

コレラとしてのアナキスト

—H・G・ウェルズの短編「盗まれた細菌」について—

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Foreign Anarchist as Germ Carrier: A Study of "The Stolen Bacillus"(1894)

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But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares
among the wheat, and went his way.

(Matthew 13:25)

Last came Anarchy: he rode
On a white horse, splashed with blood;
He was pale even to the lips,
Like Death in the Apocalypse.¹

(P. B. Shelley, "The Mask of Anarchy," 1832)

He generally arrived in London (like the influenza) from the Continent...²

(Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent*, 1907)

Introduction

"The Stolen Bacillus," a short story about an anarchist's attempt to spread cholera bacillus over London, is the first fiction with the signature of H. G. Wells.³ Certainly Wells had contributed a number of miscellaneous articles and reviews before "The Stolen Bacillus" which was printed in the *Pall Mall Budget* on the 21st of June in 1894, but most of these writings were anonymous. If not, they were entirely non-fictional, like the *Text-book of Biology* (1893), or *Honours Physiography* (1893). "The Stolen Bacillus" was, therefore, precisely the beginning of his glorious career as writer and so-called "prophet" of his own time.

"The Stolen Bacillus" has, however, been generally underestimated or ignored. To put it most strongly, this neglect is also true of the other short stories. "The Stolen Bacillus" was followed by fourteen excellent short stories which mainly appeared in the *Pall Mall Budget* until 1895. In the same year, these fifteen short stories were collected and published under

the title of *The Stolen Bacillus and Other Incidents*. Although this collection was reviewed favourably by contemporary journals and some of these short stories were republished again, it is no exaggeration to say that it was not popular at least in the academic world. Few academic books, in fact, have prominently discussed these short stories except *H. G. Wells and Short Stories* by J. R. Hammond, the editor of the complete short stories of Wells.⁴ In terms of "The Stolen Bacillus," even Hammond's study touches only briefly as this is his first signed story. But that might be what Wells himself predicted. In the introduction to his short stories in 1911, he said that he wanted his works to be "found in the bedrooms of convalescents and in dentist's parlours and railway trains than in gentleman's studies."⁵

Certainly, with respect to the novel, Wells left many *Bildungsromans*, like *Kipps* (1905) and *Tono-Bungay* (1909) although some of them were developed more artistically while others degenerated into less popular voluminous novels. But, his better known fictions essentially belong to the short story or novelette because these key points contain the originality of his notions like time travel or invasion from Mars. Sometimes these conceptions have been generalised and propagated everywhere in more popular form than his text itself.

The reason for the unpopularity of *The Stolen Bacillus* may have something to do with the simple fact that it was published between the well known *The Time Machine* (1895) and *The Island of Dr. Moreau* (1896). Looking at the chronological bibliography, Wells's other early short stories, like *The Plattner Story* (1897) or *Thirty Strange Stories* (1897) seemed to be thrown into the shade by his really groundbreaking novels, *The Invisible Man* (1897) also, *The War of the Worlds* (1898) and so on.

As far as the development of the conception was concerned, his short stories, however, may demonstrate the originalities or caprices more briskly and sometimes better than the longer pieces. As Wells foresaw his fate, the stories might be consumed merely for time killing and therefore his conceptions might be appropriated and applied by other media, particularly movies. In a sense, the conceptions of Wells spread like an infectious bacillus.

"The Stolen Bacillus," for example, deserves to be regarded as one of the first influential stories to articulate the possibility of the bacteriological weapon or hazard. We can confirm again his genius in prophesying the future as in the remarkable prediction of the "Atomic Bomb" in *The World Set Free* (1914).⁶ But as I will show later, we can go back to another older source or similar ideas to the bacteriological weapon before "The Stolen Bacillus." It will lead us to the problem of plagiarism raised by Ingvald Raknem. In *H. G. Wells and His Critics*⁷ he accused Wells of being a plagiarist citing a number of examples from less well-known writers contemporary with Wells. But this resemblance and "plagiarism," according to Raknem, would not explain the reason why the similar Wells's stories survived instead of the other writers' writings. Actually, these later Victorian writers whom Raknem mentions had already become less popular by the 1910s "with the sole exception of Joseph Conrad," if Wells's own proud remarks are correct.⁸ In the preface of another collection of short stories Wells quoted his former rivals at the end of the 19th century and suggested that it was uncommon for their

writings to be still republished at that time.

The idea of "appropriation" in postcolonialism would give a clue to the situation. Appropriation is to borrow some materials positively in order to rebuild or deconstruct. Putting this in other words, demonstrating the manner in which the materials are transformed is more crucial rather than revealing the origin or sources of the ideas.

The pioneer work of Bergonzi will be helpful here because he observed that the short stories in *The Stolen Bacillus and Other Incidents* "bear obvious signs of their journalistic origin," although he did not discuss in detail.⁹ Following the idea of appropriation, therefore, we can show that Wells assembled and remodelled the precedent subconscious narratives to articulate them as seminal prototype and disseminate them further. That is the object of this paper. More concretely, I am going to analyse "The Stolen Bacillus" within the *fin de siècle* context, particularly from the viewpoint of anarchism and the idea of germ warfare, and evaluate what Wells stole or appropriated from his forerunners.

Foreign Anarchist as Dynamiter

"The Stolen Bacillus" is a story about an anarchist's attempt to disseminate cholera bacillus over London. The story begins with a scene in which a bacteriologist shows a preparation of cholera bacillus to a visitor in a laboratory. Since the visitor enquires, the bacteriologist shows a sealed tube and tells him that it is a living cholera bacillus which could cause a massacre if it was poured into the water supply. The scientist explains how dangerous it is. Taking advantage of an unguarded moment, the visitor, a disguised anarchist who had forged a letter of introduction, steals the tube. He is chased by the bacteriologist not unnaturally all in a fluster, the latter pursued by his wife bringing his shoes and hat. The violence of the cab chase breaks the tube and the anarchist swallows its content. Escaping from the bacteriologist, he cries out to the bacteriologist triumphantly "Vive l'Anarchie" with the emptied tube and disappears into the crowd at the Waterloo Bridge. After the arrival of his wife, the bacteriologist explains to her that the visitor is an anarchist and that the content of the tube is in fact harmless bacteria that will cause the blue patches upon animals although wishing to impress the visitor he had said that it was fatal.

As the line of "Vive l'Anarchie" suggests, the anarchist in "The Stolen Bacillus" comes from beyond the Channel, possibly France. Naturally, as I will argue in detail later, "Vive l'Anarchie" was a common catchword in the 1890s in anarchism magazines and in anarchist novels like Joseph Conrad's *Secret Agent* (1907). But the bacteriologist's question concerning "the ethnology of his visitor" clearly demonstrates that the anarchist visitor is a non-English person although it is not clear if he is from France or not.

Actually it is not uncommon to represent the anarchist as a foreign terrorist. As far as the 1880s and 1890s are concerned, anarchism was not associated with the domestic working

class or the uncontrollable faceless crowd but generally with foreign fanatic agitators. To put it at its most extreme, the people were represented as the mob without any individual subjectivity or independence, but just susceptible to propaganda. This was well demonstrated by a John Tenniel satire in *Punch*, "Sowing Tares," (February 27, 1886) based on "the Sower" (1850) of Jean-François Millet, and the words from Matthew that I quoted at the beginning. The caricature depicts the devil disseminating the poisonous seeds of socialism on "the field of labour." The devil was "Pacing with stealthy foot the infertile land, And scattering broadcast, with a furtive hand, And fiendish face half veiled, the evil seed," and the cartoon appealed to the reader not to trust him because "he is The Enemy." "The Stolen Bacillus," was using the same xenophobia metaphorically and literally, the anarchists sowing the equivalent of tares on the passive crowd.

