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News and queries

Last year, reports our secretary-treasurer, Jean O'Grady (Mill Project, Toronto), we had 120 paid-up members, of whom 57 were English professors and 19 history professors. One is now an MPP. Sixty-two members were from the Toronto area, including 44 at U of T, 15 at York, and four at Ryerson; the rest of the membership, while drawn mostly from other universities and community colleges in Ontario, came from as far afield as the University of Puget Sound (Washington) and Northwestern College (Iowa). Men and women were equally divided at 56 each. (The sex of the remainder, though no doubt determinate, was not determinable from the membership forms, O'Grady observes.) There are 34 members who have been with us since 1970. Dickens was the greatest attraction of the Victorian period--17 people mentioned a special interest in his works--while George Eliot ran a close second at 15, followed by Tennyson (14), and Hardy (13). Perhaps surprisingly, only four people expressed a preference for Carlyle, who tied with Darwin. Other interests ranged from naval history to stained glass.

KRISTIN BRADY (Western) delivered a lecture entitled "Gender and History in George Eliot's Romola" to the Literature and History Conference of the Atlantic University Teachers of English at Mount Allison University, Sackville, N.B., on October 31 and to the Department of English, University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, on November 6.

MARY WILSON CARPENTER (Queen's) recently published a book on George Eliot and the Protestant tradition of "prophecy and history," George Eliot and the Landscape of Time: Narrative Form and Protestant Apocalyptic History (University of North Carolina). She is on leave this year on an American Council of Learned Societies fellowship to pursue a project on nineteenth-century British women writers and popular Biblical interpretation.

MICHAEL COLLIE and LESLIE HOWSAM (York) gave papers at the George Borrow conference held at Cambridge in July. Collie's Henry Maudsley: Victorian Psychiatrist is to be published by St. Paul's Bibliographies next spring.

ELEANOR COOK is now a vice-dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science at the University of Toronto, succeeding JANE MILLGATE.

BETH KALIKOFF of the University of Puget Sound presented a paper on Victorian sexual confessions at the Victorian Institute Conference at the University of Chapel Hill in October. She will also speak on the spiritual dimension of the fallen woman at this year's MLA convention in San Francisco.

W.J. KEITH (Toronto) attended a conference commemorating the centenary of the death of Richard Jefferies. This was held at Swindon, Wiltshire, and was organized by the Richard Jefferies Society, of which Keith is honorary president. He delivered a paper, "The Study of Jefferies: Present Achievements, Future Challenges," contributed an article, "Jefferies and Liddington Hill," to the commemoration booklet (Richard Jefferies: A Spirit Illumined), and also presented a poem-sequence concerning Jefferies, "Worshipper of Earth," which is to be published shortly.

BERNARD LIGHTMAN has left the University of Oregon to take up a position at York. His new book, The Origins of Agnosticism: Victorian Unbelief and the Limits of Knowledge (Johns Hopkins University Press), will be reviewed in the next issue of this Newsletter.

KATHARINE LOCHNAN (AGO) is to have her thesis on Whistler's etchings and the sources of his etching style published by Garland in a series of 15 distinguished dissertations from British Universities. An article by her, "The Thames from Its Source to the Sea," was published in vol. 19 of Studies in the History of Art (1987).

JULIET MCMASTER's new book, Dickens the Designer, was published this year by Macmillan of London. As general editor of the new series, Nineteenth-Century English Studies (UMI Press), she asks that anyone who has a book-length manuscript on a nineteenth-century topic or a student who has recently finished a good doctoral dissertation consider submitting it to the series. A letter of description of the manuscript sent to her at the English Department, University of Alberta, will start the ball rolling.

JANE MILLGATE (Toronto) recently published Scott's Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History (Edinburgh University Press). The book gives a detailed account of the genesis, preparation and publication of the magnum opus edition of the Waverley novels.

MICHAEL MILLGATE (Toronto) was appointed a University Professor in 1987. He is working on a project called "Final Intentions" about the final phase of the literary careers of a number of writers, including Hardy, Faulkner and Tennyson. In the past year he has published The Life of Thomas Hardy, vol. 6 of the collected Hardy letters, and New Essays on "Light in August," a collection of essays by himself and others.

MICHAEL MOORE (Wilfrid Laurier) gave a paper entitled "Newman's Influence: The Case of Gerard Manley Hopkins' Conversion" at the International Newman Conference at Notre Dame in June. He has also begun work as co-editor of a critical edition of Newman's Development of Christian Doctrine.

JOHN M. ROBSON, who was appointed a University Professor at the University of Toronto in 1986, has been awarded a Connaught senior fellowship for this year. His recent publications include the editing with his wife, ANN P. ROBSON, of John Stuart Mill's newspaper writings (vols. 22-25 of the Collected Works (U of T Press) and articles, in the Mill News Letter; in Australian and New Zealand Studies: Papers Presented at a Colloquium at the British Library, ed. Patricia McLaren Turner (London: British Library, 1985); in the University of Toronto Bulletin; in Scholarly Publishing; and in Innovators and Preachers: The Role of the Editor in Victorian England, ed. Joel H. Wiener (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985) (with Ann P. Robson). He continues to edit the Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, and the Mill News Letter (with Michael Laine and Bruce Kinzer), and has published reviews in the Journal of Modern History, The Library, Albion, and Nineteenth-Century Literature. His public lecturing recently has included talks (mostly on Victorian topics) to the Association of Graduate Schools in the Association of American Universities (Toronto), the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals (New York), the Symposium on Conservatism (Toronto), the English Department Colloquium (Toronto), the University of Lethbridge (the F.E.L. Priestley Lecture and two others), and the Department of History, University of Texas at Austin.

Conference notes

Our twentieth annual conference will be held at Glendon College of York University on Saturday, April 16, 1988. Judith Walkowitz (History, Rutgers University) will speak on melodrama and Victorian political culture, and Michael Booth (Theatre, University of Victoria) on melodrama and crime.

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Our nineteenth conference, held last April at Glendon, took as its theme feminist perspectives in history and literature.

EILEEN YEO, who teaches history at the University of Sussex and is writing a book on social science, class, and gender in Britain between 1789 and 1914, broadened the theme by providing a historical account of gender relations in the middle class as exemplified by speeches to the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science and records of philanthropists and social workers.

Yeo found evidence of formidable barriers to a sisterhood of middle-class and poor women. Though middle-class feminists involved in social science gave lip service to the ideal of bringing "the law of love" into society, they in fact practised a "highly disciplinarian and even punitive" mixture of love and motherhood toward the poor, diminishing them into naughty children in need of supervision and correction.

Social science was created after the French Revolution showed the need for the study of society to guide social action in revolutionary times. The NAPSS flourished between 1857 and 1886. Women were able to become members and to give papers, prompting the Saturday Review to applaud "a great idea to tire out the hitherto unflagging vigour of their tongues by encouraging a taste for stump-oratory among them." Women took to the emancipation of their tongues enthusiastically and created such other groups under the umbrella of the NAPSS as the Ladies' Sanitary Association and the Workhouse Visiting Society.

Helping the poor was considered an extension of the mothering role. Middle-class feminists argued the need for the study of "feminine" qualities--i.e., love, compassion, cooperation, and mutual aid--if social progress was to be effective. But far from converting class separation and antagonism into the loving hierarchy of the family, feminist social workers perpetuated the division, said Yeo.

In the social science association, women were supposed to be humanizing the actions of cruel and heartless masculine systems. Instead, she found, they created more cruel and heartless systems in the name of love. Thus the possibilities for sisterhood and a common culture for middle-class and poor women were undermined by the reality of their class differences.

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ELAINE SHOWALTER, professor of English at Princeton and author of The Female Malady, demonstrated how novelists after George Eliot's death in 1880 were thrust into a kind of sexually segregated "cultural anarchy." Both sexes seem to have felt a need to remake the English novel, women by emphasizing female subjectivity with the heroine as the centre of consciousness rather than the object of

male subjectivity, men by retreating into the ultimate club, a world of fantasy that excluded women.

What had George Eliot done to provoke such a reaction? She had taken over a man's job--the writers of good novels were, after all, supposed to be men and their readers women. ("The sun is masculine--he creates. The moon is feminine--she only reflects," says a female character in Walter Besant's 1882 anti-female fantasy, The Revolt of Man.) But Eliot had done it in a man's way, accepting cultural conventions about male and female roles, and with a man's name. Writing had in effect enabled her to become a man.

That may have solved her problem, but it did not help female writers who came after her. Some, like Beatrice Webb, declined to write fiction. Some drew their heroines from a female community that was clearly a source of inspiration and strength. (A new, improved Gwendolyn might have committed herself to the emancipation of women as Daniel Deronda makes a commitment to Zionism.)

Male writers had an even greater problem in coming to terms with the "phallic mother," who, Showalter said, represented the threat of castration and whose power therefore had to be exposed and repossessed. Among Eliot's detractors were Robert Louis Stevenson, W.B. Yeats, Gerard Manly Hopkins, and W.E. Henley.

In our own time, said Showalter, cultural anarchy is threatened once more by the dissolution of a number of boundaries by which we have tried to organize our cultural perceptions. Along with the blurring of distinctions between literary genres, there are collapsing borderlines between the sexes now that homosexuality and bisexuality are accepted as normal and the perspective of gay male historians and literary critics is taken into account.

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Transportation, transition and rites of passage will be the theme of the third annual meeting of the Interdisciplinary Nineteenth-Century Studies at Northeastern University in Boston, April 14-16. Information from Professor Stuart Peterfreund, Dept. of English, 406 HO, Northeastern University, 360 Huntington Ave., Boston, MA 02115, USA.

Other Victorians and Victorian others will be the theme of the 1988 conference of the Northeast Victorian Studies Association at the University of Scranton (Scranton, PA), April 15-17. Information from Michael Brooks, English Dept., West Chester University, West Chester, PA 19383, USA.

Victorian belief and unbelief will be the theme of the twelfth annual meeting of the Midwest Victorian Studies Association, to be held at Indiana University (Bloomington) on April 29-30, 1988. Information from Kristine Ottesen Garrigan, MSVA Executive Secretary, Dept. of English, DePaul University, 802 West Belden, Chicago, IL 60614, USA.

A conference on George Borrow will be held in Wales in 1989. The organizer, Michael Collie (York), would be glad to hear from anyone interested in attending or proposing a paper.

