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Contents

News and queries

MICHELE GREEN (History, University of Windsor) published "Sympathy and Self-Interest: the Crisis in Mill's Mental History," in Utilitas, I:2 (Fall 1989). On October 27, 1990, she is giving a paper on "The Role of Women in the Improvement of Mankind: J.S. Mill's Arguments for the Equality of Women" at the Mid West Conference on British Studies, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

LESLIE HOWSAM (History, University of Toronto) published "'Sound-Minded Women:' Eliza Orme and the Study and Practice of Law in Late-Victorian England," Atlantis, 15:1 (Fall 1989). Eliza Orme was the first woman in Britain to earn a degree in Law, in 1888 from the University of London.

JUDITH KNELMAN (Journalism, University of Western Ontario) presented two papers at the convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication in Minneapolis in August: a study of sensationalism in Victorian crime reporting, and a look at the way in which female criminals were depicted in English newspapers c. 1850. In October she presented two papers at the annual meeting of the American Journalism Historians Association in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, one on an early example of humanitarian journalism, and another on trial by newspaper in the nineteenth century.

KATHLEEN E. MCCRONE (History, University of Windsor) has been appointed Dean of the Faculty of Social Science at Windsor for a five year period.

PATRICIA OWEN (English, Nassau Community College) came to Toronto in March to attend the Popular Culture Conference, which included some good papers on Victorian popular fiction.

NANCY SCHAUMBURGER (English, Manhattanville College, Purchase, N.Y.), wonders whether there are any Canadian branches of the International Dickens Fellowship that might be interested in exchanging speakers with her local branch. A psychoanalyst, she is also looking for a collaborator on a book on literature as therapy. Her recent self-help book, Finding, Loving, and Marrying Your Lifetime Partner (Tudor), may be ordered at (919) 282-5907.

JILL SHEFRIN of the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books sends word of two exhibitions of interest to members at the Boys and Girls House: "'The 100 Aker Wood' and 'The Secret Garden'" (Oct. 20-Jan. 4), and "Cupid's Message: Victorian Valentines" (Jan. 25-Mar. 22 1991).

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"BRITISH TRIALS 1660-1900" is the title of a microfiche collection being published by Chadwyck-Healey, starting in October 1990, at the rate of about 800 fiches per year. The series encompasses non-official accounts of civil and criminal trials which were originally published as separate pamphlets or books for sale to the public at large. The majority are verbatim transcripts of what was said in court; subjects include murder, duelling, treason, sedition, sexual misconduct, and disputed wills. The accounts are said to provide an insight not only into social and legal history, but also into a distinctive literary genre and a particular aspect of the publishing industry.

Victorian Periodicals Review, which has just published a special Summer 1990 issue on The Wellesley Index, has scheduled a second special issue for Fall 1991. New discoveries of addenda and corrigenda to The Wellesley Index should be sent, by 30 March 1991, in duplicate--one copy to Barbara Quinn Schmidt, Editor, Victorian Periodicals Review, English Department, Southern Illinois University, Edwards-

ville, IL 62026-1436, U.S.A., and the other to Robert A. Colby, 320 Central Park West, Apt. 9N, New York, NY 10025, U.S.A.

THE VICTORIAN STUDIES CENTRE at the University of Leicester welcomes applications from visiting scholars wishing to spend sabbatical terms in the U.K. Those interested should send a curriculum vitae to Joanne Shattock, Victorian Studies Centre, Department of English, University of Leicester, University Road, Leicester, LE1 7RH, United Kingdom. In October the Centre is launching a new interdisciplinary M.A. course which includes study of the literature, art, and society of the Victorian period.

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Many members will already be aware that, shortly after the death of Professor F.E.L. Priestley, a memorial fund was established in order to make possible an annual visit to the University of Toronto by an outstanding scholar in the History of Ideas. Professor Priestley was a pre-eminent teacher and authority in the fields of Victorian Studies, Eighteenth-century Studies, and the History of Ideas, and it is fitting that he should be commemorated with the kind of lectureship that is being proposed. Largely thanks to the energetic work of Phil Anisman, the Chairman of the Memorial Fund Committee, $108,000 of the needed $150,000 has now been pledged or given. To those of you who have already contributed, we express our thanks; we hope that others will also give generously. For your convenience a pledge form is included with this Newsletter. All donations are tax-deductible.

Hans de Groot
President, VSAO

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Conference notes

VSAO Conference, April 1990

The focus in this year's papers was on Victorian science, on some of the questions it grappled with, and on the context in which discussion occurred. James Secord, from Imperial College in London, looked at the social and material culture within which early Victorian scientists came to operate, while Michael Ruse, from the University of Guelph, dealt with the relationship between epistemic or scientific values and cultural ones in Victorian evolutionary biology.

The problem with which James Secord started was the relationship between scientific activity and its growing audience in the early part of the nineteenth century. The aim of his paper was to show that the world of popular publishing was one which the scientists themsevles took into account, if only at times in a negative sense. In the eighteenth century science had been conducted and validated almost entirely by gentlemen for an élite audience. The rise of a new mass audience after 1790 brought demands for the dissemination of knowledge through cheap publications to people of the "middling sort," but it also produced fears among the educated upper classes of knowledge getting into the wrong hands, as, it was argued, had happened during the French Revolution. And indeed there were radicals, the publisher Richard Carlile, for instance, who wanted to arm men with ideas that would help them to overthrow "kingly and priestly influence."

In the 1810s and 1820s science was directly affected by the conservative reaction. It was held, for example, that secular knowledge would damage religious faith among the masses; and established scientific societies, such as the Geological Society, were apprehensive about

encouraging public discussion of scientific issues. Government taxes on such items as paper made the publication of popular science prohibitively expensive, and measures such as the Seditious Meetings Act of 1817 resulted in the closing of several provincial scientific societies. Published work on science appeared mainly in élite journals such as the Edinburgh Review.

James Secord argued further that the growing professionalization of scientific activity had the effect, even if it were not a matter of conscious policy, of further restricting popular access to science. Changes in its practice--the drawing of boundaries between disciplines, the need for specialist training, the development of instrumentation--made science more expensive and time-consuming. At the same time, distinctions were drawn between scientific discourse among peers and simpler summaries for the popular audience. Museums, for example, developed a double function, with entertaining displays for the public and serious scientific research behind the scenes. Journalists, editors, and a network of industrial publishing helped to spread scientific knowledge, but they also interposed a barrier between the serious men of science and the popular audience.

Michael Ruse discussed one of the controversies in Victorian science which did reach a wide audience and that is the notion of progress. He took as his starting point the question of values in science: the epistemic which involves the search for truth and validity and the cultural which, he argued, can remain even in a supposedly mature science. He took as his case study evolutionary biology where the concept of progress, in the sense of continuous change towards the better, continued to shape Victorian theories.

The linkage between biological and socio-economic progress had been around in the eighteenth century in various forms in France, Britain (in particular in Scotland), and in Germany. The French Revolution had temporarily discredited faith in progress, whether material or idealistic, but by the 1830s British intellectuals were taking up the notion again. While many biologists were anti-progressionist (Charles Lyell, for example, held that repetition not progress characterized biology), others incorporated the notion of a progressive development. And Robert Chambers, in his Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation, introduced cultural progress into biology. Even Richard Owen, who published anti-evolutionist works in the 1830s and 1840s, was privately influenced by Kantian ideas on evolution.

Charles Darwin poses a particular problem. Some of his writing appears to be anti-progressionist, while other passages such as "changes towards perfection" indicate sympathy not just for the notion of progress in biological development but for cultural progress as well. His family background, after all, may have predisposed him to such sympathies, since Dr. Robert Darwin was a progressionist. On balance, Michael Ruse argued, Charles Darwin moved in the direction of linking competitive progress in evolution (which was not necessarily good or bad) with a more general and absolute notion of progress. By the 4th edition of the Origin of Species, Darwin was linking cultural and biological progress, and the Descent of Man incorporated ideas of the ranking of humans on a biological and cultural scale.

After Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Alfred Russell Wallace, and Thomas Henry Huxley continued to link, in their various ways, cultural and biological progress. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, belief in cultural progress began to decline, and this had an impact on biology. Some writers began to talk about biological and cultural degeneration and draw connections between the two. Nevertheless, Michael Ruse concluded, the nine-

teenth-century idea of progress, which manifests itself both in culture and biology, has not entirely disappeared.

Margaret MacMillan
Ryerson Polytechnic Institute

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OUR ANNUAL CONFERENCE will take place at Glendon College on April 13, 1991, on the subject of the 1890s. Robin Spencer, art historian at the University of St. Andrews, will speak on Whistler and Beardsley, and J.E. Chamberlin, Professor of English at New College, will speak on the intellectual history of the period.

VICTORIAN VIRTUE AND VICE will be the topic of the fifteenth annual meeting of the Midwest Victorian Studies Association, to be held in Chicago on 26-27 April, 1991. For information, write to Micael Clarke, Department of English, Loyola University of Chicago, 6525 N. Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL 60626, U.S.A.

CALL FOR PAPERS: The Victorian Studies Association of Western Canada invites proposals for papers to be delivered at its annual meeting at the University of Victoria, B.C., in October 1991. The Association welcomes submissions from all areas of nineteenth-century studies including history, art, literature, music, science, and law. Detailed proposals of 500-700 words should be sent by January 1, 1991. To join the Association and become eligible to submit a paper, write to Judith Flynn, President, VSAWC, Department of English, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3R 2N2.

