Arthur Conan Doyle and the American West

Jessica R. Valdez

Most adaptations of *A Study in Scarlet* leave out the novel's second half, when it is revealed that the London murders were part of a revenge plot. In this half, an omniscient narrator envisions a mysterious American West tamed by a group of despotic Mormons. Scholarship has long analyzed the use of orientalism in Arthur Conan Doyle's stories, whether in reference to India, as in "The Speckled Band," or in depictions of London, as in the opium den scene of "The Man with the Twisted Lip." This paper considers Arthur Conan Doyle's construction of the "East" alongside his first novel's vision of the American West. By drawing upon intersecting approaches to imagining the American West and the "East," Conan Doyle conveys a pervasive anxiety surrounding the United States and the kind of defused power it came to represent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This paper is part of a larger project that analyzes the imaginative significance of competing empires (the United States and China) in shaping nineteenth-century British anxieties about democracy. British writers saw the United States alternately as a land of democratic promise and as a country ruled by despotic majority. China, on the other hand, was seen as timeless and unchanging, governed by what John Stuart Mill calls the "despotism of Custom." I contend that British writers navigated debates about democracy by blurring together conceptual opposites: figures of Asian despotism and American democracy.

Jessica R. Valdez is an assistant professor of English at the University of Hong Kong. Her first book – *Plotting the News in the Victorian Novel* – is forthcoming in June 2020 with Edinburgh University Press. Before joining HKU, she earned her Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University.

2.

The Fires of Fate: Conan Doyle's Desert Drama Douglas Kerr

Conan Doyle's *The Fires of Fate*, "some of which is certainly the best dramatic work that I have ever done" (*Memories and Adventures*), was first staged in 1909 in a burst of theatrical activity that would see three more of his plays appear within a year. It is based on the earlier novella *The Tragedy of the Korosko*, about a group of Western tourists on the Nile in 1894, who are captured by forces of the Khalifa. The author stage-managed the play himself and was anxious to make the onstage violence as believable and shocking as possible. He had spent time in Egypt in 1895-96, and briefly accompanied Kitchener's expeditionary force up the Nile, at the start of the war against the Khalifa which would culminate at Omdurman. While they contain plenty of contemporary orientalist and racist tropes, both novella and play reflect on the fortunes and obligations of empire. *The Fires of Fate*, however, is not a simple dramatic treatment of the earlier tale. Conan Doyle makes significant changes, and adds depth, to the central male character, a role that was to be taken by the star actor Lewis Waller. He also provides the Egyptian story with a substantial

prehistory, set in London, a new plot strand and a new personal, existential dimension to the drama of adventure and love.

The Fires of Fate has never been published, but the script submitted for approval to the Lord Chamberlain's office is lodged in the British Library. This paper introduces the play into the Conan Doyle conversation.

Douglas Kerr is general editor of *The Edinburgh Edition of the Works of Arthur Conan Doyle*, for which he is editing *Memories and Adventures*. He is the author of *Conan Doyle: Writing*, *Profession, and Practice* (Oxford UP, 2013), and of other books on Wilfred Owen, George Orwell, and colonial literature.

3.

An Exotic and Threatened Inheritance: Exploring the Anglo-Indian Gothic of 'Uncle Jeremy's Household' Paul M. Chapman

This paper will present an examination of the seldom reprinted story 'Uncle Jeremy's Household'. Written in the summer of 1885, it was originally submitted to *Blackwood's Magazine*, but eventually appeared in the less prestigious *Boy's Own Paper* (perhaps accounting for its relative obscurity) in early 1887. 'Uncle Jeremy's Household' was Arthur Conan Doyle's first foray into the field of Anglo-Indian mystery and would pave the way for *The Mystery of Cloomber* (1888) and, more significantly, *The Sign of the Four* (1890).I propose to explore the implications of the story's deliberately incongruous blend of Indian exoticism – personified by the morally and culturally ambiguous figure of the enigmatic Anglo-Indian governess (and Thug Princess), Miss Warrender – and remote northern English setting, wherein a discourse is opened about the actual proximity of a seemingly distant Empire and its inhabitants.

