

***VICTORIAN
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NEWSLETTER

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Editor: Judith Knelman
Department of Communications
45 Willcocks St.
University of Toronto

Copy-editor: Rea Wilmshurst

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News and queries

PETER ALLEN (Toronto) has published an essay on Sara Jeannette Duncan's The Imperialist in Studies in Canadian Literature, IX (1984), and an essay on nineteenth- and twentieth-century usage of the term "an intellectual" in University of Toronto Quarterly, LX (1986). He gave a paper on Gosse's Father and Son at a conference on protest in British modernism 1890-1940 at the University of Waterloo in October 1986.

PHYLLIS GROSSKURTH (Toronto) has published a comprehensive biography of a pioneer of the British psychoanalytic movement. Melanie Klein: Her World and Her Work (McClelland and Stewart) brings attention to a school of psychoanalysis that has flourished in Britain but has been neglected in North America.

KATHARINE LOCHNAN (Art Gallery of Toronto) recently published "Whistler and His Circle: Etchings and Lithographs from the Collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario" in the exhibition catalogue of the Art Gallery of Ontario. She has an article forthcoming in the next issue of the British Museum publication, Print Quarterly, entitled "Whistler and Haden: On Developing a Theory and Technique of Etching." A paper read at the Whistler Symposium at the National Gallery of Art in Washington in 1984, "The Thames from Its Source to the Sea: An Unpublished Portfolio by Whistler and Haden," will be in the forthcoming issue of Studies in the History of Art. She will be lecturing on Victorian tiles to the Industrial Archaeology Society in Toronto next spring.

For a major exhibition of William Morris material in Canadian collections, all media, to take place at AGO in the spring of 1989, she is actively looking for items for inclusion, particularly furniture and wallpaper.

The William Morris Society will be holding its annual symposium, with the customary party to celebrate Morris' birthday, on March 20 and 21, 1987. The theme will be useful work and useless toil. Professor Abraham Rotstein (Toronto) will give the keynote address on the evening of the 20th. The morning of the 21st will be devoted to study of the way the problem was seen in Morris' day and the afternoon to an analysis of the way it is seen in the present day.

JANE MILLGATE (Toronto) is interested in receiving information about allusions to Sir Walter Scott in Victorian novels. These are to be found everywhere and range from the ironic use of Scott names--for example, Rebecca Sharp--to references to reading (or not reading) Scott novels--for example, Maggie Tulliver's refusal to expose herself to any more stories in which the blonde heroines will have a monopoly on happiness. References to The Bride of Lammermoor will be received with especial gratitude.

MICHAEL MILLGATE (Toronto) spoke at the Hardy conference in Dorchester in July and again, on Hardy and Faulkner, at the Conference on Regional and National Literatures in Aberdeen in August. Volume 6 of The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy is due out in the spring of 1987, and work on the seventh and final volume is nearing completion.

PATRICIA MORTON, former editor of the Newsletter, published "A Military Irony: The Victorian Volunteer Movement," in the Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, 131, No. 3 (Sept. 1986).

JOHN ROBSON (Toronto) has been named a University Professor. The designation is the highest accolade the University of Toronto bestows on its faculty.

The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, which includes on its staff VSAO members JOHN ROBSON, ANN ROBSON, JEAN O'GRADY, and REA WILMSHURST, is drawing within sight of its conclusion. Vol. XXI, Essays on Equality, Law, and Education, appeared in 1984. Vols. XXII-XXV are now in the press and are expected to appear in November. This boxed set, edited by the Robsons, comprises all Mill's writings for the newspapers, whether as leading articles, essays, news reports, or letters to the editor. Work is well advanced on Vols. XXVI and XXVII, Mill's Journals and Speeches. A miscellaneous volume and an index volume will then complete the set.

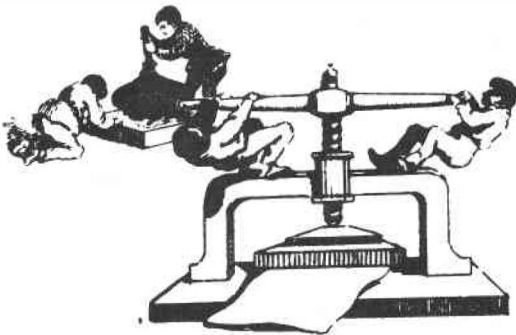
The British publisher Chadwyck-Healey is reissuing on microfiche nineteenth-century books in the fields of history, the social sciences, political studies, economics, commerce, philosophy, religion, education, law, linguistics, art and architecture, and music. The collections, designed for libraries, are being produced in association with the British Library, the Bodleian, and other major libraries.

The publication program is to take 30 years. The first and central offering, the general collection, which covers history and the social sciences, is out this fall at a cost of £1,000.



Chadwyck-Healey has also recently produced a reference work that includes biographical and bibliographical details on nineteenth-century British wood engravers along with listings and analyses of their works. The Dictionary of Victorian Wood Engravers by Rodney K. Engen has nearly 2,000 entries on these craftsmen crucial to the Victorian book and magazine world.

A collection of chapbooks, small pamphlets of news, ballads, tales, romances, riddles, etc. peddled on the street in Britain to the poorer classes, has been made available on microfilm by Harvest Press. The Robert White Collection of Chapbooks, designed for libraries and priced at US \$1,850, contains more than 1500 rare chapbooks from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries preserved by White, a Newcastle-upon-Tyne poet and historian who died in 1874.



Conference notes

Report on the VSAO Nineteenth Conference, April 12, 1986

Richard Rempel (History, McMaster) connected for us the career of Bertrand Russell and the fortunes of the British Liberal party, which went through a period of flux and revival from 1890 to 1903, while Russell was a student, and then, parallel with the development of Russell's philosophical eminence, established one of the most successful governments in over 150 years, only to collapse to minor party status after World War I.

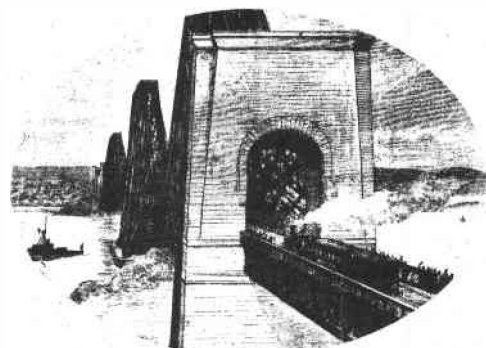
Russell, a member of one of the great Liberal families in England--his grandfather, Lord John Russell, was regarded as the prime architect of the 1832 Reform Bill--and a loyal Liberal throughout the Edwardian years despite irritation and even disillusionment with some of the government's policies, turned on the party after England declared war on Germany and became its nemesis. Temporarily abandoning philosophy, he became an activist, urging his theory of politics and pacifism on British voters, discrediting the Liberals, and offering a Labour government as an alternative.

Unlike any other significant British philosopher, Russell was intensively if intermittently active in political thought and action throughout most of his career and exclusively so during the emergency of the war. His writings on liberalism and on forms of socialism, said Professor Rempel, make him a barometer of the degree to which New Liberal thought was permeating the party. He belonged to the progressive elite whose allegiance Liberals had to retain or be diminished by the destructive impact of opposition.

--J.K.

At the beginning of his paper Lord Annan confessed as shyly as such a man would ever do anything that he had underestimated his audience and had prepared a paper to arouse the interest of graduate students rather than meet the scholarly requirements of the Victorian Studies Association. (Perhaps it is reasonable to guess that he had seized on the idea of a paper on the Victorian Age, and then found it was too large for anyone to be able to handle in more than a discursive and entertaining way.) What was said could have provided the jumping-off point for half a dozen less ambitious papers: the amused and human side of Queen Victoria, the problems involved in explaining and refining the continued hold of the aristocracy on political power, the proposition that the Limited Liability Act was the single most important piece of legislation passed in the Victorian Age, or the Victorian enthusiasm for self-criticism directed at the weaknesses of the age could all have provided material for hours of argument. In the event the questions and discussion after the paper showed that the audience had been most attracted by the idea of "the non-Victorians" -- which individuals stood apart from the age most clearly and incisively? And as the lists of potential candidates grew longer and longer it became clear that this could perfectly well serve as the topic for a conference of its very own.

--Trevor Lloyd



Report on the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Victorian Studies Association of Western Canada

My interest in the Victorian Studies Association of Western Canada's annual conference, held this year on the 3rd and 4th of October, extended well beyond its eight papers. I wanted to compare their activities with ours and to get a fresh perspective on what we do from the comparison.

In many ways their association functions as ours does. Their executive is the same size and has almost exactly the same constitution. Like ours, their activities have been warmed over the years by the hospitality of their key members. Where we of the Toronto group have in the past met regularly in the homes of members who have generously provided pleasant fare after our discussions, where members of our executive have annually hosted a reception or dinner or both to welcome our speakers, members of the western group regularly have two receptions which are not part of their official programme--one for their speakers and another for the people at the conference who come from out of town. Like ours their conference includes a Victorian entertainment and an annual general meeting. Their Newsletter is similar to ours. As with us many of their expenses are carried by the universities and departments in which members of their executive happen to be lodged.

