

***VICTORIAN  
STUDIES  
ASSOCIATION***

**ONTARIO**

***NEWSLETTER***

**FALL 1988**

The Victorian Studies Association Newsletter  
Ontario, Canada

Number 42

Fall 1988

Published by the Victorian Studies Association (Ontario)  
c/o English Department  
322 Pratt Library  
Victoria College, University of Toronto

Editor: Judith Knelman

Copy-editor: Rea Wilmshurst

ISSN 0835-1902

Printed through the generosity of Victoria College

# Contents

News and queries	3
Conference notes	3
Riddle-de-dee	7
In Memoriam: F.E.L. Priestley	9
The Victorian Concept of Duty / Harvey Kerpneck	11
Science and Literature: A Bibliography / Martin Fichman	17
Books	22
W.J. Keith, <u>Regions of the Imagination</u> (John M. Robson)	22
John M. Robson, <u>What Did He Say?</u> (W.J. Keith)	24
Donald Read, <u>Peel and the Victorians</u> (J.B. Conacher)	25
Hugh Cortazzi, <u>Victorians in Japan</u> (Michael Millgate)	28
Martin Crawford, <u>The Anglo-American Crisis of the Mid-Nineteenth Century</u> (Albert Tucker)	30
Alexander Welsh, <u>From Copyright to Copperfield</u> (Goldie Morgentaler)	31
Norman Page, <u>Speech in the English Novel</u> (Edgar Wright)	34
Stanley Weintraub, <u>Victoria: An Intimate Biography</u> (Kathleen E. McCrone)	36
Olive Anderson, <u>Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England</u> (Ann Robson)	37
John Hadfield, <u>Victorian Delights</u> (Jean O'Grady)	40
Norman Gash, <u>Pillars of Government and Other Essays on State and Society c. 1770-c. 1880</u> (Merrill Distad)	41
Solution to Riddle	44

# News and queries

PETER ALLEN (English, Toronto) has published "Sir Edmund Gosse and His Modern Readers: The Continued Appeal of Father and Son," ELH, 55 (1988), 487-503.

MAGGIE BERG (English, Queen's) is the author of Jane Eyre: Portrait of a Life, published by Twayne's in 1988.

MICHAEL COLLIE (English, York) has published Henry Maudsley: Victorian Psychiatrist: A Bibliographical Study. He is currently editing the letters of T.H. Huxley and George Gordon.

RICHARD LANDON (Fisher Library, Toronto) will be at Columbia University in the spring term of 1988-89, teaching a course on descriptive bibliography and another on the curatorship of special collections. He has been teaching in the Faculty of Information Science and occasionally in the Department of English at Toronto for 15 years.

MICHAEL MILLGATE (English, Toronto), in recognition of his appointment as University Professor, gave a lecture last spring entitled "Ready to Depart: Authorial Last Acts."

PATRICIA MORTON (History, Trent) has articles on the British Army and Victorian Small Wars in Victorian Britain, ed. Sally Mitchell (New York: Garland, 1988). On a non-Victorian note, her "'My Ol' Black Mammy' in American Historiography" is included in Southern Women, ed. Caroline Dillman (Washington: Hemisphere Press, 1988).

JUDITH WILLIAMS (freelance editor) has recently published Perception and Expression in the Novels of Charlotte Brontë (UMI Research Press).

EDGAR WRIGHT (English, Laurentian) gave a lecture, illustrated with slides, on Pre-Raphaelite painting on Oct. 21 to coincide with an exhibition of work by Arthur Hughes and Lewis Carroll at the Laurentian University Museum and Art Gallery. His edition of Elizabeth Gaskell's My Lady Ludlow and Other Stories will be published by Oxford in the spring of 1989.

# Conference notes

## VSAO CONFERENCE 1988

The VSAO annual conference held in April of this year considered the topic of Victorian melodrama. The morning speaker, Judith Walkowitz, is well known for her study of Victorian prostitution in Prostitution and Victorian Society, which focused on the campaign for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. In her talk on "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," she looked at history from a somewhat different perspective, using W.T. Stead's famous narrative of his buying of a child prostitute to illuminate the way that myth and melodrama were used to impose a pattern on the mundane reality of commercialized vice. Through the wide readership Stead's narrative obtained in the Pall Mall Gazette, the mass public demonstration it provoked, the questions asked in Parliament, and the extensively reported trial of Stead and his confederates for abduction, the often distorted and unreliable account spawned a variety of secondary narratives in different social spheres, and influenced the way Victorians addressed sexual issues from the social purity movement to the

Jack the Ripper murders.

Walkowitz described the "melodrama of sexual danger" as essentially a triangle consisting of a lower-class maiden, an aristocrat of evil intent, and the maiden's wronged working-class lover (or, alternatively, her father); this she interpreted as a class myth reflecting upper-class exploitation. Stead's narrative used this pattern but fused it with several others. In its lurid details of rape and defloration it introduced the motifs of pornography into respectable journalism, casting Stead himself as the shadowy villain. It also used the myth of the Minotaur, that institutionally sanctioned monster whose devouring of innocent youth was re-enacted nightly in labyrinthine London, with the role of the avenging Theseus taken over by Stead as moral crusader. At other times, Stead appears as a scientific investigator, precursor of the detective hero of later fiction and crime journalism.

In Stead's and other versions of the story, the victim remained the same --the exploited child Eliza Armstrong ("bleating like a frightened lamb") --but the villain changed. The last half of Walkowitz's paper concentrated on the figure of the "slum mother" who allowed her child to be sold: the ultimate villain in Stead's narrative, she was revealed as a limited, beaten creature in the trial testimony of Eliza's real-life mother, partly exculpated in the autobiography of the procuress Jarrett (now reformed, and a fervent member of the Salvation Army), and almost completely excised from the biography of Jarrett written by Josephine Butler. In considering the appeal of this and alternative archetypes of female sexuality (such as victim and magdalene), Walkowitz suggested that Stead's choice of villain was a defence against the threat of women as active economic agents; not until Shaw's Mrs. Warren's Pro-

fession did the new woman appear in a liberated role.

In his afternoon talk, Michael Booth drew on his unparalleled familiarity with nineteenth-century drama, as well as considerable skills of dramatic presentation, to evoke the many facets of the villain of Victorian melodrama. His survey covered not only character but also acting style, gait, and personal appearance (giving rise to heated controversy in the audience, later, over the colour of protagonists' hair). Beginning with the dagger-brandishing, black-moustached swashbuckler of the earlier plays, who was placed in the physical and spiritual landscape of storm-rent forests and Gothic ruins, Booth traced his evolution into the high-society figure with evening dress and gold-headed cane. There was also a type of melodrama popular from the 1840s on, in which the action was confined entirely to the middle class, and the crime was predominantly that of embezzlement, swindling, blackmail, and fraud.

Booth suggested that the appeal of the villain-figure throughout the century was somewhat ambivalent. Ostensibly the butt of execration and hisses for his frank detestation of virtue, he was also secretly admired for his power and activism. (In one class of melodrama, typified in the popular representations of Jack Sheppard, the highwayman or jailbreaker in fact became the hero.) In an age when harsh criminal laws were only slowly being dismantled, the villain perhaps offered a dream of rebellion to poor and downtrodden audiences. Even middle-class audiences might have gained vicarious satisfaction from the temporary violation of domestic ideals by the commercial swindler.

Commenting on the class antagonisms that permeated much of the structure of melodrama, Booth noted that the

same phenomenon extended to the audience. Our knowledge of the audiences of popular theatres is biased, as it is based largely on the testimony of middle-class journalists and novelists adventuring into the slums. They described the crowd with a mixture of condescension, humour, and moral disapproval, often averring without much evidence that it consisted chiefly of criminals and future clients of the Old Bailey. For such reporters, as to us, the Victorian villain was a figure of fun; but his persistent appeal throughout the century testifies to a real power over the imagination.

Jean O'Grady  
Mill Project, Toronto

\* \* \*

The conference approved the slate of officers for 1988-89: James Cameron, president; Judith Grant, past president; Jean O'Grady, secretary-treasurer; Judith Knelman, editor of the Newsletter; Martin Fichman, Eleanor Cook and Bernard Lightman, members at large.

\* \* \*

Our 21st annual conference will be held at Glendon College on Saturday, April 8, 1989. The first speaker will be Martha Vicinus (University of Michigan at Ann Arbor). Her subject will be "Victorian Secrets: Sexuality in Villette." The second speaker will be Margaret MacMillan (Ryerson, Toronto), whose topic is "What India Did to the Idea of Progress: The Cases of Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir Henry Maine and Others."

\* \* \*

The second George Borrow conference will be held at the George Borrow Hotel at Ponterwyd, near Aberystwyth, in Wales on June 24-25, 1989. For details contact the organizer, Michael Collie, at York University,

Toronto. Proposals for papers are welcome.

\* \* \*

Victorian Anecdotes, Apocrypha and Hallowed Clichés will be the topic of the 13th annual meeting of the Midwest Victorian Studies Association in Chicago on April 28-29, 1989.

\* \* \*

The 17th annual conference of the Victorian Studies Association of Western Canada was held in Calgary from Sept. 29 to Oct. 1, 1988. Among the speakers was Jane Millgate (English, Toronto), who talked about what Sir Walter Scott meant to the Victorians.

\* \* \*

John R. Atkin of St. Thomas attended the Matthew Arnold Centenary Conference in Liverpool last July. He reports:

"The formal papers were, as always, a somewhat mixed bag, but, on the whole, interesting and competent. The conference had been arranged so that one day would be devoted to Arnold's educational writings, one day to his poetry and criticism, and one day to his religious views.

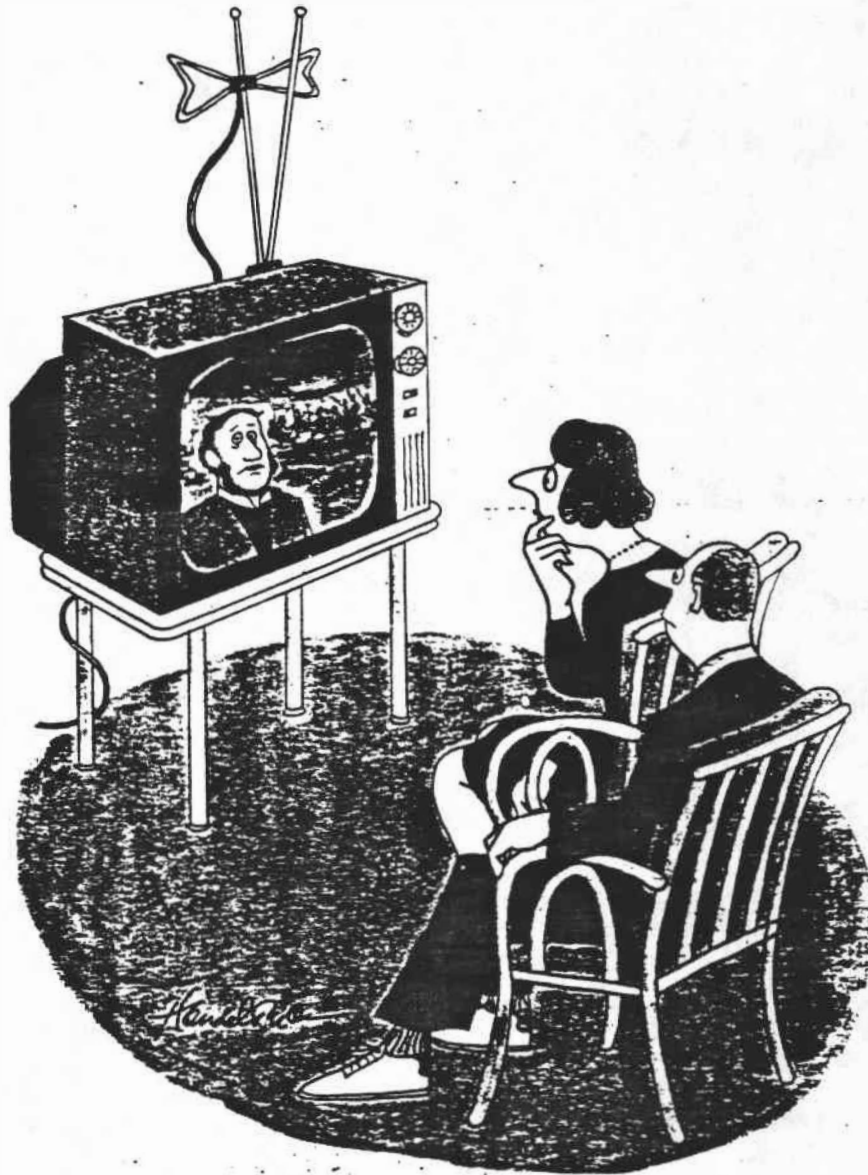
"On the last day, Ruth apRoberts shared the platform with David DeLaura, who had reviewed her Arnold and God severely. The two ideas of God were reconciled in a brilliant paper by Anthony Kenny, Master of Balliol, who discussed Arnold as a Christian agnostic. He did concede that Arnold was a devout man.

