

The Condition of England

Introduction

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–52), English architect, designer, and polemicist, a convert to Roman Catholicism, is remembered today as one of the most successful advocates for the revival of Gothic architecture. Known pre-eminently with Sir Charles Barry as one of the two architects of the new Houses of Parliament, he is the designer responsible from 1840 for all of its Gothic ornament, decoration, and furnishings. One year before Victoria's accession, Pugin self-published the book that would put him in the forefront of the "battle of the styles," a conflict between Gothic and Greek revival models of architecture. The long title of the book, *Contrasts; or a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste* (1836), sums up its content, methodology, and argument: a prefatory essay of thirty-five pages in five sections, an appendix, and nineteen drawings that juxtapose idealized or "noble" medieval buildings and their depraved modern counterparts. A second public edition in 1841, the one best known, doubled its length, and added five new plates.

In his preface, Pugin sticks to architecture, saying very little directly about what would soon be called the "Condition of England Question." That phrase is attributed to Thomas Carlyle in the title of the first chapter of *Chartism* (1840; see under SOCIAL FORMATION in this section) where he describes the condition of the English working-classes during the Industrial Revolution in the immediate aftermath of the New Poor Law Amendment Act (1834), legislation that in effect had criminalized poverty. Not one to neglect a good phrase, Carlyle used it again to begin *Past and Present* (1843): "The condition of England ... is justly regarded as one of the

most ominous, and withal one of the strangest, ever seen in this world. England is full of wealth, of multifarious produce, supply for human want in every kind; yet England is dying of inanition." Like Pugin, Carlyle uses an idealized past, an imaginary feudal England, to attack his contemporaries; unlike Pugin, he explicitly and savagely denounces the entire present social formation, especially the aristocratic and middle-class leaders of the country, who were doing little to help the poor.

In one passage of the preface, while discussing architecture, Pugin, using the present tense, does name some key components of the "Condition of England Question" similar to that which Carlyle would soon target. Pugin writes:

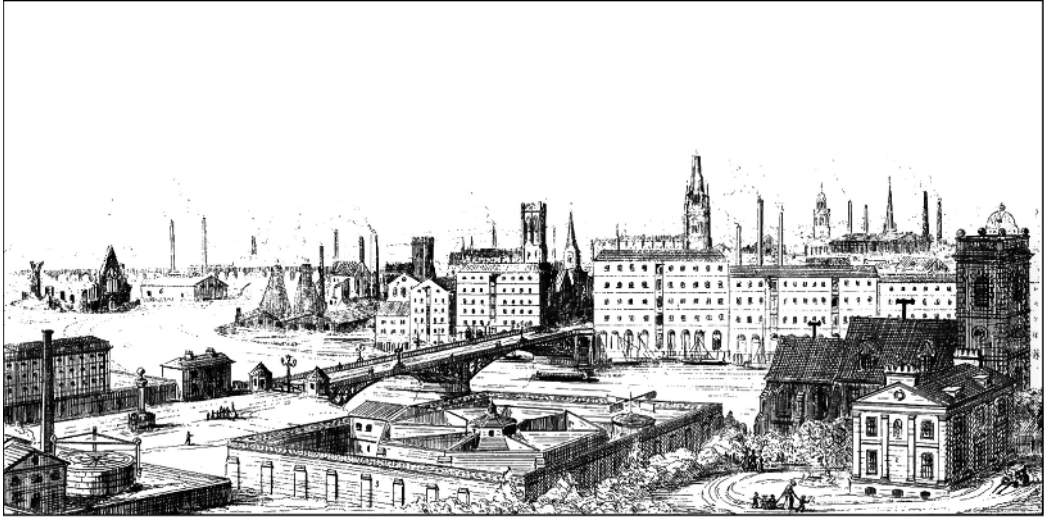
The erection of churches, like all that was produced by zeal or art in ancient days, has dwindled down into a mere trade.... They are erected by men who ponder between a mortgage, a railroad or a chapel, as the best investment of their money, and who, when they have resolved on relying on the persuasive eloquence of a cushion-thumping popular preacher, erect four walls, with apertures for windows, cram the room full of seats, which they readily let; and so greedy after pelf are these chapel-raisers, that they form dry and spurious vaults underneath, which are soon occupied, at a good rent, by some wine and brandy merchant (28).

Pugin here alludes to what Carlyle (and later Marx) would call the cash nexus, the system of capitalism overdetermining all human relationships, producing, according to them, shoddy workmanship, a landscape disfigured by railways,

a nation of shopkeepers and merchants whose sole concern was their profit margin. The chief impact of Pugin's argument for ethical historicism, however, was not made through vitriolic prose, but through his illustrations.

An etching added in 1841 juxtaposes a "Catholic Town in 1440" (titled in Gothic

letters) and "The Same Town in 1840" (see Figure 1). The medieval version is dominated by church spires, with no fewer than thirteen churches (of course, all Roman Catholic) listed in a key at the bottom of the drawing; it also contains a guildhall. People can freely enter and leave the town; its streets inside the walls lined



THE SAME TOWN IN 1840

1. St. Michael's Tower, rebuilt in 1750. 2. New Parsonage House & Pleasure Grounds. 3. The New Jail. 4. Gas Works. 5. Lunatic Asylum. 6. Iron Works & Ruins of St. Mary's Abbey. 7. St. Evans' Chapel. 8. Baptist Chapel. 9. Unitarian Chapel. 10. New Church. 11. New Town Hall & Concert Room. 12. Wesleyan Centenary Chapel. 13. New Christian Society. 14. Quakers Meeting. 15. Socialist Hall of Science.



Catholic town in 1440.

1. St. Michael's on the Hill. 2. Queen's Croft. 3. St. Thomas's Chapel. 4. St. Mary's Abbey. 5. All Saints. 6. St. John's. 7. St. Peter's. 8. St. Andrew's. 9. St. Mary's. 10. St. Edmund's. 11. Grey Friars. 12. St. Gilbert's. 13. Guild hall. 14. Trinity. 15. St. Olave's. 16. St. Botolph's.

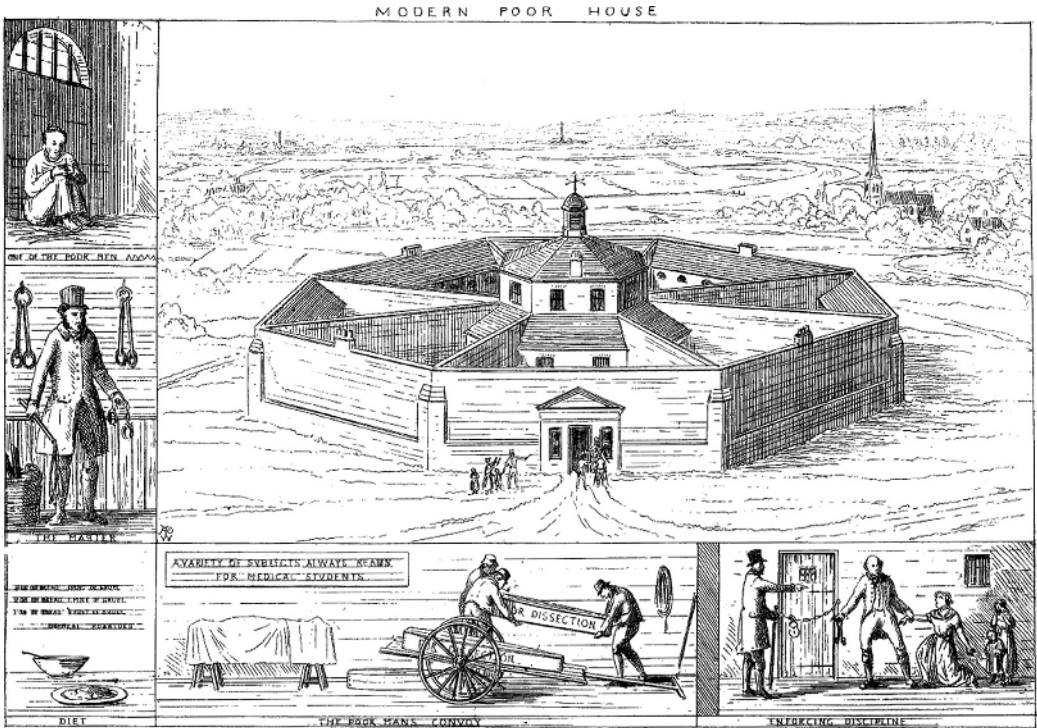
Figure 1 Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–52), "Catholic Town in 1440; The Same Town in 1840." In *Contrasts* (1836, second edition 1841). Etching. 26 × 21 cm. Source: courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library, University of Toronto.

with trees. In the modern version, by contrast, the skyline is dominated by industrial chimneys spewing smoke, replacing the spires. Reading from right to left are the one Anglican church "rebuilt in 1750" in a neo-Georgian replacement of Gothic, with a Georgian parsonage and "pleasure grounds"; next is the "New Jail" in the centre, an octagonal structure built in the manner of Bentham's panopticon, where the warders could observe all inmates; then, a gasworks and behind that a lunatic asylum. Across the iron bridge with its toll gate are seven chapels of various dissenting denominations as well as a "Socialist Hall of Science."

A second added plate, "Contrasted Residences for the Poor" (Figure 2) captures the "condition of England" in even sharper relief. In fact, this plate could have served as a frontispiece to Carlyle's *Past and Present*. Its two levels, "Antient Poor Hovse" and a "Modern Poor House," each contain six panels, a large central one framed by five others. In the ancient house, in the first frame a poor man wears a cape with a staff in his hand; in the next, two monks, one the "Master," distribute alms before a door; the "Diet" consists of beef, mutton, bacon, ale and cider, milk porridge, wheat bread, and cheese; in "The Poor Brother's Convoy" a deceased pauper receives ceremonial burial; "Enforcing Discipline" is through religious instruction by exhortation (preaching) and the sacraments: communion and the anointing of the sick. At the centre, in the largest panel, is an ornately designed Gothic complex with a huge open courtyard, replete with trees and a separate garden for each of the inhabitants. In the modern version each panel provides a parallel to its medieval counterpart with the same caption: one of the poor men cowers on straw in a barred cell, placed there under the New Poor Law; "The Master" holds whips and handcuffs, with leg-irons hanging on the wall behind; the "Diet" for three meals is "2 oz." of bread, 1 pint of gruel; 2 oz. bread, 1 pint of gruel; and 1 oz. of bread, ½ pint of gruel and oatmeal and potatoes. A "poor man's" coffin labelled "For Dissection" is being loaded or unloaded on a wagon by three labourers wearing

hats and casually smoking pipes beneath a sign: "A Variety of Subjects Always Ready for Medical Students," instead of the fourteen vested figures interring the dead with full religious ritual. Discipline is enforced in the Poor House by the Master's ordering a keeper to imprison a mother with two children in a locked cell. At the centre, the Gothic poor house with its open courtyard and gardens has been replaced by a large, enclosed, prison-like octagonal structure, like the "New Jail" in Figure 1, with no windows, again in the manner of a Benthamite panopticon. The religious building has been removed to become a tiny structure in the background, while the foreground is barren and treeless.

Obviously Pugin is here distorting while glorifying the condition of the poor in medieval England, as does Carlyle; nevertheless, Pugin's two illustrations provide a map of many of the crucial social transformations that created the condition of England, controversies which would rage throughout Victoria's reign: the secularization of society, industrialization with concomitant pollution and social displacement, forced labour for the destitute, the substitution of incarceration for charity (see Plate 3: Fildes, *Applicants for Admission to a Casual Ward*), and the belief in science and rationalization on the model of utilitarianism – all are represented in Pugin's "contrasts": all are topics that run throughout the writings in this section. The transformations that Pugin calls repulsive are in many of these writings represented as a steady social improvement. Notably absent from Pugin's representation of his present is any awareness of a sense of progress, of the advantages of political reform based on democratic principles, or of education and mass literacy. For him, the nostalgic solution for the social dislocation was a return to the spiritual, moral, social, and political authority of the Roman Catholic Church, whose power and validity are represented in the architecture of the "Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." Macaulay follows a similar pattern, contrasting present to past; however, he draws completely opposite conclusions – the movement away from the authority of the church is social



CONTRASTED RESIDENCES FOR THE POOR

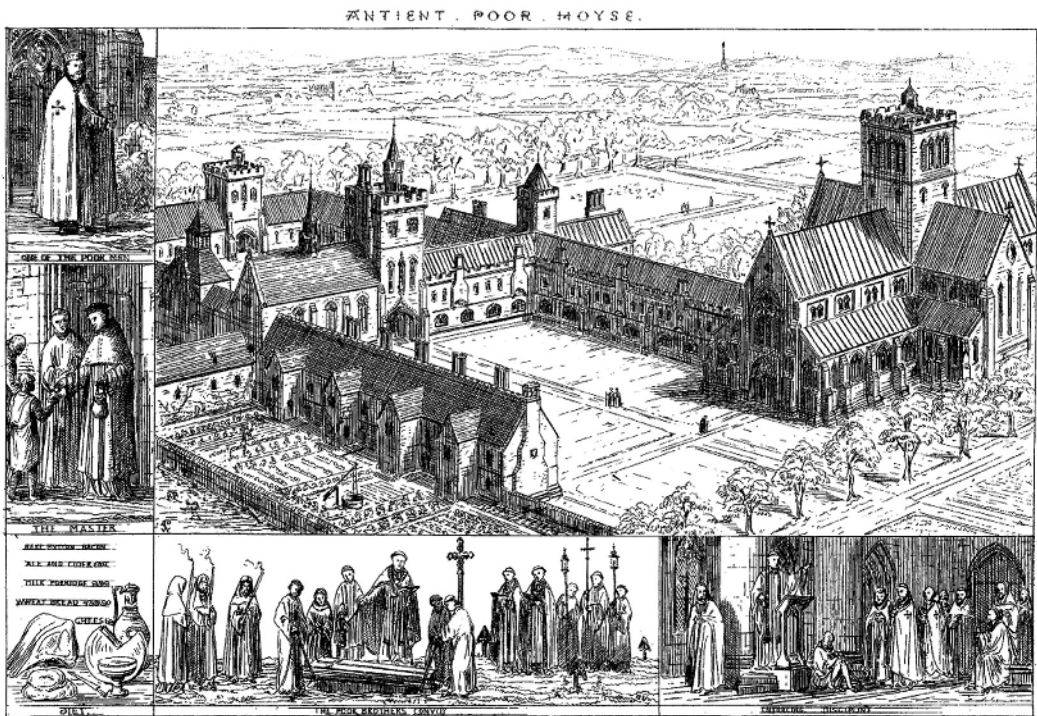


Figure 2 Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–52), “Contrasted Residences for the Poor” (1846). In *Contrasts* (1836, second edition 1841). Etching. 26 × 21 cm. Source: courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library, University of Toronto.

progress and human improvement through rationality, science, technology, and industrialization. Both Macaulay and Pugin read the signs of the times with one of the dominant modes of contrast used by Victorians, a temporal contrast that viewed the present through the lens of the past. Such contrasts between present and past were used throughout the nineteenth century to discuss the condition of England; for instance, at the end of Victoria's reign, advances in all areas of endeavour, such as progress in shipping, transportation, travel, and street lighting, were illustrated in a tribute to her Jubilee (see Plate 2: "Scientific Progress").

We arrange our selections about the condition of England under five headings: the VICTORIAN SOCIAL FORMATION; PROGRESS, INDUSTRIALIZATION AND REFORM (WEB); WORKING-CLASS VOICES (WEB); EDUCATION AND MASS LITERACY; and POLLUTION, PROTECTION, AND PRESERVATION (WEB). Our first category, the Victorian social formation, demonstrates how Victorians drew contrasts between the different classes and their lives, work, and appearances. Pugin mitigates the class structure within an idealistic and holistic social structure dominated by the church; Disraeli in *Sybil* (1845) claimed that "the Privileged and the People formed Two Nations," enunciating the contrast between the classes that relied on financial resources and economic stability – a stability that was shifting throughout the Victorian era, from landowners to business and industrial magnates, and from rural farm-workers displaced from impoverished fields to perhaps equally impoverished urban factory workers, living in squalor and obsessed with mere survival.

Such a divided country demanded reform, considered under our second category covering progress, industrialization, and reform. The gloominess of Carlyle and Pugin's assessment of their contemporaries can be contrasted to the optimism of Macaulay and Prince Albert's arguments for progress. Following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, and in the ensuing social chaos from industrial urbanization, political struggles for reform erupted in the industrial Midlands. The boom-and-bust in the

various stages of the cotton industry's adaptation of new technology, such as the move from water power to steam in the 1840s, meant that in the county of Lancashire alone there were 2,650 cotton mills employing almost a half million workers, many poorly housed, over-worked, and ill-fed. Resistance to reform on the part of those born into privilege had to be set against the abject suffering of the poor. Yet the Reform Bills of 1832, 1867, and 1884 increased male suffrage and began reforms in other areas, such as education and social welfare. Such massive shifts in social and political power depended upon all kinds of technological developments: a sewage system for metropolitan London; the move from gas to electric lighting; a vast railway system with armies of embankment builders, tunnel diggers, and steel rail layers; steam machinery in the mills; and steam presses for newspapers – all of these fundamentally changed the ways people interacted with each other and with their environment.

New working-class voices, our third category, began to be heard above or along with the clatter of looms and the roar of steam. The Chartists demanded just wages, fair working conditions, and the male franchise; they quickly engulfed the nation, expressing their unrest in both mass meetings and mass writing. The poor and disempowered continued to insist that they have a say in their own society, writing their own autobiographies and setting out their ideals in often inflammatory prose and verse. For instance, the Chartist poet Thomas Cooper (WEB p. 57), who in his autobiography describes seeking the help of Benjamin Disraeli in order to get his poems published following his release from prison. Others saw the necessity of providing universal education for the poor as it became increasingly clear that political reform could not be stopped.

Our fourth section, EDUCATION AND MASS LITERACY, sets out these educational goals in a variety of voices: from the great public schools by Thomas Arnold at Rugby and, fictionalized by a former student there, Thomas Hughes. It was in fiction that many of the demands for

educational reform were often set forth, as in Dickens's parody of the degrading effects of Utilitarian education gone berserk in the first chapter of *Hard Times*. These were demands not only for education for boys, but also for men in the Working Men's College movement and numerous opportunities for the increasingly diverse education of women. Inns, pubs, and eating rooms throughout the realm continued to carry the newspapers and a number of leading journals for their patrons, but the explosion caused first by the steam printing press and then by the illustrated newspapers like the *Illustrated London News*, gave to the greatly increasing reading public, as announced in its first edition, "the very form and presence of events as they transpire, in all their substantial reality" (14 May 1842). Literacy became the coveted possession of many thousands with a related increase in sensational and thrilling reading material – and a concomitant fear on the part of the middle and governing classes that good taste was threatened by a flood of street literature, thrillers, and general vulgarity. A parallel burst of information on all topics came with the great journals like the *Edinburgh*, *Quarterly*, and *Cornhill*, as well as the numerous publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (founded 1826) whose *Penny Magazine* had a circulation of 200,000 a week in 1832.

With the demands of industry for more production and the related growth in urbanization came tremendous pollution, along with demands for better air and water and the protection of the environment: our fifth section,  POLLUTION, PROTECTION, AND PRESERVATION (WEB). As these writings show, all kinds of worthy causes were in competition for the public eye and for public funds, all seeking to demonstrate that the Victorian era was not nearly so spiritually adrift as Pugin had considered it to be just before the reign of Victoria began.

In 1909, eight years after Victoria's death, Charles F. G. Masterman (1873–1927), a Liberal politician and journalist, published a survey of the social and political state of his society, entitled again, *The Condition of England*.

Like Pugin and Carlyle he was critical of the conditions of his time, but unlike them, when he contrasted the present with the past, he was optimistic for the future: "The nineteenth century—in the life of the wage-earning multitudes—was a century of disturbance. The twentieth promises to be a century of consolidation." He gives a caveat, claiming in the first chapter that if one were to draw only on the great Victorian literary figures, the picture of the era would be pessimistic:

Select ten, say, of the greatest writers of the Victorian era, and attempt from the picture which they present to effect a reconstruction of the Victorian age. The product is a human society so remote from all benignant ways as to demand nothing less than the advent of a kindly comet which will sweep the whole affair into nothingness. Our fathers led their decent, austere lives in that Victorian age ... inspired by their vigorous, if limited, creeds. They wrangled about politics and theology: they feasted at Christmas, and in the summer visited the seaside: they gave alms to the poor, and rejoiced that they lived in nineteenth-century England. But to the prophets of their age they were unclean from crown of head to sole of foot, a people who had visibly exhausted the patience of God.

Masterman then cites many of the writers included in our *Anthology*, Carlyle, Ruskin, Meredith, Arnold, Morris, Tennyson, Froude, Thomson, and others, as examples of harsh critics of the Victorian condition of England: "Literature has no tolerance for the existence of comfort and security which to so many people seems the last word of human welfare. And no reconstruction, from the works of genius, the great novelists, artists, critics, of the vanishing present, can provide any judgment much more satisfying to our pride than the judgment of summarized theft and fraud and violence which is the weekly enjoyment of many million readers. We know—at once—that this is a one-sided verdict."

In a like manner, the majority of the selections that follow represent the “Condition of England” in a largely negative light – castigating its industrialization and class relations, its political and social deprivations, and what we now call its environmental issues; nevertheless, such a depiction is too simplistic, as our selections also indicate. To many, the age was not a single, bleak expanse of gloom, but an era

marked by opportunity – from the building of the Houses of Parliament and the Great Exhibition of 1851 to the Diamond Jubilee – and more than opportunity: it had become an age of progress and prosperity, of achievement and expansion. This later condition of England was the envy of the world – but it remained a complex, many-layered, contradictory, and still elusive condition.

1. The Victorian Social Formation

Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803–73): *Pelham, or, Adventures of a Gentleman* (1828)

From Chapter 1¹

I am an only child. My father was the younger son of one of our oldest earls; my mother the dowerless daughter of a Scotch peer. Mr. Pelham was a moderate whig, and gave sumptuous dinners;—Lady Frances was a woman of taste, and particularly fond of diamonds and old china.

Vulgar people know nothing of the necessities required in good society, and the credit they give is as short as their pedigree. Six years after my birth, there was an execution in our house. My mother was just setting off on a visit to the Duchess of D—; she declared it was impossible to go without her diamonds. The chief of the bailiffs declared it was impossible to trust them out of his sight. The matter was compromised—the bailiff went with my mother to C—, and was introduced as *my tutor*. “A man of singular merit,” whispered my mother, “but *so shy!*” Fortunately, the bailiff was abashed, and by losing his impudence he kept the secret. At the end of the week, the diamonds went to the jeweller’s, and Lady Frances wore paste.² . . .

My father went down to run his last horse at Newmarket,³ and my mother received nine hundred people in a Turkish tent.⁴ Both were equally fortunate, the *Greek*⁵ and the *Turk*; my father’s horse *lost*, in consequence of which he pocketed five thousand pounds; and my mother looked so charming as a Sultana, that Seymour Conway fell desperately in love with her.

Notes

THE VICTORIAN SOCIAL FORMATION

¹ *title* from the opening of the life of Henry Pelham, a dandy and man about town. Silver fork novels, of which this is a famous example, represent high society and fashionable life, and were very popular in the 1820s and 1830s. Associated with the Regency period, they simultaneously celebrate and satirize the upper classes. Our text: second edition 1828.

² *paste* imitation diamonds.

³ *Newmarket* town in Suffolk with centuries-old race track, associated with aristocratic decadence.

⁴ *Turkish tent* Turkish dress became fashionable in the eighteenth century, partly from the influence of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), wife of the ambassador to

Constantinople, who brought exotic costumes to the London social world from 1725 on. She popularized Turkish fashion in *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1763). By the 1780s the harem craze continued in art and music, as in the fashionable operas of Mozart like *The Abduction from the Seraglio* (1782). Although Pelham’s mother is indulging in a showy display of high fashion, reform-minded Victorian women would later adopt Turkish dress to indicate a radical political or social agenda, especially Turkish pantaloons as a bicycling costume associated with freedom of movement for women in the 1880s and 1890s.

⁵ *the Greek* archaic phrase meaning a cheat or swindler, here referring to Pelham’s father’s fixing of a horse race.

Mr. Conway had just caused two divorces;⁶ and of course, all the women in London were dying for him—judge then of the pride which Lady Frances felt at his addresses. The end of the season was unusually dull, and my mother, after having looked over her list of engagements, and ascertained that she had none remaining worth staying for, agreed to elope with her new lover.

The carriage was at the end of the square. My mother, for the first time in her life, got up at six o'clock. Her foot was on the step, and her hand next to Mr. Conway's heart, when she remembered that her favourite china monster⁷ and her French dog were left behind. She insisted on returning—re-entered the house, and was coming down stairs with one under each arm, when she was met by my father and two servants. My father's valet had discovered the flight (I forget how), and awakened his master.

When my father was convinced of his loss, he called for his dressing-gown—searched the garret and the kitchen—looked in the maid's drawers and the cellaret—and finally declared he was distracted. I have heard that the servants were quite melted by his grief, and I do not doubt it in the least, for he was always celebrated for his skill in private theatricals. He was just retiring to vent his grief in his dressing-room, when he met my mother. It must altogether have been an awkward *rencontre*, and, indeed, for my father, a remarkably unfortunate occurrence; for Seymour Conway was immensely rich, and the damages would, no doubt, have been proportionably high. Had they met each other alone, the affair might easily have been settled, and Lady Frances gone off in tranquillity;—those d—d⁸ servants are always in the way!

I have, however, often thought that it was better for me that the affair ended thus,—as I know, from many instances, that it is frequently exceedingly inconvenient to have one's mother divorced.

I have observed that the distinguishing trait of people accustomed to good society, is a calm, imperturbable quiet, which pervades all their actions and habits, from the greatest to the least: they eat in quiet, move in quiet, live in quiet, and lose their wife, or even their money, in quiet; while low persons cannot take up either a spoon or an affront without making such an amazing noise about it. To render this observation good, and to return to the intended elopement, nothing farther was said upon that event. My father introduced Conway to Brookes's,⁹ and invited him to dinner twice a week for a whole twelvemonth.

Not long after this occurrence, by the death of my grandfather, my uncle succeeded to the title and estates of the family. He was, as people justly observed, rather an odd man: built schools for peasants, forgave poachers, and diminished his farmers' rents; indeed, on account of these and similar eccentricities, he was thought a fool by some, and a madman by others. However, he was not quite destitute of natural feeling; for he paid my father's debts, and established us in the secure enjoyment of our former splendour. But this piece of generosity, or justice, was done in the most unhandsome manner; he obtained a promise from my father to retire from Brookes's, and relinquish the turf; and he prevailed upon my mother to take an aversion to diamonds, and an indifference to china monsters.

Notes

⁶ divorces until the Divorce Act (1857), divorces could be obtained only through the church courts first, and then by an act of Parliament – both very expensive (see GENDER: WOMAN; NORTON, LETTER). The allegation that Conway committed adultery, thereby causing divorces, implies that the aggrieved husbands were rich.

⁷ monster expensive collectibles, porcelain lions or dragons imported from China, a fad beginning in the early eighteenth century.

⁸ d—d conventional spelling for “damned” from the mid-eighteenth century, here an upper-class curse directed at the servant class. This self-censorship in the typographic use of the dash for the missing letters enabled publishers to escape punishments that might be incurred under the Profane Oaths Act (1745), finally replaced by the Criminal Law Act (1967).

⁹ Brookes's, usually spelled “Brooks's,” an exclusive Whig gentleman's club in London, associated with heavy gambling. Bulwer-Lytton was a member.

WEB p. 3

William Cobbett (1763–1835): From *Rural Rides* (1830)

Victoria (1819–1901): From *Letters* (20 June 1837)

["I am *Queen*"]

Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881): *Chartism* (1840)

From Chapter 1: "Condition-of-England Question"¹⁰

A feeling very generally exists that the condition and disposition of the Working Classes is a rather ominous matter at present; that something ought to be said, something ought to be done, in regard to it. And surely, at an epoch of history when the "National Petition"¹¹ carts itself in waggons along the streets, and is presented "bound with iron hoops, four men bearing it," to a Reformed House of Commons;¹² and Chartism numbered by the million and half, taking nothing by its iron-hooped Petition, breaks out into brickbats, cheap pikes, and even into sputterings of conflagration, such very general feeling cannot be considered unnatural! To us individually this matter appears, and has for many years appeared, to be the most ominous of all practical matters whatever; a matter in regard to which if something be not done, something will *do* itself one day, and in a fashion that will please nobody. The time is verily come for acting in it; how much more for consultation about acting in it, for speech and articulate inquiry about it! . . .

The melancholy fact remains, that this thing known at present by the name Chartism does exist; has existed; and, either "put down," into secret treason, with rusty pistols, vitriol-bottle and match-box, or openly brandishing pike and torch (one knows not in which case *more* fatal-looking), is like to exist till quite other methods have been tried with it. What means this bitter discontent of the Working Classes? Whence comes it, whither goes it? Above all, at what price, on what terms, will it probably consent to depart from us and die into rest? These are questions. . . .

Delirious Chartism will not have raged entirely to no purpose, as indeed no earthly thing does so, if it have forced all thinking men of the community to think of this vital matter, too apt to be overlooked otherwise. Is the condition of the English working people wrong; so wrong that rational working men cannot, will not, and even should not rest quiet under it? A most grave case, complex beyond all others in the world; a case wherein Botany Bay,¹³ constabulary rural police, and such like, will avail but little. Or is the discontent itself mad, like the shape it took? Not the condition of the working people that is wrong; but their disposition, their own thoughts, beliefs and feelings that are wrong? This too were a most grave case, little less alarming, little less complex than the former one. In this case too, where constabulary police and mere rigour of coercion seems more

Notes

¹⁰ *title* named after the People's Charter of May 1838, the Chartists demanded six reforms: universal male suffrage; the secret ballot; removal of property qualifications for Members of Parliament; salaries for Members of Parliament; balanced electoral districts with equal numbers of electors; and annual parliamentary elections.

¹¹ *Petition* Chartists presented a large petition to Parliament in June 1839 that was rejected, leading to riots and loss of life. Later protests in Birmingham, London, and elsewhere would culminate in public riots in 1848.

¹² *Commons* the Reform Parliament of 1832 had made first steps in lowering the property and income qualifications for the franchise, but subsequent governments did not extend the vote to working-class men, as the Charter had demanded.

¹³ *Botany Bay* near Sydney in south-east Australia, established by Britain in 1788 as a penal colony for deported criminals, sentenced to transportation, marking the beginning of colonization in Australia. After riots in November 1839 in Newport three Chartists would be transported to Australia.

at home, coercion will by no means do all, coercion by itself will not even do much. If there do exist general madness of discontent, then sanity and some measure of content must be brought about again,—not by constabulary police alone. When the thoughts of a people, in the great mass of it, have grown mad, the combined issue of that people's workings will be a madness, an incoherency and ruin! Sanity will have to be recovered for the general mass; coercion itself will otherwise cease to be able to coerce. . . .

Surely Honourable Members ought to speak of the Condition-of-England question too. Radical Members,¹⁴ above all; friends of the people; chosen with effort, by the people, to interpret and articulate the dumb deep want of the people! To a remote observer they seem oblivious of their duty. Are they not there, by trade, mission, and express appointment of themselves and others, to speak for the good of the British Nation? Whatsoever great British interest can the least speak for itself, for that beyond all they are called to speak. They are either speakers for that great dumb toiling class which cannot speak, or they are nothing that one can well specify. . . .

What are the rights, what are the mights of the discontented Working Classes in England at this epoch? He were an Oedipus,¹⁵ and deliverer from sad social pestilence, who could resolve us fully! For we may say beforehand, The struggle that divides the upper and lower in society over Europe, and more painfully and notably in England than elsewhere, this too is a struggle which will end and adjust itself as all other struggles do and have done, by making the right clear and the might clear; not otherwise than by that. Meantime, the questions, Why are the Working Classes discontented; what is their condition, economical, moral, in their houses and their hearts, as it is in reality and as they figure it to themselves to be; what do they complain of; what ought they, and ought they not to complain of?—these are measurable questions; on some of these any common mortal, did he but turn his eyes to them, might throw some light. Certain researches and considerations of ours on the matter, since no one else will undertake it, are now to be made public. The researches have yielded us little, almost nothing; but the considerations are of old date, and press to have utterance. We are not without hope that our general notion of the business, if we can get it uttered at all, will meet some assent from many candid men.

Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881): *Past and Present* (1843)

From Book I, Chapter 1: “Midas”¹⁶

The condition of England, on which many pamphlets are now in the course of publication, and many thoughts unpublished are going on in every reflective head, is justly regarded as one of the most ominous, and withal one of the strangest, ever seen in this world. England is full of wealth, of multifarious produce, supply for human want in every kind;

Notes

¹⁴ *Honourable Members . . . Radical Members* members of the House of Commons in general, and especially radical members who advocated social and political reforms. The term was first applied in the eighteenth century to Charles James Fox (1749–1806), and later to the followers of Thomas Paine (1737–1809) against Edmund Burke (1729–97) at the time of the French Revolution. In Carlyle's time, Radicals referred to the supporters of the People's Charter, such as Richard Cobden (1804–65) and John Bright (1811–89). They led the parliamentary Radicals from 1839 with the establishment of the Anti-Corn Law League, opposing duties on imported grain that raised the price of wheat and bread, good for landowners, but not for agricultural and other workers.

¹⁵ *Oedipus* in Sophocles play (429 BCE), Oedipus seeks to deliver the city of Thebes from the plague by finding out why the gods have sent it, little realizing that he is its cause for unknowingly killing his father and marrying his mother.

¹⁶ *title* Carlyle conflates the two versions of the story of Midas, king of Phrygia, told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: how Bacchus (Dionysus) granted his wish that “whatever I touch may turn to gold,” thoughtlessly including his food and daughter (II: 85–145) – in Carlyle a metaphor for the Victorians' pursuit of money. The second version tells how Midas awarded the prize for music to Pan instead of Apollo. In retaliation Apollo replaced Midas' “stupid ears” with the ears of “the slow-going jackass” (II: 146–190).

yet England is dying of inanition. With unabated bounty the land of England blooms and grows; waving with yellow harvests; thick-studded with workshops, industrial implements, with fifteen millions of workers understood to be the strongest, the cunningest and the willingest our Earth ever had; these men are here; the work they have done, the fruit they have realized is here, abundant, exuberant on every hand of us: and behold, some baleful fiat as of Enchantment¹⁷ has gone forth, saying, "Touch it not, ye workers, ye master-workers, ye master-idlers; none of you can touch it, no man of you shall be the better for it; this is enchanted fruit!"¹⁸ On the poor workers such fiat falls first, in its rudest shape; but on the rich master-workers too it falls; neither can the rich master-idlers, nor any richest or highest man escape, but all are like to be brought low with it, and made "poor" enough, in the money sense or a far fataller one.

Of these successful skilful workers some two millions, it is now counted, sit in Workhouses, Poor-Law Prisons; or have "out-door relief" flung over the wall to them,—the Workhouse Bastille¹⁹ being filled to bursting, and the strong Poor-Law broken asunder by a stronger.²⁰ They sit there, these many months now; their hope of deliverance as yet small. In Workhouses, pleasantly so named, because work cannot be done in them. Twelve hundred thousand workers in England alone; their cunning right-hand lamed, lying idle in their sorrowful bosom; their hopes, outlooks, share of this fair world, shut in by narrow walls. They sit there, pent up, as in a kind of horrid enchantment; glad to be imprisoned and enchanted, that they may not perish starved. The picturesque Tourist,²¹ in a sunny autumn day, through this bounteous realm of England, describes the Union Workhouse on his path. "Passing by the Workhouse of St. Ives²² in Huntingdonshire, on a bright day last autumn," says the picturesque Tourist, "I saw sitting on wooden benches, in front of their Bastille and within their ring-wall and its railings, some half-hundred or more of these men. Tall robust figures, young mostly or of middle age; of honest countenance, many of them thoughtful and even intelligent looking men. They sat there, near by one another; but in a kind of torpor, especially in a silence, which was very striking. In silence: for, alas, what word was to be said? An Earth all lying round, crying 'Come and till me, come and reap me';—yet we here sit enchanted! In the eyes and brows of these men hung the gloomiest expression, not of anger, but of grief and shame and manifold inarticulate distress and weariness; they returned my glance with a glance that seemed to say, 'Do not look at us. We sit enchanted here, we know not why. The Sun shines and the Earth calls; and, by the governing Powers and Impotences of this England we are forbidden to obey. It is impossible, they tell us!' There was something that reminded me of Dante's Hell in the look of all this; and I rode swiftly away." . . .

At Stockport Assizes,—and this too has no reference to the present state of trade, being of date prior to that,—a Mother and a Father are arraigned and found guilty of poisoning

Notes

¹⁷ *Enchantment* the spell of death imposed by a wicked fairy in Charles Perrault's *Sleeping Beauty* (1697), ameliorated to a hundred-year sleep by a good fairy, who casts all of the inhabitants into suspended animation.

¹⁸ *fruit* see Genesis 2: 17.

¹⁹ *Workhouses . . . Bastille* the number of workhouses greatly increased as a result of the Poor Law Act of 1834 that required even able-bodied paupers to seek relief by residing in a parish workhouse or union workhouse (for a union of parishes), called by Carlyle in *Chartism*, a "Poor-Law Bastille," using the term from the hated prison in Paris stormed as a symbol of tyranny in the French Revolution of 1789. The term "Bastille" was in currency in *The Book of the Bastille; or, the History of the Working of the New-Law* (1841) by George R. Wythen Baxter, a vast

collection of reports that attacked the New Poor Law; see MASSEY, n. 3.

²⁰ *stronger* "The Return of Paupers for England and Wales, at Ladyday, 1842, is, 'In-door 221,687, Out-door 1,207,402, Total 1,429,089.'—(Official Report)" [author's note]. Ladyday, the feast of the Annunciation in the calendar of the Church of England, dates the report to 25 March 1842.

²¹ *Tourist* Carlyle's derogatory description of himself as seeking scenes of rural beauty dotted with medieval ruins, as in William Cobbett's *Rural Rides* (1830) and William Taylor's *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire* (1842) (both of which Carlyle had read), is here juxtaposed ironically to rural blight.

²² *St. Ives* in 1842 Carlyle had visited this workhouse, built in 1838 for 200 inmates.

three of their children, to defraud a “burial-society” of some 3*l*.8*s*. due on the death of each child: they are arraigned, found guilty; and the official authorities, it is whispered, hint that perhaps the case is not solitary, that perhaps you had better not probe farther into that department of things.²³ This is in the autumn of 1841; the crime itself is of the previous year or season. “Brutal savages, degraded Irish,” mutters the idle reader of Newspapers; hardly lingering on this incident. Yet it is an incident worth lingering on; the depravity, savagery and degraded Irishism being never so well admitted. In the British land, a human Mother and Father, of white skin and professing the Christian religion, had done this thing; they, with their Irishism and necessity and savagery, had been driven to do it. Such instances are like the highest mountain apex emerged into view; under which lies a whole mountain region and land, not yet emerged. A human Mother and Father had said to themselves, What shall we do to escape starvation? We are deep sunk here, in our dark cellar; and help is far.—Yes, in the Ugolino Hunger-tower²⁴ stern things happen; best-loved little Gaddo fallen dead on his Father’s knees!—The Stockport Mother and Father think and hint: Our poor little starveling Tom, who cries all day for victuals, who will see only evil and not good in this world: if he were out of misery at once; he well dead, and the rest of us perhaps kept alive? It is thought, and hinted; at last it is done. And now Tom being killed, and all spent and eaten, Is it poor little starveling Jack that must go, or poor little starveling Will?—What an *inquiry*²⁵ of ways and means! . . .

To whom, then, is this wealth of England wealth? Who is it that it blesses; makes happier, wiser, beautifuller, in any way better? Who has got hold of it, to make it fetch and carry for him, like a true servant, not like a false mock-servant; to do him any real service whatsoever? As yet no one. We have more riches than any Nation ever had before; we have less good of them than any Nation ever had before. Our successful industry is hitherto unsuccessful; a strange success, if we stop here! In the midst of plethoric plenty, the people perish; with gold walls, and full barns, no man feels himself safe or satisfied. Workers, Master Workers, Unworkers, all men, come to a pause; stand fixed, and cannot farther. Fatal paralysis spreading inwards, from the extremities, in St. Ives Workhouses, in Stockport cellars, through all limbs, as if towards the heart itself. Have we actually got enchanted then; accursed by some god?—

Midas longed for gold, and insulted the Olympians. He got gold, so that whatsoever he touched became gold,—and he, with his long ears, was little the better for it. Midas had misjudged the celestial music-tones; Midas had insulted Apollo and the gods: the gods gave him his wish, and a pair of long ears, which also were a good appendage to it. What a truth in these old Fables!

Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81): *Sybil* (1845)

From Book 2, Chapter 5 [The Two Nations]²⁶

“It is a community of purpose that constitutes society,” continued the younger stranger; “without that, men may be drawn into contiguity, but they still continue virtually isolated.”

Notes

²³ *Stockport . . . things* reported in the *Examiner* (1 Nov. 1840); a coroner’s jury found the parents guilty of murder of their children to secure the payments of £3 8*s*. 6*d*. per child from the Philanthropic Burial Society. The *Examiner* (17 Aug. 1841) reported that in the criminal trial the father was convicted of murder.

²⁴ *Hunger-tower* in *Inferno* 33: 1–90 Dante tells of imprisoned Count Ugolino da Pisa whose children urge him to cannibalism to avoid watching him starve.

²⁵ *inquiry* changed to “a committee” in 1845 to stress the role of a parliamentary committee of “ways and means.” Ways and Means committees dealt with government budgets in relation to specific pieces of legislation.

²⁶ *title* this social-problem novel, the second of Disraeli’s Young England trilogy, is a harsh critique of Chartism from the position of aristocratic conservatism or benevolent paternalism. In this famous passage, the hero Charles Egremont meets Stephen Morley, a radical who eventually becomes

"And is that their condition in cities?"

"It is their condition everywhere; but in cities that condition is aggravated. A density of population implies a severer struggle for existence, and a consequent repulsion of elements brought into too close contact. In great cities men are brought together by the desire of gain. They are not in a state of co-operation, but of isolation, as to the making of fortunes; and for all the rest they are careless of neighbours. Christianity teaches us to love our neighbour as ourself;²⁷ modern society acknowledges no neighbour."

"Well, we live in strange times," said Egremont, struck by the observation of his companion, and relieving a perplexed spirit by an ordinary exclamation, which often denotes that the mind is more stirring than it cares to acknowledge, or at the moment is capable to express.

"When the infant begins to walk, it also thinks that it lives in strange times," said his companion.

"Your inference?" asked Egremont.

"That society, still in its infancy, is beginning to feel its way."

"This is a new reign," said Egremont, "perhaps it is a new era."

"I think so," said the younger stranger.

"I hope so," said the elder one.

"Well, society may be in its infancy," said Egremont slightly smiling; "but, say what you like, our Queen reigns over the greatest nation that ever existed."

"Which nation?" asked the younger stranger, "for she reigns over two."

The stranger paused; Egremont was silent, but looked inquiringly.

"Yes," resumed the younger stranger after a moment's interval. "Two nations; between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws."

"You speak of —" said Egremont, hesitatingly.

"THE RICH AND THE POOR."²⁸

At this moment a sudden flush of rosy light, suffusing the grey ruins, indicated that the sun had just fallen; and through a vacant arch that overlooked them, alone in the resplendent sky, glittered the twilight star. The hour, the scene, the solemn stillness and the softening beauty, repressed controversy, induced even silence. The last words of the stranger lingered in the ear of Egremont; his musing spirit was teeming with many thoughts, many emotions; when from the Lady Chapel there rose the evening hymn²⁹ to the Virgin. A single voice; but tones of almost supernatural sweetness; tender and solemn, yet flexible and thrilling.³⁰

Notes

the villain of the novel. The phrase "the two nations" had been coined by Dr William Channing of Boston, a Unitarian minister, in 1841: "In most large cities there may be said to be two nations, understanding as little of one another, having as little intercourse as if they lived in different lands. In such a city as London the distance of a few streets will carry you from one stage of civilization to another, from the excess of refinement to barbarism, from the abodes of cultivated intellect to brutal ignorance, from what is called fashion to the grossest manners; and these distinct communities know comparatively nothing of each other" (*A Discourse on the Life and Character of The Rev. Joseph Tuckerman*).

²⁷ *ourself* see Matthew 22: 36–40.

²⁸ *POOR* see Plato *Republic* 8.551d; Engels uses an almost identical phrase in his discussion of Irish immigrants in Manchester in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* (1845).

²⁹ *hymn* very likely either the ninth-century evening hymn, *Ave Maris Stella* (Lat. Hail, O star of the ocean), or the early eleventh-century hymn used at the last or evening office of the Day (Compline), *Salve, Regina, Mater misericordiae* (Lat. Hail, O Queen, Mother of mercy).

³⁰ *thrilling* the singer is Sybil, the titular heroine and love-interest of the novel.



WEB p. 6

Friedrich Engels (1820–95): *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* (1845)

From Chapter 2: “The Great Towns” [Manchester slums]

Elizabeth Gaskell (1810–65): *Mary Barton* (1848): “Preface”

Henry Mayhew (1812–87): *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851)

From Volume 1: “Statement of a Prostitute”

Walter Bagehot (1826–77): *The English Constitution* (1867)

From Chapter 2: “The Pre-Requisites of Cabinet Government”

From Chapter 3: “The Monarchy”

George Cruikshank (1792–1878): *The British Bee Hive*.
Process engraving (1867)³¹

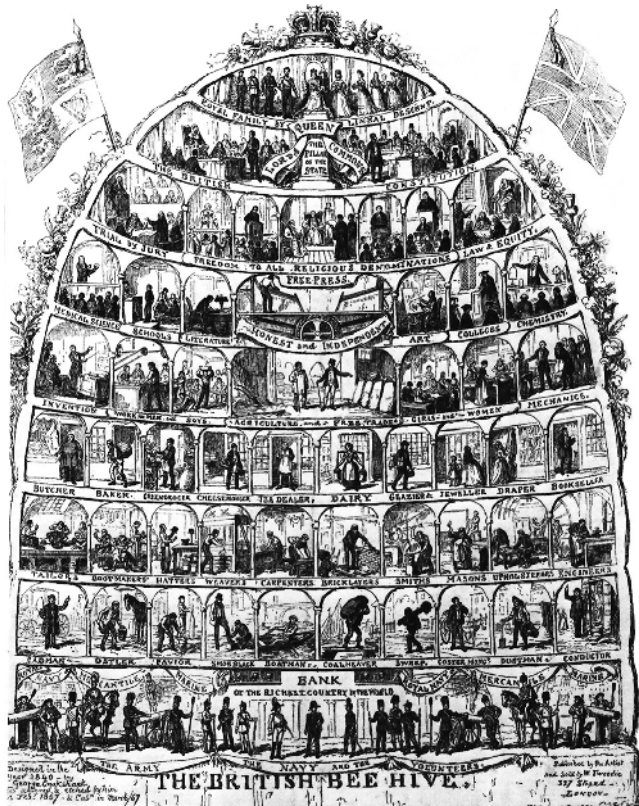


Figure 3 George Cruikshank (1792–1878), *The British Bee Hive* (1867). Process Engraving. 26 × 19.5 cm. Source: courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Library, University of Toronto.

Notes

³¹ *title* Cruikshank was a renowned British cartoonist and book illustrator of such works as Dickens’s *Oliver Twist* (1838) and Grimm’s *Fairy Tales* (1853). The metaphor comparing society to the ordered culture of the bees with their queen derives from Bernard Mandeville’s *Fable of the*

Bees (1714). First designed in 1840, the etching was published separately in 1867 with a tract opposing the Second Reform Bill and its extension of the franchise. In his old age the former radical preferred the *status quo*, each worker in his place: “If Universal Suffrage were

Matthew Arnold (1822–88): *Culture and Anarchy* (1869)From III [Chapter 3: “Barbarians, Philistines, Populace”]³²

For the middle class, for that great body which, as we know, “has done all the great things that have been done in all departments,”³³ and which is to be conceived as moving between its two cardinal points of our commercial member of Parliament and our fanatical Protestant Dissenter,³⁴—for this class we have a designation which now has become pretty well known, and which we may as well still keep for them, the designation of Philistines. What this term means I have so often explained³⁵ that I need not repeat it here. For the aristocratic class, conceived mainly as a body moving between the two cardinal points of our chivalrous lord and our defiant baronet,³⁶ we have as yet got no special designation. Almost all my attention has naturally been concentrated on my own class, the middle class, with which I am in closest sympathy, and which has been, besides, the great power of our day, and has had its praises sung by all speakers and newspapers. . . .

For *Philistine*³⁷ gives the notion of something particularly stiff-necked and perverse in the resistance to light and its children; and therein it specially suits our middle class, who not only do not pursue sweetness and light, but who even prefer to them that sort of machinery of business, chapels, tea-meetings, and addresses from Mr. Murphy,³⁸ which makes up the dismal and illiberal life on which I have so often touched. . . .

I have in my own mind often indulged myself with the fancy of employing, in order to designate our aristocratic class, the name of *the Barbarians*.³⁹ The Barbarians, to whom we all owe so much, and who reinvigorated and renewed our worn-out Europe, had, as is well known, eminent merits; and in this country, where we are for the most part sprung from the Barbarians, we have never had the prejudice against them which prevails among the races of Latin origin. The Barbarians brought with them that staunch individualism,

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granted, if everything were allowed, or even a great part of what is asked for, and *everyone* had a vote, it would cease to be a monarchy and would become a REPUBLIC.” In his metaphor, movement between the layers of the beehive is almost impossible, a good thing to him now because the system works “wonderfully well” and is “almost as perfect as it can be made by man.” Cruikshank’s beehive is hierarchical, with the queen and royal family above the British Constitution and parliament, with religion and law below, followed by the hierarchies of professions, followed by the ranks of domestics and other workers, all held up at the foundational level by the economic power of business, the banks, and the military power of the army and navy, as well as merchant shipping. Cruikshank’s earlier designs had taken a far more radical political approach, but are similar in illustrating society in a hierarchical pyramid.

³² title Arnold’s three terms refer to his division of the three classes of English society, “Barbarians” (the aristocracy), the “Philistines” (the middle classes), and the “Populace” (the working classes). For *Culture and Anarchy*, see ARNOLD, n. 30 (WEB p. 391).

³³ *departments* Arnold quotes from a lead article on middle-class education in *Daily News* (7 Dec. 1864).

³⁴ *commercial member . . . Dissenter* the two poles of the Liberal Party: by the first, its interest in commerce, Arnold refers to Sir Thomas Bazley (1797–1883), MP for Manchester and a leading cotton manufacturer; and by

the second, protestant dissent, he refers to the Rev. William Cattle, Wesleyan minister from Walsall, a Midlands industrial town north-west of Birmingham, who was associated with William Murphy (1834–72) in promoting anti-Catholic riots in 1867. When this chapter was first published in the *Cornhill Magazine* (June 1868), these names were included, but were removed in the edition of 1869.

³⁵ *explained* chiefly in his essay “Heinrich Heine” (1863).

³⁶ *baronet* in the 1869 edition Arnold omitted the names of the people he refers to, Francis Charteris, Lord Elcho (1818–1914), a Conservative MP and his inherited title, and Sir Thomas Bateson (1819–90), Conservative MP for Devizes, who inherited his baronetcy, the lowest rank of the titled. Arnold heard both speak in the Commons on 4 June 1866 in the debate on the second Reform Bill.

³⁷ *Philistine* for *Philistine*, see ARNOLD, n. 38 (WEB p. 398).

³⁸ *Murphy* William Murphy (see n. 34), anti-Catholic lecturer who inflamed his hearers to riot in June 1867 in Birmingham; see ARNOLD, nn. 49 and 52 (WEB p. 397, 398).

³⁹ *Barbarians* Arnold’s linking of the aristocrats to the Barbarians and personal freedom draws on a commonplace from Edward Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–88): “The most civilized nations of modern Europe issued from the woods of Germany; and in the rude institutions of those barbarians we may still distinguish the original principles of our present laws and manners” (pt. 1, ch. 9).

as the modern phrase is, and that passion for doing as one likes,⁴⁰ for the assertion of personal liberty. . . . The stronghold and natural seat of this passion was in the nobles of whom our aristocratic class are the inheritors; and this class, accordingly, have signally manifested it, and have done much by their example to recommend it to the body of the nation, who already, indeed, had it in their blood. The Barbarians, again, had the passion for field-sports;⁴¹ and they have handed it on to our aristocratic class, who of this passion too, as of the passion for asserting one's personal liberty, are the great natural stronghold. The care of the Barbarians for the body, and for all manly exercises; the vigour, good looks, and fine complexion which they acquired and perpetuated in their families by these means,—all this may be observed still in our aristocratic class. The chivalry of the Barbarians, with its characteristics of high spirit, choice manners, and distinguished bearing,—what is this but the attractive commencement of the politeness of our aristocratic class? In some Barbarian noble, no doubt, one would have admired, if one could have been then alive to see it, the rudiments of our politest peer. Only, all this culture (to call it by that name) of the Barbarians was an exterior culture mainly. It consisted principally in outward gifts and graces, in looks, manners, accomplishments, prowess. The chief inward gifts which had part in it were the most exterior, so to speak, of inward gifts, those which come nearest to outward ones; they were courage, a high spirit, self-confidence. Far within, and unawakened, lay a whole range of powers of thought and feeling, to which these interesting productions of nature had, from the circumstances of their life, no access. Making allowances for the difference of the times, surely we can observe precisely the same thing now in our aristocratic class. . . .

That part of the working class, therefore, which does really seem to lend itself to these great aims, may, with propriety, be numbered by us among the Philistines. That part of it, again, which so much occupies the attention of philanthropists at present,—the part which gives all its energies to organising itself, through trades' unions and other means, so as to constitute, first, a great working-class power independent of the middle and aristocratic classes, and then, by dint of numbers, give the law to them and itself reign absolutely,—this lively and promising part must also, according to our definition, go with the Philistines; because it is its class and its class instinct which it seeks to affirm—its ordinary self not its best self; and it is a machinery, an industrial machinery, and power and pre-eminence and other external goods, which fill its thoughts, and not an inward perfection. It is wholly occupied, according to Plato's subtle expression,⁴² with the things of itself and not its real self, with the things of the State and not the real State. But that vast portion, lastly, of the working class which, raw and half developed, has long lain half-hidden amidst its poverty and squalor, and is now issuing from its hiding-place to assert an Englishman's heaven-born privilege of doing as he likes, and is beginning to perplex us by marching where it likes, meeting where it likes, bawling what it likes, breaking what it likes,⁴³—to this vast residuum we may with great propriety give the name of Populace.⁴⁴

Thus we have got three distinct terms, *Barbarians*, *Philistines*, *Populace*, to denote roughly the three great classes into which our society is divided; and though this

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⁴⁰ *likes* in chapter 2 of *Culture and Anarchy*, called "Doing as One Likes," Arnold extends the ideal of British liberty to anarchic individualism; see also ARNOLD, n. 43 (WEB p. 395).

⁴¹ *field-sports* included hunting, shooting, and fishing, associated with traditional aristocratic values. These came under attack in the nineteenth century by such social reformers as Arnold's father, who banned the boys at Rugby from engaging in them, substituting alternatives such as cricket and football to promote a new type of masculinity, that of the Christian gentleman (see this section, EDUCATION, n. 13).

⁴² *expression* see *Charmides* 169c–172c, where Socrates separates a knowledge about knowledge or a science of science (Gk. *episteme*) from a knowledge (Gk. *gnosis*) about specific things. See TENNYSON, n. 29 (WEB p. 339).

⁴³ *likes* references to the Hyde Park riot of 23 July 1867; see also ARNOLD, n. 48 (WEB p. 397).

⁴⁴ *Populace* etymologically the common people (Lat. *popolo*, the people, as opposed to the nobility or the wealthy; in derogatory terms, the masses, the mob); in Arnold, the lowest part of the working-classes, without a vote and on

humble attempt at a scientific nomenclature falls, no doubt, very far short in precision of what might be required from a writer equipped with a complete and coherent philosophy,⁴⁵ yet, from a notoriously unsystematic and unpretending writer, it will, I trust, be accepted as sufficient.



WEB p. 12

Ada Nield Chew (1870–1945): “A Living Wage for Factory Girls at Crewe” (1894)

Eliza Davis Aria (1866–1931): “My Lady’s Evening in London” in *Living London* (1901–3)

2. Education and Mass Literacy



WEB p. 16

Statistical Society of London: “Newspapers and Other Publications in Coffee, Public, and Eating Houses” (1839)

Illustrated London News (14 May 1842): From “Our Address”¹

In presenting the first number of the *ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS* to the British Public, we would fain make a graceful entrée into the wide and grand arena, which will henceforth contain so many actors for our benefit, and so many spectators of our career. In plain language, we do not produce this illustrated newspaper without some vanity, much ambition, and a fond belief that we shall be pardoned the presumption of the first quality by realizing the aspirations of the last. For the past ten years we have watched with admiration and enthusiasm the progress of illustrative art, and the vast revolution which it has wrought in the world of publication, through all the length and breadth of this mighty empire.² To the wonderful march of periodical literature it has given an impetus

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the edge of or immersed in poverty, but now organizing itself to assert its demands for access to the middle class. See *CONDITION: PROGRESS; ARNOLD, CULTURE (CONCLUSION)* (WEB p. 40).

⁴⁵ *philosophy* refers to the newly developing field of sociology; see, for instance, Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics: or, the Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and the First of Them Developed* (1851).

EDUCATION AND MASS LITERACY

¹ title the *ILN* was founded in 1842 by Herbert Ingram (1811–60), with Mark Lemon (1809–70), the editor of *Punch*, as advisor. First published at sixpence for sixteen pages with thirty-two wood engravings, it continued weekly publication until 1971. The world’s first pictorial newspaper, the *ILN* appealed to the middle classes and claimed that its printed text and realistic graphics covered politics, stressing the interests of the reformers—“your Poor-laws—your Corn-laws—

your Factory-bills—your Income-taxes!” The *ILN* covered the workings of the justice system in illustrations of the courts and crime, natural disasters, foreign news, leisure, and literature and the fine arts. Soon it was selling 65,000 copies a week, increasing to 300,000 copies during the Crimean War (1853–56). In the second issue (21 May 1842), the *ILN* explained its aims further in “Our Principles.” See *LITERATURE: NEW TECHNOLOGIES; KNIGHT, OLD; AND JACKSON, PICTORIAL* (WEB p. 146–47).

² *empire* illustrations proliferated in letterpress printing of books on architecture, art, and literature (well-known artists illustrated the novels of Dickens and Thackeray and the poems of Tennyson), as well as botany, geology, history, and every other subject, from UK and colonial presses. Ingram lured many of Dickens’s artists to also draw for him, including George Cruikshank (1798–1872) and “Phiz” (Hablot K. Browne (1815–82)).



and rapidity almost coequal with the gigantic power of steam.³ It has converted blocks into wisdom, and given wings and spirit to ponderous and senseless wood.⁴ It has in its turn adorned, gilded, reflected, and interpreted nearly every form of thought. It has given to fancy a new dwelling-place—to imagination a more permanent throne. It has set up fresh land-marks of poetry, given sterner pungency to satire, and mapped out the geography of mind with clearer boundaries and more distinct and familiar intelligence than it ever bore alone. . . .

And there is now no staying the advance of this art into all the departments of our social system. It began in a few isolated volumes—stretched itself next over fields of natural history and science—penetrated the arcanæ of our own general literature—and made companionship with our household books.⁵ At one plunge it was in the depth of the stream of poetry—working with its every current—partaking of the glow, and adding to the sparkles of the glorious waters—and so refreshing the very soul of genius, that even Shakspeare came to us clothed with a new beauty,⁶ while other kindred poets of our language seemed as it were to have put on festive garments to crown the marriage of their muses to the arts. Then it walked abroad among the people, went into the poorer cottages, and visited the humblest homes in cheap guises, and perhaps, in roughish forms; but still with the illustrative and the instructive principle strongly worked upon, and admirably developed for the general improvement of the human race. Lastly, it took the merry aspect of fun, frolic, satire, and *badinage*; and the school of *Charivari*⁷ began to blend itself with the graver pabulum of Penny Cyclopædias and Saturday Magazines⁸. . . .

The public will have henceforth under their glance, and within their grasp, the very form and presence of events as they transpire, in all their substantial reality, and with evidence visible as well as circumstantial. . . .

Notes

³ *steam* steam was first used by *The Times* in 1814 in a printing press made by the German firm of Koenig and Bauer, increasing the number of pages from about 250 on hand-presses to 2,000 per hour. In 1828 *The Times* used Applegarth and Cowper's machines to print both sides of 4,200 sheets per hour; in 1848 the same firm supplied *The Times* with a rotary machine to print 12,000 two-sided impressions an hour. By 1854 the *ILN* was printed on a steam-driven rotary machine.

⁴ *wood* boxwood was used for wood engravings, cut into the end grain for relief printing. Many thousands of prints could be printed from a block, and a number of blocks could be screwed together for larger engravings, a number of engravers working simultaneously on parts of an engraving to meet deadlines. The process of electrotyping meant that by using electricity the woodblocks could be reproduced with a thin layer of copper in a mould, later rebaked with metal for longer print runs.

⁵ *books* in *The Times* (14 May 1842), for example, there is an advertisement for a number of lavishly illustrated books: Col. Howard Vyse's *Pyramids of Gizeh* "with numerous plates," Parisian books of fashion, John Fisher Murray's *The Environs of London*, *Fletcher's Family Devotion* ("embellished with . . . elegant engravings"), the *Pictorial Waverley* by Walter Scott (2,100 illustrations) as well as the

illustrated Abbotsford edition, in weekly numbers, and John Lindley's *Elements of Botany*.

⁶ *beauty* a large number of editions of Shakespeare were published in the nineteenth century, including reprints of the most famous, John Boydell's *Dramatic Works of Shakspeare* [sic] (9 vols, 1803, with accompanying plates selling for 60 guineas), John Thurston, *Illustrations of Shakspeare* (1826), John Valpy, *Plays and Poems of Shakspeare* (15 vols, 1832–34), Frank Howard, *The Spirit of the Plays of Shakspeare* (5 vols, 1833), and Charles Heath, *The Heroines of Shakspeare* (1848), to name only a few up to the decade of the publication of the first number of the *ILN*.

⁷ *Charivari* a boisterous and noisy mock serenade of newly-weds (often pronounced shivaree), a reference to the leading comic illustrated magazine, *Punch, or the London Charivari*, founded in 1841 by Mark Lemon.

⁸ *Magazines* the *Penny Cyclopædia* was published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge from 1833 to 1843. It also issued the *Penny Magazine* from 1832 to 1845, both Whig publications for the working and middle classes. Their competing publication was the *Saturday Magazine*, an illustrated Anglican publication issued from 1833 to 1844 by the Committee of General Literature and Education of the Society of the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

Illustrated London News (7 Jan. 1843): Dedicatory Sonnet⁹

To the great public,—that gigantic soul
 Which lends the nation's body life and light,
 And makes the blood within its veins grow bright
 With gushing glory,—we this muster-roll¹⁰
 Of all the deeds that pass neath its controul 5
 Do dedicate.—The page of simple news
 Is here adorned and filled with pictured life,
 Coloured¹¹ with thousand tints—the rainbow strife
 Of all the world's emotions—all the hues
 Of war—peace—commerce;—agriculture rife 10
 With budding plenty that doth life infuse
 And fair domestic joy—all—all are here
 To gild the *new*, and from the bygone year
 Present a gift to take—to cherish and to use.

Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815–81): *Life and Correspondence*
 of Thomas Arnold, D.D. (1844)¹²

From "Letter of Inquiry for a Master" by Thomas Arnold (1795–1842)

What I want is a man who is a Christian and a gentleman,¹³ an active man, and one who has common sense, and understands boys. I do not so much care about scholarship, as he will have immediately under him the lowest forms¹⁴ in the school; but yet, on second thoughts, I do care about it very much, because his pupils may be in the highest forms; and besides, I think that even the elements are best taught by a man who has a thorough knowledge of the matter. However, if one must give way, I prefer activity of mind and an interest in his work, to high scholarship: for the one may be acquired far more easily than the other. I should wish it also to be understood that the new master may be called upon to take boarders in his house, it being my intention for the future to require this of all masters as I see occasion, that so in time the boarding-houses¹⁵ may die a natural death. . . .

Notes

⁹ title printed at the end of the preface to volume 1 of the collected *ILN*, dated "6 January 1843"; published 7 January 1843.

¹⁰ *muster-roll* in the army, a list of officers and men called out for enumeration; here the collection of individual numbers of the *ILN* collected into volume format.

¹¹ *Coloured* a transferred epithet, applying colours, shades, or meanings to the black-and-white illustrations. In 1855, the Christmas Supplement of the *ILN* launched colour journalism with its title-page, Christmas scene, and two other full-page prints.

¹² title Arnold, British educator and historian, father of Matthew Arnold, became headmaster of Rugby School in 1828 and through his reforms (introducing sports and encouraging self-reliance) influenced the development of the new English public school ethos. Arnold was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University in 1841. The two letters are included in Stanley's biography to explain the values of a Christian gentleman that Dr Arnold was seeking in his assistant masters at Rugby.

