tradesmen, are responsible for the largest proportion of these accidents. Cab-drivers, who depend for their livelihood on their skill in manipulating the ribbons, are naturally more careful, and have more to lose should they injure an unwary pedestrian" (6).

rearrangement and chronology. Jerry White's *London in the Nineteenth Century: 'A Human Awful Wonder of God'* (2007) centers on the nineteenth century to provide a thorough survey of the city's infrastructure, economy, and culture, which made "the nineteenth-century London [. . .] the greatest among the Londons in different historical time periods" yet with an awareness of the inequalities existing across different classes (3). Lee Jackson in *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight against the Filth* (2014) offers a nitty-gritty survey of the material conditions of Victorian London, categorizing the "filth" into multiple segments such as dirt, dust, mud, smell, smoke, human and animal excrement, and providing the factual details of living in the physically deteriorated environment. James Winter in *London's Teeming Streets 1830-1914* (1993) also takes the material urban structure as his primary concern yet with a perspective more attuned to the street, which he defines as a passage of freedom in which rights to walk are unequally distributed across different classes, races, and genders. He provides a thorough survey of London's physical conditions such as air qualities, pavement, and diverse demographics and also cultures of entertainment and police regulations constituting the street, to discuss their effects on the pedestrian shapes in social, political, and economic terms.

Lynda Nead and David Pike extend the aforementioned historians' interest in the material urban environment into a discourse on modernity, or irregular modernities, underlying Victorian London. Nead in her book *Victorian Babylon: People, Street and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (2000) declares that her review of the street improvements, railways, shopping centers, the Thames Embankment, gas lights, etc. in the years between 1855 and 1870 is aimed at discovering and defining modernity as a "condition of compromise" between government and individuals, public and private industries, and an "accumulation of uneven and unresolved processes of urbanization" making the coexistence between the past ruins and the renovated future

cityscapes possible (5). Pike in *Subterranean Cities: The World beneath Paris and London, 1800-1945* (2005) suggests, by reading "three types of the subterranean space during the nineteenth century: the underground railway, the modern catacomb and necropolis, and the sewer" (3), that modernity is reflected in two versions of the city: the vertical city of utopian ideals viewed from above, and the subterranean city of unfulfilled desire which is to be avoided and repressed for the propagation of civil, urban capitalism.

Other works, in a model this dissertation follows, tell the history of London in conjunction with literature. In an exemplary instance, Saree Makdisi in *Making England Western: Occidentalism, Race, and Imperial Culture* (2014) uses the history of early- and mid-nineteenth-century urbanization and attempts to secure "the civilization of space" (79)—the streamlining of spatiotemporal layout of slums such as St. Giles, where time seemed to be stuck in stasis refusing any development—as a backdrop for his persuasive readings of Blake, Wordsworth, Austen, and Dickens. Conversely, Judith Flanders takes inspiration from Charles Dickens, as the title of her book *The Victorian City: Everyday Life in Dickens's London* (2012) suggests, to elaborate on the constituents of the streets mentioned briefly in the works of Dickens.[14] Not only can literature help us to understand London's conditions, but so can journalistic writing: Judith R. Walkowitz's *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (1992) connects the increase of middle-class female walkers paralleling the development of department stores and

[14] For example, the scene of Florence Dombey's encounter with a "Mad Bull" in *Dombey and Son* leads to a detailed historical record of animals flocking the streets of London; Jo, the crossing-sweeper in *Bleak House* initiates a review of individuals' and government's attempts to clean the mud-filled streets (129-30, 49).

charity slumming to the media coverage of Jack-the-Ripper, which served as a cautionary tale warning against the transgressions of patriarchal gender boundaries.[15]

"Walking London" carves out urban history in relation to the pedestrian's encounters with the city. Walking, which I define as a form of mobility that is directed by walkers themselves on foot in constant motion during exposure both to the material and to the social environment, entails a series of minute actions that require the walker's decision at every moment of action. For example, during walking, one can go forward and backward, rotate one's head to look around, slalom, zigzag, and grasp partners' arms or touch other pedestrians if need be. One can also totally lose control of oneself if attacked or crushed into the streets. Because walking requires the walker to be in constant motion, their action should be sustained by eating, drinking, and breathing, which involve physical interaction with the material environment. The city's visual, auditory, tactile texture such as light, sound, noise, smell, and air as well random encounters across different classes and species happening on the streets may challenge walkers' agency constructed by their social identity and even humanity.

Walking embodies diverse forms of agency in relation to the city, and this is the topic that structures my reading of history in Dickens's *Little Dorrit* (1855-57), Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), and Wells's *Tono-Bungay* (1908-1909). Depending on where, when, why, and how walking is conducted by whom in what form, the aforementioned, general definition of walking can be split into multiple types of gaits such as strolling, rambling, loitering, jostling, wandering, strutting,

[15] Jack-the-Ripper refers to the mysterious serial killer who killed female sex workers in Whitechapel in 1888. The person was never identified, and a series of rumors circled around their identity. Walkowitz claims that the media coverage of the Jack the Ripper case seemed to aim at suffocating the outburst of heterogeneous representations of gender identities and sexualities outside the norms of middle-class marriage, which was brought to the public's attention by the rise of the middle-class female walkers in London.

lounging, prowling, treading, sauntering, loafing, trudging, etc., which generate diverse forms of agency. Because the London wind was "westerly or south-westerly," "the western areas of the city [were] relatively free of the fog or smog which settled over the central and eastern part" and were therefore more open to idly pleasant walks (Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* 423). Walkers in the East End, however, did not have such a free joyful walking experience due to the heavy dust accumulated in the air, lack of money to buy boots to protect them from muddy streets, and cattle moving through the crowds.[16] Walking the streets of London, both in the West End and the East End, was speedy and disorderly, but in different ways. Considering that the aforementioned granularity of walking is susceptible to the urban environment in which walking happens, in each chapter I review the material and societal conditions of London, especially the streets of Victorian London, in order to show what London-walking looked like in reality and what kind of agency each walking mode created in relation to the city. In the rest of this introduction, I will show how I use this history of London arranged by different types of gaits—that is, shapes of pedestrian movement—in the city to read the novel's stories and forms, the urban gaits *in* and *of* the British novel.

II. How the Stories Matter

The streets of London teemed with a tremendous number of pedestrians, as well as atmospheric or haptic elements generated by the Great Stink and mud in the 1850s. Walkers on the streets jostled one another in a massed aggregate of people, objects, and sensations. In

[16] Victoria Park, which was called "The Hyde Park of the East End" when it opened in 1846, was designed to promote the leisurely gentlemanly walking among the poor East Enders who did not have space for such a musing stroll, but the working classes used the park for different purposes, a gathering ground for Chartist movements, for example. See Winter 162-66.

Dickens's *Little Dorrit* (1855-57), though the story is set in Regency London thirty years before the novel's publication, this congestion in the mid-Victorian city retrospectively haunts the story's time. Arthur Clennam and Little Dorrit, on their way from the Iron Bridge to the Marshalsea Prison are "jostled by the crowds of dirty hucksters usual to a poor neighborhood" (114). Arthur imagines Little Dorrit "making its nightly way through the damp dark boisterous streets to such a place of rest" (111), and she jostles through the dense texture of the city, engulfed by physical materials and social encounters, which reduce her self-conscious agency as a gentleman's domestic daughter. In Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), Count Dracula prowls across London on the hunt for prey, as did stray dogs in Victorian London. Stray dogs prowling in the streets challenged the human-animal binary that structured the city's layout, by transforming the human-governed urban territory into an arena of the animal food chain, where humans were put in the position of prey instead of that of the master. At the time of Wells's *Tono-Bungay* (1908-1909), the acceleration of urban traffic caused by electrification, motorization, and the pneumatic tubes transporting mails via air pressure as well as the proliferation of billboards on the streets physically and visually submerged humans in the wooshing traffic rushing along with the flow of other people, goods, and things, deactivating the person's agency as a moving, reading subject. While George's walk toward Piccadilly places him amidst a "constant stream of people pass[ing] by [him]" (107), his walk along the Thames throws him into the dashing waves of commercial advertisements plucking him out from the locus of perspective.

The characters walking in London described in these three novels jostle, prowl, and woosh through crowded streets, sometimes encountering animals or being overwhelmed by the speedy traffic of passing people, vehicles, and advertisements. In the middle section of each chapter that follows this introduction, I discuss how the type of gait exhibited by each character generates a

unique form of agency, which ties the historical context of the character to the form of the novel. Jostling, whether it happens between two distinctive individual walkers or in a collective mass, figures as unintentional collisions, evoking accidental interminglings causing action. When Arthur Clennam and Amy Dorrit are jostled by the crowds and dense texture of the urban environment, they are immersed in the pedestrian mass and urban materials crowding the material conditions of the street. The loss of self-conscious agency, defined in terms of subjecthood belonging to a singular individual's social position, gives way to the unplanned efficacy of cooperative action. Prowling makes it necessary to be attuned to the moment and ready for a chase, as we see in Dracula and the vampirized Lucy prowling London. The loss of retrospection and self-direction inherent in prowling confirms the prowler's affinity with animal intelligence based on instant perception leading to a hunt for prey. The wooshing flow of urban traffic and advertisements George witnesses during his walks around London remove the locus of agency in George's movement and dislocates him from the subject's position directing his physical and perceptual abilities. This collective, un-governing, or absent agency generated by jostling, prowling, and wooshing gaits help explain the form of each novel under consideration here, which I will detail in the final section of each chapter and discuss further now below.

III. How Literary Form Matters

Jostling, prowling, and wooshing also characterize the literary form of the novels. In the first chapter, for example, I show how the unintentional collisions happening inside the story correspond to multiple plots jostling each other. Reading character as form jostling for narrative space as Alex Woloch has suggested,[17] I analyze how the plot of the self-renouncing character

[17] Woloch writes that the "narrative space" that each character occupies is "formed through the

Little Dorrit is jostled by the plots of other characters and how the accidental connections made by collisions between multiple plots around Little Dorrit create the unintended efficacy of collectives enabling plot movement. In the second chapter, I examine the ways in which the first-person narratives written in the moment of narration prowl—wander in hunt of prey immersed into the moment preceding a chase. The simultaneous temporality and consequent hunt inherent in prowling, which characterize the Crew of Light's record of their hunting of Dracula, disable human agency conceptualized as a retrospective, controlling ability and make their narratives follow the Victorian model of animal intelligence based on immediate perception and a lack of self-direction. In the last chapter, I argue that wooshing—unsettling acceleration displacing the moving subject into the flow of traffic—reformulates the genre of the novel defined in terms of cumulative reading into a reading process that has no locus of agency during the movement. The switch in narrative focus from the first-person narrator-protagonist George to a commodity and a series of disconnected episodes make reading continue without engaging the reader's understanding and end with no conclusive recapitulation.

These three different literary forms are meant to put into three-dimensions what might otherwise be a flat history contextualized or represented in fiction by the realistic experiences of character. The novel—a genre which is structured by the character's and narrator's perspectives moving through time—is well fitted to the task of representing the city's destabilization of agency in the formal aspect. William Sharpe in "London in the Nineteenth-Century Poetry" points out that the novel, with temporality built into its structure, was a genre that could respond more positively than poetry to the dynamics of the immense city in constant change (120). Franco Moretti argues

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dynamic interaction, or *jostling*, among numerous characters who share a limited, and unevenly distributed, amount of narrative attention" (176, my emphasis).

that urban life, which prefers the mediations of variables to one direct result, exists in the process rather than a finite conclusion and never stops but digresses; this form is embodied in the novel's suspense of plot ("Homo Palpitans: Balzac's Novels and Urban Personality" 114-24). "Walking London" proposes to find the narrative counterparts of the city's indefinite crisscrossing agency enacted in the jostling, prowling, and wooshing novels.

IV. What this dissertation does and does not do

"Walking London" does *not* read these novels in relation to the nation. Many critics have discussed the rise of the novel in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in the context of nation-formation that created a new mode of collectivity in place of the declining social systems of previous centuries. The modern concept of nation propelled a communal consciousness grounded in the present, numerical time, vernacular languages, Enlightenment, and modern science in preference to the past, Christian cyclical time, Latin, dynastic realms, and religious society (Benedict Anderson 9-36). Many of these new criteria that compose the nation were believed to be in need of affirmation. The novel, both as a market object and as a literary form, was said to dramatize this new communal consciousness through "homogeneous, empty time"—the objective time that became accepted when people collectively consented to the mathematically measured simultaneous time of the calendar (24-36). This critical coincidence between novel-formation and nation-formation is confirmed by many scholars, especially connected with the discourse on individuality as shown in Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (1957) and Nancy Armstrong's *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (1987).[18]

[18] Timothy Brennan claims that the novel expresses bourgeois individuality at the moment when

Against this critical proclivity in the studies of the novel, "Walking London" switches the focus from the nation to the city, to find diverse forms of agency outside the bourgeois individuality affiliated with the nation. The city is a space always in the process of construction, where different modes of social relations are constantly reshaped by the people who live in it. Henry Lefebvre, in his book *The Production of Space* (1991 [1974]), argues that space, especially the urban space, shows the transition from the "absolute space" of medieval feudalism to the "abstract space" of capitalism, working both as a fixed container and the open site of interaction manifesting the development of capitalist society of labor, exchange value, and the emergence of commodity culture (73-79, 227-46).[19] Surely, the city, as Walter Benjamin suggests in his *Arcades Project* (original title: *Das Passagen-Werk*) (1999 [1982]), can be a reservoir of history, which restores the past in the present in sculptures and monuments evoking fragmented memories in the minds of passers-by, while also being the record of the government's enforced unity for its

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religious and dynastic regimes began to collapse. Benedict Anderson confirms this bourgeois individuality of the novel by arguing that the novel, as a product of "print-capitalism" and the vehicle of "vernacular linguistic unification" (77), envisoned a nation represented by the bourgeoisie who were able to read and share their common experiences through the book market. Watt also writes that the community of middle-class readers who were involved in "printing, bookselling, and journalism" enabled the rise of the novel (59) and elaborates on the significance of individualism in the context of "modern industrial capitalism" and "Protestantism," which emphasize the individual's freedom of choice and daily labor (60) by reading Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). Armstrong argues that the rise of the novel—especially domestic fiction, which was written by, for, and about women in the line of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women's conduct books—was complicit in the formation of domestic womanhood based on middle-class values of self-regulation.

[19] Lefebvre reads the mode of existence of social relationships inscribed in space evolving through time. He writes: "(Social) space is a (social) product" that works on the triad of the "spatial practice" involving particular locations and spatial sets of referents in the observer's perception, "representations of space" imagined and constructed in the planners' minds, and "representational spaces" directly lived by its inhabitants (26, 38-30).

capitalist, imperialist ambition as shown in the Haussmannization of Paris. As Georg Simmel notes in his observation of Berlin in his essay "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903), the modern city transforms qualitative life relying on individual relationships to quantitative life consisting of price values and the mechanized time of pocket watches. The city thereby creates metropolitan individuality characterized as "blasé" and "reserve"—to be indifferent to the flux of external stimuli and numerous encounters on the streets. In these varying modes of the city during its production in Lefevrean sense, individuals are thrown into the perplexing mixture of social, economic, and cultural relationships shaping their self-values and communal identities. In this sense, I argue that the city presents a form of narration that does not always offer a conclusive rendering of perspectives aligned with a cohesive, self-directed individual subject.

"Walking London" is not a comprehensive survey nor a single theory of pedestrianism. Neither is it an attempt to apply an existing theory. Walter Benjamin, for instance, defines the flâneur, a city-walker, as a man of leisure who finds his desire and self-will in his enjoyment of capitalism inscribed in arcades and streets ("The Flâneur"). Michel de Certeau argues in his essay "Walking in the City" that walking generates multiple fragmented and disconnected forms of urban experience and lets the walker actively reconstruct his relationship with society, liberated from the planned regulations and administrations of the state-imposed urban system. By contrast, "Walking London" looks into the way in which walking formulates different forms of agency in the material context of the city contesting the status of the human as an individual subject. My focus is on the physical convergence between the human body and the urban environment, which creates diverse levels of agency determining minute actions that shape urban gaits.

"Walking London" tells a story about how people walking the streets of London filled with increasing speed and density lost their agency to the city, which had no directed agency, either.

The jostling, prowling, and wooshing scenes and forms of the novels written by Dickens, Stoker, and Wells activate the submergence of individual agency suggested by Doré's engravings in *London: A Pilgrimage*. "Walking London" makes it possible to see, feel, and read the loss of agency inherent in the most basic mobility that is believed to distinguish upright humans from animals that walk on all fours. The city dissolves human agency in material terms. The British novel does this in its form.

Chapter One

Jostling: Unintentional Collisions in Charles Dickens's *Little Dorrit*

> Strangers in London are not fond of walking, they are bewildered by the crowd, and frightened at the crossings; they complain of the brutal conduct of the English, who elbow their way along the pavement without considering that people who hurry on, on some important business or other, cannot possibly stop to discuss each kick or push they give or receive. A Londoner jostles you in the street, without ever dreaming of asking your pardon.
>
> –Max Schlesinger, *Saunterings in and about London* (1853)

> *The One vs. The Many* seeks to define literary characterization in terms of this distributional matrix: how the discrete representation of any specific individual is intertwined with the narrative's continual apportioning of attention to different characters who jostle for limited space within the same fictive universe.
>
> –Alex Woloch, *The One vs. The Many* (2003)

> Since the clocks struck two, I have walked through a full mile of streets where, in the day-time, I am jostled, elbowed, and bewildered by a noisy crowd.
>
> –Charles Dickens, "Covent Garden Market" (1853)

Figure 2. Eugène Louis Lami, *Ludgate Circus* (1850), watercolour drawing, Victoria & Albert Museum, London (© Victoria & Albert Museum, London)

London streets in the 1850s were notoriously crowded. According to Max Schlesinger's caricature in *Saunterings in and about London* (1853), walking the streets in 1850s meant struggling to navigate through a complex, massive flow of humans, where one's steps were constantly interrupted by other pedestrians' "elbow[s]" and unwanted "crossings." One's sense of direction was often blurred, i.e. "bewildered," because of the innumerable wayward walkers who were equally busy pushing forth against the human stream which blocked their way. The huge growth of population in London was evident in the increase of traffic on the streets. Many of the migrants ended up as factory laborers commuting on foot or worked as street vendors. Omnibuses and cabs, which were first introduced in the early nineteenth century, as well as old-fashioned hackney coaches, all swarmed in the streets. Booming railways transported more and more people from the country into the city. In order to walk the streets, people had to navigate the turmoil of the endless human tide, yet the crowds of people were not the only obstacle in the pedestrian process. Carts and wagons, horses drawing them, barrows and stalls, potatoes and fruit dropping from porters' backs, bustling noise, dust, mud, and smell all impeded the walker's journey.

This chapter reads Charles Dickens's *Little Dorrit* (1855-57) through a perspective attuned to the city-walker jostling through the disorderly urban environment. London described in *Little Dorrit* is a city of ruins anticipating the decline of the British Empire (Metz), an overcrowded, unsanitary city in need of domestic hearths (Welsh), an urban Gothic setting contesting the binary between the East and the West Ends (Ridenhour), and a labyrinth representing the backward regression of modernity (Sicher).[20] *Little Dorrit*'s city, however, is also a site of unexpected

[20] Metz reads London described in *Little Dorrit* as a city of ruins, haunted by the past and individuals wandering around the unevenly transformed city dislocated from their homes. London described as such, Metz argues, echoes Dickens's contemporaries' growing interest in Victorian archeological accounts of old ruins discovered in Rome and Turkey. London in the 1850s, when Dickens was writing the novel, was undergoing a massive metropolitan improvement which

"wrought, visibly, instant 'ruin' on whole neighborhoods": "the building of railroads, the laying of sewers, and the demolition of slums brought before residents of the capital an increased awareness of London as an archaeological artifact" (476). Such close proximity of ruins to residential urban areas created an impression that London would soon follow the path of decline walked by Rome and other ancient cities. Not only Dickens but also Romantic landscape painters also conveyed this anticipation of the city's decline, "depicting well-known London landmarks as they might one day appear to sightseers at the fallen city" (480).

Alexander Welsh's book *The City of Dickens* (1971) offers another compelling argument about London in *Little Dorrit* as well as in other Dickens's novels. Welsh nicely reviews the material conditions of London in the mid-nineteenth century—the overgrowth of London population and the exacerbation of unsanitary conditions fostering death rates beyond human control—as well as Dickens's treatment of social issues linked to those material issues. The Metropolitan Board of Works' and the Poor-Law medical officers' examinations of the medical conditions of the crowded slum areas by the number of square/cube feet available per person coined "a new term, 'overcrowding,' which, unlike mere 'crowding,' implies the violation of a standard'" (Welsh 17). The public understanding of London in the mid-nineteenth century was that the size of London—its population and space—and the sanitary condition of the city went beyond the measurable, containable human scale of management. The city itself became an organic system, whose unsanitary drains, sewers, and underground transportation of humans, overwhelmed the humanity in control of themselves and their products. Welsh notes that Dickens's novels reflect this overwhelming immensity of London in the mid-nineteenth century. Against the dangers inherent in the streets of London, Welsh argues, Little Dorrit in *Little Dorrit* and other sisterly women portrayed in Dickens's novels serve as the hearth, the home, the protecting value of which originates from family relations.

While Metz and Welsh focus on the symbolic meanings of *Little Dorrit*'s London, Ridenhour reads it from a spatial perspective. At first glance, *Little Dorrit* seems to confirm the binary between the East and the West Ends by featuring gothic-like cryptic houses like the Clennam House and the Marshalsea Prison in depressed regions such as the riverside and the Borough High Street, respectively. The novel, however, Ridenhours argues, perplexes the binary by locating the evil character Miss Wade's flat near Park Lane in the heart of the progressive fashionable West End and letting her walk across the wealthy districts of London. The urban Gothic novel—the genre which Ridenhour finds in *Little Dorrit*, *Our Mutual Friend*, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, and *Dracula* among others—does not necessarily affirm the binary between the West and the East Ends; rather, it destabilizes the domestic urban home of progress by adding a gothic atmosphere to the affluent place, featuring monster figures walking across the boundary between the civilized and the poor and creating a scene of positive domestic happiness in the deprived regions of poverty and crime.

encounters networking people beyond their comprehension. This networking, as Jonathan Grossman and Jesse Rosenthal point out, characterizes the novel's multiplot structure that features unknown, intermediate connections exceeding a comprehensive omniscient perspective.[21]

I focus on this link between the unforeseen encounters in the streets and the colliding plots in the novel, the commonality of which can be summed up with the word "jostling." Jostling, which I define as a push-forward action involving unintentional collisions with other entities in the form of accidental, uncertain intervolvement, characterizes both the characters' and the plots'

Sicher claims that the city in Dickens's times gradually began to be understood in terms of "disease and immorality," the meaning of which is best epitomized by the crowd overflowing in the streets (2). Consequently, urban literatures describing the streets of the city as a spectacle to be enjoyed by a flâneur-like leisurely city-walker "at a safe distance" (3) disappear into dangerous visions of contagious disorder and the reversal of modern progress. He suggests that Dickens's descriptions of the city should be understood in this cultural context that shifted the elegant, modern image of London into that of a backward, dangerous regression. He ambitiously proposes a hypothesis that the textuality of the novel formed in resemblance to walking in the streets of London defies the singular, stable formation of the self and the nation. Sicher promises that he will discuss how *Little Dorrit*'s textual entanglement of prisons and labyrinths in the plots opposes what D. A. Miller calls the ideological construct of surveillance underlying the realist novel form. Sicher, however, does not provide a detailed analysis of how the plots work in resemblance of the dislocating effect of prisons and labyrinths, and most of the close-readings remain on the content level.

[21] See Grossman, *Charles Dickens's Networks* 155-214. Grossman argues that *Little Dorrit* reveals the logic of "meanwhile" on the international terrain and international simultaneity. This temporal synchrony across national borders is manifested by the diffused spatiotemporal perspectives of the opening and the polyglot European setting. He also suggests that the novel interweaves multiple plots: the romance plot and the locked box plot. This plottability that escapes a comprehensive omniscient perspective captures the change in the perspective caused by the passenger transportation system—which is about densely interconnected journeying. Rosenthal in "The Untrusted Medium: Open Networks, Secret Writing, and *Little Dorrit*" argues that the multiplot structure of *Little Dorrit* unfolding through hidden yet shared connections points to the way that Victorians communicated through networks of unfamiliar mediators participating in the processing of information in the public space.

movements in the novel.[22] The characters in *Little Dorrit* are jostled by the crowds, vehicles, and substances composing the material city, London, and the plots are accelerated by the coincidental connections made by unexpected collisions between characters moving along seemingly separated plot-lines. In the first section, I investigate the history of traffic in the material environment of London, particularly by contrasting the glorious vista of Regency London in the 1820s, in which the novel is set, with the degenerate physical form of the city in the 1850s, when Dickens was writing the novel. Dense traffic marks London in the 1850s as a distinctive site of chaotic congestions exacerbated by its soaring population and number of transporting vehicles, which added to the pre-existing problems of bottlenecks, constricted streets, and the dust, dirt, and mud accumulated on the streets. Walking in this congested traffic evolves into jostling, which enhances unintentional collision enabling congregational agency of the crowds and materials.

In the second section, I discuss how jostling figures in the novel in two ways—either as a collision between two individuals or collisions en masse in the crowd. Either way, the unintentional collision involved in jostling reveals humans' bodily existence interconnected with the city's material environment and displaces humans from their socially-defined, self-directing subjecthood. To examine how this material interconnection inherent in walking revises human agency in non-subject terms, I analyze how Dickens portrays London in *Little Dorrit* as a physical entity perceivable by the five senses of humans and presents humans as material objects constituting the urban environment. In the city packed with materials and objectified humans, walking becomes jostling, which creates a site of tensions between different agencies ranging from

[22] Many thanks to Devin Griffiths for suggesting the term "intervolvement," which I believe rightly points out the interweaving connections we see in the collisions between the plots as well as the characters.

individuals to depersonalized crowds, urban materials, and objects in the streets. In London, Amy Dorrit is jostled by the crowds and boisterous winds violently pushing her body, and this tactility of the city she feels while she walks reduces her conscious agency. My readings of characters jostling and jostled in London will show that human agency defined by self-willed subjectivity dissolves in the urban aggregates composed of vehicles, materials, and de-individualized crowds.

In the third section, I expand on how Little Dorrit's unintentional convergence with the environment translates into the narrative level, reshaping agency as unintended causality pervading London composed of human and non-human aggregates. Echoing Alex Woloch's argument that nineteenth-century realist novels evolve around "different characters who jostle for limited space within the same fictive universe" (13) and his studies of character both as implied personality and narrative form, I argue that as Little Dorrit the character is jostled by urban materials, *Little Dorrit* the plot is jostled by multiple plots including the locked-box mystery, capitalist forgery, and romances across many couples. In the first few chapters, the narrative rarely focuses on Little Dorrit; Amy first appears after four chapters pass without any mention of her name, and even when she shows up, she is only briefly referred to by Arthur as "a girl" (55). She gradually emerges as a protagonist once Arthur finds some interest in her, but the romance plot between Little Dorrit and Arthur is soon hijacked by plots concerning Rigaud's and Cavalletto's chase, the Clennam family's secret, Arthur's brief romance with Minnie, and Merdle's business. Since the narrator describes Little Dorrit through her exteriority rather than her interiority, Little Dorrit does not show self-reflexive subjectivity to direct her plot on her own. In Book II, the plots surrounding Little Dorrit's development continue to scramble, colliding and making unexpected connections, which together create a collective, unintentional efficacy that drives the novel to a conclusion. The narrative structure that features the multiple plots jostling around Little Dorrit, I argue, shapes *Little Dorrit*'s

narrative agency as inter-related networks of unintentional collisions, replacing singular, self-directed individuality with entangled unintentionality enhancing action.

I. History of Traffic, London in the 1820s and the 1850s

The dense traffic pervading the streets of London in the 1850s sets the city apart from its predecessor, Regency London. In this section, I will review the traffic conditions characterizing London in the 1850s by comparing them with those in the 1820s and will discuss what it meant to walk, or to jostle, in such crowded streets. The number of people living and walking in the city as well as the number of vehicles rolling in the streets of London radically increased in the 1850s, and despite the Metropolitan Board of Works' effort to ease the traffic by eliminating tolls and widening the streets, the problem was never completely resolved. In this clamorous London, walking became jostling. By examining Dickens's use of this verb in his works, I argue that jostling figures as an unintentional collision involving a collapse of motion, both of the body and of the mind, and engenders efficacy beyond a singular subject in charge of action.[23] Jostling in London, as I show in my historical review in this section, points to the entangled source of action that emerges in human and non-human collectives inherent in the congested traffic of London in the 1850s.

Little Dorrit is a retrospective fictional account of the events that happened thirty years ago before the moment of composition in 1855-57, i.e. around 1827 when London was undergoing a

[23] "Efficacy" is a term that Jane Bennet uses to refer to "the creativity of agency, to a capacity to make something new appear or occur" (31). Interpreting this concept of efficacy in the context of her argument about "a theory of distributed agency, [which] does not posit a subject as the root cause of an effect" (31), I use this word to denote a source of action, whether intentional or unintentional, that produces a change.

vast change to uplift national pride in the spirit of the post-Napoleonic Wars. Known as the "Age of Improvement," Regency London came into shape with the construction of buildings promoting Britain in and around the upper-class district of the West End. John Nash, the architect appointed by the Prince Regent, started his project to "beautify London": Regent Street (1817-23) was built as a dividing line between the prospering West End and the deteriorating East End; St. James' Park (1814-27), the Burlington Arcade (1819), Regent's Park (1818-35), and Waterloo Place (1828) came next.[24] The famous emblems of the British Empire—the National Gallery (1824), Trafalgar Square (which was reopened in 1844), and Buckingham Palace (which became the London residence of the British monarch in 1837)—were built or significantly remodeled to glorify the nation's glory during this period.[25] The neoclassical architectural style introduced by John Nash

[24] Makdisi notes that the goal of Nash's Regent Street project was to resolve the "striation and unevenness" pervading London and to introduce a space affirming the progressive development logic of the British Empire. Makdisi writes: "[London] was deeply striated and contained all sorts of unevenly developed heterotopic pockets. [. . .] This striation and unevenness is precisely what John Nash intended to address in his Regent Street project, which would turn out to be the first of many nineteenth-century schemes to plow through the messy 'littleness' of central London and open up a new, smoother, and more rational kind of space (other such projects would include the transformation of Charing Cross into Trafalgar Square and the plowing of Shaftesbury Avenue and New Oxford Street through the slums in and around St. Giles's). For the point of Nash's plan, which was implemented between 1817 and 1823, was not merely to open up a wide boulevard running south to north between Carlton House and what would become Regent's Park, but also to demarcate the limit between one kind of space and another: between the systematic, rational order of Mayfair ('the Streets and Squares occupied by the Nobility and Gentry') and the irrational, haphazardly planned, seemingly overrun and out-of-control districts just to the east, beginning with Soho; or, in other words, as Nash himself put it, 'a line of Separation between the inhabitants of the first classes of society, and those of the inferior classes'" (Makdisi, *Making England Western* 48-49). For the select committee's review of John Nash's works, the total expenses for and progress of his improvements to Regent Street, Regent's Park, and the Strand and its surrounding neighborhood, see *Report from the Select Committee on the Office of Works and Public Buildings* (1828), 105-114.

[25] For the list of buildings and urban projects that changed the vista of the city in accordance with

reflected the nation's hope that a Roman version of London would head Britain's empire. Clearly, *Little Dorrit* juxtaposes the glorious years of London's transformation back in the 1820s with the years of the decline of the British Empire at the time of Dickens's writing. When Dickens was writing *Little Dorrit*, however, walkers could no longer enjoy the imperious cityscape as much as their predecessors did, because of the chaotic disorder pervading the streets of London, that is, the dense traffic.

The streets of London had always been crowded with people and vehicles, as Dickens observes in *Sketches by Boz* in the 1830s, but the 1850s marked an unprecedented increase of traffic. An article entitled "Traffic of London" published in 1856, *The Times* asks, "How are we to ease the traffic of London? Can no remedy be devised for the monstrous inconvenience which results from the concentration during the same hours of the day of such vast numbers of vehicles of every description in our principal streets?"[26] London's population, which had already hit one

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the expanding glory of the British Empire, see Ackroyd, *London: A Biography* 511-16; White 23-28; Whitfield 114-17. White writes: "The Regent was an aggrandizer with a passion for building who saw in the 'beautification' of London glory to himself and his metropolis, and a stab at the pretensions of his enemy across the Channel. Nash's plan would 'quite eclipse Napoleon' in the contest of the nation's capitals. And George did not know, in either the bedroom or the counting house, the meaning of the word extravagance" (23). Regency London, however, despite its rapid transformation and surging population growth, still kept its uniformity and coherence manageable on a human scale. Ackroyd writes: "The 'improved' London of the early nineteenth century had acquired a momentum of its own. The National Gallery, the British Museum, the Marble Arch, Westminster Palace, the Royal College of Surgeons, the Law Courts, the screen and arch at Hyde Park Corner, the General Post Office at St. Martin's le Grand, London University, the Inner and Middle Temples, as well as various theaters, hospitals, prisons and gentlemen's clubs, completely changed the external aspect of London. For the first time it became a public city [. . .] There is always building and rebuilding. Yet [the drawer George] Scharf emphasises the human scale of this new London, before the advent of the Victorian megalopolis. He shows citizens in small groups, or as couples, rather than crowds; [. . .]" (515).

[26] "Leading Articles – Traffic of London." *The Times*, 5 December 1856, p. 6d. See also William Haywood, *Report on the Accidents to Horses on Carriageway Pavements* (1873) quoted in Winter

million by 1811, doubled by the time Dickens was writing *Little Dorrit* in the 1850s. Friedrich Engels in his *The Condition of the Working Classes in England* (1845), already observed the teeming, swarming streets of London, recalling "the human turmoil and the endless lines of vehicles" and "[t]he hundreds of thousands of all classes and ranks crowding past each other" when he walked in London in the 1840s (36, 37). Yet in the 1850s the crowding became even more intense, as "[b]etween 1841 and 1851 alone, some 330,000 migrants flooded into the capital" (Porter 205). This rapid growth of population was most visible in the novel's setting in the East End and Southwark; the population in East and South districts, which was 271,323 and 333,236 in 1821, increased to 485,522 and 616,635 respectively by 1851 (Ordish 941).[27] Many of them commuted on foot or ended up being "street-folks," as Henry Mayhew observes in *London Labour and the London Poor*, maintaining their lives on the streets by working as costermongers, street-sellers, street-buyers, street-finders or collectors, scavengers, sweepers, exhibitors, musicians, artists, or wandering as paupers, prostitutes, and thieves defined by their poverty and wealth stands. The development of railways transporting people to the metropolis also intensified the pedestrian traffic of commuters and tourists on the streets (Ordish 906; Flanders 39-40).[28] The number of

46: "In 1866, Haywood had estimated that vehicular traffic had increased by 25 percent between 1850 and 1860."

[27] The population of the other districts in London all increased significantly; in West districts, it increased from 211,564 to 376,427, in North districts from 222,722 to 490,336, and in Central districts from 339,576 to 393,256 (Ordish 941). See also White 41-42; Porter 205-206; 268-29; and Jackson and Nathan 132-43. "The traffic crisis of the 1850s did, though, prompt some action" (White 42). "Catastrophic overcrowding was commonplace" (Porter 268).

[28] "The number of passengers arriving at and departing from the London Bridge group of railway termini, which in 1850 amounted to 5,558,000, had in 1854 risen to 10,845,000" (Ordish 906). "Many factors contributed to the traffic problem. From 1830 to 1850, the population of London grew by nearly 1 million. The number of stagecoaches increased by 50 per cent, while the number of hackney carriages more than doubled. The arrival of the railways from the 1840s further

vehicles rolling on the streets also escalated. Licensed cabs in London, which were only twelve back in 1823 and 165 in 1829, had augmented to 3,500 by 1853 (Ordish 899, 936). Omnibuses, first invented in July 1829, multiplied to twelve within nine months and increased to 800 by 1853, running in and out of London from 9 am till midnight six days a week (Ordish 899, 937).[29] The Stage Carriages Act of 1832 ended the hackney coaches' monopoly, making more cabs and omnibuses available to the public (Porter 225; Barker and Robbins 7-14). The number of hackney coaches, which was 1,500 in 1830, also exceeded 3,000 in 1850 (Barker and Robbins 64).

Other already existing factors that contributed to London traffic—including the toll gates, narrow streets, and vehicles moving in multi-directions with no traffic rules governing them—exacerbated the congestion in the 1850s. Many of the main roads in London were built by private entrepreneurs in the eighteenth century and collected tolls to make a profit.[30] The collection of

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increased road usage, as goods, instead of being manufactured and sold in one place, now underwent different manufacturing stages in different locations, being transported by rail but beginning and ending their journeys by cart" (Flanders 39-40).

[29] Omnibuses were too expensive for the working class who had to move back and forth between their homes and the factories on a daily basis. "Much of this 'human tide' was on foot out of sheer necessity, since the average worker could not afford any other means of transport. Omnibuses in the 1850s were prohibitively expensive for the working class; as were the railways until the increasing availability of 'workmen's fares' – cheap fears at morning and evening rush hour – in the second half of the century, particularly after the Cheap Trains Act of 1883" (Jackson and Nathan 133). Porter also notes that the time of service limited the use of omnibuses for the middle-classes: "Horse-drawn buses remained middle-class, starting at eight, long after the working classes at work" (225). Omnibuses evolved into horse trams, which became widely available for the working classes in the 1870s. For the history of omnibuses in London, see Barker and Robbins 14-40, 56-63. For more information concerning the "list of omnibuses delivered by Messrs. Orsi and Foucaud to the London General Omnibus Co. 1856," see Barker and Robbins 404-12. See also Winter 22, 33, 42-48. "In the 1850s, many more people, traveling more often on longer journeys, requiring a larger provision for public transport, and being able in large numbers to pay for it, were being carried by the new railways and a multiplying fleet of omnibuses and cabs" (Winter 22).

[30] "In the eighteenth century, many of Britain's main roads had been built by groups of

tolls at turnpike gates worked as a severe blockage in the stream of people and vehicles. More importantly, there were no traffic rules that could have effectively arranged the routes and directions of different vehicles' and people's movements. In the 1840s, buses dropped off their passengers on either side of the streets upon the passengers' request; if passengers dragged down the left band, the driver crossed the road from the right to the left to pull over. Legal traffic notices by the police were first issued in 1852, "because of severe traffic problems at Marble Arch, on the north-east side of Hyde Park, [and it states that] 'Metropolitan stage-carriages are to keep to the left, or proper side, according to the direction in which they are going, and must set down their company on that side. No metropolitan stage-carriage, can be allowed to cross the street or road to take up or set down passengers'" (quoted in Flanders 44). Police enforcement of traffic rules, however, conjured public resistance, and the street traffic remained out of control until the late nineteenth century. In 1860, "[t]here was still no separation for traffic moving in opposite directions" (Flanders 45). The first traffic signal installed at the junction of Parliament and Bridge Streets in 1868 exploded not too soon after the first trial and was quickly removed (Winter 83; Flanders 45).

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businessmen who advanced the capital to build the roads; in return for their investment, they were permitted by Parliament to levy tolls on all road users. The main arteries in and out of London that Dickens knew as a young man were all toll roads, with turnpike gates blocking access to the west in Knightsbridge, at Hyde Park Corner; in Kensington, at the corner of the Earls Court Road; at Marble Arch, at Oxford Street; and in Notting Hill (the toll was the 'Gate' in Notting Hill Gate, just as it was the 'bar' in Temple Bar). On the northern side of the city there was one at King's Cross; on the eastern side, at the City Road near Old Street, and at Shoreditch, in the Commercial Road. On the south side of London there were three turnpike gates in the Old Kent Road; another at the Obelisk at the Surrey Theater, where Lambeth Road and St George's Road meet; with another at Kennington Church, then Kennington Gate" (Flanders 40).

Narrow streets with significant bottlenecks continued to cause troubles until the mid-nineteenth century, when the blockages were removed. New Oxford Street just opened in 1845, followed by Victoria Street in 1851. Big thoroughfares such as Charing Cross Road, Shaftesbury Avenue, and Farringdon Road were built much later in the nineteenth century.[31] Kingsway was opened in 1905. In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were no wide streets in the north-south direction, and daily trips on foot and wheel remained mostly cramped.[32] Most roads were too narrow for carts and wagons to pass without being blocked by other vehicles.[33] Housing

[31] Both Charing Cross Road and Shaftesbury Avenue were developed under the 1877 Act of Parliament. The construction of Farringdon Road started in the 1840s, but it almost took twenty years to complete.

[32] For concrete examples of the "bottlenecks" that existed in London before the nineteenth century, see Barkers and Robins 10-11. For the equally or even worse traffic congestion pervading London in the 1850s, see Barkers and Robins 64-68. "Because of its east-west growth, London was better served by roads running in this direction than by those running from north to south. There were, in fact, three main routes westwards from the City: along Fleet Street and the Strand; along High Holborn and Oxford Street; and by the New Road [the Euston Road]"; "To get from north to south, however, was even more tortuous, for, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was no good communication in this direction: no Regent Street; no Charing Cross Road (nor Shaftesbury Avenue); no traffic permitted through the Bedford estate, then being developed northwards from Russell Square (and no Kingsway); no Farringdon Road and no wide thoroughfare south from Finsbury Square" (Barker and Robbins 10, 11). "Yet, despite this great increase in the volume of both passenger and goods traffic, and despite the protracted deliberations of first a Select Committee and then a Royal Commission on Metropolitan Improvement, the chief thoroughfares in the 1850s were in much the same state as they had been in 1830. There were still only the three major routes in the City from the west. The Oxford Street route had been improved during the 1840s by the cutting of New Oxford Street between Tottenham Court Road and Holborn, but there was still no Holborn Viaduct and the Fleet valley remained a considerable obstacle. The Fleet Street route was only 23 feet wide at Temple Bar and 25 feet up Ludgate Hill; and the crossing with Farringdon Street was a particularly bad bottleneck on account of turning carts" (Barker and Robbins 64-65).

[33] "'Everyone feels and deplores the evils of the congestion under which the olden portions of the metropolis – and more especially the City – that great heart and center of all – suffer. [. . .] [Chancery Lane is] too narrow at one end to admit of the passage of two vehicles abreast, and

complexes and buildings in the middle of roads also decreased the space available for walkers and drivers; for example, Middle Row in Holborn—"a double-row sixty yards long of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century houses occupying the middle of the street"—reduced the size of the street, which was originally twenty-five yards wide, to ten yards (Flanders 46).