At the heart of the story, and my examination of it, is the interrelation of two very different narratives of imperilled inheritance. The first, which provides the ostensible plotline, revolves around the duplicitous attempt by Uncle Jeremy's secretary to usurp his nephew's rightful legacy. The second concerns Miss Warrender's displaced Indian heritage, taken from her by her father's death and dispossession following his anti-British stance in the Indian Mutiny/Rebellion of 1857-59. Conan Doyle's reworking of the standard nineteenth century Gothic formula will also be placed within the context of his biography, and literary traditions and influences, with particular reference to three immensely popular exotically-themed sensation novels; *Confessions of a Thug* (1839) by Philip Meadows Taylor, *The Wandering Jew* (1845) by Eugene Sue and *The Moonstone* (1868) by Wilkie Collins.

Paul M. Chapman is a writer on genre fiction. Edited Holmes/Doyle journal *The Ritual*. Written for *Sherlock* magazine and other periodicals. Introduced editions of Le Fanu and *Dracula*, and authored a book on Dracula and Whitby. Co-organised 2018 M.R. James conference. Currently writing study of Gothic Conan Doyle and co-hosting 'Doings of Doyle' podcast.

4.

Re-Visioning the Detective *Flaneur*: Sherlock Holmes to Charlotte Holmes Annette Wren

Since Sherlock Holmes's entry into the public domain in the 2014 legal case *Klinger v. Conan Doyle Estate*, there has been an explosion of adaptation and appropriation of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's consulting detective, particularly in the United States. My presentation examines U.S.-based Sherry Thomas's *A Study in Scarlet Women* (2016), the first in her Neo-Victorian *Lady Sherlock* novel series, which appropriates Sherlock Holmes to present the reader with Lady Charlotte Holmes. In order to free herself of societal conventions, Lady Charlotte purposefully seduces an already-married man, flees the Holmes household, and begins a new life with a widowed stage actress, Mrs. Watson. A woman of extraordinary deductive powers, Lady Charlotte utilizes the guise of "Sherlock Holmes" to aid distraught lovers, Scotland Yard, and cloak-and-dagger government figures.

I argue that Thomas's series revisions the relationship between Sherlock Holmes and the City. In the Sherlock Holmes canon, the detective is a *flaneur*; his privileged male gaze and ability to freely traverse London situate him firmly within the confines of Victorian masculinity. As a woman, and more specifically as a *transgressive* woman, Lady Charlotte's presence in the City is an infraction against traditional Victorian gender codes that idealize the "angel in the house." In other words: Lady Charlotte appropriates the male *flaneur* presence to disrupt gender conventions. Moreover, Thomas's Neo-Victorian novel with its New Woman protagonist echoes Conan Doyle's own attention to the New Woman in characters such as Irene Adler ("A Scandal in Bohemia"), Violet Hunter ("The Adventure of the Copper Beeches"), and Violet Smith ("The Adventure of the Solitary Cyclist"). Thus, while *A Study in Scarlet Women* is an appropriation of Conan Doyle's consulting detective, Thomas nevertheless plays to conventions in the Sherlock Holmes canon while crafting a female *flaneur*.

Annette Wren obtained her doctorate in December 2019. Titled "Now Watson, the fair sex is your department": Gender and Sexuality in Post-2010 Sherlock Holmes Adaptations, she examines gender and sexuality in transatlantic post-2010 adaptations of Conan Doyle's detective. Dr. Wren teaches a variety of courses focused on crime, detective fiction, and Victorian studies.

5.

An 'odour of science': Arthur Conan Doyle's Medical Gothic Minna Vuohelainen

A 'curious paper might be read', the general practitioner Dr Foster remarks in Arthur Conan Doyle's short story 'A Medical Document' (1894), 'about the uses of medicine in popular

fiction'. In the course of the 1890s, Doyle produced a handful of medical Gothic tales, including some masterful examples of the genre. This body of work includes periodical tales such as 'The Surgeon of Gaster Fell' (Chambers's Journal, 1890), 'Lot No. 249' (Harper's Magazine, 1892), 'The Case of Lady Sannox' (Idler Magazine, 1893) and 'The Retirement of Signor Lambert' (Pearson's Magazine, 1898), as well as stories collected in Round the Red Lamp (1894) such as 'The Third Generation', 'A Medical Document' and 'The Surgeon Talks'. Though largely set in England, the stories draw on Doyle's medical studies in Edinburgh and his subsequent, difficult experience of medical practice, and their macabre atmosphere and fascination with the more grotesque and disturbing elements of the medical profession reveal the influence of Robert Louis Stevenson's earlier Scottish-inflected medical Gothic, particularly 'The Body Snatcher' (1884) and Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde (1886). This paper investigates Doyle's deployment and modification of Gothic conventions, which serve to infuse his medical stories with a potent and sinister 'odour of science'.² In addressing medical diagnoses and experiences ranging from the unspeakable (syphilis, genital mutilation) to the disturbing and the uncanny (mental illness, physical deformity) to the terrifyingly mundane (skin complaints, childbirth), the stories Gothicise the medical encounter by presenting the consulting room and the operating theatre as spaces of fear and horror, stressing the re-emergence of past transgressions (including those of previous generations) in present suffering, juxtaposing diagnosis and privacy, and foregrounding the interplay between the horror of continued uncertainty and devastating revelation.