"TRANSATLANTIC CONNECTIONS" is the theme of the 1991 meeting of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals, to be held in Washington, D.C. Papers on connections between the Victorian press in Britain and Canada, or in Britain and the United States, should be submitted to Christopher Dahl, Dean of Humanities and Social Sciences, Miller University, Millersville, PA 17551, U.S.A.

* * *

Riddle-de-dee

OLD CAMERON'S NURSERY RHYME RIDDLES

No. 8

Birds, trees, cattle, clay (three times), and wax
All contribute to what I, sorrowing, receive after a lunar month.

Solution on p. 30.

Queen Victoria's Mines

THE WATERLOO DIRECTORIES OF BRITISH PERIODICALS

John North
University of Waterloo

Current research suggests that in every area of society Victorian periodicals and newspapers were larger and more influential than were printed books. In other words, scientists, professionals, churchmen, children, academics, the literati, all turned to periodicals more than to books for their specialist as well as their general information, identity, and entertainment.

The Waterloo Directory of Irish Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900 (1986) lists about 4000 titles, and the two-volume Waterloo Directory of Scottish Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900 (1989) lists 7300. About 20,000 English titles of a projected 120,000 have already been analyzed in preparation of a 50-volume set. While many of these titles existed for very few issues, others were published daily throughout the century. Many had larger print runs per issue than the average book. Although conclusive statistics are difficult to establish (requiring print runs of books as well as periodicals, and taking into account the likelihood of multiple and more thorough readings of periodicals), my own conviction that periodicals will prove far more significant than printed books has been echoed by librarians and scholars in the UK and North America.

Most of the English material still lies unrecognized, so neglected by bibliographers that researchers cannot identify it, let alone locate it. Even the 1976 Waterloo Directory of Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900 listed fewer than 25,000 English titles. Most periodicals titles are buried in the general catalogues of libraries, a single card often representing hundreds, even thousands of issues, during which a publication underwent changes in title, format, editor, proprietor, issuing body, focus, and frequency. Reading through the general card catalogues of eighty libraries throughout Scotland in the early stages of research for the Scottish directory brought to light more than 3000 titles not otherwise appearing in general or specialized periodicals lists. Rare is the library which has a list of retrospective periodicals. Most libraries define periodicals in a narrow rather than broad sense, excluding newspapers even when they cannot determine the boundary between newspaper and magazine, excluding annuals and even semi-annuals, as well as publications with narrow organizational ties.

As for Scotland, so for England: every major library must be visited for some weeks at best, some years in special cases, and their card catalogues read as the initial step in surveying their holdings. Smaller local libraries often have sent their nineteenth-century holdings to regional headquarters, so that a call to the most senior librarian familiar with the book stock may be sufficient.

A simple listing of titles has limited value. So the Waterloo Directory series has provided for each Scottish periodical and newspaper up to thirty fields of descriptive information, including some contents analysis; multiple locations (including library addresses and phone numbers) of complete and partial runs; photofacsimile title pages of 2500 publications; books and articles known to describe any of the titles; a secondary bibliography of more than 400 entries; subject breakdown of up to ten areas per title, each listed in the main entry

(with a two-to-one ratio of cross-references in the main subject index); cross-references from all changes of title, mergers, issuing bodies, and many subtitles; and indexes by subject, place of publication, and personal name. About six issues were read in the preparation of each main title entry; yet about half the information for each title was found in secondary sources.

The complexity of this bibliographical task has recently been proclaimed by Professor Michael Wolff, who twenty years ago was among its strongest supporters, as so great that it cannot be accomplished.1 His pronouncement has a roguish tone perhaps calculated to invigorate other scholars. Although the completion and good reception of the Waterloo Directory volumes on Ireland and Scotland offer hope that he will be proven wrong, scholars who have attempted similar tasks are likely to empathize with his frustration.

The explanation of this bibliographical neglect lies partly in the marketing of periodicals and newspapers as inexpensive throwaways. It is also a consequence of their format which, however convenient for street-sellers, the passing public, and cheap production, is not so for library shelves. Moreover, they arrived at libraries in endless irregular succession, terminal dates often unknown, the stuff of nightmares for librarians, cataloguers, scholars, indexers, and preservationists. While many periodicals were subject-oriented in areas such as law, children's literature, astronomy, sectarianism, medicine, theatre, and labour, as much material in any one area appeared in general publications, often newspapers, and so is not picked up in specialist bibliographies. Because no one knows they exist, they have very little turnover, so tend to be warehoused and further neglected. Because complete runs are rare and cross-indexing of title changes almost non-existent, scholars have to be unusually persevering to find particular issues, let alone to obtain an overview of any one title.

The potential of Victorian periodicals is that they have yet scarcely been touched; that they represent a volume and range of social and cultural values rather distasteful to most scholars; and that they defy tidy subject analysis. Just the same, collectively they record the motives and activities of a society which has been perhaps the most influential in world history: much of Africa, the Orient, the Caribbean, Australia and New Zealand, not to speak of North America, has communication, education, transportation, police, religion, local and national government, trade, recreation, and even research patterned on Victorian Britain. The UK perhaps more than North America was the source of English as the lingua franca.

One example of scholars' aversion to many of the facts of the period is the scant treatment received by the Salvation Army. In practical terms this group surely contributed to the welfare of the working classes more than, for instance, the Marxists: it effectively combated the White Slave trade, alcoholism, hunger, child labour, workplace hazards such as "fossy-jaw" (phosphorus poisoning causing disintegration of the facial bone structure, common in workers producing matches), and dangerous machinery. Within a decade or two the Army became one of the most effective elements of social change in North America and Japan. Yet scholars find this rather dull stuff, possibly because of the intrusive religious implications of the "Army's" success. The selflessness and self-effacement of the fire and thunder brigade has for decades made less good press in academe than the fulminations and illegalities of political radicals and the underground press, who were dealing with the same issues, often less effectively. Liberated Sally Anns busily exerting their freedom lack the lustre of the feminist crusaders. Simi-

larly, for most academics Victorian religion means Newman and the Anglo-Catholic movement, although by the mid-fifties more Methodists than established churchmen were in church on Sunday. Shaw's appreciation for the Army, voiced so clearly in Major Barbara, was preceded by his selling of newspapers reporting the Army's legal triumph in suppression of the White Slave trade. When the teen-aged GBS found that the mob had bullied newsboys off the streets in a last desperate attempt to maintain their trade, he flogged papers in London himself. This remarkable story appears in The General Next to God.[2] As the periodicals and newspapers become increasingly accessible we will have the documentation available for a more balanced, so more truthful and thus potent history of Victorianism--the roots of our own society.

Professor Charles Malik, the late Lebanese United Nations diplomat, speaking in Toronto's Royal York Hotel four years ago, observed that until developing countries produce an ethical middle class they will never escape the cycles of despot and coup. Malik, former chairman of the Security Council, who has been awarded gold medals from fourteen nations for his contributions to world peace, and who chaired the UN committee which wrote the International Declaration of Human Rights, prompts us to consider the roots of Victorian success in civic and national administration. How did that ethical middle class arise? Do the periodicals offer sufficient records to enable us to write a prescription for our present distress? Can we verify George Eliot's suggestion that congregationalist self-governance provided the schooling for and acceptance of an effective civil service? On an only slightly tangential path, Dickens' A Tale of Two Cities (serialized in Household Words), with its contrapuntal guillotine and cross motif, is due to be accorded a "reader-response" analysis of its role in political stabilization in Britain. Does this most widely read of his novels, with its powerful exposé of the consequences of the French incitement of the downtrodden to rebellion, a book which at once is an articulate empathy with the poor in spirit as well as in pocket, and a prophecy of twentieth-century revolutions, explain why Marx's manifesto fell on deaf English ears?

It may be that the present attempt in Waterloo to bring Victorian periodicals and newspapers under bibliographical control occurs at a technologically critical moment. We now have the computer facilities to accomplish the task, and we have not yet proceeded past the point of no return along the road of on-line library catalogues. The lamentable proposal by the University of Waterloo Librarian that the existing card catalogues be offered to the recyclers, would, if acted upon by many librarians, effectively block access

to most Victorian periodicals. On-line cataloguing has several as yet unfaced limitations. It provides a trivial amount of information per title compared to the hand-entered cards, so seems most useful to the least experienced researchers while excising just the sort of information which is likely to trigger the seasoned intuitions of experienced scholars: cross-references, related subjects, title changes, size, illustrations, dates, and so on.

Worse, the sequential search process rigidly ordained by computer programmers renders ineffective the rapid scanning ability of the experienced researcher. Ironically, the on-line catalogue prevents access to the book stock by the skilled researcher, although it conveniently lists the most obvious (so perhaps less significant) texts for the novice. This proposed destruction of card catalogues is likely to inhibit permanently advanced research. We may complete the Waterloo Directory series for British nineteenth-century studies in time; it is less likely that we can do the same service for Canadian and American materials before the mulchers are invited to campus.