But the differences are thought-provoking. Submissions to their Newsletter (whose last issue ran to 76 double-spaced, 8 x 11 pages) have been pouring in at such a rate that, though they have recently moved from one to two issues a year, their editor cannot cope with the flow. As a result, at their annual general meeting this year, they decided that their Newsletter will be refereed, that their executive will act as referees, and that their editor will select the two referees for any par-

ticular submission. Because the title, Newsletter of the Victorian Studies Association of Western Canada, inhibits Victorianists outside their region and organization from forwarding submissions they are considering changing their Newsletter's name. And my reaction to these moves? While envying them the vigorous support that their members give their publication, I feel the notion of referees inappropriate to the informal nature of our Newsletter and feel our Newsletter rightly focuses on our members' interests and news. But possibly you have a different view?

The most important differences in the way the two organizations function come into focus through a consideration of the constituent elements of the two annual conferences. We habitually invite one speaker from the U.S. or Britain (here we pay honorarium, travel, hotel, expenses) and a second from among our members (here we pay nothing), we hear one speaker in the morning and the other in the afternoon of a single-day conference, and, in the middle of the day, we enjoy sherry, lunch, an entertainment, and our annual general meeting. Our conference has always been held at Glendon College. Their two-day conference begins the evening before with registration and visiting over wine and cheese in the hotel where out-of-town people are lodged (and where special academic rates are arranged). None of their conference's papers run in parallel time slots, so everyone can hear all eight--three the first morning, two that afternoon, two the second morning, one that afternoon. Of the papers, two are invited; the association pays honorarium, travel, hotel, meals, and incidental expenses for both. This year Nina Auerbach (English, U. of Pennsylvania) gave a richly imaginative paper called "Little Actors: Victorian Children and Stage Children," and Michael Booth (Theatre, U. of Victoria) read a scholarly, provocative, and lively paper called

"Melodrama and the Working Class." The remaining six arise from a call for papers among the membership. The association pays travel expenses for these speakers. This year Tracy Davis (Drama, Queen's) considered the evidence about "Actresses, Demi-Mondes, and Prostitutes in Victorian London," Bruce Stovell (English, U. of Alberta) looked at "Trollope and Manliness," Susan Drain (English, Mount Saint Vincent) brought a very minor Victorian to life in "Connections and Correspondences: The Papers of Margaret Gatty," and Joel Kaplan (English, U.B.C.) argued for a reassessment of one Victorian dramatist's career in "Henry Arthur Jones and the 'Lime-Lit' Imagination." The remaining two presentations were the work of gifted graduate students: Glennis Stephenson (U. of Alberta) considered "Women and Love in Elizabeth Barrett Browning's 'Aurora Leigh'" and Don Perkins (U. of Saskatchewan) spoke on the subject "'Such a Heavy Mind': The Performer's Burden in Robert Browning's 'A Toccata of Galuppi's.'" On the evening of the first day there is a reception, banquet, and an entertainment. This year's was Victorian songs (many familiar to us from musical entertainments we have had over the years) sung by Karen Jensen (Music, U. of Manitoba). Midway through the second full day of the conference there is a pleasant lunch and the association's annual general meeting. Their conference rotates each year to a different institution.

Differences in the length and venue of the two conferences have far-reaching consequences. We meet the cost of our one day affair through a dean's grant and our own resources. We have a home at Glendon College and Albert Tucker's skill at making our conference a comfortable, pleasant occasion. The western asso-

ciation's more lengthy conference (necessary because their far-flung members cannot meet as our more concentrated group does in the fall and winter) is a very expensive exercise all round. Almost every one of their members (they have had as few as 40 and as many as 100) who attends (and the 40 who came this year represented a small conference for them) has to travel a substantial distance. And of course the number of papers they field costs a great deal. How do they do it? Not out of the conference fees, which, at \$45 a head, just barely cover the lunch and banquet. Nor out of their basic membership fee, though at \$15 it is higher than our \$5. They do it by raising money from the city where the conference is held, from the dean of arts, from the province, and from SSHRC. The dean, the city, the province all know that this event will appear on their budgets only once in a while, so they can afford to be generous. Their conference organizer (who, like Albert Tucker, arranges rooms, and amenities like coffee and lunch, but who in addition has the responsibility of receiving conference applications and finding funding for the conference) serves for only one year. And my reaction? I admire their energy, feel that it might be interesting to mount a more elaborate conference occasionally and that, if we should ever choose to do so, we could benefit from their experience in fund-raising. But, on balance, I remain grateful for the ease with which we can get together at intervals through the year and appreciative of the pleasures and comforts of our own one-day conference. What do you think?

--Judith Skelton Grant
President, VSAO

The comic poetry of A.B. Keith

W.J. Keith
University of Toronto

For me, the word "Victorian" immediately conjures up a visual image of my paternal grandfather. When I first came to read Victorian fiction in my teens--a scattered assortment of Hardy, Dickens, Thackeray, and the Brontës--my grandfather was still alive, in his eighties, and represented for me a link with the previous century. To a small child (and my earliest memories of him go back to at least my seventh or eighth year) he was a little frightening but also awe-inspiring, and part of this awe derived--or so it seems to me now--from the fact that he was a poet and had even written a poem for me. It was a playful, whimsical child's poem, and I found it difficult to reconcile with the sober and (from my viewpoint) rather gruff old man whose own childhood was unimaginable to me.

Not long ago, while I was thinking about him, my reflections began to take the form of verse, though a verse very different from the kind he wrote. Since some of my basic memories of him find expression there in concentrated form, it is perhaps appropriate to quote that poem now.

Grandfather

My grandfather (born in Canada's
year),
Victorian,
in his (to a child) gigantic leather
armchair
or his tiny dark study smelling
of leather and tobacco;

his white hair, and off-white
teeth and moustache;
his quavering, quivering laugh.

In that gigantic (shabby) armchair he
rolled his own cigarettes and thought
long Victorian thoughts;

in that dingy (magical) study he
wrote funny, punny poems
à la Lear, Calverley.

I remember him now in a Canada
he never visited--
my self-made, bourgeois,
leather-smelling, unimaginable
Confederation grandfather.

His full name was Austin Burley Keith; he was born, as the poem implies, in 1867 in East London and attended school there. He worked first as an ivory-merchant, and then, when that business failed on the outbreak of the First World War, he took a job with the War Office and later as a rate collector in Essex. He had married rather late (even by Victorian standards), and had one son and one daughter. By the time I knew him he had retired and was living in Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire. He died in 1951, a few years after his wife.

When he first began to write verse is not known for certain, but he wrote for my father (born 1906) a poem called "The Baffling Bird," which I read during the "entertainment" at the Victorian Studies Association conference in April 1986, and which is printed for the first time below. For my aunt Dora, the younger child, he wrote "The Wuff" (also printed below) and several other poems centred upon her pet fish, especially a goldfish named Eustace:

She said: "I won't have Solomon or
Joshua or Jim,
But I will call him Eustace, because
Eustace used to swim."

The pun is characteristic, and one of his nineteenth-century traits. It sparks off a memory of his Hertfordshire house (idiosyncratically named "The Folly"), and of my poring over many bound volumes of Punch extending back (at least in my imagination now) into the Victorian period. I remember resolutely turning the pages and trying to understand the rather crude cartoons with long dialogue-type, pun-ridden explanations below, generally ending in "collapse of old gentleman" or some such phrase. And, thinking about it now, I recall the "Dissertation upon Roast Pig" by that incorrigible punster Charles Lamb, and poems like "Faithless Nelly Gray" and "Mary's Ghost" by the even more incorrigible Thomas Hood as part of the cultural heritage passed on to me by my father, and see the influence of my grandfather behind them. In addition, Edward Lear and C.S. Calverley were writers I know (but don't ask me how I know!) that he admired. And he must surely have appreciated W.S. Gilbert and The Bab Ballads. Indeed, I once knew "Etiquette" (the poem about young Peter Gray and Somers and the unfortunate Robinson) off by heart, and have a vague but possibly spurious memory of having to recite it, perhaps in my grandfather's presence, at an early age.

A few scattered reminiscences are not perhaps out of place as an informal preface to his own comic poems. The local baker was a man called Barker, and my grandfather--for good reason or merely for the sake of the alliteration, I never knew--used to refer regularly to "Barker's beastly bread"--so regularly, in fact, that it became a family slogan. And here is a paradox: I think of him much of the time as serious if not solemn (his birthday was close to Christmas, but he refused to have the occasion recognized, and I was duly warned every year that I must not make any reference to Grandpa's birthday as it would put him in a bad mood for the whole festive season); yet my visual

impression, hinted at in the poem, is of his shaking with a bizarre silent laughter usually occasioned by puns or old-fashioned jokes. Finally, when my grandmother wrote to us, there would always be a postal order enclosed for one shilling (five new pence!), and one word beside my name scrawled in my grandfather's handwriting: "bobinside." Later, when I grew larger or inflation took over, the sum became two-and-sixpence (12 p) and the word changed to "anarfadollar"! Clearly, he was fascinated by words.