In terms of the original meaning of anarchism like the definition of William Godwin, it was not always associated with terrorism. In a broader sense, the discourse of anarchism was included in the degeneration and regeneration problems. Take an example from a popular anarchism novel. An anarchist, in the novel published in 1893, "regarded civilization as rotten from top to foundation, and present human race as 'only fit for fuel'" and "like some eighteenth century writers" (probably Rousseau school), he felt that "man must revert to simpler conditions of life and make a new start."¹⁰ With a sensational description of *fin du globe* founded on science by Camille Flammarion in 1893,¹¹ this radical statement of social revolution has definitely the same *fin de siècle* matrix as Benjamin Kid's provocative book, *Social Evolution* (1894) and the eugenic movement that followed. It is not necessary, however, to relate the history of the complex interrelations of anarchism and socialism, but interestingly at that time, these co-related ideas were considered to be the two extremities, individualism and collectivism. On the contrary, anarchism was transformed into an aesthetic individualism by people like Oscar Wilde, who told an interviewer in 1894, "We are more or less Socialists now-a-days.... I think I am rather more than a socialist. I am something of an Anarchist, I believe; but, of course, the dynamite policy is very absurd indeed."¹² As he expressed a more radical idea in the French version of *Salome* in 1893, Wilde more explicitly called himself an anarchist in the same year in a periodical across the Channel where aesthetes sympathetically supported the anarchism movement.¹³ Taking these contexts into consideration, it is very reasonable that Wells, the author of *The Modern Utopia* (1905) and supporter of the Fabian Society, held an antagonistic and rather one-sided attitude toward anarchism. Probably, anarchism was viewed by Wells as extreme egomaniac individualism deeply opposed to the concept of the profit of the civilisation or the global community.

The anarchist was associated with terrorism and the foreigner throughout the 1880s and 1890s. In fact a number of dynamite terrorist acts scared London. "Dynamite and Dynamiters," appeared on the *Strand Magazine* four months before "The Stolen Bacillus," with prints of photographs including clockwork bombs and exploded buildings with a list of the number of "important dynamitic efforts" from 1881 to 1892 except for minor explosions; "In 1881, 9

attempts; 1882, 5; 1883, 10; 1884, 12; 1885, 8; 1886, 4; 1887, 15; 1888, 2; 1889, 3; 1890, 5; 1891, 6; and in 1892, 7 outrages."¹⁴ Not all of these incidents was connected with foreign anarchists, but generally in the 1880s, the dynamiter was represented as a Fenian anarchist often with a simian appearance.¹⁵ With the rise of the Irish independent movement, particularly influenced by Charles Stuart Parnell, some of the Irish patriots threw dynamite in England. On January 24, 1885, for example, the Fenians exploded three bombs simultaneously at Westminster Hall, in the houses of Parliament and at the Tower of London. Strangely their movement was associated more with international conspiracy, rather than the problem of "Home Rule." The British press article on "sporadic meetings in Paris and Zurich of socialists, Fenians, anarchists, and nihilists reinforced the impression that such groups were united in an international conspiracy."¹⁶

The Channel tunnel scare offers the best example of these fears of political contamination throughout the 1880s. The scheme of the Channel tunnel between France and Britain provoked wide opposition from every class of Britain, especially by those afraid of the invasion menace. It provoked the nightmare memory of Napoleonic expansionism. The Channel tunnel was considered as the uncanny mouth through which the repressed would return. At the same time, as Daniel Pick suggests in the following significant quotation, there were some warning discourses about the continental political disease.

the Channel was a crucial barrier against agitators, armies and anarchists: 'The silver streak,' declared *The Sunday Times* on 16 April 1882:

is a greater bar to the movements of the Nihilists, Internationalists and Bradlaughites than is generally believed, but with several trains a day between Paris and London, we should have an amount of fraternising between the discontented denizens of the great cities of both countries which would yield very unsatisfactory results on this side of the Channel.¹⁷

Certainly Wells himself made an ironical remark on the contemporary apprehension caused by the scheme. He was reported as saying; "I am supposed to have a feverish imagination; but at its most feverish I have never been able to imagine any harm or danger in the Channel Tunnel that would weigh for a moment against its enormous benefits to our trade and civilisation."¹⁸ But "The Stolen Bacillus" was subject to the same "feverish imagination" in terms of the anxiety of the contamination of political disease from the continent, especially France.

The French anarchist movement throughout the 1890s aggravated this xenophobic international conspiracy theory and articulated anarchism as an epidemic from the continent. In May 1892, the *Review of Reviews*, reporting the frequent anarchists' bomb explosions, observed that "The epidemic of explosive crime which affects Europe at present is almost as mysterious and universal as the influenza."¹⁹ In fact, 1892 was the advent of the "propaganda by deed." Élisée

Reclus, one of the influential anarchist thinkers at that time, confessed to the dynamite policy and the actions of dynamiters.²⁰ However much Kropotkin-like "philosophic Anarchist would repudiate the connection" with "murderous outrages," the word was loosely used as a synonym for terrorism.²¹ An article in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the 10th edition published in 1902, explained "the propaganda of reform by revolution" and referred to Ravachol and Vaillant as prominent figures. "The Stolen Bacillus" has also references to these names; "Ravachol, Vaillant, all those distinguished persons whose fame he [the anarchist] had envied." That passage is connected with the anarchist's previous remark; "These Anarchist - rascals,' said he, 'are fools, blind fools - to use bombs." As it indicates, these two French anarchists attempted to blow up the people by dynamite. Ravachol, in March of 1892, threw a bomb in Paris, was sentenced to death on 11 July and was reported to have cried "Vive l'Anarchie."²² Auguste Vaillant performed the same terrorist act in order to assassinate several Deputies on 9 December of 1893. Although no one was killed in the accident, he was executed on 4th of February in 1894, roughly four months before "The Stolen Bacillus" was published, shouting out "Vive l'Anarchie." These two incidents coined the catch phrase and it had already become the index of the anarchist's fanaticism in 1894.²³ The anarchist's deed of drinking the cholera germ in "The Stolen Bacillus," therefore, appeared for the contemporary reader to be plausible readily reminding them of these French anarchists' "self-sacrifice."

Considering the anxiety toward the contamination by French anarchism as political disease and the suggested French origin of the anarchist in "The Stolen Bacillus," the place of Waterloo Bridge where the anarchist hid in the crowd is meaningful because it is not only the place commemorating the defeat of the France at the battle of Waterloo in 1815 but also a symbolical borderland with the East End and with the Thames where anything to do with the strange other world will land.

It is noteworthy that the anarchist's lone suicide attack in "The Stolen Bacillus" is tacitly contrasted with a bourgeois couple, the bacteriologist and his rather naïve wife, Minnie. In terms of the bourgeoisie as the anarchist's enemy, the above-cited *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has meaningful remarks; "The spirit of these men is well illustrated by the reply of which Vaillant made to the judge who reproached him for endangering the lives of innocent men and women: "There can be no innocent bourgeois.'" Wells, consciously or unconsciously objecting to this extreme argument, outlines a British middle class life, particularly the innocent wife against the French desperate "neglected" anarchist whom he thinks, "All the world had been in a conspiracy to keep him under." Minnie pursues the husband with his hat and overcoat lest he lose face and after hearing that the visitor is an anarchist, she nearly faints. She is depicted as a rather stereotypical symbol of bourgeois life. The last passage of the story confirms the recovery of the peaceful life after the visitor's intrusion; "Put on my coat on this hot day! Why? Because we might meet Mrs. Jabber. My dear, Mrs. Jabber is not a draught. But why should I wear a coat on a hot day because of Mrs.-- ? Oh! *very* well." Thus, in "The Stolen Bacillus," a burglar's penetration into the bacteriologist's house leads to a danger of the whole

nation. A bourgeois couple, co-operating with a working-class cockney cabmen, drives the foreign anarchist into a corner. We can say that the story is a metaphor for the defence of the bourgeoisie against the foreign invasion.

