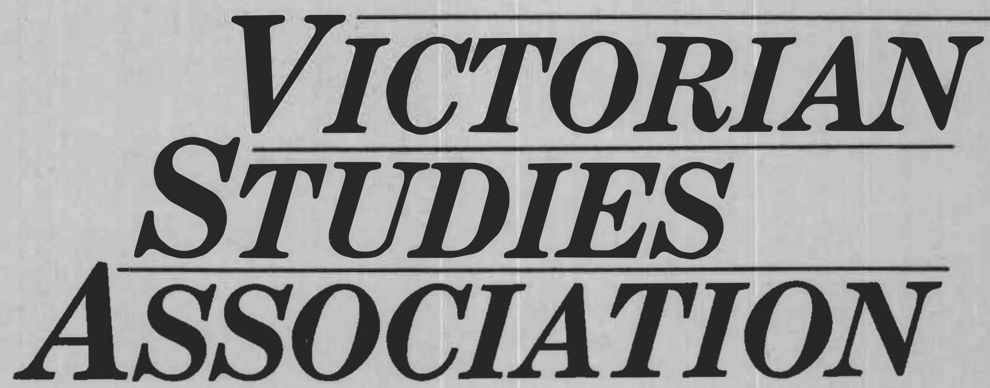

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Contents

News and queries 3

Riddle-de-dee 3

Conference notes 4

Victorian Studies at the Wilkie Collins Centennial Conference / Peter Allen 5

Books

Eric Griffiths, The Printed Voice of Victorian Poetry (Donald Hair) 11

A. Susan Williams, The Rich Man and the Diseased Poor in Early Victorian Literature (Kathryn Chittick) 12

Gerald W.R. Ward, ed., The American Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century (Elizabeth Hulse) 14

Tess Cosslett, Woman to Woman: Female Friendship in Victorian Fiction; Dympna Callaghan, Woman and Gender in Renaissance Tragedy (Elizabeth Bieman) 16

Gaye Tuchman (with Nina E. Fortin), Edging Women Out (David R. Spencer) 18

J.A. Mangan and Roberta Park, eds., From "Fair Sex" to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras (Corinne Bieman Davies) 19

Brian Heeney, The Women's Movement in the Church of England: 1850-1930 (R.J. Helmstadter) 22

Rosemarie Bodenheimer, The Politics of Story in Victorian Social Fiction; August Bebel, Woman in the Past, Present and Future (Kristin Brady) 23

Marion Tinling, Women into the Unknown: A Sourcebook on Woman Explorers and Travelers (Sandra Woodruff) 27

Solution to Riddle 29

News and queries

MARCIA ALLENTUCK, City University of New York and Wolfson College, Oxford University, gave a lecture in October at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal on Henry Fuseli and the Royal Academy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She was elected a member of the Delegates Assembly of the Modern Languages Association for 1989-91 and is a Swann Foundation Research Fellow this year.

REA WILMSHURST has edited a third volume of L.M. Montgomery stories with McClelland and Stewart: Among the Shadows: Tales from the Darker Side. Her interview with Doug Hall, of CHCH-TV (Hamilton), will be aired on his show "Bestsellers," at midnight July 15. A fourth book in the series is in preparation for publication in the spring of 1991, and M&S has asked for a proposal for a few more volumes.

It has been pointed out that our notice about the F.E.L. PRIESTLEY MEMORIAL FUND omitted to mention that donations can be sent to the Department of Development at the University of Toronto, which will provide tax receipts.

The University of Toronto Library has acquired The Nineteenth Century, a microfiche program that aims to republish over a thirty-year period about 250,000 books and pamphlets in English of interest to researchers. The project is divided into a large general collection covering the social sciences and history, and a number of specialist collections including women writers, children's literature, visual arts and architecture, linguistics, music, and publishing. All of this material would have been published after 1845, at which point wood pulp paper was introduced, causing subsequent deterioration. The microfiche program is published by Chadwyck-Healey in association with the British Library and other major research libraries in Britain and the U.S. and with Avero Publications.

The exhibit at the R.O.M. until Aug 6, Into the Heart of Africa, will be of interest to Victorian scholars, as it provides a panorama of the indigenous cultures encountered by the British as they ventured into sub-Saharan Africa. The exhibits, based on the collections made by Canadian missionaries and soldiers, seem to reflect the latest thinking in educational museum displays, and include textiles, fetishes, masks, pottery, sculpture, and weaponry as well as photographs and maps.

Riddle-de-dee

OLD CAMERON'S Nursery Rhyme Riddles

No. 7

Th'apostle of the Gentiles,
He has a splendid tower
With fruit as well as pantiles
To mark the youthful hour,
With bill-hooks down they bring them
And then they foot it fast
O'er hazel tree and hawthorn
To cross the Thames at last.

(Solution on p. 29)

Conference notes

At our conference on April 7 at Glendon College we have two speakers on the general theme of the history of science. The morning's speaker, James Secord, will speak on "Science and Popular Publishing in Early Victorian Britain." The afternoon lecture is by Michael Ruse, whose subject is "The Concept of Progress in Victorian Biology."

James Secord is Lecturer in Humanities at Imperial College, University of London, and author of Controversy in Victorian Geology: The Cambrian-Silurian Dispute (1986). Michael Ruse is Professor of Philosophy and Zoology at the University of Guelph; his eleven books include The Darwinian Revolution: Science Red in Tooth and Claw (1979), Taking Darwin Seriously (1986), and The Darwinian Paradigm (1989). He has given expert testimony in law-cases in the United States that involved the question of giving recognition to creationism as a legitimate science.

Entertainment will be provided after lunch by "Under the Greenwood Tree," a performance of carols as sung in Dorset parish churches in the early nineteenth century. The settings derive from carol-books that belonged to Thomas Hardy's father or grandfather, to the Puddletown parish church, or to other local collections.

Hans de Groot
President, VSAO

Victorian Studies at the Wilkie Collins Centennial Conference

Peter Allen
Innis College, University of Toronto

Although Wilkie Collins has traditionally been rated a "minor" Victorian author, a mere popular entertainer, his work has acquired new significance as Victorian popular culture has become a major scholarly topic in recent years. Collins died in 1889; a centennial conference, organized by the English Department of the University of Victoria for the weekend of 29-31 September 1989, attracted researchers across the full range of Victorian studies. The fifty or so delegates to the conference came from some twenty institutions in Canada, Britain and the U.S.A. The speakers represented a wide variety of historical and literary approaches: social history, publishing history, art history, literary history, medical history, biography, bibliography, archetypal criticism and feminist criticism. The conference thus provided a useful review of a number of current trends in Victorian studies.

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The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the conference is the flourishing state of biographical studies in the field. The first full day of the conference was opened by Fred Kaplan's lively recapitulation of the known facts of Collins' relation with Dickens. Kaplan, of the City University of New York, is of course well known for his recent biographies of Carlyle and Dickens[1]--works which well exemplify the current (and I suppose perpetual) urge to replace the standard biographical sources of the past with accounts more in accord with the preoccupations of the present.

One such preoccupation is a concern to map the intricate personal and professional relationships of the Victorian intellectual and artistic worlds. For this purpose Collins makes an admirable subject. Since his father was a well-known artist, he was born into that cosmopolitan and curiously heterogeneous social world in which bohemian and rigidly respectable patterns of Victorian life coexisted with surprising ease, and in which talented cockneys found themselves the intimates of aristocratic patrons of the arts. This was of course the world of perhaps the most talented cockney of all, Charles Dickens, whose social set is interestingly rich in artists and poor in Anglican clergymen (or anyone else too closely linked to the intellectual establishment). Collins' friendship with Dickens was essential to his career and in Fred Kaplan's view to the artistic success of his earlier writing as opposed to his later. Their relationship had complex familial and quasi-familial implications. Collins' younger brother Charles became Dickens' unsatisfactory (because impotent) son-in-law. As surrogate brother and literary son (one of Dickens' "young men"), Collins was also unsatisfactory, because altogether too potent as a popular author. John Forster's jealousy of Collins' friendship with Dickens was at least matched by Dickens' jealousy

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1. Thomas Carlyle: A Biography (Ithaca NY, 1983); Dickens: A Biography (New York, 1988).

of Collins' love affair with his precious public. And yet the real, private love affairs of both men gave them much in common. As a number of critics and biographers have recently shown, such rivalries and alliances have intriguing implications for literary and intellectual history.