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In an account of last year's MLA conference in New York, the Victorian Studies Bulletin, published by the City University of New York, reports on papers on, among other things, incest and pedophilia in the novels of Dickens, Mary Shelley, and Emily Brontë. Pip, we are told, was presented as "an orphan who mated with his warped desire" while Heathcliff's expulsion was shown to be the result of a threat to "the incestuous structure of the family."

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Reporting on the Victorian Studies Association of Western Canada conference at Vancouver on October 9-10, TREVOR LLOYD (Toronto) writes:

The Victorian Studies Association of Western Canada gets around; this year it met in Vancouver, and next year's meeting may be in Regina, or Calgary, or Lethbridge. The conference contains rather more to digest than the Ontario association's (with less other entertainment to help the faint-hearted). Because the association is spread across three time-zones this is its only meeting of the year, but it brings out a substantial newsletter twice a year and is clearly flourishing. Papers came from all four western provinces. British Columbians probably predominated among the 40 or 50 people at the conference, but it was much more than a simple gathering for Vancouverites.

Richard Price (History, Maryland) opened the conference with an argument that, while there is a fairly deep discontinuity around 1880, the idea of a Victorian age suffers from having no beginning: in religion evangelicalism ran from 1740 to the 1860s or later, the deference-commanding landed upper class dominated politics from the early 18th century until 1906, and even the notion of an industrial revolution is being criticised as historians realise how little of the economy was devoted to steam-powered factories and how much of its fairly slow economic progress came from the non-industrailised sectors.

The next session, devoted to two papers on Tancred, was one of the few points at which the program felt too crowded, for there was not really enough time to compare the two papers. Nils Claussen (English, Regina) saw Tancred as an admission that Young England had been too idealistic and too little aware of the ways in which politicians (represented in the novel by Lord Henry Sidney) advanced the cause of the people. Robert O'Kell (English, Manitoba) dwelt on the shock to Disraeli's reputation and self-confidence caused by his impulsive denial that he had ever asked Peel for office. The novel is about the sharp division, to be found in many politicians, between Tancred, with too many ideals, and Fakredeen, who slips from scheme to scheme through lack of any guiding principles.

The early afternoon session, on knights of the Round Table, offered less chance of interchange of argument. Douglas Thorpe (English, Saskatoon) used Sir Galahad, the knight of Christian perfection, to trace the idea of romance, ending with the hero of introspective romance retreating into his own soul to find a quest-object there. Muriel Whitaker (English, Alberta) showed Sir Lancelot, the exemplar of secular chivalry, turning into a paragon of muscular Christianity as it became impossible in Victorian portrayal to refer at all openly to his adultery with Guinivere. And a full day was then rounded off by William Fredeman (English, UBC), who presented with explanatory comments a show of cartoons from Punch of Queen Victoria, from the first "Pencilling" (the Queen and Peel) to her death.

On Saturday Patricia Anderson (History, UBC) discussed the inexpensive illustrated magazines of the 1830s and 1840s (concentrating on The Penny Magazine, which was clearly her favourite), with very large readerships, which must have been at least partly working-class. The Victorian seriousness of the magazines was rapidly replaced by Peter Bailey's (History, Manitoba) sketch of the Victorian barmaid. Never a man to use one meaning where a double meaning would do, Professor Bailey might pos-

sibly have completed his paper if the audience's laughter had let him. But the barmaid emerged from all this as a woman earning her living in a new way when women seemed to be restricted to a small and traditional range of jobs. Richard Dellamore's (English, Trent) paper, a variation on the theme that late-Victorian Britain tried to confront changing sexual standards by steps leading up to the trial of Oscar Wilde in 1895, indicated a problem about interdisciplinary work. Historians might think that discussing sexual scandals between 1885 and 1895 without paying attention to the Dilke or Parnell cases and the position of prostitutes in the same period without mentioning the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act was a little eccentric; and no doubt historians are considered equally eccentric when they enter realms concerned with literature. Intellectual rigour was restored by Norman Feltes (English, York), who outlined the critical theory that, while realism is the natural literary mode for a bourgeois culture, it is always bound to leave something out; and he illustrated this by analyzing the economic position of women in Dombey and Son. Some participants asked whether one example, however well worked out, could validate a theory, but Professor Feltes clearly has an intriguing field for further research.

So after ten papers of a generally high standard, a Thanksgiving weekend of perfect weather, and a few glances at the security arrangements for the Commonwealth conference about to be held 300 yards away, the conference broke up a happier and a wiser group.

Riddle-de-dee

OLD CAMERON'S Nursery Rhyme Riddles
No. 2

James Cameron

The king, the virgin's prey,
The difference o'er the bauble:
The king subdued the virgin's prey,
The prey can scarcely hobble.

So give them starch and fibre
And lace it well with fruit
And let them seek the suburbs
With membranes stretched to suit.

Answer on p. 34

Pursuing literary manuscripts: The case of the missing packet

Peter Allen
University College

All research thrives on obsession, but a special kind of obsession is required for the pursuit of literary manuscripts. Take the case of Eric W. Nye, Assistant Professor of English at the University of Wyoming. Professor Nye has ransacked the globe in the course of preparing an edition of John Sterling's letters. When he first wrote me in 1984 he had found over 400 of them and wondered whether I could help him find more, and especially the letters to J.W. Blakesley that I had quoted in my book on the Cambridge Apostles. From a later telephone call I learned that in the course of his work Professor Nye had turned up several other kinds of interesting manucripts, to such an extent that he was a little perplexed as to how to deal with all his findings.

Several of the problems accompanying this type of research are evident here. First, there is no single guide or even set of guides to the location of literary manuscripts (although a location register for British manuscripts, including letters, is currently being planned). I have heard of a graduate student who wrote over 4,000 letters of inquiry for a thesis consisting of edited correspondence. Secondly, a good deal of this material is in private hands or in the process of passing from one set of private hands to another. In the case of Sterling's letters to Blakesley, the owners had died and the collection had been auctioned off, with results that were quite unknown to me, though I believed that some part of it had ended up at Trinity College, Cambridge. Thirdly, properly obsessive researchers of literary manuscripts (and there is no other kind) are always turning up something other than they were looking for and wondering what to do with it. When you find an important unpublished letter by a major author outside your field of inquiry, do you digress from your main work in order to acquire enough expertise to publish your finding yourself, or do you notify the person who is working (or who claims to be working) on the topic and hope to be thanked (if at all) in a footnote rather than in a long alphabetical list of acknowledgements? The problem of being acknowledged or getting any other kind of credit for much of your work might be regarded as a fourth problem with this kind of research, and there is a fifth--the fact that the same discovery may be made by anyone else and used before you can get to it, for it is singularly hard to stake a personal claim to such findings.

All these problems are especially well exemplified by the Case of the Missing Packet, as I have in my Watsonish way decided to call the sequence of events that I now lay before a public rather smaller than that commanded by Conan Doyle. In a sabbatical year Professor Nye's pursuit of Sterling MSS took him to the Dunedin Public Library in New Zealand, where he discovered in the Reed Collection there an extraordinarily rich group of letters, mainly unpublished, having to do with the Cambridge Apostles in Tennyson's time. It seems that the Reed collection is not completely catalogued, so that really only Professor Nye knew (and

after much effort) whether material having to do with the Apostles was scattered through the length and breadth of the collection. A rare find and one presenting special difficulties, for besides some letters by Sterling that would help his main project there was much else that either he or someone else might want to use.

A very sensible solution in this case might have been to keep the find to oneself, at least for the time being. If this was Professor Nye's intention (for which I should not the least have blamed him) he made a serious error in giving an interview about his work to a reporter for a local paper, the Otago Daily Times, who in cheerfully antipodean fashion told his readers that "a tall, dark American" was having "a good old fossick around" at the Public Library and had discovered "a swag of early 19th century letters" having to do with the Apostles. This news story appeared on June 4, 1985: a photocopy of it reached the biographer Ann Thwaite, who lives in Britain but was born in New Zealand, and she sent it on to my colleague at Toronto Professor Michael Millgate. Professor Millgate wrote Paul Sorrell, curator of the Reed Collection, to ask whether the library had any letters by Hardy, Tennyson or James (it did--by James). He then passed the photocopy on to me, and in late 1985 I too wrote Mr Sorrell. Sorrell replied that the material having to do with the Apostles was widely scattered through the collection and that photocopying or microfilming of it would have to wait until Professor Nye had prepared a detailed inventory of his findings. But he sent me a photocopy of one item, a list in John Mitchell Kemble's hand of 113 letters in an album compiled by him. These are nearly all letters to Kemble from such Apostolic friends as Sterling, F.D. Maurice, W.B. Donne and R.C. Trench, and they date from June 1827 to October 1831, during which time Kemble, Trench, Sterling and others in the group were involved in an ill-fated attempt to stage a liberal insurrection in Spain.

The provenance of this material is unusual. The album of letters was plainly part of Kemble's papers, which on his death in 1857 seem to have passed into the hands of his closest friend among the Apostles, W.B. Donne, who also became the guardian of Kemble's daughter Mildred. Mildred married Donne's son Charles, and they inherited the archive of family papers, which they left to their daughter Catharine (Mrs H. Barham Johnson), who in turn left it to her daughter Miss Mary Barham Johnson, the present owner. This archive is an extraordinary one. Miss Johnson's forbears include not only Kemble and Donne but the Rev. John Johnson ("Johnny of Norfolk"), the friend and cousin of the poet William Cowper. Her collection of family letters extends to the mid-eighteenth century, and among the family portraits she owns is a miniature of Johnny Johnson executed by William Blake, the only known portrait by Blake taken from a living subject. In 1905 her mother published a selection from this archive entitled William Bodham Donne and His Friends. Miss Johnson has long planned a comparable book and now after many years' work has completed for private printing a three-volume edition of letters and journals tracing the family's history in the period 1766-1917. With great generosity she has permitted many researchers to use material from the archive for their own purposes. I first visited her in 1969 and at that time made a list of the correspondence among the Apostles that she owned. These were of course mainly letters to Donne and Kemble, beginning in 1827. The letters in Kemble's album at Dunedin are just what one would expect to find in this archive, but when I compared Kemble's list to

my own I could not find them there. And yet excerpts from several of the letters in New Zealand can be found in the biography of R.C. Trench published in 1888, and the author of this work thanks Miss Johnson's great-uncle Mowbray Donne for having supplied material, so that these letters do seem to have been part of the family archive at one time.