His poems are remarkable, I think, for their technical accomplishment, for a perfect control over rather elaborate and emphatic verse-forms that are never allowed to descend into mere thumping doggerel. In tone they vary, even within themselves, between the farcical and the poignant, between the whimsical and the robust, between delicate fantasy and harsh realism. Some of these poems are (at least temporarily) lost, including, I'm sorry to say, "The Natterjack," which was written for me and contained, from what I still remember of it, a graceful fairy-tale vividness. It belonged, by virtue of its family-occasion quality, with the two printed here. Some of the others were on typical Victorian subjects, like cricket or (one of the lost) a missionary in savage parts being eaten by cannibals. One reads like a parody of Tennyson's style in "Morte d'Arthur"; others, less successful, contain a characteristically Victorian sentimentality.

Many of the poems circulated modestly within the family, but they were never published. I possess a mock-up for a possible edition of "The Baffling Bird," dated as late as 1927, and illustrated with coloured drawings by one Kathleen Atkins. He was apparently planning to publish under the pseudonym of Keith Horton, combining his own name with that of the Kentish village of Horton Kirby where he lived as a young man. But

the project came to nothing.

Apart from correcting a few typing errors and rendering consistent certain conventions of punctuation and lay-out, I present the poems as I found them. They are reproduced by kind permission of my aunt, Miss Dora Keith, M.B.E.

The Baffling Bird

There is a sportsman bold and gay
Who wears a coat of red;
Around his waist a belt is placed
And a cap upon his head.
With his legs across his go-along
horse
Breeched and bootied and spurred
Off he jogs with his whippetty dogs
To hunt the Baffling Bird.

The go-along horse is meek and sleek,
A gentle beast to ride;
He always goes behind his nose
With an ear on either side.
He weighs a lot, and he neighs a lot
When his master's voice is heard;
He prances about, and he dances about
When he hunts the Baffling Bird.

The whippetty dog is long and strong;
His face is mild and kind.
His nose is lean, and his scent is
keen
And he carries his tail behind.
His great delight is to hunt and
fight;
His habits are most absurd.
I wish you could see him climb up a
tree
When he hunts the Baffling Bird.

The Baffling Bird is very scarce
And as shy as shy can be;
His home is made in the deepest shade
In the heart of a gobo tree.
His meat is the knee of a bumble-bee;
His drink is a moonbeam's tear.
He shakes with fright on the lightest
night
And shivers all day with fear.

The Baffling Bird has an ugly voice
And sings monotonous songs;
He is never at rest when on his nest
But he broods upon his wrongs.
He rails at the moon in the after
noon,
And shakes his spiny crest;
He scowls at the sun when day is
done,
And beats upon his breast.

The Baffling Bird has an eye of gold
And one of his legs is green.
The other is so, as far as I know,
But the other is seldom seen,
For he uses one when he wants to run
And the other, so I'm informed,
He holds it up, and he folds it up,
He picks it up, and he kicks it up,
To keep his tummy warmed.

When the wind is north he ventures
forth
To seek and win a wife;
The way it's done is full of fun,
The funniest thing in life,
For he glides along, and he slides
along,
And he never says a word,
But he cries a lot, and he sighs a
lot,
He thinks a lot, and he winks a lot
At the lady Baffling Bird.

There's the sound of a horn on a
misty morn
And the sportsman's voice is heard
Saying: Now I'll jog with my whippet-
ty dog
To hunt the Baffling Bird.
I'll rout him out, and I'll shout him
out,
And my dogs shall climb the tree;
If they do as they ought 'twill be
very fine sport
For my go-along horse and me.

The go-along horse he trots of
course,
The whippetty dogs run free;
The sportsman's smile is full of
guile

As they near the gobo tree.
Says the Baffling Bird: How very
absurd!
Now what do they think they'll gain?
I've baffled him twice, I've baffled
him thrice,
I'll baffle him once again.

Then he undid the locks of his keep-
sake box
And took out a lump of lard.
He rubbed his wings and the rest of
his things
Swiftly and smoothly and hard.
He greased himself, and he eased him-
self;
He wriggled his limbs about.
Then he put his nose right down to
his toes
And turned himself inside out.

The dogs run free round the gobo
tree;
Up they go with a bound.
They hurry about, and they scurry
about,
They scuffle about, and they shuffle
about.
Ho! worry him out! is the sportsman's
shout,
But no Baffling Bird is found.
For he uses lard when he's hunted
hard
And one of his legs is green;
And owing to that, the colour and
fat,
He cannot be smelt nor seen.

There is a sportsman grave and grey
Who wears a look of woe;
Home he jogs with his whippetty dogs
And his go-along horse so slow.
He groans a lot, and he moans a lot,
And he says with a sigh of pain:
He has baffled me twice, he has baf-
fled me thrice,
He has baffled me once again.

The Wuff

When kiddies are snuggling in their
beds,
And pulling the blankets over their
heads,

What is it all of them want to hide?
It's the terrible, horrible noise
outside
When the Wuff comes out.

Dismal and dark is the wood at night,
Misty and dim in the flickering
light;
Black are the clouds and the stars
are thin,
Heavy the air, and the moon goes in
When the Wuff comes out.

Gruffing and puffing he grunts and
hunts,
Growling and scowling he prowls
about;
With his snivelling, snuffling,
snarling snout
The Wuff comes out.

The black slime clings to his cruel
claws;
The red foam flies from his scrunch-
ing jaws.
His eyes flash green and his teeth
gleam blue;
He shrieks as he goes--and the wind
shrieks too
When the Wuff comes out.

And with him a pestilent crowd he
brings
Of creepy, crawly, poisonous things,
With legs that tickle and tails with
stings,
And floppy, fluttering, shuddering
wings,
When the Wuff comes out.

Gruesome, grisly, greedy, grim,
All in the woods are afraid of him.
Crafty fox and ravenous rat,
Stealthy weasel and vampire bat,
Owl and hawk and crow and jay,
All, all get out of the way
When the Wuff comes out.

All keep clear of his loathsome lair.
Scuttering rabbit and trembling hare,
Scampering squirrel and mouldy mole,
Otter and badger and water vole,
Snake and lizzard and frog and toad,
All, all keep out of the road
When the Wuff comes out.

Don't go out in the wood at night;
 Don't you see that horrible sight;
 Don't you hear that terrible noise.
 Better stay in and play with your
 toys,
 Read your books or go up to bed,
 And cover the bedclothes over your
 head
 When the Wuff comes out.

This is the story told to me
 When I was a tiny tot of three;
 This is the story that once I told
 To a bright little maid just eight
 years old.
 She sat up in bed and shook her head,

And looked me straight in the face
 and said:

"When the WHAT comes out?

I've heard quite enough of your silly
 old stuff,
 And I don't care a puff for your
 stupid old Wuff.

And what is more, I very much doubt
 If there is such a thing as a Wuff
 about.

I don't care a pin if the Wuff goes
 in,

And I don't care a snuff if the Wuff
 comes out!"





Walter Crane's illustration of the Queen of the Air, from Mrs Mundi at Home (1875)

Ruskin's idiosyncratic mythology

Peter Morgan
University of Toronto

Ruskin's Queen of the Air, which uses Athena to show that myth can best be understood through the study of individual figures rather than by means of theory, is usually regarded as an eccentric piece of writing. But I hope to show in what follows that he is writing in the midst of a debate on mythology to which he is deliberately making his own idiosyncratic and imaginative contribution by attempting to recapture the classical spirit in the face of a tendency to develop a science about myth. This view is supported by a contemporary

reviewer in The Athenaeum who considered Ruskin's book to be "a bright parterre in the lately found garden of Comparative Mythology" (17 June 1869, 74). Another aim of this note is to indicate that it is possible to dispute James Kissane's assertion that Ruskin wrote The Queen of the Air "with a characteristic casualness that leaves theoretical controversy unacknowledged."¹ I sympathize rather with Fred Kirchhoff, who claims that

¹Victorian Studies, VI (Sept. 1962), 16. I am grateful for the comments of my colleague Peter Carstens on my discussion.

Ruskin evokes "the full experience of nature that eludes the grasp of conventional scientific formulations."²

Ruskin himself indicates the scholarly background of his study by reference, for example, to

-C. Lenormant and J. De Witte, Elite des monuments céramographiques (Paris, 1844-60)

-James Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship (1868)

-Max Müller, Lectures on the Science of Language delivered at the Royal Institution 1863 (1864)

-John Tyndall, Heat Considered as a Mode of Motion, being a course of Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution 1862 (1863).

I shall suggest the place of Ruskin's work in the particular context of the activities of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, as well as with fuller reference to the contributions of Max Müller, Gladstone, and J.S. Blackie. It is noteworthy that Fergusson, referred to above, as well as Max Müller, Tyndall, and Blackie, spoke at the Royal Institution. Another speaker there was Edward B. Tylor, who discussed "The Survival of Savage Thought in Modern Civilization" on 23 April 1869 (Royal Institution, Proceedings, V, 522). Tylor's important work, Primitive Culture, appeared in 1871. Fergusson's paper "On Tree and Serpent Worship, as exemplified by some recently discovered Indian Monuments" was delivered 5 February (Proceedings, V, 453). In two much earlier contributions Ruskin himself had varied between straightforward scientific exposition and an intermingling of this with the mythological. These were "On the Forms of the Stratified Alps of Savoy," 5 June 1863 (Proceedings, IV, 142), and "On Tree Twigs," 19 April 1861 (Proceedings, III, 358). He actually incorporated parts of his more recent lecture, "The Flamboyant Architecture of the Somme," 29 January 1869 (Pro-

ceedings, V, 450), into the last part of Queen of the Air.

