Seeing in the City: Modern Visuality in M. E. Braddon's *The Trail of the Serpent* (1860)

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Abstract

This article proposes the metropolitan scenes of Mary Elizabeth Braddon's first novel, The Trail of the Serpent (1860), as engagements with the rapidly shifting and 'contested terrain' of modern visuality. Locating much of its action in Paris and London, the paradigmatically modern cities of the midnineteenth century, the novel reveals a porous boundary between visual practices used for detection and leisure: the theatre figures as a site of disciplinary potential, and the touristic gaze proves amenable to that of the detective. Seemingly poised to corroborate contemporary anxieties about criminality becoming invisible as a result of urban expansion, in fact Trail resists such a notion by exposing how technological and material changes serve as much to conceal forces of inspection. Yet Trail does not subscribe wholeheartedly to teleological ideas about the direction of modern visuality either, but, as signalled especially by the posthumous condition of its criminal antagonist, offers a more complex and ambiguous situation.

Upon his relocation to London, the criminal antagonist of Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *The Trail of the Serpent* (1860) (hereafter *Trail*) makes a seemingly counterintuitive declaration to his new wife, Valerie de Cevennes:

We are rarely seen to address each other, and we are not often seen in public together. Very well this in South America, [...] here it will not do. To say the least it is mysterious. The fashionable world is scandalous. People draw inferences. [...] A banker must be respectable, or people may be afraid to trust him. [...] I must be universally trusted.¹

The declaration seems counterintuitive because, having removed himself from the site of his criminal activities (Paris), the expectation is that Jabez North will avoid the risk of being identified—not to court its increase. *Trail* is hailed as one of the first detective stories,² yet this scene seems a striking contradiction of the 'original social content' that Walter Benjamin ascribes to the genre, namely 'the

¹ Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *The Trail of the Serpent*, ed. by Chris Willis (New York, NY: Modern Library, 2003), p. 257. Subsequent parenthetical citations refer to this edition. It was first published in 1860 as *Three Times Dead; or, The Secret of the Heath* (London: W&M Clark) before being reworked and released under its present title in 1861 (London: Ward, Lock). During 1864 it was serialized in the *Half-Penny Journal*.

² Sarah Waters, 'Introduction', in *The Trail of the Serpent* (New York, NY: Modern Library, 2003), pp. xv–xxiv (p. xxii); Chris Willis, 'Afterword', in *The Trail of the Serpent* (New York, NY: Modern Library, 2003), p. 408.

obliteration of the individual's traces in the big-city crowd'.³ Jabez's demand for greater visibility is understandable, however, according to the logic of the 'social body' in Victorian Britain, which equated the undesirable aspects of the city—vice, pathogens, criminality—with what could not be seen;⁴ by voluntarily subjecting himself to visual scrutiny, therefore, Jabez is able to avoid the moral aspersions that would, rightly, be assigned to him. This scene acts, firstly, as a further demonstration of the savviness that Jabez displays throughout *Trail* in subverting visual expectations. But the recognition of London's exceptional status ('*here* it will not do') pinpoints an extra target of his comment: the modern city seems to foster distinctive ways of seeing that demand close attention.

Taking such instances as its cue, this article reads the metropolitan scenes of *Trail* as closely engaged with the material and social transformations occurring in the mid-nineteenth-century city, jointly productive of 'modern visuality'. Without venturing too far into theorisations of 'modernity', I follow Jonathan Crary's suggestion that a modern form of seeing emerges after the discoveries of physiological optics and their rupturing of the 'classical episteme' (broadly synonymous here with Cartesian perspectivalism and the *camera obscura*).⁵ The second part of this term is perhaps simpler to account: 'visuality' incorporates, as Chris Otter explains, the 'simultaneously physiological, practical, discursive, and technospatial nature of vision';⁶ of its distinction from 'vision', Hal Foster elaborates:

[it] signals a difference within the visual – between the mechanism of sight and its historical techniques, between the datum of vision and its discursive determinations – a difference, many differences, among how we see, how we are able, allowed or made to see, and how we see this seeing or the unseen therein⁷

³ Quoted in Sharrona Pearl, *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 33–34.

⁴ On the 'social body' in Victorian Britain, see Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Pamela K. Gilbert, *Mapping the Victorian Social Body* (New York, NY: State University of New York, 2004).

⁵ Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992). As Robert S. Nelson notes, any claim of this kind 'depends upon the definition of modernity'; 'Introduction: Descartes's Cow and Other Domestications of the Visual', in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. by Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1–20 (p. 6).

⁶ Chris Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910* (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 25.

⁷ Hal Foster, 'Introduction', in *Vision and Visuality*, ed. by Hal Foster (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1988), p. ix.

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Trail has received a 'surge of interest in recent years', becoming read against such contemporary concerns as madness and toxicology;⁸ it is increasingly seen as a text that not only 'occupies a fascinating place in relation both to Braddon's sensational oeuvre and to the criticism that greeted it', but one that is also highly engaged with intellectual contexts.⁹ Christine Ferguson and Saverio Tomaiuolo have shown Trail's imbrication with several aspects of visuality, their readings focusing on the novel's depiction of bodies and the character of Joseph Peters (the 'mute detective') from a disability studies perspective.¹⁰ This article attends more closely to Trail's concern for how visuality is affected by the conditions of the mid-nineteenth-century city, the relevant contexts being therefore closer to those discussed in Crary's Techniques of the Observer and Otter's The Victorian Eye. It posits Braddon's novel as a case study for how, as Martin Jay says, 'the scopic regime of modernity may best be understood as a contested terrain, rather than as a harmoniously integrated complex of visual theories and practices'.¹¹ Trail substantiates the drive to go beyond the two 'hegemonic visual paradigms' often used to examine vision and power in nineteenth-century Britain: the flâneur (spectacle) and the panopticon (surveillance).¹² In the novel, leisurely spaces and activities merge seamlessly with, or act as the cover for, surveiling opportunities; and the notoriously subversive potential of sensation fiction is achieved in Trail via its depiction of visuality as a conduit for inverted class relations. Meanwhile, though it contests contemporary anxieties about criminality becoming invisible as a result of urbanisation, Braddon's novel does not subscribe to a teleological perspective either.