"The evenings were genial. Great humour was aroused by the only presentation in 100 years of Arnold's play Merope. Participants were lured to the soporific drama by the promise of a tour of the venue, St. George's

Hall.

"A younger generation of Arnoldians seems to be arising in the United

States who see Arnold's attempt to transform his personal ideal into a social ideal as relevant in our time."



*"Here as on a darkling plain swept with confused alarms  
of struggle and flight, where ignorant armies clash by  
night, Matthew Arnold, Fox News, Channel Five."*

Drawing by Handelsman:  
copyright 1988  
The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

# Riddle-de-dee

OLD CAMERON'S Nursery Rhyme Riddles

No. 4

Every day  
William Popenjay  
Considered marriage and age  
And (thinking of her mother) what was sage.

Solution on page 44





# F.E.L. Priestley



Photograph (1978) by Kenneth Quinn  
courtesy of University College Archives

# In memoriam

F.E.L. Priestley

The following remarks were extracted from the tribute prepared by John M. Robson for the Commemorative Service for F.E.L. Priestley at University College on October 20. Tributes were also paid by Frances Halpenny and Trevor Levere.

\* \* \*

Surveys are appropriate for community celebrations--at least as appropriate as for elections--and so I asked several of FELP's distinguished pupils for a few words on his effect. Not surprisingly, their memories were vivid, their gratefulness strong, and their admiration instructive. What follows is an amalgamation of judgments by Frances Halpenny, David Shaw, Eleanor Cook, Harvey Kerpneck (all of this University), Donald Hair and Judith Knelman (of the University of Western Ontario), John Matthews (of Queen's), William Whitla (of York), and Christopher Kent (of the University of Saskatchewan).

Like mine, their memories of his teaching are paramount: "His abiding legacy is a conviction that learning can sometimes be the demanding but liberating high adventure FELP always tried to make it" (Shaw). "He seemed to teach effortlessly--no lecture notes, but no padding or groping for words either. He would just open the book wherever we had left off and start showering us with understanding. The hour flew. ... His insistence on accuracy, consistency and logic made an indelible impression on me" (Knelman). "I think I never heard anything that I would describe as not making sense from him. His standards

never sank below a consistent norm, whatever the topic, and his expectations were always of the highest" (Kerpneck). "Of all the teachers I had as an undergraduate at the University of Toronto, Priestley was the most impressive--more than D.G. Creighton, Bertie Wilkinson, or A.S.P. Woodhouse. In fact he was the person who really got me interested in intellectual history, through his course on Nineteenth-Century Literature" (Kent). "He was the best expositor of English literature I ever heard. When I took his Victorian and eighteenth-century courses at University College, I felt like Keats's astronomer when a new planet swims into his horizon. ... Partly because he never referred to notes I soon began to realize that his lectures were occasions when original thinking was in progress" (Shaw). "Teaching of the best kind: why? Not just challenging loose argument, challenging unhistorical thinking. Not just wit and intelligence and energy. An invitation to the student's best self, and a gift for imparting confidence. An integrity that had nothing to do with agreeing or disagreeing with him" (Cook).

FELP "lectured straight from the text: his presentations have always seemed to me models of careful and lucid exposition moving from the text to the context, to the history of ideas, to the age--an archeology of knowledge long before Foucault invented the term" (Whitla). For him, "Victorian studies were never purely literary, and we were always aware, with him, of literature in the context of other disciplines, especially philosophy and science. There was nothing of the pedant about

him. Always he taught us contexts, relationships, precedents, and developments. ... For all FELP's sensitivity to style and tone, language and genre--as a practical critic, he was a superb 'Maker-see'--he always made us aware (as Hallam said of Tennyson) of a world of meaning in a few little words" (Hair). "FELP, with his reading in philosophy and science, fitted well into the traditions of the English Language and Literature programme. But we knew him as a man of literature, and the rigour of analysis he expected was, we were aware, in the service of poetry and the poet. It was patient, exact scrutiny, watching what the Victorian poets were actually doing, what they were constructing, respecting their experiments with voice, with symbol, especially with genre" (Halpenny).

These same qualities marked his writing and editing, on which I cannot dwell, except to say that, following him as I did as General Editor of the Collected Works of J.S. Mill and in the Chair of the Editorial Board of the Disraeli Edition, I had much to admire and attempt to emulate. As Don Hair says: "FELP has left behind a body of work which will remain valuable, and which continues to play a role in critical debates, but his chief influence, I think, was as a teacher. Many of his students have modelled their careers on his balancing of teaching and writing. I know I have."

In all this you will note the appeal from character, so easy to recall, so hard to record. One snapshot view: "The erect carriage, standing and sitting, and the line down the back of the head and neck, very nearly straight. The gathering of thought marked by a slight amused twitch of the lips before some crisp rejoinder. (Postscript on a UNICEF card showing

a large, tawny-eyed, directly gazing, bewhiskered cat: 'The front cover is not a recent portrait.') The spontaneous laugh and emphatic nod of the head at a point well made" (Cook).

And, to dwell on the shocking, the puffing. One student recalls his repeated "Chuckling as he chain-smoked his way through pages of [critics' follies]"; another comments: "I remember that FELP was a heavy smoker, and smoked through his seminars, but he would never light a cigarette without looking at it very hard, and sort of testing it with his eyes before lighting it. It was as if he really wanted to make an event of each one. He certainly seemed to enjoy smoking" (Kent).

The extraordinary range of his interests and knowledge can be conveyed only impressionistically: "It was impossible to know as much as he knew about cars, machines, science, photography, [single malt whisky, and Dixieland jazz--which he performed--as well as] most academic subjects, but FELP never undertook to parade his knowledge or to make you feel uncomfortable with your ignorance" (Kerpneck).

FELP's breadth of interest made manoeuvring through his living space somewhat problematic, as piles of magazines and books teetered and loomed everywhere except where they should have been, but his mind was remarkably clear of such clutter. Clarity was, as all recall, matched with sharpness of vision.

Perhaps I can sum up his effect in words used by John Henry Newman of one of his teachers, Richard Whately: he "not only taught me to think, but to think for myself."

John M. Robson  
University of Toronto

# The Victorian Concept of Duty

Harvey Kerpneck  
University of Toronto

If, like me, you often begin a Victorians course by assailing the stereotype, you know some of the myth that surrounds the Victorian concept of Duty. For example, since the stereotype purveys an image of an age repressed and pent up, by and large the victim of its own strenuous moral earnestness--from which we, happily, have had the good sense to flee into moral relativity--the myth includes the idea of the omnipresence of the concept of Duty and the almost incalculable pressure it exerted on individuals to conform and to eschew individual judgement.

But none of the evidence, I hasten to assure my classes, supports the myth. Warden Harding, for example, eventually triumphs over the Jupiter and John Bold (and the Archdeacon and the pro-Church forces) by resolving not to conform either to their stereotype of him or to the notions, on the other side of the dispute, of what constituted his duty. When he resolves to do his Duty, his is an unconventional action, and the novelist takes care to tell us, as we withdraw from the action of the novel, that the conventional mind of the world was divided, the genteel element supporting one solution, the mercantile another. Furthermore, gentle Mr. Harding only accepts the idea of a Duty that transcends typical ideas--that is, bias and prejudice and animus--when the need for an individual judgement finds a substantial ally in his sense of Self: it is, in fact, in order to make himself invulnerable to the accusations of his foes that he resolves to do his Duty and quit Hiram's Hospital (and to lay the internal tempest that their malevolence

has wakened in his breast).

In this single instance, from a novel written early in the period, we can see how grossly the vulgar idea of the Victorian concept of Duty falsifies. Individuality is certainly involved in the concept--but it is not repressed by a realization of the Duty that must be done: it is ultimately liberated (achieved, indeed) when Duty is done. The Mr. Harding of the later novels is made possible by the character's struggle upwards from the slough of self-pity in which he wallows before he embraces Duty late in this novel. Conformity is certainly an issue--but the character learns that to do his Duty involves flinging down the gauntlet to conformity of every kind. As a pressure on individuals, the novel reveals that the concept of Duty is for most of the characters no stronger than irrational antipathy or the "desire to reform abuses of every kind"--on the one hand, what Carlyle stigmatizes in Past and Present as "ignoble" Conservatism and much later Morley condemns in On Compromise as vulgar Liberalism, more interested in baiting its foes than in moving towards reform.

If we stand back from this novel as I have just suggested, it is easy enough to begin to correct the stereotype. Trollope, who after all described himself as "an advanced Conservative-Liberal," represents quite well--in so many ways--how we should, in opposition to the stereotype, see the Victorian concept of Duty. It certainly has something to do with political affiliations, or with attitudes associated with them, but it is

absolutely impossible to use it as what Carlyle calls "a ready reckoner" to distinguish Conservative from Liberal. Both the Conservatives and Liberals (and conservatives and liberals) of the Warden's world are bemused by his achievement of a sense of Duty--or, at best, they support his having done so from a narrow, sectarian position of their own. As Trollope's label for himself, taken, as I would suggest, together with his depiction in about three dozen novels of an individual's and sometimes a group's or congregation's struggle to apprehend the concept of Duty, implies, the concept of Duty has much to do with a free, liberated condition on the one hand and what Carlyle and Morley, early and late in the period, condemn as ignoble and vulgar on the other. Labels of any kind are no warrant that any individual will have attained a concept of Duty and realized it for himself.

Trollope is not atypical of the great Victorian's attitude to the concept of Duty and of his or her representation of the attitude among Victorians in general to it. For Dorothea Brooke, a vulgar and parochial idea of it leads to irresponsible self-abnegation and almost to disaster. Among Ulysses' mariners fear of the concept leads to a self-mesmerized condition. Later in the century, Victor Radnor divides himself into a public attitude to it (designed to obtain for himself a seat in the Commons) and a private one (designed to permit him to sustain an idyllic, epicurean, belletristic life at Lakelands). Victor's bifurcated condition is apparent to all--but only reprehended by one or two. Pip, of course, inhabits a world in which the concept of Duty can always be rationalized away: the best draw up their drawbridge, shoot off their cannon and repose at ease; the worst chase fire-engines, as we might say, and make only the merest, legalistic profession of fealty to it.

Hence Mr. Toogood--who is too good to be a lawyer in a world largely occupied by such as Mortimer Gazebee, Bideawhile and Slow and Mr. Chaffanbrass. Toogood resolves to do his duty and help to absolve Mr. Crawley of the accusation against him, in the face of almost universal opposition to lifting a finger to help Mr. Crawley. The real nub of society's suspicion and contempt towards the besieged clergyman is that he is outrageously individual and abnormally conscious that, for himself, the concept of Duty embraces his charges, the poverty-stricken brickmakers of Hogglestock. Besides, his boots are worn and he keeps neither a carriage nor even a horse.

Sometimes it is only the outcasts, like the Reverend Mr. Crawley or Madame Max, who seem capable of realizing the need for an actual, operative, not a merely theoretical, concept of Duty. Madame Max, from her dubious establishment on Park Lane, rallies the old Duke's support for Phineas when he is unjustly accused. (It is significant that the central issue in a Victorian fiction is often an accusation, widely supported, that divides the generality of society from the individual capable of aspiring to a concept of Duty, and basing his or her actions upon it.) When characters are not outcasts, they tend to live apart from society or to dispute its predispositions--like Vernon Whitford, for whom Sir Willoughby's duty to Crossjaye is very plain, or even the Wise Youth, Adrian, who is able to see where Sir Austin is remiss in his duty to Richard, because, though an inhabitant of the Abbey, he lives there in intellectual isolation.