In the best of British libraries, old catalogues are faithfully preserved, however out of date, technologically dinosauric, or bulkily inconvenient. For instance, Frank Robinson, the director of the Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue, reports that one of his valued resources is a unique general card catalogue in the Cambridge University Library, unknown to the public and indeed to most university folk. My own experience is that in general bibliographical research as well as in pursuing a single title, old catalogues are invaluable. The existing card catalogues still in use at most libraries have been maintained for many decades at huge expense and in great detail. That the tens of thousands of undergraduate student users do not fully use their resources is insufficient reason to abandon them. Simply by moving to computer format we lose much of value in the existing format. Which may be what prompts those tweedy, dusty-nosed, beady-eyed, slow-moving, ever so alert British librarians to keep their old catalogues. We may decide no longer to update them, but we need not recycle them.

NOTES

[1]Victorian Periodicals Review, Fall 1989, 126.

[2]Richard Collier (London: Collins, 1965), 136.

On Doing without Opium

Oliver Lovesey
Okanagan College

On December 26, 1860, George Eliot wrote to Barbara Bodichon:

> I have faith in the working-out of higher possibilities than the Catholic or any other church has presented. ... The highest 'calling and election' is to 'do without opium' and live through all our pain with conscious, clear-eyed endurance.[1]

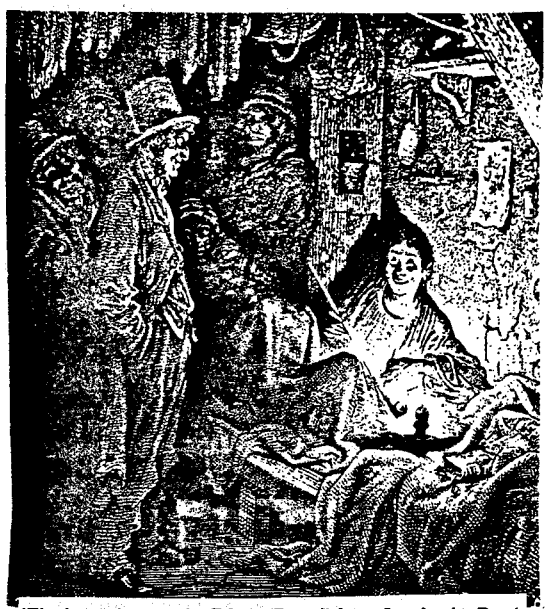
Her reference to stoically doing without opium is made perhaps more poignant in the light of her own sufferings from toothache, colds, and, later, gall stones. In the month before this letter was written, she complained of "unbroken fatigue from morning to night," for which she was taking "blue pill and hydrochloric acid." Weeks later she suffered "physical weakness accompanied with mental depression," but confided, "I am getting better now with the help of tonics."[2] In the Victorian period there was much concern about what was increasingly regarded as the dangerous abuse of opium, and in George Eliot's fiction a number of characters take opium or other stimulating or benumbing substances. In this fiction the consumption of opium, and the image of such consumption, have significance as indicators of the conception of self. This essay examines, in the light of contemporary medical views about opium and addiction, Eliot's use of opium and the opium image for the elucidation of a notion of self as dangerously liable to destabilization.

The history of opium in nineteenth-century England presents an instance of what Michel Foucault refers to as a movement from private, 'liberal' medicine to an institutionalized medicine.[3] Opium addiction or "opiomania" was defined as a social problem by doctors seeking professional recognition; this paternalistic, middle-class intervention in working-class life culminated in the 1868 Pharmacy Act limiting the sale of patent medicines to professional pharmacists. Nevertheless, during much of the century, opium, self-prescribed and self-administered, was widely and cheaply available. In the 1870s increased opium consumption was perceived as a "gigantic evil thus looming above our horizon,"[4] poised to become a new "national vice" in the future.[5]

Opium abuse predominated among women and the poor. This vice, it was believed, particularly tempted "women obliged by their necessities to work beyond their strength ... and, in brief, all classes ... whose vices make special demands upon the nervous system."[6] Opium extracts and cordials were popular treatments for an incredible number of ailments from fatigue to insomnia, and opium was recommended in domestic texts for treatment of hysteria and nervous disorders thought to be sex-linked. The "drowsy syrups" provided a release from a hopelessly confining and monotonous world for many women, acting the angel in the house, while concealing the madwoman in the attic. For at least one writer, opium was considered preferable to alcohol for women, because "opium in private use is ... less revolting in appearance, less debasing by example; ... for the woman let her rove in her New-found-land of dreams and reveries and hallucinations and fantasies."[7]

Opium's association with pleasure and immorality found expression in treatments for addiction, which was regarded as a disease of the will, or a type of moral weakness. The anti-opium movement of the 1870s gained momentum from popular reaction to the opium wars, between 1839 and

1858, resulting from Chinese attempts to halt British importation of Indian opium. Though most English opium was in fact imported from Turkey, opium came to be equated with the otherness of the Orient and with ideas of Oriental despotism, splendour, cruelty, and sensuality, partly as a result of portrayals of Chinese opium dens in popular literature. It was feared that close proximity to Oriental moral lassitude threatened English workers of East London.



'The lascar's room in *Edwin Drood*' from *London* by Doré.

The intoxicating or "recreational" use of opium was equated in the nineteenth century with sensuality, social disorder, and lack of self-control. In 1840, the Westminster Medical Society cautioned that opium "affected all that was good and virtuous in women, it acted as an aphrodisiac, and subverted all morality."[8] The Romantics' writings, and particularly de Quincey's Confessions, popularized the use of opium to alter consciousness. Furthermore, the stimulant, euphoric effects of the drug had probably always been well-known. As early as 1701 Dr. John Jones described various effects of the drug in The Mysteries of Opium Revealed:

> it seems ... like a most delicious and extraordinary refreshment of the spirits upon very good news. ... It has been compared (not without good cause) to a permanent gentle degree of that pleasure which modesty forbids the name of. (xxv)

He claimed that opium aids in the "growth of the Breasts, Penis, and increase of milk" (25), but he also referred to opium's psychedelic properties. His view that opium is a stimulant was later refuted; in nineteenth-century medical works it is generally held that, whereas in small quantities it may imitate the properties of a stimulant, opium is a sedative and in large quantities tends "to clog, to stupefy, to nauseate."[9]

A broad distinction may be made between the usually female characters in Eliot's early works who seek opium's numbing, sedative properties, and the male characters in later novels who use it as a stimulant. In Silas Marner, Godfrey Cass's drunken, emaciated wife Molly Farren takes laudanum, and is "enslaved, body and soul," to "the demon Opium."[10] Trudging with her child to disgrace Godfrey before Nancy Lammeter, she succumbs to "the familiar demon in her bosom," who "work[s] his will" (165). These references recall the moralistic strain in some nineteenth-century medical literature on the drug. Opium is described, for example, as "a spirit of evil, as treacherously beguiling as is the arch-fiend himself."[11] Desire for alcohol in "Janet's Repentance" also resembles a battle with a separate, second self or demon. Janet's "wrestling with her past self was not always easy," and the demon "re-enters" her when she discovers brandy concealed in Dempster's drawer (392). In Felix Holt, before his unmasking, Mr. Christian puts an end to bodily pains with opium, but Felix Holt refuses the financial comfort of profits from the sale of Holt's Ca-

thartic Lozenges, the Cancer Cure, and the Restorative Elixir, his father's quack medicines which, like so many Victorian mixtures, probably would have contained some opium. In later novels, opium is consumed, sparingly, as a stimulant by seekers after pleasure. In Middlemarch, Lydgate confesses he "had once or twice tried a dose of opium. But he had no hereditary constitutional craving after such transient escapes" (720); and in Daniel Deronda Hans Meyrick announces "I've been smoking opium. I always meant to do it some time or other, to try how much bliss could be got by it" (853). For these characters, taking opium is an escapist indulgence, performed, like Gwendolen's turns at the roulette-table, "not because of passion, but in search of it" (45).

The distinction Eliot makes between the desire for opium's numbing and its stimulating properties is also seen in her use of the image of opium.[12] This image elucidates mental states, but usually clarifies conflicts within a character, sometimes signifying the attractions of escape from an intolerable disjunction between public and private worlds. In The Mill on the Floss the opium image appears in a religious context, regarding the individual's relation to the soul or to conscience, but it also defines the constraints of rigidly-defined gender roles. Maggie Tulliver, "gifted with that superior power of misery" (100), is greatly pained when Tom plays alone with Bob Jakin. Her comfort is to sit "and fancy it was all different, refashioning her little world into just what she should like it to be ... [and] this was the form in which she took her opium" (101-2). This pleasurable displacement is similar to that of the likewise trapped, powerless, and suffering Mrs. Transome in Felix Holt, who "found the opiate for her discontent in the exertion of her will about smaller things" (106). Both Mrs. Transome and Maggie are confined by their roles as sisters, daughters, and wives. Similarly, Janet Dempster's alcoholism is partly attributed by her female neighbours to her weak woman's constitution. The narrator defines it as a subversion of her loving female nature: she is rebuffed by her husband, and she is childless. The recourse to various forms of opium eases the torture of binding gender roles.