These xenophobic gaze racialised and brutalised the face of the enemy with the rise of contemporary pseudo-science of degeneration or atavism. Max Simon Nordau's *Degeneration*, published in Germany in 1893 and translated sensationally into English in 1895, the same year of *The Stolen Bacillus and the Other Incidents*, quotes the idea that "writings and acts of revolutionists and anarchists are also attributable to degeneracy."²⁴ from "La Physionomie des Anarchistes"; a paper published by Lombroso, the founder of criminal anthropology. The ethnological gaze at the visitor in "The Stolen Bacillus" forms the same discursive framework.

The lank black hair and deep grey eyes, the haggard expression and nervous manner, the fitful yet keen interest of his visitor, were a novel change from the phlegmatic deliberations of the ordinary scientific worker with whom the Bacteriologist chiefly associated.

The word of "a novel change" implied the widespread interest in physiognomy at the time. The bacteriologist's amateurish and therefore prevalent pathological observation leads to the following simple diagnosis suggesting the close connection between foreignness and morbidity;

He was musing on the ethnology of his visitor. Certainly the man was not a Teutonic type nor a common Latin one. 'A morbid product, anyhow, I am afraid,' said the Bacteriologist to himself.

When the bacteriologist explains the cholera bacillus, he also "watched the morbid pleasure in his visitor's expression."

This observation about the morbid anarchist was exaggerated in the novels based on a number of bomb cases and the anarchist movement. In a novel published in 1891, Mademoiselle Ixe, a governess who turned out to be a Russian anarchist, has "a very dark and repellent face, in which various types were blended---a face with long Eastern eyes and protruding animal jaw..."²⁵ "The Stolen Bacillus" cannot be separated from the genre although no studies have mentioned the connection. As Melchiori proposed, these narratives featuring the dynamiter and anarchist tend to depict the anarchist as a foreigner, from Ireland, Germany, France and Russia and intensify their international conspiracy as in rather better known novels like Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Dynamiter* (1885) and Henry James's *Princess Casamassima* (1886).²⁶

More future-war-scaring novels, particularly anarchist air raid stories, seemed to attract Wells. George Griffith's best-selling novel *The Angel of the Revolution* (1893), followed by the sequel *Olga Romanoff* (1894) or similar *The Outlaws of the Air* (1895), are apparently distopian

versions of the submarine Nautilus in Verne's *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea* (1871). They narrate a multi-national union of anarchists attacking London from a megalomaniac aeroplane in the near future. In the same year as *The Angel of the Revolution* (1893), another version of the topic *Hartmann the Anarchist*²⁷ appeared in which the plane was named *Attila*, obviously awakening nightmarish memories of Hun vandalism. These air raid fictions and the nightmare of the Oriental invasion amalgamated and resurfaced in Wells's later works, for example, the *The War in the Air* (1908). Wells might be inspired by the novel as the protagonist, "Bert's imagination was stimulated by a sixpenny edition of that aeronautic classic, Mr. George Griffith's 'The Outlaws of the Air.'"²⁸ Although *The War in the Air* is set in the near future when "the English Channel was bridged," the xenophobia and stereotypes seen in the Channel Tunnel scare are recycled. The image of the anarchist as fanatic martyr was relocated in the lives of Japanese or Chinese soldiers particularly fuelled by the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5).²⁹

More comical dynamiter literature is also worth mentioning because "The Stolen Bacillus" is not only an invasion-scaring novel but also a slapstick comedy like a triple cab-chasing. Stevenson's short story *The Dynamiter* is one of the first and best examples.³⁰ Although it was written before the seriously shocking Fenian explosion on January 24, 1885 and its foreword has a special mention to a recent horror "due to Mr. Parnell." This story has silent-movie-like slapstick comic incidents as in "The Stolen Bacillus." In "Zero's Tale of the Explosive Bomb,"³¹ one of the stories in *The Dynamiter*, anarchist M'Guire, a name suggesting Irish origin, is thrown into a state of panic with a time bomb. Whenever he tried to present the "fatal gift," it will be unsuccessfully declined or returned to him and he realises that the best solution is to fling "the bag far forth into the river" near the Embankment. It is easy to dismiss as a simple plot, but from another point of view, it can be interpreted as the taming or effeminisation of the terror of the anarchist. A similar example was found in the *Strand Magazine* although it is not a story but a strip cartoon.³² The cartoon titled "A Dynamite Scare" caricatures contemporary over-sensitivity. An unidentified piece of luggage was found in a street in London and it was suspected to be a bomb, scientists and policemen investigate it carefully but they found there is a mouse in the box. "The Stolen Bacillus" belongs to the same discourse of "A Dynamite Scare." Both of them indicate the contemporary's obsession with terrorism and their desire to laugh or blow it away.

Greenwich Explosion Mystery

With the serious outrages, the comical factors in the dynamiter narrative were to be romanticised and crystallised as tragedy. In February 1894, an Italian anarchist assassinated the French Prime Minister Sadi Carnot, four months before "The Stolen Bacillus" was published. In the same month in Britain, on 15 February 1894 to be exact, the most influential explosion

contributed to the transition of dynamite narrative to the romantic and sublime tragedy. It occurred in the Greenwich Park by a French anarchist. Allegedly, he, Martial Bourdin attempted to blow up the Greenwich Observatory, but on the way, he died by an unexpected explosion. A comical anarchist in *The Dynamiter* was reincarnated but without any narrative catharsis. The attempt to explode Greenwich Observatory was the most influential and shocking for contemporaries.³³ It stimulated the narrative imagination so probingly and extensively from David J. Nicoll's pamphlet *The Greenwich Mystery: Letters from the Dead* (1898) to Joseph Conrad's *Secret Agent: a Simple Story* (1907).³⁴ The pervading political unconsciousness in the anarchism novels found an outlet even in *The Times*. It unusually conjectured and overstressed the concern of the international conspiracy in the background and quoting the *Liberté*, without appropriate measures, "the capital of the British Empire" would end in "the den of the Old Man of the Mountain"³⁵ An article reporting the Greenwich Explosion in the *Review of Reviews*, however, maintained that "the general conviction points to London as the headquarter of the [anarchist] movement."³⁶ It accelerated the sensationalism as in the *Evening News's* headline; "8000 Anarchist in London: Where These Enemies of Society Live in this Great Metropolis" (17 December 1894).³⁷

The *Strand Magazine* carried the "Dynamite and Dynamiter" coincidentally in the same month as the Greenwich Explosion. Next month, the magazine, which has been seen a "mirror of the century,"³⁸ printed a reflective story, "An Anarchist." Although it is written in French, it can be located in the "Dynamite Romances." According to Melchiori, the representative of the genre was Grant Allen's *For Maimie's Sake: A Tale of Love and Dynamite* (1886).³⁹ That main plot is the league of international gentlemen around an English beauty Maimie. The romance factor was changed into melodramatic tragedy in "An Anarchist,"⁴⁰ one of the most romantic and sensational "Dynamite Romances." It was not directly influenced by the Explosion because the writer Eugene Morét died in 1890 but it is more significant that the French story was chosen and translated into English just after the terrorist act of a French anarchist. The story is about a French anarchist and his family. Jacques, working in a blacksmith's shop, sets a bomb in "the house of our exploiter" but he knows from his wife that the local children including his own happened to be there. And the story ends with his wife's suggestive statement; Jacques is "the Anarchist---but who did not hesitate to rush on to death to save us, and accepted that fate as an expiation." The passage presumes to speak for the supposed reader of the magazine, the British middle class, whose concern over anarchists was to be assuaged by the enemy's self-ruin as punishment.