Minna Vuohelainen is Senior Lecturer in English at City, University of London. Her publications include the monograph *Richard Marsh* (2015), the coedited essay collections *Interpreting Primo Levi: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (2015, with Arthur Chapman) and *Richard Marsh, Popular Fiction and Literary Culture, 1890–1915: Rereading the Fin de Siècle* (2018, with Victoria Margree and Daniel Orrells), and special issues of *Victorian Periodicals Review* on the *Strand Magazine* (with Emma Liggins, 2019) and of *Victorian Popular Fictions Journal* on mapping (2019).

6.

The Study of Footprints: Medical Jurisprudence in 19th-Century Scotland Christine D. Myers

Though credit for the start of forensic investigations of crime scenes in the Victorian Era is often given to Arthur Conan Doyle via Sherlock Holmes, university courses on Forensic Medicine or Medical Jurisprudence were in existence for most of the nineteenth century. Similarly, textbooks discussing subjects ranging from bloodstains to toxicology were circulated throughout Europe and the United States and translated into most academic

¹ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'A Medical Document', in *Round the Red Lamp*, ed. by Robert Darby (Kansas City, Missouri: Valancourt, 2007), pp. 131-41 (p. 138).

² Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Surgeon Talks', in *Round the Red Lamp*, ed. by Robert Darby (Kansas City, Missouri: Valancourt, 2007), pp. 197-204 (p. 198).

languages. Rich as these sources are, piecing their content together does not result in a complete understanding of how the academic information was interpreted and subsequently used by investigators of actual crimes.

In this paper, I will focus on an analysis of lecture notes taken by Scottish students in the university classroom. These notes make it possible to see not only what knowledge was available for students of medical jurisprudence to read, but also how they were told by their professors to use it practically. To make the analysis more manageable, I will limit it to the developing understanding of the use of footprints in forensic investigation. Unlike finding fingerprints on an object that could be removed and studied in a lab, footprints had to be studied on site, adding difficulties to their use as evidence. Not only did Conan Doyle include footprint evidence in nearly thirty Holmes stories, he chose to make Holmes an expert on the subject, despite Conan Doyle not writing from a position of expertise himself.

As this research is part of a larger study of Victorian university education about murder, the focus on footprints will be set in the broader evolution of legislation on crime and the gradual acceptance of scientific evidence in courts of law. The ways in which the Scottish experience, in which Conan Doyle was trained, was unique within the United Kingdom will also be considered.

Dr. Christine D. Myers earned her doctorate in History from the University of Strathclyde in 2000. Her current research is on the study of murder in Victorian universities. She regularly presents papers on aspects of this project at conferences in the U.S. and Europe. For specifics see http://cdmyers.info/conferences.html.

7.

"Conversion of the unbeliever": Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Spiritualism and the Gothic Kyle J.L. DeDecker

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's career as a medical doctor, coupled with his longstanding publication of Sherlock Holmes, seemingly marked him a wholehearted advocate of empiricism and rationality. Yet in October of 1916, Doyle astounded his readers by announcing his conversion to Spiritualism, a conversion that remains for his biographers the "central paradox of [his] life" (Lycett 141). While many critics, like Hilary Grimes and Erinn Fry, have observed Doyle's Spiritualism in the context of Sherlock Holmes or through his non-fiction, few, if any, have pointed to where this tension is most plain to see: his vastly under-studied *Gothic Tales*. I propose that Doyle's Gothic fiction offers unique enactment of his struggle to understand and reconcile his growing acceptance of the spirit world with his formal training in medicine and science. As a genre, the Gothic inherently invites, as Christopher Metress points out, tensions between "rational scientific naturalism and the irrational and supernatural"; it naturally drew together many of Doyle's primary religious and spiritual concerns (414). As a result of the epistemological and philosophical shifts away from the Anglican Church accompanying the *fin de siècle*, Doyle's Gothic fiction, as he established himself as a member of the Society for Psychical Research and defined his ideas