It is of special interest to compare Ruskin's synoptic imaginative presentation of myth with that of Max Müller, which he had made in his lectures to the Royal Institution in 1863 and which Ruskin mentions in Queen of the Air and elsewhere. Ruskin says that Müller's views must be carefully studied, but he is sceptical about them.³ Müller's extension of the examination of myth from the Greek to the Teutonic and Indian suggests that he is more learned than Ruskin. Müller is a comparativist: "We must not confine our view within the Greek horizon, but must take into account the collateral evidence supplied by Latin, German, Sanskrit, and Zend mythology."⁴ He bases his study of myth on etymology in a more thoroughgoing and learned way than Ruskin is capable of. His emphasis on the power and primacy of language should appeal to French thinkers of our own time, though unlike them he fears the "despotism of language" (569). Alongside his enthusiasm and wide learning Müller takes a dim view of mythology, which he says is both characteristic of the infancy of the human race (e.g., 416) and a corruption of "true religion" (423), parasitic on it (414). Indeed, Müller considers mythology "diseased language" (358).⁵ He sees it as have other observers down to Freud and Jung as a problem, though Freud and Jung are without Müller's inhibitions concerning the "unmentionable" (386).

³See Works, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, XVIII (1864), 69, and XXVIII (1876), 733. See also the comment of Ruskin's editors, XIX, lxvii.

⁴Such references in this paragraph are to Müller, Lectures on the Science of Language, 2nd ser., 2nd ed. (1868), 406f.

⁵Compare Allen Upward, who on the contrary considered mythology "not a disease of language but its law" (The Divine Mystery [1913; ed. 1976], 40).

²Victorian Newsletter, Fall 1976, 27.

For Müller it is "a problem that required a solution at the hand of the philosopher" (391). He attempts a solution to this problem more superficial than theirs, satirized in the person of Casaubon in George Eliot's Middlemarch, who seeks for the key to all mythologies (407).⁶ Through his method of verbal analysis Müller arrives at a negative conclusion. How different from the verbal and intellectual but also exuberant emotional and imaginative endeavour on the part of his contemporary, Ruskin! For Müller it is "incredible ... that two ideas like god and sky should have run into one" (444). For Ruskin it is not so. He can rejoice in the conception, which Müller puts forward with surprise, that "when the word was pronounced, all its meanings, light, god, sky, and day, vibrated together" (448).

Gladstone was too busy politically to contribute to the Royal Institution lecture series, but it is noteworthy that his evocatively titled Juventus Mundi was published at the same time as The Queen of the Air.⁷ Juventus Mundi is a discussion of Homer against the background of Greek civilization, based on the Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age published eleven years earlier. Gladstone appears to be reacting against the dry, rationalistic, utilitarian understanding of Grote, whose standard History of Greece had appeared between 1846 and 1856. His own presentation, though attractively lucid, is based on a restrained view of the Homeric imagination in the light of the Christian dispensation. Gladstone admits that "the splendour of the poetry dazzles the eye as with whole sheets of light, and may often seem almost to give to analysis the char-

acter of vulgarity or impertinence."⁸ In my view Ruskin, moving beyond the level of mere analysis, is bolder in trying to recapture the "splendour of the poetry" of the myth, as well as of experience in general in his own prose art.

Ruskin acknowledged that the Scottish classicist J.S. Blackie had taught him living Greek (XII [1853], xxxv). A year after the publication of The Queen of the Air, Blackie addressed the Royal Institution "On Scientific Method in the Interpretation of Popular Myths, with special reference to Greek Mythology" (Proceedings, VI, 129). Here he indicates that he thinks the views of Müller to be too methodical and dogmatic, but he also incidentally attacks the lack of learning in Ruskin's book (132).⁹ He prefers Wordsworth's passage evocative of myth in The Excursion (Book iv, 718-62), a passage immediately followed by Ruskin's favourite line, "We live by Admiration, Hope, and Love" (quoted, for example, on the title page of Modern Painters). Though Blackie thus takes a swipe at Ruskin, he suggests a method for approaching myth which, with tongue in cheek, he terms "a religion and a poetry of nature, or a highly poetical anthropomorphic physico-theology" (130). It is necessary, he suggests, to "bring the special figure with all its symbolical accompaniments ... face to face with Nature; and then proceed, in obedience to the natural action of a reverential and poetical imagination, to identify the sign with the signified, and cause the god to leap as it were directly out of nature, and assume a human shape before a human imagination" (131). He

⁸Gladstone, Juventus Mundi (1869), vii. Gladstone's Homeric studies are assessed by Herbert Paul in DNB, Supplement, II (1901), 289.

⁹Ruskin's book gets even shorter shrift in Andrew Lang, Myth, Ritual and Religion (1901), being there dismissed in a footnote (II, 265).

⁶Compare George Eliot, Middlemarch Notebooks, ed. Pratt and Neufeldt (1979), xlix-xlx.

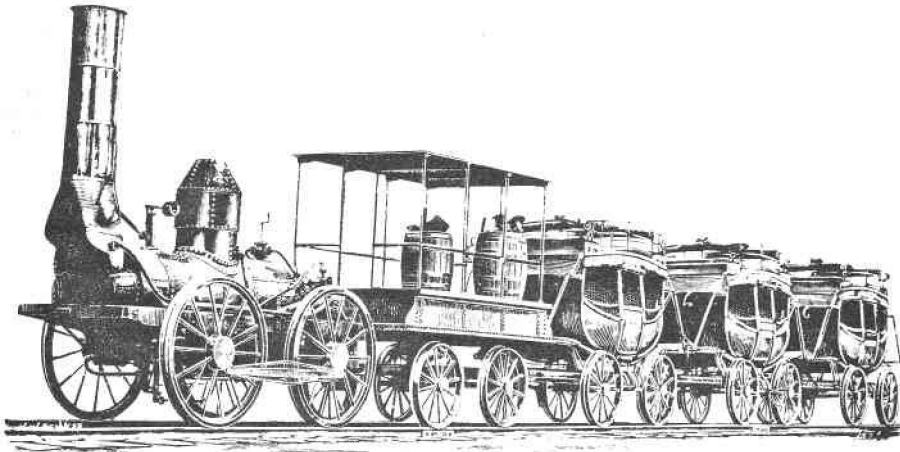
⁷See reviews in The Athenaeum, 10 and 17 July 1869, 39, 74.

concludes: "To borrow a phrase from Max Müller ... the myth-forming imagination is 'a kaleidoscope,' ... nay, more, it is often a harlequin's wand, of the results of whose magic touch no rational account can be given" (137). In the light of this, one can claim that Ruskin has indeed gone further than Blackie and the others along the slippery path towards the imaginative realization of myth, classical, modern, and universal.

Ruskin occupies a characteristically ambivalent position. On the one hand, he is limited beyond his scientifically inclined contemporaries in that he confines himself to the classical mythology. On the other hand,

he is expansive beyond them, in that he seeks imaginatively to grasp and articulate the vast significance of the myth.¹⁰

¹⁰What is finally noteworthy is the importance of this text to the so-called Yale critics. Harold Bloom included most of it in his edition of Ruskin's literary criticism (1965), and ten years later J. Hillis Miller presented The Queen of the Air as embodying Ruskin's characteristic notion of the "hieroglyph" (Studies in the Literary Imagination, VIII [Fall 1975], 15ff). This shows not so much the triumph of deconstruction as the rich storehouse constituted by Ruskin's prose.



The Church and the law

Stephen Waddams
University of Toronto

Stephen Waddams, Faculty of Law, will discuss the case described below at the December 3 meeting of VSAO.

Dr. Stephen Lushington's 1862 judgment in the Court of the Arches, the ecclesiastical court for the province of Canterbury, in the Essays and Reviews case has been, very naturally, overshadowed by its reversal in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1864. Yet the judgment is of interest both for the perspective it offers on an important religious controversy, and also for what it reveals of more permanent problems faced by both the Church and the law.

A.P. Stanley, the dean of Westminster, and a leading figure among those adhering to the loose collection of theological views referred to as Broad Church, wrote in 1864 of Dr. Lushington's judgment, after its reversal by the Privy Council, that it was "a document deserving of warm admiration and serious attention." This opinion was undercut by the approval in the rest of the article of the Privy Council judgment. No serious attention appears to have been given to the document since that date. The warmth of the admiration that is due to it must be a matter to be reserved for the moment.

