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Issue 2:
Resistance
in the Long-Nineteenth Century

Editorial Board & Acknowledgements

Editorial Board

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Editorial:
Resonances of Resistance in the Long-Nineteenth Century

ZACK WHITE & KATIE HOLDWAY
(Editor-in-Chief & Deputy Editor)

RESISTANCE IS NOT an entity to be defined, but a response that takes its form from the political and cultural conditions by which it is prompted. The long nineteenth century—flanked by the French and Russian Revolutions and punctuated by radical new legislation, industrialisation, and wars across Europe, America and Asia — seems to exemplify a form of resistance prompted by industrial, political and cultural upheaval. Nonetheless, during this period, change became both a form of resistance and a reason for it. Constitutions, laws, ideologies and the status quo were guarded all the more jealously in the face of new opposition. Resistance meant social mobility and social rigidity; it meant monarchy and it meant republic; it meant abolition, and it meant the prevailing barbarism of enslavement and discrimination. These conflicting circumstances gave rise to material culture as resistance: to resistance represented and reimagined. The examination of resistance as process and protest, continues to direct and divide scholarly discourse. Equally, resistance represented through music, art and literature, complete with all their accompanying partialities and omissions, provides an index—albeit a fragmented, complex and contradictory one—to public feeling, ideology and politics, that nuances our understanding of the nineteenth-century studies interdiscipline.

Defining resistance as a phenomenon shaped by circumstance was central to cornerstone twentieth-century approaches on the subject and enables us to trace the roots of the persistent imagination of resistance in conjunction with conflict and revolution. In the influential study *The Struggle for Mastery of Europe,* A.J.P. Taylor argued that the simultaneous existence and absence of political resistance were

responsible for the outbreak of World War One. Whilst the Austro-Hungarian and Russian governments had become convinced that war was a vital measure in order to stave off violent resistance and even revolution from ethnic minorities and the working classes, Wilhelm II's Germany was able to contemplate a large scale conflict precisely because the social democratic movement within the country had been successfully integrated into the nation's popular notions of militarism, thereby dramatically reducing the prospect of resistance through social unrest.[1]

Similarly, in his later, Marxist work *The Age of Revolution: Europe from 1789-1848*, Eric Hobsbawm aligns resistance and conflict more closely through his narrative of the rise of 'the spectre of communism', which he argued was exorcised in 1848.[2] After this point, and during the third quarter of the century, he suggests, 'political revolution retreated', where 'industrial revolution advanced'.[3] In these works and others, resistance is aligned so closely with revolution that the two are almost synonymised. Resistance is defined based on its visible effects, so that it is not only shaped by circumstance but seen to be the shaper of circumstance. Using this logic, we can trace patterns of resistance through the long nineteenth century by attending to moments of agitation and change.

Nonetheless, revolution is one of many contexts in which resistance can be understood. Even in the famously tumultuous social and cultural conditions across this period, overstating change over continuity leads to a limited understanding of the era, and in this, resistance is no exception. Given the resistance to which watershed moments gave rise, it is important to question readings which consider them to be wholly transformative. This is an issue with which Charles Breunig grapples by highlighting the continuities in European politics and society between 1780 and 1820. Breunig argues that the French Revolution and Napoleonic era were aberrations rather

[1] *Ibid*. pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

[2] E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe from 1789 to 1848* (London: Shenval Press, 1962), p. 4. Subsequently Hobsbawm, *Age of Revolution*.

[3] E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (London: Abacus, 1975), p. 14.

than the demonstration of a new social norm, given that the Treaty of Vienna marked the success of the European autocracies over the achievements of the revolution, and witnessed the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France.[4] Here, resistance to change by the social elite, ultimately ushered in new eras of autocracy as opposed to dispelling them.

By reducing the importance of political coups d'état in the narrative of the early nineteenth century, Breunig takes an opposing view to those who would place revolution at the centre of an understanding of resistance, and yet, it is possible to reconcile the two. Resistance by definition only arises in situations where there are opposing views. If resistance does not meet with opposition, then it ceases to be resistance. In Britain, the long-nineteenth century gave rise not only to revolution but, in the wake of the 1832 Reform Act, to Peel's new Conservatives and a renewed support for the protection of King and Constitution with which they came to be associated. This was a climate that saw Dickens's famous attack on the Poor Laws and Malthusian Political Economy in *Oliver Twist*, and Lord Melbourne's disgust at the novel's treatment of workhouses and coffin-makers: 'I don't like these things', he had declared, 'I wish to avoid them'.[5] Resistance does not simply arise from the desire for change and revolution, but also the need for stasis and status quo.

Resistance, then, is shaped by its surrounding conditions, and yet it is also moulded by various cultural media. This makes an understanding of the cultural discourses through which resistance was described, expressed or censored, essential. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, groups of radical poets such as the Della Cruscans rose in support of the political strife in France by publishing poetic

[4] C. Breunig, *The Age of Revolution and Reaction, 1789-1850*, 2nd edn (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1977), p. xiii.

[5] Quoted in Philip Horne, 'Crime in *Oliver Twist*', *British Library* (2017) <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/crime-in-oliver-twist> [Accessed: 12/01/2020].

conversations in newspapers such as the *World*.[6] Such platforms not only facilitated political resistance to the Pitt administration, but literary resistance to Neoclassical modes of writing, as well as providing a forum in which women writers could express their political views pseudonymously.[7]

The 1830s onwards saw the rise and redoubling of fora through which resistance could be expressed and debated. As Louis James has argued, political unrest in the years immediately prior to the Reform Act was different to previous kinds of agitation because it was linked to 'wider cultural aspirations', including 'educational movements, discussion groups, and libraries', as well as 'the printed word'.[8] The rise of popular fiction and the popular press, alongside the development of new modes of production, circulation and consumption both increased the efficiency of the media through which resistance could be expressed and meant that those media became sites of resistance themselves. The 'Taxes on Knowledge', which included taxes on paper and the printing of news, led to creative composition as a form of resistance and led to the rise (and ultimately the demise) of an elicit radical press.[9] As James argues, political movements and printed matter were often ephemeral, but the publication and cultural networks behind them were not. Therefore, cultural networks both show resistance to be grounded in political moments and provide an enduring means for its expression.[10]

Because resistance is necessarily read in the context of the warring ideologies that have prompted it and often also through the media in which those warring ideologies are played out, it is easy to homogenise or to assume that groups are unified in their resistance because they share a particular politics, ideology or mode of

[6] See for example: Michael Gamer, '"Bell's Poetics": *The Baviad*, the Della Cruscans, and the Book of *The World*', in *The Satiric Eye*, ed. by Stephen E. Jones (New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 31-53.

[7] Judith Pascoe, '"That fluttering, tinselled crew": Women Poets and Della Cruscanism', in *Romantic Theatricality, Gender, Poetry and Spectatorship* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 68-94.

[8] Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man (Brighton: Edward Everett Root, 2017) p. 14.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid, p. 21.

expression. Recent criticism has become increasingly alert to the heterogeneity of resisting groups. Charles Esdaile's work, for example, has offered an important counterpoint to the widely accepted notion that the Spanish nation was unified in its resistance to Napoleonic occupation in 1808. He highlights that far from being unified by patriotic fervour, the Spanish people actually resisted efforts by the Spanish government to facilitate mass opposition against the occupiers.[11]

Further recent turns in scholarship have enabled us to retain a nuanced perspective, alert to heterogeneity, as well as a mindfulness of continuities in resistance movements during the long-nineteenth century and beyond. The University of Colorado's 'Resistance in the Spirit of Romanticism' conference reflects this shift by considering the importance of the broader temporal continuities between moments of resistance within and beyond the long-nineteenth century.[12] Bringing the political, social and cultural resistance of the Romantic era into dialogue with modern resistance movements, such as 'Black Lives Matter' and 'Me Too', the conference showed how resistance in the long-nineteenth century also stakes a claim to modern relevance.

The articles in this issue of RRR build upon these developments in scholarship, considering the full length of the nineteenth century, and the nuances of resistance in a given moment, whilst simultaneously reflecting the manifold ways in which resistance continues to be studied. Gabriel Polley's illuminating micro-history explores anti-colonial resistance, framed as religious unrest, in the town of Nablus in Palestine. In the process, he sets the Nablus Uprising of April 1856 within the context of growing discontent over European influence in the region, which had seen the prioritisation of the rights of Christian minorities, resulting in resentment from the local Muslim majority

[11] C. Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History* (London: Penguin, 2003); C. Esdaile, 'Popular Mobilisation in Spain, 1808-1810: A Reassessment', in *Collaboration and Resistance in Napoleonic Europe: State-formation in an Age of Upheaval, c. 1800*-1815, ed. by M. Rowe (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 90-106 (pp. 102-103).

[12] *Resistance in the Spirit of Romanticism* (University of Colorado, September 2018).

population. By decentralising Eurocentric newspaper reports of the event, he displaces the problematic Western perspective in favour of a decolonised version of events.

Where Polley offers a re-assessment of the usefulness of Western journalism in understanding an act of political resistance, Delphine Gatehouse's piece considers the benefits and limitations of using the cartographic archive to resurrect another such act. Gatehouse reads George Eliot's *Felix Holt* as a reflection upon the Great Reform Act, and a way to nuance the extensive debates about the nature of the novel's Conservatism. In doing so, she provides an exceptionally detailed dual focus on the hermeneutics of the text—with its aerial and cartographic tendencies—and the political and cartographic contexts with which it is in dialogue.

Moving forwards to readings of resistance in canonical works published later in the century, Tracy Hayes provides a ground-breaking perspective on the notion of the 'other', and in the process has written an article which itself resists the existing discourse on the relevance of marginalised characters in Hardy's novels. Through a study of his minor characters, Hayes identifies a paradox between Hardy's resistance to masculine stereotypes, and the way in which their actions partially conformed to David Gilmore's 'imperative triad' of the man as procreator, provider and protector.

In her piece on George MacDonald's *Adela Cathcart*, Jessica Lewis pursues these puzzling questions about masculinity beyond the canon, drawing the focus away from the fairy tales told by the men in the novel, which, until now, have preoccupied studies of the text. This has enabled a fresh focus on Adela's illness, rather than its cure, reinstating Adela's significance as a protagonist and offering an illuminating interpretation of her illness as a form of resistance, because it prevents her from fulfilling the domestic role expected of her.

Similarly, Erin Louttit's analysis of the understudied Marie Corelli novel *Young Diana*, also considers the implications of representing the female body as a site of resistance, as Diana spurns society at the point of achieving the physical ideals that it extols. Reading this tension in conjunction with Diana's conservative feminism, Louttit explores resistance to Victorian socio-familial ideals, concluding that Corelli represents

female resistance in this way in order to demonstrate that the gaze of the stereotypical Victorian male is deeply flawed.

With a similar attention to the critical potentials of perspective and paradox, Helen-Frances Dessain's piece reads Robert Seymour's caricature 'The March of Intellect' in two distinct but interrelated ways, by attending to potential resonances with the chapter of Daniel in the Bible, and Edward Irving's preaching. Dessain particularly highlights how Seymour let his viewers decide whether he was ridiculing millennialists or providing a corrective to the notion that the advances of enlightenment would offer salvation from the abuses of past patricians. In turn, she demonstrates how a single medium might be interpreted by various resistance groups and their ideologies.

Through their ability to sustain the ideologies of opposing resistance groups, caricatures offer a strikingly versatile medium that serves a clear function for the modern scholar. Through a concentration of implied meaning, it becomes an index through which the manifestations of resistance might be understood and juxtaposed in a single piece of visual culture. Such caricatures and the journalistic, literary and historical sources explored in this Issue of *Romance, Revolution & Reform* are the lenses through which our authors explore how resistance was shaped by its given cultural moments, explore the tensions to which such moments gave rise, and draw upon cross-temporal resonances to question why this matters. As a whole, this collection of papers makes an important contribution to the study of the significance of such moments. We leave it to the reader to peruse their rich continuities.

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‘Down with the Bell!’ The Nāblus Uprising of April 1856

GABRIEL POLLEY

ABSTRACT: This paper investigates the uprising of April 1856 in the Palestinian town of Nāblus, in which local Christians were attacked after symbols of European influence appeared in the town and a man was killed by a British missionary. The events preceding, during and after the uprising are retold from a range of British primary sources, travellers’ accounts, newspaper reports and consular documents. However, the paper argues that these Western representations of the uprising were mired in colonial concerns, and puts forward a rereading of the uprising as an act of resistance, against a background of complex local politics, dissatisfaction with the Ottoman Empire’s Tanẓīmāt reforms, and growing European presence in Palestine.

KEYWORDS: Consuls, Islam, Missionaries, Ottoman Empire, Palestine, Travellers

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INTRODUCTION

ON FRIDAY 4TH April 1856, an English missionary named Samuel Lyde (1825-1860) shot a man dead outside the Palestinian town of Nāblus, thirty miles north of Jerusalem.[1] ‘A clergyman of the Anglican Church, whose ill-health prevented him from exercising the duties of his profession in England, at least during the winter months’, Lyde, a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, visited Syria in the winter of 1850-1 and remained there doing missionary work among the ‘Alawīya community in al-Lādhiqīya (Latakia), unconnected to any organised missionary society’.[2] Having visited Jerusalem, Lyde was

[1] The author wishes to thank the two anonymous reviewers of this paper’s first draft for their helpful comments, and Nadine Aranki, Aliya Ali, Colter Louwerse and Pascale Péan for their support and practical assistance.

[2] Samuel Lyde, *The Ansyreeh and Ismaeleeh: A Visit to the Secret Sects of Northern Syria* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1853), pp. iii-iv.

on his way northwards when the fatal incident occurred. According to newspaper reports, the victim of the shooting was a local Muslim, 'Yasma, son of El-Abd', a disabled but well-known and respected resident of Nāblus.[3]

While Lyde maintained the shooting had been an accident, Yasma's death proved a serious grievance for the people of Nāblus. A day of violence and destruction followed. By its end, according to reports, four or six of the town's Christian community had been killed and more injured, their churches ransacked, and their homes looted by some of the town's Muslim majority.[4] The house of Nāblus's Ottoman governor, a Muslim from a powerful local clan, was briefly besieged by armed residents after Lyde took refuge there.[5] Although the uprising lasted only one day, the aftermath dragged on in the Jerusalem courts for months; memories of the uprising haunted British figures who had been involved, for years.

While on a far smaller scale than other outbursts of violence in the Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean, such as the anti-conscription riots in Aleppo in 1850 and the violence in Damascus in 1860 in which three thousand Christians may have died, the uprising in Nāblus makes for an intriguing study.[6] In addition to the violence against their Christian neighbours, the Muslims of Nāblus targeted all the symbols of Western presence in their town – European flags, the Protestant school with its new church bell, and the houses of the local agents of European consuls. The uprising was a manifestation of the latent conflict underlying the encounter of the West with Palestine, the Ottoman Empire, and the Islamic "Orient" of the Western imagination. It can be read as a precursor to the later anti-colonial and nationalist movement(s) in Palestine, occurring as the Tanẓīmāt facilitated Western encroachment into Ottoman territory.[7]

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[3] 'The Outrages at Nablous', *The Daily News*, 5 May 1856.

[4] 'News of the Week', *Liverpool Mercury, etc.*, 10 May 1856; 'Prussia (From Our Own Correspondent)', *Times*, 8 May 1856.

[5] Mary Eliza Rogers, *Domestic Life in Palestine* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1862), p. 294.

[6] Ussama Makdisi, *The Age of Coexistence: The Ecumenical Frame and the Making of the Modern Arab World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019), p. 54.

[7] See Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

Using reports in the British press, the accounts of British travellers and consular documents, this article investigates the 1856 uprising, which has previously been unduly overlooked in historical literature.[8] This article firstly investigates the uprising's context, moving from the imperial – the Ottoman Empire in the Tanẓīmāt period – to the local, Palestine and Nāblus, in this period increasingly subject to the Western gaze. The sources recounting the uprising are reviewed, before the events preceding, during and following the uprising are reconstructed. The article concludes by proposing a 'decolonisation' of how the uprising has been read in the past, moving from a narrative of senseless sectarian violence to one of local politics and resistance, in which local Christians were tragically targeted as a result of European activity in Palestine.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, PALESTINE AND NABLUS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Nāblus uprising occurred in the middle of the Tanẓīmāt reform era (1839-1876). The impetus for the reforms, which theoretically legislated equality between Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, was the threat of the disintegration of the Empire. With the revolt of Egypt's governor Muḥammad 'Alī (1769-1849) and his occupation of the Eastern Mediterranean in 1831, the overthrow of the Ottoman state seemed imminent to Western observers. In return for Britain's help in restoring Syria and Palestine to Ottoman control, Sultan 'Abdülmecīd I (r. 1839-1861) delivered the first of the Tanẓīmāt in November 1839. Makdisi summarises the contradiction at the heart of the Tanẓīmāt period:

> Equivocation and ambiguity were at the heart of the Tanzimat. The sultan's immediate concern was pacifying and appeasing foreign powers. Yet the object of the decrees was his vast and disparate subject population. The Tanzimat reforms were couched in language of total

[8] For brief discussions of the uprising, see Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine, 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 116; Orlando Figes, *Crimea: The Last Crusade* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), pp. 429-430.

> sovereignty, but in their timing, content, and concessions they actually underscored Ottoman dependency on Britain.[9]

British and French support for the Ottomans during the Crimean War of 1853 to 1856 resulted in the Hatt-ı Hümāyūnu of February 1856. Whilst it reaffirmed Christian-Muslim equality, Davison notes that the Hatt-ı Hümāyūnu was 'essentially made in Europe, and autochthonous in form alone'. It damaged the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, where there had previously generally been coexistence. Considering the patronage and protection Christians received from European powers, ordinary Muslims now seemed disadvantaged.[10] The Nāblus uprising was an act of resistance by inhabitants of one significant town on the periphery of the Empire to what they considered an attack on their interests, foisted upon them by foreigners.

Palestine had already experienced significant instability, with a revolt against taxes in Jerusalem and Nāblus in 1825-6, and a widespread uprising against the Egyptian occupation in 1834. The *ulāmā'*, the Islamic clergy, often played an important role in these uprisings.[11] Traditional scholarship has posited the *'ulāmā'* as leading opposition to the Tanẓīmāt around the Empire; recent research has revealed a more complex picture. Yazbak argues that in Nāblus the '*ulāmā'* often turned new systems of power to their advantage.[12] Freas notes that the new power structures imposed by the Tanẓīmāt ruptured the relations between Palestinians and their traditional leaders. Local notables, including the '*ulāmā'*, courted the people to win local political struggles, sometimes by leading protests against the Ottomans in the guise of the Tanẓīmāt.[13]

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[9] Makdisi, *The Age of Coexistence*, p. 52.

[10] Roderick H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 54, 63.

[11] 'Adel Manna', 'Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Rebellions in Palestine', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 24 (Autumn 1994), 51-66.

[12] Mahmoud Yazbak, 'Nabulsi Ulama in the Late Ottoman Period, 1864-1914', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 29 (February 1997), 71-91.

[13] Erik Eliav Freas, 'Ottoman Reform, Islam, and Palestine's Peasantry', in *Visual Arts and Art Practices in the Middle East* (= *The Arab Studies Journal*, 18 (Spring 2010)), 196-231.

Palestine was not only subject to local and Ottoman politics; a Western colonial gaze was increasingly falling on the region. Anticipating the Empire's collapse, European powers competed to increase their influence, building consular and missionary institutions and extending their "protection" over minorities (France over Catholics, Russia over Orthodox Christians, and Britain over the tiny Protestant community and Jews). Britain took the lead, establishing a consulate in Jerusalem in 1839 and the first Protestant church in Palestine, Christ Church in Jerusalem, in 1849.[14] British involvement in Palestine also had a profoundly ideological dimension. A 'Biblical Orientalist' view of Palestine as the Judeo-Christian Holy Land left Westerners largely blind to the existing majority-Islamic society in Palestine, until incidents such as the Nāblus uprising threatened their safety or interests.[15]

Nāblus challenged the image among Victorian Evangelicals of Palestine as a backwards part of the Orient stuck in Biblical stasis. With around 20,000 inhabitants, Nāblus was among Palestine's largest towns.[16] Known for its olive oil and soap production, Nāblus was a centre of Levantine and international trade networks; Western travellers could find 'Manchester cottons, printed calicoes, Sheffield cutlery, Bohemian glasses for narghilehs, and crockery and trinkets of all kinds from Marseilles' in the town's bazaar.[17] As Doumani has described, Nāblus owed its position as 'Palestine's principal trade and manufacturing centre' to its relative 'autonomy'; resentful of Turkish

[14] Alexander Scholch, 'Britain in Palestine, 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 22 (Autumn 1992), 39-56.

[15] For Biblical Orientalism, see Lorenzo Kamel, 'The Impact of "Biblical Orientalism" in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Palestine', *New Middle Eastern Studies*, 4 (2014), <http://www.brismes.ac.uk/nmes/archives/1263>.

[16] Beshara Doumani, "The Political Economy of Population Counts in Ottoman Palestine: Nablus, circa 1850," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26 (February 1994), 1-17, p. 1.

[17] Mary Eliza Rogers, 'Samaria and Plain of Esdraelon', in *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt*, 4 vols, ed. by Charles Wilson (London: J.S. Virtue and Co., 1881), II, 1-24 (p. 10).

rule, local notable families fought bloody conflicts, but managed to maintain Nāblus's functional independence.[18]

Regarding the growing Western presence in Palestine, Yazbak writes that in Nāblus 'it was hardly felt before the end of Ottoman rule', and 'prominent figures, let alone the broader strata of the town's inhabitants, rarely met Europeans'.[19] Nāblus with its large Muslim majority was not an obvious target for missionary activity. Nevertheless, a Protestant missionary school was constructed there in the early 1850s.[20] Nāblus had a small Christian community, the census of 1871-2 recording 96 Christian households, mainly Orthodox with a few Latin and Protestant families.[21] The Protestants, converts from other denominations, were led by the highly-regarded missionary John Bowen (1815-1859) until early 1856, when he returned to Britain; he became Bishop of Sierra Leone shortly before his death.[22] Nāblus was also home to Palestine's only Samaritan community, and a small Jewish community; fascinated with the Samaritans, many Western travellers visited Nāblus. The British, French and Prussian consuls in Jerusalem each appointed local Muslim or Christian agents in Nāblus.[23]

Yet Nāblus also developed a negative reputation in travellers' texts.[24] Unlike most of the towns visited by Europeans – ports like Jaffa with its cosmopolitan feel, or towns such as Nazareth with sizeable non-Muslim communities and noticeable European missionary presence – Nāblus was dominated by its Muslim population.

[18] Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 1-2.

[19] Yazbak, 'Nabulsi Ulama', p. 72.

[20] Seth J. Frantzman, Benjamin W. Glueckstadt and Ruth Kark, 'The Anglican Church in Palestine and Israel: Colonialism, Arabization and Land Ownership', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 47 (January 2011), 101-126 p. 103.

[21] Alexander Scholch, 'The Demographic Development of Palestine, 1850-1882', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 17 (November, 1985), 485-505, p. 486.

[22] See John Bowen, *Memorials of John Bowen, LL.D., Late Bishop of Sierra Leone* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1862), pp. 502-503.

[23] Finn, *Stirring Times*, II, p. 425.

[24] See David Kushner, 'Zealous Towns in Nineteenth-Century Palestine', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 33 (July 1997), 597-612.

Automatically interpreting what may have been reasonable expressions of wariness from the town's inhabitants as anti-Western hostility, travellers used their written representations of Nāblus to denigrate Islam and Muslims. Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary John Mills (1812-1873), whose 1864 *Three Months' Residence at Nablus* included an account of the uprising, wrote 'the natives of Nablus are the most fanatic and wicked of all the Mussulmans of Palestine', and warned that 'Nablus is not the safest place for a Frank [European] to remain in'. Incidents of overt aggression towards Western travellers were rare; Mills admitted that, despite his apprehensions during his stay, 'it all ended in words'.[25] Travellers' texts were as much products of their imaginations as reflections of reality.

The uprising turned Nāblus into a meeting place of different worlds, an intersection between global politics, colonial ideology, and local concerns. Multiple dimensions of conflict and resistance can be read in the British representations of the uprising: resistance of Nāblus's populace to the Tanẓīmāt reforms imposed upon them; conflict between indigenous Palestinian identity and European colonial interests; and the mismatch between Western travellers' expectations of the Holy Land, and the society they actually encountered.

NARRATING THE UPRISING

News of the uprising was reported in the local and national press from late April 1856. The *Belfast News-Letter* reported under the headline 'Alarming Outbreak in Syria', that 'the whole of the Nablous country is in a state of insurrection, in consequence of the reported murder of a Turkish mendicant by an English missionary. The foreign consulates had been pillaged, and the Prussian consul killed'.[26] The following day, the same publication referred to the report it had received as 'a curious and not very credible statement', described the aforementioned murder as 'alleged', and stated 'we

[25] John Mills, *Three Months' Residence at Nablus, and an Account of the Modern Samaritans* (London: John Murray, 1864), pp. 275, 95.

[26] 'This Day's London News: Alarming Outbreak in Syria', *The Belfast News-Letter*, 28 April 1856.

withhold our belief from the assigned cause of this *emeute* until we have more direct details to satisfy us on the point'.[27]

Subsequent newspaper reports confirmed the uprising, presenting an image of Muslims as fanatical and violent, the Ottoman Empire as verging on collapse, and the Tanẓīmāt as ineffectual. The most interesting of the newspaper reports was 'an almost verbatim transcription of a letter addressed by three of the most respectable Protestant Christians in Nablous'. Dated 9th April, the letter first appeared in the *Daily News* under the headline 'The Outrages at Nablous'. This was, supposedly, the only occasion on which Palestinians could tell their own story directly. However, the authenticity of the document cannot be known, nor (if it was authentic) the accuracy of the 'almost verbatim' translation, nor the extent to which the anonymous authors provided a heightened picture to call for increased protection from Britain. Their sensational account vindicated those who, after the Crimean War, wished Britain to pursue more proactively the defence of Christians in the Ottoman Empire. 'Where are the English, where the French and the Sardianians, who have shed their blood to uphold the power of Islam, and to give liberty to the Christians of the East?' asked the letter. 'They have spill [sic] their blood in vain. Their toil has gone in emptiness. Pharoah [sic] will not let Israel go'.[28]

Later, longer texts appeared by British individuals who were in Palestine during or around the time of the uprising. *Domestic Life in Palestine* was authored by Mary Eliza Rogers (1827-1910), sister of the British vice-consul in Haifa, Edward Thomas Rogers (1831-1884); when he returned to Palestine after leave in 1855, Mary accompanied him. Mary's account of the uprising was enriched by Edward's eyewitness report from Nāblus. Another account appeared in John Mills's *Three Months' Residence*. Mills was not in Palestine during the uprising, but in 1860 he gathered information from 'Yohannah El Karey, a young Arab and a native of Nablus', who claimed – perhaps inaccurately – to have been with Lyde at the moment of the

[27] 'Outbreak in Syria', *The Belfast News-Letter*, 29 April 1856.

[28] 'Outrages at Nablous', *Daily News*.

shooting, and to have been 'beaten without mercy' during the uprising, until saved by the intervention of a Muslim friend.[29]

Another account of the uprising was published in 1878, penned by Britain's consul in Jerusalem from 1846 to 1863, James Finn (1800-1872). His lengthy memoir of the Crimean War years, *Stirring Times*, edited posthumously by his wife Elizabeth, dedicated a whole chapter, 'Unexpected Troubles', to the uprising. Finn kept a close watch on developments in Palestine which could affect Britain's interests. Mary Rogers, for instance, reported that her brother was directed to 'watch carefully, and report to Mr. Finn all that is going on' regarding the powerful family which governed Nāblus at the time of the uprising, the 'Abd al-Hādī clan.[30] Of all the uprising's chroniclers, Finn was the closest to the events, and expended much effort afterwards attempting to achieve a satisfactory closure from Britain's perspective. Finn's consular diary and correspondence, as well as his memoir, reveal how Britons resident in the Eastern Mediterranean faced the uprising's aftermath.

In none of these accounts are the Muslim majority of Nāblus allowed to speak, except through the distorting pens of Westerners; in all the accounts, to extents differing only slightly, Islam and Muslims are demonised, and the uprising was used to create, in Stockdale's words, a portrait of 'the inherent danger of the Holy Land, a location increasingly constructed throughout the nineteenth century (and twentieth century) as a place of timeless conflict and chaos, where life could be snatched away at any moment'.[31] Ottoman documents such as the *sijillāt* or court records, may provide a different picture for future research, though the voices of most of the ordinary

[29] Mills, *Three Months' Residence*, pp. viii, 101, 102. El Karey was born in 1843 or 1844, making him twelve or thirteen at the time of the uprising. He was later sponsored by Mills to study in Pontypool and London in the 1860s, after which he returned to Nablūs as a missionary until his death in 1907. John H.Y. Briggs, ' The Revd Youhannah El Karey and Nineteenth-Century Baptist Missions in Palestine: Part 1', *Baptist Quarterly*, 44 (Winter 2014), 86-98.

[30] Rogers, *Domestic Life*, p. 216.

[31] Nancy L. Stockdale, 'Danger and The Missionary Enterprise: The Murder of Miss Matilda Creasy', in *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Heleen Murre-van den Berg (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 113-132, p. 114.

Palestinians who rose up, or suffered, in 1856, are surely lost forever. The British accounts nevertheless hold their own value, not only for their representations of the uprising, but also for insights into Victorians' fears of a mass Islamic resistance to Empire.