On my first visit to Miss Johnson she told me that her mother had lost a packet of family letters some time in the 1920s or 30s. The packet had been left behind on a tramcar and had never been recovered, although quotations from the letters in it had occasionally appeared in American books since that time. Had the contents of the packet found their way to New Zealand? I passed this conjecture on to Professor Nye, who did not seem especially pleased to hear it. Perhaps he was regretting that interview with the Otago Daily Times. I also passed it on to Miss Johnson. She sent the news on to Dr Simon Keynes, a Fellow of Trinity College, who in turn wote me and also wrote Sorrell.

Keynes is not just a fellow of Trinity but its deputy librarian and has a keen interest in the history of the college and the welfare of its manuscript collections. He is also a lecturer in Anglo-Saxon at the University. J.M. Kemble was both a graduate of Trinity and a major figure in the development of Anglo-Saxon studies. A bust of Kemble by Woolner (not an especially good one, since it was developed from a photograph of Kemble on his deathbed) has for some years languished in the cellars of Trinity, but it now stands in Keynes' rooms in Great Court, where it has been known to have been outfitted with a hat and other decorations on the occasion of parties held by Keynes for his students in Anglo-Saxon. Keynes has built up a considerable collection of Kemble material, not (he says) with a view to publication so much as to provide Trinity with some suitable record of this notable son of the college. This project is very favourably viewed by Miss Johnson, as is Keynes himself, and not only because of his enthusiasm for her great-grandfather Kemble. Dr Keynes is himself the grandson of Sir Geoffrey Keynes, the art historian, who years ago made a memorable visit to Miss Johnson, for he was then able to confirm that her miniature of Johnny Johnson was indeed by William Blake. Nor is this Keynes' only personal link to other actors in the curious affair that I am relating, for Paul Sorrell is well known to him as a former research student in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic at Cambridge.

Keynes is especially interested in certain notebooks of Kemble's sold by Miss Johnson's mother in 1934. Miss Johnson tells me that her mother had hoped to raise a considerable sum from this sale, but she was not successful. The first batch of eighteen notebooks sold for a mere £5.10s and the second batch for £2.15s. The first batch was bought by a dealer who (in the truly entrepreneurial spirit so admired these days by Mrs Thatcher) offered them to Trinity College for £105. The college, however, did not rise to the bait, and the subsequent fate of the two batches of notebooks is not known.

This information I take from a catalogue prepared by Keynes for an exhibition of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts at Trinity in 1985, held in connection with the conference at Cambridge that year of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists. It happens that the Anglo-Saxonists brought their conference to Toronto this past April, and Keynes attended to give a paper, not on J.M. Kemble but on Ethelred the Unready, and so I had an opportunity to meet him. Not only that, but I went to England about a month later and was able to visit both Miss John-

son and Keynes. Miss Johnson is now 91 and has moved from her former home in Norwich to live with a relative in Sheringham. There she has much less space than she used to have, and the arrangement and consulting of her collection give her much more difficulty. But she has continued to work on the last stages of her edition of family letters, and she has plans for an article on Woodforde's Diary of a Country Parson when that is done.

At Simon Keynes' rooms at Trinity I saw Woolner's bust of Kemble (still decorated with a hat) and Sorrell's reply to Keynes. The reply (a very friendly one) was accompanied by a few photocopied letters of Kemble's, but the fact remains that a microfilm of the whole body of material cannot be prepared until Professor Nye has completed his inventory and that may not be for some time.

And there for the moment the matter rests. Miss Johnson does not think, nor do I, that the letters at Dunedin will tell us anything very extraordinary or new about the Apostles of Tennyson's time, but still she would like to see them (and so would I). Not with any thought of publication but just out of curiosity. Keynes has no plans for publication either, but he would like to see this material too and to add a microfilm of it to his collection of Kembliana. We all wish the very best for Professor Nye's research and would help it along in any way we could. Especially the completion of his inventory. As for Professor Nye, he has not answered the last two letters I sent him, and one can perfectly see his point of view.

But are the papers in New Zealand from the missing packet and, whether they are or not, how did they get there? The Reed Collection in the Dunedin Public Library is named after Sir Alfred Reed (1875-1975), who emigrated in early life from Britain to New Zealand, where he was successively a gum digger, a typewriter salesman, a bookseller and a publisher. Sir Alfred was not only extraordinarily long-lived but extraordinarily vigorous: he was a notable walker and continued to climb the mountains of New Zealand until his later eighties. He was also a philanthropist and in 1938 set up a trust "for the promotion of the Christian religion, of education, of literature, and for philanthropic and other benefits for the people of New Zealand" (I quote from the Encyclopedia of New Zealand). And he was a collector of rare books and literary manuscripts: the Reed Collection is one of the accomplishments of the Reed Trust. According to the report for the Otago Daily Times the material that so excited Professor Nye was "picked up in London in the 1930s" by an agent of Sir Alfred's. Miss Johnson does not believe that this material came from the missing packet, for she can find no record that it was ever in her mother's possession. In her last letter to me she says that her mother liked to exaggerate for the sake of a good story, and she offers several conjectures of her own as to where the material might have come from, none of which I find entirely convincing. The truth is hard, perhaps impossible, to find here, but in view of Sir Alfred's professed concern for Christian values I think we should at least discount the suggestion (made to me by a colleague) that it was Sir Alfred himself who was on the tramcar that day with Miss Johnson's mother.

George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* and Frith's *The Salon d'Or, Homburg*

Gisela Argyle
York University

According to Gordon S. Haight, the seed of Daniel Deronda (1876) was planted in September 1872 when George Eliot saw Miss Leigh gambling at Bad Homburg.[1] A week after her arrival there George Eliot wrote the "Finale" of Middlemarch, in which among other conclusions she sealed Lydgate's philistine failure at "self-culture": he took a seasonal position as fashionable surgeon in a Continental bathing-place. Thus, Lydgate might have been one likely to admire Gwendolen Harleth, in Daniel Deronda, George Eliot's next novel, as she gambled at the casino of Leubronn, so superior in luxury and vice to the billiard-room at the Green Dragon in Middlemarch, where Lydgate had tried his luck, "hardly distinguishable from a Philistine."[2] Like Lydgate, Gwendolen is distracted by her philistine preferences from striving for the self-culture she learns to admire.

George Eliot wrote to Blackwood of her visit to the casino at Bad Homburg, just before its closure until 1949:

> The Kursaal is to me a Hell not only for the gambling, but for the light and heat of the gas, and we have seen enough of its monotonous hideousness. There is very little dramatic "Stoff" to be picked up by watching or listening. The saddest thing to be witnessed is the play of Miss Leigh, Byron's grand niece, who is only 26 years old, and is completely in the grasp of this mean, money-raking demon. It made me cry to see her young fresh face among the hags and brutally stupid men around her.[3]

It is possible that William Powell Frith's painting The Salon d'Or, Homburg (1871)[4] influenced George Eliot's perception of Miss Leigh and her own depiction of Gwendolen's gambling in the first chapter of Daniel Deronda. (The possibility is not raised in Hugh Witemeyer's book on George Eliot and the Visual Arts.[5]) The whole width of the painting is occupied by one of the two long gambling tables

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[1]Gordon S. Haight, George Eliot (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 457.

[2]George Eliot, Middlemarch, ed. W.J. Harvey (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), 730; hereafter noted in the text.

[3]The George Eliot Letters, ed. Gordon S. Haight, 7 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954-55), V, 314; hereafter noted as Letters in the text.

[4]Rhode Island School of Design. For a reproduction see Christopher Wood, Victorian Panorama (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), 44. This book also contains reproductions of all other paintings by Frith referred to in this paper. An oil sketch of the painting is owned by the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; for a colour reproduction see Graham Reynolds, Victorian Painting (London: Studio Vista, 1966), 49.

[5]Hugh Witemeyer, George Eliot and the Visual Arts (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

The Salon d'Or, Homburg

which are, in George Eliot's words, surrounded by "two serried crowds of human beings, all save one having their attention bent on the tables."[6] Frith artfully contrives through their gesture and body movement that we "read" the quality of involvement even of those gamblers who are placed on the viewer's side of the table and consequently have their backs to him. In both the painter's and the novelist's scenes the crowd belongs, "in great part, to the highest fashion" (Deronda, 35). George Eliot, though, stresses the variety of national and social types, commenting, "here certainly was a striking admission of human equality." This realistic point might also be intended as a first hint at the novel's Jewish theme. Both artists introduce great variety in looks and age, even to the presence in both works of an old woman "with eye-glasses pinching her nose" (Deronda, 37).

The most notable resemblance between the scenes of painter and novelist is that one figure is not absorbed in the game. At centre front of Frith's painting a striking young woman stands with her back to the scene and gazes out at the viewer. Her face is pale, her eyes dark, the expression inscrutable or blank. Immediately behind her a lady has half risen from her chair and is bending over the table to place her bet. In George Eliot's scene,

> the one exception was a melancholy little boy, ... He alone had his

[6] George Eliot, Daniel Deronda, ed. Barbara Hardy (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), 35-6; hereafter noted as Deronda in the text.

> face turned towards the door-way, and fixing on it the blank gaze of a bedizened child stationed as a masquerading advertisement on the platform of an itinerant show, stood close behind a lady deeply engaged at the roulette-table.
>
> (Deronda, 36)

Besides the similarity in the position of these two figures, the emotional appeal of Frith's isolated woman resembles that of Gwendolen, the focus of Daniel Deronda's attention. Like Frith's woman, Gwendolen "showed the full height of a graceful figure, with a face which might possibly be looked at without admiration, but could hardly be passed with indifference," and Deronda's scrutiny "did not bring the blood to her cheeks, but sent it away from her lips" (Deronda, 38).

The conception of the small boy in George Eliot's scene may also owe something to the similarly placed child looking out at centre front in each of the three most famous of Frith's large modern-life pictures, Ramsgate Sands (1854), Derby Day (1858), and The Railway Station (1869). Particularly close to George Eliot's "child stationed as a masquerading advertisement on the platform of an itinerant show" is the small acrobat at centre front of Derby Day, Frith's most popular painting.