Current interest in these relationships is sometimes derived from a second preoccupation of the modern biographer, that with the officially unacknowledged aspects of Victorian behaviour, especially sexual behaviour. Here again Collins is of interest: he was friendly with a wide variety of people from different walks of life and social backgrounds, but a central principle of his social life was his need for tolerance of his highly irregular private life--his opium addiction, his mistresses, his aversion to marriage and to organized religion. These related biographical themes were explored at the conference by Sue Lonoff (Harvard), the author of an excellent biographical and critical study of Collins.[2] Although Collins knew Edward Lear nearly all his life, the two were never close, but Collins quickly became intimate with an American, Sebastian Schlesinger, whom he met much later in life. Lear's unfulfilled homosexual longings, which he was unable to discuss with anyone, shaped his emotional and social life and found literary expression in the disguises afforded by comic verse. In contrast, Collins' sex life, which flourished from an extraordinarily early age, was the subject of much discussion with such sypmathetic friends as Schlesinger. The popular novel, however, placed severe limits on his literary treatment of sexuality, and this may be a further reason for the apparent decline in his artistic power.

Yet another preoccupation of some modern biographers is their awareness of the masculine bias of most existing work in the field. Catherine Peters (Oxford), the author of _Thackeray's Universe: Shifting Worlds of Imagination and Reality_ (London, 1987) and the editor of Collins' _Armadale_ for the World's Classics series, spoke on her research towards a biography of Collins that will pay particular attention to the women in his life. Among the new sources she has turned up is a lightly fictionalized account of her life by Collins' mother, Harriet (Carpenter) Collins, an account that reveals her early love of acting and her career as a governess before marriage. She was not the only resolute and resourceful woman to influence Collins: her sister Margaret Carpenter was a successful professional painter, and Collins' friend Frances Dickenson led a life of extraordinary artistic and sexual freedom. Catherine Peters' findings cast such figures as Magdalen Vanstone of _No Name_ in a new light and suggest that the strong-minded, independent women so notably depicted in Collins' novels were based on more than fictional convention or the need for dramatic opposition in character types.

Among the delegates at the conference were the first and the most recent scholars to write book-length biographies of Collins. Robert Ashley (Ripon College), author of _Wilkie Collins_ (London, 1952), chaired the session at which Fred Kaplan spoke. William M. Clarke, author of _The Secret Life of Wilkie Collins_ (London, 1988), also attended, accompanied by his wife, Faith (Dawson) Clarke, who is Collins' great-granddaughter by his "morganatic" marriage (as Collins termed it) with his second mistress, Martha Rudd. Collins assumed the name William Dawson when living with Mar-

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2. _Wilkie Collins and His Victorian Readers: A Study in the Rhetoric of Authorship_ (New York, 1982).

tha Rudd and their three children. Until very recently his biographers had assumed that the Dawsons had irrecoverably disappeared into the general population after Collins' death. William Clarke, formerly city editor and financial editor for The Times, is the author of several books on financial matters. His research into his wife's Victorian antecedents has recovered the Dawsons' history for the record and has cast new light on many aspects of Collins' life. Martha Rudd, in particular, emerges as a distinctive figure. She came from an impoverished, rural, working-class background, was some twenty-one years younger than Collins and probably met him when she was only nineteen. A family photograph of the "morganatic" couple shows a handsome young woman with an erect carriage and seemingly forthright manner--a strong contrast to the pudgy, slightly slouching figure seated at her side.[3]

According to the OED, the term "morganatic" normally implies a "marriage by which a man of exalted rank takes to wife a woman of lower station, with the provision that she remains in her former rank, and that the issue of the marriage have no claim to succeed to the possessions or dignities of their father." Nonetheless, Collins left half the income from his estate to Martha Rudd Dawson for life and the other half to his earlier mistress (and later housekeeper), Caroline Graves. On her death this income was to go to her daughter, and on the daughter's death the whole estate was to go to the Dawson children. Among the many interesting issues treated by William Clarke is the complex and ultimately unfortunate relationship between the Graves and Dawson families.

Also of biographical interest were newly discovered letters of Collins, displayed at the conference through the kindness of William Clarke, who has treated the discovery in an article in the Sunday Times (19 Nov. 1989). Andrew Gasson, secretary of the Wilkie Collins Society, gave a slide presentation of many curious items in his collection of Collinsiana. Tim Moreton of the National Portrait Library, London, lectured on the four portraits of Collins in the Library's collection.

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A second obvious conclusion from the conference is the popularity of studying related forms of Victorian discourse, not necessarily in order to establish specific sources but rather to establish the relation between competing and allied forms of expression in the time. With the demise of the naive realist assumption that

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3. Photograph from The Secret Life of Wilkie Collins reproduced with the kind permission of the author.

literature reflects some anterior and objectively verifiable entity called life, the fictions of other forms of discourse have come more clearly into view, and the interplay of two such forms of fictional entertainment as the novel and journalism can be better appreciated.

One example of this approach was provided by Christine Moreau (Alberta), who spoke on medical theories of hysteria, then thought to be a disease of women and (as its name suggests) explained in terms of the place and function of the womb. The elaborate theories--or more properly fantasies--of the woman's body in Victorian medical literature are echoed in the language of _Heart and Science_ (1883), a novel in which Collins was especially concerned with current scientific theory. The heroine of _Heart and Science_ suffers a nervous collapse, and the terms used to describe her (and to describe other women in the novel) are clearly a layman's version of widespread medical ideas of the time. Moreau's analysis strikingly demonstrated the way in which a consideration of related discourses can uncover layers of textual meaning that might be obvious to many Victorian readers but not to ourselves.

John Sutherland (California Institute of Technology), probably the most prolific and best-known researcher in the field of Victorian publishing today, spoke on the relation of Collins' fiction to other forms of public discourse regarding the detection of crime. A number of events brought detection to the forefront of public attention in the later 1850s: the founding of a detective force; investigations into adulterous relationships following the new legislation on divorce; and the rise of cheap newspapers, with their emphasis on reporting crime and on investigative reporting. A fear of the clever criminal, the perpetrator of crimes too devious for detection, marked the period. The poisoner Palmer was a case in point: the evidence against him was insufficient, but the prosecutor was cleverer than Palmer himself and obtained a conviction, much to the public's pleasure. In a poular mystery novel such as _The Woman in White_ clever narration brings the reader to an equally satisfying conclusion, despite the many implausibilities of the plot.

Christopher Kent (Saskatchewan) discussed Victorian discourses of probability from the point of view of the social historian. The development of statistical studies in the nineteenth century gave rise not only to the idea of the average person but also to a view of the probable and improbable that is basic to the related forms of journalism and the sensation novel. Collins' implausible narratives are given an air of plausibility by frequent references to newspapers, while the newspapers' agony columns explore such themes of domestic melodrama as lost heirs and secret assignations.

Ira Nadel (British Columbia) showed that the illustrations to Collins' novels can also be treated as a related discourse. Although the most obvious functions of illustrations are commercial, they also serve to frame the text, to direct reader response to it, to comment on it, and in these ways can be seen as a complementary form of writing.

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A third conclusion from the conference is the extent to which the idea of a single, self-evident literary canon has been thoroughly disrupted by recent developments in critical theory. While canons as such seem an inevitable result of the constraints of teaching (not to mention those of publishing and the natural limitations of human knowledge at any given time), the possibility of any general

consensus on what is a "major" and what is a "minor" Victorian text seems more and more remote.

Feminist criticism has of course been especially influential in actively reinterpreting what is of literary interest. Collins' later novels appear an especially unpromising area of inquiry to so traditionally trained and middle-aged a literary critic as myself, but Christine Moreau was remarkably successful in discovering a lively topic in this seeming wasteland of words. Similarly, Kathleen O'Fallon (Butler) found in one of Collins' least-admired novels, The Law and the Lady (1875), his most explicit treatment of his fascination with shifts in conventional gender roles and his most striking portrayal of a woman who might be termed a feminist heroine. Feminist reinterpretation of Collins' fiction was also provided by Patricia Frick (Albion College), who discussed Collins' ambivalent treatment of female anger in such works as Basil (1852) and Man and Wife (1870), as well as in his better-known novels.

The equivalent at the conference of Sherlock Holmes' "curious incident of the dog in the night-time" was the attention paid to male gender studies. No attention was paid to male gender studies, though Sue Lonoff's interesting treatment of male friendships bordered closely on this area (and it could be argued that all feminist treatments of male authors are in a sense contributions to it). In this seeming neglect of an approach that is likely to gain rapidly in importance in the 1990s, the conference was again representative of Victorian studies generally. Although some of the groundwork for important development in this area has been laid by recent studies of male homosexuality, of public school education and of working-class patterns of leisure, the work itself is mainly undone.

On the other hand, the study of Victorian popular culture seems in a flourishing state, and this too has challenged the canon and especially its assumption that those Victorian novels are most significant that best satisfy the literary tastes of modern high culture. Here the critical theories of M. M. Bahktin have obvious relevance, though it's hard to know how far Bahktin's popularity is a cause and how far a symptom of this widespread interest in the novel's relation to high culture. Bahktin seems to regard the novel as necessarily located in an ambiguous and shifting space between the folkloric on the one hand and high culture on the other. But what is "the folkloric," and how is one to identify its sources and influence in any particular case?

