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THE VICTORIAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION NEWSLETTER

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of Ontario

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CONTENTS

Editor's Comments 5

Annual Conference, 1986,
Victorian Studies Association of Ontario 5

News from Members 6

Communications 7

Report of Conference 8

Articles:

Deryck Schreuder, "Gladstone in Australia" 9

Clifford Holland, "Art Imitating Life: *The Wandering Minstrel* and *London Labour*" 23

Book Review: 31

Hans Ostrom,
Immortal Boy: A Portrait of Leigh Hunt, by Ann Blainey

EDITOR'S COMMENTS

This issue brings to a close my editorship of the Newsletter. I wish to take this opportunity to express my appreciation of the support provided by Trent University and the University of Toronto in its production and distribution. Richard Helmstadter, Ingrid Smith, and the English office and Printing Department at Victoria College, together with Aurora Wait at Trent, have provided particularly generous assistance.

I am grateful also to the contributors to the Newsletter for sharing their interest in "Victorian things" with us, and to our readers for their enthusiasm and support.

This editorship has been a great delight for me - a sunny place in a sometimes dark winter's corner. But it is a new season now and we are fortunate to find a new Editor with impressive skills and experience, Dr. Judith Knelman, Department of Communications, University of Toronto. I extend all my best wishes to her and to the Newsletter.

1986 CONFERENCE, VICTORIAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF ONTARIO

The 1986 Conference will be held on Saturday 12 April at Glendon College, York University, 2275 Bayview Avenue, Toronto.

Lord Noel Annan will speak on "The Victorian Age" and Richard Rempel will speak on "Conflicts and Changes in Liberal Theory and Practice, 1890-1918:
The Case of Bertrand Russell."

Lunch-time entertainment will be comprised of readings by W.J. Keith (University of Toronto). Registration fee of $15 ($10 for spouses and students) should be sent to Dr. Ila Goody, c/o English Department, Pratt Library, Victoria College, University of Toronto.

NEWS FROM MEMBERS

Kathryn Chittick (University of New Brunswick) has been appointed Editor of the Key Serials Project of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals. This project will compile descriptions of approximately three hundred newspapers and journals for the years 1824-1900, and will produce an authoritative bibliographic guide, put out in volume and in computerized database form, for the use of scholars and librarians.

Clifford Holland (George Brown College) has been invited by the editors of the Dictionary of Literary Biography to submit an entry on William Dawson LeSueur for the forthcoming volume I on "Canadian Writers."

Paul Phillips (St. Francis Xavier University) is preparing a book on the teaching and writing of British history by Canadians, past and present. The book will be published by UBC press. Anyone interested in more information on the project should contact Professor Phillips at Box 46, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, B2G 1CO.

David Shaw (University of Toronto) has published an essay, "Philosophy and Genre in Victorian Poetics: The Idealist Legacy," ELH: A Journal of English Literary History, LII (1985). His essay offers a more detailed and integrated treatment of some of the issues he raised in his talk at the VSAO Conference, April 1985.

Deryck Schreuder (University of Sydney) has recently published "The Posthumous Career of Mr. Gladstone: Morley and Knaplund as 'Monumental Masons,'" in the Gladstonian Frame of Mind (Toronto, 1985), ed. Bruce Kinger. Elected Visiting Fellow, New College, Oxford, for Trinity Term 1986, he will be working on Victorian external policy.

A.P. Thornton (University of Toronto) informs us of publication of Studies in Imperial History: Essays Presented to A.P. Thornton, ed. Gordon Martel, by The Macmillan Press. He is currently visiting the Sackler Institute of Advanced Studies, Tel Aviv University, Israel from February to June 1986.

Larry Uffelman (Mansfield University) reports that his article on the teaching of Goethe's Faust will appear in an M.L.A. volume on this subject. He presented a paper on Kingley's revisions of Hypatia in October at the Conference of the English Association of Pennsylvania Universities, and at the Conference of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals. His paper on The Water-Babies, co-authored with Patrick Scott, will appear in Victorian Periodicals Review. He will also be contributing to Victorian Britain, ed. Sally Mitchell.

Lesley Willis (University of Guelph) informs us of publication of "'Born Again:' The Metamorphosis of Irene in George MacDonald's The Princess and the Goblin," Scottish Literary Journal, May, 1985; and of "Old Wine in New Bottles: Aspects of Old Testament Prophecy in At the Back of the North Wind," presented on the Conference on Christianity and Literature, Bristol, Tennessee, April, 1985. She is currently working on The Meaning of Myth in George MacDonald's Major Children's Books.

Edgar Wright (Laurentian University) presented a paper in October on "Dialect, Language Attitudes and their influence on the Language of Fiction in the Nineteenth Century," to the Victorian Studies graduates and faculty at Leicester University.

Dorothy Zaborszky (Laurentian University) informs us of publication of her articles, "'Domestic Anarchy and the Destruction of the Family': Caroline Norton and the Custody of Infants Bill," International Journal of Women's Studies, Vol.7, No.5 (November/December, 1984); and "Victorian Feminism and Gissing's The Odd Women:' Why are women redundant?'", Women's Studies International Forum, Vol.8, No.5 (1985).

Germaine Warkentin (University of Toronto) will publish an essay on Isabella Valancy Crawford, "'Some Glory Terrible and Pure': the Problem of Crawford's Style" in Canadian Literature early in 1986.

COMMUNICATIONS

Edgar Wright (Laurentian University) informs us of his recent visit to the Portico Library in Manchester. This is an old (1806) subscription library, very active in cultural life throughout the nineteenth century, and still active today, holding an important collection of nineteenth-century books. Currently the books are being cleaned and rebound and a new catalogue is being compiled. It is possible for supporters to "sponsor" the rebinding of individual volumes. Professor Wright recommends that members visiting England visit the Portico.

Jill Shefrin (Librarian, Osborne Collection) informs us of the Osborne Collection exhibit for March and April 1986:

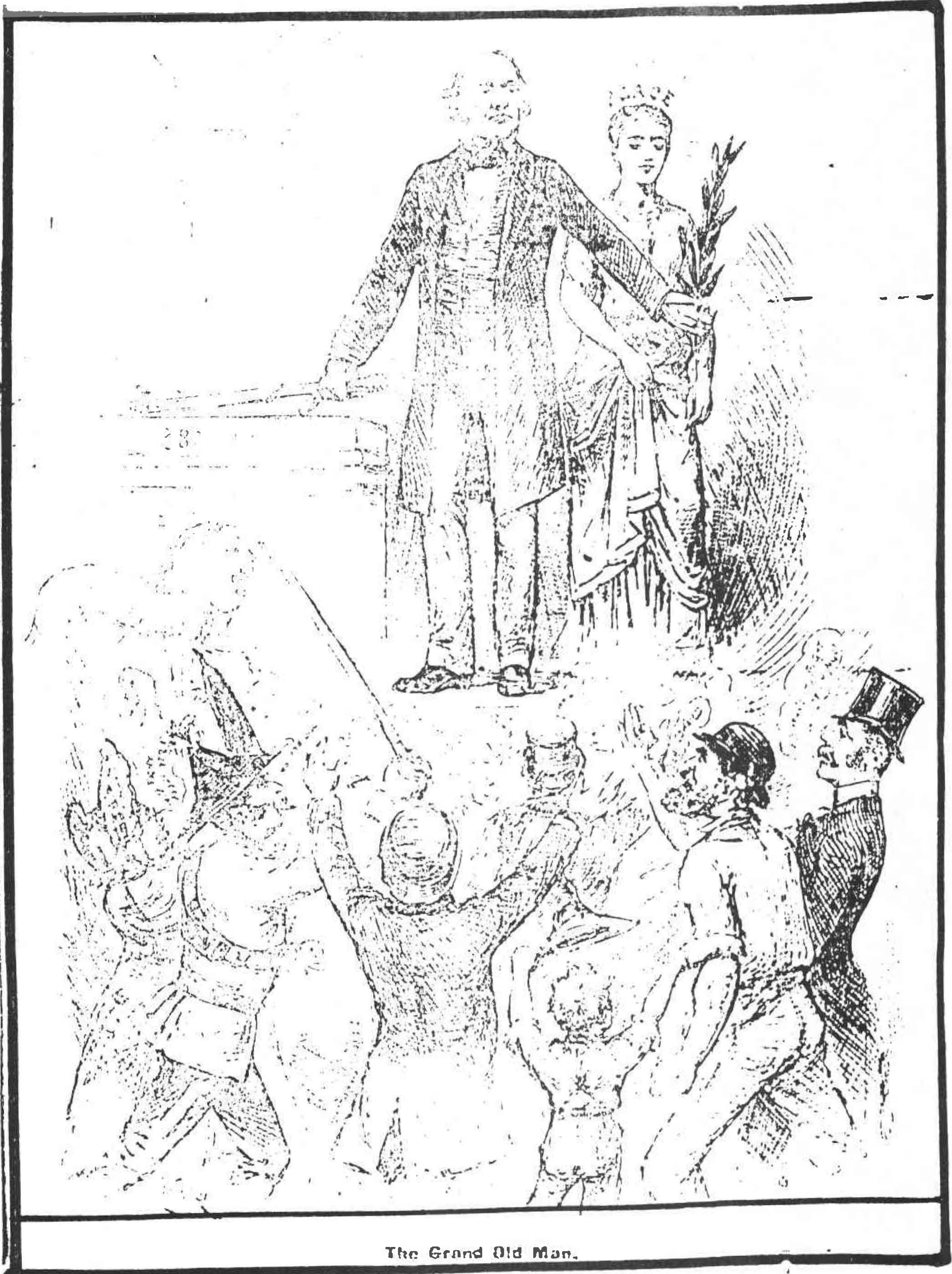
"ROBINSON CRUSOE: MARINER OF YORK"

Illustrated editions of Robinson Crusoe from the 28th century to the present day.

REPORT OF CONFERENCE

The Australasian Modern British History Association held a most interesting conference at the Research School of Social Sciences, Canberra, A.C.T. from 23-26 August 1985. A core of excellent papers dealing with Victorian studies formed a large part of the Conference. Iain McCalman read an innovative paper from his researches into 'The plebeian debating club and ultra-radicalism in London, 1795-1837', while Bruce Knox (Monash) presented a highly entertaining illustrated paper on 'Handel and the decline of English music.' Dr. Patricia Jalland (ANU and Murdoch) gave us a fascinating advance taste of her forthcoming Oxford book in a paper on 'Courtship and Marriage in British political families 1860-1914.' Ms. Jackie Fogerty (Research Student, RSSS) read a trenchant paper on 'Old people, their families and the state, 1870-1948' dealing with an important aspect of her doctoral dissertation. A very different theme was explored by Brian Crozier (History Institute, Victoria) in a most engaging paper, focussed on 'George R. Sims and the Politics of Popular Culture in late late-Victorian London' - the world of the stage and the music hall. Your Australian correspondent D.M. Schreuder (Sydney, and previously Trent) continued to explore an aspect of the complexity of Victorian imperialism in a paper entitled, 'Ireland and the administrative expertise of Imperialism: the Irish Fairs and Markets Commission (1852-3), Sir Hercules G.R. Robinson and the making of a Proconsul.' A rather un-Victorian dinner celebrated two days of excellent conference discussions!

Deryck Schreuder,
University of Sydney,
N.S.W.



The Grand Old Man.

"Mr Gladstone in Australia, 1885"

An illustration from the Sydney BULLETIN
for 9 May 1885

GLADSTONE IN AUSTRALIA
Taking Victorian Liberalism to a New Society of Settlement

'AUSTRALIA' is not a large entry in the index of Gladstone studies or biography. Morley (1903) managed one typical entry for his three stout volumes: 'Australia, convict transportation to, i, 359 and note.' Similarly, Magnus (1953) has 'Australia, transport of convicts to, 78,' and most recently, Shannon (1982) in volume one of his study, 1809-65, has two entries beyond transportation -- Governor Wilmot's controversial dismissal in Tasmania, and 'coinage.' 'Austria' does decidedly better -- almost a whole half-page column of detailed entries in Morley's thorough index of his three volumes. Knaplund's specialized study of 1927, Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy, certainly does, as might well be expected, contain a larger entry on 'Australia:'

Australian colonies, 64, 65
Australian Colonies Government Acts, 66-8, 104, 105
Australian Constitutions, 74-8
Australian Customs Duties Act, 103, 120
Australian Customs Union, 105
Australian Differential Tariff, 104-121, 247-250
Australian Inter-Colonial Conference, 109 (see also Melbourne Conference)

But even here the focus is, of course, on Gladstone's formal administrative and political contribution to the shaping of Anglo-Australian relations in the era of a evolving free trade empire of settlement and dominion. The notion that Gladstone and his ideas might have influenced the political culture of "Greater Britain's abroad," and not merely the domestic society of the metropole, is distinctly absent. And it would probably take the forthcoming Gladstone diaries -- a covert mission to the antipodes to match the Ionian adventure! -- to alter this thrust in Gladstone studies. In fact, the Gladstonian presence in the Australian physical and mental environment of the Victorian age was both diverse and considerable. Here is but one example of the manner in which the 'new societies' of British settlement empire actually drew from the 'old world' of the metropolitan heart of that empire.

With happy symbolism, the modern map of Australia still reflects this otherwise less tangible historical reality. The coastline of Queensland, with its major regional port of 'Gladstone,' marks that brief sojourn at the Colonial Office of the young rising Peelite, in the first half of 1846. Smaller and less known 'Gladstones' still mark South Australia and Tasmania. And, of course, numerous other place-names commemorate 'Gladstone-the-statesman.' In the city of Sydney the adjoining road to

my own home is 'Gladstone Parade' - appropriately next 'Beaconsfield Parade!' - and the city at large has in fact 21 streets, 5 avenues, 2 lanes and another parade which all have the name Gladstone pointing their length. And leaving 'Gladstone Parade,' I can drive to work past several Victorian terrace buildings with 'Gladstone' in name and bust above balconies. I can shop in Gladstone arcades, or park in front of Gladstone mansions. In many an antique shop I can still purchase Gladstone toby mugs, tiles and engravings. 'Gladstone bags' abound! In short: Gladstone still lives powerfully in the physical memory of my Sydney.

These are only emblems, or signs, to be sure, still speaking to the famed 'cultural baggage' that immigrants are supposed to bring to the new world of the British settlement empire and the collective memory of their culture. 'Gladstone' also still indeed sits on the Canadian prairies, as the great scholar W.L. Morton once pointed out to me, when indicating his birthplace. In an historically more general sense, there is the mentalité of that world of Greater britain overseas - to use the idiom (1867) of Charles Dilke's celebrated travel book, recalling a journey around the expanding regions of British Culture in North America, Africa and Australasia.

I want here to probe that unexplored territory of mentalité in the colonial environment, by taking up one telling example of the potency of 'Gladstone' in the new world. Robert Kelley has attempted this courageously, on a broad canvas, for North America in his Transatlantic Persuasion. My sketch is on the scale of the miniature, although the detail is very close and the data rich in its meanings. In particular, I want to draw out the work and the ideas of the critical founding professor of history in The University of Sydney, George Arnold Wood (7 June 1865 - 14 October 1928). As a patent Gladstonian, and creative founder of the first department of history in Australia (1891), G.A. Wood had an enormous impact as intellectual in local society through several generations of students, and also through his own public actions. We are assisted in this exploration of the transmission of a political culture and mentalité, by an excellently evocative biography of Wood, written from a symathetic perspective, a decade ago, by Professor R.M. Crawford -- 'A bit of a rebel' -- as well as by access to a very rich set of Wood literary remains in the Sydney University Archives. G.A. Wood was that rare kind of scholar who himself kept his personal papers, both of correspondence and lecture notes, as well as schjolarly MSS, and who left them for later historians to examine. The world of G.A. Wood can accordingly be closely studied and 'reconstructed.' And through Wood we can see a working example of how Gladstone was brought into the active public life of a new world society, in Australia.