'Lost in a Crowd'? Detectives Turning Tourists and Vice Versa

Trail's sensational story centres on the orphan Jabez North and his schemes to obtain a fortune and aristocratic title. It opens in the town of Slopperton, where

⁸ Andrew Mangham, "'Drink It up Dear, It Will Do You Good": Crime, Toxicology and *The Trail of the Serpent*', in *New Perspectives on Mary Elizabeth Braddon (DQR Studies in Literature)* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), pp. 95–112 (p. 95); Valerie Pedlar, '*The Most Dreadful Visitation*': *Male Madness in Victorian Fiction* (Liverpool University Press, 2006); Lillian Nayder, 'Science and Sensation', in *The Cambridge Companion to Sensation Fiction*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 154–67 (pp. 159–61). ⁹ Waters, pp. xv–xvi.

¹⁰ Christine Ferguson, 'Sensational Dependence: Prosthesis and Affect in Dickens and Braddon', *LIT: Literature Interpretation Theory*, 19.1 (2008), 1–25 (p. 14); Saverio Tomaiuolo, 'Perception, Abduction, Disability: *Eleanor's Victory* and *The Trail of the Serpent*', in *In Lady Audley's Shadow: Mary Elizabeth Braddon and Victorian Literary Genres* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 97–118.

¹¹ Martin Jay, 'Scopic Regimes of Modernity', in *Vision and Visuality*, ed. by Hal Foster, Discussions in Contemporary Culture (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1988), pp. 2–23 (p. 4).

¹² For a summary of the critical scholarship using these paradigms, see Otter, p. 2. See especially pp. 76-82 of Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', *New Formations*, 4 (1988), 73–102; Joseph Litvak, *Caught in the Act: Theatricality in the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992).

Jabez is a schoolmaster, and with his murder of the wealthy Montague Harding and a schoolboy. The first of these murders leads to the indictment of the victim's nephew, Richard Marwood, whose sentence is commuted to life imprisonment in a lunatic asylum after intervention by the mute detective Joseph Peters. Upon Richard's eventual escape, he resolves, with the help of his friends and Peters, to trace the real culprit and exonerate himself. In the meantime, Jabez has fled to Paris after leaving behind the body of his twin brother as evidence of his own suicide; while there he blackmails the Spanish heiress Valerie de Cevennes into marrying him and poisoning her betrothed. He relocates to London, where Peters chances upon him (now known as the Count Raymond de Marolles); Richard's group convenes and investigates further. Eventually gathering enough evidence to implicate him, Jabez is caught and put on trial in Slopperton. Pronounced guilty, Jabez takes his own life before the sentence can be carried out.

As this synopsis hints at, lengthy and formative sections of *Trail* are set within the paradigmatically modern cities of Paris and London.¹³ Significantly, these are locations in which Jabez's criminal ambitions are furthered and confounded, respectively, by his being first a visual subject and then object. Specifically, his plot against Valerie begins in the Paris Opera when he identifies her feelings for the opera singer, Gaston de Lancy, by reading her physiological reactions to his presence; afterwards, he arranges 'ocular demonstration' of Gaston's infidelity, leading her to poison him out of jealousy (p. 139). In fact, Jabez hires actors to stage an amorous display in conditions that obscure vision.¹⁴ On relocating to London, however, Jabez becomes the *object* of visual scrutiny, as Peters and his adopted son, Sloshy, identify him in its streets; then, in an almost exact reversal of the Paris Opera scene, occurring in Her Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket, Jabez becomes scrutinised from afar by Marwood's amateur band of detectives, the 'Cherokees'. The proceeding analysis looks to these situations in turn, beginning with Jabez's detection by Peters and Sloshy upon their arrival in the British capital.

Hitherto portrayed exclusively in a professional capacity, as a detective with the Slopperton police, Peters is specifically noted to be in London for personal reasons: to 'enjoy the *otium cum dignitate* [leisure with dignity]' earnt by his involvement in facilitating Richard's escape from the asylum (p. 259). In practice, '*otium*' is soon found to be tourism, as Peters and Sloshy begin a sightseeing trip that includes 'St. Paul's [Cathedral], the Monument, Punch and Judy, and other intellectual exhibitions' (p. 261). Whilst these sites are designated as 'intellectual', the pair's responses reveal that the *visual* appeal of these exhibitions is forefront:

¹³ On Paris, see for instance Andrew Billing and Juliette Cherbuliez, 'Paris as Capital, Capital in Paris', *L'Esprit Créateur*, 55.3 (2015), 1–14. On London, see for instance the Introduction to Joseph De Sapio, *Modernity and Meaning in Victorian London* (London: Palgrave, 2014).

¹⁴ Cf. Ferguson's notice of how '[Jabez's] crimes are all staged in areas of half-light and visual impairment'; p. 10. It is crucial to recognise, however, that having profited from his crimes, Jabez seeks public visibility to maintain the illusion of benevolence, as in the opening example.

[The Punch and Judy] was not so sublime a sight, perhaps, as the outside of St. Paul's; but, on the other hand, it was a great deal cleaner; and the 'fondling' [Sloshy] would have liked to have seen Sir Christopher Wren's masterpiece picked out with a little fresh paint before he was called upon to admire it. The Monument, no doubt, was very charming in the abstract; but unless he could have been perpetually on the top of it [...] it wasn't very much in his way. But Punch [...] indeed, was an exhibition to be seen continually, and to be more admired the more continually seen. (p. 262)

This account is proliferated by visual concerns: aesthetic criteria (the 'sublime' and 'charming'); the placement of the viewing subject; and the pleasures to be derived from witnessing spectacle. The invocation of these aspects so soon after Peters and Sloshy enter London attests, I would suggest, to a recognition that, as Lynda Nead writes:

metropolitan experience was primarily a visual one [...] its defining character was seen to lie in its address to the sense of sight. The spectacles of modern life seemed to demand new modes of representation and new skills of description.¹⁵