My examples have been taken deliberately from early and late works, from the works of writers of every persuasion, from instances of political and religious and merely social issues. What commonly happens in Victorian

fiction is that an issue polarizes a society and the resolution, if it involves the concept of Duty, requires an individual to separate himself, as in The Warden, from the combatants on either side. Even if his allegiance remains with one of the sides, his integrity and individuality depend upon his fealty to the concept of Duty, not his loyalty to that side. (Those of whom this is not true remain dubious recipients of the reader's sympathy, like Archdeacon Grantly and Alvan, and their celebrity or standing in society do not affect this evaluation.)

Far from being a cohesive factor, far from being a characteristic of Victorian society in general, which is depicted in the stereotype as a society of strenuous moral earnestness, the concept of Duty tends to be depicted in Victorian fiction as divisive. From every angle, it sets Barseshire on its ear, it becomes a yardstick by which so many of the professions of Dickens's London come to seem for Pip Quackery and Sham (to borrow Carlyle's terms), it breaks Sir Willoughby Patterne and the microcosmic society whose Sun-King he is. What is true of the fiction is no less true of the poetry: Browning's Bishop ordering his tomb is a human battleground on which the concept of Duty and selfishness of the commonest sort encounter, Karshish is almost divided from his ordinary allegiance by the felt need to embrace a higher sort of concept of Duty, the Scholar Gipsy is divided--"tired of knocking at Pre-ferment's door"--from the common race of men by his attraction to "the light from heaven," Thyrsis cannot wait for his contemporaries to struggle up to the light and "of his own will went away."

My allusions to Victorian prose of thought have been partly designed to demonstrate that what is true of the fiction and poetry is no less true of the prose of thought. The concept of

Duty certainly divided Ruskin from his society on any number of occasions: isn't this, from Sesame and Lilies, archetypal of his general address to his contemporaries, "But, again, I ask you, do you at all believe in honesty, or at all in kindness? or do you think there is never any honesty or benevolence in wise people?" Ruskin's attempt, for himself, to cleave to the concept of Duty resulted, of course, in Thackeray's being forced, as editor of the Cornhill, to ask him politely to put a sock in it, which resulted in the present dimensions of Unto This Last. And in Unto This Last we all remember Ruskin's bitter complaint that he knew "no instance in history" of a society's behaving as ignominiously as the Victorian society, which proclaimed a loyalty to the concept of Duty and then behaved contrariwise. The "will of God" in Arnold's double-barrelled "reason and the will of God" can be identified with the "morality" of his definition of religion as "three-fourths morality"; though not identical, they both point in the same direction, towards the condition of a society which, nominally Christian, has in fact abrogated its compact with what Carlyle calls in Heroes and Hero Worship "the great deep law of the World" and has elected to turn its back on the concept of Duty and determined that pragmatism counsels a greater concern for the ownership or the managing of the next great Truss Manufactory to go up.

In Victorian prose of thought, the concept of Duty is indeed always a central concern. Whether a writer is a conservative like Carlyle, or a Liberal whose "liberalism is tempered by reflection" like Arnold, or a Liberal radical like Mill, all the great figures in the literature of knowledge make the concept of Duty paramount in their schemes for the renovation of the existing society. Not one of them sees it--as our vulgar stereotype does--as characteris-

tic of the existing society. Its absence from society in the Victorian period underlines, for example, Mill's discussion of Justice in Utilitarianism: for Justice to obtain generally enough in society, Mill proclaims, a concept of Duty must become second nature to the citizens of our commonwealth; to the extent that it remains merely an admirable theoretical proposition, it declines into at best a stick to beat the opposition with--as he describes "Christian morality so-called" in On Liberty. For Ruskin, who writes often in opposition to Mill, it is as true of political economy as it is of the older Christian ethic that the merely theoretical solves no problems, and in fact the problem that he sees in "the soi-disant science of political economy" is that it is an attempt to operate scientifically apart from the concept of Duty. (Notice that to both Ruskin on the one side--" a Tory of the old school, of Sir Walter Scott and Homer"--and Mill on the other, the problem is not really a Liberal or Conservative problem, but a problem of illusion vs. reality, of a nominal vs. an actual faith.) For Arnold and for Carlyle the problem can be described in terms of "mechanism," which is simply their term for (a) a devout conviction that it is best to continue in the direction society has been heading, (b) a desire to use some ready reckoner, key to all mythologies, unum necessarium, Morrison's pill which will engender fewer divisions in society than the largely unpalatable concept of Duty, (c) a recognition that the novel and bizarre individuality which Warden Harding ultimately attains is likely to lead Victorian society into the open waters that Ulysses' mariners fear so greatly.

None of these writers believes that in writing about the concept of Duty in his own way he is soothing the troubled brow of his society; in fact, each recognizes that the con-

cept of Duty is potentially a great irritant. Ruskin's Christian society, Mill's just society and Arnold's critical society are all motivated in part by the concept of Duty--but each of these is a far-off, divine event to be attained, in all likelihood, by a "revolution," as Arnold calls it forthrightly, which will make the Mr. Murphys and the owners of Truss Manufacturing profoundly unhappy before it multiplies the number of Toogoods in society. William Morris, in "How the Change Came" in News from Nowhere, perhaps goes further--being a Socialist--than the others in recognizing how much of an irritant the concept of Duty will probably become before society is reconstituted (bloody violence in the streets precedes the coming of the Socialist commonwealth) but his vision is certainly not eccentric. Carlyle's Baphometric Fire-Baptism and Arnold's revolution are also indications of how much alike the great Victorians of every persuasion are in seeing the concept of Duty as not merely salvific in the end but in the short run "descendental," to borrow another term from Carlyle, and powerfully destructive--at least, of the ease and complacency and of what Arnold calls the parochial mentality that characterize society as actually existent at present.

None of these writers regards the concept of Duty either, any more than does any of the poets or novelists, as the special gift or preserve or inheritance or privileged insight of any one religious denomination. It is for them no more specially religious in a particular way than it is emblematic of one political profession. Carlyle's discussion of Mahomet early in the period makes this particularly clear: in part his discussion of Mahomet's faith is intended to make clear that neither one particular brand of Christianity nor Christianity itself is the sole repository in history of a concept of Duty. For

him, belief in this exclusive relationship with the great, deep Law of the World is as noxious as the universal scepticism of the "unbelieving eighteenth century." Mill seconds Carlyle when he points out that for the Victorians to attain to a concept of Duty they will need to add to Christian morality so-called the best insights of the pagan philosophers and philosopher-kings like Marcus Aurelius. Arnold, of course, in praising Newman and the Oxford Movement to a world confounded by No-Popery riots, makes the same point in a more particular way: the duty to render the world less vulgar, less credulous, less susceptible of unthinking subscription in undeviating orthodoxies overspreads the bound of all the orthodoxies.

Properly understood, then, the Victorian concept of Duty is not a species of self-congratulation. Nor is it a limited vision of a world not markedly dissimilar from the present society but merely further on in time. It is not an especially Christian concept because among other things writers apparently indifferent to Christianity--like Mill--or actively hostile to it--like Morley--embrace it as easily as those to whom Christianity is essential to Man's perfecting of himself--writers like Trollope. Where it is linked to Christian thought, it is often linked by way of contrast--as, for example, in Ruskin's denunciation of the unChristian character of his society, which seems to him hardly better than the non-Christian character of the new science of political economy. It is not a way of distinguishing little (or big) Liberals from little Conservatives and has essentially nothing to do with any one political philosophy; in this respect Phineas's decision to stand by Mr. Monk and to dissociate himself by so doing from the settled opinion of his party is archetypal. And it is not much affected, whether in Victorian poetry, or fiction, or

non-fiction prose of the first rank, by the writers' separate and different allegiances or beliefs.

It is, on the other hand, usually a way of distinguishing the person who has attained to an individual character (or is capable of doing so) from those not so capable: Abbot Samson, the speaker in In Memoriam (see "Ring out, wild bells!"), Warden Harding, and on the other side Tertius Lydgate and Wilfrid Pole demonstrate this. It is usually linked, whether directly or by implication, with transcendent political, social or religious change and, irrespective of the writer's own creed, it is seen as the precursor of that change: Matey Weyburn, Napoleon in The Song of French History, and Cromwell in Heroes demonstrate this. It usually engenders at least temporary differentiation of an individual's and a society's norms: as in Abbot Samson, Mark Robarts and Colney Durance, Nevil Beauchamp and Daniel Deronda. It is always salvific and exceptionally unlikely to be hurtful to its advocate, even when it leads to temporary or enduring estrangement from some settled society: Phineas again, Dr. Wortle, the persona in Maud, Dobbin in Vanity Fair indicate this. It is always a specific for an illusion, and the reader of Victorian writing can usually count on it to assist him to penetrate an illusion--even an illusion grounded in some counterfeit of the concept of Duty: the figures of Quintus Slide, Tom Towers and Timothy Turbot, the interviewer in "Bishop Bloughram's Apology" and the interviewer in Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau indicate this clearly.

Stereotypes are, of course, nearly irresolvable by fact. The walls of the world's fort, as Arnold says in Thyrsis, often seem "unbreachable." Yet it would seem so easy to dispel this aspect of the stereotype of the Victorians and the myths that cluster round the concept of Duty once one



acquires only a moderate acquaintance with the different genres of Victorian writing, that it seems difficult to see why they are able to maintain themselves. But certainly, if their grasp is loosened we can understand

the writers of the age more easily. And we can see readily both how widely the concept of Duty is dispersed through Victorian literature and how, in reality, it actually operates.



# Science and Literature: A Bibliography

Martin Fichman  
Glendon College  
York University

Recent scholarship focussing on the complex inter-relationships between science and literature has found a particularly rich mine in the Victorian era. Although science itself was undergoing a process of professionalization--with the attendant emergence of specialized disciplines--the demarcation between the "two cultures" that C.P. Snow postulated for our own period had not yet appeared in the nineteenth century. Rather, a profound and often provocative discourse, shared by both writers and scientists, developed which sought to interpret the broader cultural significance of science (and technology) and assess its impact upon traditional religious, philosophical, sociopolitical, economic, and educational values and institutions. Though the debates occurred throughout Europe and North America, it was England which witnessed perhaps the liveliest controversies. The profound impact of the methods and findings of the natural sciences was evident at the outset of Victoria's reign; as Walter E. Houghton noted in his classic The Victorian Frame of Mind (1957), many Victorians from John Stuart Mill, writing in 1831, onwards used the word "transition" or "transitional" to characterize the period in which they lived. Specifically, Mill found transition to be the leading characteristic of the times. "Mankind," he asserted, "have outgrown old institutions and old doctrines, and have not yet acquired new ones" (Houghton, p. 1).

Two outstanding features of this world in transition stand out. First, the triumph of bourgeois industrial

society with its implicit faith in scientific, technological, and social progress, seemed imminent. Secondly, these same scientific advances provoked widespread doubt about the nature of man, society, and the universe. This dualistic spirit--of optimism and anxiety--characterizes the Victorian debates on science and culture and manifests itself in works as diverse as Tennyson's In Memoriam, George Eliot's Middlemarch, and H.G. Wells' Island of Dr. Moreau, to cite only three of the most obvious examples. The historian of literature and the historian of science note two basic categories of literary discourse about science: first, literature as impartation of natural scientific knowledge, and, second, literature as ideological defence of and/or resistance to that same knowledge. Each category includes, therefore, both fiction and non-fiction.