I.

The Australian context is quickly stated for the mid-and-later Victorian age. While The University of Sydney had been established as early as the 1850s, the founding fathers had not included a chair of history. Indeed, the statutes of the new university went further, and positively declared that no student was to be compelled to attend lectures in 'moral philosophy or modern history.' They rightly grasped, in an age of high moral sensibility and denominational sensitivity, that 'history' could well be a dangerous subject for young and impressionable minds. But, finally, in the early 1890s, while the statute remained in force, a chair of history was created in the name of the great University benefactor, Challis. Advertisements were placed in the British press, and the first Challis Professor of History was soon appointed, in the form of a distinctly British trained scholar of promise, from Jowett's Balliol.

Even more significantly, the young scholar concerned came from the vibrant moral culture of British Nonconformity, as well as the often allied political culture of Gladstonian liberalism. G.A. Wood's biographer tells us that the young scholar's father, Stanley Wood, almost made the family a branch of the emerging Liberal Party in the formative years after 1860.

> Politics competed with business for his time, and were evidently a very early interest, since he joined the Manchester Reform Club in 1860 as a young man of 20... never himself aspiring to Parliament, but like his father an active campaigner for the Liberal Party, scarcely hindered by a slight stammer. If Arnold Wood grew up in a house of books, he also grew up in a family given to political discussion which was continued long after he had left home in his father's weekly letters to him. It was, inevitably, discussion from a Liberal point of view, and Stanley Wood was in no way singular among Nonconformist Liberals in admiring Gladstone scarcely this side (of) idolatory. (A bit of a rebel, p.19).

In this Victorian case, father and son held to the same tradition. The admiration endured; the Gladstonian influence continued as a live atavism. Wood's own obituary in the Sydney University journal Hermes (vol.35, no.3; and A bit of a rebel p.1) quoted A.L. Smith's assessment, of 1885, when the young man from Manchester went up to Oxford as 'dyed in the wool' with Puritan Nonconformity, Cobdenism and Gladstonian Liberalism. Another obituary (in The Australian Highway, for 10 December, 1928, p.35) remarked on Wood's most celebrated public

interventions in Australian politics at the turn of the century: 'as a Gladstonian Liberal he opposed the Chamberlain policy of aggression' in the Anglo-Boer War. Wood himself had indeed never made a secret of his Gladstoniasm, and he in fact gave the 'Christian statesman' (Lord Salisbury's generous farewell encomium) a special place in his personal pantheon of formative heroes - 'Bede, St. Francis, Milton, Bunyan, Wesley, Gladstone.' (Hermes, Michaelmas 1928, p.139) In fine, the moralizing public virtues and principles of Gladstonianism were an integral part of Wood's own hositic world view. And when Wood arrived in Sydney harbour, in the humid summer of February 1891, he brought with him that living sense of Gladstone as an individual and political exemplar.

Wood was not personally acquainted with the G.O.M., as the 76 year old Gladstone had become known in 1881. But there was clearly awe in the young Wood when he attended Evensong in New College Chapel on 5 July 1985 and could note in his Diary that evening; 'Gladstone sat in pew behind us.' That was the limit of their meeting. Yet in another sense, he 'knew' Gladstone and Gladstonian liberalism as closely as if he had been tutored by W.E.G. himself.

II.

What did G.A. Wood understand Gladstone to represent? And what did he teach so ardently, so often and so long of Gladstone, in his own educational and political activities over 40 years in Australia?

He was the complete convert to Midlothian: 'Peace, Retrenchment and Reform.' With Mill, he could say his politics were 'Gladstone.' He could justly point cut that because of his own Nonconformity he was 'out of agreement with those religious and ecclesiastical dogmas which were to Gladstone of such incalculable value and importance,' and also that over 'home rule' he was 'out of agreement with those religious and ecclesiastical dogmas which were to Gladstone of such incalculable value and importance,' and also that over 'home rule' he was 'out of agreement with the Irish policy which absorbed his (Gladstone's) energies during the final period of his life of which I have personal memory.' And yet, in fact, Wood could also argue further that Gladstone's life and principles were worthy of study and meaning in a manner more profound than particular policies or partisan controversies. He made a noted lecture to demonstrate this view, so passionately held. Morley's great biography of Gladstone, appearing in 1903, with its rich revelation of historical materials (albeit selective on the Gladstone diary) and sympathetic treatment of liberalism, saw Wood positively fall upon it. He was soon led to compose a closely worked text on 'Mr. Gladstone: a great Christian,' the notes for which still exist in the Sydney

University Archives. Here was to be Wood's most comprehensive, consolidated and mature statement on Gladstone. In it he declares at the very outset -

> In the lecture I am about to give, I shall take Lord Salisbury's words as a sort of text, and shall try to speak of Mr. G's life as the life of a "man guided by a high moral ideal," a man who was a "great Christian statesman" because he was a great Christian man.

In fact, the public virtue and moral utility which Wood placed on Gladstone's life existed at several levels. First, there came the close identification with Gladstone's moral gravitas and conscience politics. It was Gladstone's sense of developing an 'active virtue,' in Milton's idiom, that so attracted Wood. He began with the pious young evangelical, followed Gladstone into a more complex theology and politics, and ultimately come to find in Gladstonian liberalism both a vision for the Pauline commonwealth of peace and an approach which yoked moral sensibilities to public action.

Wood's 'Gladstone' was a politician merely as an accidental means to an elevated, moral end. 'Take politics out of their lives,' Wood comments of the leading English public figures from Walpole, Bolingbroke, Chatham and Fox to Peel, Disraeli, Salisbury and Chamberlain, 'and you take out of their lives not only greatness but the possibility of greatness...' With Gladstone it was different: for here vocation and faith - a true 'Fear of the Lord' - provided a quite different orientation for public action.

> To trace Gladstone's spiritual kinship we have to go back to the great 'ages of faith.' He is spiritually akin not to Disraeli and Chamberlain: not even to Peel, or to Chatham, or even to Burke himself: he is akin rather to Earl Simon othe Righteous, who loved justice as the very medicine of his soul:' he is akin, to my mind, most of all, to the great Protector, 'the soul of the Puritan Revolt.' Like him, the greatness of Gladstone was a greatness not of political achievement but a greatness of magnanimity, a greatness of soul which found its inspiration in fervent Christian sentiment, and which found expression in politics, not by necessity but rather by accident of time and circumstances. In the long lne of our statesmen it is to my mind Cromwell alone to whom Gladstone can be compared for 'plain heroic magnetism of soul.'

Gladstone had, in this view, 'resigned himself to politics,' in the hope that he might find therein some 'sphere of duty' in which he might work and energetic work in the world and by that work grow into the image of the Redeemer' - Gladstone's own words of explanation, on which Wood commented: 'there was no word, n act in the long and strenuous struggle incongruous with this saintly ideal.'

This was not because Wood doubted Gladstone's mortality and capacity to err: but because Wood treated such failures as the lapses of a good heart and active conscience, Gladstone's 'amazing personality' reflected at source a spiritual individual - in Morley's idiom, 'at heart a solitary man,' as Wood notes - an individual 'whose ideal was "a disposition to resist the tyranny of self: to recognize the role of duty..."' And in that ubiquitous and deeply symbolic Victorian word, 'Duty,' Wood found Gladstone of the 'active virtue.'