ANATOMY OF AN UPRISING

While Lyde's action triggered the uprising, the wider uncertainty around the Tanẓīmāt and the increasing European presence in Palestine was manifested in several ways preceding the shooting. While the Hatt-ı Hümāyūnu was announced in Istanbul on 18th February 1856, according to Finn it had yet to be conveyed to the Ottoman governor of Jerusalem, although the news was known to the European residents of Jerusalem 'through newspapers and travellers' by late March.[32] On Saturday 29th March, Samuel Gobat (1799-1879), a Swiss Calvinist who was appointed Bishop of Jerusalem in 1846, journeyed to Nāblus carrying, in Finn's words, 'a bell with him in his luggage, which had been procured from England, to be put up there upon the Chapel School'. By introducing a church bell where there had not previously been one, Gobat ill-advisedly wished to put into practice the promises of the Hatt-ı Hümāyūnu, even before they were known to the local populace. In a circular letter of November 1857, Gobat neglected to mention this, omitting his own role in the affair.[33] Finn claimed he 'had no idea […] that [Gobat] had such an instrument of peril to the public peace for such a town as Nabloos, among his luggage on the mules'. Arriving in Nāblus, Gobat sent a letter informing the town's governor that the new bell would be rung for Sunday worship. Initially inquiring whether, in Finn's words, 'the Bishop was furnished with an order from the Pashà [of Jerusalem] for the putting up of the bell in such a town as that', Nāblus's governor Maḥmūd 'Abd al-Hādī assented 'on being informed that the

[32] All information from Finn on the uprising below, unless otherwise cited, is from Finn, *Stirring Times*, II, pp. 424-440.

[33] Samuel Gobat, *Samuel Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem. His Life and Work* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1884), p. 315.

Bishop placed dependence upon the Sultan's new Hatt-i-Humayoon'. He sent his guards to the school when the bell was rung, but no negative reaction materialised.

The second cause which according to British sources created 'feelings of vindictive animosity against the Christians' in Nāblus, was European consulates' celebration of the birth on 16th March 1856 of the French Prince Imperial, son Napoleon III.[34] This news reached Jerusalem on 31st March; that evening saw a *soirée* for French and British travellers in the city, which, Finn recorded, included a performance of the *Marseillaise* in Arabic by a 'son of the barber Butros', among other entertainments. The following day, a more formal banquet for European consuls and the Ottoman governor was held at the French consulate. The next Friday, the day of the Nāblus uprising, the Ottoman governor of Jerusalem granted British travellers the long-desired access to the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, the Islamic holy compound containing the al-Āqṣā Mosque and Dome of the Rock.[35]

The marking in Nāblus of the French prince's birth was less extravagant, though it may have seemed more incongruous to local residents. According to Finn, on the 31st the French consul sent a letter to the French agent in Nāblus, informing him of the prince's birth, and a letter for Maḥmūd 'Abd al-Hādī, instructing him to congratulate the agent, a telling indicator of the European powers' confidence with the Ottoman authorities in the Tanẓīmāt period. The agent – according to one report 'the son of a rich Mahomedan [...] only 14 years of age' – borrowed British and Ottoman flags from the Protestant school and flew them on 1st April over his home.[36] Finn described the flags as 'not much exceeding the size of a pocket-handkerchief'; the French flag may have been larger, as one newspaper reported that in the subsequent uprising the crowd 'enveloped the Consular agent in his own flag, and rolled him thus through the street'.[37] Gobat and the British agent displayed the British flag. The governor, according to Finn,

[34] 'Summary', *Liverpool Mercury, etc.*, 7 May 1856.

[35] See Finn, *Stirring Times*, 2, pp. 418-423; Rogers, *Domestic Life*, pp. 291-293.

[36] 'Prussia', *Times.*

[37] 'Foreign Intelligence: Turkey', *The Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Herald*, 21 May 1856.

'took no notice of these tiny exhibitions', but allowed his soldiers to 'fire salutes of musketry in the street', for which he charged a fee to the consular agents. The flags were kept flying until April 4th, in Finn words 'a great mistake among many other mistakes'. Luckily for Gobat, Nāblus's resident Protestant missionary John Zeller (1830-1902), and some local Protestants, they left Nāblus for Nazareth on the morning before the uprising.[38]

Several commentators attributed the subsequent outburst of anger to the flags' appearance in particular, and hatred of Western presence in Palestine in general. Explaining that 'the population of Nablous is among the most savage and most fanatical of Asia', the author of one article claimed it had been 'hitherto thought advisable not to excite its fanaticism by any external signs of foreign influence, and the Consular agents never hoisted their flags'.[39] Finn claimed that after the raising of the flags, 'among the fanatic Nabloosians, a hostile feeling was seething, and waiting only for an opportunity of overt explosion'. He also speculated whether the whole episode had been planned by 'the fanatical party' of the Ṭūqān family, rivals in the power struggle over Nāblus with the 'Abd al-Hādī family who 'had always been of the Liberal party'.

One more factor was mentioned as enflaming tensions. Finn claimed that the Hatt-ı Hümāyūnu 'had not […] been officially communicated to the authorities in Palestine, much less to the native public' when Gobat travelled to Nāblus, its content only known 'through the European newspapers and general rumour'. According to Finn's consular diary, the Hatt-ı Hümāyūnu was only officially announced in Jerusalem on 6th April.[40] Several sources posited the people's anger in Nāblus during the uprising as arising primarily from the Hatt-ı Hümāyūnu, of which they were apparently already

[38] Rogers, *Domestic Life*, p. 294.

[39] 'Foreign Intelligence', *Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Herald*.

[40] James Finn, Elizabeth Anne Finn, *A View from Jerusalem, 1849-1858: The Consular Diary of James and Elizabeth Anne Finn*, ed. by Arnold Blumberg (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980), p. 222.

aware.[41] Rumour may have played a role in sparking the uprising; yet the writers' willingness to attribute the violence to opposition to Muslim-Christian equality, speaks also of Western conceptions of Islam and the (im-)possibility of reforming the Ottoman Empire.

Despite these possible aggravating factors, most sources agreed that it was the fatal encounter between Lyde and Yasma which sparked the unrest. All the British sources sought to exonerate Lyde of guilt for Yasma's death, claiming that Yasma – fulfilling the stereotype of the greedy Oriental, seeking "baksheesh" from Western travellers – waylaid Lyde as he was on his way out of Nāblus on horseback. Grabbing Lyde's gun, Yasma was killed when the gun discharged accidentally. According to Finn's diary entry during Lyde's subsequent trial, the only witnesses were three women, whose testimony could not be given in an Ottoman court.[42] This contradicts Mills's claim that his protégé Yohannah was with Lyde at the time, though the absence of any other witnesses did allow Lyde's own version of events, subsequently adopted by his British supporters, to be accepted unchallenged.

Reports dutifully did their best to blacken Yasma's character. The Nāblus Christians' letter portrayed Yasma as 'of evil form, utterly untrained, like the people of his country'.[43] Rogers described Yasma (like Mills and Finn, she did not provide his name in her account) as 'deaf and dumb, and slightly deranged in intellect, and consequently was superstitiously respected by the Arabs, and was yet, at the same time, an object of their amusement', adding 'he was a professed beggar, and very importunate'.[44] Finn wrote similarly of Yasma's 'habitual impudence'. The closest to an actual expression of sympathy came from Mills, who described him as a 'poor fellow'. In Mills's perhaps inaccurate account, Lyde immediately proceeded to the house of Yasma's father to offer him 'blood-money', which the man wished to accept 'with characteristic love of

[41] See 'Egypt (From Our Own Correspondent)', *Times*, 29 April 1856; 'Outrages at Nablous', *Daily News*; 'Summary', *Liverpool Mercury, etc.*; 'News of the Week', *Liverpool Mercury, etc.*

[42] Finn, *A View from Jerusalem*, p. 223.

[43] 'The Outrages at Nablous', *Daily News.*

[44] Rogers, *Domestic Life*, pp. 295-296.

backsheesh'.[45] According to the Nāblus Protestants' letter, 'the Moslems seized him [...] and took him to the judgement'.[46] All reports agreed that Lyde was soon taken to the house of the governor, Maḥmūd 'Abd al-Hādī, which quickly proved beneficial for Lyde's wellbeing.

Yasma's death caused the pre-existing tension to erupt into the uprising. In Finn's dramatic phrasing, 'the cup of fanaticism was full, and the one drop more caused it to run over'. British reports blamed the *'ulāmā'* for using the pretext of Yasma's death to mobilise the people in revolt.[47] The Nāblus Protestants' letter stated that 'one of the Ulema, Mohammed Tirforha, went down with his brother Amar, and began to cry in the streets, "Allah Akbar! Allah Akbar! (God is great); Oh, religion of Mohammed, art thou dead?"' A 'Sheick Sulah-el-Bacane' assembled a group of twelve *'ulāmā'* who had allegedly previously agreed to stoke an anti-Christian uprising.[48] In the letter's sensationalist language, this coldly premeditated plan was a 'treacherous snake, bred long before'. The assorted *'ulāmā'* prevented the call to the Friday noon prayer (the main collective worship of the week for Muslims) at the Nāblus mosque, the gathered crowd challenged to either 'pray behind the (Christian) priests and consular agents', or to 'manifest the religion of Mohammed', as 'the women began to shout and urge them on'.[49]

> Finn provided an outline of the subsequent uprising:
>
> Shrieks and cries arose from the infuriated crowd – 'Vengeance on the Christians for the blood of Islâm!' – 'Down with the flags!' – 'Down with the bell!'
>
> The bell and the flags, including the Turkish, were soon on the ground — the tricolor of France, subjected to special indignity, having an

[45] Mills, *Three Months' Residence*, p. 101.

[46] 'Outrages at Nablous', *Daily News*.

[47] 'Summary', *Liverpool Mercury, etc.*; 'News of the Week', *Liverpool Mercury, etc.*

[48] Yazbak lists the Tuffaha and Baqani among Nāblus's important *'ulāmā'* families in the mid-nineteenth century. Yazbak, 'Nabulsi Ulama', p. 74.

[49] 'Outrages at Nablous', *Daily News*.

> old shoe tied to it before being dragged through the miry street, by way of expressing the popular hatred.
>
> The French Agent's house, and the Protestant mission house and school, as well as the dwellings of Protestant natives, were sacked. The grey-headed father of the Prussian Agent, Kawwâr (the old man was not a Protestant), running for refuge to the house of his friend the English Agent (who was happily absent from Nabloos), was murdered within its threshold.
>
> Not only were the houses of the Agents and of the Protestant Christian natives sacked, but the others, the Greek-rite Christians, were likewise plundered in their houses and in their church, and the dwelling of the deacon in charge of it.

The letter contained further details: the 'old man of 80' and 'helpless old woman' who were also attacked; the theft of an agent's wife's jewellery and clothes, 'leaving nothing in the house of the least value'; and the destruction of an 'English iron plough', symbolic of ungrateful Orientals' rejection of Western progress. The rioters 'cursed' the sultan himself for issuing the Hatt-ı Hümāyūnu, invoking the Islamic formula that 'the ruled need not obey when the ruler is rebellious'. The letter also noted that some Christians were given refuge by Muslims in their homes, though added that they 'most likely paid them the price of their blood for their safety'.[50] This is confirmed in Finn's diary; in July 1857, Finn met 'Shaikh Mahhmood Yaeesh of Nablus & his son (Hhassan) who […] protected the Christians […], saved lives, & fed the suffering for several days in his own house'.[51] According to the *Times*, Muslim neighbours of the Prussian agent (a local Christian) armed themselves to defend the agent's home.[52] While these cases of Muslim-Christian solidarity were perhaps the exception rather than the norm, their occurrence shows that claims in the British press that 'a whole city […] rose on 500

[50] 'Outrages at Nablous', *Daily News*.

[51] Finn, *View from Jerusalem*, p. 262.

[52] 'Prussia', *Times*.

miserable Christians', were not strictly accurate.[53] Finn noted that 'neither Jew nor Samaritan was either insulted or injured' during the events.

While this occurred, Lyde was sheltered by 'Abd al-Hādī, according to Mary Rogers, in 'his new and beautiful house, which was actually besieged by the people, and considerably injured, because the Governor refused to yield the offender up to them'. Lyde apparently made his will, and 'begged the Governor to let him go out to the mob, that they might be appeased by his death'. This attempt at self-sacrifice was denied by 'Abd al-Hādī, who could surely imagine some of the consequences he might face if he allowed a missionary from one of the Ottomans' European allies to perish in such a way. In Rogers's account, 'Abd al-Hādī' reassured Lyde that '"I and my family, my servants and all my household, will risk our lives, rather than let yours be sacrificed"'.

In fact, the anger of 'the mob' was short-lived, dissipating by the end of the day. News reached Jerusalem on Saturday through the British and Prussian agents who had fled Nāblus, according to Finn leaving their wives behind, as they 'still trusted (and in this they were not mistaken) to Moslem principles of honour for the safety of their female relations'. The next morning, a group including Edward Rogers set out from Jerusalem to retrieve Lyde, who returned to Jerusalem on 10th April with 'a little party of Turkish irregular cavalry'.[54] Lyde was presented as a gentle soul, remorseful over Yasma's death. Finn claimed 'the poor man was in great grief at the result of the accident, and needed all the cheering and kindness which friends could bestow'. Lyde's mental torment, Finn wrote, in addition to his 'well-known life of courage and self-denial', earned him 'a deep feeling of respect for him from all quarters (except, of course, the turbulent fanatics of Nabloos)'.

Rogers returned three days later, with a report of the destruction: in Zeller's house he found 'the floors covered with broken china, leaves of books, maps, and papers of all descriptions, in fragments'. Rogers also bore jewellery which 'some of the

[53] 'Outrages at Nablous', *Daily News*.

[54] Rogers, *Domestic Life*, p. 294.

Christian women of Nablûs' had entrusted to him for safekeeping.[55] This may not have been strictly necessary; according to Finn, once the dust had settled, the participants in the uprising 'became so frightened' of the punishment they could face, 'that they not only remained perfectly quiet, but came by night and threw back into the houses some of the stolen things'. Nevertheless, some Christian families did leave Nāblus, whether temporarily to seek asylum or permanently to start their lives in areas with greater security. In 1860 Mills found that the Protestant community had been 'ruthlessly scattered in a day', there being only 'a few still retaining the Protestant name' in Nāblus (the census of 1871-2 recorded thirteen Protestant households).[56]

European presence in Nāblus also diminished in the wake of the uprising. The Protestant mission was moved to Nazareth, where Zeller worked until 1876.[57] Mills reported that the mission school had continued 'and was incomparably the best in Nablus', with two local Protestant converts as teachers.[58] Finn withdrew his agent from Nāblus and did not allow the British flag to be flown there over two years.[59] This was in marked contrast to the approach of the French consulate. Finn alleged that the French, viewing 'the affair of the insurrection as merely a disturbance, such as will happen occasionally anywhere', soon briefly raised their flag again in Nāblus 'with firing of muskets' – thus recreating one of the events which led to the uprising – before 'a speech [...] to the effect that it was not to be hoisted again till a proper reparation of honour could be obtained, seeing that Nabloos had shown itself to be unworthy of being honoured by the banner of France!' Finn added he could 'imagine the expression of

[55] Rogers, *Domestic Life*, pp. 294-295.

[56] Mills, *Three Months' Residence*, pp. 102-103; Scholch, 'The Demographic Development of Palestine', p. 486.

[57] Church Missionary Society, 'Biographies' <www.churchmissionarysociety.amdigital.co.uk> [Accessed 11 November 2019].

[58] Mills, *Three Months' Residence*, p. 103.

[59] Various, 'Despatches from Her Majesty's Consuls in the Levant, Respecting Past or Apprehended Disturbances in Syria: 1858 to 1860' (London: Harrison and Sons, 1860), p. 44.

countenance prevailing among the street populace on hearing this condemnation of themselves'.

Three matters remained to be settled: Lyde's trial for Yasma's death; compensation to the Nāblus Christian community for their losses; and the punishment of the uprising's perpetrators. Lyde's trial was scheduled for 21st April in the Ottoman court, in front of a Muslim judge or *qāḍī*. Finn received criticism for not holding the trial in a consular court; he later claimed that 'according to the international capitulations the Turkish courts retain their proper supremacy in criminal causes'.[60] Nevertheless, Finn paid Lyde's bail, leaving him free to join Finn for a ride to the village of Ārṭās near Bethlehem (where Finn sponsored a farm of messianic Jews) on 19th April, the same day Yasma's family arrived in Jerusalem for the trial. On the 21st, after encountering the problems of the female witnesses unable to testify, and the difficulty in determining Lyde's intentions, the *qāḍī* adjourned the trial until he could consult with the *muftī* of Jerusalem, who was attending a Muslim festival.[61] The court pronounced a verdict of deliberate homicide and a fine of '10,000 drachmas weight of silver' on 29th April. Eventually, as Lyde wrote himself to the *Daily News* on 3rd July, through Finn's efforts the verdict was revised to accidental homicide, though the fine stood.[62]

Lyde returned to al-Lādhiqīya before the fine had been paid, and the case was transferred to the Ottoman governor of Beirut Khurshīd Pasha, and Britain's consul-general in Beirut Niven Moore (1799-1889). Judging from consular correspondence, Moore decided to link the fine's payment to compensation for the Nāblus Christians and punishment of the uprising's leaders by the Ottomans. As this was slow in coming, the fine remained unpaid for some time.[63] Not only Yasma's bereaved family suffered from this policy; Lyde seems to have been tortured by guilt. In *Stirring Times*, Finn claimed that Lyde spoke of his 'anxieties' over the unpaid fine when visiting Jerusalem

[60] See 'Foreign Intelligence', *Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Herald*.

[61] Finn, *View from Jerusalem*, pp. 223, 225.

[62] 'The Disturbances at Nablous: To the Editor of the Daily News', *The Daily News*, 26 July 1856.

[63] Various, 'Despatches', pp. 15-18.

in February 1857. Finn's diary reveals that Lyde in fact suffered a mental breakdown, arriving at Jerusalem 'in a state of insanity'. Finn had Lyde confined to the Prussian Hospice, and finally sent back to England on 17th March.[64]

The fine, strangely enough, seems ultimately to have been settled by the Ottoman government. After two years of the British consuls pressuring him to punish the leaders of the uprising, Khurshīd wrote conciliatorily to Moore on 28th April 1858, proposing that '10,000 piastres should be paid by the [Ottoman] Government to the heirs of the dumb man […] on condition that the clergyman who ventured to kill the dumb man, the occurrence which occasioned this affair, should be sent to England never to return again'. Unaware of Lyde's earlier departure, Khurshīd admitted that 'the authorities are ignorant of what has been done with respect to the aforesaid clergyman'. Moore was clearly happy to reply that 'Mr. Lyde […] has, of his own free will, returned to England, with no intention I believe of returning to Syria'.[65] The guilt over the fine, and his mental health issues, cast a shadow over Lyde's final years; he died in Alexandria on 1st April 1860.[66] As for Yasma's family, Finn claimed that the costs of the case were subtracted from the award, and 'the plaintiffs obtained but a mere trifle' (perhaps explaining why Khurshīd was prepared to pay). Khurshīd sent with the letter to Moore 55,000 piastres of compensation for the Nāblus Christians, who had also been deprived of recompense for two years; Mills complained that it 'was but small compensation for the injury done'.[67]

The British consuls were more concerned with ensuring the uprising's leaders were brought to justice. A successful prosecution would hopefully deter future attacks on Western interests in Palestine, test the effectivity of the Tanẓīmāt reforms, and, most importantly, prove the extent of the consuls' influence and ability to force the local authorities to act in their interests. Finn and Moore hounded the governors of Jerusalem

[64] Finn, *View from Jerusalem*, pp. 251, 254.

[65] Various, 'Despatches', pp. 17-18.

[66] 'Cambridge', *The Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Herald*, 17 April 1860.

[67] Mills, *Three Months' Residence*, p. 102.

and Beirut for two years.[68] Finn identified four prominent figures he thought should be arrested: the *qāḍī* and *muftī* of Nāblus, and 'Sheik Mahomed Ashour' and 'Abdul Fettah Aga Numr'. Finn sent the names to Moore, who relayed them to Khurshīd in October 1857, and again in April 1858; Khurshīd stalled, arguing that 'the imprisonment of a few of the vagabonds who ventured to commit the riots, is not consistent with justice', and that instead a 'strict investigation' was necessary.

The British consuls' grievances also focused on Nāblus. While the town's governor had saved Lyde's life during the uprising, over time the British consuls turned against 'the notorious Mahmoud Abd-ul-Hady', as Moore described him, accusing him of working against their interests and harbouring the uprising's ringleaders.[69] Maḥmūd 'Abd al-Hādī's reluctance to dispatch the suspects to Beirut, as the British desired, is understandable in the context of local Palestinian politics in the Tanẓīmāt period. Perhaps believing he had done enough to show due respect to the Ottoman Empire's European allies by sheltering Lyde, 'Abd al-Hādī may also have wished to demonstrate his independence from Ottoman rule; arresting local Muslim leaders could have aroused the ire of the people of Nāblus.

Unrest in the Nāblus region had continued after the uprising, the 'Abd al-Hādī family fighting their rivals to maintain their control. The alliances of the Crimean War already fading, Finn also accused the 'Abd al-Hādī of 'look[ing] on themselves as in some way French partisans', and undermining British influence. Complaining in an October 1858 letter of Bedouin allies of the 'Abd al-Hādī robbing an Ottoman postman and stealing livestock, Finn expressed his belief that 'Palestine is in need of some one capable and honest man, armed with full powers, to put it all right in a few days'. This would have to be a governor not subject to the same pressures and rivalries as local families. The Ṭūqān family sent delegations to Jerusalem and Beirut, to persuade both British consuls and Ottoman governors of the desirability of a governor appointed by

[68] See Finn, *View from Jerusalem*, p. 263.

[69] Various, 'Despatches', pp. 16, 17.

the Sublime Porte.[70] Their wish was granted in late 1858 or early 1859, when Ottoman troops were sent from Damascus to arrest 'Abd al-Hādī; Moore reported with satisfaction that 'the arrest of this Chief has, owing to his unpopularity, been effected without the least opposition'.[71] Soon after, the large assault in April 1859 of Ottoman forces on the stronghold of the 'Abd al-Hādī family, the nearby village 'Arrāba, ended Nāblus's autonomy and reinstituted rule from Istanbul.[72] Even so, according to Finn the new regime was also reluctant to take action on the uprising; his memoir asserted that 'to this day neither the seditious rioters nor the actual perpetrators of the violence of the 4th April, 1856, have met with any chastisement'.

CONCLUSION: DECOLONISING THE UPRISING

When much greater violence broke out in Damascus, British observers placed the Nāblus uprising in a straightforward narrative: a violently intolerant Muslim majority, implacably opposed to the reforms of an impotent Ottoman government, victimising helpless Christians across the Eastern Mediterranean. A report by Cyril Graham (1834-1895), part of a European commission to Syria in 1860, mentioned how 'the Protestant chapel and school, and the English consulate [sic] at Nablous, were plundered, the consul's father was killed, and a number of others were severely beaten' in the uprising, despite the incident having no direct connection to the later violence: although opposition to the Tanẓīmāt may have united the insurgents in Nāblus and those elsewhere, the factors of Gobat's bell, the European flags and Lyde's shooting of Yasma were all highly specific. Rubbishing the chances of successful reform in the Ottoman Empire, and without attempting to mask his hostility towards Islam, Graham concluded that 'no man, with Syria's dark history before him, can say that Mohammedanism is productive of ought but evil'.[73]

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[70] See Finn, *View from Jerusalem*, p. 256; Various, *Despatches*, p. 16.

[71] Various, 'Despatches', p. 61.

[72] Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine*, pp. 231-232; Rogers, *Domestic Life*, p. 389.

[73] Cyril Graham, 'The Disturbances in Syria', *North British Review*, 33 (November 1860), 332-355, pp. 346, 332, 353.

Claiming that the Nāblus uprising and other regional episodes of unrest revealed the nature of Islam and Muslims, commentators suggested the existence of anti-Western sentiment across the Islamic world. The Indian Mutiny of 1857, attributed by some to a 'Muslim Conspiracy', showed the dangers this could pose.[74] Finn spelt out a nightmarish scenario:

> The Green Flag must be unfurled, the Jehâd (Holy War) must be proclaimed against all Christians – in Circassia and Asiatic Russia – in Algeria against the French – in India against the English – all true believers would rise as one man, and, Inshallah! it would not be long before the last great triumph, the coming of Mohammed, and victory for ever to Islâm.

Such a warning, Finn cautioned, would 'never be quite idle' whilst 'thousands and millions of men, women and children' believed such an apocalyptic revolt would soon begin.[75] In 1875, during a 'Conference on Missions to the Mohammedans' in London, the aging Bishop Gobat cited the Nāblus uprising as evidence that an anti-Christian conspiracy had been consciously planned by Muslims. Gobat claimed that

> in the year 1855 there was a great meeting at Mecca, at which it was resolved that in all countries the Mohammedans should destroy all that was not Mohammedan; and the first fruit of it was at Nablous, where some Christians were killed, and several were wounded. Several houses were plundered, as was also his [Gobat's] own school there.[76]

There is a hollow ring to Gobat's words, coming from an individual whose insensitive introduction of a church bell probably contributed more than any 'great meeting at Mecca' to the uprising's outbreak, who escaped the uprising out of sheer luck, and who lost very little compared to the local Christians or Yasma's bereaved family.

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[74] Ramesh Rawat, 'Perception of 1857', *Social Scientist*, 35 (November-December 2007), 15-28, p. 15.

[75] Finn, *Stirring Times*, I, p. 346.

[76] Various, 'Conference on Missions to the Mohammedans, Held at the Church Missionary House, Salisbury Square, on the 20th and 21st of October, 1875' (London: Church Missionary Society, 1875), p. 23.

European observers were unable to view the uprising through anything other than a colonial lens. This reduced a complex situation, combining the increasing Western presence in Palestine, local political factors in Nāblus, and the impact of changes across the Ottoman Empire, to a binary opposition between Islam and Christianity, and, by implicit extension, Orient and Occident. The uprising occurred in a period when European empires were increasingly imagining themselves as one day controlling Ottoman territories, nowhere more than the Holy Land.[77] Mills, for instance, explicitly envisaged a European colonisation of the Nāblus area. Noting that the city was surrounded with 'gardens and orchards, luxuriant with vegetation', he averred that 'with European industry, and art, and taste [...] it could be made one of the most charming spots upon the face of the globe'.[78] Insofar as Muslims represented a threat to this future for Palestine, and to Western interests generally, they were discursively vilified in the British reports of the uprising, and their leaders' punishment was obsessively sought by British consuls.

To discern its real significance, our view of the Nāblus uprising must be 'decolonised', divorced from the essentialist outlook and imperial concerns of its British observers, and placed in its proper context. Despite the near-uniform bias of all the British representations of the uprising, it is possible to read in them not a story of 'fanatical' Muslims versus 'helpless' Christians, but of resistance to the growing presence of European empires, and unpopular reforms dictated by the Ottoman Empire and those same European powers. The Europeans in Nāblus narrowly escaping the uprising, the people's anger fell upon their Christian neighbours and local consular agents. As Makdisi notes, both the Ottoman Empire and European powers singled out Christians, and inadvertently contributed to their victimisation. 'Whether as objects of imperial concessions by an ostensibly benevolent sultan, or of concern and protection by

[77] See Scholch, 'Britain in Palestine'.

[78] Mills, *Three Months' Residence*, pp. 26-27.

European powers', Christians were marked as different to their Muslim neighbours during the Tanẓīmāt period, with tragic results across the Eastern Mediterranean.[79]

We may sympathise with both the plight of the Christian community, and the concerns of the Muslims of Nāblus, which were eventually vindicated. Within a lifetime, from 1917 to 1948, Britain occupied Palestine, and the British flag flew again over Nāblus. Times had changed, and Palestinian Christians would play an important role in the nationalist resistance.[80]

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[79] Makdisi, *The Age of Coexistence*, p. 54.

[80] See Laura Robson, *Colonialism and Christianity in Mandate Palestine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).

Resisting mechanisation? Reading Shortshanks' 'The March of Intellect' (c. 1828) through the lenses of Daniel and Edward Irving

HELEN-FRANCIS DESSAIN

ABSTRACT: One of the most celebrated March of Intellect prints from the 1820s was created by Robert Seymour: a man-machine strides across the page, sweeping away abuses with its Brougham, and saving the people by the spread of knowledge from its printing press legs. However, such a reading ignores the nuancing of the image by the caption. This article will proffer a detailed reading of the image through the caption via two different lenses: a probable source text from the Old Testament book of Daniel and the preaching of Edward Irving. Through such an exploration, this paper will argue that whilst Seymour's print is a sharp critique on those who claimed that mechanistic philosophies would solve the abuses of the day, it is complicated by the caption being framed as Irving-esque speech. Whether this print was a critique on mechanistic philosophies or fanatical preaching, Seymour left for his viewers to decide.

KEYWORDS: March of Intellect, Seymour, Irving, Mechanisation, Daniel, 1820s.

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INTRODUCTION

ROBERT SEYMOUR, UNDER his pseudonym Shortshanks, created one of the most celebrated and visually arresting March of Intellect prints from the 1820s (Figure 1).[1] So arresting is this print that it has graced a number of book covers including Brian Maidment's *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order* and Jim Secord's *Visions of Science*.[2] A man-

[1] A version of this article was presented at the 'The 1820s: Innovation and Diffusion' conference held in Glasgow in 2019 and the author would like to thank the participants for their insightful comments and questions.