Two papers at the conference seemed related to this topic (though neither drew on Bahktin's theories). Peter L. Caracciolo (London) offered a subtle and complex treatment of Collins' literary antecedents as suggested by the range and character of the many references in his fiction to other authors and texts. This paper emphasized the debt of Collins' popular fiction to The Arabian Nights and to Sir Walter Scott. Barbara Fass Leavy (Cornell and City University of New York) demonstrated how Collins combined two distinct folktale motifs and distorted them for his own thematic purposes in The New Magdalen (1872). This paper dramatized the difficulties that await those drawn to this promising line of inquiry, for few literary scholars have the specialized training in folklore that Leavy has, and (as she later remarked in conversation) few specialists in folklore are much interested in literature.

However beset the traditional canon may be, Collins' best-known novels continue to attract the bulk of critical commentary. They were cited by

most speakers at the conference and analysed in detail by two. Mary Rimmer (Memorial) gave a stimulating account of the bastards, outcasts and usurpers who threaten the established order in The Woman in White. John Reed (Wayne State) demonstrated the function of ethical values in providing narrative movement in The Moonstone.

For many years The Woman in White and The Moonstone have been the only Collins novels one can easily buy, but here too signs of change are evident. Virginia Blain's edition of No Name in the World's Classics series in 1986 has made this especially interesting novel reasonably accessible, and Catherine Peters' edition of Armadale will help further. Is Armadale also especially interesting? In a thoughtful paper on the intricacies of Collins' construction and thematic patterning Peter Thoms (Queen's) made a better case for this novel than I should have thought possible, although I can't as yet imagine the circumstances in which I would be willing to impose it on a group of students.

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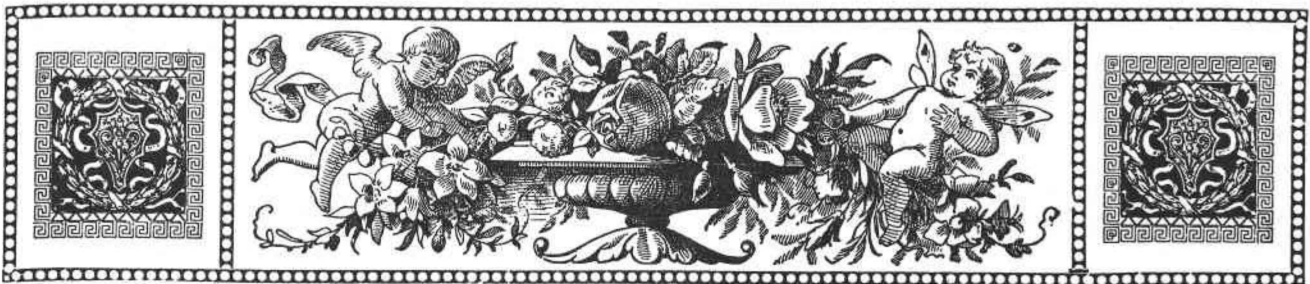
The conference began with an official welcome from Samuel Scully, a Vice-President of the University of Victoria. The opening talk was given by the President of the Wilkie Collins Society, Kirk Beetz (National University, Sacramento), whose enthusiastic defence of Collins as a "great" writer showed that modern critical theory has certainly not swept all before it. A banquet on Saturday evening was preceded by a toast to the memory of her great-grandfather by Faith Clarke and followed by a "Victorian Parlour Entertainment" produced by Judith Terry and performed by students from the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Victoria, who gave us convincingly executed versions of Victorian popular songs and an intensely dramatic reading of Collins' short story "The Terribly Strange Bed." Reg Terry was the chief organizer and convenor of the conference; the only disadvantage of this arrangement was that we did not have a paper from his alter ego, R. C. Terry, the well-known critic and editor in the field of Victorian fiction. The conference was held at Dunsmuir Lodge, a conference centre about fifteen miles north of Victoria in a strikingly beautiful country setting. If one's attention wandered at any point during the proceedings, the conference room gave a spectacular view of the mountains of Vancouver Island and the northern tip of the Saanich Peninsula. On either side of the peninsula, pleasure boats crisscrossed the sound. On the plain several hundred feet below, tiny aircraft endlessly landed and took off at Victoria's tiny airport. The food and the weather were excellent. On the same weekend the Blue Jays won the American League East. It seemed altogether an admirable way to begin the second century since the death of Wilkie Collins.



Books

Eric Griffiths. _The Printed Voice of Victorian Poetry_. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989.

The relation between speaking and writing in the Victorian period has, for the most part, seemed relatively uncomplicated. In spite of the mass distribution of their printed texts, most poets assumed that the voice was primary, while letters were merely a record of articulate sounds. Tennyson regularly read his poems aloud, and regularly complained (to Allingham, for instance, who preserves the comments in his diary) that others did not read his lines properly; and Hopkins, insisting that his rhythms were designed for recital, added notations of various sorts to indicate how he intended the lines to be voiced. This assumption about the primacy of the voice has one of its sources in comparative philology, and particularly in the work of Rask, Grimm, and Bopp, work which, Foucault argues when discussing the relation of voice and letters in _Les Mots et les choses_, remains "dans les marges de notre conscience historique," so that the assumption begins to seem a universal truth rather than what it is: the perspective of a particular moment in history and in Western European culture. From this perspective, the visible sign is language in its least interesting state, desiccated, frozen, and static.

Why, then, the anti-theatrical bias of many serious playwrights, and of Browning himself, from the mid-1840s on? Such a bias, as Michael Mason argued in a seminal essay of 1974, leads directly to the dramatic monologue, with its reliance on a printed text rather than the spoken word, gesture, costume, scenery, and all other aspects of a staged play. In this context, the relation between writing and speech begins to look a good deal more problematic. For all Browning's talk about "voices" in _The Ring and the Book_, the written word (as his title indicates) is at least half of his concern, and is better, finally, than the spoken one. So, too, are the "silent-speaking words" of _In Memoriam_. Eric Griffiths, who borrows Browning's version of Tennyson's oxymoron for his title, explains why writing is paradoxically preferable for poets who had such keen ears for the rhythms and tones of the spoken word.

Griffiths argues that, while the voicing of any line reduces it to a single rhythm or tone (we can say it in only one way at a time), the printed line preserves a variety of tones and several possible rhythms. Tone and rhythm have as much to do with meaning as content does, and the potential for various voicings makes the line hover, as the poet intends it to, among complexities. Take, for instance, the line "He is not here" from the familiar "Dark house" lyric of _In Memoriam_--one of many lines for which Griffiths provides superb readings. "If you spoke the first line," Griffiths writes, "as a regular iambic tetrameter to some one who had not seen the printed text of the poem, it might start a hope: 'He _is_ not _here_; but _far away_'--not here but, in contrast, far away, and still alive." Read as such, the line is the promise of the angel to the women at Christ's tomb. But if one speaks the line and gives full weight to the semi-colon after "here"--"He is _not_ here"--the tone and rhythm tell us of "something quite alien to hope," a meaning that the images in the rest of the stanza reinforce. Tennyson wants both tones, both rhythms, both

meanings. In hovering between them, the printed voice expresses at once both faith and doubt.

The poets deliberately exploit such "indeterminacy of intonation," and in exploring their art Griffiths draws upon the intention-based semantics of Grice and the speech act theories of Austin and Searle. The implications and contexts which are the concern of these thinkers Griffiths applies to love and marriage in his third chapter, and to the position of Catholic converts in Protestant England in his fourth. Writing and marriage are the "companionable forms" of Griffiths' third chapter title, and since "speech is to writing as romance is to marriage," the pair require judgement, tact, sensitivity, and a skilful handling of complexities. Griffiths' texts come from Patmore, the Brownings, Hardy, and Meredith, while the texts in his fourth chapter are from Newman and Hopkins. For them, Griffiths argues, the Reformation brought about a linguistic as well as a religious schism, and some features of Hopkins' style can be understood as attempts to repair and renew the language. Hopkins himself came to realize (in an 1887 letter to Bridges) that writing cannot possibly be understood simply as the record of speech, and every reader of this fine book must come to that realization too.

Donald Hair
University of Western Ontario

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A. Susan Williams. The Rich Man and the Diseased Poor in Early Victorian Literature. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1987.

The analysis of trope in scientific discourse is a ready way of summoning up a sense of historical period. We do not see our own interpretative possibilities for history until we have begun to doubt the metaphors that constitute our empirical knowledge. In medicine, the contagion theory, that disease is spread by direct physical contact, has long been a politically constitutive feature of western European society. Contagious diseases and the national literatures of Europe grew up together during the middle ages. And once the satisfactory trope was established to explain the virulence of a particular epidemic, it was possible to separate the "diseased" from those who were rhetorically dominant.