> His strong personal inclination was to the solitary and religious life. But his very religion drove him from meditation to action, and to action in [the] great sphere of politics; drove him too unvillingly to see that it was by "energetic work in the world" that he was to grow in the image of the Redeemer."

One of Wood's most favoured Gladstone quotations read simply: 'Life is a great and noble calling, not a mean and grovelling thing that we are to shuffle through as we can, but an elevated and lofty destiny.' And on which Wood could resist the comment that: 'It is the language of Cromwell: it is the spirit of Cromwell' - 'No less than Cromwell, Gladstone believed that he fought with "the sword of the Lord."'

The idea of virtuous struggle was absolutely fundamental to Wood's assessment and admiration of Gladstone. In an 1897 lecture on politics - 'The value of a vote' - Wood used Gladstone as an illustration of the theme that public life was 'the noblest work any man or woman can engage in, for it is a work that expresses unselfish activity on the largest scale, with the grandest results,' Rhetorically, Wood asked if Gladstone 'would have been a better man had he never entered politics?' - to which the answer was significantly plain and positive: 'He would have committed fewer blunders fewer sins even, he would have done less harm: but he would have done infinitely less good... The important thing is to try to do some good,' (A bit of a rebel, p.138). On another occassion, when lecturing on 'The Puritan Revlution' (ibid, pp.253-4), Wood likened Sir Thomas More to Gladstone in knowing 'that "ideals are never realized" and that "we have no business to feel disappointed that they are never realized,"' for the main point' to keep steadily in mind our ideal of life for the individual and the nation, and to make gradual approaches it.'

Wood believed he could detect this premise of moral action in the work and thought of Gladstone. It was primarily there, in Wood's view, in Gladstone's liberalism, itself a compound of pragmatic growth informed by a magnanimous spirit of empathy and imagination.

> Continuous close contact with men, close study of their material circumstances, everlasting exchange of ideas, gradually gave him a power of imaginative sympathy with lives and opinions totally different from his own; such has been possessed one may safely say by no other British statesman who has ever lived. He came to understand that liberty which he recognized as "a gift of God" to himself, was a gift of God to all men and to all nations, from the Catholic to the atheist, from the English to the Afghan and the Soudanese, [and] that "human excellence cannot grow up in a nation without it."

The Nonconformist in Wood responded to this 'liberalism' in Gladstone's religious view: 'his mind widened to the sympathetic understanding of theological differences, and planting his own feet with immovable steadfastness on "The impregnable rock," he came to see the religious truth in other opinions, the religious wisdom of tolerating and encouraging the growth of spiritual being in very diverse lives.'

Moreover, Wood saw Gladstone applying the same liberating ethos to matters of reform and democracy: 'the same principle was at work in regard to the political arrangement of the state.' Here was the makings of the 'People's William.' Indeed, from earliest political years of the Gladstonian career in the 1830s and 1840s, 'the growth of his mind - shown in his growing willingness, and finally his eagerness that this "mass of mankind" should not only be helped, but should be allowed and encouraged to help itself: that the masses shold be, no less than "the classes" admitted to the privileges and duties iof full citizenship.' Wood delighted in interpreting the reform politician after 1865 in populist terms: 'From that time Gladstone became the great hero of the masses, continually appealing to their highest motives, and appealing not in vain, for their support in the service of God and of man.'

Interestingly, Wood also finally gave a high priority to liberalism taken to British external policy - both as this influenced foreign policy, in international affairs, and also as this affected British imperial policy and the changing nature of the empire. Particularly admirable, in Wood's eyes, was Gladstone's sympathy with national self-determination, of 'peoples struggling to be free.' The same ideas of liberty 'moved Gladstone's mind in respect of other nations than our own. That liberty

which he valued for Englishmen he valued for every other nation.' Italians, Afghans, Boers, Sudanese, Poles, - they had all come to know of Gladstone's moral imagination. 'Patriotism was to him a form of liberty he loved. Patriotism, like liberty, was to him "a gift of God without which there could be no national excellence"' -

> The true English patriot would seek not to trample on the patriotism of other and less powerful and civilized nations, but to respect it as a great instrument in the hands of God for the education of man.

Wood understood and absorbed the Gladstonian concern with the 'law of nations,' nascent international law, and how this was to govern states in the manner that domestic national law provided a framework of just civil order within society.

> Gladstone believed that the Christian state is bound by the same authority and by the same law of justice and of love as in the Christian man. In other words he was vehemently opposed to the principle expressed in the motto, "Our country, Right or Wrong." That motto implies the belief that it profits a nation (though not a man) to gain some material advantage, at the cost of wrong to another nation. Gladstone's profound conviction was that a successful wrong is a deadly injury to the state that inflict wrong...

In this Wood was speaking from a matter fundamental to his belief and life: it was over this moral liberal internationalism that he had come to be involved in the most painful of public controversy, and unexpected notoriety.

III

One further element of his Gladstonianism needs to be put in place, however, before we can fully appreciate his public role in Australia and the great controversy in which he was at the centre: this concerns the liberal view of empire in his time. Here again Gladstone was crucial to Wood. He saw Gladstone's noted 1855 speech on 'Our colonies,' and its ringing call for a devolved migrant empire of self-governing societies as 'the most notable words on this great subject since the days of Burke.' Gladstone had given the evocative, if contradictory colonial slogan of 'Govern them upon a principle of freedom' to the nation: and Wood now applied this to his view of 'the problem of the relations of colonies to the mother-land' -

> The greatness of the British Empire is founded on Righteousness and on Liberty: it is by the increase of these that the greatness of the Empire will increase, by their decay that the Empire will decay.

Wood's own liberalism made him a British patriot: but it also made him into an internationalist. The Anglo-Boer War, which broke out in 1899, brought his Gladstonianism to the test and brought him into a controversial public role of considerable significance in modern Australian history.

Put simply, Wood believed that the Anglo-Boer War could never have been Gladstone's War. It conflicted with every moral Gladstonian principle on power, statecraft and a proper empire policy. Indeed, the Chamberlain-Milner policy, Wood took to be ultimately destructive of the Empire itself. Wood opposed the war in private and public alike. He was influential in anti-war leagues. He propagandized these 'liberal views' in local and overseas papers, as his Commonplace Books indicate. And as he opposed the war so he came, in time, to denounce the nature of the Milnerite Peace with the use of Chinese indentured labour.

The Gladstonian inspiration was crucial throughout. Gladstone had provided Wood with his first principle for anti-war activity -

> [Gladstone] held that when the British government was for example engaged in an unjust war, it was the Christian duty of the British patriot to do all in his power to bring that war to an end, even should this involve for the time a loss of material wealth or power.

Gladstone's long career moreover provided a rich set of examples illustrative of the precepts of liberal internationalism, for practical application. For example, there was the Crimean War:

> It was this feeling which led him to oppose the later stage of the Crimean War, thereby earning the name of "traitor," and such overwhelming abuse that he declared it "hardly possible to believe one is not the greatest scoundrel upon earth when one is assured of it from all sides on such excellent authority."

Then there was the even closer example of the first Anglo-Boer War of 1880-81:

> It was the same conviction that led him to end the unjust war with the Boers and to recognize their independence, in spite of the outcry that war should be carried on right or wrong "until Majuba has been appeased."