¹³ *gentleman* Arnold's main purpose was character building by fostering ethical rather than intellectual development, though both were important to him. Arnold shifted the emphasis from a feudal notion of gentleman (stressing military training and blood sports) to ideals of compassion for the disadvantaged, moral earnestness, self-discipline, and fair play.

¹⁴ *forms* both the traditional public schools and the English grammar schools in the nineteenth century divided students into six forms or levels of study, each in two parts, a "lower" and an "upper" section. Beginning little boys of 9 or 10 started in the lower or upper second if they had been to a preparatory school; the upper sixth provided the prefects for the school and prepared students for Oxford and Cambridge entrance examinations.

¹⁵ *boarding-houses* until Arnold's headmastership, most of the boys at Rugby were boarded out in the homes in the town and so could not be kept to a discipline of study, sports, and a regular life; instead, they were free to gamble, carouse, and hunt. Arnold built residential "houses" by extending the

With this to offer, I think I have a right to look rather high for the man whom I fix upon, and it is my great object to get here a society of intelligent, gentlemanly, and active men, who may permanently keep up the character of the school, and make it “vile damnum,”¹⁶ if I were to break my neck to-morrow. . . .

From “Letter to a Master on his Appointment”

The qualifications which I deem essential to the due performance of a master’s duties here, may in brief be expressed as the spirit of a Christian and a gentleman,—that a man should enter upon his business not ἔμ παρέρργον¹⁷ but as a substantive and most important duty; that he should devote himself to it as the especial branch of the ministerial calling¹⁸ which he has chosen to follow that belonging to a great public institution, and standing in a public and conspicuous situation, he should study things “lovely and of good report;”¹⁹ that is, that he should be public-spirited, liberal, and entering heartily into the interest, honour, and general respectability and distinction of the society which he has joined; and that he should have sufficient vigour of mind and thirst for knowledge to persist in adding to his own stores without neglecting the full improvement of those whom he is teaching. I think our masterships here offer a noble field of duty, and I would not bestow them on any one whom I thought would undertake them without entering into the spirit of our system heart and hand. . . .

William Wordsworth (1770–1850): “Illustrated Books
and Newspapers” (1846)²⁰

Discourse was deemed Man’s noblest attribute,
And written words the glory of his hand;
Then followed Printing with enlarged command
For thought—dominion vast and absolute
For spreading truth, and making love expand. 5
Now prose and verse sunk into disrepute,
Must lacquey a dumb Art that best can suit
The taste of this once-intellectual Land.
A backward movement surely have we here,
From manhood,—back to childhood; for the age— 10
Back towards caverned life’s first rude career.²¹

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dormitories in one of the early buildings, School House, and by buying up town residences. Assistant masters were in control, though authority was decentralized under prefects, selected from the sixth-form boys. The house system was extended throughout the public schools during the 1850s.

¹⁶ *vile damnum* (Lat. a cheap loss, or sacrifice); see Tacitus, *Annals*: 2.85.5, where 4,000 freedmen of Rome, adherents of Egyptian and Jewish religions, were transported to Sardinia to quell brigandage, and “a cheap loss” if they died of the pestilential climate.

¹⁷ ἔμ παρέρργον (Gk. *em parergon*, as a supplemental or secondary work or business); see Plato, *Symposium* 222c.

¹⁸ calling Arnold’s assistant headmasters were all Church of England clergymen, as was customary throughout the public schools in the nineteenth century. The first lay headmaster at Rugby would be appointed in 1903.

¹⁹ report see Philippians 4: 8.

²⁰ title Wordsworth’s sonnet was written in February 1846 upon viewing a copy of the *ILN*, and was first published in 1850. In 1896 an editor, William Angus Knight (1836–1916), added the following footnote to the poem: “Had Wordsworth known the degradation to which many newspapers would sink in this direction, his censure would have been more severe” (*Poetical Works* 8: 185). On 27 April 1850, four days after Wordsworth’s death, the *ILN* published a large engraving of Wordsworth’s home at Rydal Mount, with the caption: “We announce the death of William Wordsworth, one of the last and most illustrious of a race of poets now all but extinct. . . . We have no wish, now that the tomb is about to receive his mortal remains, to submit to the cold analysis of criticism the inspiration of his genius” (296).

²¹ career the conventional analogy between human development of an individual from child to adult and collective

Avant this vile abuse of pictured page!
Must eyes be all in all, the tongue and ear
Nothing? Heaven keep us from a lower stage!

Anon. [Thomas Peckett Prest (?) (1810–59)]: “The String of Pearls: A Romance” in *The People’s Periodical and Family Library* (1846–47).²²

From Chapter 38 [Sweeney Todd]

Sweeney Todd walked into his back-parlour, conveying with him the only light that was in the shop, so that the dim glimpse that, up to this time, Johanna²³ from the outside had contrived to get of what was going on, was denied to her; and all that met her eyes was impenetrable darkness. . . .

The moment his back was turned, the seeming farmer who had made such a good thing of his beasts, sprang from the shaving-chair,²⁴ as if he had been electrified; and yet he did not do it with any appearance of fright, nor did he make any noise. It was only astonishingly quick, and then he placed himself close to the window, and waited patiently with his eyes fixed upon the chair, to see what would happen next.

In the space of about a quarter of a minute, there came from the next room a sound like the rapid drawing of a heavy bolt, and then in an instant the shaving-chair disappeared beneath the floor; and the circumstances by which Sweeney Todd’s customers disappeared was evident.

There was a piece of the flooring turning upon a centre, and the weight of the chair when a bolt was withdrawn, by means of a simple leverage from the inner room, weighed down upon one end of the top, which, by a little apparatus, was to swing completely round, there being another chair on the under surface, which thus became the upper, exactly resembling the one in which the unhappy customer was supposed to be “polished off.”²⁵

Hence was it that in one moment, as if by magic, Sweeney Todd’s visitors disappeared, and there was the empty chair. No doubt, he trusted to a fall of about twenty feet below,

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development of human kind from primitive to civilized is reversed. Wordsworth equates *ILN* illustrations with the cave-dwelling prehistoric humans, a point of controversy then with the discovery of human artifacts with mammoth and other bones in Kent’s Cavern in Devon by the Rev. John MacEnery (1797–1841), Irish Roman Catholic priest and archaeologist, in 1841, as well as the publications in periodicals of the time of the Ajanta cave paintings in India, which date from the second century BCE.

²² title the *People’s Periodical* was published by Edward Lloyd (1815–90), with “The String of Pearls” running from 21 November 1846 to 20 March 1847. The authorship is disputed, the chief contenders being Prest or James Malcolm Rymer (1814–84), the author of *Varney the Vampire*, or, *The Feast of Blood* (1845–47). Prest wrote a string of lampoons of Dickens’s novels (*The Penny Pickwick*, 1837–38, *Oliver Twiss*, 1838, *David Copperful*, 1838 and *Nickelas Nicklebery*, 1838). *Varney the Vampire* and *The String of Pearls* are “penny dreadfuls,” or “bloods,” melodramatic fiction, often horror and crime stories, each serialized as an eight-page weekly number, with a woodcut illustration, on pulp paper, costing a penny, aimed at young working-class readers. The pejorative terms were adopted for this fiction in the 1870s by middle-class journalists, in opposition to the moralizing reward-book literature

presented as school and church prizes. See LITERATURE: DEBATES; JOHNS (WEB p. 126).

Before serial publication was completed, this novel was transformed into a stage success by George Dibdin Pitts (1799–1855) as *The String of Pearls; or The Fiend of Fleet Street* (1847); many other stage and novelistic adaptations and expansions followed with the same title or as *Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street*, as in Stephen Sondheim’s “musical thriller” (1979) and a motion picture starring Johnny Depp and directed by Tim Burton (2007).

²³ Johanna Johanna Oakley is the heroine of the story (set in 1785), the lover of Mark Ingestrie who was lost at sea. His friend Lieutenant Thornhill comes to London to find her, bring news of Mark’s death, and present her with a string of pearls, a gift from Mark. Thornhill’s dog outside Todd’s barbershop alerts his friends when he too disappears.

²⁴ shaving-chair according to Partridge’s *Dictionary of Slang*, to “shave” someone was to rob them, as Todd did to his victims. A “barber’s chair” was vulgar slang for a prostitute.

²⁵ off “I’ll polish him off” is a phrase commonly associated with Sweeney Todd, as from chapter 1 when he says: “Now, sir, I suppose you want to be shaved, and it is well you have come here, for there ain’t a shaving-shop, although I say it, in the city of London that ever thinks of polishing anybody off as I do.”

on to a stone floor, to be the death of them, or, at all events, to stun them until he could go down to finish the murder, and — *to cut them up for Mrs Lovett's pies!* after robbing them of all money and valuables they might have about them. . . .

It was a full minute before Todd ventured to look from the parlour into the darkened shop, and then he shook so that he had to hold by the door to steady himself.

"That's done," he said. "That's the last, I hope. It is time I finished; I never felt so nervous since the first time. Then I did quake a little. How quiet he went; I have sometimes had a shriek ringing in my ears for a whole week."

It was a large high-backed piece of furniture, that shaving-chair, so that, when Todd crept into the shop with the light in his hand, he had not the remotest idea it was tenanted; but when he got round it, and saw his customer calmly waiting with the lather upon his face, the cry of horror that came gargling and gushing from his throat was horrible to hear.

"Why, what's the matter?" said Sir Richard.

"O God, the dead! the dead! O God!" cried Todd, "this is the beginning of my punishment. Have mercy, Heaven! oh, do not look upon me with those dead eyes!"

"Murderer!" shouted Sir Richard, in a voice that rang like the blast of a trumpet through the house.

In an instant he sprang upon Sweeney Todd, and grappled him by the throat. There was a short struggle, and they were down upon the floor together, but Todd's wrists were suddenly laid hold of, and a pair of handcuffs were scientifically put upon him by the officers, who, at the word "murderer," that being a preconcerted signal, came from the cupboard where they had been concealed.

"Secure him well, my men," said the magistrate, "and don't let him lay violent hands upon himself. Ah! Miss Oakley, you are in time. This man is a murderer. I found out all the secret about the chair last night, after twelve, by exploring the vaults under the old church.²⁶ Thank God, we have stopped his career."

From Chapter 39

What excitement there is now to get at the pies when they shall come! Mrs Lovett lets down the square, moveable platform that goes upon pulleys into the cellar; some machinery, which only requires a handle to be turned, brings up a hundred pies in a tray. These are eagerly seized by parties who have previously paid, and such a smacking of lips ensues as never was known. . . .

How the waggish young lawyers' clerks laughed as they smacked their lips, and sucked in the golopshious gravy of the pies, which, by the by, appeared to be all delicious veal this time, and Mrs Lovett worked the handle of the machine all the more vigorously, that she was a little angry with the officious stranger. What an unusual trouble it seemed to be to wind up those forthcoming hundred pies! How she toiled, and how the people waited; but at length there came up the savoury steam, and then the tops of the pies were visible.

They came up upon a large tray, about six feet square, and the moment Mrs Lovett ceased turning the handle, and let a catch fall that prevented the platform receding again, to the astonishment and terror of everyone, away flew all the pies, tray and all, across the counter, and a man, who was lying crouched down in an exceedingly flat state under the tray, sprang to his feet.

Mrs Lovett shrieked, as well she might, and then she stood trembling, and looking as pale as death itself. It was the doomed cook²⁷ from the cellars, who had adopted this mode of escape.

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²⁶ church St Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street, just at Temple Bar, in whose crypt were found the bones of slaughtered victims.

²⁷ cook the cook is the long-lost Mark Ingestrie, imprisoned in the cellars to cook the barber's victims into Mrs Margery Lovett's admired meat pies.

The throngs of persons in the shop looked petrified, and after Mrs Lovett's shriek, there was an awful stillness for about a minute, and then the young man who officiated as cook spoke.

"Ladies and Gentlemen—I fear that what I am going to say will spoil your appetites; but the truth is beautiful at all times, and I have to state that Mrs Lovett's pies are made of *human flesh!*"

The Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations: "Lectures for April, 1853"²⁸

HALL OF ASSOCIATION,

34, CASTLE STREET EAST, OXFORD STREET.

LECTURES FOR APRIL, 1853.

MONDAY, APRIL 4th,

THOMAS HUGHES, Esq.,
MODERN BALLADS.

MONDAY, APRIL 11th,

Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY Junr.
(Author of "Alton Locke.")

THE FINE ARTS IN RELATION TO THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

MONDAY, APRIL 18th,

GEORGE GROVE, Esq.,
(Secretary to the Crystal Palace Company.)

MECHANICAL PRINCIPLES EXEMPLIFIED IN COMMON THINGS.

MONDAY APRIL 25th,

Rev. F. McDUGALL,
(Head of the Borneo Mission.)

BORNEO AND ITS CAPABILITIES.

To commence at half-past Eight, p.m. Admittance:—Reserved Seats, 1s.; Hall, 2d.

EVENING CLASSES.

Directed by
TUESDAYS & SATURDAYS .. **Singing** .. PROFESSOR HULLAH.
Conducted by
THURSDAYS **French** .. J. M. LUDLOW, Esq.
FRIDAYS **Drawing** .. GEO. W. TERRY, Esq.

The following Classes are also in course of formation:—

Grammar T. HUGHES, Esq.
Latin J. F. MACLENNAN, Esq.
Book-keeping WILLIAM TATE, Esq.

*To commence at half-past Eight, p.m.—Terms for each Class, 2s. 6d. per Quarter;
Ladies for either the Singing or Drawing Class, 2s. 2d.*

*• Persons desirous of joining either of these Classes, are requested to give in their names to the Secretary at the Hall.

CONFERENCES are held on the First Wednesday in every Month, at half-past Eight, p.m., Rev. F. D. MAURICE in the Chair. Subject of the adjourned Conference on Wednesday, April 6th, "The best means of promoting the Education of the People."—Admission Free.

LADIES ADMITTED TO ALL THE LECTURES, AND CONFERENCES, AND TO THE SINGING AND DRAWING CLASSES.

YEARLY Subscription, admitting to all Lectures, Conferences, and Classes, of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations, £1 1s.; Quarterly, 6s. 6d.

Parties desiring to engage the Hall when it is vacant, are requested to apply to the Secretary, Mr. SHORTER, on the Premises.

Working Printers' Association, (R. ISHAM, Manager,) 4a, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street.

Figure 4 Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations, *Lectures for April 1853*. Letterpress Handbill. Source: courtesy of the Robarts Library, University of Toronto.

Notes

²⁸ title following the defeat of the *People's Charter* in 1848, Christian socialists such as Charles Kingsley, F. D. Maurice, and Thomas Hughes turned their attention to education

for the working classes. In 1852 and 1853 they organized a series of lectures, classes, and conferences on diverse subjects at the Hall of Association in Castle Street, advertising

Charles Dickens (1812–70): *Hard Times* (1854)Chapter 1: “The One Thing Needful”²⁹

“Now, what I want is, Facts.³⁰ Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them. This is the principle on which I bring up my own children, and this is the principle on which I bring up these children. Stick to Facts, sir!”

The scene was a plain, bare, monotonous vault of a schoolroom, and the speaker’s square forefinger emphasised his observations by underscoring every sentence with a line on the schoolmaster’s sleeve. The emphasis was helped by the speaker’s square wall of a forehead, which had his eyebrows for its base, while his eyes found commodious cellars in two dark caves, overshadowed by the wall. The emphasis was helped by the speaker’s mouth, which was wide, thin, and hard set. The emphasis was helped by the speaker’s voice, which was inflexible, dry, and dictatorial. The emphasis was helped by the speaker’s hair, which bristled on the skirts of his bald head, a plantation of firs to keep the wind from its shining surface, all covered with knobs, like the crust of a plum pie, as if the head had scarcely warehouse-room for the hard facts stored inside. The speaker’s obstinate carriage, square coat, square legs, square shoulders,—nay, his very neckcloth, trained to take him by the throat with an unaccommodating grasp, like a stubborn fact, as it was,—all helped the emphasis.

“In this life, we want nothing but Facts, sir; nothing but Facts!”

The speaker, and the schoolmaster, and the third grown person³¹ present, all backed a little, and swept with their eyes the inclined plane of little vessels then and there arranged in order, ready to have imperial gallons of facts poured into them until they were full to the brim.

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by means of handbills of lectures. The Hall of Association was a renovation of the upper floors of a house occupied by the Working Tailors’ Association. The Society for Promoting Working Men’s Associations began the first of these lecture series from 23 November to 30 December, 1852 with the following subjects: “The Historical Plays of Shakespeare” (F. D. Maurice), “The Life and Genius of [Robert] Burns” (Walter Cooper, manager of the Working Tailors’ Association), “Vocal Music” (John Hullah, professor of vocal music at King’s College, London), “Proverbs” (R. C. Trench, professor of divinity at King’s College), “Rivers” (William Johnson, master at Eton College), “Architecture and its Influence, Especially with Reference to the Working Classes” (F. C. Penrose), “Photography” (Nevil S. Maskelyne), “Entomology” (Viscount Goderich, MP), and “Popular Astronomy for Children” (S. C. Hansard). Evening classes were offered in grammar, English history, book-keeping, French, and singing. These lectures resulted in the formation of the London Working Men’s College on 31 October 1854. As this range of courses in 1852 and 1853 indicates, the working-men’s lectures combined practical subjects with the arts and humanities, a contrast to the Mechanics’ Institutes (founded 1824) which was more restricted to practical education in science and technology.

²⁹ title originally published in Dickens’s journal *Household Words* (1 Apr. 1854). For the title of the chapter, see Luke 10: 42, where Mary is praised for having chosen the better

course, of listening to Jesus, rather than being like Martha, who busied herself in preparing a meal, a contrast between reflective wisdom and expedient action. Matthew Arnold uses the same phrase in the Vulgate Latin version (*porro unum est necessarium*: but one thing is needful) for the title of chapter 5 of *Culture and Anarchy*, referring to the primary need for the education of the working classes.

³⁰ *Facts* an attack on Political Economy or laissez-faire economics, called “the dismal science” by Carlyle. The chapter satirizes Utilitarianism, a philosophy that promoted the usefulness of a thing or idea established by “facts” in a quantifiable world, as opposed to what Dickens in this novel calls “fancy” or imagination. Utilitarian materialism is based on the principles outlined by Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), British radical philosopher, in which morality is based on utility or usefulness; its goal is the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people, displacing duty and obligation; in economics the calculation of self-interest is the sum of profit (=pleasure) set against loss (=pain), letting the market regulate itself (*laissez-faire*).

³¹ *person* the three people present are the speaker, Thomas Gradgrind of Coketown (a generic mill-town in the English Midlands), proprietor of the utilitarian model school and member of parliament; the teacher of the class, Mr M’Choakumchild; and an unnamed government school inspector, also a utilitarian.

WEB p. 17

Thomas Hughes (1822–96): *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857)
From Part I, Chapter 8: "A War of Independence"

Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake (1809–93): From "The Englishwoman at School" in *Quarterly Review* (July 1878)³²

The practice of teaching in this free country, whether in schools or in private families, as carried on by governesses and mistresses, has been entirely of an *amateur* kind.³³ Not one Englishwoman in fifty has ever devoted herself to learn the art professionally, and certainly not five in fifty have had by nature so strong a vocation for it as to excel without training. While all foreign women—Russian, Swedish, Danish, German, French, and Italian—destined for the career of a governess or schoolmistress, have been required by law to go through a course of study, submit to examinations, and obtain certificates and matriculations as their indispensable credentials, Englishwomen have embarked in the calling most important to the rising generation with scarcely any other qualifications beyond want and good-will.³⁴ . . . As a rule, the governess class have been painfully and curiously unfitted for their duties, have only undertaken them of necessity, and from this very cause they contribute largely to the numbers of the dependent women whose misery is perpetually brought before us.³⁵ Under these circumstances, it was time that the subject of female instruction in this country should receive systematic investigation. . . . To be at school at all for a few years, is in itself a relative advantage when compared with the slip-slop programmes and irregular habits of too many homes—for here we speak of that class which keep no regular governess. If also the standard of instruction has been found incredibly low, it has been placed and kept at that level by the ignorance and indifference of parents; and in many cases in direct opposition to the judgment of the ladies at the head of such institutions. . . .

It would be difficult to trace precisely the first stirrings in public opinion on behalf both of a better and cheaper form of instruction for girls. The need for it was sure to make

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³² *title* author and art critic, Rigby was the first woman to write regularly for the *Quarterly Review*, chiefly on her travels, on art, and, as here, on education. Until the age of 12, she was educated at home, primarily by her father, Edward Rigby (1747–1821), gynecologist and classical scholar, becoming fluent in French, German, and the classics. Following his death, she travelled widely in Europe and continued her education as an autodidact.

³³ *kind* governesses were expected to live in the employer's house, on the fringes of the family but, as a waged worker, not part of it; they usually took their meals alone. They were expected to teach the girls in the family the 3 Rs, music (piano), drawing and watercolours, a little French, and other accomplishments expected of a middle-class or upper middle-class girl (sewing, embroidery or other needlework, and conversation). Over 140 governesses appeared in novels from the 1814 to 1865, including *Jane Eyre* (1847) by Charlotte Brontë, Becky Sharp in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* (1847), and Lady Isabel Vane in Mrs Henry Wood's *East Lynne* (1861). Until about the age of 8 boys were usually taught by a governess; subsequently they had tutors or were sent out to school.

³⁴ *good-will* the Governesses' Benevolent Institution was inaugurated at meetings in 1841 but became established in 1843 to offer impoverished governesses financial aid and relief (they earned only £20–25 per annum, whilst their charges could pay that for a new outfit) and to improve governesses' status and qualifications by providing lectures at Queen's College, London, followed by an oral examination and a certificate of competence. Later in the century many had qualified, but their credentials and wages were undercut by thousands of almost untrained governesses who would work for only their food and lodging. For governesses, see ABDY, "GOVERNESS"; see also Plate 7: Redgrave, *The Governess*.

³⁵ *before us* the 1861 census states that there were 24,770 governesses in England and Wales. Many were employed by the wealthy growing merchant and business class but numerous others worked for the middle classes, including tenant farmers and townspeople. While it might cost a family £70–£80 a year in the 1860s to send a girl to boarding school in Bath, a governess could be hired for £25 per annum. Brontë's fictional *Jane Eyre* earned £20 in 1847.

itself felt in a community like London, mainly composed of hard-working professional men, where fathers of large families could ill afford to send their daughters to boarding-schools, and where the average houses can spare but little accommodation for resident governesses. The institution of King's College and University College Schools³⁶ for London boys, similarly placed, doubtless first suggested corresponding plans for their sisters. We find accordingly that Queen's College (in Harley Street) was founded in 1848 chiefly by gentlemen connected with King's College, among whom the names of Professor Maurice and of the present Archbishop of Dublin were foremost as successive principals.³⁷ Bedford College³⁸ followed in 1849; both being furnished with a staff of distinguished names as professors and lecturers. As examples also of the powers for organization and tuition inherent in women, the Camden Town Schools, conducted by Miss Buss, and the Cheltenham College by Miss Beale, were among the first and most prominent—both of late enriched by considerable endowments.³⁹ But the earliest public step in favour of women was taken about nineteen years ago, when the University of Cambridge first opened what are called its "Local Examinations" for candidates under eighteen years of age, to girls; an example followed some years later by Oxford.⁴⁰ . . .

We now come to the crowning of the edifice, a bolder and more direct step than any yet taken. For in the institutions for Female Education already described, the principal aim has been to certify the fitness of women for the position of teachers and governesses. But . . . "the real way to remedy the great need was to begin by teaching not all the actual, but all the possible teachers; that is, women at large."⁴¹ . . . In short, all they aspired at was to become undergraduates in the garb of women; not on the fantastic and poetical pattern of those in Tennyson's "Princess,"⁴² but in the prosaic sense of full conformity to

Notes

³⁶ *Schools* King's College was founded in 1829 by George IV (1762–1830) and Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington (1769–1852). As a secular institution for "the youth of our middling rich people between the ages of 15 or 16 and 20 or later," it provided a religious and economic alternative to wealthy Anglicans at Cambridge and Oxford. It first offered degrees when it joined with University College in the University of London in 1836. University College School was established by University College London in 1830 as a secular day school. It was unusual in abolishing corporal punishment and rigid forms, teaching modern languages and science as well as classics and mathematics.

³⁷ *principals* F. D. Maurice (1805–72) was chaplain of Lincoln's Inn (law society) and in 1840 became professor of history and English literature at King's College of the University of London. He was a proponent of the Governesses' Benevolent Institution and supported the teaching of governesses at Queen's College from 1848, along with the education of girls. The first building was next door to the Governesses' Institution. Among the male lecturers was Charles Kingsley (1819–75). Distinguished "Lady Visitors" including Lady Augusta Stanley (d. 1876), Lady Janet Kay-Shuttleworth (1817–72), and Lady Charlotte Canning (1817–1861) attended each lecture for propriety. The first group of students included Dorothea Beale (1831–1906), Frances Mary Buss (1827–94), and Sophia Jex-Blake (1840–1912). Richard Chenevix Trench (1807–86) was professor of theology at King's College, London and succeeded Maurice as principal of Queen's; in 1856 he became dean of Westminster, and in 1864 Archbishop of Dublin. A renowned philolo-

gist, his work was in part the inspiration for the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

³⁸ *College* "Now removed to 8 and 9 York Place, Portman Square" [author's note]. Bedford College was founded by the Unitarian social activist and advocate of women's education, Elizabeth Jesser Reid (1789–1866), who drew support from the non-sectarian University College London, especially the classicist, Francis W. Newman (1805–97).

³⁹ *endowments* Frances Mary Buss (see, n. 37) was a student of Maurice, Kingsley, and Trench at Queen's College. She assisted at her family's school in London. In 1850 it was renamed the North London Collegiate School and Buss remained as its principal to the end of her life. She also founded the Camden School for Girls in 1871, was its first headmistress, and founded the Association of Head Mistresses in 1874. Dorothea Beale (see, n. 37) was principal of the Cheltenham Ladies College (founded 1853) from 1858 to her death; she also founded St Hilda's College, Oxford in 1893.

⁴⁰ *Oxford* women were first admitted in 1863 to the Cambridge Local Examinations. These examinations were established in 1858 for persons not members of the University of Cambridge. They were primarily used to raise standards in education by providing criteria for school inspectors. In 1873 Oxford and Cambridge created the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board.

⁴¹ *large* quotation from one of the books that Eastlake is reviewing: *Reports Issued by the Schools' Enquiry Commission on the Education of Girls* (1870).

⁴² *Princess* a long poem published in 1857 on the topic of women's education; see TENNYSON, n. 35 (WEB p. 341).



University work and rules. Who could resist such modest pretensions? “The College for Women”—for they took the bull by the horns even in the name—first temporarily started at Hitchin, and since located at Girton—was established in 1868, its existence in the first instance, its rules and administration for years, being chiefly the work of a clever woman, Miss Emily Davies, who for a short period was mistress of the institution. The position was so chosen as to obviate all objections or difficulties on the score of distance, for Girton is only two miles from Cambridge. . . . Girton College has now stood its trial for ten years with increasing popularity, the applicants for admission being more numerous than the present size of the building can accommodate, assuring to its inmates the same three years’ course of systematic study which men obtain at the Universities, the same curriculum as that of Cambridge, the same teaching by Cambridge Professors, the same



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3. Progress, Industrialization, and Reform

Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–59): From “[Review of] *Sir Thomas More; or Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*” (1830)

Ebenezer Elliott (1781–1849): Song [“Child, is thy father dead?”] (1831)

John Grimshaw (dates unknown): “The Hand-Loom Weaver’s Lament” (1835?)

[Anon.] “The Factory Workers’ Song” (1842)

Charles Dickens (1812–1870): *Dombey and Son* (1848)

From Chapter 6 “Paul’s Second Deprivation” [The Coming of the Railroad]

Albert, Prince Consort (1819–61): From Speech at the Lord Mayor’s Banquet (1850)
[On the Great Exhibition]

Charlotte Brontë (1816–55): Three Letters on the Great Exhibition (1851)

To Patrick Brontë (30 May)

To Patrick Brontë (7 June)

To Miss Wooler (14 July)

Edward Sloan (1830–74): “The Weaver’s Triumph” (1854)

Charles Kingsley (1819–75): From “*Cheap Clothes and Nasty*” (1850)

Ford Madox Brown (1821–93): From *The Exhibition of Work, and other Paintings by Ford Madox Brown* (1865)

Sonnet

John Ruskin (1819–1900): *The Crown of Wild Olive* (1866)

From “Traffic”

Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881): From *Shooting Niagara: and After?* (1867)

Coventry Patmore (1823–96): From “1867” (1877)

George Eliot (1819–80): From “Address to Working Men, by Felix Holt” (1868)

Matthew Arnold (1822–88): *Culture and Anarchy*

From [“Conclusion”]

Thomas Given (1850–1917): “The Weaver Question” ([1878?] 1900)

Joseph Skipsey (1832–1903)

“Get Up!”

Mother Wept

Willy to Jinny

C. Duncan Lucas (dates unknown): From “Scenes from Factory London” in *Living London* (1901–3)



examinations at the same academical periods, on the same subjects and with the same papers, that have been the portion for generations and generations of successive undergraduates.⁴³

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4. Working-Class Voices

“Marcus”: *The Book of Murder!* (1838)

From “To the Reader of the Following Diabolical Work”

John Smithson (fl. 1830s): “Working Men’s Rhymes—No. 1” (1838)

T. B. Smith (fl. 1830s–1840s): “The Wish” (1839)

Charles Davlin (c.1804–c.1860): “On a Cliff which O’erhung” (1839)

National Charter Association Membership Card (c.1843)

Ernest Jones (1819–69): “Our Trust” (1848)

Charles Fleming (1804–57): “Difficulties of Appearing in Print” (1850)

William Billington (1825–84): “Gerald Massey” (1861)

Thomas Cooper (1805–92): *The Life of Thomas Cooper Written by Himself* (1872)

From Chapter 24

Thomas Cooper (1805–92): “Chartist Song” (1877)



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5. Pollution, Protection, and Preservation

Robert Southey (1774–1843): *Sir Thomas More; or Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society* (1829)

From Colloquy 7, Part 2

Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–59): From “[Review of] *Sir Thomas More; or Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*” (1830)

William Youatt (1776–1847): *The Obligation and Extent of Humanity to Brutes* (1839)
From “The Repositories”

John Stuart Mill (1806–73): *The Principles of Political Economy* (1848)
From Book 4, Chapter 6

Marion Bernstein (1846–1906)

“A Song of Glasgow Town” (1876)

“Manly Sports” (1876)

Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell (1857–1941): *Pigsticking or Hoghunting* (1889)

From Chapter 1 “Pigsticking Is Introduced”

From Chapter 5 “Comparisons” [of pigsticking and fox-hunting]

From Chapter 11 “Powers of the Pig”

Notes

⁴³ undergraduates Emily Davies (1830–1921) and others established a college for women outside Cambridge on 16 October 1869, later renamed Girton College. Women

were granted increasing academic rights at Cambridge, but only in 1947 did they receive full status as undergraduates able to graduate with degrees.

Gender, Women, and Sexuality

Introduction

In the year of Victoria's Diamond Jubilee (1897) an almost unknown painter published an engraving of the announcement to Victoria of her accession in 1837. Henry Tanworth Wells (1828–1903) in *Victoria Regina* captures the moment when the Victorian era formally begins. The engraving shows the light streaming upon a young woman clothed in white with a shawl draped over her shoulders. She extends her hand to one of the two older men kneeling before her. Behind her, lurking in the shadows outside the door, is an older female figure. Inside the room, the morning dawn is reflected in the large mirror on the wall, in front of which is a clock. An unlit candle stands atop a closed piano and leaning on an adjacent chair is the walking stick of one of the kneeling men (see Figure 5).

The engraving, and the two related paintings on which it is based, one in the Tate (1880) and one in the Royal Collection showing the scene in a larger perspective (RA1887), became iconic at the end of Victoria's reign. According to the *ODNB*, "The most popular of Wells's works was ... a painting of Queen Victoria receiving the news of her accession, exhibited in 1887 at the RA as *Victoria regina*" (s.v. "Wells, Henry Tanworth"). An engraving of the large painting was featured as the frontispiece of the first volume of *The Letters of Queen Victoria* (1907), sanctioned by the royal family. Within a short time of her accession a version of this occasion was mounted by Madame Tussaud's Wax Museum in London, showing the two kneeling officials before Victoria with her mother standing prominently behind her, a representation that was used as a coloured lithographic advertisement for Madame

Tussaud's late in the century; it also appeared on an advertisement for Wills's cigarettes, moving from official publications to popular entertainment to commercial exploitation. In a mocking account of the Tussaud group in Hall of Kings read as the Chamber of Horrors, J. B. Priestley wrote:

Even the most innocent subject was touched with the macabre. The announcement to Queen Victoria of her accession demands an almost idyllic treatment; the young girl standing in her dressing-gown, with the Archbishop and Lord Conyngham kneeling before her. But once again the wax has had its own sinister way; and you would swear that the two men you see there are a couple of potential murderers and that the girl herself is about to stamp her foot and release a trap-door that will swallow them both. (*Saturday Review* 19 Jan. 1929)

Indeed, the moment is still iconic, being reproduced in the recent film *The Young Victoria* (2009) in ways that directly copy Wells's engraving.

For our purposes, however, the engraving represents important contradictions in gender relations in the nineteenth century. First, the new sovereign is a young female, and hence the lavish ceremonials are contradicted by the legal status of women. Second, the moment can be projected as crucial in the narrative arc of the fairy tale, in which the princess leaves home to find her prince charming. And third, the new reign will represent a radical shift in sexual norms from Regency profligacy to bourgeois respectability.

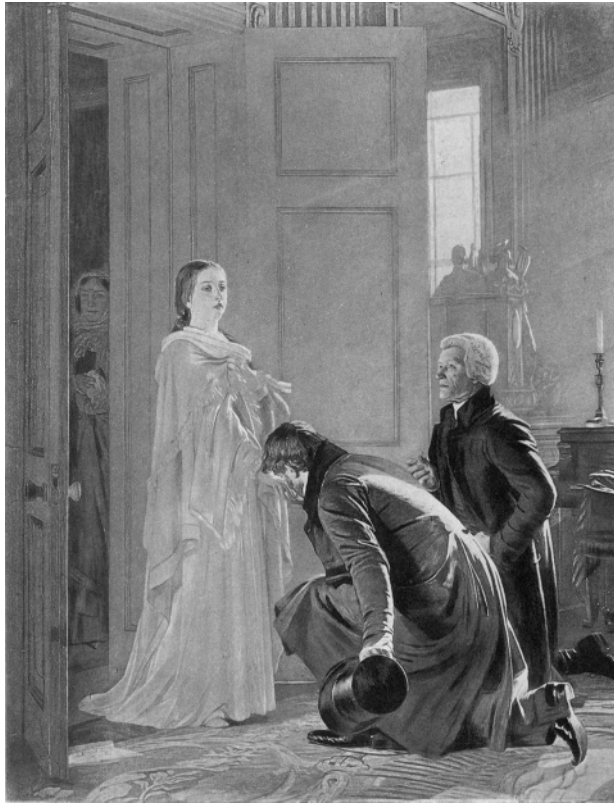


Figure 5 Henry Tanworth Wells (1828–1903), *Victoria Regina* (1897). Photogravure by Selmar Hess for Goupil & Co. 18 × 23 cm. Source: author's collection.

The two men in the engraving, as Priestly indicates, are important functionaries of state and church, the Lord Chamberlain (Francis, Lord Conyngham, 1797–1876) and the bewigged Archbishop of Canterbury (William Howley, 1766–1848). Conyngham was Lord Chamberlain from 1835 to 1839, responsible for the administration of the Royal Household. He was the chief officer of the court and the liaison officer between the monarchy and the House of Lords. To illustrate how small was the world of the court, and how bound up were relations and conventions of gender, it is worth noting that his mother, Elizabeth Marchioness of Conyngham (née Denison, 1769–1861), was the last mistress of Victoria's uncle, George IV. Conyngham's daughter, Jane Spencer, Baroness Churchill (1826–1900), became one of Victoria's Ladies of the Bedchamber (1854 to her death) and closest friends. She died one month before Victoria while accompanying her at Osborne in the Isle of Wight.

The engraving underlines an important shift in gender relations as the two men kneel before a woman just transformed into a queen. Victoria records in her diary (See [CONDITION: SOCIAL FORMATION \(WEB p. 5\)](#)) that Conyngham “knelt down and kissed my hand,” highlighting both convention and ambiguity that continued throughout her reign. The phrase “to kiss hands” is still used as an official term for accepting a government ministry, symbolizing fealty and loyalty to the Crown. Here the kiss by Conyngham is the first of many symbolic gestures of loyalty that would be bestowed upon the queen over her long reign. Kissing the hand of a lady is also a custom from feudal Europe governed by the gender norms of the chivalric code. Had Victoria been male, they still would have kissed their new monarch's hand, but the chivalric gender codes would not be invoked. Victoria also wrote in her diary entry about the potential conflict between “duty towards my country” and doing “what is

fit and right." Duty towards her country involved her position as sovereign ruler of about 26 million people in Great Britain, the head of an evolving system of constitutional monarchy, in which as queen she would still have a great deal of power. "Fit and right" could involve questions of propriety, partly the elaborate court etiquette but especially new conventions governed by gender norms. The scene in which, at 6 a.m. on 20 June 1837, two of the most powerful men in the kingdom were kneeling before an 18-year-old girl was highly incongruous, and this incongruity becomes magnified over the ensuing years, eventually involving the competing demands of women and men for the franchise, education, better working conditions, and divergent roles in the home, families, institutions, and public life.

The fact that Princess Alexandrina Victoria of Kent, the daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent (1767–1820), the fourth son of George III, was the new monarch was possible only because George's other profligate sons had failed to produce a legitimate heir. She was able to inherit the crown because she was the eldest legitimate child of the sons of George III. Her uncle, Prince Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1771–1851), was the fifth son of George III; according to Salic law, which functioned in Germany and barred women from succession, he was able to inherit the title of King of Hanover, reigning from 1837 to 1851. He remained the heir presumptive of Great Britain until Victoria's first-born child, Victoria, later the Princess Royal (1840–1901), was born; she was replaced in order of succession with the birth of her brother Albert Edward (later Edward VII), born a year later. Hence, the complicated rules concerning succession were heavily controlled by questions of legitimacy and sex throughout. The positioning of females in this chain of legitimacy, while granting them somewhat secondary status but conferring power when no male is available, was contradicted, as many of the writings in this section demonstrate, by the position of women in general society until 1870 (see this section, WOMAN; NORTON),

who could not own property or inherit money if they were married.

The newly deceased king, William IV, had ten illegitimate children by an actress with whom he had lived for twenty years. The three previous monarchs had been "an imbecile, a profligate, and a buffoon," in Sidney Lee's phrase in a biography of Victoria one year after her death. When the Lord Chamberlain and the archbishop kneel to her, illuminated by the early morning light as a symbol of blessing on the new order, they hail both a new monarch and the first female monarch of Britain since Queen Anne in 1714. They looked as well towards the prospects for the reformation of morals from the debaucheries of the Regency and its aftermath. The engraving, printed at the end of her reign and celebrating her diamond jubilee, came at a time when viewers could read in the kneeling acclamation of a haloed queen the inscription of new roles for women, an adjustment of gender priorities, and a questioning of specific issues concerning sexuality.

Following her death, Victoria's son Edward VII authorized the publication of *The Letters of Queen Victoria* (1907) with the engraving of Wells's painting (1887) of the accession announcement as the frontispiece, as we say above. The editors introduce this moment of transition by emphasizing the difference between her uncles and herself. Avoiding the use of terms that would cast moral aspersions on the former monarchs, they focus instead on gender characteristics: "A word may here be given to the Princess's own character and temperament. She was high-spirited and wilful, but devotedly affectionate, and almost typically feminine. She had a strong sense of duty and dignity, and strong personal prejudices. Confident, in a sense, as she was, she had the feminine instincts strongly developed of dependance upon some manly advisor." Such a dependence for a male ruler on a womanly advisor would not be an asset but a sign of weakness, an obvious liability; nevertheless, deep-seated fears of a female ruler's upsetting of the balance of political power — as well as social conventions — resurfaced

throughout the century, as was articulated early in a broadside "Petticoats for Ever" (1837):

For great alterations there'll certainly be,
And Petticoat now will be master you'll see.
So maids, wives, and widows, all merrily sing,
Petticoats for ever! and God bless the Queen!

This anxiety decreased when Victoria married Albert in 1840 and he became her "manly advisor." Explicit reference, however, to her "typically feminine" traits would surface repeatedly. For instance, she was widely praised as a model wife and mother, and was portrayed in settings of domestic concord, as in Landseer's *Windsor Castle in Modern Times* (1843; see Plate 4). But even here the gender and political roles are in contradiction: Albert remains sitting for his wife, having just returned from hunting. Any other man in the kingdom would stand when the queen enters. Other instances of her feminine traits in relation to her role as monarch recurred when instructing Lord Derby to rewrite the Proclamation of 1858 transferring the government of India from East India Company to the British Government: Victoria wrote he had to bear "in mind that it is a female Sovereign who speaks.... Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration" (see *EMPIRE: GOVERNING* (p. 169, n. 9)). Later in her rule, well after the death of Albert, she came under the influence of Disraeli, who flattered her with the Spenserian title of "the Faerie Queene." In an incredibly flirtatious and inappropriate letter of 25 February 1875, he writes to her in the third person after receiving from her a bouquet of flowers: "In the middle of the night, it occurred to him, that it might all be an enchantment, and that, perhaps, it was a Faery gift and came from another monarch: Queen Titania, gathering flowers, with her Court, in a soft and sea-girt isle, and sending magic blossoms, which, they say, turn the heads of those who receive them. They certainly would turn Mr. Disraeli's, if his sense of duty to your Majesty did not exceed, he sincerely believes, his conceit." Whatever the complications of using

literary allusions from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to flatter Victoria, or the appropriateness of his giving or her receiving such compliments, the important thing is here to acknowledge the clear split between the appeal to her girlish femininity and the limitations invoked by Disraeli's observance of his "duty" to his sovereign.

Another set of gendered literary relations are inscribed in the moment of her accession captured in the engraving. The female figure lurking in the dark behind the door, probably her mother, is in contrast with the light pouring through the window, signifying the new dawn of the new realm. Hence, the moment refers to the transition in Victoria's life from being under the control of her overly protective mother, the Duchess of Kent, and, as court gossip would have it, the duchess's lover as well as comptroller and private secretary, Sir John Conroy (1786–1854). Victoria had been sequestered by them from 1822 to 1837 under the Kensington System, named after the palace in London where she and her mother had apartments. The system isolated Victoria from other members of her family, denied her companions of her own age and courtly attendants, and required her never to be separated from one of four people: her mother, Conroy, her governess, and her tutor. Required to sleep in her mother's room, she was subjected to a regime of bullying and constant oversight intended to weaken her mind and break her will, and to have her accept her mother as regent should she come to the throne before her eighteenth birthday. In the event, however, she turned 18 less than three weeks before she became queen on 20 June 1837. One of Victoria's first acts as queen was to banish Conroy and to distance herself from her mother's influence, thereby rejecting the educational and social norms fit for a wholly dependent woman that they had raised her with in hopes of maintaining their control. This rejection is foregrounded in the recent film *The Young Victoria*, immediately after her being told of her uncle's death by Conyngham and Howley. These conventions of the darkness and light and the sinister mother

figure also suggest gender norms of the fairy tale, where the young female's transition from innocent child to sexual being and womanhood must be regulated by a transfer of authority from the house of the father to that of the husband. Fairy tales contain a deed of magic at the key moment of transition – the princess kissing the frog, the prince kissing the sleeping beauty, and so on. The precise moment captured in the engraving does not involve the young prince, however, but the enabling figures of the wise counsellors, in particular, the bowing in ritualistic homage, the kissing of the royal hand, and the magical incantation in which she was first called "Your Majesty."

The moment captured in the engraving is the first step in this process, the means by which the evil stepmother or stepfather may be rejected, preparing the way, as recorded in her diaries and biographies, and in the recent film, for her being swept off her feet by Prince Charming. In her letters about her first meeting with Albert, she describes him in such terms emphasized by her underlinings: "Albert's *beauty is most striking*, and he is so amiable and unaffected—in short, very *fascinating*" (12 Oct. 1839). Three days later she writes of him: "My mind is quite made up—and I told Albert this morning of it; the warm affection he showed me on learning this gave *me great pleasure*. He seems *perfection*, and I think that I have the prospect of very great happiness before me. I *love him more* than I can say, and I shall do everything in my power to render the sacrifice he has made (for a *sacrifice* in my opinion it is) as small as I can" (15 Oct. 1839). Although Albert is the charming prince, her mind being "quite made up" means, contrary to the conventions of the fairy tale, that she holds the power. She takes on the role of the Prince Charming who brings Albert home to her castle after she proposes to him. In this fairy tale, however, the princess would not live happily ever after. The blurb for a recent biography by Helen Rappaport, *A Magnificent Obsession* (2011), calls it "a story that began as fairy tale and ended in tragedy." Albert's death in 1861 would shatter the happy ending and would

relegate Victoria until the mid-1870s to another gendered identity, the secluded Widow of Windsor, rewritten again as another romance in the celebrations of imperial prowess in the Golden Jubilee of 1887 and the near-hysteria and jingoism of the Diamond Jubilee of 1897.

The mostly happy marriage between 1841 and 1861, however, foregrounded Victoria's role and function as monarch and also the contradictions in her role as wife and mother. Within her marriage, Victoria became a model of conventional sexuality – the producer of children, the wife and mother, and later the dutiful widow and grandmother of European royalty. Harriet Martineau, later a staunch women's rights advocate, in *The History of the Thirty Years' Peace A.D. 1816–1846* (1849), wrote of this moment of transition:

As for the domestic respectability ... it was really refreshing to the heart and soul of the nation. A new generation was now on the throne; and there was no scandal as yet, nor any reason to suppose there ever would be any. Here was no corruption bred of the Royal Marriage-law, nothing illicit, nothing questionable; but instead, a young girl, reared in health and simplicity, who might be expected to marry soon—making her choice for herself, so that there was every hope that she might love her husband, and be a good and happy wife. (bk. 5, ch. 9)

Martineau refers to court scandals before Victoria: her three uncles and her father had as many as twenty-two illegitimate children. Victoria and Albert, on the other hand, would become models of respectability, having nine children, forty grandchildren, and eighty-eight great grandchildren. Sarah Stickney Ellis dedicated a conduct book, *The Wives of England* (1843), to the new queen, shortly after her marriage, again foregrounding the complications of rank, gender, and power: "Let us never forget, that in the person of our beloved QUEEN we have the character of a wife and a mother so blended

with that of a sovereign, that the present above all others ought to form an era in British history, wherein woman shall have proved herself not unworthy of the importance attached to her influence and her name." In *The Daughters of England* (1842), Ellis had reminded readers of the conventional position of the queen in relation to her husband: "As women, then, the first thing of importance is to be content to be inferior to men—inferior in mental power, in the same proportion that you are inferior in bodily strength" (see Figure 10).

These contradictions between queen and wife, part of the gender norms of Victorian England, were constructed within an ideology of "separate spheres" – the notion that "masculine" and "feminine" spheres were natural and normal, appropriate because women were passive, men active. Women's place, therefore, was in the domestic, conserving, and nurturing realm, while men's was in the public realm of conflict, compromise, and action. Recent gender theory has rejected the idea that gender is a natural or neutral condition of existence, instead seeing it as a social construction. In our selections the social construction of separate spheres is demonstrated in popular conduct books and instructional manuals, where women are in effect placed in a compromising position: on the one hand, on the basis of their lesser intelligence, reasoning power, and emotionalism, they are relegated to a subordinate status; while on the other hand, under the codes of chivalry, they are idealized as embodiments of beauty, innocence, purity, and sanctity, and under biblically sanctioned marriage, they represent high moral virtue as the helpmate to the husband (Genesis 2: 18). Their superior status, however, is continually subordinated to the man's superior status in the active realm outside the home, the world of action in commerce, politics, and warfare. Pure and innocent, women exerted a moral influence on men as their divinely instituted "mission." Most prominently enunciated by Ellis, Ruskin, and Beeton, this dominant ideal exalted the woman as wife, mother and daughter, and as queen, "angel of the house," and, somewhat

contradictorily in Beeton, as the general of her domestic army.

Correspondingly, a masculine ideal consisted of the nostalgic recovery of the medieval chivalric knight, dutifully protecting his lady and country with feats of bravery and loyalty under the watchful eye of God (even in business and industry), as in such writers as Digby and Kipling. These dominant ideals of masculinity, now Victorian stereotypes, were also highly contested. As early as 1843 Reid challenged the idea that women are naturally passive, restricted to the home and children, a view extended later in movements for the reform of education, of the divorce laws, of suffrage, and of property rights, all now termed, "the Woman Question."

The woman question was dominated by the legal issue of "coverture," under which a married woman was not deemed to be a legal person because she was an appendage of her husband and her few rights were absorbed (or "covered") by him. Norton's letter to Victoria in 1855 makes explicit this legal concept's "grotesque anomaly which ordains that married women shall be 'non-existent' in a country governed by a female Sovereign." Norton's identification of Victoria as the single exception, however, needs qualification. These gender-based laws applied to middle-class women. To a degree, working-class women lived on the margins of these laws and norms: to live, they had to work, and for them the woman question did not concern property or voting rights but rather laws to accommodate their changing conditions, concerning employment – safety, the ten-hour day, and other rights. Furthermore, as Norton explains, women were merely the property of their husbands, and they could be abused, beaten, and treated as slaves by their masters. Education was completely different for men and women: upper- and middle-class men were educated as gentlemen in the classics, and from the 1860s in sciences and other forms of useful knowledge; similar classes of women learned the arts of refinement, training to be to be wives and hostesses. Unmarried middle-class women could work only as governesses or as writers; working-class women and

men were lucky to learn to read or write. The almost universal acceptance of such gendered social norms was increasingly questioned and opposed: by the end of the century, in writers such as Grand, a new category of feminism emerges, the “New Woman,” directly confronting the gender assumptions and legal status imposed upon her. As Grundy and “Ouida” illustrate, this figure was also attacked with ridicule and satire. Among other things, the “New Woman” was seen as a threat because of her promotion of sexual freedom.

Consistent with assumptions about gender and the law, sexuality was to be controlled by marriage, heterosexual love, and the middle-class home. As with Victoria and the royal family, sex, at least according to the stereotype, was to be tolerated to produce heirs for the legal transfer of property and inheritance. But as was the case with Victoria’s uncles, the norms of sexual behaviour were elastic and inconsistent. The double standard, allowing men to keep a mistress or visit prostitutes, remained the accepted but invisible underside of the dominant norm. Our section on sexuality (Web) shows how these assumptions were extended into law by parliament and in organized social and political resistance movements concerning the control of prostitution, contagious diseases, homosexuality (a word not coined until 1892), censorship, and birth control. These norms, however, were applied somewhat differently to the working classes: for instance, the writings of Cullwick and Munby (Web), chronicling their sadomasochistic relationship between cleaning woman and gentleman-master, not published until the late twentieth century, press power relations to a breaking point over class, employment, and gender proprieties. Forms of censorship were exercised for privacy or discretion (as with Victoria’s journals) or under the obscenity laws, which also governed publication, or under the criminal laws that governed conduct. Publications like *The Pearl* brazenly exhibited promiscuous and often illegal sex, while the heterosexual norm was re-enforced in law (Henry Labouchère’s amendment (Web)) and also

challenged (Oscar Wilde’s trials (Web), and the joint writings by Michael Field, and others). The emergence of scientific and anthropological discourse about sexuality, both physiological and psychological, is explored by Havelock Ellis (Web) and Symonds (Web) in relation to law, evolution, medicine, and history.

It is somewhat ironic, however, that in light of this revolutionary theorizing of sexuality, the queen’s name became conventionally associated with prudery, denial, and avoidance of anything sexual. As the documents in this section will demonstrate, Victoria’s reign also saw seismic changes in gender relations and the legal position of women. However, despite her unique position as the most powerful woman in a patriarchal society, indeed, arguably the most powerful person, Victoria vigorously opposed thinkers who challenged the gender orthodoxy. In a letter to her friend and advisor Theodore Martin (29 May 1870), she criticized Katharine Russell, Lady Amberley (1842–74), radical and suffragist, supporter of birth control, religious freedom, and free love, and the mother of Bertrand Russell (1872–1970), who would become one of the most prominent British philosophers and mathematicians of the twentieth century. Russell had dared to speak out in favour of woman’s suffrage. Victoria wrote to Martin,

The Queen is most anxious to enlist everyone who can speak or write to join in checking this mad, wicked folly of “Woman’s Rights,” with all its attendant horrors, on which her poor feeble sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feeling and propriety. Lady— ought to get a GOOD WHIPPING. It is a subject which makes the Queen so furious that she cannot contain herself. God created men and women different—then let them remain each in their own position. Tennyson has some beautiful lines on the difference of men and women in “The Princess.” Woman would become the most hateful, heartless, and disgusting of human beings were she allowed to unsex herself; and

where would be the protection which man was intended to give the weaker sex? The Queen is sure that Mrs. Martin agrees with her.

Whatever Mrs Martin might have thought, the readings in *Gender, Women, and Sexuality* lay out positions for and against “Woman’s Rights,”

with all its attendant horrors” as well as the “difference of men and women” and gender and sexual equality. Ironically, the struggles for power, for gender equality, woman’s rights, and sexual self-determination, are rejected by the most powerful woman in the nineteenth century as “mad, wicked folly,” with the threat of corporal punishment against a naughty girl.

1. Constructing Genders

Kenelm Digby (1800–80): *The Broad Stone of Honour: or, the True Sense and Practice of Chivalry* ([1822] 1877)

From Part 1, Section 14: “Godefridus”¹

“The age of chivalry is gone!” calmly observe the calculating sophists,² who lead the mind of the moderns, and persuade them that the world is hastening, under their influence, to a period of increased light and civilization,—a most convenient maxim to establish from the declamation of an orator! for that is as much as to hold, that there is no longer occasion for men to be generous and devoted, faithful and indifferent to their own selfish interest, full of high honour; not aiming to follow the erring multitude, but emulous of imitating the example and of joining the society of the celestial citizens: an assertion, however, which carries with it the less weight from its being characteristic of a class of men, whose first principles are all contained in similar propositions, with whom every age is gone but that of economists and calculators. . . .

The error which leads men to doubt of this first proposition consists in their supposing that tournaments and steel, panoply, and coat-arms, and aristocratic institutions, are essential to chivalry; whereas these are, in fact, only accidental attendants upon it, subject to the influence of time, which changes all such things, new-moulding them into a countless diversity of forms, to suit each race of new-born fancies. . . .

Chivalry is only a name for that general spirit or state of mind which disposes men to heroic and generous actions, and keeps them conversant with all that is beautiful and sublime in the intellectual and moral world. It will be found that, in the absence of conservative principles, this spirit more generally prevails in youth than in the later periods of

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CONSTRUCTING GENDERS

¹ title drawing on numerous classical and medieval examples, Digby constructs an influential notion of the chivalric gentleman, attacking modern society, particularly utilitarianism, rationality, and middle-class concerns with making money. The entire work is in four sections, each named after chivalric heroes: Godefridus (Godfrey, hero of the first crusade (1095–99)), Tancredus (Tancred de Hauteville, another hero of the first crusade), Morus (Sir Thomas More (1478–1535)), and Orlandus (from Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* (1591)). Upon capturing Jerusalem in 1099, Godefridus, or Godfrey of Bouillon, was elected king, but he refused the title, not wanting a crown in the city where Christ died, opting instead for

the title Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulchre. He died on 18 July 1100. The work was published anonymously in 1822 and 1823 with the subtitle “Rules for the Gentlemen of England”; expanded to four volumes in 1828–29 and 1844–48 under Digby’s name, subtitled “The True Sense and Practice of Chivalry”; enlarged to five volumes in 1877. Our text: 1877.

² *sophists* see Edmund Burke (1729–92), *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790): “The age of chivalry is gone.—That of sophisters, economists, and calculators, has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished forever.” To Digby, sophists were specious philosophers, particularly utilitarians.

men's lives; and, as the heroic is always the earliest age in the history of nations, so youth, the first period of human life, may be considered as the heroic or chivalrous age of each separate man: and there are few so unhappy as to have grown up without having experienced its influence, and having derived the advantage of being able to enrich their imaginations and to soothe their hours of sorrow with its romantic recollections. The Anglo-Saxons distinguished the period between childhood and manhood by the term "cnihtad,"³ boyhood a term which still continued to indicate the connexion between youth and chivalry, when knights were styled children, as in the historic song beginning,

Child Rowland to the dark tower came⁴:

an excellent expression, no doubt; for every boy and youth is, in his mind and sentiments, a knight, and essentially a son of chivalry. Nature is fine in him. Nothing but the circumstance of a most singular and unhappy constitution, and the most perverted and degrading system of education, can ever totally destroy the action of this general law; therefore as long as there has been, or shall be, a succession of sweet springs in man's intellectual world; as long as there have been, or shall be, young men to grow up to maturity, and until all youthful life shall be dead, and its source withered for ever, so long must there have been, and must there continue to be, the spirit of noble chivalry.

Sarah Stickney Ellis (1799–1872): *The Daughters of England* (1842)

From Chapter 1: "Important Inquiries"⁵

As women, then, the first thing of importance is to be content to be inferior to men—inferior in mental power, in the same proportion that you are inferior in bodily strength. Facility of movement, aptitude, and grace, the bodily frame of women may possess in a higher degree than that of man; just as in the softer touches of mental and spiritual beauty, her character may present a lovelier page than his. Yet, as the great attribute of power must still be wanting there, it becomes more immediately her business to inquire how this want may be supplied.

An able and eloquent writer on "Woman's Mission," has justly observed, that woman's strength is in her influence.⁶ And, in order to render this influence more complete, you

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³ *cnihtad* (OE *cniht*, boy, youth; ME *knyght*, military servant of a king or lord; *had/hod* hood; ME *knyghthode*).

⁴ *came* Mad Tom's song in *King Lear* (3.4.187); see also the title and last line of Robert Browning's poem, "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came" (1855; see BROWNING (WEB p. 346)).

⁵ *title* Ellis wrote several popular conduct books for girls and women, including *The Women of England* (1838), *The Wives of England* (1843), and *The Mothers of England* (1845). Conduct literature replaces the courtesy literature of the Middle Ages concerning the appropriate behaviour of knights and ladies within the courtly love conventions. Most famous of the conduct books was Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (translated by Thomas Hoby in 1561) that set the model for the gentleman at court. On the other hand, Mary Wollstonecraft's pre-radical and first published work, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1787), and Hannah More's *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (1809), reshaped the tradition towards women and the middle classes, in which Ellis's books became a defining moment. Her didactic treatises instructed the newly emerging middle classes on the proper

place or domestic sphere for Victorian females. Females were to accept their inferiority to men and to dedicate their lives to the advancement and interests of their fathers, brothers, and husbands. In *The Wives of England* (1843) she wrote: "One important truth sufficiently impressed upon your mind will materially assist in this desirable consummation [of happy married life]—it is the superiority of your husband simply as a man. It is quite possible you may have more talent, with higher attainments, and you may also have been generally more admired; but this has nothing whatever to do with your position as a woman, which is, and must be, inferior to him as a man" (ch. 1). The differences laid out here between active males and passive females is long established; see, for instance, Plato, *Timaeus* 90e; and Aristotle, *Politics* 1254b.

⁶ *influence* Sarah Lewis (fl. 1830–50) published a conduct book, *Woman's Mission*, anonymously in 1839 based on *L'éducation des mères de famille* (1834) by Louis Aimé Martin (1782–1847), a disciple of Rousseau. Lewis argued that "women may be the prime agents of God in the regeneration of mankind" through "the cultivation of the religious

will find, on examination, that you are by nature endowed with peculiar faculties—with a quickness of perception, facility of adaptation, and acuteness of feeling, which fit you especially for the part you have to act in life; and which, at the same time, render you, in a higher degree than men, susceptible both of pain and pleasure.

These are your qualifications as mere women. As Christians, how wide is the prospect which opens before you—how various the claims upon your attention—how vast your capabilities—how deep the responsibility which those capabilities involve! In the first place, you are not alone; you are one of a family—of a social circle—of a community—of a nation. You are a being whose existence will never terminate, who *must* live for ever, and whose happiness or misery through that endless future which lies before you, will be influenced by the choice you are now in the act of making. . . .

I must now take it for granted, that the youthful reader of these pages has reflected seriously upon her position in society as a woman, has acknowledged her inferiority to man, has examined her own nature, and found there a capability of feeling, a quickness of perception, and a facility of adaptation, beyond what he possesses, and which, consequently, fit her for a distinct and separate sphere;⁷ and I would also gladly persuade myself, that the same individual, as a Christian woman, has made her decision not to live for herself, so much as for others; but, above all, not to live for this world so much as for eternity. The question then arises—What means are to be adopted in the pursuit of this most desirable end? Some of my young readers will perhaps be disposed to exclaim, “Why, this is but the old story of giving up the world, and all its pleasures!” But let them not be too hasty in their conclusions. It is not a system of giving up which I am about to recommend to them, so much as one of attaining. My advice is rather to advance than to retreat, yet to be sure that you advance in the right way. Instead, therefore, of depreciating the value of their advantages and acquirements, it is my intention to point out, as far as I am able, how all these advantages may be made conducive to the great end I have already supposed them to have in view—that of living for others, rather than for themselves—of living for eternity, rather than for time. . . .

From Chapter 9: “Friendship and Flirtation”

This part of my subject necessarily leads me to the consideration of what, for want of a more serious name, I am under the necessity of calling flirtation; by which I would be understood to mean, all that part of the behaviour of women, which in the art of pleasing, has reference only to men. It is easy to understand whether a woman is guilty of flirtation

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and moral portion” – through “maternal influence,” especially in the family: “We are not one iota behind these fiery champions of womanhood, in exalted notion of its dignity and mission. We are as anxious as they can be that women should be roused to a sense of their own importance; but we affirm, that it is not so much social institutions that are wanting to women, but women who are wanting to themselves. We claim for them no less an office than that of instruments (under God) for the regeneration of the world,—restorers of God’s image in the human soul. Can any of the warmest advocates of the political rights of woman claim or assert for her a more exalted mission,—a nobler destiny! That she will best accomplish this mission by moving in the sphere which God and nature have appointed, and not by quitting that sphere for another, it is the object of these pages to prove.” The book was a best-seller, with seventeen British and five American editions up

to 1854. The attacks on the idea of “Woman’s Mission” continued throughout the century, as evidenced by the comment in the satirical periodical *Judy* (6 July 1881): “There has been a great deal (too much) talked about ‘Woman’s Mission’ of late by the shrieking sisterhood; did they, by any chance, ever hear that woman’s true mission is—sub-mission?” See also NIGHTINGALE, n. 18.

⁷ *sphere* like Sarah Lewis, Ellis was a proponent of the ideology of the two separate spheres of social function, a commonplace of Victorian commentary on gender roles, whereby woman’s proper sphere was domestic and the family, while man’s was business and the world. This concept informs much of the discussion of women’s rights and differing roles throughout the nineteenth century; see, for instance, this section, CONSTRUCTING: REID, TAYLOR, and GRAND; GENDER: CONSTRUCTING; RUSKIN (WEB p. 77); and also MARTINEAU, n. 6.



or not, by putting her conduct to this simple test—whether, in mixed society, she is the same to women as to men.

Although nothing could be more revolting to the feelings of a true-hearted woman, than needlessly to make a public exposure of the weaknesses and follies of her own sex, yet something of this is not only justifiable, but necessary in the present case, in order to contrast the conduct of those who are truly admirable, with that which is only adopted for the purpose of courting admiration. Nor would I speak uncharitably, when I confess, that, like others, I have often seen a drooping countenance suddenly grow animated, an oppressive headache suddenly removed, and many other symptoms of an improved state of health and spirits as suddenly exhibited, when the society of ladies has become varied by that of the nobler sex; and never does female friendship receive a deeper insult, than when its claims are thus superseded by those, perhaps, of a mere stranger.

Though the practice of flirtation, or the habit of making use of certain arts of pleasing in the society of men, which are not used in that of women, is a thing of such frequent occurrence, that few can be said to be wholly exempt from it; yet we rarely find a woman so lost to all sense of delicacy, as to make an open profession of flirtation. Indeed, I am convinced, that some do actually practise it unconsciously to themselves, and for this reason I am the more anxious to furnish them with a few hints, by which they may be better able to detect the follies of their own conduct.



WEB p. 70

Sarah Stickney Ellis (1799–1872): *The Mothers of England* (1843).

From Chapter 10: “On the Training of Boys”

From Chapter 11: “On the Training of Girls”

Marion Kirkland Reid (c.1839–89): From *A Plea for Woman* (1843)⁸

Woman’s sphere is a phrase which has been generally used to denote the various household duties usually performed by her; but this is employing the phrase in a very limited sense, and one that requires explanation. Strictly speaking, a person’s sphere comprises the whole range of his duties; but, taken in this limited sense, woman’s sphere does not do this: for she has very many duties in common with man, besides those household requirements peculiar to her as a woman. The meaning usually attached to the phrase “duties of woman’s sphere,” would be much better expressed, were we to say, duties *peculiar* to woman’s sphere. However, the phrase being an established one, we shall use it in its usual limited sense, having thus explained. . . .