The main concern of the Metropolitan Board of Works (MBW) established in 1855 was, therefore, to resolve the traffic problem by making new streets, removing the tolls, and implementing laws that strictly set up the minimum width required for new streets (Ordish 937-40; Barker and Robbins 64-68). To smooth the flow of traffic "between the terminus of the South-Eastern railway, near London Bridge, and the West End of London" (Ordish 937), the MBW suggested the creation of Southwark Street, which was completed in 1864. Besides that, the MBW proposed the formation of multiple new roads—short and long thoroughfares—between "Southwark and Westminster," "Old Street, St. Luke's [and] New Oxford Street," "Limehouse [and] Mile End Old Town," and "the Commercial Road and Whitechapel" (Ordish 937, 938). Farringdon Street, the extension of which began in the late 1840s before the MBW was founded, was made adjacent to Clerkenwell Green by 1855 (White 43). The MBW tried to remove the tolls on Waterloo and Southwark Bridges in order to reduce traffic congestions around the bridges by encouraging the Corporation of the City of London to purchase Southwark Bridge (Ordish 983). To regulate the width of new streets, on May 2st, 1857, the MBW enacted a by-law that states, "Forty feet, at the least, shall be the width of every new street intended for carriage traffic; twenty feet at the least, shall be the width of every new street intended only for foot traffic," which also

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where a vast amount of traffic is often brought to a stand-still by a costermonger's cart, or by a laundress's wheel-barrow'" (*Illustrated London News*, vol. xxv, pp. 293-4, 30 September 1854 quoted in White 42).

required a four weeks' advance written notice "for any new Street" in London ("Report of the Superintending Architect to the Board, dated June 1st, 1857" quoted in Ordish 938). In 1867, the MBW also demolished the aforementioned series of houses called Middle Row in Holborn, which were blocking the pedestrian and vehicular stream around the place (Ordish 937, 939; Flanders 46).[34]

Despite these efforts, however, as the traffic increased dramatically in the 1850s, the physical materials of which London's streets were composed aggravated the congestion. Due to heavy use and constant friction, macadamized roads easily became loose and covered with holes,

[34] For more information on the street improvements in nineteenth-century London, see also White 29-32 and Whitfield 152-55. The street improvements, however, also caused the displacement of slum populations. Makdisi writes: "The civilization and Occidentalization of London thus took place in two tracks at once: reform of those who could be reformed and displacement, removal, and erasure of those who could not. For we know from Gareth Stedman Jones's classic *Outcast London* that there was a heavy price to be paid for this view of development— and we know who paid it. Projects to rehabilitate the space of London by clearing away slums and rookeries, broadening streets, converting residential districts into commercial ones, developing dock areas, and eventually making room for railroad networks necessarily involved the displacement of thousands of people at a time, without making provision for their accommodation elsewhere. The extension of New Oxford Street, for example, forced five thousand people from their homes, however squalid they may have been; development north of the Strand to make room for the new law courts displaced six thousand people; the demolition of Crown Street and the cutting up of St. Giles's by the development of Shaftesbury Avenue and Charing Cross Road unhoused another six thousand people; work on Southwark Street and the railway extension across the Thames into Ludgate Hill also displaced six thousand people; the great clearances around the Farringdon Road forced the removal of an estimated forty thousand people" (*Making England Western* 83). Makdisi argues that the slum clearances and street improvements done in the nineteenth century were aimed at implementing in the city a sense of individuality conforming to the English national character: "the urban fabric itself precludes the possibility of forming a developing, progressive, individual subjectivity" (69); "The civilization of people meant also the civilization of space, drawing both into the mainstream of historical time, the time of development" (79). I suggest, however, these expectations are compromised by the swarming traffic that continued to haunt the new roads throughout the nineteenth century.

which were then filled with mud. The overuse of macadamized roads in London from the 1820s onward produced mud. In the 1820s, the roads in fashionable districts such as St. James's Square, Marylebone, and Piccadilly in the West End began to be paved with macadam, which soon became the producer of mud. Dust, filth, coal-fires, and horse-dung were accumulated in the resulting mud that flooded the streets.[35] Londoners walking in the mud had to be agile: "An American town-bred lady would as soon think of swimming up the Thames against the tide, as walking far in such ankle-deep mud, but English ladies do it, and with consummate dexterity too" (David Barlett [1852], quoted in Jackson and Nathan 134). But the mud inevitably slowed down both people's and vehicles' movements, and the city's effort to clear the streets of mud ironically furthered the traffic problem. Cross-sweepers walked to and fro on the streets to gather mud on the side, and in doing so, "constantly impeded the traffic in their turn"; "These heaps of mud, if hardened by either freezing, or drying quickly, cause very considerable damage to carriages" (Joseph Whitworth quoted in Turvey, "Street Mud, Dust and Noise" 135).[36]

[35] "Much of street dirt consisted of horse droppings, but other components. Garbage fragments, paper ashes, sand, earth and coal were dropped from wagons. Dust came from coal fires. There was also the sand and gravel used for gritting slippery pavements. In addition, the grinding action of hooves and iron-rimmed wheels upon the road surface, added very significantly to the amount of dust in dry weather and of mud in wet weather. Thus enormous quantities of broken granite and flint contributed to the mud and dust from macadamized streets. On the busier such streets, according to Mayhew, more mac than dung was scavenged in wet weather, and even in dry weather, dung and other street refuse constituted somewhat less than three quarters of what the scavengers collected, dry weather mac being derived from water from the watering carts" (Turvey "Street Mud, Dust and Noise" 134).

[36] Joseph Whitworth, *On the Advantages and Economy of Maintaining a High Degree of Cleanliness in Roads and Streets*, excerpted from the Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers, 1853, 6-7 quoted in Turvey 135. It should be noted, however, that Whitworth in this quote is advertising his newly invented sweeping machine by exaggerating the problem of human sweepers. Until the sweeping machine became widely used later in the century, it was the human sweepers who constantly engaged in the daily service of "collect[ing] dung from the streets almost

In this context, walking in London entailed jostling and being jostled, which put into contact different bodies, genders, classes, and materials, sometimes even blurring the line between human subjects and inanimate materials.[37] In Dickens's observation of Covent Garden Market in 1853, the jostling crowd includes costermongers, fruit-sellers, porters, scavengers, squatters, and also nonhuman components such as stalls, wagons, carts, vans, as well as the horses that draw them. Dickens writes: "Rows of carts and vans and costermongers' barrows are beginning to form in the middle of the roadway in Bow Street"; "costermongers with baskets, porters in knee-breeches, 'hagglers,' fruiters, greengrocers, eating-house keepers, salesmen, and carters swell the restless multitude" ("Covent Garden Market" 505, 507). Items on sale also swarmed in the streets on Sunday mornings, as an anonymous author wrote in 1856: "the footways are thronged by a dense multitude, struggling in adverse directions; the road is a confused encampment or squatting-ground strewed everywhere with heaps of vegetables, with pots, pans, and crockeryware, with

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as soon as it was dropped, so that the streets were kept permanently clean instead of dirt accumulating between sweepings" (Turvey 143). The National Philanthropic Association put this service into action in 1845-56, 1851, and in 1852-53, which gradually developed into a city-wide street orderly system. For more information on the city's street orderly clearing system, see Flanders 49-50. For an account of beggar-like boy sweepers and scavengers occasionally rewarded by individuals, see Jackson 32-36. "A Parliamentary Select Committee in the 1840s recorded that [. . .] In wet weather, [dust] was shoveled to the sides of the roads before being loaded on to carts by scavengers employed by the parishes, with the busiest, most traffic-laden streets cleared first, before the shops opened, when traffic made the task more difficult" (Flanders 50).

[37] In this chapter, I will focus on jostling. For a review of Dickens's idea of walking—not a specific kind of walking but walking in general—expressed in his writings and his real life, see Bodenheimer, *Knowing Dickens* 170-204. Bodenheimer discusses how Dickens reshapes the concepts of Michel De Certeau's "Walking in the City" and Benjamin's *flâneur*. For a discussion of how Dickens modifies the male-centered spectatorship of the *flâneur* in female characters who, by walking in the streets, transgress the boundary between domestic female ideals and public female sexuality and claim to be spectators, not spectacles, see Nord 81-111.

cooking utensils and household articles" ("Sunday and London Streets" 405). Mayhew's description of the jostling urban mass in *London Labor and the London Poor* recording the cityscape and the life of street folks in the 1850s is not too different from Dickens's: "the sights [of London street markets], as you elbow your way through the crowd, are equally multifarious," bringing a series of "stall[s]," "a row of old shoes," "tea-trays," "tea-shop," "a man delivering bills," "tailor's dummies," "family, begging," and "a black man half-clad in white" advertising "'Frazier's Circus'" (15-16). Fleet Street's "traffic [is] often chocked with vehicles," and in order to walk from Fleet Street to Temple Bar and the Strand, Mayhew and his company have to "elbo[w] [their] way through the throng of people" (351). Oxford Street is "ever resounding with the din of vehicles, carts, cabs, hansoms, broughams, and omnibuses" as well as "shops [. . .] spacious and crowded with costly goods" (350).[38]

As the last quote from Mayhew suggests, the crowds of people and vehicles rolling on the pavements were also noisy. The noise came from humans like hawkers, newspaper boys, flower girls, costermongers, and street musicians, and also from stamping horses and clunking wheels. Dickens writes, "a noise like the tic-tac of a water-wheel, from a wagon crawling up Drury Lane and confused sounds of carts and men greet my ear in Long Acre," and "[f]iles of horses, jingling chains at their heels, go down to stables in back streets" ("Covent Garden Market" 505). The sounds of the streets were not the neutral, calming sounds of nature but were "[t]he tumult and hubbub of a crowded market [that] assail your ear as you approach" ("Sunday and London Streets" 405). The noise caused by axletrees moving on granite pavements was so enormous that the

[38] Also see "A Table Showing the Quantity of Refuse Bought, Collected, or Found, in the Streets of London," an Appendix to the 2010 Oxford edition of Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*. The table shows the sheer variety of refuse that inhabited and mingled with the lives of people in the streets of London.

passengers could hardly hear each other's voices (Haywood, Parliamentary Papers, 1868 XII Q. 1791-92 cited in Turvey, "Street Mud, Dust and Noise" 135).

The verb "jostle," originating from the word "joust," implies collision. This collision, when it occurs in jostling, is unintentional physical contact that causes a collapse of motion. In his essay "Covent Garden Market," Dickens writes: "Since the clocks struck two, I have walked through a full mile of streets where, in the day-time, I am jostled, elbowed, and bewildered by a noisy crowd" (505). The passive use of the verb "jostle" indicates that the collision was not his intention, and the subsequent passive participles following the word signify the palpable touch and confusion of thought, respectively. All of these constitute the mobile process of jostling and being jostled involving multiple assertive, contending agencies in the intermingling of people's bodies and materials. The type of touch that constitutes jostling is not a mere physical contact but a bumping collision, as a person walking in the crowd "essays to force a passage through the crowd, by turning his sacks of peas crosswise, and knocking people down with them" (507). Jostlers "pour in," "swarm," and "dash into wagons" in an energetic manner to push their ways forward (507), linking the rapid, speedy motion to the accidental and aggressive nature of jostling: "How they swarm and jostle each other! How they dive into and cleave a way through the multitude, regardless of every man's business but their own!" (507). Such unintended collisions characterizing jostling have efficacy, often involving a sudden stoppage of bodily and mental motions. A multitude of people streaming on the streets are "bewildered" by the uncontrollable sounds and rambunctious masses of people surrounding them: "Walking on, somewhat bewildered with the crowd, I notice objects in the shifting panorama" (Dickens, "Covent Garden Market" 509).

The words used together in parallel with the verb "jostle" in Dickens's novels also suggest that jostling entails aggressive, exhausting, and unintended physical contact causing confusion and

displacement. In many cases, the word "jostle" often appears with words implying conflict such as "against," "out," "struggle," "buffet," "hustle," "jumble" indicating that to jostle means to mingle with and fight against one another to proceed on their own journeys.[39] For example, "Jostling with unemployed labourers of the lowest class, ballast-heavers, coal-whippers, brazen women, ragged children, and the raff and refuse of the river, [Oliver Twist] makes his way with difficulty along, assailed by offensive sights and smells from the narrow alleys which branch off on the right and left, and deafened by the clash of ponderous waggons that bear great piles of merchandise from the stacks of warehouses that rise from every corner" (ch.50). Jostling can be wearing on the nerves, as one scene in *Sketches by Boz* (1836) describes: "so everybody went hastily along, jumbling and jostling, and swearing and perspiring, [. . .]" (ch.11). In this context of contending agencies, jostling impedes self-willed movement, as shown in Dombey's metaphoric use of the word in his reflection upon the past after his daughter leaves him: "foot treading foot out, and upward track and downward jostling one another [. . .] a light footstep that might have worn out in a moment half those marks!" (*Dombey and Son*, ch.59).

[39] Here are more quotes concerning this definition. From *David Copperfield* (1849-50): "when I came out into the rainy street, at twelve o'clock at night, I felt as if I had come from the clouds, where I had been leading a romantic life for ages, to a bawling, splashing, link-lighted, umbrella-struggling, hackney-coach-jostling, patten-clinking, muddy, miserable world" (ch.19). From *Bleak House* (1852-53): "Foot passengers, jostling one another's umbrellas in a general infection of ill temper, and losing their foot-hold at street-corners, where tens of thousands of other foot passengers have been slipping and sliding since the day broke (if this day ever broke), adding new deposits to the crust upon crust of mud, sticking at those points tenaciously to the pavement, and accumulating at compound interest" (ch.1); "Jostling against clerks going to post the day's letters, and against counsel and attorneys going home to dinner, and against plaintiffs and defendants and suitors of all sorts, and against the general crowd, in whose way the forensic wisdom of ages has interposed a million of obstacles to the transaction of the commonest business of life [. . .]" (ch.10).

John Gay in *Trivia, or; The Art of Walking the Streets of London* (1716) takes this confusion and displacement implied in jostling as a negative force against which the walker should protest to secure his position as an individual subject. *Trivia* starts with the speaker's assertion as follows: "Through winter streets to steer your course aright, / How to walk clean by day, and safe by night, / How *jostling* crouds [sic] with prudence to decline, / When to assert the wall, and when resign, / I sing:" (1.1-5, my emphasis). In the poem, walking is an act of navigating the city against disorder, as the speaker asks the reader not to "let thy sturdy elbow's hasty rage / Jostle the feeble steps of trembling age" (2.47-48) not to impinge on others' private space. The speaker hopes that "constant vigilance" during walking will protect the walker from the dangers inherent in the streets of London and will help to constitute a sovereign individuality unabashed by the external chaos (3.111-15). The main concern pervading the scenes of jostling in *Trivia*, guidebooks, and spy narratives in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century was how to assert personal space amidst the densely-populated streets of the crowd and maintain the individual's self-directing agency against the menacing proximity.[40]

Dickens, however, does not see the need to secure individuality. Nor does he limit jostling to individual encounters. In Dickens, the source of the power causing this unintentional collision resulting in displacement and bewilderment sometimes dwells not in specific agents threatening another individual walker but is distributed across crowds of people and objects moving as collectives, which I call *congregational agency.*[41] This switch in focus from individual jostlers to

[40] For a broader historical and literary context of Gay's poem, see Alison O'Byrne's article, "The Art of Walking in London Representing Urban Pedestrianism in the Early Nineteenth Century." In the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century, the sudden increase in population and drastic urbanization resulted in overcrowded streets of crime and disorder. The disorderly streets of crime and unexpected personal encounters in London-walking required vigilance.

[41] I coined the term "congregational agency" to refer to the agency originating from and distributed

a mass of jostling bodies emphasizes jostling's productive force in collective motion. Out of 23 cases where Dickens uses the verb "jostle" in his sixteen novels, he uses active voice (16 cases) remarkably more often than passive voice (7 cases), and the subjects of jostling mostly appear as collectives rather than individuals. The prominence of the active voice in the use of the verb indicates that jostling highlights the conflict between different agencies asserting their ways forward. Also, as the distinctively high number of collective subjects involved in jostling suggests, the agency activating the jostling movement is distributed across multiple entities grouped together as a mass compound.[42]

	active voices (jostling, jostle)	passive voices ([be] + jostled)
individuals	5 cases	5 cases
collectives	11 cases	2 cases

The verb "jostle" used in Dickens's novels[43]

across multitudes of people and objects, which Bennet calls "distributive agency" (ix, 31, 38).

[42] That the passive form is available only for the verb "jostle" and not for "joust" evidences this distributive nature of jostling. While the passive voice of the verb "joust" sounds grammatically strange, the verb "jostle" can be freely used as a passive voice. The passive construction disperses agency in the crowd, blurring the specificity of subjects which could have been identified in terms of their class, gender, or materiality.

[43] The works I checked are the collection of short stories in *Sketches by Boz* (1836) and Dickens's major novels, excluding the Christmas specials: *The Pickwick Papers* (1836), *Oliver Twist* (1839), *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839), *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1841) and *Barnaby Rudge* (1841), *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1844), *Dombey and Son* (1848), *David Copperfield* (1850), *Bleak House* (1853), *Hard Times* (1854), *Little Dorrit* (1857), *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859), *Great Expectations* (1861), *Our Mutual Friend* (1865), *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870). I used the free online editions available on Project Gutenberg to gather this data.

Dickens often describes the crowds as impersonal, material compounds, a "procession," or a "train of human moths" "of a very noisy species" "incessantly scream[ing], laugh[ing], halloo[ing], and whistle[ing] through their fingers" ("Round the Midsummer Fire" 428). The bird's-eye view of Hyde Park also reduces individual walkers to "many dots," "a flood of small dark spots, no bigger than the heads of pins," "which crowd and jostle" "wide white lines" of roads ("Hyde Park" 302). In *Nicholas Nickleby* (1838-39), Dickens observes urban collectives composed of "[s]treams of people apparently without end poured on and on, jostling each other in the crowd and hurrying forward" and "vehicles of all shapes and makes mingled up together in one moving mass, like running water" (ch. 9).[44] In Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge* (1841), not only human crowds but also a mass of non-human objects and vehicles jostle against each other in London.[45] The word "crowd" is grammatically treated as singular, which suggests that people, when packed into a crowd, are reduced into a singular mass occupying space, possessing congregational agency with no specific individual's direction.

The efficacy emerging in these eclectic collectives, unlike the blocking motion of the individual jostler, relies on accidental connections that are not visible at the moment of collision. These random connections enhancing the causality made by chance encounters may also explain

[44] See Garrett, *The Victorian Mutliplot Novel* 26-28 for an analysis of this passage in relation to his argument about "juxtaposition"—the multiple-focus narrative modeled on "the city's multiplicity" (26). Garrett claims that this passage shows the novel's simultaneous representation of the huge diversity of people and objects constituting the city and "its hidden coherence" (27).

[45] "Fleet Market, at that time, was a long irregular row of wooden sheds and penthouses, occupying the centre of what is now called Farringdon Street. They were jumbled together in a most unsightly fashion, in the middle of the road; to the great obstruction of the thoroughfare and the annoyance of passengers, who were fain to make their way, as they best could, among carts, baskets, barrows, trucks, casks, bulks, and benches, and to jostle with porters, hucksters, waggoners, and a motley crowd of buyers, sellers, pick-pockets, vagrants, and idlers" (*Barnaby Rudge*, ch. 60).

how Dickens thought life works. John Forster writes: "On the coincidences, resemblances, and surprises of life, Dickens liked especially to dwell, and few things moved his fancy so pleasantly. The world was so much smaller than we thought it; we were all so connected by fate without knowing it; people supposed to be far apart were so constantly elbowing each other; and to-morrow bore so close a resemblance to nothing half so much as to yesterday" (Forster, I, 91). Raymond Williams argues that the London Dickens dramatizes "in the form of his novels" is "the unknown, perhaps unknowable, sum of so many lives, jostling, colliding, disrupting, adjusting, recognizing, settling, moving again to new spaces" (154, 164). In the context of positive and collective unintentional collisions connecting people beyond their comprehension and creating networks enhancing action, I read the characters' jostling and being jostled in London described in Dickens's *Little Dorrit* to show how the dense materiality of the urban environment reshapes human agency as efficacy without intentionality. Jostling, I argue, is a material index of the complex condition of the city, full of unintended causality produced by the confederation of mass population and heavy traffic crowding the streets.

II. The Jostler and the Jostled in London

Little Dorrit presents jostling both as a collision between two bodies with distinct trajectories and as collisions en masse. In both cases, whether the jostler is singular or collective, jostling figures as an unintentional collision involving physical contact causing a sudden stoppage of motion. In this section, I will argue that jostling characterized as such symptomizes the city's contestation of agency in the streets where people are constantly hustled by the crowds, objects, and materials. While every kind of walking involves material interconnection between human bodies and the environment, jostling reconfigures this haptic experience of the city as a site of

tensions between controlling agency and de-centered self-hood. The accidental, physical, and intermingling nature of jostling empowers Little Dorrit, who is frequently jostled by the crowds and urban materials, to forgo her self-consciousness as a domestic daughter confined in her family circle and perceive herself in the midst of the material networks surrounding her body.

The jostler can be a singular person pompously treading the roads, like Rigaud, who "jostle[s] [Arthur] to the wall" when Arthur turns around a corner near Mrs. Clennam's house on his way back from the Circumlocution Office (568). Rigaud is often described as "a swaggering man, with a high nose, and black moustache" (555), an assertive, strong-minded, arrogant and domineering man identified by his physical trademarks and greed.[46] This imperious, egotistic Rigaud pushes his way onward "striding on before [Arthur]" after he "jostle[s] [Arthur] to the wall" (568):

[46] Rigaud is also a character who, together with other aggressive, selfish characters like Miss Wade and Henry Gowan, represents Dickens's critique of cosmopolitanism. Amanda Anderson in *Powers of Distance* argues that Dickens articulates an ambivalent critique of cosmopolitanism by "pathologiz[ing]" (85) the cosmopolitan characters – Rigaud, Gowen, and Miss Wade, whose drifting sense of belonging turns them into antagonists threatening the comfortable security of domestic English ideals – and also by describing Arthur Clennam's sense of "alienation" as the dismantler of agency and self-will. The development arrested by this sense of alienation challenges the optimistic view of cosmopolitanism associated with self-cultivation. Little Dorrit's continental tour is also ambivalent in that it does not fulfill the self-cultivation commonly associated with cosmopolitanism. However, it is also true that Arthur Clennam's alienation promotes "delicate intercultural negotiations" and "social critique and moral insight" (85); Dickens's attitude to cosmopolitanism is simultaneously full of suspicion and endorsement. Throughout the book, by defining "detachment" as the condition of modernity involving dislocation and estrangement from tradition and its effect upon self-cultivation in the cosmopolitan context, Anderson investigates the pluralistic and diverse ways that Victorian writers responded to cosmopolitan ideals with anxieties that neither completely approve nor disapprove the rootless forms of (un)belonging. Though I am not discussing the cosmopolitan aspect of these characters, I re-contextualize Anderson's grouping of Rigaud, Gown, and Miss Wade in opposition to Arthur Clennam and Little Dorrit to discuss how these characters' strong will and dismantled will, respectively, figure in their plots' corresponding roles in the multiplot structure of jostling and jostled narratives.

> He had turned into the narrow and steep street from which the court or enclosure wherein the house stood opened, when another footstep turned into it behind him, and so close upon his own that he was jostled to the wall. As his mind was teeming with these thoughts, the encounter took him altogether unprepared, so that the other passenger had had [sic] time to say, boisterously, "Pardon! Not my fault!" and to pass on before the instant had elapsed which was requisite to his recovery of the realities about him (568).

Rigaud's shoving Arthur captures the first definition of jostling—the collision between two distinctive individuals during their own walking journeys. In the scene preceding this encounter, Arthur is walking from the Circumlocution Office to his mother's house, thinking about all the secrets hidden behind the series of gloomy, dark counting-houses, mills, churches, and the river, pondering the secrets of his own family history that his parents may have wronged someone. Yet, this sudden encounter with a man whose "footstep turned into it behind him" interrupts his physical movement and mental processing altogether. "[T]he encounter took him altogether unprepared," beyond his expectation, and Arthur must have a moment to recuperate from this sudden blackout of his thought process. As this passage suggests, to be jostled entails an unintentional collision involving a collapse of motion, both on the bodily level and the thought process.

As opposed to Rigaud the jostler, who bumps against people and irritates people like a greedy animal, Amy and Arthur are the jostled ones who are vulnerably pushed and interrupted by the crowds and the noises of the streets. Their jostling exemplifies the second kind of jostling—unintentional collisions between multiple unidentifiable jostlers. One day, when he was walking along the Strand just before Arthur sights Tattycoram there, he is caught up in the stream of people crowding over the street:

> He was passing at nightfall along the Strand, and the lamplighter was going on before him, under whose hand the street-lamps, blurred by the foggy air, burst out one after another, like so many blazing sunflowers coming into full-blow all at once, -- when a stoppage on the pavement, caused by a train of coal-waggons toiling up from the wharves at the river-side, brought him to a stand-still. He had been walking quickly, and going with some current of thought, and the sudden check given to both operations caused him to look freshly about him, as people under such circumstances usually do.
>
> Immediately, he saw in advance – a few people intervening, but still so near to him that he could have touched them by stretching out his arm – Tattycoram and a strange man of a remarkable appearance: [. . .] It was then that Clennam saw his face; as his eyes lowered on the people behind him in the aggregate, without particularly resting upon Clennam's face or any other.
>
> He had scarcely turned his head about again, and it was still bent down, listening to the girl, when the stoppage ceased, and the obstructed stream of people flowed on. (555)

I would include this sudden stoppage of Arthur's movement "caused by a train of coal-waggons toiling up from the wharves at the riverside" in the broadly defined category of being jostled. Though there is no physical contact explicitly mentioned in the scene, this "stoppage on the pavement" would have made people collide with each other.[47] As I have suggested earlier, the jostled Arthur is forced to take a sudden break from the "current of thought" he has been dwelling

[47] The Strand in the 1820s was already a huge thoroughfare. Compare the Strand with the Adelphi. "There is always, to this day, a sudden pause in that place [Adelphi] to the roar of the great thoroughfare. The many sounds became so deadened that the change is like putting cotton in the ears, or having the head thickly muffled" (Dickens, *Little Dorrit* 555-56).

on upon the sudden "stoppage on the pavement," and a "sudden check [is] given to both operations," both physical and mental.

Interestingly, what causes this "sudden check," or the cessation of physical and mental procession, is not a specific agent but a mass of people and objects moving along the same road. It is the "train of coal-waggons toiling up from the wharves at the river-side [that] brought him to a stand-still." The Strand described here is heavily crowded with people, vehicles, and nature, which all move and jostle Arthur and the people he is chasing. In addition to the "train of coal-waggons," "the foggy air" and the pedestrian stream interrupt Arthur's vision and passage. When Arthur discovers Tattycoram and a man, "a few people [are] intervening," and their movements are all put to cessation by the vehicles' intervention into the pedestrian flow (555). People are described as an "aggregate," a mass compound of a collective population, as in the sentence, "the obstructed stream of people flowed on" (555). This congregational agency of the crowd moving without the specific intent to stop Arthur actually makes Arthur and his thinking stop and wait.

These human walkers moving as a collective mass without a self-directing, singular individual's will are materially embodied physical entities no more powerful or controlling than the other objects and nature occupying the roads. The mail coach accident Arthur encounters on his way from Casby's place to his lodging in Covent Garden shows the topography of the congested streets around Smithfield. The streets here are full of thronging pedestrians: "a crowd of people flocked towards him on the same pavement, and he stood aside against a shop to let them pass" (177). Arthur here is again stopped by a collective of people herding into the traffic and finds that "they were gathered round a [sic] something that was carried on men's shoulders," a "litter" on top of which lies a man hit by a mail coach (177). People around are holding "a muddy bundle" and "a muddy hat," indicating the unfortunate collapse of the human body and outfits into multiple

units mixed with street mud (177). Arthur immediately notices that there was an accident, and a man complains, "'They come a [sic] racing out of Lad Lane and Wood Street at twelve or fourteen mile a hour, them Mails do. The only wonder is, that people an't killed oftner by them Mails'" (177). Given that no traffic rules were governing and dividing the stream of people and vehicles in nineteenth-century London, mail coaches running "at twelve or fourteen mile a hour" must have posed serious threats to pedestrians, who were, as well as the coaches, physical entities moving in the space.[48]

The physicality of the people, objects, and vehicles envisioned in their jostling attests to the fact that London itself is a material city composed of sounds, air, mist, mud, etc. perceivable through bodily senses, which assail pedestrians as much as vehicles do. When Arthur heads to his mother's house after being released from the quarantine upon his arrival to England, the narrator says, in London, there is "Nothing to see but streets, streets, streets. Nothing to breathe but streets, streets, streets" (43). The "streets" of London are something to be seen and inhaled by the human walker. In such streets which figure as objects of visual and olfactory sense perception, humans are jostled not only by the crowds and vehicles but also by amorphous yet perceptible matter such as the smothering air, cacophonous sounds, and opaque, choking smell of the streets: "It was a Sunday evening in London, gloomy, close, and stale"; "Maddening church bells of all degrees of dissonance, sharp and flat, cracked and clear, fast and slow, made the brick and mortar echoes hideous"; "Melancholy streets in a penitential garb of soot, steeped the souls of the poor" (43). Another series of sounds—"some doleful bell" indicating the increasing deaths caused by the

[48] See my comments about traffic rules on p. 32 in the previous section of this chapter and footnote 13 on pp. 8-9 in the introduction. Flanders notes that mail-coaches became essentially embedded in Londoners' transportation by the 1820s, but "[t]heir speed was proverbial, both a marvel and a worry" (92). She also mentions this mail-coach accident scene from *Little Dorrit* (Flanders 92-93).

Plague—"was throbbing, jerking, tolling" moving violently as if to slap the ears (43). Londoners, who are just parts of the material composite city, have to jostle through the overwhelming auditory, olfactory, visual, and tactile stimuli.

Amy and Arthur are walking and struggling in this overflow of tangible urban substances filtering through the bodily senses. When they are strolling on the Iron Bridge "where there is an escape from the noise of the street" (109-110), muddy streets, gusty winds, and eclectic sounds all surge over their bodies and overwhelm Amy's sense as a distinctive human subject.[49] "The morning remained squally, and the streets were miserably muddy" (110), as they start to walk to the Iron Bridge. When they get there, they are beset by the more intense air texture.

> Thus they emerged upon the Iron Bridge, which was as quiet after the roaring streets as though it had been open country. The wind blew roughly, the wet squalls came rattling past them, skimming the pools on the road and pavement, and raining them down into the river. The clouds raced on furiously in the lead-coloured sky, the smoke and mist raced after them, the dark tide ran fierce and strong in the same direction. Little Dorrit seemed the least, the quietest, and weakest of Heaven's creatures.
>
> 'Let me put you in a coach,' said Clennam, very nearly adding 'my poor child.'
>
> She hurriedly declined, saying that wet or dry made little difference to her; she was used to go about in all weathers. He knew it to be so, and was touched with more pity; thinking

[49] For information on the pedestrian, equestrian, and vehicular traffic on the bridges in London (London, Southwark, Blackfriars, Waterloo, and Westminster), see *Report from the Select Committee on Metropolitan Bridges; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index* (1854), 32-33. While the total number of pedestrians using London Bridge on a single day was 63,080 and that of Blackfriars was 30,080, the number of people using Southwark bridge (i.e. Iron Bridge) was only 1,357, according to Sir B. Hall's report on the traffic of the bridges in 1854, probably because of the toll.

> of the slight figure at his side, making its nightly way through the damp dark boisterous streets to such a place of rest. (111)

Though the Iron Bridge feels like "open country," compared to "the roaring streets" they have just passed, there as well Arthur and Amy have to experience aggressive, unwelcoming contacts with "[t]he wind," "the wet squalls," "[t]he clouds," "the smoke and mist," which almost swamp their bodies by moving "roughly," "furiously" "rattling past them." The words describing each entity's movement indicate rapid, violent movements beyond human control. In the face of this ferocious tactility of the urban environment, "Little Dorrit seemed the least, the quietest, and weakest of Heaven's creatures," meaning that Little Dorrit is too weak to stand against such material invasions into her body, an organism on the level equal to or less powerful than the rest of her surroundings. Whereas a "coach" may save her *self* from total immersion in the city's air, Little Dorrit prefers to walk, to expose her body to the air "in all weathers." In Arthur's eyes, Little Dorrit walking in the streets unfiltered by any vehicle of mediation may look like a "slight figure [. . .] making *its* nightly way through the damp, dark, boisterous streets" (my emphasis), that is, a depersonalized object immersed in the bare materiality of the streets.

But what do these "damp, dark, boisterous streets" look, sound, and feel like? We get a closer look at the material and social factors constituting this noisy, muggy cityscape when Amy Dorrit and Arthur Clennam are literally "jostled" on their way from the Iron Bridge to the Marshalsea Prison.

> They walked back through the miserable muddy streets, and among the poor, mean shops, and were jostled by the crowds of dirty hucksters usual to a poor neighbourhood. There was nothing, by the short way, that was pleasant to any of the five senses. Yet it was not a common passage through common rain, and mire, and noise, to Clennam, having this little,

> slender, careful creature on his arm. How young she seemed to him, or how old he to her; or what a secret either to the other, in that beginning of the destined interweaving of their stories, matters not here. He thought of her having been born and bred among these scenes, and shrinking through them now, familiar yet misplaced; he thought of her long acquaintance with the squalid needs of life, and of her innocence; of her solicitude for others, and her few years, and her childish aspect. (114-15)

The line—"There was nothing, by the short way, that was pleasant to any of the five senses"—truly captures the irritating moments of physical encounters that Amy and Arthur have to endure physically while walking in the streets full of noise, smell, sounds and mud invading their bodies. As indicated by the prepositions such as "through" and "among," Amy and Arthur are put in direct contact with materials and people aggressively invading their walking path. Their jostling also brings them into unwanted social encounters with people outside their class boundaries. Little Dorrit, as a daughter of a gentleman, is not supposed to belong to these scenes of sharp shrieks and violent touches, but she is "born and bred among these scenes" and probably has been jostled by these "squalid needs of life," contesting her social status throughout her life. Arthur tries to distinguish her from the rest of those utter social interfusions, believing that "her innocence" would save her from the foul, socially degraded existences.

Little Dorrit, however, is not strong enough to recover agency in those terms of self-direction and control amidst the mix of classes and bodies happening on the streets. Amy and Maggy's "wild flight" (190)—the night walk they take after being shut out from their prison home across London Bridge—affirms Amy's vulnerable existence as a human exposed to the foggy, muggy texture of the air and puts her in the midst of the dense traffic composed of lower-class

individuals. Amy and Maggy try not to be jostled by "homeless people," "drunkards," and "slinking men" (190).

> They [Amy and Maggy] had shrunk past homeless people, lying coiled up in nooks. They had run from drunkards. They had started from slinking men, whistling and signing to one another at bye corners, or running away at full speed. Though everywhere the leader and the guide, Little Dorrit, happy for once in her youthful appearance, feigned to cling to and rely upon Maggy. And more than once some voice, from among a knot of brawling or prowling figures in their path, had called out to the rest, to 'let the woman and the child go by!' (190).

Of special interest are the verbs used to describe Amy and Maggy's escapes from potential collisions. Amy and Maggy "had shrunk past," "run from," and "started from" these people, and all of these motions accompany sudden shifts from self-directed walking paths. The people Amy and Maggy may have collided with also show noisy, annoying gestures perplexing the viewers—"whistling," "running away at full speed," "brawling or prowling." In the midst of these chaotic surroundings, Little Dorrit happily forgoes, rather than asserting, her identity as a noble daughter of an imprisoned gentleman, pretending that she is a child—small and short—under Maggy's protection. A prostitute passing by them misrecognizes Amy as a child because of her short height. Given that this walk happens at the time of the Vagrancy Act of 1824, which associated nightwalkers with criminals and prostitutes under the category of "idle and disorderly persons," I argue that Little Dorrit here is walking with the risk of stripping off her civil feminine identity.[50]

[50] "[I]dle and disorderly" was an official title designating pedestrian acts amounting to public nuisance. The official name of the act was "An Act for the Punishment of Idle and Disorderly Persons, and Rogues and Vagabonds, in the Part of *Great Britain* Called *England*." For the list of people who were caught and accused of being "idle and disorderly," see Vagrant Laws (1824) 4,

As Amy's walks with Arthur and Maggy respectively show, jostling creates a site of tensions between different agencies, alternating between the utter dissolution and the assertion of the self. Every walk is an exposure to the material conditions of the streets; when we walk, we breathe the air, step on the pavement, brush past other people or objects on the way. Jostling, however, also exposes jostlers to multiple conflicting agencies as everyone is trying to push forward their way, claiming their power to move forward, elbowing each other. That is to say, in addition to the material interconnection that is common in any pedestrian process, jostling begets continuous crossings and assertions of social, cultural boundaries defining each walker's identity, as they try to maintain their sense of self-direction defined in those terms.[51]

59, and 64.

[51] In this sense, jostling brings to the fore the political implication of contested agencies ranging across social and material levels, which have not received much attention in the new materialist discussions of material interconnection and agency. New materialisms claim that matter is not a static, measurable material entity but moveable interactive dynamics and that agency does not have to reside in a subject's intentional direction (Coole and Frost; Coole). In keeping with this statement, Jane Bennet in her book *Vibrant Matter* pushes the communicable interrelationship between nature and culture suggested by Donna Haraway to a more radical claim that human agency figures as efficacy affected by vital materials existing in the form of assemblages. While Haraway has argued for the contestation of the dualisms constructing the Western self—humans opposed to non-human animals, objects, organisms, things, materials, machines, etc.—in the name of "cyborgs," Bennet claims that "Each human is a heterogeneous compound of wonderfully vibrant, dangerously vibrant, matter" (12-13). Bennet also replaces the highly-human-centric concepts such as "agency" or "subjectivity," which prioritize the consciousness or willingness in mind, with other less-subject driven forms of agency such as "actant," meaning the "source of action that can be either human or nonhuman" (viii), and "*agent*, which can refer both to a human subject who is the sole and original author of an effect (as in 'moral agent') and also to someone or something that is the mere vehicle or passive conduit for the will of another (as in 'literary agent' or 'insurgent agent')" (33). Recently, Mel Y. Chen implements the political aspects of agency in vital materials by investigating how "animacy," which Chen defines as materialized efficacy not limited to particular animals, works in words, animals, and metals to reveal the political axes of race, sex, and class determining the ontological hierarchies between human and nonhuman, able and disabled, bodies and matter. While the new materialist revision of agency in

The setting of Amy's jostling, Southwark, makes it even more socially provocative. Southwark in Dickens's times—and *Little Dorrit*'s times—was a "poor neighborhood" (Dickens 114) mainly used and inhabited by industrial working-class people, and it had inns and alehouses which served as sites of gambling and prostitution. The route that Arthur and Amy are taking in their "jostled" walk starts from the Marshalsea Prison and continues to Amy's uncle's house nearby and then to the Iron Bridge back to the Marshalsea Prison. Amy and Maggy's night walk ranges from the Covent Garden to the Marshalsea Prison and then to and from London Bridge. These trajectories mostly cover Borough High Street, which, in 1856, was characterized as the site of the "lowest and poorest of the human race" by William Rendle, the district's Medical Officer of Heath (quoted in Knox 66).[52] Thomas Miller's description of Southwark suggests a similar point, as he writes: "There is no spot like this in the neighbourhood of London, -- no spot that looks so murderous, so melancholy, and so miserable" (quoted in White 9).[53] Jostling in Southwark

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bodily terms mostly remains limited to the literal, practical level concerning materials generating change in their surroundings, my argument about jostling, which reveals the struggles between different agencies in urban collectives, offers a political lens to read multiple forms of agency contesting each other across the social, cultural, and economic boundaries delimiting them.

[52] The full quote from Rendell is as follows: "The lowest and poorest of the human race drop from higher and richer parishes into our courts and alleys and the liquid filth of higher places necessarily finds its way down to us. We receive the refuse as well as the outcomings of more happily situated places" (quoted in Tames, R. *Southwark Past* (Historical Publications, 2001) 122, again quoted in Knox 66). After his family were put into the Marshalsea Prison, Dickens moved to live in Little College Street in Camden Town and then to Borough High Street (Ackroyd, *Dickens' London* 51-53).

[53] Drawing on more primary sources, White further explains the devastated state of Southwark: "It contained in 1820 some 3,000 families, 1,040 houses, a dozen streets and a maze of courts and alleys behind them. Here the land lay below the high-water mark of the Thames, less than half a mile away to the north. Any drainage was in ditches or 'open sewers' and cesspools. [. . .] Small wonder that when cholera first came to London, at the beginning of 1832, it chose the Mint as its earliest and most devastated district. Small wonder, too, that the Mint [Southwark] had

involved, unlike that in the West End full of luxurious shopping malls and theaters, an exposure to the social and economic disadvantages inherent in the lower working class living, working, and wandering in the deteriorated, packed slum environment. Also, the locations adjoining this walking route in Southwark—Covent Garden and London Bridge—involved different yet equally or more complex sorts of social hustling.[54]

This jostling, which immerses Amy in physical materials and assaultive agencies contesting her socially defined identity, challenges her status as the subject in control over her own body and consciousness. At the end of their long night walk, Amy and Maggy finally find shelter in a church near the Marshalsea Prison and falls asleep.

> This was Little Dorrit's party. The shame, desertion, wretchedness, and exposure, of the great capital; the wet, the cold, the slow hours, and the swift clouds, of the dismal night.

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traditionally been an alsatia for thieves, prostitutes, debtors, beggars and outlaws, a labyrinthine hidey-hole which bailiffs and police dared not penetrate except in force" (10). See Thomas Miller, Thomas, *Godfrey Malvern* (1842-3) 226-27 and Watts Phillips, *The Wild Tribes of London* (1856) 95ff cited in White 10, 480.

[54] Covent Garden and its neighborhood Soho in the early- and mid-nineteenth century maintained a cosmopolitan population consisting of Frenches, Italians, and Germans, who fled to escape the political upheavals sweeping continental Europe. In terms of class as well, Covent Garden housed multiple kinds of shops making up a huge urban fruit and vegetable market attracting people from all over London, flower girls and begging idlers as well as upper-class gentlemen and ladies visiting the site for theaters and entertainment. For a succinct summary of the history of Soho and Covent Garden, see Knox 223-233. For a brief account of the history and landscape of Covent Garden Market, see Dickens "Covent Garden Market" (1853) and Ackroyd, *London: The Biography*, 326-28. The old London Bridge was demolished and rebuilt in 1831, but its overwhelming traffic condition was still a serious problem under discussion in 1854. See the "Proposed Alteration" of London Bridge in *Report from the Select Committee on Metropolitan Bridges; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index* 184 and Esquire Jeremiah Evans's observation of the traffic of London Bridge and the committee's discussion on widening the bridge in the same document 63-65.

> This was the party from which Little Dorrit went home, jaded, in the first grey mist of a rainy morning. (194).

The homeless, the drunkards, and the wanderers whom Little Dorrit encountered in the tangible forms of sounds, visions, and the air attests to the "shame, desertion, wretchedness" of London. Though she enjoys her night walk with Maggy, hoping that "If it really was a party!" she feels cold, frightened, and crouches down in fear at the shadow of an unidentified passerby. The tactility of urban nature—"the wet, the cold" of the night's air—felt through the long duration of "slow hours" is exhausting and does not give Amy a chance to reorient herself as a domestic daughter in control over her body and mind. Constantly forced to be immersed in the material components of the city, the walker Little Dorrit feels "jaded" (194), meaning that the convergence between her body and the environment makes her forgo the sense of control required for her self-recovery.

Once Amy gets used to this engulfment of her body by physical materials that challenge her social identity in jostling, she becomes free of the central consciousness directing her thoughts or feelings even when she walks in the absence of the crowds. When Arthur approaches Little Dorrit who was "airing" on the Iron Bridge, they have a brief conversation:[55]

> "It is so strange. Perhaps you can hardly understand it. I sometimes have a sensation as if it was almost unfeeling to walk here?"
>
> "Unfeeling?"

[55] The Iron Bridge (i.e. Southwark Bridge) was newly built in 1819 around the time of Little Dorrit and was one of the few bridges collecting tolls, which made it less crowded than other bridges across the Thames. For the number of pedestrians and vehicles using Southwark Bridge, see my footnote 49. Flanders briefly mentions the role of this toll in "ensuring that it is quieter," which made it a favorite spot of Little Dorrit and Arthur Clennam (44).

> "To see the river, and so much sky, and so many objects, and such change and motion. Then go back, you know, and find him in the same cramped place."
>
> "Ah yes! But going back, you must remember that you take with you the spirit and influence of such things, to cheer him" (278).

"[U]nfeeling," she says, to describe the alleviation of her domestic duty as a daughter of the gentleman in prison. In prison, she has to take care of her father in distress, "feeling" for her father, engaging in emotional labor that fulfills the duty required by her domestic position. During her walk on the Iron Bridge, however, her bodily existence amidst these interrelated networks of "the river, and so much sky, and so many objects" lets go of her controlling agency defining her selfhood as the domestic daughter of the Prison family. The absence of consciousness directing her thoughts and feelings as a domestic daughter envisions another kind of force activating her development as well as the novel's plots.

Jostling described in *Little Dorrit* thus reveals another form of agency emerging from a mass confederation of multiple entities not directed by any human subject delimited in social terms. Jostling, I argue, entangles mass population, material substances, and vehicles moving on the streets in an aggregated form of agency encompassing an unintentional efficacy pervading the modern city, London. In the following section, I will connect this congregational agency, or unintentional causality emerging from the crowds of people, objects, and materials, to how the novel's narrative moves forward through connections made by accidental collisions between multiple plots. By reading how this material invasion is translated into the novel's multiplot structure, I argue that *Little Dorrit* challenges the self-determined agency of human will, by replacing it with the unintentional causality inherent in the urban material environment.