But one new 'mode of representation' in particular is indexed by Peters and Sloshy's tour and its catalogic quality (its listing of one site after another): the travel guide. Conspicuous throughout the decade before *Trail*'s publication,¹⁶ guides strove to distil London's vast array of potential spectacles into an itinerary that was manageable for the increasing numbers of visitors to the city.¹⁷ Their impetus is concisely expressed by John Murray's *Modern London; or, London as It Is* (1851), amongst the most popular examples of its kind; its self-declared purpose was to 'point out those features of the metropolis best worth seeing, with the way in which they may be seen to the best advantage.¹⁸ Peters and Sloshy's tour is evidently prompted by, and measured against, such aims, notably in its critique about the difficulty of finding a suitable position from which to admire the Monument; meanwhile, the appraisal of Punch and Judy as something 'to be seen continually' is perhaps a rejoinder to Murray's list of 'Places and Sights to be Seen', which does not include the show.¹⁹ While chafing at its rigidity, Peters and Sloshy's conduct in London would nevertheless have been recognisable to

¹⁵ Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 57.

¹⁶ Notable examples first published in the 1850s include Peter Cunningham, *Modern London; or, London as It Is* (London: John Murray, 1851) and John Timbs, *Curiosities of London* (London: John Camden, 1867 [1855]). The sites visited by Peters and Sloshy are given in Timbs: pp. 16, 107–17, 570–71.

¹⁷ By the 1860s, it had become a 'modern tourist centre'; Nead, p. 58; see also Pearl, *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, pp. 28–29.

¹⁸ Cunningham, p. iii.

¹⁹ Cunningham, p. xliii.

contemporary readers of *Trail* as a form of touristic experience encouraged by the travel guides and tailored to the prospects of the modern, visually-oriented city.

This revisionist potential is taken further as the pair's sightseeing goes on. Peters tries to show Sloshy the 'outside[s]' of the 'exhibitions' and yet, arriving at the Bank of England, the boy not only looks at the building's façade but then attempts to 'peer in[side ...] in the fond hope of seeing the money' (p. 262). The motivation behind this apparently incidental detail merits further consideration; Sloshy is not content to restrict his visual inspection of the building to its surface details, but aims to uncover its inner workings. Equivalently, the detective profession that Peters is on leave from (and which Sloshy aspires to join) was popularly conceived of as applying a 'penetrating interior vision' to the criminal body, seeking to deduce that person's interior character from external aspects.²⁰ While the focus of the inspective gaze is applied first to a financial 'body' (the Bank), it is then inadvertently turned to its 'rightful' target, as Sloshy and Peters stop to view a gentleman 'get on horseback' outside a 'handsome building' (p. 262-63). Converting this scene of ordinary life into a touristic spectacle, the figure in question becomes the subject of prolonged scrutiny in a manner licensed by the pair's activity; John Urry's outline of the 'touristic gaze' helps to explain the operation of vision here: 'the viewing of such tourist sights often involves different forms of social patterning, with a *much greater sensitivity* to visual elements of landscape or townscape. People *linger* over such a gaze'.²¹ In this case, however, greater sensitivity facilitates a surveiling result: the 'gentleman' proves none other than Jabez North (passing as Count Raymond de Marolles); this scene at Bank Junction collapses distinctions between the spectacular and the disciplinary.

As identification gives way to a chase (Jabez begins to leave), the distinction is undercut in the other direction; Sloshy responds to this professional pursuit as if it is a continuation of the sightseeing they conducted earlier, only surpassing it in its ability to entertain: 'the outside of St. Paul's, and the performance [of Punch and Judy ...] were mild dissipations [...] compared to the delight of following a ghost' (p. 265). This action would seem, I propose, to posit a unity between tourism and detection on the basis that they both exhibit a 'heightened awareness of the visual'.²² *Trail* thus offers a variation on what Otter claims to be the ideological commonality between the panopticon and flâneur:

both [panopticism and flânerie ...] are fantasies [...] And their fantasy is of total knowledge of a subject population, be it of a body of criminals or of

²⁰ Richard T. Gray, *About Face: German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2004), p. xvii. See also Peter de Bolla, 'The Visibility of Visuality: Vauxhall Gardens and the Siting of the Viewer', in *Vision and Textuality*, ed. by Stephen Melville and Bill Readings (London: Macmillan Education UK, 1995), pp. 282–95 (pp. 284–85).

²¹ John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), pp. 132–33. Emphasis added.

²² Nead, p. 59.

an urban crowd. The flâneur moves everywhere and sees everything, while the prisoner of the panopticon is permanently seen and known. A fantasy of omniscience underlies both models.²³

A crucial distinction is that, by contrast to the 'exclusive [and] elitist' nature of flânerie, tourism in *Trail* is egalitarian—an activity embodied by figures on the margins: Peters, as a disabled man, and Sloshy, as an orphan.²⁴ The 'fantasy' is therefore, more specifically, of a modern city becoming opened up to 'a new mode of urban perception and experience' (tourism) that will ensure criminality cannot avoid detection.²⁵

In offering this suggestion, *Trail* rejects both contemporary concerns about the relation between criminality and urbanity, and the sensationalist treatment that such a relation was often afforded in popular fiction. In 1860, the same year that *Trail* was first published, the *Saturday Review* expressed the fear that urbanisation was creating more opportunity for criminality to evade capture: 'the fusion of society gives a murderer every chance of being lost in a crowd'.²⁶ As identified in the introduction to this article, such anxieties motivated action to improve the 'social body': transparency became the ambition, with the modern city dreamt of as an endlessly open and visible site.²⁷ As was also noted, such anxieties were also, for Benjamin, the original ingredients of early detective fiction. By situating Jabez in Paris and then London, *Trail* teases an adherence to this prospect of the criminal lost within the urban mass; and the aftermath of the Bank Junction scene above offers an explicit allusion to it when, in pursuit of Jabez through the London streets, Peters is said to look as if he 'thought the horseman they [were] following would melt into thin air' (p. 263).