William Powell Frith, R.A. (1819-1909), made his fame and fortune, and created a vogue in the 1850s and 60s, with his panoramic paintings of modern life. In addition to his preference for narrative painting, he professed a moral purpose in portraying contemporary life, and conceived three moralistic series à la Hogarth, The Road to Ruin, The Race for Wealth, and The Times of Day. While belonging to the group of large modern-life canvases, The Salon d'Or, Homburg is thematically close to The Road to Ruin series (1878), of which Frith wrote, "my idea being a kind of gambler's progress, avoiding the satirical vein of Hogarth, for which I knew myself to be unfitted."[7] The series came to include scenes of a college card party and betting at Ascot. In his Autobiography Frith records the origin, execution and success of The Salon d'Or in connection with his search for "newer subjects--all depends on subject." He also describes his conception of the series that became The Road to Ruin.

Like five others of Frith's large modern-life paintings, The Salon d'Or was so popular at the Exhibition that it had to be protected by a rail. Again like other Frith paintings, it became more widely known through engravings, for which there was a great popular demand.

There is only one mention of Frith in George Eliot's writings, and that a mistake.[8] She wrote in her journal in 1868 of a walk she took at Newark: "We went for a stroll along the banks of the Trent, seeing some charming quiet pictures--Frith landscapes" (Letters, IV, 473). Frith, who concentrated on portrait and genre painting, recorded how his "own ignorance of landscape" on several occasions caused him to accept the help of friends in touching up the background of a picture (Autobiography, 83-4). But even if a factual error, George Eliot's allusion to Frith proves the currency of his name as well as exemplifying her habit of describing a scene by reference to a painting.

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[7]William Powell Frith, My Autobiography (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1889), 343; hereafter noted in the text.

[8]A mistake Witemeyer, who uses the quotation, does not spot. There are, of course, other remarkable omissions in her personal writings, for instance of Thomas Hardy.

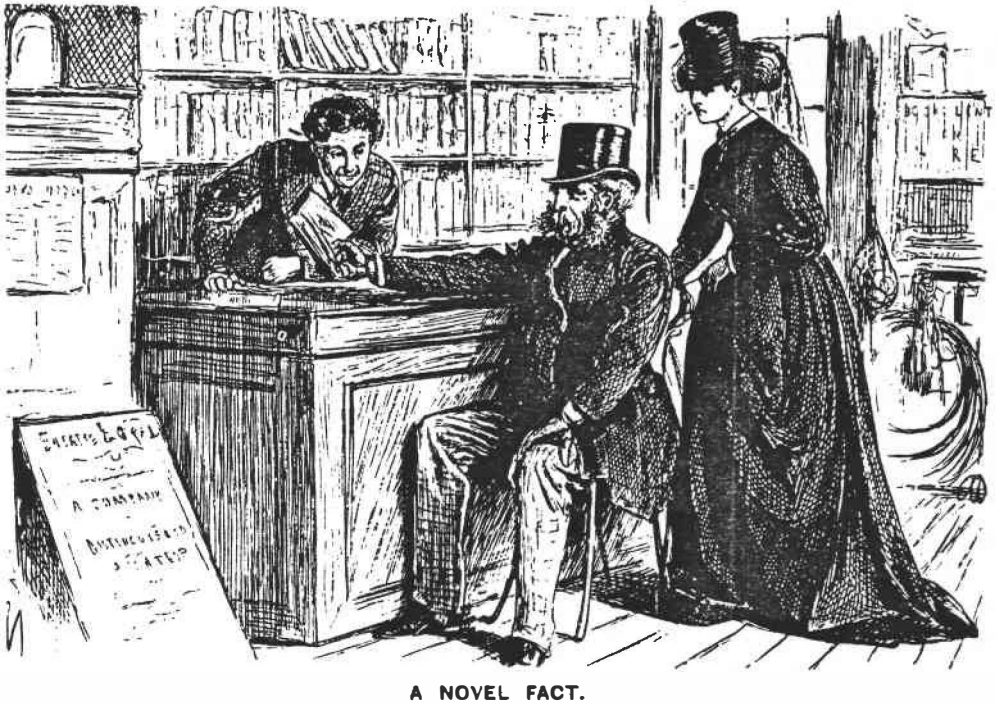
George Eliot demanded of her fiction complete truthfulness. It was frequently with a reference to sentimental genre painting that she argued the need for truthful representation of life in art. An example is Dorothea's distaste for pastoral idylls:

> I used to come from the village with all that dirt and coarse ugliness like a pain within me, and the simpering pictures in the drawing-room seemed to me like a wicked attempt to find delight in what is false, while we don't mind how hard the truth is for the neighbours outside our walls.
>
> (Middlemarch, 424)

The author goes on to endorse Dorothea's sentiment by introducing the description of one of Mr Brooke's neglected farms with the comment, "It is true that an observer, under that softening influence of the fine arts which makes other people's hardships picturesque, might have been delighted with this homestead called Freeman's End" (Middlemarch, 429).

It is arguable that George Eliot decided against an explicit allusion to Frith's The Salon d'Or, Homburg because she did not wish its "softening influence" to affect the reader's response to her own scene. Or her silence may be due to her relying on the contemporary reader's familiarity with the popular painting, which would add to his interest in this new rendering of the scene. Or perhaps she wished to educate the Friths of her world and ours by opening their sensibilities to what their eyes observed and their minds obscured.

A *Punch* caricature of a typical Victorian prejudice that a female novelist would inevitably write of matters too improper for other women to read.



A NOVEL FACT.

Old-fashioned Party (with old-fashioned prejudices). "Ah! very Clever, I dare say. But I see it's Written by a Lady, and I want a Book that my *Daughters* may read. Give me Something else!"

Review essay

Women from Birth to Death: The Female Life Cycle in Britain, 1830-1914. Ed. Pat Jalland and John Hooper. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1986.
Elaine Showalter. The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980. Markham, Ont.: Penguin, 1987.

Two historical studies specifically about women and medicine in the Victorian and Edwardian Ages have recently appeared that make fascinating companion pieces. Literary scholar Elaine Showalter turns from literature to the analysis and criticism of male power in psychiatry in The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980, announcing the book as a "feminist history of psychiatry and a cultural history of madness as a female malady" (5). Historians Patricia Jalland and John Hooper,in Women from Birth to Death: The Female Life Cycle in Britain, 1830-1914, edit rich and unfamiliar source material from nineteenth-century medical texts and private letters showing the biological views of women's lives and illnesses dominant during that 84-year period. The latter book demonstrates "that these models of female identity were inventions of a particular cultural time and place, which masqueraded as eternal truths legitimated by the findings of the biological, medical and other sciences" (3). Both books give the cultural framework within which ideas about femininity and female illness (mental in The Female Malady and physical in Women from Birth to Death) were constructed; both contend that madness is a label often applied to forms of female protest and rebellion.

Showalter's impressive book covers two centuries and argues that in both, notions of gender have influenced the definition and treatment of mental disorder. Psychiatry persists, even in the twentieth century, in its belief that women because of "their essential nature" are "more vulnerable to insanity than men" (7). Although more restricted than Showalter's book in chronology and scope, Women from Birth to Death propels the reader beyond 1914 to revise some of the Victorian and Edwardian models which persist into the present as "eternal truths."

The Female Malady opens with a reference to the great feminine theorist Mary Wollstonecraft, whose novel Maria, or The Wrongs of Woman describes "the misery and oppression, peculiar to women, that arise out of the partial laws and customs of society" (1). Looking at the customs, institutions and confinement of women, Showalter divides British psychiatric history into three major periods: psychiatric Victorianism (1830-70), psychiatric Darwinism (1870-1920), and psychiatric modernism (1920-80). She argues convincingly for continuities between the psychiatric views--all detrimental to women--that these periods produced. Through the history of psychiatry, even those like Conolly, Freud, Charcot, and Laing, who seek to free women from "misogynistic medical practice," speak for women rather than letting women speak for themselves. Thus "these dramas of liberation ultimately become dramas of confinement once again" (250). In each period, Showalter focusses on one or two major male figures, analyzing their positions in the history of psychiatry. John Conolly, a paternalistic reformer in the early Victorian period who substituted domestication for mechanical restraint, Hen-

ry Maudsley, a Darwinian psychiatrist at the end of the century, W.H.R. Rivers, who worked with male hysterics during World War I, and R.D. Laing, founder of anti-psychiatry of the 1960s, transformed the thinking of their time, but all continued to see the role of the psychiatrist in the terms of the age's cultural ideals. For Showalter, facts like the following alert us to the dangers of cultural conditioning. By the 1850s, the percentage of women classifed as insane had increased, so that there were more women than men in the public institutions. By 1859, private asylums with female proprietors were rapidly disappearing, the medical profession believing that only male professionals could treat the insane. When nineteenth-century hysteria gave way to schizophrenia in the twentieth century, things did not change much. In the cases of insulin shock, electroshock and lobotomy, the treatments for schizophrenia from 1930 to 1960, women predominate "statistically and representationally as patients" (205). Even today, Showalter contends, women outnumber men as ECT patients by as much as three to one (207).

As quiet, almost silent, editors, Jalland and Hooper offer in Women from Birth to Death non-fictional documents about the private lives of women to complement recent social histories about the public lives of women. There is a radical difference between their editorial enterprise and Showalter's mammoth analytical and critical study. Unlike Showalter, they make no assumptions about the relationship between the views expressed in the quoted documents and social practices. Still, the hard evidence that they supply helps to ground historically and to strengthen the claims of Showalter, which suffer, at times, from too much assumption and generalization. Jalland and Hooper organize their documents in five parts, according to a "life cycle framework," each part with its own introduction and sub-headings: "The Female Life Cycle, 1830-1914"; "Menstruation and Adolescence"; "Marriage and Maternity"; "Female Sexuality"; "From Menopause to Death." Aside from the brevity and somewhat fragmented nature of the last section, the organizational strategies work well. The introductory material in each section is invaluable since there is no editorializing or analyzing voice in the rest--document simply follows document, usually chronologically so that the reader can discern shifts in cultural views. Jalland's and Hooper's own discourse accounts for only 35 pages of a 337-page text. This reader did wish for somewhat more interpretation and analysis, some comparison of nineteenth-century practice with present-day attitudes and practices, and even some biographical material on the writers of the documents and letters.