of Spiritualism, adopts a language far different from Sherlock Holmes, as one example. I argue that a close examination of the narrative and poetic devices present in Doyle's *Gothic Tales* will not only trace his ideas of Spiritualism as they evolved, but contribute to a new understanding of *fin de siècle* Gothic as a cultural force, pinpointing how, exactly, Doyle's Gothic enabled him to articulate the inexplicable.

Kyle DeDecker is a recently graduated Honours student, pursuing graduate research in Canada on the Victorian fin de siècle and its relation to Gothic literature. Having recently presented undergraduate research at graduate conferences in Canada and the United States, Kyle is interested in everything from religion and spirituality in Victorian literature, fin de siècle Gothic, to American novelist Cormac McCarthy.

8.

"Situating Sherlock": Mapping Sherlock Holmes's London in the *Strand Magazine*. Clare Clarke

Geography has always been a crucial element of crime fiction – whether it is the rural country houses of Agatha Christie or the mean streets of Raymond Chandlers Los Angeles. And whether Sherlock to you means Basil Rathbone, Jeremey Brett, or Benedict Cumberbatch, Sherlock Holmes is inseparably linked with gaslit foggy London in the cultural imagination. This paper will present work from my latest project to map geographical locations in the Sherlock Holmes stories which were first published in the Strand Magazine from 1891 to 1927. Text-mining techniques have identified geographical locations, character journeys, and sites of crimes within the stories. Using the open-source Spatial Humanities resources Story Maps/Neatline, this project captures, analyses, and presents spatial and geographic data in a new way, charting the depiction of Sherlock's journeys through London's slums and suburbs, alongside nineteenth-century documents, pictures, and writings on those places. The publicly-accessible visualisations of findings will allow scholars, but also an international public audience, to better understand and interact with the fascinating gaslit streets and opium dens of Sherlock Holmes's world. The project seeks to integrate stories and mapping in a cyclical model that moves between reading the stories, mapping and visualising, analysing, and returning to look at the text in a new way. This project will illuminate Doyle's work and help readers gain access to the geographical world of the Sherlock Holmes stories, exploring what their depictions of the city, countryside, and nation can tell readers about Victorian ideas on space, class, crime, and gender, and race.

Dr Clare Clarke is lecturer in nineteenth century popular literature at the School of English, Trinity College Dublin, in Ireland. She teaches and researches widely in the fields of crime and detective fiction, 19th-century literature, and nineteenth century newspaper and periodical studies. Her first book, *Late Victorian Crime Fiction in the Shadows of Sherlock* (2014) was awarded the HRF Keating prize in 2015. Her second monograph, *British Detective*

Fiction: the successors to Sherlock Holmes was published by Palgrave Macmillan in spring 2020.

9.

"Seeing That Which is Invisible to Others": Doyle, Fairies, and Hellish Hounds Josh Dobbs

In *The Coming of The Fairies* (1922), Arthur Conan Doyle promotes and endorses the ultimately fraudulent Cottingley fairy photographs while discussing the role of the fairies in his Spiritualist worldview. Such a belief did not suddenly develop alongside the photographs but would have been cultivated earlier in his childhood through the Victorian fairy art produced by both his father Richard Doyle and his uncle Charles Altamont Doyle. Doyle also spent much of his childhood in Edinburgh, a hub of literary fairy activity. Robert Kirk received his master's degree at the University of Edinburgh, returned to Aberfoyle, and wrote *The Secret Commonwealth* (1691-1692), his treatise on the fairies. Walter Scott, born and raised in Edinburgh, similarly studied fairies in "On the Fairies of Popular Superstition," an essay from his early work *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802). His contemporary, James Hogg, was a frequent contributor to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and self-proclaimed "king o' the mountain and fairy school" (*The Domestic Manner and Private Life of Sir Walter Scott*, 1834). J. M. Barrie graduated from the University of Edinburgh two decades before staging Peter Pan's flight with the fairies.