These alarmist possibilities are never realised, however; Peters and Sloshy trace Jabez to his London address and therefore enable his later scrutiny by Marwood and the Cherokees. In fact, in direct contradiction of popular anxieties, it is the detective and his adopted son—embodiments of law enforcement—that become obfuscated by the 'big-city crowd' (Benjamin), whereas criminality is seemingly more conspicuous. It is instructive of that egalitarianism noted above that social aspects are indicated to play a role in this imbalance; obfuscation is produced not merely by ocular impediments to vision (the density of the urban

²³ Otter, p. 7.

²⁴ Otter, p. 7. On the flâneur vis-à-vis the tourist, see De Sapio, pp. 153-54.

²⁵ Nead, p. 59.

²⁶ 'Hanging No Murder', *The Saturday Review*, 10.254 (1860), 302–3 (p. 303).

²⁷ 'Modernity has been haunted [...] by a myth of transparency: transparency of the self to nature, of the self to the other, of all selves to society, and all this represented, if not constructed, from Jeremy Bentham to Le Corbusier, by a universal transparency of building materials, spatial penetration, and the ubiquitous flow of air, light, and physical movement'; Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1992), p. 217.

masses) but also by Jabez's 'blindness' to those of an inferior class;²⁸ by way of explaining Jabez's failure to realise he is being watched, it is noted that '[the Count] has better occupation for his bright blue eyes than the observation of such small deer as Mr. Peters and the "fondling" (p. 263). That detail of '*such small deer*', combined with the fact that every participant is identified either by their title or status, indicates how 'visibility' is intersected by issues of class; implicit within this gesture is the idea that Sloshy and Peters—visually coded as members of the working class—appear simply as an undifferentiated mass to Jabez, or, rather, the 'Count'; his aristocratic title is, pertinently, foregrounded throughout the scene. Contemporary beliefs about unilateral vision within the modern city are therefore upheld in *Trail*, but their expected direction is inverted along class lines; aristocratic criminality becomes vulnerable to the working-class gaze.

On this issue, Ferguson observes that the novel seems concerned by how to achieve 'the vigilance and sensitivity required to police and maintain a productive community', claiming that it is performed by 'nervousness'.²⁹ While agreeing on the first point, the evidence of the Bank Junction scene in particular indicates that, for the modern city at least, tourism might fulfil this role, as an activity that generates a 'greater sensitivity' to the visual. The concern is thus bound up with the direction of visual modernity, and the setting of Bank Junction functions significantly in suggesting this as the target. As the centrepiece of the British economy—where the City's commercial streets met—it represented the 'heart of empire', and therefore modernity itself, through much of the nineteenth century.³⁰ By staging this key moment of visual recognition at Bank Junction, Braddon is therefore able to offer a commentary about visuality that resonates beyond the particularities of the setting, but which can speak more widely to the forces depicted therein.

'Vigilant Microscopic Observation': Scrutiny On and Off the Stage

After this encounter between Peters, Sloshy, and Jabez, visual scrutiny is 'taken indoors'; its follow-up, in which Marwood and 'the Cherokees' try to scrutinise Jabez for themselves, is carried out within Her Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket, a location equally resonant with the visual culture of mid-century London as Bank Junction, for reasons explained shortly. More generally, though, it can be said that the decision to examine their criminal target within an interior space speaks to the mid-century understanding that 'perceptual control was vastly simpler when

²⁸ Cf. Ferguson's observation about the alley of Blind Peter in Slopperton: 'it is not darkness per se but rather a journalistic laziness and, perhaps, unwillingness to offend the sensibilities of the [Sunday] paper's readership with anything so unsightly as the real that prevents Blind Peter from coming into view'; p. 11.

²⁹ Ferguson, p. 15.

³⁰ Iain Black, 'Imperial Visions: Rebuilding the Bank of England, 1919-39', in *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*, eds. Felix Driver and David Gilbert, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 96–116 (pp. 96–98).

undertaken within the walls of institutions than outside in the more unruly streets'.³¹ This remark by Otter is no doubt meant to refer to *institutionalised* visuality, as in that of the factory, yet it applies quite precisely to *Trail* and its depiction of the streets versus the theatre; the 'unruliness' of the former is clearly shown by the preceding chase around Bank Junction, when Jabez nearly evades Peters and Sloshy. By contrast, theatre spaces were designed to facilitate the prolonged visual observation that Marwood and his group need; writing c.1878, the architect T. Roger Smith notes of this aim: '[important] to the entertainment [in the theatre] is that the audience should see each other, so as to allow all who wish it an opportunity for public display, and for scrutinising the appearance of others'.³² For Smith, then, the appeal of the theatre derives from so-called 'auto-voyeurism'³³—the opportunity to see and be seen in equal measure. Rather than the unilateral operation of vision (audiences watching on-stage performers) it is closer to the rhizomatic: everyone watching everyone else.

The depiction of visuality in Trail's Paris and London opera scenes corresponds closely to Smith's idea of the theatre space; in nearly every case, audience members' scrutiny of one another takes priority over attention to what is happening on stage; practically the only exception is Valerie's enjoyment of Gaston's performance. Yet Braddon's novel is attentive to what Smith identifies as the need for consent in these visual relations—the fact that 'all who wish it' should be given a chance for public display. Contrarily, in the Paris opera Valerie neither desires, nor is aware of, Jabez's observation of her; a pleasurable autovoyeurism becomes pure voyeurism. This situation, and others like it in Trail, wherein persons' bodies are read so as to deduce their internal characteristics, invokes the ambition of physiognomy: a system of reading outlined in Johann Caspar Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1775-78), the aim of which was to discern correspondences between (in his words) 'the external and internal man, the visible superficies and invisible contents'.³⁴ Voyeurism was privileged in physiognomy because, according to its logic, the target of such scrutiny had no inclination to dissimulate if they were unaware of being watched; this visual relation therefore promised to give a more truthful reading of a person. Trail is

³¹ Otter, p. 97.