In Britain, the arrival of cholera from the Continent in 1831 was indistinguishable from the advent of the "French" or revolutionary ideas which had threatened to invade the island since the end of the eighteenth century. What made the cholera symbolically more threatening was that the government's traditional resort to quarantine seemed in this instance both medically ineffective and economically undesirable. Over a century before, Samuel Pepys had described the disturbing emptiness of the early Exchequer at the height of the 1665 plague. A growing market economy through the eighteenth century began to find such epidemics intolerable. When reports of the plague in the port of Marseilles came to the attention of Walpole in 1722, he commissioned Defoe to write a pamphlet (Due Preparations for the Coming Plague, a precursor to Journal of the Plague Year) with the clear political purpose of anticipating how the middle classes might insulate themselves from this disease without being forced to abandon London and business. Defoe's writing about the plague shows how the contagion theory supports the separation between the classes, between the prosperous, who would have to be persuaded to stay in the metropolis, and the poor, who had nowhere else to go. Nineteenth-century British authorities had no less commercial spirit than the farseeing Walpole: during the cholera epidemics

of the 1830s and 1840s, the Commons unanimously approved a relaxation of the quarantine laws "as may be found compatible with a due regard to the public health, and the commercial interests of the community" (10).

However, in the 1830s the theory of contagion was itself undermined by the fact that places as far away as Dundee were suffering from the cholera while villages a few miles from London were not. Equally perplexing, on the other hand, was the perception that the rich, even after barricading themselves in their mansions, were not exempted from the cholera's decree. This is the kind of debate about epidemic disease that Susan Williams sees as determining the scientific and social rhetoric of the Victorians. In The Rich Man and the Diseased Poor, she quotes numerous passages dwelling on the particular message that Victorian scientists and writers took from the fact that contemporary outbreaks of cholera and typhus were not confined to the poor districts of London. One writer shows that statistics "offered proof that pestilential agents had no regard for man-made social barriers, 'but extend their influences to the best parts of the districts; and thus affect the highest classes of the community'" (49). Or, as Dickens put it, "the air from Gin Lane will be carried, when the wind is Easterly, into May Fair, and that if you once have a vigorous pestilence raging furiously in St Giles, no mortal list of Lady Patronesses can keep it out of Almack's" (49).

As this pairing of passages demonstrates, Williams generally chooses the quotations supporting her argument appropriately. The book's style is unobtrusive: very simply, her method is to bring together the salient literary and scientific tropes and compare them. Her literary choices are the familiar ones. As a critic, Williams tends to be more insightful about the scientists' metaphors, and the bibliography of scientific and public documents is especially useful to have. However, her critical argument is not a particularly new one. It has long been traditional for Victorian literary historians to raid the works of sanitary reformers for explanations. Perhaps in no other period of literature have authors and critics looked so eagerly to the metaphors of public sanitation authorities. It is disappointing that Williams gets little beyond the conventional implications of her opening epitaphs: Luke's parable of Dives and Lazarus, and the gloss on it by Elizabeth Gaskell in Mary Barton, that "the rich know nothing of the trials of the poor." Beyond this, there is often not much further intellectual effort except by way of slotting in details and bibliographical entries.

Once the ruling classes gave up the notion of putting iron shutters on their windows like the Duke of Wellington in 1831 and accepted the logic that they could not keep "French" notions of fraternity out of England, they also had to develop a new way of thinking about public health. The cholera epidemic of 1831 helped persuade them that even God must be on the side of the Reform Bill advocates. And a reformed political economy could no longer rely on misconceptions of Malthusian logic to ensure society's survival: in order for Britain's commercial activity to increase and prosper, the middle classes, unlike the aristocratic classes of precapitalist times, had to be able to attend to business in London. So while the metropolitan cash nexus had created its own physical estrangement between classes, the Malthusian rhetoric sustaining this division between rich and poor clearly faltered before the proof of human brotherhood offered by epidemic disease. Nonetheless, Williams tells us, the new explanation of epidemic as indifferently bacterial rather than

hierarchically viral was resisted until later in the century. Florence Nightingale, for example, pooh-poohed it on the grounds that ultimately the "germ theory" could only mean the end of all modern commerce and therefore must be regarded as retrogressive superstition (11). The Thames that flowed before one's eyes was manifestly a waterway of commercial trade, not mortal disease.

There the question might have been left, had not the disease originating in the filth of the poverty-stricken not persisted in establishing itself among the virtuously comfortable. It might be common enough to equate poverty with filth; it gradually became apparent that disease did not confine itself to the explicit depravity of the poor. Eventually, "the swiftness with which epidemics were sweeping through the population appeared to be equalled only by the speed with which the Industrial Revolution was polluting the nation" (13). However, until the 1870s, it was easier for the authorities to make a show of cathartic vigilance by proclaiming national fast-days, than to pass factory bills forcing the commercial powers to invest more of their profits in better working conditions. To be an entrepreneur did not logically imply any responsibility for society's mortality rate. Williams points out that even those consciously Christian moralists such as Dickens, who devoted their rhetorical powers to denouncing the viciousness of the class system, did not look favourably on attempts to rearrange society other than within the boundaries of a bourgeois commercial interpretation: the cash nexus may have led to geographical and therefore moral estrangement between the rich and the poor, but only more cash could close up the abyss.

I am not sure that this argument, largely based as it is on Dombey and Son and Bleak House, could be sustained by a reading of Our Mutual Friend, published in the same era, which seems more radical in its criticism of capitalism's vanities. As the first two chapters demonstrate, the novel's treatment of the Thames is mild in comparison with its satire of social climbers. It is the socially ambitious who insist most loudly on class distinctions, and in dramatizing this rhetoric, writers such as Dickens and Defoe have already offered us the critical and political implications of the metaphors of disease in the history of capitalism.

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Gerald W. R. Ward, ed. The American Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century. Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1987. Distributed by the University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

The articles collected together in The American Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century were originally presented at the North American Print Conference of 1982. This series of conferences is not widely known. Without a formal organization, it brings together each year a small group of curators, collectors, and others interested in the history of the printed image in North America. The host institution is responsible for publishing the proceedings.

As with many conference proceedings, the nine papers in this volume seem at first reading fairly disparate. They have been arranged in roughly chronological order by subject. Neil Harris's "Pictorial Perils: The Rise of American Illustration" provides an introduction by examining some of the criticism directed at the increasing use of illustration in the nineteenth century: inaccuracy, particularly in historical or technical subjects, the pauperizing of the reader's imagination, sensationalism, and

the demoralizing effect of much pictorial advertising and the new comic strips. (Some of them sound familiar in the age of television.) Judy L. Larson examines the engravings prepared for Thomas Dobson's Encyclopaedia (Philadelphia, 1790-1803), which was modeled on the Britannica, and several other early American encyclopedias. A related article by Georgia B. Barnhill describes the preparation of a number of illustrated natural histories published in Philadelphia in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Several papers focus on the careers of individual artists or aspects of their work: Katharine Martinez on the gift books illustrated by John Sartain (1808-97); Sue W. Reed on the outline illustrations of F.O.C. Darley (1822-88), an artist influenced by the work of John Flaxman in England and the German Moritz Retzsch; and Elizabeth H. Hawkes on the surprising range of styles achieved in ink by the popular illustrator Howard Pyle (1853-1911). Neville Thompson, in "Tools of Persuasion," traces the evolution of the architectural book from the builder's manual of the late eighteenth century though the house pattern book to the partially disguised trade catalogue of the 1890s. Also part of the story is the reformer's treatise, both social (Catharine Beecher) and architectural (Frank Lloyd Wright). In "The Arts and Crafts Book in America" Susan Otis Thompson describes the characteristics of this style and its adaptation by American printers and designers, a subject discussed at length in her American Book Design and William Morris (New York, 1977). Lois Olcott Price tackles the difficult topic of photomechanical reproduction, explaining the more important commercial processes developed in the nineteenth century, such as photogravure, Woodburytype, photolithography, collotype, Levytype, and relief halftone.

Despite the diversity of topics covered, some themes become apparent in The American Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century. The names of the same artists, engravers, and publishers appear in several articles, and one is struck by the importance of Philadelphia, at least in the first half of the century. Perhaps the most important theme is one common to both the evolution of American culture and to the Victorian era generally: the popularization of books and other reading materials in a period of increased literacy. Dobson's Encyclopaedia was promoted not only as a compendium of scientific knowledge, but also as a work of "general utility." Some early natural histories were criticized for following the European model of publications intended for the wealthy: "Works of general utility ought to be accurate, complete, portable and cheap," wrote one reviewer. A number of the architectureal books described by Thompson were directed at the working classes, who "if steady and persevering," might eventually enjoy "a home of their own." Sartain's gift books catered to the growing popularity of family reading. Inventors in the nineteenth century searched for the ideal photomechanical process that would not only reproduce the artist's work with fidelity, but would also be reliable, inexpensive, and adapted to any type of paper.