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⁸ *title* a Scottish activist, Reid attended the World’s Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, where all the American and English women delegates were excluded from membership and could only sit in silence. Reid’s book went through five American editions to 1852 with the title *Woman, Her Education and Influence*. She was later involved in the Ladies National Association for

the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts (see this section, WOMAN QUESTION, n. 14). Reid attacked the views of Ellis and Lewis “that female influence is the *only* influence—and there is no such thing as male influence” as well as the doctrine of separate spheres: “power to man and influence to woman” (see this section, CONSTRUCTING, n. 6).

The ground on which equality is claimed for all men is of equal force for all women; for women share the common nature of humanity, and are possessed of all those noble faculties which constitute man a responsible being, and give him a claim to be his own ruler, so far as is consistent with order, and the possession of the like degree of sovereignty over himself by every other human being. It is the possession of the noble faculties of reason and conscience which elevates man above the brutes, and invests him with this right of exercising supreme authority over himself. It is more especially the possession of an inward rule of rectitude, a law written on the heart in indelible characters, which raises him to this high dignity, and renders him an accountable being, by impressing him with the conviction that there are certain duties which he owes to his fellow-creatures. Whoever possesses this consciousness, has also the belief that the same convictions of duty are implanted in the breast of each member of the human family. He feels that he has a *right* to have all those duties exercised by others towards him, which his conscience tells him he ought to exercise towards others; hence the natural and equal rights of men.⁹ . . .

Having thus attempted to show, that although in one sense woman was made for man, yet in another and higher she was also made for herself; and that the more faithful she is to the higher end of her being, the development of her whole nature moral and rational, the better will she fulfil the lower one, of ministering to the happiness of man. I shall now try to find out whether there is any need of so many artificial distinctions between the sexes, or whether we might not safely rely on their natural distinctions for retaining each in its proper place.

The most striking difference between the sexes is in their relative proportion of bodily strength, the frame of man being always much stronger than that of woman. And since the physical structure of man is stronger than that of woman, and the mental powers are manifested through physical organs, there is a strong presumption that man must always exceed woman in force of mind as well as in strength of limb. Accordingly the contrast between the minds of the different sexes is of the same nature as that between their physical constitutions. The one sex is soft, gentle, yielding; the other hard, stern, severe. The mental, like the physical organization of woman, seems more delicate than that of man; her mind like her body, is less capable of long-continued or severe labour. But in estimating the difference between the sexes in point of intellectual vigour, there is great danger of rating woman too low. To prevent this, it is necessary to bear in remembrance, that the mind of woman never has been cultivated in the same degree as that of man; so that it is hardly possible to institute a fair comparison between them. The long course of neglect or scorn which has been the general fate of the female mind, must have repressed and deteriorated its powers. Although, therefore, we see that woman is at present inferior in vigour of mind, and may presume that she always must continue to be so in some respect, yet, on the other hand, it must also be admitted, that the partiality which has given so much greater an amount of mental cultivation to man than to woman, and the greater calls which he has had for exertion, have made this difference much greater than it would naturally be, were the same amount of culture and the same opportunities of exertion bestowed on both sexes. . . .

It will be readily allowed that, in the great essentials of their nature, man and woman are the same. They are alike moral, accountable, and immortal beings; and it is on this account that they are entitled to the same rights. But we hope it will also be seen, that there are so many minor differences in their characters as to render it almost absurd to imagine that any elevation of woman's character or position could possibly derange the social economy. In short, all those differences from man in the character

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⁹ men in 1789 the French National Assembly adopted *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* in the first phase of the French Revolution. It proclaimed that "Men

are born free and remain free and equal in rights and that social distinctions may be founded only on the general good."

of woman, which are usually produced as reasons for depriving her of civil rights, weigh, with us, quite on the other side of the question, and force us irresistibly to the conclusion, that as there are so many natural differences between man and woman, there is no occasion for those artificial distinctions which had their foundation in the superior strength of man when war and spoil were the order of the day. Surely those differences, so strongly marked, may be allowed to do away with the fear of any violent convulsion, in the event of woman receiving all the privileges of rational and responsible creatures. The peculiar characteristics of the sexes, show them so fitted to play into each other's hands, that I cannot conceive the idea of their interests ever interfering with each other. It is certainly the true interest of each to help the other forward as much as possible, and of both to assist in every way in advancing the cause of truth and liberty.

Richard Pilling (1799–1874): From “*Defence at his Trial*” (1843)¹⁰

Suppose, gentlemen of the jury, you were obliged to subsist on the paltry pittance given to us in the shape of wages, and had a wife and six helpless children,¹¹ five of them under thirteen years of age to support, how would you feel? Though you were to confine me to a dungeon I should not submit to it. I have a nervous wife—a good wife—a dear wife—a wife that I love and cherish, and I have done everything that I could in the way of resisting reductions in wages,¹² that I might keep her and my children from the workhouse, for I detest parish relief.¹³ It is wages I want. I want to be independent of every man and that is the principle of every honest Englishman; and I hope it is the principle of every man in this court. . . . I was twenty years among the handloom weavers,¹⁴ and ten years in a factory, and I unhesitatingly say, that during the whole course of that time I worked twelve hours a day with the exception of twelve months that the masters of Stockport would not employ me; and the longer and harder I have worked the poorer and poorer I have become every year, until, at last, I am nearly exhausted. If the masters had taken off another 25%, I would put an end to my existence sooner than kill myself working twelve hours a day in a cotton factory, and eating potatoes and salt. Gentlemen of the jury,¹⁵ I now leave my case in your hands. Whatever it may have been with others it has been a wage question with me. And I do say that if Mr. O'Connor¹⁶ has made it a chartist question,¹⁷ he has done wonders to make it extend through England, Ireland, and Scotland.

Notes

¹⁰ *title* Pilling was a handloom weaver, and later a cotton-mill worker and Chartist, brought to trial as a member of the Power-Loom Weavers' Trade Society and the Stockport Chartist Working Men's Association for organizing a series of strikes of the power-loom weavers at Stockport. They escalated to a general strike in the cotton districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire in 1842 known as the Plug Riots. He was brought to trial with Feargus O'Connor and fifty-seven other Chartists at the Lancashire Assizes of April 1843 where, faced with large numbers of offenders being transported to Australia, he made the defence from which this selection is drawn, earning him an acquittal. Our text: *State Trials* (New Series 1839–43), iv, cols. 1097–1108.

¹¹ *children* Pilling had seven children, three of whom were able to work, though the second eldest, James, had to leave work in 1842, dying soon afterwards from tuberculosis.

¹² *wages* he claimed that when he began to work, at about 10 years of age, he was earning 16s. a week, but in the depression after the Napoleonic wars his earnings dropped to 6s. 6d.

¹³ *relief* after the Poor Law Act of 1834 all who sought relief, even able-bodied paupers, had to seek relief by residing in a parish workhouse. See *CONDITION: VICTORIAN SOCIAL*, n. 19.

¹⁴ *weavers* after the Napoleonic wars, there were between 200,000 and 250,000 handloom weavers working in their own houses in Britain; by 1861 there were only 7,000, decimated by the invention of the power loom (by Edmund Cartwright, 1785) and its deployment in factories. J. P. Kay estimated in 1832 that weavers worked fourteen hours a day and earned from 5s. to 7s. a week, down from £1 10s. in 1790. With the collapse of the cotton industry in the 1840s, rates of pay dropped to mere starvation earnings.

¹⁵ *jury* women were not allowed to serve on juries in the United Kingdom until the Sexual Disqualification Removal Act of 1919.

¹⁶ O'Connor Feargus O'Connor (1794–1855), British MP for Cork in Ireland and later for Nottingham, editor of the Leeds radical newspaper *The Northern Star*, and Chartist.

¹⁷ *question* for Chartism, see *CONDITION: VICTORIAN SOCIAL*, nn. 10 and 11.

But it was always a wage question, and ten hours bill¹⁸ with me. I have advocated the keeping up of wages for a long time, and I shall do so till the end of my days. And, if confined within the walls of a dungeon, knowing that as an individual I have done my duty; knowing that I have been one of the great spokes in the wheel by which that last reduction of wages was prevented—knowing that by means of that turn-out thousands and ten of thousands have eaten the bread which they would not have eaten if the turn-out had not taken place, I am satisfied, whatever may be the result. . . . And, now, Gentlemen of the jury, you have the case before you; the masters conspired to kill me, and I combined¹⁹ to keep myself alive.



WEB p. 72

Anne Brontë (1820–49): *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* (1848)
From Chapter 33: “Two Evenings”

Isabella Beeton (1836–65): *The Book of Household Management* (1859–61)

From Chapter 1: “The Mistress”²⁰

1. As with the commander of an army, or the leader of any enterprise, so is it with the mistress of a house. Her spirit will be seen through the whole establishment; and just in proportion as she performs her duties intelligently and thoroughly, so will her domestics follow in her path. Of all those acquirements, which more particularly belong to the feminine character, there are none which take a higher rank, in our estimation, than such as enter into a knowledge of household duties; for on these are perpetually dependent the happiness, comfort, and well-being of a family. . . .

3. Early rising is one of the most essential qualities which enter into good Household Management, as it is not only the parent of health, but of innumerable other advantages. Indeed, when a mistress is an early riser, it is almost certain that her house will be orderly and well-managed. On the contrary, if she remain in bed till a late hour, then the domestics, who, as we have before observed, invariably partake somewhat of their mistress’s character, will surely become sluggards. To self-indulgence all are more or less disposed, and it is not to be expected that servants are freer from this fault than the heads of houses. . . .

9. In conversation, trifling occurrences, such as small disappointments, petty annoyances, and other every-day incidents, should never be mentioned to your friends. . . . If the mistress be a wife, never let an account of her husband’s failings pass her lips. . . .

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¹⁸ bill the Ten Hours Movement began in the 1830s, led by the labour reformer, Richard Oastler (1789–1861) outside parliament and Lord Shaftesbury (1801–85) inside parliament, to limit the hours of textile workers, especially women and children. The Factory Act of 1833 limited the hours worked by children of 9 to 13 to eight hours a day, and those 14 to 18 to not more than twelve hours a day, each with a one-hour lunch break. The Ten Hours Bill (Factories Act of 1847), introduced by Shaftesbury, limited the workday for children under 18 and women to ten hours a day, a reform that Parliament had opposed up to that point; see also, DODD, n. 7 (WEB p. 294).

¹⁹ combined joined a trade union; a “combination” is an archaic term for a trade union. In 1824 the Combination Acts passed late in the eighteenth century that made unions illegal were repealed, allowing for legal unionization.

²⁰ title in 1856 Beeton had married the magazine publisher Samuel Beeton, who undertook the publication of her writings on managing a household. It was issued in twenty-four monthly parts in 1859–61, for 3d. a part, under the auspices of *The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, and in book form in October, 1861 (our text), priced 7s. 6d., selling 60,000 copies in the first year. It was a kind of conduct book, an encyclopedia of household economy. It also had advice on kitchen and household equipment, nursing in the family, legal matters, and recipes, beginning with accounts of the place of animals, fish, fowl, and vegetables and fruit in the order of nature. For an adaptation of Beeton in the context of India, see EMPIRE: GOVERNING; STEEL AND GARDINER.



13. The dress of the mistress should always be adapted to her circumstances, and be varied with different occasions. Thus, at breakfast she should be attired in a very neat and simple manner, wearing no ornaments. If this dress should decidedly pertain only to the breakfast-hour, and be specially suited for such domestic occupations as usually follow that meal, then it would be well to exchange it before the time for receiving visitors, if the mistress be in the habit of doing so. It is still to be remembered, however, that, in changing the dress, jewellery and ornaments are not to be worn until the full dress for dinner is assumed. . . .

19. The treatment of servants is of the highest possible moment, as well to the mistress as to the domestics themselves. On the head of the house the latter will naturally fix their attention; and if they perceive that the mistress's conduct is regulated by high and correct principles, they will not fail to respect her. If, also, a benevolent desire is shown to promote their comfort, at the same time that a steady performance of their duty is exacted, then their respect will not be unmingled with affection, and they will be still more solicitous to continue to deserve her favour. . . .

21. The following table of the average yearly wages paid to domestics,²¹ with the various members of the household placed in the order in which they are usually ranked, will serve as a guide to regulate the expenditure of an establishment:—

	<i>When not found in livery</i> ²²	<i>When found in livery</i>
The House Steward	From £40 to £80	—
The Valet	" 25 to 50	From £20 to £30
The Butler	" 25 to 50	—
The Cook	" 20 to 40	—
The Gardener	" 20 to 40	—
The Footman	" 20 to 40	" 15 to 25
The Under Butler	" 15 to 30	" 15 to 25
The Coachman	—	" 20 to 35
The Groom	" 15 to 30	" 12 to 20
The Under Footman	—	" 12 to 20
The Page or Footboy	" 8 to 18	" 6 to 14
The Stableboy	" 6 to 12	—

Notes

²¹ *domestics* Beeton's hierarchy of servants places three men above the cook in the first (wealthier) list and three women above the cook in the second. In most households able to afford a range of domestics, the butler ran the house and the housekeeper was responsible for the female staff. The housekeeper controlled the keys; both had status from personal proximity to the master and mistress of the house. Below stairs, that is, in the servants' area of the basement, the cook was in control of the entire preparation of meals, apart from consultation about menus; the lady's maid and valet had higher wages because of their duties with respect to clothing, conversation, and attendance to dressing and personal service to the family. Incomes for social status vary throughout the century and the country. About the time that Beeton was writing, based on John Henry Walsh's *A Manual of Domestic Economy Suited to Families* (1856, 1874) and Leone Levi's *Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes* (1867), a wealthy aristocratic family would have an income of between £10,000 and £30,000 or more; a well-to-do upper middle-class family (wealthy manufacturers, bankers, or landed gentry) would have a yearly income between £5,000

and £10,000; other upper-middle-class families (barristers, physicians, other professional men, and businessmen) between £1,000 and £5,000; a middle-class family (civil servants, solicitors, senior clerks) between £500 and £800 or £1,000; and a lower middle-class family (journalists and teachers) between £200 and £500. As Beeton indicates, all of these would have some kind of servant living in. For instance, Robert Browning's father, a senior clerk in the Bank of England, earned £275 a year around 1845, enough for the family of four to live comfortably in a London suburb, with two servants, keeping a horse and small carriage. In the working-classes around 1860, a skilled worker (cabinet-maker, typesetter, master carpenter) could earn between £75 and £100 a year; a labourer, £40–60, and a textile worker in a Manchester mill, about £30; farmworkers, soldiers, domestics, and needleworkers earned between £12 and £20.

²² *livery* the uniform worn by the domestic members of a household, usually adorned with the heraldry of the family. In the first edition there were several typos for the wages, corrected in later editions in 1861. We have followed the corrected figures.

	When no extra allowance is made for Tea, Sugar, and Beer	When an extra allowance is made for Tea, Sugar, and Beer
The Housekeeper	From £20 to £45	From £18 to £40
The Lady's-maid	" 12 to 25	" 10 to 20
The Head Nurse	" 15 to 30	" 13 to 26
The Cook	" 11 to 30	" 12 to 26
The Upper Housemaid	" 12 to 20	" 10 to 17
The Upper Laundry-maid	" 12 to 18	" 10 to 15
The Maid-of-all-work	" 9 to 14	" 7-1/2 to 11
The Under Housemaid	" 8 to 12	" 6-1/2 to 10
The Still-room Maid	" 9 to 14	" 8 to 13
The Nursemaid	" 8 to 12	" 5 to 10
The Under Laundry-maid	" 9 to 11	" 8 to 12
The Kitchen-maid	" 9 to 14	" 8 to 12
The Scullery-maid	" 5 to 9	" 4 to 8

These quotations of wages are those usually given in or near the metropolis; but, of course, there are many circumstances connected with locality, and also having reference to the long service on the one hand, or the inexperience on the other, of domestics, which may render the wages still higher or lower than those named above. All the domestics mentioned in the above table would enter into the establishment of a wealthy nobleman. The number of servants, of course, would become smaller in proportion to the lesser size of the establishment; and we may here enumerate a scale of servants suited to various incomes, commencing with—

- About £1,000 a year—A cook, upper housemaid, nursemaid, under housemaid, and a man servant.
- About £750 a year—A cook, housemaid, nursemaid, and footboy.
- About £500 a year—A cook, housemaid, and nursemaid.
- About £300 a year—A maid-of-all-work and nursemaid.
- About £200 or £150 a year—A maid-of-all-work²³ (and girl occasionally).



WEB p. 73

Harriet Martineau (1802–76): From “Middle-Class Education in England: Boys” (1864)
Harriet Martineau (1802–76): From “Middle-Class Education in England: Girls” (1864)
John Ruskin (1819–1900): *Sesame and Lilies* (1862)
From “Of Queen’s Gardens”

Notes

²³ *maid-of-all-work* for diary entries on the workday of a maid-of-all-work, see GENDER: SEX; CULLWICK, DIARIES (WEB p. 89).



Eliza Lynn Linton (1822–98): From “The Girl of the Period” in the *Saturday Review* (14 Mar. 1868)²⁴

Time was when the phrase, “a fair young English girl,” meant the ideal of womanhood; to us, at least, of home birth and breeding. It meant a creature generous, capable, and modest. . . . It meant a girl who could be trusted alone if need be, because of the innate purity and dignity of her nature, but who was neither bold in bearing nor masculine in mind; a girl who, when she married, would be her husband’s friend and companion, but never his rival; one who would consider their interests identical, and not hold him as just so much fair game for spoil; who would make his house his true home and place of rest, not a mere passage-place for vanity and ostentation to go through; a tender mother, an industrious housekeeper, a judicious mistress. We prided ourselves as a nation on our women. We thought we had the pick of creation in this fair young English girl of ours, and envied no other men their own. We admired the languid grace and subtle fire of the South; the docility and childlike affectionateness of the East seemed to us sweet and simple and restful; the vivacious sparkle of the trim and sprightly Parisienne was a pleasant little excitement when we met with it in its own domain; but our allegiance never wandered from our brown-haired girls at home, and our hearts were less vagrant than our fancies. This was in the old time, and when English girls were content to be what God and nature had made them. Of late years we have changed the pattern, and have given to the world a race of women as utterly unlike the old insular ideal as if we had created another nation altogether. The girl of the period, and the fair young English girl of the past, have nothing in common save ancestry and their mother-tongue; and even of this last the modern version makes almost a new language, through the copious additions it has received from the current slang of the day.

The girl of the period is a creature who dyes her hair and paints her face, as the first articles of her personal religion; whose sole idea of life is plenty of fun and luxury; and whose dress is the object of such thought and intellect as she possesses. Her main endeavour is to outvie her neighbours in the extravagance of fashion.²⁵ No matter whether, as in the time of crinolines, she sacrificed decency; or, as now, in the time of trains, she sacrifices cleanliness; no matter either, whether she makes herself

Notes

²⁴ title the self-educated Linton supported herself entirely from writing, from the age of 23, for such publications as the *Morning Chronicle* and Dickens’s *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*. Her early novel, *Realities* (1851), caused a sensation for its attack on respectable Victorian morality, and other writings promoted agnosticism and radical politics. In 1858 she married the engraver W. J. Linton, a widower with seven children, but they separated amicably in 1867. This essay, published in the strongly anti-feminist *Saturday Review*, caused a sensation for its rejection of women’s suffrage using vitriolic stereotypes, but she did not claim authorship until 1884. Her title became a cliché in the years following publication (see this section, WOMAN QUESTION, n. 22). Becoming increasingly conservative, and attracting the ire of the feminists, Linton’s other attacks were levelled against women’s rights and “Modern Mothers” (*Saturday Review*, 29 Feb. 1868): “Not content with bewildering men’s minds, and emptying their husbands’ purses for the enhancement of their own charms,

women do the same by their children, and the mother who leaves the health, and mind, and temper, and purity of her offspring in the keeping of a hired nurse takes especial care of the colour and cut of the frocks and petticoats.”

²⁵ *fashion* after alluding to national stereotypes of feminine qualities, Linton turns to style and fashion as expressive of new modes of dress for advanced women. She mentions the chief characteristic of the society dresses of the period, the crinoline or frame of steel and cloth that held out women’s skirts in a wide dome-shape that gradually declined to a cone shape through the 1860s. Evening wear involved a train. Over the next two decades the hoops and train combined into various forms of the bustle, eventually spurned by the aesthetes and new women of the 1890s, themselves the objects of attack for innovations in fashion and lifestyle, especially with the advent of dress for sports and hygiene. See also GENDER: WOMAN QUESTION, n. 19 (WEB p. 83).



a nuisance and an inconvenience to every one she meets. . . . It was all very well in old-fashioned times, when fathers and mothers had some authority and were treated with respect, to be tutored and made to obey, but she is far too fast and flourishing to be stopped in mid-career by these slow old morals; and as she dresses to please herself, she does not care if she displeases every one else. Nothing is too extraordinary and nothing too exaggerated for her vitiated taste; and things which in themselves would be useful reforms if let alone become monstrosities worse than those which they have displaced so soon as she begins to manipulate and improve. If a sensible fashion lifts the gown out of the mud, she raises hers midway to her knee. If the absurd structure of wire and buckram, once called a bonnet, is modified to something that shall protect the wearer's face without putting out the eyes of her companion, she cuts hers down to four straws and a rosebud, or a tag of lace and a bunch of glass beads. . . .

This imitation of the *demi-monde*²⁶ in dress leads to something in manner and feeling, not quite so pronounced perhaps, but far too like to be honourable to herself or satisfactory to her friends. It leads to slang, bold talk, and fastness; to the love of pleasure and indifference to duty; to the desire of money before either love or happiness; to uselessness at home, dissatisfaction with the monotony of ordinary life, and horror of all useful work; in a word, to the worst forms of luxury and selfishness, to the most fatal effects arising from want of high principle and absence of tender feeling. The girl of the period envies the queens of the *demi-monde* far more than she abhors them. . . .

No one can say of the modern English girl that she is tender, loving, retiring, or domestic. . . . The legal barter of herself for so much money, representing so much dash, so much luxury and pleasure—that is her idea of marriage; the only idea worth entertaining. For all seriousness of thought respecting the duties or the consequences of marriage, she has not a trace. . . . If we must have only one kind of thing, let us have it genuine; and the queens of St. John's Wood in their unblushing honesty, rather than their imitators and make-believes in Bayswater and Belgravia.²⁷ For, at whatever cost of shocked self-love or pained modesty it may be, it cannot be too plainly told to the modern English girl that the net result of her present manner of life is to assimilate her as nearly as possible to a class of women whom we must not call by their proper—or improper—name. And we are willing to believe that she has still some modesty of soul left hidden under all this effrontery of fashion, and that, if she could be made to see herself as she appears to the eyes of men, she would mend her ways before too late. . . .

She thinks she is piquante and exciting when she thus makes herself the bad copy of a worse original; and she will not see that though men laugh with her they do not respect her, though they flirt with her they do not marry her; she will not believe that she is not the kind of thing they want, and that she is acting against nature and her own interests when she disregards their advice and offends their taste.

Notes

²⁶ *demi-monde* (Fr. half-world); a class of women imitating French courtesans on the outskirts of society, usually supported by wealthy lovers, who lived stylishly with lavish food, fashions, and parties.

²⁷ *St. John's Wood* . . . *Belgravia* these areas of London have particular connotations: St. John's Wood was a disreputable area where many wealthy men kept their mistresses in fancy houses. Bayswater was respectable; Belgravia, aristocratic.

Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936). "If—" (1910)²⁸

If you can keep your head when all about you
 Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;
 If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
 But make allowance for their doubting too;
 If you can wait and not be tired by waiting, 5
 Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,
 Or being hated don't give way to hating,
 And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise;

If you can dream—and not make dreams your master;
 If you can think—and not make thoughts your aim, 10
 If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster
 And treat those two impostors just the same;
 If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken
 Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,
 Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken, 15
 And stoop and build 'em up with worn-out tools;

If you can make one heap of all your winnings
 And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,²⁹
 And lose, and start again at your beginnings
 And never breathe a word about your loss; 20
 If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew
 To serve your turn long after they are gone,
 And so hold on when there is nothing in you
 Except the Will which says to them: "Hold on!"

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue, 25
 Or walk with Kings—nor lose the common touch,
 If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
 If all men count with you, but none too much;
 If you can fill the unforgiving minute
 With sixty seconds' worth of distance run, 30
 Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,
 And—which is more—you'll be a Man, my son!³⁰

Notes

²⁸ title written in 1895 in honour of Dr Leander Starr Jameson, who in 1895 led a raid against the Boers in South Africa. This action, later known as the Jameson Raid, was a major cause of the second Boer War (1899–1902). Taken out of its historical context, the poem is often interpreted to articulate ideal qualities of masculinity. First published

American Magazine (Oct. 1910); collected in *Rewards and Fairies* (1910), our text.

²⁹ *pitch-and-toss* a coin-tossing game.

³⁰ *my son* Kipling's only son John (born two years after the poem was written) would die in World War One at the Battle of Loos in 1915 at age 18.

2. The Woman Question

Sarah Stickney Ellis (1799–1872): *The Women of England* (1838)

From Chapter 2: "The Influence of the Women of England"¹



Figure 6 Thomas Allom (1804–72), *Female Influence*. In Sarah Stickney Ellis, *The Women of England*. (Illustrated edition 1845 [First ed. 1839]). Wood-block Engraving. 11 × 19 cm. Source: courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Library, University of Toronto. Thomas Allom usually worked with the publisher H. Fisher & Son (who published this engraving) and became a noted architect, architectural draughtsman, and watercolorist, much in demand.

It is therefore not only false in reasoning, but wrong in principle, for women to assert, as they not unfrequently do with a degree of puerile satisfaction, that they have no influence. An influence fraught either with good or evil, they must have; and though the one may be above their ambition, and the other beyond their fears, by neglecting to obtain an influence which shall be beneficial to society, they necessarily assume a bad one: just in the same proportion as their selfishness, indolence, or vacuity of mind, render them in youth an easy prey to every species of unamiable temper, in middle age the melancholy victims of mental disease, and, long before the curtain of death conceals their follies from the world, a burden and a bane to society at large.

Notes

THE WOMAN QUESTION

¹ title a bestseller with sixteen editions in Britain and America in three years. For Ellis, see this section, CONSTRUCTING, n. 5.

A superficial observer might with this class many of those exemplary women, who pass to and fro upon the earth with noiseless step, whose names are never heard, and who, even in society, if they attempt to speak, have scarcely the ability to command an attentive audience. Yet amongst this unpretending class are found striking and noble instances of women, who, apparently feeble and insignificant, when called into action by pressing and peculiar circumstances, can accomplish great and glorious purposes, supported and carried forward by that most valuable of all faculties—*moral power*.² . . .

It is not to be presumed that women *possess* more power than men; but happily for them, such are their early impressions, associations, and general position in the world, that their moral feelings are less liable to be impaired by the pecuniary objects which too often constitute the chief end of man, and which, even under the limitations of better principle, necessarily engage a large portion of his thoughts. There are many humble-minded women, not remarkable for any particular intellectual endowments, who yet possess so clear a sense of the right and wrong of individual actions, as to be of essential service in aiding the judgments of their husbands, brothers, or sons, in those intricate affairs in which it is sometimes difficult to dis sever worldly wisdom from religious duty.

To men belongs the potent (I had almost said the *omnipotent*) consideration of worldly aggrandisement; and it is constantly misleading their steps, closing their ears against the voice of conscience, and beguiling them with the promise of peace, where peace was never found. Long before the boy has learned to exult in the dignity of the man, his mind has become familiarized to the habit of investing with supreme importance, all considerations relating to the acquisition of wealth. He hears on the sabbath, and on stated occasions, when men meet for that especial purpose, of a God to be worshipped, a Saviour to be trusted in, and a holy law to be observed; but he sees before him, every day and every hour, a strife, which is nothing less than deadly to the highest impulses of the soul, after another god—the mammon of unrighteousness—the moloch³ of this world; and believing rather what men do, than what they preach, he learns too soon to mingle with the living mass, and to unite his labours with theirs. To unite? Alas! there is no union in the great field of action in which he is engaged; but envy and hatred, and opposition, to the close of the day. . . .

How often has man returned to his home with a mind confused by the many voices, which in the mart, the exchange, or the public assembly, have addressed themselves to his inborn selfishness, or his worldly pride; and while his integrity was shaken, and his resolution gave way beneath the pressure of apparent necessity, or the insidious pretences of expediency, he has stood corrected before the clear eye of woman, as it looked directly to the naked truth, and detected the lurking evil of the specious act he was about to commit. Nay, so potent may have become this secret influence, that he may have borne it about with him like a kind of second conscience, for mental reference, and spiritual counsel in moments of trial; and when the snares of the world were around him, and temptations from within and without have bribed over the witness in his own bosom, he has thought of the humble monitress who sat alone, guarding the fireside comforts of his distant home; and the remembrance of her character, clothed in moral beauty, has scattered the clouds before his mental vision, and sent him back to that beloved home, a wiser and a better man.

Notes

² *power* see this section, CONSTRUCTING, nn. 5 and 6; see also Figure 6.

³ *moloch* used in several places in the Bible; see, for instance, Leviticus 18: 21. Used poetically to signify a demanding or costly sacrifice.

Harriet Taylor (1807–58): From “The Enfranchisement of Women” in *Westminster Review* (July 1851)⁴

Most of our readers will probably learn from these pages for the first time, that there has arisen in the United States, and in the most civilized and enlightened portion of them, an organised agitation on a new question—new, not to thinkers, nor to any one by whom the principles of free and popular government are felt as well as acknowledged, but new, and even unheard of, as a subject for public meetings and practical political action.⁵ This question is, the enfranchisement of women; their admission, in law and in fact, to equality in all rights, political, civil, and social, with the male citizens of the community. . . .

When a prejudice, which has any hold on the feelings, finds itself reduced to the unpleasant necessity of assigning reasons, it thinks it has done enough when it has re-asserted the very point in dispute, in phrases which appeal to the pre-existing feeling. Thus, many persons think they have sufficiently justified the restrictions on women’s field of action, when they have said that the pursuits from which women are excluded are *unfeminine*, and that the *proper sphere* of women is not politics or publicity, but private and domestic life.

We deny the right of any portion of the species to decide for another portion, or any individual for another individual, what is and what is not their “proper sphere.” The proper sphere for all human beings is the largest and highest which they are able to attain to. . . .

We shall follow the very proper example of the Convention, in not entering into the question of the alleged differences in physical or mental qualities between the sexes; not because we have nothing to say, but because we have too much. . . . But if those who assert that the “proper sphere” for women is the domestic, mean by this that they have not shown themselves qualified for any other, the assertion evinces great ignorance of life and of history. Women have shown fitness for the highest social functions, exactly in proportion as they have been admitted to them. . . .

Concerning the fitness, then, of women for politics, there can be no question: but the dispute is more likely to turn upon the fitness of politics for women. When the reasons alleged for excluding women from active life in all its higher departments, are stripped of their garb of declamatory phrases, and reduced to the simple expression of a meaning, they seem to be mainly three: the incompatibility of active life with maternity, and with the cares of a household; secondly, its alleged hardening effect on the character; and thirdly, the inexpediency of making an addition to the already excessive pressure of competition in every kind of professional or lucrative employment. . . .

But, in truth, none of these arguments and considerations touch the foundations of the subject. The real question is, whether it is right and expedient that one-half of the human race should pass through life in a state of forced subordination to the other half. If the best state of human society is that of being divided into two parts, one consisting of persons with a will and a substantive existence, the other of humble companions to these persons, attached, each of them to one, for the purpose of bringing up *his* children, and making *his* home pleasant to him; if this is the place assigned to women, it is but kindness to educate them for this; to make them believe that the greatest good fortune which can befall them, is to be chosen by some man for this purpose; and that every other career

Notes

⁴ *title* this essay first appeared anonymously, soon after Taylor’s marriage to John Stuart Mill in April, 1851. It was reprinted in Mill’s *Dissertations and Discussions* (1859) and was often wrongly attributed to him. It was published as a pamphlet by the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies (1868).

⁵ *action* Taylor refers to “a Convention of Women, held in the State of Ohio, in the spring of 1850. Of this meeting

we have seen no report. On the 23rd and 24th of October last, a succession of public meetings was held at Worcester in Massachusetts, under the name of a “Women’s Rights Convention.” She cites a newspaper account of the latter by Jacob Gilbert Forman, “Women’s Rights Convention at Worcester, Mass.” (*New York Daily Tribune*, 26 Oct. 1850).

which the world deems happy or honourable, is closed to them by the law, not of social institutions, but of nature and destiny.

When, however, we ask why the existence of one-half the species should be merely ancillary to that of the other—why each woman should be a mere appendage to a man, allowed to have no interests of her own, that there may be nothing to compete in her mind with his interests and his pleasure; the only reason which can be given is, that men like it. It is agreeable to them that men should live for their own sake, women for the sake of men: and the qualities and conduct in subjects which are agreeable to rulers, they succeed for a long time in making the subjects themselves consider as their appropriate virtues. . . .

There are indications that the example of America will be followed on this side of the Atlantic; and the first step has been taken in that part of England where every serious movement in the direction of political progress has its commencement—the manufacturing districts of the North. On the 13th of February 1851, a petition of women, agreed to by a public meeting at Sheffield, and claiming the elective franchise, was presented to the House of Lords by the Earl of Carlisle.⁶

Caroline Norton (1808–77): From *A Letter to the Queen on Lord Chancellor Cranworth's Marriage and Divorce Bill* (1855)⁷

Madam,—I will not do your Majesty the injustice of supposing, that the very different aspect the law wears in England for the female sovereign and the female subject, must render you indifferent to what those subjects may suffer; or what reform may be proposed, in the rules more immediately affecting them. I therefore submit a brief and familiar exposition of the laws relating to women,—as taught and practised in those Inns of Court, where your Majesty received homage, and Prince Albert was elected a Benchman.⁸

Notes

⁶ Carlisle see *A Petition of the Female Inhabitants of the Borough of Sheffield in the County of York, in Public Meeting Assembled, Praying Their Lordships to Take into Their Serious Consideration the Propriety of Enacting an Electoral Law which Will Include Adult Females within Its Provisions* (13 Feb. 1851), *Journals of the House of Lords*, Vol. 83, 23.

⁷ title to obtain a divorce in mid-Victorian Britain, one had first to obtain a decree of divorce *a mensa et thoro* (Lat. from table and bed) from the ecclesiastical courts (not a dissolving of the marriage, but a kind of separation). Then a husband had to win a case against the wife's lover(s) in a civil court for "criminal conversation" by proving the wife's adultery with them. Only then could a case be brought forward in the House of Lords, the only court that could grant a divorce—all at great cost. A Royal Commission of 1850 recommended the formation of a divorce court to hear matrimonial cases, but only in the case of a wife's adultery would the marriage be dissolved; divorce *a mensa et thoro* would then be available to wives and husbands, but only on the grounds of adultery, gross cruelty, or extended desertion.

Lord Cranworth proposed a bill with these provisions in June 1854 but it died after the second reading. When the bill was reintroduced in 1856, Norton's "Letter" had provoked a sensation, arousing opposition to the entrenched double standard and garnering support for a married women's property bill. As it stood, according to common law any legacy, income, or property of a married woman separated from her husband belonged to her husband; it

could be seized, along with her children, and it could be conferred upon his mistress. The underlying concept in law was the idea of "coverture," that at marriage a woman's legal rights and obligations were merged with those of her husband: she was known as a *feme covert* (Norman Fr. covered woman); before that, an unmarried woman was known in law as a *feme sole* (Norman Fr. single woman). William Blackstone in his *Commentary on the Laws of England* (1765–69) writes, "By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband: under whose wing, protection, and cover, she performs every thing; and is therefore called in our law-French a *feme-covert*." In 1856 there were two amendments, one allowing women legally separated by the ecclesiastical courts to be treated as a *feme sole*, able to own their own property and undertake contracts; and that a woman deserted by her husband could go before a magistrate to be declared a *feme sole*; both amendments were incorporated into the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, which removed divorce from the ecclesiastical courts to the civil courts, but otherwise its stipulations continued. The Married Women's Property Act (1870) allowed a woman to own outright any wages or property she earned by her own work, and in 1882 the act was extended to cover all property, including inheritance, investment, or gift, whenever given.

A married woman in England has *no legal existence*: her being is absorbed in that of her husband. Years of separation or desertion cannot alter this position. Unless divorced by special enactment in the House of Lords, the legal fiction holds her to be “one” with her husband, even though she may never see or hear of him.

She has no possessions, unless by special settlement; her property is *his* property. . . . An English wife has no legal right even to her clothes or ornaments; her husband may take them and sell them if he pleases, even though they be the gifts of relatives or friends, or bought before marriage.

An English wife cannot make a will. She may have children or kindred whom she may earnestly desire to benefit;—she may be separated from her husband, who may be living with a mistress; no matter: the law gives what she has to him, and no will she could make would be valid.

An English wife cannot legally claim her own earnings. Whether wages for manual labour, or payment for intellectual exertion, whether she weed potatoes, or keep a school, her salary is *the husband’s*; and he could compel a second payment, and treat the first as void, if paid to the wife without his sanction.

An English wife may not leave her husband’s house. Not only can he sue her for “restitution of conjugal rights,” but he has a right to enter the house of any friend or relation with whom she may take refuge, and who may “harbour her,”—as it is termed,—and carry her away by force, with or without the aid of the police.

If the wife sue for separation for cruelty, it must be “cruelty that endangers life or limb,” and if she has once forgiven, or, in legal phrase, “condoned” his offences, she cannot plead them; though her past forgiveness only proves that she endured as long as endurance was possible.

If her husband take proceedings for a divorce, she is not, in the first instance, allowed to defend herself. She has no means of proving the falsehood of his allegations. She is not represented by attorney, nor permitted to be considered a party to the suit between him and her supposed lover, for “damages.” . . .

If an English wife be guilty of infidelity, her husband can divorce *her* so as to marry again; but she cannot divorce the husband *a vinculo*,⁹ however profligate he may be. No law court can divorce in England. A special Act of Parliament annulling the marriage, is passed for each case. The House of Lords grants this almost as a matter of course to the husband, but not to the wife. In only four instances (two of which were cases of incest), has the wife obtained a divorce to marry again.¹⁰ . . .

Notes

After her husband abducted her three sons (when the criminal conversation accusations failed and divorce became impossible (see n. 12)), Norton set out to change the law and was successful in gaining support to have the Infant Custody Act passed in 1839. It gave custody for children under 7 to the mother, and the non-custodial parent access, the first notable act to gain for women some rights over entrenched patriarchal authority. However, Norton did not gain from it, since her husband removed her children to Scotland, where the act did not apply.

⁸ *Bencher* Queen Victoria opened the new hall for Lincoln’s Inn at the Inns of Court, the law societies of Great Britain,

on 30 October 1845, and Prince Albert became a member of the Inn; on 30 November he was elected to be called to the Bar, and on 12 January 1846 he had accepted and became a Bencher or “Master of the Bench,” a senior member of one of the Inns of Court.

⁹ *a vinculo* (Lat. abbreviation for *a vinculo matrimonii*, from the bond of marriage).

¹⁰ *again* in 1801 Mrs Addison won her case in the House of Lords because of her husband’s incestuous adultery with her married sister; the other three cases were brought by Louisa Turton (1831), again because of incest with her sister, Anne Battersby (1840) and Georgina Hall (1850), both because of adultery aggravated by bigamy.

From the date of my mother's death,¹¹ he [Mr. Norton] has withheld entirely, and with perfect impunity, my income as his wife. I do not receive, and have not received for the last three years, a single farthing from him.¹² He retains, and always has retained, property that was left in my home—gifts made to me by my own family on my marriage, and to my mother by your Majesty's aunt, H.R.H. the Duchess of York;—articles bought from my literary earnings,—books which belonged to Lord Melbourne; and, in particular, a manuscript of which Lord Melbourne himself was the author, (when a very young man,) which Mr Norton resolutely refused to give up.

He receives from my trustees the interest of the portion bequeathed me by my father, who died in the public service, holding an official appointment at the Cape of Good Hope, leaving a family of very young orphans, slenderly provided for. . . . Yet such portion as he was able to leave me, goes from the "non-existent" wife, to the existent husband, in the general trust-fund of our marriage.

I have also (as Mr Norton impressed on me, by subpcœnaing my publishers) the power of earning, by literature,—which fund (though it be the grant of Heaven, and not the legacy of earth) is no more legally mine than my family property.

Now again, I say, is or is not this a ridiculous law (if laws be made to conduct to justice)? I cannot divorce my husband, either for adultery, desertion, or cruelty; I *must* remain married to *his name*; he has, in right of that fact (of my link to his name), a right to everything I have in the world—and I have no more claim upon *him*, than any one of your Majesty's ladies in waiting, who are utter strangers to him! I never see him:—I hear of him only by attacks on my reputation:—and I do not receive a farthing of support from him. . . .

But let the recollection of what I write, remain with . . . the one woman in England who *cannot* suffer wrong; . . . [where] with a Queen on the throne, all other married women are legally NON-EXISTENT. I remain, With the sincerest loyalty and respect, Your Majesty's humble and devoted Subject and Servant,

CAROLINE ELIZABETH SARAH NORTON.

Notes

¹¹ *death* Norton's mother was Caroline Henrietta Sheridan (née Callander) (1779–1851), who had married Thomas Sheridan, a colonial treasurer in the Cape of Good Hope. After his death she received a small pension and, by courtesy of the Prince Regent, rooms in Hampton Court Palace. She published three novels.

¹² *him* Norton married the Hon. George Chapple Norton (1800–75), brother of Lord Grantley, on 30 June 1827. He was educated as a barrister but did not practice. Thanks to the intervention of his wife on his behalf with the Whig prime minister, Lord Melbourne (1779–1848), he was awarded a stipendiary police magistracy for Lambeth at £1,000 p.a. In the case of *Norton v. Melbourne* (1836), Norton, a Tory, hoped to make £10,000 in damages by accusing Melbourne of "criminal conversation" (sexual intimacy) with his wife, the first step in moving towards divorce. The case was thrown out because of lack of evidence, when George Norton's witnesses were discredited as having been hired. However, the case damaged his wife's reputation, and, because of Melbourne's involve-

ment, almost caused the government to fall. Although Norton had contracted to give his wife an allowance of £500 a year, he did not pay, and so she tried to charge her expenses to his accounts. In August 1853 Caroline Norton followed legal advice and allowed her creditors to sue her husband. From 20 August on, *The Times* reported on the case of her coachbuilders, in *Thrupp v. Norton*, focusing on the details of her and her publishers' being subpoenaed, and the details of their financial dealings, her loss to him of her legacy from her father and mother as well as that from Lord Melbourne, her earnings through writing (she was a respected poet and novelist, and contributed many articles to Victorian periodicals), and his failure to follow the terms of a contract he had signed. George Norton also had brought up in court the old Melbourne slander that he had provoked in June 1835; however, doing so damaged him more than his wife. Nevertheless, the husband still retained the rights of all property and income of his wife. George Meredith modelled some aspects of his heroine in *Diana of the Crossways* on Norton.

Harriet Martineau (1802–76), Florence Nightingale (1820–1910), Josephine Butler (1828–1906), and others: “Manifesto” of “The Ladies’ National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts” in *Daily News* (31 Dec. 1869)¹³

There are two Acts of Parliament—one passed in 1866, the other in 1869—called the Contagious Diseases Acts.¹⁴ These Acts are in force in some of our garrison towns, and in large districts around them. Unlike all other laws for the repression of contagious diseases, to which both men and women are liable, these two apply to women only, men being wholly exempt from their penalties.¹⁵ The law is ostensibly framed for a certain class of women, but in order to reach these, all the women residing within the districts where it is in force are brought under the provisions of the Acts. Any woman can be dragged into court, and required to prove that she is not a common prostitute. The magistrate can condemn her, if a policeman swears only that he “has good cause to believe” her to be one. The accused has to rebut, not positive evidence, but the state of mind of her accuser.¹⁶ When condemned, the sentence is as follows:—To have her person outraged by the periodical inspection of a surgeon, through a period of twelve months; or, resisting that, to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour—first for a month, next for three months—such imprisonment to be continuously renewed through her whole life unless she submit periodically to the brutal requirements of this law. Women arrested under false accusations have been so terrified at the idea of encountering the public trial

Notes

¹³ *title* this letter to the press was in fact an appeal to others to join what Josephine Butler later called “The Great Crusade.” It caused a sensation; it was the first time British women took an active role in political debate apart from men. The *Saturday Review* dismissed the women as “the shrieking sisterhood” (19 Mar. 1870; see this section, WOMAN QUESTION, n. 22); the rest of the press joined what Butler called a “conspiracy of silence,” led by *The Times* (staunchly pro-Acts)—until 1874. Accordingly, the Ladies’ National Association (LNA) established its own journal, the *Shield*. The members of the LNA began a vigorous publication program of their own, including circulars, leaflets, and pamphlets, while Josephine Butler became president of the LNA, speaking throughout England to huge gatherings of working men. Branches were founded in every major city.

¹⁴ *Acts* a Royal Commission on the Health of the Army (1857), in the aftermath of the Crimean War, reported huge numbers of hospitalizations for venereal disease and recommended a special police force in garrison towns with powers to arrest, examine, and hospitalize women suspected of being common prostitutes. The government prepared a bill in secrecy in 1864; it was introduced in the Commons late on July 20, passed on July 21, took a week in the Lords and became law on July 29 without a word of debate in either house (27–28 *Vict.*, c. 85). In 1866 a second Act was passed, removing the temporary status from the previous bill, making the procedures permanent, and adding Chatham and Windsor to the eleven previous towns. The third Act of 1869 extended coverage to eighteen towns, based largely on a report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons that refused to hear evidence in opposition to the Acts. The Acts allowed special morals police to obtain warrants from a justice of the peace to

apprehend any woman suspected of being a “common prostitute” for an internal physical examination with instruments (if pregnant up to the seventh month). If infected, she was sent to a lock hospital for nine months, and if free of disease, she was issued a certificate, but had to be re-examined every two weeks. Supported by the *British Medical Journal* and *The Lancet*, there was talk of extending the legislation to the whole country.

¹⁵ *penalties* the Acts enforced a double standard, while turning a blind eye to the men infected and their culpability in transmitting disease to women.

¹⁶ *accuser* governesses, seamstresses, and other working women could fall under the law, as in this evidence to the 1868 Parliamentary Committee: “Mr. E. K. Parsons, visiting surgeon of the Portsmouth Lock Hospital, was examined by the Committee, and asked whether, if the police by error bring up a really modest woman to the surgeon, mistaking her for a harlot, the woman signs a voluntary paper before the surgeon examines her. He replies: ‘Yes, they all sign a voluntary submission, unless sent by order of a magistrate.’ The questioner continues, ‘But a modest woman would decline to sign that paper, would she not?’ Reply: ‘No; for this reason. The police, believing in the correctness of their own impression say, very well, if you do not sign then you go to the bench. And then the woman says in order to avoid that—Well, I do not mind going into a private room and speaking to Mr. Parsons. And she will sign the voluntary submission.’ Question—‘Therefore they (really honest women) sign a voluntary submission, under the fear of being taken before the magistrate!’ Reply—‘Unquestionably.’ Mr. Parsons also says that the police are very apt to jump to the conclusion that a woman is a prostitute if they see her out at night.” See Plate 7.

necessary to prove their innocence, that they have, under the intimidation of the police, signed away their good name and their liberty by making what is called a “voluntary submission” to appear periodically for twelve months for surgical examination. . . .

We, the undersigned, enter our solemn protest against these Acts—

1. Because, involving as they do, such a momentous change in the legal safeguards hitherto enjoyed by women in common with men, they have been passed, not only without the knowledge of the country, but unknown to Parliament itself; and we hold that neither the representatives of the people nor the press fulfil the duties which are expected of them, when they allow such legislation to take place without the fullest discussion.¹⁷

2. Because, so far as women are concerned, they remove every guarantee of personal security which the law has established and held sacred, and put their reputation, their freedom, and their persons absolutely in the power of the police.

3. Because the law is bound, in any country professing to give civil liberty to its subjects, to define clearly an offence which it punishes.¹⁸

4. Because it is unjust to punish the sex who are the victims of a vice, and leave unpunished the sex who are the main cause, both of the vice and its dreaded consequence; and we consider that liability to arrest, forced surgical examination, and where this is resisted, imprisonment with hard labour, to which these Acts subject women, are punishments of the most degrading kind. . . .

6. Because these measures are cruel to the women who come under their action—violating the feelings of those whose sense of shame is not wholly lost, and further brutalizing even the most abandoned.

7. Because the disease which these Acts seek to remove has never been removed by any such legislation. The advocates of the system have utterly failed to show, by statistics or otherwise, that these regulations have in any case, after several years’ trial, and when applied to one sex only, diminished disease, reclaimed the fallen, or improved the general morality of the country. We have, on the contrary, the strongest evidence to show that in Paris and other continental cities, where women have long been outraged by this forced inspection, the public health and morals are worse than at home.¹⁹

8. Because the conditions of this disease, in the first instance, are moral not physical. The moral evil through which the disease makes its way separates the case entirely from that of the plague or other scourges, which have been placed under police control or sanitary care. We hold that we are bound, before rushing into the experiment of legalising a revolting vice, to try to deal with the causes of the evil, and we dare to believe that with wiser teaching and more capable legislation those causes would not be beyond control.

Notes

¹⁷ *discussion* a reference to the lack of parliamentary debate and the exclusion of hostile witnesses from parliamentary committees. However, at the Social Science Congress meeting in Bristol in October 1869, Dr Charles Bell Taylor (1829–1909) brought forward hard evidence against the success of the Acts and Francis Newman (1805–97) eventually managed to have the Acts discussed, though only men were allowed into the meeting. Soon after the National Association for Repeal was formed with Newman, John Stuart Mill, and F. D. Maurice on the general committee, but by December the LNA took over the campaign, publishing evidence from the Rescue Societies, hospitals, doctors, and prostitutes, contesting elections, provoking a Royal Commission in 1870 that responded: “There is no comparison to be made between prostitutes and the men who consort with them. With the one sex the offence is committed as a matter of gain, with the other it is an irregular indulgence of a *natural* impulse.”

¹⁸ *punishes* being a “common prostitute” was defined in law as an offence.

¹⁹ *home* the LNA eventually managed to present evidence to parliament, and made the public aware of the failure of the Acts in a campaign of education and agitation. Dr Garth Wilkinson (1812–99) recounted direct evidence in *The Forcible Introspection of Women* (1870), as did William Logan (1813–79) in his guide to the literature on prostitution, *The Great Social Evil* (1871); Josephine Butler published ten works between 1870 and 1872. After a crisis in Gladstone’s cabinet in 1874, James Stansfield (1820–98) resigned as president of the Local Government Board to become vice-president of the National Association, and it was he who introduced a bill stopping compulsory examination of women in 1883; final repeal came in 1886, though the Acts continued in the British colonies until 1895.

[signed] Harriet Martineau, Florence Nightingale, Josephine E. Butler, Elizabeth Garrett, Lydia Becker, Elizabeth C. Wolstenholme [and 122 more names]

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Margaret Oliphant (1828–97): From “[Review of] Mill’s *Subjection of Women*” (1869)
[Anon.] “The Woman of the Future: *A Lay of the Oxford Victory*” (1884)

Sarah Grand (1854–1943): From “The New Aspect of the Woman Question” in *North American Review* (Mar. 1894)²⁰

It is amusing as well as interesting to note the pause which the new aspect of the woman question has given to the Bawling Brothers²¹ who have hitherto tried to howl down every attempt on the part of our sex to make the world a pleasanter place to live in. That woman should ape man and desire to change places with him was conceivable to him as he stood on the hearth-rug in his lord-and-master-monarch-of-all-I-survey attitude, well inflated with his own conceit; but that she should be content to develop the good material which she finds in herself and be only dissatisfied with the poor quality of that which is being offered to her in man, her mate, must appear to him to be a thing as monstrous as it is unaccountable. . . .

It would be as rational for us now to declare that men generally are Bawling Brothers or to adopt the hasty conclusion which makes all men out to be fiends on the one hand and all women fools on the other. We have our Shrieking Sisterhood,²² as the counterpart of the Bawling Brotherhood. . . . Both the cow-woman and the scum-woman,²³ are well within range of the comprehension of the Bawling Brotherhood, but the new woman²⁴ is a little above him, and he never even thought of looking up to where she has been sitting apart in silent contemplation all these years, thinking and thinking, until at last she

Notes

²⁰ title the *North American Review* was the first American mass-circulation literary magazine. The by-line identifying the author referred to her as “Sarah Grand, author of *The Heavenly Twins*,” her novel published in 1893. Frances Bellenden McFall (née Clarke) took the name “Madam Sarah Grand” in 1890 when she left her doctor husband to pursue her writing career, in which she was a prominent advocate of the “New Woman” social and political movement. The term “New Woman” was applied to women of the 1890s through to World War One who advocated female independence as a lifestyle rather than the campaign for the vote; it was marked by dress reform (for work and leisure, such as bicycling and sports), sexual freedom (downplaying marriage), and disregard for social conventions. The new woman was often mocked and attacked by anti-feminists in cartoons, novels, and the popular press.

²¹ *Brothers* Grand coined the phrase “Bawling Brotherhood” to counter Linton’s mocking characterization of feminists (see n. 22).

²² *Sisterhood* see Eliza Lynn Linton, “The Shrieking Sisterhood,” *Saturday Review* (12 Mar. 1870): “The silent woman who quietly calculated her chances and measures her powers with her difficulties so as to avoid the possibility of a fiasco, and therefore achieves a success according to her endeavour, does more for the real emancipation of her sex than any amount of pamphleteering, lecturing, or petitioning by the shrieking sisterhood can do.” See also this section, *CONSTRUCTING*, n. 24.

²³ *cow . . . woman* that is, they are treated either as breeding cattle or as prostitutes.

²⁴ *woman* although Grand is often credited with coining the term in this essay, she first used it earlier (see n. 20). It then appeared on 17 August 1893 in the *Women’s Herald* in an article, “The Social Standing of the New Woman,” and was repeated in the following March in this article.

solved the problem and proclaimed for herself what was wrong with Home-is-the-Woman's-Sphere, and prescribed the remedy.

What she perceived at the outset was the sudden and violent upheaval of the suffering sex in all parts of the world. Women were awaking from their long apathy, and, as they awoke, like healthy hungry children unable to articulate, they began to whimper for they knew not what. They might have been easily satisfied at that time had not society, like an ill-conditioned and ignorant nurse, instead of finding out what they lacked, shaken them and beaten them and stormed at them until what was once a little wail became convulsive shrieks and roused up the whole human household. Then man, disturbed by the uproar, came upstairs all anger and irritation, and, without waiting to learn what was the matter, added his own old theories to the din, but, finding they did not act rapidly, formed new ones, and made an intolerable nuisance of himself with his opinions and advice. . . .

The man of the future will be better, while the woman will be stronger and wiser. To bring this about is the whole aim and object of the present struggle, and with the discovery of the means lies the solution of the Woman Question. Man, having no conception of himself as imperfect from the woman's point of view, will find this difficult to understand, but we know his weakness, and will be patient with him, and help him with his lesson. It is the woman's place and pride and pleasure to teach the child, and man morally is in his infancy. There have been times when there was a doubt as to whether he was to be raised or woman was to be lowered, but we have turned that corner at last; and now woman holds out a strong hand to the child-man, and insists, but with infinite tenderness and pity, upon helping him up. . . .

We have been reproached by Ruskin²⁵ for shutting ourselves up behind park palings and garden walls, regardless of the waste world that moans in misery without, and that has been too much our attitude; but the day of our acquiescence is over. There is that in ourselves which forces us out of our apathy; we have no choice in the matter. When we hear the "Help! help! help!" of the desolate and the oppressed, and still more when we see the awful dumb despair of those who have lost even the hope of help, we must respond. This is often inconvenient to man, especially when he has seized upon a defenceless victim whom he would have destroyed had we not come to the rescue; and so, because it is inconvenient to be exposed and thwarted, he snarls about the end of all true womanliness, cants on the subject of the Sphere, and threatens that if we do not sit still at home with cotton-wool in our ears so that we cannot be stirred into having our sympathies aroused by his victims when they shriek, and with shades over our eyes that we may not see him in his degradation, we shall be afflicted with short hair, coarse skins, unsymmetrical figures, loud voices, tastelessness in dress, and an unattractive appearance and character generally, and then he will not love us any more or marry us. And this is one of the most amusing of his threats, because he has said and proved on so many occasions that he cannot live without us whatever we are. O man! man! you are a very funny fellow now we know you! But take care. The standard of your pleasure and convenience has already ceased to be our conscience. On one point, however, you may reassure yourself. True womanliness is not in danger, and the sacred duties of wife and mother will be all the more honorably performed when women have a reasonable hope of becoming wives and mothers of *men*. But there is the difficulty. The trouble is not because women are man-nish, but because men grow ever more effeminate. Manliness is at a premium now because there is so little of it, and we are accused of aping men in order to conceal the side from which the contrast should evidently be drawn.

Notes



²⁵ Ruskin see GENDER: CONSTRUCTING; RUSKIN (WEB p. 77).

Sydney Grundy (1848–1914): *The New Woman* (1894)From Act 1²⁶

SYLVESTER: Yes, I am Mrs. Sylvester's husband. I belong to my wife, but my wife doesn't belong to me. She is the property of the public. Directly I saw her photograph in a shop-window I realized the situation. People tell me I've a wife to be proud of; but they're wrong. Mrs. Sylvester is not my wife; I am her husband.

COLONEL: [*taking up a book*] This is what comes of educating women. We have created a Frankenstein. "*Man, the Betrayer*²⁷—*A Study of the Sexes*—by Enid Bethune."

SYLVESTER: Oh, I know her. She comes to our house.

COLONEL: And has a man betrayed her?

SYLVESTER: Never. Not likely to.

COLONEL: That's what's the matter, perhaps?

SYLVESTER: Her theory is, that boys ought to be girls, and young men should be maids. [*Colonel throws down the book.*] That's how she'd equalize the sexes.

COLONEL: Pshaw! [*Takes up another book.*] "*Ye Foolish Virgins!*—*A Remonstrance*—by Victoria Vivash."²⁸

SYLVESTER: Another soul! She's also for equality. Her theory is, that girls should be boys, and maids should be young men. Goes in for latchkeys and that sort of thing.

COLONEL: [*throws down the book*] Bah! [*Takes up a third.*] "*Naked and Unashamed*²⁹—*A Few Plain Facts and Figures*—by Mary Bevan, M.D." Who on earth's she?

SYLVESTER: One of the plain figures. *She* comes to our house, too.

COLONEL: [*reads*] "*The Physiology of the Sexes*"! Oh, this eternal babble of the sexes! [*Throws book down.*] Why can't a woman be content to be a woman? What does she want to make a beastly man of herself for?

SYLVESTER: But my wife isn't a woman.

COLONEL: None of them are, my boy. A woman, who is a woman, doesn't want to be anything else. These people are a sex of their own, Sylvester. They have invented a new gender. . . .

[*Enter Enid and Victoria, in hot argument. . . .*]

ENID: I can't agree with you! Say what you will, I can't agree with you!

VICTORIA: That doesn't alter the fact. A woman has just as much right to a latchkey³⁰ as a man.

Notes

²⁶ title produced at the Comedy Theatre in London, 1 September 1894, this drawing room drama, a four-act comedy with no scene divisions, centres on four progressive women who challenge conventional sexual roles, and who are ridiculed by Grundy as only needing a man to bring them into social conformity. In Alfred Morrow's poster for the play, the "New Woman" of the title sits smoking a cigarette with a number of books scattered at her feet, among which is one with the title *The New Woman* (see Plate 6). This play can be compared to Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1892), and Arthur Wing Pinero's *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* (1893) and *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith* (1895) for contemporaneous representations of the New Woman.

²⁷ *Man the Betrayer* the phrase is used by Jeanette Leonard Bilder in *The Critic* (vol. 42 1894).

²⁸ *Vivash* the character is modelled on a popular author of New Woman stories, George Egerton (Mary Chaelita Dunne Bright, 1859–1945), who in *Keynotes* (1893) and

Discords (1894) caused a scandal by representing liberated woman as demanding sexual parity with men. The title of her book echoes Matthew 25: 1–13.

²⁹ *Unashamed* the phrase "naked and unashamed" (see Genesis 2: 25) occurred in an essay on "Reticence in Literature" by Arthur Waugh (1866–1943) in the first number of *The Yellow Book* (Apr. 1894), a publication in which George Egerton (see n. 28) wrote and for which Aubrey Beardsley (1872–98) was the first art editor. There were about 100 female doctors in London during the period.

³⁰ *latchkey* house key, a symbol of a woman's freedom to come and go at will. Perhaps there is also a reference to publisher John Lane's series of "Keynotes," and especially to the short stories by George Egerton (see n. 28) who published *Keynotes* (1893) in the series that artist Aubrey Beardsley illustrated with initial keys in black and white.

ENID: But a man has no right to a latchkey.

VICTORIA: That's ridiculous!

ENID: Rudeness is not argument!

VICTORIA: Why make distinctions?

ENID: I make no distinctions. I admit that a woman has just as much right to come home with the milk³¹ as a man but I say, a man has no right to come home with the milk; and I say more—no woman who respects herself has any *desire* to come home with the milk!

VICTORIA: Bother the milk! It isn't a question of milk. It's a question of making artificial distinctions between the sexes.

ENID: I say that there ought to be *no* distinction! Why should a man be allowed to commit sins—

VICTORIA: And woman not be given an opportunity?

ENID: Then do you *want* to commit sins?

VICTORIA: I want to be allowed to do as *men* do.

ENID: Then you ought to be ashamed of yourself; there!

VICTORIA: I only say, I ought to be allowed.

ENID: And *I* say that a man, reeking with infamy, ought not to be allowed to marry a pure girl—

VICTORIA: Certainly not! *She* ought to reek with infamy as well.

ENID: Victoria! [*Knock without.*]

VICTORIA: What is the difference between man and woman?

ENID: There is *no* difference! . . .

LADY WARGRAVE: Excuse my ignorance, but I have been away from England for so many years. Can this be the New Woman I have read about?

COLONEL: Everything's New nowadays! We have a New Art³²—

ENID: A New Journalism³³—

VICTORIA: A New Political Economy—

DOCTOR: A New Morality—

COLONEL: A New Sex!

LADY WARGRAVE: [*smiling*] Ah!

DOCTOR: Do you object to modernity?

LADY WARGRAVE: I've only one objection to new things; they are so old.

VICTORIA: Not the New Woman!

LADY WARGRAVE: No; *she* is generally middle-aged. . . .



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Ouida [Marie Louise de la Ramée] (1839–1908): From “The New Woman” (1894)

Notes

³¹ *milk* stay out very late; milk was delivered in London very early in the morning to be in time to be prepared by the servants for breakfast. Enid's character is based on the New Woman novelist and essayist Sarah Grand (Frances Elizabeth McFall, 1854–1943), who advocated social purity and sexual chastity (see this section, WOMAN QUESTION, n. 20).

³² *new art* an article in the *Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1895) on the plays of Arthur Wing Pinero and others begins, “Novelty is the keynote of the dying century. With the ‘New Woman’ and the ‘New Humour’ we have also the ‘New Drama.’ It is the way of expiring centuries, when phase is

arbitrarily mistaken for finality, and growth readily regarded as departure.” “New Art” is a translation of the French phrase for the art of the 1890s, *art nouveau*, an international aesthetic movement in design involving architecture, furniture, graphic arts, book design, and clothes, made fashionable in interior design in London by the firm of Liberty. It developed out of the Arts and Crafts movement of the 1880s; also known as *Jugendstil* (Ger. young style) in Germany.

³³ *new journalism* a term used by Matthew Arnold in “Up to Easter” (1887), an attack on W. T. Stead's *Pall Mall Gazette*.

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3. Sex and Sexuality

Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–61) and Robert Browning (1812–89): From *The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (1898)

Letters of 1845–46

William Rathbone Greg (1809–81): From “Prostitution” (1850)

Hannah Cullwick (1833–1909): From *Diaries* (1863–73)

Arthur Joseph Munby (1828–1910): From *Diaries* (1873)

Thomas Hardy (1840–1928): *Desperate Remedies* (1871)

From Volume 1, Chapter 6: “The Events of Twelve Hours”

[Anon.] *The Pearl: A Journal of Facetiæ and Voluptuous Reading* (1879)

“AN APOLOGY FOR OUR TITLE”

W. T. Stead (1849–1912): From “Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” (1885)

“A Child of Thirteen Bought for £5”

Henry Labouchère (1831–1912): Amendment to the Criminal Law Amendment

Act 1885

John Addington Symonds (1840–93): *A Problem in Modern Ethics* (1891)

From Chapter 10: “Suggestions on the Subject of Sexual Inversion in Relation to Law and Education”

Henry Havelock Ellis (1859–1939): *Man and Woman: A Study of Human Secondary Sexual Characters* (1894)

From Chapter 18: “Conclusion”

Lord Alfred Douglas (1870–1945): From *The Chameleon*

“Two Loves” (1894)

“In Praise of Shame” (1894)

The Trials of Oscar Wilde (1895)

The Libel Trial

The First Criminal Trial

The Second Criminal Trial

Literature and the Arts

Introduction

When Robert Braithwaite Martineau (1826–69) exhibited his painting *Kit's Writing Lesson* at the RA in 1852 (see Plate 8), he doubtless assumed the public could identify its allusion to one of the most popular books of the day, Dickens's *The Old Curiosity Shop*, which had come out more than ten years earlier (1840–41). But rather than painting the famous scene that had aroused most public sympathy – the death of Little Nell – Martineau paints the scene when Nell Trent teaches writing to young Kit Nubbles, a poor workshop boy.