Presumably inspired by "An Anarchist" or the Greenwich Explosion, Grant Allen contributed another more sublime dynamite romance, "The Dynamiter's Sweetheart,"⁴¹ missing in Melchiori's study, to the *Strand Magazine* in August, two months after "The Stolen Bacillus." As the author of sensational and rather feministic *The Woman Who Did* (1895), Allen also romanticise a naïve and simple American woman and her fall "in this terrible Europe." Essie Lothrop leaves New England to study art in Paris and meets a black moustached art student,

Stanislas Laminski who detests Russia and probably comes from Poland. As easily guessed from the title, she discovers that her lover is an anarchist. Stanislas is about to throw a bomb at St. Germain where Ravachol exploded his in 1892. But Essie devotes herself to preventing his dynamite terrorism and to saving the innocent. After the deaths in the explosion of two lover, the romance closes with the quotation from the next morning's paper that misreads the incident; "owing to a fortunate scuffle with her accomplice, the bomb exploded prematurely." Just as British journalists reported that the original target of the Greenwich Park Explosion was the Observatory, the paper in "The Dynamiter's Sweetheart" also guesses that Essie "meant to set fire to the Louvre." As well as "An Anarchist," we can confirm that the melodramatic imagination was indispensable for filling the gap between the lines on paper.

There seems to be no certain evidence that Grant Allen read "The Stolen Bacillus" before he wrote "The Dynamiter's Sweetheart." But, both of these are sweetened with a comedy of a hasty man's misunderstanding and a romantic tragedy of an innocent woman in order to expel the shadow of the same anxiety towards dynamite terrorism, culminating in the Greenwich Explosion. Thus, it helps to indicate Wells's ability, instead of his alleged plagiarism, to articulate or appropriate the contemporary unconsciousness into a more favourable narrative than his now-less-known rivals did. As is well known, there are complicated interrelations between Wells and his senior acquaintance Grant Allen. For example, Raknem demonstrates the similarities between Allen's *British Barbarian* (1895) and, simultaneously published, Wells's *The Wonderful Visit* (1895), and accuses Wells of being a plagiarist to conclude that the latter is "no original work."⁴² David Y. Hughes, however, quotes Grant Allen's amicable letter concerning his surprise at the synchronicity of the two surmises that it was the "result of pure coincidence."⁴³ Patrick Parrinder's observation is useful for the problems of the plagiarism. He points out the similar plot of Grant Allen's "The Thames Valley Catastrophe"(1897) and Wells's *The War of the Worlds*, (1898) and indicates that the mythological symbolism of "Thames Valley" were prevalent in the contemporary catastrophe narratives.⁴⁴ This idea of intertextuality among two writers, sharing the same concerns and narratives but with a different style, is also true in the comparison between "The Stolen Bacillus" and "The Dynamiter's Sweetheart." Actually, unlike the other cases, the Wells's story was published earlier than Allen's.

In these stories, the anxiety caused by the Greenwich Explosion seemed to be romanticised. But, once the illusion was dismissed in "The Stolen Bacillus," it returns and resurfaces before long in another Wells short story in *The Stolen Bacillus and Other Incidents*. In the same month as "The Dynamiter's Sweetheart," two other stories were published in the *Pall Mall Budget*; "In the Avu Observatory" (9 August 1894) and "The Diamond Maker" (16 August 1894). These two stories seemed to shed more light on "The Stolen Bacillus" in terms of replacement of the anxiety from the French anarchist's attempt at terrorism.

"In the Avu Observatory" narrates that an unidentified huge blood-sucking bat attacks a research worker at the observatory in the heart of a Borneo Island. Apparently only the title

has any connection with the attempt to blow up the Greenwich Observatory, but there are two interesting implications. The first clue is a famous John Tenniel caricature in which "The Irish 'Vampire,'"⁴⁵ with Parnell's face, tries to suck the blood sleeping beauty, Hibernia. The rise of Irish nationalism including bomb incidents was sometimes represented with Gothic properties like another of Tenniel's cartoons, "The Irish Frankenstein" in which the nationalist is seen as a monster instead of the theme of a monster-creating scientist.⁴⁶ Incidentally, a parody of the caricature, British Vampire with John Bull's face biting the sleeping Irishman in the chest, was appeared as an illustration of "the Financial Relations of England and Ireland" in the *Review of Reviews* in 1898.⁴⁷ As confessed in his autobiography, *Punch* and its cartoons including sensual "feminine figures" had fascinated and stirred Wells.⁴⁸ In spite of no direct influences, "In the Avu Observatory" replaces the Irish response including bomb throwing with the primitive terror of other colonial and uncanny monsters.

Secondly, the story contains the transfiguration of the symbol of the Greenwich Observatory. As Robert Young acutely points out, Greenwich Observatory, the chronological and topological centre of the world, is paradoxically the marginal point where east and west stand side by side.⁴⁹ This symbolic hybridity of the observatory was emphasised in "The Avu Observatory," an outpost of empire, to appropriate the title of Conrad's novel. Therefore, the attempt to dynamite the Royal Observatory has more or less an imperialistic meaning, rebellion against "a scientific centre."⁵⁰ Interestingly, a similar remark, "The demonstration must be against learning - science,"⁵¹ was repeated in Conrad's *The Secret Agent* (1907), which was dedicated to Wells, the author of *Kipps* (1905), and considered as "pessimist's reply"⁵² to Wells's stories. Aside from the problem whether Wells or his works are optimistic, the significant point is the same metaphor of the British imperialistic observer. In other words, the abortive explosion in Greenwich Park represents the supposedly rigid relations between the observer and the observed. Following the metaphor, the optical is more appropriate for Wells. Suggestively "The Stolen Bacillus" begins with the anarchist's attempt to see the bacillus through the microscope. Thus we can contrast "The Stolen Bacillus" as the microscopic menace with the telescopic danger represented in "In the Avu Observatory" and of course, *The War of the Worlds*.

The second Greenwich Explosion story, "The Diamond Maker" is another calamity for a scientific observer, an amateur inventor who is mistaken as an anarchist. His experiments, to explode dynamite in order to crystallise carbon into diamonds, are gazed with suspicion and finally he is ejected with a curse of "Nerchist." Although he succeeds in creating artificial diamond, the paper reports that his apartment is "the Kentish Town Bomb Factory" and he is forced to wander in the city with "a Behemoth of diamonds" but wrecked by hunger and a dreadful cough. The story suggests that he died, failing to barter a diamond for the narrator's some amount of money, at the Thames near Waterloo Bridge, the same place in "The Stolen Bacillus."

As this additional "dynamite scare" suggests, a secret base of operations was actually found and its members were arrested in London. *The Times*, in which an article proposed a connection

between Autonomy club (anarchist organisation in London) and the terrorist of Greenwich explosion,⁵³ reports an anarchist arrest for "the manufacture of bombs for an unlawful purpose."⁵⁴

"The Diamond Maker" insinuates a theme of alienation into that of the "The Stolen Bacillus," particularly in terms of the artificial happy ending. The reason is not clear why the bacteriologist said that the tube contained cholera just in order to impress the visitor. From another point of view, the story alludes to an unidentifiable menace and the possibility of a bacteriological hazard. As the line of the bacteriologist's wife cries, 'He has gone *mad!*,' this is a reference to allude to scientific madness as in Dr. Frankenstein, the mad-scientist in the attic. Actually, the following bacteriologist's statement sounds uncanny close to madness;

Only break such a little tube as this into a supply of drinking-water [...] say to them, 'Go forth, increase and multiply and replenish the cisterns,' and death [...] would be released upon this city, and go hither and thither seeking his victims.

Needless to say, it is a malicious parody of the human being playing God, which was developed more thoroughly and grotesquely in *The Island of Dr. Moreau* (1896) where a mad scientist seeks to be God in his transformation of animals into men and ended up being killed by them at the call of the wild. In other words, it means that the vulnerability of the city where the laboratory of the cholera bacillus was next to the bourgeois home and perhaps a wider neighbourhood was unaware of the unstable security of the cholera bacillus.

We should not overlook the alienation of the anarchist who was lonesome and discarded by the community to find any vengeance but terrorism. This resentment, the main germ of twentieth century literature as a problem of existence or alienation, took form metaphorically in *The Invisible Man* (1897). When Griffin, discovering the way to make himself invisible, conceals himself to carry on the experiments in a village in Surrey, the villagers conjectures that he is an "experimental investigator" but this idea is followed by another suspicion; he is "an Anarchist in disguise, preparing explosives."⁵⁵ As this association suggests an ambivalence of solitude between scientist and anarchist, Griffin has a hard time in wandering in London without clothes in winter and finally decides to install a reign of terror.