Critics often find it paradoxical that Doyle could both defend fairy belief and create the ratiocinative Sherlock Holmes. Yet in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902), the fairy world and ratiocination complement each other. It is the frequently fallible Watson who notes, "if I have one quality upon earth it is common-sense, and nothing will persuade me to believe in such a thing. To do so would be to descend to the level of these poor peasants." Holmes does not disparage the locals' belief in the hound, but rather finds glimpses of truth in the tales of the hellish fairy beast.

Josh Dobbs works on Victorian literature and Celtic folklore as a PhD candidate at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He is currently writing *Scary Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Literature*, his dissertation which explores how the fairies from folklore, as opposed to their fairytale kin, are employed throughout nineteenth-century British literature.

10.

Place, Space, and Identity: A Three-Pronged Consideration of Edinburgh's Impact on Doyle, Doyle's Impact Edinburgh - And What It Means For The Rest of Us

Jennifer Nichols

The notion of how physical location in terms of place and space and the impact it has on a person's self-perception, outward persona, and legacy is a fascinating notion. For our

discussion, we utilize a three-pronged approach to analyzing the relationship(s) and impact(s) of place, space, and identity in consideration of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and the city of Edinburgh. First, consider the place and space. To this end, we consider the fact that just as the impact of place and space has an a person's identity, a similar phenomenon occurs in terms of how that person impacted the collective identity of that same space and place. In this vein, we consider Edinburgh's power and mystique (Edinburgh's 'it' factor, if you will) in relation to Doyle's presence, work, and legacy – including what it was, what it is, and what it shall be. Secondly, consider the person and their identity. Just as we are mindful of Doyle's impact on Edinburgh, we also examine the significance of what it means to be 'from' a place, to be 'from' Edinburgh – what a person brings to a place, how that place shapes a person, as well as how that place- and space-shaped identity and experience impacts others as a person lives, interacts, and works with the identity of being a person 'from' a particular place and space. Finally, we consider the legacy as a result of these relationship(s) and impact(s). Within this third and final analysis, we consider the symbiotic (and ongoing) impact of place, space, and identity in relation to Edinburgh and Doyle as a foundation to examine what these impact(s) and relationship(s) may hold in terms of legacy for other uniquely-identifiable writers and scholars from other spaces and places.

Jennifer Dolan Trent-Nichols is a scholar, writer, and learning and development leader based in rural western Texas. Her work serves to help communities, universities, schools, organizations, and businesses implement evidence-based solutions. She is a graduate of The University of Southern California and Texas Tech University.

11.

Speed and Stasis: Stimulants, Paralytics, and Narrative Velocity in *The Sign of Four*Ashlee Simon

Sherlock Holmes's performance of intravenous cocaine administration in *The Sign of Four* has been interpreted in connection to cosmopolitanism and Empirical possession. What has been overlooked is the relationship between pharmacological substances mentioned in the novella, cocaine and curare, and their subsequent correlation to the narrative's unfolding diegesis. This paper posits that Holmes' use of cocaine and its stimulation, contrasted with what was likely curare, a paralytic alkaloid extract that potentiates the poison darts used by the Andaman islander Tonga, mirrors the narrative velocity of *The Sign of Four*. The opposition of pharmacological agents espouses scientific deduction and the unique articulation presented within the detective fiction genre.

Speed surrounds the technology of communication at the narrative level, the affordances of the novella form, and Holmes's need for constant mental stimulation. This is all juxtaposed with the incorporation of curare, the paralytic that suspends Bartholomew Shalto's facial muscles into an unnatural grin. The presence of this paralytic also halts the narrative arc's progression toward closure, resulting in a period of stagnation that seems out of place in the quickly moving plot of the detective fiction novella. Although initially used as a tincture with coca leaves, pure cocaine was isolated shortly before the novella's publication following which public opinion about the drug began to shift, and during a time where experiments were also being conducted on curare's paralytic abilities.

It is no coincidence that these substances, used to block or enhance the senses, are pivotal to the fiction they work within. The medical history of these chemicals informs Victorian literature in the speed and effectiveness of the delivery method, as well as the knowledge acquisition and mental stimulation of the reader. Much like Holmes's return to the cocaine bottle, readers are left paralyzed, desperately searching for stimuli in other forms of narrative.

Ashlee Simon is a second-year master's student at Lehigh University. Her work focuses on 19th century British literature and medicine, with a focus on the history of substances. She is currently developing her MA thesis on chloroform robberies during the nineteenth century.