Dickens describes the scene:

The child ... soon occupied herself in preparations for giving Kit a writing lesson.... When he did sit down he tucked up his sleeves and squared his elbows and put his face close to the copy-book and squinted horribly at the lines—how from the very first moment of having the pen in his hand, he began to wallow in blots, and to daub himself with ink up to the very roots of his hair—how if he did by accident form a letter properly, he immediately smeared it out again with his arm in his preparations to make another... and how there was all the way through, notwithstanding, a gentle wish on her part to teach, and an anxious desire on his to learn (ch. 3).

The interior of the Old Curiosity Shop itself had already been drawn twice: the first time, in the frontispiece to the first edition (1841) by George Cattermole (1800–68), and again in the extra-illustrated edition of 1841 by Thomas Sibson (1817–44), who also chose the scene

when Nell teaches Kit to write, though with few extra details.

Martineau retains the setting inside the shop with its curios: in the background are two suits of armour, one against the wall behind Kit and the second through the door in the adjoining room. Behind the armour are shelves crammed with objects: a large copper pot, vases, candlesticks, a carved wooden reading stand, a chess board with ivory pieces on a cabinet, and a framed picture. Suspended from the ceiling are swords and a battle-axe. In the window are quatrefoils of stained glass showing the symbols of the Evangelists, small stained glass roundels, various pots, candlesticks, vases, dishes, stuffed birds, and an angel figure under glass. Dickens's description of the Old Curiosity Shop picks out the details, stressing their Gothic antiquity and strangeness, and their anthropomorphizing efforts to hide themselves from sight:

The place through which he made his way at leisure was one of those receptacles for old and curious things which seem to crouch in odd corners of this town and to hide their musty treasures from the public eye in jealousy and distrust. There were suits of mail standing like ghosts in armour here and there, fantastic carvings brought from monkish cloisters, rusty weapons of various kinds, distorted figures in china and wood and iron and ivory; tapestry and strange furniture that might have been designed in dreams. The haggard aspect of the little old man was wonderfully suited to the place; he might have groped among old churches and tombs and deserted houses and gathered all the

spoils with his own hands. There was nothing in the whole collection but was in keeping with himself; nothing that looked older or more worn than he (ch. 1).

On the surface, the painting seems to catch a living moment from these decaying surroundings, to capture a domestic childhood pleasure – often depicted in genre paintings when the dutiful mother teaches her small children to read and write or the governess carries out her assigned duties (see Plate 7).

Kit's Writing Lesson, then, translates Dickens's realistic prose onto the canvas; but is the painting realistic? When he was painting it, Martineau was studying with the Pre-Raphaelite artist William Holman Hunt. Hunt himself was painting two highly symbolic paintings, *The Light of the World* (1851–53; see Plate 11) and *The Hireling Shepherd* (1852) while he "encouraged" Martineau, as he records in his autobiography. It seems impossible that Martineau's work would not absorb some of the moral fervour and symbolic meaning of Hunt. Indeed, his is almost the reverse of the meaning of *The Hireling Shepherd*: a scene of moral neglect and the seduction of a girl becomes a scene of moral instruction carried out by the girl to liberate the young boy.

Read symbolically, Martineau's painting calls attention to a number of factors in the relations between Victorian literature and other nineteenth-century art forms. The Gothic objects of the Middle Ages contrast with the modern action in the room, the movement into literacy by a working-class boy. The Gothic past has here been relegated to the background as the "ghosts" of a faded and disappearing "dream," the world identified by Dickens with Nell's gambling grandfather. Literary realism, the mode of Dickens and most other Victorian novelists writing of their contemporary world, largely depends upon the tropes of metonymy and synecdoche, a substitution of one word for another associated with it (the pen for literary culture), or the details or parts for a whole, the objects for the man, as Dickens says. But in the painting the Gothic

objects are relics, fragmented curiosities of a symbolic past, here without a direct association with the grandfather. Kit, in this modest debate of styles, represents the modern, the acquisition by the working class of the new property of the mind and hand, though surrounded by the relics of the useless Gothic past. His learning to write and read will make him into one of those working-class readers for whom the steam presses would run. But just as Kit had difficulty in writing his letters to gain meaning, so too Victorian viewers had difficulty in reading meaning in Pre-Raphaelite paintings. They lacked the reading skills (visual literacy) to interpret symbolic meaning in paintings just as Kit lacks the writing skills (verbal literacy) to interpret literal meaning.

Whether read as a Pre-Raphaelite or naturalistic painting, *Kit's Writing Lesson* for our purposes draws attention to relations between literature and other arts in at least four important ways. First it represents an ekphrasis or reverse ekphrasis, the translation of a scene from one artistic medium to another. Second, the acquisition of literacy can be read both as the origin of literary creation and as a self-reflective commentary on the process. Third, the buyer of the painting, Charles Edward Mudie (1818–90), the founder, in 1842, of Mudie's Lending Library, calls attention to the literary and artistic marketplace, which underwent a shift from aristocratic patronage and an elite audience to a mass market with a mass audience under tight moral controls until the advent of free libraries. Fourth, in the battle of styles current in architecture and the other arts, the painting clearly identifies with the literary, symbolic, and pictorial ideals of the embattled Pre-Raphaelites, not only in choosing literary subject matter that crosses over between literature and painting but also in making Kit into a Pre-Raphaelite himself, copying from life.

The Pre-Raphaelites rejected the teachings of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–92), first president of the Royal Academy, mocking him as "Sir Slosua" for his shadowy effects and blurred outlines. Reynolds had praised the superiority of

painting to poetry because its apprehension by a viewer was immediate: "A painter ... has but one sentence to utter, but one moment to exhibit. He cannot, like the poet or historian, expatiate" (*Discourse 4*, 1771); "What is done by painting, must be done at one blow" (*Discourse 8*, 1778). To Reynolds high art is a rhapsodic moment into which a viewer is absorbed. Literature, however, is limited by its linearity, to being slowly comprehended over time. As Ruskin pointed out, the typology and symbolism of the Pre-Raphaelite painters demanded that they be read like a written text, slowly, to unfold their meaning – an exercise strongly resisted by the critics still under the influence of Reynolds. Victorian novels, typically running over 500 pages, perhaps more than any other literary form present the antithesis to Reynolds's "one sentence." For instance, Dickens's novels were published serially, sometimes over an entire year, thereby necessitating slow reading over interrupted time, allowing for modifications of plot and character according to readers' responses, a much more complex production process and audience exchange than Reynolds's "one blow."

Martineau's painting, referring directly to literature, reverses the conventional trope of ekphrasis, wherein the writer pauses a narrative trajectory to linger over the description of a work of art. The most famous instances are Homer's description of Achilles' shield (*Iliad* 18: 398 ff.) and Virgil's description of the carvings of the Trojan war on the bronze doors to the temple in Dido's Carthage (*Aeneid* 1:450 ff.). In the nineteenth century major examples are Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn" (1820), Ruskin's description of Turner's *Slavers* (see *RUSKIN STONES* and *RUSKIN: MODERN PAINTERS*, "OF WATER"; and Plate 19), and Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890; for the preface see *WILDE*). Pater's description of the *Mona Lisa* is the pre-eminent example in the nineteenth century, famously turned into verse by W. B. Yeats. Martineau's painting is a kind of reverse ekphrasis because the rhetorical figure is not representing art in a literary form, but the reverse, translating literature into painting. As Wilde

writes in the preface to *Dorian Gray*: "The critic is he who can translate into another manner or a new material his impression of beautiful things." In the nineteenth century, many representations of classical stories from Greek and Roman history were painted by Frederick Leighton (1830–96) or Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836–1912) or the versions of Malory or Chaucer painted by Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98).

Victorian writers used ekphrasis for different purposes: for instance, Browning uses it in writing on Italian Old Master painters to comment on the present, Tennyson writes "The Palace of Art," Eliot writes on seventeenth-century Dutch realist painters, Michael Field on European painting and sculpture, Ruskin on Gothic architecture, the Pre-Raphaelites on their own paintings and poetry, Pater on Renaissance painting and sculpture, and Wilde and Symons on the French impressionists – all interrelations among the arts signalling Victorian explorations of Pater's adage in "The School of Giorgione": "Poetry, music, and painting are but translations into different languages of but one and the same fixed quality of imaginative thought, supplemented by certain technical qualities of colour in painting, of sound in music, and rhythmical words in poetry."

Martineau's painting has two further significances regarding the acquisition of writing and literacy. First, while it depicts Kit's act of writing as a moment of literacy, it also captures his first moment of literary creation, copying a letter as a first step in literary imitation or mimesis. In the painting, the letter and the line are the primary components of literature. From early in the century, Victorian women writers had looked back to the point of origin for poetry, to the paradoxical Sappho, linking her pen and her broken and fragmented tongue (her work is fragmentary) to the fading letters of her poems and the occasion of her suicide, hurling herself and her harp into the sea, while her writing remains imperishable. Such writers as Hemans, Landon, Norton, and Barrett Browning claimed Sappho as muse, adopting the origin of poetry, the

inscribing of the letter as their own initiation into writing. Little Nell appears in a famous unfinished painting depicting the scene of writing, *Dickens's Dream*, by Robert William Buss (1804–75). Nell is at the right shoulder of the sleeping author, his desk and writing materials prominently placed in front of him. The pen is the tool of the writer, whether in the hand of Sappho or of Kit or of Dickens himself, who was so often portrayed as holding one (as by Daniel Maclise, 1837 or by William Powell Frith, 1859). It is the new tool of Kit's step from ignorance into enlightenment, from innocence to experience, shown also in his half-eaten apple. He is falling into art.

Second, the task conventionally accorded to Nell is her sewing – the humble sewing on of a button to her grandfather's shirt. Instead, her act of creativity is the liberating of Kit by teaching him his letters, freeing him into language over which, as Dickens says, he stumbles. He is being liberated from the imprisonment of his illiteracy that confines him as surely as the symbolic cage above his head confines the songbird, also a conventional metaphor for the poet. Martineau possibly refers to another convention, the moral education of the child Jesus by his mother, or to her teaching him reading (as in Botticelli's *Madonna of the Magnificat*, 1481), or to the scene in Millais's *Christ in the House of his Parents* (Plate 12) two years earlier where Christ learns carpentry but suffers an injury that is a typological anticipation of the crucifixion – a painting, as we shall see, that had elicited Dickens's contemptuous indignation.

The advent of mass literacy, coinciding with the advent of steam power, meant that Dickens, in *The Old Curiosity Shop*, could capitalize on the cheap press that increased readership and profits, a vast market, soon to include children and their reading. This scene of writing demonstrates the acquisition of literacy, the great task of universal education in the nineteenth century, whose effects can only be glimpsed in the proliferation of print: newspapers and novels, poetry and pamphlets, advertising and handbills – print was everywhere. Writing appears frequently in

the paintings of the period – from the elaborate posters and billboards to the smaller signs of literacy in such paintings as *Work* by Ford Madox Brown (see Plate 5), and Fildes's *Applicants for Admission to a Casual Ward* (Plate 3). In Holman Hunt's *The Awakening Conscience* (Plate 10) the printed sheets of music have fallen to the floor, parallel to the fallen, but now awakening, woman. In Concanen's *Modern Advertising* (see Plate 9) the massive lettering looms over the people and trains and threatens to overwhelm the station itself in its consuming alphabet.

The purchaser of Martineau's *Kit's Writing Lesson*, the English publisher Charles Edward Mudie, was the arbiter of censorship masquerading as good taste. Mudie pioneered in lending to members (at a guinea a year) three-decker novels a volume at a time, in any order. By insisting on three-decker publication, Mudie profoundly influenced novel writing, its structure and plot, the development of character, and the style. For many years the price of novels was kept artificially high by him. His subscribers were so numerous, with library branches in York, Manchester, and Birmingham, that he could dictate terms and prices to publishers and authors, refusing immoral books, and promoting middle-class literature that, as Mr Podsnap in Dickens's *Our Mutual Friend* (1864) says, "would not bring a blush to the cheek of a young person." Mudie's "Catalogue of New and Standard Works" and his "Select Library" promoted specific titles and so tight a moral code that it led to a feud with George Moore over *A Modern Lover* (1883; see LITERATURE: DEBATES; MOORE (WEB p. 123)). Such manipulation of the literary marketplace sometimes took a sensational turn, as in Robert Buchanan's attack on Dante Rossetti and other Pre-Raphaelite poets and painters, associates of Martineau. Such controversies, like the other debates about literature, came out of the rivalry of different generic forms and disputes about accepted or controversial subject matter. It seems probable that the "Fleshly School" controversy (see LITERATURE: PRE-RAPHAELITISM (WEB p. 128)) did more to

help sell more books than to warn off nervous readers. Dickens's issuing of the Cheap Edition, in an effort to make his novels available at cheap prices for a wide readership, can be seen as an effort to circumvent the subscription libraries like Mudies. Dickens's *The Old Curiosity Shop*, serialized in a form that pre-dates Mudie by only one year, sold 60,000 copies in the first edition.

The Old Curiosity Shop – with its chamber of curios extended to the death of Little Nell, her burial in the mouldering Gothic church, and her grandfather's half-mad vigil at her tomb – exemplifies one aspect of the Gothic tradition, part of the battle of the styles in architecture that was re-enacted in its sister arts, painting and literature. Pervasive in our selections in this section run the implicit concessions to and the fading continuations of the attenuated generic hierarchies that the Romantic movement had inherited from the classical eighteenth century. Hence, our first selections in the debates about literature are concerned with how those hierarchies of genres and styles are re-articulated for the nineteenth century in terminology such as romance and realism, gothic and classical, medieval and modern, or melodrama and sensationalism. While these debates about the place of poetry were in progress, prose fiction was enjoying its emergence and triumph over all other genres, eventually also a victory for both women writers and for realism. However, the pull of nostalgia for other periods (especially the Middle Ages and ancient Greece and Rome) continued its appeal. We relate this shift away from poetry to prose by considering the battle of the styles in both kinds. It took place chiefly in architecture between the Gothic revival (represented by Pugin) and neoclassical architecture, as we demonstrate in the introduction to the "Condition of England." Melodrama, here by Braddon and adapted by Hazlewood, uses stock figures and situations from the Gothic to formulate widely popular new forms of literature. An analogue to this contrast between historical periods is the later struggle between realistic fiction, a prose that accurately represents an external world, and the psychological novel of

James, calling for a complex representation of the inner world of thoughts and feelings. At the same time, as Eliot foregrounds, female voices were challenging the conventions by exploiting sentiment, sensation, and melodrama.

Our second section foregrounds another site of contestation. When the Pre-Raphaelites burst upon the London art world and the literary establishment in the 1850s, they were greeted with howls of mockery and attack. They attempted to do what the Romantics had done, to follow nature, and also to imitate the styles and subject matter of the painters before Raphael (1483–1520). They presented contemporary social issues in paintings and verse as Dickens and Carlyle were doing in prose; the Pre-Raphaelites also cultivated an interest in medieval subjects drawn from Dante, Malory, and the ballad tradition. Such a conflation of past and present in both their art and poetry was praised by Ruskin and attacked by Dickens. These attacks came to full flower in Robert Buchanan's attack on the "Fleshly School of Poetry" as he called it, his acrimony spilling over into the 1870s. By that time, Walter Pater was re-labelling "Fleshly" as "Æsthetic" poetry. On the Web we exemplify transitions from the Fleshly controversy through aestheticism to symbolism and the sinuous lines of *art nouveau* in some writers and artists of the 1890s.

It was a century of writing and reading, certainly, but such quantities of print, such an appetite for news and reading material, could not be met without transformations in the power industries (gas and electricity), communications (the penny post and the telegraph, both domestic and international, and late in the century, the telephone), and technology, especially in print and transportation (paper, presses, rail, and steamships). In the third section, we discuss the impact of the new technologies and media on literature, first presenting new methods of making paper, type, and printing presses; all of them meant cheaper books (like Dickens's Cheap Edition), but they also lead to the revival of fine printing with William Morris's Kelmscott Press (see Figure 7), and a telling contrast by John

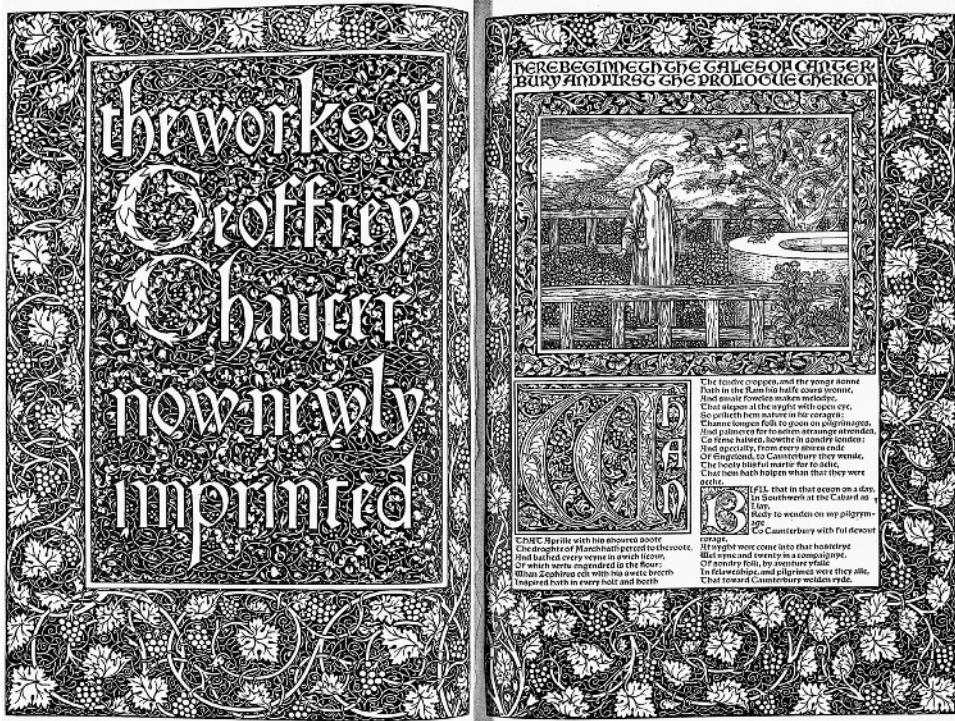


Figure 7 William Morris (1834–96), *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Kelmscott Press, 1896), with illustrations by Edward Burne-Jones and borders and type design by William Morris. Letterpress. 42.5 × 29.2 cm per leaf. Source: author's collection. In 1891 Morris set up the Kelmscott Press in Hammersmith to print books on hand-presses using linen handmade paper and type that he had designed himself. Many of his publications were in black and red ink, some also with blue. His books helped revolutionize printing: the Chaucer, his masterpiece, is one of the finest volumes in the history of the book in England, finished in 1896 just four months before Morris died. He designed the typeface, all of the hundreds of capital letters, fourteen borders, and the eighteen frames, and his friend and collaborator over many years did the eighty-seven wood-cut illustrations. The printed book culminated his years of self-taught calligraphy in which he produced unrivalled ornamentation in colours and gold on pages of vellum, like his four hand-illuminated copies of FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát* (1870s). The *Chaucer* brought together Morris's (and the Victorians') love of medieval literature; his fascination with intricate two-dimensional design; and his socialism, in harking back to pre-industrial methods of production before the division of labour destroyed the social function of work as an enhancement of life. See LITERATURE: NEW TECHNOLOGIES (WEB p. 148).

Southward of the printing at the time of Victoria's accession and her diamond jubilee.

The new technologies changed not only what and how the Victorians read but also what they heard and saw, with inventions in aural and visual culture, the phonograph and the camera: we read the Victorians, we look at their paintings and architecture, but it is also possible, through their own innovations in technology, to listen to them speak to us, almost as their own contemporaries would have heard them, as the intervening century seems to fall away. We include both weblinks to the voices of eminent Victorians and

also comments on the recording techniques at the end of the era. Finally, there is an exhibition of another new technology in another new art form, photography and writings on it.

Dickens, the master of writing skills and manipulator of literary tropes and symbols to accommodate setting to character, proves woefully inadequate in assessing the symbolism of a famous Pre-Raphaelite painting accomplished two years before Martineau's. In his 1850 review of Millais's *Christ in the House of His Parents*, commonly called, "The Carpenter's Shop," he reads the symbolic and typological

realistic detail in terms of strict literal and contemporary realism, like an exaggerated account of the Curiosity Shop. He finds it “mean, odious, repulsive, and revolting.” He absolutely refuses to read the painting symbolically; for instance, he interprets the cuts on the young Christ’s hands not as anticipation of the stigmata, but a portrayal of an ugly and grubby reality: “You behold ... a hideous, wry-necked, blubbering, red-headed boy, in a bed-gown; who appears to have received a poke in the hand, from the stick of another boy with whom he has been playing in an adjacent gutter and ... a kneeling woman, so horrible in her ugliness, that ... she would stand out from the rest of the company as a Monster, in the vilest cabaret in France, or the lowest ginshop in England” (see Plate 12; see this section, *PRE-RAPHAELITISM*; *DICKENS*).

Whether Dickens would have read the “red-haired boy” or Nell’s “dislocated throat” in the

“foreground” of *Kit’s Writing Lesson* in a similar fashion we do not know, but it is useful to juxtapose Dickens’s reductionist dismissal of the Pre-Raphaelites with Ruskin on Holman Hunt’s *The Awakening Conscience*: “There is not a single object in all that room, common, modern, vulgar (in the vulgar sense, as it may be), but it became tragical, if rightly read” (see this section, *PRE-RAPHAELITISM*). To read “rightly” according to Ruskin, however, here implies one-to-one identifications or extensions, and, by implication, a single, correct interpretation, a theory of reading that is too one-dimensional for our purposes. Our selections, drawing relations between literature and the other arts, to be read “rightly,” suggest multiple interconnections and continuities as well as broken links, layered approaches and diverse viewpoints, within a literary and artistic culture that was undergoing profound transformation.

1. Debates about Literature

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–52): *Contrasts; Or, a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day, Shewing the Present Decay of Taste: Accompanied by Appropriate Text* (1836)

From Chapter 1: “On the Feelings which Produced the Great Edifices of the Middle Ages”¹

On comparing the Architectural Works of the present Century with those of the Middle Ages, the wonderful superiority of the latter must strike every attentive observer; and the mind is naturally led to reflect on the causes which have wrought this mighty change, and to endeavour to trace the fall of Architectural taste, from the period of its first decline² in this country to the present day; and this will form the subject of the following pages.

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DEBATES ABOUT LITERATURE

¹ *title* the leading Gothic architect in Britain in the nineteenth century, Pugin took as his ideal the Early Middle Pointed style (c.1300), and exemplified it as the most moral and spiritual architecture for Britain, then in a crisis of social inequality and turmoil. *Contrasts* is polemical, demanding the revival of the medieval Gothic style, and also “a return to the faith and the social structures of the Middle Ages.” The “contrasts” were chiefly between the Neo-Classical urban style of the nineteenth century and its fourteenth- or fifteenth-century equivalent, part of the battle of the styles. Pugin published an enlarged second edition in 1841, our text. See *CONDITION: INTRODUCTION*.

² *decline* Pugin dates the beginning of the decline with the beginning of the Reformation in England – the calling of the Reformation Parliament in 1529 to deal with the annulment of the marriage of Henry VIII (1491–1547) to Katharine of Aragon (1485–1536), after which, in the Act of Supremacy (1534), the monarch became the supreme head of the Church of England, replacing the pope as the country’s ecclesiastical ruler. In his analysis of the Gothic style, Ruskin notes a different moment for the decline of architecture – in Venice in 1418 – in *The Stones of Venice*: see *RUSKIN; STONES*, headnote; see also this section, *PRE-RAPHAELITISM*, n. 32.

It will be readily admitted that the great test of Architectural beauty is the fitness of the design to the purpose for which it is intended, and that the style of a building should so correspond with its use that the spectator may at once perceive the purpose for which it was erected.

Acting on this principle, different nations have given birth to so many various styles of Architecture, each suited to their climate, customs, and religion; and as it is among edifices of this latter class that we look for the most splendid and lasting monuments, there can be but little doubt that the religious ideas and ceremonies of these different people had by far the greatest influence in the formation of their various styles of Architecture.³

The more closely we compare the temples of the Pagan nations with their religious rites and mythologies, the more shall we be satisfied with the truth of this assertion.

But who can regard those stupendous Ecclesiastical Edifices of the Middle Ages (the more special objects of this work), without feeling this observation in its full force? Here every portion of the sacred fabric bespeaks its origin; the very plan of the edifice is the emblem of human redemption⁴—each portion is destined for the performance of some solemn rite of the Christian church. Here is the brazen font where the waters of baptism wash away the stain of original sin; there stands the gigantic pulpit, from which the sacred truths and ordinances are from time to time proclaimed to the congregated people; behold yonder, resplendent with precious gems, is the high altar, the seat of the most holy mysteries, and the tabernacle of the Highest⁵ It is, indeed, a sacred place; and well does the fabric bespeak its destined purpose: the eye is carried up and lost in the height of the vaulting and the intricacy of the ailes; the rich and varied hues of the stained windows, the modulated light, the gleam of the tapers,⁶ the richness of the altars, the venerable images of the departed just,—all alike conspire to fill the mind with veneration for the place, and to make it feel the sublimity of Christian worship. And when the deep intonations of the bells from the lofty campaniles, which summon the people to the house of prayer, have ceased, and the solemn chant of the choir swells through the vast edifice,—cold, indeed, must be the heart of that man who does not cry out with the Psalmist, *Domine delixi decorem domus tuæ, et locum habitationis gloriæ tuæ.*⁷

Such effects as these can only be produced on the mind by buildings, the composition of which has emanated from men who were thoroughly imbued with devotion for, and faith in, the religion for whose worship they were erected.

Their whole energies were directed towards attaining excellence; they were actuated by far nobler motives than the hopes of pecuniary reward, or even the applause and admiration of mankind. They felt they were engaged in the most glorious occupation that can fall to the lot of man, that of raising a temple to the worship of the true and living God.

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³ *Architecture* a reference to the ancient temples of Greece (such as those on the Acropolis in Athens, especially the Parthenon, 447–438 BCE, dedicated to Pallas Athena) and the Forum in Rome at the time of Augustus (63 BCE–14 CE).

⁴ *redemption* the cross-shaped or cruciform ground plan of a church, with the vertical composed of the nave and choir, and the crosspiece or transverse being the north and south transepts.

⁵ *Highest* a reference to both the tabernacle or sacred tent used by the people of Israel to house the Ark of the Covenant during their wanderings in the wilderness after

the flight from Egypt (see Exodus 25–31; and Psalm 46: 4); a tabernacle was also the box in a church to keep the reserved sacrament of the Eucharist for the sick in time of need.

⁶ *aisles* ... *tapers aisles* is an archaic spelling of aisles (see *OED*), the side-passages adjoining the nave of a church; *tapers* candles.

⁷ *Domine* ... *tuæ* (Lat. Lord I have loved the beauty of your house, and the place where your glory dwells), Psalm 26: 8. Pugin printed the quotation in gothic script, like the manuscript and early printed books of devotion of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It was this feeling that operated alike on the master mind⁸ and that planned the edifice, and on the patient sculptor whose chisel wrought each varied and beatified detail. It was this feeling that induced the ancient masons, in spite of labour, danger, and difficulties, to persevere till they had raised their gigantic spires into the very regions of the clouds. It was this feeling that induced the ecclesiastics of old to devote their revenues to this pious purpose, and to labour with their own hands in the accomplishment of the work;⁹ and it is a feeling that may be traced throughout the whole of the numerous edifices of the middle ages, and which, amidst the great variety of genius which their varied styles display, still bespeak the unity of purpose which influenced their builders and artists.

They borrowed then ideas from no heathen rites, nor sought for decorations from the idolatrous emblems of a strange people. The foundation and progress of the Christian faith, and the sacraments and ceremonies of the church, formed an ample and noble field for the exercise of their talents: and it is an incontrovertible fact, that every class of artists who flourished during those glorious periods selected their subjects from this inexhaustible source, and devoted their greatest efforts towards the embellishment of ecclesiastical edifices.

Yes, it was, indeed, the faith, the zeal, and, above all, the unity, of our ancestors, that enabled them to conceive and raise those wonderful fabrics that still remain to excite our wonder and admiration.

WEB p. 116

Charles Dickens (1819–1870): *Oliver Twist* (1838)

From Chapter XLV: “Fatal Consequences” [Bill Sikes murders Nancy]

George Eliot (1819–80): From “Silly Novels by Lady Novelists” in *Westminster Review* (Oct. 1856)¹⁰

Silly novels by Lady Novelists are a genus with many species, determined by the particular quality of silliness that predominates in them—the frothy, the prosy, the pious, or the pedantic. But it is a mixture of all these—a composite order of feminine fatuity, that produces the largest class of such novels, which we shall distinguish as the *mind-and-millinery* species. The heroine is usually an heiress, probably a peeress in her own right, with perhaps a vicious baronet, an amiable duke, and an irresistible younger son of a marquis as lovers in the foreground, a clergyman and a poet sighing for her in the middle distance, and a crowd of undefined adorers dimly indicated beyond. Her eyes and her wit are both dazzling; her nose and her morals are alike free from any tendency to irregularity; she has a superb *contralto*¹¹ and a superb intellect; she is perfectly well-dressed and perfectly

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⁸ *mind* the names of only a few such master masons and sculptors have survived from the Middle Ages; exceptions are Abbot Suger (1081–1151), architect of St Denis, north of Paris; William of Sens (fl. 1170s) at Canterbury for the rebuilding of the choir after the fire of 1174; and Henry Yevele (c.1320–1400), who undertook the naves of Westminster Abbey (1362) and Canterbury Cathedral (1377–1400). Among the medieval sculptors is Giselbertus (c.1120–35), sculptor of the Cathedral of St Lazare at Autun in France; see Ruskin on workers: *RUSKIN*, n. 24.

⁹ *work* a commonplace of nineteenth-century Romanticism about the common people’s hitching themselves together to haul stone for the cathedrals, the so-called cult of the carts.

¹⁰ *title* published three years before Eliot’s first novel *Adam Bede*, this essay attacks not only the sentimental popular fiction of the day by women writers but also the lack of educational and vocational opportunities for women. Eliot mentions a number of novels, all published in 1856, including *Compensation* by Lady Henrietta Georgiana Maria Chatterton (1806–76) and *The Old Grey Church* by Lady Caroline Scott (1784–1857), as well as several anonymous novels, including *Rank and Beauty* and *The Enigma*.

¹¹ *contralto* in classical singing, the deepest female voice.

religious; she dances like a sylph,¹² and reads the Bible in the original tongues.¹³ Or it may be that the heroine is not an heiress—that rank and wealth are the only things in which she is deficient; but she infallibly gets into high society, she has the triumph of refusing many matches and securing the best, and she wears some family jewels or other as a sort of crown of righteousness¹⁴ at the end. Rakish men either bite their lips in impotent confusion at her repartees, or are touched to penitence by her reproofs, which, on appropriate occasions, rise to a lofty strain of rhetoric; indeed, there is a general propensity in her to make speeches, and to rhapsodize at some length when she retires to her bedroom. In her recorded conversations she is amazingly eloquent, and in her unrecorded conversations, amazingly witty. She is understood to have a depth of insight that looks through and through the shallow theories of philosophers, and her superior instincts are a sort of dial by which men have only to set their clocks and watches, and all will go well. The men play a very subordinate part by her side. You are consoled now and then by a hint that they have affairs, which keeps you in mind that the working-day business of the world is somehow being carried on, but ostensibly the final cause of their existence is that they may accompany the heroine on her “starring” expedition through life. . . .

Writers of the mind-and-millinery school are remarkably unanimous in their choice of diction. In their novels, there is usually a lady or gentleman who is more or less of a *upas tree*¹⁵: the lover has a manly breast; minds are redolent of various things; hearts are hollow; events are utilized; friends are consigned to the tomb; infancy is an engaging period; the sun is a luminary that goes to his western couch, or gathers the rain-drops into his refulgent bosom; life is a melancholy boon; Albion and Scotia¹⁶ are conversational epithets. . . . But the most remarkable efforts of the mind-and-millinery writers lie in their philosophic reflections. The authoress of “Laura Gay”¹⁷ for example, having married her hero and heroine, improves the event by observing that “if those sceptics, whose eyes have so long gazed on matter that they can no longer see aught else in man, could once enter with heart and soul into such bliss as this, they would come to say that the soul of man and the polypus are not of common origin, or of the same texture.” Lady novelists, it appears, can see something else besides matter; they are not limited to phenomena, but can relieve their eyesight by occasional glimpses of the *noumenon*,¹⁸ and are, therefore, naturally better able than any one else to confound sceptics, even of that remarkable, but to us unknown school, which maintains that the soul of man is of the same texture as the polypus.

The most pitiable of all silly novels by lady novelists are what we may call the *oracular* species—novels intended to expound the writer’s religious, philosophical, or moral theories. There seems to be a notion abroad among women, rather akin to the superstition that the speech and actions of idiots are inspired, and that the human being most entirely exhausted of common sense is the fittest vehicle of revelation. To judge from their writings, there are certain ladies who think that an amazing ignorance, both of science and of life, is the best possible qualification for forming an opinion on the knot-tiest moral and speculative questions. . . .

Notes

¹² *sylph* a mythological creature, an elemental of the air. Alexander Pope (1688–1744) in *The Rape of the Lock* (1712) uses sylphs to parody the vanity of the heroine, Belinda.

¹³ *tongues* the OT was originally written in Hebrew; the NT, in *koine* (Gk. common) Greek. In both cases, knowledge of them signified educational accomplishments beyond the norm for girls. See *CONDITION: EDUCATION*; *EASTLAKE* and *GENDER: CONSTRUCTING*; MARTINEAU (WEB p. 75).

¹⁴ *righteousness* see 2 Timothy 4: 8.

¹⁵ *upas tree* a legendary poisonous tree of Java; used figuratively for something having a widespread evil influence.

¹⁶ *Albion and Scotia* ancient names for the British Isles (Albion) and Scotland (Scotia).

¹⁷ *Gay* an anonymous novel first published in the *Athenæum* in 1856.

¹⁸ *noumenon* an object or event that is known without the use of the senses, which is opposed to the phenomenon, known through the senses. In Kantian philosophy, it is impossible to know the *noumenon*.



Happily, we are not dependent on argument to prove that Fiction is a department of literature in which women can, after their kind, fully equal men. A cluster of great names, both living and dead, rush to our memories in evidence that women can produce novels not only fine, but among the very finest;—novels, too, that have a precious speciality, lying quite apart from masculine aptitudes and experience. No educational restrictions can shut women out from the materials of fiction, and there is no species of art which is so free from rigid requirements. Like crystalline masses, it may take any form, and yet be beautiful; we have only to pour in the right elements—genuine observation, humour, and passion. But it is precisely this absence of rigid requirement which constitutes the fatal seduction of novel-writing to incompetent women. Ladies are not wont to be very grossly deceived as to their power of playing on the piano; here certain positive difficulties of execution have to be conquered, and incompetence inevitably breaks down. Every art which has its absolute *technique* is, to a certain extent, guarded from the intrusions of mere left-handed imbecility. But in novel-writing there are no barriers for incapacity to stumble against, no external criteria to prevent a writer from mistaking foolish facility for mastery. And so we have again and again the old story of La Fontaine's ass, who puts his nose to the flute, and, finding that he elicits some sound, exclaims, "Moi, aussi, je joue de la flute";¹⁹—a fable which we commend, at parting, to the consideration of any feminine reader who is in danger of adding to the number of "silly novels by lady novelists."

WEB p. 119

Margaret Oliphant (1828–1897): From "Sensation Novels" (1862)

Mary Elizabeth Braddon (1835–1915): *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862)²⁰

From Chapter 1: "Lucy"

At the end of this avenue there was an old arch and a clock-tower, with a stupid, bewildering clock, which had only one hand; and which jumped straight from one hour to the next, and was therefore always in extremes. Through this arch you walked straight into the gardens of Audley Court. . . .

Notes

¹⁹ *flute* (Fr. *me too, I play the flute*); Jean de La Fontaine (1621–95), French fabulist, mistakenly cited as the author of "The Ass and the Flute" (1782) by Tomás de Iriarte (1750–1791), Spanish poet.

²⁰ *title* the author of over ninety novels and nine plays, Braddon is known today primarily for this work based on abandonment, arson, bigamy, murder, and madness, the stock themes of melodrama. The sensation novel as a genre emerged in the 1860s with works by Braddon, Wilkie Collins (1824–89: *The Woman in White* (1859)), and Charles Reade (1814–84: *Hard Cash* (1863)). The sensation novel was closely associated with the melodrama – Braddon, Collins, and Reade's novels were turned into plays. Melodrama (Gk. *melos*, song, with drama) was a mixed media form on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century stage that used music for background effect while arousing pathos or sympathy for the plight of the hero

or heroine. No device was spared to milk every ounce of emotion from each sentimental moment, often ending with a dramatic rescue amidst spectacular scenic and musical effects of avalanches, floods, railway decapitation, or other disasters. Originally imported from France, melodramas were episodic, and the characterization exaggerated, with unexplained outbursts of madness, rage, passionate love, accompanied by fireworks, drownings, and explosions, as in Dion Boucicault's *The Corsican Brothers* (1852) and *The Octoroon* (1859; see BOUCICAULT (WEB p. 366)). The form was parodied in Gilbert and Sullivan's *Ruddigore* (1887; see LITERATURE: DEBATES (WEB p. 119)). The six stock characters were a robust hero of only average intelligence and a heroine in distress, lovers whose sentimental romance was blocked by the plotting villain and his henchman as well as, often, an aged parent, and a drooling and interfering

A noble place; inside as well as out, a noble place—a house in which you incontinently lost yourself if ever you were so rash as to go about it alone; a house in which no one room had any sympathy with another, every chamber running off at a tangent into an inner chamber, and through that down some narrow staircase leading to a door which, in its turn, led back into that very part of the house from which you thought yourself the furthest; a house that could never have been planned by any mortal architect, but must have been the handiwork of that good old builder—Time, who, adding a room one year, and knocking down a room another year, toppling down a chimney coeval with the Plantagenets, and setting up one in the style of the Tudors; shaking down a bit of Saxon wall there, and allowing a Norman arch to stand here; throwing in a row of high narrow windows in the reign of Queen Anne, and joining on a dining-room after the fashion of the time of Hanoverian George I. to a refectory that had been standing since the Conquest,²¹ had contrived, in some eleven centuries, to run up such a mansion as was not elsewhere to be met with throughout the county of Essex.²² Of course, in such a house there were secret chambers: the little daughter of the present owner, Sir Michael Audley, had fallen by accident upon the discovery of one. A board had rattled under her feet in the great nursery where she played, and on attention being drawn to it, it was found to be loose, and so removed, revealing a ladder leading to a hiding-place between the floor of the nursery and the ceiling of the room below—a hiding-place so small that he who had hid there must have crouched on his hands and knees or lain at full length, and yet large enough to contain a quaint old carved oak chest half filled with priests' vestments which had been hidden away, no doubt, in those cruel days when the life of a man was in danger if he was discovered to have harboured a Roman Catholic priest, or to have mass said in his house.²³ . . .

Notes

servant. Their gestures were extravagant and became conventional, such as the villain's swirling of his cape, and the twirling of his mustachios. The sensation novels of the 1860s incorporated recognizable elements of the melodrama in terms of plot (quick complications and reversals), sensational actions, and extravagant characterization.

The complicated plot of *Lady Audley* is based in part on elements of the notorious contemporaneous murder trial of Constance Emily Kent (1844–1944). The novel begins with the marriage of a young, beautiful governess, Lucy Graham, about whom little is known, to Sir Michael Audley, a much older, rich widower. Soon after, his barrister nephew, Robert Audley, arrives at Audley Court with his friend, George Talboys, who has recently returned from Australia to find his wife, Helen Talboys, whom he had abandoned three years earlier. Lady Audley avoids George, and soon he disappears. After much detective work and numerous complicated melodramatic plot twists, Robert discovers that Lady Audley and Helen Talboys are one and the same. When confronted, she initially tries to kill Robert by setting fire to his hotel; however, he survives and confronts her again. This time she admits to adultery but claims that she is insane. She is taken to an asylum near Brussels, where she confesses to murdering George by pushing him down a well. The novel ends happily; as it turns out George survived the fall into the well, and Robert is happily married to George's sister Clara.

The novel was first serialized in *Robin Goodfellow* (July–Sept. 1861), but remained unfinished as the magazine

went bankrupt after eighteen chapters. It was restarted and completed in *Sixpenny Magazine* (Jan.–Mar. 1862), and then republished in *London Journal* (Mar.–Aug. 1863). It was published as a three-decker novel in October, 1862 (our text), and went through eight editions by the end of the year. The novel was immensely popular and was adapted several times for the stage (see this section, DEBATES; HAZLEWOOD).

²¹ *Plantagenets* . . . *Conquest* a sequence which aligns Audley Court with a long stretch of English history. The appeal to ancient history is a convention of Romantic and post-Romantic Gothic literature: the Plantagenet dynasty ruled England from 1154 to 1485; the Tudors were the ruling dynasty of England from 1485 to 1603; the Saxons were medieval Germanic tribes who migrated to Britain in the fifth century after the collapse of Roman Britain in 410; the Normans were the French of Normandy who invaded Britain in 1066 and became the ruling class; Anne was the last Stuart monarch, queen of Great Britain and Ireland from 1702 to 1714; and George I was the first British monarch from the House of Hanover, ruling from 1714 to 1727. The Norman conquest of 1066 was led by William the Conqueror (1028–87).

²² *Essex* a county located northeast of London, originally the eastern kingdom of the Saxons.

²³ *house* a secret chamber or “priest hole,” a hiding place built in the houses of Catholic gentry to avoid persecution against priests during the reign of Elizabeth I, from 1558 to 1603. Here, again, used to evoke the Gothic convention of a mysterious and dangerous history associated with the house of an aristocratic family in ruin; see, nn. 25, 27.

At the end of this dark arcade there was the shrubbery, where, half buried among the tangled branches and the neglected weeds, stood the rusty wheel of that old well of which I have spoken. It had been of good service in its time, no doubt; and busy nuns have perhaps drawn the cool water with their own fair hands; but it had fallen with disuse now, and scarcely any one at Audley Court knew whether the spring had dried up or not. But sheltered as was the solitude of this lime-tree walk, I doubt very much if it was ever put to any romantic uses.

From Chapter 37: "Buried Alive"²⁴

"You have brought me to my grave, Mr. Audley," she cried; "you have used your power basely and cruelly, and have brought me to a living grave."

"I have done that which I thought just to others and merciful to you," Robert answered, quietly; "I should have been a traitor to society had I suffered you to remain at liberty after—after the disappearance of George Talboys and the fire at the Castle Inn. I have brought you to a place in which you will be kindly treated by people who have no knowledge of your story—no power to taunt or to reproach you. You will lead a quiet and peaceful life, my lady, such a life as many a good and holy woman in this catholic country²⁵ freely takes upon herself, and happily endures unto the end. . . .

Robert started as she mentioned the name of his lost friend; his face turned pale in the dusky light, and his breathing grew quicker and louder.

"He was standing opposite me as you are standing now," continued my lady. "You said that you would raze the old house to the ground; that you would root up every tree in the gardens to find your dead friend. You would have had no need to do so much; the body of George Talboys lies at the bottom of the old well, in the shrubbery beyond the lime-walk."

Robert Audley flung up his hands and clasped them above his head, with one loud cry of horror.

"Oh, my God!" he said, after a dreadful pause, "have all the ghastly things that I have thought prepared me so little for the ghastly truth, that it should come upon me like this at last?"

"He came to me in the lime-walk," resumed my lady, in the same hard, dogged tone as that in which she had confessed the wicked story of her life. "I knew that he would come, and I had prepared myself, as well as I could, to meet him. I was determined to bribe him, to cajole him, to defy him; to do anything sooner than abandon the wealth and the position I had won, and go back to my old life. He came, and he reproached me for the conspiracy at Ventnor.²⁶ He declared that so long as he lived he would never forgive me for the lie that had broken his heart. He told me that I had plucked his heart out of his breast and trampled upon it; and that he had now no heart in which to feel one sentiment of mercy for me." . . .

Robert Audley uttered no word of horror when the story was finished. He moved a little nearer towards the door against which Helen Talboys stood. Had there been any other means of exit from the room, he would gladly have availed himself of it. He shrank from even a momentary contact with this creature.

"Let me pass you, if you please," he said, in an icy voice.

Notes

²⁴ *title* Lady Audley is here entering the asylum under the name of Madame Taylor.

²⁵ *country* Belgium; for "catholic," see nn. 23, 27.

²⁶ *Ventnor* a seaside resort in the Isle of Wight where Lady Audley fakes her death. George visits the supposed site of

her grave and commissions a gravestone with the following inscription: "Sacred to the Memory of HELEN, / THE BELOVED WIFE OF GEORGE TALBOYS, / Who departed this life / August 24th, 18—, aged 22, / Deeply regretted by her sorrowing Husband."

“You see that I do not fear to make my confession to you,” said Helen Talboys, “for two reasons. The first is that you dare not use it against me, because you know it would kill your uncle to see me in a criminal dock; the second is, that the law could pronounce no worse sentence than this, a life-long imprisonment in a mad-house. You see I do not thank you for your mercy, Mr. Robert Audley, for I know exactly what it is worth.”

She moved away from the door, and Robert passed her without a word, without a look.

Half an hour afterward he was in one of the principal hotels at Villebrumeuse,²⁷ sitting at a neatly-ordered supper-table, with no power to eat; with no power to distract his mind, even for a moment, from the image of that lost friend who had been treacherously murdered in the thicket at Audley Court.

Colin Henry Hazlewood (1820–75): *Lady Audley's Secret* (1863)

From Act V²⁸

SCENE FIFTH—*The Lime Tree Avenue and Well, as in ACT I. Moonlight, which falls on the old Well. Phæbe is heard without calling for help, and is dragged on by Lady Audley, R. 2 E.*

LADY AUDLEY: Come, come. To the Hall! to the Hall!

PHÆBE: No, I will not; you mean mischief towards me, I am sure you do.

LADY AUDLEY: No, girl, no; I am your friend.

Enter Robert Audley, who, coming between them from L., takes Phæbe from Lady Audley's grasp.

ROBERT: [*to Phæbe*] Away to your husband, girl, and see if there is any help for him.

PHÆBE: Thank you, bless you, sir. [*Exit hastily, L.*]

ROBERT: [*to Lady Audley*] Now, madam, we will come to a reckoning.

LADY AUDLEY [*recoils from him*]. Alive!

ROBERT: Aye, to punish and expose you. You thought to trap me, to silence me, by dooming me to a dreadful death. But Heaven be praised I was not sleeping when your wicked hands set fire to the house. No, I live to be your fate, and the avenger of my friend.

LADY AUDLEY: What will you do?—proceed without evidence? And who are *you* that dare accuse me? Who are you that oppose yourself to me so constantly? I have wealth, boundless wealth, and I will use it to crush you—to crush you, Robert Audley.

ROBERT: How?

LADY AUDLEY. Thus! [*Rushes towards him with poignard,*²⁹ *he wrenches it from her hand.*]

ROBERT: And thus I rob the serpent of its sting!³⁰

LADY AUDLEY: Let me pass.

ROBERT: Never! the law shall have its own.

LADY AUDLEY: And who is to be my accuser?

Enter Luke, supported by Peasants and Phæbe, L.

LUKE: I, thank Heaven! I am spared to do an act of justice before I end my guilty life.
I accuse that woman of——

Notes

²⁷ *Villebrumeuse* (Fr. town or city of fog); an imaginary Belgian location for the insane asylum (*maison de santé*) where Helen will spend the rest of her life.

²⁸ *title* an actor and playwright, Hazlewood adapted another of Braddon's melodramatic novels, *Aurora Floyd*, in 1863. This play was first performed on 25 May 1863 at the Royal

Victoria Theatre in London. It was a huge success, and prompted two more adaptations before the year's end. In the stage directions, “without” means off-stage; “R.2 E.” means stage right, second entrance; “L.” means left.

²⁹ *poignard* a type of dagger.

³⁰ *sting* see Proverbs 23: 32.

ROBERT: No! hold, hold. It will be better not to cast a stain upon my uncle's name. Say nothing I beg, I entreat of you.

LUKE: Then I will be silent, silent for ever—ever—ever.

[Falls back in the arms of the Peasants.]

LADY AUDLEY: *[aside]* He is dead, and I shall triumph over them all. *[The great bell of the Castle is now heard tolling.]*

Enter Alicia from back, followed by Servants.

ALICIA: Robert! Robert! my father is dead. Oh, pity me! pity and protect me! *[Goes to Robert.]*

ROBERT: Sir Michael dead! Now vengeance, take thy own! Friends, hear me:—I accuse that woman of the murder of my friend, George Talboys.

LADY AUDLEY: How and where?

LUKE: *[revives]* I—I will tell that. She pushed him down that well, *[points to well, all start]* but it will be useless to search there now, for George Talboys is——

Enter George Talboys, R. 2 E.

GEORGE: Here!

[Luke falls back dead.]

OMNES: Alive!

LADY AUDLEY: *[petrified]* Alive! alive! you alive!

GEORGE: Back, woman! and thank that man *[points to Luke]* that you have not my death upon your soul. You will be scorned, loathed, and despised by all. The blow you struck me rendered me an invalid for months. I have been silent until to-day, because I gave my word to that poor, dying wretch. *[Points to Luke.]* But now I am free—free to tell all. Speak to her, speak to her, Robert, and say I forgive her. *[Points to Lady Audley.]*

ROBERT: *[to Lady Audley]* You hear, woman!

LADY AUDLEY: *[vacantly]* But I do not heed. I have a rich husband. They told me he was dead—but no, they lied—see—see, he stands there! Your arm—your arm, Sir Michael. We will leave this place—we will travel. Never heed what the world says—I have no husband but you—none—none! It is time to depart, the carriage is waiting. Come—come—come!

GEORGE: What does she mean, Robert?

ROBERT: Mean! Do you not see she is mad?

OMNES: *[retreating from her]* Mad!

LADY AUDLEY: Aye—aye! *[Laughs wildly.]* Mad, mad, that is the word. I feel it here—here! *[Places her hands on her temples.]* Do not touch me—do not come near me—let me claim your silence—your pity—and let the grave, the cold grave, close over Lady Audley and her Secret.

Falls—dies—Music—tableau of sympathy—George Talboys kneels over her.

CURTAIN

WEB p. 121

George Meredith (1828–1909): From “On the Idea of Comedy and the Uses of the Comic Spirit” (1877)

Henry James (1843–1916): From “The Art of Fiction” in *Longman’s Magazine* (Sept. 1884)³¹

I should not have affixed so comprehensive a title to these few remarks, necessarily wanting in any completeness, upon a subject the full consideration of which would carry us far, did I not seem to discover a pretext for my temerity in the interesting pamphlet lately published under this name by Mr. Walter Besant. . . . There is something very encouraging in his having put into form certain of his ideas on the mystery of story-telling.

It is a proof of life and curiosity—curiosity on the part of the brotherhood of novelists, as well as on the part of their readers. Only a short time ago it might have been supposed that the English novel was not what the French call *discutable*.³² It had no air of having a theory, a conviction, a consciousness of itself behind it—of being the expression of an artistic faith, the result of choice and comparison. I do not say it was necessarily the worse for that; it would take much more courage than I possess to intimate that the form of the novel, as Dickens and Thackeray³³ (for instance) saw it, had any taint of incompleteness. It was, however, *naïf*³⁴ (if I may help myself out with another French word); and, evidently, if it is destined to suffer in any way for having lost its *naïveté*, it has now an idea of making sure of the corresponding advantages. During the period I have alluded to there was a comfortable, good-humoured feeling abroad that a novel is a novel, as a pudding is a pudding, and that this was the end of it. But within a year or two,³⁵ for some reason or other, there have been signs of returning animation—the era of discussion would appear to have been to a certain extent opened.³⁶ . . .

It goes without saying that you will not write a good novel unless you possess the sense of reality; but it will be difficult to give you a recipe for calling that sense into being.

Notes

³¹ title James’s famous essay, often cited as a fundamental statement in the transition from the Victorian to the modernist novel, is a response to “The Art of Fiction,” a lecture by Walter Besant (1836–1901), an historian and author of numerous popular novels, the best known of which represent social problems in East London, *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882) and *Children of Gibeon* (1886). Besant’s lecture, given at the Royal Institution (25 April 1884) and published as a pamphlet (1884), argues that the novelist both delights and elevates, and in doing so fulfils an essential social role as teacher and entertainer. Despite this importance, however, novelists in general do not receive official recognition, social status, or class acceptability, and are “by the general mass undervalued.” Unlike other professions, novelists do not “receive their share of the ordinary national distinctions” such as being mentioned in the honours lists or being knighted. He argues that “the practical man” or “the Philistine” feels “contempt” for the novelist as a “dreamer”: “the telling of stories is inconsistent with a well-balanced mind; to be a teller of stories disqualifies one from a hearing on important subjects.” Against this dismissal, Besant argues that fiction has laws, that it has a social purpose in society, and that the mastery of these laws and purposes is intuitive in the fiction writer. His lecture inaugurated the “Art of Fiction” debates: it was answered not only by James but also by Robert Louis Stevenson, H. Rider Haggard (1856–1925), and Andrew Lang (1844–1912). James’s essay was republished in *Partial Portraits* (1888).

³² *discutable* (Fr. discussable). James uses French to align himself with discussions by critics of the novel in France,

whom he considered more sophisticated than those (like Besant) in England.

³³ Thackeray William Dean Howells (1837–1920), American novelist and critic, had written “Henry James, Jr.” in *Century Magazine* (Nov. 1882): “The art of fiction has, in fact, become a finer art in our day than it was with Dickens and Thackeray. . . . The new school derives from Hawthorne and George Eliot rather than any others; but it studies human nature much more in its wonted aspects, and finds its ethical and dramatic examples in the operation of lighter but not really less vital motives. The moving accident is certainly not its trade; and it prefers to avoid all manner of dire catastrophes. . . . This school, which is so largely of the future as well as the present, finds its chief exemplar in Mr. James; it is he who is shaping and directing American fiction, at least. . . . Since he has finally made his public in his own way of story-telling—or call it character-painting if you prefer,—it must be conceded that he has chosen the best for himself and his readers in choosing the form of fiction for what he has to say.”

³⁴ *naïf* (Fr. innocent, naive).

³⁵ two for contemporaneous essays about the nature of fiction see Stevenson’s “A Gossip on Romance,” *Longman’s Magazine* (Sept. 1882), and Howells’s “Henry James, Jr.” *Century Magazine* (Nov. 1882; see n. 33).

³⁶ *era . . . opened* see ARNOLD, “FUNCTION OF CRITICISM”: “But epochs of concentration cannot well endure for ever; epochs of expansion, in the due course of things, follow them. Such an epoch of expansion seems to be opening in this country.”

Humanity is immense and reality has a myriad forms; the most one can affirm is that some of the flowers of fiction have the odour of it, and others have not; as for telling you in advance how your nosegay should be composed, that is another affair. It is equally excellent and inconclusive to say that one must write from experience; to our supposititious aspirant such a declaration might savour of mockery. What kind of experience is intended, and where does it begin and end? Experience is never limited and it is never complete; it is an immense sensibility, a kind of huge spider-web, of the finest silken threads, suspended in the chamber of consciousness and catching every air-borne particle in its tissue. It is the very atmosphere of the mind; and when the mind is imaginative—much more when it happens to be that of a man of genius—it takes to itself the faintest hints of life, it converts the very pulses of the air into revelations. . . .

A novel is a living thing, all one and continuous, like every other organism, and in proportion as it lives will it be found, I think, that in each of the parts there is something of each of the other parts. The critic who over the close texture of a finished work will pretend to trace a geography of items will mark some frontiers as artificial, I fear, as any that have been known to history. There is an old-fashioned distinction between the novel of character and the novel of incident, which must have cost many a smile to the intending romancer who was keen about his work. It appears to me as little to the point as the equally celebrated distinction between the novel and the romance³⁷—to answer as little to any reality. There are bad novels and good novels, as there are bad pictures and good pictures; but that is the only distinction in which I see any meaning, and I can as little imagine speaking of a novel of character as I can imagine speaking of a picture of character. When one says picture, one says of character, when one says novel, one says of incident, and the terms may be transposed. What is character but the determination of incident? What is incident but the illustration of character? What is a picture or a novel that is *not* of character? What else do we seek in it and find in it? It is an incident for a woman to stand up with her hand resting on a table and look out at you in a certain way; or if it be not an incident, I think it will be hard to say what it is. At the same time it is an expression of character. If you say you don't see it (character in *that—allons donc!*)³⁸ this is exactly what the artist who has reasons of his own for thinking he *does* see it undertakes to show you. . . .

. . . I can think of no obligation to which the "romancer" would not be held equally with the novelist; the standard of execution is equally high for each. Of course it is of execution that we are talking—that being the only point of a novel that is open to contention. This is perhaps too often lost sight of, only to produce interminable confusions and cross-purposes. We must grant the artist his subject, his idea, what the French call his *donnée*;³⁹ our criticism is applied only to what he makes of it. Naturally I do not mean that we are bound to like it or find it interesting; in case we do not our course is perfectly simple—to let it alone. We may believe that of a certain idea even the most sincere novelist can make nothing at all, and the event may perfectly justify our belief; but the failure will have been a failure to execute, and it is in the execution that the fatal weakness is recorded. . . .

Notes

³⁷ *romance* the term romance has shifted in meaning from Hellenistic first-century Greek fiction to medieval heroic and chivalric romances dealing with the fanciful deeds. During the eighteenth century, the term novel began to be associated with realistic fiction such as Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1721), as opposed to the fantastic tales associated with romance. To Stevenson, Haggard, and Lang, however, the term would be applied to adventure novels, and especially with Haggard to what has been called imperial

romance, with an emphasis on heroic action, often in the face of daunting odds, rather than character analysis. During the twentieth century the term "romance" had shifted away from adventure associated with masculine bravery to novels of love and marriage produced by Mills and Boon in Great Britain and Harlequin Enterprises in North America.

³⁸ *allons donc* (Fr. come now).

³⁹ *donnée* (Fr. given).

Mr. Besant has some remarks on the question of “the story,” which I shall not attempt to criticise, though they seem to me to contain a singular ambiguity, because I do not think I understand them. I cannot see what is meant by talking as if there were a part of a novel which is the story and part of it which for mystical reasons is not—unless indeed the distinction be made in a sense in which it is difficult to suppose that anyone should attempt to convey anything. “The story,” if it represents anything, represents the subject, the idea, the data of the novel; and there is surely no “school”—Mr. Besant speaks of a school—which urges that a novel should be all treatment and no subject.⁴⁰ There must assuredly be something to treat; every school is intimately conscious of that. This sense of the story being the idea, the starting-point, of the novel is the only one that I see in which it can be spoken of as something different from its organic whole; and since, in proportion as the work is successful, the idea permeates and penetrates it, informs and animates it, so that every word and every punctuation-point contribute directly to the expression, in that proportion do we lose our sense of the story being a blade which may be drawn more or less out of its sheath. The story and the novel, the idea and the form, are the needle and thread, and I never heard of a guild of tailors who recommended the use of the thread without the needle or the needle without the thread.

WEB p. 123

George Moore (1852–1933): From *Literature at Nurse, or, Circulating Morals* (1885)

Bennett George Johns (1820/21–1900): From “The Literature of the Streets” (1887)

2. Pre-Raphaelitism, Aestheticism, and Decadence

William Michael Rossetti (1829–1919): *The Germ: Or Thoughts Toward Nature in Poetry, Literature, and Art* (1850)

From “Introduction”¹

In 1848 the British School of Painting was in anything but a vital or a lively condition. One very great and incomparable genius, Turner,² belonged to it. He was old and past his executive prime. There were some other highly able men . . . On the whole the school had sunk very far below what it had been in the days of Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough,

Notes

⁴⁰ *subject* James attacks Besant for assuming it is possible to detach the “story” from the other elements of prose fiction. Over the next four years the debate between the advocates of plot and action (the supporters of romance or adventure fiction) and the advocates of complex character development (the supporters of realist fiction) continued in essays and reviews.

PRE-RAPHAELITISM, AESTHETICISM, AND DECADENCE

¹ *title* William Michael, a brother of Dante Gabriel and Christina Rossetti, married Lucy Madox Brown (1843–94), daughter of Ford Madox Brown, in 1874. A civil servant in the Department of Inland Revenue, Rossetti was also a

critic, editor, and biographer. He edited the journal of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (hereafter PRB; he spelled it “Præraphaelite”), *The Germ* (four issues, 1850). Rossetti’s contemporaries offered different views concerning the meaning of “Pre-Raphaelite.” A close associate Ford Madox Brown (1821–93), claimed the German painters in Rome known as the Nazarenes (including Peter Cornelius, 1784–1867, and Johann Friedrich Overbeck, 1789–1869) inspired the PRB with their Early Christian subject matter and style and semi-monastic brotherhood. Another member of the PRB, Holman Hunt (1827–1910), claimed the name arose from a rejection of Raphael’s *Transfiguration* (see n. 7) in an argument in the Academy Schools in 1847.

and Blake,³ and its ordinary average had come to be something for which commonplace is a laudatory term, and imbecility a not excessive one.

There were in the late summer of 1848, in the Schools of the Royal Academy⁴ or barely emergent from them, four young men to whom this condition of the art seemed offensive, contemptible, and even scandalous. Their names were William Holman-Hunt, John Everett Millais, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, painters, and Thomas Woolner, sculptor.⁵ . . . They hated those forms of execution which are merely smooth and prettyish, and those which, pretending to mastery, are nothing better than slovenly and slapdash, or what the P.R.B.'s called "sloshy."⁶ Still more did they hate the notion that each artist should not obey his own individual impulse, act upon his own perception and study of Nature, and scrutinize and work at his objective material with assiduity before he could attempt to display and interpret it. . . . They were to have no master except their own powers of mind and hand, and their own first-hand study of Nature. Their minds were to furnish them with subjects for works of art, and with the general scheme of treatment; Nature was to be their one or their paramount storehouse of materials for objects to be represented; the study of her was to be deep, and the representation (at any rate in the earlier stages of self-discipline and work) in the highest degree exact; executive methods were to be learned partly from precept and example, but most essentially from practice and experiment. As their minds were very different in range and direction, their products also, from the first, differed greatly; and these soon ceased to have any link of resemblance.

The Præraphaelite Brothers entertained a deep respect and a sincere affection for the works of some of the artists who had preceded Raphael;⁷ and they thought that they should more or less be following the lead of those artists if they themselves were to

Notes

In 1851 William Michael published "Pre-Raphaelitism" in the *Spectator* (4 Oct.): "Their aim is the same [as the precursors of Raphael]—truth; and their process the same—exactitude of study from nature" (see Plate 13: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin* (1849)). In 1901 William Michael published a facsimile of the original issues of *The Germ* and added an introduction, our source.

² Turner Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851), English landscape artist, was the subject of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (1843–56), defended against critics who mocked Turner's colour, perspective, and composition, as in the attack by Sir George Beaumont (1753–1827), who claimed in 1813 that Turner "had done more harm in misleading the taste than any other artist. . . but he had fallen into a manner that was neither true nor consistent." To Ruskin, Turner excelled in colour, expression, and imaginative power, especially in his truth to nature, points on which Ruskin also praised the Pre-Raphaelites, as in his letters to *The Times* (see this section, PRE-RAPHAELITISM: RUSKIN; "THE PRE-RAPHAELITES"). See also RUSKIN, n. 6.

³ Hogarth . . . Blake William Hogarth (1697–1764), painter and satirist, is perhaps best known for his series of paintings and consequent engravings *The Harlot's Progress* (1731), *The Rake's Progress* (1735), and *Marriage à la Mode* (1743–45); Sir Joshua Reynolds (1724–92) a major eighteenth-century portraitist, specialized in the "Grand Style" that echoed the Italian masters, as in *Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse* (1784); he was a founder and first president of the RA; Thomas Gainsborough (1727–88), landscape and portrait painter; William Blake (1757–1827), poet, painter, and etcher, author of the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* (1789–94), *Milton* (c.1804–11), and *Jerusalem* (1804–20).

⁴ Academy the Schools of the RA (founded 1769) were established by Joshua Reynolds, emphasizing drawing from casts of ancient monuments and sculptures, copying old masters, and using life models; in the first half of the nineteenth century a studentship lasted ten years. Turner and Blake had been students at the RA Schools.