Paralleling this movement toward popularization was the Victorian preoccupation with technology. Labour-intensive hand engraving gave way to the freer and faster medium of lithography, which in turn was replaced by photomechanical processes. (In the case of architectural books, lithography also coincided with the Gothic revival and its taste for "romantic gloom," a style to which it was better suited than engraving.) Successful artists like Howard Pyle were able to adapt their techniques to changing reproductive methods.

The American Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century is well designed and printed and, in keeping with its theme, it is generously illustrated. The articles were originally presented to a specialist audience, and not all of them may appeal to the general reader. But there should be something to interest most students of nineteenth-century culture, and several of the papers, particularly those on the architectural manual, the arts and crafts book, and photomechanical reproduction, are excellent introductions to their subjects.

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Tess Cosslett. Woman to Woman: Female Friendship in Victorian Fiction. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1988.
Dympna Callaghan. Woman and Gender in Renaissance Tragedy. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1989.

Only the first of this pair of recent feminist studies falls within the net normally cast by this journal, yet their appearance close together in the list generated by Harvester-Wheatsheaf in England invites comparison. The Victorian book gains in definition by the boundaries that separate it from the other; and perhaps something of the complexly configured provinces of feminist criticism, and of the temper of the periods examined in the books may be clarified by the process.

The books hold to a common centre in the basic conviction that in a society structured by males--and in literatures that reflect and perpetuate patriarchal structures--women are confined to roles that serve the interests and desires of those who hold the practical power.

Most current modes of feminist criticism are implicitly activist: indebted to the Marxist-Leninist thinking that historically focused on those disadvantaged by class, not gender, they seek power for women--whether adversarial or complementary. (Ironically, the hope of promoting justice for women or balance in social structures between masculine and feminine values and interests is threatened by the capacity of power to enthral those who gain it.) Feminist ideologies, themselves constructs of the critical literature of the last three decades, promote searches for precedents and counterparts in earlier literatures.

It might seem old-fashioned to claim that a feminism that promotes complementarity and balance between men and women, and between gender-aligned values and actions, will best befit discussions of literature written long before confrontational voices for women were dominant. Tess Cosslett never makes such a claim, but it could be made for her: certain sorts of complementarity are implicit in the friendships she studies. She situates the fictions she chooses both in their historico-social context and in the context of our current "raised" consciousness. Adopting the premise that fictional devices and conventions "reflect, embody or even create not 'reality' or 'experience', but ideology," she structures several chapters on the binary oppositions she finds in Victorian narratives between pairs of female friends.

The first antithesis, "Angels and Monsters," is illustrated by the sisters of Christina Rossetti's "The Lowest Room" and Maggie and Lucy Snowe in The Mill on the Floss; the second, "Madonnas and Magdalens," by Barrett Browning's Aurora Leigh with her fallen friend, Marian, and the sisters of "Goblin Market"; the third, "Earnest Women and Heartless Flirts," by Dorothea and Rosamond in

Middlemarch, and three other configurations drawn from Villette, Wives and Daughters, and Sir George Tressady. In all of these, the friendships, only apparently peripheral to the main plots, lead to the "assimilat[ion] of one or both of the women into marriage" (3).

Cosslett's last two chapters acknowledge that the binary paradigms cannot always lead to "resolution" in marriage. Yet these chapters indicate no resolution in the female solidarity suggested by female friendships. Shirley, given a chapter to itself, reveals in its strangeness "that existing [Victorian] conventions cannot fully contain or portray an autonomous female friendship" (111). The "Great Mother" nature, in whom Shirley and Caroline find quietude, contributes also to their anxiety: as they recognize in her the sign of "a lost past world of female power," they must, in acknowledging the loss, accept the "unattainability" of their dreams as women (134-5). The novel must end in the "drastic measures ... needed to defuse the friendship" (137). The title of the final chapter--"New Women?"--flaunts in its punctuation the failure of late Victorian novelists to find through female friendships positive female roles. Where the "new" heroine is not thrust into a conventional marriage with a "new" man, she may stand forlornly, and inconclusively, alone in her independence. Cosslett avoids either a sweeping conclusion or a call to activism: the structure of her discussion has rendered either impertinent.

Cosslett's measured analyses and her unpretentious clarity are both appropriate to the literature she describes: Victorian women, whether inscribing or inscribed in the domestic narratives that dominated their world, saw their own, and their sisters', subjugation and suffering with great clarity. But their literary demeanour (Callaghan would say "discourses") tended to remain modest, "feminine" in the senses that best served male interests--and in the circumstances their own comfort and safety.

In Renaissance tragedy, which reified and enthroned Hierarchy, the heroic females Callaghan considers--Shakespeare's Cordelia and Desdemona and Webster's Duchess of Malfi and Vittoria (the "White Devil")--found painful predicaments inevitable. The genre they inhabit (and, Callaghan argues, actually help to constitute as the essential objects of male misogyny) required of them submission, silence, and, in transgression, death.

Any activist intent underlying Callaghan's argument is jeopardized by the vocabulary she adopts from current feminist theorists, primarily Marxist and psychoanalytic. As she demonstrates the validity of the theory of discourses generating further discourses she pays (after a good introductory chapter) less clear attention than Cosslett to the historical substrata and the actual texts of the literature she discusses. Her argument often advances through the manipulation of conceptual, rather than textual, configurations. Yet, oddly, this comes to suit the discussion of settings, actions, and dialogue in which the particular woman is stereotyped as angel or transgressor, all personal colouration lost under patriarchal pressures.

Callaghan's book, though strewn with neologisms, and with some truly shaky diction (see the usages of "impassivity" and "impassive" on 95 and 96), is much stronger than this brief comparison would suggest. It especially rewards the energy the reader is called to invest in the chapters entitled "The Construction of Woman through Absence, Silence, and Utterance," "Exorcism and Exile," and "A Monstrous Desire."

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Gaye Tuchman (with Nina E. Fortin). Edging Women Out. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989.

When Gaye Tuchman's recent work Edging Women Out appeared late last year, one reviewer predicted that "this useful and fascinating book is likely to become a paradigm for other investigations in the field." Whether or not these flattering predictions are to be realized is immaterial. Although her study, which she conducted with the late Nina E. Fortin, focuses on the fate of female Victorian novelists from 1840 to 1917, Tuchman's theoretical model has more serious implications for modern-day, would-be social activists than the tale it tells.

Tuchman arrived at her conclusions following an extensive examination of the Macmillan and Company Archives, and the Dictionary of National Biography among others. Although the text is dotted with some questionable circumstantial evidence and a few dangling and unnecessary editorial comments, in general her argument is well supported despite the narrow data base. She notes that before 1840 nearly half the novelists writing in Britain were women. By 1917, nearly all high-culture novelists were men. Prior to 1840, the novel was demeaned as the poor step-child of English-language literature. Novel writing was a female activity, and women routinely sold their manuscripts to disreputable publishers like the Minerva Press. Persons interested in important literary contributions were unpaid and primarily male poets.

Tuchman argues that by 1840 novel writing was becoming an activity with career potential. Although tightly controlled by publishers and lending libraries, the field was partially professionalized and earlier objections to payment were less strident. As a result, men began to invade this predominantly female activity. Tuchman defines the "period of invasion" from 1840 to 1879. It was followed by the "period of redefinition" from 1880 to 1899 when primarily male critics and readers for large publishers considered only manuscripts which they defined as "manly," that is, a literature best reflecting their vision of Victorian realism. From the turn of the century to the end of the First World War in the "period of institutionalization," novels were classified as either high or low culture, occupied by males or females respectively. Tuchman is careful to assert that women were not excluded from high-culture novels--she notes Virginia Woolf--but they operated within rules dictated by men, becoming "lady authors" instead of authors in their own right.

Tuchman's most valuable contribution is her discussion of what she describes as the "empty field" phenomenon. She argues that those unable to influence or create society's ruling ideas work in occupations cast as undesirable within the dominant culture. In Victorian England, women dominated medicine, teaching, and popular literature. However, once these occupations started to demonstrate financial and social acceptability, men treated them as occupiable empty fields. Men invaded them, crowded out the previous (read female) occupants, and assumed them for themselves. Conversely, men devalued and eventually abandoned others such as typesetting, which became a female pursuit when it reverted from a skilled to a technical occupation. Tuchman further argues that men, faced with demands for admittance to one of their fields, may choose to abandon and devalue it rather than submit to integration.