III. Jostling and Jostled Plots

In *Little Dorrit*, multiple plots jostle for narrative space, colliding with and blocking each other's movements. In this section, I propose to read character as form by examining how Little Dorrit's self-effacement leads to her being jostled by other plots, making her unable to control any plots, whereas Rigaud's aggression enables him to jostle other plots, creating multiple involvements and interrupting the plots everywhere. Where Little Dorrit related to the jostling plot as an agent, not as a subject, of narratives, Rigaud related as an initiator of accidental, unexplained plot-intervolvements. In comparison, Mrs. Clennam presents us with the un-directed efficacy of the plot-collectives activating the plots' movement through unintentional collisions.

As we have seen, when Arthur walks towards Mrs. Clennam's house, "another footstep turned into it behind him, and so close upon his own that he was jostled to the wall" (568). This unexpected, unintended collision with the stranger makes his body and his thoughts collapse, and he hardly recuperates from the sudden blackout of his thoughts (568). This collapse of motion characterizing jostling explains the way in which the plots move in *Little Dorrit*; the plots are displaced by each other, constituting continuous switches of perspectives and plot foci in the novel. After Arthur gets jostled by the stranger, the narrative perspective hitherto centered on Arthur's thoughts about his family's hidden guilt suddenly scatters with no promise for further development. As Arthur is jostled by Rigaud, so is the mystery plot which Arthur has been leading forward.

The unintentional collision causing the collapse of one motion we see in Arthur's being jostled by Rigaud attests to the way that the plots move in the chapter (II.10). Arthur's sudden encounter with Rigaud switches the narrative perspective focalized through Arthur's subjective reflection to his objective observation of the events happening around him. Just before Rigaud

jostles Arthur, the chapter begins with an impression that the family-mystery plot is unfolding through Arthur's reflection of the secrets haunting his family, following his tracking of Miss Wade and Tattycoram which ended up with their sudden disappearance into Casby's house in the previous chapter. Readers might feel that Arthur was in the process of discovering some important information about Miss Wade when he learns that Casby is her business partner. This slow yet gradual discovery of hidden secrets through the thought-driven narrative, however, is suddenly blocked by the appearance of a stranger called Blandois, a.k.a. Rigaud, who, by jostling Arthur and forcefully visiting his mother's house, hops on the mystery plot. Arthur no longer directs his inquiry about the mystery but instead simply follows and observes Rigaud, Mrs. Clennam, and Jeremiah in the same room. As the narrator's perspective in this chapter is restricted to Arthur, who does not know how Rigaud is connected to his family's guilt, the mystery plot colliding with Rigaud's plot seems to be stuck in progress. Arthur shouts out to Affery: "what is going on here?" (575).

This is a mise-en-abyme of how the plots in *Little Dorrit* are moving, or jostling, engaged in unintentional collisions that are accidental, uncertain yet intervolving. Such plot mobility lacking clarity and connection is, as Hilary Schor has noted and I will argue, quite different from the traditional understanding of plot as a goal-oriented narrative movement which structures events as coherent temporal sequences related with each other.[56] Aristotle argued that all plots work for

[56] Hilary Schor in her essay "Dickens and Plot" points out that Dickens developed in his later novels—especially the ones in the 1850s—another version of plot which offsets the common understanding of plot as the "unity of action" (Aristotle) or a sequence of events in the cause-effect chain unfolding in time (Forster; Brooks). In his later novels, especially in *Little Dorrit*, the plot lacks clarity and connection, as there is no controlling, filtering narrator who rearranges the story into a single narrative strand. The plot Dickens provides in his later novels is too crowded with multiple characters and events which lack clear logical connections. Schor reads this daily, ground-level unpacking of plots as suggesting the importance of the present—we should "live fully in the

the "unity of action"—that is, a plot should include not every event but only selective events related to one another working for the single action in discussion (*Poetics* 13-17). Since then, John Barth's theory of plot, not to mention Barnet and Cain's plot diagram, all assume that the plot works for a single line of story starting with a sort of potential conflict hidden somewhere, escalating with the increased evocation of factors changing the status quo, culminating at a certain point, then descending into a resolving conclusion. E. M. Forster identifies the cause-effect relationship as the distinctive feature of plot. Peter Brooks, with more emphasis on "the design and intention of narrative" as well as temporality, defines plot as a structuring operation of events in relation to time, especially through the events' location in a time bound to the concluding point that enables "the anticipation of retrospection" (12, 23).

The plots in *Little Dorrit*, however, hardly move in accordance with such a coherent, climatic narrative structure, probably because the novel is full of accidental, unintentional collisions between plots whose relationships are not yet explained at the moments of collision. These unexpected collisions defy comprehension and cause frequent switches in narrative focus, making it hard to identify the connections and goal of the plots' operation. Dickens's groupings of his characters in his number plans show that the novel has multiple plots ranging from the family mystery, Little Dorrit and Arthur Clennam's personal development, Merdle's capitalist forgery, Miss Wade's failed romance, to the Rigaud and Cavalletto plot.[57] These plots unfold intermittently and sporadically throughout the novel, jostling for narrative space. In Chapter One, we see two prisoners—Rigaud and John Baptist Cavalletto—in Marseilles. Without anticipating what

present" (105) without relying too much on the power of the redemptive past or the retrospective future to make sense of our worlds.

[57] See Dickens's number plans Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12 in Stone 270-75.

positions these prisoners will take in the whole novel, the narrator rapidly switches to a totally different setting without giving a clue as to how the prisoners' plot will develop before we see the next plot in Chapter Two "Fellow Travellers." This is the chapter where characters featured in the multiple plots encounter each other, building important connections that will sustain the plots' movement throughout the novel. In this chapter, however, the characters are described only by their physical looks at first and are gradually defined by their names as the chapter progresses, so readers cannot get a sense of who they are nor how they are situated in the overall context. It is only in Chapter Three that we find a character who looks like a protagonist attracting the narrator's attention. But this narrative focalization is again dispersed by the interjection of Affery Flintwinch's mysterious dreams and soon stops moving. In Affery's dreams, unplanned encounters between Affery—the observer of the family mystery—and Jeremiah's twin brother occur, but even the existence of an identical twin lies beyond the reader's knowledge. In this aspect, the first four chapters provide arrays of information about multiple characters involved in the multiple plots constituting the novel, often encountering each other unexpectedly, but with no direct, explicit connections visible to readers and no clue as to who is the protagonist. Because we readers do not yet know how all of these characters and events are *connected* to each other, we can hardly construct a narrative sequence rendered in the cause-effect chain unfolding in time, and the plot seems to be stuck.

The absence of clues about the title character's presence in the first four chapters and the lack of interior focus in Little Dorrit after she appears in the plot distinguish the novel *Little Dorrit* from other suspenseful novels by Dickens. The uncertainty of connection between events is very common in Dickens's novels, as we can see in *Great Expectations* (1861) and *Oliver Twist* (1838). But in these two novels, readers can follow the suspense through perspectives localized in the main

characters: Pip's unexpected encounters with a convict and other events are explained by his reconnection with Magwitch later; Oliver's accidental meetings with Mr. Brownlow and Rose all lead to the resolution of the mystery plot concerning his origin. The suspense in *Little Dorrit*, however, unfolds outside any character's direct involvement with the plot's uncertainty. The novel's messy plottedness prevents the development of a narrative perspective attuned to a singular character's interior thoughts or actions; Little Dorrit appears intermittently, not serving as a consistent focus for the reader; nor does she provide subjectivity to direct the plot. Not the individual character but the unintended collective collisions create plot-action to move to the end. This multiplicity of agents in collective form distinguishes *Little Dorrit* from Dickens's other multiplot novels which Peter Garrett defines through his reading of *Blake House*. Garrett argues that while the mystery plot of *Bleak House* restores the characters to the inclusive system of the novel's fictive universe, the mystery plot in *Little Dorrit* is "a confused mass of exposition," "a void in which it spins its wheels, going nowhere" (75).

Little Dorrit continues but also twists the generic convention of the multiplot novel, which Garrett defines as a multiple-focus novel featuring unstable, shifting perspectives between locally-rooted individuals and a collective, comprehensive vision of the whole. Garrett claims that the Victorian multiplot novel and especially Dickens's novels are structured around the "juxtaposition" (25) between the omniscient perspective of a "detached observer" and the individual participant's limited perspective. Garrett writes:

> From the perspective of the detached observer, these emerging relationships offer an experience of increasing comprehension like that produced by the recognition of plot connections, a satisfying sense of combined unity and diversity, of a complex coherence. But the perspective of the participant reveals a very different aspect, in which the

multiplication of analogies is experienced not as an increase but as a loss of understanding, a disruption of coherence. (49)

In *Little Dorrit*, however, both the collective and individual plots teleologically fail.[58] I agree with Garrett that the novel *Little Dorrit* does not provide a complete perspective resolving every single plot unfolding in the novel, as its "anticlimactic ending" "work[s] to demystify the mystery plot, to discredit its explanatory claims and thus help to reinterpret the novel's structure of development" (75). Yet, what Garrett does not notice is that, unlike Esther Summerson who shares the narrative authority with the omniscient narrator, Little Dorrit does not show enough self-reflective moments to direct the plot forward on her own. I argue that, unlike other Dickens's novels, the suspense and individual perspective countering the collective, omniscient perspective in *Little Dorrit* are not directed by a solidly-bound individual consciousness but rather move on the unintentional collisions between plots.[59]

Readers still may try to read the novel by following the eponymous character Little Dorrit's consciousness, but doing so fails because Little Dorrit receives less attention than expected, and her inner consciousness rarely comes into view. Little Dorrit does not appear in the novel until

[58] In the final number plan of *Little Dorrit*, Dickens did not even put the group of Mrs. Clennam, Flintwinch, and Rigaud constituting the family mystery plot and Little Dorrit and Mrs. Clennam's plot altogether, which had constantly appeared throughout the number plans. Instead, in his final number plan, he thoroughly reviewed whether or not he would include other minor characters. The eclectic composition of characters and plots in his final number plan indicates that neither the family mystery plot nor Little Dorrit's plot figures as a powerful resolution of all the plots constituting the novel. See Stone 310-11.

[59] Some might assume that Arthur is the central consciousness rather than Amy, but some mysterious events and plots are not noticed by Arthur, and at the end of the novel, he is left out of the mystery plot he was following, as other characters decide not to reveal the family secret to him. It is true that Arthur often appears as an individual consciousness countering the omniscient perspective, but Arthur's consciousness does not effect any change nor any resolution of any plot.

Chapter 5 where her presence is belatedly recognized by Arthur. Arthur asks Affery: "what girl was that in my mother's room just now?"; "a girl, surely, whom I saw near you – almost hidden in the dark corner?" (55). Even the narrator does not mention the girl's presence in Mrs. Clennam's room when she first appeared in Mrs. Clennam's house. Only after Arthur develops interest in her, believing that Little Dorrit might be "in some way associated with it [the family guilt]" and "resolve[s] to watch Little Dorrit and know more of her story" (72), the narrative attention is distributed to Little Dorrit and her father Mr. Dorrit. After unpacking the story of how the Dorrits get into the Marshalsea Prison and Little Dorrit's entire life spent in and around the prison in two chapters, the narrator concludes the survey of the Dorrits' history with a mantra—"This was the life, and this the history, of the Child of the Marshalsea, at twenty-two" (93)—and then switches the focus back to Arthur's perspective inquiring after his family's connection with the Dorrits. The girl, Little Dorrit, takes little space in the narrative unfolding around Arthur's quest for the family mystery, only briefly fleeting in and out.

Besides the paucity of narrative attention assigned to Little Dorrit, she is mostly described in terms of her exteriority, rather than her interiority, and thus does not have a solid consciousness nor perspective with which readers can identify. The narrator records mostly her physical shape, action, and spoken words, which, Arthur thinks, make the girl look so "small," "diminutive" "so little and light, so noiseless and shy" (67, 68). She may even "pa[ss] in the street for little more than half that age" (67). The critical difference between minor and major characters lies, as Woloch has noted, in whether or not readers can access the characters' interiority: "we look *at* these two men [Mr. Bingley and Wickham], from the outside, rather than sympathizing with their point of view" (Woloch 83, emphasis in the original). In *Little Dorrit*, however, this distinction does not apply, as readers continuously have to *look at* Little Dorrit from the outside through Arthur's and

other character's eyes, rather than *thinking with* her.[60] Her inner thoughts are rarely narrated in full detail by the narrator and are articulated at length only in the letters that Arthur and other characters can read. Such limited access to her interiority distances the narrative attention from the character Little Dorrit and disables her supposed narrative agency as a protagonist.

Such a characterization that hinges on her exteriority makes the readers feel that she is an object whose identity is defined not by her inner consciousness but by her exterior looks and position in relation to the surrounding environment. Traditionally, English novels named after their protagonists unfold through the main characters' perspectives—either in the third-person omniscient narration reading through their minds or in the first-person narration. Even Dickens's other eponymous novels—such as *Oliver Twist* and *David Copperfield*—are focalized and structured around the protagonists' thoughts and observations of, not by, others.[61] Minor characters

[60] This may be due to the fact that Dickens did not intend to make Little Dorrit a main character when he first started writing the novel. Only five months after he had started writing, probably at some point when he was writing Number 3, Dickens decided to expand her role: "I can make Dorrit very strong in the story I hope" (Dickens's letter to Forster in 16 September 1855, reprinted in Butt and Tillotson 232 and quoted in Wolf 228). He also changed the original title, which was *Nobody's Fault*, to *Little Dorrit* in October 1855 (Wolf 228; Yeazell 33). See also Butt and Tillotson 222-23 and Harry Stone 265-311. Also see Wolf's interpretation of Dickens's number plans regarding the switch in emphasis that rendered Little Dorrit into the protagonist, in footnote 22, which runs as follows: "In the working notes to Number 3, Dickens maps out chapter 10 on the Circumlocution Office ('Containing the whole science of Government'), after his first reference to 'Little Mother' in chapter 9; he inscribes 'Little Dorrit' for the first time as an original name in the notes for chapter 12 in Number 4; and writes *Little Dorrit* for the first time as the originally inscribed title at the top of the page for his sketch to Number 4. That the increasing importance of Little Dorrit and the emergence of her name is evident in the notes on either side of the Circumlocution Office chapter provides textual support for the argument that Little Dorrit is meant as a contrastive force, physically and ethically, to the expansive bureaucratic institutions represented in the novel. See [Harry Stone's] *Dickens's Working Notes for his Novels*, 274-76" (Wolf 251-52).

[61] As I mentioned in the previous footnote, Dickens changed his mind to feature Little Dorrit as a protagonist at some point during the serialization. Yet, the focus on Little Dorrit's interiority is still diminished and diffused, which suggests another way for the eponymous character to assert

are mostly described by their exteriorities and, therefore, take side roles assisting the major characters' plot-lines because they are deprived of a subjective thought process that could drive the plot forward by themselves. The protagonist Little Dorrit, however, is accessible only through her physical, bodily appearance and perceivable behaviours and therefore looks like an object of analysis rather a subject originating thoughts in readers' minds.

In arguing that Dickens's characterization of Little Dorrit makes her look like an object, I expand on previous scholars' analysis of Little Dorrit's self-renouncing character in the context of how this self-negating character materializes the narrative agency different from human agency conceptualized as intentionality. Theorists who judge fictional characters based on their similarities to human beings may read Dickens's characters as "flat," less sophisticated than other characters we see in other canonical novels.[62] If we take, however, as Brian Rosenberg suggests in *Little Dorrit*'s *Shadows*, a new standpoint that understands characters in relation to their textual surroundings, Dickens's characters are fairly well-organized in the narrative structure running the plots.[63] The self-divided characters like Tattycoram in *Little Dorrit* can reflect, as Rosenberg says, the overall structure of the novel that is equally uncertain, self-dividing, and contradictory in terms

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agency (not through her self-will but through her networks enhancing efficacy).

[62] Forster claims that "flat" characters, unlike "round" characters, "are constructed round a single idea or quality" (67). Forster insists that "Dickens' people are nearly all flat" but it does not signify their inferiority (71): "Nearly every one can be summed up in a sentence, and yet there is this wonderful feeling of human depth," and "Part of the genius of Dickens is that he does use types and caricatures, people whom we recognize the instant they re-enter, and yet achieves effects that are not mechanical and a vision of humanity that is not shallow" (71).

[63] See Rosenberg 20-21. He also writes: "Like a word in a sentence of a letter in a word, a character derives its significance from the surrounding structure rather than any reference to an empirically verifiable reality" (9); "theorists such as Seymor Chatman, Martin Price, Baruch Hochman, and Phelan acknowledge the heavy dependence of character on structural context" (11)

of plots and narrative movements (31-48). Scholars often point out Little Dorrit's self-relinquishing character as a distinctive marker of her identity corresponding to her physical smallness in parallel with her forsaking of narrative attention for other characters.[64] In their readings, however, Little Dorrit is still a subject individualized enough to enact a disciplinary gaze through her interactions with others (Sherri Wolf) and to embody "property, propriety, and sacrifice, all in one perfect bundle" through her writing (Schor 149).[65] By contrast, in mine, I argue

[64] Schor writes: "Amy's smallness, and the sacrifice of her bodily property to her father's needs, is carried through in an equally compulsive narratorial miniaturization" (127). Wolf notes: "Thus, even when she is first perceived, Little Dorrit is notably under-registered as a presence in the narrative. Her body is largely exempt from the narrative gaze that captures all other forms and movements, from the narrative gaze that captures all other forms and movements, from Mr. Panck's 'biting his ten nails all around' (324) to Mrs. Merdle's gesturing left hand, 'being much the whiter rand plumper of the two' ([Dickens] 284)" (Wolf 228).

[65] In "The Enormous Power of No Body: *Little Dorrit* and the Logic of Expansion," Wolf writes: "Little Dorrit not only preserves her individuality by denying herself nominally, physically, and affectively; she also engenders this same kind of individuation through self-effacement in those around her" (226). Wolf argues that Little Dorrit's small body size enables her to conduct a disciplinary gaze while interacting with other characters. When Dickens was writing this novel, he was thinking of Victorian society's impersonal, bureaucratic power system, which makes it hard to localize the individual in charge of problems. The vast, unidentifiable social mechanism, accompanied by "the dissolution of individual and individual responsibility," is what the novel *Little Dorrit* is critiquing through its portrayal of the heroine whose littleness reveals the "guilt" in individual characters' minds (226, 230). Wolf argues that the "littleness" of Little Dorrit—both in terms of her physical body and narrative focus—enables her to roam around and reside with other characters, whose moral corruption is awakened by her self-effacing, self-negating disciplinary presence. Hilary Schor in "Amy's Prison Notebooks" argues that the novel's focalization on Little Dorrit to initiate a story of Arthur Clennam, Miss Wade, and Mrs. Clennam seems to obstruct the development of Little Dorrit's narrative agency. Schor concludes, however, that Little Dorrit's writing enables her to articulate her story and form her identity, "a 'separate' form of property, for herself," different from that of the domestic daughter stuck in the Marshalsea Prison, though it is still "the darkest empowerment, one of renunciation, debasement, and transformation" (147, 145). Yeazell notes that, compared to Arthur Clennam who refuses to take action, Amy Dorrit is "an active agent as well as a static icon" (46), a "breadwinner" (46) working for her family and others in concrete terms, through her self-effacement: "But what most enables Dickens to represent this

that such a characterization of Little Dorrit makes her look like an object in narrative terms, deactivating the conventional narrative agency residing in self-consciousness constituted by self-reflections and retrospections.

My proposal to import the character Little Dorrit's self-negating personality to the form of an unconscious, undirected narrative agency builds on the character theories that read character as form and especially Alex Woloch's argument in his book *The One vs. The Many*. Theories of character have traditionally oscillated between two views—between a humanist tradition equating character with person and structuralism's reduction of character to a textual unit.[66] Woloch bridges the gap between the classical understanding of character as implied personality and the linguistic structural theories of character by looking into the way that minor characters move the plot on the thematic content level through their narrative space in the syntactic discourse level.[67] "Each

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heroine as actively desiring and doing, I would suggest, is the conviction what she desires to do is to engage in self-sacrifice" (Yeazell 48). This critical consensus supporting Little Dorrit's individuality emerging in her self-negation echoes Lionel Trilling's claim that, despite the character's renunciation of subjectivity, "the emphasis on the international life and on personality is very strong in *Little Dorrit*" (582), and the novel "is about society in relation to the individual human will" (578).

[66] For a review of these approaches, see Frow's article "Spectacle Binding: On Character" and the chapter titled "Figure" in his book *Character and Person* 1-35. After summarizing the structuralist narratology, Frow reviews recent theoretical attempts to read character as the combination of implied personality and textual element, proposed by Mieke Bal, Uri Margolin, Alex Woloch, and Philippe Hamon. Frow concludes that "Fictional character is a person-shaped figure made salient by a narrative ground," meaning that character, as a textual element, does not stand as an independent unit but "takes the form of a semantic cluster, accumulating (progressively or discontinuously, coherently or incoherently) through the course of a text" (*Character and Person* 24).

[67] He mainly focuses on nineteenth-century realist novels to examine the dynamic interplay between characters working in relation to the narrative structure with the concepts "character-space" and "character-system," which he defines as follows: "the *character-space* (that particular and charged encounter between an individual human personality and a determined space and

individual character," he notes, is "shaped by the particular space he or she occupies within a complicated structure" and that "this space is formed through the dynamic interaction, or *jostling*, among numerous characters who share a limited, and unevenly distributed, amount of narrative attention" (176, my emphasis). In line with Woloch's approach to character and narrative form, I will discuss how Little Dorrit's self-renouncing character is translated into her narrative jostling in the multiplot structure. In doing so, however, I will also challenge his endorsement of complete, thorough humanity as the distinctive marker that generates the character hierarchy between major and minor characters in parallel with the economic hierarchy locating the working class at the bottom, because I think human agency can figure in different forms not necessarily bound by a coherent, self-directing consciousness.[68]

Little Dorrit's self-relinquishing character and exterior-focused characterization create an impression that her plot, like her self-renouncing character, is jostled by other characters' plots featuring Fanny, her father, her uncle, Flora, Pet, the Meagles, Miss Wade and Mrs. Clennam.[69]

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position within the narrative as a whole) and the *character-system* (the arrangement of multiple and differentiated character-spaces—differentiated configurations and manipulations of the human figure—into a unified narrative structure)" (14).

[68] My critique of Woloch is indebted to Frow's review of Woloch: "Underlying Woloch's systemic attempt to overcome the poles of structuralist reduction and humanist plenitude, however, is a deeply problematic insistence on the fullness of being that underlies character, a sense that the asymmetry of attention to major and minor characters somehow represents a repression of the 'potentially full human beings' of narrative ([Woloch] 44)" (*Character and Person* 23). Together with Frow, I propose to rethink "whether persons are unified and coherent selves, and whether persons need to be human at all" (Frow, *Character ad Person* 2) through my analysis of how the novel *Little Dorrit* adjusts the narrative agency of jostling and jostled characters in the multiplot structure surrounding and submerging them.

[69] For Miss Wade's and Mrs. Clennam's interruptions to the flow of Little Dorrit's plot, see Schor's "Amy Dorrit's Prison Notebook" 132-38: "The stories told by Miss Wade and Mrs. Clennam register as disturbances in the narrative field" (132).

Soon after Little Dorrit's romance-development plot comes into shape as her meetings with Arthur occur more frequently in four consecutive chapters—from Chapter 6 to Chapter 9 in Book I, Amy is physically removed from the setting of her romance with Arthur. Arthur develops along other narrative routes concerning his business with Doyce and his reunion with his former love Flora, which is also interrupted by the mail accident connecting him to Cavalletto and Rigaud's sudden appearance in the Break of Day Inn. When Amy appears again in the narrative realm, she is staged in the background of other characters' stories rather than as the subject of her development plot. Little Dorrit's stories of prison days and domestic duties serve as gateways to channel Young John Chivalry's feelings toward Little Dorrit, her father William Dorrit's and her sister Fanny's stories. Even when Flora asks her to talk about her life, Little Dorrit gives only a short, succinct account: "she condensed the narrative of her life into a few scanty words about herself, and a glowing eulogy upon her father" (306). Even when Little Dorrit starts to receive more narrative attention during her family's sojourns in continental Europe in Book II, the attention switches back to Arthur's inquiry after Miss Wade and her first-person narration of her past. Since Little Dorrit does not expose her interiority enough to structure her story in a complete form unfolding in a cohesive, climatic manner toward a conclusive ending, Little Dorrit's development plot appears as a series of episodes full of daily encounters and conversations with other characters, which jostle her out of the narrative.

The greedy, rapacious and aggressive Rigaud is the self-renouncing Amy's opposite in relation to jostling, as he interrupts and cuts off the otherwise smooth flow of narratives unfolding through other characters without giving any clue as to how he is connected to them.[70] "His greed

[70] Compared to the gentle collisions between Little Dorrit's development plot with others' plots, Rigaud's interjection into the Dorrit's development and the Clennams' family mystery plot looks violent, probably because his connection with the Dorrits and the Clennams are not yet fully

at dinner" and "His utter disregard of other people" (374) explain his movement between the plots as well as the characters, as he bumps against others' plots and halts their motion.[71] For example, Arthur's self-reflections moving along his failed romance with Pet is blocked by Rigaud's first impingement on Mrs. Clennam's house (I.29). Until Rigaud suddenly appears in front of Affery who has just sent off Little Dorrit and seen Pancks following her, the novel's plots have been unfolding around Little Dorrit's further engagement with Arthur and his family, Arthur's business with Doyce, his involvement with the Meagles' family affairs and his failed romance with Pet. Rigaud, however, suddenly appears in the scene with a "touch of a hand" on Affery's shoulders, only described as a "traveller" (365). Introducing himself as Blandois, Rigaud enters Mrs. Clennam's house, looks around the library and irritates Mrs. Clennam by reminding her of her

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explained when he first jostles these plots. In Book I Chapter II, most characters concerning the major plots in the novel meet each other and continue to maintain their connections somehow—Arthur runs into Mr. Meagle one day and gets introduced to Daniel Doyce, with whom he begins his business; Arthur has a crush on Pet; Tattycoram flees to Miss Wade, etc. Little Dorrit's first appearance through Arthur and her connection with him thus eases into her constant presence in the Clennam family and her encounter with Pet, the Meagles, and Flora. Contrary to these probable encounters, however, Rigaud's sudden appearances in several chapters and his collisions with others' stories, are accidental and unexplained in relation to the novel's overall context concerning the Clennams and the Dorrits. Dickens's number plans grouping other characters together in the same plot circles except Rigaud helps confirm that readers may feel as if Rigaud is isolated from the rest of the novel's milieu. This explains why Rigaud's first appearance in the Clennam family's house in Book I Ch. 29 looks unexpected and out of context. No. 5 deserves particular attention in that some characters are obviously grouped together, and each character group is distinguished from each other by a sharp, assertive line. Nos. 4, 6, 7, 9, 12 also show similar grouping patterns, indicating the isolation of Rigaud from the other plot-groups. From No. 13 onward (including Nos. 15 and 16), however, Rigaud is grouped together with Mrs. Clennam and the Flintwinches, confirming that readers by then can sense Rigaud's connection with the family mystery plot. See Dickens's number plans reprinted in Stone 270-311.

[71] From the very beginning of the novel, Rigaud says, "I can't submit; I must govern" (25) and shows an equally "avaricious manner of collecting all the eatables about him, and devouring some with his eyes, while devouring others with his jaws" (374).

guilty past with the initials "D. N. F."—Do Not Forget—on Mr. Clennam's watch. At this moment, Rigaud's relation to the "thematic and structural totality of the narrative" (Woloch 14) is unclear because readers do not yet know what this unidentified foreigner—his exterior looks and manners described only later in the chapter suggest that Blandois is probably Rigaud—is doing in relation to the family mystery plot. Rigaud here also appears very briefly—after this encounter at the twilight and a short stay in a nearby inn, he leaves for Calais on the following morning. The complex family plots concerning the Dorrits, the Clennams, and the Meagles are violently cut off by Rigaud's sudden invasion. Translating Rigaud's greedy character into the narrative role he takes, the novel presents a series of plot-interruptions whenever he appears; an account of Henry Gowan and Pet's marriage life suddenly comes to a stop when Rigaud secretly poisons Gowan's dog (II.6); Arthur's development plot and his quest after his family mystery stop when his thoughts are interrupted by Rigaud (II.9, 10).

These plot-collisions—which look accidental and uncertain at the moment—are actually interweaving the Clennam family's mystery plot, Little Dorrit's development plot, the foreigners' plot, and Miss Wade's plot, creating networks that activate the plots' movement. Rigaud upon his sudden entrance into Mrs. Clennam's house is preparing to blackmail Mrs. Clennam after obtaining the locked box containing the secret codicil dictating Little Dorrit's inheritance and Arthur's biological mother's letters. Rigaud's appearance as the Gowans' friend in the Dorrits' continental trip materializes his connection with the Dorrits and Miss Wade. Arthur's unexpected encounter with Cavalletto at the mail accident later serves as a clue to finding Rigaud, as Arthur later unexpectedly discovers that Cavalletto turns out to know Rigaud through the song that they both often sing—"Who passes by this road so late?" (706). Cavelletto together with Mr. Pancks, whom Arthur originally employed to inquire after the Dorrits' family history, finds and brings

Rigaud to Arthur and later to Mrs. Clennam. In addition to these collisions, the Merdle plot, which is contagiously spread underneath all of these plots, financially ruins almost everyone including Arthur and the Dorrits, reconnecting Little Dorrit back to Arthur so that their romance-development plot can resume. All of these plot-collisions unexpectedly result in the revelation of the family secret initiating a plot-resolution. The novel links the multiple plots in the form of a mesh, entangled in multi-directional, interactive effects in collisions happening across multiple time spans. None of the plots can move forward on their own without these links. The source of agency accelerating the plots' movement exists in collective form only.

The aggregation of the plots colliding with one another literally moves Mrs. Clennam out of her prison-like house to Little Dorrit in the Marshalsea Prison so that the family mystery plot can proceed to a conclusion. When Rigaud threatens her with the secrets in front of Cavelletto, Pancks, and the Jeremiahs in her house, she reluctantly reveals everything: Arthur's father's illegitimate previous marriage to a singer whom Frederick Dorrit was a patron of; Arthur's birth and Mrs. Clennam's suppression of Arthur's real mother; her confinement and death in Jeremiah's twin brother's house; and the concealment of the codicil that would have let Little Dorrit receive some money from Arthur's great uncle Gibert Clennam, who wanted to make atonement for his refusal of Arthur's biological mother by rewarding her patron's youngest daughter or, if he has none, the patron's brother's youngest daughter. Rigaud explains how he obtained from Jeremiah's twin brother the codicil and Arthur's biological mother's letters, which Mrs. Clennam and Jeremiah wanted to demolish. Affery's interruptions reveal that her dreams, which seemed to be out of place, actually disclose Rigaud's secret meetings with Jeremiah and Mrs. Clennam. Finally, Rigaud tells Mrs. Clennam that he "placed copies of the most important of these papers in [Amy's] hand" (817), and Mrs. Clennam suddenly stands up, surprising everyone "as if a dead woman had

risen" and "run[s] wildly through the courtyard and out at the gateway" (817, 818). Mrs. Clennam's motion is constructed by the confederation of multiple plots including those of the foreigners, the Clennams, the Dorrits, and Amy-Arthur's romance-development; these plots together mobilize Mrs. Clennam's paralyzed legs to take her out of the house and end the family-mystery plot.

As Mrs. Clennam's movement is embedded in the intersecting knots of multiple plots, her power as the domineering manager of the family secret dissolves as she immerses herself in the materiality of the street environment. "The sun had set, and the streets were dim in the dusty twilight, when the figure so long unused to them hurried on its way" (819). From hereafter, Mrs. Clennam is constantly referred to as the third impersonal pronoun, "it": "the sweep of the figure as it passed seemed to create a vortex, drawing the most idle and most curious after it" (821). Her walk in the open environment perplexes her: she is "[m]ade giddy [. . .] by the confusing sensation of being in the air and yet more confusing sensation of being afoot, [. . .] and the overwhelming rush of the reality" (821). The London she imagined in her sequestered house room was totally under her control, but the reality is that she loses her domination during her immersion in the material environment of the city. Through this immersion into the street air, the pavement, and the crowd's staring gazes, Mrs. Clennam may seem to run across London and become an agent, rather than a subject, of the plots' movement, but her plunge into the crowded streets re-ignites the context for her miraculous traversal and reconfirms the unintended collisions that drive her.

In like manner, the network of plots surrounding Little Dorrit, rather than her own intention or determination, becomes a source of action enacting the plots' movement. Arthur remembers earlier in the chapter that "everything his memory turned upon should bring him round again to Little Dorrit" and notices "how much the dear little creature had influenced his better resolutions" (752). As he suggests, Arthur's encounter with Little Dorrit earlier in the novel creates a plot

concerning Arthur and Little Dorrit's romance-development and makes him initiate the family mystery plot by inquiring after the Dorrit-Clennam connection. Though Little Dorrit remains as a normal character residing in her family circle and as Arthur's interest in the first half of the novel ranging from the serial numbers 1-10, in the latter half of the novel featured in the serial numbers 11-20, she gets involved in more plots, affecting their movement (see the multi-plot diagrams below). Her unexpected encounters with Rigaud on her continental family trip connect her to Rigaud, who delivers the documents about her inheritance and Arthur's biological mother's letters later in the novel. Dorrit's unintended romance with Arthur and her being the person for whom Arthur's great uncle's codicil was intended to mobilize Mrs. Clennam to reveal the secret to her. Little Dorrit's development plot forges a friendship between her and Pet, inviting the Meagles to track down the remaining documents and clearing the family-mystery plot for the novel's closure.

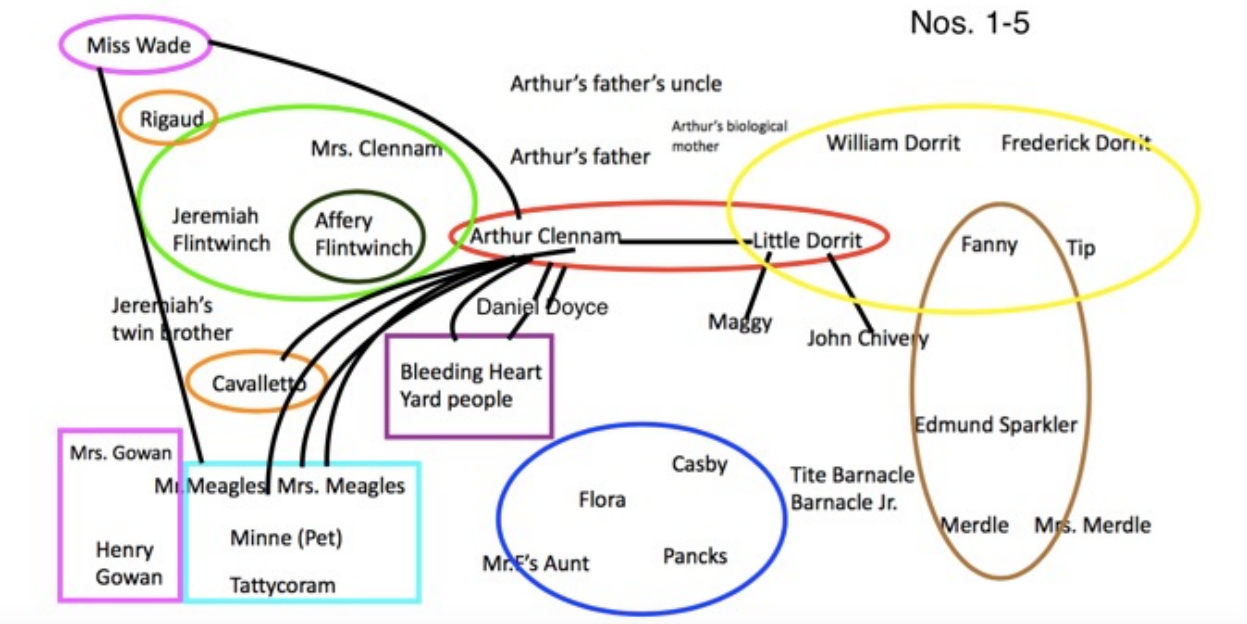

Figure 3. *Little Dorrit* Multi-Plot Diagram nos. 1-5
Circles grouping characters indicate plot-circles. Lines indicate plot-collisions.

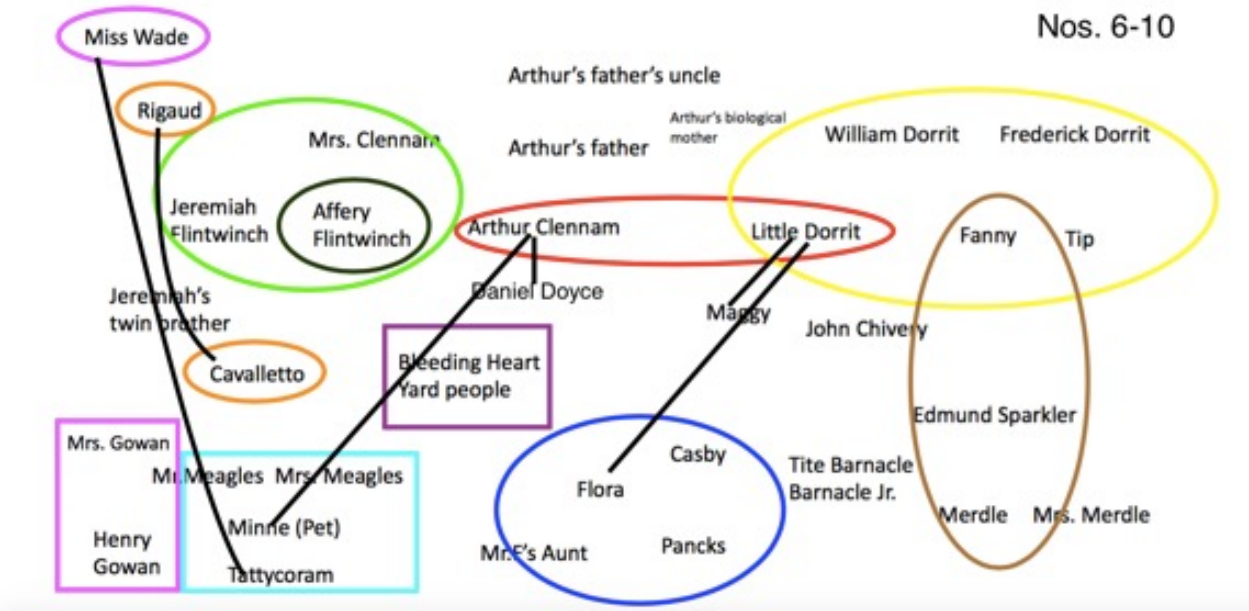

Figure 4. *Little Dorrit* Multi-Plot Diagram nos. 6-10
Circles grouping characters indicate plot-circles. Lines indicate plot-collisions.

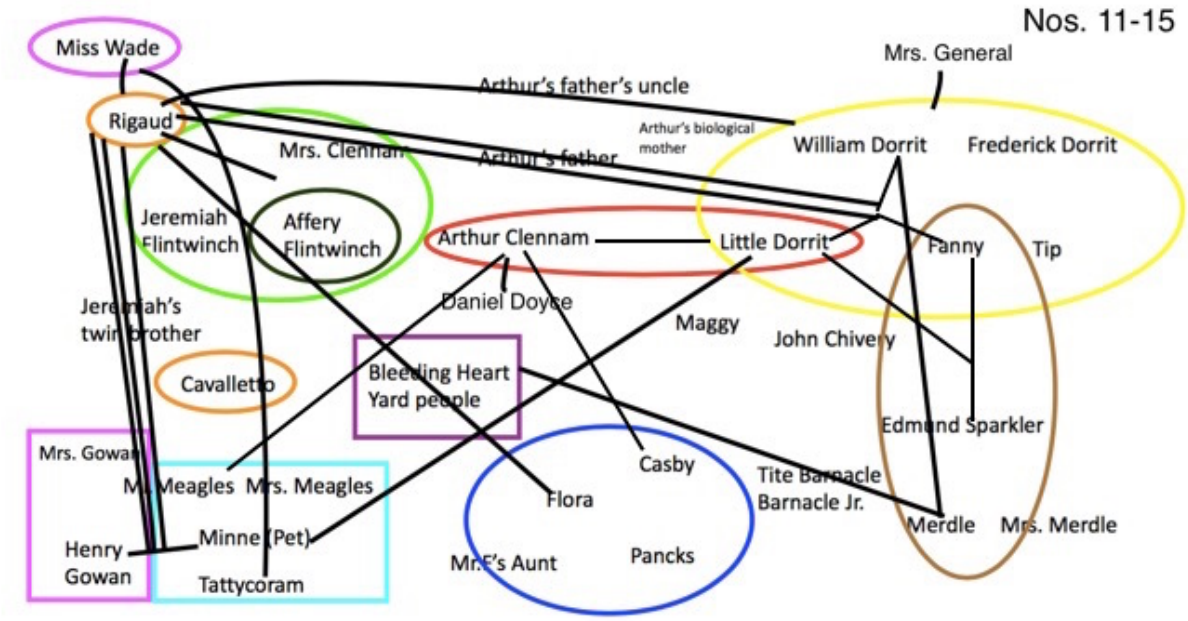

Figure 5. *Little Dorrit* Multi-Plot Diagram nos. 11-15
Circles grouping characters indicate plot-circles. Lines indicate plot-collisions.

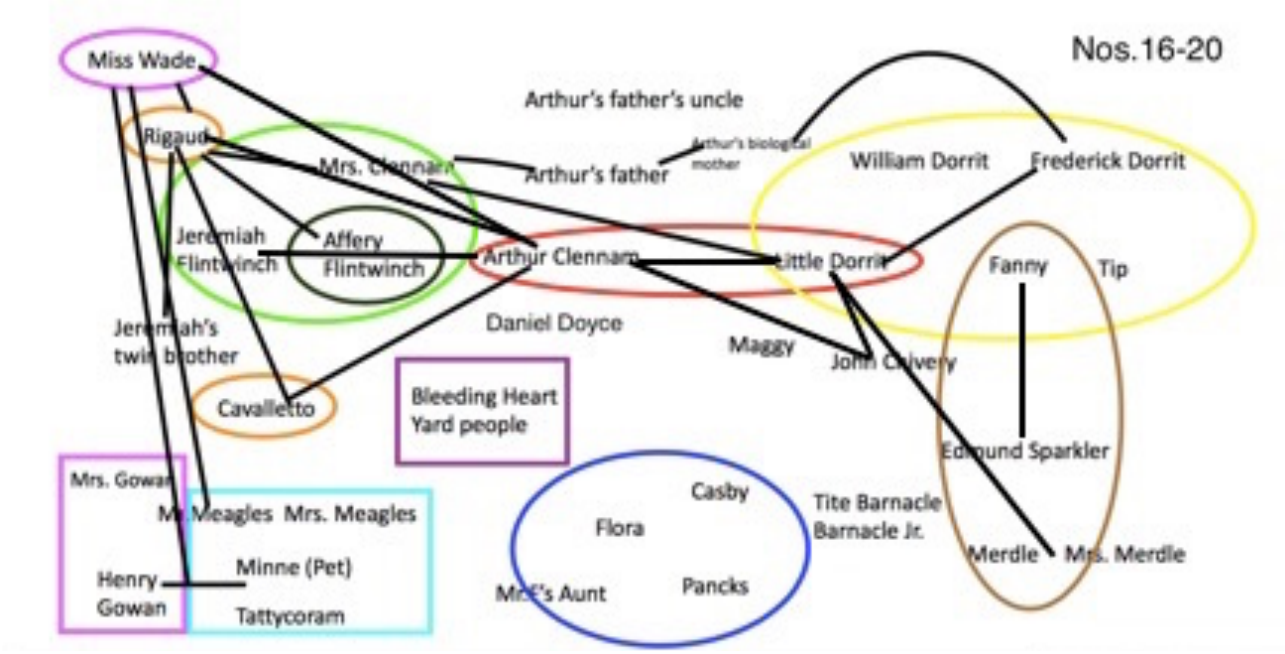

Figure 6. *Little Dorrit* Multi-Plot Diagram nos. 16-20
Circles grouping characters indicate plot-circles. Lines indicate plot-collisions.

The final scene of the novel epitomizes the congregational agency emerging in the plot collectives in the impersonalized population inhabiting the streets. One autumn morning, Little Dorrit and Arthur Clennam leave the Marshalsea Prison to sign a marriage document at Saint George's church.