⁵ Holman-Hunt . . . sculptor William Holman Hunt (1827–1910); John Everett Millais (1829–96) won a place at the RA Schools at the age of 11 (1840) and had a long and successful career; Dante Rossetti (1828–82) was at the Academy Schools from 1845 to 1848; and Thomas Woolner (1825–92), sculptor, attended in 1842.

⁶ sloshy the term was applied to the fuzzy or blurred outlines and the brownish-golden palette based on the unstable tar product, bitumen or asphaltum, used as a ground in many contemporary and earlier paintings; hence, their nickname given to "Sir Sloshua Reynolds."

⁷ Raphael Raphael Sanzio (1483–1520), a High Renaissance painter much admired by the Victorian art establishment; the PRB objected to Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* (1513–14) and *Transfiguration* (1520) for their attitudinizing, theatricality, and lack of fidelity to nature. His satellites included Giulio Romano (1499–1546). The PRB studied artists earlier than Raphael in a folio copy of engravings (1828) by Carlo Lasinio (1759–1838) of the frescoes of the Campo Santo in Pisa, created by Giotto (1266–1337), Orcagna (1308–68), and Benozzo Gozzoli (1421–97). They also praised such early Florentine artists as Fra Angelico (1395–1455) and Botticelli (1445–1510). The National Gallery then contained no Italian artist before Raphael. For Robert Browning's treatment of some of these artists, see BROWNING, "FRA LIPPO LIPPI" and "ANDREA DEL SARTO."

develop their own individuality, disregarding school-rules. This was really the sum and substance of their “Præraphaelitism.” . . .

The Præraphaelite Brotherhood having been founded in September 1848, the members exhibited in 1849 works conceived in the new spirit.⁸ These were received by critics and by the public with more than moderate though certainly not unmixed favour: it had not as yet transpired that there was a league of unquiet and ambitious young spirits, bent upon making a fresh start of their own, and a clean sweep of some effete respectabilities. It was not until after the exhibitions were near closing in 1849 that any idea of bringing out a magazine came to be discussed. The author of the project was Dante Gabriel Rossetti. He alone among the P.R.B.’s had already cultivated the art of writing in verse and in prose to some noticeable extent (“The Blessed Damozel”⁹ had been produced before May 1847), and he was better acquainted than any other member with British and foreign literature.¹⁰ . . . By July 13 and 14, 1849, some steps were taken towards discussing the project of a magazine. The price, as at first proposed, was to be sixpence; the title, “Monthly Thoughts in Literature, Poetry, and Art”; each number was to have an etching. Soon afterwards a price of one shilling was decided upon, and two etchings per number: but this latter intention was not carried out.

Charles Dickens (1812–70): From “Old Lamps for New Ones” [Review of Millais’s *Christ in the House of his Parents*; see Plate 12] in *Household Words* (15 June 1850)¹¹

In the fifteenth century, a certain feeble lamp of art arose in the Italian town of Urbino.¹² This poor light, Raphael Sanzio by name, better known to a few miserably mistaken wretches in these later days, as Raphael (another burned at the same time, called Titian¹³), was fed with a preposterous idea of Beauty—with a ridiculous power of etherealising, and exalting to the very Heaven of Heavens, what was most sublime and lovely in the expression of the human face divine¹⁴ on Earth—with the truly contemptible conceit of

Notes

⁸ spirit Millais exhibited *Lorenzo and Isabella* and Holman Hunt exhibited *Rienzi* at the RA in 1849; Rossetti exhibited his first major oil, *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin*, at the Free Exhibition (see Plate 13). All signed their names, followed by the initials P.R.B.

⁹ *Damozel* poem (1850) and painting (1875–78) by Dante Rossetti; see ROSSETTI, “BLESSED DAMOZEL” and Plate 14.

¹⁰ literature Rossetti was bilingual in English and Italian and by October 1848 he had translated Dante’s autobiography, *La Vita Nuova* (Ital. the new life), published in *The Early Italian Poets* (1861).

¹¹ title Dickens’s title alludes to the story of Aladdin from the *Arabian Nights* where a sorcerer tries to gain possession of Aladdin’s magic lamp by offering to his wife “new lamps for old,” his cry as he goes through the streets. Dickens adapts the story as purveying new art for old art, tried and true. His attack on Millais’s painting *Christ in the House of His Parents* (1850, sometimes known as *The Carpenter Shop*; see Plate 12) joined the chorus against it, completely rejecting the painting’s religious allegory in favour of savagely dismissive references to working-class values and the squalor of the London poor. Because the painting presented the holy family in an everyday setting and occupation, instead of the conventional idealized family home at Nazareth, as in John Rogers Herbert’s *Our Saviour Subject to His Parents* in

Nazareth (1847) it was regarded as “pictorial blasphemy” (*Athenæum*, 1 June 1850). Instead, Millais’s painting combines the realistic with the symbolic, depicting a moment when Christ has injured himself in the hand, prefiguring the marks of the nails at the crucifixion, towards which many other symbols refer: the instruments of the passion (ladder, nails, hammer, and pliers), the dove of the Holy Spirit, the Virgin anticipating the pieta pose, as well as the symbolic sheep (the flock of the Good Shepherd), and John the Baptist with the symbolic water of baptism. Further, the separate gender spheres of work and life are here blended and the sexual and religious propriety of representing Christ as manly is undercut by his tears, also an anticipation of the agony in Gethsemane. See also Plate 13: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, “*The Blessed Damozel*” (1871–78).

¹² *Urbino* Raphael (see n. 7) was born in the city of Urbino in eastern Italy.

¹³ *Titian* Italian Venetian painter, Titian (1488/90–1576) was the most important High Renaissance painter of Venice, excelling in portraits, landscapes, and religious and mythological subjects.

¹⁴ divine see *Paradise Lost* 3. 41–43; and William Blake’s “human form divine” in “The Divine Image” in *Songs of Innocence* (1789). Ruskin writes extensively on “Of Ideas of Beauty”; see RUSKIN, *MODERN PAINTERS*, headnote.

finding in poor humanity the fallen likeness of the angels of god, and raising it up again to their pure spiritual condition. This very fantastic whim effected a low revolution in Art, in this wise, that Beauty came to be regarded as one of its indispensable elements. In this very poor delusion, Artists have continued until the present nineteenth century, when it was reserved for some bold aspirants to “put it down.”

The Pre-Raphael Brotherhood, Ladies and Gentlemen, is the dread Tribunal which is to set this matter right. Walk up, walk up;¹⁵ and here, conspicuous on the wall of the Royal Academy of Art in England, in the eighty-second year of their annual exhibition, you shall see what this new Holy Brotherhood, this terrible Police that is to disperse all Post-Raphael offenders, has “been and done!”¹⁶

You come—in this Royal Academy Exhibition, which is familiar with the works of WILKIE, COLLINS, ETTY, EASTLAKE, LESLIE, MACLISE, TURNER, STANFIELD, LANDSEER, ROBERTS, DANBY, CRESWICK, LEE, WEBSTER, HERBERT, DYCE, COPE,¹⁷ and others who would have been renowned as great masters in any age or country—you come, in this place, to the contemplation of a Holy Family. You will have the goodness to discharge from your minds all Post-Raphael ideas, all religious aspirations, all elevating thoughts; all tender, awful, sorrowful, ennobling, sacred, graceful, or beautiful associations; and to prepare yourselves, as befits such a subject—Pre-Raphaely considered—for the lowest depths of what is mean, odious, repulsive, and revolting.

You behold the interior of a carpenter’s shop. In the foreground of that carpenter’s shop is a hideous, wry-necked, blubbering, red-headed boy, in a bed-gown; who appears to have received a poke in the hand, from the stick of another boy with whom he has been playing in an adjacent gutter, and to be holding it up for the contemplation of a kneeling woman, so horrible in her ugliness, that (supposing it were possible for any human creature to exist for a moment with that dislocated throat) she would stand out from the rest of the company as a Monster, in the vilest cabaret in France, or the lowest ginshop in England. Two almost naked carpenters, master and journeyman, worthy companions of this agreeable female, are working at their trade; a boy, with some small flavour of humanity in him, is entering with a vessel of water; and nobody is paying any attention to a snuffy old woman who seems to have mistaken that shop for the tobacconist’s next door, and to be hopelessly waiting at the counter to be served with half an ounce of her favourite mixture. Wherever it is possible to express ugliness of feature, limb, or attitude, you have it expressed. Such men as the carpenters might be undressed in any hospital where dirty drunkards, in a high state of varicose veins, are received. Their very toes have walked out of Saint Giles’s.¹⁸ . . .

Notes

¹⁵ up the circus showman’s pitch for the freak show.

¹⁶ *been and done* “vulgar or facetious expletive amplification of the past participle” (*OED*, s.v. *be*), citing an example from Dickens’s *Pickwick Papers* (ch. 26).

¹⁷ *Wilkie* . . . *Cope* the most acclaimed painters of the day, all members of the RA (except Danby who was an Associate Member), who regularly showed in the Academy exhibition, though some had already died when Dickens was writing: Sir David Wilkie (1785–1841); William Collins (1788–1847); William Etty (1787–1849); Sir Charles Eastlake (1793–1865); Charles Robert Leslie (1794–1859); Daniel Maclise (1806–70); Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851); Charles Frederick Stanfield (1793–1867); Sir Edwin

Landseer (1802–73); David Roberts (1796–1864); Francis Danby (1793–1861); Thomas Creswick (1811–69); Frederick Richard Lee (1798–1879); Thomas Webster (1800–86); John Rogers Herbert (1810–90); William Dyce (1806–64); and Charles West Cope (1811–90).

¹⁸ *Giles’s* London slum dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with terrible overcrowding, no sanitation, and a high incidence of crime, partly because of the prevalence of gin shops and prostitutes. Dickens alleges that the models and their representations are from this area and are tainted with prostitution, allegations later applied to Rossetti’s poetry by Buchanan (see LITERATURE: PRE-RAPHAELITISM; BUCHANAN, “FLESHLY” (WEB p. 128)).



In the first place, the Pre-Perspective¹⁹ Brotherhood will be presently incorporated, for the subversion of all known rules and principles of perspective. It is intended to swear every P. P. B. to a solemn renunciation of the art of perspective on a soup-plate of the willow pattern;²⁰ and we may expect, on the occasion of the eighty-third annual Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Art in England, to see some pictures by this pious Brotherhood, realising HOGARTH'S²¹ idea of a man on a mountain several miles off, lighting his pipe at the upper window of a house in the foreground.

Christina Rossetti (1830–94): Two Poems on the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood [1853]

The P.R.B. [I]²²

The two Rossettis (brothers they)
And Holman Hunt and John Millais,
With Stevens chivalrous and bland,
And Woolner in a distant land—²³
In these six men I awestruck see 5
Embodied the great P.R.B.
D. G. Rossetti offered two
Good pictures²⁴ to the public view;
Unnumbered ones great John Millais,
And Holman more than I can say. 10

William Rossetti, calm and solemn,
Cuts up his brethren by the column.²⁵

19 September 1853

Notes

¹⁹ *Pre-Perspective* a parody of “Pre-Raphaelite,” but also part of the widespread attack on faulty perspective in some Pre-Raphaelite paintings. Linear perspective refers to the methods used by artists to represent distance on a flat two-dimensional plane, suggested by the lines of objects which may be extended towards a vanishing point or points. For instance, Rossetti had had trouble with perspective in both *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin* (1849; see Plate 13) and *Ecce Ancilla Domini* (1850) with several vanishing points as may be demonstrated by extending the lines from the tiled floor and the edges of the books or the embroidery frame; on 4 May 1850 the *ILN* accused the PRB in the Academy exhibition of “disclaiming perspective.” See also RUSKIN, n. 6.

²⁰ *pattern* designed by pottery manufacturer Thomas Minton (1765–1836) from about 1780 to 1790 and widely sold in the eighteenth and nineteenth century (and promoted by a fabricated story about the plate’s portrayal of a forbidden love story in ancient China). The chief character in Meredith’s *The Egoist* (1879), Sir Willoughby Patterne, is named for the design. Rossetti and others in his circle, as

well as Whistler and Wilde, took an interest in old Chinese and Japanese porcelain and began collecting it.

²¹ *Hogarth’s* see n. 3.

²² *title* Rossetti did not publish these two poems on the PRB. For identification of the members, see n. 5. From *The Poetical Works of Christina Georgina Rossetti*, ed. William Michael Rossetti (1904). The date refers to its composition.

²³ *land* Thomas Woolner, distressed at having lost the competition for a statue of Wordsworth, decided to emigrate with two friends to the Australian gold fields in July 1852. His departure prompted Ford Madox Brown to explore the subject of emigration in his painting *The Last of England* (1855), emblematic of the huge wave of emigration that year, over 350,000.

²⁴ *pictures* Rossetti exhibited *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin* (see Plate 13) in the Free Exhibition in 1849 and his painting of the Annunciation, *Ecce Ancilla Domini* in the Free Exhibition of 1850.

²⁵ *column* from 1850 to 1852 William Michael Rossetti was the art editor for the *Spectator*, publishing numerous reviews.

The P.R.B is in its decadence:

For Woolner in Australia cooks his chops,²⁷
 And Hunt is yearning for the land of Cheops;²⁸
 D. G. Rossetti shuns the vulgar optic;²⁹
 While William M. Rossetti merely lops 5
 His B's in English disesteemed as Coptic;³⁰
 Calm Stephens in the twilight smokes his pipe,
 But long the dawning of his public day;
 And he at last the champion great Millais,
 Attaining Academic opulence, 10
 Winds up his signature with A.R.A.³¹
 So rivers merge in the perpetual sea;
 So luscious fruit must fall when over-ripe;
 And so the consummated P.R.B.

10 November 1853

John Ruskin (1819–1900): “The Præ-Raphaelites”
 [On Holman Hunt’s *The Awakening Conscience*”;
 see Plate 10] Letter to *The Times* (25 May 1854)³²

Sir,—Your kind insertion of my notes on Mr. Hunt’s principal picture encourages me to hope that you may yet allow me room in your columns for a few words respecting his second work in the Royal Academy, the “Awakening Conscience.”³³ Not that this picture

Notes

²⁶ title from Dante Gabriel Rossetti: *His Family-Letters With a Memoir* (ed. William Michael Rossetti, 2 vols, 1895); reprinted in *The Poetical Works of Christina Georgina Rossetti*, ed. William Michael Rossetti (1904). The date refers to its composition.

²⁷ chops see n. 23.

²⁸ *Cheops* Khufu or Cheops (twenty-fifth century BCE), a pharaoh of Egypt’s Old Kingdom, is thought to have been the builder of the Great Pyramid of Giza. Hunt was also planning his trip to Palestine (he left in January 1854) where he would paint *The Scapegoat* (1854) on the shore of the Dead Sea.

²⁹ optic public scrutiny; by 1853 Rossetti was refusing to exhibit at all.

³⁰ B’s . . . Coptic William Michael Rossetti cuts off the heads in criticism of his “B’s,” an abbreviation for “Brothers,” that is, other Pre-Raphaelite Brothers. William Michael later wrote “I, in my press-criticisms, made light of my P.R.B. colleagues (which is joke, not fact), and that my utterances met with no public regard (which is partial but not entire fact; for in these criticisms, appearing in a paper of such high repute as the *Spectator*, and being, in 1850 to 1852, nearly the only press reviews which upheld the Præraphaelite cause, did excite some attention, and I suppose some anger).” The “Coptic” is a joke at the frequent obscurity of his prose, as in this cited sentence.

³¹ A.R.A. on 7 November 1853 Millais was elected an Associate of the RA, and therefore was joining the ranks of those whom the Brotherhood had vowed to oppose. He had

narrowly missed being elected the year before, but he was one year short of the required age of 24.

³² title in 1854 William Holman Hunt exhibited two paintings as a pair, *The Light of the World* (Plate 11) and *The Awakening Conscience* (Plate 10), at the RA. Both caused a sensation and were widely discussed. The latter, however, was a puzzle to viewers and critics alike, praised for the realistic detail but bewildering for its symbolism. The *ILN* spoke for many: “The attempt to discover its actual meaning has . . . proved abortive.” No one until Ruskin had traced the moral and allegorical meanings in the painting’s realistic details. For another allegory of the fallen woman, see Plate 15: ROSSETTI, FOUND.

³³ *Conscience* Hunt designed the symbolic frame for the painting decorated with bells (warning) and marigolds (sorrow), according to Victorian flower symbolism, with a star above the girl’s head; it included a verse from Proverbs: “As he that taketh away a garment in cold weather, so is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart” (25: 20). The model for the woman was Hunt’s mistress, Annie Miller (1835–1925). According to Hunt, his other painting in the Academy exhibition, *The Light of the World* (see Plate 11) with its “spiritual subject called for a material counterpart . . . representing in actual life the manner in which the appeal of the spirit of heavenly love calls to a soul to abandon a lower life.” He sought to portray “the unintended stirring up of the depths of pure affection by the idle song of an empty mind . . . [showing]

is obscure, or its story feebly told. I am at a loss to know how its meaning could be rendered more distinctly, but assuredly it is not understood. People gaze at it in a blank wonder, and leave it hopelessly; so that, although it is almost an insult to the painter to explain his thoughts in this instance, I cannot persuade myself to leave it thus misunderstood. The poor girl has been sitting singing with her seducer; some chance words of the song “Oft in the stilly night”³⁴ have struck upon the numbed places of her heart; she has started up in agony; he, not seeing her face, goes on singing, striking the keys carelessly with his gloved hand.

I suppose that no one possessing the slightest knowledge of expression could remain untouched by the countenance of the lost girl, rent from its beauty into sudden horror; the lips half open, indistinct in their purple quivering, the teeth set hard, the eyes filled with the fearful light of futurity, and with tears of ancient days. But I can easily understand that to many persons the careful rendering of the inferior details in this picture cannot but be at first offensive, as calling their attention away from the principal subject. It is true that detail of this kind has long been so carelessly rendered that the perfect finishing of it becomes matter of curiosity, and therefore an interruption to serious thought. But, without entering into the question of the general propriety of such treatment, I would only observe that, at least in this instance, it is based on a truer principle of the pathetic³⁵ than any of the common artistical expedients of the schools. Nothing is more notable than the way in which even the most trivial objects force themselves upon the attention of a mind which has been fevered by violent and distressful excitement. They thrust themselves forward with a ghastly and unendurable distinctness, as if they would compel the sufferer to count, or measure, or learn them by heart. Even to the mere spectator a strange interest exalts the accessories of a scene in which he bears witness to human sorrow. There is not a single object in all that room, common, modern, vulgar (in the vulgar sense, as it may be), but it became tragical, if rightly read. That furniture, so carefully painted, even to the last vein of the rosewood—is there nothing to be learnt from that terrible lustre of it, from its fatal newness; nothing there that has the old thoughts of home upon it, or that is ever to become a part of home? Those embossed books,³⁶ vain and useless—they also new—marked with no happy wearing of beloved leaves; the torn and dying bird upon the floor; the gilded tapestry, with the fowls of the air feeding on the ripened corn;³⁷ the picture above the fireplace with its single drooping figure—the woman taken in adultery;³⁸ nay, the very hem of the poor girl’s dress, which the painter has laboured so closely, thread by thread, has story in it, if we think how soon the pure whiteness may be soiled with dust and rain, her outcast feet failing in the street; and the fair garden flower, seen in the reflected sunshine of the mirror—these also have their language—

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how the companion of the girl’s fall might himself be the unconscious utterer of a divine message . . . revealing the memory of her childish home, and breaking away from her gilded cage with a startled awakening while her shallow companion still sings on, ignorantly intensifying her repentant purpose.”

³⁴ *Night* a song by Thomas Moore from his *National Airs* (1815) with music by Sir John Stevenson (1761–1833), written in 1818, becoming enormously popular. On the floor is another piece of music, *Tears, Idle Tears*, with words by Tennyson as one of the songs in *The Princess* (see TENNYSON (WEB p. 342)), and set to music by a number of composers, in this case by Tennyson’s friend, the poet and painter Edward Lear (1812–88).

³⁵ *pathetic* pathetic fallacy is defined by Ruskin as the correspondence of nature or the external world (in this case the books, furniture, and ripened corn) to human feelings; see *RUSKIN, MODERN*, “PATHETIC FALLACY.”

³⁶ *books* the black embossed book on the table has been identified as Henry Noel Humphrey’s *The Origin and Progress of the Art of Writing* (1854), an expensive and edifying account of writing from its beginnings traced through different civilizations, illustrated with coloured lithographs.

³⁷ *corn* that is, wheat. The wallpaper shows grape-vines and wheat, symbols of the elements of the Eucharist, here incongruously combined with a sleeping cupid or shepherd. For “fowls of the air,” see Mark 4: 4.

³⁸ *adultery* see John 8: 3–11.

Hope not to find delight in us, they say,
For we are spotless, Jessy—we are pure.³⁹

I surely need not go on. Examine the whole range of the walls of the Academy; nay, examine those of all our public and private galleries, and, while pictures will be met with by the thousands which literally tempt to evil, by the thousand which are devoted to the meanest trivialities of incident or emotion, by the thousand so the delicate fancies of inactive religion, there will not be found one powerful as this to meet full in the front the moral evil of the age in which it is painted, to waken into mercy the cruel thoughtlessness of youth and subdue the severities of judgment into the sanctity of compassion.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

THE AUTHOR OF "MODERN PAINTERS."

Denmark Hill.⁴⁰

Walter Pater (1839–94): From "The Poems of William Morris" ["Æsthetic Poetry"] in *Westminster Review* (Oct. 1868)⁴¹

The "æsthetic"⁴² poetry is neither a mere reproduction of Greek or medieval poetry, nor only an idealisation of modern life and sentiment. The atmosphere on which its effect depends belongs to no simple form of poetry, no actual form of life. Greek poetry, medieval or modern poetry, projects, above the realities of its time, a world in which the forms of things are transfigured. Of that transfigured world this new poetry takes possession, and sublimates beyond it another still fainter and more spectral, which is literally an artificial or "earthly paradise." It is a finer ideal, extracted from what in relation to any actual world is already an ideal.⁴³ Like some strange second flowering after date, it renews on a

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³⁹ pure from "Elegy XXVI. Describing the Sorrow of An Ingenuous Mind, on the Melancholy Event of a Licentious Amour" by William Shenstone (1714–63). Ruskin quotes the same passage in his discussion of pathetic fallacy in *Modern Painters* (vol. 3, pt. 4, 1856).

⁴⁰ Hill following convention, Ruskin often did not sign his name to his books or letters to the editor but used the authorship of *Modern Painters*. Ruskin lived in this area of London with his parents from 1843 to 1872, during which he wrote most of his major works.

⁴¹ title originally "The Poems of William Morris," an anonymous review in the *Westminster Review* (Oct. 1868) of three volumes: *The Defence of Guinevere* (1858), *The Life and Death of Jason* (1867), and the first volume of *The Earthly Paradise* (1868). The first part of the review was revised and published separately as "Æsthetic Poetry" in the first edition of *Appreciations* (1889). It was suppressed in the second (1890) and subsequent editions. The rest of the essay (also revised) became the conclusion to *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873); see PATER, n. 18. Our text: 1889.

⁴² æsthetic that is, Pre-Raphaelite poetry. In the *Westminster* version, this first sentence begins "This poetry" in reference to Morris's poetry. The change to "æsthetic" poetry names a movement of the 1870s and 1880s, later called "art for art's sake," with which Pater is closely identified. In "The School of Giorgione" in *The Renaissance*, Pater writes: "As art addresses not pure sense, still less the pure intellect, but the 'imaginative reason' through the senses, [so] there

are differences of kind in aesthetic beauty." The phrase "imaginative reason" is from Matthew Arnold's "Pagan and Christian Religious Sentiment" (*Cornhill Magazine*, Apr. 1864), appropriated by Pater to mean aesthetic perception, developed from Coleridge and Ruskin (without their religious and moral aspects of beauty), anchored in the conditions and context of their creation: "All true criticism of philosophical doctrine, as of every other product of human mind, must begin with an historic estimate of the conditions, antecedent and contemporary, which helped to make it precisely what it was" (Pater, *Plato and Platonism*, 1893). For a previous derogatory use of æsthetic see LITERATURE: PRE-RAPHAELITISM, n. 18 (WEB p. 130).

⁴³ ideal a version of Plato's theory of forms or ideas, in which the artist creates an image or representation of an ideal that he sees, through the special insight of the artist or craftsman, in the world of pure forms; see *Republic*, the "Allegory of the Cave" (bk. 7). This statement is in tension with Pater's general view that the attributes of the external world, including beautiful objects and forms, can be perceived by the senses and can give pleasure, in what in the conclusion to *The Renaissance* has been called his Epicurean naturalism. Against the abiding morality of Ruskin, and the permanence of the Platonic forms, he also held that morality and beauty are relative, since the world is continually subject to change in all of its aspects, following both Heraclitus (c.535–475 BCE), Greek philosopher, and Charles Darwin.

more delicate type the poetry of a past age, but must not be confounded with it. The secret of the enjoyment of it is that inversion of home-sickness known to some, that incurable thirst for the sense of escape, which no actual form of life satisfies, no poetry even, if it be merely simple and spontaneous.⁴⁴

The writings of the “romantic school,” of which the æsthetic poetry is an after-thought, mark a transition not so much from the pagan⁴⁵ to the medieval ideal, as from a lower to a higher degree of passion in literature. The end of the eighteenth century, swept by vast disturbing currents,⁴⁶ experienced an excitement of spirit of which one note was a reaction against an outworn classicism severed not more from nature than from the genuine motives of ancient art; and a return to true Hellenism was as much a part of this reaction as the sudden preoccupation with things medieval.⁴⁷ The medieval tendency is in Goethe’s *Goetz von Berlichingen*, the Hellenic in his *Iphigenie*.⁴⁸ At first this medievalism was superficial, or at least external. Adventure, romance in the frankest sense, grotesque individualism—that is one element in medieval poetry, and with it alone Scott and Goethe⁴⁹ dealt. Beyond them were the two other elements of the medieval spirit: its mystic religion at its apex in Dante and Saint Louis,⁵⁰ and its mystic passion, passing here and there into the great romantic loves of rebellious flesh, of Lancelot and Abelard.⁵¹ That stricter, imaginative medievalism which re-creates the mind of the Middle Age, so that the form, the presentment grows outward from within, came later with Victor Hugo in France, with Heine⁵² in Germany.

In the *Defence of Guenevere: and Other Poems*, published by Mr. William Morris now many years ago,⁵³ the first typical specimen of æsthetic poetry, we have a refinement upon this later, profounder medievalism. The poem which gives its name to the volume is a thing tormented and awry with passion, like the body of Guenevere defending herself from the charge of adultery, and the accent falls in strange, unwonted places with the effect of a great cry. In truth these Arthurian legends, in their origin prior to Christianity, yield all their sweetness only in a Christian atmosphere. What is characteristic in them

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⁴⁴ *spontaneous* the “past age” is the poetry of the Romantic movement to which Pater refers in the next paragraph. The poetry of simplicity and spontaneity is that of Wordsworth, from which Pater distances his view of æsthetic poetry somewhat, in favour of one of the Aesthetic movement’s favourites, Keats, with his theme of escape in, for instance, the “Ode to Melancholy” (1819).

⁴⁵ *pagan* classical.

⁴⁶ *currents* such disturbances would include the American Revolution (1776), the French Revolution (1789–92), the Industrial Revolution (c.1750–1850), and the Romantic movement (second half of the eighteenth century to c.1840).

⁴⁷ *Hellenism* ... *medieval* Hellenism here refers to the revival of Greek (or classical) ideals in literature, art, and architecture in the second half of the eighteenth century; the theorist of Hellenism was the German philosopher and theorist, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68), of whom Pater wrote an important essay in the *Westminster Review* (Jan. 1867), republished in *The Renaissance* (1873). Incongruously, the medieval revival, associated with Pugin and Morris, was in part a reaction to Hellenism, but it also coincided with it in the same art forms.

⁴⁸ *Goethe* ... *Iphigenie* the play by Goethe (see n. 49), *Goetz von Berlichingen* (1773), is based on the life of the German poet Götze von Berlichingen (c.1480–1562). *Iphigenie* in

Taurus (1779 in prose, 1786 in verse) is a reworking of Euripides’ play of the same name (414–412 BCE).

⁴⁹ *Scott* ... *Goethe* Walter Scott (1771–1832), famous for his series of Scottish historical novels from *Waverley* (1814) to *Anne of Geierstein* (1829). Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), German writer and philosopher, wrote a number of tragedies, including the two parts of *Faust* (1808; 1831), and such novels as *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) and two parts of *Wilhelm Meister* (1795–1821).

⁵⁰ *Dante* ... *Louis* Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), Italian poet and author of the *Divine Comedy* (1308–21); Louis IX of France (1214–70) participated in the seventh (1248) and eighth (1270) crusades and built the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris (1248).

⁵¹ *Lancelot* ... *Abelard* Lancelot du Lac is one of the legendary knights of King Arthur in a number of medieval romances telling the well-known story of Lancelot’s adultery with Arthur’s Queen Guenevere. For Abelard, see DANTE ROSSETTI, n. 82.

⁵² *Hugo* ... *Heine* Victor Hugo (1802–85), French author, wrote *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831), the story of the hunchback Quasimodo. Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), German poet and political activist, published *Buch der Lieder* (Ger. book of songs, 1727), winning great popularity in settings by major composers.

⁵³ *ago* 1858; for extracts from the collection, including the title poem of which Pater writes, see MORRIS.

is the strange suggestion of a deliberate choice between Christ and a rival lover. That religion, monastic religion at any rate, has its sensuous side, a dangerously sensuous side, has been often seen: it is the experience of Rousseau as well as of the Christian mystics.⁵⁴ The Christianity of the Middle Age made way among a people whose loss was in the life of the senses partly by its æsthetic beauty, a thing so profoundly felt by the Latin hymn-writers,⁵⁵ who for one moral or spiritual sentiment have a hundred sensuous images. And so in those imaginative loves, in their highest expression, the Provençal poetry, it is a rival religion with a new rival *cultus* that we see.⁵⁶ Coloured through and through with Christian sentiment, they are rebels against it. The rejection of one worship for another is never lost sight of. The jealousy of that other lover, for whom these words and images and refined ways of sentiment were first devised, is the secret here of a borrowed, perhaps factitious colour and heat. It is the mood of the cloister taking a new direction, and winning so a later space of life it never anticipated. . . .

The *Defence of Guenevere* was published in 1858; the *Life and Death of Jason* in 1867; to be followed by *The Earthly Paradise*;⁵⁷ and the change of manner wrought in the interval, entire, almost a revolt, is characteristic of the æsthetic poetry. Here there is no delirium or illusion, no experiences of mere soul while the body and the bodily senses sleep, or wake with convulsed intensity at the prompting of imaginative love; but rather the great primary passions under broad daylight as of the pagan Veronese.⁵⁸ This simplification interests us, not merely for the sake of an individual poet—full of charm as he is—but chiefly because it explains through him a transition which, under many forms, is one law of the life of the human spirit, and of which what we call the Renaissance is only a supreme instance. Just so the monk in his cloister, through the “open vision,” open only to the spirit, divined, aspired to, and at last apprehended, a better daylight, but earthly, open only to the senses. Complex and subtle interests, which the mind spins for itself may occupy art and poetry or our own spirits for a time; but sooner or later they come back with a sharp rebound to the simple elementary passions—anger, desire, regret, pity, and fear: and what corresponds to them in the sensuous world—bare, abstract fire, water, air, tears, sleep, silence, and what De Quincey has called the “glory of motion.”⁵⁹

This reaction from dreamlight to daylight gives, as always happens, a strange power in dealing with morning and the things of the morning. Not less is this Hellenist of the Middle Age master of dreams, of sleep and the desire of sleep—sleep in which no one walks, restorer of childhood to men—dreams, not like Galahad’s or Guenevere’s, but full of happy, childish wonder as in the earlier world. It is a world in which the centaur and the ram with

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⁵⁴ Rousseau . . . mystics Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78), Swiss philosopher, was deeply religious, first as a Calvinist in Geneva, then as a Roman Catholic convert, and then again as a Calvinist. He had a number of intense love affairs, as he records in his *Confessions* (1782). Among the Christian mystics, St Anthony (third century) was besieged by the temptations of the flesh; both St Catherine of Alexandria (fourth century) and St Catherine of Siena (1347–80) had visions of a mystical marriage with Christ, and both had important cult followings in the later Middle Ages.

⁵⁵ hymn-writers for example, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), the leader of the Cistercian reform, stressing a powerful asceticism and a suppression of the senses, also wrote a number of hymns, including *Jesus dulcis memoria* (Lat. Jesus the very thought of thee, / With sweetness fills the breast), essentially a love song.

⁵⁶ see Provençal or Occitan poetry is the vernacular poetry of Provence in southern France from the eleventh and twelfth

centuries. The poets, often called troubadours, gathered around the noble courts, especially that of William IX of Aquitaine (1071–1126). One of the dominant themes was idealized love or *fin amors* or *amours courtois* (OFr. noble love; courtly love). This *cultus* (Lat. cult, specialized system of belief and practice) venerated an unattainable woman with passionate love and offers of service, a process in literature that Pater describes in the following (omitted) paragraphs. The tradition developed at the same time as the veneration of the Virgin Mary.

⁵⁷ *Paradise* published 1868–70.

⁵⁸ Veronese Paolo Cagliari, called Paulo (Paul) Veronese (1528–88), Venetian Renaissance painter. His *Rape of Europa* (c.1570) came into the National Gallery in London in 1831.

⁵⁹ *motion* Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859) published “The English Mail-Coach; or, the Glory of Motion” in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* (Oct. and Dec. 1849).

the fleece of gold are conceivable.⁶⁰ The song sung always claims to be sung for the first time. There are hints at a language common to birds and beasts and men. Everywhere there is an impression of surprise, as of people first waking from the golden age, at fire, snow, wine, the touch of water as one swims, the salt taste of the sea. And this simplicity at first hand is a strange contrast to the sought-out simplicity of Wordsworth.⁶¹ Desire here is towards the body of nature for its own sake, not because a soul is divined through it. . . .

The modern poet or artist who treats in this way a classical story comes very near, if not to the Hellenism of Homer, yet to the Hellenism of Chaucer, the Hellenism of the Middle Age, or rather of that exquisite first period of the Renaissance within it. Afterwards the Renaissance takes its side, becomes, perhaps, exaggerated or facile. But the choice life of the human spirit is always under mixed lights, and in mixed situations, when it is not too sure of itself, is still expectant, girt up to leap forward to the promise. Such a situation there was in that earliest return from the overwrought spiritualities of the Middle Age to the earlier, more ancient life of the senses; and for us the most attractive form of classical story is the monk's conception of it, when he escapes from the sombre atmosphere of his cloister to natural light. The fruits of this mood, which, divining more than it understands, infuses into the scenery and figures of Christian history some subtle reminiscence of older gods, or into the story of Cupid and Psyche⁶² that passionate stress of spirit which the world owes to Christianity, constitute a peculiar vein of interest in the art of the fifteenth century. . . .

One characteristic of the pagan spirit the æsthetic poetry has, which is on its surface—the continual suggestion, pensive or passionate, of the shortness of life. This is contrasted with the bloom of the world, and gives new seduction to it—the sense of death and the desire of beauty: the desire of beauty quickened by the sense of death. But that complexion of sentiment is at its height in another “æsthetic” poet of whom I have to speak next, Dante Gabriel Rossetti.⁶³



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Robert Williams Buchanan (1841–1901): From “The Fleshly School of Poetry: Mr. D. G. Rossetti” (1871)

Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–82): From “The Stealthy School of Criticism” (1871)

Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837–1909): From *Under the Microscope* (1872)

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⁶⁰ *conceivable* the Greek myth of the golden fleece of the winged ram, is part of the story that William Morris tells in *The Life and Death of Jason* (1867).

⁶¹ Wordsworth the simplicity of life in the golden age is contrasted with that of Wordsworth's simplicity found in the solitary lives of the rustic peasants of the Lake District, as in “The Solitary Reaper” (1798), as well as in the simplicity of diction that he claimed to be “the language of men” in “Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*” (1800).

⁶² *Psyche* ancient legend of the love of Cupid (or Amor or Eros) for Psyche recorded in *The Golden Ass* by Apuleius (c.125–c.180). William Morris retells the story in the May tales of *The Earthly Paradise* (1868).

⁶³ Rossetti in the *Westminster Review* article (see n. 41), this unrepublished paragraph continues “sense of death. ‘Arrière!’ [Fr. Hold on!] you say, ‘here in a tangible form we have the defect of all poetry like this. The modern world

is in possession of truths; what but a passing smile can it have for a kind of poetry which, assuming artistic beauty of form to be an end in itself, passes by those truths and the living interests which are connected with them, to spend a thousand cares in telling once more these pagan fables as if it had but to choose between a more and a less beautiful shadow?” It is a strange transition from the earthly paradise to the sad-coloured world of abstract philosophy. But let us accept the challenge; let us see what modern philosophy, when it is sincere, really does say about human life and the truth we can attain in it, and the relation of this to the desire of beauty.” There then follow directly the paragraphs that make up the conclusion to *The Renaissance* (1873); see Pater. The next essay in *Appreciations* (1889) is Pater's essay on “Dante Gabriel Rossetti,” first published in T. H. Ward's *The English Poets* (vol. 4, 1883).

James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834–1903): From “Mr. Whistler’s ‘Ten O’Clock’” (20 Feb. 1885)⁶⁴

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is with great hesitation and much misgiving that I appear before you, in the character of The Preacher.⁶⁵ . . .

Art is upon the Town!⁶⁶—to be chucked under the chin by the passing gallant—to be enticed within the gates of the householder—to be coaxed into company, as a proof of culture and refinement.

If familiarity can breed contempt, certainly Art—or what is currently taken for it—has been brought to its lowest stage of intimacy.

The people have been harassed with Art in every guise, and vexed with many methods as to its endurance. They have been told how they shall love Art, and live with it. Their homes have been invaded, their walls covered with paper, their very dress taken to task—until, roused at last, bewildered and filled with the doubts and discomforts of senseless suggestion, they resent such intrusion, and cast forth the false prophets, who have brought the very name of the beautiful into disrepute, and derision upon themselves.⁶⁷

Alas! ladies and gentlemen, Art has been maligned. She has naught in common with such practices. She is a goddess of dainty thought—reticent of habit, abjuring all obtrusiveness, purposing in no way to better others.

She is, withal, selfishly occupied with her own perfection only—having no desire to teach—seeking and finding the beautiful in all conditions and in all times, as did her high

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⁶⁴ title Whistler was an American artist who studied in Paris before settling in London in 1860. In Paris he had made friends with such leading artists as Henri Fantin-Latour (1836–1904), Gustave Courbet (1819–77), Edouard Manet (1832–83), Claude Monet (1840–1926), and Édgar Degas (1834–1917), as well as such writers as Charles Baudelaire (1821–67) and Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–98). In London his painting *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* (1875) had elicited the comment from John Ruskin that it was “wilful imposture. I have seen, and heard, much of Cockney impudence before now, but never expected to hear a coxcomb ask two hundred guineas for flinging a pot of paint in the public’s face.” Whistler sued Ruskin for libel and won the case, but was awarded only a farthing (¼ penny). It was, however, a decisive victory in that it began to dislodge Ruskin’s dominating theory that art is a primarily a moral force in society—in favour of art as the expression of an artist’s subjective vision in interpreting what he saw (see SWINBURNE, n. 30 and Plate 20: Whistler, *Symphony in White* No. 2). This invitation-only lecture was organized by Helen D’Oyly Carte (1852–1913) and was delivered on 20 February 1885 in the Prince’s Hall in Piccadilly, London. Oscar Wilde reviewed the lecture in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (21 Feb. 1885) as filled “with really marvellous eloquence on the absolute uselessness of all lectures of the kind.” The lecture was translated into French by Mallarmé. Our text: *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, 1890.

⁶⁵ *Preacher* to indicate the mock seriousness of the occasion and his topic, Whistler adopts a sermonizing posture. As one of the best-known London dandies, here dressed in black before a black backdrop, he also ironically echoes Ecclesiastes 1: 2.

⁶⁶ *Town* a conventional name among the landed wealthy to distinguish London from the country.

⁶⁷ *themselves* in 1882 Oscar Wilde had lectured throughout the United States and Canada on “The House Beautiful,” a lecture repeated in England in 1884. The title had been made popular by the American writer, Clarence Cook (1828–1900) in *The House Beautiful* (1878), and the topic by a variety of writers, including Charles Locke Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste* (1868); Mary Eliza Haweis, *The Art of Decoration* (1881) and *Beautiful Houses* (1882); and Frederick George Stevens, *Artists at Home* (1884). A number of journals also recommended aesthetic interiors, including *The House Furnisher and Decorator* (founded 1871), *The Magazine of Art* (1878), and *The Journal of Decorative Art* (1881). Whistler also alludes to the attacks on aesthetic people and houses launched by, amongst other magazines, *Punch* through the 1880s, especially in cartoons by George du Maurier such as “The Six-Mark Teapot” (*Punch* 30 Nov. 1880), with the following dialogue: *Æsthetic Bridegroom*: “It is quite consummate, is it not?” *Intense Bride*: “It is, indeed! Oh, Algernon, let us live up to it!”

priest Rembrandt, when he saw picturesque grandeur and noble dignity in the Jews' quarter of Amsterdam, and lamented not that its inhabitants were not Greeks.⁶⁸ . . .

Humanity takes the place of Art, and God's creations are excused by their usefulness. Beauty is confounded with virtue, and, before a work of Art, it is asked: "What good shall it do?"

Hence it is that nobility of action, in this life, is hopelessly linked with the merit of the work that portrays it; and thus the people have acquired the habit of looking, as who should say, not *at* a picture, but *through* it, at some human fact, that shall, or shall not, from a social point of view, better their mental or moral state. So we have come to hear of the painting that elevates, and of the duty of the painter—of the picture that is full of thought, and of the panel that merely decorates. . . .

A favourite faith, dear to those who teach, is that certain periods were especially artistic, and that nations, readily named, were notably lovers of Art.

So we are told that the Greeks were, as a people, worshippers of the beautiful, and that in the fifteenth century Art was engrained in the multitude.

That the great masters lived in common understanding with their patrons—that the early Italians were artists—all—and that the demand for the lovely thing produced it. . . .

Listen! There never was an artistic period.

There never was an Art-loving nation. . . .

Nature contains the elements, in colour and form, of all pictures, as the keyboard contains the notes of all music.

But the artist is born to pick, and choose, and group with science, these elements, that the result may be beautiful—as the musician gathers his notes, and forms his chords, until he bring forth from chaos glorious harmony.

To say to the painter, that Nature is to be taken as she is, is to say to the player, that he may sit on the piano.

That Nature is always right, is an assertion, artistically, as untrue, as it is one whose truth is universally taken for granted. Nature is very rarely right, to such an extent even, that it might almost be said that Nature is usually wrong: that is to say, the condition of things that shall bring about the perfection of harmony worthy a picture is rare, and not common at all.

This would seem, to even the most intelligent, a doctrine almost blasphemous. So incorporated with our education has the supposed aphorism become, that its belief is held to be part of our moral being, and the words themselves have, in our ear, the ring of religion. Still, seldom does Nature succeed in producing a picture. . . .

Set apart by them [the Gods] to complete their works, he [the artist] produces that wondrous thing called the masterpiece, which surpasses in perfection all that they have contrived in what is called Nature; and the Gods stand by and marvel, and perceive how far away more beautiful is the Venus of Melos⁶⁹ than was their own Eve.

Notes

⁶⁸ *Greeks* Rembrandt (1606–69), Dutch artist, was an influence on Whistler in his atmospheric portrait paintings, like his portrait of his mother (*Arrangement in Grey and Black No.1*, 1871) and of Thomas Carlyle (*Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 2*, 1872–73). Rembrandt painted his sitters in the costume of the day, and included people from the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam as models in his biblical paintings, such as *The Woman Taken in Adultery* (1644) in

the National Gallery, London. Neither he nor Whistler clothed his characters in historical costume as was the vogue in some Victorian painters like Frederick Leighton (1830–96) and Albert Moore (1841–93).

⁶⁹ *Melos* the marble statue of Venus de Milo, the Aphrodite of Melos (c.130 BCE), discovered in 1820 and now in the Louvre in Paris.

 WEB p. 134

Arthur Symons (1865–1945): From “The Decadent Movement in Literature” (1893)

Richard Le Gallienne (1866–1947) “A Ballad of London” (1895)

W. B. Yeats (1865–1939): From “The Symbolism of Poetry” (1900)

I

III

Olive Custance, Lady Douglas (1874–1944)

A Mood (1896)

The White Statue (1896)

Peacocks: A Mood (1902)

 WEB p. 144

3. Literature and New Technologies

3.1 Book Publishing

Charles Dickens (1812–70): From “Address” (1847) [Prospectus for the Cheap Edition]

Charles Knight (1791–1873): *The Old Printer and the Modern Press* (1854)

From Chapter 6

Mason Jackson (1819–1903): *The Pictorial Press: Its Origin and Progress* (1885)

From Chapter 1

William Morris (1834–96): From *A Note by William Morris on His Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press* (1898)

John Southward (1840–1902): *Progress in Printing and the Graphic Arts During the Victorian Era* (1897)

From Chapter 1

From Chapter 2

From Chapter 3

From Chapter 12

3.2 Aural Culture

[Anon.] “The Edison Phonograph” in *Illustrated London News* (1888)

Recordings of Victorian Voices and Sounds

George Frideric Handel (1685–1759): *Israel in Egypt* (1739; recorded 1888)

Arthur Sullivan (1842–1900): “The Lost Chord” (piano and cornet) (1888)

Arthur Sullivan (1842–1900): After-Dinner Toast (1888)

Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931): “Around the World on the Phonograph” (1888)

William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898): “The Phonograph’s Salutation” (1888)

Robert Browning (1812–1889): “How They Brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix” (1889)

Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892): “The Charge of the Light Brigade” (1890)

“Big Ben”: Sounding the Hours at the Palace of Westminster (1890)

Florence Nightingale (1820–1910): Speech in Support of the Balaclava Relief Fund (1890)

Martin Leonard Landfried (1834–1902): “Charge” (1890)

P. T. Barnum (1810–1891): “Address to the Future” (17 Feb. 1890)

Oscar Wilde [?] (1854–1900): From *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (1900?)

Enrico Caruso (1873–1921): “The Lost Chord” (1912)

Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936): “France” (1921)

W. B. Yeats (1865–1939): “The Lake Isle of Innisfree” (1932)

3.3 Photography and Cinema

William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877): *The Pencil of Nature* (1844–46)

From Introductory Remarks

[Anon.] “Photography” in *Illustrated London News* (1853)

Lewis Carroll [Charles Lutwidge Dodgson] (1832–1898): From “Hiawatha’s Photographing” in *The Train* (1857)

Victorian Photographers and Photographs

Thomas Annan (1829–87)

Francis Bedford (1816–94)

Julia Margaret Cameron (1815–79)

Lewis Carroll [Charles Lutwidge Dodgson] (1832–98)

Peter Henry Emerson (1856–1936)

Frederick H. Evans (1853–1943)

Roger Fenton (1819–69)

Francis Frith (1822–98)

David Octavius Hill (1802–70) and Robert Adamson (1821–48)

Robert Howlett (1831–58)

William J. Johnson (fl. 1850–60) and William Henderson (fl. 1850–60)

William Edward Kilburn (1818–91)

John Dillwyn Llewelyn (1810–82)

Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904)

Oscar Gustave Rejlander (1813–75)

Henry Peach Robinson (1830–1901)

William Lewis Henry Skeen (1847–1903)

William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–77)

John Thomson (1837–1921)

Benjamin Brecknell Turner (1815–94)

Victorian Cinema

Films from c.1890 to 1910

The Funeral of Queen Victoria (1901)

Religion and Science

Introduction

In 1853 Anne Wright published *The Globe Prepared for Man; A Guide to Geology*, a popular guide to a controversial science “prepared for the use of young people” (vi). The frontispiece is a coloured engraving, “A Volcano in a State of Eruption.” After the preface and table of contents there is a geological chart, “Order of Rocks Covering the Globe, 8 or 10 Miles in Depth,” setting out, matter of factly, the relationship between the strata of the earth’s crust, the geological periods in which they developed, and the correspondent biological forms which appeared in these periods (see Figure 8). The chart is to be read in two ways, vertically and horizontally. Vertically it charts four major layers of the earth plus the “Alluvial Soil” of the present, laid out “8 or 10 Miles in Depth” in three separate columns. On the left, a name is given to an epoch attached to a kind of rock, from Hypogene or Primary Rocks, through Transition, Secondary, and Tertiary Rocks, to the “Present State of the Earth’s Surface.” These divisions structure the book: after two introductory chapters, there follow five sections or “Divisions,” each titled with the name of a geological formation. In the centre of the chart, the type of rock or soil is again placed in vertical relations, moving base phase of granite (composed of hornblende, basalt, and porphyry [sic]), through, among others, sandstone, clay, sand, and “Alluvial Soil.” On the right, a number of forms are represented, again in a vertical line, at the very bottom, non-organic “Metals,” a “Depth of Granite, unknown,” moving up through “Corals,” “Trilobites,” “Fishes,” “Extinct Trees,” all the way to “Extinct Animals,” “Huge Animals,” and, finally, “Human Family, and present animals & vegetables.”

This chart lays out the parameters of the science of geology in the terms widely followed

by the major practitioners of the day. For instance, the order of beings in the right-hand column had been categorized in 1817 by the French zoologist George Cuvier (1769–1832) in a work translated as *The Animal Kingdom* (16 vols, 1825–35); the term “Silurian” had just been put into currency in 1839 by the Scottish geologist Roderick Impey Murchison (1792–1871); and the term “Old Red Sandstone” had been coined in 1821 by another Scot, Robert Jameson (1754–1854), and had been the title of a best-selling volume of natural history in 1847 by yet another Scot, Hugh Miller (1802–56). In other words, despite minor differences in terminology, and the fact that it is written for youth, Wright’s book describes the condition of the science in up-to-date and accurate terminology. Significantly, however, the chart by itself is completely silent on controversial factors that would make many of Wright’s contemporaries say that it was unfit for the hands of youth, indeed, of any God-fearing Christian. These factors, concerning agency, causality, and temporality, were much in dispute among the major geologists of the day. How do you explain the transition between the white space at the bottom of the chart and its base of “Hornblende. Basalt. Porphyry [sic]. Depth of Granite, unknown,” in other words, the First Cause? How do you account for the transition on the right-hand column between the non-organic “Veins of Metals” at the core of the earth, in which there are “no fossils,” and the first life forms, “Sea Weeds, a few Corals,” in other words, the beginning of life? How do the spatial relations laid out in the chart relate to temporality at a time when most people followed the chronology devised in 1654 by James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, which said the world was created on 23 October 4004 BCE,

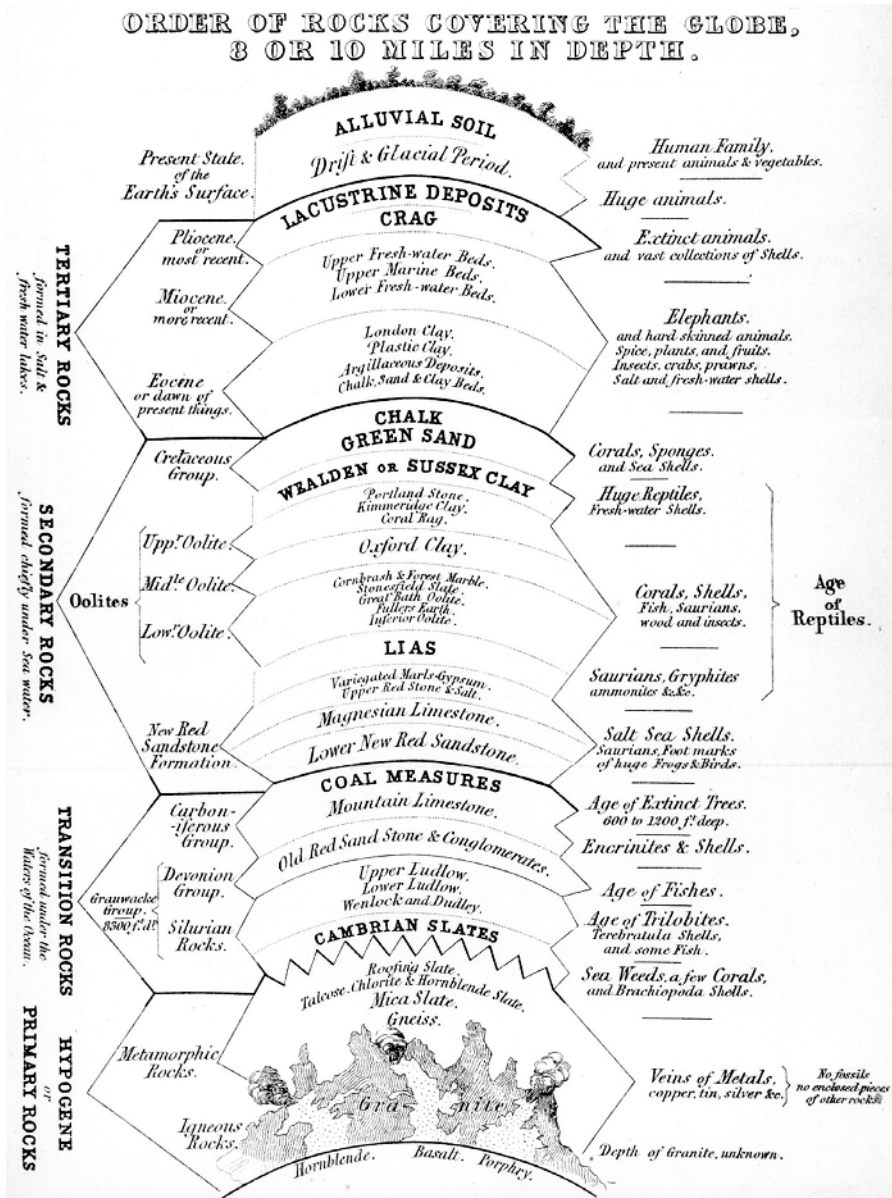


Figure 8 Order of Rocks in Mrs Wright, *The Globe Prepared for Man: A Guide to Geology* (1853). Engraving. 18 × 14 cm. Courtesy of the Gerstein Science Library, University of Toronto.

making the earth (at the time of Wright's publication) under 5,857 years old? The chart, using the latest scientific terms, elides such questions – these factors are dealt with intermittently but forcefully in the chapters that follow.

Anne Wright is identified as the author “Mrs. John Wright” on the title page (which also includes three biblical quotations); she was “The Author of ‘The Observing Eye; or, Letters on Natural History,’ ‘The Passover Feasts,’ Etc.”

In the opening words of her preface, she lays out her purpose and the foundation for filling in the absences on her chart:

The discoveries made in Natural History by the study of GEOLOGY, excited a few years ago much alarm in the public mind, lest they should lead to statements at variance with the revealed account of the Creation.

But as the theories of imaginative minds have been made to yield to solid information, collected by the observation of excellent and learned men, this alarm has subsided. And the more the science has been pursued, upon the principle of a close investigation of facts, the more completely has it been found to harmonize with the Bible statements of the character and works of God; whilst at the same time, Geologists are free to own that it explains the cause of features in the outward works of Creation, unnoticed by the Word of Revelation, which dwells chiefly upon the moral and spiritual condition of man as he stands in connection with his Maker. (v)

The "alarm" she refers to in "the public mind" would, of course, ring much louder six years later, not just in relation to geology but to other sciences as well, with the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859). Certainly by 1853 the "discoveries" of writers like Charles Lyell in *Principles of Geology* (3 vols, 1830–33) and particularly Robert Chambers in *Vestiges of Creation*, published anonymously in 1844, had indeed "excited" debate concerning the vast epochs of time needed to accommodate the antiquity of the world revealed in the fossil record, while providing "statements at variance with the revealed account of the Creation." Just eight years earlier, upon reading *Vestiges* when it came out, Adam Sedgwick, Woodwardian Professor of Geology at Cambridge from 1818 to 1873, sounded the "alarm" in a letter to Lyell: "If the book be true, the labours of sober induction are in vain; religion is a lie; human law is a mass of folly, and a base injustice; morality is moonshine; our labours for the black people of Africa were works of madmen; and man and woman are only better beasts!" (9 April 1845). Tennyson had finally finished his masterpiece *In Memoriam* (1850) only three years before Wright's book, in which he recorded this "variance" by asking "Are God and Nature then at strife, / That Nature lends such evil dreams?"

(LV). Tennyson juxtaposed the fossil evidence "From scarped cliff and quarried stone" to the understanding of humans, "Who trusted God was love indeed / And love Creation's final law" (LVI). One year after the publication of Tennyson's famous poem, John Ruskin in a letter to his friend Henry Acland would lament, "If only the Geologists would let me alone, I could do very well, but those dreadful Hammers! I hear the clink of them at the end of every cadence of the Bible verses" (24 May 1851). Such anxieties indeed call into question Wright's hopeful remark that by 1853 the "alarm" had "subsided."

The chart, then, lays out only half the story, the scientific; the preface, written by a woman whose publications included both natural history and religious topics, as well as several children's books, provides a litany of terms—"Natural History," "GEOLOGY," "variance," "revealed," "Creation," "theories of imaginative minds," "solid information," "observation," "science," "principle of close investigation of facts," "harmonize," "character and works of God," "outward works of Creation," "Word of Revelation," "moral and spiritual condition of man," and "Maker"—that were current in the attempts to negotiate, and indeed, in her case, to reconcile, the contradictions emerging between scientific evidence and the story of creation told in Genesis. The negotiation, however, was a difficult one. For instance, Wright ended every chapter like a catechism for her youthful readers, with a series of questions on the materials covered in that chapter—in none of the questions is there any mention whatsoever of the religious topics interspersed throughout every chapter of the volume. A glossary at the end of the volume has no religious expressions but is devoted exclusively to geological terms.

In answer to the questions implied by the absences in the chart Wright is explicit, as she claims repeatedly in remarks such as "After many experiments, they [geologists] have come to the conclusion, that the great Creator has been pleased to form the earth and all things that are upon it, out of a very few simple bodies,

called elements" (14). The illustration of the erupting volcano in the frontispiece gives away Wright's primary means of reconciling the seeming "variance" between the developmental stages of different life forms (such as from "Sea Weeds" to "The Age of Trilobites"). Catastrophism, following George Cuvier and advocated in Britain by William Buckland (1784–1856) and Robert Jameson, posited that the earth had been subject to several sudden violent events or natural catastrophes, such as volcanic eruptions or universal floods (as in the story of Noah in Genesis 6–9), killing off existing life forms and inaugurating new ones. In this way the various levels of extinct life forms in the fossil record could be accounted for: "By many strong proofs we are therefore led to believe, that under the directing hand of God, explosions have repeatedly taken place amongst the gasses and fiery metals in the centre of the globe, which have frequently broken and tilted up the crust of the Earth" (40). Another way in which Wright accommodates the geological evidence to dominant religious beliefs of the day concerning the age of the earth is the "gap theory." It posited creation in six literal days, but with a huge time lapse at the beginning of the creation story in Genesis: "ages upon ages lie unrecorded between the end of the first verse, and the beginning of the second verse of Genesis" (10). We could go on – the point is that Wright never denies or contests the "facts" of the geological and fossil record, but she explains them using religious frameworks that were acceptable to the leading scientists of the day to negotiate, reconcile, or accommodate religion and science. As our selections in this section demonstrate, such negotiation took varied and complex forms.

The religion and science context has two sections: first, GEOLOGY AND EVOLUTION and second, RELIGIOUS FAITH AND UNCERTAINTY (WEB). They lay out the conventional intersection of the two fields in the nineteenth century. As the selections will show, the dominant move throughout this intersection between science and faith is not to reject one or the other but to reconcile the two. After the major theoretical texts on evolution by

Wallace and Darwin, a poem (KENDALL, "LAY OF THE TRILOBITE" (WEB p. 193)) written late in the century is evidence of how quickly the major aspects Darwin's position became commonplace. In fact, as early as one year after the publication of *The Descent of Man* (1871) debates on the relation of humans to the greater apes provoked satires of Darwin as a monkey and brought zoo-goers face to face with their supposed ancestors (see Figure 9).

The second section deals with ecclesiastical politics and the three parties of the Established Church; with higher criticism and attacks on the new scholarship from literalists resisting the historicity of the Bible; with devotional piety; and with a very popular form of poetry now often overlooked, hymns.

The conventions within Victorian Studies position relations between science and religion by foregrounding first geology, Genesis, and evolutionary science, with some attention paid to the reading of the biblical text following scientific principles in the higher criticism imported from Germany. Second, major developments in the nineteenth century in the fields of geology, palaeontology, and biology challenged orthodox religious beliefs about the creation of the world, the antiquity of the earth, the emergence and evolution of life forms, and the literal truths of the Bible. Hence, because religion and science chiefly engage each other over these issues, we have concentrated on them in this section. Technology as science is in every one of the other context sections: in the transportation, telecommunications, weaponry, and social Darwinism of EMPIRE; in theories of sexuality of GENDER, WOMEN, AND SEXUALITY; in print technology and developments in recording and photography of the LITERATURE AND THE ARTS; and in the industrial machinery and know-how of the CONDITION OF ENGLAND. To the Victorians, however, technology and science were closely linked, in evidence everywhere they looked. Such overlapping between science and technology is read as an important sign of the times by Lancelot Smith in Charles Kingsley's novel *Yeast* of 1851, the same year as

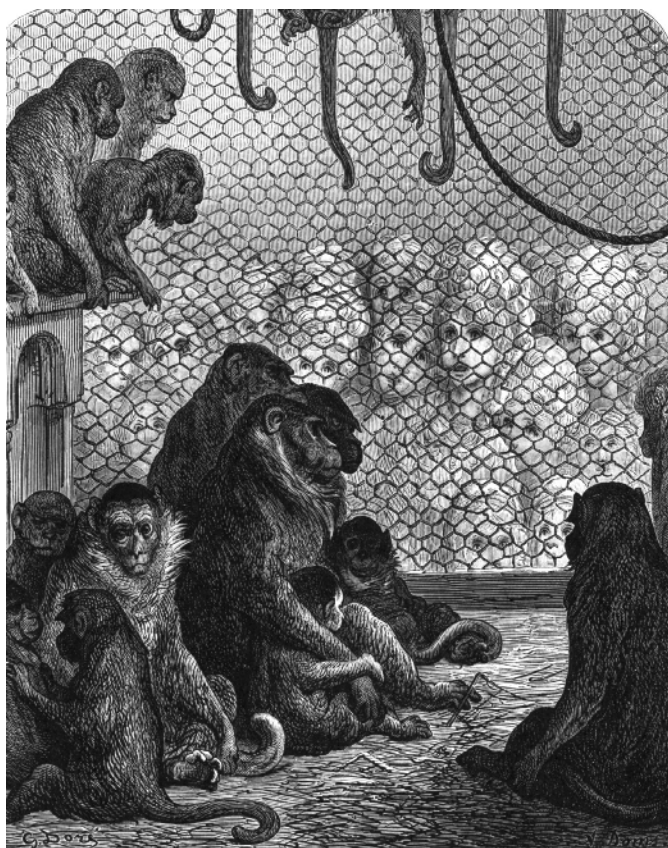


Figure 9 Gustave Doré (1832–83), *The Monkey House*. In Blanchard Jerrold and Gustave Doré, *London: A Pilgrimage* (1872), p. 110. Woodblock Engraving, 16 × 13 cm. Source: courtesy of The Robarts Library, University of Toronto. The viewpoint is from inside the monkey cage looking out towards the human spectators. While the monkeys are sitting relaxed in family groups, cradling their young, the humans are crowded against the enclosure, bewigged, their eyes peering through the wire enclosure, so that it looks as if they are wearing spectacles and giving them a more simian appearance than those inside the cage. The text reads: “‘I always end with the monkeys,’ said an illustrious *savant* to me, when we discussed the ways in which various people did the [Zoological] Gardens. . . . We were on the side of the monkeys; and we were with the majority.” The phrase echoes the well-known comment attributed to Disraeli at the Oxford Diocesan Conference on 25 November 1864: “What is the question now placed before society? . . . That question is this: Is man an ape or an angel? I, my lord, I am on the side of the angels.” The question had become more searching with the publication of Darwin’s *The Descent of Man* in 1871. See RELIGION: GEOLOGY AND EVOLUTION; ROBINSON.

the Great Exhibition with its celebration of the manufacture of all nations. Smith is writing to his cousin, Luke, a Tractarian clergyman, rejecting his pious religion in favour of nature, secular and material progress, and the awakening of spiritual insight:

Our ships do sail; our mills do work; our doctors do cure; our soldiers do fight. . . . So give me the political economist, the

sanitary reformer, the engineer; and take your saints and virgins, relics and miracles. The spinning-jenny and the railroad, Cunard’s liners and the electric telegraph, are to me . . . signs that we are, on some points at least, in harmony with the universe; that there is a mighty spirit working among us, who . . . may be the Ordering and Creating God. (p. 96)

This catalogue of technological advances is not only contemporaneous with Wright's book, but is also cited, as are the discoveries of geology by Wright, as evidence of a benevolent creator.