[2] The dating of the print is uncertain. The British Museum have dated the print '1828-1830' <https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1336673&partId=1> [Accessed 14 June 2019]. Jim Secord used the British Museum's copy of the print in his work *Visions of Science* and dated the print c. 1828. Brian Maidment in his *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order* dated it 1829 and used the Lewis Walpole Library copy, which dated the print '1829?'

machine strides across the page, sweeping away legal, medical and religious abuses with its broom, and saving the people by the spread of knowledge from its printing press legs. The limitation of such a reading is that it ignores the caption which provides a significantly more nuanced gloss to the image. Whilst this print has been discussed by scholars, this article will suggest a detailed reading of the image through the caption. This reading will take two different lenses: a possible source text from the Old Testament book of Daniel and, due to the idiosyncratic spelling deployed by Seymour in the caption, the preaching of Edward Irving. Through such an exploration, this article will argue that whilst Seymour's print is a sharp critique of those who claimed that mechanistic philosophies would solve the abuses of the day, it is complicated by the framing of Irving-esque speech in the caption. Daniel's vision comprised beast-like empires that would abuse their subjects; in a like manner, the mechanistic philosophies of the 1820s would actually perpetrate further abuses rather than liberating the masses from existing abuses. The caption to Seymour's image is presented as part of a sermon by Irving, a notorious contemporary preacher. Seymour's readers would thus have brought their own views of Irving to bear on their reading of the print. Whether this print was a critique of mechanistic philosophies or of an enthusiastic preacher and his followers, Seymour left for his viewers to decide.

Despite being so arresting, this print has, perhaps surprisingly, yet to receive a detailed reading of the caption. In his 2008 DPhil on the March of Intellect movement in the 1820s and 1830s, David Magee draws out much of the symbolism within the image but only uses the caption as a description of some of the image's detail. Therefore, Magee excerpts such words as 'march', 'Giant', 'Broom', 'even of Gas' to provide colour to his gloss but does not push his reading further. Magee's concern is to read this print as comment on reform and improvement rather than lingering over why Seymour included such a long caption in this print compared to other March of Intellect prints he made during this period.[3] In his reading of the print in his 2013 *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order*, Maidment pushes Magee's reading further

<http://findit.library.yale.edu/catalog/digcoll:975363> [Accessed 14 June 2019]. For prudence, I have chosen the earlier date of 1828.

[3] David Magee, 'Popular periodicals, common readers and the 'grand march of intellect' in London, 1819-34' (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2008), pp. 51-53.

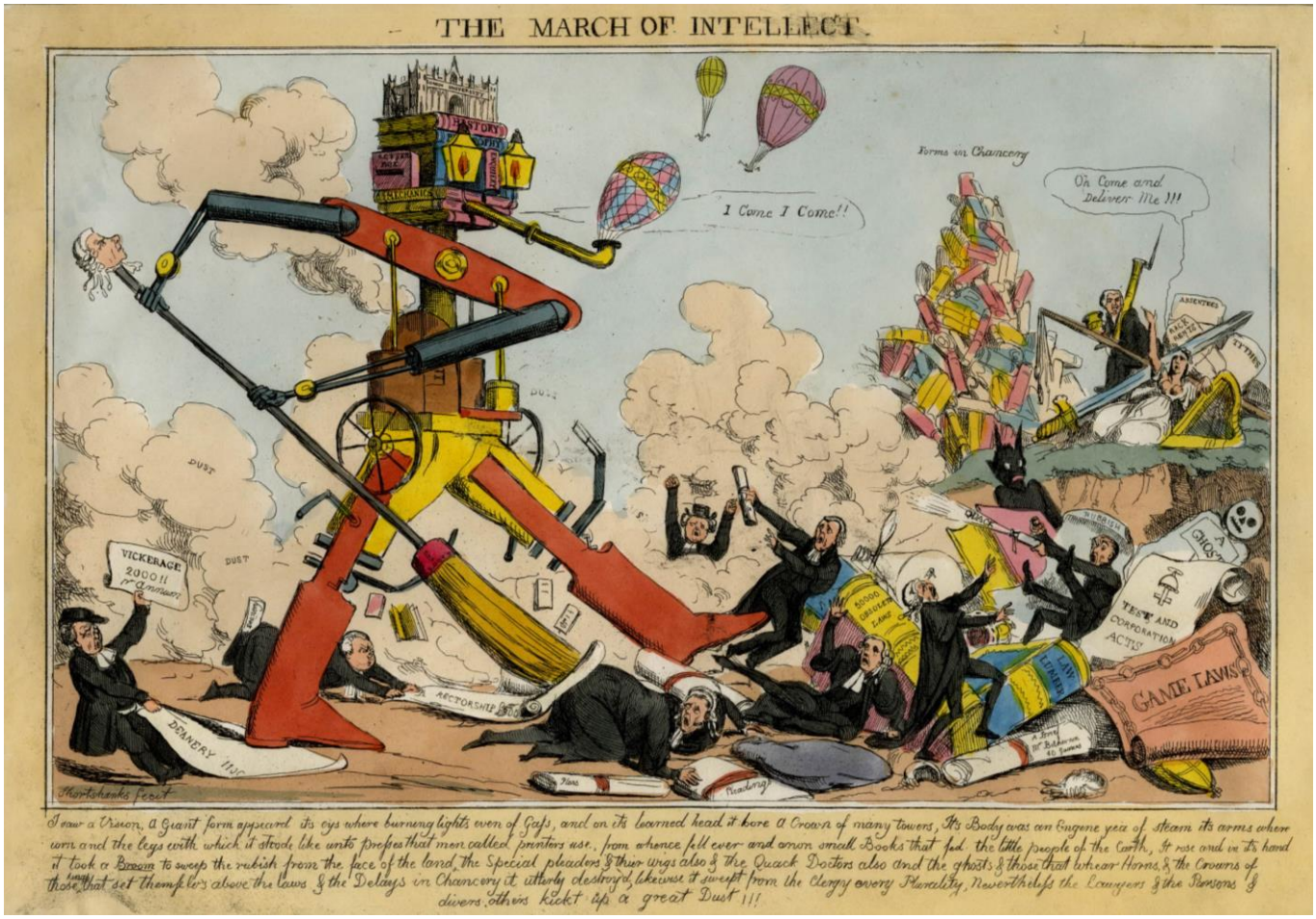

FIGURE 1: Shortshanks, 'The March of Intellect' (London: Thomas McLean, [1828-1830]), British Museum 2003,0531.29.

CAPTION: I saw a Vision, a Giant form appeard [sic], its eys [sic] where [sic] burning lights even of Gass [sic], and on its learned head it bore a Crown of many towers, Its [sic] Body was an Engine yea of Steam, its arms where [sic] iorn [sic] and the legs with which it strode like unto presses that men called printers use, from whence fell ever and anon small Books that fed the little people of the Earth, It [sic] rose and in it's [sic] hand it took a Broom to sweep the rubish [sic] from the face of the land, the Special pleaders & thier [sic] wigs also & the Quack Doctors also and the ghosts & those that whear [sic] Horns & the Crowns of those kings that set themselv's [sic] above the laws & the Delays in Chancery it utterly destroy'd, [sic] likewise it sweept [sic] from the Clergy every Plurality, Nevertheless the Lawyers & the Parsons & divers others kickt [sic] up a great Dust!!!

by using words such as 'apocalyptic' and 'millenarian zeal' as well as describing the caption as 'messianic'. However, Maidment does not delve into what such descriptions imply, why Seymour's use of the apocalyptic could be significant or why Seymour used

such idiosyncratic spelling.[4] In his 2014 *Visions of Science*, James Secord is primarily interested in the human-machine relations and uses this print as introductory material for his book. Similarly to both Magee and Maidment, he uses the caption for describing the image rather than as an integral part of the print.[5]

Of the March of Intellect prints from the 1820s, this one by Seymour is the only one to have such an extended caption. William Heath produced several March of Intellect prints in 1828 including two where the caption is simply 'March of Intellect' and a set of four for Thomas Maclean where the caption narrates a conversation between two figures in the print.[6] This print is also unusual for Seymour who also favoured the short caption with speech bubbles for characters within the image.[7] With such formats, there is a tendency to play one viewpoint off against another for satirical effect. For this print however, Seymour chose to narrate a mechanical vision using Biblical tropes. Since Biblical tropes are primarily textual, the caption is illustrated and amplified by the image in the print rather than vice versa which then enables Seymour to construct more than one response to the challenges of both mechanism and millennialism.[8]

Upon reading the caption, there are two immediate questions to answer: the first is whether this is a pastiche of apocalyptic tropes or whether it is referencing a particular Biblical text; the second is the sheer number of seemingly deliberate spelling mistakes. This article will argue first that Seymour was probably referencing Daniel chapter 7, a text frequently quoted, discussed and interpreted within millennial discourses of the period. By alluding to such an apocalyptic text in both caption and

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[4] Brian Maidment, *Comedy, caricature and the social order, 1820-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 186-188.

[5] James A. Secord, *Visions of Science: Books and Readers at the dawn of the Victorian age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 21-22.

[6] William Heath, 'The March of Intellect' (London: George Humphrey, 1828) British Museum 2002,0519.1, William Heath, 'The March of Intellect' (London: Thomas Maclean, 1828) British Museum 1948,0217.34, William Heath, 'The March of Intellect' (London: Thomas Maclean, 1828) British Museum 1895,0617.456.

[7] For example, see Robert Seymour, 'An untoward event, or a Tory triumph' (London: Thomas Maclean, 1828) British Museum 1868,0808.8856, Robert Seymour, 'Mrs Greece and her rough lovers' (London: Thomas Maclean, 1828) British Museum 1935,0522.4.156 and Robert Seymour, 'The political bellman' triumph' (London: E King, 1828) British Museum 1868,0808.8845.

[8] Another Seymour print with an extended caption is 'Shaving by Steam' which operates as an explanation of the machine rather than to construct multiple viewpoints. See Shortshanks [Robert Seymour], 'Shaving by Steam' ([London]: E. King, [1828?]), Lewis Walpole Library 828.00.00.12+.

image, Seymour portrayed a metaphorical vision of a seismic change on the cusp of occurring. Second, this article will show that Seymour deliberately rendered the Scottish burr of Edward Irving into print through his altered spelling. During the 1820s, Irving had published numerous works on Daniel. By framing this critique through Irving's preaching, the credibility of the critique on mechanisation was then directly tied up in the viewer's own views on Irving and associated millennialist movements.

As noted above, the terms apocalyptic, messianic or millenarian have been used by scholars without delving into why these terms are significant when reading Seymour's print. Messianic is to do with salvation and, in the Old Testament, salvation was bound-up with God's king ruling, with God's priests ministering in the Temple and with God's prophets speaking truth to the people: when all were in place, the Kingdom of Israel had its heyday in around 1000 BC. Whilst the Kingdom declined, the prophetic literature of the Old Testament gradually began to reveal that these previously distinct individuals were going to be a single individual who would embody these three roles – the Messiah – and that an even greater golden age was to come. Whilst Christians claim that the title Messiah belongs to Jesus of Nazareth, the term messiah acquired a metaphorical meaning whereby an individual would rescue, save, or redeem a group from their troubles. Seymour's image and caption posed the question: to what extent is this automaton messianic?

A number of messianic passages are also apocalyptic. Apocalypse is a sub-genre of prophecy and relates to the end of the world. As a sub-genre, examples can be seen in Old Testament prophetic literature including Isaiah, Daniel and Zechariah and in the New Testament including the Gospels and supremely in Revelation (the English translation of the Greek *apokalypsis*).[9] Apocalypse also developed a metaphorical sense in which it marked the sudden end of an era within human history.[10] Whilst it is predominantly this second sense that Seymour's print engages with, the distinction between the two was complicated by the competing theologies concerning the timings of the end of the world including their interpretation of the millennium.

[9] Christopher Burdon, *The Apocalypse in England: Revelation Unravelling, 1700-1834* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), p. 8.

[10] Crawford Gribben, *Evangelical Millennialism in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1500-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), p. xi.

The concept of a millennium only occurs once in the Bible in the New Testament book Revelation chapter 20. In this scene, Satan is bound by an Angel for a thousand years and thrown into a deep pit 'that he should deceive the nations no more'.[11] At the end of the thousand years, Satan will be released to deceive once more before a decisive battle in which he is defeated forever before Judgement Day and commencement of the New Creation.[12] As John Dickson and Greg Clarke argue, 'instead of seeing this passage as visionary apocalyptic literature painting word-pictures about God's victory over evil, [millennialists view it] as a coded revelation of the time line in God's mind'.[13] Crawford Gribben notes that amillennialism, the metaphorical reading of Revelation 20, was supported 'in the major reformation confessions of faith'.[14] Of this visionary passage, millennialists instead took a literalist reading and expected a dramatic rupture in time.

The best known examples of millennialists in this period were Richard Brothers (1757-1824), Joanna Southcott (1750-1814) and Edward Irving (1792-1834). However, as Morton Paley has shown, all the now-canonical Romantic poets also engaged with the apocalyptic genre and ideas of millennium.[15] Tim Fulford summarises the appeal of millennialists thus:

> Movements such as Southcott's and Irving's [...] bespoke the need of many in the period to restore power to the human, in a country where more and more people were subjected to the inhuman discipline of factory, clock and technology and where knowledge was increasingly institutionalized and bureaucratized [.][... People began] turning to the Bible as one of the few authorities with which they could resist the domination of life by technologies and institutions. Reduced to "operatives", many Britons found their identity dominated by machines, machines whose concentration of

[11] Revelation 20. 1-3 (KJV).

[12] Revelation 20. 7-15 (KJV).

[13] John Dickson and Greg Clarke, *666 and all that: the truth about the future* (Sydney: Aquila Press, 2007), p. 77. That time-markers cannot be taken literally is seen in passages like Ps 90. 4, 'For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night' (KJV).

[14] Gribben, p. xi.

[15] Morton D. Paley, *Apocalypse and Millennium in English Romantic Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999). See also John Beer, 'Romantic Apocalypses', in *Romanticism and Millenarianism*, ed. by Tim Fulford (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 53-69.

> power was such that they, and not the people who worked them, seemed sublime.[16]

Faced with the risk of becoming a dehumanized operative, Fulford argues that some of the working classes embraced this alternative ideology which allowed them a measure of control over their situation to manage the dangers from mechanisation.

However, the challenge posed by millennialist thinking was not solely theological. Due to their belief in violent ruptures, millennialist thinking and radical politics often went together as they both sought to amend or overthrow the current political and social structure. Brothers, for example, in the 1790s declared that he was the chosen prince to lead God's people back to Israel and George III should renounce his crown to him: the Lord Chancellor had him confined to an asylum.[17] Indeed, as J. F. C. Harrison notes, millennial sects tended towards unorthodox views on families and relationships which were direct challenges to the social structures.[18] Such antinomianism was found in the Anabaptists and Buchanites in the eighteenth century and continued in the Southcottians.[19] After Southcott's death in 1815, John Wroe (1782-1863) emerged as a successor and gathered a circle of followers in Ashton-upon-Lyme during the 1820s from the surrounding Pennine region. Philip Lockley notes that Wroe's followers typically held pre-existing ideas about creating Jerusalem in England ahead of the millennium which Wroe then expanded with "Israelite" rituals such as keeping the Mosaic Law and Nazarite vows claiming this would be the lifestyle in the millennium period.[20] This theological controversy combined with economic stresses from yearly

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[16] Tim Fulford, 'Millenarianism and the Study of Romanticism', in *Romanticism and Millenarianism*, ed. by Tim Fulford (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 1-22 (p. 10).

[17] Fulford, p. 4.

[18] J. F. C. Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism 1780-1850* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 38.

[19] Antinomianism, or 'the freedom from the restraints of the moral law' (Harrison, p. 15), finds a possible Biblical mandate in Roman 6. 11: 'Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord' (KJV). However, reading on in Romans 6 nullifies any hope that Jesus's proprietary death is a license to behave precisely as you choose, e.g. 6. 15 'What then? Shall we sin, because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid' (KJV). Harrison, pp. 14, 36, 139. Philip Lockley, 'Who Was 'The Deluded Follower of Joanna Southcott'? Millenarianism in Early Nineteenth-Century England', Journal of Ecclesiastical History 64 (2013) 70-95.

[20] P. Lockley, 'Millenarians in the Pennines, 1800-1830: building and believing Jerusalem', Northern History 47 (2010) 297-317.

boom-bust cycles, continued migration to cities, the lack of parliamentary representation for these new industrial areas and the increase in steam-powered machinery together with the repeal of the Test acts and Catholic Emancipation led for a very heady mix of radical politics and fears about the end of the world or, at the very least, fears about the end of an era.

Daniel's Beasts

The Old Testament book of Daniel narrated the story of Daniel, a Jewish exile, in Babylon after the Babylonians had conquered the Kingdom of Judah in 587BC.[21] Daniel's vision that Seymour was alluding to came in 552/551BC and was a text continually reinterpreted in millennialist literature with reference to contemporary events. Below are the key verses from Daniel's vision of a sequence of four beasts with the focus on the fourth and final beast:

> Daniel spake and said, I saw in my vision by night, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea diverse from one another. […] After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; […] and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things. I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and

[21] Chapters 1 to 6 of Daniel provide a potted narrative of his time in Babylon whereas chapters 7 to 12 are a sequence of visions which were given to Daniel during his time in Babylon: chapters 7 and 8 are two visions from the time of Nebuchadnezzar's grandson Belshazzar, chapters 9-12 are visions from Darius's reign who succeeded Belshazzar. Nebuchadnezzar promoted Daniel to be ruler of the province of Babylon (Daniel 2:48). Later, when Babylon had been conquered by the Medo-Persians, Daniel was one of 3 presidents who reported to Darius and to whom 120 satraps reported (Daniel 6:1-2). See Joyce G. Baldwin, *Daniel: An Introduction and Commentary* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1978; repr. Nottingham: IVP Academic, 2009).

> the books were opened. I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.[22]

The full vision was of four successive empires in this region, symbolised by the four beasts, who were progressively more terrifying. However, in the vision, these empire-beasts would ultimately all be judged and swept away by God, the Ancient of Days.[23]

Analysing the print as a vision of judgement, the automaton did sweep away previous powers and had fiery, steamy breath so could be identified with God. As this was a hand-coloured print, it was originally white in appearance which would increase the identification with the Ancient of Days. On the right of the image is Hibernia, Ireland personified, in a white dress with a broken harp, leaning on papers (Rack-rents, Absentees, Tythes), weighed down by a sword and being robbed of treasure.[24] Under such a burden, Hibernia implored the automaton 'Oh Come and Deliver Me!!!' to which the automaton replied, 'I Come I Come!!' In potential fulfilment of Jesus' encouragement in Revelation that 'I come', mechanistic salvation, it seems was about to arrive for Ireland.[25] The abuses of pluralities, legal delays, quack medicine and obsolete laws were very real and relief from these abuses was much to be desired, but could the automaton deliver it?

Unfortunately, the much stronger associations of the automaton were with the last, and worst, of the beasts rather than with God. Like this fourth beast, the automaton was 'strong exceedingly' and 'stamped' with its feet what it had broken in pieces. Like the horn arising from the fourth beast, the automaton had 'eyes' and 'a mouth speaking great things'. From the interpretation to the vision given later in Daniel 7, we learn that

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[22] Daniel 7. 2-3, 7, 8b-12 (KJV).

[23] The empires are Babylon (620-540BC), Medo-Persian (540-330BC), Greece/Seleucid (330-63BC), Rome (63-400AD), the sequence agreed with even by a millennialist like Irving (Edward Irving, *Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed - A Discourse on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse which relate to these latter times, and until the Second Advent*, 2nd edn (Glasgow: William Collins, 1828), pp. 52-53). See also Daniel 7: 17-18.

[24] Magee, pp. 51-53, argues the woman is Britannia. From bank note iconography, we know this is actually Hibernia as Britannia was usually depicted with a trident but this lady has a harp. Such a personification also makes sense of the abuses mentioned, particularly rack-rents. These abuses are also highlighted in Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1800).

[25] Revelation 22. 12 (KJV).

this last horn arising from the fourth beast would oppress people and 'think to change times and laws'.[26] The lack of discrimination shown by the automaton as it swept away previous power structures and laws adds to the identification of the automaton with the beast.

Another source of unease with this automaton is its source of power and control – it had no off switch, no steering and no human override. This lack of human override or intervention raises another question: how to stop the broom sweeping away the good as well as the bad? With no off-switch, until the automaton literally ran out of steam, there was no escape from the tyrannical empire of the fourth beast. Returning to Daniel 7, the section that Seymour was imitating was one of tribulation rather than of hope: if the automaton was not God but a beast, a figure representing 'the Ancient of Days' was missing from Seymour's caption. The absence of 'the Ancient of Days' meant there was no guarantee of a judgement against either the abuses being swept away or that the automaton would stop its sweeping before it itself became abusive. In the design of the automaton, Seymour raised the alarm that mechanistic principles could turn abusive and therefore beast-like.

With no human override, the course of the automaton was then set by the rational books of its head. However, the output of this "rationality" is hot air balloons from a sewer pipe. Neither the sewer pipe nor the hot air balloons were positive associations and the hot air balloons were particularly damning. After their invention in 1783, the technological challenge facing aerostation was steering once aloft. In addition, balloon launches had a problematic status in that it was never clear whether they were a philosophical or a social occasion.[27] Whilst hopes that hot air balloons might be steerable resurfaced in Mary Shelley's novel *The Last Man* (1826), which featured scheduled European flights, the entertainment aspect had almost completely overtaken any philosophical angle such that any fete or town opening was incomplete without a balloon launch. By the hot air balloons and sewer pipe, Seymour argued that the rational head of the automaton would only produce frivolous, irrational rubbish:

[26] Daniel 7. 25 (KJV).

[27] Clare Brant, Balloon Madness: Flights of Imagination in Britain, 1783-1786 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 240-252 notes that the British feared invasion by balloon and that balloons were used for reconnaissance during the 1780s. These fears continued in satirical prints: see for example, Isaac Cruikshank, *Intended bonne farte raising a southerly wind* (London: S W Fores, 1798).

perhaps a literal rendering of the I Corinthians phrase 'knowledge puffeth up'.[28] In its very un-rationality, Seymour argued that allowing reform according to mechanistic philosophy was the replacement of one set of abuses with another.

Edward Irving's preaching

Having argued that mechanistic philosophies would not solve the problems of the day, Seymour then severely complicated his argument by his framing of the caption. The sheer number of idiosyncratic spellings in the caption suggest that these are deliberate renderings rather than inadvertent errors. Through a consideration of Irving's status, his Scottish accent, the rendering of the Scottish accent in prose and Irving's own commentaries on Daniel, this article will argue that Seymour framed his scepticism of mechanisation as if it were part of a sermon by Irving who, by 1828, was a standard caricature for a fanatical, millennial preacher. Since Irving was a divisive figure, the extent to which a viewer would agree that mechanistic philosophy was problematic would depend upon whether they found Irving a credible preacher to be listened to or a raving fanatic to be laughed at.

Born in 1792 in Annan in the Scottish borders, Irving was educated at the University of Edinburgh before becoming a schoolmaster then later a clergyman, securing his first post as assistant minister to Thomas Chalmers at St John's, Glasgow in 1819.[29] His growing reputation as a charismatic orator led to his invitation to lead the Caledonian Church at Hatton Garden in London in 1822.[30] There, Irving's oratorical gifts were noted by the fashionable elite which led to William Hazlitt including him in his *The Spirit of the Age* (1825) as one of the characters sketched. Hazlitt focussed on Irving's ability to combine Biblical and literary imagery into new sensations for the London fashionable scene, noting that his 'hyperbolic tone' required his 'stature' and the effects would not have worked 'if he had been a *little man*'.[31] In his eulogistic essay of 1834 after Irving's untimely death, Thomas Carlyle, a fellow Scotch-borderer, focused his account on 'thou poison of Popular Applause' that Irving had drunk deep of in 'Babylon'

[28] I Corinthians 8. 1b (KJV).

[29] Margaret Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, third edition (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1864), pp. 1, 15, 21, 36, 50.

[30] Oliphant, p. 76.

[31] William Hazlitt, *The Spirit of the Age, or Contemporary Portraits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923), p. 55.

(London) which left him bereft when fashionable tastes changed. Carlyle noted that Irving's response was to retreat into isolation, studying the Bible alone, and issuing many written treaties in a bid to regain his former status 'in vain'.[32] It is this context of 'ever wilder' treatises that Irving moved from a celebrity preacher who was 'altogether irresistible' to a ranting fanatic, ripe for caricature in prints of the later 1820s including Thomas Hood's *The progress of cant* (London: Thomas Maclean, 1826) and Henry Heath's *A meeting for the conversion of the benighted Irish* (London: Thomas Maclean, 1827).[33] Irving's trajectory was also captured in Henry Crabb Robinson's *Diaries* which noted that in 1823 Irving was 'novel' and he had heard him preach another two times as well. By February 1824, Crabb Robinson was at a dinner with Rev and Mrs Irving and noted 'I anticipate pleasant intercourse with them'. However, after Crabb Robinson's tours to France and Ireland, the Irvings did not feature strongly in his *Diaries* and by June 1826 he noted that 'Irving has sunk of late in public opinion in consequence of his writing and preaching about the millennium [...] He is certainly an enthusiast – I fear too a fanatic'.[34]

Having traced the arc of Irving's career and his fall from feted doyen to dismissed fanatic, this article will now review the evidence for his accent. Hazlitt noted that Irving had 'relaxed the inveteracy of his northern accents' as well as designating him as 'Caledonian', 'Presbyterian' and mentioning 'Kirk of Scotland'.[35] Carlyle, as a fellow Scot, saw no need to mention his accent but did describe their first meeting in Irving's home town of Annan.[36] Frances Williams-Wynn attended a sermon by Irving in 1823 and noted in her diary that it was 'frequently spoilt by extraordinary Scotch accents. He spoke of the high-sup, of being crucifeed, scorged, &c. &c.'.[37] An anonymous article in *The National Magazine* noted that 'the tones of [Irving's] voice are rich and strong: their

[32] Thomas Carlyle, 'The Death of Edward Irving', Fraser's Magazine 61 (1834). Online resource: <http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/carlyle/irving.html> [accessed 14 June 2019].

[33] Hazlitt, p. 48. A discussion of why the publisher Thomas Maclean published both prints mentioned as well as the March of Intellect print under discussion is outside the scope of this article.

[34] Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diaries, Reminiscences and Correspondence*, ed. by Thomas Sadler, 2nd edn, 3 vols (London: Macmillan, 1869), II pp. 254, 269, 329, 330.

[35] Hazlitt, pp. 49, 53.

[36] Carlyle op. cit. (26).

[37] [Frances Williams-Wynn], *Diary of a Lady of Quality from 1797 to 1844*, ed. by A. Hayward (London: Longman, 1864), p. 112.

sweetness is somewhat roughened by his strange and indescribable accent, or mixture of accents, which he apparently uses to impart energy and strength to his expressions'.[38] Whilst we can therefore note that Irving had a Scottish accent, how this was recorded varied between his listeners.

In his *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish dialect* (1786), Robert Burns rendered Scottish accents phonetically for his readership.[39] Such was the success of his *Poems* that Burns was able to have the work reprinted in Edinburgh in 1787. Walter Scott also included speech in a Scottish dialect in his novels such as *Waverley* (1814) and *Guy Mannering* (1815).[40] *The National Magazine* article also quoted from poem written in a Scottish dialect which demonstrates how it was rendered in print:

> When Irving bright first cam' to light
> Frae Caledonia, man
> Sae weel he pleas'd, the hale town squeezed
> Into his chapel sma', man,
> An' frae the west the gentry press'd,
> Baith lord and duke and a', man,
> In chaise and coach, wi' swift approach,
> Like flocking to a shaw, man.[41]

Through the idiosyncratic spelling, the poet rendered a Scottish accent phonetically for their readership. In a like manner, Seymour did the same with his caption to the print to bring Irving, the most notorious Scottish preacher of the day, to mind for his viewers.

Through his preaching, and particularly through his publications, Irving was closely associated with Daniel, Revelation and wider thought on interpreting prophetic writings. Irving's interest in the Apocalypse was established by his first book, *For the Oracles of God* (1823) which Irving reminded his readers of the potential imminence of

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[38] "D", 'Personal Sketches No. XII: The Rev. Edward Irving', *The National Magazine*, 1 (October 1830), 381-386 (p. 383).

[39] Nigel Leask, 'Robert Burns and Romanticism in Britain and Ireland' in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, ed. Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 127-138. See also Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Gaelic Literature and Scottish Romanticism' in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, ed. Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 49-60.

[40] Alison Lumsden, *Walter Scott and the Limits of Language* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 75-100.

[41] "D", p. 383.

Judgement Day, exhorted them to be ready and urged them to trust in Jesus' atoning death on the cross.[42] Through his preaching, Irving met Henry Drummond, a fellow student of prophecy, who invited Irving to a gathering at Albury Park. The discussions at Albury led to the publication in 1826 of *Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed - A Discourse on the Prophecies of Daniel* which then ran to a second edition in 1828.[43] In this work, Irving expounded Daniel 7 at length, even decreeing that one particularly bad king (associated with the final beast and usually interpreted as the Roman Empire) was the 'Papal Power' to this day rather than a Roman emperor such as Nero who had persecuted the Christians in 64 AD.[44] He then spent the remainder of the book arguing that the French Revolution marked the end of this Papal power, that various prophetic texts in Daniel and Revelation predicted the British victory over Napoleon and that the resurrection of the righteous would commence in 1867.[45] Views like these confirmed Irving as a millennialist who expected the apocalypse to occur imminently and linked him, as discussed above, with radicalism. Given the imagery of fire and brimstone throughout Revelation coupled with fears about steam engine explosions, associating a steam-powered automaton with the onset of the Apocalypse was not entirely ridiculous. However, Irving's statement about the Apocalypse timing in *Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed* was also in direct contradiction of Jesus' statement that 'but of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father'.[46] Jesus had stated that the knowledge of when the Apocalypse would occur was not to be found in this universe; by going against this statement, Irving demonstrated how far he, and fellow Albury circle members, had travelled from orthodox belief.