Since the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, mankind's knowledge of the material world had been radically transformed. Most significant for our purposes is the fact that the dissemination of the new knowledge was not restricted to the scholarly world but soon spread first to the upper and middle classes and then, by the Victorian period, to all segments of society. What may be aptly characterized as a mania for observing nature emerged in the nineteenth century: a passion for studying (particularly by means of the microscope and the telescope as well as the naked eye) astronomical, chemical, and geological phenomena, for collecting minerals and plants, and for observing flora and fauna. The

reportage and analysis of these observations appeared not only in the traditional scientific journals such as the Royal Society's Philosophical Transactions, but in the increasing number of specialized journals. Among these may be noted the Linnaean Society's Transactions (first published in 1791), the Geological Society's Transactions (begun in 1811), and the Chemical Society's Journals (begun in 1848). But science's impact was also exerted upon the general public. In addition to the proliferation of textbooks and manuals, new journals appeared which presented scientific information of high quality to scientist and layperson alike; two of the most notable of these were the English Mechanic (begun in 1865) and the Gardener's Chronicle (first published in 1841, which provided information not only to gardeners but to such theorists as Charles Darwin). One must also note in this category such works as the Penny Cyclopaedia and the tracts published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, which functioned as important sources of general scientific education. Perhaps most important as an index of the dissemination of new scientific knowledge and the complex cultural and socio-political implications thereof were the lively and often brilliant debates conducted in the pages of newspapers and periodicals including the Pall Mall Gazette, the Nineteenth Century, the Edinburgh Review, the Quarterly Review, The Athenaeum, the Westminster Review, Thomas Huxley's Natural History Review, and Norman Lockyer's Nature. Finally, one must include those historical and biographical works which served to impress further the cultural significance of science upon the Victorians. Eminent in this category are: William Whewell, History of the Inductive Sciences, from the Earliest to the Present Times, 3 vols. (London, 1837); David Brewster, Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton (Edinburgh,

1855); and J.F.W. Herschel, Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy (London, 1830).

The examination of the mutual influence of science and fiction (including poetry) has been pursued with equal vigour concerning the Victorian period in recent years. In some respects, modern analyses of the relations between science and literature--whether they depict the influence from the one to the other as destructive or constructive--are indebted to the arguments and reflections of the Victorians themselves. The apprehensions of T.B. Macaulay and John Henry Newman as to the potentially corrosive effects of scientific reasoning and conclusions upon the literary endeavour have their analogues in certain circles today. Similarly, the enthusiasm with which writers as diverse as Samuel Taylor Coleridge and H.G. Wells embraced the language and metaphors of science (if not necessarily the benevolence of its teachings) are echoed by many critics today. What is clear, then, is not that any conclusions or consensus--then or now--emerge from the debates on science and literature (even from such thoughtful and tempered ones as that between Matthew Arnold and T.H. Huxley). Rather, we only know, as J.A.V. Chapple suggests in Science and Literature in the Nineteenth Century (1986), "that a constant stress upon cultural exchange between writers of all kinds directs attention to what actually happened throughout the nineteenth century, enables us to appreciate the variety of interactions between science and literature and, most valuably, places original texts of both in the centre of attention. The common uses of language, modes of expression and 'literary' structures of thought, feeling and invention are all vitally relevant" in comprehending how [in Gillian Beer's words] "not only ideas but metaphors, myths and narrative patterns could move rapidly and freely to and fro between

scientists and non-scientists: though not without frequent creative imprisonment" (Chapple, p. 18).

#### GENERAL WORKS

- Allen, David E. The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History. London, 1976.
- Cannon, S.F. Science in Culture: The Early Victorian Period. New York, 1978.
- Chapple, J.A.V. Science and Literature in the Nineteenth Century. London, 1986.
- Cosslett, Tess. The "Scientific Movement" and Victorian Literature. Harvester Press, 1982.
- , ed. Science and Religion in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge, 1984. (Substantial selections from Paley, Chambers, Darwin, Godwin, F. Temple, and Tyndall.)
- Crum, Ralph B. Scientific Thought in Poetry. New York, 1966.
- Desmond, Adrian. Archetypes and Ancestors: Palaeontology in Victorian London: 1850-1875. London, 1982. (More scope than its sub-title suggests.)
- Fletcher, Angus, ed. The Literature of Fact. New York, 1976. (See esp. essay of Hayden White.)
- Gillispie, Charles C. Genesis and Geology: A Study in the Relations of Scientific Thought, Natural Theology, and Social Opinion in Great Britain, 1790-1850. 1951; rpt. New York, 1959.
- Greene, Mott T. Geology in the Nineteenth Century: Changing Views of a Changing World. Ithaca, 1982.
- Heath-Stubbs, John, and Phillips Salaman, eds. Poems of Science. Penguin, 1984. (Includes poems by E. Darwin, Coleridge, Davy, Shelley, Beddoes, Poe, Tennyson, Browning, Clough, Melville, Whitman, Arnold, Patmore, Meredith, Swinburne, Hardy, Hopkins, and Kipling.)
- Houghton, Walter E. The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870. New Haven, 1957.
- Huxley, Aldous. Literature and Science. London, 1963.
- Hyman, Stanley E. The Tangled Bank: Darwin, Marx, Frazer and Freud as Imaginative Writers. New York, 1962.
- Jordanova, L.J., ed. Languages of Nature: Critical Essays on Science and Literature. New Jersey, 1986.
- Knight, David. The Age of Science: The Scientific World-View in the Nineteenth Century. Oxford, 1986.
- Levine, George, ed. The Art of Victorian Prose. London, 1968. (See esp. articles by A.D. Culler and W.F. Cannon.)
- MacLeod, Roy M. "A Note on Nature and the Social Significance of Scientific Publishing, 1850-1914," Victorian Periodicals Newsletter, No. 3 (November 1968), 16-17.
- Morrell, J., and Arnold Thackray, eds. Gentlemen of Science: The Origins and Early Years of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Oxford, 1981.
- Paradis, James, and Thomas Postlewait, eds. Victorian Science and Victorian Values: Literary Perspectives. New Brunswick, N.J., 1985.
- Rousseau, G.S. "Literature and Science: The State of the Field," Isis, 69 (1978), 583-91. (A survey of secondary works since 1950.)
- Russel, Colin A. Science and Social Change, 1700-1900. London, 1983.
- Sewell, Elizabeth. The Orphic Voice: Poetry and Natural History. London, 1961.
- Tennyson, G.B., and U.C. Knoepflmacher, eds. Nature and the Victorian Imagination. Berkeley, 1978.
- Timko, Michael. "The Victorianism of Victorian Prose," New Literary History, 6 (1975), 607-27. (On the prose style of Victorian scientists.)
- Turner, Frank M. Between Science and Religion: The Reactions to Scientific Naturalism in Late Victorian England. New Haven, 1974.

Tyndall, John. Fragments of Science for Unscientific People: A Series of Detached Essays, Lectures and Reviews. London, 1879 (6th ed., 2 vols.).

#### SPECIALIZED STUDIES

Bailey, James Osler. "Evolutionary Meliorism in the Poetry of Thomas Hardy," Studies in Philology, 60 (1963), 569-87.

Ball, Patricia. The Science of Aspects: The Changing Role of Fact in the Work of Coleridge, Ruskin, and Hopkins. Athlone Press, 1971.

Beer, Gillian. Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot and Nineteenth-Century Fiction. London, 1983.

Bergonzi, Bernard. The Early H.G. Wells: A Study of the Scientific Romances. Manchester, 1961.

Blinderman, Charles S. "Semantic Aspects of T.H. Huxley's Literary Style," Journal of Communication, 22 (1962), 171-8.

Brogan, Howard O. "Science and Narrative Structure in Austen, Hardy, and Woolf," Nineteenth-Century Fiction, 11 (1957), 276-87.

Burkhardt, F., Sydney Smith, et al., eds. The Correspondence of Charles Darwin. Cambridge, 1985- .

Conner, Frederick W. Cosmic Optimism: A Study of the Interpretation of Evolution by American Poets from Emerson to Robinson. New York, 1973.

Ellegard, Henrik Alvar. Darwin and the General Reader: The Reception of Darwin's Theory of Evolution in the British Periodical Press. Gothenburg, 1958.

Forrester, J.M. "George Eliot and Physiology," Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, 64 (1971), 724-6.

Gardner, Joseph H. "A Huxley Essay as 'poem'," Victorian Studies, 14 (1970), 177-91.

Gibson, Walker. "Behind the Veil: A Distinction between Poetic and Scientific Language in Tennyson, Lyell, and Darwin," Victorian

Studies, 2 (1958), 60-8.

Goodwin, Carolyn Ann. "Charles Kingsley and the Vision of Childhood: A Study of The Water-Babies as a Response to Darwinism," MA thesis, Queen's, 1971.

Henkin, Leo J. Darwinism in the English Novel, 1860-1910: The Impact of Evolution on Victorian Fiction. 1940; rpt. New York, 1963.

Hull, David L. Darwin and His Critics. London, 1973.

Kingsley, Charles. Scientific Lectures and Essays. London, 1880.

Knoll, Elizabeth. "The Science of Language and the Evolution of Mind: Max Müller's Quarrel with Darwinism," Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences, 22 (1986), 3-22.

Levere, Trevor H. Poetry Realised in Nature: Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Early Nineteenth-Century Science. Cambridge, 1981.

Mackenzie, Norman and Jeanne. The Time Traveller: The Life of H.G. Wells. London, 1973.

Manier, Edward. The Young Darwin and His Cultural Circle. Dordrecht, 1978.

Mason, Michael York. "Middlemarch and Science: Problems of Life and Mind," Review of English Studies, 22 N.S. (1971), 151-69.

Millhauser, Milton. Fire and Ice: The Influence of Science on Tennyson's Poetry. Lincoln, 1971.

Morton, Peter. The Vital Science: Biology and the Literary Imagination, 1860-1900. London, 1984.

Oldroyd, David, and I. Langham, eds. The Wider Domain of Evolutionary Thought. Dordrecht, 1983.

Patterson, Elizabeth C. Mary Somerville and the Cultivation of Science, 1815-1840. Boston, 1983.

Philmus, Robert M. Into the Unknown: The Evolution of Science Fiction from Francis Godwin to H.G. Wells. Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1970.

Shuttleworth, Sally. George Eliot and Nineteenth-Century Science: The Make-Believe of a Beginning. Cambridge, 1984.

Stasny, John F. "W. Winwood Reade's The Martyrdom of Man: A Darwinian History," West Virginia University Bulletin: Philological Papers, 13 (1961), 37-49.

Street, Brian V. The Savage in Literature: Representations of "Primitive" Society in English Fiction, 1850-1920. London, 1975.

Sussman, Herbert L. The Victorians and the Machine: The Literary Response to Technology. Cambridge, Mass., 1968.

Young, Robert M. Darwin's Metaphor: Nature's Place in Victorian Culture. Cambridge, 1985.

NOTE: Victorian Studies publishes a "Victorian Bibliography" each year; Section V ("Literary History, Literary Forms, Literary Ideas") includes works on "science and literature."

The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900, ed. W.E. Houghton, 4 vols. (Toronto, 1972-88), is useful on specific authors, including scientists.



# Books

W.J. Keith. Regions of the Imagination. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988. Pp. ix, 199.

Praise be, not everyone knows that the Eagleton has landed and declared that many pleasing and useful activities, such as literary history, have been found dead-on-the-road in the fast lane. William Keith, for fine example, still has time for understanding the world prior to commenting on its changing. In this, his third book on related themes (the earlier two dealing with non-fiction rural writings and the poetry of nature), the virtues of his approach and sensibility are again evident, as he treats the familiar and the unfamiliar with honed expository skills, especially clarity, one of his strengths (and one that, like regionalism, is under sustained attack).

The book begins with an Introduction and then three parts: "Towards Regionalism" (Scott, Emily Brontë, Charlotte Brontë, Gaskell, and Eliot), "The Flowering of Regionalism" (Blackmore, Hardy, Phillpotts, Kaye-Smith, Holme, Webb), and "Beyond Regionalism" (Lawrence, John Cowper Powys); the last part includes the conclusion on the passing of Regionalism and (as manifestation and proof) Gibbons's Cold Comfort Farm. Such a program in less than two hundred pages leaves no room for excursions or discussions of the full oeuvre of any author. Keith made a firm decision to deal with major regional figures rather than to present a full map of the territory, and to dwell on literary questions rather than socio-political and geographical aspects of regionalism. He concentrates on relevant aspects of his authors' individual histories, literary methods, allegiances and debts, tying

all together with unobtrusive generalizations that trace the history (including the critical history) of the genre while leaving room for aesthetic and moral judgments. (The latter are mainly embodied in a conservationist subtext that is likely to offend no one.)

The Introduction settles into definitions, less categorical than heuristic, which mark off Keith's territory from the provincial, parochial, topographical, or local, and circumscribe, for the argument's sake, such related terms as rural, pastoral, natural, and naturist. One cogent comment will illustrate: as contrasted with the "merely local or provincial" writer, who is aiming "primarily [at] the inhabitants of the area itself," the regional novelist "writes of a specific locality but for as wide an audience as possible (most of whom exist outside it). ... Too often, localism of any kind becomes a mere tactic for evasion, a means of avoiding contact with the broader, more dominant issues of the time" (89). Of course great themes cannot be specifically "regional," except for perhaps two, deterioration and invasion, with their unsettling effects on individuals (generally tragic, or at least sentimentally affective). The view from inside tends to weaken comedy, as the butts are outside, and should not only be but remain ineffectual.