The readings of this section demonstrate that relations between Victorian religion and science involve much more than the conventional view of a conflict between two forms of evidence, faith and knowledge, believers and unbelievers, superstition and reason, the Book of Revelation and the Book of Nature, creation by a benevolent creator and evolution by uncaring natural laws, or the Bible and the scientific record. When considering these relations in their historical complexity, two major factors must be kept in the forefront: first, on a political level, the church controlled the institutions of knowledge but gradually lost that control over the course of the nineteenth century. Second, on an epistemological level, the major differences and controversies were not between religion and science. Rather, they lay between religious science, grounded in some form of the design argument of natural theology, and irreligious science, which, more often than not, compartmentalized the two fields. The latter claimed that there was no conflict in need of reconciliation but rather that the two fields were totally separate forms of knowledge.

Science became the authoritative discourse by the end of the nineteenth century, moving from a discipline dominated by amateurs and largely clerical gentlemen practising natural history to professional scientists employed in industry and the universities. Throughout the century there were two complementary movements: on the one side, the slow erosion of the monopoly control of the Anglican establishment over public offices, as well as political and educational institutions; and, on the other side, the slow shifts in educational policy, from a curriculum based entirely on the classics to, by the end of the century, one which was moving to be dominated by the sciences. Interest exploded early in the century, as evidenced by the number of endeavours for the promotion of science that

were founded: the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) in 1831, the Entomological Society (1833), the Geological Survey of Great Britain (1835), the Botanical Society (1836), the Microscopical Society (1839), the Pharmaceutical Society (1841), the Chemical Society (1841), the Ethnological Society (1843), and the Institution of Mechanical Engineers (1847). Many of these institutions had specialist journals, publishing their annual transactions for the general public. There were also significant institutional shifts in higher education: various university chairs were founded, such as in geology at Cambridge (1818) and Oxford (1819); the Royal College of Chemistry (1845), with the support of Prince Albert; the Honours School in Natural Sciences at Oxford (1850), and the Natural Sciences Tripos at Cambridge (1851); and Owens' College (1851), later Manchester University, specifically devoted to scientific education. The journal *Nature* (still one of the pre-eminent and most prestigious scientific journals) began publication in 1869 under the editorship of Norman Lockyer (1836–1920), an astronomer. The scientific method of these hard sciences became an imperial ideology, spilling over into the methodologies and ambitions of several social sciences, such as anthropology, ethnology, sociology, and psychology, each with its own society and journal: the Anthropological Society of London (1863), breaking away from by the Ethnological Society of London; the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (1851); and the Psychological Association (1901). Along with this outburst of professionalization came a tremendous growth in popularizing science: The *Penny Cyclopædia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* was published by Charles Knight from 1833 to 1843; Dickens's journal *Household Words* carried articles on popular science throughout its run from 1850 to 1859. The leading monthly and quarterly journals published learned articles on science – as well as on religion – and searching reviews of recent works, all by leading authorities. Mechanics Institutes promoting education for working-class

men were established throughout Britain from the 1820s, promoting practical knowledge with an emphasis on scientific matters.

While this promotion and growth in science was taking place throughout Victoria's reign, the Established Church was steadily losing control of its power over the secular sphere. In 1828 the Corporation Act (1661) and the Test Act (1673) were repealed, thereby removing inhibitions against the dissenters; one year later, a similar bill gave relief to the Roman Catholics. Under the Act of Uniformity (1662), with its requirement of the swearing to the Thirty-Nine Articles, it was not possible for Catholics or Dissenters to take degrees at Oxford or Cambridge until reform in the 1850s. The separation of ecclesiastical control of knowledge was all but over by 1864, when Rowland Williams and H. B. Wilson, two clerics who had been dismissed from their university teaching positions for publishing heresy in *Essays and Reviews* (1860), won their appeal to the Privy Council when Lord Westbury's ruling, "dismissing Hell with costs," finalized the separation of the church and state in law. Nevertheless, throughout the century, certain factions of the clergy rallied against new formations of knowledge, particularly evolution and the higher criticism of the Bible.

Despite this seeming correspondence in the conflicting narratives, the rise of science and the decline of religious authority, it would be a grave mistake to conceive of the two fields as being locked in opposition. The majority of the promoters and practitioners of science, especially early in the century, were ordained clergy. The debate, except in extreme forms, was not, as stated earlier, between religion and science, but was about how to explain, reconcile, or rationalize the new discoveries in relation to faith. The fundamentals of geology and evolution were long accepted by most clergy. For instance, in 1860 at the famous meeting of the British Association, another writer in *Essays and Reviews*, Frederick Temple, gave a sermon promoting evolution; at the time he was headmaster of Rugby (1857–69), one of the prominent

public schools, where he built laboratories and promoted changes in the curriculum to encourage the study of natural science. He was promoted to bishop of Exeter in 1869, and in his eight *Bampton Lectures on the Relations between Religion and Science* (1884) he asserted that the "doctrine of Evolution is in no sense whatever antagonistic to the teachings of Religion" (p. 107). In 1896 he was appointed archbishop of Canterbury – clearly, his career path demonstrates that the mainstream and authoritative branch of the Established Church was not antagonistic to the discoveries of science.

The epistemology upon which the sciences could be accommodated to faith was grounded in many ways on the natural theology established in William Paley's *Natural Theology* (1802). Using an analogy, Paley forged a design argument: just as the complexity of a watch necessarily demanded that there be an intelligent designer, so too must the complexity found in nature be explained by an intelligent maker. The Bridgewater Treatises (1833–36) extended the design argument to a number of fields of enquiry: astronomy, physiology, physics, chemistry, biology, meteorology, and geology, all in accordance with natural theology. The will of the Right Honourable and Reverend Francis Henry Edgerton, Earl of Bridgewater (1759–1829), directed that £8,000 establish a series "On the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Creation," and that such works be illustrated "by all reasonable arguments, as, for instance, the variety and formation of God's creatures in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; the effect of digestion, and thereby of conversion; the construction of the hand of man, and an infinite variety of other arguments: as also by discoveries, ancient and modern, in arts, sciences, and the whole extent of literature." In other words, natural theology allowed the discoveries of science to be an affirmation of an intelligent creator, not a challenge or denial: these are the grounds, for the most part, where the debates take place throughout Victoria's reign. Charles Lyell in *Principles of Geology*

(1830–33) concludes with the problem of measuring creation against human comprehension of time and space:

We aspire in vain to assign limits to the works of creation in space, whether we examine the starry heavens, or that world of minute animalcules which is revealed to us by the microscope. We are prepared, therefore, to find that in time also the confines of the universe lie beyond the reach of mortal ken. But in whatever direction we pursue our researches, whether in time or space, we discover everywhere the clear proofs of a Creative Intelligence, and of His foresight, wisdom, and power.... To assume that the evidence of the beginning or end of so vast a scheme lies within the reach of our philosophical inquiries, or even of our speculations, appears to be inconsistent with a just estimate of the relations which subsist between the finite powers of man and the attributes of an Infinite and Eternal Being. (3: 384–85)

Darwin concludes the *Origin* with his famous “tangled bank” metaphor, where he asserts that the complexity in nature demonstrates “grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into a few forms or into one” (p. 490). Even Huxley in explaining his coining of the word “agnostic” does not reject religion, but recognizes limits to what is knowable: “In matters of the intellect, follow your reason as far as it will take you, without regard to any other consideration. And negatively: In matters of the intellect, do not pretend that conclusions are certain which are not demonstrated or demonstrable” (pp. 186–87). What of religion is left after the recognition of such limits, or whether or not Huxley was being somewhat disingenuous, is debatable; nevertheless, the vast majority of scientists in the Victorian era struggled to explain their research in terms consistent with belief, just as the majority of religious thinkers strived to adapt their theology

in terms consistent with the new forms of scientific knowledge.

Until quite recently, it had been conventional to view the relationship between Victorian science and religion in terms of conflict and warfare. In her preface quoted above, Anne Wright writes rather tentatively about the geological “discoveries” that had “excited ... much alarm”; in the final paragraph of the book she sets out a reconciliation very much in line with the dominant mode of solving the problem using natural theology, in effect claiming there is really no problem:

Thus we are able to perceive by the word of Revelation, that the Divine architect of this globe had two objects to set forth in its creation. First, the manifestation of His creative wisdom; and secondly the formation of a home for man, by whose redemption from sin and death, and preparation for a future throne of glory, is afforded unto principalities and powers in heavenly places, the grandest manifestation of His attributes of power, justice, mercy, and love. (339)

Just seven years later, reviewing Darwin’s *Origin* in the *Westminster Review* (Apr. 1860), Huxley, who proudly declared himself to be Darwin’s bulldog, would raise the level of excitement to a fever pitch, moving from metaphors of reconciliation to those of the battlefield:

Extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules; and history records that whenever science and orthodoxy have been fairly opposed, the latter has been forced to retire from the lists, bleeding and crushed if not annihilated; scotched, if not slain. But orthodoxy is the Bourbon of the world of thought. It learns not, neither can it forget; and though, at present, bewildered and afraid to move, it is as willing as ever to insist that the first chapter of Genesis contains the beginning

and the end of sound science; and to visit, with such petty thunderbolts as its half-paralysed hands can hurl, those who refuse to degrade Nature to the level of primitive Judaism.



Such use of war metaphors, extending Wright's "alarm" to Huxley's triumphal death scene, would become the norm for characterizing relations between the two fields. John William Draper (1811–88), the American scientist who spoke directly before Wilberforce at the famous debate (see RELIGION: GEOLOGY; OXFORD DEBATE (WEB p. 182)), in *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (1875) sets out a history of strife between belief and knowledge from the Greeks and Romans to the present, but especially focussing on ascendancy of the Catholic Church and its treatment of Galileo. In his preface he writes of the "military fervor" of the church, of the impending "crisis" brought about by the "antagonism ... between Religion and Science" (p. vi). In this highly influential work, Draper combines the metaphors of warfare with an equally polarizing contrast between the "intellectual night" of the church and the "daybreak of better things" now dawning with the confrontation and defeat of superstition: "The history of Science is not a mere record of isolated discoveries; it is a narrative of the conflict of two contending powers, the expansive force of the human intellect on one side, and the compression arising from traditionary faith and human interests on the other." The conflict model was solidified further by another American, Andrew Dickson White (1832–1918), the first president of Cornell University, in a work whose title, *The History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (1895), established the dominant terms of reference. Thus, for most of the twentieth century, a narrative of good guys and bad guys, ignorance and reason, and so on, has governed the historical discussion. Twentieth-century political issues in the United States over control of education and the First Amendment to the Constitution over the separation of church and state, exemplified

in a number of court cases, for instance, in the Scopes Monkey Trial in Tennessee in 1925 on the illegality of teaching evolution, or more recently, the case in Dover, Pennsylvania in 2004 over the teaching of intelligent design, have kept the metaphors of warfare in the public eye, and have had a determinative effect on how the Victorian documents in the following section continue to be read. More recently, writers like Richard Dawkins in *The God Delusion* (2006) and Christopher Hitchens in *God Is Not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything* (2007) have extended the conflict model in the public realm promoting atheism through their popular books and their promotions on the talk-show circuit.

Since the 1990s, however, following the direction of such historians of science as John Hedley Brooke, Ronald Numbers, and Geoffrey Cantor, the field of religion and science has moved steadily away from the conflict model. In his ground-breaking study *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives* (1991), Brooke rejects as too simplistic three views of historical analysis traditionally used to discuss religion and science: conflict, complementarity, and commonality. Instead, he offers an interpretive model of complexity based on historically specific circumstances and ideas and beliefs within which the texts and controversies are produced and read. For instance, in considering Huxley's outrageous extension of the war metaphor quoted above, we need to consider that he was an up-and-coming scientist outside the establishment. Most practising scientists were also clergymen, but Huxley was not a clergyman, no more was another popularizer of science, William Tyndall, and nor were they Oxford or Cambridge graduates. In order to be heard, therefore, one of their strategies was to dispense with the gentlemanly rhetoric to engage in bare-knuckle conflict. Such considerations of specific conditions – class positions, academic and church affiliations, family networks, and other allegiances – suggest Brooke's model of complexity. It is in accord with this model that we set out the following texts and annotation.



1. Geology and Evolution

WEB p. 180

Charles Lyell (1797–1875): *Principles of Geology* (1830–33)

From Book 1, Chapter 1 (1830)

From Book 3, Chapter 26 (1833)

Robert Chambers (1802–71): *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844)

From Chapter 12: “General Considerations Respecting the Origin of the Animated Tribes”¹

A candid consideration of all these circumstances can scarcely fail to introduce into our minds a somewhat different idea of organic creation from what has hitherto been generally entertained. That God created animated beings, as well as the terraqueous² theatre of their being, is a fact so powerfully evidenced, and so universally received, that I at once take it for granted. But in the particulars of this so highly supported idea, we surely here see cause for some re-consideration. It may now be inquired,—In what way was the creation of animated beings effected? The ordinary notion may, I think, be not unjustly described as this,—that the Almighty author produced the progenitors of all existing species by some sort of personal or immediate exertion.³ But how does this notion comport with what we have seen of the gradual advance of species, from the humblest to the highest? How can we suppose an

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¹ title published anonymously as the self-proclaimed “first attempt to connect the natural sciences into a history of creation,” and immediately causing a tremendous sensation, this bestseller’s authorship was not revealed until the posthumous twelfth edition in 1884. In ten years the book went through ten editions, selling 24,000 copies. Chambers was a self-educated publisher, writer, and amateur naturalist who, in February 1832, began publishing *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*, which included his articles summarizing the latest scientific developments for his middle-class readership. Although now usually read as a flawed precursor to Darwin’s *Origin of Species* (1859), this book brought before a middle-class reading audience scientific concepts that challenged long-held religious notions regarding the creation of the earth and temporality. Popular among the public and the scientific community, *Vestiges* argued that “transmutation” (that is, evolution) was characteristic of the entire cosmos, including the solar system, Earth, the rocks, and all forms of life. Positing a divine author, the work concludes that some species known through the fossil record are extinct because of flaws, while the entire process as a kind of theological principle did not need special creation for each species. Tennyson eagerly read the first edition, and drew upon it heavily in *In Memoriam* to foreground an uncaring nature “red in tooth and claw” in the face of human suffering (see particularly, sects. XXXV and LV–LVI, and notes). *Vestiges* ranges from the formation of the solar system to speculations on the future of the human race, arguing a developmental hypothesis

against the theological views of a special creation. The book begins by examining cosmic evolution based on the nebular hypothesis of Pierre Simon de Laplace (1749–1827), French mathematician and astronomer, who in 1796 had posited that the solar system, once a mass of gas, had cooled, resulting in the breaking off of hardened pieces which eventually became planets. Chambers then deals at length with the progressive development of plants and animals (including humans) from simple to complex forms. For progress in evolution, see n. 60. For the opposite argument, degradation from the original creation of perfect specimens, see n. 9. Chambers’s time frame challenged traditional biblical interpreters from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who relied on the dating of creation, including the geological record, in the year 4004 BCE, according to the chronology of James Ussher (1581–1656), Archbishop of Armagh, published in *Annales Vestimenti* (Lat. The annals of the Old Testament; 1647), with his marginal dates printed in many bibles throughout the nineteenth century. *Vestiges* also had disturbing political overtones for many contemporaries: the connection of science with materialism implied a radical stance associated with the Jacobinism of the French Revolution.

² *terraqueous* (<Lat. both land and water).

³ *the Almighty . . . exertion* the position of the advocates of special or particular creation, or creationists (first used 1833, *OED*), based on a literalist reading of the creation narrative in Genesis, in which on the fifth day God creates the first animated beings, the sea creatures and birds (Genesis 1: 20–23).

immediate exertion of this creative power at one time to produce zoophytes, another time to add a few marine mollusks, another to bring in one or two conchifers, again to produce crustaceous fishes,⁴ again perfect fishes, and so on to the end? This would surely be to take a very mean view of the Creative Power—to, in short, anthropomorphize⁵ it, or reduce it to some such character as that borne by the ordinary proceedings of mankind. And yet this would be unavoidable; for that the organic creation was thus progressive through a long space of time, rests on evidence which nothing can overturn or gainsay. Some other idea must then be come to with regard to *the mode* in which the Divine Author proceeded in the organic creation. Let us seek in the history of the earth's formation for a new suggestion on this point. We have seen powerful evidence, that the construction of this globe and its associates, and inferentially that of all the other globes of space, was the result, not of any immediate or personal exertion on the part of the Deity, but of natural laws⁶ which are expressions of his will. What is to hinder our supposing that the organic creation is also a result of natural laws, which are in like manner an expression of his will? More than this, the fact of the cosmical arrangements being an effect of natural law, is a powerful argument for the organic arrangements being so likewise, for how can we suppose that the august Being who brought all these countless worlds into form by the simple establishment of a natural principle flowing from his mind, was to interfere personally and specially on every occasion when a new shell-fish or reptile was to be ushered into existence on *one* of these worlds? Surely this idea is too ridiculous to be for a moment entertained. . . .

To a reasonable mind the Divine attributes⁷ must appear, not diminished or reduced in any way, by supposing a creation by law, but infinitely exalted. It is the narrowest of all views of the Deity, and characteristic of a humble class of intellects, to suppose him acting constantly in particular ways for particular occasions. It, for one thing, greatly detracts from his foresight, the most undeniable of all the attributes of Omnipotence. It lowers him towards the level of our own humble intellects. Much more worthy of him it surely is, to suppose that all things have been commissioned by him from the first, though neither is he absent from a particle of the current of natural affairs in one sense, seeing that the whole system is continually supported by his providence. Even in human affairs, if I may be allowed to adopt a familiar illustration, there is a constant progress from specific action for particular occasions, to arrangements which, once established, shall continue to answer for a great multitude of occasions. Such plans the enlightened readily form for themselves, and conceive as being adopted by all who have to attend to a multitude of affairs, while the ignorant suppose every act of the greatest public functionary to be the result of some special consideration and care on his part alone. Are we to suppose the Deity adopting plans which harmonize only with the modes of procedure of the less enlightened of our

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⁴ *zoophytes . . . mollusks . . . conchifers . . . fishes* a zoophyte is an obsolete term for a plant that produced animals as fruit in medieval bestiaries, or, in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century science, for animals that resembled plants, like sea anemones, sponges, and coral; George Johnston (1797–1855) published *A History of British Zoophytes* (1838), and in 1868 Thomas Hincks (1818–99) published *A History of British Hydroid Zoophytes* (2 vols). Molluscs are a very large class of marine invertebrate animals of very different appearances, from the largest, the giant squid, to the nautilus and sea snail. Conchifers are a very numerous set of bivalve sea animals, like the oyster, mussel, and scallop. Crustaceous fish are lobsters, crabs, shrimp, prawns, and many others. Hence Chambers alludes to the problem of particular creation for many thousands of very specialized sea creatures, only a fraction of which had been identified when he was writing.

⁵ *anthropomorphize* to accommodate God's divine power in the creation of species to human standards and abilities in creative acts: hence, a faulty analogy; see n. 8.

⁶ *laws* this phrase was most offensive to some religious critics of the book, who claimed that natural law denied the possibility of miracles and other forms of divine intervention. Chambers is arguing for gradual changes in the evolution of the earth according to natural laws, over long periods of time, a theory that was known as uniformitarianism. See n. 59; and TENNYSON, n. 98.

⁷ *attributes* the eight Bridgewater Treatises, *On the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God as Manifested in the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man* (1833–40), one of the major sources for the analogy between nature and religion in the nineteenth century, are based on the attributes of God, namely omnipotence, omniscience, and omnibenevolence, as well as omnipresence, and general providence (sustaining the universe in existence and order).

race? Those who would object to the hypothesis of a creation by the intervention of law, do not perhaps consider how powerful an argument in favour of the existence of God is lost by rejecting this doctrine. When all is seen to be the result of law, the idea of an Almighty Author becomes irresistible, for the creation of a law for an endless series of phenomena—an act of intelligence above all else that we can conceive—could have no other imaginable source, and tells, moreover, as powerfully for a sustaining as for an originating power.⁸

Hugh Miller (1802–56): *The Foot-Prints of the Creator: or, the Asterolepis of Stromness* (1849)

From “Stromness and its Asterolepis. The Lake of Stennis”⁹

Very many ages must have passed ere, amid waves and currents, the water-worn debris which now forms the Great Conglomerate¹⁰ could have accumulated over tracts of sea-bottom from ten to fifteen thousand square miles in area, to its present depth of from one to four hundred feet. . . . Myriads of fish, of forms the most ancient and obsolete,

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⁸ power the consistency and impermeability of the laws of nature, as divine laws, should, according to Chambers, demonstrate not only the power and goodness of God in creating the world (the argument of the deists of the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries who held that God was the author or creator of the world but remained aloof from creation thereafter) but also the continuing presence of God (omnipresence) in sustaining and extending creation. To Chambers, particular or special providence in the form of divine interference to abrogate or interfere with laws shows that the anthropomorphic analogy between human power (exercised in such efforts of particular creation and efforts to abrogate laws) and divine power is not applicable in light of the divine attributes; see n. 5.

⁹ title a stonemason and geologist, Miller was well known for his books on geology, especially *The Old Red Sandstone; or New Walks in an Old Field* (1841), his autobiography, *My Schools and Schoolmasters* (1852), and *The Testimony of the Rocks*, published posthumously in 1857. He was a devout evangelical Christian and a member of the Free Church of Scotland (established in 1843), a break-away group from the Presbyterians under the leadership of Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847), whom Miller greatly admired. Chalmers, in *Evidences of Christianity* (1813), advocated the Great Gap theory at the opening of Genesis, positing that there was an earlier world created between the first and second verses of Genesis. Miller changed his views later in life, abandoning his earlier held Great Gap theory from Chalmers: in *The Testimony of the Rocks* (1857) Miller again made popular the idea that the biblical “days” are really tremendously long epochs or eras, a theory advanced by French naturalist Georges Buffon (1707–88). In the last phase of Miller’s thinking, humankind is part of the last era (the sixth day in Genesis); he is the last stage of evolution and cannot expect to see those further developments proposed by Chambers at the end of *Vestiges*. Throughout his career, Miller’s impact, then, was to foreground and popularize the notion of scriptural geology. Suffering from lung disease (silicosis) from stonemason’s dust, and from depression, he committed suicide.

From 1840 Miller edited the paper of Chalmers’s group, *The Witness*, in which *The Old Red Sandstone* (a study of the rock and fossil formations of the late Silurian and Devonian periods, more than 450 million years ago) was first serialized. *Foot-Prints of the Creator* (1849) was a reply to Chambers’s *Vestiges* (see this section), presenting an anti-evolutionary argument for successive periods of divine creation, evidence for which Miller found in the fossil record. Using the example of part of a giant fossilized fish, a bone which he had discovered at Stromness in the Orkney Islands north of Scotland, Miller argued that it was found in the oldest Paleozoic era of geological formations, dating from the late Silurian to the Devonian period, in which the fish predominated, from about 440 to 400 million years ago. The *Asterolepis* (Gk. star-scale, from the star-like markings on its plates) represented a highly organized, extinct vertebrate, a fish with heavy body armour and a moveable jaw with teeth, that, according to *Vestiges*, should not have occurred in so old a formation. To Miller, this giant fish, extending to 6 metres in length, with a head larger than an elephant’s skull, must have been created rather than developed in so old a geological formation. The fact that a giant form exists in a more ancient formation contradicts expected evolutionary sequence that smaller forms (in later formations) should precede larger forms. Miller follows the theories of the Swiss palaeontologist Louis Agassiz (1807–73) in *Recherches sur les poissons fossiles* (trans. *Research on Fossil Fish*, 5 vols, 1833–43), and in *Monographie des poissons fossiles du Vieux Gres Rouge, ou Systeme Devonien* (Fr. Monograph on the fossil fish of the Old Red Sandstone or Devonian System, 1844–45). On the basis of Miller’s works and discoveries, Agassiz agreed to write the preface to *Foot-Prints*. Agassiz claimed that species had originally been created as perfect specimens, and rather than evolving to higher forms they had subsequently degenerated to become extinct. In agreement, Miller writes: “Monstrosity through displacement of parts constitutes yet another form of degradation; and this form, united, in some instances, to the other two [through defect of parts and through redundancy] we find curiously

congregated on its banks or sheltered in its hollows; generation succeeded generation, millions and tens of millions perished mysteriously by sudden death: shoals after shoals were annihilated; but the productive powers of nature were strong, and the waste was kept up. But who among men shall reckon the years or centuries during which these races existed, and this muddy ocean of the remote past spread out to unknown and nameless shores around them? As in those great cities of the desert¹¹ that lie uninhabited and waste, we can but conjecture the terms of their existence from the vast extent of their cemeteries. We only know that the dark, finely-grained schists in which they so abundantly occur must have been of comparatively slow formation, and that yet the thickness of the deposit more than equals the height of our loftiest Scottish mountains. It would seem as if a period equal to that in which all human history is comprised might be cut out of a corner of a period represented by the Old Red Sandstone, and be scarce missed when away; for every year during which man has lived upon earth, it is not improbable that the *Pterichthys*¹² and its contemporaries may have lived a century. . . .

I traced the formation upward this evening along the edges of the upturned strata . . . and, imbedded in a grayish-coloured layer of hard flag, somewhat less than a hundred yards over the granite . . . I found what I sought,—a well-marked bone,—in all probability the oldest vertebrate remain yet discovered in Orkney. . . .

This nail-like bone formed a characteristic portion of the *Asterolepis*,—so far as is yet known, the most gigantic ganoid¹³ of the Old Red Sandstone, and, judging from the *place* of this fragment, apparently one of the first.

Philip Henry Gosse (1810–88): *Omphalos: An Attempt to Untie the Geological Knot* (1857)

From Chapter 12: “The Conclusion”¹⁴

It is not necessary,—at least it does not seem so to me,—that all the members of this mighty commonwealth should have an actual, a diachronic existence; any more than that, in the creation of a man, his foetal, infantile, and adolescent stages should have an actual,

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exemplified in the geological history of the fish. . . . And it is, I am convinced, from a survey of the progress of degradation in the great ichthyic [fish, ancient and fossil fish] division,—a progress recorded, as ‘with a pen of iron, in the rock for ever,’ [Job 19: 24]—and not from superficial views founded on the cartilaginous or non-cartilaginous texture of the ichthyic skeleton, that the standing of the kingly fishes of the earlier period is to be adequately determined” (*Foot-Prints* (pp. 158–59)). Hence the gradual progressive evolution argued in *Vestiges*, that evolutionary transformation as found in fossils can occur without divine intervention, is called into question by Miller. For progress in evolution, see nn. 1, 8, and 60. The title of the first (unnumbered) chapter refers to Lake Stennis, a loch five kilometres north-east of Stromness near Hoy, one of the Orkney Islands, north of Scotland.

¹⁰ Conglomerate Old Red Sandstone outcrops covering a large area in the north-east of Scotland.

¹¹ desert probably Palmyra, a vast archaeological site dating from the second millennium BCE and extensively rebuilt in the Hellenic and Roman periods, in the Syrian desert north of Damascus; a large number of funerary monuments are outside the ancient walls in the Valley of the Tombs.

¹² Sandstone . . . *Pterichthys* for Miller’s book, *Old Red Sandstone*, see n. 9. The *Pterichthys* is a genus of fossil fish with a heavily armoured body of the class of antiarch placoderms, a group that included the *Asterolepis*. They possessed a backbone, jaws with grinding plates instead of teeth, a heavily-armoured, plated head and body, and two appendages perhaps used as claws for crawling or swimming located where fins are found in other kinds of fish. It was found in Old Red Sandstone in Scotland and dates from the Devonian period (see n. 9).

¹³ ganoid a fossil fish with plate-like scales.

¹⁴ title a member of the Plymouth Brethren, an evangelical sect, Gosse combined a belief in the inerrancy of scripture with the interests of a naturalist. He was one of the pre-eminent descriptive naturalists of the nineteenth century, perhaps the leading marine zoologist, and the author of at least forty-two books on natural science, both popular (like *The Aquarium—An Unveiling of the Wonders of the Deep Sea*, 1854 and *Evenings at the Microscope*, 1859) and technical (like *Actinologia Britannica—A History of the British Sea-Anemones and Corals*, 1860). This, his most famous (or infamous) book, was published in October 1857. The title *Omphalos* (Gk. navel) refers to the underlying question

diachronic existence, though these are essential to his normal life-history. Nor would their diachronism be more certainly inferrible from the physical traces of them, in the one case than in the other. In the newly-created Man, the proofs of successive processes requiring time, in the skin, hairs, nails, bones, &c. could in no respect be distinguished from the like proofs in a Man of to-day; yet the developments to which they respectively testify are widely different from each other, so far as regards the element of time. Who will say that the suggestion, *that the strata of the surface of the earth, with their fossil floras and faunas, may possibly belong to a prochronic development of the mighty plan of the life-history of this world,*—who will dare to say that such a suggestion is a self-evident absurdity? If we had no example of such a procedure, we might be justified in dealing cavalierly with the hypothesis; but it has been shown that, without a solitary exception, the whole of the vast vegetable and animal kingdoms were created,—mark! I do not say *may* have been, but **MUST** have been created—on this principle of a prochronic development, with distinctly traceable records. It was *the law of organic creation*.

It may be objected, that, to assume the world to have been created with fossil skeletons in its crust,—skeletons of animals that never really existed,—is to charge the Creator with forming objects whose sole purpose was to deceive us. The reply is obvious. Were the concentric timber-rings of a created tree formed merely to deceive? Were the growth lines of a created shell intended to deceive? Was the navel of the created Man intended to deceive him into the persuasion that he had had a parent?¹⁵

These peculiarities of structure were inseparable from the adult stage of these creatures respectively, without which they would not have been what they were. . . . The Man would not have been a Man without a navel. . . .

Admit for a moment, as a hypothesis, that the Creator had before his mind a projection of the whole life-history of the globe, commencing with any point which the geologist may imagine to have been a fit commencing point, and ending with some unimaginable acme in the indefinitely distant future. He determines to call this idea into actual existence, not at the supposed commencing point, but at some stage or other of its course. It is clear, then, that at the selected stage it appears, exactly as it would have appeared at that

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of the book, “Did the biblical Adam have a navel?” Sir Thomas Browne (1605–82), English physician and author, had argued against Adam’s having a navel in *Pseudodoxia Epidemica, or Enquiries into Common and Vulgar Errors* (1646–72). In the chapter “Of the Picture of Adam and Eve with Navels,” Browne argues that navels are wrongly depicted in paintings by Raphael, Michelangelo, and others, but if indeed Adam and Eve had navels at creation, “the Creator affected superfluities, or ordained parts without use or office. . . . Now the Navell being a part, not precedent, but subsequent unto generation, nativity or parturition, it cannot be well imagined at the creation or extraordinary formation of Adam, who immediately issued from the Artifice of God; nor also that of Eve, who was not solemnly begotten, but suddenly framed, and anomalously proceeded from Adam” (bk 3, ch. 5). Gosse turns this argument on its head, arguing that Adam indeed had a navel when he was created whole, complete, and mature; similarly the earth comes into existence with its fossil record already implanted by a process Gosse calls prochronism, time already prepared for future development as though built upon a past that never existed (except in the mind of God), effects, as Gosse says, without a cause: “Perhaps it may help to clear my argument if I divide the past developments of organic

life, which are necessarily, or at least legitimately, inferrible from present phenomena, into two categories, separated by the violent act of creation. Those unreal developments whose apparent results are seen in the organism at the moment of its creation, I will call prochronic, because time was not an element in them; while those which have subsisted since creation, and which have had actual existence, I will distinguish as diachronic, as occurring during time.”

To “untie the geological knot” in the book’s subtitle is to solve an ancient unsolvable problem by a radical and ingenious move. Anticipating a large sale for a book that countered the geological reconcilers, Gosse ordered a print-run of 4,000 copies (the first edition of Darwin’s *Origin* was 1,250). After polite first notices, the book sold poorly to negative reviews, and the remainder was pulped. After this series of attacks, Gosse defended his book with a supplement, *Geology and God: Which?* (1866), chiefly against the criticism that his book was based on a divine lie (Lat. *Deus quidam deceptor*: God who is sometimes a deceiver), a charge brought against him by his friend Charles Kingsley who refused to review the book because it would promote doubt.

¹⁵ *parent* in a long footnote Gosse quotes from and refutes John Harris’s *Pre-Adamite Earth* (1848), a treatise in support of the great gap theory (see n. 1).

moment of its history, if all the preceding eras of its history had been real. Just as the new-created Man was, at the first moment of his existence, a man of twenty, or five-and-twenty, or thirty years old; physically, palpably, visibly, so old, though not really, not diachronically. He appeared precisely what he would have appeared had he lived so many years.

Let us suppose that this present year 1857 had been the particular epoch in the projected life-history of the world, which the Creator selected as the era of its actual beginning. At his fiat it appears; but in what condition? Its actual condition at this moment:—whatever is now existent would appear, precisely as it does appear. There would be cities filled with swarms of men; there would be houses half-built; castles fallen into ruins; pictures on artists' easels just sketched in; wardrobes filled with half-worn garments; ships sailing over the sea; marks of birds' footsteps on the mud; skeletons whitening the desert sands; human bodies in every stage of decay in the burial-grounds. These and millions of other traces of the past would be found, *because they are found in the world now*; they belong to the present age of the world; and if it had pleased God to call into existence this globe at *this* epoch of its life-history, the whole of which lay like a map before his infinite mind, it would certainly have presented all these phenomena; not to puzzle the philosopher, but because they are inseparable from the condition of the world at the selected moment of irruption into its history; because they constitute its condition; they make it what it is.

**Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913): From “On the Tendency of
Varieties to Depart Indefinitely from the Original Type” in
Journal of the Proceedings of the Linnean Society.
Zoology (20 Aug. 1858)¹⁶**

One of the strongest arguments which have been adduced to prove the original and permanent distinctness of species is, that *varieties* produced in a state of domesticity are more or less unstable, and often have a tendency, if left to themselves, to return to the normal

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¹⁶ title in September, 1855 Wallace had published “On the Law which has Regulated the Introduction of New Species” in the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History*, arguing that closely related species are found in geographical proximity and in the same geological period because one is descended from the other: “Every species has come into existence coincident both in space and time with a pre-existing closely allied species” (p. 186). His argument was based on his mapping of the geography and environment of the monkeys of the Amazon; Lyell read this paper and, forced to consider abandoning his belief in the immutability of species, alerted Darwin. However, Darwin did not follow up on Lyell’s suggestion, although he began to correspond with Wallace and pressed on with his work on the *Origin*. Early in 1858 Wallace wrote this paper, “On the Tendency of Varieties,” and sent it to Darwin, who received it on 18 June. Darwin immediately wrote to Lyell that he had now been “forestalled,” claiming that if Wallace had seen his pencil sketch of 1842 (see DARWIN, n. 18), “he could not have made a better short abstract!”; furthermore, Darwin claimed that if he did not hurry *Origin* to publication, his own “originality . . . will be smashed.” Darwin sought Hooker’s advice, had a medical relapse, and suffered through the final sickness and the death on 28 June from

scarlet fever of his tenth and last child, Charles Waring Darwin. Hooker and Lyell persuaded the Linnean Society to hear, on 1 July 1858, a joint paper by Darwin and Wallace, both absent – Darwin burying his 18-month-old baby and Wallace in Borneo. The first part of the presentation was Hooker and Lyell’s letter explaining how each naturalist “conceived the same very ingenious theory to account for the appearance and perpetuation of varieties and of specific forms”; second, extracts from Darwin’s “Essay” of 1844; third, an abstract of Darwin’s letter to Asa Gray of 5 September 1857; and finally, Wallace’s paper. The documents were all printed in the *Proceedings of the Linnean Society* (20 Aug. 1858). Wallace’s essay was published with the following subheadings (removed from our text): “Instability of Varieties supposed to prove the permanent distinctness of Species”; “The Struggle for Existence”; “The Law of Population of Species”; “The Abundance or Rarity of a Species dependent upon its more or less perfect Adaptation to the Conditions of Existence”; “Useful Variations will tend to Increase; useless or hurtful Variations to Diminish”; “Superior Varieties will ultimately Extirpate the original Species”; “The Partial Reversion of Domesticated Varieties explained”; “Lamarck’s Hypothesis very different from that now advanced”; and “Conclusion.”

form of the parent species; and this instability is considered to be a distinctive peculiarity of all varieties, even of those occurring among wild animals in a state of nature, and to constitute a provision for preserving unchanged the originally created distinct species.

In the absence of scarcity of facts and observations as to *varieties* occurring among wild animals, this argument has had great weight with naturalists, and has led to a very general and somewhat prejudiced belief in the stability of species. Equally general, however, is the belief in what are called “permanent or true varieties,”¹⁷—races of animals which continually propagate their like, but which differ so slightly (although constantly) from some other race, that the one is considered to be a *variety* of the other. Which is the *variety* and which the original *species*, there is generally no means of determining, except in those rare cases in which the one race has been known to produce an offspring unlike itself and resembling the other. This, however, would seem quite incompatible with the “permanent invariability of species,”¹⁸ but the difficulty is overcome by assuming that such varieties have strict limits, and can never again vary further from the original type, although they may return to it, which, from the analogy of the domesticated animals, is considered to be highly probable, if not certainly proved.

It will be observed that this argument rests entirely on the assumption, that *varieties* occurring in a state of nature are in all respects analogous to or even identical with those of domestic animals,¹⁹ and are governed by the same laws as regards their permanence or further variation. But it is the object of the present paper to show that this assumption is altogether false, that there is a general principle in nature which will cause many *varieties* to survive the parent species, and to give rise to successive variations departing further and further from the original type, and which also produces, in domesticated animals, the tendency of varieties to return to the parent form.²⁰

The life of wild animals is a struggle for existence. The full exertion of all their faculties and all their energies is required to preserve their own existence and provide for that of their infant offspring. The possibility of procuring food during the least favourable seasons, and of escaping the attacks of their most dangerous enemies, are the primary conditions which determine the existence both of individuals and of entire species. These conditions will also determine the population of a species; and by a careful consideration of all the circumstances we may be enabled to comprehend, and in some degree to explain, what at first sight appears so inexplicable—the excessive abundance of some species, while others closely allied to them are very rare. . . .

Why, as a general rule, are aquatic, and especially sea birds, very numerous in individuals? Not because they are more prolific than others, generally the contrary; but because their food never fails, the sea-shores and river-banks daily swarming with a fresh supply of small mollusca and crustacea. Exactly the same laws will apply to mammals. Wild cats are prolific and have few enemies; why then are they never as abundant as rabbits? The only

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¹⁷ *varieties* see Carl Linnaeus, *Somnus Plantarum* (Lat. sleep of plants, 1755), which argues that hybrid plants are common among plant breeders, and “if not admitted as new species, are at least permanent varieties.”

¹⁸ *species* see Carl Linnaeus, *Systema Naturae* (Lat. the system of nature, 1725): “The invariability of species is the condition for order [in nature].”

¹⁹ *animals* on the analogy between domestic and wild animals, see n. 55.

²⁰ *form* Wallace’s argument on the analogy between domesticated and wild animals, and the tendency of hybrid varieties to return to the type of the ancestor, is related to one of the fundamental differences between Wallace and Darwin.

While Wallace stressed the struggle for existence as the pressure on varieties and species to adapt to their changing environment, Darwin stressed the competition between individuals of the same species to survive in the struggle for food and to reproduce in the struggle for breeding partners. To Wallace, the variations in domesticated animals and birds follow the same laws that apply to animals in the wild, except that domestic animals are not subject to a true or valid struggle for existence but are protected from vicissitudes in food supply, predation, and environmental liabilities; when those conditions are removed, they revert to type rather than diverge from it. See also n. 53.

intelligible answer is, that their supply of food is more precarious. It appears evident, therefore, that so long as a country remains physically unchanged, the numbers of its animal population cannot materially increase. If one species does so, some others requiring the same kind of food must diminish in proportion. The numbers that die annually must be immense; and as the individual existence of each animal depends upon itself, those that die must be the weakest—the very young, the aged, and the diseased,—while those that prolong their existence can only be the most perfect in health and vigour—those who are best able to obtain food regularly, and avoid their numerous enemies. It is, as we commenced by remarking, “a struggle for existence,” in which the weakest and least perfectly organized must always succumb.²¹ . . .

Most or perhaps all the variations from the typical form of a species must have some definite effect, however slight, on the habits or capacities of the individuals. Even a change of colour might, by rendering them more or less distinguishable, affect their safety; a greater or less development of hair might modify their habits. More important changes, such as an increase in the power or dimensions of the limbs or any of the external organs, would more or less affect their mode of procuring food or the range of country which they inhabit. It is also evident that most changes would affect, either favourably or adversely, the powers of prolonging existence. An antelope with shorter or weaker legs must necessarily suffer more from the attacks of the feline carnivora; the passenger pigeon with less powerful wings would sooner or later be affected in its powers of procuring a regular supply of food; and in both cases the result must necessarily be a diminution of the population of the modified species. If, on the other hand, any species should produce a variety having slightly increased powers of preserving existence, that variety must inevitably in time acquire a superiority in numbers. These results must follow as surely as old age, intemperance, or scarcity of food produce an increased mortality. In both cases there may be many individual exceptions; but on the average the rule will invariably be found to hold good. All varieties will therefore fall into two classes—those which under the same conditions would never reach the population of the parent species, and those which would in time obtain and keep a numerical superiority. Now, let some alteration of physical conditions occur in the district—a long period of drought, a destruction of vegetation by locusts, the irruption of some new carnivorous animal seeking “pastures new”²²—any change in fact tending to render existence more difficult to the species in question, and tasking its utmost powers to avoid complete extermination; it is evident that, of all the individuals composing the species, those forming the least numerous and most feebly organized variety would suffer first, and, were the pressure severe, must soon become extinct. The same causes continuing in action, the parent species would next suffer, would gradually diminish in numbers, and with a recurrence of similar unfavourable conditions might also become extinct. The superior variety would then alone remain, and on a return to favourable circumstances would rapidly increase in numbers and occupy the place of the extinct species and variety. . . .

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²¹ *succumb* according to his autobiography, *My Life* (1905), Wallace was suffering from malarial fever in February 1858 when he suddenly recalled having read Malthus's *Essay on Population* (1798) twelve years earlier (1846) and applied Malthus to his own views of the struggle for existence. The checks to increase in human population that Malthus identified – war, disease, accidents, and famine – also apply to the animal realm: “Why do some die and some live? And the answer was clearly, that on the whole the best fitted live. From the effects of disease the most healthy escaped, the strongest, the swiftest or the most cunning. . . . Then it sud-

denly flashed upon me that this self-acting process would necessarily *improve the race*, because in every generation the inferior would inevitably be killed off and the superior would remain – that is, *the fittest would survive*” (1: 361). Wallace's discussion in *My Life* goes on at some length through the various parts of the animal kingdom illustrating the effects of deprivations in the food supply, the predations of enemies, and the severities of the natural environment. For Darwin's similar revelation on reading Malthus twenty years earlier, see DARWIN, n. 17; and see also n. 35.

²² *new* see the final words of Milton's “Lycidas” (1837).

We believe we have now shown that there is a tendency in nature to the continued progression of certain classes of *varieties* further and further from the original type—a progression to which there appears no reason to assign any definite limits—and that the same principle which produces this result in a state of nature will also explain why domestic varieties have a tendency to revert to the original type. This progression, by minute steps, in various directions, but always checked and balanced by the necessary conditions, subject to which alone existence can be preserved, may, it is believed, be followed out so as to agree with all the phenomena presented by organized beings, their extinction and succession in past ages, and all the extraordinary modifications of form, instinct, and habits which they exhibit.²³

Charles Darwin (1809–82): *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (1859)²⁴

From “Introduction”

When on board H.M.S. “Beagle,”²⁵ as naturalist, I was much struck with certain facts²⁶ in the distribution of the inhabitants of South America, and in the geological relations of the present to the past inhabitants of that continent. These facts seemed to me to throw some light on the origin of species—that mystery of mysteries, as it has been called by one of our greatest philosophers.²⁷ . . .

My work is now nearly finished; but as it will take me two or three more years to complete it, and as my health is far from strong, I have been urged to publish this Abstract. I have more especially been induced to do this, as Mr. Wallace,²⁸ who is now studying the natural history of the Malay archipelago, has arrived at almost exactly the same general conclusions that I have on the origin of species. Last year he sent to me a memoir on this

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²³ *exhibit* Wallace’s stress on different variants underlies another difference from Darwin. In Darwin, natural selection involves the struggle for existence between individual variants within the same population. In Wallace, however, new varieties adapt to changing environmental conditions over long periods of time, gradually differing from their ancestors, and such variations occur not only among individuals in a species, but in allied species as well as in a single species.

²⁴ *title* the first edition of 1,250 copies was published on 26 November 1859 and sold out on the day of publication. A month later, on 26 December, a second edition of 3,000 copies was printed, with the date 1860. When the sixth edition was published (dropping the “On” from the title) on 19 February 1872, some 12,750 copies were in circulation. For the third edition Darwin added “An Historical Sketch . . . of Opinion on the Origin of Species,” moving some material from the introduction there. Opposite the title page, Darwin printed a quotation from William Whewell’s *Bridgewater Treatise*: (1833): “But with regard to the material world, we can at least go so far as this—we can perceive that events are brought about not by insulated interpositions of Divine power, exerted in each particular case [that is, special creation], but by the establishment of general

laws.” A second quotation mentioned the theory of the two books from Bacon’s *Advancement of Learning* (1605): “To conclude, therefore, let no man out of a weak conceit of sobriety, or an ill-applied moderation, think or maintain, that a man can search too far or be too well studied in the book of God’s word, or the book of God’s works; divinity or philosophy; but rather let men endeavour an endless progress or proficience in both.” For the two-book theory, see TENNYSON, n. 307; and BEVINGTON, nn. 1 and 2.

²⁵ *Beagle* on its second voyage to South America (1831–36) under the command of Robert FitzRoy (1805–65). See DARWIN, nn. 2 and 8–11.

²⁶ *facts* this word recurs throughout the first paragraph of the introduction, stressing Darwin’s empiricism, based here on his study of the relations between the fossils he had found in South America.

²⁷ *philosophers* Sir John Herschel (1792–1871), English astronomer, had so referred to the problem of the origin of species in a letter to Charles Lyell (see n. 29) in 1836. Darwin was struck with his discovery of fossils of large extinct mammals and two different species of rhea, large flightless birds, that coexisted in overlapping areas of Patagonia, raising questions about special creation.

²⁸ *Wallace* see, n. 16.

subject, with a request that I would forward it to Sir Charles Lyell,²⁹ who sent it to the Linnean Society,³⁰ and it is published in the third volume of the Journal of that Society. Sir C. Lyell and Dr. Hooker,³¹ who both knew of my work—the latter having read my sketch of 1844—honoured me by thinking it advisable to publish, with Mr. Wallace's excellent memoir, some brief extracts from my manuscripts.

This Abstract,³² which I now publish, must necessarily be imperfect. I cannot here give references and authorities for my several statements; and I must trust to the reader reposing some confidence in my accuracy. No doubt errors will have crept in, though I hope I have always been cautious in trusting to good authorities alone. I can here give only the general conclusions at which I have arrived, with a few facts in illustration, but which, I hope, in most cases will suffice. . . .

The author³³ of the "Vestiges of Creation" would, I presume, say that, after a certain unknown number of generations, some bird had given birth to a woodpecker, and some plant to the misseltoe, and that these had been produced perfect as we now see them; but this assumption seems to me to be no explanation, for it leaves the case of the coadaptations of organic beings to each other and to their physical conditions of life, untouched and unexplained.

It is, therefore, of the highest importance to gain a clear insight into the means of modification and coadaptation. At the commencement of my observations it seemed to me probable that a careful study of domesticated animals and of cultivated plants would offer the best chance of making out this obscure problem. Nor have I been disappointed; in this and in all other perplexing cases I have invariably found that our knowledge, imperfect though it be, of variation under domestication, afforded the best and safest clue. I may venture to express my conviction of the high value of such studies, although they have been very commonly neglected by naturalists.

From these considerations, I shall devote the first chapter³⁴ of this Abstract to Variation under Domestication. We shall thus see that a large amount of hereditary modification is at least possible; and, what is equally or more important, we shall see how great is the power of man in accumulating by his Selection successive slight variations. I will then pass on to the variability of species in a state of nature; but I shall, unfortunately, be

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²⁹ Lyell Charles Lyell (1797–1875), Scottish geologist, had become joint secretary of the Geological Society in 1823. He published *Principles of Geology* (3 vols, 1830–33; see RELIGION: GEOLOGY (WEB p. 180)) and was a friend of Darwin.

³⁰ society the Linnean Society founded in London in 1788, named after the Swedish naturalist, Carl Linnaeus (1707–78), who established the classification and naming of organisms. Darwin, Lyell, and Hooker were all members of the society's council.

³¹ Hooker Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817–1911), British botanist, explored Antarctica (1839–43) and during the voyage read the proofs of Darwin's *Voyage of the Beagle*, given to him by Lyell. After Hooker's return, Darwin and he met and remained friends and colleagues for life. From 1844 Hooker was introduced to Darwin's views on evolution, and especially natural selection, and in 1847 he read and commented on Darwin's "Essay" outlining his theories (see n. 16; and DARWIN, n. 18).

³² Abstract that is, *The Origin of Species*. After the papers by him and Wallace were read at the Linnean Society on 1 July 1858, Darwin had to revise or "abstract" what he had already written, omitting references and further supporting

information. He completed the remaining three and a half chapters in some haste for publication in 1859, and hence he referred to his completed work as an "abstract." For how Wallace's paper forced Darwin to compose and publish *Origin*, see n. 16; and DARWIN, n. 18.

³³ author for *Vestiges* and Darwin's initial reaction to it, see n. 1; In January 1845, Darwin, who had carefully read the work, commented that "his geology strikes me as bad, and his zoology far worse." By 1859 Darwin already suspected that the author of *Vestiges* was Chambers. Chambers would publish (still anonymously) an eleventh edition in December 1860, claiming that he and Darwin were arguing for the same thing. In this paragraph Darwin objects to Chambers's theory of transmutation by saltationism (Lat. *saltus*, leap, jump) – sudden, unexplained transformation from one species to another, or from an ancestral species to a quite different species, instead of Darwin's version – gradualism, the accumulation of small changes and adaptations. Darwin omitted this paragraph from "Introduction" in the third (March 1861) and subsequent editions.

³⁴ chapter Darwin gives a chapter-by-chapter outline of the entire volume in this and the following paragraphs.

compelled to treat this subject far too briefly, as it can be treated properly only by giving long catalogues of facts. We shall, however, be enabled to discuss what circumstances are most favourable to variation. In the next chapter the Struggle for Existence amongst all organic beings throughout the world, which inevitably follows from their high geometrical powers of increase, will be treated of. This is the doctrine of Malthus,³⁵ applied to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms. As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive; and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it vary however slightly in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be *naturally selected*. From the strong principle of inheritance, any selected variety will tend to propagate its new and modified form. . . .

No one ought to feel surprise at much remaining as yet unexplained in regard to the origin of species and varieties, if he makes due allowance for our profound ignorance in regard to the mutual relations of all the beings which live around us. Who can explain why one species ranges widely and is very numerous, and why another allied species has a narrow range and is rare? Yet these relations are of the highest importance, for they determine the present welfare, and, as I believe, the future success and modification of every inhabitant of this world. Still less do we know of the mutual relations of the innumerable inhabitants of the world during the many past geological epochs in its history. Although much remains obscure, and will long remain obscure, I can entertain no doubt, after the most deliberate study and dispassionate judgement of which I am capable, that the view which most naturalists entertain, and which I formerly entertained—namely, that each species has been independently created—is erroneous. I am fully convinced that species are not immutable;³⁶ but that those belonging to what are called the same genera are lineal descendants of some other and generally extinct species, in the same manner as the acknowledged varieties of any one species are the descendants of that species. Furthermore, I am convinced that Natural Selection has been the main but not exclusive means of modification.

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³⁵ Malthus the *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) by Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834), English divine and political economist, argued that the increase of population would involve a struggle for the necessities of life because the production of food would not keep pace with the demands, so that cycles of famine and disease would check population growth – all a refutation of the concept of increasing prosperity or meliorism. For Darwin's own account of discovering Malthus, see DARWIN, n. 17; for a similar revelatory reading of Malthus, see n. 21.

³⁶ *immutable* in these two sentences Darwin denies the fixity and constancy of species by arguing that species are changing or evolving; above all, he is seen to be denying the special creation of species by a divine power, thereby also denying the literal truth of the opening two chapters of Genesis. This view challenged the conventional biblical literalism that dominated the religious institutions and denominations in Britain. For instance, in 1864 nearly 11,000 clergymen would sign a "Declaration on the

Inspiration of the Word of God, and the Eternity of Future Punishment, by Clergymen of the United Church of England and Ireland," or the Oxford Declaration of the Clergy (1864), in protest against the acquittal of two of the writers of *Essays and Reviews*: "We, the undersigned Presbyters and Deacons in Holy Orders of the Church of England and Ireland, hold it to be our bounden duty to the Church and to the souls of men, to declare our firm belief that the Church of England and Ireland, in common with the whole Catholic Church, maintains without reserve or qualification the Inspiration and Divine Authority of the whole Canonical Scriptures as not only containing but being the Word of God; and further teaches, in the words of our Blessed Lord, that the 'punishment' of the 'cursed,' equally with the 'life' of the 'righteous,' is 'everlasting.'" For biblical literalism, see this section, GEOLOGY: MILLER and GEOLOGY: GOSSE; see also RELIGION: RELIGIOUS; BURTON (WEB p. 210) and RELIGION: GEOLOGY; KINNS (WEB p. 191).



From Chapter 3: "Struggle for Existence"³⁷

Hence, also, we can see that when a plant or animal is placed in a new country amongst new competitors, though the climate may be exactly the same as in its former home, yet the conditions of its life will generally be changed in an essential manner. If we wished to increase its average numbers in its new home, we should have to modify it in a different way to what we should have done in its native country; for we should have to give it some advantage over a different set of competitors or enemies.

It is good thus to try in our imagination to give any form some advantage over another. Probably in no single instance should we know what to do, so as to succeed. It will convince us of our ignorance on the mutual relations of all organic beings; a conviction as necessary, as it seems to be difficult to acquire. All that we can do, is to keep steadily in mind that each organic being is striving to increase at a geometrical ratio;³⁸ that each at some period of its life, during some season of the year, during each generation or at intervals, has to struggle for life, and to suffer great destruction. When we reflect on this struggle, we may console ourselves with the full belief, that the war of nature is not incessant, that no fear is felt, that death is generally prompt, and that the vigorous, the healthy, and the happy survive and multiply.³⁹

From Chapter 4: "Natural Selection"⁴⁰

Let it be borne in mind in what an endless number of strange peculiarities our domestic productions,⁴¹ and, in a lesser degree, those under nature, vary; and how strong the hereditary tendency is. Under domestication, it may be truly said that the whole organisation becomes in some degree plastic. Let it be borne in mind how infinitely complex and close-fitting are the mutual relations of all organic beings to each other and to their physical conditions of life. Can it, then, be thought improbable, seeing that variations useful to man have undoubtedly occurred, that other variations useful in some way to each being in the great and complex battle of life, should sometimes occur in the course of thousands of generations? If such do occur, can we doubt (remembering that many more individuals are born than can possibly survive) that individuals having any advantage, however slight, over others, would have the best chance of surviving and of procreating their kind? On the other hand, we may feel sure that any variation in the least degree injurious would be rigidly destroyed. This preservation of favourable variations and the rejection of injurious variations, I call Natural Selection. Variations neither useful nor injurious would not be affected by natural selection, and would be left a fluctuating element, as perhaps we see in the species called polymorphic.⁴²

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³⁷ title in this chapter Darwin presents a view of nature opposed to that prevalent among natural scientists, religious leaders, and the general public, who by and large accepted the presuppositions of natural theology concerning the natural order, in which the harmonious and balanced processes of the reproduction and death are part of the benevolent plan of a divine creator. Instead Darwin argues that competition for life is a "struggle for existence" (in Malthus's phrase) in which warfare is the condition and either success or death and extinction are the results. In this conclusion to chapter 3, however, Darwin holds out a faint hope of consolation.

³⁸ ratio the core of Malthus's argument in *Essay on Population* is "population, when unchecked, increases in a geometrical ratio. Subsistence increases only in an arithmetical ratio. A slight acquaintance with numbers will shew the

immensity of the first power to the second." For Malthus, see n. 35; see also DARWIN, n. 17.

³⁹ multiply to consolidate his rhetorical appeal, Darwin echoes Genesis 1: 22.

⁴⁰ title two aspects of Darwin's theory of natural selection are discussed in this chapter: the struggle for existence (chapter 3), and the prevalence of variations that can be inherited.

⁴¹ productions Darwin's first chapter "Variation under Domestication" dealt with relationships among domesticated plants (such as kinds of roses, orchids, or dahlias) and animals (such as kinds of dogs, sheep, or cattle) that are genealogical, as opposed to descent from different wild ancestors.

⁴² polymorphic variant forms within the same species, as in the varieties of finches that Darwin found in the Galapagos Islands. Darwin discusses polymorphic variation under different conditions in nature in chapter 3.

We shall best understand the probable course of natural selection by taking the case of a country undergoing some physical change, for instance, of climate. The proportional numbers of its inhabitants would almost immediately undergo a change, and some species might become extinct. We may conclude, from what we have seen of the intimate and complex manner in which the inhabitants of each country are bound together, that any change in the numerical proportions of some of the inhabitants, independently of the change of climate itself, would most seriously affect many of the others. If the country were open on its borders, new forms would certainly immigrate, and this also would seriously disturb the relations of some of the former inhabitants. Let it be remembered how powerful the influence of a single introduced tree or mammal has been shown to be. But in the case of an island, or of a country partly surrounded by barriers, into which new and better adapted forms could not freely enter, we should then have places in the economy of nature which would assuredly be better filled up, if some of the original inhabitants were in some manner modified; for, had the area been open to immigration, these same places would have been seized on by intruders. In such case, every slight modification, which in the course of ages chanced to arise, and which in any way favoured the individuals of any of the species, by better adapting them to their altered conditions, would tend to be preserved; and natural selection would thus have free scope for the work of improvement.

We have reason to believe, as stated in the first chapter, that a change in the conditions of life, by specially acting on the reproductive system, causes or increases variability; and in the foregoing case the conditions of life are supposed to have undergone a change, and this would manifestly be favourable to natural selection, by giving a better chance of profitable variations occurring; and unless profitable variations do occur, natural selection can do nothing. Not that, as I believe, any extreme amount of variability is necessary; as man can certainly produce great results by adding up in any given direction mere individual differences, so could Nature, but far more easily, from having incomparably longer time at her disposal. Nor do I believe that any great physical change, as of climate, or any unusual degree of isolation to check immigration, is actually necessary to produce new and unoccupied places for natural selection to fill up by modifying and improving some of the varying inhabitants. For as all the inhabitants of each country are struggling together with nicely balanced forces, extremely slight modifications in the structure or habits of one inhabitant would often give it an advantage over others; and still further modifications of the same kind would often still further increase the advantage. No country can be named in which all the native inhabitants are now so perfectly adapted to each other and to the physical conditions under which they live, that none of them could anyhow be improved; for in all countries, the natives have been so far conquered by naturalised productions, that they have allowed foreigners to take firm possession of the land. And as foreigners have thus everywhere beaten some of the natives, we may safely conclude that the natives might have been modified with advantage, so as to have better resisted such intruders.⁴³

As man can produce and certainly has produced a great result by his methodical and unconscious means of selection, what may not nature effect? Man can act only on external and visible characters: nature cares nothing for appearances, except in so far as they may be useful to any being. She can act on every internal organ, on every shade of constitutional difference, on the whole machinery of life. Man selects only for his own good; Nature only for that of the being which she tends. Every selected character is fully exercised by her; and

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⁴³ *intruders* this passage on imperialistic conquest in relation to natural selection may be compared with his later comments

on the evolution of race in *The Descent of Man* (1871); see also RELIGION: GEOLOGY; WALLACE, "ORIGIN" (WEB p. 188).



the being is placed under well-suited conditions of life. Man keeps the natives of many climates in the same country; he seldom exercises each selected character in some peculiar and fitting manner; he feeds a long and a short beaked pigeon on the same food; he does not exercise a long-backed or long-legged quadruped in any peculiar manner; he exposes sheep with long and short wool to the same climate. He does not allow the most vigorous males to struggle for the females. He does not rigidly destroy all inferior animals, but protects during each varying season, as far as lies in his power, all his productions. He often begins his selection by some half-monstrous form; or at least by some modification prominent enough to catch his eye, or to be plainly useful to him. Under nature, the slightest difference of structure or constitution may well turn the nicely-balanced scale in the struggle for life, and so be preserved. How fleeting are the wishes and efforts of man! how short his time! and consequently how poor will his products be, compared with those accumulated by nature during whole geological periods.⁴⁴ Can we wonder, then, that nature's productions should be far "truer" in character than man's productions; that they should be infinitely better adapted to the most complex conditions of life, and should plainly bear the stamp of far higher workmanship?⁴⁵

It may be said that natural selection is daily and hourly scrutinising, throughout the world, every variation, even the slightest; rejecting that which is bad, preserving and adding up all that is good; silently and insensibly working, whenever and wherever opportunity offers, at the improvement of each organic being in relation to its organic and inorganic conditions of life. We see nothing of these slow changes in progress, until the hand of time has marked the long lapses of ages, and then so imperfect is our view into long past geological ages, that we only see that the forms of life are now different from what they formerly were. . . .

The affinities of all the beings of the same class have sometimes been represented by a great tree.⁴⁶ I believe this simile largely speaks the truth. The green and budding twigs may represent existing species; and those produced during each former year may represent the long succession of extinct species. At each period of growth all the growing twigs have tried to branch out on all sides, and to overtop and kill the surrounding twigs and branches, in the same manner as species and groups of species have tried to overmaster other species in the great battle for life. The limbs divided into great branches, and these into lesser and lesser branches, were themselves once, when the tree was small, budding twigs; and this connexion of the former and present buds by ramifying branches may well represent the classification of all extinct and living species in groups subordinate to groups. Of the many twigs which flourished when the tree was a mere bush, only two or three, now grown into great branches, yet survive and bear all the other branches; so with the species which lived during long-past geological periods, very few now have living and modified descendants. From the first growth of the tree, many a limb and branch has decayed and dropped off; and these lost branches of various sizes may represent those whole orders, families, and genera which have now no living representatives, and which are known to us only from having been found in a fossil state. As we here and there see a

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⁴⁴ *periods* see Ecclesiastes 1: 3–4; and 2: 22–23.

⁴⁵ *workmanship* see the comparison between domestic and natural species, see n. 28.

⁴⁶ *tree* in this famous last paragraph of chapter 4 Darwin summarizes with the metaphor of a tree of life his long discussion of the one illustration in the *Origin*, a diagram that brings together in a branching pattern over thousands of generations divergence of character, natural selection, and the extinction of some strains. The branching pattern

challenges the ancient hierarchical scheme of the great chain of being, moving from the lowest to the highest, from mineral to vegetal, to animal, and thence to human, angelical, and divine levels. While the tree image had long been used in genealogy (family tree), its use in biology was rare. Darwin, who kept with him on *The Beagle* a volume of Milton's works (see DARWIN, n. 15), is perhaps referring to the tree of life in the Garden of Eden in *Paradise Lost* (4: 218), a passage that derives from Genesis 2: 9.

thin straggling branch springing from a fork low down in a tree, and which by some chance has been favoured and is still alive on its summit, so we occasionally see an animal like the *Ornithorhynchus* or *Lepidosiren*,⁴⁷ which in some small degree connects by its affinities two large branches of life, and which has apparently been saved from fatal competition by having inhabited a protected station. As buds give rise by growth to fresh buds, and these, if vigorous, branch out and overtop on all sides many a feeble branch, so by generation I believe it has been with the great Tree of Life, which fills with its dead and broken branches the crust of the earth, and covers the surface with its ever branching and beautiful ramifications.

From Chapter 15: "Recapitulation and Conclusion"⁴⁸

As this whole volume is one long argument, it may be convenient to the reader to have the leading facts and inferences briefly recapitulated.

That many and grave objections may be advanced against the theory of descent with modification through natural selection, I do not deny. I have endeavoured to give to them their full force. Nothing at first can appear more difficult to believe than that the more complex organs and instincts should have been perfected, not by means superior to, though analogous with, human reason, but by the accumulation of innumerable slight variations, each good for the individual possessor. Nevertheless, this difficulty, though appearing to our imagination insuperably great, cannot be considered real if we admit the following propositions, namely,—that gradations in the perfection of any organ or instinct, which we may consider, either do now exist or could have existed, each good of its kind,⁴⁹—that all organs and instincts are, in ever so slight a degree, variable,—and, lastly, that there is a struggle for existence leading to the preservation of each profitable deviation of structure or instinct. The truth of these propositions cannot, I think, be disputed.

It is, no doubt, extremely difficult even to conjecture by what gradations many structures have been perfected, more especially amongst broken and failing groups of organic beings; but we see so many strange gradations in nature, as is proclaimed by the canon, "*Natura non facit saltum*,"⁵⁰ that we ought to be extremely cautious in saying that any organ or instinct, or any whole being, could not have arrived at its present state by many graduated steps.⁵¹ There are, it must be admitted, cases of special difficulty on the theory of natural selection; and one of the most curious of these is the existence of two or three defined castes of workers or sterile females in the same community of ants but I have attempted to show how this difficulty can be mastered. . . .