Maggie's fantasy world provides her with a kind of comfort, but later she regards relief in any form as a betrayal of her notion of self, gained from years of suffering and self-renunciation. Philip Wakem teaches her, however, that "renunciation remains sorrow" (384), and that the spiritual opiate does not act as she expects: "You want ... a mode of renunciation that will be an escape from pain. ... What would become of me, if I tried to escape from pain? Scorn and cynicism would be my only opium" (528). Seeking to acknowledge her true nature by following her strongest feelings, Maggie allows a number of final meetings with Stephen Guest:

> They ... both had rejoiced in being aloof from each other, like a patient who has actually done without his opium, in spite of former failures in resolution. And during the last few days they had even been making up their minds to failures, looking to the outward events that must soon come to separate them, as a reason for dispensing with self-conquest in detail. (550)

Stephen becomes Maggie's opium, and her religious conscience cannot conquer the force of destabilizing desire within her. She is equally defenseless against an appeal to diminish Stephen's suffering, a request with special poignancy given her former resolution to die to self and live only for others. She is carried "by this stronger presence that seemed to bear her along without any act of her own will, like the added self which comes with the

sudden exalting influence of a strong tonic--and she felt nothing. Memory was excluded" (588-9). This "added self," similar to Molly Farren's and Janet Dempster's demons, conquers the rule of memory and the accumulated experience of the past, with its lesson of responsibility to kin. Self-identity is lost. Maggie is "lulled to sleep ... with those delicious visions melting and fading like the wondrous aerial land of the west" (595). This is the equivalent of the "moral insanity" of addiction, in which, it was feared in the 1860s, "hardihood, manliness, resolution, enterprise, ambition ... become debilitated if not wholly extinct."[13]

The power of desire, whether it be for stimulation or sedation, is clearly demonstrated by the use of opium and opium imagery in Eliot's fiction. The Mill on the Floss shows that "the repression of desire" within a spiritual context does not lead to the construction of a stable, coherent self, but to a fantasy of death, an illustration of the reduced vision of human possibility (usually a choice between marriage and martyrdom) allowed many female characters in Eliot's work. Unlike the child Magsie, who "took her opium," Maggie Tulliver must abandon the benumbing properties of narrowly conceived religious renunciation and the stimulant properties of Stephen. Because of the dangers of addiction, and the threat of personal, moral decay it implies, she and characters like Janet Dempster and Mrs. Transome must stoically learn to do without opium. The consumption of opium and the opium image in Eliot's fiction signify the moral chaos of desire and a suspicion of the inadequacy of personal and social methods for control of the self.

NOTES

[1]The George Eliot Letters, ed. Gordon Haight (New Haven: Yale, 1954), III, 355.

[2]Ibid., 360.

[3]Power/Knowledge, ed. Colin Gordon (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester, 1977), 166-82. Other modern studies drawn on here include Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, Opium and the People (New Haven: Yale, 1987), and Elaine Showalter, A Literature of Their Own (Princeton, 1977).

[4]Alonzo Calkins, Opium and the Opium-Appetite (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1871) 390.

[5]J.F.B. Tinling, The Poppy-Plague and England's Crime (London: Stock, 1876), 15.

[6]The Opium Habit, With Suggestions as to the Remedy, ed. Horace Day (New York: Harper, 1868; rpt. Arno, 1981), 7.

[7]Calkins, 286.

[8]Quoted in Berridge, 106.

[9]Day, 218.

[10] All page references to George Eliot's novels are to the Penguin edition.

[11]Quoted in Calkins, 284.

[12]Barbara Hardy in "The Image of the Opiate in George Eliot's Novels," Notes & Queries, Nov. 1957, 487-90, lists examples, but only briefly investigates their significance.

[13]Day, 220.

Review essay

RECENT STUDIES IN RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Jonathan Cutmore
University of Toronto

D.W. Bebbington. Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Kenneth D. Brown. A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales, 1800-1930. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Boyd Hilton. The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Robert Hole. Pulpits, Politics, and Public Order in England, 1760-1832. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

> It might not be too extravagant to say of the nineteenth century that probably in no other century except the seventeenth and perhaps the twelfth, did the claims of religion occupy so large a part in the nation's life, or did men speaking in the name of religion contrive to exercise so much power.
>
> G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England (London, 1962), 20.

Following hard upon Richard Brent's Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion, and Reform, 1830-1841 (1987), a number of other studies have appeared that, like Brent's, have attempted to give substance to Professor Clark's generalization by demonstrating the definitive impact of religion on aspects of nineteenth-century British society not usually defined as religious: on social, economic, and political thought, and on public policy. Two of these studies, Boyd Hilton's The Age of Atonement and Robert Hole's Pulpits, Politics, and Public Order, are especially interesting because they give due weight to evangelicalism, the religious movement that, more than any other, was formative in the development of Victorian values. This emphasis is worth noting because, despite the general recognition of the importance of evangelicalism, its tenets and its influence have hitherto received far less attention than that of movements such as Tractarianism and utilitarianism.

Undoubtedly the reason for the neglect of evangelicalism has to do in part with the unwillingness of scholars to be identified, if only by association, with a movement reputed to have been illiberal, Philistine, prudish, and obscurantist. More pertinently, scholars have been hampered by the difficulty of arriving at a refined and sensible definition, and by the paucity of reliable statistics, prosopographical information, critical biographies, and objective histories. The four books listed in the headnote above have therefore been much needed. They are a good start on the investigation of evangelicalism's broader impact on British society, providing as they do workable definitions, reliable statistics, comprehensive bibliographies, and accurate summaries of the highways and byways of evangelical history and evangelical biography.

Evidently the product of laborious and patient research, Kenneth Brown's study gives us an analysis, backed by hard statistics, of the lives and labours of everyday Nonconformist ministers. Relying heavily upon obituary notices and other parochial ephemera, as well as upon available autobiographies and contemporary biographies (which he approaches with proper scepticism), Brown substantiates interesting generalizations about the origins of the average professional minister, concluding that most were from rural backgrounds or ministerial homes, and pointing out that many spent their

professional years in urban settings for whose problems they were ill-prepared. He takes pains to emphasize the social role of the minister, his great influence on public opinion, his relative independence from central ecclesiastical authorities, his habitual poverty, and (depending upon the denomination) the improvement in his education as the century progressed. Although a great deal of his book simply confirms what others have already concluded, his observations have great value, resting as they do not upon impressions or small samples, but upon the firm grounds of exhaustive research.

David Bebbington's book, long anticipated, is remarkably satisfactory as a textbook history, and if it does not begin to satisfy the need for a full treatment of, say, the Evangelical party in the Church of England, many of its limitations are understandable in a work that tries to trace or at least touch upon 250 years of a movement embodied in (by my count) twenty-six separate denominations. Of great interest is Bebbington's illuminating argument that early evangelicalism, up to and including the evangelicalism of the Clapham Sect, was largely shaped by the values of the Enlightenment as it strove to justify Christianity in terms of "reason," "evidence," and "natural law." It is an insight crucial to an understanding of the difference between the evangelicalism of a liberal-minded man such as William Wilberforce, and that of an ultra-conservative such as Lord Shaftesbury, whose brand of evangelicalism had a good deal in common with the values of conservative Romanticism. As part of his analysis of the difference between these two strains of evangelicalism, Bebbington points out the shift in mid-century from an emphasis on the Atonement as the characteristic doctrine of evangelicalism, to that of the Incarnation. He concludes, as does Boyd Hilton, that it is a shift paradoxically reflective, at one and the same time, of the secularization of British Christianity and the development of hyper-religiosity in evangelicalism. The former tendency is explained by the church's seeking to justify itself by adopting a pose of social relevance, and the latter can be seen as withdrawal into other-worldliness in the face of apparently overwhelming challenges to the authority of Christian revelation and to the role of Christianity in public institutions and affairs.

Bebbington not only provides a reliable history of the movement and some cogent analysis, but also offers a working definition of evangelicalism that, with considerable success, comprehends both its Dissenting and Established Church varieties. His four-fold definition sees evangelicalism as a religious movement commencing in England in the 1730s and continuing into the present day and marked by: conversionism, emphasizing the necessity for individual repentance; crucicentrism, the placing of the doctrine of the Atonement at the centre of Christian theology; biblicism, by which he means the affirming of the Bible's authority in faith and practice; and activism, which is the evangelical believer's characteristic response, out of a sense of obligation, to Christ's saving work.

This definition, however--in keeping with the ecclesiastical bias of Bebbington's double profession of minister and church historian--is a somewhat restrictive one, as it confines evangelicalism to a religious movement. It does not entertain the possibility of employing the term adjectively as descriptive of a cultural ethos, or of tendencies in economic thought or in political action. Despite Bebbington's good work there is still the need for a wider definition, one that would recognize evangelicalism as not only a religious, but also a cultural movement, one that had so great an impact on the Victorian ethos partly because of its behavioural, political, and social aspects.

Boyd Hilton, in an original, wide-ranging, and controversial work, begins with the idea of evangelicalism as a religious movement and locates in it certain theological tendencies which, he argues, not only determined the outlook of evangelicals on current economic and social issues, but also, through the evangelicals' extensive influence, affected the outlook of important politicians and ultimately the course of government policy. However, almost without noticing it himself, Hilton extends the definition to apply to tendencies in secular thought and the actions of secular men.