Despite this, Irving's interest in unorthodox matters grew still further and in 1828 he also published *A Discourse on the evil character of these our times*. In the dedication, he declared that 'Christ took human nature in the fallen, and not in the unfallen state' thus rendering Jesus sinful and therefore unable to propitiate the sins of the world

[42] Edward Irving, *For the Oracles of God, Four Orations. For Judgement to come, an Argument, in nine parts* second edition (London: T. Hamilton, 1823).

[43] Oliphant, pp. 104, 203-206.

[44] Irving, *Babylon*, pp. 55-56. On the identification of empires with beasts, see note 18.

[45] Irving, *Babylon*, pp. 96, 414-415, 526-527.

[46] Mark 13. 32 (KJV).

meaning that the death Jesus said 'must' happen was a tragic failure rather than the act of salvation.[47] The book itself was an exposition of a passage in I Timothy whilst also recapping Irving's thoughts from *Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed* on interpreting Daniel as well as arguing that most Christians had apostasied. This book brought Irving further condemnation. Irving was aware of his changing status, noting in an 1828 letter to his wife that 'I am generally reported [...] as a man wholly mad' but determining nonetheless to press on with his ever deeper immersion into prophetic literature in the Albury circle.[48]

Despite his radical theology, Irving was politically conservative. In his essay, Hazlitt commented that

> Mr. Irving keeps the public in awe by insulting all their favourite idols. He does not spare their politicians, their rulers, their moralists, their poets, their players, their critics, their reviewers, their magazine-writers; he levels their resorts of business, their places of amusement, at a blow -- their cities, churches, palaces, ranks and professions, refinements and elegances -- and leaves nothing standing but himself, a mighty landmark in a degenerate age, overlooking the wide havoc he has made! He makes war upon all arts and sciences, upon the faculties and nature of man, on his vices and his virtues, on all existing institutions, and all possible improvements, that nothing may be left but the Kirk of Scotland.[49]

Even by 1825, Irving had made a name for himself for being against contemporary 'moralists', 'sciences' and 'all possible improvements'. When asked by Thomas Carlyle for his view on applying for a professorship at London University, Irving could not

[47] Edward Irving, *A Discourse on the evil character of these our times: proving them to be the "perilous times" of the "last days"* (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1828), pp. xii, 508-514. On why Irving's position was not orthodox see II Corinthians 5. 21 "For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him" (KJV, emphasis added), 1 John 2. 2 "And he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world" (KJV) and Mark 8. 31 "And he began to teach them, that the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders, and of the chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again" (KJV).

[48] Edward Irving to Isabella Irving, 31 July 1828, quoted in Oliphant, p. 241.

[49] Hazlitt, p. 53.

encourage him since he disapproved of its irreligious foundations.[50] This view may have been widely known or suspected as Seymour included London University as the crown of the automaton in the print. In *A Discourse on the evil character of these our times*, Irving argued directly against the march of intellect:

> One of the specious names is, the march of intellect; another is, the diffusion of knowledge; and a third, this enlightened age. Because an apprentice can babble of liberal opinions, and retail the slander of the public prints against every thing [sic] good and great; because a sempstress [sic] can prattle of poems and novels and reviews; and because the workman can retail some incoherent scraps of mechanical lectures; the age is called enlightened, and intellect is thought to have taken a great step in advance, and knowledge to be diffused abroad.[51]

In this quote, Irving continued in his stance against his 'enlightened' age and the spread of knowledge to all people. This spreading of knowledge is part of the automaton since its legs were printing presses distributing publications to the people. Alan Rauch notes that 'the political implications of [the march of intellect] movement were complex given that many believed that knowledge was foisted by the powerful and the wealthy on the working classes in order to indoctrinate them into a culture where knowledge validated a simple work ethic'.[52] In 1828, Irving additionally published *A Letter to the King, on the repeal of the Test and Corporation Laws, as it affects our Christian Monarchy* setting out his conservatism and argued against enfranchisement and 'improvements'. Therefore, given Irving's printed materials and Hazlitt's essay, it was highly credible for Seymour to place a speech against mechanisation and the spread of knowledge in the style of Irving.

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[50] Fred Kaplan, *Thomas Carlyle: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 135. Kings College was in the process of being established in 1828 but it was satirically linked with Toryism and Anglicanism against Reform and the March of Intellect exemplified by London University: see Anon, *First Book for the Instruction of Students in the King's College* (London: B. Steill, 14 Paternoster Row, [1828]) and Anon, *Lectures and Examinations for King's College Students* (London: B. Steill, 14 Paternoster Row, 1828).

[51] Irving, *Discourse*, p. 464.

[52] Alan Rauch, *Useful Knowledge: The Victorians, Morality, and the March of Intellect* (London: Duke University Press, 2001) p.23.

Conclusion

It is clear that, whilst Seymour's automaton has saving power in that it removes a large number of abuses of judicial, medical and religious systems, the much stronger associations are with the fourth beast of the Daniel 7 vision. From the caption, Seymour viewed the machine as more likely to provide greater oppression once it had delivered the people from the present-day abuses. Mechanistic philosophies were not the solution to the societal issues of the day. This is compounded if we consider again Seymour's caption – the wording was all about removing abuses. Having swept away the abusive power structures with the automaton, what would replace them? How would the spreading of 'small books' to all the 'little people' fill the power vacuum such that there were no further abuses? This was a print primarily concerned with explaining the problems and showing what would not work rather than proffering solutions that would. The one glimmer of hope was the spread of knowledge from the automaton to all the people but whether that would be sufficient to resolve any of the issues or prevent further abuses, Seymour left open.

But having made such a compelling point, Seymour then severely complicated the matter by framing the point as if were part of a sermon by Irving. As shown above, Irving was against the march of intellect and liberal values. Seymour's rendering of the caption's anti-mechanistic diatribe into the speech, manner and vocabulary of Irving was inspired. However, it also contributed to the dehumanising trend within prints to reduce Irving into a caricatured, ridiculed fanatic. Nevertheless, was the point that mechanisation could not solve their societal problems something to be taken seriously, or the enthusiastic rantings of a deluded fanatic? The viewer's perspective would depend upon their view of Irving and associated millennialists: if unfavourable, then this print could be viewed as the ravings of someone seeing monsters everywhere, even in their imagination as they conjured up this automaton; if favourable, this was a call to arms to resist mechanisation. But as to Seymour's own position on the matter, the framing left it ambiguous and for his viewers to discuss.

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RRR
Romance, Revolution & Reform

The Path of Least Resistance: Mapping the 1832 Reform Act and *Felix Holt*

DELPHINE GATEHOUSE

ABSTRACT: The 1832 Reform Act has been hailed as the best mapped piece of legislation of the century, and this from a country characterised by map historians as 'leading the map-making world with the most prolific output and the most innovatory technology ever known in cartographic history'[1]. This paper examines a cartographic corpus – of retrospective, interpretative maps – in relation to the riots and resistance associated with the passing of the Great Reform Act. By arguing that Eliot's *Felix Holt: The Radical* (1866) contributes to such a corpus, thanks to its concern with ideas of discretisation and summation, its aerial insistence and its belatedness, the paper attempts to cartographically contextualise traditional critique of *Felix Holt*'s much-debated conservatism and engages with the problems of using an archive to animate resistance.

KEYWORDS: Maps, George Eliot, 1832 Great Reform Act, *Felix Holt*, Representation, Realism

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> "Sit down, sit down," said Harold, as they entered the handsome, spacious library. But he himself continued to stand before a map of the county which he had opened from a series of rollers occupying a compartment among the bookshelves. "The first question, Mr. Jermyn, now you know my intentions, is, whether you will undertake to be my agent in this election, and help me through?[2]

In Chapter II of *Felix Holt: The Radical*, Harold Transome looks down at the faded county map and plans his political future. The map, covetously concealed in a compartment of his plush library, is not a logistical tool, not a means by which he intends to learn anything new; after all, he has just heard an up-to-date report on county politics from

[1] David Smith, *Victorian Maps of the British Isles* (London: Batsford Ltd, 1985), p. 11.

[2] George Eliot, *Felix Holt: The Radical* (London: Penguin Classics, 1995), p. 38.

his lawyer, Jermyn.[3] Rather, he seeks out the map to fantasise, because after a successful campaign, it will be his name that is lithographed onto county maps like these, as part of a tradition to stamp electoral divisions, polling stations, borough towns returning two members and, most importantly for Harold, parliamentary seats onto the surface of even the humblest regional map. Rummaging through his rollers in 1832, Harold is not to know that the Great Reform Act will become the best mapped piece of domestic legislation of the century, but George Eliot, writing three decades into Harold's future, does. This article shows how Eliot exploited a cartographic context to evoke the historical moment and to inform her characterisations. However, we also start to see how Eliot, looking back herself onto a gently faded picture of English life, encounters some of the representational difficulties well-known to the cartographer, especially in scenes which attempt to map political resistance.

Felix Holt: The Radical sees George Eliot returning to her earlier fictional domain – the Midlands – and to the past. Written in 1866, as debates upon the Second Reform Act were taking place in Parliament, *Felix Holt* describes the weeks following the passing of the 1832 Act. The town of Treby Magna has just been bestowed the 'new honour' of becoming a polling place, when Harold Transome, heir of Transome Court, returns from the Middle East. He loses no time in declaring himself the new Radical candidate, much to the consternation of his Tory mother. But his reasons, the narrative makes clear, are all wrong: vanity and opportunism. Meanwhile, the newly apprenticed doctor, Felix Holt, eschews the promise of a medical career in Glasgow and returns to Treby, his hometown, to become a watchmaker, thus enacting the kind of rooted existence so admired by Eliot and Cobbett alike. During Radical electioneering in the nearby mining town of Sproxton, Felix witnesses the 'treating' of workers with beer in exchange for support and becomes involved in the workers' cause and education – a stance that finds him accused of murder following election day riots.

[3] Before Harold reveals his "Radicalism" and leads Jermyn to the library, the lawyer stammers the following: 'This division of the county, you are aware, contains one manufacturing town of the first magnitude, and several smaller ones. The manufacturing interest is widely dispersed. So far—a—there is a presumption—a—in favor of the two Liberal candidates. Still, with a careful canvass of the agricultural districts, such as those we have round us at Treby Magna, I think—a—the auguries—a—would not be unfavorable to the return of a Conservative', Eliot, *Felix Holt: The Radical*, p. 38.

In his British Library Introduction to *Middlemarch,* John Mullan describes how the Great Reform Act 'redrew the map of parliamentary constituencies to make them more representative of the nation's population, doing away with so-called 'rotten' and 'pocket boroughs''[4]. But when Eliot's narrator muses about 'departed evils', the 'pocket boroughs' of the past and 'a Birmingham unrepresented in Parliament' it is with a knowing wink, for her contemporary readers are well aware, thanks to 1860s campaigns, of remaining pocket boroughs and of an ever-growing Birmingham still only represented by a very small number of enfranchised voters.[5] Because the Act which had been intended as an end-answer to early-century resistance, found itself, thirty-five years later, under pressure again, but this time from a much larger electorate, with devastating meets in Glasgow and Manchester, culminating in the 1866 Hyde Park riots.[6] It is in this environment that Eliot writes *Felix Holt*, and it is this combination of temporal belatedness with present relevance that has inspired most recent scholarship.[7]

Felix Holt's Critical History

While older criticism of the novel has often dwelt on Felix's call for 'slow' reform and addressed the 'failure of [its] realism', recent work tends to tackle the special periodicity embraced by a novel set just after 1832 but written just before 1867[8]. This article does not save Eliot from the former but does hope to contribute to the latter. By referring to the maps produced alongside the 1832 Reform Act, this piece will explore the spatialization of the politics of resistance in *Felix Holt* and attempt a contextual, cartographic re-reading of Eliot's mediation of the historical moment. Classical criticism

[4] John Mullan, *'Middlemarch:* reform and change', 15 May 2014, <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/middlemarch-reform-and-change> [accessed 08/01/2020].

[5] For more on 1860s Radical politics, see Miles Taylor, *The Decline of British Radicalism, 1847-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p. 173; for a contemporary cartographic response to Mancunian 'processions', see map of loyal and patriotic processions, Manchester, plotted on R. Creighton's map of parliamentary boundaries, 1832.

[6] For a guide on nineteenth-century reform, see Rohan McWilliams, *Popular Politics in Nineteenth-century England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).

[7] For a literary review on the controversy vis-à-vis the 1867 Act see Helen Kingstone, *Victorian Narratives of the Recent Past: Memory, History, Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 8.

[8] Catherine Gallagher, 'The Failure of Realism: Felix Holt', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, Vol. 35, No. 3, Special Issue: George Eliot, 1880-1980 (Dec. 1980), 372-384.

of the novel still stands, though; it is for good reason that Terry Eagleton condemns the 'double displacement' created by Mrs Transome and Felix's fundamental similarity, not least because Eliot herself declared 'Every difference is form' in 'Notes on Form in Art'[9]. Moreover, as many have pointed out, Felix wields almost as little political power as the dowager and inspires much less sympathy: 'the unabsorbed region of bleakness, nostalgia, and frustration with which nothing can be done politically [Mrs Transome's scenes] …protests by its sheer artistry'.[10] According to Eagleton, then, Felix is the 'false centre' of the novel, while Mrs Transome is its 'real but displaced' one – a democratisation of focal interest which is relevant to map-presentation and which will be discussed later. Eagleton is not the first to be struck by Mrs Transome's passages, with John Blackwood's appraisal of the two volumes noting the dowager above any other character, lauding the 'old lady's feelings' as 'so painfully true'.[11] In the same letter, Blackwood goes on to write – in a postscript ('I had nearly forgotten') – 'I suspect I am a radical of the Felix Holt breed, and so was my father before me'.[12] So, due to the essential cautiousness of the speech in Chapter XXX ('no fresh scheme of voting will much mend our condition'), Blackwood neither recognises Felix as the narrative centre (resigned as he is to the postscript), nor the political engine of the novel. What he does recognise, however, is generational continuity ('so was my father before me'), foreshadowing typical analysis of Felix as 'not opposed to change as long as it is accompanied by continuity'.[13]

The novel's 'pure, disinterested politics' (Catherine Gallagher's words again) are, Nancy Henry argues, the result of Eliot's dependence 'on representation of the facts' for her political views.[14] And it is this notion of representation that motivates this paper, being constitutive of two important contemporary technologies: realism and cartography. Ruth Livesey has identified 'the narrative's internalization of radicalism and the novel's dramatization of the active processes of memory', achieved by 'writing a

[9] Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology,* p. 117; George Eliot, 'Notes on Art in Form', 1868, *Selected Essays, Poems, and Other Writings*, ed. by A.S. Byatt and Nicholas Warren (London: Penguin Books, 1990).

[10] Eagleton, Ibid.

[11] John Blackwood to George Eliot, April 1866, *The George Eliot Letters*, Volume IV, ed. by Gordon Haight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 244.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Gallagher, 'The Politics of Culture and the Debate over Representation', p. 139.

[14] Ibid., p. 129; Henry, *The Cambridge Companion to George Eliot,* pp. 155-174.

recreative account of radicalism', and Michael Martel describes how 'Eliot prompts a desire for local political institutions and trains her readers in the cognitive skills needed to participate within them' – both scholars emphasising the importance of *processing* representation in order to reach a personalised, but somehow 'correct', political understanding.[15] Here is the bifold nature of both realist-fictional representation and cartographic representation: both technologies assume objectivity, despite their hyper-representational form, at the same time as offering a guide to individuals in order to help them orient the world. Given the novel's emphasis on 'the necessary humbug of representation' and the concurrence of George Eliot's realism with the emergence of Great Reform Act maps, it seems worth considering the novel's representational difficulties (or 'failures') in the light of contemporary cartography.[16] By so doing, we might add to scholarship on realism – such as Josephine McDonagh's assertion that 'mobility acts as the concealed trauma at the heart of individual identity in modern society, a trauma which realism attempts to heal' – to consider how maps – inert facilitators of mobility – deal with 'trauma' and resistance.[17]

It is not just the 1866 novel's subject-matter and temporality that makes it the right case-study for this kind of investigation, but also the aeriality of its narration. Its voice surveys Transome's freehold, Sir Maximus Barry's grounds, the geography of Treby Magna, the discretization (portioning into discrete parts) of Treby's surroundings, the peripheral, 'outlying' Sproxton, the female characters pacing around their rooms, and, most famously, the path of the mob. From this distance, Eliot has, according to her critics, tried artificially and unconvincingly to yoke different human experiences together for the sake of a larger artistic vision – the result of which, according to the likes of Eagleton, is flat characterisation. But it is this flatness and attempt at wholescale representation, engendered by the aerial vantage point and the historical distance from which she wrote, that conjures the era with far more eloquence than Felix's own speech. Ruth Livesey has written very persuasively on the stage coach's ability to 'reflect on the

[15] R. Livesey, *Writing the Stage Coach Nation*, p.199; Michael Martel, 'Reforming "Petty Politics!": George Eliot and the Politicization of the Local State' in *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 47, Issue 3 (Autumn 2019), 575-602.

[16] Eliot, *Felix Holt*, p. 181.

[17] Josephine McDonagh, 'Space, Mobility, and the Novel: "The spirit of a place is a great reality"' in *Adventures in Realism,* ed. by Matthew Beaumont (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), p. 65.

problematic of national feeling through local belonging', and, as Rachel Hewitt, on the Ordnance Survey, and Martin Spychal, on the Boundary Commission, are beginning to show, this is a problematic not only reflected but embodied by the map.[18] Thanks to the Boundary Commission and the Ordnance Survey, a paradox was emerging, whereby members of the public were more aware than ever of living within a boundary, and an officialised region, but also of their connection to surrounding areas, expanding fractally to include the entire nation[19]. By acknowledging the way cartographic issues infuse questions of local belonging and parliamentary representation and resistance in *Felix Holt,* we can start to see how the novel's so-called ambiguous stance is connotative of wider representational practices of the age.

The Cartographic Context

The First Reform Act of 1832 has been hailed as the most, and best, mapped piece of legislation of the century.[20] As Stephen Daniels's recent work explores, some maps born from 1832 were even given Display status.[21] For example, John Britton's 'Topographical Survey of the Borough of St Marylebone as Incorporated and Defined by Act of Parliament 1832' delineates a constituency that was only brought into being thanks to the Act, and commemorates 1832 in technicolour, replete with vignettes; it is a map that boasts 'a projection of manifold, overlapping movements of reform in the metropolis'.[22] These are special maps, though, and this paper is concerned with more general cartographic responses to the Act, responses which saw each proposed change from Parliament, as well as the final reforms, officially illustrated by Robert Kearsley Dawson on both county maps and town plans, alongside countless unofficial versions

[18] Livesey, *Writing the Stage Coach Nation,* p. 181.

[19] Rachel Hewitt, *The Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey* (London: Granta Books, 2013).

[20] Martin Spychal, 'Constructing England's Electoral Map: Parliamentary Boundaries and the 1832 Reform Act', 2017, University of London, PhD thesis; Smith, *Victorian Maps of the British Isles*, p. 39; for reasons why Victorian Britain's output would 'ultimately gain even greater fame than the Carte de Cassini' see Jerry Brotton, *A History of the World in Twelve Maps* (London: Penguin, 2013), p. 798.

[21] Daniels, Stephen, 'Mapping the metropolis in an age of reform: John Britton's London topography, 1820-1840' in *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 56 (2017), 61-82. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2016.12.010> [accessed 21/11/2019].

[22] Ibid.

by plagiarists such as Samuel Lewis. Franchise reforms throughout the century produced a vast range of interpretive cartographic material from private cartographers, with James Wyld's 'Map of England & Wales SHEWING THE STATE OF THE REPRESENTATION BEFORE THE REFORM BILL OF 1832. As amended by the Reform Bill of 1832 AND THE GOVERNMENT REFORM BILL as Proposed by LORD JOHN RUSSELL' (1860) being one of the best known.[23] Such maps narrated the impact of the reforms and were rarely entirely politically neutral. After all, Wyld was not only one of the century's most industrious private cartographers, but also Geographer to the Queen, as well as being Liberal MP for Bodmin from 1847 to 1852 and again from 1857 to 1868. He was instrumental in establishing the Association of Surveyors, promoted industrial schools in Manchester, Leeds and Bristol, and penned the County Financial Boards Bill, used in conjunction with the 1869 Select Committee report drafted by the more radical Forster.[24] Wyld and his peers, therefore, occupy an ambiguously liberal position in their cartographic representations of parliamentary reform.

Along with his theolodite, the cartographer also had retrospect as a tool. Elections throughout the century were followed by a spate of maps showing voting patterns, election districts and seat distribution, as we can see in the British Library's wonderful '[William] LANDER'S ELECTORAL DISTRICT MAP, OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF BRISTOL': 'THIS MAP, (COMPRISING A CIRCUIT OF NINE MILES FROM THE GUILDHALL,) INCLUDES THE QUALIFYING RESIDENCES OF THE CONSITUTUENCIES OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL, BOTH PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICPAL, Accurately Copied from the ORDNANCE SURVEY WITH Additions & CORRECTIONS TO THE YEAR 1840'.[25] Colour, too, becomes important. One of the most popular examples of retrospective electoral analysis was *Stanford's Handy Atlas and Poll Book of the Electoral Divisions* which represented the political parties by colours altered in accordance with the election results for each issue. Other smaller cartographic houses also published coloured maps showing parliamentary data: for example, Samuel Lewis's 1835

[23] James Wyld, 'A Map of England & Wales SHEWING THE STATE OF THE REPRESENTATION BEFORE THE REFORM BILL OF 1832. As amended by the Reform Bill of 1832 AND THE GOVERNMENT REFORM BILL as Proposed by LORD JOHN RUSSELL', 1860.

[24] Jill A. Sullivan, *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840–1910,* ed. by Joe Kember, John Plunkett and Jill A. Sullivan (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 22-23.

[25] William Lander, 'Lander's Electoral District Map of England', 1840, British Library (Maps 5060(2)).

'Devonshire. Engraved by J. & C. Walker. Drawn by R. Creighton'. In this map of Devonshire, county boundaries are highlighted in pink, electoral divisions in dark green, hundreds in yellow, blue and light green, with 'Places of Election' as blue squares, 'Polling Places' as black crosses and 'Borough Towns to return 2 Members' as red dots circled by black.[26] Seats – the names of MPs – were printed onto the surface of even the most everyday maps, sometimes in elaborate cursive, sometimes in the same font as town names.

These plans, therefore, serve as a visual reminder of the country's parliamentary structure, and could potentially act as visual prompts for popular resistance; after all, the maps represent imbalances, where they exist, as clear as day. However, whatever the cartographer's political leaning, they also entrench the idea that the very geography of the country belongs to certain men, because if post-Reform maps showed new MPs whose election was only made possible by the events of 1832, they also served to reiterate the type of men standing for election by printing their names onto the topography of their lithographed world, strengthening the sense of a landed political class. Britton's Display Map, for example, has 'PRINCIPAL LANDED ESTATES' in a larger font than the other descriptors in the map's title. It is my assertion that *Felix Holt* constitutes this large body of retrospective, interpretive, and ambiguously liberal cartographic material, because in trying to repossess a portion of England for her 'radical' Felix, Eliot also pays credence to the pains of the landed Transomes. By so doing, like the cartographers who invested in colour-coding and clear lettering to impress landed seats onto regions, however far from 'the mysterious distant system of things called "Gover'ment"', while also purporting to 'project' 'movements of reform', Eliot shows how the structure of rural politics is part of the blueprint of the country's cultural history[27]. It is partly this representational paradigm, inevitable in the cartographic context, that has seen Felix compared to a Marxian 'Bourgeois' and has so often encouraged critical focus on the novel's lack of real, resistant politics.[28]

[26] 'Devonshire. Engraved by J. & C. Walker. Drawn by R. Creighton.' Published by Samuel Lewis, 1835.

[27] Eliot, *Felix Holt,* p. 3.

[28] John Rignall, *George Eliot and Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1997), p. 96.

Characterisation: Private Estate Maps versus the Ordnance Survey

We will now trace our path into Transome Estate. Let us imagine the family name lithographed between little rectangles of property, Transome Court being the largest, the letters transposed above a series of symbols which denote the old oak grove. Peter Coveney, in his English Library introduction to the novel, spends a long time discussing the trees at Transome Court, and Josephine McDonagh and Ruth Livesey have both done important work in this area, too. But it is also worth drawing attention to the fact that trees – or rather their cartographic representation – can tell you something about the politics of a cartographer. In Chapter I, Mrs Transome endows the trees with social significance by declaring, in response to her son's surprising choice of candidacy, 'I did not think I was taking care of our old oaks for that. I always thought Radicals' houses stood staring above poor sticks of young trees and iron hurdles'[29]. Visualising the trees from 'above', Mrs Transome has an idea of her land being mapped using certain techniques over others.

Rachel Hewitt describes how 'The Ordnance Survey ironed out the idiosyncrasies of trees' with orchards 'arranged in neat ranks'. She uses the anecdote of the Dundas family watching as surveyors 'laid measuring chains along the length of the youngsters' favourite avenue of trees, translating the familiar Midlothian landscape into numbers, angles and lines on a map'; it is hard to imagine Mrs Transome watching with such impartiality[30]. Robert Kearsley Dawson based nearly all his Great Reform Act maps on Ordnance Survey data, so his symbols are, more or less, in keeping with the Ordnance's standardised (or certainly standardising, until 1853) keys and legends. In Dawson's maps, verdant areas are not even afforded a wash of green. However, some private cartographers, especially those funded by estates, favoured an earlier painterly approach. Take, for example, Frederic Young's beautiful map of the parish of Hawkhurst. This 1818 map remains an inventory of property despite the lush detail – land parcels are numbered and coloured using naturalistic modes of representation in order to make land-use graphically clear – but the meticulous detail, the shadows and the vivid multi-tonality of the trees in different seasonal modes, helps to create a map whose artistic sophistication bolsters the estate's importance as owned by Christ Church College, Oxford. It is this history of England with which Mrs Transome associates. Not

[29] Eliot, *Felix Holt*, p. 22.

[30] Hewitt, *The Map of a Nation,* p. 5.

for Mrs Transome, then, the crude black outlines, the 'neat ranks', of the Ordnance Survey trees; instead, she envisages the painterly mode expressed by conservative Young's map, where her 'old oaks' are densely packed, not sparse young 'sticks'. In Young's map, the trees are so substantial, so seemingly real, that they cast shadows, their tonality lending the map a deep textural quality. Both Young and Mrs Transome, then, are at pains to show woodlands with history, for if Mrs Transome's old oaks represent deep-time and rooted conservatism, the Radicals, by implication, do not have a history on the ground.[31]

It is worth considering how Young's impossible multi-seasonality is reminiscent of the opening of *Felix Holt*, where the reader is shown 'silvered the meadows', 'golden corn-ricks', 'bushy hazels', 'bushy willows', 'pale pink dog-roses', 'catkined hazels', 'blackberry branches' and, 'if it were winter', 'the scarlet haws, the deep-crimson hips, with lingering brown leaves'[32]. This passage is convincingly read by Livesey as an expression of 'wish fulfilment'; it is, Livesey points out, 'an extraordinary exercise in the subjunctive' (the narrator 'supposes' and repeats 'perhaps' three times).[33] Not, of course, that Eliot is simply suggesting the past was a haven – the irony of her 'reminiscences' of pocket boroughs and an unrepresented Birmingham has already been mentioned; instead, exactly as Livesey argues, Eliot is exposing a past that was always-already unstable. However, while Livesey identifies the workings of 'hopeful memory' in this passage – the possibility of using creative memory as a means for revived national hope, as proposed in *Theophrastus Such* – there is no such hope for Mrs Transome in her wish to maintain a certain vision of England and to resist the new one.[34] Because even though estate mapping continued, and despite the fact that the 'Ordnance Survey maps never had the monopoly on geographical information', we start to see estate mappers, like C. & J. Greenwood, discarding the older painterly mode and replacing it with Ordnance techniques in a fairly comprehensive way (although Greenwood does use a green wash).[35] Therefore, Mrs Transome's anxiety is imbued

[31] For more on topography as a way of visualising nationhood see Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

[32] Eliot, *Felix Holt*, pp. 3-4.

[33] Livesey, *Writing the Stage Coach Nation,* p. 181-2.

[34] Ibid., p. 182.

[35] Hewitt, *The Map of a Nation,* p. 311.

with the pathos of knowing her own resistance is pointless; the 1860s reader can already date the dowager's wishful self-representation as fatally passé.

Stick trees therefore aren't just stick trees, but proof of foregone conclusions; after all, as Harold Transome recognises, the 'Tory oaks are rotting'.[36] The sticks are emblems of the brave new world represented by documents accompanying the Great Reform Act: a world of mass politics, a world with a burgeoning electorate and a rearranged world, in which the old county, parish and estate maps had been challenged by a project to organise Britain into a simpler format, which sliced the country into neat rectangles reflecting sheet sizes, according to a standardised approach. Map fashions, especially those born from state-funded enterprises, are efficient at overwriting the past; as we have seen with Dawson and Greenwood, once trees become sticks, they tend to stay that way, because cartographers no longer need to ingratiate themselves upon estate owners. Thanks to new financial solvency, cartographers had no reason to add 'that kind of information which will give pleasure to peregrinations' so important to eighteenth-century map-making.[37]

Standardisation, and the elision of pleasurable peregrinations, evokes a 'barren' world for Mrs Transome, but also for the narrator in the Introduction, who laments the modern pace of life which 'may be shot, like a bullet through a tube', the bullet, unlike the train it symbolises, only ever travelling in one direction.[38] This journey, says the narrator, 'can never lend much to picture and narrative; it is as barren as an exclamatory O!'. Although maps are not explicitly mentioned in this representation of a world lacking in picture and narrative, it is worth remembering that rail lines through hills ('bullet through a tube') relied on Ordnance Survey technology, given it was survey data that was used in supplying evidence to the Select Committee on the Railway Bills in 1845. 'Stick trees' and the exclamation 'O!' refer to ideas of delineation and meaning-making, with abstracted symbols consolidating their meaning in a key and exclamations existing as ciphers of tone and implicature. Thus, Eliot shows the different forms of meaning-making functioning in her historical moment and exploits the social implications of contrasting mapping techniques in order to characterise and contextualise Mrs Transome's anxiety.