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⁴⁷ *Ornithorhynchus* . . . *Lepidosiren* the *Ornithorhynchus* is the platypus of Eastern Australia, one of only four egg-laying mammals; the *Lepidosiren* is the Amazonian lungfish that has rudimentary gills but breathes with lungs and has some characteristic bone structures that link it to land-based vertebrates.

⁴⁸ *title* Darwin divides his concluding chapter into three sections, marked off by spaces between them. First, he deals with difficulties and "grave objections" to evolution; second, he summarizes the main arguments in the order in which they are presented; and third, he looks to the present and the future and the role of evolution in all branches of science.

⁴⁹ *kind* see Genesis 1: 12.

⁵⁰ *Natura* . . . *saltum* (Lat. nature does not make a jump); Darwin got the phrase from Linnaeus' *Philosophia Botanica*

(1751), but it is much older, having been used by the English botanist John Ray in *Methodus Plantarum* (1621), and earlier by Albertus Magnus (c.1200–80) in a line back to Aristotle.

⁵¹ *steps* the notion is that nature is exhaustively full of minute gradations, and that gradations of structure occur gradually, a principle that in Darwin's view applies to the simplest hair on the skin as well as to the complexities of the human eye, thereby challenging the much loved argument from design used by such supporters of natural theology as William Paley. This complexity view is currently being advocated by a form of creationism, intelligent design, especially in applying it to such complex pathways of biochemical functions as the bacterial flagellum, the tail on certain cell bodies that by some is argued to be irreducibly complex.

That the geological record is imperfect all will admit; but that it is imperfect to the degree which I require, few will be inclined to admit. If we look to long enough intervals of time, geology plainly declares that all species have changed; and they have changed in the manner which my theory requires, for they have changed slowly and in a graduated manner. We clearly see this in the fossil remains from consecutive formations invariably being much more closely related to each other, than are the fossils from formations distant from each other in time.⁵² . . .

I have now recapitulated the chief facts and considerations which have thoroughly convinced me that species have changed, and are still slowly changing by the preservation and accumulation of successive slight favourable variations. Why, it may be asked, have all the most eminent living naturalists and geologists rejected this view of the mutability of species? It cannot be asserted that organic beings in a state of nature are subject to no variation; it cannot be proved that the amount of variation in the course of long ages is a limited quantity; no clear distinction has been, or can be, drawn between species and well-marked varieties. It cannot be maintained that species when intercrossed are invariably sterile, and varieties invariably fertile; or that sterility is a special endowment and sign of creation. The belief that species were immutable productions was almost unavoidable as long as the history of the world was thought to be of short duration; and now that we have acquired some idea of the lapse of time, we are too apt to assume, without proof, that the geological record is so perfect that it would have afforded us plain evidence of the mutation of species, if they had undergone mutation. . . .

Several eminent naturalists have of late published their belief that a multitude of reputed species in each genus are not real species; but that other species are real, that is, have been independently created. . . . These authors seem no more startled at a miraculous act of creation than at an ordinary birth.⁵³ But do they really believe that at innumerable periods in the earth's history certain elemental atoms have been commanded suddenly to flash into living tissues? Do they believe that at each supposed act of creation one individual or many were produced? Were all the infinitely numerous kinds of animals and plants created as eggs or seed, or as full grown? and in the case of mammals, were they created bearing the false marks of nourishment from the mother's womb?⁵⁴ Although naturalists very properly demand a full explanation of every difficulty from those who believe in the mutability of species, on their own side they ignore the whole subject of the first appearance of species in what they consider reverent silence.

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⁵² time in this and the previous paragraphs Darwin has explained the reasons for gaps in the fossil record, but he has also discussed the age of the earth as "utterly inappreciable by the human intellect." Such a view contradicted the widely held view among the religiously orthodox that the world was created in 4004 BCE; see n. 1. This dating had been challenged from the end of the eighteenth century, and especially by Lyell in *Principles of Geology* (1830–33), but Darwin's presentation of vast epochs of geological time, to allow for the small evolutionary changes to take place, was a much greater assault, questioning in the same argument the age of the earth, the act of creation out of nothing, and the creation of static and unchanging species. See also HOWITT, n. 3; and HUXLEY, n. 8.

⁵³ birth Darwin draws attention to the lack among some of his contemporaries of a clear distinction between species and variations. This lack of clarity means that they cannot assert that one species is a specially created form without calling into question why its variation is not specially created, but is the result of the operation of natural law;

in the former case they invoke a miraculous intervention; in the latter, they deny the transmutation of species. He is very likely thinking of Philip Henry Gosse in *Omphalos* (1857), especially his theory of prochronism built in (see n. 14). Jean Louis Rodolphe Agassiz (1807–73), Swiss glaciologist renowned for his work on fossil fish, held that species and variations were the result of ideas in the mind of God, with variations of the same species of fish or bird in different and unconnected locations the creatures of special creative acts in "Geographical Distribution of Animals" in *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* (March 1850).

⁵⁴ womb after challenging those who claim that species were specially created but that variations occur by the laws of evolution – itself a contradiction, since Darwin has shown that the variations accumulate to render species differentiation – he asks whether it is plausible to reject transmutation as impossible while accepting the possibility of special creation. In questioning whether, for instance, Adam and Eve had navels, he alludes to the famous book by Philip Gosse; see above, n. 14.

It may be asked how far I extend the doctrine of the modification of species.... Throughout whole classes various structures are formed on the same pattern, and at an embryonic age the species closely resemble each other. Therefore I cannot doubt that the theory of descent with modification embraces all the members of the same class. I believe that animals have descended from at most only four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or lesser number.

Analogy would lead me one step further, namely, to the belief that all animals and plants have descended from some one prototype.⁵⁵ But analogy may be a deceitful guide. Nevertheless all living things have much in common, in their chemical composition, their germinal vesicles, their cellular structure, and their laws of growth and reproduction. We see this even in so trifling a circumstance as that the same poison often similarly affects plants and animals; or that the poison secreted by the gall-fly produces monstrous growths on the wild rose or oak-tree. Therefore I should infer from analogy that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth have descended from some one primordial form, into which life was first breathed.⁵⁶

When the views entertained in this volume on the origin of species, or when analogous views are generally admitted, we can dimly foresee that there will be a considerable revolution in natural history.⁵⁷ Systematists will be able to pursue their labours as at present; but they will not be incessantly haunted by the shadowy doubt whether this or that form be in essence a species. This I feel sure, and I speak after experience, will be no slight relief. The endless disputes whether or not some fifty species of British brambles are true species will cease. Systematists will have only to decide (not that this will be easy) whether any form be sufficiently constant and distinct from other forms, to be capable of definition; and if definable, whether the differences be sufficiently important to deserve a specific name. This latter point will become a far more essential consideration than it is at present; for differences, however slight, between any two forms, if not blended by intermediate gradations, are looked at by most naturalists as sufficient to raise both forms to the rank of species. Hereafter we shall be compelled to acknowledge that the only distinction between species and well-marked varieties is, that the latter are known, or believed, to be connected at the present day by intermediate gradations, whereas species were formerly thus connected. Hence, without quite rejecting the consideration of the present existence of intermediate gradations between any two forms, we shall be led to weigh more carefully and to value higher the actual amount of difference between them....

A grand and almost untrodden field of inquiry will be opened, on the causes and laws of variation, on correlation of growth, on the effects of use and disuse, on the direct action of external conditions, and so forth. The study of domestic productions will rise immensely in value. A new variety raised by man will be a far more important and interesting subject for study than one more species added to the infinitude of already recorded

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⁵⁵ *analogy ... prototype* in the theory of evolution, the wings of insects are analogous to the wings of vertebrates like birds and bats in that all enable their possessors to fly; however, the wings of each have evolved separately and differently. One of Darwin's fundamental analogies, however, is between artificial (domestic) selection and natural selection, an analogy that has attracted some attention as being derived in methodology from John F. W. Herschel's *Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy* (1830). Exploiting this point, Samuel Wilberforce, in his review of *Origin* in the *Quarterly Review* (July 1860) argued that his analogy worked to disprove evolution, because all

of breeders' experiments with pigeons confirmed that one species cannot be transmuted into another, over however many generations.

⁵⁶ *breathed* a month after the first edition, Darwin added a phrase to the last sentence in this paragraph in the second edition (see n. 24), so that it read "into which life was first breathed by the Creator." Darwin here proposes the possibility of universal common descent from "some one prototype" or "one primordial form," now known as the "last universal common ancestor."

⁵⁷ *history* from this point Darwin looks to the future of natural history.

species. Our classifications will come to be, as far as they can be so made, genealogies; and will then truly give what may be called the plan of creation. The rules for classifying will no doubt become simpler when we have a definite object in view. . . . We possess no pedigrees or armorial bearings; and we have to discover and trace the many diverging lines of descent in our natural genealogies, by characters of any kind which have long been inherited. Rudimentary organs will speak infallibly with respect to the nature of long-lost structures. Species and groups of species, which are called aberrant, and which may fancifully be called living fossils, will aid us in forming a picture of the ancient forms of life. Embryology will reveal to us the structure, in some degree obscured, of the prototypes of each great class. . . .

In the distant future I see open fields for far more important researches. Psychology will be based on a new foundation, that of the necessary acquirement of each mental power and capacity by gradation. Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history.⁵⁸

Authors of the highest eminence seem to be fully satisfied with the view that each species has been independently created. To my mind it accords better with what we know of the laws impressed on matter by the Creator, that the production and extinction of the past and present inhabitants of the world should have been due to secondary causes, like those determining the birth and death of the individual. When I view all beings not as special creations, but as the lineal descendants of some few beings which lived long before the first bed of the Silurian system was deposited, they seem to me to become ennobled. Judging from the past, we may safely infer that not one living species will transmit its unaltered likeness to a distant futurity. And of the species now living very few will transmit progeny of any kind to a far distant futurity; for the manner in which all organic beings are grouped, shows that the greater number of species of each genus, and all the species of many genera, have left no descendants, but have become utterly extinct. We can so far take a prophetic glance into futurity as to foretel that it will be the common and widely-spread species, belonging to the larger and dominant groups, which will ultimately prevail and procreate new and dominant species. As all the living forms of life are the lineal descendants of those which lived long before the Silurian epoch, we may feel certain that the ordinary succession by generation has never once been broken, and that no cataclysm has desolated the whole world.⁵⁹ Hence we may look with some confidence to a secure future of equally inappreciable length. And as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental endowments will tend to progress towards perfection.⁶⁰

It is interesting to contemplate an entangled bank,⁶¹ clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing on the bushes, with various insects flitting about, and with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other, and dependent on each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us. These laws, taken in the largest sense, being Growth with Reproduction; Inheritance which is almost implied by reproduction;

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⁵⁸ history Darwin adumbrates some of his own future work here, notably *The Descent of Man* (1871) and *The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872).

⁵⁹ world Darwin here is rejecting the theories of catastrophism as advanced by Georges Cuvier amongst others, siding unequivocally with the uniformitarians like Charles Lyell, arguing that the geological record and all of the forms of life have undergone infinite changes over vast amounts of time in a gradual process. See n. 1.

⁶⁰ perfection here Darwin sees evolution as "progress towards perfection," as a movement towards patterns of natural selection that more adequately equip organisms to survive and reproduce. For progress in evolution, see nn. 1 and 8.

The poet May Kendall published "Ballad of the Ichthyosaurus" (*Punch*, 14 Feb. 1885) satirizing evolutionary progress in which the fossil reptile "aspires to better things." For the opposite argument, degradation from the original creation of perfect specimens, see n. 9. Darwin is not positing a teleological goal, an ideal of "perfection" towards which evolution pushes as a directional movement; instead, he sees that perfection manifest increasingly in the ability of organisms to survive.

⁶¹ bank in the sixth edition, Darwin changed the phrase from "an entangled bank" to "a tangled bank." Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* gives the meanings of "evolve" as "to unfold, to disentangle."

Variability from the indirect and direct action of the external conditions of life, and from use and disuse; a Ratio of Increase so high as to lead to a Struggle for Life, and as a consequence to Natural Selection, entailing Divergence of Character and the Extinction of less-improved forms. Thus, from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed⁶² into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved.⁶³



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The Oxford Debate (30 June 1860): From Leonard Huxley, *The Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley* (1900)

Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913): From “The Origin of Human Races and the Antiquity of Man Deduced from the Theory of ‘Natural Selection’” (1864)

Samuel Kinns (1826–1903): From *Moses and Geology: Or, the Harmony of the Bible with Science* (1882)

From Chapter 1: “The Word is Truth”

May Kendall (1861–1943): “The Lay of the Trilobite” (1885)

Agnes Mary Frances Robinson (1857–1944)

Darwinism⁶⁴

When first the unflowering Fern-forest⁶⁵
 Shadowed the dim lagoons of old,
 A vague, unconscious, long unrest
 Swayed the great fronds of green and gold.

Until the flexible stem grew rude,
 The fronds began to branch and bower,
 And lo! upon the unblossoming wood
 There breaks a dawn of apple-flower.

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Notes

⁶² *breathed* in the second edition Darwin extended this phrase: “originally breathed by the Creator.”

⁶³ *evolved* Darwin’s only use of “evolve” or its cognates (such as “evolution”) in the *Origin*. His usual word was “transmutation.”

⁶⁴ *title* also known as Mary Duclaux (from her second marriage), Robinson was a prolific writer of literary criticism and poetry. Here, as in many poems at the end of the century, evolution is related to female emancipation. Robinson accepts the theory of evolution in general, but has moved away from Darwin. She bypasses both natural selection and the struggle for existence, each of them controversial even late in the nineteenth century, opting instead for a Lamarckian progressivism – that organisms strive towards their own improvement through their

willed or unconscious purposive action over millennia to modify and improve themselves. Robinson’s poem describes a progressive urge that drove prehistoric ferns to evolve into trees, and apes into humans, and that still pushes humanity towards an invisible goal. First published in *Songs, Ballads, and a Garden Play* (1888), our text; republished in *The Collected Poems, Lyrical and Narrative* (1902).

⁶⁵ *Forest-ferns* plants with leaves that reproduce with spores rather than by seeds. They began to flourish on dry land in the Devonian Period (about 420–355 million years ago) and throughout the Carboniferous period (about 355–290 million years ago) and were distributed widely as vascular plants, varying from small ferns to very large ones, some climbing, some free-standing.

Then on the fruitful Forest-boughs
 For ages long the unquiet ape 10
 Swung happy in his airy house
 And plucked the apple, and sucked the grape.⁶⁶

Until in him at length there stirred
 The old, unchanged, remote distress,
 That pierced his world of wind and bird 15
 With some divine unhappiness.

Not Love, nor the wild fruits he sought;
 Nor the fierce battles of his clan
 Could still the unborn and aching thought,
 Until the brute became the man.⁶⁷ 20

Long since. . . And now the same unrest
 Goads to the same invisible goal,⁶⁸
 Till some new gift, undreamed, unguessed,
 End the new travail of the soul.

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2. Religious Faith and Uncertainty

- Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847): “Abide with me!” (1847)
 W. J. Conybeare (1815–1857): From “Church Parties” (1853)
 John Ruskin (1819–1900): Letter to *The Times* (1854) [On Hunt’s *Light of the World*]
 Thomas Hughes (1822–1896): *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* (1857)
 From Part 2, Chapter 9: “Finis”
 Benjamin Jowett (1817–1893): From “On the Interpretation of Scripture” in *Essays and Reviews* (1860)
 John William Burgon (1813–1888): *Inspiration and Interpretation* (1861)
 From Sermon 3. [On the literal inspiration of the Bible]
 Sabine Baring-Gould (1834–1924): “Onward Christian Soldiers” (1864)
 John Henry Newman (1801–90): *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*
 From “Part V. History of My Religious Opinions [from 1839 to 1841]”
 Mrs Humphrey Ward [Mary Augusta Arnold Ward] (1851–1920): *Robert Elsmere* (1888)
 From Book 4, Chapter 26: “Crisis”

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⁶⁶ *grape* the feminized ape (carrying within him the “unborn and aching thought” in line 19), contented with his lot in his “house” in the trees, suggests the separate spheres doctrine concerning women happy in their domestic life. This sphere is set against the “fierce battles” of the males in the next stanza. Overall, the apes becoming women are aspiring towards some kind of emancipation and new goals, perhaps of the franchise and education when they evolve into humans. Evolution was sometimes criticized as implying increased women’s rights, as in Sarah Grand’s *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), when Evadne’s father is declared

to be “ready to resent even the upward tendency of evolution when it presented itself to him in the form of any change . . . more especially so if such change threatened to bring about an improvement in the position of women” (ch. 1).

⁶⁷ *man* a reference to the popularized view of Darwin as advocating the ape as an unquestioned human ancestor; see Figure 9.

⁶⁸ *goal* the teleological notion of a progress towards a (divinely ordained?) culmination is controversial in Darwin’s presentation in *Origin*.

Empire

Introduction

The Victoria Terminus Station (VT) in Bombay, under construction since May 1878, was opened on Jubilee Day, 20 June 1887, as the main terminal and administrative offices of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway (GIPR). The English-trained architect, Frederick William Stevens (1848–1900), became famous as Bombay's premier neo-Gothic architect as he redesigned the centre of the city with at least nine splendid and elaborate edifices to display Britain's power and civilizing mission. He fused a Saracenic (Mughal) style with a British/Italian Neo-Gothic style, associating the British with the Mughal emperors, who had ruled most of the subcontinent from about 1526 to 1761, when their paramountcy was overtaken by the East India Company. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had enhanced Bombay's status as the gateway to the subcontinent as travellers arriving on the west-coast port would board trains to take them inland. An 1895 coffee-table book, *Glimpses of India*, claimed, "It is Europe and England that made Bombay what it now is, the connecting link between Europe and Asia, the point where two civilizations meet and mingle.... Altogether Bombay looks like what Mr. Ruskin calls Venice, 'a gem set in the sea'" — a reference to the Venetian Gothic of the Doge's Palace that greatly influenced the architecture of the VT. A travel guide of 1889 by James Mackenzie Maclean describes the VT in detail as a "strikingly handsome structure" with an "architectural effect" surpassing "any of the fine public buildings for which Bombay is remarkable." Almost a century later, Jan Morris, well-known for nostalgic invocations of imperial glories, writes expansively in *Stones of Empire: The Buildings of the Raj* (1983) that the Victoria Terminus "could make a persuasive claim to be

truly the central building of the entire British Empire — the building which expresses most properly the meaning of the imperial climax."

A watercolour (see Plate 18) by the architectural draughtsman Axel Herman Haig (1835–1921) had been commissioned by the architect, Stevens, in 1878 and was exhibited seven years before the building would be completed at the RA in 1880. This depiction joined a number of other iconic representations of railway stations, paintings that form an emerging convention in the nineteenth century (see Concanen, Plate 9; as well as John O'Connor's *St. Pancras Hotel and Station from Pentonville*, 1884). Haig's watercolour was both the visionary effect of Stevens's basic design and its prophetic prediction: a combination of Italian-derived neo-Gothic design combined with Hindu and Saracenic details and echoes, linking the monument both to the symmetrical architecture of the palaces of the Raj and to the contemporary examples of buildings serving similar functions in the imperial capital. The station is modelled to a large degree on St Pancras Station and the adjoining Midland Grand Hotel by Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811–78), built between 1866 and 1873. Its major colouristic feature, the use of polychrome brick and stone, especially in the alternating red and white stones of the Gothic arches, is exactly imitated in Bombay. Both monuments are based on Ruskin's ideal Gothic building, what he calls "the central building in the world," the Ducal or Doge's Palace in Venice. Haig projects the future terminal in ways close to its realization, an eclectic neo-Gothic building of towering spires, domes, elaborate arched windows, verandas, balustrades, and arched porticos; at the centre is an immense dome, atop of which is a fourteen-foot female statue,

"Progress," a flaming torch aloft in her right hand, a spoked wheel by her left side. In a niche below the clock under the central dome beneath "Progress" is a statue of Victoria, who in 1876 had been proclaimed Empress of India. She holds the orb and sceptre of imperial power. Groups representing "Engineering" and "Commerce" top the two gables of the projecting wings on the west side, and a representation of "Agriculture" is on the central gable of the south wing. These allegorical figures are dressed in classical togas, a further extension of western imperial conquest of the culture of India. In the tympana on the ground floor are representations of "Science," embodying astronomy, electricity, physical geography, medicine, chemistry, and mechanics; as well as "Trade," with the central figure of Peace promoting harmony between east and west to enable the exchange of goods. Figures of a lion, representing Great Britain, and a tiger, representing India, sit on columns at the entrance gates, in joint welcome. The carvings and wealth of sculptural details, which the painting does not show, include many flowers, animals, railway and GIPR symbols, and numerous gargoyles, drawing on a variety of indigenous cultures to portray Indian animals, flowers, and activities. In the finished building, much of this detailed ornamentation would be completed by Indian students of the Bombay School of Art under the direct supervision of Lockwood Kipling (1837–1911). Lockwood was the father of Rudyard Kipling, who would, of course, by the end of Victorian's reign, become, for better or for worse, the literary figure most closely connected, then and now, with the British Empire.

The Indo-Saracenic architectural revival in the late nineteenth century demonstrates how imperial relations were not simply the imposition of Western norms onto colonized peoples but also the attempt to synthesize and integrate Indian cultural norms with the British. Nevertheless, as

an architectural form, it attempted to portray an invincible and insurmountable imperial power on a grand scale, echoing the style of the previous conquerors, while also referring unmistakably to the permanence and legitimacy of the Raj. The VT incorporates in its floor plans and sculptural details features of Mughal architecture, references to the Islamic empire that ruled India from 1526, reaching its artistic climax under the descendants of the third emperor, Akbar the Great (1542–1605), namely Jahangir (1569–1627) and Shah Jehan (1592–1666). Their work in red sandstone (like the Jehangir Palace in Agra) and the complex of towers, windows, and domes (like the Jehangir Mahal in Orchha), made important contributions to the VT. This fusion of styles symbolizes the technological triumph of the marriage of coal, iron, and stone in industrial capitalism and the civilizational progress of the railway, an icon to British modernity and the transformative power of empire to thrust India forward from its Moghul past.

The Victoria Terminus has not only survived as a monument, but still functions as the main railway station for the city, receiving and dispersing well over 2 million commuters a day. It is also still lauded as an architectural marvel, and in 2004 was named a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, praised on its website as "an outstanding example of Victorian Gothic Revival architecture in India, blended with themes deriving from Indian traditional architecture. The building was ... a new style unique to Bombay."¹

The meaning of the building has lately moved well beyond being a site of British imperial power – a symbol of either progress and civilization or the imposition of a colonial agenda. The terminus and the city have undergone massive cultural re-inscriptions, effacing colonial associations and realigning historical, political, and imperial value systems. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway, founded as a private charter

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¹ See <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/945>.

company in London in 1849, became the Central Railway, a state enterprise, after Indian independence in 1947. Its symbols are still, anachronistically, all over the building. Both the terminus and the city have been renamed. Bombay became Mumbai in 1996, in honour of Mumbadevi, a Hindu mother goddess. In the same year the VT was renamed the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (CST; apparently the local people, and especially the cabbies, still call it the VT) in honour of the Maratha king Chhatrapati Shivaji (1630–80), who defeated the Muslim Mughals and re-established a Hindu empire in south-west India, which was eventually overthrown by the British in 1818. The city's international airport was also renamed after the Maratha king.

These changes came about under pressure from the right-wing Hindu nationalist party, Shiv Sena, which emerged from Mumbai in the late 1960s with first a pro-Marathi agenda and later broadened its base across India to pursue a Hindu nationalist agenda. Other buildings were also renamed in a nominal reconquest in celebration of a seventeenth-century Hindu imperial dynasty. The statue of Victoria in the main tower of the VT disappeared sometime in the early 2000s, and its location is unknown. More recently, the terminus appeared in the Oscar-winning *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008) directed by Danny Boyle. A climactic song-and-dance scene brings the lovers together while the end credits roll, showing a panorama of the VT/CST and the train shed, with the terminus's dedication plaque naming the architect, "Frederick W. Stevens," clearly visible. The song "Jai Ho" (which won an Oscar for best song) features vocals in three Indian languages, Urdu, Hindi, and Punjabi, fusing traditional Bollywood music with Western hip-hop and urban music and dance: the terminus has become an iconic setting for international filmic and musical acclaim. From 26 to 28 November 2008 the building took on yet another meaning for the world, as it and the Taj Mahal Hotel, another ornate Indo-Saracenic Victorian edifice, were the sites of a terrorist attack that killed 46 people and wounded 104 others.

If the contexts and meanings of what Jan Morris called the "central building of the entire British Empire – the building which expresses most properly the meaning of the imperial climax" – have since 1887 multiplied and shifted, so too have the contexts and meanings of Victorian imperialism. From a position in the twenty-first century, we cannot help but look at the Victorian Empire through a complex set of politically charged terms: imperialism and neo-imperialism; colonialism and post-colonialism; cultural imperialism and globalization; and so on. These concepts present political positionings to provide multiple views of the same phenomenon: for instance, in Mumbai/Bombay the Hindu nationalists could be said to represent a neo-imperialistic force eradicating the traces of the former imperialistic powers, the Mughal, Portuguese, and British empires – a bad thing perhaps for contemporary Muslims. At the same time, renaming the VT could be seen as a post-colonial insistence and empowerment against the colonial mindset imposed by the British before 1947 – a good thing for some contemporary Hindus. This same renaming could represent a resistance to cultural imperialism, the imposition of a dominant set of foreign cultural products, styles, and ideas. From the nationalist Hindu perspective represented by the Shiv Sena, such imperialism extends from the Saracenic architecture that came into the subcontinent with the Mughul invasions from the sixteenth century, to Valentine's Day, McDonald's, and the morality of American pop culture of today under globalization. On the other hand, the final scene of an Oscar-winning film could represent the successful fusion of India and Bollywood with globalized film, music, and dance styles, set in a building celebrated as an earlier example of is now called globalization: as UNESCO claims on its website, it "exhibits an important interchange of influences from Victorian Italianate Gothic Revival architecture, and from Indian traditional buildings ... characterized by Victorian Gothic Revival and traditional Indian features."

Writing at the time of the terminus's name change, Tim McGirk in *The Independent*

(23 Jan. 1996) offers us a different meaning to building, lamenting,

Stone by stone, nameplate by nameplate, India is obliterating its memories of the British empire. The latest casualty is the grand Victoria Terminus railway station in Bombay – or Mumbai as the city's right-wing Hindu masters now call it.... After independence from Britain in 1947, all the blatant symbols of the British Raj were removed. In New Delhi, the statue of King George V was uprooted from India Gate, and boulevards with such as Kingsway and Queensway became Rajpath and Janpath.

The internal political affairs of naming public spaces so offending a British reporter fifty years after the end of the Raj is an instance of imperialist nostalgia, an idealist recasting of a projected stability of the past (Victorian) from a chaotic and disorderly present embracing a violent and dangerous past (Chhatrapati Shivaji). Opposite to such nostalgic projections has been criticism or dismissal of the Victorians as hypocrites who claimed to be bringing modernity and progress, as well the three Cs – Christianity, civilization, and commerce – to backwards people while, in reality, ruthlessly exploiting them, economically, politically, and ideologically. Broadly speaking, the latter attitude, dominant throughout most of the twentieth century, is still probably the most widespread.

The complexity inscribed in our selection of documents would dictate that such views of nostalgic yearning or judgemental dismissal are not adequate to informed readings of the Victorian empire. Victoria's reign saw huge transformations at home – but also vast changes in the ever-expanding empire and its relations with other imperial powers: almost constant imperial warfare; the development of military technology with such inventions as the Gatling gun, communications technology such as the telegraph, and travel technology such as the railway; the abolition of slavery; the introduction of free

trade; several famines, most notably in Ireland from 1845 to 1850, and in India from 1876 to 1878; domestic political opposition to empire by such thinkers as William Morris and Wilfrid Scawen Blunt; instances of imperial subjects revolting against British dominance, such as in the Indian Rebellion of 1857–58 and the second Boer War of 1899–1902; the development of nationalist consciousness in colonial subjects, particularly in India and Ireland; the granting of responsible self-government to the white settler colonies such as Canada; the commercialization of global travel; the freedom for women to travel all over the world and to write about it; complex interactions with non-European empires, the Ottoman, Chinese, and Persian; an intensifying of competition with other European empires in the "scramble for Africa" after 1885; the development of scientific theories of race; and many other world-changing ideas and events.

We divide our extracts on empire into three sections: Celebration and Criticism, Governing the Colonies, and Imperial Travellers. The first section foregrounds diverse proposals and reactions to changes in imperial thought throughout the century, such as that of Carlyle and Mill on the abolition of sugar tariffs and their effects on former slaves and the plantation owners in the West Indies; Seeley on the notion of the white colonies' transformation and extension into one English "family," able to compete with the growing might of Russia and the United States; idealizations of the empire in Ruskin and Tennyson; and harsh critiques of its racism, economics, and violence by Labouchère, Hobson, and Blunt. The Web section focuses on two texts, the Imperial Federation Map of the World (1886) and a children's ABC.

The second section focuses on government. In the print book the focus is on governing India, stressing multiple ways in which the Raj exercised, or tried to exercise, control. Macaulay's "Minute on Education" outlines utilitarian reforms that would subsequently shape life in India, as they continue to do to this day. The preface to a boy's adventure novel by G. A. Henty combines imperial propaganda

with the shaping of masculinity. Our excerpt from a woman's guide to the Anglo-Indian household indicates that control did not stop in officialdom but transcended the division of home and work, the running of the household here held up in direct parallel with the running of the Indian Empire. This section on the Web extends "governing the colonies" to the White Colonies, Ireland, and Africa.

The section on travel contains excerpts from women travellers Lady Eastlake, Isabella Bird, and Mary Kingsley, as well as the famous report on the charge of the Light Brigade by *The Times* war correspondent William Howard Russell (Web). The usual trajectory of imperial travel writing is reversed in the book contents of this section by excerpting descriptions of Britain by Indian and African colonial subjects. Malabari, an Indian social reformer, and Mukasa, an Ugandan government functionary, describe what they see in Britain in terms of critical curiosity as well as reverential awe. This trajectory also appears in Gandhi's account of London in 1878 (Web).

In the same year as the opening of the VT, Tennyson's "*Carmen Sæculare*, the Ode in Honour of Victoria's Golden Jubilee" (*Macmillan's Magazine* April 1887; see this section) hails the "Queen, and Empress of India, / Crown'd so long with a diadem" for reigning over "Fifty years of ever-broadening Commerce! / Fifty years of ever-brightening Science! / Fifty years of ever-widening Empire!" The ode addresses a diverse audience, pointing to, among others, the multitudes, the affluent, "the Mighty," "the Fortunate," "the Lord-territorial," "the Lord-manufacturer," "the hardy, laborious, / Patient children of Albion," "Canadian, Indian, Australasian," and "African." In this wide range of quick references, imperial and domestic matters receive equal treatment. Stanza eight contains the one addressee, "the Patriot Architect," who is given a sustained treatment, urging that he "shape for eternity ... a stately memorial," an "Imperial Institute, Rich in symbol," that "regally gorgeous" would speak to "All the centuries after us, Of this

great Ceremonial." The monument in question, the Imperial Institute, would be completed in 1893.

At the time of the poem's publication, the "Patriot Architect" had not been chosen. Two months later, in June 1887, Thomas Colcutt (1840–1924) won the competition, beating out forty competitors. A committee struck in 1886 to set out the terms of that competition had reported in December that the building should honour the jubilee by illustrating "the great commercial and industrial resources of the colonies and India." The rhetorical flourishes in their conclusion read very much like Tennyson's celebration of imperial progress: "An Imperial Institution ... would be an emblem of the Unity of the Empire, embracing as it does all parts of the Queen's dominions.... It would exhibit the vast area, the varied resources, and the marvellous growth, during Her Majesty's reign, of the British Empire. It would unite in a single representative act the whole of her people." The Victoria Terminus in Bombay, as we have seen, has been spoken of using the same lofty tropes.

Such language speaks to the centrality of empire near the end of the nineteenth century: "During her Majesty's reign" the empire had doubled in size to one sixth of the earth's land mass, over 14 million square miles, and about one quarter of the world's population, over 400 million people. From this vantage point, it would seem indeed that not only the "stately monument," but the "ever-widening Empire" itself, would "speak to the centuries" of imperial accomplishment after 1887. On 10 May 1893, Victoria finally opened the Imperial Institute: "I now declare it open, with an earnest Prayer that it may it never cease to continue and flourish as a lasting Emblem of the Unity and Loyalty of my Empire" (see Figure 10). Such optimism proved unfounded. The Imperial Institute was poorly received and never became "an emblem of the Unity of the Empire": by 1956, the same year as the Suez Crisis, which marks for many historians the symbolic end of British



Figure 10 Godefroy Durand (1832–c.1910), *The Imperial Institute: Opening Ceremony by Her Majesty the Queen*. In *The Graphic* (13 May 1893: Supplement). Steel Engraving. 29.9 × 22.5 cm. Source: courtesy of the Robarts Library, University of Toronto. Durand, originally from Belgium, became one of the staff illustrators for *The Graphic* in the 1870s, specializing in military, horse, and foreign views. Victoria opened the Imperial Institute on 10 May 1893 in South Kensington. The competition for the building to encourage emigration, trade, and commerce within the empire had been won in June 1887 by the architect Thomas Edward Collcutt (1840–1924) in a French early-Renaissance style. The motto over the entrance was “Strength and honour are her clothing” (Proverbs 31: 25). In Durand’s fanciful drawing, Victoria stands beneath a trumpeting angel carrying the British flag. She is surrounded by the royal family, including the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) on her left, and to her right the son of the Prince of Wales, George, Duke of York (later George V), whose betrothal to Princess Mary of Teck (on the queen’s right) had just been announced. In front of her are the exotically attired members of the empire bearing their characteristic tribute, accompanied by national animals, the kangaroo, elephant, and the skins of bears and tigers, all bowing in tribute. See also *EMPIRE: CELEBRATION*; TENNYSON, “OPENING.”

imperial power, the demolition of the building was proposed to allow for the expansion of Imperial College. In 1965, despite a vigorous public outcry to save the building, all that remained of the original building was the Queen’s tower; by 1965, most of the territories

attained during Victoria’s reign had been decolonized. With exceptions such as Hong Kong (transferred to China in 1997 under the terms of an 1841 agreement), the Falkland Islands (subject to an irredentist claim by Argentina which calls it *Islas Malvinas*), and Gibraltar

(subject to an irredentist claim by Spain), the formal political structure of the empire was all but gone, replaced by a loose association, the British Commonwealth.

The building in Mumbai designed by Stevens, on the other hand, is still both admired and functional, still described in laudatory terms, most commonly in travel guides promoting tourism – a genre and an industry that emerged during Victoria's reign. A current website, "Insight Guides: Inspiring your Next Adventure," briefly describes it under "Places to Visit in Mumbai (Bombay)": the

Victoria Terminus ... was conceived as a symbol of the pride and power of the British Empire. It amalgamated all the

stylistic eccentricities of the day – ornate domes, minarets, fancy arched windows and a staggering wealth of sculptural detail – and still forms an imposing spectacle. Re-named Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus, the station remains one of the country's best-loved landmarks, in spite of its imperial past and more recent associations with the bloody terror attacks of 2008.

The writings in this section are meant to represent, in a similar fashion, a complex, multilayered, and contradictory set of relationships, to be read not *in spite of* but *because of* their multiple connections to the "pride and power of the British Empire."

1. Celebration and Criticism

Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881): From "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question" in *Fraser's Magazine* (Dec. 1849)¹

My Philanthropic Friends,—It is my painful duty to address some words to you, this evening, on the Rights of Negroes. Taking, as we hope we do, an extensive survey of social affairs, which we find all in a state of the frightfullest embroilment, and as it were, of inextricable final bankruptcy, just at present, and being desirous to adjust ourselves in

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CELEBRATION AND CRITICISM

¹ title after a long campaign led by the abolitionist William Wilberforce (1759–1833), the Slave Trade Act (1807) abolished the trading of slaves in the British colonies; slavery itself was abolished in 1834 with the Slavery Abolition Act. The government paid compensation of £20 million to slave owners in 40,000 separate claims. The freed slaves were to be indentured to their former owners in an apprenticeship system that was to continue, in some cases, until 1840. In 1846, the same year as the repeal of the Corn Laws on imported wheat, the Sugar Duties Act eliminated protective tariffs on sugar imported into Britain, enraging the plantation owners of the West Indian colonies, who had believed that after abolition these tariffs would remain in place. Carlyle railed against these developments, almost calling for a reinstatement of slavery. His views were poorly received; John Stuart Mill published a vigorous response (see this section, MILL; NEGRO QUES-

TION). He and Mill would clash again on racial matters in the 1860s in the Governor Eyre controversy. From the eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century, the term "Negro" was acceptable usage when referring to people of African origin. In 1853 Carlyle added twenty-three paragraphs to the *Fraser's* essay and published it as a pamphlet, changing the title to "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question." The term "nigger" is derived from Latin *negrum*, black; from Spanish and Portuguese *negro*, black. Although the *OED* cites several examples of the word "used by whites or other non-blacks as a relatively neutral (or occas. positive) term, with no specifically hostile intent" (s.v. "Nigger" 1.a), there can be no doubt, given the change in title in his 1849 essay, that Carlyle uses it as a term of abuse and contempt. For an extension of Carlyle's ideas on the West Indies, see EMPIRE: GOVERNING; WHITE COLONIES, FROUDE, *ENGLISH* (WEB p. 232).



that huge upbreak, and unutterable welter of tumbling ruins, and to see well that our grand proposed Association of Associations, the UNIVERSAL ABOLITION-OF-PAIN ASSOCIATION,² which is meant to be the consummate golden flower and summary of modern Philanthropisms all in one, do *not* issue as a universal “Sluggard-and-Scoundrel Protection Society,”—we have judged that, before constituting ourselves, it would be very proper to commune earnestly with one another, and discourse together on the leading elements of our great Problem, which surely is one of the greatest. With this view the Council has decided, both that the Negro Question, as lying at the bottom, was to be the first handled, and if possible the first settled; and then also, what was of much more questionable wisdom, that—that, in short, I was to be Speaker on the occasion. An honourable duty; yet, as I said, a painful one!—Well, you shall hear what I have to say on the matter; and you will not in the least like it. . . .

And now observe, my friends, it was not Black Quashee³ or those he represents that made those West India Islands what they are, or can by any hypothesis be considered to have the right of growing pumpkins there. For countless ages, since they first mounted oozy, on the back of earthquakes, from their dark bed in the Ocean deeps, and reeking saluted the tropical Sun, and ever onwards till the European white man first saw them some three short centuries ago, those Islands had produced mere jungle, savagery, poison-reptiles and swamp-malaria: till the white European first saw them, they were as if not yet created,—their noble elements of cinnamon, sugar, coffee, pepper black and gray, lying all asleep, waiting the white Enchanter who should say to them, Awake! Till the end of human history and the sounding of the Trump of Doom,⁴ they might have lain so, had Quashee and the like of him been the only artists in the game. Swamps, fever-jungles, maneating Caribs,⁵ rattle-snakes, and reeking waste and putrefaction, this had been the produce of them under the incompetent Caribal (what we call Cannibal) possessors till that time; and Quashee knows, himself, whether ever he could have introduced an improvement. Him, had he by a miraculous chance been wafted thither, the Caribals would have eaten, rolling him as a fat morsel under their tongue; for him, till the sounding of the Trump of Doom, the rattlesnakes and savageries would have held on their way. It was not he, then; it was another than he! Never by art of his could one pumpkin have grown there to solace any human throat; nothing but savagery and reeking putrefaction could have grown there. These plentiful pumpkins, I say, therefore, are not his: no, they are another's; they are only his under conditions; conditions which Exeter Hall, for the present, has forgotten; but which Nature and the Eternal Powers have by no manner of means forgotten, but do at all moments keep in mind; and, at the right moment, will, with the due impressiveness, perhaps in rather a terrible manner, bring again to our mind also!

If Quashee will not honestly aid in bringing out those sugars, cinnamons, and nobler products of the West Indian Islands, for the benefit of all mankind, then I say neither will

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² *Association* a reference to various philanthropic societies founded by Nonconformist sects, such as the Quakers and the Baptists. Such associations as the Central Emancipation Committee (1837) and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (1839) were formed at Exeter Hall, a building on The Strand, London, which opened in 1831. Its name became synonymous with the anti-slave movement, as well as with other philanthropic societies. Dickens also mocked these societies in *Bleak House* (1853) with Mrs Jellyby's "African project" in Borrioboola-Gha in the fourth chapter, entitled "Telescopic Philanthropy."

³ *Quashee* a derogatory name for a West Indian black who supposedly is gullible or stupid (*OED*).

⁴ *Doom* the final judgement; see Revelation 11: 15.

⁵ *Caribs* (from Sp. *Caribe*), also carabal, a race native to the southern West Indies or Lower Antilles at the time of first contact with the Europeans; often used synonymously with cannibal to signify anthropophagy, the eating of human flesh by other humans, which was reported by the Europeans to be practised by certain Caribbean peoples, primarily as a ritual of war. The accuracy of these and subsequent reports is a matter of considerable historical controversy, as the term designates savagery and was used by imperial powers as a legal justification to enslave the indigenous people.

the Powers permit Quashee to continue growing pumpkins there for his own lazy benefit; but will sheer him out, by and by, like a lazy gourd overshadowing rich ground; him and all that partake with him,—perhaps in a very terrible manner. . . .

John Stuart Mill (1806–73): From “The Negro Question” in *Fraser’s Magazine* (Jan. 1850)⁶

SIR, Your last month’s Number contains a speech against the “rights of Negroes,” the doctrines and spirit of which ought not to pass without remonstrance. . . . If by the quality of the message we may judge of those who sent it, *not* from any powers to whom just or good men acknowledge allegiance. This so-called “eternal Act of Parliament”⁷ is no new law, but the old law of the strongest,—a law against which the great teachers of mankind have in all ages protested:—it is the law of force and cunning; the law that whoever is more powerful than another, is “born lord” of that other, the other being born his “servant,” who must be “compelled to work” for him by “beneficent whip,” if “other methods avail not.” I see nothing divine in this injunction. If “the gods” will this, it is the first duty of human beings to resist such gods. . . . The history of human improvement is the record of a struggle by which inch after inch of ground has been wrung from these maleficent powers, and more and more of human life rescued from the iniquitous dominion of the law of might. Much, very much of this work still remains to do; but the progress made in it is the best and greatest achievement yet performed by mankind, and it was hardly to be expected at this period of the world that we should be enjoined, by way of a great reform in human affairs, to begin *undoing* it. . . .

According to him, the whole West Indies belong to the whites: the negroes have no claim there, to either land or food, but by their sufferance. “It was not Black Quashee, or those he represents, that made those West India islands what they are.” I submit, that those who furnished the thews and sinews really had something to do with the matter. “Under the soil of Jamaica the bones of many thousand British men”—“brave Colonel Fortescue, brave Colonel Sedgwick, brave Colonel Brayne,”⁸ and divers others, “had to be laid.” How many hundred thousand⁹ African men laid their bones there, after having had

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⁶ title published anonymously as a letter to the editor, signed “D,” in answer to Carlyle’s article above. Between the title and the article is the following note: “[If all the meetings at Exeter Hall be not presided over by strictly impartial chairmen, they ought to be. We shall set an example to our pious brethren in this respect, by giving publicity to the following letter. Our readers now have both sides of the question before them, and can form their own opinions upon it.—EDITOR].” The editor of *Fraser’s* was John William Parker, Jr. (1820–60). The article was also reprinted in the *Daily News* (2 Jan. 1850).

Although Mill and Carlyle had been close friends in the 1830s, they became increasingly estranged as Carlyle moved to more extremist views on politics and race; however, Mill could also express views on racial inferiority in other writings. For instance, in *Representative Government* (1861) he would make comments about people who are too “rude” to be governed as a civilized nation: “Nothing but foreign force would induce a tribe of North American Indians to submit to the restraints of a regular and civilised government. The same might have been said, though somewhat less absolutely, of the barbarians who overran the Roman Empire.” India, too, was not capable of representative

government on its own resources, but must rely on Britain: “Some [dependencies] are composed of people of similar civilisation to the ruling country, capable of, and ripe for, representative government: such as the British possessions in America and Australia. Others, like India, are still at a great distance from that state.”

⁷ *Parliament* quoting Carlyle in *Fraser’s* article above; all subsequent quotations in Mill are from that article unless otherwise noted.

⁸ *Fortescue* . . . *Brayne* Carlyle mentioned three military leaders as heroic, Colonel Richard Fortesque (d. 1655), a commander in Cromwell’s Model Army, sent to Jamaica in 1654 where he died of fever; Colonel Robert Sedgwick (1613–56), military leader in Massachusetts and England in the first Anglo-Dutch War; and Lieut.-General William Brayne (d. 1657), in 1656 appointed commander-in-chief in Jamaica where he died of fever.

⁹ *thousand* when the British acquired Jamaica (1655), the slave population was about 400. It rose steadily as the sugar economy grew: to about 9,500 in 1673; about 86,500 in 1734; about 193,000 in 1775; and about 300,000 in 1800. It peaked at about 360,000 in 1810; and at abolition (1834) was a little below 300,000.

their lives pressed out by slow or fierce torture? They could have better done without Colonel Fortescue, than Colonel Fortescue could have done without them. But he was the stronger, and could “compel”; what they did and suffered therefore goes for nothing. Not only they did not, but it seems they *could* not, have cultivated those islands. “Never by art of his” (the negro) “could one pumpkin have grown there to solace any human throat.” They grow pumpkins, however, and more than pumpkins, in a very similar country, their native Africa. . . .

No argument against the capacity of negroes for improvement, could be drawn from their not being one of these rare exceptions. It is curious withal, that the earliest known civilization was, we have the strongest reason to believe, a negro civilization. The original Egyptians are inferred, from the evidence of their sculptures, to have been a negro race: it was from negroes, therefore, that the Greeks learnt their first lessons in civilization; and to the records and traditions of these negroes did the Greek philosophers to the very end of their career resort (I do not say with much fruit) as a treasury of mysterious wisdom.¹⁰ But I again renounce all advantage from facts: were the whites born ever so superior in intelligence to the blacks, and competent by nature to instruct and advise them, it would not be the less monstrous to assert that they had therefore a right either to subdue them by force, or circumvent them by superior skill; to throw upon them the toils and hardships of life, reserving for themselves, under the misapplied name of work, its agreeable excitements.

Were I to point out, even in the highest terms, every vulnerable point in your contributor’s Discourse, I should produce a longer dissertation than his. One instance more must suffice. . . . The labour market admits of three possible conditions, and not, as this would imply, of only two. Either, first, the labourers can live almost without working, which is said to be the case in Demerara;¹¹ or, secondly, which is the common case, they can live by working, but must work in order to live; or, thirdly, they cannot by working get a sufficient living, which is the case in Ireland. Your contributor sees only the extreme cases, but no possibility of the medium. If Africans are imported, he thinks there must either be so few of them, that they will not need to work, or so many, that although they work, they will not be able to live.

John Ruskin (1819–1900): From *Inaugural Lecture* (1870)¹²

There is a destiny now possible to us—the highest ever set before a nation to be accepted or refused. We are still undegenerate in race; a race mingled of the best

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¹⁰ *wisdom* Mill gives a version of what was to develop in twentieth-century America as Afro-centrism, the view that African contributions to history and culture have been suppressed under colonialism and slavery.

¹¹ *Demerara* former Dutch colony on the northern coast of South America, captured by the British, first in 1796 and finally in 1803. Now called Guyana, it was the site of a famous and bloody slave rebellion in 1823, a revolt that the abolition movement in Britain used to rally its cause.

¹² *title* this lecture was given on 8 February 1870 as the newly endowed Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford on Ruskin’s fifty-first birthday to a large crowd. In the Hilary term 1870 he would give six more lectures: “The Relation of Art to Religion”; “The Relation of Art to Morals”; “The Relation of Art to Use”; “Colour”; “Line”; and “Light.” In

this first introductory lecture he lays out his beliefs: “The art of any country is the exponent of its social and political virtues.” He addresses his privileged audience of Oxford undergraduates on the role of art in their education: “a youth is sent to our Universities, not (hitherto at least) to be apprenticed to a trade, nor even always to be advanced in a profession; but, always, to be made a gentleman and a scholar. . . . I conceive it to be the function of this Professorship, with respect to them, to establish both a practical and critical school of fine art for English gentlemen: practical, so that if they draw at all, they may draw rightly; and critical, so that being first directed to such works of existing art as will best reward their study, they may afterwards make their patronage of living artists delightful to themselves in their consciousness of its

northern blood.¹³ We are not yet dissolute in temper, but still have the firmness to govern, and the grace to obey. We have been taught a religion of pure mercy, which we must either now betray, or learn to defend by fulfilling. And we are rich in an inheritance of honour, bequeathed to us through a thousand years of noble history, which it should be our daily thirst to increase with splendid avarice, so that Englishmen, if it be a sin to covet honour, should be the most offending souls alive.¹⁴ Within the last few years we have had the laws of natural science opened to us with a rapidity which has been blinding by its brightness; and means of transit and communication given to us, which have made but one kingdom of the habitable globe. One kingdom;—but who is to be its king? Is there to be no king in it, think you, and every man to do that which is right in his own eyes? Or only kings of terror, and the obscene empires of Mammon and Belial?¹⁵ Or will you, youths of England, make your country again a royal throne of kings; a sceptred isle,¹⁶ for all the world a source of light, a centre of peace; mistress of Learning and of the Arts;—faithful guardian of great memories in the midst of irreverent and ephemeral visions;—faithful servant of time-tried principles, under temptation from fond experiments and licentious desires; and, amidst the cruel and clamorous jealousies of the nations, worshipped in her strange valour, of goodwill towards men?¹⁷ . . .

And this is what she must either do, or perish: she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, formed of her most energetic and worthiest men;—seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on, and there teaching these her colonists that their chief virtue is to be fidelity to their country, and that their first aim is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea: and that, though they live on a distant plot of ground, they are no more to consider themselves therefore disfranchised from their native land than the sailors of her fleets do, because they float on distant waves. So that literally, these colonies must be fastened fleets, and every man of them must be under authority of captains and officers, whose better command is to be over fields and streets instead of ships of the line; and England, in these her motionless navies (or, in the true and mightiest sense, motionless churches, ruled by pilots on the Galilean lake¹⁸ of all the world) is to “expect every man to do his duty”;¹⁹ recognising that duty is indeed possible no less in peace than war; and that if we can get men, for little pay, to cast themselves against cannon-mouths for love of England, we may find men also who will plough and sow for her, who will behave kindly and righteously for her, who will bring up their

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justice, and, to the utmost, beneficial to their country, by being given to the men who deserve it; in the early period of their lives, when they both need it most, and can be influenced by it to the best advantage.” Said to have been a huge influence on Cecil Rhodes, the lecture closes with an exhortation (our selection) on the imperial obligations of the soon-to-be-educated gentlemen. In *The Pleasures of England* (1873) Ruskin would claim that the first three paragraphs of our extract are “of all the pieces of teaching I have ever given from this chair, the most pregnant and essential to whatever studies, whether of Art or Science, you may pursue, in this place or elsewhere, during you lives” (lecture 1, para. 3). He would resign the professorship in 1880 after suffering attacks of mental illness; in October 1883 after recovering, he was re-elected to the professorship; and in March 1885 he resigned again after quarrelling with university authorities. First published in *Lectures on Art, Delivered before the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1870* (1870).

¹³ blood belief in Anglo-Saxon racial superiority.

¹⁴ if it . . . alive see *Henry V* 4. 3. 29.

¹⁵ eyes . . . Belial for “right . . . eyes” see Proverbs 12: 15; Mammon is Aramaic for riches, used in the Bible to signify greed (see, for instance, the parable of the Unjust Steward, Luke 16: 1–13). Belial (Heb. worthless) is used throughout the Bible to signify a demon or devil, as in 2 Corinthians 6: 15; the names Mammon and Belial are used by Milton for devils throughout Books 1 and 2 of *Paradise Lost*.

¹⁶ royal . . . isle see *Richard II* 2. 1. 41.

¹⁷ toward . . . men see Luke 2. 14.

¹⁸ navies . . . lake for navies Ruskin refers to the common usage in calling the main section of a church as the “nave” (Lat. *navis*, ship); for pilots, see Milton, *Lycidas* (109).

¹⁹ expect . . . duty in a message to the navy at the Battle of Trafalgar (21 Oct. 1805), Horatio Nelson (1758–1805) said: “England expects that every man will do his duty” – a phrase that passed into popular patriotism; for imperial duty as a poetic trope, see HEMANS, n. 1.

children to love her, and who will gladden themselves in the brightness of her glory, more than in all the light of tropic skies.

But that they may be able to do this, she must make her own majesty stainless; she must give them thoughts of their home of which they can be proud. The England who is to be mistress of half the earth cannot remain herself a heap of cinders, trampled by contending and miserable crowds; she must yet again become the England she was once, and in all beautiful ways more; so happy, so secluded, and so pure. . . . She must guide the human arts, and gather the divine knowledge, of distant nations, transformed from savageness²⁰ to manhood, and redeemed from despairing into peace.

You think that an impossible ideal. Be it so; refuse to accept it if you will; but see that you form your own in its stead. All that I ask of you is to have a fixed purpose of some kind for your country and yourselves; no matter how restricted, so that it be fixed and unselfish. I know what stout hearts are in you, to answer acknowledged need; but it is the fatallest form of error in English youths to hide their hardihood till it fades for lack of sunshine, and to act in disdain of purpose, till all purpose is vain. It is not by deliberate, but by careless selfishness; not by compromise with evil, but by dull following of good, that the weight of national evil increases upon us daily. Break through at least this pretence of existence; determine what you will be, and what you would win. You will not decide wrongly if you resolve to decide at all. Were even the choice between lawless pleasure and loyal suffering, you would not, I believe, choose basely.

George William Hunt (c.1839–1904): “MacDermott’s War Song” [“By Jingo”] (1877)²¹

“The Dogs of War”²² are loose and the rugged Russian Bear,²³
Full bent on blood and robbery,²⁴ has crawl’d out of his lair;
It seems a thrashing now and then, will never help to tame
That brute, and so he’s out upon the “same old game.”²⁵

Notes

²⁰ *savageness* earlier in the lecture Ruskin argues that some semi-savages were unlike his contemporaries, who “cannot design, because we have too much to think of, and we think of it too anxiously. It has long been observed how little real anxiety exists in the minds of the partly savage races which excel in decorative art.”

²¹ *title* the song became enormously popular in British pubs and music halls partly through the singing of Gilbert Hastings MacDermott (1845–1901), who had bought the rights to the song from Hunt. It became one of the popular British nationalistic songs and was revived during World War I. The Russo-Turkish War (1877–78) war pitted the Turkish Empire against a coalition of Eastern Orthodox nations in the Balkans, led by the Russian Empire. The crisis concerned the regaining of Balkan territory lost to Russia by the Treaty of Paris (1856), which ended the Crimean War, and the declaration of independence of Poland from Russia and of Serbia and Montenegro from Turkey. The Bulgarian uprising of 1876 was repressed with brutal force and widespread slaughter by Russia and hired Bashi-Bazouk mercenaries and quickly engaged Europe against the “atrocities.” Disraeli, then in power, supported Turkey as public opinion in England turned against his pro-Ottoman policy. Russia, supporting Bulgaria, and looking towards

a pan-Slavic and pan-Orthodox union, declared war on Turkey on 24 April 1877, and within two months had crossed the Danube. After the Russians successfully besieged Plevna in modern Bulgaria (the occasion for Hunt’s song), the road was clear for Russia to proceed to Constantinople, whereupon Britain sent warships to prevent their entry into the city to preserve the remnants of the Turkish Empire, later consolidated by the Congress of Berlin (1878). Our text: G. W. Hunt, *MacDermott’s War Song* (1877), Victorian sheet music.

²² *war* see *Julius Caesar* 3. 1. 273. On 17 June 1876 on the eve of the Balkan crisis, *Punch* published a John Tenniel’s cartoon of Russia reigning in four “dogs of war” (named Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia) about to attack the Turkish Sultan, while a British policeman looks over the fence, warning Russia against releasing them.

²³ *Bear* a widely used symbol of Russia in British anti-Slavic rhetoric and cartoons from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century.

²⁴ *robbery* regaining possessions in the Balkans and the use of a fleet in the Black Sea lost after the Crimean War.

²⁵ *game* or the “Great Game” was a term applied to the strategic, diplomatic, and military rivalry between the British and Russian empires over the control of central Asia, especially Afghanistan, throughout the nineteenth century.

The Lion²⁶ did his best to find him some excuse
 To crawl back to his den again, all efforts were no use;
 He hunger'd for his victim, he's pleased when blood is shed,
 But let us hope his crimes may all recoil on his own head.

[Chorus]

We don't want to fight but by jingo²⁷ if we do,
 We've got the ships, we've got the men, and got the money too!
 We've fought the Bear before²⁸ and while we're Britons true
 The Russians shall not have Constantinople.

The misdeeds of the Turks²⁹ have been "spouted" thro' all lands,
 But how about the Russians, can they show spotless hands?
 They slaughtered well at Khiva,³⁰ in Siberia icy cold,
 How many subjects done to death will never perhaps be told,

They butchered the Circassians,³¹ man, woman, yes and child,
 With cruelties their Generals their murderous hours beguiled,
 And poor unhappy Poland³² their cruel yoke must bear,
 Whilst prayers for "Freedom and Revenge"³³ go up into the air.

[Chorus]

May he who 'gan the quarrel soon have to bite the dust,
 The Turk should be thrice armed for "he hath his quarrel just,"
 'Tis sad that countless thousands should die thro' cruel war,
 But let us hope most fervently ere long it will be o'er;

Let them be warned, Old England is brave Old England still,
 We've proved our might, we've claimed our right, and ever, ever will,
 Should we have to draw the sword our way to victory we'll forge,
 With the battle cry of Britons, "Old England and Saint George!"³⁴

[Chorus]

J. R. Seeley (1834–95): *The Expansion of England* (1883)

From Course II, Lecture I: "History and Politics"³⁵

I take it that every other country, France, Germany, the United States, every country except perhaps Russia, has a simple problem to solve compared with that which is set

Notes

²⁶ *Lion* symbol of Great Britain, and used in the British coat of arms.

²⁷ *by jingo* a "minced oath" or euphemism for "by Jesus" dating from the seventeenth century, but revived in 1877 in this song. Jingoism is an extreme and bellicose form of patriotism, threatening sanctions and military force to protect national interests. In 1901, J. A. Hobson, in the context of the Second Boer War (1899–1902), would publish a harsh denunciation of this populism in *The Psychology of Jingoism*.

²⁸ *before* in the Crimean War.

²⁹ *Turks* the carnage in Serbia and Montenegro after their uprisings in 1876.

³⁰ *Khiva* in modern Uzbekistan, Khiva, a Turkish city, was taken in a battle by Russia in May, 1873. It is far from Siberia.

³¹ *Circassians* a people on the north-east coast of the Black Sea (formerly Circassia), expelled from their homeland by Russia, especially in the Caucasian War (1817–64). They found refuge in the Ottoman Empire in Turkey, Syria, Jordan, and elsewhere.

³² *Poland* eastern Poland had been occupied by Russia since the Congress of Vienna (1815) but was incorporated into the Russian Empire in 1864.

³³ *Freedom and Revenge* see Robert Southey, *Vision of Don Roderick* (1811).

³⁴ *George* this patriotic cry echoes Shakespeare's Henry V before Agincourt:

Follow your spirit; and, upon this charge

Cry "God for Harry! England and Saint George!" (3.1.31).

³⁵ *title* this work was originally two sets of eight lectures given in 1881. The first set deals with the beginnings of

before England. Most of those states are compact and solid, scarcely less compact, though so much larger, than the city-states of antiquity. They can only be attacked at home, and therefore their armies are a kind of citizen soldiery. Now distant dependencies destroy this compactness, and make the national interest hard to discern and hard to protect. . . . But this external difficulty is less serious than the internal difficulties which arise in a scattered empire. How to give a moral unity to vast countries separated from each other by half the globe, even when they are inhabited in the main by one nation! But even this is not the greatest of the anxieties of England. For besides the Colonies, we have India. Here at least there is no community of race or religion. Here that solid basis which is formed by immigration and colonisation is almost entirely wanting. Here you have another problem not less vast, not less difficult, and much less hopeful than that of the colonies. Either problem by itself is as much as any nation ever took in hand before. It seems really too much that both should fall on the same nation at the same time.

Consider how distracting must be the effect upon the public mind of these two opposite questions. The colonies and India are in opposite extremes. Whatever political maxims are most applicable to the one, are most inapplicable to the other. In the colonies everything is brand-new. There you have the most progressive race put in the circumstances most favourable to progress. They have no past and an unbounded future. Government and institutions are all ultra-English. All is liberty, industry, invention, innovation, and as yet tranquillity. Now if this alone were Greater Britain, it would be homogeneous, all of a piece; and, vast and boundless as the territory is, we might come to understand its affairs. But there is at the same time another Greater Britain, surpassing this in population though not in territory, and it is everything which this is not. India is all past and, I may almost say, no future. What it will come to the wisest man is afraid to conjecture, but in the past it opens vistas into a fabulous antiquity. All the oldest religions, all the oldest customs, petrified as it were. No form of popular government as yet possible. Everything which Europe, and still more the New World, has outlived still flourishing in full vigour; superstition, fatalism, polygamy, the most primitive priestcraft, the most primitive despotism,³⁶ and threatening the northern frontier the vast Asiatic steppe with its Osbeks and Turcomans.³⁷ Thus the same nation which reaches one hand towards the future of the globe and assumes the position of mediator between Europe and the New World, stretches the other hand towards the remotest past, becomes an Asiatic conqueror, and usurps the succession of the Great Mogul.³⁸

Notes

European imperialism up to the eighteenth century, from Columbus to the American Revolution, which he calls the “schism” of Greater Britain. In the second set of lectures Seeley focuses entirely on India, describing the differences between the English conquest of India and the “natural” tendency of expansion into other parts of the world where English emigrants formed, if not the majority of the population, certainly the power block. Famously, Seeley described “the extension of the English name into other countries of the globe, the foundation of Greater Britain,” as almost an accident: “We seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind” (course 1, ch. 1). For Seeley, the study of history is entirely pragmatic: it is to educate the statesmen of his day so that they prevent the loss of the “white” colonies. Despite little hope that the differences between India and England could be reconciled, “Greater Britain” must retain India as part of what Kipling would later call “the white man’s burden.” By 1885, Seeley’s book had sold over 80,000 copies, and had become the bible of the Imperial

Federation League, an influential group formed in July 1884 to promote the colonies as an organic extension of the British “family.”

³⁶ *despotism* for a famous statement about an atrophied India, see this section, GOVERNING, n. 5. Oriental despotism is a commonplace among Western commentators, whose presumption is that Asians by necessity must be ruled by despotic governments, cutting them off from Western notions of progress. The idea goes back to Herodotus (c.484–425 BCE), Greek historian. Gibbon in *Decline and Fall* (1776) refers to “the effeminate luxury of oriental despotism” (bk. 1, ch. 6); Karl Marx on India often writes of an “Asiatic mode of production” cut off from the progressive forces of Western history.

³⁷ *Osbeks* . . . *Turcomans* the Osbeks were a historical Turkic tribal confederation in Central Asia during the early medieval Turkic expansion from 600 to 1100 between Persia and the Oxus River (or present-day Iran and the Amu Darya River).

³⁸ *Mogul* the Mogul or Moghal Empire designates the conquest of the Indian subcontinent by the Timurid

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Walter Crane (1845–1915): “Imperial Federation Map of the World Showing the Extent of the British Empire in 1886” (1886)

Alfred Tennyson (1809–92): “Opening of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition” (1886)³⁹

I

Welcome, welcome with one voice!
In your welfare we rejoice,
Sons and brothers that have sent,
From isle and cape and continent,
Produce of your field and flood, 5
Mount and mine, and primal wood,
Works of subtle brain and hand,
And splendours of the Morning Land,
Gifts from every British zone!
Britons, hold your own! 10

2

May we find, as ages run,
The mother featured in the son,
And may yours for ever be
That old strength and constancy
Which has made your Fathers great, 15
In our ancient island-state!
And—where’er her flag may fly
Glorying between sea and sky—
Makes the might of Britain known!
Britons, hold your own! 20

3

Britain fought her sons of yore,
Britain fail’d: and never more,
Careless of our growing kin,
Shall we sin our fathers’ sin,

Notes

dynasty from Persia from about 1526 to the mid-1700s, although the last emperor, Bahadur Shah II (1775–1862) of Delhi, hung on until the Indian Rebellion in 1857.