Nevertheless, what Showalter accomplishes through direct analysis and argument Jalland and Hooper accomplish through editorial organization and orchestration. The shifting tonalities of their book tell woman's story in another way and lead us by implication to consider modern attempts at defining female identity and sexuality. The laughable misrepresentations of femininity and female sexuality early in the book (including the debate over the perils of cycling for women) take on ominous tones when we realize that these misrepresentations are merely part of a larger cultural system which imprisons, exploits, and destroys the women whom it misrepresents. Conformity to conventional representation bears horrifying costs for women: death from tight lacing, death from anorexia nervosa, the increasing risk of death with each childbirth while birth control and anaesthetic debates rage inconclusively among male medical practitioners. Part 5, "From Menopause to Death," records voices

speaking about the death of women from puerperal fever, from miscarriage, from a twelfth labour, from suicide, and finally from old age. The first Earl of Cranbrook records the death of his wife, who dies conforming even in death to the stereotypes--the "dear mother" of his children leaving a "blessed memory of unselfishness."

Similar in polemic, theme and tone as they oppose patriarchy and sexism and the growth of male professionalism at the expense of women's public lives, the studies trace the reservation of the female body for the male gynecologist and of the female mind for the male psychiatrist. Their declarations ring true to the kind of feminism defined by Linda Gordon in 1979 as "an analysis of women's subordination for the purpose of figuring out how to change it." Condemning all forms of "ideological control, " particularly "the biological devaluation of women's capacity outside the domestic world of reproduction" (4), Jalland and Hopper declare that "the analysis of female health, or more often ill-health, was central to the economic and social devaluation of women in Victorian and Edwardian Britain" (6). Showalter declares the madhouse to be the "symbol of all the man-made institutions, from marriage to the law, that confine women and drive them mad" (1). As gender studies, the books share a stance and treat many of the same cultural myths in order to problematize and defamiliarize them: familial roles for women; women's biological destiny based on menstruation, child-bearing and menopause; female passivity, irrationality and inferiority; hysteria, etc.

Showalter looks at the representation of the mad woman in legal, medical and literary texts, and in painting, photography, and film. Many of her examinations are devoted to what she calls elsewhere "what men have thought women should be" (TLS, 22 May 1987, 537). Her section on asylum photography--the male attempt at objective imaging of mad women, often as Ophelias or queens--is especially harrowing. Speaking for these voiceless women from the past, she suggests that these photographic representations were neither objective nor scientific "since women were given props that symbolized [often pathetically] the hope of making them conform to Victorian ideals of feminine decorum" (87). While Jalland and Hooper restrict themselves for the most part to the male representation of women in medical texts, women do speak in their book through some female doctors and a few letters of wives, mothers and sisters, all nonfictional. Showalter also turns to her cultural sources in order, as she puts it, "to supply the gender analysis and feminist critique missing from the history of madness" (6) in such studies as Michel Foucault's Madness and Civilization. Her sources include inmate narratives, diaries, women's memoirs and particularly novels.

Let us turn now to specific examples in which the books provide for us mutual commentaries. Showalter's analysis of hysteria in the first two-thirds of her book gains in the context of a close reading of the specific documents on hysteria contained in Women from Birth to Death. Through extracts like the following from Dr. Robert Barnes' lectures on the convulsive diseases of women, Jalland and Hooper make it clear that "the female mind was perceived as a function of the womb" and that "women were considered feeble outside of their uterine activities" (6): "The great convulsive disorders of women are almost strictly limited to the period of activity of the reproductive organs" (14). Barnes then compares the convulsive adolescent during puberty to the excitable female frog in spring at the beginning of the mating season! Many medical prac-

titioners in the documents link hysteria to menstruation and advocate that girls avoid the "dens" of hysteria: the boarding school, the saloon, the theatre, the opera. They also suggest that reading novels and playing the piano can be detrimental to a young woman's physical and mental heath. But the non-fictional documents gain, too, from Showalter's specific analysis of particular fictional female discourses. I found especially intriguing her critique of Florence Nightingale's novel Cassandra (still not available in a complete and accurate text), which was written out of Nightingale's own depression and almost suicidal despair when she still lived with her family. For Nightingale, Showalter contends, the confinement of women in the family was not unlike confinement in the asylum and could lead to debility and madness. Cassandra scathingly criticizes the stresses and conventions that drove many Victorian middle-class women to silence, illness, and even madness and death. These Cassandras could only "rave but not act" (65).

Both books argue that the "pelvic view of women's health" led to the management of woman's mind by regulating her body. Both treat the clitoridectomy, female mutilation at its most graphic, as the most extreme version of masculine moral management. Showalter describes briefly the seven-year practice (1859-66) of sexual surgery by Dr. Isaac Baker Brown, who operated to cure hysteria, epilepsy, masturbation, or the desire for a divorce! She refers cryptically to the clitoridectomy as "the surgical enforcement of an ideology that restricts female sexuality to reproduction" (77). Jalland and Hooper provide a much more detailed version of the Baker Brown story, including the debates in the Obstetrical Society of London and the journals that finally led to his expulsion from the society, not so much because his fellow practitioners disagreed with the procedure, but because he coerced patients as young as ten ("the earliest date of puberty," in Brown's words from a document on hysteria) to undergo the operation. Both Showalter and Jalland and Hooper quote from Dr. Seymour Haden's resolution to expel Mr. Baker Brown at the Obstetrical Society Meeting on April 3, 1867. Note the subtext in this male discourse:

> We have constituted ourselves the true guardians of [women's] interests ... the custodians of their honour. We are, in fact, the stronger, and they the weaker. They are obliged to believe all that we tell them, they are not in a position to dispute anything that we say to them.

Dr. E.J. Tilt, one of the original fellows of the Obstetrical Society, appears briefly only twice in The Female Malady, but in his numerous appearances in Women from Birth to Death he emerges as one of the real enemies of active thinking women: "Puberty, which gives man the knowledge of greater power, gives to woman the conviction of her dependence [because of the onset of infirmity]" (78). Conversely, Henry Maudsley, who appears once in Jalland and Hooper, claiming in 1874 that women cannot compete with men intellectually or professionally since they are ill one week in four, comes to life in Showalter's chapter four, which is devoted to his "psychiatric Darwinism."

Jalland and Hooper also introduce us to feminists from the turn of the century like Cicely Hamilton, Elizabeth Chesser, and Dr. Mary Scharlieb, who break the long female silences of the nineteenth century and condemn the conventions which led the average woman to a "vegetable existence," to anaemia, hysteria and nervous ailments (86). Their voices, speaking for themselves directly, we can add

to Showalter's women's discourses in The Female Malady. (I am surprised, in fact, that she did not quote from Hamilton, Chesser, or Scharlieb in her book.)

According to Adrienne Rich,

> Re-vision--the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction--is for women more than a chapter in culture history; it is an act of survival. Until we can understand assumptions in which we are drenched, we cannot know ourselves.

That "re-vision" we find in these two books, addressed clearly to women, but also to men who are interested, in Jalland's and Hooper's words, in "exploring the meaning of female (and male) identity" (xi).

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Books

Gillian Beer. George Eliot. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

George Eliot "lived the revolution ... but she did not write of it" (4), wrote Kate Millet, and this assessment of Eliot has dominated feminist discourse. In her new book in the Key Women Writers series, Gillian Beer takes as her starting point this critical tradition of viewing George Eliot as an author who provided her female characters with only very limited possibilities of self-realization in either marriage or martyrdom, and who, in effect, served unintentionally to bolster a reactionary, phallocentric ethos. Beer assesses the criticism and shows that much of it ignores the concealment and ambiguity embedded in Eliot's novels, and overlooks Eliot's desire for liberation from sexual classification (16). Her study, while, like much Eliot criticism, paying great attention to the details of Eliot's unusual life, attempts a feminist analysis of Eliot's work from a formalistic standpoint, while drawing on the traditions of psychoanalytic criticism, structuralism and post-modernism. In addition, her study is notable for the extensive use it makes of much previously undervalued material. In particular, her assessment of works dealing with the women's movement and with lesser-known novels by women that influenced Eliot allows a fresh analysis of the position of Middlemarch within the context of the women's movement between 1830 and 1870.

Beer's study begins with an analysis of the problematic of Eliot's canonical status within the established literary tradition. Central to her thesis is an investigation of the implications for Eliot's reputation, after the publication of Scenes of Clerical Life and Adam Bede, of the fact that readers assumed the writer was a woman. The masculine voice in the novels after Adam Bede becomes more muted and distant. When Eliot's gender was disclosed, there was a marked shift in the treatment her work received. This was particularly acute in the consideration given to her treatment of male characters. In this study, Beer concentrates on Eliot's female characters, and particularly on relations between the sexes. This leads her into a mode of character criticism which is often psychoanalytic or thematic, and stresses Eliot's use of stereotyped images of the female in Victorian literature. Themes and motifs that merit special attention are motherhood and martyrdom, silence and difference, concealment and enclosure.

The novels are discussed in chronological order, with, as is common in Eliot studies, Middlemarch receiving the most extended treatment, and Scenes being briefly dealt with and afforded the stature of an apprentice work, notable mainly for its melodramatic plotting. All of Eliot's work, save the unpublished translation of Spinoza's Ethics, receives coverage, and Beer shows the great importance of Feuerbach's Essence of Christianity in Eliot's developing philosophy. She is particularly effective in revealing Eliot's indebtedness to non-canonical works such as Geraldine Jewsbury's Constance Herbert and Fredrika Bremer's Father and Daughter. In highlighting the importance of intertextuality in women's writing in the middle of the century, Beer takes issue with Gilbert and Gubar's censure of what they perceive as Eliot's failed use of closure. Further, she disputes their claim that

Eliot is compromised by her "concession" to the Victorian ideal of the submissive woman. Beer contends that Eliot, feeling that "commonplace life is heroic" (74), focussed on the ordinary and typical, and not on idealized representations of what women could be, and, moreover, that she cast ironic aspersions on the implied reader's approbation of the limitations in women's common lot.