Wood had found in Gladstone not only his exemplar of moral action but his principled guide for challenging the jingoism of the Anglo-Boer War. Had not the younger Gladstone declared, over Palmersto's aggressive China policy - in words which Wood quoted -

> "A war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated in its progress to cover this country with disgrace, I do not know, and I have not read of .... But how comes it to pass that the sight of that flag always raises the spirits of the Englishman? It is because it has always been associated with the cause of justice, with opposition to oppression, with a respect for material rights, with honorable convivial enterprise, but now under the auspices of the noble Lord [Palmerston] that flag is hoisted to protect an infamour contraband traffic, and if it were never to be hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight with honor and should never again feel our hearts thrill as they now thrill, with emotion when it floats magnificently and in pride upon the breeze...."

Wood's gloss on this famour statement, which in fact had assisted to make Gladstone's fame and career, was distinctly elevated, and completely ignored the Gladstone invasion of Egypt and the raising of the flag over Port Said:

> It seemed to him that a war waged on the principle "our country right or wrong" was a war that struck at the very roots of that national greatness that is founded on righteousness.

Wood ultimately placed a very high meaning on Gladstone's life and work. His language was itself positively Gladstonian.

> It was by this life and this work that Gladstone made our Empire united, and made it great, and it is by following in his footsteps, so far as our little capacities allow, that we shall best help to make "the great name of England" even more loved and even more revered.

IV

'Professor Wood must go,' is the evocative title of the key chapter in Wood's own biography, and there Professor Crawford expertly and sensitively (pp.203-31) sets out the particular time of trial in the life of the Challis Professor of History at the turn of the century. Wood's public opposition to the war, and more, his activist work in spurring anti-war feeling, drew counter argument and criticism. Some of that criticism came from influential members of the University Senate. As in a more recent contemporary war, the 'pros' and 'cons' of the war divided campuses, with nascent 'hawks' and 'doves' apparent in the increasingly urgent and angry debates. Wood was a leading dove, and the most prominent academic dove in Australia in 1900. AS the war bogged down to an inconclusive guerilla campaign, so the criticism of the anti-war groups was heightened. Wood fought his good fight in good spirit, but when he was finally censured by his own University Senate, his spirits suffered a hard blow. For a while he waited to be dismissed by Senate - as professors may still be removed for 'moral turpitude.' Wood's problem, of course, was rather an excess of moral fervour.

Like the war, the personal crisis slid into history, and was finally engulfed in the enormity of the Great War. Yet in itself, the crisis, both of policy and of personal standing, is highly revealing of a principled Gladstonian at work in 'Greater Britain' abroad. And this phase of Wood's active life in Australia was but a heightened and public expression of an individual of 'liberal' background and outlook, who gave to his adopted society a particular and powerful view of the world. It certainly appeared in his teaching as one of his students once recalled, very evocatively:

> [Under Wood] History became one of the great subjects in the University....In Wood's lectures we quickly learnt he dealt, not with History as a subject itself, but with life viewed historically. It was a wide and searching view. With life as he described it, one could not help feeling concerned. (F.E. Barraclough, quoted in A bit of a rebel p.142)

Wood gave himself, and his values, generously to the University community. "Woody" was one of the outstanding professors in a glorious period of active life at 'Sydney' : he was prominent in committee life; and was President of the Union. In the wider society of New South Wales he also gave generously of his time and his liberalism. His extra-mural lectures were noted aspect of town - gown relationships; he was active in the Toynbee Guild. Historical, political and social issues all came together in this public role. Gladstone would have been proud.

Wood, is not, of course, a singular figure in this theme. There is a great subject awaiting treatment, as Robert Kelley's work has already intimated: 'Gladstone' outside the United Kingdom. Not only would that investigation wish to look to the transference of 'Gladstonianism' to the New World but it would wish to examine the adaptation, the emulatio, the mutation of liberalism in the context of migrant societies beyond Europe. The leading 'late-Victorian' politician of New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes, claimed Gladstone for his own and offered himself on occasion as Gladstone in the antipodes. At the Cape, J X Merriman was cast as the 'Gladstone of the Cape;' in Canada and the United States of America, in the era of Laurier and Wilson, "Gladstone's" were said to be detected. Whether the intellectual and political 'clones' were true or not, the more general identification with a mode of politics was made. By 1900 Mr. Gladstone enjoyed a life well beyond the British isles, through the expansion of liberal democracy, the capacity of his synthetic mind of frame a social gospel for the age, as well as his projection, through a world of English-speaking journals and newspapers, as the quintessential liberal statesman of moral grvitas in Christian language and conduct.

Within Australian public life, many of the features and fissures which gave politics their distinctive character in the later nineteenth century owed their origins not only to the style but to the politics and policies of Mr. Gladstone's liberal administrations, as also to his singular interventions in international politics. A good example in British domestic politics was the Gladstonian push for Irish "home rule" after 1886. Not only did this initiative divide the British state and society in a fierce debate over Ireland and over the unity of the United Kingdom, but it also translated itself abroad, so that Australians were soon animated by the same debate. The 'Orange' and the 'Green' were already antagonistic features of Australian politics before 1886. Gladstone's 'conversion,' and subsequent draft home rule legislation, added to the potency of the issue in a New Society of settlement where Irish immigration was a central characteristic of the making of Australian society. Professor Oliver MacDonagh has superbly evoked the vitality of Ireland and Irish politics in Australian public life, and poited to the reality of Mr. Gladstone as a presence. An excellent example of the same theme in international politics can be well seen over the Sudan debacle of the Gladstone administration, ending in the death of "Chinese" Gordon at Khartum. An imperial sentiment was engendered in Australia, and particularly in New South Wales, over the fate of General Gordon. Initially this took the form, as Professor K.S. Inglis has now so richly shown, of the extraordinary decision by the colonial ministry of NSW to send a contingent to aid in the rescue of that strange Victorian hero languishing at Khartum. After Gordon's bloody, if celebrated death, pro-imperial settlement turned to anger at Gladstone's cabinet for its slow action, and particularly to bitter denunciations of the liberal

premier himself. Gladstone moved from 'GOM' (Grand Old Man) to 'MOG (Murderer of Gordon) with some speed in the public image. An Australian poet expressed such public sentiment in verse that found its release in villification of 'Gladstone':

> Curse on the laggard statecraft that palsied England's might!
> And trebly cursed the treason that turned her day to night!
> A martyr's death, full glorious, has crowned her Gordon story,
> But crimson are the bloodstains that dim her Gladstone's glory.

Instances as powerful and widespread in Australian society in their time suggest that while G.A. Wood's concern for Gladstone was special as a case in biography, it was yet also emblematic of a more general phenomena in the mentalité of a political culture in English colonies of settlement. Whether favoured or feared, Gladstone belonged also to the New World overseas. Wood himself was in no doubt that this was positively so. He held indeed the 'profound conviction,' as he expressed it, 'that Gladstone was the great Statesman of this century, that the study of his life and his principles is perhaps the most important and valuable study in which Englishmen, whether in the Old land, or in the New Lands, can possibly engage.'

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Acknowledgements and bibliographic note.

Professor R.M. Crawford's splendid, A bit of a rebel: the life and work of George Arnold Wood (Sydney, 1975) first introduced me to the subject, and I am pleased to acknowledge my large debt to this luminous study. It was my good colleague Associate Professor K. Cable who initially drew my attention to Wood and who encouraged my work on our founding professor, including my Address to the Graduation Class in 1980. Meg Miller and Hilary Weatherburn have been superb researching assistants in my larger Gladstone and Wood projects. Mr. Ken Smith has been the most helpful of University Archivists. Professor J.M. Ward, Vice Chancellor and third Challis Professor of History, has given me a proper sense of the tradition of the Chair in the University of Sydney. Professor Patricia Morton, Editor of this Bulletin, took the initiative and sent the encouragement for making a paper for Canada from Australia about Victorian Studies.