> They all gave place when the signing was done, and Little Dorrit and her husband walked out of the church alone. They paused for a moment on the steps of the portico, looking at the fresh perspective of the street in the autumn morning sun's bright rays, and then went down.
>
> Went down into a modest life of usefulness and happiness. Went down to give a mother's care, in the fulness of time, to Fanny's neglected children no less than to their own, and to leave that lady going into Society for ever and a day. Went down to give a tender nurse and friend to Tip for some few years, who was never vexed by the great exactions he made of

> her in return for the riches he might have given her if he had ever had them, and who lovingly closed his eyes upon the Marshalsea and all its blighted fruits. They went quietly down into the roaring streets, inseparable and blessed; and as they passed along in sunshine and shade, the noisy and the eager, and the arrogant and the froward and the vain, fretted and chafed, and made their usual uproar. (859-60)

The streets in which Little Dorrit's supposedly domestic wedding ends show the human multitudes moving and making noise, dispersed across multiple operations that have no identifying centers. The "roaring streets" are composed of "the noisy and the eager, and the arrogant and the froward and the vain"; disembodied personalities displace humans and render them into a mass compound perceivable through auditory and visual sense, like the streets themselves. These masses and crowds become urban collectives making "their usual uproar," a collection of impersonal sounds, rather than a collection of distinctively marked individuals shouting or screaming. Even the sentence describing Amy and Arthur's march down the street does not have the grammatical *subject* of this descending movement, indicating that Amy's and Arthur's subject positions become invisible in this congregation.[72]

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[72] Raymond Williams also finds in this scene the collective, de-individualized mass consciousness characterizing the city: "The individual and moral qualities, still sharply seen, are heard as it were collectively, in the 'roaring streets'" (*The Country and the City* 161). Also see Stewart, "Dickens and the Narratography of Closure." Stewart reads in this "descent from the wedding chapel into the jostling Victorian cityscape" (514) a narrative closure affecting the novelistic plots unfolding in the novel. By using narratography, which he defines as an investigation of stylistics and syntactic grammar in relation to the plot, he suggests that this scene desexualizes the marriage and subsumes Arthur's plot of searching for the crime into Little Dorrit's romance plot. Charlotte Mathieson offers another persuasive reading of this scene by reading it as "the hope of the novel and the nation [lying] in surpassing the close, bounded spaces of London," which offers an alternative to confinement and imprisonment pervading the cramped London described earlier (118). Unlike "the close, bounded streets of the earlier London locations," the rambunctious mobility of this eclectic mass suggests "a modern, mobile and unbounded city defined only by its

The human cluster in the streets also stands for the way the novel's plot aggregates move—the rambunctious, rather than organic, relations between the plots structure the narrative closure at the end, contesting the domestic, cohesive account of the couple's future life. The aggregates of "the noisy and the eager, and the arrogant and the forward and the vain" bring the anticipatory chronological account of Amy and Arthur's future life back to the streets, the perspective of which is stagnantly limited to the local lives in the present. Such an accidental congregation of unrelated, disembodied personalities can exist only in the moment of gathering and not in the prolonged moment unfolding into the future, which is possible in the narrative of constant family relations. The last sentence describing the urban collectives refuses to provide a conclusive, teleological ending which progresses into the future.

In line with the un-individuated crowds defying both the retrospective and anticipatory logic of rearrangement, the last chapter of the novel tells the story of the last few days of Arthur's confinement in prison in an episodic manner without a sense of coherent, climaxing resolution. It opens with Little Dorrit's reading to Arthur and her confession of her feelings for him, continues with Flora's and Mr. F's Aunt's jumbled conversations with Little Dorrit, Meagles and Doyce's visit to Arthur with Amy, and then it ends with Amy and Arthur's wedding. In the final chapter that comes after Mrs. Clennam's apologies, the death of Rigaud, and the missing of Flintwinch,

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uproarious, free-flowing crowd moving through an unsettled space" (118). At the end of the novel is "the city is no longer a space of secure containment and instead a repeated sense of dissolution is manifest" (117). Building on this close reading, Mathieson argues that *Little Dorrit* transforms the city of confined, restrictive "borders and gateways" into the space of "dissolution" causing confusion and collapsing into capitalist modernity (114, 117). I agree with Mathieson's point of empowering the crowd, but I switch my focus to the very composition of this crowd by looking into how it figures as the decentered aggregate embodying the novel's multiplot structure that leads to no conclusive ending point.

the mystery plot does not tie up everyone involved in the process, leaving some characters without a sense of closure. Arthur is left out of the mystery plot, as he stays ignorant of what was contained in the codicil. Little Dorrit remains as poor as she was at the beginning of the novel. Miss Wade suddenly disappears from the stage after she loses Tattycoram, while the story of her involvement with the Gowans and the Meagles lingers behind the scene. The Meagles still have to miss their daughter Pet, and the novel simply loses the track of the Gowan couple. The multiplot novel shaped in such a collective model of entangled motions devoid of central subjects suggests another form of agency quite different from the modern individual, which previous criticism associated with the novel genre. The private individual characterizing the rise of the novel relied on the rational thinking human subject. From Ian Watt to D. A. Miller and Nancy Armstrong, scholars of novel studies have argued that the English novel shapes the modern individual as a subject capable of self-regulation governed by the logic of domesticity, economic modernity, and surveillance.

The unintentional efficacy of multiple plots jostling each other and moving the narrative forward, however, suggests another form of agency associated with mass population and the collective consciousness of human and non-human forces inherent in the city. Emily Steinlight in her book *Populating the Novel* notes that, in the nineteenth century, Malthus's biological concept of humanity as a species driven by hunger and sexual desire incarnated in a bodily form called for a new model of governance based on biopolitics involving population management. She also argues that the subsequent non-fiction narratives concerning the crowds in Engels's and Mayhew's socio-analytic demographic investigations of urban slums and Gaskell's industrial novels recorded the mass consciousness of unemployed human residues defying logically coherent categorization. According to Steinlight, Dickens's multiplot city novels featuring unindividuated crowds and surplus population expand on this concept of mass population and blur the distinction between

individuals and multitudes, flattening the class hierarchies upholding domesticity.[73] John Plotz has also pointed out that, in nineteenth-century British literature, especially by the 1840s, the crowd—a massive collection of people without distinctive individual markers—acts as a political force representing the collective voice of the working class speaking to the nation as a whole, participating in and constituting the public sphere.[74]

I agree with these scholars' active empowerment of human collectives called "population," "the crowd," or even, class, but I also want to suggest, as my reading of *Little Dorrit* shows, that this quantitative human aggregate is not a stable mass but a dynamic network constantly being shaped by unexpected encounters and material entanglements with the urban environment. If we look into the way that the mass population intermingles with its non-human counterparts, we will see that it is not a singularly categorized group of humans but a random, reactive mass of humans and non-humans constantly undergoing changes in relation with one another, becoming a source of action, both in the political discourse and the material environment of the city. My argument thus expands on Bruno Latour's Actor-Network-Theory, which, in its redefinition of the concept "social" not as a static realm of inquiry but as "a very particular movement of re-association and reassembling" (7), brings into light the actors participating in, rather than directing, the conduit of action made by their intermingling connections with other entities. Agency in this sense is reformulated into a source of action emerging in the entangled masses of humans and non-humans

[73] See Steinlight's chapter on Dickens's "supernumeraries."

[74] See Plotz's reading of De Quincey's "English Mail-Coach" in his book pp. 10-26. Both Steinlight and Plotz belong to the recent, literary studies of the crowd. For empirical theories of the crowd, see Gustave Le Bon's *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (1896). Le Bon regarded the crowd as a backward, regressive form of modern individuals homogenized into an unconscious mass, whose behaviors resemble savage race.

affecting each other without intention or awareness.[75] The agency of humans and nonhumans jostling each other in London also makes for this unintentional efficacy of the densely connected collective, but it becomes more complicated as each entity contends for dominance rather than just interacting. Jostling and jostled plots translate this shoving motion to the narrative form of *Little Dorrit* and enable us to see the unintentional efficacy appearing not just in masses but in the bumping networks of human and non-human aggregates moving and hustling in the city, which have been unnoted in the previous theories of the crowd.

Dickens's contemporaries reading his novel in monthly serials may have felt that the novel *Little Dorrit*'s text is jostled by other texts appearing in the hard copy. The first serial copy of *Little Dorrit* published in December 1855 is remarkably bulky.[76] Out of 105 pages constituting the first

[75] See Latour, *Reassembling the Social* 21-86. See also Latour's review of the term "actor": "An actor is what is *made* to act by my others" (46); "action is *dislocated*" (46); "agencies are always presented in an account as *doing* something" (53); "What is doing action is always provided in the account with some flesh and features that make them have some form or shape" (53); "actors also engage in criticizing other agencies" (56); "actors are also able to propose their own *theories of action* to explain how agencies' effects are carried over" (57). "Actant" is a term Latour borrows from narratologists Garfinkel and Greimas to discuss the source of action not limited to a particular, concrete shape in reality (54-55). Latour finds literary criticism quite useful for his sociology of associations, as he also mentions that literature provides a vast corpus of data available for the analysis of how "action is overtaken" (55, 43). Latour's definition of network as "a string of actions where each participant is treated as a full-blown mediator" (128) emphasizes each human's and object entity's effective power of making notable changes in the conduit of movement from one point to another.

[76] One might think that the bulkiness of the first copy may be due to its time of publication, which was December, the holiday season. Yet, compared to the December copies of other serialized novels, the bulkiness of *Little Dorrit*'s December issue is still unique. The December copy of *Bleak House* has 16 pages of the "Bleak House Advertiser," which is normal, followed by 2 pages of illustrations, 30 pages of the novel's text, and 16 pages of black ads with 2 pages of a small flyer inserted. This composition does not differ too much from the regular copies consisting of the same number of pages of the "Bleak House Advertiser," the novel's text, and 8-14 pages of back ads. The 1846 December copy of *Dombey and Son* also maintains a regular organization composed of

serial copy, only 34 pages belong to the novel *Little Dorrit*—its two illustrations and four chapters, where Little Dorrit does not even appear. The rest is all filled with dense texts and images advertising the Crimean outfit, gifts for Christmas, books by other writers, the library edition of Waverley Novels, the folding bonnet, and family medicine. The composition of the advertisements is also interesting; the lengthy, intensely texted ads overwhelm the main text, rerouting readers' attention to multiple commercial baits, and jostling *Little Dorrit* out of focus. After turning the cover page of the wrapper, we see the "Little Dorrit Advertiser" containing multiple small and long advertisements in the next 32 pages, then 16 pages containing a list of books followed by two illustrations before the actual text starts with Chapter I "Sun and Shadows." After the text, the readers face three pages of very dense text advertising "Important Family Medicine, Norton's Camomile Pills" followed by four pages of text promoting the subscription of *The National Review* and sixteen pages of the list of "Works published by W. Kent & Co., Paternoster Row, London." Even the back cover is filled with extra advertisements, and there is no single blank page until the end of the serial copy. Though the subsequent issues are less bulky than the first one,[77] this serial form slipping the text of *Little Dorrit* in between densely-texted advertisement pages continues throughout the whole serialization, distracting readers from their original goal of reading and

16 pages of the "Dombey & Son Advertiser," 2 pages of illustrations, a small flyer advertising "Mr. Dickens's Christmas Book," *The Battle of Life*, 30 pages of *Dombey and Son*, and 14 pages of back ads added with 2 pages of a small flyer. Again, this December copy is only 6 pages longer than other copies which usually have 10 pages of back ads.

[77] The other serial copies are regularly organized by the following rule: 12 pages of the "Little Dorrit Advertiser," 2 pages of illustrations, 30 pages of the novel's text, followed by 8-12 pages of advertisement. Only two other copies—No. 13 of December 1856 and No. 14 of January 1856—besides the first issue exceed the page limit for advertisements; in addition to the regularly sized twelve-page "Little Dorrit Advertiser," No. 13 and No. 14 respectively have 49 and 18 more pages of advertisements following the novel's text.

presenting within the printed form of *Little Dorrit* a host of purposes and cross-purposes aimed at the reader. Both the character Little Dorrit and the novel *Little Dorrit* are jostled by other texts (See Figure 7).

Figure 7. Jostled *Little Dorrit* no. 1, UCLA Library Special Collections
The pages of *Little Dorrit* are marked orange.

In this context in which both the protagonist and the novel form are jostled by other plots and texts, I argue that the novel *Little Dorrit* translates jostling to a narratological level by showing a compound of multiple plots moving on unintentional collisions. In doing so, the novel embodies the city's densely populated networks of human and non-human forces enhancing the material interconnection reshaping human agency into efficacy without intentionality. Perhaps, by freeing the narrative structure from intentional self-directed subjects and the teleological logic of orientation, the novel *Little Dorrit* narrates the city's consciousness. The city's consciousness, if there is one, consists of memories inscribed in the urban structure—its landmarks, its streets, its

layout of districts, etc. The traces of the past still remaining there would evoke memories of the past in the minds of people passing by. In a similar vein, Dickens scatters pieces of the past relating to the Clennams and the Dorrits around the novel in the series of plots colliding with each other, mimicking the way the city remembers and narrates the past in the form of entangled memories inscribed in the textual structure. This spatialized consciousness is not oriented toward a conclusive retrospection reorganizing everything into a coherent system. Rather, it is moved and rerouted by unexpected encounters between plots, multiplying and diversifying connections enhancing causality. This clamorous confusion of crowds and individuals, vehicles and pedestrians, and multiple plots entangled with one another, moving together as collectives without intention yet with effective action emerging in their unexpected connections, characterizes the modern city, London.

Chapter Two

Prowling: Canines in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*

…by night, especially at full moon, he wanders about in the form of
a dog, frog, toad, cat, flies, louse, bug, spider, &c., and sucks the blood from living persons
by biting them in the back or neck.

–"Vampire," *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* (1867)

But, strangest of all, the very instant the shore was touched,
an immense dog sprang up on deck from below, as if shot up by the concussion,
and running forward, jumped from the bow on the sand.

–Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (1897)

Figure 8. "Rus in Urbe," *The Graphic* (1877),
reprinted in James Winter, *London's Teeming Streets, 1830-1914* (Routledge, 1993), p. 87.

Dracula first appears in front of the British public in England not as a gentle*man*, as Jonathan Harker first saw him in Transylvania, but in the form of "an immense dog" (Stoker 89).[78] Upon the sudden docking of a Russian schooner at Tate Hill Pier in Whitby, "an immense dog sprang up on deck from below," surprising the entire crowd who had been watching the arrival of the vessel (89). By taking the form of the "immense dog," Dracula, in his first entry to England, evokes a contemporary fear of stray dogs that destabilize the human-regulated anthropocentric structure of London where dogs are supposed to be pets under control.

This chapter explores such a dread of dogs, especially strays, embodied in Dracula, who, I argue, may best be understood as a dog turning into a human, not vice versa. It is almost a convention in *Dracula* criticism to register multiple human Othernesses that Dracula can represent; Dracula is a monster Jew whom anti-Semitic English society rejects (Halberstam), a non-Western colonial subject inciting "reverse colonization" (Arata), the leviathan of non-Christian Eastern religions (Kwong), the transgressor showing the instability of hierchical divisions in degeneration theory (Glover), the breaker of taboos (Punter) or a monopolist (Moretti), who stands against the rise of the white, modern, progressive, liberal, bourgeois nation. Yet, Dracula is in the first place a nonhuman animal, as Nina Auerbach long ago astutely noted.[79] And I especially (though not exclusively) focus here on that Dracula is a dog, and I contend Stoker's portrayal of Dracula as

[78] Subsequent citations will be given parenthetically in the text.

[79] Auerbach, *Our Vampires, Ourselves* (1995), 85-94. Glover also briefly comments, "Dracula and his kind make their mark through their shifting affinities with a variety of nonhuman forms: wolves, lizards, bats, and dogs" (137). Recently, Eric D. Smith mentions this animal aspect of Dracula in the metaphorical context of the reformist rhetoric that compares the urban poor to animals (75-76). Franck focuses on Dracula's affinity with wolves, which she associates with "nature," "a Gothic force that ruptures boundaries, such as those between nations, rather than remaining a passive and attractive backdrop" (138).

such evokes the fear of rabid stray dogs in Victorian London. As the first epigraph to this chapter indicates, the dog was believed to be one of the forms which the vampire took to wander in disguise.

The novel *Dracula* can be read as a comment on the threat of urban stray dogs—which were believed to be infected with rabies—destabilizing London's claim to domesticity. i.e. the urban structure securing human control over animals. As I will show in the first section of this chapter, London until the early nineteenth century swarmed with animals: they were part of the daily life of its human residents, whose need for dairy products, meat, livestock, and affectionate companions made for numerous cross-species encounters in the streets. The urbanization of London from the mid-nineteenth century was therefore aimed at domesticating the city, to cleanse the city of animals that challenged the human-animal hierarchy and human security over space. The dogs were among the few animals which were allowed to share space with humans in London, at the cost of becoming pets—objects of affection and care whose agency was entirely given away to their human masters. There were, however, many stray dogs wandering in Victorian London, and many of them were believed to be infected with rabies.[80]

The similar symptoms between rabies and hydrophobia, as rabies in humans was called,[81] corroborates the link between vampires and dogs, which Stoker's depiction of Dracula speaks to.

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[80] For the ubiquitous presence of stray dogs and unleashed pet dogs in Victorian London, the laws regulating them, and the suspected association between rabid dogs and strays, see Philop Howell, 150-75.

[81] Though the term hydrophobia does not exactly denote the madness implied in rabies, it was commonly accepted to refer to rabies in humans. George Fleming justifies such a use while acknowledging the limits of the term in his book titled *Rabies and Hydrophobia* (1872). He writes:

> The term 'rabies' should be applied to the disease when transmitted to man. 'Hydrophobia' is not even a proper designation for the malady in him, inasmuch as authors have described a

Rabid dogs and human patients with hydrophobia showed similar symptoms including "a headache, pains in the chest," "difficulty in breathing," "an agitated mental state," "hallucinations," "attempts to bite others and themselves" (Pemberton and Worboys 14), "aggressiveness," (Gomez-Alonso 857, 859), and "a loss of sexual control (priapism, spontaneous ejaculation, nymphomania)" (Kete "*La Rage*" quoted in Chez 93).[82] In addition to these medical symptoms, the loss of humanity and the degeneration into an animal state were identified with hydrophobia. An earlier account of a human patient with rabies in 1831 records human behaviors that resemble those of animals: "menacing attitude accompanied with a hysterical laugh, and a kind of howling noise, and great contortions of countenance."[83] Such kinds of observations that animalize human patients with hydrophobia dominate the medical records of the diseases in the

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spontaneous hydrophobia in the human species, or certain symptoms resembling those of hydrophobia, which certainly were not the same as those produced by the bite of a rabid animal, neither was the presence of a transmissible virus proved to exist.

We shall, however, when not applying to the disease the common designation of 'madness,' use the term 'rabies' with respect to the lower animals, not only because it is almost the oldest and the ordinary technical term, but also because it is the most correct, the simplest, and the safest. 'Hydrophobia' we shall generally employ, in conformity with medical custom, when speaking of the disease in mankind. (5-6)

[82] For the list of symptoms of hydrophobia, see Pemberton and Worboys 14-17, Chez 78-79, and Kete 89, 93. Gómez-Alonso also provides a full list of similar symtoms that rabies and vampirism have in common (856-57). "A vampire could allegedly turn into a dog and kill all the dogs of its village": "Dogs have been the most frequent transmitters of rabies to man" (858); "Dogs and wolves were the animals most related to vampires, and were also reported as being their worst enemies. A vampire could allegedly turn into a dog and kill all the dogs of its village. Apart from having a human figure, these creatures could appear in the shape of a wolf, dog, or cat, or be invisible." (856).

[83] W. Simpson, "Case of Hydrophobia," *Lancet*, 1831, 17: 29 quoted in Pemberton and Worboys, 14-15.

Victorian era. And, both vampires and rabid dogs spread their disease through bites. Keridiana Chez has previously noticed and interpreted this connection between *Dracula* and rabid dogs, but only as a metaphor for the danger inherent in love relationships figured through vampirized domestic female characters in association with rabid pet dogs.[84] My reading of Dracula as a rabid dog focuses on the spatial context of rabid stray dogs' prowling in London.[85] Therein lies the fear that prompts Dracula's canine associations.

In the second section, I expand this history of rabid stray dogs into my reading of Dracula as a dog, or a human-like animal creature, embodying the Victorian dread of urban stray dogs. Many scenes in the novel strongly suggest Dracula's affinity with the canine: the howling of dogs preceding Dracula's appearance during Jonathan's travel in Transylvania; Dracula's "sharp white teeth" and "lips" showing "remarkable ruddiness" (24); and Lucy's prowling like a "stray dog" (189), to name a few. The novel's description of Lucy's vampirism much corresponds to the Victorian understanding of rabies symptoms in humans. In the novel, both Dracula and Un-Dead Lucy prowl, i.e., wander in hunt of prey, in London, evoking the threat of rabid stray dogs subverting the city's structural distinction of humanity superior to and in control over animals. The

[84] Chez argues that "Victorian practices of love" (89) empower beloved objects to the extent that they may threaten the hierarchy between the pet and the master. The rhetoric of the rabies is used to justify the violent eradication of such a threat to patriarchy.

[85] One of the common traits that the vampire shares with the rabid dog is its tendency to "wander," which relates to Dracula's tendency to "prowl." Gómez-Alonso mentions: "According to Calmet's ["Dissertation on the apparitions of angels, demons, spirits, ghosts, and vampires of Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia" (Paris: 1746)], the vampire concept included two components, i.e., the dead body, which could be termed the 'lying vampire'; and the allegedly reanimated body, which could be called the 'wandering vampire.'" (858). The vampire's and the rabid dog's tendency to wander, I suggest, unites them again in the act of prowling, i.e. wandering in hunt of prey.

Crew of Light start to hunt for Dracula, but their first encounter with Dracula at Carfax suggests that their hunting may further disable their humanity as defined in terms of self-directing agency.

My third section shows how the novel's multiple first-person narratives prowl, wandering across different episodes in the ready for an impending encounter, which entails temporality immersed in the moment and mobility that can spring into a chase. Unlike other walking verbs that automatically assume the human subject, the verb "prowl" takes the animal subject as the default. The mode of prowling-initiated hunting differs from the organized imperial hunting designed in advance, as prowling assumes an immediate switch to hunting. Prowling therefore disables humanity defined as the subject of retrospective regulation of memories distinguished from instinct-driven animals. In this context of the cross-species commonality underlying this pedestrian mode, the novel *Dracula*'s narratives prowl, as they are written simultaneously with the events and follow the trajectory of the characters' hunting their prey. This temporal immediacy and chasing mobility, I argue, characterizes narrative prowling and correlates with animal intelligence that is characterized as instant perception and absent self-action in nineteenth-century Britain.

My discussion here participates in the recent ecological, posthumanist turn in *Dracula* criticism. Jesse Oak Taylor reads *Dracula* in the context of London's atmospheric pollution caused by fossil fuels, which engineered industrial modernity and capitalism's exploitation of oil in replacement of slave's human labor. In the novel, Dracula attacks Mina in the form of mist and travels on ship as haunting fog. Taylor argues that such an atmospheric transfusion of vampirism permeating human bodies lets us see individuals not as distinguished, autonomous subjects but as corporate collectives affected by the city's polluted air. (122-41). Mark Blacklock as well associates Dracula with mists and clouds, which he claims represents objects and thoughts that exceed the scope of human understanding and manifests the potential subversion of the human-

centered ontology of non-human objects. Taylor's and Blacklock's non-human Dracula is climatological material: mine is an animal, the dog.

Switching the nonhuman focus from amorphous matters to the tangible animal, which destabilizes the human-governed city through contagious bites and invitations to hunting, lets us think about the subject-object relationship by reassessing the humanity defined in terms of masterful control over nonhuman others including animals and the environment. In this context, I add a species angle to what Kelly Hurley in *The Gothic Body* (1996) calls the "abhuman subject," the nonautonomous, materially embodied human defying clear classification, and to the EcoGothic, which examines the role of ecological, environmental factors in conceptualizing fear.[86] By reading Dracula as a dog, I also engage with the burgeoning literary interest in animals described in Victorian novels, which, as Ivan Kreilkamp in *Minor Creatures* (2018) suggests, invite us to rethink the supposedly anthropocentric Victorian concepts of "the *human*, the *home*, and the *novel*" (1).[87] In doing so, I extend animal studies scholar Cary Wolfe's argument that the human is a subject of embodiment inseparable from the evolutionary process and Giorgio Agamben's argument that the division between the human and the animal is an artificial construct that is invented in the nineteenth century.[88] Reading Dracula as a rabid stray dog, I argue that Stoker's novel upends the security of human dominion, which justified the domestication, or the anthropocentric urbanization, of Victorian London—a city swarming with prowling dogs.

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[86] In *The Gothic Body* (1996), Hurley writes: "The abhuman subject is not quite-human subject, characterized by its morphic variability, continually in danger of becoming not-itself, becoming other" (3-4). For the rise of EcoGothic approaches in recent scholarship, see Smith and Hughes; Keetly and Sivils; and Del Principe.

[87] Also see Ayres, ed., *Victorians and Their Animals* (2019) 1-22.

[88] Wolfe xi-xxxiv, 99-126; Agamben, 13-16, 23-38.

I. History of Urban Street Dogs and Rabies

Cross-species encounters between humans and animals were very common in Victorian London. In an engraving drawn for *The Graphic* in 1877, the junction of New Oxford Street and Hart Street is crowded with animals that are being driven to basement slaughterhouses. When *Dracula* was published, animals had long been an everyday presence in London: horses pulled omnibuses and cabs; dairy cattle commuted around to deliver milk to households; with no refrigeration available, pigs and other edible livestock animals had to remain in proximity to humans' residential neighborhoods; popular streets teemed with animal stalls selling birds, dogs, and other companion animals.[89] Starting from the mid-nineteenth century, however, people began to be concerned about sanitary and moral issues related to animals in the city, and a series of urban projects were installed to clear out space for humans. The miasma theory identified smell and dirt created by animal wastes as causing the spread of diseases threatening humans' health (Atkins, "Animal Wastes and Nuisances in Nineteenth-Century London" 19-33). People also worried about the potential degeneration of humans who were forced to witness animals' sexual intercourse and uncontrolled behaviors in the human urban territories (Philo, "Animals, Geography, and the City"

[89] Before the invention of automobiles, vehicles ran on the power of horses. For more information on the use of horses in the urban environment, see Velten 47-61. For dairy cattle, see Atkins, "London's Intra-Urban Milk Supply, circa 1790-1914" and the sources mentioned in the next footnote. For reports of live animals invading human residences near the Smithfield livestock market in the early nineteenth century before its relocation, see Parliamentary Papers 1828 VIII [3], *Second Report from the Select Committee on the State of Smithfield Market*, quoted in Philo, "Animals, Geography, and the City" 667-68: "On Monday last we had one beast put his head through the window; we are obliged to have a person at the door to keep them off; and last Monday week we had a sheep got into the shop and fell down the cellar steps into the cellar amongst the workmen: I think that fewer customers come to the shop on Monday; the ladies would not come to the shop if there was a crowd of bullocks . . ." For more information on the human encounters with animals cramped on the streets for sale, see Velten 164-67.

669-70). Livestock animals were therefore expelled to the fringe of the city, as shown by the relocation of the livestock market from Smithfield to Copenhagen Fields in 1855 and the removal of cowsheds from the West End to the East End.[90] Exotic animals, which had been put on display in travelling menageries on the streets, were confined to sites of organized scientific entertainment like London Zoo.[91] The establishment of the Battersea Dog's Home placed stray dogs in an easily identifiable place in the city under human control.[92] These urbanization projects attest to the

[90] For the Smithfield market controversy, see Philo, "Animals, Geography, and the City" 664-76 and Velten 20-27. For the expulsion of livestock animals such as milk cows and pigs, see Atkins, *Animal Cities* 19-51 and Velten 27-34. For information on the city-wide attempt to delimit cattle zones, see Atkins, "London's Intra-Urban Milk Supply, Circa 1790-1914." For the relocation of cowsheds, see Map 1 and Map 2 in this article, quoted from Atkins.

[91] For the history of exotic animals' places in Britain, ranging from royal menageries, travelling menageries, to zoos, see Velten 145-78 and Ito.

[92] The Battersea Home was established in Holloway in 1860 to solve the problem of stray dogs in London. For the euphemistic use of the "domestic home" in the Battersea Dogs' Home in its role in policing, disciplining, and exterminating stray dogs in London, see Howell 73-101. Despite the philanthropic, sympathetic approach to provide a "temporary" refuge for "homeless" dogs, which were believed to be unfortunately separated from their owners, the increasing number of stray dogs and the limited space resulted in the massacre of dogs unclaimed within fourteen days of admission. The Battersea Dogs' Home was an extension of the government's effort to control and reform human vagrants and restore the disciplinary organization of the domestic home vs. public streets. "The domestic image of the Battersea Dogs' Home thus helped to paper over its normal functions of policing, incarceration, and execution" (100). For the history of the Holloway Home for Lost and Starving Dogs (later known as the Battersea Home) and its treatment of lost dogs, see Hamilton 83-105. Hamilton writes: "Victorian city streets were full of dogs. Some were collared and walking on leashes; many more were un-collared, 'ownerless' street dogs. With the establishment of the Battersea Home in 1860, and the later establishment of Dogs' Homes in such larger urban centers as Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, the Victorian city was transformed. Working in concert with local police under the terms of the 1867 Metropolitan Streets Act and the 1871 Dogs Act, such homes ensured that many dogs disappeared from view." (83) Yet, many historical accounts of stray dogs attacking human walkers prove that stray dogs were still ubiquitous in Victorian London till the late nineteenth century.

domestication of London, by which I mean the anthropocentric construction of urban space to secure the human-animal distinction.[93]

Only pet animals were able to enter the domesticated city alive. Dogs were among the species best adapted for meeting the demands for affection and friendship in the home.[94] While hunting dogs were kept by male aristocrats in rural English counties outside the city and common dogs were used as labor force by the working class, from the mid-nineteenth century, pet-keeping became a popular trend in London, especially among middle-class ladies.[95] As pet dogs became

[93] My choice of the word "domestication" here expands on Kay Anderson's interpretation of "domestication" as a cultural process asserting human ascendency in control of nonhuman others including animals and wild nature (467-70). Also, Brantz, in her historical review of Western society's domesication of animals, defines "domestication" as a civilizing mission that separates the private, bouregois "home" from the "wild" "outside" (76).

[94] Dogs' image as the epitome of the bourgeois domestic home was quite a new phenomenon that appeared in the mid-nineteenth century. Before the "humane movement" against the cruelty of animals began, dogs served as labor force for the working class, who used dogs to draw carts and run tread-mills (Chez, *Victorian Dogs, Victorian Men* 1). For more information on the shift in the role of dogs from working force to the emblem of the bourgeois domestic home, which served humans pertaining to English masculinity of affection and control, see Chez, *Victorian Dogs, Victorian Men* 1-21. Howell also discusses the "process of 'domestication' concerning the ways in which animals—dogs in particular—came to be installed at the heart of the modern, Western, bourgeois household, in the categorical form of 'pets'" (11).

[95] "The craze for lap-dogs among London ladies was in full swing by the middle of the [nineteenth] century. Whether the dogs were bought because they were loved, or because they were valuable fashion accessories, is another matter" (Velton 185). For more information on the popularity of pet dogs among the urban middle class, see Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 85-121. Ritvo explains that pet dogs first began to appear in Britain as fond objects of the upper class, and by the time of Williams and Mary, dogs accompanied their owner's portraits. Having pet dogs as affectionate companions became quite a common practice among urban middle-class dwellers from the mid-nineteenth century and was a new phenomenon in the history of Britain (Ritvo 85). Ritvo points out the class politics behind this popular trend of pet dogs in London: urban pet dogs were for the middle class, while sporting dogs of rural life were for aristocrats. The upper class, Ritvo argues, did not want to be associated with the urban pet dogs—most of them are mongrels—owned by the middle class of the city, but the middle class, on the other hand, loved the connection and thought

popular among the urban middle class in the mid-nineteenth century, dog businesses flourished: the streets of London were full of street vendors selling dog accessories; dog thieves were prevalent; and the publishing industry also promoted the love of dogs by featuring episodes about dogs' loyalty and affection for their masters (Ritvo, ibid. 85-87). All of these facts suggest that the dogs were granted entrance to the urban space as long as they were contained by a domestic sphere under human control structuring the urban geography. Urban stray dogs prowling in the streets of London, on the contrary, challenged this ethos.

In Victorian London, many ownerless dogs were wandering in the streets, and most of the pet dogs strolling with their masters were neither leashed nor muzzled. For some writers like Charles Dickens, stray dogs were objects of care and compassion,[96] but in reality, they caused more nuisance than pity as they bit people walking in the streets. In "a letter in *The Times* newspaper of Monday, [12 August 1867] headed 'Street Dogs,'" the writer records: "when in the vicinity of the Royal Exchange, on Friday last, he was a lad severely bitten in the hand and leg by a large stray dog, and the foot passengers flying in all directions from the same animal." Even after a new muzzling order in 1889, a case of a stray dog biting a police officer on the finger was

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that link between their pet dogs and the sporting dogs elevated their class status to the upper echelons of society.

[96] In 1867, Dickens wrote: "the poor vagrant homeless curs that one sees looking out for a dinner in the gutter, or curled up in a doorway taking refuge from their troubles in sleep" (495, "Two Dog Shows," *All the Year Round*, 2 August 1862, quoted in Moore 210). In another writing on stray dogs, Dickens continues to adopt such a compassionate mode asking readers to provide assistance rather than caution against the danger of such dogs. In *The Uncommercial Traveller*, Dickens writes: "If it should happen in the course of your walks around the metropolis that that miserable cur which has been described above should look into your face and find in it a certain weakness called pity, and so should attach himself to your boot-heels; [. . .]" (*The Uncommercial Traveller* quoted in Moore 210).

reported ("Stray Dogs"). These episodes are just some of the numerous examples showing the presence of many wandering dogs in London caused by dog-owners' disobedience of governmental muzzling orders. Some dog-owners simply disregarded their dogs to avoid license tax fees or because they lost affection for the dogs, which all contributed to the ubiquity of stray dogs in Victorian London (Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 179; "Street Dogs").[97] The newspaper reference to "stray dogs" that involves the "rabies order issued by the Privy Council," however, suggests another important factor about stray dogs: Victorian anxieties about rabies.

Walking in London meant exposure to the threat of the cross-species disease posed by dogs prowling the streets. Near the time of *Dracula*'s publication, the problem of stray dogs became more serious as rabies, or the fear of rabies, began to sweep the city and the human residents.[98] After an outbreak of rabies in the 1830s, the number of hydrophobia deaths in England and Wales decreased and remained below 30 till it began to increase prominently in the 1870s. The number of human rabies deaths in England and Wales was 7 in 1868, but it increased to 56 in 1871, 61 in 1874, and reached 79 deaths in 1877.[99] The geographical pattern of the disease in the following

[97] The letter "Street Dogs" starts as follows: "Sir, -- Permit me to suggest through your columns the neccesity for providing some means to get rid of the stray dogs, which, disowned through the operation of the dog tax, now infest our streets in such large numbers."

[98] Some people claimed that the case of rabies was exaggerated and it was mainly the imaginative fear of rabies that caused the sensational nation-wide uproar. An editorial in the *Pall Mall Gazette* runs as follows: "Most of the deaths recently declared by frightened jurymen to be caused by 'hydrophobia' were, it seems to us, really caused by superstitious terror" (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 November 1877, 10-11) quoted in Pemberton and Worboys 93.

[99] See Pemberton and Worboys 84-85, 91. The numbers on page 91 are quoted from the *Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages in England Fortieth Annual Report*, Parliamentary Papers, 1878-79 [C.2276]. xix, 284-85. Also, see Graph 3.1 "Hydrophobia deaths in England and Wales, and London, 1860-1880" (Pemberton and Worboys 70).

decade was alarming to Londoners and the London County Council (LCC), because more than half of the new rabies incidents in 1889 occurred in London and surrounding counties (Pemberton and Worboys 141). The 1895 outbreak of rabies, which was mostly concentrated in Lancashire and West Riding at the beginning of the year, gradually moved to London and the Home Counties as the year went by.[100] The year 1897, which is the year of *Dracula*'s publication, marks the height and turning point of rabies in Britain just before its official eradication in 1902.[101]

Because rabies was believed to be contagiously spread by dogs wandering in the streets in the late nineteenth century, the Victorian government tried to police straying dogs by introducing laws that stipulated the muzzling of dogs in public space and enforcing dog owners to leash dogs throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Metropolitan Streets Act of 1867 enforced the arrest of stray dogs and the muzzling of dogs on the streets. The Dogs Act of 1871 implemented the muzzling of dogs in "public places."[102] In 1887, an amendment was added to the Contagious

[100] Pemberton and Worboys 146. The total number of rabies in 1895, however, was finally on the down side at the end of the year probably thanks to the police and local authorities that enacted the muzzling order in reality. See Graph 4.1 "Hydrophobia deaths in England and Wales, 1880-1902" (Pemberton and Worboys 103).

[101] Pemberton and Worboys 156. With the appointment of Walter Long as the new President of the Board of Agriculture and his enforcement of a muzzling order specific to areas where rabies was most frequent, the cases of rabies constantly decreased every month in 1897 and the number of human rabies deaths that year reached only 6. For more information on Walter Long's contribution to the eradication of rabies from England and Wales, see Pemberton and Worboys 147-56. Also, see Graph 5.2 "Cases of rabies in dogs each month in Great Britain, 1897" (Pemberton and Worboys 156) and Graph 5.1 "Number of reported cases of rabies in dogs, 1887-1902, and hydrophobia deaths in humans in England and Wales, 1880-1902" (134).

[102] Also, see the Dogs Act Amendment Act of 1887, which stipulates that "From and after the *passing of this Act* any person being the owner or being in charge of any dog (not specially excluded from the operation of this Act) who shall permit or suffer such dog whether or not in company of such owner or person so being in charge, to be at large without causing such dog to be properly muzzled by a muzzle of a form to be approved by the Privy Council shall be liable to

Diseases (Animals) Acts of 1869 and 1878 in order to include rabies in the list of diseases.[103] In 1889, the Privy Council intervened to execute muzzling orders in the metropolitan area.[104]

The muzzling orders, however, received many objections because some critics thought muzzling was anti-liberal as well as discriminatory against women and the working class.[105] Not only liberals but some middle class people who were in favor of the muzzling order believed that muzzling was against liberalism, as the enforcement of the state's control over pet dogs owned by individuals required the individuals' obedience to and participation in regulation. Not only muzzling but all the other acts and laws that were enforced in order to eradicate rabies (license, dog tax, etc.) required ordinary English men's and women's cooperation with the government. The muzzling order also involved some discriminations against the lower class and women. The sports dogs kept for the upper-class hobbies were exempted from muzzling while shepherds' and working men's dogs were subject to the government order. While sports dogs owned by male aristocrats roamed around the country with less restrictive government's control as the rural elites opposed "the legislation [of Dogs Act of 1871] as an encroachment on [their] liberties and property,"

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a penalty of *twenty shillings*."

[103] For more information on the list of laws, bills, and acts regarding rabid dogs, see Pemberton and Worboys 77-82, 135, 138, 140, 141, 147.

[104] *Kennel Gazette*, September 1889, 219 quoted in Pemberton and Worboys 141.

[105] Pemberton and Worboys explain why there was so much protest against muzzling laws. For the list of parties and people who were involved in this issue of muzzling, see Pemberton and Worboys 82-83, 133-47. For the reasons for anti-muzzling, see 151-52. Anti-muzzling groups included rural elites and animal welfare reformer groups such as the Dog Owners' Protection Association and the National Canine Defense League. Pro-muzzling groups included doctors and veterinarians who thought rabies is epizootic. George Fleming, a veterinary officer in the Royal Engineers, tried to educate the public with the scientific knowledge of rabies against the superstitious myth about the disease with his famous book, *Rabies and Hydrophobia* (1872).

women's pet dogs were enforced to follow the muzzling order; if women did not muzzle their pet dogs in their bags when they walked in the streets, both the women and their dogs were arrested.[106]

In the 1830s, it was commonly believed that rabies mainly occurred among ownerless dogs or lower-class-owned dogs. By the time of the Select Committee on rabies of 1887, however, people began to realize that bourgeois pets were more subject to rabies than stray dogs: "It seems to be an established fact that the vagabond dogs who prowl the streets homeless and masterless are less frequently afflicted by rabies than any others. The majority of mad dogs it would appear therefore, are to be found among the upper and middle classes of the dog tribe." (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 31 December 1877, 10 quoted in Howell 156). Sir Charles Warren, the commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, also endorsed this view (British Parliamentary Papers 1887 (322), 74 quoted in Howell 156). George Fleming, in his book *Rabies and Hydrophobia* (1872), confirms this view with his observation that rabid dogs at first show "an extraordinary amount of affection," as most pet dogs do in domestic comfort (192).[107]

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[106] As an alternative to universal muzzling, Walter Long implemented a muzzling order specific to areas where rabies was most frequent, and such a specification created issues around class and gender, as the order excluded rural hunting areas and was mostly applicable to dogs in the metropolitan area where ladies were prohibited from walking their dogs unmuzzled (Pemberton and Worboys 149-50).

[107] Fleming also writes: "In this condition, however, it is not aggressive so far as mankind is concerned, but is as docile and obedient to its master as before. It may even appear to be more affectionate towards those it knows, and this it manifests by a greater desire to lick their hands and faces" (244). For information about a broader Victorian context regarding the destabilization of the idea of domesticity being a safe haven from the public sphere of violence, cruelty, and disorder, see Danahay. In general, Danahay argues, the image of animals in the Victorian imagination was functioning along the crux of domesticity that considered pet dogs in the domestic sphere as human companions providing comfort at homes while associating animals in the streets and those originated from colonies outside Britain with violence and cruelty. By reviewing Hunt's *The Awakening Conscience* and Brown's *Work* in the context of the prevalent Victorian discourse of domesticated animals as the signifier of the comfort of home, however, Danahay argues that the

The history of rabies' inversion of human domestication of animals, however, is also the history of the city's attempted establishment of self-regulating human citizenship. Philip Howell argues that a dog-walking city, where dogs were granted freedom to walk with their human companions under the government regulation symbolized by muzzles and leashes, required not only the regulation of dogs but also the regulation of the dog owners, i.e., the construction of a disciplined middle-class identity that is complicit with the governmental regulation of individuals (Howell 150-75). Neil Pemberton and Michael Worboys agree that the state's control over the individual freedom to walk dogs unmuzzled created a model of English citizenship obedient to the government's intervention in the realm of daily life (6). Ritvo similarly argues that rabies in nineteenth-century London served more as social rhetoric in support of social hierarchy and morality.[108]

If Dracula emblematizes the rabid dog, and the fear of Dracula corresponds to the fear of rabies in Britain, the story of the eradication of Dracula should be read within the context of the government's effort to control rabies and the emergent ideology based on the compliance of the individual governing a domestic home. The state government's eradication of rabies depended upon individuals' enforced acceptance of norms regulating their private life. In Stoker's novel,

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image of animals in the public and domestic sphere in some Victorian art works did not conform to this binary; they rather destabilized the ideology of the domestic home that maintained the British Empire by painting domestic animals showing violence.

[108] See Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 167-202. She argues that the Victorian public's response to rabies was based more on fears and fantasies rather than actual knowledge of the disease and its effect. Consequently, people began to link rabid dogs with excrement, dirt, and immoral behaviors and transgressions, and the infection became a matter of "contamination" of morality rather than sickness in need of medical cure (175-76). The rhetoric of contamination and social discipline required for rabid dogs is used for the regulation of female prostitutes as can be seen in the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866, and 1869 (ibid. 186).

however, we never see that sense of connection between the human characters and the government.[109] As we will see, the kind of individuality the characters develop during the hunt for Dracula does not affirm obedience to authority, but first I want to trace, among the multiple valences of Dracula, the canine.

II. Dracula, the Dog

What if one were to consider Dracula first of all as a non-human animal? After all, he appears as a bat and also as a dog to bite people and escape the crowd gathered at a wrecked ship. In this section, instead of reading Dracula as the human figure embodying racial, sexual, or class anxieties, I argue that Dracula and *its* vampirized subjects are literally non-humans and propose to read the novel *Dracula* in the context of the confrontations between animals and humans on the streets of London.