³² T. Roger Smith, Acoustics in Relation to Architecture and Building: The Laws of Sound as Applied to the Arrangement of Buildings, (New York, NY: Virtue, 1878), p. 115. Emphasis added.

³³ This concept appears in Peter de Bolla, 'The Visibility of Visuality: Vauxhall Gardens and the Siting of the Viewer', in *Vision and Textuality*, eds. Stephen Melville and Bill Readings (London: Macmillan Education UK, 1995), pp. 282–95, and is 're-visited' in the same sense by Jonathan Conlin, 'Vauxhall Revisited: The Afterlife of a London Pleasure Garden, 1770-1859', *Journal of British Studies*, 45.4 (2006), 718–43. See also Bruno Latour's 'oligoptic space'—a space of mutual oversight; quoted in Otter, p. 74. '[Auto]voyeurism' does not imply the sexual denotations of the original term.

³⁴ Essays on Physiognomy, trans. Thomas Holcroft, Eighth (London: William Tegg and Co., 1853). To judge by the editions of ,'s *Essays* and the appearances of 'physiognomy' in the popular press, interest in physiognomy peaked during the middle decades of the century. (Search term 'physiognomy' on ProQuest *British Periodicals* for the date range '1830 to 1900'.)

permeated by physiognomic imperatives and allusions to the system, and voyeuristic inspection acts according to its dictates. Unaware that Jabez is observing her, Valerie does not try to conceal the minor physiological details that disclose her feelings for Gaston: 'one faint quiver [and] a firmer compression of the thin lips' (p. 122). From this evidence of the body, Jabez obtains an accurate insight into Valerie's relationship with the opera singer and vital leverage over her.

In Her Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket, however, the direction of voyeuristic observation is reversed: unbeknownst, Jabez is subject to 'deliberate scrutiny' by the Cherokees, each of whom takes a 'long look' at his face in an attempt to confirm his unscrupulous nature (p. 270). Class dimensions are again pertinent, as they were in the Bank Junction scene, only here they intersect with the ocular arrangements prescribed by the arrangement of the theatre space. For if Smith encouraged mutual oversight among theatre-goers, this was emphatically not equal oversight. 'It is essential', he explained, 'that a variety of classes of accommodation should be preserved, and conspicuously separated from one another'.³⁵ Practically, such encouragements found expression in the tendency for upper-class patrons to occupy elevated seats-privileged viewing positions for observing both the performance and audience. The lower classes, by contrast, were assigned to a physically lower position—either sat or standing.³⁶ This link between social status and physical elevation is observed in *Trail*, and acts to mark the progress of Jabez's schemes. In the Paris Opera, before his entrapment of Valerie, he occupies the most rudimentary place: the 'front row of the stalls' (p. 120). But in Her Majesty's Theatre, having acquired a fortune and aristocratic status, he is seated in a 'box on the grand tier' (p. 269). Seemingly to index the viewing capabilities of the upper-class patrons, this new heightened position allows Jabez to 'take a leisurely survey of the audience' below him (p. 270).

Yet, this complacent observation is in stark contrast to what *Trail* otherwise says about the intersections of power, space, and vision. For though he is clearly capable of surveying the audience in Her Majesty's Theatre, Jabez is in fact made an object of scrutiny by the Cherokees, who occupy the position he formerly did: the 'pit' (p. 268). This being made apparent, the undifferentiated category of 'the audience' therefore registers as a sign of Jabez's vulnerability, rather than a strength; just as he could not distinguish within the crowds at Bank Junction, so here he is likewise unable to do so of the theatre-goers grouped below him—the Cherokees are unafraid of reciprocal observation because their integration within the lower-class audience makes them 'invisible' to an aristocrat such as Jabez is feigning to be.³⁷ As per Smith's prescription, the 'conspicuous separation' of the classes is upheld in *Trail*, but the power dynamics expected to emerge from it are

³⁵ Smith, p. 115.

³⁶ This leisurely institution hence parallels the productive space of the factory, where owners could supervise their workers from a similarly unequal viewing position; see Otter, p. 75.

³⁷ In a complication of identities and of the idea of *identity* itself, that is typical of sensation fiction, Jabez discovers that he is the son of the Marquis de Cevennes, and thus aristocratic by birth rather than through his marriage to Valerie.

radically undercut: the seemingly privileged position of the upper-class patron becomes one of acute vulnerability to lower-class scrutiny. This aspect of the novel comes into focus when we consider its 1864 serialization in the Half-Penny *Journal*, a publication with a predominantly lower-class readership;³⁸ it is likely that a fantasy of inverted social relations predicated upon visual power would have found appeal in such a context. Trail can therefore be seen, I claim, to fulfil a purpose similar to that which Sharrona Pearl identifies of physiognomy; it helps to 'reveal the tension between democracy and hierarchy that the Victorian city represented in both its layout and its modes of interaction. The urban experience was one of space and enclosure, freedom and limitation'.³⁹ The theatre spaces of Braddon's novel are a microcosm for these tensions: between spectacle and surveillance, lower and upper-class patrons, privacy and public display; modern visuality appears as a 'contested terrain', as Jay asserts, but it also has subversive and egalitarian aspects: it has a *carnivalesque* function, to the extent that Mikhail Bakhtin defined the carnivalesque as 'a new mode of interrelationship between individuals, counterposed to the all-powerful socio-hierarchical'.⁴⁰ Whether in the context of the streets or theatres, Trail writes against assumptions about who holds power in the visual encounters within the modern city.