12.

Sherlock Holmes and Asmodeus's Kaleidoscope

Sara Hackenberg

While Conan Doyle readily admitted some of his sources for Sherlock Holmes—including real-life Edinburgh doctor Joseph Bell and fictional ratiocinator Auguste Dupin—I argue in this paper that the author also shaped his famous sleuth in response to the hugely popular mid-century genre of city mysteries. Tracing Holmes's connections to the urban mysteries can help us understand some of the more radical elements of the Holmes corpus, including why in the very first Holmes short story, "A Scandal in Bohemia," Conan Doyle has his sleuth bested by "adventuress" Irene Adler.

The urban mysteries explosion, sparked by Eugène Sue's Les Mystères de Paris (1842-3), imagined the transatlantic city as a space so secretive that one could only penetrate it with a "microscopic eye" (G.W.M. Reynolds's phrase in The Mysteries of London [1844]). The genre also, however, delights in turning microscopes into kaleidoscopes. In George Thompson's 1849 New York urban mysteries novel Revelations of Asmodeus, the demon Asmodeus (famous for being able to fly over the city and see through its roofs and walls, and thus a kind of mascot for the Mysteries), gives the narrator a magic device, resembling a pair of magnifying opera glasses, that he calls a "social kaleidoscope," which is supposed to reveal "all things in two aspects—as they seem, and as they really are." While Asmodeus's apparatus purports to detect and reveal the city and its inhabitants as they "really are," it actually shows such endless deception that it utterly confounds classification and demands instead a radical reevaluation of social commonality. Conan Doyle's initial descriptions of Holmes in the *Strand* stories also merge microscopic and Asmodeus vision—the sleuth is both "a sensitive instrument" with "high powered lenses" and someone who imagines "hover[ing] over this great city" and seeing through it roofs—in ways that work to bring Holmes to acknowledge commonality with even those he initially finds most dissimilar to himself.

Sara Hackenberg is an Associate Professor of English at San Francisco State University. She has published articles on 19th-century mystery; Victorian visual culture; early cinema; and

transatlantic sensational serials by Dickens, Reynolds, Rhymer, and Alcott. She is currently completing a monograph on the genre of mystery, titled "The Mysteries of Modern Life: Popular Narrative and the Politics of Vision."

13.

The Fascinating Fictions of Arthur Conan Doyle

Gordon Bates

ACD's interest in spiritualism and rejection of medical materialism are widely known. Both aspects are reflected in his life and in his gothic short stories. Before his writing career took off, he participated in seances, experiments in telepathy and theatrical hypnotic performances. He believed his Celtic blood made him psychically sensitive. He wrote several fictions that reflected his lifelong fascination with hypnotism including the Edinburgh-set, *John Barrington Cowles* (1884) and *The Parasite* (1894).

Doyle had attended the Edinburgh medical school from 1876-1881. It was intellectually active throughout the nineteenth century with long-standing links to hypnotism and mesmerism. The lecturer in mesmerism, Spenser Hall and the physician chemist, Professor William Gregory both taught at the University during the 1840s first wave of British mesmerism. The physicians, James Braid who coined the term 'hypnotism', and James Milne Bramwell, who helped to popularise medical hypnotism in the 1890s, were also graduates. Doyles's knowledge and expertise in the subject, which were enhanced by his membership of the Society for Psychical Research (SPR), lend a contemporary authenticity to his short stories. The SPR was a society dedicated to conducting scholarly research into human experiences, previously inexplicable to science. They rigorously investigated hauntings, thought transference and hypnosis. Although fringe sciences like parapsychology are less respectable today, the society was prestigious and included several Nobel prize winners, influential early psychologists and medical practitioners.

Despite Doyle's genuine scientific curiosity towards hypnotism, his gothic stories betray many of the associated anxieties of fin de siècle British society about the technology: from loss of personal agency to fears of sexual domination. I will explore the relationships between Doyle's life and his hypnotic fiction, publications that he later tried to suppress. I will demonstrate his personal ambivalence towards the subject and Edinburgh's wider contributions to hypnotism.

Gordon Bates is a practising NHS psychiatrist with an interest in the medical humanities and an honorary senior lecturer at the University of Warwick. He is completing a PhD examining the re-emergence of the fringe science of hypnotism in late Victorian Britain with supervision from Professor Luckhurst at Birkbeck.