Essays and Reviews was the bland and innocuous title of a book by seven essayists that created an extraordinary agitation in the Victorian Church. It was perceived as an attack on traditional beliefs in the inspiration of the Scriptures and eternal punishment for the wicked. Documents opposing it were signed by nearly 11,000 clergy and by 137,000 lay persons. The decision by the Privy Council reversing Dr. Lushington's condemnation underlined the

anomalous--and to some intolerable--circumstance that a court dominated by laymen (who might even not be churchmen) should have the ultimate power to determine the theological doctrines of the Church of England. Three bishops sat on the Privy Council to hear the case but the two senior of them (the two archbishops) dissented from the decision. The decision had serious effects on the reputation of the Privy Council as the ecclesiastical court of appeal and was a significant step on the descending path of the Church of England from its status as a truly national institution towards that of an independent sect.

The double condemnation of the book in reviews by the avowedly non-Christian, Frederick Harrison, and by the bishop of Oxford persuaded many that the views of the six essayists who were clergy were indeed incompatible with their positions, and this feeling induced the evangelicals and the tractarians--who hardly agreed on any other theological issue (the controversy made several sets of strange bedfellows)--to join forces against the essayists. Stanley's article supplies a vivid reproduction of the image projected upon the minds of the bulk of clergy and laity through the lenses of hostile reviews:

Seven infidels, in the disguise of clergymen, asserting that the Bible was a fable, denying the truth of Christianity and the existence of God--this was the portent which was supposed to have appeared.

Some official response became inevitable, and it was determined, after considerable debate, to proceed in the ecclesiastical courts. These courts had the power to deprive cler-

gy of office and benefice, though not to degrade them (i.e., to deprive them of their orders). Only two of the essayists held benefices, Roland Williams and H.B. Wilson, and accordingly these were the two against whom proceedings were instituted in June and December 1861. Dr. Lushington gave the judgment of the Court of the Arches, condemning both writers on their approach to scriptural inspiration, and each of them on two other points. They were to be deprived of office and benefice for a year.

The last point upon which Wilson was condemned is perhaps the point on which the Essays and Reviews case is now most remembered, viz., the everlasting punishment of the wicked. Wilson, at the very end of his essay, expressed a hope

that there shall be found, after the great adjudication, receptacles suitable for those who shall be infants, not as to years of terrestrial life, but as to spiritual development--nurseries as it were and seed grounds, where the undeveloped may grow up under new conditions--the stunted may become strong, and the perverted be restored. And when the Christian Church, in all its branches, shall have fulfilled its sublunary office, and its Founder shall have surrendered His kingdom to the Great Father--all, both small and great, shall find a refuge in the bosom of the Universal parent, to repose, or be quickened into higher life, in the ages to come, according to His will.

The Articles of Religion do not deal with this question. In the other formularies there are conflicting statements. The Athanasian creed contains these words: "And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting; and they that have done evil into everlasting fire." On the other hand the burial service--required to be used for all persons buried by the

Church--includes the words, used in reference to the particular person being buried "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." Dr. Lushington, however, did not quote from the burial service (though he indicated that this was one of the documents that he was called upon to construe). He said:

I think it would be an unprofitable task to go seriatim through every passage cited from the Prayer Book. I will advert to what I deem most important to the present issue.

He then quoted the words just given from the Athanasian creed, added, "I must construe them in their plain literal and grammatical sense," and condemned Wilson accordingly. On this point the Privy Council held--with the concurrence of all three ecclesiastical members of the Committee--that the formularies were not sufficiently clear to require the courts to condemn as penal an expression of hope that even the ultimate pardon of the wicked, who are condemned in the day of judgment, may be consistent with the will of Almighty God.

This case, in which theology and law met, illustrates some of the unanswered questions that each must face. Professor Chadwick wrote that "Lushington's judgment posed the problem of the modern Church in a stark form." The problem is how to reconcile the unchanging truths of religion with the changing perceptions of the world; in another aspect the problem is how to reconcile the Church's mission to propagate the truth with the freedom of inquiry demanded by academic theologians and by an intelligent laity; in yet another aspect it is how to enforce Church discipline in a way that is effective for the Church while being fair to the individual. All the questions raised, for the Church of England, the problems of a national Church. A religion for the whole nation is a diffi-

cult concept in an age of individualistic liberalism. The intertwining of ancient ecclesiastical and secular institutions added to the difficulties.

The questions for the law are scarcely easier. Dr. Lushington's reputation as a judge was unexcelled. He was held in very high regard even by those adversely affected by his decision. It cannot be doubted that he set out in good faith to achieve his object--construing and applying the plain meaning of words. An analysis of his judgment must lead us to ask why he failed. Is the object unattainable, or unattainable in respect of certain kinds of questions? If so, can these be identified? Or is it that judges--even the best judges--have weak points? If so, can these be identified in advance? Or is it that none of us can escape the influence of deeply held opinions and beliefs?

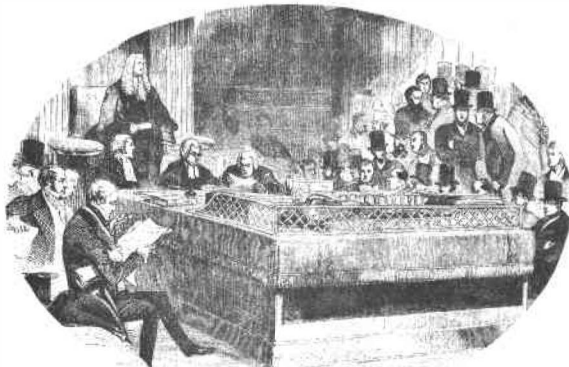
Dr. Lushington continued as Dean of Arches for another five years, though no case comparable to Essays and Reviews troubled his court in that time. He lived on in retirement for another five years, and met his death from bronchitis contracted when he made a journey from his home at Ockham in Surrey to Oxford to cast his vote for Stanley as select preacher for Oxford University. Stanley had incurred hostility on account

of the liberal theological views he had expressed as Dean of Westminster and in particular for views expressed in February 1872 on the Athanasian Creed and eternal punishment, the point on which Wilson was condemned by Dr. Lushington. Stanley's name was put forward and approved by the Vice-Chancellor for the office of select preacher, but his opponents forced a debate (a most unusual procedure) in Convocation, a body in which all M.A.'s, resident and non-resident, were entitled to vote. Stanley's principal opponent described him as

the advocate of the Westminster Abbey's sacrilegious communion; the patron of Mr. Vance Smith the unitarian teacher; partisan of Mr. Voysey the infidel; the avowed champion of a negative and cloudy Christianity, which is really preparing the way for the rejection of all revealed truth.

The election was thus a test--though not a crucial test--of the strength of liberal theology. Dr. Lushington's vote was one of the 349 that formed a majority in favour of Stanley (287 votes were opposed). Dr. Lushington returned to Ockham on the same day, fell ill, and died four weeks later.

A brief account of Dr. Lushington's life published in 1894 suggests that he can be said to have died a martyr to the cause of religious toleration. At first sight it seems extravagant to attribute the death of a man in his 92nd year to martyrdom to any cause. But on second thought, the journey to and from Oxford on 11 December does suggest some sort of gesture. It was five miles by road from Ockham to the station at Weybridge, and twenty miles from there to Waterloo on the London and Southampton Railway, three miles by road from Waterloo to Paddington, fifty miles by rail to Oxford, and a mile by road from the station to the Sheldonian Theatre. The total travelling time there and back cannot have been



less than seven hours. And all this was to cast a vote for an honorary post: Stanley's livelihood was not at stake. The theological atmosphere had altered by 1872. Dr. Lushington may have modified his own opinion. It may not be fanciful to suggest that this journey was a gesture of reconcilia-

tion to liberal theology to atone for the judgment of ten years earlier. If so, the gesture was accepted, for Stanley made the journey in the opposite direction from London to Ockham and officiated at Dr. Lushington's funeral on 20 January.



Books

The Gladstonian Turn of Mind: Essays Presented to J.B. Conacher, ed. Bruce L. Kinzer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

Studies in British Imperial History: Essays in Honour of A.P. Thornton, ed. Gordon Martel (London & Toronto: Macmillans, 1986).

Two of the University of Toronto's best-loved historians and teachers, Jim Conacher and Archie Thornton, having reached the summit of their respective teaching careers, have recently been honoured with Festschriften produced by friends and former students. Both volumes are original contributions to scholarship, a credit to all concerned, and should stand as objects of pride for the two scholars whom they honour.

The ten essays which constitute The Gladstonian Turn of Mind all focus upon the G.O.M., that archetypal Peelite, who has usually been on the stage--if not always at centre stage--of impresario Conacher's theatre of Victorian politics. Maurice Careless, a Victorian specialist of the colonial variety, provides the curtain-raiser, a personal sketch of JBC, who was his colleague of four decades. R.J. Helmstadter considers seriously the principles of Gladstone's first book, The State in Its Relations with the Church (1838), as Gladstone's contemporaries failed to, and relates these to later political actions.

In a complementary essay on religion, John Kenyon reassesses Gladstone's High Churchmanship. The next act is devoted to feminist viewpoints. Ann Robson's "Bird's Eye View of Gladstone" refutes the popular claim that Gladstone's opposition alone soured the Liberal Party on the question of women's suffrage, and Patricia Jaland assesses the lives of "Mr Gladstone's Daughters," Mary and Helen, and demonstrates the extremes of advantage and disadvantage to which their unique parentage subjected them.