But there still remains a question what inspires Wells to have the idea of the bacteriological terrorism. One of the likely sources is in the above-mentioned Stevenson's *The Dynamiter*. The anarchist narrator Zero proudly speaks;

[W]e await the fall of England [...] our friends in France are almost ready to desert the chosen medium. They propose, instead, to break up the drainage system of cities and sweep off whole populations with the devastating typhoid pestilence: a tempting and a scientific project: a process, indiscriminate indeed, but of idyllical simplicity. I recognise its elegance; but, [...] I shall remain devoted to that more emphatic, more striking, and

(if you please) more popular method, of the explosive bomb.⁵⁶

Presumably, Wells received the French anarchist's idea of bacteriological disaster and developed a more direct bacteriological weapon. But as in the case of Grant Allen's "The Dynamiter's Sweetheart," the charge of plagiarism does not stick. It rather indicates Wells's elegant appropriation of the contemporary narrative into a more clearly articulated one.

As we have seen, "The Stolen Bacillus" was closely related to the genealogy of anarchist literature, driven by the political unconsciousness towards anarchist as foreign invader, germ sower and germ itself. It is noteworthy to confirm that, as far as England is concerned, the first idea of germ warfare was suggested most clearly in "The Stolen Bacillus." *Secret Agent* provides another interesting clue again. Although the Greenwich Explosion inspired both narratives, possibly because of the completely different style, length and plot, there has been no study to prove the connection between "The Stolen Bacillus" and *The Secret Agent*, as it were an English version of *Crime and Punishment* (1866). Nevertheless, Conrad used the same metaphor, Verloc, the anarchist double agent viewed as epidemic, as quoted at the beginning. Perhaps "The Stolen Bacillus" did not influence *The Secret Agent*, but this implies that Conrad was also within the intertextuality of anarchism where Wells articulated and disseminated the idea of anarchist as germ-carrier so metaphorically and influentially.

Germ as Dynamite; Metaphor of Cholera Epidemic

Now I move on the reason why "typhoid pestilence" was replaced by cholera in the context of newly founded germ theory. In other word, it is the literal or metaphorical connection of the anarchist and cholera. As a beginning, it is a good start to touch briefly the origin of the bacteriological weapon, germ as gun. As I mentioned at the introduction, there are several early records of the attempt of bacteriological weapons. But much of the alleged germ warfare seemed to be accidental because there have been few trustworthy measures to verify the usage of the biological weapon. Once any epidemic spread, even accidentally, it might be the propaganda war concerning which nation used a bacteriological weapon, particularly in the case of new disease. As in Susan Sontag's groundbreaking *Illness as Metaphor*, more universal and persistent than disease itself is the narrative including conspiracy theory level justifying the essentially accidental epidemic as the God's punishment or the enemy's intrigue.

Aside from the illness as metaphor, the most early and reliable attempt, as far as I have confirmed, was examined in French court of Louis XIV. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (15th edition), "[w]hen an Italian chemist offered him [Louis XIV] the first bacteriological weapon, he gave him a pension on condition that he never divulge his invention."⁵⁷ The problem still remains if it was valid to French strongest opponent and why it was now known, but it is Britain that attempted to put it into practice, in 1763 in Pennsylvania during the Seven

Years War. Sir Jeffrey Amherst was reported to send the blanket used by the small pox patient to the American Indian in order to annihilate.⁵⁸ The example was significantly suggestive. Because as some studies demonstrated recently, the secret of the European expansive colonisation or imperialism is the native's lack of immunity against some epidemic like pestilence and small pox that had attacked European severely and as a result they had to survive to obtain the immunity.⁵⁹ The example shows that European themselves, at least Amherst, knew empirically the secret. This problem of immunity, with the realisation of the climatic difficulty in colonisation as tropical disease,⁶⁰ was developed and emphasised in *The War of the Worlds*, in which the highly civilised Martian fails to colonise the earth and results in perish by an unknown germ.

One of the earliest fictional germ warfare was predicted in 1887 by less known Jules Verne's emulator, Albert Robida although his illustrated future war novel, *La Guerre au Vingtieme Siecle* (*The War of the Twentieth Century*) was not translated into English.⁶¹ While Robida illustrated the bacteriological weapons more accurately and realistically, according to Robert Hendrick's contrast, Wells considered it as "fanciful weapons developed by alien cultures" and "did not foresee that they could or would be produced on earth."⁶² But Hendrick's article does not any mention to "The Stolen Bacillus" nor Stevenson's *The Dynamiter*. Certainly Robida's prophetic geniusness is worth mentioning briefly but it is not beyond the exceptional case and there have been no evidence to prove its influence on Wells.

The metaphor of cholera itself is more helpful to contextualise the connection between cholera and anarchism in "The Stolen Bacillus." Cholera itself is inseparable from xenophobia, which associates cholera and anarchism metaphorically. Referring to "a terrible new strange plague that had come to Europe from the depths of Asia" in *Crime and Punishment*, Sontag emphasises Cholera's exotic origin that will explain the reason why cholera had been so dreaded in nineteenth century Europe although the European smallpox was rampant worse.⁶³ It is not necessary to enter into a detailed discussion of cholera studies as "a tool for social and economic analysis"⁶⁴ by eminent historians. The following passage is notable example to summarise what cholera caused traumatic experience for European mentality.

Cholera was shocking to the nineteenth-century sensibility - above all, to the bourgeois sensibility of the towns where it had its maximum impact - in other ways too. At the height of a self-confident era of economic growth, material progress, scientific achievement and expanding European dominion over the world, here was a disease that came from the 'uncivilised' East and challenged common consumptions of European cultural and biological superiority by demonstrating the vulnerability of even the most civilised people to a disease associated mainly with oriental backwardness.⁶⁵

As a foreign barbaric menace against rising bourgeoisie, therefore, anarchism was easily associated with cholera.

The establishment of germ theory by Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch in the 1880s also caused xenophobia as the replacement of metaphor from the body against germ to body politics against foreign enemy like immigration. Before the germ theory, Max von Pettenkofer's soil theory was widely supported; germ themselves was not harmful but a key, like enzyme, for some foul soil to produce miasma, cause of disease. With the rise of germ theory by Koch, at Hamburg in October 1892 the year of cholera epidemic, Pettenkofer made a famous experiment in his theory; swallowing culture of cholera-germ in front of the audience. Before that, this old authority aged 74 said, "I would be dying in the service of science, like a soldier on the field of honour."⁶⁶ Perhaps this self-sacrifice attitude toward the sublime cause might inspire Wells to make the anarchist drink cholera sample in "The Stolen Bacillus"

In spite of Pettenkofer's devoted experiment and his survival, the germ theory had already spread so much that the metaphor had been applied to the body politic; the empire was requested as immune system against supposedly plague-ridden immigration or oriental pilgrimage as well as the individual body was against bacillus. Simultaneously with Pettenkofer's experiment in Hamburg where the cholera broke out, in October 1892, Ernest Hart, the Chairman of the Committee of the National Health Society and the editor of the *British Medical Journal*, contributed an influential paper, "Cholera and Our Protection against it" to the *Nineteenth Century*. In this article, Hart denied "a pseudo-scientific terminology" like the "blue mists" supposed as cholera agent carriers and the miasma theory which Pettenkofer tried to prove. Incidentally "blue" was commonly associated with cholera due to the colour of the patients and this might explain the reason why the harmless bacteria mistaken as cholera germ in "The Stolen Bacillus" will trigger the "blue" patches upon animals. From another viewpoint, this implies how much deeply rooted in the mentality of the contemporaries "a pseudo-scientific terminology" Hart struggled to eradicate was. Consequently cholera epidemic instigated the propaganda war against ignorance, filth and barbarism, all of which associated with Orient.