Bakhtin's carnivalesque implies a suspension of distance between persons.⁴¹ The novel's opera scenes indicate this as an outcome made possible through the use of visual technologies, specifically that of the opera glass: a magnification device enabling close scrutiny from a distance. Designed principally to enhance audience's appreciation of performances, in *Trail* these glasses are more often directed at the theatre-goers themselves; they act, for example, as the means by which Jabez is able to detect Valerie's miniscule facial responses in the Paris Opera, despite their class-based separation:

The powerful glass of the lounger in the stalls records the minutest change in the face of Valerie de Cevennes. It records [physiological details]; and the eyes of the lounger fasten more intently, if possible, than before upon the face of the Spanish beauty. (p. 122)

Notable here, and throughout the Opera scene, is how the distinctions between the bodily organ (eye) and optical device (glass) are elided. Responsibility for visual scrutiny is variably assigned to 'the lounger's glass' and 'the lounger [Jabez]', which 'record' and 'see' (p. 122) their target, respectively. Only with the conclusion of the passage is a separation indicated between the observer and the technology used for observation, when 'after one last contemplative look at the

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³⁸ Kate Watson, *Women Writing Crime Fiction, 1860-1880: Fourteen American, British and Australian Authors* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2012), p. 57.

³⁹ Pearl, About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain, p. 9.

⁴⁰ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, ed. & trans. by Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis, MN and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 123. Original emphasis.

⁴¹ Bakhtin, p. 123.

proud brow and set lips of Valerie [...], he lowers his glass' (p. 122). This elision between eye and glass is, I contend, attributable to the legacy of physiological optics—scientific analysis of the eye and vision that developed significantly from the nineteenth century onwards, and which constituted a break from the 'classical episteme' of vision. Key in growing this field was Johannes Müller's *Elements of Physiology* (1840-43), which critiqued the notion that the eye was an infallible viewing device; instead, Müller claimed, it was inherently deficient.⁴² The result of this proposal and its proliferation in the subsequent decades was, according to Jonathan Crary, that

the relation between eye and optical apparatus becomes one of metonymy: both were now contiguous instruments on the same plane of operation, with varying capabilities and features. The limits and deficiencies of one will be complemented by the capacities of the other and vice versa.⁴³

Trail's seamless transition between the eye and opera glass indicates its sympathy for this perspective, and additional evidence for such is given by the Cherokees' use of the glass in Her Majesty's Theatre; the distance between their position in the 'pit' and the 'box' where Jabez sits is acknowledged to prohibit the close scrutiny of his face that they desire, yet the devices resolve the dilemma: 'the thin arched lips are not discernible from this distance; but through the glass the general effect of the face is very plainly seen' (p. 270).

The title of the chapter set in Her Majesty's Theatre, 'The Value of an Opera Glass', draws attention to how the intended function of the device is subverted in the novel. In a variation of the street scene involving Jabez, Peters, and Sloshy, where the leisurely occupation of tourism merged effortlessly into the surveiling function of the detective, the opera glass becomes a tool for uncovering hidden aspects of a person and accessing 'truth'. *Trail* anticipates in a sensational form contemporary anxieties about the results of magnified vision in theatrical settings. In a *Fun* article of 1864, there is a comic cautioning of performers that, owing to the opera glass, they must be 'conscious of vigilant microscopic observation' and cease any behaviour that would reveal the artifice of the production, for example, a knowing wink at an audience member.⁴⁴ In Braddon's novel this attention to the revealing potential of minute facial details is extracted from the theatre setting to become a commentary on the performativity of everyday life. When Valerie declares to Jabez that the 'de Cevennes do not lie', he retorts:

Have you acted no lies, though you may not have spoken them? Have you never lied with your face, when you have worn a look of calm indifference, while the mental effort with which you stopped the violent beating of your

⁴² Johannes Müller, *Elements of Physiology*, trans. by William Baly (London: Taylor and Walton, 1842), II.

⁴³ Crary, p. 129.

⁴⁴ 'At the Play', *Fun*, 7 (1864), 9.

heart produced a dull physical torture in your breast; when, in the crowded opera-house, you heard *his* [Gaston's] step upon the stage? (p. 137; original emphasis)

Trail offers a variation of that adage 'all the world's a stage', whilst investing the *Fun* article's caution with an insidious potential: not only performers must be 'conscious of vigilant microscopic observation' as a consequence of modern visual technologies like the opera glass, but everyone must be if they wish to keep anything hidden from public consumption. Accounting for its theatrical scenes, and that near Bank Junction, it becomes clear that in Braddon's novel modern visuality is not a 'contested terrain' (Jay) in some abstracted sense—there is an active competition for advantage in visual encounters. The repercussions of this are varied; there is a clear disciplinary potential to it, but equally an opportunity to redress criminality and offer egalitarian outcomes. Arguably, *Trail* provides an optimistic outlook in this regard because it stages, firstly, Valerie's deception, before 'redeeming' these voyeuristic visual practices by applying them to Jabez. This is to say that the novel provides no simplistic idea of modernity's impact upon visuality, but even-handedly displays its dangers and opportunities.

Whilst the Cherokees' scrutiny of Jabez exploits the visual opportunities provided by the theatre space, and the devices that can be utilised therein, it does not end with the opera performance; one of their group, the 'Smasher', chooses to investigate him outside Her Majesty's Theatre, in the 'unruly streets' of the Haymarket. Attention to the visual conditions existing here by the time of Trail's publication, however, reveals that the distinction between the two locales is less than emphatic. Specifically, from the beginning of the century there had been a proliferation of gas lighting in metropolitan England, but especially in London.⁴⁵ The technology was seized upon by those intent on improving the 'social body', as it promised to help open up the city to visual inspection regardless of the time of day. For Anthony Vidler, the foundational figure for this equation of light and order is Jeremy Bentham; in Panopticon; or, The Inspection House (1791) that philosopher dreams of a time when the progress of illumination technologies will 'extend to the night the security of the day'.⁴⁶ By the mid nineteenth century, the ubiquity of gas lighting was rendering parts of London so bright that comparisons were made to the theatre, in which the installation of such technology had been equally transformative.⁴⁷ As the site of both the Opera House and Her Majesty's Theatre, the Haymarket became the target of many such comparisons.⁴⁸ Augustus

⁴⁵ See for example Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995); Nead.

⁴⁶ Vidler, p. 217; Jeremy Bentham, *Panopticon; or, The Inspection House* (Dublin and London: Thomas Payne, 1791), p. 8.