Edging Women Out is characteristic of the dominant model of contemporary social criticism in most ways, albeit

with some notable exceptions. Not surprisingly, Tuchman, in constructing her analysis around the unequal occupational relationship between Victorian men and women, is part of the modern genre. Since Michael Harrington's savage indictment of the inequity of wealth distribution in capitalist America, most Western liberal-democratic social critics uncomfortable with the reality of class conflict in pluralist societies have retreated to the relative safety of gender, race, and religious analysis. Unfortunately, their solutions to equity questions tend to reflect both middle- and upper-class values while ignoring the economic and social exploitation of under-classes. Quebec's Quiet Revolution produced a new, technocratic middle class. It had little effect on the deprived eastern portion of the province. American civil rights legislation in effect legitimated an existing, small black middle class while doing little or nothing for the urban poor. Regrettably, Tuchman's fine work is imprisoned in this model.

To be fair to Tuchman, she does not attempt to camouflage the fact that her novelists came from the middle and upper classes. When these are juxtaposed with the vast army of working-class women who were killed, maimed, starved, and mentally incapacitated by the Industrial Revolution, it is difficult to be overly sympathetic to those who spent some of their spare time writing in the comfort of middle- and upper-class London townhomes.

Although probably without intention, Edging Women Out presents readers with a lesson in the malevolence of power politics. As Ralph Miliband demonstrated in Parliamentary Socialism, would-be revolutionaries and social reformers have nothing to gain by forcing power brokers to rewrite the rules in their favour. In the way that the reforming zeal of the British Labor Party was muted by a conservative bureaucracy, Tuchman demonstrates how women were unable to define novel writing as their own field. Eventually, they were forced to play by rules dictated within a male-dominated culture, a factor which remains unchanged in the closing years of the twentieth century.

After reading Tuchman's analysis, one cannot but wonder if all modern social movements are trapped within a similar cycle. Tuchman presents a series of difficult questions which will not be answered without a great deal of pain and soul-searchng. This alone makes Edging Women Out essential and valuable reading for anyone working to redefine modern-day power sharing.

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J. A. Mangan and Roberta Park, eds. From "Fair Sex" to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras. London: Frank Cass, 1987.

The twelve essays in this volume link the social history of sport and women's studies as they examine the way sport and leisure activity have shaped and maintained images of femininity in modern Western society. Half the book is original. Five of the essays appeared in earlier periodicals: three in the British Journal of Sports History (May 1985); one as early as 1973--Charles and Carroll Smith-Rosenbergs' seminal article on "Medical and Biological Views of Women and Their Role in Nineteenth-century America" in Journal of American History; Kate McCrone's paper on games in British girls' schools in the Journal of British Studies in 1984. The editors (one from Great Britain and one from the United States) have borne in mind geography in the perspectives they emphasize.

The book provides a British and American Overview in Part One, British Perspectives in Part Two, Commonwealth Perspectives in Part Three, and American Perspectives in Part Four.

"Your girls play like gentlemen and behave like ladies" (142). This compliment, paid to a headmistress in late nineteenth-century Britain on the conduct of her cricket team, directs us to the ironies surrounding the complex issues of women's sport and emancipation, particularly in Victorian times.

Sport has played a large part in defining and sustaining a patriarchal tradition in Western society. The admission of women to that male-dominated sphere signalled the feminist challenge to male superiority, and allowed women to contradict the received Victorian notions of the frail female body, of the inherent weaknesses of women, and of domesticity and motherhood as women's true vocations. Roberta Park notes a historian's comments "about the roles which both sporting attire and games have performed in the emancipation of women from traditional Victorian constraints" (83). Park and Mangan in the Introduction, and Paul Atkinson in his excellent article in Part One, demonstrate that the emancipation was double-edged. The educational reformer introduced physical education as a counterbalance to the perceived dangers of academic education for women, so much documented in the medical literature of the times (see the Rosenbergs' article in Part One). Physical activity in moderation was thought to ease the toll of intellectual stress on the supposedly weaker female body. But ultimately "the feminist reformers were forced to manoeuvre within very narrow limits" and they introduced measurement and medical inspection (anthropometry),

OUR LADIES' HOCKEY CLUB.

ONE OF THE INFERIOR SEX WHO VOLUNTEERED TO UMPIRE SOON DISCOVERED HIS OFFICE WAS NO SINECURE.

2. Hockey became increasingly popular in the 1890s, though regarded as unladylike (*Punch*, 6 December 1899)

all of which "generated a new form of medicalized ideology and social control" of women's bodies (Atkinson 54-5).

Several contributors mention that the usual rejoinder to the argument that sport "unsexed" a woman invoked sport as necessary to the production of healthy mothers, hence healthy babies, and hence a healthy race--one of Herbert Spenser's favourite arguments. The woman's destiny in sport was still linked to her womb and to the patriarchy.

I have noted a few of the larger themes that run through the volume. The essays vary in detail and breadth. Many provide context and background (not just the ones in Part One), and others give particularized analyses to flesh out the complexities of the central themes. Ray Crawford's essay on "Girls and Games in Early Twentieth-century Melbourne" restricts itself to one place and one time. Helen Lenskyj's entertaining and biting article restricts itself to the views of the Canadian print media on women in sport in Canada from 1890 to 1930--they relegated women in sport to the women's sphere and dictated "grace and feminine loveliness" as necessary attributes of the female athlete. Sheila Fletcher concentrates on the Swedish educator Per Henrik Ling, who early in the nineteenth century designed a system of remedial gymnastics and founded the Royal Gymnastics Institute in Stockholm to train men and women in his system. Madame Bergman-Osterberg brought Ling's system to England and became, in Fletcher's words, "the author of a distinctively female tradition in English physical education" (147); that tradition then spread to the United States and to the Commonwealth countries. References to people like Madame Bergman-Osterberg, and to places like Roedean and St. Leonard's, which were games-playing British girls' schools, appear in many of the essays.

Sports mentioned frequently are croquet (fashionable in the 1860s), tennis, golf, swimming, cycling (a real craze in the last decades of the century), and gymnastics. And much is made of the emancipation women found finally in traditionally male competitive sports: school games like cricket, field hockey, hand polo, and fives. Kate McCrone's thorough article traces the rise of games-playing at late Victorian girls' public schools such as Roedean and St. Leonard's. Around 1880, the first generation of college-educated women introduced to these schools the games they had learned to appreciate at Oxford and Cambridge, believing that women should develop bodies as well as minds. McCrone's essay stands out not only for its comprehensive detail, but also for its acute analyses of broader issues, such as "female sport's emancipating and restricting characteristics, and the interaction between feminism and female athleticism" (98).

From "Fair Sex" to Feminism promises early on to be an interesting and valuable study. It fulfills some of its promise in at least some of the essays, and it provides full bibliographical material for scholars outside this specialized area. Part Four on American Perspectives attempts to cover too much time and material and seems, at least to this reader, less well written than the other sections. Two or three wordy essays earlier in the book could have benefited from rigorous editing as well. Some tough conditioning might also have tightened up the arguments throughout--they often lack the energy promised in the introduction.

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Brian Heeney. The Women's Movement in the Church of England: 1850-1930. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

In April 1988 a number of friends and colleagues of the late Brian Heeney gathered with members of his family at Trent University to launch his last book and to share their memories of its author. There to help celebrate the publication of The Women's Movement in the Church of England: 1850-1930 were Colin Matthew and Brian Harrison, two of Brian Heeney's three Oxford friends who helped prepare the book for publication. John Walsh, who had supervised Brian's D.Phil. years ago, is the third friend.

Many readers of this newsletter will remember Brian Heeney well. He was for more than a decade an active and valued member of the Victorian Studies Association of Ontario. His cheerful presence at the spring conferences at Glendon, generally in the midst of a lively entourage from Trent, was, for too short a period, one of the welcome features of those pleasant gatherings. Somehow he also managed to find the time to come to Toronto for a surprisingly large number of the Association's small-group sessions. Finding the time must not have been easy. After he moved from the University of Alberta to Trent in 1971, Brian combined teaching history with a succession of important administrative posts. He was Master of Champlain College, director for a time of the Bata Library, and latterly Vice-President and Provost. In each of these roles he was enormously successful, and he achieved, a rare accomplishment for an academic administrator, both the admiration and the gratitude of his colleagues. As an administrator Brian drew on the two great pastoral traditions that were represented in his family. His paternal grandfather was a priest of the Anglican Church; his father was a diplomat and celebrated civil servant. Brian Heeney was himself an Anglican priest and, like his father, was able to exercise his paternalist instincts without a trace of arrogance or pretension. He died in 1983, when he was forty-nine years old. If he had lived longer he would, very likely, have become a University president or something even grander. He would, one suspects, have found it hard to resist the pressure on him to put his distinguished administrative talents to work in a larger parish.

All those who knew Brian Heeney know that he would not like to be remembered only or even mainly as an administrator. Scholarship, for him, was the chief priority, and his scholarly work may well outlive the memory of his administrative accomplishments. But it would be a mistake to think of his scholarship as being distinct from the rest of his life. His interests in the past reflected his activities in the present. He was one of those remarkably well integrated persons whose life seems a coherent whole.