Hart played a main role in the 1890s to these *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*. He defined "Asiatic cholera" as "a filth disease carried by dirty people to dirty places"⁶⁷ and proposed the improvement of the drainage system and the sanitary supervision of oriental pilgrimage as "Imperial responsibility" because the main reason of the cholera epidemic in India was pilgrimage.⁶⁸ As the medical or social historians almost commonly have admitted the crucial role of the pilgrimage, "At first, [British] colonial reports on cholera made few connections with Hindu pilgrimage" but in 1831, religious pilgrimage and troop movements were identified as main factors in the spread of cholera.⁶⁹ And then at the middle of the 19th century, particularly by missionaries, the connection between the cholera and Hinduism was strengthened. Cholera becomes an attribute of non-Christian, in a sense. Taking example from a description written in 1872 of religious festival at Puri as "Indians dead on the pilgrim road to Jagannath."⁷⁰ It was followed by the special measures for the regulation and surveillance of the Hindu pilgrimage. On the other hand, this religious and epidemiological linkage called the ancient and abiding fear of Mongolian or Huns invasion.⁷¹ The memory of "Asiatic hordes" revived

and reshaped itself, the fear to "cholera-carrying pilgrims." As Arnold acutely put Cholera as "political disease,"⁷² that metaphor transfigured in another "political disease," anarchism, which was depicted as infectious political thought. And the "incursions of this Asiatic scourge" was also recycled in the anarchism narrative as Attila, a name of an air attacking anarchist's aeroplane in the above argued *Hartmann the Anarchist* in 1893.

Thus Ernest Hart repeated the similar process and metaphor used in the previous cholera epidemic. But there seemed to be a transformation from Hindu pilgrimage to Islamic pilgrimage. Actually it was already in 1866 when the international sanitary conference at Constantinople had accused not only the centres of Hindu pilgrimage but also the Muslim's hajj to Mecca as the progress of cholera. This route was "seen as the second stage by which cholera was relayed from India to Europe."⁷³ Hart himself, as far as his articles in 1892 are concerned, maintained that it was inevitable that cholera had been carried to British ports not by the Islamic pilgrims but from Hamburg quicker than the past outbreaks when "our means of communication were more tardy and incomplete."⁷⁴ He only described the pilgrims' fatal habit that caused the outbreak of cholera; "the pilgrims stand naked in turn by the holy well; a bucket of water is poured over each man, he drinks what he can of it, and the rest falls back into the well."⁷⁵ But his explanation of the pilgrimage at the holy well and the definition of Asiatic cholera as "a filth disease carried by dirty people to dirty places" seemed to make an impression that cholera was conveyed to Europe by Meccan pilgrims. In fact, two months after Hart's article was published, a doctor wrote as follows;

The greatest stride that has been made of late years in preventive and diagnostic medicine consists in the recognition and differentiation by bacteriological research of those minute organisms that disseminate cholera and fever, tubercle and anthrax. The importance of the infinitely little is incalculable. Poison a well at Mecca with the cholera bacillus, and the holy water which pilgrims carry off in bottles will infect a continent. The rags of the victims of a plague will terrify every seaport in Christendom.⁷⁶

This is a review of Conan Doyle's *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (1892) by Joseph Bell, allegedly the model of Holmes, to whom the book is dedicated. It was appeared on the London *Bookman* (December 1892) and reprinted as the introduction to the 1893 London edition of Doyle's *A Study in Scarlet*. Although there is no proof to show the direct influence on Wells, but it is plausible to presume that Wells read the review of the most popular attraction of the *Strand Magazine*, the lethal competitor of the *Pall Mall*, where Wells was expected to emulate Doyle and contributed short stories and scientific articles as up-and-coming star.

Certainly Bell's influence on Wells is a mere surmise, but notably since then the similar simplified association cholera with Islamic pilgrims resulted in the dissemination of the idea that the oriental pilgrimage was a germ carrier to Europe.⁷⁷ Take an example from the *British Medical Journal*, edited by Ernest Hart. In February of 1894, it contained the "Nurseries of

Cholera," "An Address delivered before the Section of Public Medicine of the British Medical Association" by Hart, Chairman of the Parliamentary Bills Committee. Unusually in this magazine, it has three illustrations including "Pilgrims at Zemzem" who drinks the showered water from the well.⁷⁸ Interestingly it was followed by the "the details of the post-mortem examination" in "The Greenwich Explosion."⁷⁹ In October of 1894, Hart appealed for the necessity "of systematically attacking the disease, both in its home in India and along the pilgrim track by which it had more than once spread to Europe"⁸⁰ in his second article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century*. The cliché rhetoric of the crusade against "the common enemy" was re-emerged in the new Eastern question concerning the proposal of the administration of the Islamic pilgrimage in Turkey "in order to save Europe from cholera invasions."⁸¹ Thus the metaphor of the barbarian march from the East, called by the epidemic of cholera in 1831, dominated the discourse strongly more than cholera itself did although the pilgrimage was not the main reason of the spread over Europe.

As regards the germ warfare, it seemed to occur to Dr. Bell at least seven months before the review was appeared. According to Doyle's letter dated 4th May 1892, Bell recommended Doyle to write a story about a "bacteriological criminal" in the Sherlock Holmes series.⁸² As stated above, 1892 was the year of the "propaganda by deed" and in March the news about Ravachol who threw a bomb in Paris was reported sensationally. The idea of bacteriological criminal might be owed to these dynamite bombings. But Doyle replied to Bell that the criminal might "get beyond the average man, whose interest must be held from the first, and who won't be interested unless he thoroughly understands." After the death of Bell in October 1911, as Owen Dudley Edwards suggests, inspired by the resurrection of the old teacher's memory, Doyle began to write "The Adventure of the Dying Detective."⁸³ In December 1913, the *Strand Magazine* published the story featuring Culverton Smith, a Sumatra planter and expert on tropical disease, who murders his nephew and attempts to murder Holmes by sending them a box with a contaminated sharp spring device.

As a result, it is not Doyle but Wells that wrote about the bacteriological criminal earlier and more clearly although Bell did not suggest it directly. Wells applied the anarchist to the criminal "beyond the average man," which Doyle reluctantly employed in the Holmes series. Even if Wells was inspired by the idea of Bells in the review of Holmes, the image of the Oriental penetrating into Europe with a bottled cholera bacillus was more effectively renovated and appropriated as the anarchist's attempt to spread the cholera bacillus over the water system in "The Stolen Bacillus" particularly for the contemporary reader who might be frightened at a number of dynamite terrorist acts.

Wells as Propagandist

Now we may be able to see how effectively and originally Wells bound two co-relating

discourses about anarchism and cholera in "The Stolen Bacillus." It forms a textual knot by interweaving the adjacent discourses, as it were two political diseases, which commonly manipulated and amplified the xenophobia, particularly the nightmarish memory of Asiatic horde. Anarchism had been represented as the political contamination from the continent⁸⁴ and Asiatic cholera recalled the triumph of anarchy. Actually cholera and anarchism are the menace to the bourgeoisie; anarchist bomb supposed to attack the bourgeoisie and cholera carried by filthy people to the filthy place. In other words, Germ theory contributed to the application of the metaphor to the body politic against the "bacillus." This will explain the reason why the anarchist in "The Stolen Bacillus" sneaked into the bacteriologist's laboratory possibly in West End disappeared in the crowd across the Waterloo Bridge. The criminal as disease or disease as criminal also attacked the bourgeois home from East and its front line East End.⁸⁵

"The Stolen Bacillus" is a criss-cross point, which turned anarchism as cholera into cholera as anarchist bomb. As above stated, the most likely sources of "The Stolen Bacillus" are Stevenson's *The Dynamiter* and Bell's review of *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, both of which suggested the biological hazard if fatal bacillus poisoned in the drinking water. But apparently it is Wells's achievement to appropriate initially the unconscious conception underneath the texts and articulate most effectively the bacteriological weapon. If Wells's novels are liable to be accused of plagiarism, it will be due to his brilliant appropriation and articulation. As Thomas Hardy wrote in *The Return of the Native* (1878) that "[s]uccessful propagandists have succeeded because the doctrine they bring into form is that which their listener have for some time felt without being able to shape,"⁸⁶ Wells was a propagandist in the very best meaning of the word. In fact Wells himself propagated and reused his first story's idea into his later works like *The War of the Worlds*. As the bacteriologist says "Go forth, increase and multiply," Wells's idea was disseminated, appropriated, mutated and materialised.