The scenes that follow might be thought of as expositions of some of Gladstone's more lamentable failures. Peter Marsh considers Joseph "Chamberlain's Separation from the Gladstonian Liberals" over Gladstone's Home Rule policy for Ireland, which doomed all concerned to futility.



Susan Brown describes Gladstone's hostility toward the House of Lords in the wake of the rejection of his second Home Rule Bill. And Keith Sandiford discusses Gladstone's failure to reform the practice of European great power diplomacy by his own moral example and sermonizing.

The last acts are historiographic, but the reader should not be put off by that. First, Deryck Schreuder assesses the "Role of Morley and Knaplund as 'Monumental Masons'" in erecting the posthumous orthodoxy of Gladstonian Liberalism, which has endured, largely unchanged, down to this day. And, last, but far from least, Trevor Lloyd, in an essay too modestly labelled "Comment," makes sage remarks on the preceding essays, and places each within the historiographic context of earlier Gladstonian studies. Speaking of modesty, one can only regret that which prompted the editor, Bruce Kinzer, to refrain from including an essay of his own. This excellent volume concludes with a comprehensive bibliography of JBC's publications, and a very useful index.

In his preface to Studies in British Imperial History editor Gordon Martel reminisces amusingly about "Archie, sitting in his office, lost in thought ... his cigarette slowly burning its way towards his lips, until the ash suddenly drops and the smoker is aroused into a frenzy of activity. It is hard for a professor to remain remote while he weekly sets himself on fire in front of his students." In his thoughtful introduction to this volume Nicholas Mansergh establishes a leitmotiv by

observing that the common thread in APT's works is the notion that perceptions about the empire and imperialism were generally far more important than the reality. Some of the six essays in this volume fit the leitmotiv better than the others, but the overall standard of these essays is high, even if the span of imperial geography considered is somewhat limited: two essays each on Canada and India, one on South Africa, and Robin Winks' more wide-ranging comparison of "race contact" in the so-called "white dominions" as well as in the U.S.A.

Winks' excellent analysis distinguishes the elements at play in determining the differential relations between white settlers and indigenous people in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States, and suggests how these prompted different



readings of the message of imperialism. Ged Martin's essay on "An Imperial Idea and Its Friends" shows how the British aspiration for a British North American Union shaped the confederation of the Canadas in the 1850s and 1860s. John Carland's analysis of "Mackenzie King's Perceptions of British Intentions at the 1923 Imperial Conference" reveals how King's paranoid reading (or misreading) of the idea of empire helped shape the future form of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Turning to India, Edward Ingram's essay "The Raj as Daydream" ransacks the writings of Henty, Kipling, Forster, Orwell, and Paul Scott to analyze the code of behaviour of the "Pukka Sahib" in the days of the Raj, while D.A. Low's "Emergencies and Elections in India" speculates that post-independence India has avoided military coups and survived crises with its democratic institutions intact because, unlike neighbours such as Pakistan, India has evolved other mechanisms for crisis management. Finally, Deryck Schreuder, a contributor to both Festschriften, assesses the imperialist "second thoughts" of the South African colonial historian George McCall Theal (1837-1919), and the ways in which these helped shape a South African nationalist identity.

Gordon Martel in his preface notes modestly that he withdrew his own essay in the interest of space, and further regrets the number of contributors who still had to be turned away, so to speak. An obvious editorial problem with these otherwise excellent essays is their uneven length, some running to 40, 50, and even 60 pages. The sacrifices entailed in some editorial tightening might have been balanced by the resulting capacity to admit a few more contributions, such as the editor's own! Finally, the bibliography of APT's works, arranged chronologically, is serviceable, but unaccountably fails to include all of his published

reviews. Despite these small cavils, this is a book which all true "imperialists" will profit from reading.

Merrill Distad
University of Toronto

A. Dwight Culler, The Victorian Mirror of History (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1985).

Dwight Culler's latest volume reveals in its structure part of the answer to the question implicit in its title. What does Culler think of the Victorian use of history? He obviously thinks that Carlyle's notion that history is the essence of innumerable biographies, particularly of "great men," is a useful one. I say this deliberately because when Culler sums up his study in a seven-page conclusion this is not the answer he gives. His answer is that the Victorians tended to play God in their uses of history, to interpret the world for their contemporaries--their readers, since he deals only with writers, principally with poets like Browning and social or aesthetic critics like Arnold and Pater--with the confidence of the One who had planned it: "even when they were dealing with another culture, the power of analogy and the developmental idea which had become so central to modern thought meant that history had largely replaced the Christian idea of Providence." And he adds, in no less critical a comment: "This element of subjectivity in the individual's vision of the past did not prevent his using that vision as a means of imputing objectivity to his own views." And he adds that the Victorian age "read history for its bearing upon the present, but in the course of reading history it educated itself and so was better prepared to offer new, creative solutions of its own."

The difference between the two answers, the implicit one and the explicit one(s), indicates the character of the book. And also indicates

Culler's limitations, since, as I implied, no woman writer is considered seriously. To say this is not capricious since, of the women of the century writing in English who found history fascinating and who used it to educate their public about what they saw in the "mirror of history," only George Eliot is mentioned (in the culminating chapter, Ten, "The Victorian Renaissance: Walter Pater") and she is used only to introduce the uses of Savonarola in Victorian prose and especially in Pater. Culler might have done fascinating things with any of a number of women writers to whom history was as important as it was to his male "historians" (my choice would have been Elizabeth Barrett Browning of the political and historical poems) but chose not to.

The other limitation arises from the division of the book into chapters by writer: e.g., "Ruskin and Victorian Medievalism," "Browning and the Victorian Renaissance," "Thomas Arnold and Victorian Modernity," "Mill, Carlyle and the Spirit of the Age." As these chapter titles indicate, one of the book's great merits is that it covers those aspects of the problem that any scholarly reader would be curious--or has thought or taught--about. But it does so always by means of biography. Sometimes the biographical element is not only the shaping element but far too obtrusive; for several of his writers, e.g., Ruskin, Pater, and Arnold, Culler traces the uses of history to temperamental inclinations or personal distress or resolution of personal problems. He certainly justifies the approach when quoting Pater and Mill on the subject and adding, "one of Pater's most insistent ideas is that the actual bearing of an abstract philosophy is determined by the particular temperament in which it happens to be lodged" (262). Even so, the reader becomes far too familiar with Culler's view that the history he is describing is usually both internal and external. Arnold's view

of "the remnant," for example, of "the lonely individual who carries on, in a climate uncongenial to his genius, to transmit to the future the values of civilization" is presented this way: "It is as one of these that Arnold saw himself, not as a great poet but as one who, living in the days of the Philistines, yet kept his gift pure and was a forerunner, a preparer, an initiator of the age to come." The "Winckelmann" essay in Pater's Renaissance is given the same treatment: Winckelmann is Pater's surrogate as he examines the problem of incorporating Hellenism into oneself and learning to burn with a hard, gem-like flame. "Even in Winckelmann's slight loss of religious sincerity Pater saw a parallel with himself, and he makes a short digression in order to justify them both."

However strongly Culler emphasizes biography, it is the warp and woof of the volume. So that on the one hand there are many more individuals surveyed in it than the chapter titles by themselves would suggest. For example, the Newman chapter, "Newman and the Oxford Counter-Reformation," contains not only a brief sketch of Kingsley's views (in an interesting comparison between Newman's early Christian novel Callista and Kingsley's better-known Hypatia) but also a cameo picture of James Anthony Froude; the brief Thomas Arnold chapter introduces Arthur Stanley briefly; the Ruskin chapter introduces Southey, Cobbett, Kenelm Digby, etc. And on the other hand, even the generalizations, such as they are and infrequent as they are vis à vis the philosophy as life and the biographical explication of works (of which the treatment of Marius the Epicurean is paradigmatic), tend to be couched in biographical terms. E.g., one discussion of Victorian medievalism begins:

The most intense period of Victorian medievalism ran from the late 1820s to 1850s, and, given the

fact that its practitioners had so little in common--they included Tories and radicals, Roman Catholics and Dissenters, aristocrats and commoners--it can only be explained as a reaction against the forces dominating English life at this time: the Whigs, Utilitarians, and liberal reformers. Disliking intensely what they saw taking place in England, they took refuge in another age, and that age was large enough, various enough, sufficiently unknown and even mythical, that each person could find there what he wanted--a hierarchy, a community, a code of conduct, a form of hero-worship, a system of ritual, a charitable establishment, a style of architecture, a resplendent wardrobe.

(159)

Inevitably, the choice of such a structure implies other things. Since he sees the Victorian view of history as the product of a multitude of individuals producing in themselves or by reaction with one another (e.g., Pater with Arnold, Mill with Carlyle) "all the interlocking, overlapping, and contradictory visions of history which we find in the Victorian Age" (280), a certain amount of the volume, and some of it extremely interesting, is given over to explanations, often, as I have said, with a biographical cast, and often very explicit, of individual works--e.g., "The Nature of Gothic," The Renaissance, Past and Present. This is the part of the volume at which the scholar who reads will be inclined to nod regularly in agreement but in which he will find nothing new--but for which the student will be grateful, because Culler's Paterian precision enables him to explicate with great deftness and unaccustomed trenchancy.