From the very start of the novel, Dracula is depicted as an animal—specifically a rampant dog or as a dog king.[110] Dracula's kinship with the canine is suggested when Dracula drives Jonathan Harker to his castle on his coach through the fields in Transylvania, Jonathan hears a

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[109] Also, though the characters mention that they are working for God and they are "ministers of God's own wish" (Stoker 340), they do not know what exactly constitutes God's wish.

[110] Elizabeth Miller notes that "Stoker found the name 'Dracula' in William Wilkinson's book, *An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia*" (112). It is said that Stoker took the name of Dracula from Vlad Dracula (aka Vlad Tepes, Vlad the Impaler), who was the legendariously cruel voivode of Wallachia, a region of today's Romania. Miller aserts, however, that Dracula did not know much about the history of Vlad Dracula and refuses to take the connection seriously (113). For information about the link between Count Dracula and Vlad Dracula, see Elizabeth Miller, *A Dracula Handbook* 88-122. The etymology of Dracula might give an impression that Dracula is a human aristocrat turning into a predatory monster, but I propose to read this connection reversely.

series of dogs' "wild howling" and "a louder and a sharper howling—that of wolves" (18). Jonathan's description of Dracula's physical appearance corroborates Dracula's close affinity with animals, especially the rabid dog:

> His face was a strong—a very strong—aquiline, with high bridge of the thin nose and peculiarly arched nostrils; [. . .] The mouth, so far as I could see it under the heavy moustache, was fixed and rather cruel-looking, with peculiarly sharp white teeth; these protruded over the lips, whose remarkable ruddiness showed astonishingly vitality in a man of his years (24).

The "sharp white teeth" and the "remarkable ruddiness" of the "lips," which appear again in the "white sharp teeth, behind the full lips of the blood-dripping mouth" of Dracula during his attack on Mina (301), tailor the animality visible in Dracula's face looking like an "aquiline" to the defining characteristics of the rabid dog. George Fleming, in his book *Rabies and Hydrophobia* (1872), identifies a "deep red tint" of the mouth (205) as one of the key distinctive features of the rapid dog and proves that the "long and sharp" teeth and especially the "*canine teeth*" are more prone to spread the disease through bites (360, emphasis in original).

Moreover, like a rabid dog which "cannot rest long in one place [. . .] and prowls about" (Fleming 243), Dracula prowls in and across London in hunt of prey. Dracula in Piccadilly—a decent, civil district near Hyde Park Corner where Jonathan should walk without "holding [Mina] by the arm," as such a gesture goes against the "etiquette and decorum" she used to teach in school (183)—looks and prowls like an animal in hunt of prey in contrast to Mina and Jonathan's innocent stroll. Dracula's "lips, [which] were so red" and "big white teeth [. . .] pointed like an animal's" (182), again evoke a popular image of the rabid dog which takes such a contrast as a default.

> [. . .] a tall, thin man, with a beaky nose and a black moustache and pointed beard, who was also observing the pretty girl. He was looking at her so hard that he did not see either of us, and so I had a good view of him. His face was not a good face; it was hard, and cruel, and sensual, and his big white teeth, that looked all the whiter because his lips were so red, were pointed like an animal's (183).

Dracula's "big white teeth" and "lips [that] were so red" remind us of the image of a rabid dog whose sharp teeth and red lips evoked terror in the onlooker's mind, again affirming Fleming's description of rabid dogs. Dracula's prowling in Piccadilly brings another species of the walker, one which does not obey the civility of human society, into this allegedly human-dominated urban region, and thereby discomforts other human walkers who have hitherto felt safe there. Dracula's and the vampirized subjects' affinity with rabid dogs prowling and howling recurs throughout the entire novel as shown in "dogs all howling at once" when Lucy sleep-walks in Whitby (108), Lucy's prowling like a "stray dog" in Hampstead Heath, Renfield, who "get[s] exited and sniff[s] about as a dog does when setting" (111), "the sudden barking of the dogs" accompanying Dracula's attack on Mina (274), and the cart carrying Dracula "swe[eping] from side to side, like a dog's tail wagging" (397).[111] Most of all, Dracula enters England as "an immense dog" (89).

[111] After Lucy Westenra is attacked by Dracula with a wolf, she records in her memorandum that "the dogs all round the neighbourhood were howling" (154). The howling of dogs precedes the appearance of Dracula again when he attacks Mina Harker in her sleep (298). Actually, the howling of dogs anticipates Dracula's appearance in Transylvania as well (18). As Jonathan Harker approaches Dracula's castle on the horse-coach which is driven by Dracula himself, "a dog began to howl somewhere in a farmhouse far down the road" and "[t]he sound was taken up by another dog, and then another and another," ultimately creating a "wild howling" that scares Jonathan and the horses (18).

Dracula's entrance to Whitby in the form of a dog disrupts the human-dog companionship that has formed part of English households, anticipating Dracula's challenge to the bourgeois domestic home which pet dogs in London signified.[112] "[M]ore than a few members of the SPCA, which is very strong in Whitby, have tried to befriend the animal" (91), showing the popular Victorian view that if a dog wants to co-inhabit human territory—whether it is a town or a city—the dog should be domesticated.[113] In Whitby, however, the unidentifiable, un-locatable dog "become[s] danger, for it is evidently a fierce brute" as the townspeople predict, attacking pet dogs privately owned by human residents "with a savage claw" (91).

Dracula further destabilizes dogs' domesticity by withdrawing a wolf—whose affinity with dogs was well-established—out of the cage and making the wolf race northwards along the streets. A month after the weird dog's entrance to Whitby, the *Pall Mall Gazette* reports the case of the "Escaped Wolf." According to the zookeeper, Thomas Bilder, the wolf in the cage was a "nice well-behaved wolf, that never gave no trouble to talk of" (148). When Dracula approached the wolf Bersicker, however, it began "a-tearin' like a mad thing at the bars as if he wanted to get out"

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[112] "Whitby is a small town and watering place on the banks of the Esk, described by the 1894 Great Britain 'Baedeker' as 'very picturesque, with its crowd of red-tiled houses, clustering on both sides of the river and climbing the sides of the cliff'" (Klinger 117). Whitby described in Mina's journals provides women with both freedom and danger. Mina records that she and Lucy felt they were like New Women during their walks around the cliffs, enjoying landscapes and visiting seaside restaurants with pleasure. Yet, on the other hand, she also remembers the "constant dread of wild bulls" (Stoker 99) which they might have encountered near the cliffs. Whitby, which is located in North Yorkshire seashore, both empowers and endangers female agency, and that provides a good backdrop for the empowerment and threat of Lucy's sexuality caused by her vampirism.

[113] The SPCA—the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals—was a society founded for the purpose of eliminating cruelty to animals and successfully worked through the legislation of acts for the amelioration of animal welfare; see Velten, *Beastly London*, 11.

(148). While dogs owned by the urban middle class became objects of display asserting the happy domestic home, some naturalists assumed that dogs may share a common lineage with their sibling species of the Canidae such as wolves and jackals. According to *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* (1871), some, though not all, naturalists believed that "all domestic dogs are derived from the wolf" and "the blood of wolves and of jackals may be mixed in some of the domestic races with that of the original dogs" ("Dog (Canis)" 612). Dracula's transformation of the dog-like domesticated wolf into a "mad thing" evokes the supposed shared ancestry between the dog and their predatory kindred by demonstrating that domestic dogs may revert to their belligerent nature outside human control.

More importantly, the wolf's escape from the zoo jeopardizes the anthropocentric geography of London where wild urban animals are confined within a segregated urban territory. The "Zoological Gardens" mentioned in the *Pall Mall Gazette* is the London Zoo, which housed about 2,400 animals by the time the novel *Dracula* was published.[114] First established as a laboratory in 1828 for the scientific inquiries of the Zoological Society in Regent's Park and limitedly open to paid visits since 1847, the London Zoological Garden put on display wild animals imported from outside England for the pleasure of the British public. These displays were a way of presenting the spoils of empire under human regulation preventing unfiltered colonial encounters in the metropole. The grey wolf Bersicker is "one of three grey ones that came from Norway to Jamrach's"—a popular animal dealer in Victorian society (Stoker 148).[115] Given the

[114] For the history of London Zoo, see Ito; Velten 168-78; Ritvo, "The Order of Nature: constructing the Collections of Victorian Zoos."

[115] For information on Jamrach's animal emporium and business, see Velten 165-67, 185. Charles Jamrach (1815-1891) was a huge business animal dealer who imported exotic animals such as elephants, monkeys, and tigers, as well familiar animals such as dogs and cats from foreign countries. The depository, which was named the "Wild Beast Mart" in *The Graphic*, was located

role of the London Zoo in displaying caged exotic animals for the pleasure of the British public, the Norwegian wolf's escape from the zoo signifies a challenge to the established human-animal distinction in London.[116]

Also important is the wolf's movement in London. In order to attack Lucy in Hillingham, a suburban area in the north of London, the wolf Bersicker would probably have run along the roads adjacent to Camden Town, the lower-middle-class neighborhood of railway networks. According to the report, "The wicked wolf [. . .] for half a day had *paralysed London* and set all children in the town shivering in their *shoes*" (151, my emphasis). The children who were "shivering in their *shoes*" would probably have been walking in the streets, and they would have been terrified to see a wolf passing them by. That the wolf "paralysed London" can be interpreted as referring not only to the terror that panicked the people in London emotionally but also to the cessation of regular coach transportations as well as the commercial activities of street vendors and flower girls, for example. Dracula's summoning of the wolf to "get out" of the cage jeopardizes Victorian urbanists' hope for London's domesticity where wild urban animals are confined under

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in "a narrow street blocked with heavy wagons, past low-crowned tenements, away in the murder-haunted East-End"("Death of Jamrach, the Naturalist," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 8 September 1891 cited in Velten 165). He also had some stalls in and around London—including St George Street and Betts Street.

[116] The wolf's escape from the zoo in the novel may have reminded the Victorian contemporaries of the notorious escapes of wild animals from animal dealers and zoos in real history: "On 26 October 1857 a Bengal tiger escaped either on its way from the docks to the repository from the cattle van, or just outside the repository when it was being unloaded"; "Other escapes that were reported included a 4-foot-long lizard sighted in the Thames by a Bermondsey waterman," "a large baboon that freed itself from its cage," and "One lucky bear," which "proceeded to kill a wolfhound and tried to attack passing horses and pedestrians" (Velton 167, 168).

the control of British human subjects, as Dracula's spatial invasion is transferred into the wolf's kinetic invasion, which transforms the city itself into an arena of human-animal mingling.

Dracula's spatial and kinetic invasion of the human territories of London sharpens the dread of rabies as both Dracula's and the rabid dog's prowling ultimately becomes a threat to the human-governed English society on the level of human degeneration. In Whitby, Dracula, in the form of a dog, a bat, and a human, infects Mina's friend Lucy with vampirism, which bears a resemblance to rabies. Lucy's symptoms after Dracula's attack are very similar to the symptoms of hydrophobia—the name for rabies infecting humans. The general symptoms of hydrophobia including fever, headache, pains in the chest, and difficulty breathing are manifested in the novel's description of infected Lucy—she is "gasping as if for air" (106), "[h]er breathing grew stertorous" (172), and she shows "a little shudder," "moaning and sighing occasional" (102). Her constant bloodlust reminds us of the thirst for water, from which the name of the disease originates. More importantly, however, Lucy after Dracula's attack begins to show some animal-like features that correspond to those possessed by rabid dogs. Her teeth get dramatically "longer" and "sharper"; "In particular, by some trick of the light, the canine teeth looked longer and sharper than the rest" (170).[117] As the human canine tooth "no longer serve[d] man as a special weapon for tearing his enemies or prey," the sharp, lengthy canine teeth of Dracula and Un-Dead Lucy highlight the degeneration of humans affected by the cross-species disease (Darwin, *The Descent of Man* 121). Dr. Seward's lunatic patient Renfield, who worships Dracula as his lord, is another character whose behaviors correspond to the rabid dog, which, Fleming notes in his *Rabies and Hydrophobia*, "is fidgety and agitated, goes here and there, lies down, and gets up, prowls about,

[117] "Her breathing grew stertorous, the mouth opened, and the pale gums, drawn back, made *the teeth look longer and sharper than ever*" (172, my emphasis).

smells and snatches with its fore paws" (Fleming 234). "The mad dog is always very much enraged at the sight of an animal of its own species," and "[i]t often flees from home when the ferocious instincts commence to gain an ascendancy; [. . .] at other times it escapes in the night" (Fleming 245). Like a rabid dog described in Fleming's book, Renfield "get[s] excited" and "sniff[s] about as a dog does when setting" (Stoker 110), refuses to stay confined by "roaming about" after he "escape[s]" from the asylum (112) and becomes aggressive "like a tiger" when Dr. Seward approaches him (113). Dracula's spatial and kinetic invasion of the human-governed city through prowling not only transforms the urban domestic space into a hunting ground but also animalizes the humans themselves.

Both Renfield and Lucy degenerate into animals out of human control rather than pet dogs inside the frame of domesticity. Renfield looks "more like a wild beast than a man" (113), and Un-Dead Lucy becomes like an outrageous stray cat or dog. After Lucy dies, Dr. Seward discovers Un-Dead Lucy prowling in the churchyard near Hampstead Heath: "When Lucy – I call the *thing* that was before us Lucy because it bore her shape – saw us she drew back with an *angry snarl*, such as a *cat* gives when taken unawares" (225, my emphasis). Lucy is literally acting like an animal, a "thing." Like a "cat" or a "dog," she throws "an angry snarl," communicating through animal sounds rather than human language, in order to pose threats and convey messages as if she were a predator.[118] Lucy here is no longer described in terms of her inner qualities such as sweetness or loveliness as she was when she was alive but instead in terms of the multiple body parts that constitute her physical body: "Lucy's eyes in form and colour; but Lucy's eyes unclean

[118] Cats became popular as pets in the late nineteenth century, but they were "too independent, egotistical, and sexually charged" to represent the bourgeois domestic home (Brantz 77). Therefore, I focus on dogs rather than cats, for my discussion of urban stray animals' destabilization of domesticity.

and full of hell-fire, instead of the pure, gentle orbs we knew" (225). Lucy's heightened sexuality signified in her "eyes unclean and full of hell-fire," which feminist scholars have interpreted as the refusal of chaste domestic womanhood, can also be understood as an animalization of her humanity in defiance of self-control. Lucy "growling over [the child] as a dog growls over a bone" (226) looks like an aggressive dog exceeding the containment of human regulation.

As Dracula bites Lucy and changes her into an animal-like figure outside human control, Un-Dead Lucy during her prowling in Hampstead Heath bites children. This newspaper account of Un-Dead Lucy prowling in and near London illustrates the dread of urban stray dogs in Londoners' minds.

WESTMINSTER GAZETTE, 25 SEPTEMBER

A HAMPSTEAD MYSTERY

> The neighbourhood of Hampstead is just at present exercised with a series of events which seem to run on lines parallel to those of what was known to the writers of headlines as "The Kensington Horror," or "The Stabbing Woman," or "The Woman in Black." During the past two or three days several cases have occurred of young children *straying from home or neglecting to return from their playing on the Heath*. In all these cases the children were too young to give any properly intelligible account of themselves, but the consensus of their excuses is that they had been with a "bloofer lady." It has always been late in the evening when they have been missed, and on two occasions the children *have not been found* until early in the following morning. It is generally supposed in the neighbourhood that, as the first child missed gave as his reason for *being away* that a "bloofer lady" had asked him to come for a *walk*, the others had picked up the phrase and used it as occasion served. [. . .]

> There is, however, possibly a serious side to the question, for some of the children, indeed all who have been missed at night, have been slightly torn or wounded in the throat. The wounds seem such as might be made by *a rat or a small dog*, and although of not much importance individually, would tend to show that whatever *animal* inflicts them has a system or method of its own. The police of the division have been instructed to keep a sharp look-out for *straying children*, especially when very young, in and around Hampstead Heath, and for *any stray dog* which may be about. (Stoker 188-89, my emphasis)

The repeated use of the verb "stray" highlights the children's deviation from home as disobedience to their parents. In the news report, the "bloofer lady" is believed to be a "stray dog," and the child victims are said to have been "straying from home or neglecting to return from their playing on the Heath," which entices the police to ask for a "sharp look-out for straying children." As if to confirm the impersonal state of a child, a child victim discovered later in Hampstead Heath is referred to as "it."[119] Children are not yet mature enough to function as members of English society because they are "too young to give any properly intelligible account of themselves" and therefore should stay in the domestic unit of the home under their parents' guidance, as does a dog taken care of by its human master. The "bloofer lady," or an alleged "stray dog," entices "straying children" further "away" from home and blocks their return for the night, dislocating them from the home where they live under their parents' care. Such disobedience to the identities given through the domestic household makes the children float in the Heath out of place. By using

[119] "*It* has the same tiny wound in the throat as has been noticed in other cases. *It* was terribly weak, and looked quite emaciated. *It* too, when partially restored, had the common story to tell of being lured away by the 'bloofer lady'" (Stoker 190, my emphasis).

phrases such as "have not been found" to point to the failure to locate the lost children, the newspaper asserts the importance of the home in ordering children through identifiable family units under the parents' charge. Un-Dead Lucy's prowling dislocates the children from their spatial identity marker and thereby assails the human-governed domestic home.

On the larger scale of the nationalized urban landscape, Un-Dead Lucy's prowling in Hampstead Heath destabilizes the layout of London and its suburbs built in accordance with the urban projects aimed at the domestication of London. The churchyard where Lucy is buried near Hampstead Heath is described as a calm, peaceful place "away from teeming London" (188), a sort of pseudo-natural countryside where people can enjoy fresh air and pleasant encounters unobtainable in the crowded urban streets full of discomforting encounters with rats, stray dogs, or spiders.[120] Yet, there where Lucy is buried, the "wild flowers grow of their own accord," indicating the presence of autonomous natural lives not under the human design (188). Un-Dead Lucy's prowling in Hampstead Heath near the churchyard conveys a radical transformation of this restful yet wild suburb into a hunting ground. Her walking in search of prey turns humans resting and children playing on the field into stray dogs' potential victims, or more seriously, objects of cross-species infection. Both the wolf's race from the London Zoo to Hillingham and Lucy's prowling in Hampstead Heath, which transform the city into hunting grounds, spatialize the fear of cross-species encounters involving the degeneration of humans, against the project to protect the allegedly safe city.

[120] In 1888, Charles Dickens (Jr.) in his *Dictionary of London* wrote that Hampstead Heath was "a stretch of real country within easy walk of the heart of London, the only spot within reach as yet unspoiled by improvement" (quoted in Klinger 180).

That is what Dracula wanted to do once he arrives in London when he expressed his aspiration to London to Jonathan in Transylvania. Whereas London in Van Helsing's mind figures as a purely human-governed territory distinguished from wild tropical colonies like "Pampas" and "some islands of the Western seas" where people see bats sucking human blood (205), "[Y]our mighty London" in Dracula's mind is far from the grandeur of modernity which the other characters associate with the city (27). Dracula says, "I long go through the crowded streets of your mighty London, to be in the midst of the whirl and rush of humanity to share its life, its change, its death, and all that makes it what it is" (27). The "London" and "humanity" conceptualized by Dracula offer materialistic versions animalized by the disorder of physical contacts and encounters. Dracula's longing to "go through" the streets and "to be in the midst of" such humanity indicates his desire to mingle with the material components of the city and to be part of the crowd on the physical level of the streets. Dracula's choice of the verb "share" foreshadows not only the dog Dracula's invasion of the supposedly human territories of London but also its amalgamation into London acted by the humanity that exists as part of the city's disorderly encounters on the streets. In this sense, the act of "go[ing] through the streets of your mighty London" is not only an act of resistance to the regulated human-animal boundary in space but also an act of exploring the fluid forms of humanity beyond the binary logic of human and animal existence to the negation of human superiority aloof from non-human animals.[121]

[121] I was inspired by Saree Makdisi's reading of William Blake's poem, "London," which starts with the speaker's "wander[ing] thro' each charter'd streets." Saree Makdisi argues that this act of wandering suggests more than "alter-modernity"—a resistance to the British government's urban development that involved slum clearance and the state-level official cartographic project to delineate invisible alleys and sideways. Makdisi contends that Blake's poem shows another type of urban modernity, i.e. "alter-modernity," which promotes multiplicity of time in the co-presence of the past and present outside the logic of linear progression ("William Blake, Charles Lamb, and

The location of Dracula's fifty earth boxes shakes the boundaries between humans and animals, or humans and the animalized working-class or non-English people, ingrained in the urban structure. On the one hand, the first two safe-houses are located in the far east of London and the south: "197, Chicksand Street, Mile End New Town, and [. . .] Jamaica Lane, Bermondsey" (278). These two locations seem suitable for the non-English, non-human Dracula, as they were populated by immigrants, lower-class laborers, and livestock animals that were excluded from the decent, civil humanity manifested in the West End.[122] Dracula's house at 196 Chicksand Street, which is located at the center of the pentagon formed by the murder sites of five Jack-the-Ripper victims, "deliberately evokes the horrors of the Ripper" (Ridenhour 70).[123] It was also the home of the East Enders, who did not mind living in the deteriorating environment and having disqualified urban milk-supply cowsheds nearby (Atkins, "London's Intra-Urban Milk Supply, Circa 1790-1914" 390). Jamaica Lane in Southwark, where the second house is located, contains a similar environment of industrial working-class labor. Yet, on the other hand, we find Dracula's third safe house in Piccadilly, a site reserved for upper-class ladies and gentlemen. The map of Dracula's safe houses scattered in London reveals that Dracula's ambulation around these houses threatens the national urban project of constructing a home reserved solidly for the English upper-middle class in London. That the keys to these houses are stored in the Piccadilly house, which is

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Urban Antimodernity" 740-42).

[122] For information on Southwark and the condition of the East End, see Porter 222-23, 300-304.

[123] For more information on the connection between Dracula's house at 197 Chicksand Street and the sensational Jack-the-Ripper murders, see Ridenhour 69-73. For more information on the case of Jack the Ripper and the discourse on female sexuality in the late nineteenth century, see Walkowtiz 191-228.

in the heart of the West End reserved for the upper-class and upper-middle-class English, suggests Dracula's permeation into the sanctuary of the human urban territory.

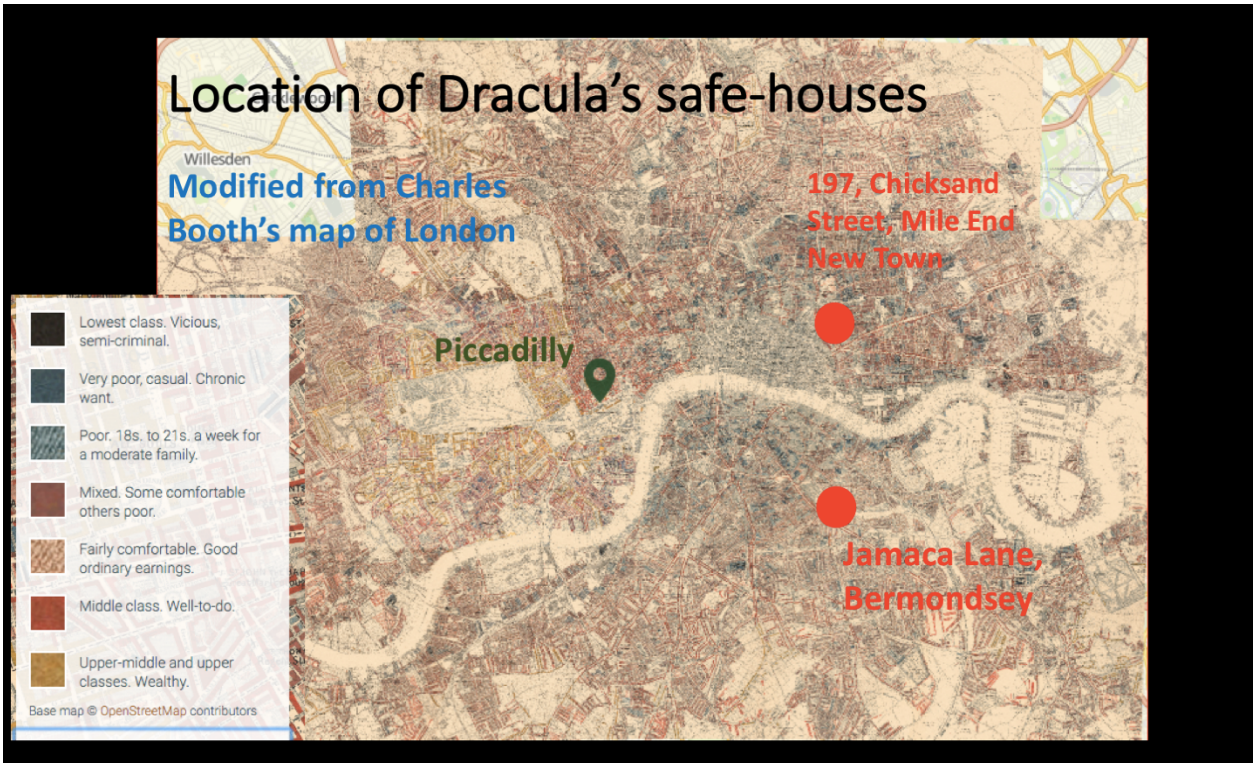

Figure 9 Location of Dracula's Safe Houses
Adopted from Charles Booth's London Poverty Map (1889),
LSE Charles Booth's London: Poverty Maps and Police Notebooks, booth.lse.ac.uk/map.

In addition to the destabilization of spatial boundaries between animals and humans, the degeneration of humans activated by the canine Dracula and Un-Dead Lucy ultimately aims at subverting the ontological hierarchy between humans and animals. Dracula's appearance at his estate house Carfax, which is located right next to Dr. Seward's lunatic asylum in Purfleet, attests to this point. When Van Helsing, Dr. Seward, Jonathan Harker, Arthur Holmwood, and Quincey Morris are all waiting in their appropriate positions near the door and the hallway, Dracula enters the room in a manner approximating a wild animal, "leap[ing] into the room" "with a single bound"

(325). "There was something so panther-like in the movement—something so unhuman, that it seemed to sober us all from the shock of his coming" (325), which marks *it* off from the general category of humans. Dracula's "lion-like disdain" even suggests that Dracula itself can despise humans as humans dislike and contempt predatory animals tasting human blood.[124] Dracula equates the men to "sheep in a butcher's" (326)—another type of animal that could do nothing but stay inside the frame set by economic values measured by human society. Dracula's constant use of the possessive pronouns—"Your girls that you all love are *mine* already; and through them you and others shall yet be *mine—my* creatures, to do *my* bidding and to be *my* jackals when I want to feed. Bah!" (326, my emphasis)—and Dracula's reference to the people becoming "[his] jackals" helping the lion Dracula signify Dracula's dream to completely subvert the human-animal hierarchy of power.[125]

When Van Helsing, Dr. Seward, Jonathan Harker, Arthur Holmwood, and Quincey Morris come to Carfax to check the boxes stored there, they find their investigation interrupted by the sudden influx of rats into the old house room: "We all instinctively drew back. The whole place

[124] Ritvo in her book *The Animal Estate* notes that the animal hierarchy established by naturalists in the 18th and 19th centuries favored animals who were "obedient" to humans, serving human needs. According to this logic, horses and dogs were "good creatures" because they served as labor force or for humans' need of affection. "Bad creatures" like pigs and cats did not care about humans; tigers were bad because they tasted human flesh; the lion was also regarded as a bad creature but unlike the tiger, which was an object of disdain, the lion in the Western imagination aspired awe despite its predatory nature (21-30). Animals of a "different order" include monkeys and apes, whose exterior look resembles humans; their intelligence also "challenged the animal hierarchy that valued obedient servants" (38).

[125] The jackal is "an animal of the dog kind [. . .] inhabiting Asia and Africa, hunting in packs by night with wailing cries, and feeding on dead carcases and small animals; formerly supposed to go before the lion and hunt up his prey for him, hence termed 'the lion's provider'" ("jackal," *OED*).

was becoming alive with rats" (268).[126] "But even in the minute that had elapsed the number of the rats have vastly increased" (269). The rats' invasion of the old, conventional English mansion is dramatized by their swift movement and immense increase in number overwhelming the human capacity for management. In the process of restoring the anthropocentric order of the estate, the domestic ground of humans is transformed into a hunting ground for animals. Upon seeing the rats covering up the place, Lord Godalming—i.e. Arthur Holmwood—commands his dogs with "a low, shrill call" to chase and hunt down the rats, and the place is soon taken by the "yelping of dogs" and the dogs' "howl[ing] in most lugubrious fashion" (268, 269). The animal food chain that triggers the dogs' violent reaction to their "natural enemies" (269) begins to govern the once-domestic estate house owned by humans. Yet, during this transformation of the domestic ground into the hunting ground, the humans stay outside the scene of hunting. Once the dogs arrive, they "move[] out" and enjoy "relief [. . .] [in] finding [themselves] in the open" watching the dogs conducting their order from afar. (269). After the battle, the dogs assist and comfort the humans by "frisk[ing] about as though they had been rabbit-hunting in a summer wood" (269) still under Lord Godalming's direction. In Carfax, dogs hunt on behalf of the humans. In the second half of the novel, however, the human character-narrators themselves go into the hunting field to chase Dracula as if they were dogs, acting as part of the animalistic relationship of predator and prey.

[126] In nineteenth century Britain, rats are typically regarded as a threat to human ascendancy. Boddice in his essay "The Historical Animal Mind: 'Sagacity' in Nineteenth-Century Britain" argues while sagacity in dogs confirmed human ascendancy, sagacity in rats and foxes, unlike that in dogs, was defined not by their closeness to humans but their own deceptive qualities, and therefore was regarded as a threat to human ascendancy. He also notes that "there are numerous accounts of the mere sight of rats affecting the minds of humans, and at least one account of the bite of a rat having a vampire-effect on its child victim, who required four men to confine him to bed, 'while he struggled hard to seize their hands or arms with his teeth'" (*A History of Attitudes and Behaviours toward Animals in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Britain* 295).

III. Prowling Narratives

Dracula's prowling in Piccadilly confirms the definition and distinctive features of prowling: to prowl means to wander in hunt of prey, immersed in the moment ready for the chase.[127] Dracula haunts the place with the goal of hunting in mind, looking around for a possible target. While prowling, he is completely submerged in the moment. Mina writes: "a tall, thin man, with a beaky nose and black moustache and pointed beard [. . .] was looking at her [a girl] so hard that he did not see either of us" (183). Dracula, whose "eyes [are] fixed on her" (184), is limited in his sight and can only gain partial knowledge at a time, isolated from the rest of his surroundings. Upon seeing his prey leaving the place, Dracula quickly switches over to a chasing mode, "follow[ing] in the same direction, and hail[ing] a hansom" (184). As Dracula's behavior nicely shows, prowling—wandering in hunt of prey—entails a temporality of being in the moment, which disables a contextualizing perspective of retrospection, and initiates hunting—the predatory chase led not by humans but by animals. This immediacy and the lack of self-direction correlate with the Victorian understanding of animal intelligence, which C. Lloyd Morgan, George Frederick Pardon, William James, and George Romanes have defined as instant empirical knowledge against the reflective, self-oriented human reasoning capabilities. In this section, I discuss how such prowling narratives involve the loss of context and self-direction and thereby blur the distinction between humans and animals which engineered the domestication, or the anthropocentric urbanization, of London.

[127] The *Oxford English Dictionary*'s definition of this word supports this interpretation: "a. *intransitive*. To go or move about, esp. in search of or looking for something; (hence) to roam or wander about in search of plunder, prey, etc., or with predatory intent; to move *about*, *around* stealthily or restlessly." See "prowl, v.*" OED Online*.

Prowling happens when the prowler feels that there is a prey present in their realm of exploration and wants to look around to identify the possible target. This impending encounter immerses the prowler in the moment. The immediacy of prowling, when translated into the narrative level, generates partial knowledge which limits both the narrator's and the reader's perspective. Unlike other Victorian novels, most of which consist of a first-person narrator's retrospective accounts or a third-person omniscient narrator's unpacking of stories in the past tense, the novel *Dracula* presents records written *in the moment*. The preface that precedes the first chapter of the novel concludes as follows: "There is throughout no statement of past things wherein memory may err, for all the records chosen are exactly contemporary, given from the standpoints and within the range of knowledge of those who made them" (6). The anonymous narrator suggests that "memory," or remembering and recounting the past events from the present perspective, should be avoided because that may distort the truth. But the narrator also unconsciously demonstrates that the records, which are "exactly contemporary," prevent the reader from grasping the events as a whole from a broader perspective. The records *in the moment* grant knowledge *of the moment*, limited to and rooted in the scope of perception in which the narrator's bodily existence as a walker of the event dwells.[128] This narrative temporality of writing-in-the-moment pervades the entire novel *Dracula*, blurring the distinction between the self-regulating construction of knowledge and the unfiltered, transcriptive accumulation of data, which the narrators call "facts." The domestic field of narratives that could have been structured by the thinking subject gives way to immediate records of facts that the narrators do not yet know how to relate to other

[128] I thank Julie Park for sharing her draft chapter on Andrew Marvell's *Upon Appleton House*, in which she analyzes the way that a narrative perspective is enabled by the narrator's walking. Her reading helped me to see the limitation that *Dracula*'s immediate temporal narratives entail.

information. I will discuss how this immediate temporality of prowling, when translated into the narrative level enacted by media, generates partial knowledge which limits both the narrator's and the reader's perspectives and thereby disables human agency distinguished from the nonreflective animal intelligence.

In the textual level, we can locate prowling in the narrative search for the disturbing factor in the gradual destabilization of Jonathan's travelogues and Mina's epistolrary journals, which are seemingly conventional. Jonathan Harker's journals in Chapter I, for example, at first read like a conventional travelogue that records his trip to Transylvania, featuring the calm retrospective account of the daily details of the journey. These seemingly normal travel journals, however, are disrupted by Harker's discoveries of Count Dracula's frightening behaviors and that Dracula is "a creature [. . .] in the semblance of man" (41). After this discovery, we see frequent intrusions of the present tense into the past-tense narration, which restricts the reader to the scope of knowledge given at the moment of narration isolated from the novel's entire context, limited to the moment. Mina's and Lucy's letters imitating the conventional form of domestic fiction and epistolary novels are also interrupted by Dr. Seward's phonograph diary recording the weird behaviors of Renfield, a patient in the doctor's lunatic asylum, and the subsequent chapter shifts back and forth between the women's exploration of Whitby and the doctor's observation of the "zoophagous (life-eating) maniac" (80). Mina's journals lose the stable plot arc of romance and female friendship, as no news from Jonathan, Lucy's sleep-walking, a sudden death of an old sailor distress her. This impending duty to identify the disturbing factor in their normal narratives makes Jonathan's, Mina's, and Dr. Seward's narratives prowl, that is, roam across diverse issues outside the range of their regular lives of romance, slightly looking to the potential encounter, being immersed into the moment.

The novel's narratives composed of women's letters, journals, and a doctor's medical notes in the earlier part of the novel soon diversify into multiple forms that defy categorization. At some point in these casual affective accounts and medical diaries, a "cutting from the *Dailygraph*, 8 August" and the "log of the *Demeter*" are added to tell a story of a wrecked ship in Whitby and the mysterious events that happened onboard during the journey; the sailors disappear or become mad one by one, talking about something, or a madman, whom they call "*It*," "He – It!" (94, 96). After that, Mina restarts her journals by recording Lucy's sleep-walking near the cliff and her pallid face after the night adventure (106). All of a sudden, this private and mysterious narration of events is again cut off by an invoice letter reporting the anticipated arrival of fifty boxes in London: "Dear Sirs, –Herewith please receive invoice of goods sent by Great Northern Railway. Same are to be delivered at Carfax, near Purfleet, immediately on receipt at goods station King's Cross" (107). At the moment of reading, without the guidance of an omniscient narrator, readers have no notion as to what the log of a wrecked ship in Whitby and the invoice letters of fifty boxes shipped to London have to do with the arrival of Dracula, as they do not yet know that Dracula needs earth boxes to rest during daytime. The uncertainty regarding the temporal and causal relations between these narratives challenges the reader's ability to construct a sequence of the events in the form of a story that has a beginning, a middle, and the end.

This partiality of simultaneous perspectives disabling the human's position as the subject of narration still persists even when the prowling narrative mode extends to hunting. Once Van Helsing joins the Crew of Light, they begin to search for collective control over the information about Dracula.[129] Van Helsing asks Arthur Holmwood, Dr. Seward, Quincy P. Morris, Jonathan

[129] See Straight for a discussion of Mina's role as a "technological and spiritual mediator," a term that refers to the ability to collect, type, aggregate data for mass-production as well as the ability to channel telepathy under hypnosis. Straight associates this mediumship with female agency

Harker, and Mina to read the type-written copy of the compiled narratives arranged by her so that they can be "master of all the facts" and "have all the knowledge" (234, 237). Van Helsing's lengthy lecture on Dracula's genealogy and history further corroborate the team's mastery of knowledge required for their task (254-57). Van Helsing also tries to construct a coherent narrative out of assembled experiences through a rhetoric of an ending and a divine purpose which he believes guide his project of hunting. The Crew of Light are "ministers of God's own wish" (340) and they should "try to think out the proper conclusions" (342).

The fundamental animal-human divide underlying the expulsion and domestication of animals from and in the city is based on the Cartesian conception of human mind, which Victorian scholars of animal intelligence supported in their argument. C. Lloyd Morgan starts his book *Animal Life and Intelligence* (1890) by claiming that "in man alone, in no dumb animal, is the rational faculty" (vi). Morgan claims that the reasoning capacity of humans enabled them to process information abstractly in coherent forms of organization (331-78). Another scholar W. M. James, in his article "Brute and Human Intellect" (1878), argues that the human "posses[s] self-consciousness or reflective knowledge of himself as a thinker" (267). This ability to reason was a prerequisite for "self-directed action" defining human agency distinguished from animals.[130] In

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enabling Mina to produce knowledge required for imperialist nation-building. but as I argue in my essay, mediumship ultimately reduces human self-will to the transferrable chain of information.

[130] George Romanes, in his book *Animal Intelligence* (1884), reviews animal intelligence mostly in the context of the animal's relationship with humans. The dog, which "has been domesticated on account of the high level of its natural intelligence; and by persistent contact with man," shows the most developed state of intelligence, which Romanes finds in their diverse emotions, communication skills as human companions. Yet, the information the dog can convey is "always definite, [. . .] never [. . .] complex." For a brief review of this human exceptionalism that presumed animals' incapability of reasoning in Western culture, see Pearson.

nineteenth-century Britain, animals were believed to be lacking the abilty to contextualize in abstract terms and plan ahead independently.

The way that the character-narrators in *Dracula* use media to construct and preserve their knowledge—the use of phonograph, typewriter, and making three copies all at once to circulate—however, suggests that the humans are not capable of reflexive thinking. Writing enables the individual to be in charge of information through an act of retrospective rearrangement. Yet, as Friedrich A. Kittler points out, media that transcribe information into transferrable units mechanize the mode of recording and dissembles writing into autonomous components of sounds, optics, and acoustics, which dissociates knowledge from individual control ("Gramophone, Film, Typewriter" 31-49). The collective knowledge which the character-narrators in *Dracula* construct is information that circulates in autonomous forms outside the individual who first observed and recorded the information. Previous criticism that analyzes the use of media in *Dracula* has associated this impersonal data-production with the features characterizing modernity such as "our bureaucratization" (Kittler, "Dracula's Legacy" 73) or "the labor of consumption" (Wicke 492).[131]

[131] According to Kittler, "Stoker's Dracula is no vampire novel, but rather the written account of our bureaucratization" (73). Kittler argues that "the media chain of phonograph, amplifier, and typewriter" (74) transfers the individual-nuanced records into a collection of mechanical data devoid of personal traces that existed in the original written or recorded forms. This modern tool of "bureaucratization," of which the typewriter is a good example, is the real power that derives the vampire away from English society. Wicke focuses on the very structure of the novel *Dracula*, the way in which the knowledge about Dracula is structured by the technologies of mass media. The technologies of mass culture ranging from telegrams, phonograph-records, typewriting of short-hands, the Kodak camera as well as the subway that transports people anywhere beyond the limitation of earthy territories show "the very ubiquity of the mass media" (475), which reminds us of Dracula's vampirism that communicates with his subjects by transcending the limitation of space and time. The "mechanical replication of culture" (476), which is attested by Mina's typewriting and other innovated technologies of communication, disembodies the knowledge which the human characters accumulate, and therefore the very narratives they collectively construct enforce the "consumption" of knowledge in resemblance of Dracula's blood-

I will argue, however, this use of media that arranges the information in the form of disembodied, trans-spatial knowledge stands for the loss of human control and thereby transforms the otherwise-individually-embodied narratives into non-human data-collection incapable of regulation, moving like an animal in the hunt of prey. The collective knowledge which the character-narrators in *Dracula* construct is information that circulates in autonomous forms outside the individual who first observed and recorded the information.

The narrative arc of media unpacking nonhuman, disembodied information fragments structures the hunting process, depriving individuals of the ability to self-direct the route of their narration as well as their ambulation. After the male crew sees Dracula intruding into and leaving the Piccadilly house, they try to figure out Dracula's plan. During Mina's hypnotic trance, Van Helsing notices Dracula's plan to escape from England and exclaims: "He meant escape. Hear me, ESCAPE! He saw that with but one earth-box left, and a pack of men following like dogs after a fox, this London was no place for him" (334). Individuality of each human being in this journey is reduced to a mass, hound-like entity grouped together under the mission of "following" and hunting Dracula. As they lose control over their own trajectory and are led by the object they pursue, their hunt does not resemble the organized country fox-chase enjoyed by aristocrats who gave orders to hounds and retrievers. On the contrary, the crew themselves plunge into the hunt for Dracula rampantly rushing en masse racing through desolate fields outside their knowledge. Even their intelligence should be degraded to the level of the animal's "wile." Van Helsing willingly says: "I, too, am wily and I think [like] his mind in a little while" (334), as if they have

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consumption.

"sagacity"—animal intelligence that is characterized by the instant perception to sense the smell and track down their target.[132]

Since the narrative perspective is embedded in the narrator's mobility in the moment as a character in the hunt of Dracula inside the narrative frame, the narratives that "follow" Dracula translate the physical ambulation composed of immediate temporality and passive mobility to the narrative level composed of facts and moments chasing after Dracula. The narratives from Chapter 24 onwards are filled with plans and journeys that Van Helsing and others are making to find out Dracula's whereabouts. Unlike the epistolary or memoir-like style she used before the attack, Mina reports in a bureaucratic tone, and factual information regarding the method and the location of Dracula's trajectory dominates most of the journals. Direct quotations of characters' speeches unfold unfiltered by the observers' subjective thoughts. These fact-driven, direct-quotes-filled narratives—the very materiality of hunting acted by media—make Mina, Jonathan, and Dr. Seward sound like recording devices of events rather than human story-tellers in control of their experiences and thoughts.

[132] Boddice in "The Historical Animal Mind" writes: "*Sagacity* was the prevalent term in nineteenth-century Britain for the intelligence of animals" (65); "*Sagacity* has etymological roots in the Proto-Indo-European base *sag*-, meaning 'to track down, trace, seek,' and, indeed, in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, the term generally referred to a keen sense of smell," and "[i]ts Latin equivalent, *sagacitas*, stands for 'quickness of perception'" (66). Samuel Johnson, in his dictionary, distinguished between human sagacity ("thought") and animal sagacity ("scent") (Boddice 66), indicating the difference between humans' rational, conceptualizing thinking and animals' immediate, instinct-driven deduction.