One cannot effectively summarize the content of Keith's individual treatments of novels and novelists, which will be of considerable use in readers' minds and classrooms; the general thesis may however be briefly aired. In the two earlier books, Keith says, he was "able to conclude with an emphasis on at least probable

continuity into the future, but in the case of English regional fiction the outlook is bleak indeed" (173). Not that rural settings will disappear from fiction (at least until they disappear in fact) but that areas have lost their special characters. In the broadest sense, the history of the period covered gives the explanation. Though the twentieth century has seen the climax of homogenization, the process of easy communication (of dreams and memories as well as of people and material goods) began in the nineteenth. This very process initially fostered the regional, building on ever-present nostalgia for that which is still within living memory and associated with community and family (real or imagined). The desire remains, but the locus is lost and the focus consequently blurred. In Keith's words:

inctive regions have now been penetrated by cosmopolitan (or, perhaps more fatally, metropolitan) technologies and communications systems, and have thus lost any sharp sense of differentiation," and "now seem no more than quaint survivals within a more centralized, standardized, relatively homogeneous society that takes its values from the industrial centres." Consequently "rural regional fiction has become an anachronism since it can no longer claim to be representative; the local cannot be transformed into the universal because so much of it is universal already" (173).

Somehow, Keith remains, if not blithe, warily accepting of history's leavings. Scant indeed is the hope of fresh fields and pastures new, but the powers of imagination can still





elevate the uniform above the dreary. Perhaps (his other great scholarly interest being Canadian literature) he is buoyed by the thought that Canadian fiction now has a greater appeal to U.S. (and some other) readers because it no longer seems foreign?

John M. Robson  
University of Toronto

\* \* \*

John M. Robson. What Did He Say? Editing Nineteenth-Century Speeches from Hansard and the Newspapers. Lethbridge: University of Lethbridge Press, 1988.

What Did He Say? (and I'm choosing my words carefully) is the rewritten version of an address that inaugurated the F.E.L. Priestley Lecture Series at the University of Lethbridge in 1987. On that occasion, a distinguished University of Toronto scholar appropriately honoured a distinguished predecessor-cum-mentor in the city in which the latter spent a significant part of his schooldays.

Professor Robson begins his "foreword" with a reminiscence about being a student in Professor Priestley's graduate course. Robson had offered "one of those pretentiously cute derogatory comments on Tennyson," whereupon FELP "fixed [him] with a deflationary glare and phrase" which, Robson graciously acknowledges, "mended" him. Now it so happens that I was myself a member of one of Robson's own early graduate seminars, and was usefully corrected in a similar but undoubtedly gentler manner. In response to my "English" vagueness about the niceties of scholarly reporting, Robson wrote on one of my essays: "In spite of the danger of being called an assimilationist, I suggest that you adopt (even if ironically) our practice." (I did.)

This exercise in the nostalgia of

tradition is more relevant to Robson's subject than one might at first think. He concerns himself with the difficulty (if not impossibility) of reconstructing nineteenth-century speeches from the scanty evidence available. Here, anecdote for anecdote, I am at an advantage. I can prove mine, since the annotated essay survives in my files, but we have to take Robson's story on trust in the absence of any written record (note that he reproduces neither his own callow comment nor FELP's placing phrase). He's a trustworthy character, of course, but who can say if the story hasn't "improved" over the years until he writes down this version several decades later? That should provoke thought; to coin a phrase, hmnnn.

As editor of the volumes of John Stuart Mill's speeches in the Mill edition, Robson has to reproduce to the best of his ability Mill's parliamentary contributions from the surviving sources. These generally comprise the unofficial Parliamentary Debates, newspaper reports, and (sometimes) pamphlet-reprints that have Mill's approval but are clearly revised versions and may, as Robson notes, present "what he later wished he had said" rather than his actual words in the House of Commons. This editorial challenge has led Robson to the more general question which he explores in this lecture: how far can we trust Hansard (or, rather, the two Hansards) for our knowledge of what really went on in Parliament during the nineteenth century?

It is a somewhat esoteric subject, but, Robson being Robson, it becomes interesting and absorbing as a result of his clear-headed probity and quiet wit. And it raises issues of considerable importance and complexity. Suppose that I make a speech in public. What did I say? What did I intend to say? What did I think I said? What did my hearers think I said?

These are different questions and can elicit different replies. So: "What is truth?" said not-quite-jesting Robson, and stayed for an illuminating discourse if not an answer.

His tricky, virtually post-modernist, but thoroughly justified message is concealed in a footnote: "This text, for example, is substantially different from that delivered at the University of Lethbridge on 30 March, 1987; whatever one might think of the merit of the two versions, the spoken one was certainly better adapted to its occasion than would have been the present one." A footnote that, one presumes, never got articulated at Lethbridge. This, then, is a reconstruction, not the speech delivered but an adapted version thereof. So the medium is the message, but, Robson being Robson, it is (however whimsically constructed) a firmly-argued position rather than a McLuhanesque probe. By indirections he finds directions out, but, Robson being Robson, there is no hint of plodding Polonius.

A gratifying, civilized, humanistic event is here translated, and so perpetuated, in print. For good measure, the editor of the series, A.F. Cassis, has appended a brief biography of FELP and a check-list of his publications. The latter, though thorough, is not complete, and readers of VSAN may care to be reminded that, besides his article on Kingsley's Water Babies in the last issue (which appeared too late for documentation here), a vintage speech (or perhaps revised version) by FELP, originally given at an RSVP banquet, appeared in the seventeenth issue (March 1976).

W.J. Keith  
University of Toronto

\* \* \*



Donald Read. Peel and the Victorians.  
Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987.

One might wonder whether there was need for a 300-page study of Peel covering the years 1834-50 in addition to the second volume (1972) of Professor Gash's superb biography covering those years and more recently the one-volume abridgement of the whole biography. Professor Read meets the point in his preface, paying a warm tribute to Gash's work and adding that he has given few specific references to it "only because its continuous relevance has been taken for granted." His justification for his new book is not that he has found any shortcomings in Gash's interpretation but rather that he has taken a different, indeed he calls it a "novel," approach, and this indeed is the case. Inevitably there is a fair amount of overlapping in the narrative of events which Read presents much more briefly, but his account is also based on a wide range of original sources, and his quotations from them generally avoid repeating what Gash has already quoted. The fact is that the sources are so rich in the papers of Peel and the colleagues with whom he was in close touch (I speak from experience) that Gash or any historian using them is forced to be highly selective, especially in the matter of quotation. Thus Read goes over the same ground, but with a different pair of eyes, and presents his account from a different perspective and with different emphases. Moreover, he is not attempting another biography but rather re-examining Peel's career from the time of his first ministry in 1834/5 in terms of his relationship to his contemporaries--the early Victorians. He has made good use of many of the manuscript sources used by Gash and rather more of newspaper sources as a means of assessing public opinion, recognizing that newspapers helped both to make and to reflect public opinion. Indeed, he tells us that his

first book, Press and People, 1790-1850 (1961), drew his attention to the mellowing opinion towards Peel in the crisis of the 1840s. Since he is not attempting a full biographical approach he is able to spread himself at greater length and in more detail in some areas than Gash could.

Peel and the Victorians is divided into eight chapters, varying widely in length, the first a long introduction of 62 pages divided into eleven sections. It sketches in the economic, social and political background of England in the 1830s and is followed by separate sections on public opinion, Peel's ability as a public speaker, the range of his speeches, the reporting of them, newspapers and periodicals of the day, their content and the attention Peel paid to them, and finally a brief section on contemporary cartoons. The sections on the press and the reporting of Peel's speeches are of particular interest.



Read devotes a long chapter to Peel's ministry of 1841 up to the end of 1845. Not being responsible for a detailed account of the events (which the reader can find in Gash), he has room for some illuminating quotations illustrating its history and for the opportunity to develop his own observations. For instance, he quotes from a letter to Arbuthnot concerning the burdens of his office in which Peel complains that in addition to all the other duties he has mentioned he has "to see all whom he ought to see"; "to write with his own Hand to every person of note who chooses to write to him"; "to be prepared for every debate"; and "to sit in the House of Commons eight hours a day for 110 days" (99)! On the Prime Minister's relations with his colleagues and his followers he pertinently remarks that "if Peel gave too little attention to his backbenchers, he supervised his colleagues almost too much" (99). He devotes two pages (108-10) to a meeting Peel had with a delegation of workingmen on 28 October 1841 which was fully reported in The Times and the Northern Star and referred to by Russell in the Commons as a "somewhat theatrical interview." (Gash could afford only three sentences for the incident.) Likewise he gives more attention to the Maynooth Act (136-45) than does Gash because of the amount of space that he devotes to press opinion.

Read's chapter, "Repeal of the Corn Laws," is the longest in the book, running to 82 pages (compared with 61 on the subject in Gash's account). The greater part of Read's chapter, however, deals with press opinion on the subject and with evidence of the great increase in Peel's popularity out of doors as a result of his taking up the cause of "cheap bread." A further chapter, entitled "Peel in Retirement," discusses Peel's interest in art and science and less effectively his affinity with men of letters, in particular Carlyle, Dick-

ens, Thackeray and Tennyson, with all of whom his connection appears to have been quite limited. Read also taps what he calls the "little used 'general correspondence'" in the Peel Papers, which contains letters from a very wide range of people, many total strangers. From this collection he cites a variety of intriguing letters from humble people, discussing their grievances, seeking assistance or merely paying their respects. Some of Peel's responses are chilling, others compassionate, depending on his assessment of the case.

A short chapter on the death of Peel reports in detail on the deep reaction to it of the London and provincial press. Liberal and Radical journals, as well as the independent Times were generally sympathetic, some strongly so, but Conservative papers were more guarded, one or two still bitter. One of the fullest and most thoughtful assessments was that of the Nonconformist. "The Whigs," it declared, "are like the servant in the parable, who said 'I go, sir', but went not--Peel resembled him who refused, but afterwards repented, and went" (295). Stronger feelings, we are told, were expressed throughout the country in a flood of poems and sermons!

A further chapter, entitled "The Victorians and Peel: c. 1850-1900," goes well beyond the scope of Gash's biography. It tells a touching story of a fund for a Working Men's Memorial in honour of Peel, collected "chiefly in penny subscriptions" from 3504 towns and villages, plus about 250,000 individual subscribers. A Central Committee under the chairmanship of Joseph Hume paid for the cost of distributing four or five thousand circulars to promote the fund, which eventually amounted to £1737. The Memorial took the form of the annual purchase from the interest on the capital raised of books "suitable to the working classes," each stamped in

remembrance of Peel's gift of "untaxed bread," with copies given to public libraries, mechanics' institutes or reading rooms open to the working classes. This continued until 1947, when the annual income was turned over to the "the adult-class department of the National Central Library" (289-94). The Working Men's Memorial was undoubtedly unique, but the most widespread tribute paid to Peel was made in the form of statues subscribed to by all classes, especially in the largest towns or cities (London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford, and Glasgow), but also in smaller places such as Blackburn, Bury, Huddersfield, Preston, Salford and, of course, Tamworth. At Lord John Russell's suggestion a life-size statue was erected in Westminster Abbey of Peel addressing the House of Commons clad in a Roman toga, while close friends paid for a bronze statue twice melted down until a third attempt was deemed acceptable and erected in Parliament Square. "Not only large statues," our author tells us, "but small busts, engravings, medals and other items for display at home became part of the business of remembering Sir Robert Peel" (301). Indeed, one enterprising Nottingham merchant advertised the giving away free of the late Sir Robert Peel "Obituary Medal" to every purchaser on 12 July 1850! Most of the memorials had little to do with the greater part of Peel's career and not many of them would have appeared if he had died before 1846. For the most part they had been commissioned in memory of the man who had repealed the corn laws and who in the last years of his life appeared to stand head and shoulders over all his contemporaries.