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[36] Eliot, *Felix Holt*, p. 22.

[37] Advertisement (1790) cited in David Smith, *Victorian Maps of the British Isles,* p. 34.

[38] Eliot, *Felix Holt*, p. 3.

It is by coinciding the 'sheer artistry' of her scenes with the pointlessness of her resistance (against standardised representation) that Eliot uses Mrs Transome to trace a clear middle path politically. John Kucich has written about the 'organic appeals' in *Felix Holt*, whereby characters 'consent' to the relocation of 'paternalism to impersonal state structures'.[39] The novel, Kucich argues, offers a 'robustly corporatist vision' which was taken up by the New Liberals.[40] However, Mrs Transome, who is not mentioned in Kucich's article, is not afforded the luxury of consent. Her son, on the other hand, despite being characterised by maps early in the novel when he comes back from the East and boasts 'All the country round here lies like a map in my brain' – proving his essential disconnection (Edward Stanford described early nineteenth-century maps as 'merely a record of the state of things some years back') and thus the 'essential emptiness of his radicalism' – is given the opportunity, after learning the truth about his father, to choose to be 'the character of a gentleman' through repeated future acts of good conduct.[41] Fixed in representational methods of the past, Mrs Transome cannot partake of the 'organic appeal'. The quasi-Grecian tragedy of her scenes – the 'sheer artistry' – is therefore politically neutral. This is not the 'limit' of Eliot's realism, as Knoepflmacher has it, but the strategy; while progressivism can be inferred from the development of other characters, Eliot's 'nostalgia' or 'conservatism' is allowed free-reign when dealing with representations of life that cannot now be retrieved.[42] It is by this means that Eliot steers away from an allegiance to 'mid-century political parties and their predictable hesitations over centralization' and finds relative neutrality *through* representation.[43]

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[39] John Kucich, 'The "Organic Appeal" in Felix Holt: Social Problem Fiction, Paternalism, and the Welfare State' *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (Summer 2017), 609-635, p. 609.

[40] Kucich, 'The "Organic Appeal" in Felix Holt ', p. 609.

[41] Eliot, *Felix Holt*, p.22; Edward Stanford, 'A re´sume´ of the publications of the Ordnance and Geological Surveys of England and Wales: with indexes to the 1-inch maps of the British Isles: and a supplement on methods of map mounting' (1891), (David Archer, 1994); David Kurnick, 'Felix Holt: Love in the Time of Politics', *A Companion to George Eliot*, eds. Amanda Anderson, Harry E. Shaw (New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), p. 146; Eliot, *Felix Holt*, p. 457.

[42] U. C. Knoepflmacher, *George Eliot's Early Novels: The Limits of Realism* (California: University of California Press, 1968).

[43] Kucich, 'The "Organic Appeal"', p. 609.

Mapping a Politics of Resistance

Thus far, this article has considered the novel with reference to material maps. Now, we move to the novel's climax, the riot scene, with reference to the verb and the metaphor – to map – to see how Eliot's own narrative approach shares some of the representational methods of cartography. The scene is arguably the most cartographic of the novel, insofar as the narrative voice maps the course of the diluvial mob through different localities in great detail. In this episode of populist but irrational resistance, a new sense of self emerges: individuals become a mob and Felix becomes a murderer. Strikingly, the new sense of self is formulated in terms of an individual's sense of mapped space. To understand how the riot scene plays with the discretisation of the novel's landscape, we return to the opening of Chapter XI:

> 'Felix was going to Sproxton that Sunday afternoon. He always enjoyed his walk to that outlying hamlet; it took him (by a short cut) through a corner of Sir Maximus Debarry's park; then across a piece of common, broken here and there into red ridges below dark masses of furze; and for the rest of the way alongside of the canal, where the Sunday peacefulness that seemed to rest on the bordering meadows and pastures was hardly broken if a horse pulled into sight… This canal was only a branch of the grand trunk, and ended among the coal-pits, where Felix, crossing a network of black tram-roads, soon came to his destination'[44].

The landscape, here, is cartographically plotted: the park is conceived as a shape with corners; the language of 'ridges' and 'dark masses' borrows from the visual language of hachure-shaded maps; the meadows and pastures exist through their borders; and Eliot traces the infrastructural lines of canals and black tram-roads. The latter's suggestion of the landscape's reach ('only a branch of the grand-trunk') dramatises Eliot's decision to portion off a section of land from the larger region of Loamshire for her narrative purposes. This is typical of Eliot's technique, as we have seen in *Adam Bede* when Adam observes 'in one view nearly all the other typical features' while the narrator famously acknowledges 'he might have seen other beauties in the landscape if he had turned'.[45] By acknowledging the artificial delineation of space which every

[44] Eliot, *Felix Holt*, p. 127.

[45] George Eliot, *Adam Bede* (London: Penguin Classics, 2008), p. 23.

map-maker must perform, she reinforces the idea of the underlying reality of the world she describes[46].

Grammatically, the opening to Chapter XI is reminiscent of a passage from *Janet's Repentance* (1858), where the reader is moved between geographical compartments as Eliot's narrator moves conjunctively between clauses:

> 'Janet's way thither lay for a little while along the high-road, and then led her into a deep-rutted lane, which wound through a flat tract of meadow and pasture, while in front lay smoky Paddiford, and away to the left…'[47]

These conjunctions replace the stasis of a map but also rely on a mentally-fixed one; Felix and Janet's movement across their landscapes communicates and solidifies the reality of a pre-existing map. However, although these clausal arrangements strengthen the sense of 'realist' indexicality, they also condemn Felix and Janet to the two-dimensional. With this 'field of vision' established at the beginning of Chapter XI, it will become difficult to appreciate the dilemmas of lived-politics at work within the minds of rioters, without the author telling the reader in a narrative interjection. This is the realist paradigm – the attempt to show depth (questions of morality, for Eliot) through an insistence on surface – which McDonagh explores in her chapter in *Adventures in Realism.* In this volume, McDonagh concludes that realism 'secretes' space and that the mobility made possible by modernity – the 'secret subject' of realist novels – 'heals trauma'.[48] But by 'secreting space' behind a map, we can also start to see how realism 'heals' emotional and political turbulence (or trauma) by flattening and eliding it, and it does so by adopting the simultaneity involved in map-reading.

The confusion engendered by the mob breaks down the compartments established on Felix's walk. We no longer lazily trace the line of the canal but speed

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[46] 'The cartographer makes a series of simultaneous judgements involving his personal concept of the statistical surface, his concept of the most desirable degree of generalisation and his selection of a mathematical process for classing the data. These three judgements control and shape a generalised statistical surface, which is then symbolised to represent the abstract data. If the cartographer makes these judgements through rational processes he can transmit his concept of the distribution to the reader and the map reader is obligated to realise that this is a selected generalisation', George F. Jenks, 'Generalization in Statistical Mapping', in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (Taylor & Francis Ltd), Vol. 53, No. 1, (Mar., 1963), p. 26.

[47] George Eliot, *Janet's Repentance*, Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. 82, 1857, p. 537.

[48] McDonagh, 'Space, Mobility, and the Novel' in *Adventures in Realism*, pp. 50-68.

along 'fitfully' in the wake of the 'flood'[49]. The flood obscures the map – an idea that Eliot developed in *The Mill on the Floss*: 'the immeasurable watery level' of 'the overflooded fields'; Maggie's cry 'O God, where am I? Which is the way home?' at recognising 'there was no colour, no shape'; and her longing to 'catch some faint suggestion of the spot [of home]' upon the 'dismal watery level'.[50] Once the mob is mobilised in *Felix Holt*, the whole region is suddenly compressed; a 'galloping messenger' flies to Duffield and the Rector of Treby Magna has already written 'an indignant message and sent it to the Ram'.[51] Even 'the bordering meadows and pastures' are infused with speed, as the mob spots a 'speedy opening between hedgerows'.[52]. And once the final call 'to Treby Manor!' goes up, we are almost immediately in Treby Park. Thanks to the pace, the narrative shifts from a compartmentalisation of space to its summation – the same movement that sees one subject (Felix) become a summarised crowd. Narrative interjections, during which we might hear the rioters' reasons for resistance and Felix's reasons for joining, are sacrificed for speed. This countermanding of explanation for speed, of focus for summation, enacts the graphic logic of the map, where data appears simultaneously on one page. Simultaneity in maps is made possible by the aerial perspective – a perspective that pervades the moments of political resistance in this novel.

Despite Chapter XXXIII starting with the Shakespearian epigraph 'Mischief thou art *afoot*', the crowd is repeatedly plotted from above: the rector reads the Riot Act from a balcony; Mr Crow reads it from a window at the Seven Stars and then from even higher at 'an upper window'; and Felix is 'observed by several persons looking anxiously from their upper windows'[53]. This stratification, which ensures the reader also looks down at the crowd from above, struggles to grasp the pedestrian ('afoot') subjectivities subsumed within it and opens up a space of relationality, where different bodies have difficulty interpreting one another across space. Crucially, the epigraph is almost immediately problematised by the ominous 'at present there was no evidence of any

[49] Eliot, *Felix Holt*, p. 312.

[50] George Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1993), Book VIII, Chapter V.

[51] Eliot, *Felix Holt*, pp. 312-3.

[52] Eliot, *Felix Holt*, p.127; Eliot, *Felix Holt,* p. 317.

[53] Eliot, *Felix Holt*, p. 311; Eliot, *Felix Holt,* p. 312; Eliot, *Felix Holt,* p. 315.

distinctly mischievous design'. As Felix joins the crowd, the ground-level 'afoot' becomes the over-arching 'design' in a matter of a few lines; the temporal adverb foreshadows Felix's imminent loss of personal agency, warning us that a whole-scale gaze, one which gives preference to summation, will soon obscure his motives to onlookers[54].

The new sense of space engendered by this summarising, aerial perspective transforms Felix into an accidental murderer, when he leaves a man for dead at a 'finger post' (a symbol of intersecting spatial compartments). Andrew Piper, in his work on Goethe, has diagnosed 'a new sense of space and subjectivity according to the principle of stratification, discretization and relativity' which emerged in Western Europe in the 1800s, in the wake of cartographic pioneers such as Keferstein, William Smith, Lavoisne, Stieler and Berghaus: 'from the stratification of temporal consciousness, the disaggregation of the perception of different scales of space and self, and finally to the relationality of spatial perception that helped shatter the exclusivity of notions of space and species and ushered in a new relativity of the idea of 'location''.[55] Eliot addresses the 'new' 'relationality of spatial perception' in two, fundamentally ambiguous, ways. Firstly, she avoids creating a single 'people's centre' in opposition to the estate, by shifting narrative interest across Loamshire and by having the 'outlying' Sproxton coexist with 'the other nucleus, known as the Old Pits'. This democratisation of focal interest allows for many nuclei, depending on where each member of the growing electorate calls home, and informs her evocation of the grand 'central plain' of England and the instability of a middling identity in the Introduction. Secondly, she places Felix in front of a window at Treby Manor:

> '[H]e had approached the large window of a room, where a brilliant light suspended from the ceiling showed him a group of women clinging together in terror…[H]e kept his post in front of the window, and, motioning with his sabre, cried out to the oncomers, Keep back!'[56]

[54] Eliot, *Felix Holt*, p. 311.

[55] Andrew Piper, Mapping Vision: Goethe, Cartography and the Novel', *Spatial Turns: Space, Place, and Mobility in German Literary and Visual Culture*, ed. by Jaimey Fisher and Barbara Mennel (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), p. 32.

[56] Eliot, *Felix Holt,* p. 320.

The problems of visualisation thrown up by the transparent but soundproof window – problems fully discussed in Isobel Armstrong's *Victorian Glassworlds* – could not be clearer: separated in the discrete locations of drawing room and front court, the perception of the women and that of the sabre-brandishing rioter himself will never align, and so Felix will be sentenced.

Andrew Piper's discussion on 'the stratification of temporal consciousness' derives from a study on geological maps, but geology is not what interests Eliot in *Felix Holt.*[57] In the 1866 novel, a stratified temporal consciousness is one also associated with the methodology of using source materials as a way into the past.[58] Eliot is writing the novel belatedly, just as James Wyld and Samuel Lewis continued to interpret past franchise reforms throughout the century; novelist and cartographers, alike, proving the cultural urgency to reinterpret mapped space provoked by the Great Reform Act. Eliot's insistence on aeriality when framing the riot scene marks the archival location of her narrative; the Riot Act is read from a distance of altitude – an altitude which ensures the inefficacy of the address on the movement of the people below. Eliot tried to combat the difficulty of historical altitude, of recapturing a 'spirit of the age' in retrospect, by researching extensively: her notebooks at the time of planning famously include passages from Henry Hallam's *View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages,* 1833 Parliamentary Reports on Agriculture, the 1835 Report of the Select Commission into Bribery at Elections, the Annual Register for 1832, accounts of the Nuneaton riots, Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* and, of course, Samuel Bamford's *Passages from the Life of a Radical*. It is possible, then, that the 'mapped riot' dramatises Eliot's struggle to penetrate the flatness of the archival materials she consulted to show the real, human unrest of the time.

The quick translation of 'mischief thou art afoot' into 'at present there was no evidence of any distinctly mischievous design' suggests that ground-level experience cannot help but be subsumed into overview *because* of temporal distance – a syntactic inevitability characterised by the mixed tenses of 'at present there was'. That Eliot

[57] Although they do elsewhere, particularly in *The Mill on the Floss* and *Daniel Deronda*, as Adelene Buckland shows in *Novel Science: Fiction and the Invention of Nineteenth-Century Geology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

[58] For more on Eliot's research for the novel, see Fred C. Thomson, 'The Genesis of Felix Holt', Publications of the Modern Language Association of America (PMLA), 74 (1959), 576-84.

witnessed real, political resistance as a thirteen-year-old is unimportant both in her planning and in the events she chooses to describe in the novel. Instead of trusting her memory of 21 December 1832, she seeks out, one imagines 'from a series of rollers', the account of the trial of the Nuneaton rioters in *The Times*, 9 April 1833.[59] This is both connotative of Eliot's characteristically rigorous research approach but also of the 'abnegation of self in subservience to the archive' noticed by Helen Kingstone.[60] For Victorian writers, Kingstone argues, there was no need for memory, as 'facts themselves' offered 'the impersonal objectivity comparable to collective hindsight'[61]. So it is with 'abnegation', not Harold's vanity, that Eliot retrieves archival materials 'from a series of rollers occupying a compartment among the bookshelves', but the effect is similar. Both Eliot and her character, look to the source in order to draw an alternate reality. But if the source has its graphic biases then so, too, does the ensuing representation.

In *Felix Holt: The Radical,* Eliot lets an extraordinarily active period in British mapping infuse her mediation of the historical moment. The construction of England's electoral maps offered Eliot a print-culture parallel, whereby movements of reform could be sketched at the same time as graphic significance was given to a landed gentry that had stayed put. She also exploits the differences between a growing state-funded industry and the continued presence of private estate mappers to inform her characterisations. By so doing, she carves a middle path that is contextually informed, not 'pure and disinterested'. However, by using the map motif in partnership with a narrative mode that aims to capture 'the real', she risks repeating the same flattening and summarising techniques of the cartographers who continued to delineate the effects of 1832 retrospectively throughout the century. This is particularly pertinent in the riot scene. The 'objectivity' promoted by the cartographic gaze risks belittling Felix's

[59] John W. Cross (ed.), *George Eliot's Life as Related in her Letters and Journals*, vol. I (Edinburgh and London, 1885), pp. 27-9; Thomson, 'The Genesis of Felix Holt', p. 579.

[60] Helen Kingstone, *Victorian Narratives of the Recent Past: Memory, History, Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 43.

[61] Ibid.

personal and era-specific motives for political resistance; after all, 'reduced to a map, our premises seem insignificant'.[62]

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[62] Eliot, *Felix Holt,* p.111

RRR
Romance, Revolution & Reform

Gender and Social Resistance in Marie Corelli's *The Young Diana*

ERIN LOUTTIT

ABSTRACT: This article explores *The Young Diana*'s subversive depiction of social norms and the novel's particularly complex representation, given Corelli's conservative brand of feminism. In this novel, Corelli's depiction of feminine disempowerment and control showcase an almost militant response to social attitudes that prize women exclusively for sexual attractiveness to men, but which consistently undervalue or despise female intellectual achievements. The eponymous heroine's initial confinement within culturally-constructed female roles – daughter, fiancée, spinster – is overturned when, after being used as the subject of a scientific experiment, she regains her physical youth and beauty. The heroine's allure to men of all ages becomes, in this work, an instrument of retribution and a social commentary on the standards by which women are unequally judged, arguing for greater equality – of a kind – between the sexes.

KEYWORDS: gender, science fiction, rebellion, romance, feminism, human experimentation

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IN THE LATE Victorian period as well as in the early years of the twentieth century, Marie Corelli's name was constantly before the reading public.[1] She sold thousands of copies and her novels were widely read, as well as widely pilloried by critics who styled her writings as popular in the most pejorative sense of the term. What was inescapable was the fact that Corelli 'rightly or wrongly, certainly occupies the most conspicuous position among our English women-novelists.'[2] Inevitably, such success could not be sustained,

[1] This article is dedicated to the memory of Nickianne Moody. Her professional work on Corelli was pioneering, and her personal thoughtfulness is already missed.

[2] Horace B. Samuel, *Modernities* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1914), p. 114.

and she fell out of fashion. The image of Corelli that has come down to us is one in which the negative elements all too frequently dominate. That she could be combative, and worse, with reviewers, publishers and other authors, has become inextricably linked to critical assessments of her fiction. So too, her very contemporary relevance and popularity can make her seem out of joint with a later era of readers nearly a century after her death. As one critic explains, 'Designated as popular "trash," her writings have fallen ready victim to cultural amnesia while those elements of Corelli's life that best accord with our vision of the popular author as crass simpleton or pompous crackpot have been retained.'[3] This lack of interest, other than in specialist critical circles, is a pity, as she has plenty to say. Subjects that frequently feature in her work include religion, broadly defined, contemporary society and unequal relations between the sexes. *The Young Diana* (1918), a much later work than the titles usually associated with Corelli's name, touches on all of these in an unequivocal and uncompromising fashion, though to date it has received relatively little critical attention. The comparative neglect of this particular book in favour of her place within fin-de-siècle literary culture and the history of the romance novel is unsurprising, as the work falls most decidedly outside the period of her greatest popularity. Nonetheless, its significance to the body of her writing should not remain overlooked. *The Young Diana*'s explicit engagement with questions of women's intellect, family expectations and female employment constitutes a remarkable late-career addition to Corelli's advancement of women's rights and particularly highlights the need for independent-minded women to resist social constrictions and to assert their equality.

Corelli combined progressive and traditional attitudes to women's roles. In spite of her socially conservative views, her professionalism enabled her to navigate successfully the literary marketplace of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The ostensible contradictions of her beliefs and actions which appear elsewhere in her life can easily be seen, as with her views on women's rights, through

[3] Christine Ferguson, *Language, Science and Popular Fiction in the Victorian 'Fin-de-Siècle': The Brutal Tongue* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 49.

the single lens of her opposition to female suffrage. This aspect of her outlook, however, only reveals part of her beliefs, and taken alone represents a distorting perspective. Her rather complex opinions on women's rights prove more difficult to translate into twenty-first-century political terms, but Corelli strongly supported women's artistic and professional freedom, and in her fiction and non-fiction she wrote with great conviction about the social and domestic pressures exerted on women to sacrifice their intellect and ambitions for the sake of their families, their husbands and society in general. The 'boundless popularity' her writing enjoyed gave her the opportunity to create heroines who similarly embodied conservative yet independent values.[4] In striking this balance, Corelli occupied a terrain similar to but distinct from that of many of her contemporaries who published New Woman novels. As one critic has succinctly observed, the 'New Woman as a category was by no means stable,' and Corelli's fiction, while emphatically not considered New Woman fiction, frequently contains parallel tensions.[5] These heterogenous elements have been seen as a divide between 'commercialized popular literature' and 'polemic fiction', with the former frequently featuring New Women characters who were 'attractive, independent, highly intelligent young women entering a range of professions before (almost invariably) falling in love.'[6] Corelli resolutely refuses the 'polemic' of authors such as Olive Schreiner or Mona Caird, but she just as clearly often eschews the domestic happy endings of novels such as Grant Allen's *Miss Cayley's Adventures* (1899). At the same time, her heroines are often young, physically beautiful and clever, and they struggle to find their way in a society that does not know how or where to place them.

[4] Thomas F. G. Coates and R. S. Warren Bell, *Marie Corelli; the Writer and the Woman* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co., 1903), p. 18-19.

[5] Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the* Fin de Siècle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 10.

[6] Chris Willis, '"Heaven defend me from political or highly educated women!": Packaging the New Woman for Mass Consumption', in *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fin-de-Siècle Feminisms,* ed. by Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 53-65 (p. 53).

While sharing some of the traits of New Woman protagonists, Corelli's heroines appear in novels that span her career and frequently portray varying types of conflict specifically depicted in gendered terms. In *Ziska* (1897), the narrative blends the supernatural with issues of gender and inequality to create a hybrid contemporary spirituality that 'defies a strict dogma or practice but is adaptable, modern, keeping pace with its milieu.'[7] The eponymous Ziska, reincarnated alongside the man who murdered her centuries previously, is able through this preternatural second chance to act out a form of revenge. This vengeance, it should be stressed, is seen as bringing about a kind of natural balance in a world that disadvantages women, and particularly women made vulnerable through their love for and devotion to unworthy and cruel men.

The Young Diana also addresses gender inequality through the fantastic but avoids doing so in a sensationalist way. In Corelli's works, supernatural means of redressing the divine balance are not seen as exotic or horrifying, but as natural phenomena imperfectly understood by mankind. This element of the narrative appears in other novels with such steampunk creations as Morgana Royal's airship in *The Secret Power* (1921) and Rafel Santoris's vessel in *The Life Everlasting* (1911), and a supernaturally influenced, futuristic science as an unexceptional part of life is also in evidence in *The Young Diana*. The novel's very beginning emphasises its own apparent normality. The heroine's parents are '"very well-to-do people," with a pleasantly suburban reputation for respectability and regular church attendance.'[8] The scene is not quite set for an idyllic domestic narrative, however, as Diana's prim and proper progenitors are revealed to be selfish, smug and unable to restrain their desires (her mother is a glutton, for example) while their daughter is described as an intelligent and thoughtful woman. The plot undercuts the idea of a contented prosperous family very

[7] Tatiana Kontou and Sarah Willburn, 'Introduction', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Nineteenth-Century Spiritualism and the Occult* ed. by Tatiana Kontou and Sarah Willburn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp.1-16, (p. 8).

[8] Marie Corelli, *The Young Diana: An Experiment of the Future* (London: Hutchinson, 1918), p. 9.

effectively and significantly does so well before the overtly fantastical elements of the plot appear. Diana possesses all the talents that a heroine might wish for — she has a decent knowledge of languages, reads poetry and literature, manages the household skilfully and efficiently and possesses knowledge of all the latest scientific discoveries and theories. Her talents remain unrecognised and her social standing is diminished solely because she is over forty and single. In a novel concerned with 'the social value of unmarried women,' Corelli introduces her heroine as in many ways a stereotypical Victorian ideal woman.[9] Diana certainly exemplifies Corelli's pen portraits of 'the catch-twenty-two of women's experience, caught between the demands of a superior individual nature and social circumstances in which that superiority is not always recognized or rewarded.'[10] In her role as a dutiful daughter, Diana excels at all things domestic, from flower arranging and the perfect boiling of an egg to managing the servants and economising. Despite her innate gifts, her parents do not appreciate her, viewing her as disruptive of their personal ease at best and obtrusive at worst. In the past, they had rated her only for her youth and beauty and therefore for her potential to marry advantageously. As an individual, their daughter was not seen as intrinsically valuable.

This seemingly cynical authorial view of Victorian domestic life is further emphasised when it is revealed precisely how Diana came to be single. She was engaged to, and faithfully waited for, an officer. In this, as in her behaviour towards her parents, Diana exhibits all of the traits essential to a daughter, wife and mother. Corelli is unflinching in her depiction of the reward with which such love and devotion are met: having waited years to marry, Diana's fiancé heartlessly breaks off their protracted engagement and marries a younger woman as soon as he comes into money. Diana by this time is seen as too old to have any chance of success on the marriage market,

[9] Annette R. Federico, *Idol of Suburbia: Marie Corelli and Late-Victorian Literary Culture* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), p. 100.

[10] Kristen Guest, 'Rewriting Faust: Marie Corelli's Female Tragedy', *Victorians Institute Journal*, 33 (2005), 149-177 (pp. 154-155).

and her parents accordingly treat her in a manner not altogether different than her fiancé did. The social demands placed upon Diana as a daughter and as a potential wife are depicted as identical and she is equally devalued by those who should respect them most.

Where the novel is particularly radical, even within Corelli's oeuvre, is in its treatment of the theme of the put-upon offspring in the decisive break Diana creates for herself. She overhears her parents arguing, explicitly saying that she 'has spoilt her life and mine too' and that she 'is *in the way*.'[11] This 'final disillusion of my life,' distressing though it is, releases her.[12] She mourns the loss of the family bonds but decides to take the hurtful revelation as an opportunity to live an independent life – which is precisely what she does. Her liberation from her own social constraints paradoxically provides her parents with freedom from their own restraints. Selfish though their release is, the mere fact that it requires Diana's death or supposed death indicates how limiting their roles as parents are. Diana's parents believe she is '*in the way*' for purely selfish reasons, yet the novel gestures to the constraining nature of the family relationship. Diana has escaped marriage, but domestic ties irk and sour her parents and her former fiancé. The institution of marriage in the way it works in modern society is to blame for some, though by no means all, of the discontent among Diana's immediate circle. The breakdown of relations is due partly to those relations being so strictly enforced by the society in which the Mays live, a point Dimitrius later emphasises in a subtler fashion when he speaks of his mother's purpose in life as marrying and raising a child. The novel supports his dismissive opinion in its broader sense even as it questions the grand egotism of his sense of self-worth implicit in what he claims.

The novel repeatedly employs this dual criticism of individuals and society. Many of the characters have deeply unsympathetic aspects to their personalities, and that they form adversaries from whom Diana must break free is never in doubt. Yet despite this antagonism and the clear need for Diana to rebel against them and all that they

[11] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 43, italics in original.

[12] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 64.

represent, the novel hints that they can only be precisely what they are. They have been shaped by their constrictive social environment and are incapable of rising above it. Diana's parents are respected citizens within their own community, and, viewed from the community's restricted perspective, it is Diana who is the anomaly. The fact that such unpleasant people are well-regarded suggests that the fault lies primarily with the society and culture that exalts and defers to such self-interested people and such neglectful parents.

The novel further demonstrates that the cycle of physical and material unhappiness perpetuates itself in more than one generation. Just as Diana's parents grow increasingly physically unattractive and emotionally more juvenile as they age, so too do Captain Cleeve (her ex-fiancé) and his wife follow the example set by the previous generation, and there is every likelihood that their equally unlovely offspring will tread the same path of unhappy marriage and parenthood. Diana's escape from matrimony is providential, as she comes to realise subsequently. Both Cleeve and her father deceive themselves by not believing that any kind of relation, socially sanctioned or extramarital, constitutes part of their unhappiness. Diana's mother had certainly experienced a similar, though less overt, disappointment when her own earlier life had not turned out as hoped. She had been 'commonplace, certainly, but good-natured and willing to make the best of everything; needless to say that the illusions of youth vanished with the first years of wedded life (as they are apt to do), and she had gradually sunk into a flabby condition of resigned nonentity, seeing there was nothing else left for her.'[13] Diana's father and former fiancé, less mature, prove unwilling to concede any fault on their side or on society's. They place the blame upon their wives while lacking the self-awareness to see that their own trajectory has been identical to that of their spouses. As her friend Sophy Lansing had understood long before Diana's experiment, it is not entirely marriage itself that is problematic but the social expectations surrounding it and that joining a couple curtails a woman's freedom entirely. It is this

[13] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 8.

surrender of personal identity that Sophy resists. Similar efforts to take over a woman's personality are also seen in the various attempts that Dimitrius, Cleeve and Diana's father all make to control her after the completion of the experiment, even if none take the form of a marriage proposal. That none make an offer of marriage suggests how fundamental such assumptions are and that they underlie not only legal marriage but also all unequal gendered relationships, indicating how disadvantageous these relationships are to women. That the novel stresses Diana's perspective is unsurprising, but in showing how she fails to fit into unjust social structures while other characters conform to those identical structures, Corelli's general critique of a society that must be resisted is extended well beyond the limits of the protagonist.

Diana's personal radicalism is of a very quiet sort, and throughout she remains, like many of the early New Women, a 'fashionably feminine feminist.'[14] She emphatically does nothing blameworthy in leaving, as her rejection of her role as a daughter only arises when denial of her true, subservient, position becomes impossible. Having been denigrated by her parents, Diana comes to realise how such attitudes to women degrade both those who hold them and those who are the subject of them. Her awakening guides readers to a more inclusive view of the worth of middle-aged, unmarried women and the harmful social standards that injure them. Rather than embodying active revolt, Diana embraces a sorrowful acceptance of her new status. By doing so because this change is thrust upon her, rather than seeking it herself, her subsequent actions become more sympathetic and more in keeping with a conservative but emphatic feminism than they would have been had she espoused an explicitly radical cause from the start. Diana is 'inherently spiritual' as many of Corelli's heroines are, and her hard-won higher wisdom augments her initial morally correct choices.[15] As this source of wisdom comes from outside herself, Diana's rebellion remains an

[14] Ann Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction: Women Writing First-Wave Feminism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), p. 194.