⁴⁷ Gaslight was attracting particular attention at this time with the passing of the Metropolitan Gas Act 1859 and the Sale of Gas Act 1860. For the gaslight's transformation of the stage, see Sharrona Pearl, 'Building Beauty: Physiognomy on the Gas-Lit Stage', *Endeavour*, 30.3 (2006), 84–89.

⁴⁸ 'A Looking-Glass for London', *The Penny Magazine*, 6.365 (1837), 473–75 (p. 474).

Mayhew's 1858 novel *Paved with Gold* depicts these streets following an opera performance, as the 'gas is flaring from the shop windows, and throwing out its brilliant rays until the entire street is lit up as a stage'.⁴⁹ Yet the gas-lighting seems inconsequential with respect to the unsavoury aspects of the area targeted by those concerned for London's social body; *Paved with Gold* seems to delight in noting how the opera's fashionable clientele intermingle with the disreputable underclasses in this 'great republic of vice' (Haymarket), a social divide that is symbolically mirrored by the 'chiaroscuro of gaslight'—its creation of gradients between light and dark.⁵⁰ (Cf. Figure 1 as a visual depiction of the same scene, from Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861); both works emerged from the Mayhew brothers' investigative journalism.) The promise of perfect security as a result of gaslighting seems a remote prospect in Mayhew's London, but the technology does serve adjacent functions; trying to determine the authenticity of a coin he has received, the novel's protagonist, Phil Merton, takes advantage of the artificial brightness and 'read[s] by gas-lamp' its inscription.⁵¹



Figure 1. The Haymarket at midnight, from Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861).

It is unclear if Braddon knew of Mayhew's depiction of the Haymarket, but her novel's treatment of visuality in the same area has several parallels to it.⁵²

⁴⁹ Augustus Mayhew, *Paved with Gold; Or, the Romance and Reality of the London Streets* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1858), p. 106.

⁵⁰ Mayhew, p. 106; Nead, p. 83.

⁵¹ Mayhew, p. 114.

⁵² There is a possible allusion to Mayhew's novel when, on Peters' arrival in London, he finds that '[this city] is not paved with gold certainly' (p. 260).

Foremost, the violent juxtaposition of social types described in *Paved with Gold* becomes in *Trail* a literal collision between the upper and lower classes:

As the Count and Countess [Jabez and Valerie] crossed from the doors of the opera-house to their carriage, a drunken man [the Smasher] came reeling past, and before the servants or policemen standing by could interfere, stumbled against Raymond de Marolles and knocked his hat off. He picked it up immediately, and, muttering some unintelligible apology, returned it to Raymond, looking, as he did so, very steadily in the face of M. de Marolles. The occurrence did not occupy a moment, and the Count was too finished a gentleman to make any disturbance. (p. 272)

In lieu of the opera glass, through which his compatriots nullified the distance separating them from Jabez, the Smasher makes himself physically proximate to his target so that he can take a 'jolly good look at him' (p. 273). The ruse proves effective, enabling him to identify the inconspicuous feature that marks Jabez as the right person; he later reports: 'I see the cut upon his forehead, [...], as you [Peters] told me to take notice of' (p. 273). This is an ironic modification of the act of reading performed in Paved with Gold; the Smasher inspects not a coin, but a face scarred by one—Sloshy's mother having thrown one at Jabez when he jilted her. Despite this difference, both actions speak to a desire to confirm authenticity in the modern city, and to the material transformations that enable verification by means of vision. It is perhaps surprising, therefore, that gaslight is not explicitly mentioned in Trail, even as its presence is clearly necessary for the Smasher to scrutinise Jabez at such a late hour. Whereas the notice of gaslight in *Paved with* Gold can be ascribed to that novel's journalistic concern for detail, I propose that its omission from *Trail* is accounted for by Nead's suggestion that many London residents were 'no longer amazed by gaslight illumination';53 it had become a naturalised and mundane aspect of the metropolitan landscape, making direct reference unnecessary. Its implicit presence is nonetheless informative of Trail's ideas about the character of modern visuality. Precisely, the novel corroborates the Benthamite promise of illumination technologies as a tool for greater security, discerning a future in which the signs of criminality are visible at all times and in increasingly many places.

The 'Chamber of Horrors': Criminality as Spectacle

The instances of scrutiny and identification considered in this article culminate in Jabez's apprehension and trial in Slopperton; sentenced to death, he takes his own life before an execution can be carried out. Yet this is not the final resting place for Braddon's criminal antagonist, for 'casts' and 'masks' are taken of Jabez and he is then put on display at the 'Chamber of Horrors' within the 'eminent wax-

⁵³ Nead, p. 83.

work exhibition' of Madame Tussaud's in London (p. 396). Here he is subjected to visual scrutiny in perpetuity:

Young ladies fell in love with him, and vowed that a being—they called him a being—with such dear blue glass eyes, with beautiful curly eyelashes, and specks of lovely vermillion in each corner, could never have committed a horrid murder, but was, no doubt, the innocent victim of that cruel circumstantial evidence. (p. 396-97)

This seemingly incidental addendum to Jabez's criminal career is in fact a densely allusive statement about the ambiguities of modern visuality. The first aspect that requires mention in this regard is that the 'Chamber of Horrors' is anachronistic, that exhibition having since 1855 been known as the 'Chamber of Comparative Physiognomy'.⁵⁴ While the original intent behind Tussaud's was to 'blend utility with amusement',⁵⁵ this change of name marked an attempt to elevate its polemic function above its titillating potential. The popular press interpreted it within a teleological frame, as an indication of the changing attitudes to violent spectacle: 'people have supped full of horrors, and, it may be hoped, have got sick of them', opined a writer for Punch, in an 1861 piece; for them it was an 'improvement' that meant one could now 'profit' from studying the exhibitions.⁵⁶ 'Horrors' remained an accurate description of the Chamber's contents, however, consisting as they did of atomised, waxwork body parts; the head of the revolutionary figure Maximilien Robespierre was a notorious case. Braddon's anachronism signals, then, the prospect of a return to, or a lack of progress from, finding pleasure in a sensational, violent aesthetic-a type of response perceived to be closely bound up with Britain's moral improvement.