Hilton takes very seriously the effect on social and economic policy of, among others, such half-forgotten figures as J.B. Sumner, the first evangelical Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Chalmers, the founder of the Free Church of Scotland; and Edward Irving, Chalmers' one-time protégé, whose prophetic utterances and brilliant oratory took fashionable London by storm in the early 1820s. Hilton amply demonstrates that besides their importance as religious figures, these were men who through their writings and public appearances played a considerable role in legitimizing and propagandizing certain leading economic and social ideas. Quoting Brian Stanley, Hilton points out that Chalmers' writings in the Edinburgh Review and elsewhere were "probably the most important single channel whereby the tenets of utilitarianism and political economy were mediated to the evangelical world." And not only to the evangelical world, for Chalmers was admired by an impressive range of politicians, reformers, and illuminati (Liverpool, Canning, Jeffrey, Mackintosh, and Guizot among them). His name was for much of the nineteenth century a household word throughout Britain and on the Continent. J.B. Sumner, too, supported the "worldly economists." In an interesting speculative treatise and in articles in the Quarterly Review he defended T.R. Malthus, who acknowledged his support and seems even to have been influenced by him. Edward Irving's influence was in an entirely different direction for, having been for some time in the mid-1820s the beloved disciple of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, he gave religious credence to the economic and social philosophies of the Romantic Conservatives and the paternalist Tory Radicals.

Hilton is convincing in his argument in favour of the evangelicals' role in spreading the ideology of laissez-faire individualism. Though he is less credible in some of the connections he tries to draw (for instance, that between limited liability legislation and the shift in emphasis from the Atonement to the Incarnation), it is impossible not to admire and applaud his Herculean act in drawing together into a meaningful pattern so diverse a range of sources.

In his book Hole is concerned with the use of religious arguments in political and social theory from the pre-French Revolutionary period to the passing of the Reform Bill. "Intellectual historians and students of political theory and ideology," he laments, "have tended until recently to ignore religious arguments in this period in a way that would have been unthinkable in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century studies" (5). Confining himself mainly to English sources, Hole argues that abstract political debate, largely though not entirely because of the French Revolution, underwent a shift in this period, whereby arguments concerning political obligation, which had once rested on the idea of religious duty, now came to centre on practical utility. It was a secularization of political theory that reflected, Hole says, "a more general movement away from the theoretical towards the empirical" (250). The clergy, who in the eighteenth century had been willing to participate in theoretical political discourse, had by the early nineteenth century abandoned this role in favour of their social and legal func-

tions as pastors and local magistrates. As their role as law-enforcers came to be counter-productive in the 1820s, many clergy finally came to stress their purely spiritual function, and, though here they had secular competitors, their role as agents of social welfare.

Although Hole does not attempt the kind of comprehensive interpretation of the period undertaken by Hilton, his is in some ways the more cogent study. (Hilton, who sometimes adopts an impressionistic and speculative approach to analysis, is at one point forced to admit that the "links between economic and theological thought mostly took place below the surface of consciousness.") Hole has the advantage over Hilton, inasmuch as his study picks up only one of the strands offered by J.C.D. Clark in his English Society, 1688-1832 (1985) and Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (1986). These are, like Hilton's book, pioneering works, and one hopes that Hilton too will find scholars willing to pursue some of his many important suggestions.

Each of these four books treats evangelicalism without intellectual embarrassment, taking the religious movement and its contribution to society seriously enough to delve into its primary sources. To have done so now represents perhaps something less than the scholarly valour that would have been necessary ten or fifteen years ago when, among secular scholars at least, evangelical studies were considered marginal. But one still has to admire the bravery of these writers, because each has assayed with perseverance and fortitude some of the most tedious and tendentious literature in the English language, and each has produced a work of genuine interest.

Books

Ruth ap Roberts. The Ancient Dialect: Thomas Carlyle and Comparative Religion. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988.

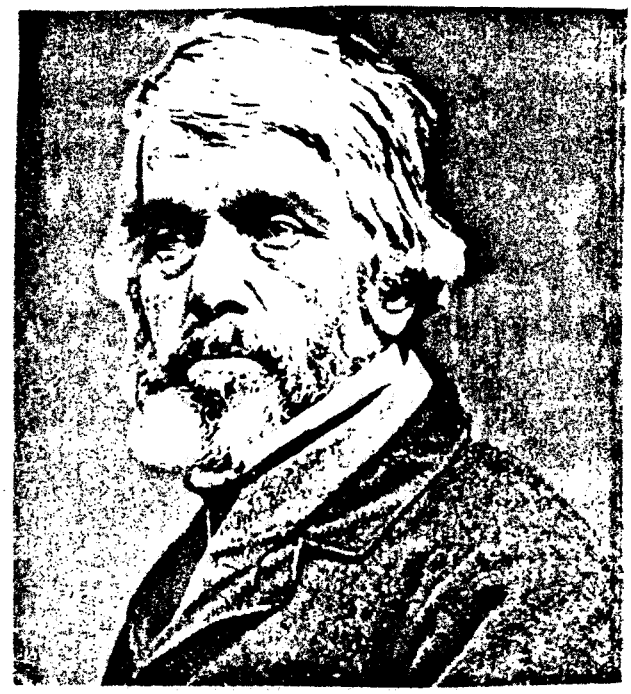
Mark Cumming. A Disimprisoned Epic: Form and Visions in Carlyle's French Revolution. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.

Many recent works on Carlyle seem to me to fall into one of two categories: some are so much more lucidly argued than the Carlylean text they analyze, so scrupulously scholarly and so theoretically engaging that one immediately prefers them to their subject; others take on the features of the Carlylean tone, style, and perspective so thoroughly that all sense of critical distance and theoretical substructure seems to vanish. Mark Cumming's A Disimprisoned Epic seems to fall into the former category and Ruth ap Roberts' The Ancient Dialect into the latter; but both books have much of value to offer.

In The Ancient Dialect, ap Roberts attempts to chronicle how "Carlyle found his way out of the parochialism of Christianity into the wider world of multiplicities of mythmaking" (102). She begins by surveying the views of such German writers as Herder, Mueller, and Goethe towards Christianity and tries to indicate how these views may have informed Carlyle's attitudes towards religion, history, and literature. While much of this is not particularly controversial or even new, it is sometimes difficult to discern where ap Roberts is making a point and where she is paraphrasing Carlyle. One could wish for somewhat less survey, summary, and paraphrase (particularly in the first three chapters) and somewhat more discussion of the rationale for claiming influence as well as a clearer awareness of the theoretical problems involved in doing so.

Thomas Carlyle

[*Radio Times Hulton Picture Library*]



The next four chapters contain some interesting speculation on the development of Carlyle's religious views in his early histories, the Life of Sterling, Sartor Resartus, and lectures on Odin and Mahomet. On the basis of these texts, ap Roberts asserts that Carlyle moved from an attitude pleasing to his fundamentalist mother to one that was essentially anti-fundamentalist, anti-Christian and, in fact, atheist. Again, here ap Roberts makes some interesting observations on Carlyle's fondness, for example, for the Book of Job or his admiration of Socrates, but many will wish for a better documented, more rigorously argued and persuasive case that this sort of "influence" on Carlyle is anything more than coincidence.

Finally, ap Roberts claims that in his lectures on Odin and Mahomet Carlyle lays the basis for a study of comparative religion. In a wide-ranging concluding

chapter (worthy of Carlyle himself) she attributes to Carlyle a modernity which she believes foreshadows such theories as those of Marshall McLuhan (102), Mikhail Bakhtin (103), Einstein (107), and Bertrand Russell (109). Her reason for drawing such parallels is to make us aware of how a study of Carlyle's "role in the development of Comparative Religion" can led to a clearer understanding "of our own century" when Comparative Religion is "a field generally recognized as legitimate, if not basic to our thinking in these days when we are all much closer together on our planet" (102). Few Carlyleans could fault ap Roberts' desire to enhance Carlyle's reputation and point out his continuing relevance; but without the objectivity and scrupulous attention to detailed argument needed to support them, such well-meaning claims seldom rise above the level of mere assertion.

Happily, Mark Cumming's analysis of Carlyle's use of literary form, particularly in The French Revolution, suffers from no such flaws. This is an eminently lucid examination of Carlyle's evolving theories about literary forms appropriate to the nineteenth century and of his experimentation with the conflation or juxtaposition of such diverse genres as epic and history, tragedy and farce, elegy and satire, or emblem and allegory with symbol, fragment, and phantasmagory. Cumming's scholarship in dealing with these forms is impeccable. Moreover, his constant awareness of the critical problems raised by confronting questions of form, authorial intention, and German influence, as well as his willingness to seek resolutions that allow his argument to proceed logically and coherently, are two of the great strengths and delights of this book.

Cumming argues that Carlyle was more conscious of his own literary experiments and, indeed, more successful in them than most of his present-day readers realize. To support this claim, Cumming carefully traces Carlyle's preoccupation in his early essays with German aesthetic theory and experiments in literary form. He argues that this preoccupation encouraged a peculiarly Romantic reaction in Carlyle against neoclassical theory and practice, producing an "aesthetic of necessary roughness" (27). But, Cumming cautions:

> Carlyle's neoclassical or Gothic aesthetic works in complex harmony with his residual and abiding classical aesthetic, manifested not just in the Johnsonian balance of his earliest prose, but also in his application of classical standards of poetic unity in his criticism. (27)

From an examination of Carlyle's critical pronouncements, Cumming then goes on meticulously to demonstrate how the two opposing aesthetic principles affect the form and structure of "works as apparently diverse as Sartor Resartus and 'Count Cagliostro'" (34) as well as "The Diamond Necklace" and The French Revolution.