[15] Sharon Crozier-De Rosa, *The Middle Class Novels of Arnold Bennett and Marie Corelli: Realising the Ideals and Emotions of Late Victorian Women* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010), p. 259.

externally advanced course of action that this meek woman is compelled to adopt, not one which she wilfully wishes to follow herself. Her revolt against social constrictions are the actions of a woman driven to act thus after all socially acceptable behaviour has been tried and found, not only insufficient, but harmful.

Diana's ostensible drowning highlights her determination and rebellion against the social strictures binding her even as her youthful rebirth and seeming immortality advance Corelli's 'significant contribution to the popular debate on the afterlife' and develop ideas propounded elsewhere in Corelli's fiction.[16] In one regard, the more surprising element of Diana's decision is not that she pretends to have died, but that she seeks work to support herself outside the social rank into which she was born. That she must leave the country in order to do so highlights how conservative her parents' milieu was. Diana's rebellion against feminine conformity thus begins significantly earlier in the novel than the science fiction elements that more overtly enable her rejection of gendered behaviour. She rebels against the life roles she is expected to adopt – either that of unambitious married woman or rapidly aging, unmarried daughter. Upon seeing Dimitrius's advertisement she realises what she wants: an independent life that does not infantilise her. Corelli explored this theme repeatedly over the decades of her career, with one early heroine's *cri de cœur* explicitly asking 'Can you not realize that there are some among them who despise the inanities of everyday life-who care nothing for the routine of society, and whose hearts are filled with cravings that no mere human love or life can satisfy?'[17] Diana's longing for liberty finds expression in action, and her rebellion takes her to Geneva. What she does not initially know is that this brilliant but unscrupulous scientist replicates many of the behaviours and attitudes of her unfeeling parents and fiancé, and that her refutation of harmful gender roles will have to be initiated a second time. The scientist has specifically

[16] Nickianne Moody, 'Moral Uncertainty and the Afterlife: Explaining the Popularity of Marie Corelli's Early Novels', *Women's Writing*, 13, 2 (2006), 188-205 (p. 189).

[17] Marie Corelli, *A Romance of Two Worlds* (London: Methuen, 1903 [1886]), p. 82.

sought a female assistant who is educated, but one who is also 'of mature years.'[18] This desire is not for a gravity or intelligence that might be expected to come with age, but instead because such a woman 'was of no particular use to anybody, or, if she did happen to be of use, she could easily be replaced' if the experiment were to prove fatal, as the woman herself would be the subject of the experiment.[19] Diana has thus advanced from her former life with her parents, but not significantly and certainly not to the freedom for which she had hoped. Her intellect is admired in her new home, but her age outweighs all other considerations. Corelli illustrates that the greatest concern for society, be it English or Swiss, represented by Diana's respectable parents or a reclusive scientist, is the belief that mature or single women are unnecessary.

The artificial nature of these sexist beliefs is highlighted by the fact that Diana's transformation is seen gradually. She does not physically alter dramatically and quickly, but the fact of the process's delay demonstrates the social, not biological, foundation of acceptable feminine behaviour. Her contact with minor characters who do not know her history as a middle-aged spinster highlights how their approaches to and interactions with her are conditioned almost exclusively through her physical appearance, and only exceptionally are influenced by her obvious intellectual qualities or indisputably kind personality. This developing sense of Diana's power and her disdain for the sudden interest with which she finds herself regarded is in evidence in two scenes in particular before her return to England. In the first, she is present at a dinner party at Dimitrius's home, and later, when Dimitrius believes that the results of the experiment, evident in Diana's altering appearance, will begin to excite remark, she encounters a friend of her father's when she has removed from the immediate neighbourhood of Dimitrius's Geneva laboratory.

The general interest in the first instance, before the experiment fully commences, remains primarily focused upon Dimitrius and the research he conducts in his mysterious laboratory. The Marchese Farnese in particular views Diana exclusively as a

[18] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 28.

[19] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 157.

conduit through which he can learn more of Dimitrius's dealings, not as a possible means through which Dimitrius's very success might be attained. His comment that Dimitrius could not possibly 'rely on an old woman' as an assistant highlights the disdain with which he views the sex generally.[20] If Diana is not herself invisible to him, he does not entertain the idea that her views might differ from his, and at dinner she becomes simply a figure to be mined for information. Subsequently Farnese will prove similarly intrusively inquisitive, but in regard to Diana as the subject of an experiment at which he only guesses. His interest in Diana as a fully-rounded person is minimal or non-existent; he views her merely as someone, or something, to satisfy his own prying curiosity. Once more, Corelli emphasises the subtle and overt ways in which sexism pervades all respectable social circles of the time without regard to national or linguistic boundaries.

Professor Chauvet sees Diana differently. While not misanthropic, he does not regard all his fellow creatures in a highly positive light, and he is struck by both Diana's linguistic abilities and her intelligence. He appreciates many of her qualities as an individual, not as a source of information, as Farnese does, or as a tool to be used temporarily, as with Dimitrius. Chauvet's view of Diana's character hints at other perspectives than those held by people who have spent more time with and who consequently ought to be better able to judge Diana's true worth. Even so, Chauvet's knowledge of Diana is limited. He appreciates her excellent qualities, offering Diana financial security of a sort that she had not imagined to be within her reach and acting far more respectfully than many of the men she has known. Nonetheless, Chauvet's offer, conceived in this world, remains grounded in the material, not the spiritual, elements of life. As generous and kind as he undoubtedly is, Diana evolves beyond any possibility of a relationship with him. As Corelli so memorably wrote elsewhere, marriage is 'a trafficking in human bodies and souls,' and Diana's elevation places her

[20] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 121.

beyond even companionate matrimonial matches.[21] Chauvet is perhaps one of the best examples of humanity with whom Diana has contact during the novel, but he does not and cannot attain the level to which Diana finds herself raised.

The success of the dangerous trial causes Diana's rejuvenation and brings her into conflict with the experiment's author. She grows daily more youthful, more beautiful and more emotionally detached from the events surrounding her, including her own rapidly increasing power and prestige in a society that values the attributes she now possesses in abundance. In rebelling against the society that had written her off as a spinster and a superfluous woman, Diana's understanding of her position within such a society alters. Rejecting her first role, she no longer thinks of herself as the dutiful daughter, and, as the transformed Diana, she rejects marriage proposals, declining also to see herself as a wife. Indeed, it is this very celibacy that made her fit as a subject for experimentation; Dimitrius explicitly wants an unmarried woman as he understands the injurious effects of marital subjection. In his own attempts at healing, he has noticed that 'I can save a child's life generally – and the lives of girls and women, who have not been touched by man. The life-principle is very strong in these, – it has not been tampered with.'[22] Although cleverer by far than Diana's parents or ex- fiancé, he does not realise that the very quality he most prizes – Diana's life lived entirely as a single woman – is simultaneously the one he most despises. His own freethinking and rebellion against convention have a marked blind spot where female emancipation is concerned. The fact that these values conflict is never appreciated by him, though it is by Diana as her independence increases and her resistance becomes more marked.

The scientist's relationship to Diana presents other disturbing manifestations of this attitude towards her. In addition to being unable to see Diana as distinct from the very women he observes with such calculating scientific detachment, he views her as

[21] Marie Corelli, Lady Jeune, Flora Annie Steel and Susan, Countess of Malmesbury, *The Modern Marriage Market* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1908), p. 38.

[22] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 139.

his possession, insisting 'I have made you as you are! – you are mine!'[23] He viewed their initial contract as in effect purchasing Diana's life, and after the experiment has proven successful he attempts to convince her of his right to maintain contact with her and control her movements. His earlier sympathetic pronouncements on social sexism notwithstanding, Dimitrius's deeper and unthinking misogyny reveals itself when his wishes are baulked. Diana succinctly denies his presumption, telling him 'When I served you as your "subject," you were ready to sacrifice my life to your ambition; now when you are witness to the triumph of your "experiment," you would grasp what you consider as your lawful prize.'[24] Throughout the novel, Diana is compelled to rebel repeatedly, emphasising both the difficulty of doing so and how deeply ingrained are the expectations she must resist.

Diana's character exhibits some of these more assertive traits earlier in the narrative. As one astute critic notes, when Diana first leaves her parents' home, and long before her scientific treatment commences, her first explanations to Sophy of her course of action show a streak of rebellion to which she does not normally give vent.[25] That such seemingly disparate facets of personality can coexist is unsurprising. The novel suggests that seemingly incompatible personality traits such as meekness and rebelliousness must coexist, and that the common female experience as personified in Diana is an existence that must perforce contain such contradictory aspects. Such a sympathetic and incisive depiction fits well within Corelli's body of work. As one scholar observes, 'Marie was a strong, and often unacknowledged, feminist.'[26] In such explicit rebellion, Corelli shows herself willing to confront society in a more direct way than some of her peers: 'New Women were proto-feminist, after all, and they enacted their

[23] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 318.

[24] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 318.

[25] Federico, p. 124.

[26] Teresa Ransom, *The Mysterious Miss Marie Corelli: Queen of Victorian Bestsellers* (Stroud: Sutton Press, 1999), p. 122.

political agenda without endangering the patriarchal relationship or the family model.'[27] Diana upsets this model to the best of her ability. If Diana seems by turns defiant and docile or gentle and stern, it is not purely the result of Dimitrius's experiment. Corelli shows how women generally must embody a host of stereotypes and characters in order to survive and thrive, and even rebel, in a socially hostile environment.

In depicting how women must act contradictory roles simultaneously, Corelli subtly shows the pervasiveness of negative attitudes to women generally and women's intellectual attainments specifically. Dr Dimitrius seemingly comprehends Diana's situation perfectly. She has been reticent about her life before joining his laboratory; he surmises her former situation as an unappreciated unmarried daughter of the house. Without being told directly, he knows of the drudgery women such as Diana face, and rightly believes her to be unrespected as a woman with considerable knowledge. During the early stages of their acquaintance he appears to be a perfectly considerate and supportive friend. Yet even with such awareness of the disadvantages with which women contend, Dimitrius does not follow his own precepts. He has appeared sympathetic to Diana's former situation insofar as he understands it, and yet from its inception their relationship has been grossly unequal. His advertisement, so worded as to attract the derision of those who read it, contains the germ of what he later explicitly states to Diana: he wished to work with a single woman of mature years since, in the event that the experiment proved fatal, she would not be missed. No matter how much Dimitrius might agree with Diana's liberation in principle or how much he appreciates her efforts to aid him in his work, ultimately he cares more for an abstract conception of wisdom than for the life of the intelligent, sensitive and kind woman whose personality he professes to admire. He refuses to halt the experiment, despite his fears for Diana's safety on more than one occasion. He falters, but his vacillations point to a further gender dynamic underlying their scientist-subject relationship. Characters in the novel not infrequently attribute qualities such as weakness and indecision to women,

[27] Elizabeth MacLeod Walls, '"A Little Afraid of the Women of Today": The Victorian New Woman and the Rhetoric of British Modernism', *Rhetoric Review*, 21, 3 (2002), 229–246 (p. 239).

yet these qualities appear in the main male characters who so denigrate and disregard women generally and Diana in especial. Dimitrius often hesitates and doubts even as he says that his resolve remains unshaken. He frequently appears emotionless and inflexible — the perfect scientist, and a man who has attained the ultimate in rational, perfected logic by his willingness to risk Diana's life for the possibility of bettering many other lives. However, he deviates from his fixed purpose, just as on the cusp of the experiment's completion, 'It was he who trembled, not she.'[28] Having without cause suspected Diana of wishing to leave or to discontinue the experiment, Dimitrius himself departs from the contracted agreement. Optimistic but not entirely assured of his ultimate triumph, he had readily agreed, provided she survived, to Diana's complete freedom at the end of her term of service. Once the experiment does indeed prove successful, and more complete than Dimitrius had dreamed, he is unwilling to adhere to the conditions he had stipulated. He becomes capricious, declining to acknowledge Diana's rights and claims, and exhibits the very behaviour he had unreasonably feared in her. His actions and fears are even more irrational than those he had contemplated Diana undertaking. In his morally questionable but scientifically thorough attitude towards ultimate truth, his concern that the experiment will be left uncompleted, while ethically dubious, clearly links with his personality and his calculating behaviour. At the conclusion of the wholly successful experiment, however, his approach to his research, his experiment and his subject change dramatically. Having previously been dedicated to his studies with an almost fanatical single-mindedness, he alters his focus so that his experiment and its great success are nearly forgotten, in order that he might focus on Diana. In short, at the pinnacle of his scientific success, Dimitrius becomes as irrational and unscientific as he had previously been logical, methodical and patient. His determination to make use of 'the secret I have wrenched from Nature' and his statement that 'I expect Nature to render me obedience!' demonstrate his personal and intellectual arrogance and the personality trait that will lead him to pursue Diana

[28] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 240.

as he has pursued scientific truth.[29] The supposedly cold, calculating man of science becomes as possessive and disrespectful of her sovereignty as her father or her former fiancé. His pursuit of knowledge into the mysteries of life and health, taken to the extreme that it is, becomes an even more frightening pursuit of a living woman.

In marked contrast to Dimitrius's irrational behaviour Diana maintains a dignified silence on the subject of her employment and even, in the instance of her true position in the household, agrees to the pretence of being a welcome house guest rather than acknowledging her real status as the woman who responded to Dimitrius's curious advertisement. Her discretion proves equal to any of the men in the novel. In point of fact, the gendered behaviour traditionally assigned to women and men is reversed, with the Marchese Farnese exhibiting 'very little scruple' and 'undisguisedly inquisitive' behaviour in his pursuit of his object, in marked contrast to Diana's stalwart and uncomplaining 'courage' and 'patience'.[30] Diana's discretion, though repeatedly doubted by Dimitrius, proves to be absolute. By contrast, the most prying character in the novel is male, and his pursuit of the truth regarding both Dimitrius's laboratory and Diana is depicted as underhanded and unwelcome. Other characters, particularly the Baroness Rousillon, display or stand accused of similar prurient behaviour. Despite this trait not being unique, the character with whom it is most consistently linked and who exhibits it to an extreme degree is the Marchese Farnese. Diana rejects such intrusive behaviour and acts instead in a decidedly feminine and demure fashion, retaining what others see as feminine sweetness and thereby captivating Professor Chauvet. Clearly, she retains her attractiveness in spite of her aging, calling into question the very idea, so frequently stated in the book by unsympathetic characters, that a woman's appeal to the male sex must be predicated entirely on a youthful physical appearance. By extension, Chauvet's marriage proposal implicitly undermines the assumptions made by so many of the characters – male and female – about the social restrictions placed upon, and behaviour demanded of, a young woman, and particularly a young woman

[29] Corelli, *Young Diana*, pp. 160-161.

[30] Corelli, *Young Diana*, pp. 150-151, 210.

assumed to be in the marriage market. What is more, Diana's conduct during this time exemplifies all of the very best attributes a young woman might be said to possess. Although flattered by the offer, she honours her first commitment to her employment contract, concealed as 'my visit to Madame Dimitrius' – something which the mature Chauvet accepts.[31] Her answer is not coy or dishonest, but dignified and professional in its adhesion to the fact that she has given her word. Diana is, above all, kind and gentle in her dealings with Chauvet and his proposal, highlighting her allegedly feminine qualities criticised by her parents and ex-fiancé. She is not heartless, but feels too greatly — the attribute that had been so disparaged in her previous life in England. Her experiences with her former fiancé have not made her cynical, as her former fiancé becomes, or cruel and dismissive as her parents are. She is not, as she is accused of being, emotionless. Yet this very proposal is, by mutual consent, kept secret from Dimitrius, who both Diana and Chauvet believe will disapprove of it. Dimitrius's selfishness is further implied by this exchange: Diana is bound by her contract, and her services are expected. Her contract is more explicit, and is for a shorter, fixed period, but Dimitrius's demands upon her parallel the dependency that her parents also exhibit. Her parents anticipated a marriage; as she did not marry she is expected to serve them. Nonetheless, they do not appreciate her labours on behalf of their comfort and financial security. Dimitrius likewise views her time as at his disposal because she is middle-aged and unmarried. She is essential to the success of his experiment, just as her presence was necessary to her parents' domestic economy, and yet he values her so little as to consider her life expendable. Without evidence, he vocalises fears of Diana acting in capricious, gendered ways independent of his control: 'With these strange ideas of yours – born of feminine hysteria, I suppose – who can foretell the folly of your actions?'[32] In many ways, although he pays lip service to the disadvantaged position of women, his selfishness and calculating beliefs and demeanour are the logical extension of what her parents displayed earlier in her life.

[31] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 188.

[32] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 219.

The experiment is a process of awakening. Diana, though she is perfect for Dimitrius's experiment, intelligent and resourceful, has not seen her familial and social relations for what they truly are. It is only when she has imbibed Dimitrius's distillation that she becomes, albeit slowly, emotionally detached from events in her own life. This detachment is most like the masculine tendencies that some of the male characters so frequently desire and so seldom exhibit themselves. The greater spiritual truth, to which she is raised as a result of the experiment, is the discovery that men's selfishness, however disguised, has created the unjust social conditions in which she had previously suffered so much and in which other women continue to suffer. Her actions, far from being entirely self-seeking, are guided by a higher truth that is indiscernible to those still living and thinking upon a lower plane of existence. Diana's thoughts and actions are so out of keeping with social convention precisely because they adhere to the standards of a different state of spiritual advancement. As Corelli noted in an earlier work, 'put man and woman together,— start them both equally with a firm will and a resoluteness of endeavour, the woman's intellect will frequently outstrip the man's. The reason of this is that she has a quicker instinct and finer impulses.'[33] Diana's intelligence certainly impresses Dimitrius, and her progressively enhanced spiritual knowledge only raises her further. In being so considerably elevated, Diana must necessarily bewilder and offend those beneath her.

Dimitrius sequesters Diana to avoid the over-curious nature of the visitors who have seen Diana before the effects of the experiment were noticeable. Such, at least, is Dimitrius's claim, and it is certainly true that his estimation of his neighbours' interfering natures and likely reactions to Diana's dramatic physical alterations is accurate. Yet Dimitrius's behaviour hints at more than scientific rigour or the desire for privacy. His behaviour becomes increasingly controlling and develops in proportion to Diana's decreasing interest in the result of the experiment and to her increasing personal independence. His physical removal of Diana from his home offers a provocative

[33] Marie Corelli, *The Murder of Delicia* (London: Skeffington, 1896), p. xvi.

parallel to the dramatic and drastic manner in which she was compelled to absent herself from her parents' home. His unquestioned assumption that her home or even country of residence is for him to decide, and for her to acquiesce, reflects that of Diana's father and former lover. Upon learning of Diana's full independence, her father speaks of her as having 'deserted us' and asserts that 'we should be perfectly justified in disowning her!'[34] Diana's uncertain movements similarly confound Reginald Cleeve, who wishes first to meet her and then to follow her when she eludes his efforts to see her. The belief that they can control Diana's residence and daily movements is held by all three figures though each man manifests it differently. Their claims on her, though acknowledged formerly, have all been refuted as a direct result of their own self-centred actions, yet they all demand physical control and emotional domination over Diana's life.

This form of socially sanctioned manipulation is not confined to the men in the novel, though it takes a more threatening and complex form in the male characters. Diana's newfound power is monitored by her fellow women before she returns to England. Traveling to London, she meets two fellow countrywomen who strike up a traveling acquaintance and act as informal chaperones. Struck as they are by Diana's dazzling beauty, 'after one or two embarrassing experiences at various stations *en route*' they cannot help but notice the attention, obtrusive to the point of rudeness, of men who see her.[35] They do not mention the behaviour of the men who so openly stare at Diana but instead discreetly counsel her to veil her face. Diana, aware of their motivation in suggesting such a covering, acquiesces without comment, apparently conforming to cultural expectations. Her power is socially acknowledged and monitored before she arrives, and English customs and social conventions, at least externally, suggest that nothing has altered in the years since she was first young.

On a more personal level, Diana's relationship with Sophy Lansing proves fraught. Diana's interactions with Sophy before and after the former's transformation

[34] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 295-296.

[35] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 271.

also serve to highlight the unequal and damaging roles into which women are forced by social convention. Such a claim might seem odd, given the extent to which the clever Sophy lives outside the stricter forms of social conventions. Sophy's intelligence and avoidance of custom, particularly the custom of marriage, encourage and materially support Diana after she has secretly left her parents. Nonetheless, despite possessing intellectual, financial and matrimonial independence, Sophy finds herself constricted by a system that forces women, even friends and independently-minded individuals, to compete with one another as she intuitively understands that a rivalry has arisen between her and her old friend. Her resistance, heartfelt though it is, can ultimately only be finite in her less spiritually elevated state. Her sense of shame and 'a helpless consciousness of her own inferiority in attractiveness' destroy the friendship before it can be resumed.[36] Where the two women had formerly been on excellent terms, upon Diana's return their relationship has altered to the point of being stopped abruptly through feminine jealousy.

Diana, for her part, does not lament this change. The continuation of their friendship would simply have been for old sake's sake and not through a heartfelt desire on Diana's part. Her explicit statement that she does not wish for Sophy's friendship gestures to the alienation both must experience. Diana has risen above Sophy's level of existence as surely as she has that of her father or former lover, but in Sophy's case the dynamic is more complex. Sophy treated Diana fairly, and yet in a society that insists upon competition both between and within genders, casting men and women against one another and forcing women to compete with members of their own sex, the only possible course of action open to Diana is for her to remove herself altogether from Sophy's presence. The critique is not so pointed or so overt as it is with Diana's male antagonists, but the novel insists upon the point that women, however well they get on with one another, are forced into antagonistic relationships through sexual envy and

[36] Corelli, *Young Diana*, p. 273.

jealousy and through the social conditions that foster such unhealthy conditions and views of relationships.

Clearly, the problem is not limited to callous individuals or rare people lacking a moral compass. Indeed, the text makes explicit the fact that Diana's parents are seen to be perfectly respectable and that the people in society with whom they associate think of Diana as an aberration, a failure and a brake on her parents' lives. Rather, the problem is a greater one and lies, not with cruel individual behaviour, but with a society that encourages and maintains such standards uncritically. Diana's rejections of these social conventions starkly depict the inherent inequality of the society in which she lives. One biographer believed that, later in her writing life, Corelli's work became 'out-dated,' yet *The Young Diana* encapsulates many of the same themes and views evident in earlier novels, expressed, if anything, more forcefully by an author who 'wrote from the heart and aimed at the hearts of her readers.'[37] Writing many years after the first wave of New Woman fiction, Corelli's attack on social restraints shows how little has altered and how urgent the need for change is. Diana literally embodies the truth of what Corelli had urged ten years earlier when she told her unmarried female readers 'I want you to refuse to make your bodies and souls the traffickable material of vulgar huckstering.'[38] Corelli's fiction is not an explicit call to arms, but it does portray and support women who are not always so sympathetically depicted.

The novel's conclusion – already hinted at in the first chapter – shows simultaneously the power of individual women to rebel and to do so triumphantly and the deeper, more difficult social barriers that other women less well situated would struggle to overcome. Diana's victory is absolute, and her elegant reversal of position is viewed as positive after her earlier trials. After years of unappreciated filial and romantic devotion, she has passed beyond the petty 'human vengeance or love' that could disturb her peace, and finds that she is now 'happy, because she has forgotten

[37] Eileen Bigland, *Marie Corelli; The Woman and the Legend* (London: Jarolds, 1953), p. 265; Bertha Vyver, *Memoirs of Marie Corelli* (London: Alston Rivers, 1930), p. 246.

[38] Corelli, Jeune, Steel and Malmesbury, *Modern Marriage Market*, p. 51.

all that might have made her otherwise.'[39] Her elevation to a passionless state so different from the emotionally volatile and self-deceiving men of the novel constitutes a kind of peace. Nonetheless, the novel is careful to balance this happy ending with a more negative social commentary by stressing the lack of change in circumstances that caused the younger Diana such misery. The very society that had ostracised the aging spinster has not altered when it courts and gossips about the physically older but youthfully beautiful Diana at the end of the novel. The novel in its entirety illustrates what Corelli elsewhere emphasises, that 'Man's delightful and utter want of the commonest logic is never more flagrantly exhibited than in this vital matter of his estimate of Woman.'[40] Until fundamental social changes are made in the relations between the sexes, it is not only right, but necessary, for women to resist and assert their independence.

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[39] Corelli, *Young Diana*, pp. 378, 380.

[40] Marie Corelli, *Free Opinions Freely Expressed on Certain Phases of Modern Social Life and Conduct* (London: Constable, 1905), p. 172.

"Tired Inside": Illness as Social Resistance in George MacDonald's *Adela Cathcart*

JESSICA LEWIS

ABSTRACT: Academic discussion has long limited the works of George to their function as fairy tales and didactic narratives. This article explores the notion of illness as a form of resistance against the confines of upper-class femininity in MacDonald's *Adela Cathcart* (1864). The article suggests that Adela's mysterious illness, diagnosed as "moral atrophy", is symptomatic of limits enforced by contemporary expectations for women, and that this incapacitating illness prevents Adela from fulfilling these expectations. Whether conscious or unconscious, the article explores both, Adela's resistance against the duties of performative femininity necessitate her management by an all-male storytelling club who are tasked with restoring Adela to her role as dutiful daughter and suitable marriage-prospect. I argue that MacDonald uses illness to query contemporary gender ideals through Adela's corporeal legibility, read through the lens of patriarchal medical theory.

KEYWORDS: Adela, Cathcart, Gender, Illness, Femininity, Resistance

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GEORGE MACDONALD'S 1864 novel, *Adela Cathcart* traces the illness of its twenty-two year old eponymous patient. Daughter of Colonel Cathcart, Adela falls victim to a mysterious listlessness which causes her to find only indifference in pleasures previously relished, medical opinion offered by Dr Armstrong had it that she had "not fever enough".[1] In an effort to restore Adela's youthful exuberance and enthusiasm, her uncle, John Smith suggests the formation of a storytelling club to distract and divert Adela. The club is swiftly made up of Smith, Adela's widower father, Mr Bloomfield (a schoolteacher), Mr Armstrong (a curate), his brother Dr Henry 'Harry' Armstrong and Percy, Adela's cousin

[1] George MacDonald *Adela Cathcart* (Fairford, Glos.: Echo Press, 2012), p. 98.

and would-be suitor.[2] Adela's illness acts as a frame narrative for a host of embedded poems, songs and fairy tales, the fairy tales later reappearing (along with two others) in MacDonald's *Dealings with the Fairies* (1867).

Critical discourse on MacDonald has focussed on his collections of children's fairytales and fantasies, with some critical attention paid to the use of fairy tales in *Adela Cathcart.*[3] This analysis however, will specifically analyse Adela's debilitating illness rather than the cure, and the ways in which her illness can be read as social resistance in the form of unfulfilled social expectations. The "tired inside" of the title refers to both the tiredness occasioned by Adela's corporeal wasting, and her disillusionment and dissatisfaction that the limitations of gender and social class necessarily place on her life.

Illness in the texts acts as a physical manifestation of recalcitrance towards traditional expectations of performative femininity, as domestic duty, romantic attachments and religious feeling are left unfulfilled by Adela; resistance is met with the desire for reform by all-male family and friends, suggesting the need to maintain domestic (and therefore social) patriarchal hegemony. This is not to say that Adela's relations are uncaring or unloving in regards to her health, and view her as an automaton in need of repair. This article argues however that Adela's health is determined by demonstrations of apposite femininity, and that deviations in behaviour, expectations and appearance occasioned by her illness are at once the symptoms recognised by her family and friends, and the characteristics sought to restore. In short Adela's illness disrupts the domestic structure, with men adopting the roles of caregiver and entertainer usually fulfilled by women; rather than treating of Adela's physical illness with medicine, the balance of social and domestic hegemony is restored through the restoration of feminine function.

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[2] Adela's Aunt, Mrs Jane Cathcart is also present, but does not participate in the storytelling cure, and is vocal in its opposition. She offers no maternal or comforting support to Adela during her illness, her role being only to secure the marriage of her son, Percy to Adela.

[3] See specifically Nancy Mellon 'The Stages in Adela Cathcart's Cure' *The North Wind: A Journal of George MacDonald* Vol. 15, No. 3 (1996), pp. 26-43; D. Petztold 'Maturation and Education in George MacDonald's Fairy Tales' *The North Wind: A Journal of George MacDonald* Vol. 12, No.1 (1993), pp. 10-24; C. N. Manlove's 'George MacDonald's Fairy Tales: Their Roots in George MacDonald's Thought' *Studies in Scottish Literature* Vol. 8, No. 2 (1970), pp. 97-108.

Raymond Williams' definition of the dynamics of power relations is useful here in contextualising hegemonic social structures which are regenerated and replayed within domestic settings and must, as socially, be repeatedly re-enforced:

> A lived hegemony is always a process. It is not, especially analytically, a system or a structure… It does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has to be continually renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not at all its own.[4]

Illness in *Adela Cathcart* disrupts domestic order and, in adopting the critical trope of the physical body as a metaphor for the social body at large, the patriarchal hegemony stretching beyond the confines of the sitting room. Men in the novel are required to reaffirm domestic, social and material order by controlling potentially troubling cultural issues located in Adela's physiology. The disrupted female identity must be restored to its submissive, selfless sensibilities through a return to patriarchally-controlled diversions and distractions, the successful fulfilment of which eventually leading to the ultimate in female biological destiny: marriage.