The wax tableaux of the Chamber of Horrors were distinguished from those elsewhere in Tussaud's by being displayed absent of context; there was a disunity between the catalogue, which narrated aspects of the person's life and crimes, and the depiction of their violent deaths in isolation (shorn even of the apparatus that conducted the execution). As Lela Graybill recounts, such a setup offered a highly ambivalent visual experience:

The Chamber of Horrors neither offered nor depended on that kind of coherence [of the tableaux]. Its effectiveness grew instead out of nagging doubt—from the blurring of the line between the representational and the real [...] The pleasures of Madame Tussaud's display did not hinge on the

⁵⁴ Pearl, *About Faces*, pp. 38-9. For a history of the Chamber of Horrors as 'Gothic Tourism', see Chapter 2 of Emma McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism: Constructing Haunted England* (London: Palgrave, 2015).

⁵⁵ Lela Graybill, 'A Proximate Violence: Madame Tussaud's Chamber of Horrors', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, 9.2 (2010), 1–28 (p. 12). On the topic of vision's polemic potential see Grazia Zaffuto, "'Visual Education" as the Alternative Mode of Learning at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham', *Victorian Network*, 5.1 (2013), 9–27.

⁵⁶ 'Comparative Physiognomy', Punch, 1861, 9.

sublimation of such tensions into feelings of coherence, stability, and mastery.⁵⁷

It was the uncanny verisimilitude of the waxwork figures to real historical persons that instantiated this ambivalence about what was 'representational' and what was 'real'; with those less fragmentary and more 'complete' exhibits, viewers gained pleasure in a suspenseful judgement about whether they were alive or dead, to be eventually confirmed by the absence of expression or movement.⁵⁸ The subject was indeed 'almost alive', to borrow Uta Kornmeier's phrase, for the process of obtaining waxwork figures implied that the subject 'had also impressed, via the face, part of their personality into the wet plaster'; accordingly, they could be read like the living subject, only with more accuracy, if physiognomic principles were to be accepted, for there was the cessation of movement so keenly sought after by Lavater. Madame Tussaud herself belied the artistry involved in the waxwork process so as to augment its claims to verisimilitude: 'the mask was "taken" rather than "made". The waxwork thus gained an unmatched documentary status'.⁵⁹

These details most accurately describe the responses to exhibits not included in the Chamber of Horrors, for there could be no doubt regarding the lifelessness of the fragmentary parts displayed therein. It is nevertheless correct for Trail's depiction of the Chamber and its occupant, Jabez, who is exhibited as a full, i.e., non-atomised, figure, arrayed in 'boots' and 'evening costume' (p. 397). Presented in this way, Jabez more closely matches the 'full figure compositions of the main exhibition', such as the writer Voltaire, than he does Robespierre.⁶⁰ According to Kornmeier, visitors responded to the former as if he were poised to resume life, 'so "real" as to almost speak to the viewer'.⁶¹ This context is a vital one, for, as Graybill explains, it was expected that these complete figures of the main part of Tussaud's 'should be viewed with sympathy'⁶²—a stark contrast to the horrifying thrill cultivated by exhibits in the Chamber. Recognising this, it is possible to see the response of the 'young ladies'-who 'fell in love' with Jabez's waxwork—as something more than naivete; their sympathetic reading of this criminal figure is encouraged by the manner of his appearance. If this is another inaccuracy in Braddon's portrayal of Tussaud's, alongside the anachronistic name, then it is a purposive one. In contradiction of Punch's aspirations for the Chamber to have a polemic function, in *Trail* it is a site that perpetuates a false understanding of the world; Jabez fails as a case of 'Comparative Physiognomy' from which the public might learn to recognise the signs of criminality, and thus 'profit' from changed behaviour. Instead, he

⁵⁷ Graybill, pp. 19, 22.

⁵⁸ Uta Kornmeier, 'Almost Alive: The Spectacle of Verisimilitude in Madame Tussaud's Waxworks', in *Ephemeral Bodies: Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*, ed. by Roberta Panzanelli (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Publications, 2008), pp. 67–82 (p. 68).

⁵⁹ Kornmeier, p. 76.

⁶⁰ Graybill, p. 15.

⁶¹ Kornmeier, p. 73.

⁶² Graybill, p. 15.

spotlights the ambiguity and potential for misreading that inheres to visuality, and which appears irresolvable by technological and material progress, since greater verisimilitude would likely only enhance the changes of a sympathetic reading.

If, as this article has outlined, Trail broaches optimistic conclusions about the direction of modern visuality, its concluding image disrupts this by foregrounding visual incoherency. Yet it is fitting that Jabez should become a sympathetic figure within a space designed to arouse different feelings, for Trail consistently elides distinctions between types of visual practice and the places designed for their use; the leisurely gaze of the tourist proves amenable to detective purposes, as do the spatial arrangements and apparatus of the theatre. Braddon's novel contests the anxiety that criminality will become lost within the 'big-city crowd' (Benjamin), but it does not subscribe to its teleological alternative either, namely, the idea of 'transparency' so sought after by those authorities concerned for the city's social body. Instead, Trail seems more ambivalent about the prospect of accessing truth through vision; the 'almost alive' (Kornmeier) status of its criminal antagonist-whose criminal career so successfully manipulated everything visual-testifies to things unresolved within modern visuality, and a pessimism about the ability for them to ever be resolved. Moreover, by locating Jabez in the metropolitan centre, as Tussaud's was originally situated in London's Baker Street, Braddon brings a sizeable portion of her readership into symbolic confrontation with these ongoing uncertainties. That is, I suggest, part of *Trail*'s appeal; to modify Graybill's claim about what drew audiences to Tussaud's Chamber of Horrors, the 'pleasures' of reading Braddon's first novel do not depend on sublimating ambivalence into 'feelings of coherence, stability, and mastery'-instead they emerge from its foregrounding of the indeterminacies that inhabit modern visuality.

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