Cumming finds his title in "Carlyle's later conception of history as an imprisoned epic" (39), in other words, fact that must be transmuted into art before its meaning can be communicated. At the same time, Cumming demonstrates how Carlyle both raises and undercuts expectations traditionally raised by epic conventions, forcing us "to reconsider the principles of genre." By doing so, Cumming points out, Carlyle creates a multigeneric "struggle between innovation and conservation like the political struggle he aims to describe" (71). In addition, Cumming brilliantly analyzes Carlyle's radical yoking of mythologies and historical fact in The French Revolution to question the very nature of literary language and its relation to modern life. According to Cumming, then, as Carlyle undercuts questions and reshapes generic, linguistic, and mythological conventions in re-creating the account of the revolution, he forces us to question, in a re-

volutionary way, what constitutes contemporary reality.

On the whole, this study is a striking addition to Carlyle criticism. Cumming provides a superb exposition of Carlyle's aesthetic theory as well as the most comprehensive and perceptive analysis to date of some of the early essays and The French Revolution. My only reservation about a book that is so acute, engaging, and provocative is that one may be tempted to let Cumming's 166-page work of criticism supplant the more than 1200 pages of Carlyle's text.

Anne M. Skabarnicki
Royal Military College

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Benjamin Disraeli Letters. Vol. IV: 1842-1847. Ed. M.G. Wiebe, J.B. Conacher, and John Matthews. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.

If you have not read the first three volumes of the Disraeli letters, then you have a treat in store, albeit a long-lasting one. You could start with Volume IV, which covers 1842-47; the enjoyment would be possibly somewhat less, but a rewarding intention to read the other three would certainly be formed. Volume IV, like the others, is informatively introduced and meticulously edited. This introduction is particularly needed for the historical background, because Disraeli's letters at the time of the repeal of the Corn Laws are written from a perspective very different from the historian's. More than in the other volumes there is a sense that history was made after the event.

The editors point out that Disraeli's prime intent in this period appears, from his letters, to be the defeat--"destruction" might not be too strong a word--of Peel. The way to do that was to oppose him on repeal of the Corn Laws. Disraeli was not fighting for protectionism, but for the permanent shattering of a conservatism he considered anathema. He saw the views of the young men around Lord John Manners as having historic validity, and some time in 1842 reached an understanding with the Young Englanders. The group was not a party--they were not bound to vote together--and it is clear that Disraeli never expected more than a loose confederacy, although he might have hoped for more than the four or five who sat together. George Smythe christened it the "Diz-Union" (xvi). My impression is that more of these letters are concerned to strengthen in a general way the backbone of the Young Englanders and to encourage them to publicize their ideals than are concerned with repeal. It was during these years that Disraeli wrote and published his Young England trilogy: Coningsby, 1844; Sybil, 1845; and Tancred, 1846.

Nor do the letters suggest that Disraeli was concerned to organize a protectionist party to oppose repeal; rather, he wanted the votes to overturn Peel. Even in 1846, when the protectionists were rallying behind Lord George Bentinck and the partnership between Disraeli and Bentinck was very close, the number and content of the speeches, and his comments on them, show his driving motivation to be his dislike of Peelism (liii), which turned into an intense personal dislike of Peel. During these years Disraeli did not speak as often as one (at least this one) thinks: four times in 1844; five times in 1845 (the Young Englanders intervened far more often); twenty times in 1846, with six or more major speeches; and eighteen times in 1847, with only four major speeches (xxxiii). The paucity of major speeches is to be explained partly by Disraeli's not speaking ex tempore, but reproducing carefully researched, thoroughly rehearsed speeches, every word polished and committed to memory. For example, he was prepared for Peel's announcement on 22 January 1846 of immediate repeal and had

his speech at the ready to rally the stunned House. The witty but venomous personal attacks on Peel that formed the shattering part of his speeches were also presumably prepared beforehand. Disraeli believed in the landed interest, and long before 1846 had felt Peel's ideas were inimicable to it; Peel more than repeal was his target. In his letters it was the effect of his speeches that he talked about.

Disraeli, like other mortals, did not write about economic principles or political theories when he wrote to his family, he wrote about himself (perhaps a little more than ordinary mortals), and about his successes in the House and in the great houses, about the parties he had attended, the places and people he had seen when on the Continent, his affection for everybody, and his need for continuing credit. Many letters, as in all the previous volumes, concern his fantastic debts and stratagems for rolling them over. One unbelievable letter implies that he had used as collateral all the furnishings of his wife's house at Grosvenor Gate. But then nearly all the letters dealing with Disraeli's debts are unbelievable. He appears to have been signing bills for his friends when none of them, certainly not Disraeli himself, had the wherewithal to meet them. There is one breath of reality: the myth of Mary Ann's giddiness is belied by the plentiful signs of her shrewd financial management; by the end of the period the tone of the financial dealings is less urgent. There are letters about their travels abroad; especially interesting are the letters relating what Louis Philippe said to Disraeli and what Disraeli said to Louis Philippe. These conversations allowed Disraeli briefly to have a rapport with Palmerston, to whom he sent a description of the meetings.

The amount of activity revealed in these letters is astonishing, once again confirming that the Victorian day was longer than today's day. Disraeli and Mary Ann made lengthy visits to his aging and ailing parents at Bradenham. (His mother died in 1847 and his father nineteen days after the close of this volume.) Their health was a concern and time was devoted to them, although Disraeli must squeeze in time for his writing. More time was devoted to the lengthy illness of Mary Ann's mother, who also died at this time. Then Mary Ann's inheritance must be attended to. Disraeli decided to purchase Hughenden in 1847, and all those arrangements had to be seen to. He took on extra worries in switching his constituency from Shrewsbury to Buckinghamshire. He wrote the three novels to proselytize for Young England, contributed to the Book of Beauty and The Keepsake for Lady Blessington, and wrote a donation for the charity bazaar of Lady Londonderry, with whom he kept up a correspondence. He never neglected to write poems for Mary Ann on her birthday and on their anniversary. (The editors comment that "one may well agree with Disraeli's wish that 'You had a better poet,/To hail your natal day' but one must also acknowledge the evidence they provide of the continuing happiness of the Disraelis' marriage"--xlii.) And on top of it all, he carved out a place for himself on the front bench of the House of Commons. The society of London in the 1840s was a remarkably good world for a man with genius and crust.

As in the other volumes, the detailed footnotes provide windows onto this London. They are often as illuminating as the letters. The erudition never becomes heavy or obfuscating, but the accumulated information is a veritable who's who and where's where for London life in the 1840s, at least the London life sustaining the ladder up which Disraeli was climbing. The most remarkable thing after the man himself is the fact that the society held such a ladder; every time I read one of these magnificent volumes, I become sadly aware of the gap between the reality of the nineteenth century and my

understanding of it. But without the scholarship of the Disraeli Letters, the gap would be a great deal wider.

Ann P. Robson
University of Toronto

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Joan Rees. Profligate Son: Branwell Brontë and His Sisters. London: Robert Hale, 1986.

Joan Rees's subtitle, "Branwell Brontë and His Sisters," is truer to her achievement in this biography, and indeed to her intentions, than the more flamboyant Profligate Son. "This study concentrates principally on Anne and Branwell," she writes at the end of her Introduction; "on the changing relationships which occurred within the family unit; and on Charlotte's ultimate rejection of Branwell ...".

Despite the book's title, then, Branwell's relations with his father are not central here; the latter's role as the family "heavy" (in which he was first cast by Mrs. Gaskell) is taken now by his eldest surviving daughter, Charlotte. In fact, Rees's handling of the Reverend Patrick Brontë is nicely dispassionate, as are her handling of another traditionally dour presence at Haworth, Aunt Maria Branwell, and of the whole matter of the Clergy Daughters' School attended by four of the Brontë sisters and vilified by Charlotte in her account of Mr. Brocklehurst's Lowood School in Jane Eyre.

At her most effective, Rees brings clarity and a good deal of common sense to her consideration of figures who, and events which, have frequently been sensationalized by Brontë biographers. At least from the time of Mrs. Gaskell, the most sensational episode in Branwell's biography has had to do with his dismissal by the Reverend Edmund Robinson of Thorp Green as tutor of his son and namesake. Branwell held this position from early 1843, when his sister Anne had been instrumental in securing it for him, until July 1845, when the axe fell. Our understanding of this time in Branwell's life has been shaped both by biographical readings of Anne's The Tenant of Wildfell Hall (in which Rees herself indulges) and by Mrs. Gaskell's own novelistic reading of the Brontës' history, which Rees challenges. According to Gaskell--and this presumably is based on Branwell's account to his family--Robinson suspected or had evidence of a relationship involving Branwell and his wife. In Gaskell's version, Branwell was victim of, in her words, a "bold and hardened" seductress. Rees suggests rather, and her evidence and reasoning are persuasive, that his dismissal involved Branwell's relationship with his charge, young Edmund Robinson. She handles this possibility with tact, avoiding the extremes of reductivism that characterize so much recent psycho-biography.

In true revisionist fashion, Rees questions interpretations of historical and literary evidence which, starting with Gaskell's biography of Charlotte, have become enshrined as parts of the Brontë mythology. Commendable though her instincts, and sensible though certain of her conclusions may be, like those against whose interpretations she reacts, she too looks to her evidence for the shapeliness and consistency of fiction, and frequently in that mood, the conditional, that is fiction's mood. Rees's taste for biographical readings of their novels and poetry continues Gaskell's inclination to see the Brontës as their, and perhaps her, own best novel.