It also follows, however, that Culler will at times lecture his "historians" on their impercipience or on the extent to which their own biographical impulse undercuts their

attempt to present scientific and objective history. The best instance of what I mean comes near the end of the Mill and Carlyle chapter; it is too long to reproduce but it assumes the character of a personal rebuke by Culler of Carlyle: "But it will not do: he cannot be both inside history and outside it. He cannot believe. ... He cannot have. ... He cannot say. ... He cannot see. ... He cannot say. ... etc." However, the other side of this coin of the intensity of Culler's realization of the lives which together constitute for him the Victorian mirror of history, is the "sympathy august and pure," to quote Matthew Arnold, with which the Browning, Rossetti, and Pater chapters, the three concluding and culminating ones, are written. There is no better brief defence of Rossetti's pre-Raphaelite goals anywhere in modern scholarship, nor of Browning's attempt to broach the walls of his age's conventionality nor of Pater's eclecticism, his ultimate discovery that "there are Renaissances everywhere" (277), not simply in Western Europe at a given time. Just as he becomes so caught up in the idiosyncrasies of Carlyle's vision that he remonstrates publicly with him, so he seems to see the past with each of Browning, Rossetti, and Pater with the very "intimité" that Pater had urged in The Renaissance, and the reader receives an extraordinary sense of discovery in these chapters. There is nothing precisely new here but there is a remarkable sense of Culler's empathy with his subjects and their ideologies, as in the treatment of their subjects--Savonarola, Cromwell, Marcus Aurelius, et al.--by the Victorians he studies when they are at their best.

The general movement of Culler's book, from a study of views of history in the early chapters--including Macaulay's and the Whig historians' and Scott and the "philosophic historians" (David Hume, William Robertson, Adam Ferguson, A.F. Tytler)--to

greater emphasis on major and well-known texts like Pater's Renaissance and Ruskin's Stones of Venice--which is given generous treatment--is no accident. Culler comments on the book's shape from this point of view in the conclusion (281) and accounts for it by generalizing that "faith in periodic patterns faded somewhat after the middle years of the century." But this movement in the volume, from "political to aesthetic history," will probably produce the most criticism since it also means that the focus narrows substantially in the second part. It is as if after the groundwork has been laid in the splendidly synoptic first chapters Culler had decided to offer new readings of favourite works, made possible by placing them firmly, more firmly than ever before, in the context of the Victorian Age's pervasive interest in history. Here probably is where his audience will divide: the scholars will prefer the first half, the students will value the second. But if the second half, with that generous, passionate, personal appeal that I have commented on, is a prognostic of work to come--as it must be--then I think the student will be more correct.

Harvey Kerpneck
University of Toronto

Peter Gay, The Tender Passion, Volume II of The Bourgeois Experience, Victoria to Freud (London: Oxford University Press, 1984).

In the second volume of his promised symphonic cycle of books on the culture of the European and North American middle classes in the nineteenth century, Peter Gay takes as his principal subject his central avenue of exploration, love. Love is the tender passion. The phrase is Stendhal's, and Stendhal is one of the heroes of this volume, one of that small group of nineteenth-century writers whose artistry and insight enabled them to

prefigure the scientific discoveries of Freud. "A completely normal attitude in love," according to Freud, requires the union of "two currents," the "tender and the sensual." The first volume of this Freudian investigation of the bourgeois experience concentrated on the sensual current. One would expect that The Tender Passion might emphasize something different: the peculiar nineteenth-century confluence of the two currents; a specific, culturally defined, Victorian style of love. This is, indeed, what Gay tells us he is going to do in his introduction to what he calls "the overture" to this volume, the two deftly narrated love stories that are the counterpart to the sensational confessions of Mabel Loomis Todd that called readers to order before they were presented with the serious stuff of Volume I. The overture to The Tender Passion is not as successful as its earlier counterpart; the love stories of Otto Beneke, the Hamburg archivist, and Mariette Banks, and Walter Bagehot and Eliza Wilson are only moderately interesting and seem to have no clear general point. The overture, moreover, prefigures the volume to follow. Love proves an elusive focus, and sensuality comes to dominate. This book, like its predecessor volume, tends to become a collection of evidence, presented with elegance and urbanity, that supports the proposition that the erotic element in life pervades culture. Gay's principal fascination is to discover this evidence in obscure or unexpected places, and his well-disciplined gift for historical research coupled with his Freudian discipleship enable him to make these discoveries with disconcerting ease.

It would be unfair and inaccurate to suggest that this work is without its treasures. The account of Elizabeth von Herzberg's superbly sustained attack on the Wagnerians, in which she describes the Bayreuth festival as a dangerous amalgam of eroticism, religiosity, blood-thirsti-

ness and solemn bombast, has the sort of social and political implications that are missing in most of this book. The same might be said for the attention Gay pays Zola's novel, Au bonheur des dames, an attention that makes it clear that the importance of this novel for the cultural historian transcends as well as includes the erotic element. And the brilliant sketch of Beatrix Potter's love life before she married Sidney Webb stands out as a strikingly forceful comment on Victorian marriage. Her rejection of Joseph Chamberlain, in the face of her great sexual attraction to him, because she clearly saw that he would destroy her independence, constituted her rejection of conventionality. Chamberlain's lucidly stated

views on the place of the women in his household, and Potter's conscious decision to prefer freedom to erotic satisfaction, constitute evidence that Gay, talented historian that he is, puts to highly productive use. These are only some of the examples of sections of this work that are in themselves exceptionally interesting.

Gay's chapter on homosexuality is also interesting, although it has, more than the rest of the book, a second-hand sort of ring about it. It is based on work done by others, and the intellectual frame of the chapter, the suggestion that the "new tolerance" of the late nineteenth century, which permitted more open discussion of activities hitherto sternly ignored, made life more difficult for sexual deviants, is not quite strong enough to carry the weight of sensuality with which it is burdened.

Sensuality, indeed, overburdens the entire book. Freud's doctrine of displacement leads Gay to write--at length--of the novel, music, and

religion as cultural institutions whose role was to permit the expression of erotic urges that Victorian culture otherwise repressed. But the premise of the book--that the erotic element pervades bourgeois culture in the nineteenth century--is illustrated so forcefully and so frequently



that secondary arguments about the character of Victorian culture are submerged. So insistently are we exposed to the erotic in novels, in music, and in religion that it is hard to resist the suspicion that Gay is suggesting that these cultural expressions are essentially erotic. This suspicion is reinforced by the absence of what, in this context, might properly be called non-erotic discussion of culture. It is jarring, therefore, after the treatment of religion as displaced sensuality, to come upon Gay's discussion of the railway as displaced eroticism. Sensuality is so obviously not at the centre of the railway's significance as a nineteenth-century phenomenon that Gay's treatment of nineteenth-century cultural institutions as a whole is called into question.

One hopes that as the symphony proceeds the erotic theme will fade. In this volume Gay promises that he will deal in the future with what he calls the civil war within the bourgeoisie, the cultural warfare between

the metropolitan producers and consumers of high culture on the one hand, and the often provincial, less educated, more philistine middle classes on the other. That sounds as if it might be an interesting book.

R.J. Helmstadter
University of Toronto

James S. Stone, George Meredith's Politics, As Seen in His Life, Friendships, and Works (Port Credit, Ont.: P.D. Meany Publishers, 1986).

The reader of a book entitled George Meredith's Politics may well start by asking himself, "But did he have any?" He may well end by answering, "Not exactly." This is to take rather a narrow view of politics and of Meredith, but it is actually one embraced by the author. Interested in the political questions discussed in Parliament and the newspapers in Meredith's day--extension of the franchise, the rights of labour, land tenure, Home Rule and so on--Stone sets out to show how these topics impinged on Meredith through his activities and friendships with people such as Frederick Maxse and John Morley, and then to suggest to what extent he shared their views and how they influenced his life and art. Stone provides much evidence from the Letters for Meredith's sympathy for the Radical cause, and it is useful to have these pronouncements gathered together, since Cline's index to the Letters lacks entries for such topics as "Conservatism," "Ireland," and "Women." Nevertheless, unfortunately for his theme, Stone has to conclude that Meredith was never one to engage in political activity (except for one bout of canvassing for Maxse which he considered a complete waste of time) or to write propaganda; and as for his works, aside from some didactic poems, Stone finds that topical political questions are either totally absent or incidental, subordinated to the "broadly political" message of

human improvement through the abandonment of illusion.

Stone does make a good case for Meredith's expression, in the novels, of an evolutionary radicalism that included the gradual broadening of the bases of political power, the emancipation of women, freethinking secularism, the self-determination of nations, and a strong army and navy for England. But there is little connection between these well-worn themes and the wealth of information Stone provides about the activities of Meredith's friends. The result is a curiously disjointed book. For example, pp. 114-15 are taken up with a detailed discussion of the activities of the Fabians, the Liberal and Radical Unions, and the Trades Union Congress in the late 1880s. Four paragraphs on these pages, however, begin discouragingly: "Thus Meredith was probably unaware of the permeation tactics of the Fabian Society"; "If Morley said anything to Meredith about the efforts of the Fabians and the SDF at the local government level ..., there is no record of it"; "Though apparently not cognizant of these economic problems that were of great concern to the socialists and the Labourites ..."; and "Meredith also paid little or no attention in 1888 and 1889 to other manifestations of labour unrest". Modern critics love a gap, but here yawns a veritable chasm between the careful research and the use to which it can be put.