Notes

- 1 *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, (ed.) by Thomas Hutchinson, (Oxford U.P., 1907), p.338.
- 2 Conrad, Joseph, *The Secret Agent: a Simple Tale*, (ed.) by Bruce Harkness and S.W.Reid, (Cambridge U.P., 1990), (Cambridge edition of the works of Joseph Conrad), p.11.
- 3 Hammond, J.R., *H.G. Wells and the Short Story*, (NY; Basingstoke: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.3.
- 4 Hammond, J.R. (ed.), *The Complete Short Stories of H.G. Wells*, (London: Dent, 1998).
- 5 *The Complete Short Stories of H.G. Wells*, p.876.
- 6 As it is well known, Wells is the first person to use the word of atomic bomb in his *The World Set Free* (1914). Leo Szilard, Hungarian Jewish scientist who had read the novel, found the idea of nuclear chain reaction in London in 1933 and it became the basis of the atomic bomb although "The World Set Free influenced Szilard less than its subject matter might suggest." See, Rhodes, Richard, *The Making of the Atomic*

Bomb, (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1986), p.24-5.

⁷ Raknem, Ingvald, *H.G. Wells and His Critics*, (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget; London: Allen & Unwin, 1964).

⁸ *The Complete Short Stories of H.G. Wells*, p.874. The resembling comment is made in his autobiography. "I presently broadened my market and found higher prices" because the short stories since *The Stolen Bacillus* "have been reprinted again and again in a variety of collections." See, Wells, *Experiments in Autobiography: Discoveries and Conclusions of a Very Ordinary Brain (since 1866)*. (London, Gollancz, 1934), p.515. But as to Grant Allen, one of the major mentors whom Raknem mentions, Wells sympathetically refers him as "now rather too much forgotten writer." See, p.546.

⁹ Bergonzi, Bernard, *The Early H.G. Wells: a Study of the Scientific Romances*, (Manchester: Manchester U.P., 1961), p. 63.

¹⁰ Fawcett, E. Douglas, *Hartmann the Anarchist; or, the Doom of the Great City*, *The English Illustrated Magazine*, 1893, June, p.644.

¹¹ English translation of Flammarion's *La Fin du Monde* was serialised in an American magazine, *Cosmopolitan*. W. T. Stead edited *Review of Reviews* reprinted the extracts extensively, see, 8, 1893, p.43, 156 and 284. Impressively the above-cited *Hartmann the Anarchist* is also introduced with some illustration of exploded Big Ben in the same volume. See p.64, 185 and 280. *La Fin du Monde* was published in 1894 though the title was altered into *Omega: the Last Days of the World*.

¹² Beckson, Karl, *London in the 1890s: a Cultural History*, (NY; London: W.W.Norton, c1992), p.20-1.

¹³ "Once upon a time I was a poet and a tyrant, now I am an artist and an anarchist." (*L'Ermitage*, July 1893). See, Pierrot, Jean, *The Decadent Imagination, 1880-1900*, translated by Derek Coltman, (Chicago: U. of Chicago P, 1981), p.253. French aesthetes sympathy did not long but ends up a transient phenomenon between 1890 and 1894 when dynamite terrorism occurred frequently and the anarchists were executed. See, *The Decadent Imagination*, p.252-4.

¹⁴ *Strand Magazine*, 7, February 1894, p.120.

¹⁵ Curtis, L. Perry, Jr., *Apes and Angels: the Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971), p.21.

¹⁶ Beckson, Karl, *London in the 1890s*, p.18.

¹⁷ Pick, Daniel, *War Machine: the Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age*, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale U.P., 1993), p.123.

¹⁸ Peter Haining, *Eurotunnel: an Illustrated History of the Channel Tunnel Scheme*, (Folkestone: Channel Tunnel Group, 1989, Originally published: London: New English Library, 1973), p.92. He, however, humorously confesses that "the impassable moat of the English Channel" would relieve him from the menace of "wolves from Russia and tigers from India" when he was "between seven and eight" in 1874. See, *Experiments in Autobiography*, p.77-8.

¹⁹ *Review of Reviews*, 5, May 1892, p.435.

²⁰ Fleming, Marie, *The Anarchist Way to Socialism: Élisée Reclus and Nineteenth-Century European Anarchism*, (London: Croom Helm, 1979), p.209. In addition to Kropotkin, other contemporary anarchist G. V. Plekhanov also critically referred Reclus's admittance of "Propaganda by Deed" like Ravachol and Vaillant in *Anarchisme et Socialisme* (c1895). See Eleanor Marx Aveling's translation, *Anarchism and Socialism*, (Chicago: C.H. Kerr,

1908), particularly Ch. VIII, "The So-called Anarchist Tactics. Their Morality." In terms of the situation concerning anarchism at that time, see Oliver, Hermia, *The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London*, (London: Croom Helm, 1983), Ch. 4, "The Era of Propaganda by Deed, I: 1892-3," p.75-98.

²¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, 1910-1, 1, p.917, n.1. Although Kropotkin, the contributor of anarchism, describes the philosophical history of anarchism and makes no mention of dynamiter like Ravachol, the editor adds a note to indicate that a number of terrorism was made in the name of anarchism.

²² Fleming, *The Anarchist Way to Socialism*, p.206-7.

²³ Sherry, Norman, *Conrad's Western World*, (London: Cambridge U.P., 1971), p.424.

²⁴ Nordau, Max Simon, *Degeneration*, (Lincoln, Neb.: U. of Nebraska P., 1993), p.22. It is based on Lombroso, *La Physionomie des Anarchistes*, *Nouvelle Revue*, May 15, 1891, p.227.

²⁵ Melchiori, Barbara Arnett, *Terrorism in the Late Victorian Novel*, (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p.240.

²⁶ In spite of lack of mention to Wells, the following paper argues the contemporary context concerning anarchism movement. See, Tilley, W. H., *The Background of The Princess Casamassima*, (U. of Florida Monographs, Humanities 5, 1961.)

²⁷ Fawcett, Edward Douglas, *Hartmann the Anarchist; or, the Doom of the Great City*, (London: E. Arnold, 1893). Possibly, the anarchist name alludes to the contemporary German pessimistic philosopher Eduard von Hartmann.

²⁸ *The War in the Air and Other War Forebodings*, (London: Fisher Unwin, 1926), p.11.

²⁹ Although the possibility can not be denied that Griffith's *The Stolen Submarine* (1904) about Japanese hijack inspired Wells, it is notable that *The War in the Air* is a forerunner of yellow peril novel in which Japanese or Chinese are represented as deranged fanatic alien like the following Japanese-American-future-war novels, Lea, Homer, *The Valor of Ignorance*, (NY and London, Harper & brothers, 1909); Grautoff, By Parabellum (pseud. of Ferdinand Heinrich), *Banzai!* (NY: The Baker & Taylor, 1909). But the "valor" derived from Bushido, which Wells had idealised in *The Modern Utopia* (1905), was trumpeted proudly by Japanese themselves. See, Sakurai, Tadayoshi, *Human Bullets: Niku-Dan: a Soldier's Story of Port Arthur*, translated from the Japanese by Masujiro Honda, and Alice M. Bacon, (Boston and London: Archibald Constable, 1907).

³⁰ Melchiori, *Terrorism in the Late Victorian Novel*, p.59-60.