In a short concluding chapter Professor Read asserts that in this book he had "set out to break new ground by looking less at the content of Peel's policies and more at his presentation of them within the new political

situation." He also claims that at the same time the book "had traced the developing response of the Victorian press and public to that presentation" (313). On the whole these claims would seem to be justified, but it might be added that the author has used the book as a vehicle for publishing a great deal of Peel memorabilia that he has dug up in his wide research that will be of interest to readers in the field. As a result, however, the book is rather loosely knit and may be seen rather as a collection of essays on various aspects of Peel's career in the early Victorian years of his life. It is a curious book, but one that students of Victorian political history should not neglect to read, although there are unlikely to be many private purchasers here at the absurd Canadian price of \$87.50 for 330 pages. At little extra cost the publishers might have allowed the author to use the ten blank pages at the end for a bibliography of the wide range of books, articles, manuscript sources, newspapers and periodicals appearing in the footnotes.

J.B. Conacher  
University of Toronto

\* \* \*

Hugh Cortazzi. Victorians in Japan: In and Around the Treaty Ports. London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ: The Athlone Press, 1987.

Apart from a tiny Dutch presence, maintained throughout the two previous centuries, Japan remained until the 1850s effectively sealed off from contact with Europe and North America--hence isolated from the industrial revolution and its productive and commercial consequences. At that point first the Americans and then the British and Russians used the direct or implicit threat of superior military power to conclude a series of treaties which gave them access to specific Japanese harbours, initially

for purposes of repair and revictualing (matters of particular concern to the whaling fleets already operating off the Japanese coasts) but shortly afterwards for the development of trade and the establishment of consular representation. The so-called "treaty ports"--principally Nagasaki and Hakodate in the first instance--became almost immediately the location of mutually surprising, entertaining, and sometimes disturbing encounters between the Japanese and an ever-increasing number of foreign arrivals, among them the numerous British travellers whose impressions are recorded in this lively and attractive anthology.



Woodblock print of Japanese, including Jiarikisha coolies, attacking a foreigner. Probably 1870s.

That term "travellers" perhaps tends to obscure the sheer variety of those anthologized and of the occasions

which brought them to Japan in the first place. Sailors, traders, and footloose adventurers are juxtaposed (if only in these pages) with diplomats, authors (notably Rudyard Kipling), and middle- and upper-class ladies--some accompanying their husbands on professional assignments, others voyaging intrepidly alone--and it is astonishing how little time it took for the European and American presence to be established, how rapidly the "unknown" became visitable and at least externally familiar. That it did not, and has not, become genuinely knowable was largely a consequence of the barrier of language--overcome in Victorian times only by such linguists and scholars as Ernest Satow and Basil Hall Chamberlain (both quite well represented here)--and there are several extracts which suggest that many British visitors never got past the point of seeing the sign-burdened complexities of Japanese life in terms of the sometimes quaint, sometimes barbaric, but in any case essentially childish absurdities to be expected of "natives" everywhere. Fascination and outrage are aroused, often simultaneously, by the Japanese acceptance of public nudity and institutionalized prostitution, and a certain amount of uncomprehending criticism is of course directed at the local cuisine: "Nothing short of actual starvation would induce a European to face the forbidding native food," wrote a Major Henry Knollys in the 1880s, and Albert Tracy, author of Rambles through Japan without a Guide, recommended the intending traveller to lay in a plentiful supply of Liebig's Extract of Beef. As in other parts of the world touched, however briefly, by the red imperial tide, early attempts were made to introduce such reassuringly familiar institutions as the club, horse-racing, and hunting with hounds, although the last soon proved unsuitable to a countryside largely given over to the growing of rice.

Those heavily anecdotal features which make Victorians in Japan so generally enjoyable are at the same time significant indicators of its documentary and other limitations. The compiler provides a useful historical background at the beginning of the volume and brief contextualizing commentaries throughout, but he offers few assessments of the accuracy or interpretative validity of the observations quoted and provides little or no information about their authors, most of whom are entirely obscure. Such omissions are perhaps justifiable or at any rate unsurprising in what is essentially an anthology designed for a fairly general readership, but it does seem regrettable that no page-references should have been supplied and that in some instances no bibliographical information whatsoever is given beyond a bare citation of author and title.

But if this is a work aimed rather at the amusement than at the instruction of its readers, it does constitute an effective reminder of a brief but poignant phase in the relationship between Britain and Japan and a perhaps disturbing index of the relatively little change which seems subsequently to have occurred in the fundamental terms of the cultural interaction between Japan and the "West." Most remarkably and attractively of all, it vividly demonstrates the extraordinarily high standard of descriptive prose that seems to have been readily achievable by the most "ordinary" of educated Victorians--and even by some who can scarcely have received a formal education at all.

Michael Millgate  
University of Toronto

\*\*\*



Martin Crawford. The Anglo-American Crisis of the Mid-Nineteenth Century: THE TIMES and America, 1850-1862. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

President Abraham Lincoln said in September 1861: "The Times is the most powerful thing in the world, except perhaps the Mississippi." That same month, a lead editorial in The Times reflected British disillusionment at the breakdown of the American union. "Nothing is plainer in this war," said the editorial, "than that Northerners and Southerners have no more feelings in common than Germans and Magyars." Given the seriousness with which the paper was read, and the assumption of its semi-official status, such statements were disheartening to Lincoln, for they suggested a British view of Americans as irresponsible, unstable and lacking the qualities of developing nationhood. What matters here, however, is the central position of The Times as a reflection not only of attitudes at Printing House Square but of wider British opinion that reached even into the halls of Westminster.

The quotation from Lincoln is not in this book but the author is certainly aware of its presence in the older, now very dated biography of The Times' editor, John Delane, by Arthur Dament. It is the chief strength of Crawford's approach that he keeps his study and reflection in tune with the latest scholarship in the historiography of Anglo-American relations for the mid-nineteenth century. It was a time marked in Britain by the ascendancy of Palmerston and the Whig-Liberal alliance, when British foreign policy was faced with other international issues such as the Russian challenge in the eastern Mediterranean, Italian unification, possible belligerence from the French Second Empire, and Prussian emergence in the Schleswig-Holstein dispute, together with the growing burden of

expenditures to meet changing technologies in naval defence. None of these issues, however, posed questions so significant as those of Anglo-American relations, particularly through the five years of bloody civil war that would change the structure of power and policy on the North American continent.

Crawford's argument throughout this study is that during the ante-bellum decade The Times saw no bases for serious policy differences between the two countries. Britain and the United States were able to resolve all disputes and to reduce tensions because of certain assumptions which the two countries shared--assumptions derived from history and culture as well as national interest. The civil war became an interruption in this interpretation. At the basis of good relations were shared notions of progress and race. The progress was material, assessed by The Times in terms of "peaceful industry" and "weighed enterprise," a combination which brought advantages not only to Americans but to the interest of the British state and of mankind in general. The British were superior, a direct product and the highest representatives of the Anglo-Saxon race. They had achieved, partly through racial qualities, an advanced stage of industrial development, symbolized by their willingness to abandon the economic protection of historic mercantilism and to compete within the uncertain fluctuations of a free-market economy. The Americans, particularly those of the North, had betrayed this cultural and racial inheritance by passing the Morrill Act, the first of a series of protective tariffs that would continue to the end of the nineteenth century and beyond.

The achievement of free trade undoubtedly added confidence to British views of policy and events across the Atlantic, but the views discussed in

this book are essentially those of The Times, and Crawford has to connect the paper and its editor not simply with political partisanship but with Palmerston as prime minister in order to justify his concentration on this one newspaper "as a mirror of British governing-class attitudes." He does so with an admirable and rigorous exploration of sources, drawing on the Palmerston Papers for this quotation in a letter from Delane to Palmerston in 1859: "Please remember that I am always at your service, and will wait on you at any time or place if you have anything to communicate without inflicting on you the trouble of writing a letter."

The book lacks a conceptual scheme on the relation between the print media and the actual making of policy. Its argument is also sometimes laboured, lacking embodiment in people except for two of the paper's correspondents in America. But it fits nicely into the historiography of Anglo-American relations, filling a niche and complementing the larger works of Brian Jenkins on Britain and the War for the Union, of D.P. Crook on The North, the South and the Powers, and of H.C. Allen's History of Anglo-American Relations.

Albert Tucker  
Glendon College  
York University

\*\*\*

Alexander Welsh. From Copyright to Copperfield: The Identity of Dickens. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Ever since Edmund Wilson's influential essay on Dickens, "The Two Scrooges," students of Dickens have been schooled to see the few months that the twelve-year-old Dickens spent at the Warren's Blacking warehouse as the crucial traumatic incident in the novelist's life. In this new critical book, which he terms a

"biographical and literary essay," Alexander Welsh--who has written previously on Dickens in The City of Dickens--attempts to shift the biographical focus elsewhere by offering a revisionist interpretation of Dickens' biography and of how that biography relates to the fiction.

Welsh argues that the accepted critical stress on the blacking warehouse is misplaced, since it overemphasizes the importance of the novelist's childhood and underplays the biographical impact of his later years. Instead, Welsh proposes that biographical attention might more productively be shifted from Dickens' formative years to his mature development, from the actual time at the blacking warehouse to the time when Dickens, then in his thirties, chose to reveal the memory of its occurrence to Forster in the biographical fragment that preceded the writing of David Copperfield.

Welsh does not deny the impact of the blacking warehouse on Dickens: he acknowledges that many aspects of Dickens' fiction are attributable to it, among them the strain of self-pity in the novels as well as their "darker," more aggressive side. But he argues that Dickens' elaboration of his childhood memories and his situating of the traumatic incident is too convenient and fairy-tale-like. The episode was recalled at a time when it did the mature Dickens credit, by implying that despite the horrors and hardships of his childhood he had made a success of his life. Therefore its real importance lies in its mythological implications for Dickens' adulthood, and this is the field of inquiry that Welsh proposes to pursue by looking at the events in Dickens' life after the great outburst of creativity in his twenties. This period of creative exuberance, according to Welsh, culminated in the publication of Barnaby Rudge.



Borrowing a term from Erik Erikson, Welsh argues that Dickens experienced a "moratorium" in his career after the completion of Barnaby Rudge, which was accompanied by an acute restlessness that led him first to America and later to Switzerland and Italy.

Welsh's hypothesis is that the identity crisis that launched Dickens on his bout of self-examination was provoked by the copyright controversy that occurred during his trip to the United States. At dinners given in his honour in Boston and Hartford, Dickens argued forcefully in favour of an international copyright. The hostile reaction that greeted his remarks in the American press, where his argument was construed as hypo-

critical and his motives attacked as self-serving, forced him into a psychological retreat. Or, in Welsh's words: "Dickens was outwardly angry and perhaps inwardly conscience-stricken; his whole response to the American visit was not merely one of disappointment, but as if he had been thwarted somehow." Welsh argues that this adventure into controversy occurred during a time in his artistic development when Dickens' sense of himself as a writer had become uncertain. He offers evidence for this state of artistic unease by quoting a letter in which Dickens seems to be soliciting work as a public servant, an educator, or a criminologist.

In order to make this argument for a revised understanding of Dickens'



biography, Welsh appropriates Erikson's view of human development, which sees identity as taking shape in response to a series of stages through which the individual must pass, and he discards the more traditional Freudian emphasis on traumas that occur in childhood. Following Erikson, Welsh argues that a period of marking time is common for males in their twenties and early thirties. In the nineteenth century this period of life was connected with a journey abroad. Dickens' going to America at the age of thirty corresponds to this stage of development.

By looking at the novels that Dickens wrote during this period--Martin Chuzzlewit, Dombey and Son, David Copperfield--Welsh attempts to find evidence for his contention that questions of personal and artistic identity were Dickens' primary concern at this point, and that each of the three novels wrestles with these questions in a different way. Thus, Dickens' quest for identity is portrayed as a radical dispersal of the self into several characters in Martin Chuzzlewit, which in turns calls forth an answering unification in Dombey and Son, and culminates in an integrated self-portrait in the fictionalized autobiography David Copperfield.

Ancillary to Welsh's revisionist purposes is his wish to point out the literary antecedents of these novels. Dickens was such a brilliant satirist and parodist that the degree to which he shaped his fiction along lines suggested by earlier literary models is often ignored. Welsh sees Tartuffe and Paradise Lost as the inspirations behind Martin Chuzzlewit, and King Lear as standing behind Dombey. Significantly, he argues that David Copperfield, because it is intended as an autobiography, owes less to literary antecedents.