14.

'Un Soldat dans l'armée Anglaise': Sherlock Holmes on the Home Front Catherine Wynne In A Visit to Three Fronts (1916) Arthur Conan Doyle recounts his visits to the allied front lines. On 11 June Doyle attended an "elaborate" dinner in St Menehould in north-east France at which "there was a special menu card whose crest bore a drawing of pipe, revolver and violin to represent Sherlock Holmes" (Carr, 309). This prompted the French General Humbert to question Doyle about the detective: "'Sherlock Holmes, est ce qu'il est un soldat dans l'armée Anglaise?" To which Doyle replied: "'il est trop vieux pour service'" (Doyle, A Visit, 85). 'His Last Bow', which appeared in *The Strand Magazine* in September the following year, reveals Holmes's activities on the verge of the war in his capture of a German spy in Britain. Holmes's appearance in *The Strand* in 1917 represented his contribution to the war effort. But Holmes, as this paper argues, was a "soldat" long before 'His Last Bow'. Three stories in the canon reveal his attempt to keep Britain safe amidst domestic betrayal. Each of these stories – 'The Adventure of the Naval Treaty', 'The Adventure of the Second Stain' and 'The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans' – involves the theft of key documents (a treaty, a letter and submarine plans respectively) vital to British national interests, and to the maintenance of European stability. Much like The Hound of the Baskervilles, which was written in the aftermath of the second Anglo-Boer war, these stories reveal instability on the home front involving both domestic treachery and a crisis in manhood. The male victims of the stories experience mental ill-health variously leading to 'brain-fever' and suicide, and they require both the detective's solution and Watson's medical intervention. The problems of the Home Front thus emerge at the levels of the domestic, the personal and the psychological and have geo-political implications.

Dr Catherine Wynne is Reader in Victorian and Early-Twentieth Century Literature and Visual Culture at the University of Hull. She is author of *The Colonial Conan Doyle* and is editing a new edition of *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* for Oxford World Classics. Her most recent work is the critical biography *Lady Butler: War Artist and Traveller, 1846-1933* (Four Courts Press, 2019).

16

A Study in Spirits: Arthur Conan Doyle's Linkage of Mormonism, Spiritualism, and the Pursuit of Primitive Christianity During His Second Spiritualist Tour of America Zeki Salah

This paper explores Arthur Conan Doyle's visit to Salt Lake City, Utah on his 1923 tour of America during which he proslytized Spiritualism. By reading local reports of Doyle's tour, his travelogue, and transcripts of his speeches, I argue that Doyle presented Spiritualism as restorationist form of Christianity akin to Mormonism. I situate my argument against the view that Spiritualists promoted their beliefs by claiming to reconcile scientific and religious tensions that characterized the turn of the twentieth century. In his Spiritualist rhetoric, Doyle's engagement with a diversity of American religious desires that often superseded his intents to present the religion as scientific and rational. In Salt Lake City, Doyle appealed to a predominantly Mormon audience by focusing on religious similarities between Spiritualism and Mormonism and stressing their shared lineage as new religions that seek to foster a restoration of "primitive Christianity." I trace the development of Doyle's interest in Mormonism through an investigation of his first Sherlock Holmes story, A Study in Scarlet. In A Study, Doyle was highly critical of the Mormon church hierarchy, but presented

Mormonism as having an eclectic combination of modern and primitive values that fosters social progression. This notion of Mormonism as an innovative hybrid of ideas reappeared in Doyle's Spiritualist rhetoric as he argued that both Spiritualism and Mormonism seek to restore primitive Christian practices by looking to otherworldly sources. Despite this positive view of Mormonism, Doyle utilized his tour through Salt Lake City to ultimately argue that Spiritualism was the superior religious choice. After his tour, Doyle continued to criticize the authority of the Mormon priesthood, arguing that it encouraged polygamy and excluded outsiders. On the other hand, Doyle proposed that Spiritualism offered an egalitarian method of accessing primitive Christian truths, unrestrained by institutionalism and offering a clearer path towards social progress.

Zeki Salah recently graduated from Coe College, in Cedar Rapids, Iowa where he completed an honors thesis examining Arthur Conan Doyle's Spiritualist rhetoric during his 1923 tour of America. This thesis marked the culmination of two years of research drawing from the Newberry Library's C. Frederick Kittle Collection of Doyleana.