Brian's historical work, like the other elements in his professional career, concentrated on education and the Church. His first book, Mission to the Middle Classes, is an impeccably solid study of the Woodard schools, a mid-Victorian effort to create Anglo-Catholic schools for the growing middle-class market. In A Different Kind of Gentleman, he describes the professionalization of the Victorian clergy and explores at length the development in the nineteenth century of those ideas of pastoral care that made some parish priests into social administrators of a high order of excellence.

At the time of his death, Heeney had not completed all that he had hoped to do for his study of the women's movement in the Church of England. His friends decided to publish the

results of his incomplete work, along with a graceful prefatory memoir, partly as a memorial, and partly because the book will be a valuable introduction to an important subject. In both these aspects the book succeeds admirably. As a clear-headed and wide-ranging survey of women's work in the Church between 1850 and 1930, this book concentrates on three major areas of concern. There is a good discussion of the domestic ideal as it was embedded in the minds of Churchmen, who by the late nineteenth century had come to be thought of as traditionalists. The social work that women carried out in increasing numbers from the middle of the nineteenth century dominates the first of the book's two parts. The efforts of some women to gain rights and roles in the Church that were traditionally reserved for men constitutes the subject of the second part. It is striking, if not surprising, to discover how closely the history of feminism within the Church parallels that of the movement in the wider society. The social work of Anglican women was a very important part of English philanthropy generally in the nineteenth century, and Heeney indicates in Part I some hitherto unexplored areas of feminine charity. The role of a surprisingly large number of Anglican women's groups in the rise of the nursing profession is hinted at, and this is one of the many suggestions in the book that one hopes will be taken up and developed further.

In Part II, Heeney demonstrates the close connections between those women who, in the decade before the War, demanded votes in parliamentary elections and those who demanded votes and places in a variety of church bodies and, ultimately, the right to become priests. Maude Royden, whose pugnacious visage looking sternly from the pulpit graces the dust jacket, is the leading lady in the second part of the book. Even the colourful Maude Royden, however, pales in comparison with the women at the helm of the W.S.P.U., and her achievements were not as great. The Church of England, in spite of the fact that women considerably outnumber men among its communicants, in spite of the fact that large numbers of its most influential clergy have become apostles of the political left, has been and still is one of the most conservative of English institutions in its attitudes towards the rights of women. In general, the secular feminists were more successful than their Churchly sisters. Parliament was opened to women at the end of World War I, while in England the Anglican priesthood remains closed to them even to this day.

This unfinished book tells a tale that is itself unfinished. After 1930 the feminist movement, in the Church and outside it as well, became quiet for a time. It revived in the 1960s and its work is still in progress.

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Rosemarie Bodenheimer. The Politics of Story in Victorian Social Fiction. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988.
August Bebel. Woman in the Past, Present and Future. Intro. Moira Donald. London: Zwan, 1988.

Rosemarie Bodenheimer's book attempts to explore "the story patterns and other narrative conventions through which the industrial or social-problem novel gives fictional shape to questions that were experienced as new, unpredictable, and troubling in the Victorian age" (flyleaf). Claiming a sympathy with Frederic Jameson's Marxist approach, which refuses to separate aesthetic from ideological concerns, Bodenheimer looks for the political content of a novel in "the shape and movement of narrative

rather than [in] its proclaimed social ideology" (3); she is especially interested in works of social fiction that evade the very issues they raise because these texts express most clearly "a middle-class crisis of self-definition" (5). Concentrating on novels written between the two reform bills, Bodenheimer looks at "fantasies of reform or reconciliation" in three types of narrative structure: stories focused on a heroine who either plays the role of female paternalist or stands poised on the threshold of gentility; stories that make use of a pastoral frame of reference; and stories that offer a model of history which transcends politics. She also isolates for special attention a group of novels, written by middle-class women about middle-class heroines, which "engage one another in critical argument" (8).

As my schematic description of the book's organization might suggest, Bodenheimer devotes excessive attention to matters of taxonomy. In addition to including a sixteen-page introduction that elaborately sets up the overall structure of the argument, Bodenheimer begins each section of the book by repeating the rationale for including the text under discussion. Once she moves beyond classification, however, Bodenheimer offers some fascinating readings of novels by Frances Trollope, Charlotte Brontë, Elizabeth Gaskell, Elizabeth Stone, Geraldine Jewsbury, George Eliot, Charles Dickens, Charles Kingsley, and Benjamin Disraeli.

In the book's first section, "The Romance of the Female Paternalist," Bodenheimer brings together issues of class and gender in her discussion of heroines who move outside their domestic sphere by carrying out socially useful paternalist projects. These characters are seen as carrying out "a fantasy of intervention without power" (23) because they reinforce the status quo by leaving men free to continue their management of the market economy that has created the need for such philanthropic activities: each of these heroines is a "social oxymoron" (68). Bodenheimer views this plot structure as leading to romantic melodrama in Frances Trollope, as being "complicated and undermined" in Charlotte Brontë, and as being "liberally revised" in Gaskell (23). Bodenheimer is especially astute in her reading of _Shirley_'s Caroline Helstone as "Brontë's mouthpiece for a critique of domestic ideology that is both radical and trapped in paternalist metaphor" (49) and in her analysis of Margaret Hale in _North and South_ as a "rescuing heroine" who refused to remain "separate from the activities generally associated with the male, the public, and the system" (67).

The second section on heroines, "Gentility and the Dangers of Aspiration," again focuses on a complex ligature between class and gender. Here Bodenheimer examines Stone's _William Langshawe_, Jewsbury's _Marian Withers_, and Eliot's _Felix Holt_ in terms of "the debate about gentility and vulgarity which was one mark of the political tension between the landed gentry and their challengers, the entrepreneurial northern middle classes" (69). For the heroines of these novels, gentility is both desirable and dangerous, and it is their moral role to reject the seductive signs of social ascendancy that would separate them from their middle-class origins. According to Bodenheimer, Stone's novel merely transforms stereotypes; in her attempt to present a balanced view of her heroine's predicament, she "defensively looks at her society through the eyes of the audience she imagines and fears" (76). Jewsbury's novel is then seen as having more seriousness and integrity than Stone's, chiefly because of its complex attitude to class. It is _Felix_

Holt, however, that Bodenheimer views as offering the most sophisticated handling of the dilemma presented by gentility to the middle-class heroine. She finds in Eliot's novel--often interpreted as deeply conservative for its celebration of a hero who opposes both the enfranchisement of workers and the autonomy of wives --another type of radicalism based on its "moral guerrilla warfare with gentility" (108). Bodenheimer is most original in her interpretation of Felix Holt as a response to its "Manchester predecessors"; in these terms, the novel is "a rejection of the alliances between business and gentility which shape and trouble the fantasies of Stone and Jewsbury" (71). By looking at the dilemma of Esther Lyon in terms of class, this reading both qualifies and complements Gillian Beer's observation that Eliot "distrusted" Jewsbury's "images of independent life for women" (George Eliot [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986], 49).

In the latter sections of her book, Bodenheimer looks at a group of novels that invoke either a pastoral frame of reference or a model of "true" history in order to present "romantic critiques of social determinism" (116). From this perspective, Oliver Twist, with its emphasis on Oliver as a "natural child," is an attack on utilitarianism; Fagin, who attempts to turn people into criminals, is seen as an opportunistic behaviourist who uses "the social principles on which he preys" (127). Alton Locke as well is viewed as setting up an opposition between a "free pastoral world and an imprisoning urban one" (135), but with a different effect, that of inadvertently revealing the reliance of pastoral on aristocratic society. Ruth, on the other hand, uses "maternal pastoral" in order to naturalize the sexual "fall" of its heroine. Bodenheimer makes the astute point that by delaying Ruth's consciousness of her lapse until she has begun to live with the Bensons, Gaskell separates the sexual act from "the social construct of 'fall,'" thus establishing that "social innocence and virginity are not identical" (157). This reading is especially interesting for its focus on the Bradshaw children as "a more indirect attack on the taboos connected with the fallen woman" (162). It is only after learning of Ruth's sexual past that Jemima can be helped by her friend: contact with the fallen woman here brings redemption, not corruption.