The Wood Papers at The University of Sydney

Nearly all my direct quotations by Wood on Gladstone are drawn from p.13 box 17, Lecture Note Folders, Lecture 2 (handwritten) on 'Mr. Gladstone: a Great Christian' -- except of course where I indicate quotations from Professor Crawford's biography. Also useful were: Box 3, Diary for 1885; Box 5, Boer War Commonplace Books; Boxes 13-16, Lecture Notes on British history and Examination Papers for same; Box 26, Obituaries.

Gladstone Studies and Australian works cited.

I have used the biographies of Gladstone by John Morley (3 vols, 1903), Philip Magnus (1953), Richard Shannon (vol i, 1809-65), published 1982). For Gladstone and New Societies overseas see: Paul Knaplund, Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy (1927; reprinted 1966) and Robert Kelley, The Transatlantic Persuasion; the Liberal-Democratic Mind in the Age of Gladstone 1966. On Ireland in Australia see Oliver MacDonagh, ed., Irish Culture and Nationalism, 1750-1950 (London, 1983). For the Gordon episode in Australian politics and culture, there is now K.S. Inglis, The Rehearsal: Australians at War in the Sudan, 1885 (Sydney, 1985) and on Gladstone, esp. p.11.

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ART IMITATING LIFE: THE WANDERING MINSTREL AND LONDON LABOUR

John D. Rosenberg's assertion that Henry Mayhew's London Labour and the London Poor survey "strains the flimsy boundary separating fact from art, life from literature," is exemplified in comparing his early one-act farce dating from 1834, The Wandering Minstrel, with the section on street song vendors in volume I and the section on street musicians, glee-singers and ballad-singers in volume III, of his monumental prototype of pioneer sociology, London Labour and the London Poor which was first published in complete book form in 1861-62.[1] Elsewhere I have drawn attention to the duality of Mayhew's "art and science" and have examined his role as an "entertainer" and serious social investigator, while comparing some of the humorous literary elements of his work with those of a socio-economic investigatory nature. The essence of his paradigm involved a synthesis of art and science, fact and fiction, reality and insight meshed with creative imagination: he used such techniques deliberately in order to get the Condition of England question across to the general public of Victorian England. Thomas Carlyle employed rhetoric in his famous broadsides and Charles Dickens used symbolism in his novels in order to achieve the same effect. Mayhew used humour as a sociological tool to effect a degree of detachment from the relentless misery of the undermass he so diligently exposed in his surveys.[2].

Recent scholarship has rightly emphasized his role as the "father" of the scientific social survey who invented "oral history" and used scientific methodology in gathering and analyzing the data in his articles for the Morning Chronicle,[3] and later in his London Labour and the London Poor survey. But we should not ignore Mayhew's earlier reputation as the founder of Figaro in London in 1831, Punch in 1841 with Mark Lemon as co-editor, and as a writer of comic stories and editor of the Comic Almanac for 1851. Recognition that he was a "hack writer" and journalist of the better kind is essential to our understanding. The assorted "potboilers" and ephemeral creations of his early period included plays, farces, novels, burlettas, jest-books, comic material and the like. There were collaborations with other authors, particularly his brother Augustus, and there were also travel books and children's books and an unsuccessful play with his son Athol, but these date from his later period.

The Wandering Minstrel is the most important of the three plays which he wrote alone when he was only twenty-two.[4] Divided into five scenes it takes some forty-five minutes to perform and was usually given as part of a double or triple bill, as was the custom of the early Victorian theatre. It was first performed at the Royal Fitzroy Theatre in London

on January 16, 1834, running for some seventy performances. An acting copy was published the same year at the end of the run, which was quite successful. While it strikes the modern reader as a trite "potboiler" it was quite representative of the genre of the period, for theatrical standards were abysmally low; Mayhew was forced to cater to vulgar, raucous audiences, who demanded quantity rather than quality. The farce of the period was replete with bumbling stock characters and comic stock situations: the unmasking of villains, cuckolded husbands, true young love, mistaken identity and the like. The speech was oftenj in cockney or country dialect and was characterized by bathos, satire, wordplay, puns, and confusion, with the usual quiet resolution before the final curtain.

John L. Bradley noted that The Wandering Minstrel had qualities that raised it above the average farce of the thirties, and that Mayhew anticipated the more realistic plays of a later period: the theatre of Robertson, Taylor and Boucicault, and the successful put on by the Bancrofts at the Prince of Wales's Theatre in the fifties.[5] A word should be said about the setting of the play, which involves the Crinicums, a middle-class family, with the plot centering on the relationship of the dignified elderly husband married to a foolish, snobbish, flightly young wife. He presents the antithesis of the romantic sentimental wife; he is also philosophically realistic when he declares: "When an old man forgets himself and marries a young wife; it is ten to one but she follows his example and forgets him, too." (Wandering Minstrel, p.5). The parvenu Mrs. Crinicum is strongly against the marriage of her niece Julia to Herbert, a young man she feels is socially beneath them. In the opening scene the Crinicums read in the newspaper about the arrival in town of a musical aristocrat, who for a wager is travelling through England incognito, posing as a rural wandering minstrel who earns his living by singing and playing in the streets. While his foolish wife is determined to snare the nobleman disguised as a rustic and gain a social conquest (she even has plans to marry him off to Julia), honest old Mr. Crinicum expresses the strong opinion that the imposter should be indicted for obtaining money under false pretences.

In scene two we are introduced to our cockney hero Jem Bags - a typically Mayhewian name - who is an itinerant ballad singer and musician who plays the clarinet so badly people usually pay him to move away from their front doors! As Jem plays outside the house the mistress invites him in for refreshments convinced he is the aristocratic wandering minstrel. Scene three takes place inside the house where Jem meets Peggy the maid, his former love, who advised him her mistress has mistaken him for the celebrated minstrel. Jem of course is delighted and has no intention of disillusioning her in a situation so advantageous to himself. While her

mistress excitedly plans a grand musical soirée for the evening in which she will show off her catch, Peggy has a laugh over old itmes with Jem and dances a wild jig to the sound of his clarinet. The scene ends in confusion as Jem collides with a servant who enters the room with a tea tray.

In scene four we meet the sentimental young lovers, Julia and Herbert, who provide the conventional romantic interest in the farce. They plan that Herbert should gain access to the musical soirée disguised as the "true" wandering minstrel to show Jem up as an impsoter in the hope of gaining Mrs. Crinicum's blessing and consent to their marriage. The action of the final scene takes place within the music-room of the Crinicum residence, where the hostess has engaged the services of a professional musician, Mr. Tweedle, and a band of hired players. Jem causes pandemonium as he plays his clarinet discordantly, upsets the music stands, and scatters the performers with his ranbunctious antics. Peggy enters and announces Herbert as the "real" wandering minstrel, while he denounces Jem Bags as an imposter. Mrs. Crinicum decides there will be a singing contest to decide which is the real wandering minstrel, and the prize for the winner will be the hand of her niece Julia. Herbert wins all hearts with his rendition of a beautiful love ballad to Julia, While Jem insists in offering the company a popular comic song of the the time entitled "Villikins and his Dinah." To the consternation of the company the song is interminable for it includes ten verses and ten choruses. The farce ends with the unmasked minstrel being scolded by Mrs. Crinicum who orders her servants to show him the door, to the general approval of the assembly. But Jem insists there are sixteen verses in all and he intends to sing every one of them! Mr. Tweedle interposes and threatens Jem he will send for the proper authorities unless he leaves instantly. Not to be outdone, Jem has the last word as he appeals to the delighted audience: "Come here, these 'ere (pointing to the audience), these 'ere is the 'thorities I cares about! (To the house). !I say, whisper-blow me! If I vont come and strike up afore this werry house, every night, for a week to come-just to wex that old chap- prowiding you wont say nothin' to the contrary!" (Wandering Minstrel, p.8).