³⁹ *title* written in Tennyson’s official capacity as Poet Laureate at the request of the Prince of Wales. The Colonial and Indian Exhibition opened on 4 May 1886 in

Men that in a narrower day— 25
 Unprophetic rulers they—
 Drove from out the Mother's nest
 That young eagle of the West,
 To forage for herself alone!⁴⁰
 Britons, hold your own! 30

4

Sharers of our glorious past,
 Brothers, must we part at last?
 Shall we not thro' good and ill
 Cleave to one another still?
 Britain's myriad voices call 35
 "Sons, be welded, each and all,
 Into one Imperial whole.
 One with Britain, heart and soul!
 One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne!"
 Britons, hold your own! 40
 And God guard all!⁴¹

Alfred Tennyson (1809–92): "*Carmen Sæculare*:
 An Ode in Honour of the Jubilee
 of Queen Victoria" (1887)⁴²

I

Fifty times the rose has flower'd and faded,
 Fifty times the golden harvest fallen,
 Since our Queen assumed the globe, the sceptre.

Notes

South Kensington in London to great acclaim (see *EMPIRE: CELEBRATION*; CRANE (WEB p. 223)). The Prince of Wales said the exhibition was "to stimulate commerce and strengthen the bonds of union now existing in every portion of her Majesty's Empire." The Ode was first made public when it was printed in the "Official Programme" for the opening of the exhibition in the presence of Queen Victoria in the Royal Albert Hall. On that occasion the second verse of the National Anthem was sung in Sanskrit, translated into that language by Max Müller. Tennyson's Ode followed, set to music and conducted by Arthur Sullivan (1842–1900) and sung by soprano Emma Albani (1847–1930) and the large Royal Albert Hall Choral Society. Thereafter the poem was reprinted in newspaper accounts of the ceremony – in England, for instance, in *The Standard* (5 May 1886, 3; our text), and around the world. The Prince

of Wales sent a telegram to various colonies: "I should be glad if you would publish them [the proceedings, including Tennyson's Ode] in the *New Zealand Gazette*," as was done there and elsewhere. It was later republished in *Locksley Hall Sixty Year After and Other Poems* (1886).

⁴⁰ *alone* the entire stanza is about the American Revolution (1775–83), the watershed division between the first and second British Empire (see n. 35).

⁴¹ *all* Tennyson added this line in MS to the proof sheets of the text for the official programme where it was included (each word was capitalized), as well as in newspaper reports following the event. The last line would be omitted from the version in *Locksley Hall* (1886).

⁴² *title* the metre of the poem in the even-numbered sections is based, according to Tennyson, on Catullus' *Collis o Heliconii* (Hallam, Lord Tennyson, *Life . . . Memoir*, 2. 400),

II

She beloved for a kindliness
Rare in Fable or History, 5
Queen, and Empress of India,
Crown'd so long with a diadem
Never worn by a worthier,
Now with prosperous auguries
Comes at last to the bounteous 10
Crowning year of her Jubilee.

III

Nothing of the lawless, of the Despot,
Nothing of the vulgar, or vainglorious,
All is gracious, gentle, great and Queenly.

IV

You then loyally,⁴³ all of you,⁴⁴ 15
Deck your houses, illuminate
All your towns for a festival,
And in each let a multitude
Loyal, each, to the heart of it,
One full voice of allegiance, 20
Hail the great⁴⁵ Ceremonial
Of this year of her Jubilee.

V

Queen, as true to womanhood as Queenhood,
Glorying in the glories of her people,
Sorrowing with the sorrows of the lowest! 25

VI

You, that wanton in affluence,
Spare not now to be bountiful,

Notes

Carmen 61, written in Aeolic stanzas of four glyconics and a pherecratean (a truncated glyconic). That is, the general verse form is modelled on the archaic Aeolic lyric form of Sappho and Alcaeus who wrote in the Aeolic dialect. The glyconic is a line of Greek or Latin verse in which the opening foot can be either long or short, followed by two more feet of roughly this pattern: - - or ~ ~ followed by two further feet, the rest of the line: ~ ~ ~ ~ ~, though additional syllables could be added, and the caesura varies in its location. It is a celebratory poem in honour of Victoria's golden jubilee, the fiftieth anniversary of her coronation. It also came to be identified with the building and completion of the Imperial Institute (see this section, INTRODUCTION). Other

poems commemorated that event: Swinburne's *The Union—A Song* (*Nineteenth Century*, 1893), Kipling's "Ode for the Opening of the Imperial Institute" (*English Illustrated Magazine* 1893), and John Douglas Sutherland Campbell, the Marquess of Lorne's "The Empire's Toasts" (*The Graphic* 20 May, 1893). First published in *Macmillan's Magazine* April 1887; republished as "An Ode on the Jubilee of Queen Victoria" in *Demeter and Other Poems* (1889) and signed "Tennyson."

⁴³ loyally joyfully (1889).

⁴⁴ you two additional lines were added after this line: "Set the mountain aflame tonight, / Shoot your stars to the firmament," (1889).

⁴⁵ great fair (1889).

Call your poor to regale with you,⁴⁶
 Make their neighbourhood healthfuller,
 Give your gold to the Hospital, 30
 Let the weary be comforted,
 Let the needy be banqueted,
 Let the maim'd in his heart rejoice⁴⁷
 At⁴⁸ this year of her Jubilee.

VII

Henry's fifty years are all in shadow, 35
 Gray with distance Edward's fifty summers,
 Ev'n her Grandsire's fifty half forgotten.⁴⁹

VIII

You, the Patriot Architect,⁵⁰
 Shape⁵¹ a stately memorial,
 Make it regally gorgeous, 40
 Some Imperial Institute,
 Rich in symbol, in ornament,
 Which may speak to the centuries,
 All the centuries after us,⁵²
 Of⁵³ this year of her Jubilee. 45

IX

Fifty years of ever-broadening Commerce!
 Fifty years of ever-brightening Science!
 Fifty years of ever-widening Empire!

X

You, the Mighty, the Fortunate,
 You, the Lord-territorial, 50
 You, the Lord-manufacturer,
 You, the hardy, laborious,

Notes

⁴⁶ *you* after this line, the following line was added "All the lowly, the destitute," (1889).

⁴⁷ *rejoice* after this line, the following line was added: "At this glad Ceremonial," (1889).

⁴⁸ *At And* (1889).

⁴⁹ *Henry... forgotten* all had long reigns: Henry III (1207–72) reigned for fifty-six years, from 1216 until his death; Edward III (1312–77) reigned for fifty years, from 1227 until his death; and George III (1738–1820), reigned for sixty years, from 1760. However, because of his mental illness, George, Prince of Wales, became Prince Regent in 1810 and

ruled in this capacity until his father's death, after which he became George IV.

⁵⁰ *Architect* two months after this poem was first published, in June 1887, Thomas Collcutt (1840–1924) was chosen architect of the new Imperial Institute. After this line, Tennyson added another: "You that shape for Eternity," (1889). See this section, INTRODUCTION.

⁵¹ *Shape* Raise (1889).

⁵² *us* after this line the following line was added: "Of this great Ceremonial," (1889).

⁵³ *Of And* (1889).

⁵⁴ *Albion* ancient name for England.

Patient children of Albion,⁵⁴
 You, Canadian, Indian,
 Australasian, African, 55
 All your hearts be in harmony,
 All your voices in unison,
 Singing "Hail to the glorious
 Golden year of her Jubilee!"

XI

Are there thunders moaning in the distance?⁵⁵ 60
 Are there spectres moving in the darkness?
 Trust the Lord of Light to guide her people,⁵⁶
 Till the thunders pass, the spectres vanish,
 And the Light is Victor, and the darkness
 Dawns into the Jubilee of the Ages. 65

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Mrs Ernest Ames [Mary Frances Ames] (1853–1929): *An ABC for Baby Patriots* (1899)

Henry Labouchère [?] (1831–1912): "The Brown Man's Burden" (1899)⁵⁷

Pile on the brown man's burden
 To gratify your greed;
 Go, clear away the "niggers"⁵⁸
 Who progress would impede;

Be very stern, for truly 5
 'Tis useless to be mild
 With new-caught, sullen peoples,
 Half devil and half child.⁵⁹

Notes

⁵⁵ *distance* Tennyson asked Charles Villiers Stanford to write the music for the Ode; he records in his *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* that Victoria suggested that Tennyson add the concluding section.

⁵⁶ *Lord . . . to guide Hand . . . will lead* (1889).

⁵⁷ *title* a parody of "The White Man's Burden" (see KIPLING), published anonymously in *Truth* in the same month as Kipling's poem (Feb. 1899), this poem was probably written by Labouchère, English Radical Liberal politician, writer, and theatre owner. He was the owner and editor of *Truth*, a journal he started in 1877. Labouchère was an agnostic, a rebel, and a radical thinker; he was also a virulent opponent of women's suffrage and a vocal anti-Semite. Labouchère is best known for his amendment

making homosexual acts a criminal offence (1885); see GENDER: SEX; LABOUCHÈRE, "AMENDMENT" (WEB p. 102). There are a number of other parodies and commentaries on Kipling's poem: see, for instance, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (see n. 74), Ernest Crosby (1856–1907), American clergyman and writer, "The Real White Man's Burden" in *Swords and Ploughshares* (1902); and Hubert Harrison (1883–1927), West Indian–American writer and political activist, "The Black Man's Burden" in *When Africa Awakes* (1920).

⁵⁸ *nigger* the term was used not just in reference to Africans, but also Indians, Maoris (from New Zealand), and aborigines from Australia. See n. 1.

⁵⁹ *half child* see KIPLING, "THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN" (7–8).



Pile on the brown man's burden;
 And, if ye rouse his hate, 10
 Meet his old-fashioned reasons
 With Maxims⁶⁰ up to date.

With shells and dumdum bullets⁶¹
 A hundred times made plain
 The brown man's loss must ever 15
 Imply the white man's gain.⁶²

Pile on the brown man's burden,
 Compel him to be free;
 Let all your manifestoes
 Reek with philanthropy. 20

And if with heathen folly
 He dares your will dispute,
 Then, in the name of freedom,
 Don't hesitate to shoot.

Pile on the brown man's burden, 25
 And if his cry be sore,
 That surely need not irk you—
 Ye've driven slaves before.

Seize on his ports and pastures,
 The fields his people tread; 30
 Go make from them your living,
 And mark them with his dead.

Pile on the brown man's burden,
 And through the world proclaim
 That ye are Freedom's⁶³ agent— 35
 There's no more paying game!

And, should your own past history
 Straight in your teeth be thrown,
 Retort that independence
 Is good for whites alone. 40

Pile on the brown man's burden,
 With equity have done;
 Weak, antiquated scruples
 Their squeamish course have run,

Notes

⁶⁰ *Maxims* both a fundamental principle and a type of machine gun invented in 1884 and widely associated with the British Empire. One year earlier in "The Modern Traveller" (1898), Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953) had written: "Whatever happens, we have got / The Maxim gun, and they have not."

⁶¹ *bullets* Dum-Dum, a town 6.5 kilometres northeast of Calcutta, was the site of a British rifle and ammunition

factory where the Mark IV or Dum Dum bullets were developed and manufactured. These bullets expanded dramatically upon impact, creating a large wound. They were used extensively in the Empire until the Boer War, when in 1899 the International Conference of The Hague prohibited their use.

⁶² *gain* see KIPLING, "THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN" (15–6).

⁶³ *Freedom's* see KIPLING, "THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN" (43).

And, though 'tis freedom's banner
 You're waving in the van,
 Reserve for home consumption
 The sacred "rights of man"!⁶⁴ 45

And if by chance ye falter,
 Or lag along the course,
 If, as the blood flows freely,
 Ye feel some slight remorse, 50

Hie ye to Rudyard Kipling,
 Imperialism's prop,
 And bid him, for your comfort,
 Turn on his jingo⁶⁵ stop. 55

J. A. Hobson (1858–1940): *Imperialism: A Study* (1902)

From Part 2, Chapter 4: "Imperialism and the Lower Races"⁶⁶

The statement, often made, that the work of imperial expansion is virtually complete is not correct. It is true that most of the "backward" races have been placed in some sort of dependence upon one or other of the "civilised" Powers as colony, protectorate, hinterland, or sphere of influence. But this in most instances marks rather the beginning of a process of imperialisation than a definite attainment of empire. The intensive growth of empire by which interference is increased and governmental control tightened over spheres of influence and protectorates is as important and as perilous an aspect of Imperialism as the extensive growth which takes shape in assertion of rule over new areas of territory and new populations. . . .

During the last twenty years Great Britain, Germany, France, and Russia have bitten off huge mouthfuls of Africa and Asia which are not yet chewed, digested, or assimilated.⁶⁷ Moreover, great areas still remain whose independence, though threatened, is yet unimpaired. . . .

There is nothing unworthy, quite the contrary, in the notion that nations which, through a more stimulative environment, have advanced further in certain arts of

Notes

⁶⁴ *man* the title of a famous pamphlet by Thomas Paine (1737–1809), published in 1791 in support of the French Revolution; also "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" adopted during the revolution in 1789.

⁶⁵ *jingo* see above, Hunt, n. 27.

⁶⁶ *title* in the preface Hobson claims to proceed "rather by diagnosis than historical description." The book consists of two parts: first, "the economic origins are traced"; and second, "the theory and practice of Imperialism regarded as a 'mission of civilization'" are analysed. He claims to be treating a "social pathology," a "disease": "Our economic analysis has disclosed the fact that it is only the interests of competing cliques of business men—investors, contractors, export manufacturers, and certain professional classes—that are antagonistic; that these cliques, usurping the authority and voice of the people, use the public resources to push their private interests, and spend the blood and money of the people in this vast and disastrous

military game, feigning national antagonism which have no basis in reality." In the first chapter, Hobson provided a list of territories acquired by Britain since 1870: "For so small a nation to add to its domains in the course of a single generation an area of 4,754,000 square miles, with an estimated population of 88,000,000, is a historical fact of great significance." The book was extremely influential: Lenin's *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916) draws its core argument entirely from Hobson. Immediately prior to this work, Hobson was a journalist for the *Manchester Guardian*, covering the Boer War (1899–1902), publishing *War in South Africa* (1900) and *Psychology of Jingoism* (1901).

⁶⁷ *assimilated* in the first chapter, Hobson claims: "the definite advance of Germany upon its Imperialist career began in 1884, with a policy of African protectorates and annexations of Oceanic islands. During the next fifteen years she brought under her colonial sway about 1,000,000

industry, politics, or morals, should communicate these to nations which from their circumstances were more backward, so as to aid them in developing alike the material resources of their land and the human resources of their people. . . . Force is itself no remedy, coercion is not education, but it may be a prior condition to the operation of educative forces. Those, at any rate, who assign any place to force in the education or the political government of individuals in a nation can hardly deny that the same instrument may find a place in the civilisation of backward by progressive nations.

Assuming that the arts of “progress,” or some of them, are communicable, a fact which is hardly disputable, there can be no inherent natural right in a nation to refuse that measure of compulsory education which shall raise it from childhood to manhood in the order of nationalities. The analogy furnished by the education of a child is *primâ facie*⁶⁸ a sound one, and is not invalidated by the dangerous abuses to which it is exposed in practice.

The real issue is one of safeguards, of motives, and of methods. What are the conditions under which a nation may help to develop the resources of another, and even apply some element of compulsion in doing so? The question, abstract as it may sound, is quite the most important of all practical questions for this generation. For, that such development will take place, and such compulsion, legitimate or illegitimate, be exercised, more and more throughout this new century in many quarters of this globe, is beyond the shadow of a doubt. It is the great practical business of the century to explore and develop, by every method which science can devise, the hidden natural and human resources of the globe.

That the white Western nations will abandon a quest on which they have already gone so far is a view which does not deserve consideration. That this process of development may be so conducted as to yield a gain to world-civilisation, instead of some terrible *débâcle*⁶⁹ in which revolted slave races may trample down their parasitic and degenerate white masters, should be the supreme aim of far-sighted scientific statecraft.

Arthur Christopher Benson (1862–1925): “Land of Hope and Glory” (1902)⁷⁰

Land of hope and glory, Mother of the free,⁷¹
How may we extol thee, who are born of thee?

Notes

square miles, with an estimated population of 14,000,000. Almost the whole of this territory is tropical, and the white population forms a total of a few thousands”: France’s “acquisitions since 1880 (exclusive of the extension of New Caledonia and its dependencies) amount to an area of over three and a half million square miles, with a native population of some 37,000,000, almost the whole tropical or sub-tropical, inhabited by lower races and incapable of genuine French colonisation”; and “Russia, the only active expansionist country of the North, stands alone in the character of her imperial growth, which differs from other Imperialism in that it has been principally Asiatic in its achievements.” For Britain, see n. 66.

⁶⁸ *primâ facie* (Lat. at first sight, on the face of it).

⁶⁹ *débâcle* (Fr. disaster).

⁷⁰ title the son of Edward White Benson (later, archbishop of Canterbury from 1882 to 1896) and Mary Sidgwick (1841–1918), Benson was a poet, essayist, and master of Magdalene College, Cambridge. The lyrics were written for a famous melody by Edward Elgar (1857–1934). Elgar’s melody was first

used in the *trio* section of the first of six marches for orchestra entitled *Pomp and Circumstance*. Written in 1901, the march was inscribed on the first page with a loose paraphrase and partial rewriting of the opening of a poem by John Warren, Lord de Tabley (1835–1895), “The March of Glory”:

Like a proud music that draws men on to die
Madly upon the spears in martial ecstasy,
A measure that sets heaven in all their veins
And iron in their hands.
I hear the Nation march
Beneath her ensign as an eagle’s wing;
O’er shield and sheeted targe
The banners of my faith most gaily swing;
Moving to victory with solemn noise,
With worship and with conquest, and the voice
of myriads.

Lord de Tabley exploits two military tropes, *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (Lat. how sweet and proper it is to die for one’s native land) and *nos morituri te salutamus*

Truth and Right and Freedom, each a holy gem,
Stars of solemn brightness, weave thy diadem.

Tho' thy way be darkened, still in splendour drest, 5
As the star that trembles o'er the liquid West.

Throned amid the billows,⁷² throned inviolate,
Though hast reigned victorious, thou has smiled at fate.

[Chorus]
Land of hope and glory, Fortress of the free,
How may we extol thee, praise thee, honour thee? 10

Hark, a mighty nation maketh glad reply;
Lo, our lips are thankful, lo, our hearts are high!

Hearts in hope uplifted, loyal lips that sing;
Strong in faith and freedom, we have crowned our King!

Dear Land of Hope, thy hope is crowned⁷³ 15
God make thee mightier yet!

On Sov'ran brows, belov'd, renown'd,
Once more thy crown is set.

Thine equal laws, by freedom gained,
Have ruled thee well and long; 20

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(Lat. we who are about to die salute you), the latter a greeting of gladiators hailing Caesar in the Roman amphitheatre, but applied here by de Tabley to the hailing of a personified glory as queen.

Three versions of the lyrics exist. First, Elgar was commissioned to write a composition for a gala concert before the Edward VII's coronation. Elgar set to work on his *Coronation Ode* (1902) with some words from Benson, then asking him for more. Benson wrote words for the seven sections of the *Ode*, those for the concluding finale being known as "Land of Hope and Glory" set to Elgar's tune from *Pomp and Circumstance*. This version consists of the first stanza (four lines sung by a contralto, four by a soprano) followed by the chorus. It was published in April 1902 (our text) and was first performed in Sheffield on 26 October 1902 and a few days later in London in the presence of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra at a festival honouring the Empire and the Union Jack – with one flag issued to every audience member. Another British composer, Charles Villiers Stanford (1852–1924), wrote to Elgar that his *Ode* had "translated Master Rudyard Kipling into Music." For the second and third versions, see n. 73. The song is traditionally sung as an alternative English national anthem at rugby and football games, at national and royal celebrations (like the Golden Jubilee concert for Elizabeth II) and at the last night of the BBC Proms concerts with flags (for an audio and visual recording, see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gLKSDT_2zPA).

⁷¹ *free* the stanza is to be sung by contralto (first four lines) and soprano (second four lines), followed by the chorus in the version of 1902.

⁷² *billows* the imagery suggests the figure of Britannia as the queen of the oceans. For another patriotic use of such imagery, see Gilbert, *Iolanthe*, "When Britain Really Ruled the Waves."

⁷³ *crowned* this stanza, the second version, is now the standard wording used in popular celebrations. Elgar asked Benson for alternative words for an orchestral arrangement for solo voice, and it was first sung in June 1902 by Elgar's friend, the contralto Dame Clara Butt (1872–1936). She recorded it in 1911, as may be heard here: <http://www.firstworldwar.com/audio/landofhopeandglory.htm>

In 1914 an additional stanza, the third version, was added to the 1902 / 1911 version to reflect the sentiments of Britain's involvement in the First World War:

Thy fame is ancient as the days,
As Ocean large and wide;
A pride that dares, and heeds not praise,
A stern and silent pride.
Not that false joy that dreams content
With what our sires have won;
The blood a hero sire hath spent
Still nerves a hero son.

By Freedom gained, by Truth maintain'd,
Thine Empire shall be strong.

[Chorus]

Land of Hope and Glory, Mother of the Free,
How shall we extol thee, who are born of thee?

Wider still and wider shall thy bounds be set,
God, who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet.

25

God, who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet.

Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (1840–1922): *From My Diaries: Being a Personal Narrative of Events, 1888–1914* (1919)⁷⁴

22nd Dec. [1900]—The old century is nearly out, and leaves the world in a pretty pass, and the British Empire is playing the devil in it as never an empire before on so large a scale. We may live to see its fall. All the nations of Europe are making the same hell upon earth in China, massacring and pillaging and raping in the captured cities as outrageously as in the Middle Ages.⁷⁵ The Emperor of Germany gives the word for slaughter and the Pope looks on and approves.⁷⁶ In South Africa our troops are burning farms under Kitchener's command, and the Queen and the two Houses of Parliament, and the bench of bishops thank God publicly and vote money for the work.⁷⁷ The Americans are spending fifty millions a year on slaughtering the Filipinos;⁷⁸ the King of the Belgians has invested his

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⁷⁴ title a poet and writer, Blunt served in the diplomatic service from 1858 to 1869, and, paradoxically, as a Tory he became well known for his anti-imperial politics. He supported Irish and Egyptian nationalists, at one point being banned from Egypt for four years from 1882, and put into an Irish prison for three months in 1888. Among his many anti-imperial writings he published in 1899 a long poem, "Satan Absolved: A Victorian Mystery," where Satan praises "These Lords who boast Thine aid at their high civic feasts. / The ignoble shouting crowds, the prophets of their Press, / Pouring their daily flood of bald self-righteousness. / Their poets who write big of the 'White Burden' Trash! / The White Man's Burden, Lord, is the burden of his cash" (see n. 57); and a pamphlet at his own expense, "The Shame of the Nineteenth Century" (1900), a scathing indictment of the British Empire.

⁷⁵ *Europe ... Ages the Eight-Nation Alliance of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States had an army of 20,000 in China to suppress the Boxer Rebellion (1900–1), a nationalist rebellion against foreign influence and Christianity. During the fighting, the allied troops were reported to have committed a number of atrocities. A witness, the Irish journalist George Lynch (b. 1868), would write in *The War of the Civilisations: Being the Record of a "Foreign Devil's" Experiences with the Allies in China* (1901): "there are things that I must not write, and that may not be printed in England, which would seem to show that this Western civilization of ours is merely a veneer over savagery" (ch. 10).*

⁷⁶ *Emperor ... approves* Wilhelm II or William II (1859–1941), last German Emperor (Kaiser), grandson of the British Queen Victoria, gave a speech to German troops departing for the Boxer Rebellion in July, 1900: "When you come upon the enemy, smite him. Pardon will not be given. Prisoners will not be taken. Whoever falls into your hands is forfeit. ... May you in this way make the name German remembered in China for a thousand years so that no Chinaman will ever again dare to even squint at a German!" Leo XIII (1810–1903) was pope from 1878 to 1903.

⁷⁷ *South ... work* Horatio Herbert Kitchener (1850–1916) was appointed commander-in-chief of the British army in the Boer War in August 1900 and soon after adopted a scorched earth policy, destroying Boer farms and livestock, and moving women and children to concentration camps. These camps had a death rate of 35%, mostly from rampant disease caused by poor conditions. Although British authorities and public opinion still fully supported their troops at the beginning of the twentieth century, many would soon turn against them when these tactics began to be reported in the press. See this section, *IMPERIAL TRAVELLERS*, n. 17.

⁷⁸ *Filipinos* following the Spanish–American War (1898), American troops and Philippine revolutionary forces engaged in a war that lasted from February 1899 to July 1902; the United States would occupy the Philippines until 1946. It was in this context that Kipling wrote "The White Man's Burden" (see n. 57).

whole fortune on the Congo, where he is brutalizing the negroes to fill his pockets.⁷⁹ The French and Italians for the moment are playing a less prominent part in the slaughter, but their inactivity grieves them.⁸⁰ The whole white race is revelling openly in violence, as though it had never pretended to be Christian. God's equal curse be on them all! So ends the famous nineteenth century into which we were so proud to have been born. . . .

31st Dec.[1900]—I bid good-bye to the old century, may it rest in peace as it has lived in war. Of the new century I prophesy nothing except that it will see the decline of the British Empire. Other worse Empires will rise perhaps in its place, but I shall not live to see the day. It all seems a very little matter here in Egypt, with the Pyramids watching us as they watched Joseph,⁸¹ when, as a young man four thousand years ago, perhaps in this very garden, he walked and gazed at the sunset behind him, wondering about the future just as I did this evening. And so, poor wicked nineteenth century, farewell!

2. Governing the Colonies

2.1 India

Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–59): From *Minute on Indian Education* (2 Feb. 1835)¹

We now come to the gist of the matter. We have a fund to be employed as Government shall direct for the intellectual improvement of the people of this country. The simple question is, what is the most useful way of employing it?

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⁷⁹ *pockets* Leopold II (1835–1909), king of the Belgians, cousin of Queen Victoria, was recognized at the Berlin Conference of 1884–85 to be the sole owner of the Congo; he exploited it ruthlessly for ivory and rubber, causing millions of deaths, until international outrage would force him in 1908 to give it to Belgium as a colony. In 1898 Conrad had written the most famous literary treatment of the subject in *Heart of Darkness*; see also Mark Twain's bitter satire, *King Leopold's Soliloquy* (1905).

⁸⁰ *them* at this time the French Empire consisted primarily of colonies in French Indochina (now Vietnam) and northern and central Africa (Algeria, Tunis, Mauritania, Senegal, Guinea, Mali, Ivory Coast, Benin, Niger, Chad, and Central African Republic); the Italians held Italian Somaliland in the Horn of Africa; in 1896, at the hands of Ethiopian forces at the Battle of Adwa, they had become the first European power to be defeated by Africans.

⁸¹ *Joseph* a figure in the Old Testament who rose from a slave to the captain of Pharaoh's guard to be vizier or executive officer in Pharaoh's court with control of "all the land of Egypt." He rose to this position by interpreting Pharaoh's dreams as prophetic of abundant harvests and subsequent famine, and by offering plans for such a future (see Genesis 37–50). By present calculations, Blunt's dating is far off: Joseph's narrative dates from the fifth to the seventh centuries BCE when the pyramids were already two thousand years old: the Great Pyramid of Khafre at Giza dates from about 2480 BCE.

GOVERNING THE COLONIES

¹ *title* the British Parliament in 1813 had stipulated that the East India Company would spend at least one lakh (100,000) of rupees annually on the education of Indians, and thus continued a policy debate that had been ongoing since the governorship of Warren Hastings (1732–1818). He had advocated for education in indigenous languages, a part of a policy of non-intervention or non-disturbance of Indian ways of life. Macaulay served the East India Company in India from 1834 to 1838 as first Law Member of the Supreme Council, as well as president of the General Committee of Public Instruction, during which time he wrote this memorandum on the side of the anglicists, advocating for the Indian subjects to be educated in English. He was opposed to the orientalist, who wanted the languages of instruction to be Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian, as well as English. Both sides, anglicists and orientalist, agreed on modernization: their difference concerned the language of instruction. Macaulay closes the "Minute" by advocating that the English close Arabic and Sanscrit schools, and cease to print books in those languages, after which he threatened to resign from the council if his position were not adopted. Governor General William Bentinck (1774–1839) gave his "entire concurrence to the sentiments expressed in this Minute," and, with small revisions, on 7 March Macaulay's "Minute" formed the basis of the English Education Act of 1835. Macaulay's biographer G. O. Trevelyan would write in 1876: "A new India was born in 1835. The very foundations of her ancient civilization began

All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India,² contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are, moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

What, then, shall that language be? One half of the Committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanscrit.³ The whole question seems to me to be, which language is the best worth knowing?

I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic.—But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalist themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is, indeed, fully admitted by those members of the Committee who support the Oriental plan of education. . . .

The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands preeminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature;⁴ with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language, has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia; communities which are every year becoming more important, and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the

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to rock and sway. Pillar after pillar in the edifice came crashing down." Our text: *Bureau of Education. Selections from Educational Records, Part I* (ed. H. Sharp 1920).

² India between 1894 and 1928, the British Raj would undertake the Linguistic Survey of India, in which 364 languages were recognized.

³ Sanscrit the orientalists on the Board of Instruction included Henry Hayman Wilson (1786–1860) and Henry Prinsep (1792–1878), who wrote a critical response to Macaulay's "Minute." The orientalists, the dominant party since Hastings (see n. 1) and founders of the Asiatic Society in 1784, were not opposed to modernizing their Indian subjects,

but rather argued that science would be better absorbed if "engrafted" to the native languages. Their position is clearly laid out in a paper by Wilson, "Education of the Natives of India," *Asiatic Journal* (Jan. 1836).

⁴ nature echo of John Dryden's *Essay of Dramatick Poesie* (1688): "A Play ought to be, A just and lively Image of Human Nature, representing its Passion and Humours, and the Changes of Fortune to which it is subject; for the Delight and Instruction of Mankind." Samuel Johnson varies this statement in his *Preface to Shakespeare* (1765): "Nothing can please many, and please long, but just representations of general nature."

particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.

The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronise sound Philosophy and true History, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier—Astronomy, which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school—History, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long—and Geography, made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.⁵ . . .

It is said that the Sanscrit and Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred millions of people are written, and that they are, on that account, entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant, but neutral on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved. It is confessed that a language is barren of useful knowledge.⁶ We are to teach it because it is fruitful of monstrous superstitions. We are to teach false History, false Astronomy, false Medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion. We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting natives to Christianity.⁷ . . .

In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel, with them, that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate

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⁵ *butter* these claims are commonplace among such commentators on India as James Mill (see this section, CELEBRATION, n. 36) and Charles Edward Trevelyan (1807–86), Macaulay's brother-in-law, who in 1838 in *On the Education of the People of India* would write, "The Hindu system of learning contains so much truth as to have raised the nation to its present point of civilization, and to have kept it there for ages without retrograding, and so much error as to have prevented it from making any sensible advance during the same long period. Under this system, history is made up of fables, in which the learned in vain endeavour to trace the thread of authentic narrative; its medicine is quackery; its geography and astronomy are monstrous absurdity; its law is composed of loose contradictory maxims, and barbarous and ridiculous penal provisions; its religion is idolatry; its morality is such as might be expected from the example of the gods and the precepts of the religion." (ch. 3).

⁶ *knowledge* the utilitarians consistently called for "useful knowledge" to be the basis of any educational system in India. For instance, in a memorandum to the governor-general-in-council of Bengal (18 Feb. 1824) on the Muslim College in Calcutta and the Hindu College in Benares, James Mill had written, "The great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning, or Mahomedan learning, but useful learning. . . . In professing . . . to establish Seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere

Hindoo, or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned." Unlike Macaulay, however, Mill had never set foot in India.

⁷ *Christianity* in 1813, a new charter for the East India Company (see n. 1) allowed missionaries into India; up to that point the policy was to discourage missionary activity for fear of offending Hindu and Muslim sensibilities. One of the most prominent promoters of evangelical Christianity had been Charles Grant, (1746–1823), East India Company chairman, and like Macaulay's father Zachary, a member of the Clapham Sect of evangelical Christianity. In *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain* (1792), Grant had argued in favour of English education to the Indians for the purposes of conversion: "Are we forever to preserve the enormities of the Hindu system? . . . The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light." He urged that the company establish "places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English." This book was presented to parliament in 1813 in the debates on the new charter, during which William Wilberforce (1759–1833) claimed of the Indians, "Their divinities are absolute monsters of lust, injustice, wickedness, and cruelty. In short, their religious system is one grand abomination."

the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class⁸ who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

Proclamation by the Queen in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India⁹

One November 1858

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company: . . .

And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgement of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, Charles John Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-general¹⁰ in and over our said territories, and to administer the government

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⁸ *class* the Indians educated on this model would come to be referred to as Macaulay's children; it is this class that later are referred to derisively as "babus," once a term of respect but converted into a term of ridicule for a half-educated, semi-literate, self-important, and sycophantic Indian clerk, such as the babu in Kipling's *Kim* (1901), Hurree Chunder Mookerjee.

⁹ *title* on 2 August 1858 the Government of India Act was passed in parliament, transferring power to the Crown from the British East India Company, which had been granted its charter by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. The company had ruled virtually all of the Indian subcontinent since the Battle of Plassey in 1757 (see n. 15). The Company would be completely dissolved by East India Stock Dividend Redemption Act (1874). The Indian Rebellion (called by the British the Indian Mutiny, and by Marx the First War of Indian Independence) broke out on 10 May 1857 in Meerut when sepoy (Indian soldiers) refused to bite off the paper cartridges for their rifles which they believed were greased with beef and pork fat. The root causes of the rebellion, however, had long-standing causes, involving changes in army regulations governing the sepoys, grievances on the part of the native princes and nobility, seizures of land under the Doctrine of Lapse, (which declared vacant a native title if a ruler died without a male heir), and resentment regarding social reform directed by utilitarian and evangelical British leaders (see nn.1, 3). Fighting broke out in different areas of India, with the rebels fighting under various leaders. The armed phase of the conflict had ended on 20 June 1858 at Gwalior. On 15 August 1858 Queen Victoria wrote to the prime minister "to explain in detail to Lord Derby her objections to the draft of Proclamation for India. The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would write it himself in his excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female

Sovereign who speaks to more than 100,000,000 of Eastern people on assuming the direct Government over them after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her Government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious feeling, pointing out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilisation." The proclamation would be publically read on 1 November in Allahabad by the Viceroy Lord Canning. Our text: *House of Commons Papers*, Volume 18.

¹⁰ *Governor-general* Charles John Canning, first Earl Canning (1812–62) was governor-general of India from 1856 to 1858, and the first Viceroy of India from 1858 to 1862; his wife, Charlotte Canning, Countess Canning (1817–1861), had been a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Victoria from 1842 to 1855; she is well known as an artist of Indian landscapes. Canning had earned the nickname "Clemency" Canning when he adopted a policy of pardoning the rebels who had not been involved in murder if they surrendered before 1 January 1859. In a letter (4 Sept. 1858) Canning wrote to Stanley (see n. 11) of a false report of the amnesty, adding that nevertheless he was anxious to issue an amnesty "the moment I feel that it will be respected." Upon hearing of Canning's offer of clemency, on 4 October 1857 while the siege of Lucknow was taking place, in a letter to his friend Angela Burdett-Coutts (1814–1906), Charles Dickens wrote: "I wish I were Commander in Chief in India. The first thing I would do to strike that Oriental race with amazement (not in the least regarding them as if they lived in the Strand, London, or at Camden town), should be to proclaim to them, in their language, that I considered my holding that appointment by the

thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive from us through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.¹¹

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native Princes¹² as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.¹³

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India. . . .

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty. . . .

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leave of God, to mean that I should do my utmost to exterminate the Race upon whom the stain of the late cruelties rested; and that I begged them to do me the favour to observe that I was there for that purpose and no other, and was now proceeding, with all convenient dispatch and merciful swiftness of execution, to blot it out of mankind and raze it off the face of the Earth."

¹¹ State the bill created the India Office and a new position of Secretary of State for India. The man to occupy the office was Edward Henry Stanley, fifteenth

Earl of Derby (1826–93), the son of the prime minister (see n. 9).

¹² *princes* under the British Raj a number of princely or native states remained nominally sovereign under Indian hereditary rulers; they were governed according to a form of indirect rule by the crown. At independence in 1947 there would be 565 princely states.

¹³ *displeasure* in effect the proclamation reverses the evangelical impulse for conversion implemented after 1813 (see nn. 1, 7).

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.¹⁴ . . .

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquility shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

G. A. Henty (1832–1902): *With Clive in India: Or, The Beginnings of an Empire* (1884)

From "Preface"¹⁵

MY DEAR LADS,—In the following pages I have endeavoured to give you a vivid picture of the wonderful events of the ten years, which at their commencement saw Madras in the hands of the French, Calcutta at the mercy of the Nabob of Bengal, and English influence apparently at the point of extinction in India, and which ended in the final triumph of the English both in Bengal and Madras.¹⁶ There were yet great battles to be fought, great efforts to be made before the vast Empire of India fell altogether into British hands; but these were but the sequence of the events I have described.

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¹⁴ mercy see n. 10.

¹⁵ title the author of over 100 novels, Henty was among the most popular writers of boys' adventure fiction. This novel follows Henty's well-trodden formula for imperialist propaganda, aligning a fictional young lad with a heroic historical figure. In this case, a third-person narrative traces the exploits of Charlie Marryat, who at the age of sixteen, after the death of his father, acquires, through the influence of his uncle, a post as a clerk in the East India Company. The setting is the mid-eighteenth century, focusing on the exploits of Robert Clive (1725–74) and the Battle of Plassey (1757). This battle marked the beginning of the expansion of the company from three trading posts in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta to virtual control of the whole subcontinent.

Typical is the address here to the readers before almost every novel, dividing the novel between the personal adventures of the boy hero and the serious matter, the history and geography of the empire. Upon his arrival in India, young Charlie quickly leaves the bureaucracy of the East India Company and joins the army. Through a series of battles, represented, as in all of Henty's novels, by large amounts of historical data, technical information, and battle plans drawn (close to plagiarized) from historical works, Charlie rises in rank in the company's army until, at the end of the novel, he returns home having acquired a fortune as a result of his having fought for the company and empire. The novel closes with a comment on the historical significance of the events represented in the novel: "It was now just ten years since they had sailed, and in that time they had seen Madras and Calcutta rise, from the

rank of two trading stations, in constant danger of destruction by their powerful neighbours, to that of virtual capitals of great provinces. Not as yet, indeed, had they openly assumed the sovereignty of these territories; but Madras was, in fact, the absolute master of the broad tract of land extending from the foot of the mountains to the sea, from Cape Comorin to Bengal; while Calcutta was master of Bengal and Oressa, and her power already threatened to extend itself as far as Delhi. The conquest of these vast tracts of country had been achieved by mere handfuls of men, and by a display of heroic valour and constancy scarce to be rivalled in the history of the world."

¹⁶ ten years . . . Madras Robert Clive, first Baron Clive (1725–74), British major-general and imperial administrator, established British supremacy in India at the Battle of Plassey (1757), conquering Bengal by defeating the nawab of Bengal and his French allies, ending a rivalry between the English and French East India Companies. Clive's rise to fame had begun in September 1746 when the French, under Joseph-François, Marquis Dupleix (1697–1763), French general and imperial leader, attacked Madras and had Clive, then a clerk, imprisoned with a number of others. Clive led a dangerous escape, after which he became a soldier. He eventually conquered Bengal; however, in 1772, a few years after his return to England, he was charged with corruption and abuse of authority as governor by a parliamentary committee. Although acquitted in 1774, depressed and addicted to opium, he committed suicide. Vilified during his lifetime as a corrupt official in India, his reputation was restored as a hero for the public school by Macaulay and others. In 1880 Browning published a

The historical details are, throughout the story, strictly accurate, and for them I am indebted to the history of these events written by Mr. Orme, who lived at that time, to the *Life of Lord Clive*, recently published by Lieutenant-colonel Malleeson, and to other standard authorities.¹⁷ In this book I have devoted a somewhat smaller space to the personal adventures of my hero, Charlie Marryat, with as much interest as you have manifested in the adventures of the many characters to whom I have hitherto introduced you.

Yours very sincerely,
G. A. Henty.

**Flora Annie Steel (1847–1929) and Grace Gardiner (d. 1919):
*The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook: Giving the Duties of
Mistress and Servants, the General Management of the House and
Practical Recipes for Cooking in All its Branches* (1888)**

From “Preface to the First Edition”¹⁸

This book, it is hoped, will meet the very generally felt want for a practical guide to young housekeepers in India. A large proportion of English ladies in this country come to it newly married, to begin a new life, and take up new responsibilities under absolutely new conditions.

Few, indeed, have had any practical experience of housekeeping of any sort or kind; whilst those who have find themselves almost as much at sea as their more ignorant sisters. How can it be otherwise, when the familiar landmarks are no longer visible, and,

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complex monologue, “Clive,” narrated by a dissolute former soldier, in which Clive is a flawed hero, reliving former glories through his present addictions and despondency. In Grace Stebbing’s *Winning an Empire: The Story of Clive* (1885) he is (as in Henty) presented as an imperial adventure hero; however, she also uses him as a moral example against gambling and drug addiction.

¹⁷ authorities Robert Orme (1728–1801), British historian, joined the East India Company in 1743 and was appointed company historiographer in 1769; he wrote *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from 1745* (1763–78) and *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, the Morattoes and English Concerns in Indostan from 1659* (1782). George Bruce Malleeson (1825–98), historian and soldier, joined the army of the East India Company in 1847. The *Life of Lord Clive* that Henty refers to is in Malleeson’s *The Founders of the Indian Empire* (1882), later reworked in *Lord Clive* (1893) in a series called “Rulers of India.” It was a book written for children, extravagant in its hero-worship: “Caesar conquered Gaul for his country; Hannibal caused unrest to Rome for merely a quarter of a century; Wellington drove the French from Portugal and Spain. The achievement of Clive was more splendid than any one of those! . . . He founded for this little island in the Atlantic a magnificent empire.”

¹⁸ title in 1867 Steel married an Indian civil servant, Henry William Steel (1840–1923); she would live in India, mostly in the Punjab, until 1889, during which time she learned native languages and undertook several reforms,

particularly regarding the education of Indian women. She wrote some thirty books in her career, including novels, short stories, histories, a guide to household management for English women or memsahibs in India, and an autobiography in 1929; she was called the female Rudyard Kipling. Grace Anne Marie Louise Napier Gardiner was the junior partner in the joint authorship. Not much can be ascertained about her. She was the daughter of Sir Joseph Napier (1804–82), Conservative MP and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Charity Grace. She married John William Gardiner, a member of the Indian Civil Service, in November 1868, and went with him to India. They had a large family. She died on 3 August 1919. The *Complete Indian Housekeeper*, like Mrs Beeton’s *Book of Household Management* (1859–61; see GENDER: CONSTRUCTING GENDERS), is as much a conduct book as a cookbook. Covering virtually every aspect of domestic life in India, the book, dedicated to “The English Girls to whom fate may assign the Task of Being House-Mothers in our Eastern Empire,” deals with managing servants, their wages, prices for household items, and so on. The book does not address cooking until after 220 pages; only two recipes for curry and seven Indian dishes are included. Chapter 6, one of the longest (42 pages), is “Duties of the Servants.” The book is the best-known among what became a crowded field in the last half of the nineteenth century. There were ten editions of *Complete Indian Housekeeper* published by 1921; our text: second edition, 1890.

amid the crowd of idle, unintelligible servants, there seems not one to carry on the usual routine of household work which in England follows as a matter of course?

The kitchen is a black hole,¹⁹ the pantry a sink. The only servant who will condescend to tidy up is a skulking savage with a reed broom; whilst pervading all things broods the stifling, enervating atmosphere of custom, against which energy beats itself unavailingly, as against a feather bed. . . .

From Chapter 1: "The Duties of the Mistress"

Housekeeping in India, when once the first strangeness has worn off, is a far easier task in many ways than it is in England, though it none the less requires time, and, in the present transitional period, an almost phenomenal patience; for, while one mistress enforces cleanliness according to European methods, the next may belong to the opposite faction, who, so long as the dinner is nicely served, thinks nothing of it being cooked in a kitchen which is also used as a latrine; the result being that the servants who serve one, and then the other stamp of mistress, look on the desire for decency as a mere personal and distinctly disagreeable attribute of their employer, which, like a bad temper or stinginess, may be resented or evaded.

And, first, it must be distinctly understood, that it is not necessary, or in the least degree desirable, that an educated woman should waste the best years of her life in scolding and petty supervision. Life holds higher duties,²⁰ and it is indubitable that friction and over-zeal is a sure sign of a bad housekeeper. But there is an appreciable difference between a care-worn Martha vexed with many things, and the absolute indifference displayed by many Indian mistresses, who put up with a degree of slovenliness and dirt which would disgrace a den in St. Giles,²¹ on the principle that it is no use attempting to teach the natives. . . .

The first duty of a mistress is, of course, to be able to give intelligible orders to her servants, therefore it is necessary she should learn to speak Hindustani. No sane Englishwoman would dream of living, say, for twenty years, in Germany, Italy, or France, without making the *attempt*, at any rate, to learn the language. She would, in fact, feel that by neglecting to do so she would "*write herself down an ass*."²² It would be well, therefore, if ladies in India were to ask themselves if a difference in longitude increases the latitude allowed in judging of a women's intellect.

The next duty is obviously to insist on her orders being carried out. And here we come to the burning question, "How is this to be done?" Certainly, there is at present very little to which we can appeal in the average Indian servant, but then, until it is implanted by training, there is very little sense of duty in a child; yet in some well-regulated nurseries obedience is a foregone conclusion. The secret lies in making rules, and *keeping to them*. The Indian servant is a child in everything save age, and should be treated as a child; that is to say, kindly, but with the greatest firmness. The laws of the household should be those

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¹⁹ *black hole* slang for a military prison, here a reference to the legendary "Black Hole" of Calcutta, where, based on the account of a survivor, John Zephaniah Holwell (1711–98), supposedly 123 of 146 British prisoners perished on the night of 19 June 1756. The account has been largely discredited, but, nevertheless, it became an important component in imperialist hagiography, and served for many years as an example of Indian treachery and baseness. The best-known account to the Victorians was in Macaulay's essay "Lord Clive," *Edinburgh Review* (Jan. 1840): "Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the

windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies, raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the meantime held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims."

²⁰ *duties* compare the use of "duties" in the opening paragraph of Mrs Beeton's *Book of Household Management* (see GENDER: CONSTRUCTING GENDERS).

²¹ *St. Giles* then a notoriously poor slum district in London, now in the borough of Camden.

²² *ass* see *Much Ado About Nothing* 4. 2. 75.

of the Medes and Persians,²³ and first faults should never go unpunished. By overlooking a first offence, we lose the only opportunity we have of preventing it becoming a habit.

But it will be asked, How are we to punish our servants when we have no hold either on their minds or bodies?—when cutting their pay is illegal, and few, if any, have any sense of shame.

The answer is obvious. Make a hold.

In their own experience the authors have found a system of rewards and punishments perfectly easy of attainment. One of them has for years adopted the plan of engaging her servants at so much a month—the lowest rate at which such servant is obtainable—and so much extra as *bakshish*,²⁴ conditional on good service. For instance, a *khitmatghar* is engaged permanently on Rs. 9 a month,²⁵ but the additional rupee which invites the wage up to that usually demanded by good servants is a fluctuating assessment! From it small fines are levied, beginning with one pice²⁶ for forgetfulness, and running up, through degrees of culpability, to one rupee for lying. The money then returned to imperial coffers may very well be spent on giving small rewards; so that each servant knows that by good service he can get back his own fines. That plan has never been objected to, and such a thing as a servant giving up his place has never been known in the author's experience. On the contrary, the household quite enters into the spirit of the idea, infinitely preferring it to volcanic eruptions of faultfinding. . . .

A good mistress in India will try to set a good example to her servants in routine, method, and tidiness. Half an hour after breakfast should be sufficient for the whole arrangements for the day; but that half hour should be given as punctually as possible. An untidy mistress invariably has *untidy*, a weak one, *idle* servants. It should never be forgotten that—although it is most true in India—if you want a thing done, you should do it yourself; still, having to do it is a distinct confession of failure in your original intention. Anxious housewives are too apt to accept defeat in this way; the result being that the lives of educated women are wasted in doing the work of lazy servants. . . .

Finally, when all is said and done, the whole duty of an Indian mistress towards her servants is neither more or less than it is in England. Here, as there, a little reasonable human sympathy is the best oil for the household machine. Here, as there, the end and object is not merely personal comfort, but the formation of a home—that unit of civilisation where father and children, master and servant, employer and employed, can learn their several duties. When all is said and done also, herein lies the natural outlet for most of the talent peculiar to women. It is the fashion nowadays to undervalue the art of making a home; to deem it simplicity and easiness itself. But this is a mistake, for the proper administration of even a small household needs both brain and heart. A really clever woman always sees this, and, like George Eliot, the greatest of modern women, prides herself on being an excellent housekeeper; and—as was written of that charming author—“*nothing offends her more than the idea that her exceptional intellectual powers should be held to absolve her from ordinary household duties.*”²⁷ In regard to expenditure, the mistress of a house has it in her power to make debts, as to prevent them; for she, and she only, has the power of preventing that extravagance in small things, which is but the prelude to a like recklessness in greater matters. . . .

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²³ *Medes and Persians* unalterable laws; see Daniel 6: 8.

²⁴ *bakshish* (Persian a tip or gratuity).

²⁵ *khitmatghâr* . . . month (*khitmatghâr*: Persian a waiter or servant); in 1890, a rupee was worth about 18*d.*; therefore, the servant's monthly wage was 162*d.*, or a little under 14*s.*, which makes about £7 8*s.* per annum. According to Mrs Beeton's scale for British servants thirty years earlier

in 1860, this calculation would place the Indian headwaiter at the absolute bottom of the scale, the equivalent of the stable boy or the scullery maid.

²⁶ *pice* a coin worth one sixty-fourth of a rupee.

²⁷ *nothing* . . . *duties* see *George Eliot's Life as Related in Her Letters and Journals; Arranged and Edited by her Husband J. W. Cross* (1885; 3: 308).

The great object is to secure three things—smooth working, quick ordering, and subsequent peace and leisure to the mistress. It is as well, therefore, with a view to the preservation of temper, to eat your breakfast in peace before venturing into the pantry and cookroom; it is besides a mistake to be constantly on the worry.

Inspection parade should begin, then, immediately after breakfast, or as near ten o'clock as circumstances will allow. The cook should be waiting—in clean raiment—with a pile of plates, and his viands for the day spread out on a table. With everything *en evidence*, it will not take five minutes to decide on what is best, while a very constant occurrence at Indian tables—the serving up of stale, sour, and unwholesome food—will be avoided. It is perhaps *not* pleasant to go into such details, but a good mistress will remember the breadwinner who requires blood-forming nourishment, and the children whose constitutions are being built up day by day, sickly or healthy, according to the food given them; and bear in mind the fact that, in India especially, half the comfort of life depends on clean, wholesome, digestible food.

Luncheon and dinner ordered, the mistress should proceed to the storeroom, when both the bearer and the *khitmutgâr* should be in attendance. Another five minutes will suffice to give out everything required for the day's consumption, the accounts, writing of orders &c., will follow, and then the mistress (with a sinking heart) may begin the daily inspection of pantry, scullery, and kitchen. But before she sets foot in the back purlieus, let her remember that if a mistress will not give proper appliances, she cannot expect cleanliness. If, however, this excuse is not valid, the author's advice is—*notice the least dirt quietly, with the order that before going for his mid-day recess the servant in fault shall come personally and report its removal*. Let the mistress then send another servant to see if this be true; but let her guard against giving herself the least trouble in the matter. For here, again, Indian servants are like children, gaining a certain satisfaction in the idea that at any rate they have been *troublesome*.

We do not wish to advocate an unholy haughtiness; but an Indian household can no more be governed peacefully, without dignity and prestige, than an Indian Empire. For instance, if the mistress wishes to teach the cook a new dish, let her give the order for everything, down to charcoal, to be ready at a given time, and the cook in attendance; and let her do nothing herself that the servants can do, if only for this reason, that the only way of teaching is to *see* things done, not to let others see *you* do them.

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2.2 White Colonies and Dependencies

Introduction

John George Lambton, first Earl of Durham (1792–1840): From *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (1839)

James Anthony Froude (1818–1894): *The English and the West Indies, or, The Bow of Ulysses* (1888)
From Chapter 17

2.3 Ireland

Introduction

Jane Francesca Agnes [“Speranza”], Lady Wilde (1821–96): “The Famine Year” (1847)

Charles Trevelyan (1807–86): From *The Irish Crisis* (1848)

Presbyterian Prayer on the Irish in Toronto (c.1850)

Dion Boucicault (1820–90): From *The Colleen Bawn, or The Brides of Garryowen* (1860)

Matthew Arnold (1822–88): *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1867)

From Lecture 4

2.4 Africa

Introduction

“The Rudd Concession” (30 October 1888): From Lewis Mitchell, *The Life of the Rt. Hon. Cecil John Rhodes, 1853–1902* (1910)

Lobengula Khumalo (1845–1894): From a Letter to Queen Victoria (23 Aug. 1893)

Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904): *In Darkest Africa: Or, the Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin, Governor of Equatoria* (1890)

From Chapter IX: “Ugarrowwa’s to Kilonga-Longa’s”

William Booth (1829–1912): *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890)

Part I. The Darkness. Chapter I: “Why ‘Darkest England?’”

**WEB p. 254****3. Imperial Travellers**

Elizabeth Rigby (Lady) Eastlake (1809–1893): From “Lady Travellers” (1845)

Francis Galton (1822–1911): From *The Art of Travel: Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries* (1855)

William Howard Russell (1821–1907): From “The Cavalry Action at Balaklava” in *The Times* (14 Nov. 1854)

Isabella Bird (1831–1904): *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan* (2 vols, 1891)

From Vol. I, Letter II; 26 March 1880

Behramji Malabari (1853–1912): *The Indian Eye on English Life, or Rambles of a Pilgrim Reformer* (1893)

From Chapter 2: “In and About London”¹

What strikes an Asiatic most, on getting out at Victoria Station,² is the noise and bustle around him. Every man and woman—one might say every animal, and even some of the inanimate objects—seem to be full of life. The streets and thoroughfares of London present a sight in this respect, which it is impossible for the stranger to realize save with his own eyes. I happen to have read a good deal about this, but what

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IMPERIAL TRAVELLERS

¹ title a social reformer who lobbied in Britain as well as India, Malabari was concerned with women’s rights, particularly child brides and the forbidding of widows of remarriage. Friends with Max Müller (1823–1900) and Florence Nightingale, Malabari made three trips to Britain, the first in 1890. By that time he had published a volume of poems in Gujarati, and an English volume,

The Indian Muse in English Garb (1877). His description of the urban poor is contemporaneous with William Booth (EMPIRE: GOVERNING (WEB p. 252)). This record of his travels went through four editions. Our text: first edition 1893.

² Station located in central London, one of the main railway stations in the city.



I actually see here exceeds my anticipation. To Crocodile³ it is all a new world. He stands apart, gaping at the scene in bewildered admiration. The crowds of women in the streets, walking rapidly past, pushing and elbowing everyone who stands in the way, all intent on business or pleasure, are a sight not likely to be soon forgotten. For me it is a sight more striking than attractive. After all, a woman's place is at home rather than in the street. Of course, the climate and the conditions of life generally impose this outing upon not a few Englishwomen who are apparently unwilling to rough it in a crowd. But it is none the less painful on that account to see a delicate girl struggling to return home in the midst of a traffic heavier than we see in India during our annual fairs. This traffic is maintained every day by railway trains, running under ground⁴ and above ground, by omnibuses, trams, cabs, private carriages, waggons, trucks, hand-barrows, tricycles, etcetera, to say nothing of the immense pedestrian crowds. In the large and more fashionable business quarters, such as Bond Street, Piccadilly, Oxford and Regent Streets,⁵ into which the various agencies mentioned above pour vast multitudes every five minutes, and some of which are broad enough, besides the pavements, to hold a row of five carriages abreast, I stand breathless of an evening, watching what goes on before my eyes. Carriages, and pedestrians alike seem to have a hair-breadth escape of it now and again. But amid this surging ocean of humanity, the police-constables keep such order, the drivers are so skilful, and the pedestrians so alert, that accidents are very rare indeed. And yet the eye, if it can observe well, may detect a good deal of suffering among the gay or busy crowd. Here is some fashionable cad, nearly driving over a fragile old woman. She rushes, trembling, to the constable's side. There goes a knot of boy-sweepers,⁶ running about between carriages, and even under them, in order to keep the ground clean. You could hardly expect greater agility from mice or squirrels. There is more safety, of course, on the pavements. But you are not quite safe here either, from dangers other than trampling. Few respectable women, I find, will venture out into some of these streets towards evening without a guide; so great is the rush therein of the unworthy ones of their sex, of their victims and tyrants. The back parts of not a few streets seem to have been given up to a Godless population, foreign and English. A large percentage of this, I should think, represents virtue first betrayed, and then crowded out, by vice. . . .

Water is about the last thing the average Britisher thinks of for a beverage. Ale and beer and stout are the A B C of his alphabet of bibacity. He may wash a dinner down with tea, coffee, or other non-intoxicants. But have these as an aid to digestion and a fillip to the spirits? No. Never. He must have a something strong, you know. As a race, the British are hard drinkers, partly because they are heavy eaters; and they can stand much. The majority of respectable householders ought to know where to draw the line; but I doubt if all of them can do this. Mr. and Mrs. John Bull⁷ take a drop because it is so cold; then because they are so tired, or grieved, or disappointed. The habit grows on many till the victims are reduced to a state verging on lunacy.

Notes

³ *Crocodile* the son of a poor friend from India who accompanied Malabari on his journey.

⁴ *ground* the London Underground, the world's first subway system, was opened on 10 January 1863; by 1890, it ran the world's first electric trains.

⁵ *Bond . . . Streets* all major streets in the shopping district of London's West End.

⁶ *boy-sweepers* they cleared a path on the dirty urban streets for a gratuity. Henry Mayhew (see *CONDITION: SOCIAL*

FORMATION (WEB p. 9)) wrote extensively on them in *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851).

⁷ *Bull* a stout, cartoonish figure, in a top hat usually wearing a Union Jack as a vest, or waistcoat, the figure is a national personification of the English that was invented by John Arbuthnot (1667–1735) in 1712 in *The History of John Bull*, in which Mrs Bull also appears.



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Mary Kingsley (1862–1900): *Travels in West Africa* (1897)
 From Chapter VIII “From Ncovi to Essoon”

Ham Mukasa (1870–1956): *Uganda’s Katikiro in England
 Being the Official Account of his Visit to the Coronation
 of His Majesty King Edward VII* (1904)⁸

From Chapter 5

The following day, June 14th, we went to the house of images of all kinds (the British Museum),⁹ which contained many wonderful things of long ago, statues of the old kings of all countries and of Egypt. We saw also the body of a man said to be eight thousand years old. We could not understand whether this was true or not, because we see in the Bible that those who calculate the time from the Creation make it out to be nearly six thousand years;¹⁰ and after this one is told that this body is eight thousand years old! Is not this a thing to be wondered at? We saw also other remains, 5,000, 4,500, 3,700, 2,000, 2,500 years old. On every statue they write its name, its age, and the country from which it comes, so that people can understand. . . .

This house of images, the British Museum, is very large indeed, about twenty times as large as the Namirembe Cathedral;¹¹ you can understand the size of it if I tell you that when you walk about in it it is just as if you were not in a house at all, and you think you are outside. The posts that support it are very large, as large as one of the largest of our trees, but of dressed stone; the outside posts are twice as high as the eaves of our cathedral. . . .

Notes

⁸ *title* a translation from Luganda, this text traces the journey of Ham Mukasa (1868–1956), chief secretary to Apolo Kagwa (1864–1927), prime minister (Katikkiro) of the Kingdom of Buganda (now part of Uganda). Mukasa had converted to Christianity at a young age. The two Ugandans travelled from Africa to Britain to attend the coronation of Edward VII (1841–1910). Victoria died on 22 January 1901; Edward VII was to be crowned on 26 June but came down with appendicitis, delaying the ceremony until 9 August. The text was translated by Ernest Millar (1868–1917) of the Church Mission Society in Uganda; Millar, an Anglican missionary, had gone to Uganda in 1892 and for the most part remained there all his life.

⁹ *Museum* established in 1753 and opened to the public in 1759, it has one of the largest and most comprehensive collections in the world of human artefacts from all ages from all over the world. Many items in its collection, most famously the Elgin Marbles of the Greek Parthenon, or the Rosetta Stone of Egypt, are now being considered by many as objects of imperial theft and plunder, with demands that they be returned to their country of origin. It does not occur to Makasa that many of these “wonderful things” have been taken wrongfully from his

continent. The parenthetical identification was added by the translator.

¹⁰ *old . . . years* in 1896 E. A. Wallis Budge (1857–1934), Egyptologist and keeper of the Egyptian antiquities at the British Museum, excavated or purchased six of what are known as the Gebelein pre-dynastic mummies (c.3400 BCE), discovered in the same grave in the Egyptian desert. The bodies had been given to the British Museum in 1900; in 1901 the first body was put on display, nicknamed “Ginger” because of the colour of her hair. Mukasa contrasts their antiquity with the conventional date of creation of 4004 BCE that he had been taught by missionaries to Africa (see RELIGION: GEOLOGY, n. 1).

¹¹ *Cathedral* Uganda’s Anglican cathedral was built first in Kampala in 1890 with a capacity for 800 people, but shortly after its construction it was abandoned because it had been built on swampy ground; a new and bigger cathedral, seating more than 3,000, was completed in July 1892, but a year later the building was ruined in a powerful storm; a third building seating 4,000 was completed by 1895 but abandoned in 1900 because of termites. While Mukasa was in England, a fourth cathedral was being built (it would be completed in 1904 and destroyed by fire in 1910).

We then went out to see the wonders of England. We went with Mr. Millar and his brother, Charles Millar,¹² and first went in our carriages to see the wonderful railways that go through the town underground.¹³ The English truly are marvellous people! The railway was called “Central London,”¹⁴ and is a hundred feet below the ground; we saw many roads, and trains passing, and the people who were there were like locusts in numbers. If your friend were to leave you for some time, you would get lost owing to the numbers of people. The roads there are very fine and wonderful; they have electric lamps,¹⁵ which shine and act as suns. If any one were to take you there, and did not tell you that you were going underground, when you arrived you would not know that you were under the earth because the roads are so fine and the electric light is so bright, and the people are like locusts in numbers: and all these things make you silly, so that you would not understand that you were underground. . . .

From Chapter 6

The next day, June 23rd, we went back into London at half-past ten, and after a short rest went to see the glass house (Crystal Palace),¹⁶ where they keep only the most beautiful things. There are figures of all the kings, and many great men and brave generals, like Sir Lord Roberts, who conquered the Transvaal at the Cape.¹⁷ There are also copies of all the things made in their land; they pick out one thing, and put it there to show people how things are made in different places to which they cannot go themselves. We saw there live fish, and birds of all kinds. They chisel out stones and make them just like people, and put them there to remind people in after years what they were like. There were a number of statues of the kings from early times right down to the Queen (Victoria) and Edward VII., and of generals who had won great wars right down to Sir Lord General Roberts, who conquered the Boers while the Queen was still reigning. There is a statue in stone representing him on a horse; one wants to salute it and say, “Good morning, Roberts,” though really it can neither see nor hear.

We saw how they bore gun-barrels, and saw also a slide for canoes in the game they play with them (water-chute). They make a large pond on a hill, and they make a slide of boards, which the canoes run down to get into the water below. They rush down very fast; a giddy person could not endure it. We saw also a great many people who had come to enjoy themselves, and there were many amusements, players on flutes, organs, and banjos, and many other instruments. We saw a very tall tower from which one can get a distant view over the city; perhaps you could see twenty or twenty-five miles—that is, as far or farther than Entebbe.¹⁸ The tower is four or five times as high as Namirembe Cathedral, because when you are at the top men below look like little children. We saw

Notes

¹² Millar see n. 8.

¹³ *underground* see n. 4.

¹⁴ *London* a brand new underground line, also known as the Twopenny Line, had just opened on 30 July 1900.

¹⁵ *lamps* electric street lights in Britain were introduced in November 1878; by the time Mukasa is writing the City of London Electric Lighting Act (1900) had made them the dominant mode over gas lights.

¹⁶ *Palace* built in 1851 for the Great Exhibition; moved to Sydenham Hill in 1854 to become a place of public exhibits

and entertainment (see *CONDITION: PROGRESS*; ALBERT, “*SPEECH*” (WEB p. 26)). Parenthetical identification added by translator.

¹⁷ *Roberts*... Cape Frederick Sleigh Roberts (1832–1914), Anglo-Irish soldier and army commander from the Indian Rebellion (1857) to the Second Boer War. The war began in 1899 and had concluded three weeks before this entry.

¹⁸ *Entebbe* a city on Lake Victoria in present day Uganda, then the capital of the Uganda Protectorate, about 37 kilometres southwest of Kampala.



also large and small fish, and fish of all kinds in glass boxes, into which they pour water, and in which the fish live; when you look at them you would not think there was any glass there, as you can see them playing. When we saw all this we were amazed at the care of the English, who can feed unfeedable things like fish and keep them alive many years in their little lakes. The English are a wonderful people.

**WEB p. 263**

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948): *An Autobiography, or, The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (1927)
From Chapter 15: “Playing the English Gentleman”