The novel, while outwardly advocating Adela's return to healthy femininity, can also contrastingly be read as a critique of contemporary gender standards. George MacDonld's close friend, John Ruskin published *Of Queens Gardens* in 1864, a series of lectures compounding Victorian gender stereotypes:

> The man's power is active, progressive, defensive. He is eminently the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender. His intellect is for speculation and invention; his energy for adventure, for war, and for conquest, wherever war is just, wherever conquest necessary. But the woman's power is for rule, not for battle, -and her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement, and decision. She sees the qualities of things, their claims, and their places. Her great function is Praise…[5]

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[4] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 109.

[5] John Ruskin, *Of Queens Gardens* 1864; reprinted 1902 *Archive.org* <https://archive.org/details/ofqueensgardens00ruskrich/page/n15> [accessed 12 October 2019] p. 21.

It is to these traditional behavioural codes that we see MacDonald's characters adhere; the male characters 'do': create (a treatment) discover (the cause of the illness), defend (Adela's purity and innocence in their treatment of her moral ambivalence). The female attributes valorised by Ruskin are recognised as absent in Adela, and a conquest for their reclamation begins by members of the storytelling club. Illness in *Adela Cathcart* may serve to emphasise the grossly unsustainable nature of gender expectations for women. Ruskin's lectures suggest that women, in order to fulfil their true purpose and attain their power, must be "as far as be can use such terms of a human creature – be incapable of error", conforming to notions of women as Patmore's famous 'The Angel in the House' (1854).[6] It is with the author's potential subversion of feminine ideals in mind, that there is possibility for Adela's illness to be the product of ennui, a resignation to the limited potential of her "power for rule".[7] Her rejection in the fulfilment of her designated domestic role could therefore be read as a symbol of social resistance and, as will be fully explored later, a physical response to her desire to escape male management both domestically and socially.

In *Invalidism and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (2004), Maria Frawley acknowledges the importance of reading bodies as "symbolic surfaces on which cultural codes are inscribed", arguing that it is from such surfaces "that resistance originates and is registered".[8] The reading of Adela's body, not only by the doctor but by all other male characters, catalyses a reformation of identity based not on medical treatment, but on the restoration of traditional feminine archetypes; recalcitrant behaviour is heavily policed in the novel. Adela's illness establishes the need for the medicalisation of the female body and, furthermore, for the ongoing presence of hegemonic masculinity in the maintenance of female health.

MacDonald's narrative takes place over the Christmas period at Colonel Cathcart's country house, Swanspond. Surrounded by family and friends, Adela's 'uncle' and narrator, John Smith immediately notices Adela's ill-health, and the family doctor is called for. Dr Wade is dismissed as denounced unhelpful, and a second doctor is called.

[6] Ibid. p. 23.

[7] Ibid. p. 21.

[8] Maria Frawley, *Invalidiam and Identity in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) p. 189.

Adela is then diagnosed with "moral atrophy"[9] by Dr Armstrong, the symptoms of which leave the patient in a deviant state of femaleness, unable as she is to fulfil the roles of charming conversationalist, romantic interest, calming presence and domestic comforter. The illness is described by the doctor as a spiritual malnourishment, that "the theological nourishment which is offered is generally no better than husks [...] and without good spiritual food to keep the spiritual senses healthy and true, [she] cannot see the things about [her] as they really are".[10] The diagnosis establishes a relationship between spiritual and physical in which Adela's spiritual starvation manifests as the physical wasting and weakening of the body. Illness often acts as a domesticator of recalcitrant female behaviour in the Victorian novel – catalysing silence, passivity and dependence upon male professionals – but Adela already conformed to contemporary notions of the feminine ideal. It can be argued therefore that her physical dis-ease manifests as a form of social resistance, which the surrounding men aim to suppress by means of narrative entertainment in hopes of returning Adela to her previous domestic obligations.

Narrator, John Smith acts as the initial gateway into Adela's illness. As such his observations serve as the main interpretations of Adela's body, the reading of her body establishing the means of a cure instead of the treatment of symptoms as described by the patient. Smith gives the following description of Adela:

> Her face was pale and thin, and her eyes were large, and yet sleepy. I may say at once that she had dark eyes and a sweet face; and that is all the description I mean to give of her. I had been accustomed to see that face, if not rosy, yet plump and healthy; and those eyes with plenty of light for themselves, and some to spare for other people. But it was neither her wan look nor her dull eyes that distressed me: it was the expression of her face.

[9] MacDonald *Adela Cathcart*, p. 41. Sir Robert Carswell's *Pathological Anatomy: Illustrations of the Elementary Forms of Disease* (1838), described by Lawrence McHenry in a 1969 edition of the *New England Medical Journal* as a "milestone in neuropathology", defines atrophy as "a diminution in the quantity of the solid materials which enter into the healthy composition of organs and tissues..." Moral atrophy, Dr Armstrong's later diagnosis, is the degeneration or wasting away of spiritual or moral principles which can manifest in physical symptoms of wasting.

[10] MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart*, p. 41.

> It was very sad to look at; but it was not so much sadness as utter and careless hopelessness that it expressed.[11]

Adela however, confesses to be consumed by morbid and oppressive thoughts: "as if her very heart were weary of everything".[12] Her own description of her symptoms and mental state could conform to contemporary definitions of melancholia,[13] her depression, insomnia and morbid thoughts evinced by the declaration that she "would rather die than not":[14]

> … Some six weeks ago, I woke suddenly one morning, very early – I think about three o'clock – with an overpowering sense of blackness and misery. Everything I thought of seemed to have a core of wretchedness in it. I fought with the feelings as well as I could, and got to sleep again. But the effect of it did not leave me next day. I said to myself: 'They say "morning thoughts are true." What if this should be the true way of looking at things?' And everything became grey and dismal about me. Next morning it was just the same. It was as if I had walked in the middle of some chaos over which God had never said: 'Let there be light.' And the next day was worse. I began to see the bad in everything – wrong motives – and self-love – and pretence, and everything mean and low. And so it has gone on ever since. I wake wretched every morning. I am crowded with wretched, if not wicked thoughts, all day. Nothing seems worth anything. I don't care for anything.[15]

John Smith's concern does not appear to be with his niece's depressive state but with her "wan look", her uncle noting the "careless hopelessness" of her expression more distressing to him than her emotional despondency; it is this emphasis on external signifiers of health, rather than the internal machinations of the body which forms the

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[11] Ibid., p. 11.

[12] Ibid., p. 11.

[13] T. S. Clouston defines melancholia as: "A paralysis of the sense of well-being and the enjoyment of life, a difficulty in coming to decisions, a loss of mental energy, an intolerance of the usual work, if not an actual incapacity to do it well, a tendency to make slight mistakes in small things, a loss of memory, and a subacute mental pain [...] The question of the patient being suicidal should never in any case of melancholia be left unconsidered." *Clinical Lectures on Mental Diseases* (1884).

[14] MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart*, p. 21.

[15] Ibid,. pp. 20-1.

crux of the novel.[16] At this early point in the novel, the illness is not recognised by Smith and the Colonel as anything other than "indifference"[17] and "tiredness"[18], despite Adela's admissions of melancholic, borderline suicidal, thoughts. Medical focus is devoted to the reclamation of the patient's diminishing beauty and cheerful femininity which, according to *The General Baptist Repository and Missionary Observer*, should always exhibit an "…ardent and unceasing flow of spirits, extreme activity and diligence, […] punctuality, uprightness and [..] a firm reliance on God…"[19] Such is the preoccupation with what Adela is not, that concern for the state in what she *is* (borderline suicidal, depressed) is distinctly absent. Indeed, it is the story-telling club's desire to restore the patient's absence of performative femininity which forms the crux of the novel, not the physical alleviation of Adela's atrophy. MacDonald's text is an excellent example of the female body as a site for the construction, negotiation and valorisation of Victorian masculinity. It is not Adela's illness, or lack of it, which is important to the narrative but the restoration of feminine function.

Victorian medicalisation of the female body meant that physiology and psyche were conflated in a single image of the ideal healthy woman, meaning that the physical and mental symptoms of moral atrophy/ennui are accorded less cause for concern than the constitutional effects of the disease.[20] John Smith mourns the temporary loss of Adela's sweet female nature, and the "disappointment of [her] face", after the patient's confession of depression, "blackness and misery"[21] :

> … there was a want in her face, a certain flatness of expression which I did not like. […] the common-place in a woman troubles me, annoys me, makes me miserable. […] Her face looked as if it were made of something

[16] Ibid., p. 22.

[17] Ibid., p. 12.

[18] Ibid., p. 12.

[19] Lynn Abrams, "Ideals of Womanhood in Victorian Britain", *BBC History Trails*, September 2001. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/trail/victorian_britain/women_home/ideals_womanhood_01.shtml> [accessed 3 May 2019].

[20] Henry Maudsley in 1874 wrote that: "The female qualities of mind which correlate her sexual character adapt her, as her sex does, to be the helpmate and companion of man…" hereby asserting that female biology fostered dispositions which would facilitate women in their passive lives as compassionate companions.

[21] MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart*, p. 20.

> too thick for the inward light to shine through – wax, and not living muscle and skin. [...] Her soul was asleep. She was dreaming a child's dreams, instead of seeing a woman's realities [...] She did not see what I saw, feel what I felt, seek what I sought. Occasionally even, the delicate young girl, pure and bright as the snow that hung on the boughs around me, would shock the wizened old bachelor with her worldliness – a worldliness that lay only in the use of current worldly phrases of selfish contentment, or selfish care.[22]

Adela's initial confessions of depression and suicidal apathy are forgotten, and the emphasis lies instead on Adela's "flatness of expression" or her inability, not only to empathise with her male companions but, to attune herself entirely to their sensory perceptions as the perfect companion. Women's ability to be aware of the emotions and desires of those around them, specifically men, was given anthropological credence by Herbert Spencer in *The Study of Sociology* (1873). He claimed that the establishment of gender specific faculties were the results of social Darwinism, the strongest and most intuitive members of primitive societies passing on their skills to their offspring, and installing attributes and instincts specific to the sexes:

> One further ability may be named as likely to be cultivated as established – the ability to distinguish quickly the passing feelings of those around. In barbarous times a woman who could from a movement, tone of voice, or expression of face, instantly detects in her savage husband the passion that was rising, would be likely to escape dangers run into by a woman less skilled in interpreting the natural language of feeling.[23]

John Smith's desire for his niece's transparency in place of her face of "wax" is aligned with her inability to read his emotional desires; in both cases Adela's sick body resists constructions of a self-effacing femininity which should, evolutionarily and religiously speaking, be natural to her, her uncle branding her "selfish" and "worldly" in her refusal to comply with his expectations.

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[22] MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart*, p. 220.

[23] Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, 2nd edn (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873) *Archive.org* <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.223021/page/n3> [accessed 20 May 2019], p. 343.

It can be argued that by the 1860s, when the novel was published, the importance placed upon (specifically female) physical health, and physical illness, had advanced to the forefront of public consciousness. Technological advancements in medicine such as the refinement of the microscope in 1850 (and further refinements to the glass in the 1880s), and Louis Pasteur's groundbreaking work on bacteria and germ theory (1857-65), elicited a greater understanding of, and a rise in the number of theories concerning, disease.[24] These ideas were widely circulated: initially in medical publications such as *The Lancet*, then disseminating to the wider public through public lectures and newspaper articles, as Athena Vrettos comments:

> The proliferation of medical writings in the nineteenth century - which included lectures, textbooks, journals, essays, advice manuals, case studies, photographic comparisons and analyses - and their role in establishing physiological, behavioural and cultural norms served to highlight the body and its potential for disease.[25]

One of the consequences of this attention to the body was the re-affirmation of gender roles, the need for which could now be medically, physiologically and scientifically verified. By the turn of the eighteenth century, there existed in medical literature "a stereotype of woman as a medically unique but inferior being, whose health was determined by her femininity", in which menstruation was the central feature.[26] The image of the female being biologically predisposed to hysteria and other diseases such as tuberculosis and syphilis found currency in Victorian medical literature; Katherine Byrne observes that this medicalisation of femininity rendered female bodies "sites of social anxiety", suggesting that female pathologies tapped into contemporary fears regarding the unchecked female body, its inherent volatility and propensity for sexual transgression.[27]

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[24] For an in-depth study of late-Victorian microscopy, science and disease, see Martin Willis, *Vision, Science and Literature 1870-1920: Ocular Horizons* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2011).

[25] Athena Vrettos Athena, *Somatic Fictions: Imagining Illness in Victorian Culture* (Stanford: University Press, 1995), p. 5.

[26] Anne Digby "Women's Biological Straightjacket" in *Sexuality and Subordination*, ed by Susan Mendus and Jane Randall (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 192-220, p. 193.

[27] Katherine Byrne, *Tuberculosis and the Victorian Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 1.

Theories of sexual differences outlined by Darwinian science "were incorporated into a highly prescriptive late-Victorian psychology of women",[28] as Carolyn Burdett has commented: "The shorthand term 'Darwinian' appeared very quickly after 1859 and was used in loose ways to refer to many different accounts of social development and progress. Some of these had little in common with Darwin's theory, other than the belief that biological concepts could be applied to human communities".29 Darwin's *Origin* (1859) could therefore be used to justify social patriarchy and traditional gender roles in its affirmation of superior male physical, and mental, strength. Evolving in the 1860s, and then widely accepted a decade later by eminent physicians such as Henry Maudsley and T.S. Clouston, Darwinian psychiatrists insisted that the differences between the sexes transcended the purely physical, with Maudsley asserting that "there is sex in mind as distinctly as there is sex in body".[30] This assumption marked women out as being biologically designed to lead the passive (yet always cheerfully encouraging) lives which would be complementary to the active, competitive lives of men. Their biological function, it was argued, ruled women's lives: being both physically and mentally designed to give birth and bring up children. Illness and disease were liable to disrupt this perfect social order, Miriam Bailin positing that illness "authorised the relaxation of the rigidly conceived behavioural codes which governed both work and play within the public realm".[31]

The novel's integration of the contemporary gender-based medicalisation of bodies is apparent in the doctor's choice of treatment. The inherent frailty of Adela's body, now more delicate in its atrophic state, should be handled with extreme care; echoing Maudsley's "there is sex in mind as distinctly as there is in body", it is through Adela's emotional reconnection to femininity that physical wellness can be attained.

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[28] Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture 1830-1980*, 4th edn (London: Virago, 1991), p. 122.

[29] Carolyn Burdett, "Post-Darwin: Social Darwinism, Degeneration, Eugenics", 15 May 2014, *British Library*. <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/post-darwin-social-darwinism-degeneration-eugenics> [accessed 18 Aug. 2018.]

[30] Henry Maudsley "Sex in Mind and in Education" *Fortnightly Review*, No. 15 (1874), 466-4832, p. 466.

[31] Miriam Bailin, *The Sickroom in Victorian Fiction: The Art of Bring Ill* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) p. 12.

John Smith, Colonel Cathcart and Armstrong devise a 'treatment' of storytelling which will encourage "the tide of life [to] begin to flow again".[32]

Adela's illness is treated as systemic, rather than localised, as "having to do with [her] body's relations to the whole environment" corresponding to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' "increasing association of illness with issues of identity and relationship… This 'holism' also dictated treatments that required comprehensive 'regimens' which sought to regulate all aspects of one's way of life…".[33] The storytelling club's treatment of Adela follows this Victorian notion of stringent medical/moral regimens of regulation, but Dr Armstrong's avoidance of physiological investigation runs counter to "current medical or scientific developments, and […] makes an extreme claim for the power of the imagination in an era of scientific development", concentrating, as he does, on the reaffirmation of Adela's spiritual and emotional health.[34] As analysed by Bailin, for the upper and middle-classes the role of doctor was often accorded to one "whose professional qualifications resided as much in his relations to the family, standing in the community, and personal charm as in his technical skills and knowledge."[35] The family doctor, Dr Wade, is said to be "doing her no good", and is promptly substituted for the gallant Dr Armstrong.[36] Dr Wade's approach to illness advocates the importance of the dispensation of medicine for the body and attempts to cure Adela's depression, rather than attend to her emotional state.[37] Aligning with Dr Wade's "deplorable" professionalization of medicine, his face is described as having "no expression except a professional one", suggesting not only that Dr Wade is concerned only with his fee, but emphasising the professional distance

[32] MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart*, p. 40.

[33] Bailin, *The Sickroom*, p. 9.

[34] Tabitha Sparks, *The Doctor in the Victorian Novel: Family Practices* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 49.

[35] Bailin, *The Sickroom*, p. 9.

[36] MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart*, p. 25.

[37] Dr Wade's prescription of "steel wine, and quinine and all that sort of thing" was medically recognised in the treatment of brain diseases (MacDonald 34). *The Medico-chirurgical Review and Journal of Practical Medicine, Volume 46* (1844-5) reports the following medicinal directions in the case of 'Insidious Diseases of the Brain in Children': "I next advise five, seven, or ten drops of steel wine to be given thrice a day, in a table-spoonful of water, in the midst of meals, for one month; then half, two-thirds, and one grain of the sulphate quinine, in the form of a pill, thrice a-day at meals, for another month, omitting the steel wine; then *both* these medicines for a third month…" p. 388.

between patient and doctor, a practice the author appears to condemn.[38] Dr Armstrong is contrastingly described in heroic terms, possessed as he is of a face from which it was "likely that health might flow", whose "eyes looked you full in the face, as if he was determined to understand you", encouraging corporeal legibility as noble, trustworthy and a practice immediately beneficial to health.[39]

Adela's withdrawal from her domestic role is initially recognised in her quiet anti-performance at the dinner table on John Smith's first night with his host, the Colonel. The "gloomy" dinner feels the dearth of Adela's former "merry" disposition, Smith notes that "if a ghost had been sitting in its shroud at the head of the table, instead of Adela, it could hardly have cast a greater chill [...] she did her duty well enough; but she did not look at it..."[40] Adela's expected role as domestic entertainer is thwarted by her illness, rendering the dinner "gloomy" and dispiriting to her male companions. Her rejection of her role as female host is again emphasised later in Dr Armstrong's evaluation of her sheet music on the piano, which throughout her illness has gone unplayed:

> There was one thing though that confirmed me in this idea about Miss Cathcart. I looked over her music on purpose, and I did not find one song that rose above the level of the drawing-room, or one piece of music that had any deep feeling or any thought in it.[41]

This observation of Adela's music, disappointingly lacking in both the difficulty and sentiment expected of women of her social standing, confirms for Henry a deviance symptomatic of a diseased body. Phyllis Weliver has noted the social significance of musical accomplishments in Victorian women: "Music, an accomplishment regularly taught to middle- and upper-class ladies, was considered 'safer' than other performance arts, such as acting. Possessing a piano was a mark of respectability in Victorian England, and semi-public musical performances [in family drawing rooms] helped to display the refinement of women and their families."[42] This deviance from expectations of feminine musicality is compounded by the doctor's beautiful and moving playing, as Nancy

[38] Ibid., p. 35.

[39] Ibid., p. 35.

[40] MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart*, p.12

[41] Ibid. p. 41.

[42] Phyllis Weliver, *Women Music and in Victorian Fiction 1860-1900: Representations of Music, Science and Gender in the Leisured Home* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 1.

Mellon asserts: "The sheet-music accessible to Adela is all vapid and worthless, as Harry swiftly ascertains, but the music he plays speaks movingly of hope arising out of despair."[43] But MacDonald also uses the piano to subvert the traditional trope of seduction through music; the graceful playing of the piano, or the moving stir of a beautiful voice through a closed door has been the undoing of many a young fictional bachelor in Victorian fiction, musical accomplishment acting as the gateway to the appreciation of femininity as a whole. Dr Armstrong's outplaying of Adela, his ability to evoke emotion extinguishes the readers' early expectations of a doctor/patient romance, for what man could love a woman whose musical accomplishments were not of the most extraordinary, life-changing quality? In addition to its early curtailing of romance, Dr Armstrong's piano playing is in itself subversive; the piano was widely regarded by society as a feminine instrument, with contemporary journalist and writer Mrs C.S. Peel observing that "gentlemen who also sang duets were in high favour, but play the piano gentlemen did not, that being considered a task only fit for ladies and professional musicians."[44] MacDonald's reversal of gender roles in this scene, the doctor's playing evoking emotion in Adela, returns to notions of accepted gender behaviour in the success of a softer, creative masculinity introducing hope where there was previously only apathy and dispassion.

The stories told by the storytelling club are also designed to stimulate emotion and contemplation. Adela's moral atrophy leaving her unable to "digest the food provided to her", Adela is instead fed stories full of moral nourishment.[45] Significantly, the tales mostly feature ill and ill-treated heroines paralleling the very limitations of femaleness which have made Adela ill. 'The Light Princess' is perhaps the most obvious in revisiting damaging tropes of femininity. In the tale, a princess is afflicted by constant, incurable weightlessness until she finds love, Laurence Talairach-Vielmas has suggested that the narrative "focuses on the way the female body is governed by tropes which

[43] Nancy Mellon, 'The Stages in Adela Cathcart's Cure' in *The North Wind,* No. 15 (1996) <https://www.snc.edu/northwind/documents/By_contributor/Mellon,_Nancy/sk001_The_Stages_in_Adela_Cathcart's_Cure.pdf>, p. 31.

[44] Cited in Mary Burgan, 'Heroines at the Piano: Women and Music in Nineteenth-Century Fiction', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (1986), p. 59.

[45] MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart*, p. 20.

men strive to define and control".[46] In the tale, the princess finally reclaims her corporeality, and gravity, and marries the prince, learning slowly and painfully (as she "could walk no more than a baby [and] was always falling down and hurting herself") to control her body.[47] The prescriptive tales of the storytelling club encourage emotion, empathy, and spirituality while remaining passive; no story inspiring physical action or participation is told, promoting traditionally valorised feminine qualities over any actual experience which could indeed invigorate and revitalise the patient.

Both diagnosis and treatment establish Adela not as an individual patient, but as part of a collective whose behaviour is defective. This commitment to the restoration of function rather than health, reveals how far Dr Armstrong's professional understanding of women is underpinned by his confidence in "the true womanhood that is in them"; his treatment adheres to the social constructions of women's *nature*, rather than Adela's physiological symptoms in an attempt to restore Adela's performative femininity.[48] The absence of the patient's performative, active femininity materialises in the novel's female paradigms. The dedicated wives of Mr Bloomfield the schoolmaster, and Mr Armstrong the curate (Harry's brother) staunchly occupy the archetypal roles of 'Angel in the House' in their respective homes, later transferring this domestic calm to the colonel's house and providing some maternal comfort to Adela in her illness. John Smith's first impression of Mrs Bloomfield reveals her to be the model of peaceful feminine serenity, from which Adela has strayed so far:

> There was something about Mrs Bloomfield that was very pleasing. The chief ingredient in it was a certain quaint repose. She looked as if her heart were at rest; as if for her everything, was right; as if she had a little room of her own, just to her mind, and there her soul sat, looking out through the muslin curtains of modest charity, upon the world that went hurrying and seething past her windows.[49]

[46] Laurence Talairach-Vielmas, *Moulding the Female Body in Victorian Fairy Tales and Sensation Novels* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), p. 37.

[47] MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart*, p. 75.

[48] Ibid., p. 41.

[49] Ibid., p. 25.

Lizzie Armstrong, the curate's wife, is introduced as a similar pillar of apposite femininity "busy at a baby's frock" when John Smith comes to visit.[50] Not only embodying the twin virtues of dressmaking and maternity, she is described by her husband as having saved him from the self-destruction caused by his debts with her "compassionate sympathy" and "tenderness" thereby occupying the illustrious female role as helpmate of man.[51] Both wives, specifically Lizzie, are characterised by a spirituality manifest in peace and contentment, emphasising Adela's spiritual deficiency and subsequent inability to perform her female role.

While Adela's diagnosis of moral atrophy has been accepted by the story-telling club as fact, towards the end of the novel another is suggested. In a discussion with Adela's cousin Percy, Harry admits that he and Mr Smith "agreed that she was dying of ennui…".[52] Rather than a physical illness, a wasting of muscle catalysed by mental atrophy, ennui suggests the physical manifestation of Adela's boredom with life, as Tabitha Sparks observes:

> She has no friends of her own age except for her cousin Percy, whose eagerness to marry her for her money is both undisguised and encouraged by her doting but superficial father. The marital opportunity comprises Adela's only future prospect, except for death…[53]

So while, up until now, Adela's resistance to her social duties has been validated by physical illness, the prognosis of ennui suggests the potential for Adela's conscious resistance against her father, against Percy and against the rigid expectations of her role as an upper-class woman. Feelings of ennui may be catalysed by the loneliness implicit in the helplessness described by Adela; the locus of this loneliness, social stratification,

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[50] Ibid., p. 115.

[51] Ibid., pp. 119-20.

[52] Ibid. p. 265; Initially achieving cultural recognition by way of the Romantics, ennui had many medical definitions ranging from persistent dissatisfaction to unexplained listlessness. In literature, ennui is perhaps most accurately portrayed by Mrs Humphrey Ward in a passage from *Robert Elsmere* (1888): "…something cold, impotent, and baffling […] which was to stand forever between him and action, between him and human affection; the growth of the critical pessimist sense which laid the axe to the root of enthusiasm after enthusiasm, friendship after friendship – which made others feel him inhuman, intangible, a skeleton at the feast; and the persistence through it all of a kind of hunger for life and its satisfactions which the will was more and more powerless to satisfy." p. 249.

[53] Sparks, *The Doctor in the Victorian Novel*, p. 50.

becomes the mitigating force in expressing a need for control and change. If Adela's illness is indeed more self-conscious than the doctor's initial diagnosis appears, then her rejection of the femininity so desperately sought after by those surrounding her, is an act of wilful resistance.

If, as Paula Treicher asserts, "illness is metaphor" a diagnosis of 'ennui' (catalysed by dissatisfaction with ones circumstances or environment, and not a spiritual undernourishment as previously thought) introduces the possibility for reading metaphors of cultural (dis)ease.[54] Adela's illness removes her from the possibility of her father and Aunt Jane's match-making that the Christmas holiday could incite, a temporary departure from the marriage market. The Colonel "had his heart set on marrying Percy to Adela", a desire which, given Adela's age, we can assume he has discussed with her, and with Percy's mother.[55] Percy is described as taking little interest in anything:

> He would generally lie on the couch, and stare either at Adela or at the fire till he fell asleep. If he did not succeed in getting to sleep, he would show manifest signs of being bored. [...] He hunted once or twice [...] He went skating occasionally, and had tried once to get Adela to accompany him; but she would not. These amusements, with a few scattered hours of snipe shooting, composed his Christmas enjoyments; the intervals being filled up with yawning, teasing the dogs, growling at his mother and the cold, and sleeping 'the innocent sleep'.[56]

His behaviour, resembling that of a spoiled aristocrat, is not compatible with the self-effacing joy and lightheartedness exhibited by Adela in her healthy state. Her positive reaction to the stories and songs in the evenings, some of which move her to tears, are regarded as "sentimental humbug"[57] by her cousin, suggesting his want of artistic feeling and appreciation, a character flaw that Adela could not overlook.[58] Percy's

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[54] Paula A. Treicher, "AIDS, Homophobia and Biomedical Discourse: An Epidemic of Signification", *Cultural Studies* Vol. 1, No. 3 (1987) 263- 305, p. 265.

[55] MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart*, p. 173.

[56] Ibid., p. 174.

[57] Ibid., p. 174

[58] In Chapter 4, Dr Armstrong plays Adela's piano so beautifully, and with so much feeling, that he reduces Adela to tears.

romantic attachment to Adela appears to John Smith to be based on notions of possessive entitlement, manifesting in "signs of disquietude" and eyeing Dr Armstrong with evident dislike and suspicion.[59] Smith comments: "His jealousy seemed rather the jealousy of what was his, or ought to be his, than any more profound or tragical feeling".[60] Under these circumstances Adela's spiritless 'ennui' translates as a physical rejection of a restricted marriage market, and of a marriage based upon the perpetuation of familial reputation. This diagnosis of the symptoms establishes Adela's body as a site of cultural anxiety, a physical manifestation of resistance against the mercenary marriage market, against biological pre-destination, against the limitations of female agency and meaningful employment, all of which have literary precedents in tropes of Victorian female illness.

While mutual love and respect were considered the ideal foundations (and believed by some to be the only foundations) for Victorian marriage, the pressures of a demanding society based on a rigid social hierarchy often problematised this romantic ideal. Stephanie Coontz has noted that many nineteenth-century women developed "marriage trauma",[61] worrying about "what would happen if a spouse did not live up to their high ideals".[62] The catchphrase "Better single than miserably married" became popular as, as the century wore on, rates of lifelong singlehood rose in both Britain and America. [63] With her father's desire for a marriage with Percy contrasting with her own judgement of her cousin as a "fool", Adela's anxieties concerning a prospective unhappy marriage have the potential to contribute to her languid withdrawal from feminine duties.[64] As the daughter of a colonel, Adela would be expected to make an economically and socially sound match within or above her class. Her own social rank

[59] Ibid., p. 37.

[60] Ibid., p. 174.

[61] Coontz argues that: "The exultation of romantic love also made some people, especially women, more hesitant to marry. Many nineteenth-century women went through a 'marriage trauma', worrying about what would happen if a spouse did not live up to their high ideals. Such disparate characters as Catharine Sedgwick, the great defender of domesticity, and Susan B. Anthony, the future leader of the woman suffrage movement, had recurrent nightmares about marrying unworthy men. In the end neither married" p. 179.

[62] Stephanie Coontz, *Marriage, A History* (London: Viking, 2005), p. 179.

[63] Ibid., p. 179.

[64] MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart*, p. 21.

as middle-upper class would not permit her to marry a doctor who relied on labour for money, leaving her (within her limited social circle) cousin Percy, favoured by the colonel, as the most eligible match.