Much depends on the skill of the actor in the role of Jem Bags for the farce to be effective, because at best it is a pastiche of slapstick, song and dance, and sentimentality; and yet there is something more. There is a serious nuance in the character of old Mr. Crinicum. Despite the abuse and vulgar posturing of his wife, he is not deceived by the free and insulting behaviour of his unwelcome guest. Throughout the proceedings he retains his self-respect and gains the esteem of the audience. He is anti-romantic, serious and practical, and represents an interesting counterpoint to the excessive romanticism of the other

characters in the play. When reading the newspaper to his wife she is interested in fashion and the entertainment news, while he is concerned with the serious parliamentary reports. "There is about him," John L. Bradley suggests, "a poignant regret and mature awareness not wholly consistent with the world of unrestrained farce."[6] Which leads us to ask, was Mayhew even at this early stage, using the medium of the popular farce to point out a moral and emphasize his serious concerns? The reforming instincts of his early period gave him a distaste for cant, snobbery, and social pretentiousness in a society so obviously in need of improvement. Like his own middle-class character Mr. Crinicum, he obviously finds the spectacle of a rich man posing as poor one repugnant for "the imposter should be indicted." Was he anticipating those social concerns which would emerge in his Morning Chronicle letters and in his London Labour survey? In any event the contrast of sober Mr. Crinicum with the typical slapstick elements of farce in this early work, foreshadow the duality that will emerge in London Labour, where Mayhew will repeatedly alternate a comic entertaining style with one that is serious, purposeful and investigative.

Could fictional elements of Mayhew the entertaining playwright become enmeshed in the later facts of his social investigation? If we compare s scene two when Jem Bags plays the clarinet badly outside the Crinicum residence with Mayhew's comments on street musicians we find some interesting parallels. Jem muses on his old clarinet which he cannot play very well: "What a jolly row it does kick up, to be sure! - In a quiet place like this 'ere they'd give anything to get rid on me! Directly I strikes up, out comes the sarvint with tuppence or thruppence and horders me to move on." He ponders further and then states resolutely: "I never moves on under sixpence." (Looking up at the house.) "But they seems summat in the quiet vay here - I thinks as how they'd stand a shilling!" The stage directions note that he strikes up taking care to make as much noise as posible till Mr. and Mrs. Crinicum emerge, with the former very much annoyed with the disturbance. (Wandering Minstrel, p.4). In his survey of street musicians Mayhew observed: "As a general rule, they may be divided into the tolerable and the intolerable performers, some of them trusting to their skill in music for the reward for their exertions, other only making a noise, so that whatever money they obtain is given them merely as an inducement for them to depart." (London Labour, III, 158-159).

In his long monologue in scene two Jem Bags recalls his old friend Bill Raven suggesting he take up street singing. "I sings vorser than an old tin tea-kettle," Jem protested to his friend. He chuckles as he recalls for the audience Bill's reply: "Vorser" says he, "so much the better - oh, yourn's a helegant woice for ballad singing! a sartin fortune to anyone, blow me!.... I means to say as ow if one, with a woice like

your'n, was to strike up afore the houses- and, 'specially them with knockers tied up- they'd villingly give sixpence to get rid on you!" (Wandering Minstrel, p.4). In his interview with an unnamed street ballad singer or chaunter, as in the case of the street musicians, Mayhew notes there exists a hierarchy among these individuals: the street glee singers - often a husband and wife team - being of a more respectable degree than the lowest elements of the street singers. His informant explains how the worst of the lower element frequent the gallery of ithe music halls where they go for the express purpose of learning the airs. "They are mostly utterly ignorant of music, and some of them get their money by the noise they make, by being paid to move on." He describes a house in the Blackfriars Road whose unfortunate inhabitants have been ill for the last sixteen years. It is regularly visited by one of these low ballad singers who is always sure of getting twopence to move on. The informant elaborates on this dreadful practice first revealed by Mayhew in the fictional context of The Wandering Minstrel: "Some, too, make a point of beginning their songs outside those houses where the straw is laid down in front; where the knockers are done up in an old glove the ballad-singer is sure to strike up!" (London Labour, III, 196).

Jem Bags reminisces about his life prior to becoming a wandering minstrel, when he was a street vendor of popular printed sogs or a "long-song" seller: "Wending three yards of new favorite songs for a hapny- what miserable vork that was to be sure- I was always crying about the streets 'here you has 'em- here's one hundred and fifty new and pop'lar hairs for a hapny.'"[7] Jem's cryptic reference to selling songs by the yard is puzzling to a modern reader of the farce but it becomes perfectly clear when read in context with volume one of London Labour. Mayhew has a section which deals with street sellers of stationery, literature, and the fine arts, and here he includes an interview with a "long-song" seller, which was the occupation Jem had followed. Evidently these popular songs were printed "three yards abreast" on long slips of paper about a yard long. In some cases three slips of paper were pasted together and the vendor paraded the streets selling "three yards of new and popular songs" for a halfpenny or a penny or whatever the traffic would bear. In all probability the price varied with the street location and the class of customer. Mayhew's informant explained that the songs were fixed to the top of a long pole, while the vendor "cried" the various titles as he went along. "This branch of the profession is confined solely to the summer; the hands in winter usually taking to the sale of song-books, it being impossible to exhibit the three yards in wet or foggy weather." The paper songs fluttered from the pole like soiled white ribbons at a distance, while the vendors used a kind of recitative in calling their wares: "Three yards a penny! Three yards a penny! Beautiful songs! Newest songs! Popular songs! Three yards a penny! Song, song, songs!" (London Labour, I, 221).

It is instructive to compare Jem calling his wares in scene two with the statement from Mayhew's "long-song" seller in volume one. Firstly Jem:

> Here you has 'em...' Mary I believes thee true,' 'Hookey Valker,' 'Giles Scroggins courted Molly Brown,' 'On the banks of the Blue Moselle,' 'Barclay and Perkins-drayman,' 'He was famed for deeds of harms,' 'His there a heart wot neverlov'd,' 'The dandy dog's meat man,' 'If I had a donkey what vouldn't go,' 'Hover the hills and far away,' 'Oh, say not women's love is bought.' For the small charge of one hapny!.... (Wandering Minstrel, p.4).

After summarizing the droll "patter" of the "long-song" sellers Mayhew observes that the purpose iof their "crying" was to draw attention to the great number of songs obtainable for a penny. Apart from the fact that he does not attempt to reproduce the dialect of his subject the reader might well think the fictional Jem was still speaking:

> I sometimes begin with singing, or trying to sing, for I'm no vocalist, the first few words of any song, and them quite loud....' Buffalo gals, come out to-night,' 'Death of Nelson,' 'The gay cavalier,' Jim along Josey,' 'There's a good time coming,' 'The standard bearer,' 'Just like love,' 'Whistle o'er the lave o't,' 'Widow Mackree,' 'I've been roaming,' 'Oh! that kiss,' 'The old English gentlemen,' etc., etc. etc. (I dares say they was all in the three yards, or was once, and if they wasn't there was others as good). (London Labour, I, 221).

It will be noted that Mayhew's informant is as frank as Jem Bags in admitting his vocal deficiencies!

Mayhew's interview with the husband and wife glee-singing team and the street ballad singer has them lamenting the passing of the old songs which they felt were in a different class. "John Bull's taste is inclined now to the brutal and the filthy," declared the husband. "Some of the character songs, such as 'Sam Hall,' 'Jack Sheppard,' and others, are so indelicate that a respectable man ought not to take his wife and daughters to see them." Due to the decline in public taste, the street ballad singer noted, many of the glee-singers had to go and sing in cheap public house concerts, and the practice of singing in the streets and at wedding parties as in the past had diminished. (London Labour, III, 194-195). Compare this to scene three in the play when Jem meets his hold flame Peggy again; we find Peggy asking Jem why he has given up "crying them ere ballads?" Jem Also reflects the sentiments of Mayhew's informants as he replies rather sadly: "Vhy, you sees, they writes such

stuff now-a-days for sentimental ballads, they actually arn't vorth while crying about...." (Wandering Minstrel, p.5).