Beer begins her discussion of Adam Bede by checking a number of feminist critics' too-ready dismissals of Hetty's "superficiality." Arguing that Hetty holds the centre of the narrative, Beer shows that her characterization is a radical departure for Eliot. Hetty is pure desire, and the suffering resulting from her fall is therefore more terrible than that of the more common high-minded heroines. Unfortunately, Beer does not investigate characters like Mrs. Poyser or Mrs. Bede, or the criticism of them. The Lifted Veil is read here as a play on the tropes of displacement and concealment. The now unmasked, female George Eliot, a name that had become a "female sign," revels in the male first-person narrator's inability to penetrate the character of the woman who becomes his wife.

"Is the only form of heroism open to women to be martyrdom" (82)? The reply to this question frames Beer's approach to The Mill on the Floss. She watches the play of difference in the text between images of renunciation and concealment, and reacts to Elaine Showalter's casting of Maggie as a stereotypical "passive, self-destructive heroine" (88). Finally, The Mill is a study of desire: the incestuous desire which equals the wish for self-realization. Romola, Silas Marner and Felix Holt are rather awkwardly treated together in one chapter, and Beer views them all as variations on themes of displacement and shifting in parental roles. She draws attention to the absence of single women and stepmothers in Eliot's fiction, providing largely biographical reasons for this. The most interesting section of the analysis is Beer's investigation of the tension between radical political theory and women's roles in Felix Holt. The genuine radical in the text, in both politics and feeling, is not Felix, she contends, but Mrs. Transome.

The chapter devoted to Middlemarch expounds the thesis that the novel is an analysis of the evolution of the women's movement in the years after 1830. Exploiting a wealth of material, particularly about Eliot's close activist friends, Beer implies that Eliot was disillusioned with progress achieved. In the latter part of this chapter, Beer introduces a discussion of the use of metaphor to illuminate nuances in human relationships. She concludes her discussion of the novels with a study of voice in Daniel Deronda, maintaining that this novel represents the summation of a career concerned, in various ways, with "passion and utterance."

Beer concedes that Eliot was not a radical feminist nor a feminist theorist, but argues that she was a feminist who was "intimately familiar" with the women's movement. However, relying on Eliot's own use of concealment and disguise in the choice of name and voice, Beer holds that Eliot strenuously and bravely resisted entrapment in "the ghetto of gender" (25). Beer appears to value this position herself, and take issue with a number of major feminist interpreters of Eliot, such as Ruby Redinger and Gilbert and Gubar. Beer's study demonstrates how a certain type of feminist interpretation of Eliot has become a critical orthodoxy, and, in the light of a perceptive critical formalism, and with the aid of much new material, she provides a new feminist reading of the novels.

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Katherine Frank. A Voyager Out: The Life of Mary Kingsley. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986.

That Katherine Frank's biography of Mary Kingsley is as compelling to read as a novel is both its strength and its greatest weakness. In 299 emotionally charged pages Frank casts Mary Kingsley in the role of a romance heroine. Such an approach makes for great summer reading, but historical accuracy is often sacrificed in favour of heightening the emotional impact of situations. Most noticeable is Frank's sympathetic discussion of Mary's love for Matthew Nathan, which is redolent of the language used in modern gothic novels. We are told that "when Mary fell in love with Nathan she fell in love not merely with an individual man but with the world, values, and beliefs that she thought he embodied. ... It took very little on Nathan's part to open the floodgates of Mary's need" (267).

Frank adds that after Nathan left Mary early in an evening to return to his club or home: "... Mary closed out the day in her sitting room, which seemed palpably steeped in frustration and longing" (281).

Frank's sensational style will attract the general reader but will frustrate the more serious one who realizes that such details as dates, names and places are of secondary importance here. For example, in an outline of historical events at the end of Chapter 3, Frank places Mary's life in a historical perspective. Yet in one paragraph she says that Mary "was twenty-five years old" when she took her first trip from home (44). As Mary was born in 1862, the trip would have been taken in 1887. However, in the very next paragraph Frank states that it was "several years later" in 1888 that Mary went to Paris for a week (45).

In addition to such lapses, the organization of the book, which consists of the interweaving of Frank's interpretations with Mary's own words from her letters and travel books, is such that quotations from Mary's works are occasionally taken out of context. Frank places Mary's statement about the need to take measurements of crocodiles from adult males in the midst of a discussion of gorillas (156). While this is a minor point in this particular instance, when the reader attempts to cross-check such quotations the problems with the unusual style of documenting sources becomes evident. One can only assume that no indications of notes are made in the text itself in order not to distract the reader. This would be true only in the case of a reader who skims through the book as if it were a novel. For a slower reader who attempts to check a reference, it is necessary to flip to the notes at the back of the book, glance down the page to locate the relevant page number of the text and then check to see if that particular quotation or statement has a note. As only direct quotations are documented, and not all of them are given references, this quickly becomes an exercise in frustration.

The lack of documentation becomes

even more frustrating when one wants more information on some of the fascinating details dropped into the text without further comments or references. For example, Frank claims that "Mrs. Kingsley was an excellent shot with a revolver" (22). As Mrs. Kingsley was one of her husband's servants prior to their marriage and spent her entire married life as a self-confined invalid one cannot but wonder how and when she learned to shoot, and how and where Frank got this intriguing bit of information. But while the style presents problems for the historian it is nevertheless quite effective at times, particularly in the way Frank presents the African world that Mary Kingsley described so lovingly in her own writings on West Africa. Frank spent six years living and teaching in West Africa, and her love of Africa and its people rivals Mary's. The sympathy shared by author and subject adds a realistic depth to the emotional tone of the book, particularly when Frank's modern experiences echo Mary's descriptions of the street lamps in Saint Paul de Loana (78) and market day in Freetown (68-9).

While Frank also shares with her heroine a distaste for the way Europeans attempted to "civilize" Africa, she avoids all mention of Mary's beliefs in white racial superiority and chooses not to discuss them within the context of the 1890s. Frank also has difficulties coming to terms with Mary's anti-feminism and tries to defend it in modern feminist terms (209, 219, 257). In addition, she projects her own modern feminist viewpoint into Mary's mind in situations that are occasionally purely conjectural. She describes, for example, how Mary might have felt if she had discovered her own near-illegitimacy and comments: "Above all, she now discovered that her very existence was not the product of an act of love and communion, but rather of an illicit, probably exploitative liaison" (51). That Mary may have realized she was born only four days after her father married his servant is reasonable, but to state that Mary or her mother considered the relationship an "exploitative liaison" is the anachronistic judgment of a modern feminist.

Frank's emotional writing succeeds best in her presentation of the possible psychological implications of Mary's recklessness and her motivations for travelling to West Africa. She tells us:

> There was an abiding current of melancholy in Mary's personality, perhaps an inherited one and part of her Kingsley heritage that had only been nurtured by her lonely, bleak childhood. There is no doubt that she recklessly courted danger and death in West Africa, as one does only when the life one is risking has little value. (58-9)

The book itself is well bound and includes several interesting photographs of Mary as well as some photographs she took on her own voyages.

Reports of Mary's successful battle with the crocodile inspired this picture in the *Illustrated London News*.

The endpapers contain a map of West Africa with the 1898 boundaries, but it would have been useful to have had a more detailed map with Mary's voyages indicated. The bibliography is helpful, but the many references to the unpublished letters are listed only in the notes and so are time-consuming to locate; they indicate a wealth of material that has yet to be edited and gathered together for publication.

This is a fascinating book about an amazing woman. It is written with a great deal of love and passion for the subject. That very love, and the emotional style, result in a highly readable but unreliable book. It is a biography that attempts an uneasy alliance between history and historical fiction. All too often it is the historical fiction that triumphs.

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Jeffrey H. Huberman. Late Victorian Farce. Theatre and Dramatic Studies, No. 40. Series ed. Oscar G. Brockett. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986.

Scholars continue to demonstrate that late-century Victorian melodramas and problem plays are far more than simply precursors of George Bernard Shaw's dramas. In the stampede to analyze the revolution of "serious" drama, however, scholars have overlooked or dismissed the genre of farce. Jeffrey Huberman proves himself courageous enough to be the hero of any Victorian melodrama, arguing not only that nineteenth-century farce has literary merit but that the 25-year "domination" of full-length British farce was similar to the reign of "Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and the comic plays written during the era of the Restoration" (137). Victorian Farce is a sensible and well-researched book that provides a useful history of the genre's Victorian development.

Huberman's study chronicles the evolution of the nature and structure of nineteenth-century farce. He neatly bypasses the vexing question of genre by confining himself to the works their authors labelled "farce" or "farcical comedy." The four chapters delineate the development of a full-length farce, farcical comedies adapted from the French, the "golden age of British farce" (1884-93), and the decline of the genre.

Victorian Farce surveys some 150 of the more than 600 full-length farces produced in London in the century's last 25 years and discusses fourteen of them in depth. Well-known plays such as W.S. Gilbert's Engaged (1877), Arthur Wing Pinero's The Magistrate (1885), and the unsinkable Charley's Aunt (1892) by Brandon Thomas are explored alongside less famous but significant works such as Confusion (1883) by Joseph Derrick and The Private Secretary (1883) by C.H. Hawtrey. Indeed, one of the values of the study is the way it encourages us to rediscover influential and even brilliant farces of the period.

Farce developed apace, Huberman notes, with the Theatre Regulation Act of 1843, which abolished the virtual monopoly on "legitimate theatre"

by Drury Lane and Covent Garden. This Act enabled all theatres to boast plays of all sorts, opening the floodgates for farce (22). The demand for short farcical afterpieces became so great that prolific farceurs like T.J. Williams and J.S. Coyne couldn't turn out their works fast enough, so "playwrights and managers turned to that age-old, classical marketing solution to the problem of demand exceeding supply--foreign imports" (14).

Huberman regards the years between 1875 and 1883 as the era of adaptation. Lax copyright laws enabled writers and managers to hijack many farcical comedies produced in London from French plays (39). Significantly, writers adapted plot machinery but "never the subject matter of the French originals, which invariably concerned marital infidelity. ... English adaptors recast the one-act farce to deal with the homey vicissitudes of marriage and family" (14). The well-made plays of Scribe and Sardou were especially popular with adaptors. The now-creaky structure of exposition, complication, denouement, and resolution struck Victorian viewers as delightful and exciting. The sensational adaptation called The Pink Dominos (1877) by James Albery, a "deodorized" play which retained some of the titillating effects of the original, became the model for the next ten years of British farce (41, 43).