³¹ *The Dynamiter*, (London: Longmans, 1885), p.120-128.

³² A Dynamite Scare, *Strand Magazine*, 4, July, 1892, p.110.

³³ Sherry's *Conrad's Western World* scrutinises the contemporary context most minutely. See, p.228-247.

³⁴ The intertextuality between *Greenwich Mystery* and *The Secret Agent* was examined in Sherry's *Conrad's Western World* in which the former is transcribed. See, p. 239-244 and its Appendix D (p.379-394).

³⁵ *The Times*, 17 February 1894. This article is reprinted in the following considerate anthology although the above-cited passage was omitted. See, Ledger, Sally and Luckhurst, Roger, (ed.), *The Fin de Siècle: a Reader in Cultural History, c.1880-1900*, (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2000), p.211-214.

³⁶ *Review of Reviews*, 9, March 1894, p.222.

³⁷ Shpayer-Makov, Haia, Anarchism in British Public Opinion 1880-1914, *Victorian Studies*, 31, 1988, p.498.

- ³⁸ Pound, Reginald, *Mirror of the Century: the Strand Magazine 1891-1950*, (NY: South Brunswick, 1966).
- ³⁹ Melchiori, *Terrorism in the Late Victorian Novel*, p.228-232.
- ⁴⁰ *Strand Magazine*, 7, March 1894, p.339-347. The translator is anonymous.
- ⁴¹ *Strand Magazine*, 8, August 1894, p.137-147.
- ⁴² Raknem, *H. G. Wells and His Critics*, p.419.
- ⁴³ H. G. Wells and the Charge of Plagiarism, *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, 21, 1966, p.85-90.
- ⁴⁴ H. G. Wells and the Fiction of Catastrophe, *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 28, 1984, p.40-58.
- ⁴⁵ *Punch*, 24 October 1885.
- ⁴⁶ *Punch*, 20 May 1882. Chris Baldick discusses the illustration in the genealogy of Frankenstein. See, *In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity, and Nineteenth-century Writing*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p.90-91.
- ⁴⁷ *Review of Reviews*, 18, August 1898, p.180.
- ⁴⁸ See, *Experiments in Autobiography*, p.78-9.
- ⁴⁹ Young, Robert J.C., *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, (London; NY: Routledge, 1995), p.1-2. He continues identifying the hybridity of London in *The Secret Agent*.
- ⁵⁰ *Review of Reviews*, 9, March 1894, p.222.
- ⁵¹ Conrad, Joseph, *The Secret Agent: a Simple Tale*, (ed.) by Bruce Harkness and S.W.Reid, p.31.
- ⁵² *The Secret Agent: a Simple Tale*, (ed.) by Roger Tennant, (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1983), (The World's Classics), p.xvi.
- ⁵³ *The Times*, 17 February 1894.
- ⁵⁴ "The Anarchists in London," *The Times*, April. 23. 1894.
- ⁵⁵ *Best Science Fiction Stories of H. G. Wells*, (NY: Dover, 1966), p.14-5.
- ⁵⁶ *The Dynamiter*, p.117-8.
- ⁵⁷ Louis XIV, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th edition, 7, p.501.
- ⁵⁸ Thornton, Russell, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: a Population History Since 1492*, (Norman, Okla.: U. of Oklahoma P., 1987), p.78-9.
- ⁵⁹ McNeill, William H., *Plagues and Peoples* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979); Crosby, Alfred W., *Ecological Imperialism: the Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge U.P., 1986).
- ⁶⁰ In terms of the context around the birth of tropical disease, Kenneday, Dane, The Perils of the Midday Sun: Climatic Anxieties in the Colonial Tropics, p.118-140 in MacKenzie, John M., (ed.) *Imperialism and the Natural World*, (Manchester: Manchester U.P., 1990).
- ⁶¹ Clarke, I. F., *Voices Prophesying War, 1763-1984*, (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1966), p.81-3. But he touched only briefly the bacteriological warfare in p.82.
- ⁶² Hendrick, Robert, Albert Robida's Imperfect Future, *History Today*, 48, July 1998, p.30.
- ⁶³ Sontag, Susan, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p.135-6
- ⁶⁴ Rosenberg, Charles E., Cholera in Nineteenth-Century Europe: A Tool for Social and Economical Analysis, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 8, 1966, 452-63.
- ⁶⁵ Evans, Richard J., Epidemics and Revolutions; Cholera in nineteenth-century Europe, in Ranger, Terence Osborn, (ed.), *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence*, (Cambridge:

Cambridge U.P., 1992), p.154.

⁶⁶ Evans, Richard J., *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830-1910*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), p.497-8.

⁶⁷ Hart, Ernest, Cholera and Our Protection against it, *Nineteenth Century*, 32, 1892, p.641-2.

⁶⁸ Hart delivered a lecture entitled "Cholera and Our Protection from it" at the National Health Society in which "The Meccan Pilgrims" was referred as well. See the abstract in the *British Medical Journal*, September 3rd 1892, p.562.

⁶⁹ Arnold, David, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*, (Berkeley, Calif.: U. of California P., 1993), p.185.

⁷⁰ Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*, p.188.

⁷¹ Arnold, David, *Colonizing the Body*, p.189. A similar revival of the nightmarish memory of a barbarian horde was found in France at the cholera epidemic in 1831. See, Delaporte, François, *Disease and Civilization: the Cholera in Paris, 1832*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer, (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 1986), p.101-2.

⁷² Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*, p.198.

⁷³ Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*, p.186.

⁷⁴ Hart, Cholera and Our Protection against it, p.642-3.

⁷⁵ Hart, Cholera and Our Protection against it, p.638.

⁷⁶ Green, Richard Lancelyn, (ed.), *The Uncollected Sherlock Holmes*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), p.364.

⁷⁷ Similar statement, describing that Islamic pilgrimage from the holy well as "a great cholera propagator" was repeated in the *Review of Reviews*. See, Sanitation and Religion, 8, August 1893, p.120.

⁷⁸ *British Medical Journal*, February 24th 1894, p.415-420.

⁷⁹ *British Medical Journal*, February 24th 1894, p.420.

⁸⁰ Hart, Ernest, Cholera and the Sultan, *Nineteenth Century*, 36, 1894, p.541.

⁸¹ Hart, Cholera and the Sultan, p.543. Probably due to the editor's intention, the *British Medical Journal* strongly campaigned for European prevention of cholera from the Oriental pilgrimage. See, The Mecca Pilgrims and Cholera, January 21st 1893, p.139-40; The Mohammedans and the Cholera, March 3rd 1894, p.460-1; The International Prevention of Cholera, March 31st 1894, p.694-5; Pilgrims and Cholera, December 29th 1894, p.1496.

⁸² Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan, ed. Richard Lancelyn Green, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1993), p.xx.

⁸³ Doyle, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, p.xx. n.1. The story was included in *His Last Bow* (1917). See also, Doyle, *His Last Bow*, (ed.) by Owen Dudley Edwards, (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1993), p.224.

⁸⁴ But ironically, it is one of the founders of anarchist, Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bakunin, who initially predicted the yellow peril, sometimes attributed to anarchists. It was in 1871. See, Gollwitzer, Heinz, *Die Gelbe Gefahr, Geschichte eines Schlagworts, Studien zum imperialistischen Denken*. (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), p.105-6. Élisée Reclus who admitted the anarchist dynamite policy, also warned of the yellow peril. See, Gollwitzer, *Die Gelbe Gefahr*, p.125-7. Fleming, *The Anarchist Way to Socialism*, p.241-2.

⁸⁵ It was repeated in Doyle's "The Dying Detective" which suggests the infection of "Coolie diseases" by

the Chinese in the East End (p.140). It is worth mentioning that *Dracula* (1897) was published between "The Stolen Bacillus" and "The Dying Detective."

⁸⁶ Hardy, Thomas, *The Return of the Native*, (ed.) by Simon Gatrell, (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1998), (The World's Classics), p.174-5.