Welsh's discussion of David Copper-

field is particularly intriguing. He argues that the revelation of the memory of the Warren's Blacking warehouse at this particular time in his life occurred in answer to a need that Dickens felt to justify his rise in the world. The return to a childhood trauma served to justify adult ambition, and this argument suggests another way of looking at Dickens' frequent use of child figures in his fiction. "Both the imputation of general passivity and the displacement of conflict to childhood worked well for men of that era, whether they were novelists of genius, founders of psychoanalysis, or far more commonplace individuals," Welsh writes. This in turn suggests an intriguing explanation for the nineteenth century's intellectual and cultural preoccupation with childhood as both an idealized and a seminal stage of human development.

By analyzing the three novels that Dickens wrote after Barnaby Rudge in the light of the crucial events of Dickens' early maturity, Welsh freshly illuminates some of the complexities of Dickens' fiction. At the same time the revisionist approach allows Welsh to touch upon broader questions of male Victorian psychology and to suggest ways in which individual psychology was reflected in Victorian culture as a whole.

Goldie Morgentaler  
Graduate Student  
McGill University

\* \* \*



Norman Page. Speech in the English Novel. 2nd ed. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1988.

If men have a mighty language of speech, and if, by a natural sensibility, or by inherited pride, their minds cleave to it with a strong association,--then he whose art frames its works in speech, must, for their sakes, with earnest study and reverend observancy, gather the force of their speech, that when he uses it, he may command their minds.

I culled this quotation from a Blackwood's article of April 1819, "On the Study of Language, as Essential to the Study of Literature." That article is an early indicator, though not at all the first, that the growth of the reading public and of publishing to feed its appetite, especially for fiction, would be attended by a growing interest on the part of writers and critics in pertinent theories and techniques of language. This particular article concludes that poetry is more directly affected than prose, since prose is still mainly read as "science," for its factual content. Yet Scott was already into his Waverley novels, and in his Lives of the Novelists (1821) was to draw attention to technique, notably in the life of Fielding, where he discusses how a novelist must adapt dialogue from the methods of drama to the needs of fiction.

It is not then surprising that Norman Page's Speech in the English Novel devotes much of its attention to the nineteenth century. When the book was first published in 1973 it provided a focussed discussion of its subject, creating a cohesive and clearly presented overview that was solidly based on illustration and analysis. Its value was quickly recognised; its republication is to be welcomed. The preface to this new edition points out that it is revised in points of

detail, with new examples and updated reference sources. Changes in detail and example are in fact few, and may be mentioned before the book in general is discussed. Four pages of "discussion material," i.e., relevant language comments about or from writers, have been dropped. They added little, and their space has been used to amplify a few paragraphs with more recent reference or example. Bibliographies for each chapter are updated. But on the whole there is little change; owners of the 1973 version need not discard it for the new, improved version--unless the time has come to replace a well-used copy.

A new edition could have been expanded to discuss recent critical and linguistic trends, or to deal with our, or rather society's, changing speech habits. But 15 years is not all that long, even for the speed of change we are becoming accustomed to, and there is the proverbial warning against fixing something that isn't broken. The book as we have it does its work clearly, compactly and without lengthy excursions into jargon or digressive linguistic theories; it remains a sound introduction to a complex aspect of the art of fiction.

Of the six chapters, the first, "Preliminary Considerations," surveys the types of problem faced by a writer who uses or indicates dialogue, and practice ranging from Defoe to Muriel Spark. Matters such as the impact on the reader and the view of the novel as a "mirror of society" are also mentioned. This is followed by a chapter on methods of speech presentation, two chapters on speech and character, of which one (the longest in the book) deals with dialect and the other with idiolect. The final two chapters are case studies, one covering a number of cases and the last zeroing in on Dickens. It should be clear that Professor Page's interest lies in narrative techniques and the types of adaptation deployed to

capture the range of speech effectively and--according to need or artistic intent--realistically. His approach is that of the literary critic and historian rather than that of the linguistic theorist. The opening chapters do, however, provide a theory base, with the minimum of jargon, for analyzing and evaluating this element in a novelist's technique. He does not move into applied linguistics and stylistics, though initial sources are indicated, mainly in the bibliographies to Chapters 1 and 2. I offer one caveat. Stylistics has long recognised that indirect free speech has to be added to the original, simple, formal distinction between direct and indirect speech. Professor Page tabulates eight variations within this tripartite division, offering grammatical and lexical markers for each type. He notes that even this elaboration oversimplifies "the infinite variety of examples to be actually encountered" (37). It does indeed, nor is it easy, with precision, to relate the commentary and examples leading up to the table to the types tabulated. It would probably be less confusing and more accurate to stay with the tripartite division and then to note how the range of variation can be created as necessary--and avoid such terms as "'parallel' indirect" and "'coloured' indirect."

Professor Page touches on some of the influences affecting attitudes to speech and social status, especially when dealing with dialects and idiolects in Victorian fiction. He stops short of examining or explaining in any detail the causes behind such shifts in attitudes, or the acceptance of "realism" in dealing with social status and its speech habits. But profound social and technological changes in the period were disturbing language patterns which had been based on stable language communities, whether of class or locality or education. Novelists in turn reflected

these changes and accustomed the growing reading public to accept them. Take as one instance the way that a character's status can affect the mode of speech. Page gives the example of Joe Gargery in Great Expectations, whose idiolect grows less marked (as dialect and uneducated) and less "comic" as he grows in dignity in the scenes where his moral stature is emphasized. (Yet Joe does revert to broader speech again. Why? and to what effect?) A social parallel is the changing concept of the "gentleman" that colours the relationship between Pip and Joe and is a major theme of the novel, and of many novels of the period. Jane Eyre reflects on status when she rejects the idea of moving to a poor, though kind, home: "and then to learn to speak like them, to adopt their manners, to be uneducated ... no, I was not heroic enough to purchase liberty at the price of caste." Elizabeth Gaskell, George Eliot, Charles Kingsley, Kipling, Hardy (one notes his dubious attempt to show Tess as an early model for diglossia) are among those who accepted a shift in the status level of hero and heroine.

Social change is a constant in variations in language usage. A new edition of the book might have noted such matters as permissiveness and four-letter words; the internationalization of Commonwealth literatures and their Englishes; the exponential growth of TV transatlantic programme exchanges; even the use of tape recorders and the power, in every sense, of the ghetto blaster and the voices and lyrics it blasts. But these may be too close for evaluation. The principles that direct the ways in which narrative fiction encapsulates and presents in print the spoken forms of language are the concern of Professor Page, and his second edition retains its value both for its look at the past and as a guide for examining the present. It should have a useful further span of

life until the next new and improved edition appears.

Edgar Wright  
Laurentian University

\* \* \*

Stanley Weintraub. Victoria: An Intimate Biography. New York: Dutton, 1987.

Stanley Weintraub's massive biography of Queen Victoria paints a detailed and critical portrait of the legendary figure who was at once the most and least well-known, and typical and untypical, of Victorians. Based on an exhaustive study of sources that have surfaced in the quarter century since the publication of the last full-length biography--such as the diaries, journals, and letters of relatives, confidants, and acquaintances--it makes a revisionist case for the queen as a complex and contradictory individual who was self-indulgent, shallow and insensitive, and a lot less "good" than she and earlier biographers liked to believe. With this reviewer, however, readers may feel a certain irrational resentment at Weintraub's candid demythologizing of an idol, even as they are convinced of its necessity and of the probability that many of the author's charges are valid.

The 643-page text is divided into 20 chapters, the first providing a fascinating retrospective on the Golden Jubilee celebrations of 1887, and the others dealing chronologically with short periods in the queen-empress's life from the cradle to the grave, and primarily from a personal rather than a political perspective. The figure who emerges is, perhaps above all, a survivor, who despite her self-centredness may well evoke considerable sympathy in late-twentieth-century observers. Victoria survived a lonely childhood, her mother's machinations, nine pregnancies, seven assassination attempts, the streak of

madness in her family, disappointment in the Prince of Wales, and of course the death of her beloved husband and several of her children, and of family members almost too numerous to count. She even survived the nineteenth century; and in so doing she displayed the sturdiness and indomitable spirit of the people over whom she reigned and to whom she became the symbol of everything that was considered "great" about Victorian Britain and the empire.

The author's treatment of Prince Albert is particularly sensitive, as is his handling of the Crimean and Boer Wars and the queen's genuine concern for the wounded during both conflicts. His ability to keep straight the dozens of members of the extended royal family is masterly. However, perhaps because he is American rather than British, and thus an observer not a "participant"--he is Professor of Arts and Humanities at Pennsylvania State University--Weintraub occasionally displays a lack of security in handling detail and in grasping the significance of larger issues. He calls the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields St. Martin's (581); his discussion of Gladstone's final resignation without so much as a mention of Irish Home Rule is difficult to understand (545-7); and surely the twentieth century opened on 1 January 1900 rather than 1901 (632). Similarly, he identifies the Labourites as "a new, third party" at the time of the Diamond Jubilee, when in fact the Independent Labour Party candidates were wiped out in the general election of 1895; it and other socialist organizations were pitifully weak and rapidly losing members; and the Labour Representation Committee was not formed until 1900. In addition, he gives Queen Victoria credit for much more foresight than she actually possessed when he claims that she understood in 1897 that Labour represented "a direction in which England might move after she was gone" (586). At

times Weintraub's writing style is inelegant and sensationalist: for example, his identification of Dame Ethel Smyth, the composer and suffragette, as a lesbian (542) serves no purpose other than to titillate, for whether she was homosexual has never been established and it is irrelevant to the subject under discussion.

If there is a certain superficiality to the book, this perhaps befits its subject. On the whole, as intended, Weintraub has produced "an intimate biography" of Queen Victoria which is based on sound scholarship and presents probably the most accurate portrayal of the queen extant. The book is extremely readable and should appeal to specialist and general reader alike. It is also essentially fair, for while it depicts the queen as haughty, shallow, and selfish, it also reveals her as frank and honest and on occasion humble, shrewd, and selfless. Finally, it acknowledges that, by providing the monarchy with a new purpose as a dignified symbol of continuity and character in a century of terrifying and incomprehensible change, Victoria made a major contribution to her successors, to the Crown, and to her country.

Kathleen E. McCrone  
University of Windsor

\* \* \*



Queen Victoria in robes of state. From the painting by Thomas Sully, for the St. Charles, Society of Philadelphia.

Olive Anderson. Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Reading 426 pages on Victorian and Edwardian suicide would not seem on the surface of it a cheerful way of passing the time. Olive Anderson's approach and her unfailing sympathy and common sense prove otherwise. Coming from one who is ill at ease with quantitative history, this judgment carries extra weight, for the first of the book's four sections contains sixty pages of unremitting numbers and tables. My first of many commendations of Anderson's book is for her ability not to lose for a moment her historian's focus as she presents her percentages and tables; she never forgets that behind the statistics are people in families (most suicides--one of many surprising bits of information in this book --did not live alone), with homes and neighbours inhabiting towns and villages.

Another commendation goes to her admirable introductory defence of the official British statistics on suicide, the value of which others have questioned, which gives a valuable background, providing an astonishing amount of information about the coroners from whose reports the statistics came, their qualifications, their duties and practices, and how these changed over the fifty years from 1860 to 1910. She talks about the influences local, topographical, legal, demographic and temporal that shaped their activities. The basic comparison is between suicides at the beginning and end of her period, but the statistics have been constantly dissected and shuffled to allow comparisons of gender, age, geographical location, urban and rural, and means. Not all of the information comes from government statistics; several long runs of coroners' reports have survived and are relied upon heavily throughout, supplemented by literary

sources, newspaper accounts, etc.

Many interesting facts emerge. The suicide rate for England and Wales was never high: in 1861-70 it was 99 per million living males and only 34 for females; by 1901-10 it was up to 158 and 49. (Obviously suicides are not typical of the population.) It was startling to find that Victorian and Edwardian men did themselves in at a much higher rate than women. In



the earlier period both men and women were most likely to end it all between the ages of 55 and 64, but in 1901-10 women between 45 and 54 were more fatally depressed than their sisters, while at the same time young women in London had almost given up the practice. Indeed even the London of the 1860s was not the suicidal villain it is usually portrayed; that

notoriety statistically went to Rutland for men and Lincolnshire for women. Further contrary to common assumptions, the industrial north gets a relatively clean bill of mortality.