Critical biography, which too often involves an uncritical use of literary works as sources for biographical evidence, must stand or fall on our response to the biographer's literary no less than her historical judgement. Joan Rees's comments on the "over-long and diffuse" nature of the Rivers episode in Jane Eyre

(144) and on the dullness of Shirley (167) are cases in point. They tell us more about her sense of Charlotte and her ultimate lack of sympathy for her "once adored brother" in his decline than they do about Charlotte's literary accomplishment. Such judgements and the uses made of them in such a work as this reveal more of the perils of critical biography than of the strengths of Joan Rees's handling of purely historical evidence.

F.T. Flahiff
St. Michael's College
University of Toronto

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The Speeches of Charles Dickens: A Complete Edition. Ed. K.J. Fielding. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1988.

Dickens the novelist tended to show public institutions and philanthropic enterprises as comic or malign. The rhetoric that justifies their activities is Pecksniffian. They do little good to the poor and may well be cruel to them. Their reforms are seen as gray and gritty, and a sensible working man or woman will try to escape their attentions.

It is therefore a bit of a shock to read this volume of Dickens' public addresses. They are for the most part concerned with raising money for good causes or celebrating the public achievements of private persons. Benevolent funds for artists and writers, literary and scientific institutions, mechanics' institutes, commercial travellers' schools, many hospitals, all these benefited from his eloquence. Nothing, we are inclined to think, was too out of the way for his attention, and there are some very curious items in the list of good causes. In 1869 there was a rowing match between Oxford and Harvard, and Dickens was asked to speak at the banquet. He did very well and the cadences are unmistakable. They are those of the great speech at the banquet which followed the cricket match between All-Muggleton and Dingley Dell (Pickwick Papers, ch. 7). The speech in this case is worthy of the novelist, for he uses the generous imagination that first manifested its glory in Pickwick.

Not many of the addresses are of this kind. All the stops are pulled in the great organ of public rhetoric. The following extract, from a speech delivered at a soirée of the Mechanics' Institution at Leeds, is representative:

> The cause in which we are assembled and the objects we are met to promote, I take, and always have taken to be, the cause and the objects involving almost all others that are essential to the welfare and happiness of mankind. (Applause.) And in a celebration like the present, commemorating the birth and progress of a great educational establishment, I recognize a something, not limited to the spectacle of the moment, beautiful and radiant though it be--not limited even to the success of the particular establishment in which we are more immediately interested--but extending from this place and through swarms of toiling men elsewhere, cheering and stimulating them in the onward, upward path that lies before us all. (Hear, hear, and loud applause.) Wherever hammers beat, or wherever factory chimneys smoke; wherever hands are busy, or the clanking of machinery resounds; wherever, in a word, there are masses of industrious beings whom their wise Creator did not see fit to constitute all body, but into each and every one of whom He breathed a mind,--there, I would fain believe, some touch of sympathy and encouragement is felt from our collective pulse now beating in this Hall. (Loud cheers.)

There is a touch of Pecksniff here. Of course, Dickens is no hypocrite, and there is no doubt that he genuinely wishes the Leeds Mechanics' Institution

well. But we see how Dickens could realize Pecksniff from within. We could easily fit "the onward, upward path that lies before us all," and "some touch of sympathy and encouragement that is felt from our collective pulse now beating in this Hall" into one of the discourses in Martin Chuzzlewit, both those of Pecksniff and those of Mr. Jefferson Brick.

Professor Fielding has contributed a judicious and acute Introduction. He takes up the question of the relation between the novelist and the public figure whose presence and discourse were found so attractive that he was in great demand as a speaker. He shows us that even where the subject matter of a speech and a novel are close together, "they never quite correspond"; and it is plain enough that what Dickens learns in the course of the charitable work celebrated in the speeches doesn't somehow get into the imaginative world of the novelist. In Oliver Twist, David Copperfield, Dombey, and Little Dorrit, there are women who are unmistakably prostitutes. But they are quite unreal, melodramatic characters; and, as Fielding explains, "none of his experience in directing Miss Burdett Coutts's 'Home for Fallen Woman' was used in his novels." Again, Dickens investigated slum property in Westminster, but just where one would expect to find rich use of such an investigation in the novels, as, for example, in the picture of Bleeding Heart Yard and its denizens in Our Mutual Friend, one can't see that the experience of life has informed the work of art. Much of his actual experience gets into the addresses, but not into the novels. In the most wonderful of his artistic achievements, Great Expectations, almost nothing that he has learned directly from his adult experience gets into the novel. There is much understanding and much good sense and, certainly, a strong desire to better the condition under which the poorer English lived, in his speeches. But there is nothing of the irony and wit so richly present in the novels.

In the speeches we do, of course, hear the novelist's voice and sometimes, as in the examples I gave earlier from Pickwick and Chuzzlewit, trace the rhetorical patterns we find in the novels. They are precious to those of us who love the work of the novelist and can't have too much even of his occasional oratory. And there is some stout stuff here, especially passages in defence of the good sense of the British working man. There is perhaps a touch of patronage too, a suggestion to the governing classes that the poor are more tractable than they seem and are not the savages of the bourgeoisie's guilt-ridden imagination. But on such topics writers whose social intelligence was much superior to that of Dickens--George Eliot is a good example--didn't do very well. The spectre of an insurrection against the propertied classes was vividly present from the 1830s to the 1860s, but it became unreal, no longer a menacing spectre, by the 1870s. Dickens gives a fine account of the revolution that never happened in his descriptions of the Gordon Riots in Barnaby Rudge.

J.M. Cameron
St. Michael's College
University of Toronto

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M. Jimmie Killingsworth. Whitman's Poetry of the Body: Sexuality, Politics, and the Text. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

This book may surprise viewers of Dead Poets' Society and Beautiful Dreamers. But despite the silence of these recent films, Whitman's homosexuality has for a decade been the grounds on which various scholars have shown his poetry must be read, with a consequent reader response ranging from delight to horror. Killingsworth's book is a welcome contribution, especially valuable for students coming

to Whitman for the first time, and for their professors, as well as for those interested in new historicist scholarship on nineteenth-century America. While foregrounding Whitman's homosexuality, Killingsworth avoids the danger of limiting Whitman to the gay poet who evolved the word "adhesiveness" to name the same-sex consciousness that hitherto had never been named, pointing the way from untrodden paths to contemporary political rights movements. Killingsworth, working from analyses of bourgeois ideology in Foucault's History of Sexuality and Barthe's Mythologies, situates Whitman's poetry of the body within the discourses of his time, especially those of medicine, science, and the Friendship tradition. And in his persuasive section "Calamus: Sentimentality and Homosexuality," Killingsworth relates his sense of Whitman's complexity to Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's work (Disorderly Conduct) on the problems and possibilities inherent in Jacksonian remythologizing of masculinity and same-sex relationships for a new urban environment.

From a close reading of the original poems, manuscripts, journals and letters, Killingsworth argues that Whitman was actively promoting a new kind of consciousness of same-sex love aligned with a concern for alleviating class differences as a path to a new political order, a "new city of Friends" that "in the world of his poetry could stand in defiance of the world dominated by the productivity principle" (111) and leading to the war that threatened the body politic with dismemberment. Killingsworth analyzes the complexity of Whitman's 1860 encoded discourse to conclude that "not till the twentieth century did the majority of Whitman's audience emerge from the trance imposed by the rhetoric and grasp the radical vision of a democratic society based on homoerotic love" (99). As he points out, unlike the heterosexual ones, the "Calamus" poems never had to be defended. And Killingsworth shrewdly suggests that Whitman refused to acknowledge his homosexuality in correspondence with John Addington Symonds to prevent association "in the early homosexual rights movement [developing] among the educated classes in Europe" and portrayal as "a perpetrator of homosexual libertinism among the English upper classes" (169). Their vision was not radical enough, nor was it democratic.

Killingsworth's thesis, however, is that Whitman's most radical and innovative period occurs in the first Leaves of Grass. In his opening chapter, "Original Energy 1855", reading from "I Sing the Body Electric," back to "The Sleepers," and then to the "Song" itself, Killingsworth finds Whitman's ideal "merge" of sexuality, politics and textuality complete. In a sympathy rooted in sexual fantasy and rhetorical imagination lay Whitman's redemptive and revolutionary challenge to established American institutions. This 1855 Whitman is free, apparently, from the Foucaultian webs of bourgeois ideology, except perhaps in his ambivalence about women. Arguing for sexually free, strong women, Whitman never-

theless claims no greater political space for them than the home.

Against the 1855 "merge," Killingsworth posits the counter movement beginning in 1856 and continuing to the end of Whitman's career. Killingsworth finds medical and scientific discourse overwhelming Whitman's imagination, pushing him to a narrowed rational system having restricted political force. Now women need freer sexuality on eugenic grounds, not for personal delight. Despite "Calamus," Killingsworth concludes that Whitman's rhetorical strategy shows an increasing sense of powerlessness until finally silenced by the Civil War. But Killingsworth's failure to do justice to Drum-Taps and its portrait of what could be taken to be the apogee of Whitman's enactment of his own union of bodily text and democratic body politic as he becomes poet/worker/nurse/lover on the battlefield, weakens his thesis, as does his apparent disregard of the rhetorical and political complexity of the post-war prose.