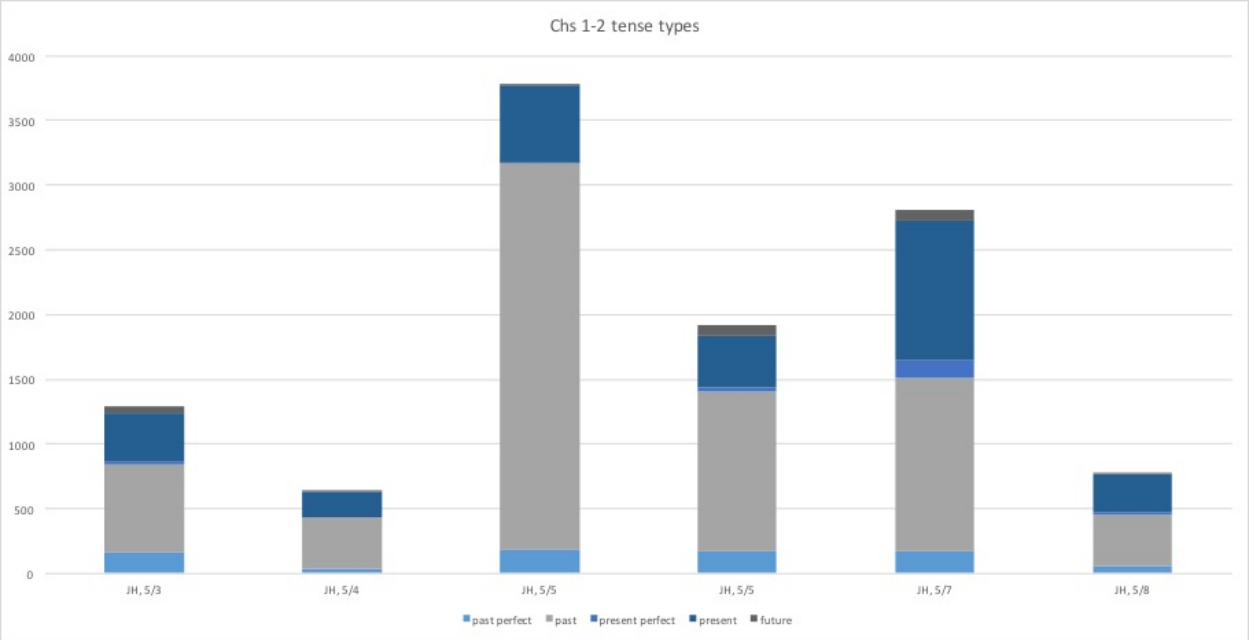

Figure 10 Tense Types measured by word count in each journal entry in Chaptesr 1-2
Past Perfect (Sky Blue), Past (Grey), Present Perfect (Blue), Present (Navy Blue), Future (Brown)

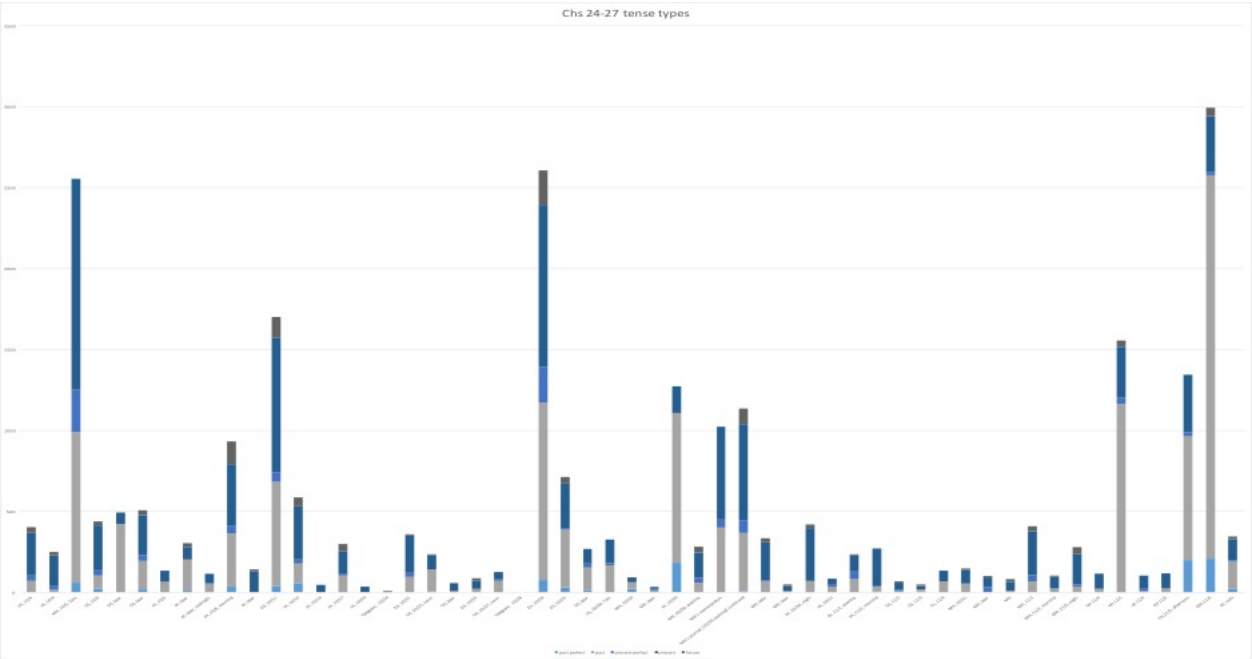

Figure 11[133] Tense Types measured by word count in each journal entry in Chapters 24-27

[133] I used *Stanford Long-linear Part-Of-Speech Tagger* (nlp.stanford.edu/software/tagger.shtml) to generate a PoS-tagged text of Dracula with the help of colleagues at UCLA's Digital Humanities Program. The result shows that the past tense is identified by VBD, past perfect by the combination of VBD and VBN, present tense by VBZ (third-person singular) and VBP (plural), present perfect

More proximate to the mode of hunting-following is a quick trot of the narratives that take up the rest of the novel. The lengthy retrospective accounts of the recent past in the first two chapters of the novel (Figure 10) are now drastically reduced to sudden quick-paced, brief accounts of the present and the immediate past (Figure 11).[134] After Mina's record of the committee's meeting on 5 October onward until the end of the novel, the time period covered by each journal entry becomes radically shorter than before, just as if the narratives themselves were trotting after Dracula. Dr. Seward, for example, splits the narration of his thoughts and actions of the same day into three chunks—"5 October," "Later," and "Later," each of which does not exceed 600 words and records only a couple important facts about their plans regarding the hunting. Jonathan also splits the same day into three periods: "5 October, afternoon," "Later" and "Later, midnight." Each entry is very short (133, 303, and 114 words) and records only one episode or impression at a time.

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by the combination of either VBZ or VBP with VBN, the future tense by MD, which shows auxiliary verbs selectively displaying "shall" and "will." I added "can," "must," and "may," which are selectively identified by MD, to the present tense. I put each tagged-chapter into *Voyant: See through Your Text* (voyant-tools.org/) to calculate the number of each tense type used in each journal, imported the results to Excel and made Figures 10 and 11 based on the data. The Y axes in both figures indicate word count in each journal entry. The X axes in both figures stand for the dates of journal entries. The X axis in Figure 10 reads as follows: Jonathan Harker (JH) 5/3; JH 5/4; JH 5/5; JH 5/5; JH 5/7; and JH 5/8. The X axis in Figure 11 reads as follows: Dr. Seward's phonograph diary, spoken by Van Helsing 10/4; JH 10/4; Mina Harker (MH) 10/5 5pm; Dr. Seward (DS) 10/5; DS later; DS later; JH 10/5; JH later; JH later, midnight; JH 10/6; JH later; DS 10/10; JH 10/15; JH 10/16; JH 10/17; JH 10/24; telegram 10/24; DS 10/25; DS 10/25 noon; DS later; DS 10/26; DS 10/27; telegram 10/28; DS 10/28; DS 10/29; DS later; DS 10/30 7am; MH 10/30; MH later; JH 10/30; MH 10/30 evening; MH memorandum; MH continued 10/30; MH later; MH later; JH 10/30 night; JH 10/31; JH 11/1 evening; JH 11/2 morning; DS 11/2; DS 11/3; DS 11/4; MH 10/31; MH later; MH 11/1; MH 11/2 morning; MH 11/2 night; memorandum by Van Helsing (VH) 11/4; VH 11/5; JH 11/4 evening; DS 11/5; VH 11/5 afternoon; MH 11/6; note.

[134] In Figure 11, the length of each journal entry becomes significantly shorter, and the present and present perfect tenses are used more frequently than the past tense in most journal entries (48 out of 55).

The lengthy journal recording the men's decision to take Mina with them on 6 October, morning (934 words) is again cut off by a laconic note of "Later" (141 words). More and more journal entries are entirely written in the present tense dedicated to the moment of writing, as Figure 11 shows that the present tense overwhelms the past tense in 48 out of 55 journal entries composing the last four chapters. Jonathan Harker's journals on October 4, 5, 16, 17 and November 4 as well as Dr. Seward's diaries on October 5, 25, 26, 30, and November 5, to name a few, are solidly ingrained in the moment of narration with the present tense, highlighting the immediacy and speed of a hunt for prey.

This short, quick-paced, in-the-moment narration of hunting creates a narrative assemblage of empirical episodes, in which each human narrator becomes a medium that transcribes information rather than a subject who filters and constructs a story. C. Llyod Morgan, in *Animal Life and Intelligence* (1890), discusses whether animals can structure conceptual knowledge by "isolat[ing]" theoretical thoughts from a collection of their direct observations, with the question—"Have the higher animals the power of analyzing their constructs and forming isolates or abstract ideas of qualities apart from the constructs of which these qualities are elements?" and concludes that they cannot (347-48). Animals' understanding depends on immediate perception rather than comprehensive retrospection that generates associations between elemental observations, and they cannot reformulate the assembled information into cohesively-organized theory. In the collection of hunting records, the human character-narrators also feel a similar incapability of constructive reflection. Jonathan writes, "All, big and little, must go down; [. . .] and that God will aid up up to the end. The end! oh my God! What end? [. . .]" (308 [3 October]); "For some time after our meeting this morning [5 October] I could not think. The new phases of things leave my mind in a state of wonder which allows not room for active thought" (347). The absence of the end point on

the part of the narrator disconnects the narrator from the retrospective power of the ending that selects and subjugates details to the overarching logic of denouement. As if to intensify the sense of loss generated and aggravated by the decontextualized and quick unpacking of narratives, the narratives from here on begin to accelerate!

Narrative pace—which can be measured with the number of words used to cover a certain set of time chunks—rapidly increases as the hunt accelerates. Most of the journal entries in the last four chapters, as shown in Figure 11, are written in less than 600 words, sometimes less than 100 words, even when the recorded time-length exceeds multiple hours or days. For example, the four-day journey from London to Paris and then to Varna, which occurs from the morning of October 12 to 15, is narrated only in 588 words in Jonathan Harker's journal dated 15, October Varna. The whole day of 16 October is summarized in 47 words. "A whole week of waiting" for the ship *Czarina Catherine*'s arrival is summarized in just 34 words on 24 October (356). Dr. Seward's record of three days—from 25 October to the noon of 27 October spread through five entries takes only 862 words all combined, followed by the 29 October diary in 714 words, "Later" in 269 words, and 30 October in 325 words. Minal Harker's journal of 30 October (93 words) and of "Later" (36 words) are all extremely short compared to her previous journals. Dr. Seward's diary on 2 November shortens "Three days on the road" into five sentences in 67 words, and his diary on 3 November records the whole afternoon and evening in four sentences of 48 words. Though there are some exceptions that go over 1,000 words, many of the narratives containing multiple information are curtailed.

Simplified phrase constructions with no subject or verb further weakens the human agency in narrating the story by dislocating and depersonalizing the narrative voice and equals the thinking subject's absence to an animal' alleged lack of reflection. On 24 October, Jonathan sums up "A

whole week of waiting" in two big chunks of phrases and one sentence: "Daily telegrams to Godalming, but only the same story: 'Not yet reported.' Mina's morning and evening hypnotic answer is unvaried: lapping waves, rushing water, and creaking masts" (356). Only one sentence has a subject and a verb, and even the verb is the inactive "be" of the passive voice. Such an omission of verbs that may work as a marker of temporality characterizes the phrasal syntax used by telegrams conveying information through a nonhuman voice of machinery. The telegram following this succinct journal entry—"*Czarina Catherine* reported this morning from Dardanelles" (356)—has no human subject whom the reader can identify with, and the time of the narrative is suspended in the ongoing present of anticipation. The story in this form of nonhuman objective message with no subject or verb unfolds as a collection of autonomous information pieces, in disregard of the individual's capability of rearrangement and story-telling.

Given the narrative immediacy of *Dracula*, the speedy unfolding of the hunting process consisting of partial knowledge shapes the narratives into an amorphous display of information lacking self-direction. Jonathan's note at the end seems to claim back the human narrator's control over the dispersed narratives by taking a retrospective point of view, which gives the narrator an overall context chunked for reorganization, yet to no avail. He writes: "Seven years ago we all went through the flames; [. . .] When we got home we got to talking of the old time – which we could all look back on without despair, for Godalming and Seward are both happily married" (402). This note, however, confirms the collection of the narratives that compose this novel is "hardly one authentic document" but "a mass of type-writing" lacking a coherent logic (402). As Jonathan acknowledges that "We could hardly ask anyone, even did we wish to, to accept these as proofs of

so wild a story" (402), the narratives in *Dracula* fail to embody the stability gained through the expulsion of Dracula.[135]

In Stoker's novel, the confederation of partial knowledge and chase acting in the narrative realm of hunting initiated by prowling challenges human ascendency characterized as the thinking, controlling subject and thereby collapses humans with animals incapable of self-direction, subverting the pivotal urbanization logic that tried to secure human urban spaces against animals. In the logic of colonial hunting practices conducted mostly in overseas colonies, the metropolis was supposed to be a domestic—not foreign—habitat for humans. The massive urbanization of London, however, initiated a fear of human-degeneration by making the urban poor live as a mass entity merged with one another in densely packed slums like animals and making London look like a wild hunting ground like the ones in colonies.[136] Unlike the artificially human-constructed

[135] This narrative insurgency against the thematic closure attests to the tension between the structural enactment of the ending and the chronological order that leads to the end, which Jonathan Culler calls "discourse" and "story" respectively. In his essay, "Story and Discourse in the Analysis of Narrative," Jonathan Culler argues that readers, while reading a narrative, construct a sequence of events in the chronological order—story—by sorting out temporal relations among the events presented in a narrative. When readers encounter the ending of the story, they evaluate whether the ending is appropriate in terms of the thematic structure in which the events are presented in relation to one another. This structural arrangement of the story, which Culler calls discourse, produces the meaning of the story. Story assumes the events as a given fact that happened prior to the cause-effect organization arranged by the narrative, whereas discourse emphasizes the significance of the presentation itself that justifies and even produces the ending, Culler argues. I will use this critical frame to discuss how the discourse—the narrative structure that leads to the ending—works in determining the validity of the plot-driven, content-based message of the novel *Dracula*.

[136] In the American novelist Jack London's portrayal of the East Enders in *The People of the Abyss*: "They reminded me of gorillas [. . .] They are a new species, a breed of city savages. The streets and houses, alleys and courts, are their hunting grounds [. . .] The slum is their jungle, and they live and prey in the jungle" (London 284-85 quoted in John Miller 149). Miller interpretes Jack London's description of the urban poor as an illustration of "a key aspect of concern for the consequences of Britain's rapid urbanisation throughout the nineteenth century and into the

imperial sport outside Britain, the novel *Dracula*'s narration of the hunting is initiated by instinct-steered, moment-rooted prowling that destabilizes the generic normalcy of the human-governed urban and narrative space. Stoker's novel transforms the narrative space of human retrospection into an instinct-driven site of the predatory food chain, as if to endorse rabid stray dogs' disruption of the anthropocentric urban structure. In doing so, it destabilizes human ascendency underlying the eradication of rabid stray dogs from London.

Some might argue that the formation of knowledge based on minor details should be considered as entrance into modern science and that *Dracula*'s construction of knowledge through fragments can be regarded as a precursor of modernity. Carlo Ginzburg, for example, argues that a hunting-like scientific method that produces knowledge through information pieces—spectacular signs, fingerprints, etc., which developed in nineteenth-century Britain, participates in scientific modernity. Ginzburg's argument, however, relies on the singular figure of the hunter or the detective who produces a coherent narrative sequence out of discrete information pieces. The novel *Dracula*'s production of knowledge involving the hunting of Dracula, on the contrary, is activated by a mass compound of hunters, who are animalized like dogs in fox-hunting. The narrators do not have a sense of coherent construction during the act of narrating the process and therefore lack the individuality controlling the production of knowledge.

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twentieth": "Moral and bodily degeneration" (149). Yet, John Miller notes that imperial hunting described in Victorian adventure fiction both asserts and denies humanity conceptualized through the distinct segregation of humans from animals, as humans become like cruel beasts in the act of enacting their masculine empowering violence against nonhuman animals. The narration of the hunting process brings to the fore the very ambiguity of human ascendency manifested in colonial hunting and casts a doubtful endorsement of humanity symbolizing English superiority over the colonized natives. See Miller 23-56 and 149-82.

Throughout this chapter, I have examined the narrative features of the novel *Dracula* that correspond to the materiality of walking and argued that the process in which the narrative is constructed does not necessarily endorse the distinction between humans and animals. Each moment of the narrative is unmuzzled, due to the lack of a singular retrospective or omniscient perspective. The process-driven narratives that are structured around the immediate temporality and speedy chase show that there is no domestic ground solidly reserved for human individuals who could self-direct their thoughts in control of animals in London. As Dracula the monster figure incarnates the break-down of the human-animal binary in urban space, *Dracula* the novel, through its prowling narratives, formally dissolves this binary which structured the domestication of dog-prowling Victorian London.

Chapter Three

Wooshing: Unsettling Acceleration in H. G. Wells's *Tono-Bungay*

London at the turn of the twentieth century was wooshing—that is to say, people and things in the city were moving by virtue of being displaced into a rushing flow, unprepared and unconnected. Pneumatic tubes—which transport objects through the push of compressed air rushing from one end to the other or through the rapid pull of a partial vacuum, and sometimes both—had become common across London. By 1884, the city's pneumatic postal tubes were shooting up to a ton of letters and packages a minute (Mac Millan 189). Electric tubes as well as elevators and escalators introduced through the commercialization of London during this period also made people and things move on the rapid flow of air, water, and electricity. Railways, which became widely available to the working classes after the government's reform of pricing, transported workers from their homes to factories and released them out in massive flows at termini. The motorization and electrification of transportation—as shown in electric trams, motor-buses, motor cars, motor cabs—accelerated the traffic on the streets, and pedestrians walking side by side were swamped by the speedy rhythm of machine transport.

This chapter reads H. G. Wells's *Tono-Bungay* (1908-1909) in the context of wooshing London—I take the word "wooshing" from the story—to see how the unsettling effect of this rapid urban mobility translates into the generic form of the novel. Critics who read *Tono-Bungay*—which belongs to the second phase of Wells's literary career as a novelist when he wrote realist novels after his debut with the hugely influential scientific romance fiction[137]—have especially

[137] After gaining legendary popularity with the science fiction novels *The Time Machine* (1895), *The Island of Dr. Moreau* (1896), *The Invisible Man* (1897), and *The War of the Worlds* (1898), Wells started writing realist novels featuring young characters growing up in society facing

discussed the novel's engagement with consumer capitalism through colonial exploitation (Kennedy; Lodge; Parry; Keen), waste-value-production (Brantlinger and Higgins), or financial capitalism built on exchange value manifested in the novel's portrayal of London's destabilizing spatial complexity (Martin). The novel's disconnected, episodic narrative form gained much attention as well from critics who found in the novel the anti-bildungsroman perspective precluding the progressive integration of the individual into society (Esty; Simon J. James), a precursor to modernism (Hammond; Martin), or the reversion of the Victorian realist novel's thread "going somewhere" in the "thorough-flow" of ideas from one generation to another touching on various issues bounded for continual development (Roberts). My focus is on the urban mobility rushing in flows suggested by the word "woosh," and I discuss how the novel describes London as a site of the whizzing mobility displacing individuals into indiscriminate streams of urban traffic at the turn of the twentieth century. The disorganizing waves and the absence of the individual locus characterizing wooshing in and of London also relate, as I will discuss, to Wells's ambitious rebuttal of Henry James's definition of the novel as an art form defined by coherence and congruity.

The first part of this chapter focuses on the history of accelerating urban mobility and street advertising in London between the 1880s and the 1910s. The revolution of urban transport in, between, and outside buildings—pneumatic tubes, electric tubes, trams, elevators, escalators, and

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economic, class, or gender inequalities, such as *The Wheel of Chance* (1896), *Love and Mr Lewisham* (1900), *Kipps* (1905), *Tono-Bungay* (1909), *Ann Veronica* (1909), and *The New Machiavelli* (1911). For a detailed discussion of the first four novels, see Simon James 77-124. For information on Wells's career as a novelist, journalist, and political writer, see Hammond, *H. G. Wells and the Modern Novel* 3-9. For analyses of Wells's main novels in each stage of his literary career, see Batchelor and Simon J. James. For a complete list of Wells's fiction, see Hammond, ibid., 209-11.

motor-buses and cars—shaped people's movement into a quick dash merging with the flow of traffic. The word "woosh" began to be used around the time when this mobility came into being. My research on the word's usage shows that the term points to the quick rushing mobility of the hydraulic flow or people moving submerged in such a flow, which often evokes an explosive juncture cutting off the moving subject from the context. Wooshing often ends with an unanticipated blockage that disables the subject's capacity to rearrange or understand the situation as a whole. Linguistically as well, the word "woosh," the denotative meaning or function of which does not immediately strike the reader's or the hearer's mind, functions grammatically as an interjection and creates a void in the semantic and syntactic flow of a sentence. The physical and linguistic breakage of the subject's position in the quick dashing movement also characterizes the mobility pervading London at the turn of the twentieth century, which provides a backdrop for Wells's novel *Tono-Bungay*.

In the second section of this chapter, I turn to *Tono-Bungay* to taxonomize different types of unsettlement the novel construes as happening in commercial, industrial London: the whirlpool, passing, flood, and overgrowth. I argue that "woosh" is the ultimate mode of unsettlement—disconnection displacing the locus of movement—around which these mobilities converge. *Tono-Bungay* is written in first-person retrospective narration, recording the narrator-protagonist George Ponderevo's life as a housemaid's son growing up in Bladesover, an estate house in Kent, his move to London in pursuit of an undergraduate degree in science, his failed romances, and his fruitless years involved in his uncle Edward's business in Tono-Bungay, a patent medicine made of secretive, harmful ingredients. Tono-Bungay eventually leads George and his uncle to bankruptcy, and all the subsidiary businesses they developed collapse into nothing. So does his "novel," which

George wanted to write to recompense his life made of episodic fragments.[138] My suggestion is that rushing urban mobility lacking the locus of agency leads to this narrative structured to void meaning, as we see especially in a scene of George's walk along the Thames in which Tono-Bungay sweeps London and dismantles George's subjectivity, displacing him from his own story. The city of Tono-Bungay shows commercial, industrial growth accelerating beyond the individual scale; likewise, there is no locus of agency in the process of urban walking.

In the third and final section of this chapter, I investigate how *Tono-Bungay* translates this urban mobility of flashing by without agency into the generic form of the novel. I examine how Wells arranges reading, character, and narrative syntax to reformulate the novel as a genre unsettling the reader's agency. The novel at first seems to follow the conventional bildungsroman form of the Victorian realist novel by starting with the narrator-protagonist George's conception of the novel as a genre modeled on cumulative, progressive reading. The narrative that moves along the character George's development in his romance and studies, however, is soon disrupted by the sudden rush of the expanding commercial success of Tono-Bungay, which switches the reader's attention to a void product lacking any purpose. George searches for an alternative narrative thread by experimenting with aeronautics and with an imperial adventure to Mordet Island in Africa, but they all accelerate the pace of narrative and exacerbate the loss of the subjective locus directing his movement as a character and narrator. The naval destroyer he builds at the close of the novel suggests yet another mode of movement progressing without relying on the moving subject's agency. This mobility displacing the subject into the un-connecting flow to an unanticipated end relates to the way that the reading of *Tono-Bungay* works through

[138] Wells, *Tono-Bungay*, edited by Patrick Parrinder, Penguin, 2005, p. 9. Further page references will be indicated parenthetically.

syntactically-split serial and book formats and through the abrupt insertion into its middle of several atemporal, partially illegible visual illustrations representing preliminary sketches for product advertisements. By emptying out the individual locus in the disconnecting, accelerating narrative flow as does London with its mobility, Wells revises the genre into a form embodying the city's unsettling power. A coda considers how this analysis might relate to recent literary critical work on the Anthropocene as also pursuing scalar shifts that displace the human subject.

I. Wooshing London in History

People and things in London around the time of *Tono-Bungay*'s publication in 1909 moved by merging into rushing flows of air, water, and electricity. Pneumatic tubes—which send mails, small parcels, and cash through the compressed air flow in tubes—first began with the idea of transporting passengers through the velocity of the air. George Medhurst had proposed in 1812 to build a "hollow tube or archway" moving by "the power of Air" in confined pressure to "apply this principle to the purpose of conveying goods and passengers from place to place" (6). Alfred Ely Beach, the founder of Beach Pneumatic Transit Company, opened a pneumatic subway line in New York City in 1870 and ran the line for the next three years until he switched the model from human transport to mail networks, which expanded into 27 miles across the city in 1897.[139] In

[139] "Mr. Beach became aware of experiments in England to use pneumatically propelled containers to transport mail and other items, according to an article in the *New York Times*[:] 'Several men had lain down in the cars and been whisked through the tubes along with the mail,' *The Times* reported. In 1867, Mr. Beach built a 107-foot-long model of the tube he hoped to place beneath the city streets and displayed it at the 14th Street Armory at the American Institute Fair. The propulsion method was relatively simple: a massive steam-powered fan forces air into the tunnel to push the car along, and when the current is reversed, a vacuum is created, propelling the car in the other direction." For more information, see Santora.

London, pneumatic tubes were first installed in 1853, declined slightly, but then revived again sometime after the Central Telegraph Office adopted the pneumatic tube network to transport telegrams more effectively in 1874, and the London pneumatic system was soon equipped with "11 miles of house tubes and 74 miles of street tubes" (Mike, "Get Them on the Blower"). In 1905, a Bill for "12-inch network of tubes, totaling 100 miles of double line" was proposed, and they helped to facilitate the quick transport of mail between floors and buildings, taking the role of electric trams for mail.[140] They also speeded everything up, compressing time as well as spatial distance.

Lifts and escalators, which move people and things by the velocity of water or electricity, developed symbiotically with the commercialization of London in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[141] Lifts had already been in use in warehouses near the docks from the mid-nineteenth

[140] Archibald Williams, in his book *The Romance of Modern Mechanism* (1910), describes how pneumatic tubes work: "While you are wondering the assistant has wrapped this coin in the bill and put the two into a dumb-bell-shaped carrier, which he drops into a hole. A few seconds later, flop! and the carrier has returned into a basket under another opening. There is something so mysterious about the operation that you ask questions, and it is explained to you that there are pneumatic tubes running from every counter in the building to a central pay-desk on the first or second floor; and that an engine somewhere in the basement is hard at work all day compressing air to shoot the carriers through their tubes." Also, Edward Bellamy's utopian novel, *Looking Backward* (1888), which features a young American named Julian West who falls in deep sleep at the end of the nineteenth century and wakes up in 2000, briefly describes the pneumatic communication system: "The dispatching clerk has a dozen pneumatic transmitters before him answering to the general classes of goods, each communicating with the corresponding department at the warehouse. He drops the box of orders into the tube it calls for, and in a few moments later it drops on the proper desk in the warehouse, together with all the orders of the same sort from the other sample stores. The orders are read off, recorded, and sent to be filled, like lightning" (51-52).

[141] This commercialization of London coincided with the growth of multi-level buildings, which became practically possible thanks to the development of architectural techniques using structural iron (steel) and reinforced concrete (Scott 501). The pace of this development was enormous. As the writer comments in "London Street Architecture" (1909), the growth of Selfridges was "the

century,[142] but starting from the 1880s, they began to be used in the newly built multi-level stores and office buildings in the city (Turvey, "London Lifts and Hydraulic Power" 152-54). The London Hydraulic Power Company established in 1884 installed numerous water mains throughout the entire city to facilitate the use of hydraulic power for London lifts in many buildings in the city (ibid.). Following hydraulic lifts, electric lifts became more widely used at the turn of the century, not only in department stores but also in multi-floor government buildings.[143] The first "moving staircase"—i.e. escalator—was introduced in Harrods in London in 1898.

This quick-paced flow also increasingly describes the shape of people's movement darting along the lines built for trains, electric trams, and tubes. After the Cheap Trains Act of 1883

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growth of a twelvemonth," not "the work of years" like other great shops. The full quotation is as follows: "Unlike some of the great shops already existing, its growth has not been the work of years; its expansion has not been gradual; it has not spread along the street, absorbing its neighbours piecemeal. Its days of development have been passed on the other side of the Atlantic. As far as this country is concerned the building in question, with its hundred-and-one departments, its acre of floor space on every storey, is the growth of a twelvemonth; it has sprung upon us ready armed, like Minerva from the brain of Jove." For "the evolution of Britain's urban built environment," see Peter Scott's article titled as such, especially 499-506. Scott points out the growth of the middle-class' property investment as one of the main factors which brought this transformation of the city into a commercial site: "The nineteenth-century growth of the property investment, development and building sectors took place alongside a transformation in the character of urban centers, residential property being squeezed out by commercial buildings" (500). Scott also quotes a radical increase in employment in the building industry, "rising from 390,000 in 1851 to 953,000 in 1901" (499).

[142] Turvey writes: "lifts (or hoists?) [sic] were said to be in general use in warehouses and factories by 1857" ("London Lifts and Hydraulic Power" 149).

[143] See "The New Government Buildings," *Times* (16 July 1904). "The [new government] building [on Parliament-street] will consist of eight storeys, including basement and sub-basement, and will be some seven feet lower than the adjoining block, in order to balance the Treasury building on the other side beyond Downing-street"; "The new War Office building in Whitehall is somewhat more advanced. [. . .] Both buildings will be provided with numerous electric lifts."

significantly reduced the price of train tickets to a level affordable to the working class, more and more people, including working-class laborers, women, and children, who were previously priced out were able to move rapidly between places (Jackson and Nathan 133). As a result, many working-class people moved to the suburbs and commuted on trains. The old form of their commute characterized by the congested, slow pace of walking changed into the rapid, straight, steam-engine dash and the massive overflow of passengers walking in tides released from termini, as more and more workers moved outside London and began to take trains to work.[144]

The electrification of transportation also absorbed passengers into the quick flow of electrified power speeding along the tube-lines and tramways. Electric tubes and trams, with their faster speed and lower travel cost, gradually replaced horse-drawn carriages, buses, and carts as well as steam-engine underground railways from the 1890s onwards. The first electrified tube in London—the Northern Railway running from Stockwell—became available in 1890 and gradually extended into Moorgate, Euston, and Clapham Common.[145] The electrification of underground railways, which had previously run on steam engines and suffered bad-quality air full of smoke and noise, accelerated the speed and also transformed the hitherto Hades-like locomotion into a clean, middle-class utopia.[146] The London County Council started running electric trams in 1903 at a relatively lower cost, making the electric tramways more accessible to the working class who

[144] For more information on the broadened accessibility of trains for the working class, women, and children from the 1880s onward, see Abernethy.

[145] See Rabon. "The Underground Electric Railways Company of London, founded by American transport magnate Charles Tyson Yerkes, was established in 1902 and provided power to many of the electric railways. Digging technology also advanced to permit even deeper tunnels than that sub-surface lines that were first built."

[146] Ibid. and Pike 33-47.

were not able to travel by train before then and motivated them to move out of the expansive, crowded city centers, which resulted in lowering the urban concentration. "LCC tramway traffic increased from 117 million journeys in 1903 to 505 million in 1910 (42 million of the latter workmen's)" (Barker, "Urban Transport" 158). Charles Masterman marveled at the "'fast lines of electric trams, brilliantly lighted, in which reading is a pleasure, hurrying us down from over the bridges at half the time expended under the old conditions'" (quoted by Lucy Masterman in her book *C. F. G. Masterman* (1939) 82-83 again quoted in Barker 158).

While passengers were blending with the dashing railways, tubes, and trams, pedestrians on the streets were forced to accommodate and be part of the accelerated traffic streams of motor-cars and motor-buses, which were first introduced in London respectively in 1896 and 1899[147] and increased enormously in the following decade. By April 1904, there were 46,000 motor cars and cycles in London, and the number increased to 250,000 by 1914.[148] The average speed of horse-drawn omnibuses recorded in May 1908 in London did not exceed 6.4 miles per hour (mph), but the average speed of motor omnibuses in some routes in London hit 9.4 mph (*London Statistics* 398).[149] The Locomotives on Highways Act (Nov. 14, 1896) limited the maximum speed of motor cars to 14 mph (Plowden 22), and the new Act, which came into force in 1904 and continued to govern the speed of London until 1927, established the 20-mph speed limit and granted local

[147] See John Armstrong 252. The first motor bus introduced in London in 1899 transported people between Charing Cross and Victoria.

[148] For the number and the rate of increase of motor buses and motor cars, see Barker 162-63. For the development of electrified railways—tubes—in London, see Barker 159-60.

[149] Also see Ordish. "The motors of the elevated trains are of greater power, and can propel at higher speed than those of the surface cars. Speed is more important for an office and business district, such as that along the Transit Commission's tunnel route, than it is for the shopping and theatre district along Washington Street from Boylston Street to Mile Street" (429)

authorities to enforce a 10-mph speed limit if necessary. The number of motor cabs also surged, hitting 8,400 in 1913, and in that year, the use of horse-drawn vehicles dropped to mark only 6 percent of all passenger vehicles in the streets of London (Barker and Robbins II, 329, 190 cited in Barker 163).

This acceleration of urban traffic entailed the temporal and spatial dislocation of passengers' and viewers' perspectives as they move along the streets.[150] "Woosh" is a word for this age, when pneumatic tubes, lifts, escalators, trains, and electric trams and tubes made people and things in the city rush in flows on and off the ride. A quick search of the word "woosh" and "whoosh," as it is sometimes spelled, in Google Ngram shows that the frequency of the word, which hardly existed before the twentieth century, surges around the time of *Tono-Bungay*'s publication in 1909 and continues to rise up rapidly throughout the rest of the century (see Figure 12).[151] This Ngram search indicates that "woosh" is a modern term and also a modern form of mobility that was not common in the previous centuries. The word had several different definitions. Sometimes, in usage distant from that pursued here, it was used by shepherds, hog

[150] As Kern points out in his book *The Culture of Time and Space: 1880-1918*, the culture of accelerated mobility was a universal phenomenon across Western Europe and America at the turn of the century. Kern argues that the excitement coming with the acceleration of mobile traffic is visible in the cinematography developing at the time. In films, images pass in a serialized flow, massively swirling in blurry vision, and thereby challenge the subject's ability to process them coherently (109-30).

[151] In Figure 12, there are several incorrect appearances of this word especially in the 1860s; a closer look reveals that most of them are derivative spellings ("wash") or misidentified words ("worship," "cosh," "Wisconsin," etc.) The valid cases are limited to very few incidents: "woosh" in the dialect of East Anglia meaning "[t]he teamster's call to his horses to go to the left" (686) in Nail's *Great Yarmouth and Lowestoft, a Handbook for Visitors and Residents* (1866). The use of the word suddenly dies in the late-nineteenth century, and the frequency of its use remains almost zero until its sudden reappearance in 1898.

farmers or horse drivers to "regulat[e] the movements of domestic animals" ("Country Week by Week") or to "contro[l] the movements of domestic animals by the voice" ("Calls for Domestic Animals").[152] Our concern is rather with its increasing use as an exclamation expressing surprise about a sudden explosive movement accompanying noise and shock. For example, in a cartoon describing a hidden caterpillar coming out of a person's mouth, we see, "Whoosh! Splutter! Gurr-r-h!" ("A Sad Story") and in another cartoon, a person says, "Whoosh, ye devil! (To the too intrusive wasp who has entered by the window)" (Graves). In many cases, the word is used as a meaningless utterance directing animals or an exclamation expressing fear or resistance in response to a sudden burst of motion.

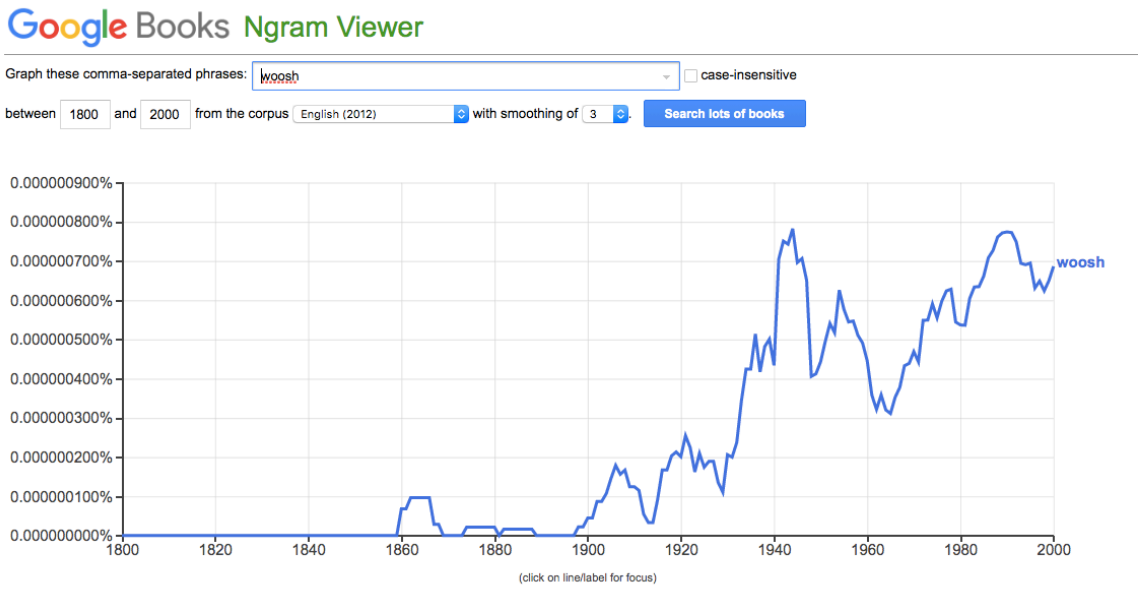

Figure 12. "Woosh" in History
books.google.com/ngrams/ "woosh" retrieved on 1 January 2020.

[152] "In controlling the movements of domestic animals by the voice, besides words of ordinary import, man uses a variety of peculiar terms, calls, and inarticulate sounds—not to include whistling—which varies in different localities. [. . .] "wo," "whoosh," "back," &c"" ("Calls for Domestic Animals" 7). The same article appears twice under different titles—"Calls for Domestic Animals" and "Facts and Fancies"—in *Blackburn Standard* and *Whitsable Times and Herne Bay Herald* on the same date, 12 September, 1891.

When it has semantic value, the word is used to refer to a quick rush predicated on the flow of air or water, in which individuals were submerged as mere parts moving without agency. A woosh occurs when air flows out of a person's mouth: "As she stopped, while the organist got in a little work, she turned her head, opened her mouth, and blew out her breath with a 'whoosh,' to cool her mouth" ("Musical Notes").[153] Of special interest is the way that the person merges with the fluid motion implied by the word. In an article titled "Quips and Cranks" published in *Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough* on October 15, 1890, we see that a carriage containing a baby "entered the water just in time to catch a 'return,' and before any man could make three jumps it was riding out to sea." The description continues:

> A hundred feet away it met a big green billow driving in, and now it was picked up, cradled in a smother of foam whiter than any snow, and baby came sailing in with a woosh and a roar to be caught by a dozen outstretched hands. And was he terror-stricken? Not much. He clapped his hands and whooped.

"Woosh" here points to the sudden, brisk wave that snaps the carriage in the midst of the stream, and at the moment of wooshing, the baby merges with the flow of water, rapidly streaming afloat, lost in direction yet full of excitement that comes with excessive speed beyond the human scale. In both examples, the noun "woosh" or "whoosh" is used to refer to the quick passing flow, and the wooshing subject is not a human but nonhuman air or water on the move or a medium that

[153] The full quotation is as follows:

> As she stopped, while the organist got in a little work, she turned her head, opened her mouth, and blew out her breath with a 'whoosh,' to cool her mouth.
>
> The audience saw her wipe away a tear, but did not hear the sound of her voice as she 'whooshed.'

merges with the flow. As shown in the second example, the mobility of the individual during wooshing cannot be separated from the flow, of which they are part.

The quick flow implied by the word "woosh" or "whoosh" is often characterized by an unanticipated explosive juncture, which suggests a radical seizure cutting off the wooshing subject from the context of their motion. In a newspaper section titled "Chips" reporting gossipy facts like a 150-year-old fish, we read that "[t]he boats are hoisted up to the top by an elevator; then they come woosh! down the stream and strike the lake at the bottom." Wooshing happens along the sudden burst of air or water rapidly flitting through the streak, precluding any congruent contextualization of the flow in relation to the environment. The word is also used at the moment when air suddenly blows out—"At last it [the navigation balloon] got full, and the aeronaut was just going to let go when whoosh! Bust was the word, and the balloon went to glory" ("Multiple News Items"). In both cases, the word connotes the quick, passing stroke of air or water rushing at a scale exceeding the human anticipation with no space to generate integrative meanings for the motion's context. The flow implied in the "woosh" moves autonomously without the subject's engagement, providing no time or space for connection.

The word also metaphorically indicates a quick series of perplexing sensual images. In a newspaper article, H. G. Wells himself uses the word to show that wooshing displaces the walking subject into the disturbing tides of scenes passing by their vision and disables their ability to rearrange observations cohesively for further development. In "Novelists as Reporters" (1910), where he argues that novelists should be employed to work as practical journalists, Wells provides a sample to show that the novelistic technique can benefit readers with more vividly actualized reports. In the sample, he uses the word "woosh" to describe the brief moment of an accident when

a motor-bus hits a man passing by and throws him into a swirling vision displacing the victim's perceiving abilities.

> And then, you know, there was the motor-bus. Quite suddenly it came, a confused impression of more noise, grown all at once ever so much more insistent, overwhelming. . . . Hi, woosh!
>
> "Mind!" cried Mr. Jones, "mind!" He became amazedly conscious of himself, stable in the midst of a tumultuously whirling universe, the center of all kinds of bewildering phenomena. Also that his nose, in some unaccountable way, was bleeding.
>
> "Damn!" he said . . .

The sudden collision puts the victim in a flurry of motion exceeding a human scale of perception and attacks his stably-fixed locus of sight and thought. The effect of this sudden hit—which the "woosh" points to—creates an unpredictable rush perplexing the stable mind, throwing the person into the flux of visions displacing him from the power to comprehend the situation as a cohesively constructed context. Here, "woosh" is suggestive of a motion unsettling people in an unfixed location displacing people from standpoints localized in interior subjectivity.

Of special interest is the way that the word, through its linguistic slippage, incites in the reader's mind a similar sense of unsettlement leading to the unexpected, inconclusive stoppage inherent in the wooshing flow. Reading the word in a sentence entails a linguistic void, by which I mean the absence of the semantic, syntactic endpoint marking the concrete meaning and category of the word corresponding to the flow of the sentence. On many occasions when the word is not used as a noun referring to the rushing flow, it appears out of place, and it is hard to exactly locate its function as a syntactic unit composing the sentence; in this regard, it works grammatically like an interjection or exclamation, but not exactly since this interruption connotes a break or

interruption itself. The word suddenly appears and cuts off the flow of the sentence that has been progressing cohesively so far, invalidating the anticipation that the sentence would be wrapped up with a conclusive remark that ends the construction of syntactic and semantic units fitting the grammar. It is probably an adverb in the following sentence: "they [the boats] come woosh! down the stream and strike the lake at the bottom." But the word also appears without a directly felt syntactic place when we expect to hear a noun working as a subject of a sentence or a gerund modifying the subject of the previous sentence, as shown in the previous examples: "At last it [the navigation balloon] got full, and the aeronaut was just going to let go when whoosh! Bust was the word, and the balloon went to glory"; "Hi, woosh!" Unlike other words that directly convey their meanings at the moment they appear in the sentence, the word "woosh" can be understood only when we try to figure out its meaning by artificially putting the word in the context of other sentences describing the situation where it appears.[154] This kind of disjointed flow ending with no conclusive punctuation characterizes many sentences in which the word "woosh" is used.