While "fictional pastoral," according to Bodenheimer, provides "a rhetorical substitute for social ascent" (164), "the very act of remembering and retelling stories creates alternative narrative zones endowed with value, continuity, and the potential for reform" (166). With this idea in mind, she examines the contradictions between past and present, or ideal and real, in Sybil, Hard Times, and, again, Felix Holt. Disraeli is seen as acting in a transparently self-interested way by creating "histories that undermine the legitimacy of contemporary politics" (170); Dickens is seen as satirizing "the social rhetoric generated by industrialization" and returning to a bleak vision of individual lives (197); Eliot is seen as similarly relocating the task of reform "in personal histories" (212). Thus Holt is "an alternative social order in himself" (222), and the novel's "retreat from politics is a critique of an attitude toward history and change rather than a rejection of political activity as such" (227). Though Bodenheimer recognizes "a gap between the free mind and the social body" (224) in the depiction of Holt himself, this reading is less perceptive and useful than the earlier discussion of Felix Holt, chiefly because it evades some of the very types of contradiction that Bodenheimer deals with so cogently elsewhere in the book. For example, she

oversimplifies Eliot's supposed condemnation of Arabella Transome, while failing to see the novel as in any way critical of Rufus Lyon. This reductive reading supports Bodenheimer's thesis about the relationship of narrative and history in *Felix Holt*, but it fails even to notice the novel's sexual politics.

Taken as a whole, Bodenheimer's book provides an original and intelligent approach to the social-problem novel; her emphasis on contradiction as providing a focus for analysis rather than for dismissal makes possible a complex handling of the ideological content of these works. Her argument is weakened, however, when contradictions are attributed to the personalities of authors rather than to more generalized ideological determinants. In a study that invokes Jameson in order to examine the ideological splits in Victorian narrative, a retreat to a consideration of the "writer's imagination" (5) seems regressive and bizarre.

In spite of this surprising inconsistency, however, *The Politics of Story in Victorian Social Fiction* remains a thought-provoking study. In fact, though Bodenheimer chooses to confine her material to novels written between 1832 and 1867, her categories might well be extended to later works. Dorothea Brooke could be seen as a failed female paternalist, and Gwendolen Harleth at the end of *Daniel Deronda* as an aspiring one. Similarly, both Fancy Day of *Under the Greenwood Tree* and Grace Melbury of *The Woodlanders* must choose, like Esther Lyon, between the values of her own class and the aspiration to gentility. The ease with which the reader supplies associations such as these suggests that Bodenheimer has provided a useful framework for thinking about the depiction of social problems in Victorian narrative.

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Another recently published work that will be of interest to any Victorianist is Swan's reprint of August Bebel's *Woman in the Past, Present and Future*. Published in Germany in 1879 and revised in 1883, Bebel's book is, according to Moira Donald's Introduction, "the most popular socialist text in any language during the period" (i). For several reasons, this work should once again attract many readers. First, more fully than Engels or Marx, Bebel articulated the link between class and gender in the burgeoning capitalist economy of the nineteenth century. Anticipating Lévi-Strauss (and the different emphasis given to his ideas by Luce Irigaray and Eve Sedgwick), he saw marriage as forming the foundation of private property and women as articles of exchange between men. Bebel also launched a strong attack on the misogyny of Christianity, which masked, in his view, a "hatred of the flesh" (25). Bebel's treatise is fascinating both for its radicalism and for its inconsistencies: though he opposed the argument for man's biological superiority, he was continually trapped by nineteenth-century assumptions about "woman's nature."

Bebel's book begins with a striking assertion: "*Woman was the first human being that tasted bondage*. *Woman was a slave before the slave existed*" (7). Operating on the premise that we have "no grounds for assuming that in [a] primitive state men were physically or mentally superior to women" (7), Bebel goes on to suggest that the "bondage of women" resulted from their "peculiarities" as "sexual beings." It is pre-Darwinian evolutionary theory which takes Bebel from the first to the last stage of this argument. Women, he suggests, were inferior to men only when they needed protection during pregnancy, birth, and lactation. Their first bondage resulted from this temporary weakness and then led to "the consequent differentiation of bodily and mental

powers ... and thus became the secondary cause of severer bondage still" (8). Using this theory, Bebel could challenge the essentialist definition of gender difference without having to disprove the general belief that women were physically and mentally weaker than men. In fact, he continually wavered between the two positions. While attributing the symptoms of hysteria to the inferior and trivial education received by women (in this he seems to echo Mary Wollstonecraft), he also accepted the idea that certain sexual "diseases" result from "the more intimate connection of woman's organism than that of man with the sexual functions" and from

> the greater difficulties which oppose the gratification of their intensest natural impulses in the natural way. This contradiction between organic needs and social compulsion leads to perverted instincts, to secret vices and excesses, in a word, to unnatural means of gratification, which undermine all but strong constitutions. (85)

It is remarkable that these words, which echo many nineteenth-century medical documents, should have been written by the same man who attacked the misogyny of Christianity for its hatred of the flesh. Bebel's book is a radical critique of nineteenth-century domestic and economic structures, but also, unmistakably, a product of its time.

The Zwan edition of Women in the Past, Present and Future is a photographic reprint of an English translation, but no information is given about the translator, the edition, the date or circumstances of publication, or the English reception of the book. Moira Donald's introduction offers some interesting analysis of Bebel's influence on Charles Fournier and Robert Owen, but it generally condescends to its reader (defined at one point as "the modern radical" [xxi]). No annotations are provided. In short, the text itself has considerable value, but as an edition this is a careless piece of work.

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Marion Tinling. Women into the Unknown: A Sourcebook on Women Explorers and Travelers. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989.

The judgement "a useful volume" (or worse, "a useful little volume") is often used in reviews almost as a term of opprobrium, uttered with a reviewerly curl of the lip. Women into the Unknown is, above all, a useful volume, but I mean "useful" in its best sense. It combines a short biography of forty-two women explorers and travelers with a bibliography of works by and/or about them. At the end there is an appendix of books of exploration and travel and a selected bibliography of anthologies and collective biographies. As the title indicates, this is a sourcebook, providing an excellent place to start studying these women and their travels in all their diversity.

The reasons for traveling distinguish the explorer from the traveler. Lady Florence Dixie traveled to Patagonia on sporting expeditions with her husband, for example, to escape the restraints put on women in Victorian England. Alexandra David-Neel, who was the first foreign woman to see Lhasa, "the forbidden city" of Tibet (on New Year's Day 1924), regarded a pilgrim's life as "the most blessed existence one can dream of." If there is a common thread it is the courage in the face of hardship and danger which all the women showed and the accomplishments they brought to their travels. Dame Freya Stark, who traveled in the Middle East before World War I and who is still alive, has a

remarkable knowledge of languages, archaeology, and the Qoran, for example.

Perhaps the most remarkable of an outstanding company is Daisy Bates, who, at the end of the nineteenth century, decided to investigate charges that white settlers were cruel to the natives of Western Australia. She made a study of aboriginal beliefs and customs, despite the fact that some of them, like infant cannibalism, were shocking to her (and indeed are to us). Dressed always in a Victorian lady's costume despite the heat, she lived among the aborigines, nursing them through illnesses and becoming accepted almost as one of them. All the while she wrote down her observations and tried to see the world with "the black man's mind."

The introduction makes the excellent point that women, either because of their female angle of vision or because they were not perceived as threatening, had access to aspects of society that men didn't and have increased our knowledge accordingly. For example, when Delia Akeley went to the Belgian Congo (now Zaire) in 1924 in search of Pygmies, she actually lived with the Pygmies for several months and even witnessed a birth. She observed that a newborn Pygmy baby was full-sized but that the children simply stopped growing at a certain age. This experience of a birth, only possible because she was a woman, and her other observations suggested strongly that, contrary to previous opinion, Pygmies were not undersized because of disease and malnutrition. This is obviously an essential point in any study of that people.

The organization of the book is confusing. Collectively these women traveled over the world within an almost two-hundred-year time span. The earliest is Anne Newport Royall, born in 1769, the most recent Christina Dodsell, born in 1951. Most flourished in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some made more than one journey throughout the world; some had long traveling careers; some traveled early in life, others late. An organizing principle for such a volume is difficult. Tinling has used neither geography nor chronology. Instead she arranges her biographies alphabetically. This, I think, is a mistake, because it makes the book as a whole feel choppy. Its value, therefore, lies in its individual parts. It is difficult to relate easily one woman's travels to another's or to perceive a historical development in travel to the same place; to see, for example, how a trip to Africa in 1850 might differ from one a hundred years later. Putting together patterns, I grant you, is not necessarily the job of a sourcebook. However, the value of the book would be increased with more indexing to make chronological and geographical relationships more readily apparent. What the book does brilliantly, though, is to make the reader _want_ to follow on from these beginnings and find out what made these women tick, what their lives were like, and, above all, what happened to them on their travels. It is this accomplishment which raises _Women into the Unknown_ above the simply _useful_. It contains good stories well told that engage the reader imaginatively in all sorts of ways. They make the reader, however much a homebody, respond to what Stark calls the "lure of exploration," which "still continues to be one of the lodestars of the human spirit."

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Upon Paul's steeple stands a tree
As full of apples as may be;
The little boys of London town
They run with hooks to pull them down:
And then they go from hedge to hedge
Until they come to London Bridge.

Solution to Riddle #7