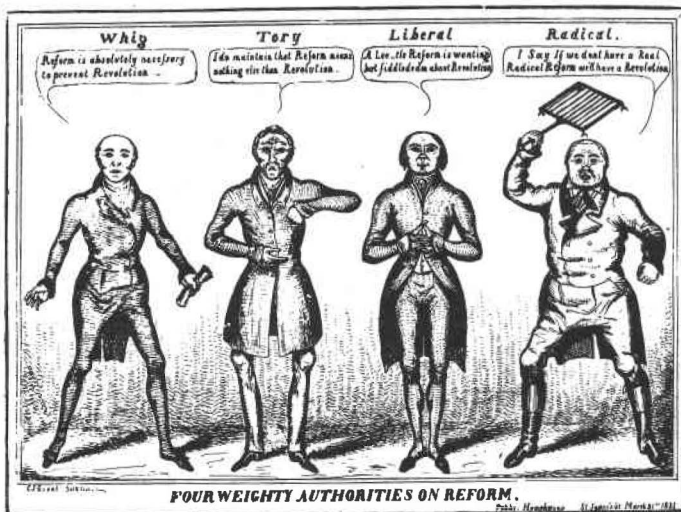
Could more have been made of political themes in the novels? Stone certainly bends over backwards to be judicious and rational, not to overstate his case or find politics everywhere because he wants to. He is no doubt right in pointing out that Meredith was more interested in the goal than in the machinery of "practical, domestic politics" (5). But there is a middle ground between Meredith's broad theories of human advancement, perhaps sufficiently familiar, and the political manoeuv-

rings of such friends as Hyndman and Cotter Morrison; and this middle ground, though not entirely neglected by Stone, deserves more attention. Though Meredith did not write a novel set in the back rooms of the Social Democratic Federation, he nevertheless did, as Jack Lindsay argues, place his characters within the context of the "fundamental forces determining the general movement of society." Most of the political theories of his day are glanced at in his novels, including Kingsley's Muscular Christianity, Carlyle's notions of leadership, Utilitarian ethics, Mill's intellectual élite, Ruskin on Gothic, Chamberlain's imperialism, and Bagehot and Burke on the Constitution. Parts of the political history of the century are sketched in Beauchamp's Career and Diana of the Crossways; Palmerston, Bright, Melbourne, and Kinglake all appear or are characterized, as well as Mazzini, Napoleon III, Ferdinand Lassalle, Princess Belgiojoso, Bismarck, and a host of other political figures; and the novels are full of quirky, inimitable sketches of such politically significant movements as the Manchester school, the formation of the Liberal party, the Salvation Army, finance capitalism, the Game Law agitation, and the ever-rising bourgeoisie. Meredith's allusions are notori-

ously obscure, and we lack annotated editions that identify them; consequently Meredith is often taken to be a more abstract writer than he really is. More minute elucidation of the novels would have been welcome. We need, too, to grapple with Meredith's imagery, which is so central to his vision that it should lead us to abandon any attempt to fit Meredith into the mould of Morley's rationalism.

Stone might well have found space for more detail of this sort had he not felt obliged to pursue a chronological approach. He suggests that Meredith's outlook was cemented in the 1870s and that he remained relatively uninfluenced by the "new Radicalism" of the 1880s (in 1905, Shaw called him "a Cosmopolitan Republican Gentleman of the previous generation"). This being so, a topical organization might have proved more fruitful. At any rate, much space is taken up in mentioning poems "none of [which] is political in any recognizable sense" (17), in noting that "the review of Robert Bell's Songs from the Dramatists ... is, as one might expect, devoid of specific political reference" (17), and so on through the canon. As a result Beauchamp's Career is allotted a mere five and a half pages. The dominance of chronology presumably explains why the Southampton canvass for Maxse is not linked with its fictional embodiment in Beauchamp--it occurred six years before and some 20 pages back. Regrettably, the historian in Stone had triumphed over the literary critic.

It should be emphasized that the information Stone does provide is clear and accurate, and often not readily accessible, so that his book will serve as a useful compendium and starting-point. It is, besides, carefully produced and refreshingly free from typographical errors: apart from trifling ones on pp. 61 and 85, I noticed only the unfortunate slip by



which Meredith threatens to have the Communication Service thundered in the ears of some wrongdoer (169). Even he, no churchgoer, knew that the Communion Service was called for here. The index is full and useful. The convention that puts topics such as "Women, emancipation of" under "Meredith, George" might be objected to, as the result is that 2/7 of the index is under the latter heading; but once the reader has realized this, he will have no trouble finding what he wants. He must not expect, however, to find the last word on Meredith's politics.

Jean O'Grady
University of Toronto

Richard J. Schiefen, Nicholas Wiseman and the Transformation of English Catholicism (Shepherdstown, West Va.: Patmos Press, 1984).

In the wake of several tantalizingly brief studies, Father Schiefen, our foremost authority on Nicholas Wiseman (1802-65), has brought forth his long-awaited full-length biography of the great Victorian Cardinal.

Born in Seville to a family of Irish Catholic merchants, Wiseman was educated at St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, in Durhamshire, and at the English College in Rome, a foundation of which he was later the head. Wiseman is indissolubly associated in popular recollection with the "Papal Aggression" occasioned by the formal restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England in 1850. The controversy that followed, combined with his foreign birth, and many years' residence at Rome, led many to view Wiseman essentially as a foreign outsider bent upon subverting the Anglican establishment.

Schiefen's book firmly sets Wiseman in the fabric of the English church tradition and that tradition's leading characteristic, controversy. Schiefen portrays Wiseman as a man with a mission, ordained both by a

sense of personal calling and by his peculiar talents and temperament to lead the somewhat timorous Catholics of England, so recently "emancipated," out of the shadows of oppression to take their place as part of a general European Catholic revival.

Wiseman's years of rapid advancement in Rome acquainted him with both the intrigues of Church politics and the painful necessity to act as a controversialist. Before the formal restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England, Church authority was exercised in that kingdom by a collection of bishops euphemistically known as "Vicars Apostolic." During the later years of his tenure at Rome, Wiseman served as agent for the English Vicars Apostolic. Despite his best efforts to maintain a neutral posture, he was drawn into the fractious disputes of his English clients, who themselves often appeared --in the eyes of the Papacy--to verge on the brink of schism with Rome. Wiseman elicited more than his share of criticism in the course of his often stormy relationship with the "V.V.A.," particularly with Bishop Baines of the Western District.

In England itself the Catholic leaders were divided by the jealous suspicions of the secular clergy on the one hand and the "regular" clergy (those in Church orders) on the other, as well as by sharp divisions between those who despaired of a Catholic revival in England, and the so-called Spencerites, who held exaggerated hopes for one. It was into this hotbed that the pugnacious Wiseman stepped in 1840, when he returned to England as a permanent resident to serve as V.A. of the Midland District and President of Oscott College, Birmingham.

Wiseman's sense of mission to lead a mass conversion of the English to the faith of their forefathers prompted him to devote much time and energy to the cultivation of the Oxford Tractarians. Indeed, he literally provided room and board for J.H.

Newman and many of his fellow converts during the difficult early days of their "new lives" in the Church of Rome. This passion to reclaim lost souls from the Anglican confession did little to endear Wiseman to those fellow Catholics who felt that the Catholic-born poor ought to have first claim upon the ministrations and funds of their own Church. It also caused Wiseman much personal pain when one of his reclaimed souls, Richard Waldo Sibthorp (1792-1879), younger brother of Colonel Charles De Laet Waldo Sibthorp (1783-1855), the parliamentary "against" who opposed, among many other things, Catholic emancipation, strayed back into the Anglican fold not once but twice!

At more than one point the author laments that the remainder of Wiseman's life, and therefore the bulk of this excellent biography, appears as an apparently endless series of religious and legal controversies in which Wiseman, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster after 1850, sought to defend what he perceived as the best interests of his Church and his co-religionists. If this book has a weakness, it is the author's readiness to accept Wiseman's own perceptions and its assumption that without

Wiseman the nineteenth-century English Catholics would have been denied so many great advances. Certainly, the argument is convincing that, but for Wiseman, things would probably have occurred quite differently.

Father Schiefen has made excellent and exhaustive use of archival sources in both England and Rome, including the main repositories of Wiseman papers at Ushaw College and in the Archdiocesan Archive at Westminster. He has also successfully penetrated the inner sanctum to employ the extensive Cardinal Manning Archive in the care of the Oblates of St. Charles at St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater. The book is written in a clear and vigorous style appropriate to its subject, while the design, typography, and binding exhibit the high standards scholars have come to expect from the Patmos Press. It is a worthy modern supplement to Wilfrid Ward's double-decker "tombstone" biography of Wiseman (1897), and by virtue of its superior scholarship it supersedes Brian Fothergill's (1963) as the standard modern biography.

Merrill Distad
University of Toronto