Both on physical and linguistic levels, "woosh" incites a rapid, unanticipated dash to an end, pushing the moving and reading subject into quick flows disengaged from context. Such submergence of the individual subject expands on Edwardian writers' description of the city crowd, especially when it appears near the site of mass-transportation services, which helped to accelerate the commercial industrialization of the city. C. F. G. Masterman, in his *Condition of*

[154] More examples are as follows: "'Woosh!' exclaimed Mr. Smith, [. . .] a much-needed breath. 'Woosh! It's alright. I've got her.' A few strokes and his feet touched bottom. [. . .]'" ("Invention and Investment"); "The whirr and splash of the screw propeller, as it churned up the sea, could next be distinctly heard. [. . .] 'I dunno, but it am a fac'. I'm sartin such dey've got her head round. I feel it! Woosh! Away she goes!' [. . .] The whirring of the screw and the bubbling of the water as it slipped by beneath the cabin ports could be distinctly heard by both prisoners" ("Multiple Display Advertisements").

England, describes the city crowd as "numberless shabby figures hurrying over the bridges or pouring out of the exits of the central railway stations" (119). In the "perpetual stream of people" "flow[ing] like a liquid unprecipitated, or a river in even stream carrying down dust to the sea" (119, 120), "the traits of individual have become merged in the aggregate" (121). The metaphor of the sea and river, as well as the adjectives "perpetual" and "unprecipitated," suggest that the pedestrians' directing and contextualizing agency is inundated with the quick pace of the swooshing traffic. As individualities get lost merging in the dashing currents of traffic passing in flood, there is no locus on which pedestrians' walks can rest.

As Wells's contemporary E. M. Forster observes through Margaret's perspective in his novel *Howards End* (1910), London at the turn of the twentieth century was in a "continual flux" lacking a purpose or direction (Forster 156). Margaret also observes "the architecture of hurry, and hear[s] the language of hurry" on the streets and wonders, "but to what goal?" (93). As I will discuss now, in *Tono-Bungay,* Wells builds his story around wooshing, the submerging of the individual into the flowing tides of urban traffic.

II. Wooshing London in *Tono-Bungay*

Multiple forms of unsettlement unfold in *Tono-Bungay*'s London from the "whirlpool" and quick passing to flooding and enormous expansion. As Edward Ponderevo remarks to his nephew George, who is visiting him in London for the first time:

> "London . . . takes a lot of understanding. It's a great place. Immense. The richest town in the world, the biggest port, the greatest manufacturing town, the Imperial city—the centre of civilization, the heart of the world! See those sandwich men down there! That third one's hat! Fair treat! You don't see poverty like that in Wimblehurst George! And many of them

high Oxford honour men too. Brought down by drink! It's a wonderful place, George—a whirlpool, a maelstrom! whirls you up and whirls you down." (90-91)

This is a more elaborate version of Edward's previous description of London "as a great scene of activity by a whirl of the hand and a wink and a meaning smile" (69). He pointed out that people in London "'[r]ush about'" gambling and selling, making London a site of busy activities not producing anything concrete (69). In the quoted passage, this circling stasis is manifested in the uncle's view of London, which consists of short glances quickly switching from one thing to another, not sustained long enough to form mutually-interactive connections. The series of adjectives indicating London's grand status—"immense," "richest," "biggest," "greatest," and "Imperial"—promptly give way to "those sandwich men" squeezed in between advertising panels front and back. The short, staccato rhythms and simple syntax of Edward's sentences often end with exclamation marks that convey in fragments the brisk, exciting commotion pervading the city. His speech sprints forward in incomplete sentences rather than progressing cumulatively through modifying phrases and their antecedents, and it therefore sometimes sounds like nonsense. The perplexing mixture of figures and scenes mentioned in rapid phrases portray London as a "whirlpool" that disorients people, lost in the changes they observe. The London whirlpool is ungraspable, unplaceable in its entirety. It also entails a temporality that is stuck in the present without meaningful futures.

This spatial displacement and temporal stasis characterizing the London whirlpool work directly against the narrator-protagonist George's ambitious decision to establish an individuality harmoniously integrated into society, which is suggested at the beginning of *Tono-Bungay*. George starts his narration:

> Most people in this world seem to live 'in character'; they have a beginning, a middle and an end, and the three are congruous one with another and true to the rules of their type. You can speak of them as being of this sort of people or that. They are, as theatrical people say, no more (and no less) than 'character actors.' They have a class, they have a place, they know what is becoming in them and what is due to them, and their proper size of tombstone tells at last how properly they have played the part. (9)

The notion of living "'in character'" and people acting as "'character actors'" gives an impression that George understands life as a "congruous" entity made of conjoined parts organized in terms of roles each person is born to play. In a life imagined in this way, individuals should find a "place," which will confer upon them a sense of belonging and anticipation of a predictable future awaiting them. George's model of individual development also posits a "congruous" narrative arc consisting of "a beginning, a middle and an end," a temporal progression to a conclusive end. In this sense, George understands individuality as an integrating force with a clear sense of belonging to a societal position that slowly evolves toward the future.

Bladesover, an estate house in Kent where George grew up as a housemaid's son, conforms to the model of properly-placed self-hood George articulates. George's retrospective narration, which distances him from his past self, also gives a sense that he is re-organizing his life in relation to the temporal progression enabling his development. In Bladesover, everyone "ha[s] a place" in the hierarchical class structure prioritizing landed gentry in accordance with "the divine order" (15). Bladesover House, in George's mind, establishes a "closed and complete social system" which arranges "[t]he great house, the church, the village and the labourers and the servants" (15) in the shape of the country community maintaining and supporting the upper-class gentry culture. George confesses: "In that English countryside of my boyhood every human being had a 'place.'

It belonged to you from your birth like the colour of your eyes, it was inextricably your destiny" (16). In these inequitable social hierarchies constructed around the privileged gentry class, people of other classes and towns are arranged into proper "place[s]" to serve their functions as constitutive units of the country estate. The "Gentry, the Quality, by and through and for whom the rest of the world, [. . .] breathed and lived and were permitted" (14) promise an integration of society into the order of nature, emblematized by the way that "the great house mingled so solidly and effectually with earth and sky" (14). The London whirlpool, in which inhabitants are disconnected and randomized, unsettles the binding, hierarchical order of Bladesover that is aligned with George's pursuit of individuality. Yet, the "whirlpool" is not the only way in which London unsettles the order of places and times.

Rapid means of transport introduced through industrialization also contribute to unsettlements. In George's first entrance to London, the city appears in a speedy, fast-paced manner lacking focus. Riding on the South-Eastern Railway, George sees a vast array of infrastructure-related activities and urban compartments rush past: "the growing multitude of villas," "multiplying houses and diminishing interspaces of market garden and dingy grass to regions of interlacing railway lines, big factories, gasometers and wide reeking swamps of dingy little homes, more of them and more and more" (86). Multiple sites of London appear in list after list with no logic of progression or connection, and there is no longer any retrospective outlook placing the observations into an overall context, as was the case at Bladesover (Martin 462-63). The endless series of advertising signs, billboards, and streets creates a scrolling view passing beyond the individual's scale of perception: "But this London was vast! it was endless! it seemed the whole world had changed into packed frontages and hoardings and street spaces" (87). "[Driving] in a cab down a canyon of rushing street between high warehouses," George "wonder[s]

where the money came from to employ so many cabs, what industry could support the endless jostling stream of silk-hatted, frock-coated, hurrying men," hinting at the enormous capital that feeds the overwhelming pace and size of traffic (86). The modern industrial city moves in waves of traffic beyond any organizing rules.

The city's juxtaposition of disparate forms of transport, all of which pass each other by simultaneously, has an unsettling effect, immersing walkers in the fast streams of traffic and thereby depriving them of a chance to emerge as individuals capable of self-oriented interaction. In the urban flood of people and objects, the walker is thrown into brisk waves of quick, passing glances on the move; the vast speeding up of movement compresses time as well as space. When George sees "A constant stream of people pass[ing] by [him] [. . .] more and more [he] wanted them to stay" (107), but they don't. George also recollects: "I began to fall in love faintly with girls I passed in the street, with women who sat before me in trains, with girl fellow-students, with ladies in passing carriages, with loiterers at the corners, with neat-handed waitresses in shops and tea-rooms, with pictures even of girls and women" (116). Here, the women passing by him are described in terms of collectives moving in mass. None of those who constitute "these glancing, passing multitudes" emerge as distinctive individual subjects. They are only referred to in plural nouns such as "girls," "women," "girl fellow-students," and "ladies,"—all part of the urban pedestrian stream. George uses a singular noun to distinguish an individual who may be "the predestined person" (116), a feeling, interacting subject who might communicate with him, but who this person is cannot be identified. George believes that his potential partner is "hurrying by," merging into the flows of passing women. In *Tono-Bungay*'s London, the human walker is inundated with the quickly passing urban traffic, which leaves little time and space for the encounter required to initiate and shape individual development.

The nocturnal view of London beautified by its commercially-effective electric lights transforms the disconnected pedestrians into an image full of wonder, but only at the cost of making them "wonderful floods" of unidentifiable, undistinguishable things. After a day exploring multiple sites in London, George observes: "after the ordinary overcast day, after dull mornings, came twilight, and London lit up and became a thing of white and yellow and red jewels of light and wonderful floods of golden illumination and stupendous and unfathomable shadows—and there were no longer any mean or shabby people—but a great mysterious movement of unaccountable beings" (107). The "thing" that London is transformed into attests to the effect of electric lights, which contributed to the appearance of London as they were installed across the city in the 1890s and the early 1900s. Electric lights provided clearer vision than gas lights, multiplying the advertisements already crowding the streets of London.[155] In George's eyes, the

[155] Since John Hollingshead first installed six electric lights on the outside of the Gaiety Theater in August 1878, the use of electric lights dramatically increased over the next decade across London, including the commercial district such as New Bond Street (White 61). "By the end of the century, some 200 miles of [London's] streets and roads were lighted by electricity, and the light had become popular for factories, hotels, large warehouses, railway stations, trains and the houses of the rich.'" (Besant 325 quoted in White 61). Consequently, the number of advertising billboards increased rapidly during this period. In "The Art of Hoarding" published in the *New Review* in July 1894, Chéret, Hardy and Beardsley, reviewing the high quality of advertising posters on the streets, write sarcastically: "London will soon be resplendent with advertisements, and, against a leaden sky, sky-signs will trace their formal arabesque. Beauty has laid siege to the city, and telegraph wires shall no longer be the sole joy of our aesthetic perceptions." The overwhelming density and scope of signboards caused some discomfort in the minds of passersby. The Society for the Checking of Abuses in Public Advertising (SCAPA) began in 1893, and they succeeded in establishing the Advertisements Regulation Act in 1907 restricting the number of advertising hoardings on some popular streets (see Jubb). For commercialization, also see Baren, Hindleys, Nevett, Outka, and Richards. Not exactly about London, but Benjamin notes on the commercial hoardings overwhelming the city walker's perception, calling them "Locus swarms of print, which already eclipse the sun of what is taken for intellect for city dwellers," and predicts that they "will grow thicker with each succeeding year" (*One-Way Street* 62).

commercial, electrified London becomes a site of wonder. Yet, the object of this excitement does not figure as a tangible entity but as an atmosphere merging particles of light, visual signs, people, and vehicles in the form of "floods" overwhelming the individual observer.

London's size and diversity resist containment within any organizing logic of time and space. At the beginning of Book II where he switches his main setting to London, George as the narrator tries to attain a "certain comprehensive perception of London" by stepping out of the diegetic frame for a moment, as he did when he introduced Bladesover as a model of his progressive narrative. Though London at first looks like a "chaos of streets and people and buildings and reasonless going to and fro" (99), George maintains that "the shape is still Bladesover" (100) and tries to identify in London the features that correspond to Bladesover—aristocratic estate houses, cultural objects, and books he admired in Bladesover's in-house libraries—in "the Great House region" such as "Regent's Park," "Piccadilly," "the Green Park and St. James's" (100-101) in the West End. "But now these things have escaped out of the Great House altogether, and taken on a strange independent life of their own," and are "proliferating and overgrowing" through the commodification of culture in the department stores and shops of the early 1900s (101).[156] When he turns to the east, north, and south sides of London, George sees "great forces, blind forces of invasion" (102):

[156] Outka, in her book *Consuming Traditions: Modernity, Modernism, and the Commodified Authentic* (2009), argues that the department store Selfridges' interior was modeled on country villages, the domestic home, and aesthetic forms belonging to a nostalgic vision of the rural past, and thereby it enticed middle-class modern consumers—especially women—to purchase commodified past culture. Selfridges also innovated advertising by promoting the image or lifestyle more than the actual products for sale and by providing environments that middle-class people wanted to emulate. Yet, the consumers had to be aware of this duality of the "commodified authentic": it was the culture of the bygone rural English countryside, but at the same time a product made accessible for the general public (19-20). Outka argues that Wells's *Tono-Bungay* as well as Henry James's "The Great Good Place" point to the duality of the commodified

> The south side had no protecting estates. Factory chimneys smoke right over against Westminster with an air of carelessly not having permission, and the whole effect of industrial London and of all London east of Temple Bar and of the huge dingy immensity of London port, is to me of something disproportionately large, something morbidly expanded, without plan or intention, dark and sinister towards the clean clear social assurance of the West end. And south of this central London, south-east, south-west, far west, north-west, all round the northern hills, are similar disproportionate growths, endless streets of undistinguished houses, undistinguished industries, shabby families, second-rate shops, inexplicable people who in a once fashionable phrase do not 'exist.' All these aspects have suggested to my mind at times, do suggest to this day, the unorganized, abundant substance of some tumorous growth-process, [. . .] To this day I ask myself will those masses ever become structural, will they indeed shape into anything new whatever, or is that cancerous image their true and ultimate diagnosis? . . . [sic] (102)

The growth of railways, factory chimneys, and London ports unfolds out of proportion to their surroundings, defying functional placement of buildings. They also compress time into brisk short fragments outside the chronology of cumulative development. This irregular, amorphous form of the city's industrial growth does not lead to any purposeful end. The cancerous growth only leads to death, to no meaning.[157]

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authentic—that is, the tension between the "modern flux" of commerce and the nostalgic remembrance of the past estate culture (127).

[157] Lodge also points out the futility, or the image of "decay" leading to "death," implied in this passage. He takes commercially-smudged London described here not as a setting but as a character of the novel and reads the novel's architectural and topological descriptions as a representation of modern English society in the dualistic language of progress and decay. Lodge writes: "Wells exploits the unnaturalness of the contrast more deliberately, in order to re-introduce his thematic

Whirlpools, passing streams, cancerous overgrowths: all converge on the rushing traffic and built environment of London, which unsettles and displaces the walker by emptying out the locus of perspective, physically culminating in the rapid disjunctive "woosh" that I outlined in the previous section. The rapid wave submerging a core subject implied in the word "woosh" is also associated with the accelerating growth in London's commercialism selling the fake medicine, Tono-Bungay. Tono-Bungay, "'A patent medicine!'" (126) George's uncle Edward makes up for sale, relies on false expectations rather than the product's real use value and brings to light the popular medicine industry thriving in London at the time of the novel's setting. In Britain and America in the late 1890s and early 1990s, patent medicines were widely sold by street vendors as cure-alls, and proprietary medicines were produced and distributed by pharmaceutical companies, though their ingredients remained secretive and their effects were dubious or even harmful.[158] As they could be purchased without doctors' prescriptions, their sale relied on the

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image of decay. Wells, as one would expect, chooses his pathological metaphors with care. Cancer is the perfect metaphorical diagnosis of the condition of England, for cancer has an organic life of its own, which is however unnatural and malignant. It is also a disease which often goes long undetected by those who suffer from it. To quote the *OED.* again, cancer is 'a malignant growth or tumour, that tends to reproduce itself; it corrodes the part concerned, and generally ends in death.' This image thus draws together the two predominant strains in the language of descriptive comment in the novel: words suggestive of growth, change, and movement; and words suggestive of decay and death" (228).

[158] Kennedy argues that Tono-Bungay stands for the patent and proprietary medicines flourishing in Britain at the turn of the twentieth century. "[P]atent medicine purchases were nearly nine times greater in 1913 than they had been in 1853 (Corley ["Beecham's, 1848-2000. From Pills to Pharmaceuticals"] 38 [cited in Kennedy 140])." In 1907, the British Medical Association began publishing exposures of "'Secret Remedies,' e.g., patent medicines foisted on the public with claims of mysterious ingredients and curative prowess" in an effort to expose the fraudulence of many patent medicines (Kennedy 141). Kennedy argues that Tono-Bungay also points to the connection between imperial capitalism and the growth of proprietary medicines, of which the "Tabloid" brand medicine sold by the pharmaceutical company Burrough Wellcome is a representative model. As Edward Ponderevo expands the business into multiple commodities

accelerated industrial development of fake invention and commercial advertisements promoting consumer fantasies about products that actually had no curing effects.

The entire Tono-Bungay business evolves around a void empty of reference. In the novel, Tono-Bungay figures more as a sound than a word endowed with a concrete meaning. The word Tono-Bungay first appears without a definition at the very beginning when George first starts the narrative about his life (10-12) and then keeps popping up until we finally hear the uncle's description of this mysterious tonic. Even when he describes what this drink is made of, readers never get to know the specific ingredients but are just given vague descriptions of their effects in parentheses inserted by the narrator George. The uncle says, "'it's nice because of the' (here he mentioned a flavouring matter and an aromatic spirit), 'it's stimulating because of' (here he mentioned two vivid tonics, one with a marked action on the kidneys)" (131). Both the name Tono-Bungay and the product itself are empty of meaning, as the sound and shape of the word receive more attention than its message in George's narrative. When George first hears his uncle pronouncing the word, he "thought he was asking me to hear some remote, strange noise" (93) and when he later sees an advertisement on a building pictured in the text as below, he thinks. "'Tono' — what's that? and deep, rich, unhurrying; — '*Bun*-gay!' (127).[159]

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under the name "Tono-Bungay," Burrough Wellcome produced other consumables promoting nonexistent values, and "By 1907, the list of 'Tabloids' spans thirty pages of small print" (144). The company had a laboratory in Khartoum, searched for resources in Africa to use for their medical research, and accelerated imperialistic global expansions through newly invented mechanical transport, especially air travel. Roberts also reads Tono-Bungay in the context of the rising popularity of cocaine in patent-medicines and tonics in late-nineteenth-century Britain, claiming that Uncle Ponderevo's "quick and sudden" movements (Wells 209) recall the toxic, flurry motion caused by cocaine-addiction (Roberts 198).

[159] Kennedy also notes that the name serves as an attractive, performative "ideal brand name," which is "an invented, memorable, suggestive, yet not merely descriptive term" (150).

To George, Tono-Bungay is an incomprehensible sound, a visual, material form, not a word with meaning. This emphasis on the audible and visual shape of the word rather than its meaning suggests that the success of Tono-Bungay will be based on no solid foundation.

Tono-Bungay highlights the emptiness that characterizes commercialism in London at the time.[160] The Tono-Bungay business expands and sweeps the cityscape in advertising signs that pop up all over the place. The commercial potential of Tono-Bungay is determined not by the product's concrete benefit but the consumers' "Faith," which promotes the exchange value making "*trade*" possible (135). The secret chemicals in Tono-Bungay, which Edward briefly mentions but does not explain, suggest that the medicine is a composite of flavors and toxic ingredients that cannot produce the "vigor" it is supposed to give. "[N]othing" comes out of Tono-Bungay, and "nothing" can serve as the destination to which its commercial business is bound, as George's uncle "created nothing, he invented nothing, he economized nothing" (220). George also laments that "[he] cannot claim that a single one of the great business [he and his uncle] organized added any real value to the human life at all" (220). To George, "all this present commercial civilization," which looks like "a swelling, thinning bubble of assurances," is full of exaggerations and will ultimately explode, leaving nothing behind (222).

[160] Brantlinger and Higgins argue that the way in which Tono-Bungay gets circulated and commodified attests to the process of inseparable waste-value-production characterizing consumer capitalism, affirming Adam Smith's, Malthus's, and Marx's shared concerns that every value-production in capitalism necessitates waste-production.

"Woosh," or "Wo-oo-oo-osh!"—the word that George's uncle Edward uses to describe the commercial potential of Tono-Bungay when he persuades George to join his business—also indicates the void core of commerce, as the word's meaning emerges from the word's visual auditory shapes than its recognizable dictionary definition. The incoherent manner in which Edward uses the word adds a nuance of excitement to quick passing flow implied in the word's definition. This excitement, however, grammatically displaces the word into the nonsensical syntax, making the context surrounding the word, not the word itself, drive the communication:

> "And now, I suppose, you ask where do *you* come in? Well, fact is I've always believed in you, George. You've got—it's a sort of dismal grit. Bark your shins, rouse you, and you'll go! You'd rush any position you had a mind to rush. I know a bit about character, George—trust me. You've got—" He clenched his hands and thrust them out suddenly, and at the same time said, with explosive violence, "Wooosh! Yes. You have! The way you put away that Latin at Wimblehurst; I've never forgotten it. Wo-oo-oo-osh! Your science and all that! Wo-oo-oo-osh! I know my limitations. There's things I can do, and" (he spoke in a whisper, as though this was the first hint of his life's secret) "there's things I can't. Well, I can create this business, but I can't make it go. I'm too voluminous—I'm a boiler-over, not a simmering stick-at-it. You keep on *hotting up and hotting up*. Papin's digester. That's you, steady and long and piling up,—then, wo-oo-oo-oo-osh. [. . .] Eh, George? Think of the fun of it—a thing on the go—a Real Live Thing! Wooshing it up! Making it buzz and spin! Whoo-oo-oo."—He made alluring expanding circles in the air with his hand. "Eh?" (133)

Wooshing displaces the word's denotative meaning into a contextual flow full of excitement. Here, the word "woosh," the definition of which is unclear to most people, is pronounced for the effect

of inciting attention and demonstration, rather than to convey a real concrete message that has significant content. The word figures as an eventful sound, vacant of immediate meaning, and the way that the uncle delivers his message in short, fast-paced utterances indicates this demonstrative aspect of the word designed for display rather than for communicative content. The exaggerated spelling "Wo-oo-oo-oosh!" forces the reader to dramatize the process of wooshing, in which the wave of the sound flows, rushes, and ends in a blast. The visual image of the spelling, now in a series of wheel-like "o"s linked by dashes, conveys the excitement coming with the rapid speed of urban traffic moving on wheels, but the word itself makes no sense, as it stands independently of semantic and syntactic context. The last couple of lines—especially the words such as "fun," "buzz," and "alluring," and the staccato rhythm of the short phrases consisting of one-syllable words—convey a frenzy of commotion characterizing the rushing flows defining wooshing. This excitement, however, relies on the visual display and auditory activation of the word's form rather than its content. We actually know what Edward tries to say with "Wo-oo-oo-osh": he wants to start business and wants George to "make it buzz and spin," carry it on, handle and keep it going. Yet, "Wo-oo-oo-osh!" does not rely on the word's linguistic meaning to convey that message, as the sentences and phrases related to the word proceed to the end of the speech, unconnected.

The exciting, quick commotion of separate sounds, letters, and images moving not necessarily related to a progressive construction of denotative meanings and the absence of a distinguished subject thereof explain the way that the commercial advertisements of Tono-Bungay work. When George takes a stroll along the Embankment from Blackfriars to Westminster to think about his uncle's offer to join him for the Tono-Bungay business, he encounters a number of advertising signs. After briefly glimpsing the government buildings on the north side of the river, George looks to the south, and "[his] eyes caught the advertisements of the south side of 'Sober's

Food,' of 'Cracknell's Ferric Wine,' very bright and prosperous signs, illuminated at night" (138). He also recollects that "[he] saw a man come charging out of Palace Yard" (138). Here so far, it is George who is taking the subject's position in the sentence to move, see, and recognize the signs displayed on his way. When the Tono-Bungay advertising billboards appear, however, it is no longer George but the signs, texts, and images that move and rush into his vision. George writes: "Tono-Bungay shouted at me from a hoarding near Adelphi Terrace; I saw it afar off near Carfax Street; it cried out again upon me in Kensington High Street, and burst into a perfect clamour; six or seven times I saw it as I drew near my diggings" (139). The advertisements for Tono-Bungay take the position of the subject in the sentence, and, as the verbs and prepositions used to describe its figurative motion, they forge an explosive burst of figurative sonic waves actively targeting George through their visuals dashing into his eyes. As the critic Sara Thorton has argued through her reading of Dickens and Baudelaire, reading advertisements while walking makes pedestrians read signs in fragments, yet with a feeling that the texts are moving in successive sequences of units "having text drift or rush past the eye" (Thorton 8).[161] During George's walks, the

[161] Thorton explains that the hierarchical distinction between the subject and the object is blurred by this speedy passing glance of walking on the streets full of advertisement signs on the streets and buildings. The rapidity of passing glances, which makes everything look transitory in the successive flow of stimuli, makes the viewer lose authority as the subject of gaze. Thorton writes: "Text was thus, literally, on the move. [. . .] The hoardings [. . .] The railway system provided a captive audience to read ads planted along the tracks, [. . .] The experience of reading was becoming a matter of having text drift or rush past the eye: the flickering of pages under the thumb, or the passing of ads as one gazed from a train or bus, or the leaflets shoved into the hand as one walked. [. . .] These experiences were a result of the quantity of text flying about street, home and public building. Such reading [. . .] now becomes a universalized process available to the urban walker. One begins to see the world not in linear sequence but in self-contained pieces of text and image which can then be linked up to subsequent pieces. We might say that the act of reading itself becomes serialized. [. . .] One eye drifts across a page of ads from frame to frame, one frame remaining in or vision as the other is taken in, creating a palimpsestuous merging or superposition of one frame onto another. The effect here is of fragmentation and yet also sequence and flow. [. .

advertisements figuratively surge in waves of sounds and visuals that are not necessarily connected nor incorporated into one directing focus, unsettling the walker's position as the reading subject.

Rushing urban mobility with no locus of agency is what distinguishes *Tono-Bungay* (1908-1909) from its model, *Great Expectations* (1860-1861). Both novels feature a first-person narration by male protagonists who recollect their ambitious move to London from their country estate homes in Kent and their frustrated romances, and London in both novels offers a site of exploration important for the protagonist's growth. In *Great Expectations*, walking in London figures as "a mode of transport that is fundamentally solitary and individual" (Grossman, "Living the Global Transport Network in *Great Expectations*" 231) or generates individual encounters juxtaposing contradictory sorts of scenes and people from different backgrounds (Baumgarten). Pip's walks are solidly ingrained in his individual perspective and are narrated in terms of individual encounters experienced on the local street level. Pip's walk from Smithfield to Newgate Prison, for example, reveals the unpleasant commingling of "filth and fat and blood and foam" coming from the Smithfield stock market and makes him witness huge crowds gathered for trials nearby (151). His urban navigation of London gives him an impression that London may be "a very wicked place," which Wemmick approves by saying "You may get cheated, robbed, and murdered, in London" (157). When Pip walks with Mr. Jaggers to the latter's house in Gerrard-street, Soho, "There were some people slinking about us as usual when we passed out into the street, who were evidently anxious to speak with him [Jaggers]" (193), showing the individual, localized perspective of urban walks initiating unexpected, unwanted encounters with people on the streets.

.] small frames pass in front of the eye in quick succession, which has the effect of reducing text to contiguous units" (8-9).

In *Tono-Bungay*'s London, however, it is hard to locate the locus of urban walking in individuals rushing in the pedestrian stream.[162] The fast-paced city-walking scenes in *Tono-Bungay* do not anchor experience in any one single perspective. Pedestrians passing by vehicles and advertisements lack a coherent perspective that would locate them within the stream of experience. The quick streams of pedestrians, advertisements, lights, and vehicles reduce individuals to fragmentary components of the cityscape.

A stable locus of agency is also missing from the novel's episodes detailing the rise and fall of Tono-Bungay. In order for the narrative to flow, the narrator and the reader want to make connections between events and episodes spread out over multiple subchapters. But after he joins his uncle's business in Tono-Bungay, George reflects that his life is "arranged in two parallel columns of unequal width, a wider, more diffused, eventful and various one which continually broadens out, the business side of my life, and a narrow, darker and darkling one shot ever and again with a gleam of happiness, my home life with Marion" (162). George cautions his reader that, compared to the domestic narrative, the narrative thread concerning Tono-Bungay is "more diffused," expanding in multiple directions defying a measurable, graspable outlook; it is "eventful," generating excitement at a striking pace; it is "various" outside a coherent definition. In sum, as George presages, the narratives about the Tono-Bungay business accelerate across multiple realms, eluding the grasp of the individual whose perspective is locally rooted, limited to his surroundings.[163]

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[162] This is what distinguishes *Tono-Bungay* from *Ann Veronica* (1909), another novel by Wells set in London. The third-person narrator in *Ann Veronica* mostly follows Ann's perspective during her march with other suffragettes, describing her observation of the bystanders and her first-hand experience of police violence "gripping her wrists in an irresistible expert manner" and lifting her feet off the ground (192).

[163] As Grossman notes in his reading of *Great Expectations*, "the individual's perspective, even

III. Wooshing Narratives

H. G. Wells himself acknowledged that he wrote *Tono-Bungay* with the most "deliberate attempt" to write a novel in accordance with what he believed to be "The Novel" ("Digression about Novels," 423).[164] The time of *Tono-Bungay*'s composition shortly precedes the start of Wells's legendary debate with Henry James about the nature of the novel as a genre. Starting with his harsh review of Henry James's short stories in 1895, Wells and James expressed their contrasting views on the novel's generic values in their writings and the letters they wrote to each other until James's death in 1916.[165] Wells recollects those fervent years of debate later in "Digression about Novels" published in his *Experiment in Autobiography* (1934). Opposing Henry James's restrictive definition of the novel as an "Art Form," an autonomous aesthetic entity that coherently organizes realities in a congruous structure,[166] Wells suggests a more loose, digressive concept of the novel not bound by such constraints. In "The Contemporary Novel" (1914), Wells

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when seated atop a stagecoach, is always profoundly local, 'flat and low,' as Pip will say (4:361)" ("Living the Global Transport Network in *Great Expectations*" 226).

[164] Wells adds, "It was an indisputable novel, but it was extensive rather than intensive. That is to say it presented characters only as part of a *scene*" ("Digression about Novels" 423, emphasis in original). Wells's comments nicely explain the form of *Tono-Bungay*: its "extensive" structure makes the narratives unfold across multiple realms beyond the converging point of perspectives; characters are not autonomous subjects defined in terms of their unique individualities but are components of a "*scene*," defined by and merging with their outside setting. Also in the preface to the Atlantic edition of *Tono-Bungay* (1925), Wells writes: "the writer is disposed to regard it [*Tono-Bungay*] as the finest and most finished novel upon the accepted lines that he has written or is ever likely to write" (3).

[165] For more information, see Edel and Ray; Parrinder and Philmus; Simon James 19-35.

[166] In "The Art of Fiction" (1994), Henry James categorizes the novel as an art form parallel to other forms of art distinguished from the popular taste for entertainment and argues that its artistic value relies on the individual author's "execution" of its formalistic constituents for the effect of interest.

claims that the novel should be free from the formalistic constraints prescribing coherence; it can take a discursive, less restrictive form, telling irrelevant stories that do not necessarily add up to a singular message. He continues to adhere to this claim in "Of Art, Of Literature, Of Mr. Henry James" published as a chapter in his dialogical satiric novel *Boon* (1915). In Boon's voice, Wells notes that James's concept of the novel as bounded by "unity," "homogeneity," "oneness," and "selection," which does not allow any deviation or "irrelevance" in its arrangements of episodes, does not reflect life's inherently incoherent nature. According to Wells, the novel does not have to be complete in a sense that fits such selectively constructed coherence. It can digress, roam, diverge, and ramble.

It may even "woosh." That is, it may even flash along the un-connecting storyline without agency, as does the novel *Tono-Bungay*. A contemporary review of *Tono-Bungay* describes how the novel's narrative moves: "It [*Tono-Bungay*] passes as a series of episodes – random and disconnected, because all experience which is not numbered by custom or hedged in to irrevocable routine must necessarily be random and disconnected in such a tumultuous, fragmentary world" ("The Town of Vanity," *Nation* (13 February, 1909) 760 quoted in Keen 176). In a world in which everything moves in turmoil without being incorporated into an organic whole, the narrative goes on and on in series of juxtaposed events and perceptions out of context. The "random and disconnected" "series of episodes" stream away without the reading subject's understanding. Wells's contemporary C. F. G. Masterman also notes the same: "The hero of his greatest novel [*Tono-Bungay*] reveals an experience fragmentary and disconnected in a tumultuous world" and "an age in the headlong rush of change" (234-35). It is hard to identify a stable, consistently-focused perspective in the midst of quickly shifting changes, as Wells's novel proceeds through a series of unrelated stimuli unfolding without a converging point.

At the start of *Tono-Bungay*, the self-conscious narrator George seems to believe the novel to be a genre defined in terms of constructive reading. George opens up his narrative with an explanation of why he selected the "novel" as the form of his narration.

> Most people in this world seem to live 'in character'; [. . .] But there is also another kind of life that is not so much living as a miscellaneous tasting of life. One gets hit by some unusual transverse force, one is jerked out of one's stratum and lives crosswise for the rest of the time, and, as it were, in a succession of samples. That has been my lot, and that is what has set me at last writing something in the nature of a novel. (9)

George believes that "writing something in the nature of a novel" will make up for the perplexing disorder characterizing his life's trajectory, one in which he feels "jerked out of [his] stratum" and as if he moves "in a succession of samples" with no logic of progression. By saying so, George invites his readers to assume that his "novel" will posit a cumulative, "congruous" reading process that rearranges his episodic experiences into a progressive development that will define his life's purpose and assign him a proper "place" in society. In this passage, the novel figures as a genre structured around a progressive reading engaging the reader to a conclusive end.

The theoretical concept of the "novel" defined in terms of cohesive reading, however, is soon upended by George's practical comments on what the shape of his novel will look like. George cautions his readers: "I warn you this book is going to be something of an agglomeration" (11) that will touch on "all sorts of things [. . .] even though they don't minister directly to [his] narrative" (11) and therefore will have no order or logic connecting them all in one unit. Having no training to "refrain and omit that [he] suppose[s] the regular novel-writer acquires" (12), George acknowledges that his narrative will dissolve into centripetal currents of events defying any organization, even at the moment when he proclaims his wish to find his sense of self harmoniously

integrated into society: "I want to tell – *myself*, and my impressions of the thing as a whole [. . .], and how we poor individuals get driven and lured and stranded among these windy, perplexing shoals and channels" (12, emphasis in original). Of special interest is that the "poor individuals" are not the subjects of their own actions but are objects on which the actions are taken, and these actions dislocate the individuals from their pre-destined paths—they "get driven and lured and stranded." The "shoals and channels" the individuals are led to all suggest successive, tidal waves entailing the loss of direction. George also notes that in his "story," "things [are] adrift, joining on to nothing, leading nowhere" (35). In other words, his memories rush past each other without clear connection or destination. He "cannot find [details] in any developing order at all" (35), and the memories constituting his "novel" are detached from the narrator's retrospective outlook which could have incorporated them into a narrative arc. All these comments indicate that *Tono-Bungay* will unsettle the structuring force of plot and ending suggested in George's initial promise to his readers.

Regardless of the anticipated collapse, novelistic coherence depends on a focus character with whom the reader can identify,[167] and to fulfill this expectation, Book I unfolds in the form of a bildungsroman with George at the center of the plot. Such a reading organized around a character in the process of development identifies the reader's point of view with George and renders narrative temporality—the shape of time the reader feels along the story—into slow, cumulative progress. Book I is structured by the first-person retrospective account of George's individual

[167] Ian Watt, in the chapter titled "Realism and the Novel Form" (9-34), confirms this realist narrative model's reliance on the individual's perception in time and space. Drawing on Descartes and Locke, Watt defines individuality as a sense of identity constituted by memories accumulated through the duration of time and argues that the novel locates the individual in particular space and time to verify the literature's authentic representation of reality.

development in relation to social contexts. The first chapter chronologically records his growth at Bladesover House as a boy, his school years, and his unrequited first love for "the Hounourable Beatrice Normandy" (32). In the second chapter, George as narrator follows the character George's removal to Chatham, where his maternal uncle lives, and then to Wimblehurst where his uncle Edward Ponderevo lives after his fight with Beatrice's half-brother Archie Garvell. The final chapter of the book records the rest of his adolescence in Wimblehurst and his first railway trip to London to pursue studies in science in college. The narrator's description of his days in Bladesover and the nearby towns is organized around his impression of Bladesover House as a whole and his retrospective reflections on the things that happened to him. The characters appearing in his retrospective account are placed in proper chronological and also class order. George as narrator introduces them, contextualizing their positions in the Bladesover estate system he sees as an umbrella term.

This unfolding narrative that places the character George into the chronological development associated with his surroundings, however, gets modeled into fast, spatial journeys that turn into unrelated fragments once George enters London, displacing the reader's perspective into the flux of unconnected London scenes. The transition from Book I to Book II figures as a spatial road trip during which "Wimblehurst dwindles in perspective, is now in this book a little place far off, Bladesover no more than a small pinkish speck of frontage among the distant Kentish hills; the scene broadens out, becomes multitudinous and limitless, full of the sense of vast irrelevant movement" (99). After his arrival in London, the narrative unfolds in a series of quick turnovers between places, hardly connected to each other, exceeding the scope of the individual subject's perception. George wanders around Albert Hall, Piccadilly, St. Paul and other fascinating

spots, and the narrative proceeds on and on from one place to another without clear links. The "vast irrelevant movement" progresses to no visible end.

In the two chapters following George's move to London, Tono-Bungay further unsettles the narrative progress pivoting on George's individual development by taking the narrative center stage. This shift of focus from the individual character to the repeated cycles of commodity-production interrupts the bildungsroman plot. The absence of tangible benefits for humanity in the commerce works against George's belief that "the world of men was or should be a sane and just organization" (138) and obstructs the individual progress he had dreamed of. As the uncle says, "It's [Tono-Bungay is] afloat" (129) and makes Edward and George say to themselves, "I'm afloat" (129, 144, 145), free of debt yet also drifting on the surface of the extending business as if they lose themselves in the meaningless repetitive currents of exchanges back and forth detached from the progressive future. George laments that he "was going to and fro about Tono-Bungay" (199). The drifting, floating trajectory initiated by Tono-Bungay does not match the individual development he wanted to pursue.[168] The "novel" he wanted to write becomes a "Romance of

[168] In this sense, I am siding with Esty and Simon J. James, who expand on how *Tono-Bungay* generically inverts the bildungsroman's promise for individual integration with society in the context of global, commercial capitalism. Esty argues that *Tono-Bungay* shows the unending, expansive logic of global capitalism "hijack[ing]" the bourgeois progressive self-development and assimilation into society, as the commercial product Tono-Bungay replaces the protagonist George and renders the novel of development into an aimless expansive array of episodes leading nowhere (116). The novel in the age of global capitalism can no longer cohere with the progressive, development logic of containment bound to the nation (115-26). James reads *Tono-Bungay* as an anti-bildungsroman, which instigates "social *dis*commodation" that goes against society's integration of individuals as described in traditional English bildungsroman narratives (105). Art described in the novel is diminished by commercial investment in advertisements prevalent in the London topography and can no longer exist as an autonomous entity endowed with its own value. The novel, like art in commercial society, can no longer offer aesthetic values for its sake. The novel *Tono-Bungay*, named after the fake patent medicine and with its irregular, undisciplined novelistic form displaying contingent episodes, signifies and embraces the disintegration of

Commerce," echoing the subtitle of the original serial edition published in the *English Review* from December 1908 to March 1909.[169]

The deviation incited by Tono-Bungay makes the self-conscious narrator George lament the absence of a goal in his life, as he loses the agency to direct his life. After reviewing his decreasing passion for Marion and potential dismissal from college, and "look[ing] at [his] existence as a whole" (199), he asks a series of unanswerable, frustrating questions: "What was I for?" (199), "What am I to do with life?" (200) and "But what else was I to do?" (200). George's self-review, however, does not resolve the disconnect which makes the reading difficult, and it only confirms the sense of loss impacting the reading process: "But I'm talking of things I can't expect the reader to understand, because I don't half understand them myself"; "'My life [. . .] it's a mess, an infinite mess'" (202). Thinking that it would be hard to embrace his life narrative moving "so guideless, so uncharted, so haphazard" as his own, George "want[s] something to hold on to" in hopes of finding a center to which he can link (203).

Aeronautics, "the main substance of [George's] life through all the great time of the Tono-Bungay symphony" (274), is an alternative narrative thread which George finds to redeem the forsaken narrative trajectory of the individual character. Yet, this focus on scientific achievement and the potential reorganization of narratives thereof confirm, rather than correct, the displacement of the subject's perspective into the flux of passing images. The chapter "Soaring" starts with George's retrospective as he charts for his readers a comprehensive survey of his research in

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individuals' connection to society.

[169] The original serialized copies of *Tono-Bungay* are available on the *Modernist Journals Project* website: modjourn.org/journal/english-review/. Also, Uncle Teddy says to George: "'the point is, George – it [Tono-Bungay] *makes trade*! And the world lives on trade. Commerce! A romantic exchange of commodities and property. Romance'" (135).

aeronautics referring to the journalistic reports on his case and his routine schedule. In the "bang" accident, however, George's self-distanced narratorial perspective merges with that of the character George, who literally plunges along with the downward air, and they both lose the capacity to control direction and arrange the vision (292).[170] He sees "the hurried rush of fields and trees and cottages" and the "screw [. . .] going on swish, swish, swish all the time" (292), which reverse the positions between the subject rushing and the object being passed by. The hybrid of the machine and the human individual in this downward aeronautic flow highlights the dislocation of stable subjectivity that could have functioned as the locus of movement—both physical and narrative.

This sudden dash to the earth beyond the subject's control correlates to the way that the narratives move to the end of the novel; the sudden breakage of the narrative flow offsets the

[170] In this sense, the scene reverse-engineers the alignment of the character Pip and the narrator Pip in the scene in *Great Expectations* where the character Pip begins to take the narrator Pip's omniscientlike retrospective point of view of his past self upon seeing Magwitch being captured on the steamer, as Grossman argues in his article "Living the Global Transport Network in *Great Expectations*." About this collision between the character's and the narrator's perspectives at the moment of the steamer crash, Grossman writes: "In contrast to the street encounter with Trabb's boy, wherein the narrator maximized the distance between himself and the younger Pip, here the sidelining of the self into a fragile and precarious limited-omniscient vision aligns the two. The experiencing Pip lives the narrating Pip's omniscientlike perspective—and it is a broken one. The crash—by which the separate, simultaneous mobility of individuals in the network comes together all at once in a pile-up, as we sometimes call it—expresses the fantasy of seeing everything at once as a drowning collision." (244-45). In his article, Grossman argues that Dickens's *Great Expectations* articulates the subjective perception of an individual living the development of the global transport network synchronically connecting people across time and space, through the first-person retrospective narrative perspective developing into a third-person perception of the self. This third-person narrative perspective toward the self dramatizes Pip's gradual acknowledgement and discovery of his failure to recognize the ongoing activities synchronically happening elsewhere, which the global transport network brings together through the "collocation" and "interchangeability" of passengers.

reader's agency, as happening at the quap episode after George's experiences in aeronautics. Quap is a radioactive mineral containing "cerium" (228) and "canadium," which could be used as material base for electricity, most useful for the "ideal filament" (227). Gordon-Nasmyth encourages George to go to the Mordet Island where the quap exists in heaps, and in order to satisfy his uncle's unsatiated desire for business, George embarks on a journey with a captain, his mate Pollack, and a crew aboard the *Maud Mary*. They reach Mordet Island after drifting on the sea for fifty-three days, and then they take bipedal excursions to load a cargo of the quap with the crew, during which George accidentally murders a black victim.[171] This quap, however, produces radioactivity that causes the ship to decay and sink. George suggests that the ending precipitated by "these inexplicable dissolvent centers"—by which he means the heaps of quap—may also be "the end of our planet; no splendid climax and finale, no towering accumulation of achievement but just – atomic decay!" (329). This kind of ending does not promise a coherent progress to closure.