The one-act farce had by now grown to three full acts, and they were very full indeed, of plot complications, recurring dialogue that is funnier with each repetition, equivoques (where one line is understood differently by characters who think they understand it in the same way, à la "I know all!"), strange human sounds, and knockabout or violent slapstick. Huberman is a careful compiler and explicator of such devices. He goes on to explain that by 1884 audiences had grown overly familiar with the French forms, and the next ten years witnessed the emergence of a truly native farce.

In the 80s and 90s, Huberman demonstrates, farces are incited into action by "the domestic predicaments and deceptions of the rich nieces and nephews of prosperous Victorians" (73). The status of the victim increased markedly, culminating with the Dean of St. Marvels, Pinero's unfortunate Dandy Dick (1887). A "farcical incarnation of the so-called 'new woman'" emerges, as in Pinero's The Magistrate, in which Agatha Posket animates the plot in her attempts to conceal from her magistrate-husband the fact that she has lied about her age during their courtship. When her sister urges her to tell him the truth, she doesn't dare: "I should have to take such a back seat for the rest of my married life" (86). Huberman's readings of Pinero's plays are especially good, providing another context in which to understand that playwright's achievement.

Victorian Farce is not without flaws. Its nature and scope create a rush through material, and there are moments when additional analysis would be valuable. Also, Huberman's prose is sometimes bumpy or repetitive. But these caveats do not undermine the achievement of the book, which is considerable. Huberman makes a good argument for farce as a worthy subject of continued scholarship, rescues several delightful plays from relative obscurity, and provides readers with an excellent history of the genre's Victorian development. The illustrations are clear and rather charming.

Beth Kalikoff
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Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930. Ed. Gail Malmgreen. London: Croom Helm, 1986.

Feminist criticism, no less than other critical approaches, has tended to ignore or to castigate the influence of religion in women's lives. For this reason, a book on religion in the lives of English women should be very welcome. However, this volume is not completely successful. Seven of its essays are historical, two literary/cultural, and one sociological. Of the ten, four have been published previously. This diversity never achieves the virtue of an interdisciplinary perspective, however, because the selection of essays is arbitrary. Consequently, the book is not a coalescent account of the historical period identified in the title.

In the introduction Malmgreen provides a framework within which to read the essays, but its usefulness is marred by her attitude, best demonstrated in her statement that religion has been overlooked by secular feminists because they cannot "readily project backwards their own concern" onto spiritual issues (1). She accepts such projection as legitimate. Consequently, her scholarship shows little historical sensitivity to particular qualities of English culture, especially its essential nature as consensus rather than enfranchisement. She observes that "The Church of England, as a catch-all communion enjoying the privileges of an official monopoly, was not concerned with keeping membership lists" (2). One need not be sympathetic to the Anglican church to wish she had considered more thoughtfully why a church would not be concerned with the numbers game. Significantly, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, whose influence on English religious thought was profound, is never mentioned in this book, although a popularizer of his work, F.D. Maurice, is. Second, the book does not fulfil the expectations Malmgreen sets up for such a study. She asks, appropriately, for a profile of the wives, daughters, and sisters of the Victorian clergy, but nowhere in the book are the experiences of Jane Austen, Elizabeth Gaskell, or the Brontës even footnoted. It is, as well, curious that a book devoted to religion should be silent on what Malmgreen calls the "interior world of belief" (8). Perhaps this silence speaks to that omission in secular scholarship which she identifies and which, in addition to the Victorian emphasis on good works, accounts for the sole focus upon political activism. Yet even within this focus there are surprising omissions. No essay addresses women's work in the missionary field. A study of women's role in the proliferation of millenialist cults in the 1830s and 1840s would also have broken new ground. Although Malmgreen acknowledges that the book is not inclusive, its title suggests such scope. Perhaps it should have been named less ambitiously.

Many of the selections read Malmgreen's "feminist component" (1) or her historical insensitivity into nineteenth-century English religious issues, perhaps because in part the book tests features of American history against the English experience. Margaret Maison defines her study of female hymn writers by the death of Felicia Hemans, the most popular female versifier, in imitation presumably of the use of Scott's death to define the end of Romanticism. Unfortunately, such use is arbitrary, for Maison provides no evidence of a change in the genre which the date could signify. Walter L. Arnstein regards Queen Victoria's religious tolerance as simply unusual and does not consider it within an English monarchical tradition of accommodation. Projection from the American experience shows clearly in Lilian Lewis Shiman's comments on the tem-

perance movement: "But the Martha Washingtonians never took hold in England. English women, even working-class women, were not ready to take such a bold step" (196). She simply assumes that English conservatism accounts for every failure of reform enterprise. As well, her argument that temperance stories reinforced female stereotypes ignores the very unorthodox analysis of marriage in Anne Brontë's study of alcoholism, The Tenant of Wildfell Hall. Anne R. Higginbotham's concern for the effect on infants of the Salvation Army's policies for rescuing unwed mothers would be stronger if she had included mortality rates for legitimate births and considered the use of nurses and nannies in the upper classes. "Virgin Vows" is a fascinating study from Susan P. Casteras of how art eroticized virginity in nineteenth-century portrayals of nuns. Her theme is compelling but her method sometimes suffers from the theoretical problems inherent in giving art narrative explanation. Kenneth Corfield's study of Elizabeth Heyrick's abolitionism is sensitive to her non-conformist theology, but even he explains her position negatively as a failure to demand reform. A search for Malmgreen's "female-identified theologies" (3) motivated Rickie Burman's study of Jewish women in Manchester. It is a mark of the difficulty with the editor's approach that the cover portrait of a nun and her married sister does not lead readers to expect a study of Judaism, which is itself valuable in demonstrating differences between the Anglo-Jewish community and that of recent Jewish immigrants.

Not all the selections impose Malmgreen's historical insensitivity. In a highly specialized essay, D. Colin Dews examines the fate of female revivalists in Leeds. Such a fate perhaps confirms the cultural tradition that associates women with the oral tradition and men with the written heritage, despite the injunctions against female preaching. Two other essays are impeccable historical studies that should inspire future research. Catherine M. Prelinger's study of the deaconess movement relates gender to questions of professionalism and the distinction between theological and pastoral responsibilities. Brian Heeney's study on "The Beginnings of Church Feminism" examines lay participation on church councils. Among other beliefs that motivated the prohibitions against women he identifies the fear that women were particularly susceptible to priestly domination. This fear influences the debates over Catholic Emancipation, sisterhoods, and auricular confession, and deserves further study.

The best essays in this book will lead to further knowledge, but they may not justify the existence of the book. The real story of religion in the lives of English women waits to be written.

Maureen F. Mann
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Elisabeth Jay. Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1986.

The slim volume, part of a Context and Commentary series, comprises an introductory anthology of extracts illustrating, as claimed, "faith and doubt in Victorian Britain." The paperback has appropriately on its front cover a reproduction of Bowling's painting "The Doubt: Can these Dry Bones live?" It includes four plates from the familiar formidable drawing of George Eliot by Burton to a photograph of the neoclassical Metropolitan Temple, its façade enclosed by tall, placarded cast-iron railings. The text is divided into sections illustrating the positions

of the Evangelicals, the Oxford Movement and the Catholic Tradition, the Broad Church, Dissent and Doubt.

In presenting the Evangelicals, the editor goes back to Wilberforce at the end of the eighteenth century, and she looks back to Cowper through a lyric of Anne Brontë's. Newman's critique is introduced, along with the fictionalized version of Eliot's in Scenes from Clerical Life and of Trollope's in Barchester Towers. Ryle's doctrinal affirmation leads to a presentation of the practicality of evangelicalism through a quotation from Shaftesbury, a hymn of Havergal's, and a satirical passage from Jane Eyre, with the reminiscences of G.W.E. Russell much later.

Section 2, the Oxford Movement and the Catholic tradition, of course introduces and makes use of Newman, Pusey and Keble, illustrated by the fiction of Charlotte Yonge and satirically by that of Kingsley and Trollope, as well as critically by the memoirs of Mark Pattison. An apologia for ritualism is provided by Purchas and a critique of it by Conybeare and more strikingly by Tennyson in his portrait of Pellam in The Idylls of the King. Finally, liberal late nineteenth-century Catholicism, represented by Lux Mundi, is set beside Hopkins's poetic vision of inscape.

The discussion of the Broad Church looks back to Coleridge and Thomas Arnold as reflected on by his son in the elegiac "Rugby Chapel." The Christian Socialism of Maurice is touched upon, with the liberalism of Jowett, criticized by Mallock and Stanley in prose and verse, as well as by Tennyson and Trollope.

Dissent is viewed of course critically by Newman, but it is apologetically affirmed by Miall. In fiction Eliot looks back to an earlier period and Mark Rutherford looks at the present; Dale surveys the present of dissent as an apologist for it. Spurgeon's eloquence at the Metropolitan Tabernacle is evoked; one of Sankey's hymns is quoted, together with D.H. Lawrence's reminiscences of the power of such utterance. Gosse remembers the dissidence of his parents; Matthew Arnold ridicules dissent.

Doubt finally is mocked by Disraeli and Browning, exemplified by Strauss, as translated by Eliot. Lyell's geological account is educed, criticized by Tennyson, and followed by Darwin's and Huxley's. The effect of all this is suggested by passages from Froude, Stephen, Clough, Arnold, Mrs. Humphrey Ward and Butler.

The book, attractive and stimulating as it is, would have benefitted from a fuller editorial introduction, justifying the emphases, which are ecclesiastically focused and do not allow for attention to be paid to the atheistic, materialistic and positivistic current that swept through the age. The series editor's claim for an intermingling of "history and literature" (xi) is scarcely vindicated in the text. We do move from literature to doctrinal or reminiscential writing at a more modest level, or over different kinds of literature, from the novel through poetry, the hymn and the sermon to the tract and the

autobiography and biography. However, the question of history, though opened, remains unanswered without concrete presentation of political, economic and social circumstances and trends. The material presented is suggestive, breathtaking and exhilarating, but lacking in coherence and depth. Is there an incentive here for the beginning student to take up the challenge of the intellectual reading of a major religious text, like Newman's Apologia, or to extend his or her horizons in an attempt to achieve broader historical understanding?