Rural and urban, north and south, male and female used different means: poisons available at work and (later, when beards went out of fashion) razors at home for men, whereas women purchased laudanum or drowned themselves. A very few borrowed their husbands' razors. It was nearly always men who threw themselves under trains once there were trains to throw themselves under. These statistics are humanized in the second section, which discusses individual cases and looks for the common factors in suicides, alcohol being the most common. The sources here are basically the coroners' accounts of inquests, with some newspaper coverage.

The third section, in which rather unaccountably Anderson begins with the 30s and 40s, which had not been previously mentioned because there are no statistics, draws on popular literature and songs for a discussion of common attitudes, showing them to be as unreliable as are our common assumptions--they may be largely responsible for them. Fiction writers of all levels of ability depicted large supplies of abandoned and ruined young females fished out of the Thames and exposed to the public in the light of the bobby's bull's-eye, draped and dripping in diaphanous shifts--as in the cover illustration Anderson herself uses. But not so. Anderson reports only one pregnancy out of all her female suicides, and by far the largest proportion were fully dressed and drunk, and had been seduced and

betrayed many years earlier, if ever. Nor did young men kill themselves for love, except in fiction; statistically they waited until they were old enough to be failures in life and alcoholic--the records do not reveal in which order those characteristics were acquired--or suffering the debilities of old age. Ralph Nickleby represents a very small group in real life who died soberly by their own hand rather than face public disgrace. Actual want was rarely if ever a cause outside the novel.

This third section is the least satisfactory part of the book; public attitudes are almost impossible to pin down and date. Some people were shocked and some people laughed in all decades. The newspapers played up the more sensational aspects and people tut-tutted. The difficulty is that basic human attitudes do not fit easily into categories and do not change a great deal, although their manifestations alter. There is really no pattern to be discerned, and the attempt to find contrasts leads Anderson into one of her rare slips when she uses Dickens to illustrate changing popular attitudes: she contrasts his thinking "it monstrous that suicide attempts should ever be treated lightly" in 1844, to his allowing a young Cockney "to sneer cynically of women 'jumpers'" in All the Year Round in 1860 (207). Five pages later, however, while making another point, she unfortunately cites a spoof, "The London Suicide Company" from Dickens' Bentley's Miscellany of 1839.

Anderson concludes with a lengthy survey of the attempts to prevent suicide, ranging from an anti-suicide cage over the viewing gallery of the Monument to the Anti-suicide Bureau manned by the Salvation Army. Both in her discussion of Victorian medical beliefs about suicide and the work of the remand-prison chaplains, she perhaps confuses at times differences

between individuals with differences between periods, but she gives a moving glimpse into the asylum and prison life of those unhappy men and women whose misfortunes had brought them before the doctors and magistrates and into institutional care. It is a happy change to hear no whining of grinding axes but praise for over-worked men conscientiously doing their best in a very imperfect world to help the unfortunate. The unfortunate rich do not appear as much as the poor. It was the lower classes who turned to the policeman and the hospital for help when in trouble; the rich turned to the family physician and the privacy of home. This class distinction was partly due to the desire to avoid publicity and partly due to the increasing possession amongst the rich of life insurance policies that would be negated by a verdict of suicide. But other than economic motives were at work in the juries' more and more frequent verdicts of "while of unsound mind" rather than of felo-in-se; religious, medical, legal and humane considerations played a part in a jury's desire to lessen the stigma.

There are many more illuminations of Victorian and Edwardian life that Anderson strikes from her investigations into their deaths. Although far more men committed suicide, far more women were placed in asylums for showing suicidal tendencies. Men were by and large the more efficient sex at dispatching themselves. To gain all this fascinating information, and it is highly recommended that you do, I strongly suggest that you run to your nearest library, not book shop, for the price is \$119.00--and that is dangerously depressing.

Ann Robson  
University of Toronto

\* \* \*





John Hadfield. Victorian Delights: Reflections of Taste in the Nineteenth Century. New York: New Amsterdam Books/Meredith Press, 1987.

Just a few decades ago this book might well have been entitled "Victorian Horrors," for some at least of the minor artifacts it reproduces are decidedly on the chintzy side. But the vogue for camp and kitsch has left its mark, and the economics of collecting for investment have given Victorian objects a scarcity-value they lacked even in our parents' generation, and so one might expect quite a wide and appreciative readership for this entertaining survey of some of the Victorian minor arts.

The author, John Hadfield, has fine credentials, quite apart from the fact that he is Paul Mellon's cousin-in-law. Himself an avid collector, especially of Victorian Staffordshire pottery, he was editor from 1952 to its demise in 1975 of The Saturday Book, an annual miscellany of nostalgic and aesthetic cast which featured collectanea and curiosities, and helped to pioneer the vogue for Victoriana. He has edited several anthologies, and most recently produced an appreciative compendium of Victorian narrative painting, Every Picture Tells a Story (1985).

In this book Hadfield has eschewed the better-known painters and genres in favour of the folk-art and utilitarian art (if that is not an oxymoron) that suggest the flavour of everyday life. Making no pretence of comprehensiveness, he has chosen fourteen categories of artifact to illustrate. These do in fact cover a spectrum of social classes, from the wealthy socialites who studied the fashion plates, to the middle class who commissioned paintings of their prize livestock, "monstrously fat" (perhaps fitting some people's notion of utilitarian art), and the rural poor who bought Staffordshire figures

of gardeners ("gardners") or flower-



embossed cottages to put on the mantelpiece. Children are not forgotten, and a delightful chapter on the toy theatre reminds us of the importance of productions for juveniles, besides suggesting to those who attended last April's conference a way in which the conventions of melodrama persisted into the twentieth century. America is represented by the studio photographs of actresses and glamour girls (some also, to modern eyes, verging on monstrously fat) which Hadfield calls the pioneers of the pin-up.

The quality of the reproductions, which occupy more space than the commentary, seems excellent; the author notes, however, that modern printing processes cannot capture all the subtlety and delicacy of tint of hand-coloured illustrations or chromolithographic plates. Illustrations are almost always in colour when the originals were so. In this respect it

is notable that most of Hadfield's artifacts were flat to begin with--prints, photographs, book illustrations, sheet music covers, cigarette cards, even needlework samplers--and so do not, like the pottery included, lose a dimension in print reproduction. As pictures, they make some claim to skills of drawing, design, and colour, and are a cut above the general flood of Victoriana. The most ephemeral are the Valentine cards, where ingenuity and ebullience of invention had full play but no characteristic aesthetic impulse is apparent. The most impressive are the plates of marine zoology by Dr. Philip Gosse (Edmund's maligned father), whom Hadfield considers one of the most original and distinctive artists of the period.

The social historian will find much to muse over here. The growing interest in natural history, with its attendant craze for aquaria and conservatories, is attested to in the popularity of beautiful plates for illustrated books. Botanical illustration was considered a seemly outlet for women's talents; we recall that Beatrix Potter was a distinguished watercolourist, particularly of fungi. Women's lot may again be contemplated in the astounding variety of silhouettes advocated by the fashion plates, in which, however, the fantastic hat remains a constant. Commercial wars enter into the history of cigarette-cards, with the American James B. Duke outbidding the Imperial Tobacco Co. to buy back his cards from customers for cash (he then presented them in albums to hospitals). The curious dichotomy of the Victorian psyche is suggested in the juxtaposition of saccharine Valentines and harrowing scenes of murder from the Illustrated Police News. And the student of the Victorian mind might well be struck by the prevailing tone of the verses on children's samplers, where it is characteristic for a child to embroider, "In the

cold Grave this Frame must rest / And Worms shall feed on this poor breast." Perhaps it is a cliché to suggest that the over-ornamentation and clutter, the desire to heap up artifacts and possessions, represent a defence and a security against this looming abyss.

As this is a book for the general reader rather than the scholar, it is not heavily annotated, but at the end of each section Hadfield notes the whereabouts of the chief collections of the genre and the names of notable collectors. He also surveys the available monographs (the vast majority written after 1960), so that those who wish may do further research. Judging from this book, many Victorian delights await them.

Jean O'Grady  
Mill Project (Toronto)

\* \* \*

Norman Gash. Pillars of Government and Other Essays on State and Society c. 1770-c. 1880. London: Edward Arnold, 1986.

The modern standard view of English politics between 1825 and 1851 rests in large measure upon the work of one man, Norman Gash, now Emeritus Professor of History, University of St. Andrews. In a series of masterful books, beginning with Politics in the Age of Peel (1953) and including definitive modern biographies of Lord Liverpool and Sir Robert Peel, Gash explained the party politics of the pre-Victorian and early Victorian period with almost unrivalled grace and insight. On top of these achievements, Gash is also a distinguished essayist, in the best tradition of British historiography and belles lettres.

In Pillars of Government Gash has assembled fifteen essays, most of them previously published, albeit in out-of-the-way places, over the past

five decades. In theme they range in time from roughly 1770 to 1880, with a strong concentration upon the era of which Gash is the acknowledged master, i.e., 1815-51.

The book is loosely arranged in four sections. The first of these, "Pillars of Government," contains essays on the inability of American colonists to comprehend the unwritten constitution of the mother country; on the nineteenth-century obsession with "cheap government" while Britain's imperial responsibilities were growing by leaps and bounds--a strong lesson here for our modern American cousins; and on the reluctance with which successive governments backed into the three great parliamentary Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884. Another essay on the Anglican Establishment traces the established Church through its "time of troubles" between 1815 and 1850 and explains that disestablishment was avoided by a distancing of Church and State through a series of timely reforms. Gash notes that the Anglican Church was "not so defective and corrupt as its enemies made out." Finally, "The State of the Nation (1822)" is a heretofore unpublished analysis of the Liverpool administration's defence of its policies in what Gash claims is both "the first government white paper" and "one of the oddest and most revealing essays in public relations attempted by any nineteenth-century administration."

The five essays in section two--"Elections and Electioneering"--are vintage Gash. Within their compass the author analyses the Oxford University election of 1829, in which Peel paid for his determination to emancipate the Catholics, the Yorkshire election of 1830, which brought Henry Brougham one of the most prestigious of county seats, and the bad feelings engendered by the Duke of Wellington's election as Chancellor of Oxford University in 1834. Follow-

ing a short essay on the significance of Peel's Tamworth Manifesto, this section concludes with Gash's classic essay on the managerial "brains" behind Peel's Tory party, "[F.R.] Bonham and the Conservative party, 1830-1857." Although the original publication is accessible enough in the English Historical Review for October 1948, Gash has taken this opportunity to revise greatly and expand his essay with new material.

To part three ("People and Society") and to the dual-essay epilogue the author has consigned some miscellaneous pieces which sentiment bade him include, and which serve to round out this densely-set book to a publishable length. In these essays he of-



PAINTED COLUMNS, PORTICO OF LARGE TEMPLE, PHILE.

fers sketches of "A Glaswegian Criminologist: Patrick Colquhoun, 1745-1820" and of Lord George Bentinck's passion for the turf; and a defence of Peel's claim to be "founder of modern conservatism" in the face of the Tory party's Disraelian mythology. Finally, in the epilogue, Gash presents provocative defences of the practical value of both historical biography and the writing of history.

As a suitable summing up of a distinguished scholarly career, this collection of Gash's own work is certainly far more revealing and useful than the conventional Festschrift written by students and admirers. One need only regret the absence of the customary character sketch obligatory upon editors of Festschriften.

With anthologies of this kind, one usually asks if the whole is more than merely the sum of the parts, and in the case of Pillars of Government the answer is emphatically yes. Though their author protests that they "are designed to be read separately, and not as a continuous whole," taken in one dose they are a scholarly tour led by a master guide to the historical landscape. Few will doubt that Gash's scholarship passes the test he describes in "Some Reflections on History," namely that "The greatest of historians only become influential if their conclusions are accepted by those of their colleagues in the best position to judge."

Merrill Distad  
University of Alberta

Solution to Riddle

Where have ye been all the day,  
My boy Billy?  
Where have ye been all the day,  
Billy, Billy, tell me?  
I have been all the day,  
Courting of a lady gay,  
Although she is a young thing  
And just come from her mammy!

A church is not an uncommon element in valentines. One of the messages appended to this charming combination of religious, floral and ornithological symbolism is 'Wanted, a Mate. The Applicant can give positive proof that strict honor is his plan'.

--from Victorian Delights