[171] The quap episode looks out of place, and not many critics succeed in linking it to the overall context of the novel. Parry and Keen find in the quap episode Britain's exploitation of the overseas colonies connected with materialistic, commercial capitalism of London. Parry investigates the colonial violence of imperialist expansion driving the progress built in the capitalist social structure of metropolitan England, by considering the novel as a generic representation of the complex triangle of modernization-modernism-modernity that equals base-superstructure-representation. Parry reads the quap episode as a reference to the connection between modernism in domestic English society and imperialism in the global dimension constituting the material wealth of the nation suggested by Fredric Jameson in his essay "Modernism and Imperialism." Parry briefly notes that the quap represents the crisis of class hierarchies and consumerism characterizing the "Condition of England," the debate about the future of English national character when the English nation formed around landed aristocracy was replaced by the rising class of plutocracy born with the materialistic wealth of capitalism. Keen reads the quap episode as a "narrative annexe"—a term she uses to refer to a narrative technique diverting the main plot—that reveals the colonial violence inflicted on the black victim, which did not receive much attention in the Condition of England critique of capitalism's effects on the working class in the domestic metropole.

The end that does not serve as a closure unsettles the reader, as the "irrelevant," "detached" (223, 320) quap episode do not fit into the trajectory of conventional character development; it challenges the reader's capacity to contextualize the episode around the focalized character. As a contemporary reviewer describes, the quap episode is "a wholly irrelevant account [. . .] [which] hinders rather than helps the progression of the story and does nothing whatever towards the development of any of the characters."[172] Early scholarly reviews of the novel in the 1950s and 1960s also suggest that the quap episode stands isolated from the rest of the novel because of its irrelevancy to the interest of any of the characters.[173] But that is an explicit part of the point of the episode. The disconnection makes the novel hard to read, if reading means to create meanings out of a sequence of events by connecting them into temporal progress through the reader's point of view identified with the focal character. The novel *Tono-Bungay* requires a different type of reading not generated by the reader's connective perspective nor by the character-narrator's attentive focus.

Following the quap episode, the series of episodes featuring Edward's business, his suburban expansion to Crest Hill and George's reinitiated romance with Beatrice make coherent reading difficult, as they sweep by so fast, with no time for conclusive connection. Great mid-Victorian novels in the line of Dickens, the Brontës, and George Eliot were often characterized by the vast, slow movement of realist narratives following individuals' gradual development from childhood, adolescence to adulthood in the big chunks of time. Wells's *Tono-Bungay*, however,

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[172] Hubert Bland "Review," *Daily Chronicle* published on 9 February 1909, reprinted in Parrinder. *H. G. Wells: The Critical Heritage* 147.

[173] See Walter Allen, *The English Novel* 317 and Norman Nicholson, *H. G. Wells* (1950), 65 quoted in Lodge 234.

speeds up the character's growth at a faster scale passing in quick succession. After George returns to London and meets his uncle suffering in bankruptcy, he constantly reminds his readers of the necessity to end the narrative, but the narrative comes to an end without any meaningful closure. Thinking about his uncle, Beatrice, and his unfulfilled scientific research in aeronautics, George keeps saying, "all this had to end" (344, 345, 346), "all that too has to end!" (345) radically attacking his consecutive unfolding of memories. As George's aeronautics secretary Cothope "ha[s] been there without wages for a month, [as] a man forgotten in the rush of events" (345), the other affairs continue to unfold swiftly with no sense of an ending. The "huge abandoned masses of the Crest Hill house," which Edward wanted to build in admiration of aristocratic leisure in the countryside with the money he earned from Tono-Bungay, looks like "a strange melancholy emptiness of intention" (347). The ambitious suburban expansion that has followed from capital investment in London makes the "scroll"—a movement leafing past signs—"of history," not a cumulative progress of connections engaging an understanding subject. Reading along the thread of romance also enforces unconnected drifting. Beatrice, George's first love from his childhood in Bladesover, briefly comes back to his life after his involvement in Tono-Bungay and then leaves him, making George think that "Love, like everything else in this immense process of social disorganization in which we live, is a thing adrift, a fruitless thing broken away from its connections" (372). The romance with Beatrice passes without a didactic lesson that might have contributed to George's conscious awakening, as Beatrice and her partner Carnaby, when George sees them again, just "passed out of sight," leaving him in the state of "utter futility," incapable of deriving any meaning from of this encounter (380). Both the events concerning Crest Hill and George's romance simply end at an accelerated pace rather than reaching closure at a slow tempo. The episodes swiftly come and go in the process of his life, reaching an end without a conclusion.

In the final chapter, George's ride on the naval destroyer along the Thames suggests that the narrative can only move—or proceed to an end—in the form of a passing scroll that does not require a locus of agency connecting the scenes. George describes his ride along the Thames as a microcosm of the reading process, insisting that his "rush down the river," "passing all England in review" correlates with the way that he "wanted [his] readers to see [England]" (382) and the view he provides is "what I wanted to give in [his] book" (383). The way in which the reading of the scene unfolds, however, does not need the individual's selective arranging. George says to his reader: "To run down the Thames so is to run one's hand over the pages in the book of England from end to end" (384). As George and his destroyer rush along the river, the reader is given descriptions of the heterogeneous architecture and demographics of London with no cohesive characteristic defining the city as a whole.

> To run down the Thames so is to run one's hand over the pages in the book of England from end to end. One begins in Craven Reach and it is as if one were in the heart of old England. Behind us are Kew and Hampton Court with their memories of Kings and Cardinals, and one runs at first between Fulham's episcopal garden parties and Hurlingham's playground for the sporting instinct of our race. The whole effect is English. There is space, there are old trees and all the best qualities of the homeland in that upper reach. Putney too, looks Anglican on a dwelling scale. And then for a stretch the newer developments slop over, one misses Bladesover and there come first squalid stretches of mean homes right and left and then the dingy industrialism of the south side, and on the north bank of the polite long front of nice houses, artistic, literary, administrative people's residences, that stretches from Cheyne Walk nearly to Westminster and hides a wilderness of slums. [. . .] Westminster Bridge is ahead of you then and through it you flash, and in a

> moment the round-faced clock tower cranes up to peer at you again and New Scotland Yard squares at you, a fat beefeater of a policeman disguised miraculously as a Bastille. (384)

The quick transitions between the scenes described here create a staccato rhythm that does not allow the reader to reflect on the meaning from potential connections between them. Even one sentence—i.e. the fourth sentence of this passage—cannot create a cohesive meaning, as it lists multiple sceneries passing in different terms not relating to each other; an "English" scenery of "old England" of aristocratic, estate architecture as we see in "Kew Hampton Court," "Fulham's episcopal garden parties," and "Hurlingham's playground" is followed by "the newer developments" and "a wilderness of slums" and then a series of government buildings such as "Westminster Bridge" and the Metropolitan Police headquarters in "New Scotland Yard" (384). Through this navigation, the narrator invites his readers to "flash," as he invites them to "flash" "through it [Westminster Bridge]." The passages that follow continue to feature this disjunctive burst of images by moving the reader's perspective from one scene to another without connective transitions.

As shown, in *Tono-Bungay*, the narrative moves in a quick series of disconnected fragments without a climactic ending. In the final scene of the novel, the narrating George is displaced into the outside perspective, a disembodied narrative voice not identifiable, not locatable in the stream of narratives rushing past his vision, disabling his arranging capacity. The last lines of the novel are punctuated by George's confession to his reader as follows:

> I have come to see myself from the outside, my country from the outside – without illusions. We make and pass.

> We are all things that make and pass, striving upon a hidden mission, out to the open sea. (389)

We readers are invited to participate in this disengagement of localized perspectives. Our subjectivities are displaced into the narrative flow going on and on, with no climatic progress or controlling subject defining the trajectory. "We"—the narrator and readers—"are all things," which figure as amorphous, unidentifiable entities lacking an identifiable locus of perspective. The novel *Tono-Bungay* makes us, readers, "make and pass" during reading, to proceed through narrative time without agency.

The numeric subsections of *Tono-Bungay* also compel a flattened, non-constructive reading to the end. *Tono-Bungay* consists of four titled Books—Book I The Days before Tono-Bungay was Invented, Book II The Rise of Tono-Bungay, Book III The Great Days of Tono-Bungay, and Book IV The Aftermath of Tono-Bungay—each of which has three or four titled chapters that are also composed of multiple numbered subsections. J. R. Hammond in *H. G. Wells and the Modern Novel* notes that the use of chapter titles, "the division of the narrative into compartments—'Book the First, Book the Second,' and so on,'" and the "chronological method of narration, reminiscent again of *Great Expectations* and *David Copperfield*," give an impression that the novel *Tono-Bungay* is written in the tradition of the Victorian realist novel (Hammond 85-87). In fact, the numbering of the chapters—especially the subchapters—in *Tono-Bungay* runs on without smooth transitions and enforces reading through the breakage of agency by creating a sense of numerical time progressing regardless of whether or not the reader has grasped the message of each subsection in the context of the overall narrative.

impropriety, the terror of a very present intellectual impossibility. Then by an enormous effort I would suppress myself for a time, and continue a talk that made her happy, about Smithie's brother, about the new girl who had come to the workroom, about the house we would presently live in. But there we differed a little. I wanted to be accessible to St. Paul's or Cannon Street Station, and she had set her mind quite resolutely upon Ealing. . . . It wasn't by any means quarrelling all the time, you understand. She liked me to play the lover "nicely"; she liked the effect of going about—we had lunches, we went to Earl's Court, to Kew, to theatres and concerts, but not often to concerts because, though Marion "liked" music, she didn't like "too much of it," to picture shows—and there was a nonsensical sort of baby-talk I picked up—I forget where now—that became a mighty peacemaker.

Her worst offence for me was an occasional excursion into the Smithie style of dressing, debased West Kensington. For she had no sense at all of her own beauty. She had no comprehension whatever of beauty of the body, and she could slash her beautiful lines to rags with hat-brims and trimmings. Thank Heaven a natural refinement, a natural timidity and her extremely slender purse kept her from the real Smithie efflorescence! Poor, simple, beautiful, kindly, limited Marion! Now that I am forty-five, I can look back at her with all my old admiration and none of my old bitterness, with a new affection and not a scrap of passion, and take her part against the equally stupid, drivingly energetic, sensuous, intellectual sprawl I used to be. I was a young beast for her to have married—a young beast. With her it was my business to understand and control—and I exacted fellowship. . . .

(*To be continued*)

Figure 13. *English Review*, edited by Ford Madox Hueffer, Duckworth and Col, vol. 1, no. 2, January 1909, p. 316. *Modernist Journals Project*, modjourn.org/journal/english-review/.

Tono-Bungay

A Romance of Commerce

By H. G. Wells

BOOK THE SECOND: THE RISE OF TONO-BUNGAY

CHAPTER THE FOURTH

MARION

§ 2 (*continued*)

We became engaged, as I have told; we broke it off and joined again. We went through a succession of such phases. We had no sort of idea what was wrong with us. Presently we were formally engaged. I had a wonderful interview with her father in which he was stupendously grave and *h*-less, wanted to know about my origins and was tolerant (exasperatingly tolerant) because my mother was a servant, and afterwards her mother took to kissing me and I bought a ring. But the speechless aunt, I gathered, didn't approve—having doubts of my religiosity. Whenever we were estranged we could keep apart for days; and to begin with, every such separation was a relief. And then I would want her; a restless longing would come upon me. I would think of the flow of her arms, of the soft gracious bend of her body. I would lie awake or dream of a transfigured Marion of light and fire. It was indeed Dame Nature driving me on to womankind in her stupid, inexorable way; but I thought it was the need of Marion that troubled me. So I always went back to Marion at last and made it up and more or less conceded or ignored whatever thing had parted us, and more and more I urged her to marry me. . . .

In the long run that became a fixed idea. It entangled my will and my pride, I told myself I was not going to be beaten. I hardened to the business. I think, as a matter of fact, my real

Figure 14. *English Review*, edited by Ford Madox Hueffer, Duckworth and Col, vol. 1, no. 3, February 1909, p. 466. *Modernist Journals Project*, modjourn.org/journal/english-review/.

turf as it seemed streaming out behind it. The turf !—it wasn't after all streaming so impossibly fast. . . .

When I came gliding down to the safe spread of level green I had chosen, I was as cool and ready as a city clerk who drops off an omnibus in motion, and I had learnt much more than soaring. I tilted up her nose at the right moment, levelled again and grounded like a snowflake on a windless day. I lay flat for an instant and then knelt up and got on my feet, atremble, but very satisfied with myself. Cothope was running down the hill to me. . . .

But from that day I went into training, and I kept myself in training for many months. I had delayed my experiments for very nearly six weeks on various excuses because of my dread of this first flight, because of the slackness of body and spirit that had come to me with the business life. The shame of that cowardice spurred me none the less because it was probably altogether my own secret. I felt that Cothope at any rate might suspect. Well—he shouldn't suspect again.

It is curious that I remember that shame and self-accusation and its consequences far more distinctly than I recall the weeks of vacillation before I soared. For a time I went altogether without alcohol, I stopped smoking altogether and ate very sparingly, and every day I did something that called a little upon my nerves and muscles. I soared as frequently as I could. I substituted a motor-bicycle for the London train and took my chances in the southward traffic, and I even tried what thrills were to be got upon a horse. But they put me on made horses, and I conceived a perhaps unworthy contempt for the certitudes of equestrian exercise in comparison with the adventures of mechanism. Also I walked along the high wall at the back of Lady Grove garden, and at last brought myself to stride the gap where the gate comes. If I didn't altogether get rid of a certain giddy instinct by such exercises, at least I trained my will until it didn't matter. And soon I no longer dreaded flight but was eager to go higher into the air, and I came to esteem soaring upon a glider that even over the deepest dip in the ground had barely forty feet of fall beneath it, a mere mockery of what flight might be. I began to dream of the keener freshness in the air high above the beech-woods, and it was rather to satisfy that desire than as any legitimate development of my proper work that presently I turned a part of my energies and the bulk of my private income to the problem of the navigable balloon.

(*To be concluded*)

Figure 15. *English Review*, edited by Ford Madox Hueffer, Duckworth and Col, vol. 1, no. 3, February 1909, p. 562. *Modernist Journals Project*, modjourn.org/journal/english-review/.

Tono-Bungay

A Romance of Commerce

By H. G. Wells

BOOK THE THIRD: THE GREAT DAYS OF TONO-BUNGAY

CHAPTER THE THIRD (*continued*)

SOARING

§ 2

I HAD gone far beyond that initial stage; I had had two smashes and a broken rib which my aunt nursed with great energy, and was getting some reputation in the aeronautic world when suddenly, as though she had never really left it, the Honourable Beatrice Normandy, dark-eyed, and with the old disorderly wave of the hair from her brow, came back into my life. She came riding down a grass path in the thickets below Lady Grove, perched up on a huge black horse, and the old Earl of Carnaby and Archie Garvell, her half-brother, were with her. My uncle had been bothering me about the Crest Hill hot-water pipes, and we were returning by a path transverse to theirs and came out upon them suddenly. Old Carnaby was trespassing on our ground and so he hailed us in a friendly fashion and pulled up to talk to us.

I didn't note Beatrice at all at first. I was interested in Lord Carnaby, that remarkable vestige of his own brilliant youth. I had heard of him but never seen him. For a man of sixty-five who had sinned all the sins, so they said, and laid waste the most magnificent political *début* of any man of his generation, he seemed to me to be looking remarkably fit and fresh. He was a lean little man with grey-blue eyes in his brown face, and his cracked voice was the worst thing in his effect.

" Hope you don't mind us coming this way, Ponderevo," he

Figure 16. *English Review*, edited by Ford Madox Hueffer, Duckworth and Col, vol. 1, no. 4, March 1909, p. 700. *Modernist Journals Project*, modjourn.org/journal/english-review/.

The original publication of *Tono-Bungay* in the fast-paced, sentence-dividing serialization also shapes the broken, rushing temporality of reading. It was serialized in the *English Review* from December 1908 till March 1909. Unlike Dickensian serialization, which features an evenly-distributed short piece—twenty to thirty pages—per month, the first issue of the first volume of the *English Review* (December 1908) published Book I of *Tono-Bungay* in its seventy-four-page entirety, exceeding the normal scope of one serial copy. In the next two issues, relatively smaller yet still significant portions of the novel got published—fifty-six pages in January 1909 and sixty-two pages in February 1909. Most strikingly, the rest of the novel rushed to an end in ninety-two pages published altogether in the last issue of the volume. Such an uneven serialization may have accelerated the reading pace in the last issue as the novel approached the end. *Tono-Bungay*'s serialization is also unique in that the serial portion of each month does not necessarily correspond to the book or chapter demarcations, creating narrative breaks. As Figures 13 and 14 show, the portion published in the second issue (January 1909) ends abruptly in the middle of §2 of Book II Chapter 4, even before a sentence comes to a full stop, and the rest of §2 continues after a month in the third issue (February 1909). In Figures 15 and 16, Book III Chapter 3 also stops after a first subsection at the end of the February issue, and the rest of the chapter resumes in the March issue. The unexpected break in the middle of the chapter enforces the removal of connective focus for the sake of continuation.

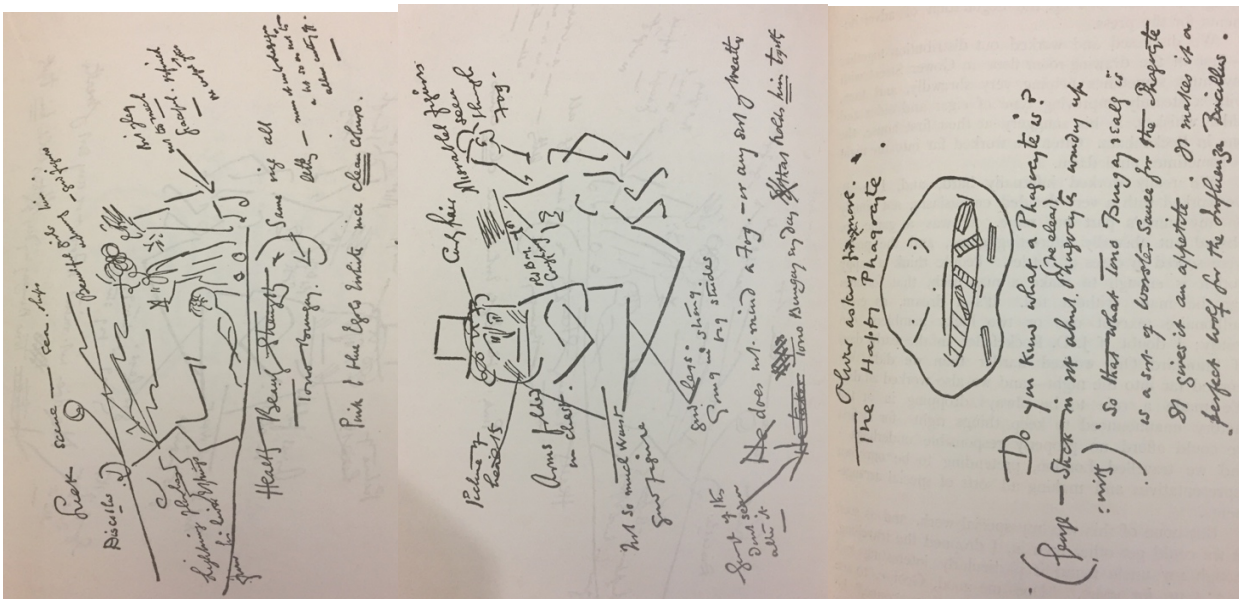

Figure 17. Edward Ponderevo's advertising sketches rotated as appearing in the 1909 Macmillan edition of *Tono-Bungay*, pp. 181-83. UCLA Library Special Collections.

At the center of the book-versions of the novel, the syntax of the genre breaks down for real. As George and Edward Ponderevo decide to extend Tono-Bungay into multiple subsidiary commercial products—an alcoholic drink "'Tono-Bungay. Thistle Brand,'" and then "'Tono-Bungay Hair Stimulant,'" "'Concentrated Tono-Bungay' for the eyes,'" Tono-Bungay mouthwash and "'Tono-bungay Lozenges,' and 'Tono-Bungay Chocolate,'" Edward Ponderevo creates interesting sketches of "posters and illustrated advertisements" to produce Tono-Bungay commercials based on them (149-152) (See Figure 17).[174] These sketches, however, are mostly illegible and appear in the middle of the chapter, replacing the narrator's retrospective summary of Tono-Bungay's expansion to multiple subsidiary products with a semantic void. These advertising drawings, as they are visual images, do not show tense which could have located the reader's perspective in alliance with the narrator's temporal position. They instead incite non-

[174] There is no advertising sketch in the original serial edition. Advertising sketches were later added to the book edition.

temporal reading flows that make the reader feel lost in undecipherable handwritings and images. The handwritings in the first drawing are awfully hard to recognize, and even the words in some recognizable handwritings do not run smoothly into complete sentences. Beneath the phrase "Look scene – sea ships," we see "Discables" and "Lightening glances" followed by a hardly recognizable phrase. "Beautiful girls admiring him," but the rest on the right side of the drawing seems to provide multiple pieces of information without arranging them in proper order. The phrase at the bottom—"Pink & blue & gold white nice clean colors" has nothing to do with the vigorous gesture dominating the overall impression. The second sketch breaks noun phrases into fragments, none of which figures as a complete sentence with a subject-verb conjunction. The central figure is described in multiple, disconnected phrases—"Picture Hearts," "arms folded on chest," "Not so much waist good figure," "Curl hair," "He does [?] a Fog [?]"—which do not converge on one concrete message, and it is not clear whether or not he is walking in "big strides," as his pose does not look as active as it should. The last one reads more linearly than the others, but still, the drawing itself is weird enough to interrupt the constructive reading process at the bottom. Some of the handwriting is recognizable at one point, but once it gets to particulars of the names and directions and locations, it is hard to tell what is exactly said. The reader feels lost in the deluge of advertising texts and images defying usual reading practices. The sketches are also rotated by 90°, forcing the reader to pause, turn the book, and yet continue despite the sudden blockage in the process of reading. In other words, these advertising sketches incite a reading flow which unsettles the reader's position—both physically and narratively.

The syntactic and narrative locations of the advertising sketches in book editions also dissolve the reading perspective localized in the individual protagonist-narrator's language. In the original book editions published in 1909 and subsequent editions, the advertising sketches appear

in the middle of a sentence or a phrase. In the Macmillan edition, the sketches cut a sentence into two parts, dividing it at the junction between the main and the subordinate clause: "We discussed and worked out distribution together [sketches] first in the drawing-room floor in Gower Street [. . .]" (148 in Penguin; 180-84 in Macmillan; Figure 18). In the other editions, the advertising sketches appear even in the middle of a noun phrase—"one of his happy [sketches] thoughts" (148 in Penguin; 198-202 in Tauchnitz; Figure 19)—or in the middle of a main clause between the subject and the verb—"we [sketches] worked with a very decided enthusiasm" (148 in Penguin; 169-73 in Grosset; Figure 20). The most recent Penguin edition inserts the advertising sketches in between an indefinite article and an adjective: "That didn't go, but we had a [sketches] considerable success with the Hair Stimulant" (149-52; Figure 21). The continuous page numbers, however, show that the sketches are still officially counted as part of the book, enforcing reading through the cut-off sentence or narrative. Reading through disconnection unsettles the reader on the narrative level as well, when the sketch of "Tono-Bungay Mouthwash" appears before the product is mentioned in the text, without informing the reader about where the visual image fits in the narrative in advance.

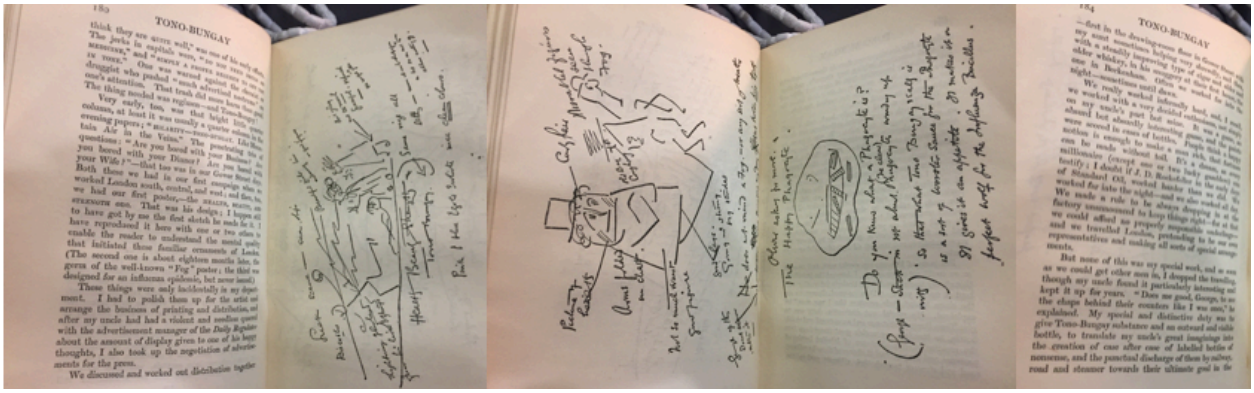

Figure 18. *Tono-Bungay* (Macmillan and Co., 1909), pp. 180-84.
UCLA Library Special Collections.

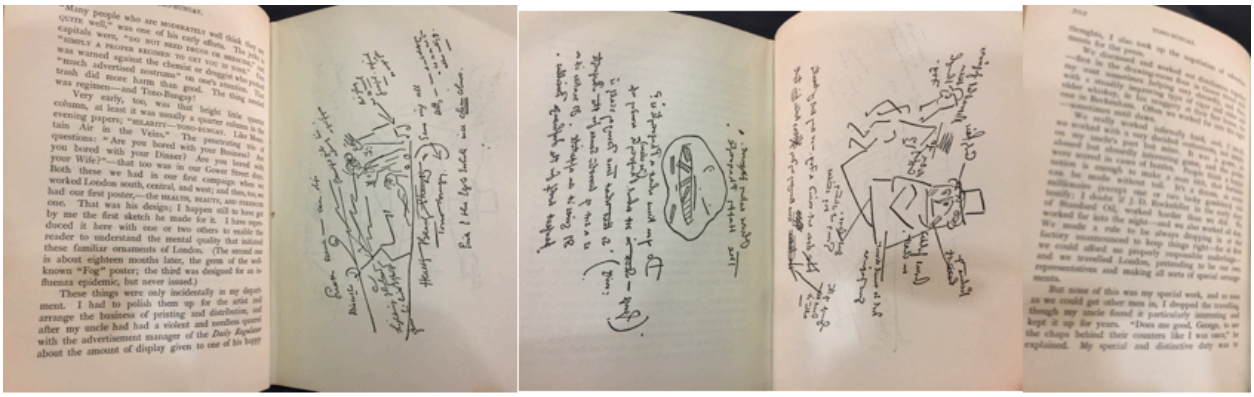

Figure 19. *Tono-Bungay* (Leipzig Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1909), pp. 198-202.
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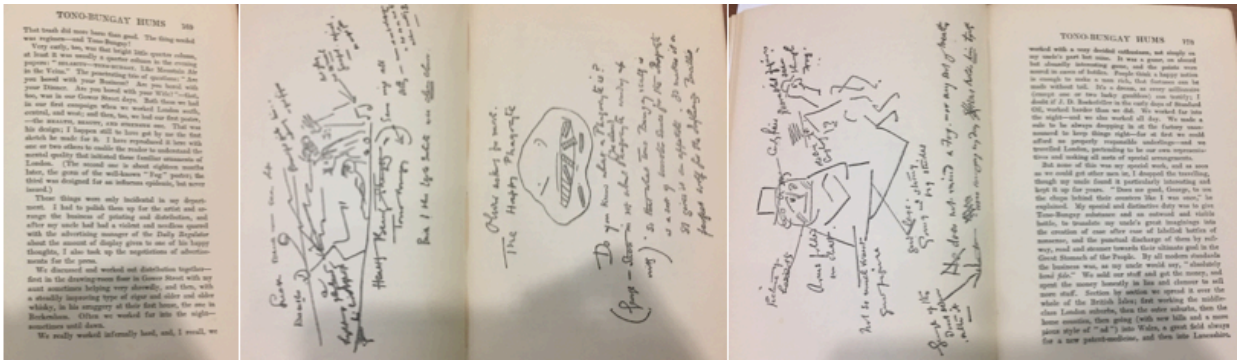

Figure 20. *Tono-Bungay* (Grosset & Dunlap Publisher, [1909]), pp. 169-73.
UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library

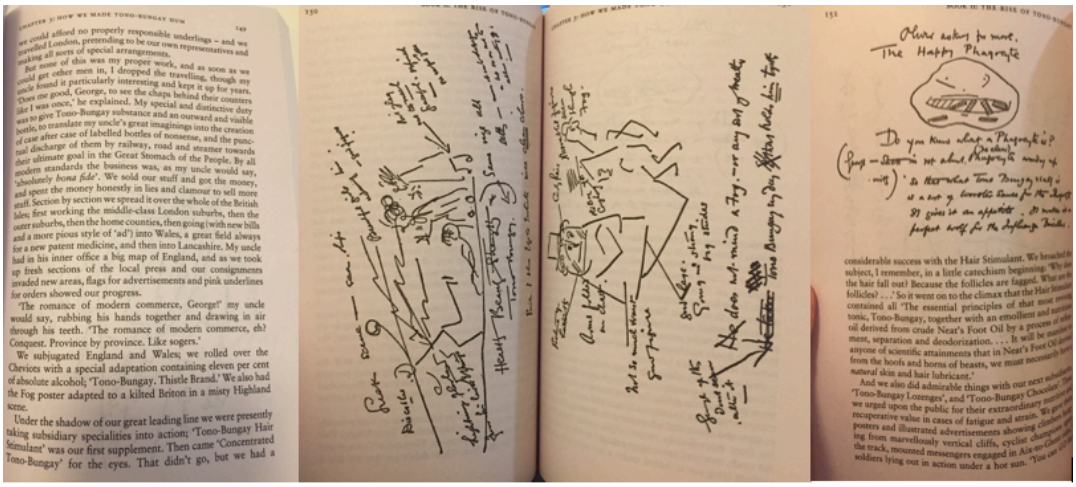

Figure 21. *Tono-Bungay* (Penguin, 2005), pp. 149-52.

Such a break of language and narrative as well as the inversion of the reading axis distinguishes these advertising sketches from other visual images embedded in the text; the advertisements of "Ponderevo's Cough Linctus" (55), "THE SECRET OF VIGOUR, TONO-BUNGAY" (127), and "THE SACRED GROVE" (230) all appear horizontally after colons or periods marking the end of a phrase or sentence, following proper introductions explaining what they are for (See Figures 22-24.) The page-numbering which continues to make the story proceed despite the linguistic interruption suggests that the reader should embrace the loss of the focus perspective on both sentence and narrative levels.

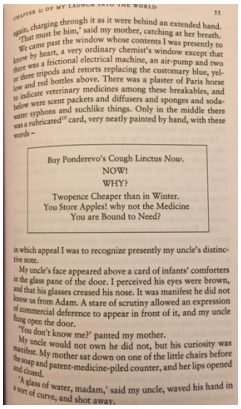

Figure 22

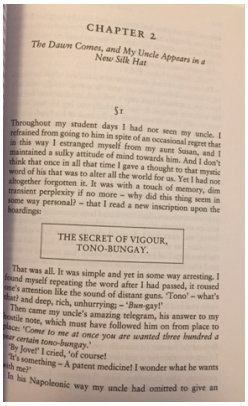

Figure 23

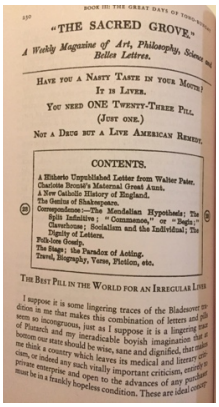

Figure 24

Figures 22, 22, and 24. *Tono-Bungay* (Penguin, 2005); p. 55, p. 127, and p. 230

M. M. Bakhtin defines the novel as a genre that initiates continuous development in the ongoing present rather than solidifying the complete, finished past as featured in the epic. This "new temporal orientation" and "zone of contact" (33) with contemporary reality [that is] inconclusive and fluid" (39), however, happens through the remodeling of the individual into a man in the process of "becoming"—that is, developing through the gap between their reality and their intrinsic character over extended periods of time—whose "subjectivity [. . .] becomes an object of experimentation and representation" (37). The individual also plays an important role for the narrative significance of the "chronotope," the concept of "time-space" which Bakhtin defines

as "the intrinsic connectedness between temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (84). Taking multiple examples including "[t]he chronotope of the *road* associated with encounter" (emphasis in the original, 243), Bakhtin argues that "[t]he chronotope is the place where the knots of narrative are tied and untied" (250). The "encounter" that makes the "*road*" the "chronotope"—the narrative form representing temporal and spatial factors of episodes in meaningfully-constructed relations—, however, requires an individual who can act as the subject of experience.[175]

Yet, in the wooshing urban traffic and narratives in *Tono-Bungay*, there is no individual distinctively identified as the focus of such encounters on the road. In the scenes of walking described in the novel, individuals merge into the flow of rushing streams of people and objects, and the narratives rush past the first-person narrator's retrospective view that was supposed to arrange them into a meaningful progression. With such narratives resisting the totality of perspective of the individual, the novel fails to provide "the concealed totality of life," an organic, teleological form of life in Lukács's terms (*The Theory of the Novel* 60). Reading *Tono-Bungay* can proceed only at the cost of forgoing the focus on individual agency, which entails the loss of the comprehensive narrative design giving shape to the genre's organizing conclusion. The chronotope of the city in *Tono-Bungay* materializes time which has no progression pivoting on the individual locus. The novel thus unsettles the reading subject in time and space, as the city displaces the individual walker into the accelerated flow of traffic and commerce.

[175] Bakhtin writes: "The chronotope of the *road* associated with encounter is characterized by a broader scope, but by a somewhat lesser degree of emotional and evaluative intensity. Encounters in a novel usually take place 'on the road.' The road is a particularly good place for random encounters. On the road ('the high road'), the spatial and temporal paths of the most varied people—representatives of all social classes, estates, religions, nationalities, ages—intersect at one spatial and temporal point." (243).

Wells's revision of the realist novel as such differs from the modernist approaches as exemplified by Joseph Conrad and Virginia Woolf. Some critics treated Wells's experiment with the novelistic form as inchoate modernism, claiming that Wells's preference for "flux rather than stasis, discursiveness rather than cohesion" is a precursor of modernism (Hammond, *H. G. Wells and the Modern Novel* 23) or assuming that the absence of wholeness and organizing logic in Wells's novelistic prose paved the way "for reading the British modernist project through the lens of finance capitalism" (Martin 465).[176] Modernist writers, however, were typically interested in reforming the world fragmented by sudden disorderly changes through "an art that focuses on individual consciousness, the only remaining source of meaning and order" (George Levine 47) or the narrative "juxtaposition" of multiple individuals' "subjective temporalities" rendered in "simultaneity" (Heise 51). Joseph Conrad, for example, who was part of the Kentish Fraternity which Wells and Henry James also belonged to,[177] attempted at an aesthetic reformation of the

[176] Hammond tries to bring Wells to the verge of modernism, claiming that Wells is "a transitional figure between realism and modernism" (16). He organizes his book around the questions "to what extent can Wells be considered a modernist writer? [. . .] in what ways do his novels depart from the conventions and assumptions of realist fiction?" (23). Martin ties in Giovanni Arrighi's theory of finance capitalism with her reading of Forster's *Howards End* and Wells's *Tono-Bungay*, which she situates at the moment of transition from industrial capitalism to finance capitalism. Martin historicizes the novels' portrayals of London in order to discuss the way that finance capitalism built on exchange value is transcribed into the novelistic prose. Martin argues that both novels turn to London to unpack the dialectic of use value and exchange value in the opposition between the country and the city. While Forster's novel ultimately reverts back to the static value of the countryside, Wells's novel endorses finance capitalism and envisions a new novelistic prose style that reflects the destabilizing complexity of London at the center of global capitalism. Martin suggests that *Tono-Bungay*, in its portrayal of the spatial complexity of London as the unstable, dynamic center of global capital, unfolds through its fragmented episodic representations of value-production and thereby anticipates Modernism not of literary crisis but the crisis of the financial accumulation of capital in history.

[177] "Wells's involvement with what, according to Ford, he called 'a ring of foreign conspirators' reveals the intellectual and artistic struggles that took place as literary modernism was emerging.

novel through multiple perspectives that defy singular vision.[178] Modernist writers like Virginia Woolf thought the individual's interior consciousness should be the focal point of the novels by the next generation of writers. In her essays on Edwardian writers such as Wells, Arnold Bennet, and John Galsworthy, Woolf laments the absence of interiority, or the "spirit" ("Modern Fiction" 158) in the Edwardian writers who "ma[ke] the trivial and the transitory appear the true and the enduring" (159) or "[are] never interested in character in itself; or in the book in itself" ("Mr. Bennet and Mrs. Brown" 8). In contrast to this external focus of Edwardian writers, Woolf, in her novels like *Mrs. Dalloway* and *To the Lighthouse*, uses the stream of consciousness to slow down narrative time and to resurrect multiple individual interior perspectives in connected networks generating a sense of community.

Wells is different from Woolf and Conrad in that he makes narratives flow external to the individual's subjective, directing perspective by scaling up the city space and speeding up narrative time beyond the individual level. The individual as the connecting subject that still figures importantly in the flux of fragmented interiorized impressions constituting British modernist

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Variously settled around the coast of Kent and Sussex for a few years beginning 1898, Wells, Conrad, Ford, Henry James, Stephen Crane, and others engaged in literary and social interactions that had a formative impact on the future of the novel. It is no surprise that Wells later became associated with the Bloomsbury Group, but before that influential group of authors, artists, and critics made their impact on literature, Wells was debating the art and purpose of fiction with a Kentish literary fraternity. His rather uncomfortable relationship with Conrad is of interest because of what it reveals about both authors' approach to the art of fiction and the form and purpose of the novel" (Dryden 215).

[178] Dryden, by analyzing epistolary conversations between Conrad and Wells, provides a detailed review of Conrad's and Wells's attempts to find a different direction writing against the Victorian realist novel. Dryden finds Wells's uniqueness in his search for moral, political innovation of society through literature, but I argue that Wells's objection to Conrad's adherence to the individual's subjective perception deserves more attention when it comes to the form of the novel.

narratives, is missing in the undirected rushing observations of external cityscapes and events filling *Tono-Bungay*. In this sense, Wells anticipates the American modernist John Dos Passos. Like Wells, Dos Passos is interested more in the external reality in urban space than the psychological interiority of individuals, as he shows in his novel *Manhattan Transfer* (1925), which describes multifaceted lives in New York City in the 1920s. In *Manhattan Transfer*, Dos Passos presents fragmented narratives weaved through a camera's perspective switching from one individual to another at quick glances, focusing more on their external experience of the city rather than their interior thoughts. Amongst more than a dozen of characters, Ellen and Jimmy—the novel's presumed protagonists—only appear intermittently and do not serve as constant anchors of perspective. In the epigraphs to each chapter, the city's natural and structural constituents are personified, while humans are objectified and fragmented into body parts. Like Wells's *Tono-Bungay*, Dos Passos's *Manhattan Transfer* transfers agency to the urban setting.

Tono-Bungay proposes a remodeling of the novel as a genre of reading embracing the loss of agency for the sake of movement to the non-referential end as seen in the rushing urban traffic submerging individuals in commercial, industrial London at the time. In and out of *Tono-Bungay*, reading becomes leafing through pages without focus, and the novel loses the arc of progress that might have led it to a conclusive ending. In an interview a couple of years after the publication of *Tono-Bungay*, Wells said about his "more or less sociological novels produced since 1901": "beliefs and assumptions of our fathers have decayed, become unsafe, or altogether broken down. I had to define what I stood upon or write of life in a disconnected and inconsistent way" ("Mr. Wells Explains Himself" 6). At the moment of quick changes when there could be no individual subject capable of making their "life" proceed in connection with others, Wells was faced with two options—whether to restore the broken tradition through consolidated writing or crystallize

the unsettlement in a new narrative form. He chose the latter and produced a novel consisting of quick coincidences leading nowhere, as we see in *Tono-Bungay*. By enacting the urban mobility of accelerated, commercially industrialized London in a narrative that alienates the reader, *Tono-Bungay* translates the dislocating effect of the city into the reading experience.

***

I will conclude this dissertation with some comments on urban agency configured by the urban gaits of the British novel. In the context of the changing material conditions of the city, walking enacts diverse forms of agency in different gaits in relation to the city. From 1855 onwards, the urbanization of London aimed at spatially organizing the anthropocentric order to secure human agency defined as the capacity of individuals to think, act, and self-direct independently and in control of the environment. Reviewing the history of London through the lens of urbanization, I have traced the dense traffic caused by the huge increase in population and pre-existing road conditions, the fear of rabid stray dogs, and commercial industrialization accompanied by the accelerated flow of movements and advertisements. Arthur Clennam, Amy Dorrit, Un-dead Lucy, Dracula, George Ponderevo and Tono-Bungay move figuratively or bipedally through unintentional collisions, cross-species encounters, or unsettling acceleration. Jostling, prowling, and wooshing gaits shape urban agency into the unintentional efficacy of collectives, animal intelligence consisting of moment-based perception, and movements absent of locus.

The disintegration of the individual subject in the narrative movement of *Little Dorrit*, *Dracula*, and *Tono-Bungay*, I argue, adds an urban angle to the non-anthropocentric model of

realism propounded by recent ecological, environmental readings of Victorian novels. Since Henry James's "The Art of Fiction" (1884), which Lauren M. E. Goodlad in her "Introduction: Worlding Realisms Now" calls "a kind of opening salvo for this ascendant creed" (186), theories of the novel have evolved around the prominence of the individual located in specific time and space as the locus of realist narrative unfolding through time, which is identified as complicit with the ideology sustaining the modern bourgeois nation.[179] Recently, however, with the emergence of environmental humanities reading literature in the context of the Anthropocene, some critics have argued that Victorian realist novels, with their aggregated networks and plural or open temporalities exceeding the human scope of knowledge, can also suggest multiple ways of thinking about human agency not as solidified singular individuality but as part of unstable dynamic encounters. In "The Novel as Climate Model: Realism and the Greenhouse Effect in *Bleak House*," Jesse Oak Taylor argues that Dickens's novel is realistic in a sense that the novel's form operates in a way that the climate of London operated—through its interdependent network of humans and materials, subjects and objects, which "destabilizes the integrity of the human as the exclusive locus of subjectivity and agency altogether" (9-10). Devin Griffiths, in his article "*Silas Marner* and the Ecology of Form," discusses "how *Silas Marner* rejects the notion of organic totality, articulating in its place a more dynamic and relational collective in which individual bodies are ecologized, articulated as elements within more dynamic and interactive collectives" (300).

[179] Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel* establishes realism as the onset of the novel, the main features of which include originality, particularity, specific and accumulative time, actual space, and the language of prose (9-13). Georg Lukács in *The Theory of the Novel* also argues that the individual is an autonomous subject disjointed from the outside world and thus becomes the locus of perspective organizing the world in the form of "the adventure of interiority [. . .] the story of the soul that goes to find itself" (89). New historicists, such as D. A. Miller and Nancy Armstrong, solidified this frame by associating the individuality in realist fiction with "bourgeois norms and authorized modern power" (Goodlad 186).

Griffiths argues that George Eliot's novel shows narratives that are activated not by an organic whole of causes and effects but by "compound contingency" interweaving chance encounters between multiple agents affecting each other beyond individual control (312). Elizabeth Carolyn Miller suggests that Victorian provincial realist novels written in the era of extractive industrialization embrace "open temporalities" of "extraction ecologies," which structure time into "a depleted or undead future" of fossil fuels producing energy out of wastes dissolving into the foregone past, defying the human scale of "renewal" and "progress" as implied in the marriage plot and bildungsroman (30-35).

My dissertation proposes an environmental model of Victorian realism in the metropolitan context, where the contestation of individual human agency is materially visible in the walker's experience of the streets. The jostling, prowling, wooshing novels replace individuals with bumping masses, dissolve the binary between human and animal, and empty out the locus of agency. The city and its novelistic gaits reshape individual, retrospective, and self-directing capacity as collective, un-controlled, and void of agency in urban mobility and the novel's form. My dissertation has attempted to remap the realist narrative in terms of individual and collective, human and non-human, present and absent agency emerging in the city. The city, especially London, is a space in progress that incubates diverse forms of agency that do not rely on the individual capable of self-direction. Instead, urban agency relies on random, rambunctious encounters, collective rather than individual, sometimes predatory and sometimes non-existent. The jostling, prowling, wooshing British novels examined in this dissertation invite the reader to walk and move away from a singular agency, imagining open-ended, indefinite possibilities materialized in narrative gaits.

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