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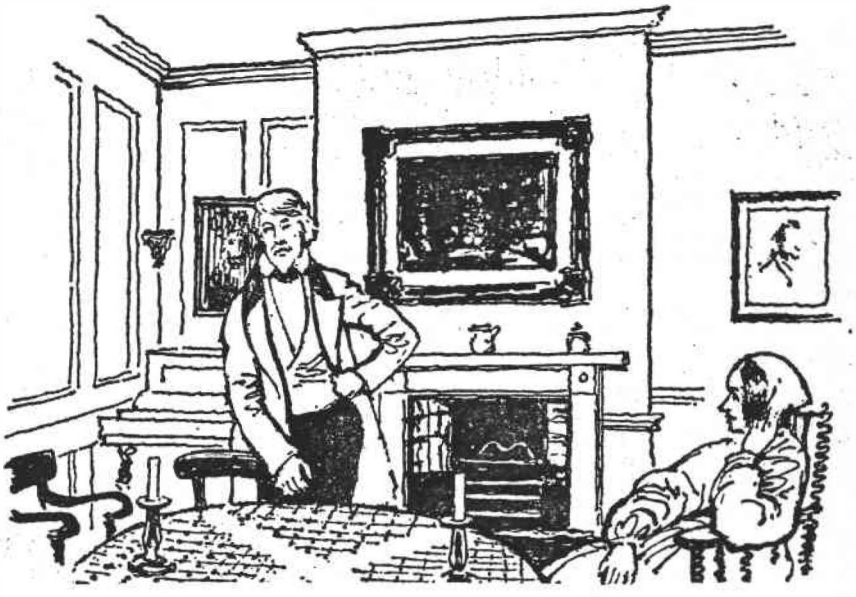
Virginia Surtees. Jane Welsh Carlyle. Salisbury, England: Michael Russell, 1986.

Virginia Surtees' new biography of Jane Welsh Carlyle is remarkable for its economy of style and for the bemused, ironic tone with which the author treats her subject. She gives the impression that, for the most part, she is letting her material--letters, diaries, memoirs--speak for itself, but in fact she selects her quotations and paraphrases her sources with a keen sense of the inconsistencies and contradictions, the egocentricity and the strength, of Jane's character. Occasionally she cannot resist a comment. When Jane tells a cousin, "The thing to be chiefly guarded against in suffering is plaguing one's fellow creatures with one's individual griefs," Surtees adds, in parentheses, "a maxim she might have practised more assiduously." For the most part, however, Surtees remains detached, seemingly, and lets her narrative alone work on the reader. When Jane encourages a suitor and then rejects his proposal of marriage, "this good-natured paragon of the musical voice"--the perspective in this phrase is Jane's--"fell into a paroxysm of sobbing, crying all day on his bed, with Mrs. Welsh weeping by his side. Jane, having called him 'dear Dugald' to pacify him and kissing him on his forehead half a dozen times, repaired with his sister to cry in another room." The excesses in the romance fiction of the period seem to represent nothing but the truth.

For all this, though, Jane's suffering in life was genuine, and Surtees never leaves us in any doubt that the pain, however much self-induced, was real. One sympathizes, yes, but our response is a complex one, for Jane married, she always maintained, for ambition, and then complained when she was not loved in the way she would have liked.

Inevitably, any biography of Jane Welsh must also be a portrait of a marriage. In this particular picture, Surtees makes a good deal of rival attachments for both husband and wife: Edward Irving for Jane, and Lady Harriet Baring, afterwards Lady Ashburton, for Carlyle. Jane confessed to Carlyle that she "once passionately loved" Irving, but there seems to have been an element of calculation in the confession, and, anyway, Jane habitually told Carlyle about her suitors, partly to exercise her gift for satire, partly to satisfy her desire for romance (in later life, she liked to look back on her flirtations as "burning, tragic, love affairs"), and partly to point up Carlyle's deficiencies. For Carlyle's part, the relation with Lady Harriet Baring seems to have been "the only chance of society one has," he said, for at Bath House he found himself among aristocrats, and involved in a wider intellectual and political life than Jane was able to attract to her tea table. Jane preferred her own "tea-shine," but perhaps Surtees is right to say that Carlyle preferred Lady Harriet's company to Jane's. There is, I think, no doubt that husband and wife loved each other, but



Carlyle seems to have expressed his affection only when he was absent, through his letters; at home, he immersed himself in his work and neglected Jane. During the Craigenputtoch period, he even walked alone, while Jane complained to Mrs. Carlyle--she was on better terms with her than with her own mother--that "he never asks me to go with him, never even looks as if he desires my company." He told Jane not to rely on him to be happy: "cheerful looks ... are not things I have to give." So perhaps Jane was justified to complain to others about her husband; she did so habitually from about 1839 on, unaware of the alienating effect on others of her increasing resentment and bitterness.

Surtees' Jane Carlyle is a selfish and neurotic woman, obsessed with her diet and castor oil, limited in her aesthetic responses, and leading a hysterical and "dawdling existence" of small social use and at odds with her intelligence. The Carlyles regularly discussed the uselessness of Lady Harriet's life--she had no true work to do, in their view--but Jane's life was not essentially different, and both Carlyle and his doctor brother thought Jane needed employment. Jane rejected all such suggestions. Her best self was an amusing and witty companion for whom "a little exciting talk" with interesting people was everything. So one turns away from this book with a sense that Surtees' irony has deepened into tragedy. Neither husband nor wife seems to have thought it possible to alleviate their unhappiness, and both, at last, cherished their neuroses more than they did each other.

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Benjamin Disraeli Letters: 1838-1841. Ed. M.G. Wiebe, J.B. Conacher, John Matthews, Mary S. Millar. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

The year 1982 saw the publication of the first two volumes of the Disraeli Letters, which carried the young author and aspiring politician through 1837, the year he finally succeeded (on his fifth attempt) in winning a seat in the House of Commons. The third volume covers four years in which Disraeli gained more ground than he lost domestically, politically, and financially. His future was

by no means assured at the close of these years, but it certainly looked more promising than it had in 1837.

Disraeli could not afford to segregate the domestic from the political and financial. He needed a wife who could advance his political career and relieve his financial burden--the editors estimate that his liabilities may have approached £30,000 prior to his marriage to Mary Anne Lewis. What

Mary Anne in 1840, after her marriage to Disraeli, by A. E. Chalon, R.A.

began as a courtship based in part on mercenary considerations ripened nto the real thing over the months that followed the unexpected death of Wyndham Lewis, Mary Anne's husband and Disraeli's fellow Tory M.P. for Maidstone. The ever-growing affection and emotional dependency on both sides may have been assisted by the discovery that Mary Anne had not been left quite so rich a widow as either of them might have supposed in the immediate aftermath of Wyndham's demise. Disraeli could more easily persuade Mary Anne and himself that he truly loved her once it became evident that though she could ease his financial predicament she could not solve it. The courtship had its moments of despair as well as exhilaration, but there is nothing very remarkable about Disraeli's many love letters to Mary Anne in this volume (hers to him appear in an appendix). Bagehot observed that Disraeli had an "extremely unoriginal imagination." Mary Anne might have disagreed, but she was an interested party. In the event, Disraeli's words served him well enough.

We learn of Mary Anne's gifts as a political hostess mainly from Disraeli's letters to his sister Sarah, which constitute over half the letters contained in this volume. The closeness of brother and sister did not diminish during these years. After his marriage, Disraeli told Sarah to address most of her letters to the Carlton Club so that a presumably jealous Mary Anne should not be allowed to think she had reason to make a fuss. In Disraeli's letters to Sarah we read of his movements in the social and political world of early-Victorian London. High-level gossip was apparently what Sarah wanted, and Disraeli gaily obliged. Whether Sarah wanted to or not, she was going to hear of the luminaries who sought the society of her rising brother. Disraeli did not take all of this terribly seriously. He simply enjoyed it and wanted to share his pleasure and merriment with Sarah. He also relished reporting to her on his oratorical triumphs in the House of Commons (according to Disraeli, virtually all of his speeches were brilliant). Disraeli's vanity, so direct and full of bonhomie, amuses rather than offends.

Does this collection of correspondence throw new light on Disraeli's political thought and conduct? The letters themselves rarely focus on the substance of their author's politics. The editors, however, suggest that Disraeli's parliamentary record for these years is that of a "Radical Tory." They find much consistency and sincerity in the speeches and writ-

ings of the first decade of his political career. With sensitivity and insight, they delineate Disraeli's response to the issues of the day. But "Radical Toryism" was more an attitude than a coherent body of thought, and it offered no firm foundation for the formulation of constructive policies in the circumstances of the 1830s and 1840s. In any case, the critical question may concern less the authenticity of Disraeli's convictions than their depth and intensity. They certainly did not stand in the way of his campaign to secure the favour of Sir Robert Peel, who had no interest in associating with any brand of radicalism.

Although Peel refused Disraeli office in 1841, the latter had by that time established a notable parliamentary reputation for himself. Few would have been bold enough to predict the course of his political future; fewer would have argued that that future did not bear watching. As for his financial problems, they remained acute, Mary Anne's sizable contributions notwithstanding. There was some disappointment and much unsettled business in Disraeli's life as this volume draws to an end. Yet his state of mind, if not quite serene, was far from melancholy. We know and he knew that his devoted Mary Anne would help see him through whatever trouble lay ahead.

Those responsible for this volume deserve the highest praise. The introduction is superbly done. It concisely and lucidly furnishes the necessary structural and analytical framework for the letters. The annotations admirably combine fullness of information and sureness of touch. The volume also includes a chronology for the 1838-41 period, a chronological list of the letters, illustrations, a half-dozen appendices comprising, in addition to Mary Anne's courtship letters, Disraeli's occasional political writings of these years, and an outstanding index. The production work of the University of Toronto Press is exemplary. In Robert Blake, Disraeli found his biographer; he has now found his editors. A fortunate man indeed.

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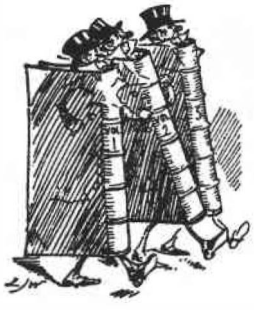
University of North Carolina
at Wilmington



Solution to Riddle

The lion and the unicorn
Were fighting for the crown;
The lion beat the unicorn
All around the town.

Some gave them white bread,
And some gave them brown;
Some gave them plum cake
And drummed them out of town.