In these two works, as already mentioned, Mayhew makes no attempt to duplicate the characteristic reversals of v and w and the aspirated h's of his cockney subjects in the verbatim interviews. The questions he asks his subjects are deleted, although they can often be deduced, as the subjects repeat them in their biographical statements. Mayhew varies this method by also summarizing the information of his informants with verbatim quotations inserted.[8] He also employs a technique favoured by Dickens which involved variant spelling and using occasional key dialect words. While taking care to edit out curse words and gross language that would offend his readers, he affirms in his preface to volume one of London Labour that the interviews represent a truthful and accurate account of the information furnished by his subjects. It is "the first attempt to publish the history of a people, from the lips of the people themselves - giving a literal description of their labour, their earnings, their trials, and their sufferings, in their own unvarnished language...."

Even in a short study such as this, by comparing texts, we can see that there are many parallels; while Jem Bags is a prototype of many characters to be found in the pages of the four volumes of the survey. While the farce is purely fictional in terms of plot, it is "factual" in describing "long-song" sellers and the lower elements of street ballad singers and street musicians. While elements of the stage farce become synthesized with his later factual survey, and Mayhew sometimes seems to "color" his material, none of his critics have ever suggested he "made-up" the reported interviews. I am suggesting however that they are overlaid with the rich patina of his humorous artistry which highlight his skill as a factual social investigator. Transmutation occurs when artistic creation - in this case a stage entertainment - becomes entwined with the facts and data of his major sociological work: thus art imitates life and Rosenberg's "boundry" between literature and real life is penetrated.

NOTES

1. John D. Rosenberg, Introduction to Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor, I (New York: Dover Publications, 1968), vi. Serial publication of London Labour and the London Poor began on 14 December 1851. It appeared in 2d. weekly and 9d. mothly parts; it was so designed that six months' parts could be bound into one

volume. The parts continued until 1852 when legal difficulties with his printer resulted in their suspension with only volume one fully complete. First complete publication in book form in four volumes, (London: Griffin, Bohn, 1861-62; reprinted by Frank Cass, 1967; Dover, 1968). The Dover edition is the text used for discussion in this article.

2. Clifford G. Holland, "Henry Mayhew's Art and Science," Queen's Quarterly 88 (Spring 1981): 100-106.

3. See "Labour and the Poor," Letters I-LXXXII. Morning Chronicle, 19 19 October 1849 - 12 December 1850. Mayhew broke with the editors over the issue of free trade which prompted him to continue his investigations and publish his findings independently in serial form.

4. Henry Mayhew, The Wandering Minstrel (London: John Dicks, 1834).

5. John L. Bradley, Introduction, Selections from "London Labour and the London Poor (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p.xii-xiii.

6. Ibid., xi.

7. Wandering Minstrel, p.4.

8. See Anne Humpherys, Travels into the Poor Man's Country (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977), pp.87-94, for an analysis of Mayhew's interviewing techniques, also her latest study: Henry Mayhew (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984). For other informative analysis see e.P. Thompson and Eileen Yeo, The Unknown Mayhew (London: Merlin Press, 1971); and Alan Thomas, "Henry Mayhew's Rhetoric: A Study of His Presentation of Social 'Facts.'" Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1970. He explores the clash between aesthetics and function in Mayhew.

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BOOK REVIEW

Immortal Boy: A Portrait of Leigh Hunt, by Ann Blainey. London & Sydney: Crom Helm, 1985. 210pp.

The last biography of Hunt was the first volume of Louis Landré's Leigh Hunt: Contribution à l'histoire du romantisme anglais (1936); the last one in English was Edmund Blunden's Leigh Hunt (1930). Ann Blainey, therefore, has given us a much-needed fresh look at the industrious journalist, editor, and poet who lived and toiled long enough to be considered for the poet laureateship that Tennyson ultimately received in 1850.

Hunt is a difficult figure for any biographer or critic to portray coherently. He was a courageous and innovative political journalist and litrary critic, but the silly, improvident side of his personality was sufficiently pronounced to make Keats reject him, Byron loathe him, and Dickens satirize him with the character Harold Skimpole in Bleak House. His eccentricities aside, he was involved in nearly every aspect of letters: political and occasional journalism; criticism of art, music, drama, and poetry; and his own poetry, drama, and fiction. Add to this variety of endeavors an equal variety of friendships and acquaintances--with Lamb, Hazlitt, Keats, Shelley, Byron, Dickens, and Carlyle, to name only a few--and one is faced with an extremely difficult life to recount and assess.

For the most part, Blainey is equal to the task. She avoids the extreme responses of dismissal and apology that Hunt has often elicited from critics and biographers. Instead, she concentrates on giving us first a psychological portrait of the complex Hunt, and secondly a brisk narrative of one of the fullest lives in nineteenth-century England.

One highlight of the book is her exploration of Hunt's difficult childhood and the early fame that was, ironically, to hamper his development as a poet and critic. Her portrait of Hunt's troubled wife Marianne is probably the most complete and sensitive one we now have, and her analysis of the Hunt/Keats friendship, while it adds no factual information, correctly reemphasizes how crucial Hunt's early support of Keats was.

The liveliest and most readable chapter is "The Wren and the Eagle," which details Hunt's Italian exploits and the doomed collaboration of Hunt, Shelley, and Byron on the journal, the Liberal. Blainey's depiction of Hunt's and Shelley's deep friendship is a moving one here, while her account of the Hunt family living with Byron and Teresa Guiccioli is both perceptive and hilarious. Without Shelley as

peacemaker, the living arrangements, let alone the "friendship" between Hunt and Byron, could not have been more ill-advised, and they make Neil Simon's The Odd Couple seem to be a study in compatibility.

Perhaps the most extraordinary pages, however, are those describing the aftermath of Shelley's drowning, including the macabre disinterment and cremation of his and Williams' bodies on the beach at Viareggio. The episode symbolizes both the whole ill-fated Italian venture and Hunt's chaotic middle years.

The chapters on "the Victorian Hunt" are not as detailed as those on the earlier years, but they are nonetheless engaging and informative. They picture Hunt as a "literary tourist attraction," and they remind us that his chief role in life may ohave been to support writers of much greater talent at crucial points in their careers. For like Keats, Dickens sought Hunt's approval and benefited from his sensible criticism and his goodwill.

These pages also show how receptive the Victorian literary climate was to Hunt's "philosophy of cheer," to his talent for anecdotal criticism, and to his penchant for creating and sustaining literary circles. Finally Blainey shows us that Queen Victoria was more than willing to forgive the man who had, in his youth, served a jail-term for ridiculing the Prince Regent in the Examiner and for challenging the political authority of the crown. She added her name to a list of subscribers to Hunt's work, thereby joining a huge gallery of friends and acquaintances who, from Hunt's early twenties until his death, always found a way to save him from pennilessness. Also, the Queen, in Blainey's words, "had his ear through her private secretary Colonel Phipps, with whom Hunt kept up a vigorousj corespondence in the 1840s and 1850s" (p.179).

Blainey appropriately avoided both a purely critical and a purely scholarly biography. Nonetheless, she might well have written more about Hunt's work itself, and she might have included a more detailed scholarly apparatus. (The notes are very breezy) Aside from these weaknesses, though, this portrait of Leigh Hunt is useful, informative, and extremely readable. It joins several recent works on Hunt, including Leigh Hunt: A Comprehensive Bibliography (from Garland Press), Leigh Hunt: A Reference Guide (from G.K. Hall), and a forthcoming edition of his letters (from Stanford). I highly recommend Blainey's biography for both undergraduate and graduate libraries.

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