Lacking in Killingsworth's book is a larger sense of the political Whitman. As Betsy Errkila has shown in Whitman the Political Poet, in his writings and experience before 1855 Whitman was deeply involved in political discourse, incessantly restructuring Leaves as a series of State of the Union messages merging body language and body politic. Indeed in Errkila's book lie possible solutions to the questions arising from the self-contradictions and strains that are troublesome in Killingsworth's insistence on a clear developmental arc away from the eroticized politics of 1855.

Whitman's life may not have been a seamless web that could lend itself to a clear explanation then or now of what makes the early and late discourse different. He was, as he warned us, not afraid of contradiction. While Whitman's Poetry of the Body, despite its strengths, will not be the last word on the subject, we can be grateful for the depth and sensitivity of this portrait of Whitman as man of his time and poet for all times, as well as for Killingsworth's own clear, readable prose and shrewd, sensitive exegesis.

Nancy Bailey
University of Guelph

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Thomas Boyle. Black Swine in the Sewers of Hampstead: Beneath the Surface of Victorian Sensationalism. New York: Viking, 1989.

The title refers to an urban legend of 1859. The dust-jacket uses two famous prints by Gustave Doré, described on the back flap as "artist unknown." Strictly, this is the publisher's imbecility, and the author may have been horrified to see it, but nothing in the book leads me to think so.

The urban legend, of course, was untrue, but it serves Professor Boyle as a metaphor. Beneath the respectable, complacent surface of Victorian civilization, it seems, there lurked a dark underworld of insecurity, characterized by disease, poverty, lurid passions, and sordid crime. And to think we never knew. Boyle's central thesis is that the "sensation" novel of the '60s was a reaction to, and an accurate reflection of, this dark world whose horrors had been revealed by the newspaper press. It differed from its precursor, the Gothic Romance, not only in eschewing the supernatural but in being solidly based in contemporary reality. Just as Wilkie Collins was always claiming, the real world was like that.

Collins did often claim it, without quoting sources. The one real case that is known to have given him ideas was the Rode murder case of 1860, which is still unsolved. The great Inspector Whicher had a theory, and Constance Kent's "confes-

sion"--never heard in Court--was based on it; both involve physical impossibilities and reveal ignorance of material facts. The sensation novel was expected to do better than that, but what must strike every modern reader is not minor slips but the wild implausibility, especially psychological, of the plots as a whole. This actually is a reason in favour of somebody doing what Boyle is attempting: to account for the enormous vogue of such novels in the '60s, a phenomenon recognized at the time and ever since. Another phenomenon, not addressed here, is that the novels, which went on being written, attracted less attention later.

Boyle does not seem to me to have provided an adequate explanation, though his focus on the newspapers is a hopeful step. He does not seem to me to know good writing from bad, which affects his judgment of journalism as well as novels. Here, then, is an alternative suggestion.

In the 1850s, converging forces--technical advances and the end of the "taxes on knowledge"--increased the number, size, and cheapness of newspapers without any immediate progress in journalistic skills. The new press, like the old, relied heavily on ready-made news and notably criminal court cases. This element later declined as news diversified and news gathering improved, until today it occupies a box on a back page. (There are other reasons for this, but I have no room for them.) The period when this material dominated the breakfast tables of the nation was relatively brief. So (again, the full reasons must be more complex) was the period when it dominated the magazine press and Mudie's Library. But here certainly one more factor enters in. The fashion was strong enough for a time to draw in the aging Dickens and the young Hardy. Dickens died in 1870 while writing the novel that would have outdone Collins; within months, Hardy published Desperate Remedies, his first novel and in this genre his last. This coincides with a greater watershed. The old, unitary reading public for whom the High Victorians had written was giving way to a more divided world, with a "literary" level where Hardy, Meredith, James, and so forth competed and a "popular" level occupied by, say, Hall Caine. The formulaic successor of the sensation novel, the detective novel, found its permanent niche at the popular level. There it flourishes still, and still combines wild improbability with technical possibility. Its disappearance from literary history, though not from the shelves of professors, is an artefact of academic organization. Insecurity, lurid passions, and sordid crime are with us still but demand and get a different treatment, in the news media and in literature. As for the black swine, they never were there.

Elliot Rose
University of Toronto

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Gay Daly. Pre-Raphaelites in Love. London: Thomas Allen and Son, 1989.

Recently there has been a flurry of interest in the women behind the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. First came Jan Marsh's Pre-Raphaelite Sisterhood, and now Gay Daly's immensely readable account of the models, wives, and mistresses of Rossetti, Millais, Morris, Hunt, and Burne-Jones. Here are beautiful, accomplished, and often extremely courageous women, and here are men who are prize twits, even if they do happen to be talented artists. After reading Daly's book, one is overwhelmed by the awareness of the awful price in human suffering paid for the art which has come down to us.

Daly says in her prologue that she realized the book had to be not merely about a group of women, but about marriage, which was the goal of the romantic fantasies that played a great part in the imaginative life of these men and women. The dreamy, voluptuous women in the paintings

had to make the transition from goddess to wife or mistress, and the male artist had to face the realities of stormy or mundane relationships when the muse became part of everyday life.

Here is the sad story of Gabriel Rossetti and Lizzie Siddal, told with sympathy for both, but with a clear eye for Gabriel's infidelities and the effect on Lizzie of the long delay in their promised marriage. Daly notes that Christina Rossetti's sonnet "In an Artist's Studio" criticizes Gabriel for his treatment of Lizzie who, after their six years' engagement, was wasted by illness and laudanum. Though she rallied for a while after they married, a stillborn child was a terrible blow to them both, and an undoubted contributing cause of her suicide. Daly also suggests that Gabriel's desire to see Lizzie always as his Beatrice, a saint rather than a fallible human being, was a fantasy which destroyed them. Of all the relationships in this book, this one is probably best known to most readers. Daly makes good use of letters and Lizzie's own poems. In this account, Lizzie is rather less independent and more retiring than she appears in Jan Marsh's book.

Daly gives a brilliant treatment of the lives of Millais, Hunt, Burne-Jones, and their women. It was obviously in a man's world that intelligent women like Effie Ruskin and Georgie Burne-Jones had to operate. One is saddened at the pathetic desire for social acceptance that motivated so much of Effie's life after the annulment of her marriage to Ruskin and her marriage to Millais: Queen Victoria only received her after Millais wrote on his deathbed that it was his dying wish. But it was her husband's sex-drive that really affected the whole of Effie's life; constant childbirth and miscarriages exhausted her. To please Effie and their eight children, Millais built an enormous house filled with antiques and treasures, including Michelangelo's carving of Leda and the Swan. Daly writes that when Thomas Carlyle paid his first visit to the Millais home at Palace Gate, he is reported to have said, "Has paint done all this, Mr. Millais? It only shows how many fools there are in the world." Both Effie and her husband liked to live on a grand scale, which may be one reason for his choice of popular and sentimental subjects for paintings, which would be sure to sell. Effie enjoyed her husband's success, but because of the Ruskin affair she never felt secure of her place in society.

Surely the most interesting woman to emerge from this study is Georgie Burne-Jones, whose constancy in the face of her husband's passion for Mary Zambaco, and her friendship with others in the Pre-Raphaelite circle and with George Eliot, make her a valuable observer of the social scene. Daly's analysis of this marriage and her comments on the psychology of many of Burne-Jones's paintings are outstanding.

An early woodcut by Georgie, which eventually earned her a limited reputation as an amateur engraver, but the lack of encouragement from the male artists caused her to lose heart.

There is much new material here also regarding William Holman Hunt, who emerges as the worst of these incredibly selfish men. Like most of the others in the Brotherhood, he was attracted to a girl of the lower classes, Annie Miller, whom he attempted to transform into a lady. She was a beauty, became a model for Rossetti, and eventually mistress to another man because Hunt delayed the marriage too long (about six years). Annie, full of vitality and a quick study, married into the upper-middle class. Daly says that if Samuel Richardson were alive, he would love to write the story of Annie Miller. Jan Marsh admired her spunk and noted that she lived till she was ninety, in 1925, the last surviving Pre-Raphaelite Sister, recalled as lovely and lady-like. Hunt, neurotically afraid of marriage, eventually married a lovely and accomplished woman, Fanny Waugh, taking her off to the Middle East, where he liked to paint, and where she died an appalling death after childbirth. Her sister Edith, who also loved Hunt, became his second wife, fighting society's rigid definition of incest. The vicissitudes of these relationships are sympathetically analyzed by Daly, and there is a detailed account of Hunt's artistic career, as there is of the other male artists in the group.

The more familiar story of the marriage of William and Janey Morris is here too. Daly points out that women were not the only ones who suffered in these marriages: Jane's long attachment to Rossetti cast a long, cold shadow over Morris' life.

Although I have concentrated in this review on the emotional side of the accounts of these marriages, there is much material in the book about the art market and the relationships between the artists. It is a very good read.

Janet Warner
Glendon College
York University

SOLUTION TO RIDDLE No. 8

My father died a month ago
And left me all his riches;
A feather bed, and a wooden leg,
And a pair of leather breeches.

He left me a teapot without a spout,
A cup without a handle,
A tobacco pipe without a lid,
And half a farthing candle.