It is in the second half of the novel that Adela's health begins to rally, and the text turns slowly to recount the romance with Dr Henry Armstrong, a romance which, as Sparks argues: "substantiates her shallow life".[65] Early in the novel Dr Armstrong seeks to counter Adela's listlessness with diversion, stating that "anything hearty will do her good", and asking her uncle if there is "any young man to fall in love with her".[66] By the end of her uncle's reciting of 'The Light Princess' the identity of the "young man" has been decided, her uncle asserting that "she [...] would be a fortunate woman indeed, to marry such a man as Harry Armstrong..."[67]

By the end of the novel, Adela's health is confirmed with the "glow" returning to her face, her corporeal legibility marking both the desertion of her illness and the appearance of a secure romantic attachment.[68] This restoration of health is further established with Adela's return to her traditional roles, acting as caregiver to her father who becomes ill following the news that his fortune has disappeared (how is not explained by MacDonald). Adela immediately adopts the role of nurse, Harry commenting that "there was no one so fit to nurse [her father] as Adela", returning to the habits of the selfless and obedient daughter.[69] Her loss of fortune also secures her marriage to Harry, the barrier of her social position having been removed, ensuring that Adela's biological destinies of wife and mother can be fulfilled.

The fairytale-like ending of the novel however suggests at the very least the author's ambivalence concerning traditional gender expectations. Adela's falling in love with Henry Armstrong evokes Sleeping Beauty in which the princess is awoken from a long slumber by true love's kiss; Adela's figurative 'sleep', her tiredness, listlessness, disconnectedness, can only be broken by the love of a gallant young doctor, a cure perhaps just as seemingly fanciful as society's perfectionist expectations. Adela's return to her traditional role with the restoration of her health, marks a return to social

[65] Sparks, *The Doctor in the Victorian Novel*, p. 56.

[66] MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart*, p. 42.

[67] Ibid., p. 80.

[68] Ibid., p. 297.

[69] Ibid., p. 317.

expectations and male management, complicating her newfound happiness with the potential recurrence of an ennui catalysed by social limitations. MacDonald's undermining of contemporary female physiology is subversively characterised by Adela's physical resistance against tropes of performative femininity. Whether by means of atrophic illness or disenchanted ennui, the recalcitrant female body invites male rehabilitation and restoration to notions of biological and cultural wellness evidenced through performative femininity. While the author often questions traditional gender roles, the culmination of the novel in doctor/patient marriage conforms to ideas concerning female biological destiny, and wellness through the fulfilment of this destiny. MacDonald's use of corporeal legibility allows for the ideal, metaphoric, social or body-political to be inscribed thereon. Adela suffers from her unruly physiology, her weakness an inherent element of her femininity, the novel subversively presenting a patient both made ill and well again by male-managed notions of an idealised femininity.

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Thomas Hardy's Unmen and Othered Men

TRACY HAYES

ABSTRACT: A majority of critics and readers seem to base their readings of Thomas Hardy's characters, both male and female, on a hetero-normative construction of nineteenth-century masculinity. However I argue that Hardy's novels can profitably be read as delineating specific liminal masculinities that can be designated as 'other' using concepts of gender originating in nineteenth-century biological and psychological discourses. In this way Hardy's novels embody a form of resistance that transcends contemporaneous societal conventions. He employs certain characters as agencies of anxiety and discomfort in order to demonstrate to his readership that the 'other' may in fact perform the function of a unifying principle within the confines of the text. Rather than be banished to the margins for their perceived 'anomalies', figures such as the Unman and the Other are integral to their respective communities, not in spite of their liminality, but because of it.

KEYWORDS: Thomas Hardy, masculinity, Other, Unman, Uncanny, liminality.

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ACCORDING TO THE gender theorist R.W. Connell 'Opposition is not just "resistance", it brings new social arrangements into being (however partially)'.[1] Thomas Hardy's novels embody a form of resistance that transcends nineteenth-century societal conventions, allowing for the creation of new social arrangements within his fictional communities that are inclusive of the 'other'. In Husserlian terms one is 'othered' due to occupying a position of perceived social subordination within their society, thus requiring exclusion to ensure the social preservation of that society. Husserl's notion of intersubjectivity, or psychological relations between citizens, constitutes the 'other' as an epistemological problem, thus requiring banishment in order to maintain the status quo.[2] Hardy's texts do not call for the banishing of the other, but rather its integration into society in order to form an organic whole. He thus specifically enlarges and reflects a spectrum of

[1] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), p. 229.

[2] See Edmund Husserl, *Cartesian Meditations: An Introduction to Phenomenology* [trans. Dorion Cairns] (Lieden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2013).

masculinities much more pronounced than those contained within contemporaneous works. Hardy noted as his New Year's thought for 1 January 1879: "A perception of the FAILURE of THINGS to be what they are meant to be, lends them, in place of the intended interest, a new and greater interest of an unintended kind".[3] His 'unmen' and 'othered' men may at first appear to symbolize such failures, but they each in fact articulate a position of resistance which lends them an interest of an unintended kind. The liminal forms of masculinity evinced by characters such as Diggory Venn, Little Father Time, Thomas Leaf and Christian Cantle are not instances of deviancy and social subordination banished to the margins of society, they are integral to their respective societies, not in spite of their marginality, but because of it. And in the case of Diggory Venn, a marginal masculinity is in fact valourized by Hardy when he provides a conclusion to *The Return of the Native* in which Venn fulfils what David Gilmore has termed the 'imperative triad', the 'three moral injunctions' in any society in which '"real" manhood is emphasized' – impregnating women, protecting 'dependants from danger, and provision of kith and kin'.[4] Hardy's 'unmen' and 'othered' men may act as agencies of anxiety and discomfort for his readers, but they also perform the role of unifying principle within their respective texts, regardless of how far they may or may not conform to an 'imperative triad' of masculinity.

THE OTHER

To date critical and theoretical examinations of the 'Other' in nineteenth-century literature have generally been concerned with representations of women or of characters whose ethnic origins differ from that of the white, middle-class European/American male. Post-colonial criticism has dwelt at length upon representations of the 'subaltern native', Marxist literary theory has highlighted contextual concerns regarding the netherworld of the poor and the working classes, and through Queer theory emphasis has been placed upon the marginalization of non-normative sexualities.[5] Jonathan Dollimore states that 'Difference is a fashionable

[3] *The Life and Works of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Michael Millgate (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1984), p. 127.

[4] David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 222-223.

[5] See for instance Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), and Holly Furneaux, *Queer Dickens: Erotics, Families, Masculinities*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

concept [which cannot be defined temporally]. So too is "the other", that highly charged embodiment of difference'.[6] Nineteenth-century literary examples of masculine Otherness include Emily Brontë's Heathcliff, the 'creature' created by Mary Shelley's Victor Frankenstein, and the figure of Teleny, a sexually ambiguous character attributed to the authorship of Oscar Wilde. Frankenstein's creature is not privileged with a name; stripped of any identity he is literally a conglomeration of parts, a biological anomaly. Heathcliff, the anti-hero of Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847), is seen by critics both contemporary and modern as embodying a masculine sexuality that has been tainted by racial and class otherness, and what Jennifer Lodine-Chaffey has identified as 'a virility couched with aggression'.[7] Rene Teleny is a Hungarian pianist capable of sexually mesmerizing both men and women, and his passionate but ultimately tragic affair with a male admirer, Camille de Grieux, is the subject of one of the earliest published narratives written in English (1893) to explicitly and almost exclusively concern homosexuality. Hardy's 'others' do not personify any of these categorizations, they defy such arrangements in their failure as things "to be what they are meant to be".

Both Diggory Venn from *The Return of the Native* (1878) and Little Father Time from *Jude the Obscure* (1895) occupy a position removed from the *status quo*, being other-worldly, seemingly alienated from both their fellow protagonists and Hardy's readers. This is particularly the case with Little Father Time, who even though only a child is rendered as an exercise in nihilism, representing a rejection of religious and moral principles in a demonstration of the inherent futility of life. Sue Bridehead of course naively reflects that Little Father Time's profundities are simply the musing of a 'too reflective child'.[8] When explaining his theory of the Uncanny Sigmund Freud uses the German phrase – *unbehagliches, banges Grauen erregend* – which translates as 'a discomforting anxiety inducing horror or terror'. *Das Unheimliche* belongs to the 'realm of the frightening, of what evokes fear and dread'.[9] Freud wrote that there are many opportunities in literature to 'achieve uncanny effects that are absent in real life', and

[6] Jonathan Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 249.

[7] Jennifer Lodine-Chaffey, 'Heathcliff's Abject State in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*', *Brontë Studies* 38.3, (2013), pp: 206-218 (p. 208).

[8] Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure*, ed. Patricia Ingham (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 2002), p. 323. All references will be to this edition.

[9] Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*. Trans. David McLintock (Middlesex: Penguin, 2003), p. 123.

thus 'better than anyone else, it is the writer who consents to give birth to the *Unheimliche*'.[10] In his portrayal of both Venn and Time Hardy 'gives birth' to the unfamiliar; it is the quality of Otherness displayed by each of these characters that is profitably employed by Hardy. His specific representation of othering causes discomfort and anxiety for the other characters within the novels, and they have a similar effect on readers also. Marjorie Garson writes that it is 'impossible to respond to him [Little Father Time] as a real child, a character in his own right'; and in a review of *Jude the Obscure* for *Harper's Weekly* in 1895 William Dean Howells wrote of the boy's acts as being 'revolting', making Victorian readers 'shiver with horror and grovel with shame'.[11] Diggory Venn's otherness is necessarily of a different kind owing to his being a man rather than a boy, but he, too, exhibits traits of the ethereal and otherworldly. He is a reddleman by trade who lives like a gypsy on Egdon Heath; remaining for the most part out of sight of the other denizens, he is aloof, isolated, 'not of them'.[12] As a result of his trade his skin is coloured red, the narrator informs us that 'He was not temporarily overlaid with colour: it permeated him'.[13] When he suddenly looms from the darkness the folk of the Heath believe they have been visited by 'the Devil or the red ghost', and Timothy Fairway refers to Venn as a 'fiery mommet' who gives him 'a turn'.[14] The character of Little Father Time uncannily appears on Jude's doorstep seemingly from nowhere, his only possessions a box, 'a key suspended round his neck by a piece of common string', and a half-ticket from his train journey to Aldbrickham stuck in the band of his hat. He is the son of Jude's marriage to Arabella, a boy of whose existence Jude had been unaware until a letter from his errant ex-wife announcing the boy's history and imminent arrival was received only hours earlier. These unexpected and sudden manifestations of both Venn and Time have repercussions within their respective narratives that, in the case of *Jude* especially, prove catastrophic. In the latter

[10] Freud, *The Uncanny*, p. 156.

[11] Marjorie Garson, '*Jude the Obscure:* What Does a Man Want?', in *Jude the Obscure: New Casebooks*, ed. by Penny Boumelha (Hampshire: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 179-208 (p. 196); W. D. Howells, review in *Harper's Weekly*, 7 December 1895, *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage* ed. by R. G. Cos (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 255.

[12] Thomas Hardy, *The Return of the Native*. Ed. Simon Gattrell (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 2005), p. 78. All references will be to this edition.

[13] Hardy, *RON*, p. 13.

[14] Hardy, *RON*, p. 34.

novel the preternatural child serves as a vehicle through which Hardy illustrates the cataclysmic consequences of sexual ignorance and its perpetuation in a society which was deeply rooted in rigid familial strictures.

Diggory Venn is a character who may be read as having deliberately chosen a life that keeps him separate from and unknowable to his fellow protagonists in *The Return of the Native*. Through him Hardy created what J.O. Bailey memorably described as a 'Mephistophelean visitant'.[15] Sandy Cohen sees Venn as exemplifying a 'mysterious, mystical, spectral figure',[16] the sight of whom arouses horror in young children: '"The reddleman is coming for you!" had been the formulated threat of Wessex mothers for many generations'.[17] While the character of Venn is viewed as exterior to his community, he is at the same time an integral part of it. And though the character of Diggory Venn is portrayed by Hardy as choosing to inhabit a space outside of his society, he simultaneously performs a vigilant omnipresent role amongst his fellow protagonists, he acts as the fulcrum upon which the plot of the novel revolves.

It is through the character of Venn that we as readers gain our first insight into the community within the novel, a glimpse through the eyes of an extimate figure who occupies a position on the periphery. During the course of the narrative we 'look in' through him whilst simultaneously 'looking out' at him. Hardy never makes the reader privy to Venn's thoughts, only the resultant actions; he sees much, acts accordingly, but says very little, and displays an uncanny ability to suddenly appear exactly when and where he can be most instrumental to others. John Paterson writes of Venn's almost ethereal omnipresence that:

> He appears and disappears throughout the novel...with an uncanny rapidity that suggests the possession of magical powers...Apparently beyond good and evil he intervenes in, and disrupts, the normal course of human affairs with results that cannot clearly be established as either for better or for worse.[18]

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[15] J.O. Bailey, 'Hardy's "Mephistophelean Visitants"', *PMLA, Journal of the Modern Language Association of America,* Vol. 61, No. 4, (1946), 1146-1184.

[16] Sandy Cohen, 'Blind Clym, Unchristian Christian and the Redness of the Reddleman: Character Correspondences in Hardy's *The Return of the Native*', *Thomas Hardy Year Book* 11, (Guernsey: Toucan Press, 1984), pp. 49-55, (p. 53).

[17] Hardy, *RON*, p. 77.

[18] John Paterson, '*The Return of the Native* as Anti-Christian Document', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, Vol. 14, No. 2, (1959), 111-127, p. 119.

The narrative contains a number of instances where these interventions and disruptions obviate the necessity for the unknowable, or Otherness, as a controlling factor in stasis. Venn's actions are a necessary element in maintaining the equilibrium of Egdon. When Thomasin Yeobright wishes to return home in secret after her disastrous first wedding attempt with Damon Wildeve, Venn is there to transport her across the heath hidden from prying eyes within the confines of his van. When Wildeve through a game of dice cheats the hapless Christian Cantle out of the money Cantle had been sent to deliver to Thomasin by her aunt, 'the tall crimson form of the reddleman slowly rose from behind a neighbouring bush', and with only a few well-placed taunting words he immediately wins the money back from Wildeve in order to deliver it to the rightful recipient.[19] And again, towards the conclusion of the novel when Eustacia slips and falls into Shadwater Weir, with Wildeve plunging after her and Clym Yeobright unsuccessfully attempting a rescue, Venn arrives at the scene where he coolly and logically retrieves all three characters from the water, though only Clym has survived. Such incidents serve to demonstrate that Venn's *unheimlich* qualities are the very tools his society requires for its stability, in contrast to the intersubjective banishment posited in the philosophy of Husserl.

The other-worldly qualities with which Hardy has invested Diggory Venn – red skin, silence, sudden appearances, uncanny harmony with the landscape of the heath – combine designate him as marginal. Venn can be read as representing a liminal masculinity through which he can act as that which he cannot express. Such characters can be seen as an attempt at articulating a marginal masculinity amongst a society that tended to misunderstand or frown upon things, people or events that did not readily correspond to Victorian societal conventions. In *The Return of the Native* Hardy utilizes an instance of the Other as the unifying principle within the text. Venn's extimate position is intrinsic to the intimate connection of threads comprising the novel as an organic whole. If the Other constitutes the limits of the self, Diggory Venn defines the parameters of Egdon. His character, while occupying an extimate position with regards to his fellow protagonists, is placed at the centre of the narrative web from which all threads project.

The aberrant Otherness portrayed in *Jude the Obscure* is altogether more cerebral than that featured in the above novel. Here Hardy demonstrates how a

[19] Hardy, *RON*, p. 223.

bewildered voice of protest is counteracted by an embodiment of Schopenhauerian anti-natalist philosophy.[20] Hardy wrote that 'The best tragedy – the highest tragedy in short – is that of the WORTHY encompassed by the INEVITABLE. The tragedies of immoral and worthless people are not of the best'.[21] Hardy's final novel was condemned vociferously as vile and immoral by commentators such as Margaret Oliphant.[22] In response Hardy referred to Oliphant as 'a woman more shameless' than that of his creation Arabella Donn; and the Bishop of Wakefield allegedly burnt his copy of the novel in protest.[23] However it may be inferred that Hardy thought the character of Jude 'worthy', and that of Jude's tragic son as 'inevitable' in the sense that the former was born before his time, the latter a sign of 'the coming universal wish not to live'.[24] Hardy's most extreme example of Othering, Little Father Time, can be figured as problematizing popular familial conceptions of childhood for the Victorians, particularly that of boyhood.

Little Father Time is 'Age masquerading as Juvenility'; he possesses a pale face with saucer eyes, and when he tries to smile, he fails.[25] A child with an 'octogenarian face' who walks with a 'steady mechanical creep', he is of the opinion that 'Rightly looked at there is no laughable thing under the sun'.[26] Rather than joining in with the play of his fellow students at school Little Father Time's boyhood is spent sitting in silence, 'his quaint and weird face set, his eyes resting on things they did not see in the

[20] The nineteenth-century German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer was the author of *The World as Will and Idea* (1818) in which he maintained that as death is the true aim and purpose of life itself, and this that to live is to suffer, it is irresponsible to bring children into the world when all that will be achieved ultimately is death. This pessimistic view became known as anti-natalism. Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea* (1818) [Trans. Jill Berman], (London: Orion Publishing, 1995). Hardy had begun to read German philosophers such as Schopenhauer and Edward von Hartmann in English translation during the 1880s. See Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 230.

[21] *Life and Works*, p. 265.

[22] Margaret Oliphant, 'The Anti-Marriage League', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 158 (1896), pp. 135-149

[23] Thomas Hardy, *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy*, ed. by Richard Little Purdy and Michael Millgate, 8 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978-2012), ii (1980), p. 106. Subsequently *Letters: Life and Works*, p. 295.

[24] Hardy, *JO*, p. 326.

[25] Hardy, *JO*, pp. 265-266.

[26] Hardy, *JO*, pp. 266-267.

substantial world'.[27] 'Age masquerading as Juvenility' in this novel becomes equated with the sublime territory of unfamiliarity. In Little Father Time we can perceive Hardy as utilizing the guise of *das Unheimliche* through which to represent a Schopenhauerian anti-natalism which was anathema to his contemporaries. Jude's son is other-worldly, more so than Diggory Venn, for where Venn exists on the margins of society, this boy seems part of a different plane of existence altogether. He is completely removed from and inaccessible to the other characters, including his father. Children are commonly represented in literature as playful and inquisitive, beings to whom all experiences are an adventure; yet when Jude and Sue take the boy to the Wessex Agricultural Show they are left perplexed when nothing is of interest to him: 'I'm very, very sorry father and mother...But please don't mind! I can't help it. I should like the flowers very very much, if I didn't keep on thinking they'd be all withered in a few days!'.[28] This bears out Sally Shuttleworth's observation that this child has been 'burdened from youth with the sense of suffering and hopelessness that Schopenhauer accorded only to adults'.[29] Hardy's fatalism here transcends boundaries of age.

The character of Little Father Time has been invested with a fatalism that reduces his existence to a sort of half-life, the inaccessibility of his Otherness is emphasized when we observe scenes such as Little Time standing all but 'submerged and invisible' among the Christminster crowds, and even when at home Jude and Sue are 'hardly conscious of him', which seems inexplicable considering the position his character occupies within the narrative.[30] Jude lives in an initially unconsummated relationship with a woman whom he passionately loves, who in turn withholds herself from him. He is then unexpectedly provided with a son through whom his masculinity may be fully realised and extended, yet this son's presence is barely registered. Like the reddleman, Little Father Time is both highly receptive and perceptive, he rarely speaks but when he does his comments are profound, mature well beyond his young years: 'It would be better to be out o' the world than in it, wouldn't it?'; and a moment later: 'if children

[27] Hardy, *JO*, p. 270.

[28] Hardy, *JO*, p. 286.

[29] Sally Shuttleworth, 'Done because we are too menny: Little Father Time and Child Suicide in Late-Victorian Culture', in *Thomas Hardy: Texts and Contexts* ed. by Phillip Mallett, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 133-155, (136).

[30] Hardy, *JO*, p. 315, 272 respectively.

make so much trouble, why do people have 'em?'.[31] These exchanges take place during a conversation with Sue in which she is unsuccessfully trying to explain to the boy that she has become pregnant for a third time (her relationship with Jude having finally become sexual) even though in their present impoverished state the family is struggling to survive. Time's judgement upon the situation once he has fully digested its implications is devastating: 'I think that whenever children be born that are not wanted they should be killed directly, before their souls come to 'em, and not allowed to grow big and walk about'.[32]

Jagdish Chandra Dave suggests that Hardy 'was prophetic in painting Father Time…as a representative of the generations possessed with a morbid death-wish which were soon to follow Hardy's'.[33] Hardy's close correspondent and fellow writer Agnes Grove used this particular scene from *Jude* to illustrate a point regarding knowledge that children should be made privy to, published as an essay entitled 'Our Children. What Children Should Be Told' in *Free Review* of July 1896. The essay was heavily influenced by Hardy, and he subsequently commented on it at length.[34] While advocating 'a middle course between disingenuousness and complete candour' in answering children's questions about childbirth, Mrs Grove also stated that such a course would not produce 'in an ordinary child such lamentable results as its readers will remember were produced by Sue's fatal conversation with the child in *Jude the Obscure*'.[35] The Otherness with which this tragic character has been invested ensures that he is rendered as anything but an 'ordinary' child. Indeed Hardy himself found it 'amusing' that his readers 'felt irritated' by his introduction of such a child into the novel 'without accounting for his presence'.[36] In this novel Hardy introduces an improbable, or at least irregular, pre-pubescent son into an already contentious story for the purpose of subverting traditional expectations of male-oriented familial relationships. Instead of being guided through educational, religious and career choices, and encouraged to explore the potential of his masculinity with reference to future romantic

[31] Hardy, *JO*, p. 322.

[32] Hardy, *JO*, p. 323.

[33] Jagdish Chandra Dave, *The Human Predicament in Hardy's Novels*. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985), p. 22.

[34] *Letters*, ii, p. 123.

[35] *Letters*, ii, p. 123.

[36] *Letters*, ii, p. 90.

involvements, Little Father Time is subjected to an inept explanation of reproduction by a stepmother hopelessly unqualified for the task. Sue can thus be read as unconsciously obstructing Little Father Time's path through boyhood and into adolescence, and her exhortation 'You must forgive me...I can't explain...I can't help it' to a boy who has already been portrayed as decidedly *unheimliche*, can only result in confusion and ultimately tragedy.[37] The consequences of Sue's failure to dispel Little Father Time's naivete and anxiety leads directly to "the FAILURE of THINGS to be as they are meant to be", ending in a the tragedy of "the WORTHY being encompassed by the INEVITABLE". Little Time and his siblings die as a result of Sue's impotent attempt at feminine instruction.

A. Alvarez viewed Father Time in the light of *grand guignol*, claiming that the character was melodramatic and 'so overdone as to seem almost as though Hardy decided to parody himself', and goes on to claim that the child 'is redundant in the scheme of the novel'.[38] An alternative reading would see Little Father Time as occupying a position essential to our understanding of Hardy's interpretation of Schopenhauer's 'anti-natalism': 'our condition is so wretched that total non-existence would be decidedly preferable'.[39] Michael Millgate describes Hardy as 'Fundamentally pessimistic about the human condition, in the sense that he believed birth and coming to consciousness to be a kind of original doom'.[40] Rather than Little Father Time being a parody of this strain of pessimism on Hardy's part, he is its embodiment, a showcase for the wretchedness of the inevitable encompassing the worthy. Shalom Rachman perceives Time's character as a *deus ex machina,* 'the God out of a machine', a contrivance introduced to resolve exigencies of plot. Rachman observes that the boy 'has inherited from his father a hypersensitivity which engenders an unwillingness to grow up [or become a man], and when circumstances heighten instead of allaying such a disposition, the death-wish forces itself into consciousness'.[41] While it is true that the boy's murder of his siblings and his subsequent suicide are the tragic climax of the plot,

[37] Hardy, *JO*, p. 323.

[38] A. Alvarez, '*Jude the Obscure*', in *Hardy: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. by Albert J. Guerard (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1963), pp. 113-122 (p. 121).

[39] Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*. Trans. Jill Berman, (London: Orion, 1995), p. 204.

[40] Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 379.

[41] Shalom Rachman, 'Character and Theme in Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*', *English*, No. 22 (1973), 45-53, p. 51.

this is not the sole function of his character. Through the creation of Little Father Time, Hardy can be read as proposing an 'anti-antidote' to the images of childhood as a symbol of purity and innocence promoted in the works of Romantic predecessors such as Blake and Wordsworth. This is the position adopted by Maria Di Battista who states that Time's character is a 'repudiation of Wordsworthian childhood, the logic of Wordsworthian consolation', the murder-suicide representing 'Hardy's cathartic disavowal' of Romantic notions of childhood.[42] Di Battista claims that Hardy's nihilistic representation of this episode 'inverts Wordsworth's consoling proposition that the child is father to the man', for Little Father Time will not be given the opportunity to father anyone, instead dying a despondent child.

Contrasting with Shalom Rachman is Peggy Blin-Cordon's argument that Father Time belongs to the realm of the symbolic and allegorical, for he 'is alien to realism and offers no transition with it', he is an element of discord, 'a dent in reality, a forced incongruity' clashing with the generic conventions of other novels published at this time.[43] Consonant with this line of criticism is Francesco Marroni's description of Time as an 'erupting character' who confounded Victorian readers 'not prepared to accept the portrait of such an unorthodox child'.[44] 'Confounding' and 'unorthodox' are indicators in accord with images of Little Father Time as Other, as a symbol of Hardy's non-conformity to the generic conventions of a society devoted to idyllic conceptions of infancy and childhood. The boy's last uttered words are 'If we children was gone there'd be no trouble at all', and he leaves a note containing just one cryptic sentence, 'Done because we are too meny'.[45] Jenny Bourne Taylor draws attention to the fact that the character of Little Father Time was delineated at a time of 'widespread concerns about the transmission and accumulation of morbid qualities' which amplified fears that 'children are particularly susceptible to both hereditary and acquired nervous disease', a phenomenon which culminated in a series of essays by practitioners such as Henry

[42] Maria Di Battista, '*Jude the Obscure* and the Taboo of Virginity', in *Jude the Obscure: New Casebooks*, ed. Penny Boumelha (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 166-178, p. 174.

[43] Peggy Blin-Cordon, 'Hardy and Generic Liminality: The Case of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Jude the Obscure*', *Hardy Review* Vol. 15, No. 1 (2013), 44-52, pp. 49-50.

[44] Francesco Marroni, *Victorian Disharmonies: A Reconsideration of Nineteenth-Century British Literature* (University of Delaware Press, 2010), p. 183.

[45] Hardy, *JO*, pp. 324-325.

Maudsley on 'the apparent dramatic rise in child suicide'.[46] Taylor makes the salient point that while we need to place Hardy's work within such contexts 'it is equally important to recognize his engagement with a wider range of psychological theories and perspectives that span the century'.[47] Conversely, Hardy biographer Robert Gittings dismisses the murder/suicide episode as 'the height of improbability', describing it as 'terrible' and 'gratuitous'.[48] Terrible yes, tragically so, but 'gratuitous' would imply that Hardy had chosen to delineate this freakish and fatalistically resistant character within the story for merely salacious, titillating purposes, and this is evidently not the case. Man's 'will' led Schopenhauer to the conclusion that emotional, physical and sexual desires can never be truly fulfilled because human desire is ultimately futile, illogical and directionless. Hardy's belief that the 'highest' tragedy is that of 'the WORTHY encompassed by the INEVITABLE' is clearly borne out in this tale of a worthy man whose 'ideas were fifty years too soon to be any good', and his uncanny son representing a 'universal wish not to live', together embody a nihilistic futility that is ultimately inevitable.[49] Time and Venn, the reddleman and the fatalistic boy, can be read as extending explorations of Victorian masculinities that are Other, alien, unfamiliar and resistant within the context of nineteenth-century constructions of maleness.

THE UNMAN

While sexologists such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840-1902) were enumerating a plethora of sexual identities outside that of a normative heterosexuality, biologists and medical practitioners contemporary with Hardy were active in trying to eliminate such anomalies. Martha Vicinus argues that the concept of the hermaphrodite as a discursive term became a 'catch-all descriptor of all non-traditional sexual people and bodies' throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and describes how medical

[46] Jenny Bourne Taylor, 'Psychology', in *Thomas Hardy in Context*, ed. Phillip Mallett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 339-350 (p. 348). See also Henry Maudsley, 'Heredity in Health and Disease', *Blackwood's Magazine*, (1886).

[47] Taylor, 'Psychology', p. 348.

[48] Robert Gittings, *Young Thomas Hardy.* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1978), p. 262.

[49] Hardy, *JO*, p. 388, 326 respectively.

discourses of this time classed such deviations from the norm.[50] Before the appearance of Darwin's *The Descent of Man* (1879) doctors still defined gender according to a doctrine of appropriate appearance and behaviour; anomalies did not lead them to draw conclusions as to a variety of physical types. Thus, as Vicinus notes, 'they sought a scientific explanation for all biological confusion' while they clung 'obstinately to their belief in the two sexes/two bodies model'.[51] Hermaphroditism was considered an aberration, and a programme of gender reassignment ensured that persons displaying questionable sexual characteristics were designated 'correctly' male *or* female.[52] As one may expect, the consequences were often disastrous. Vicinus directs our attention to the high rate of suicide amongst these patients due to the trauma of such an experience and its 'consequent social isolation'.[53] Androgyny was also viewed as an anomaly by the Victorian scientific establishment, marginalized for displaying characteristics of both sexes while possessing ambiguous physical features. At the advent of the aesthetic movement androgyny was celebrated for its beauty by proponents such as Walter Pater, Algernon Swinburne, Aubrey Beardsley and Oscar Wilde. Linked to the highest forms of art, Swinburne praised Michaelangelo's *David* not for its representation of strength and virility, but for it diaphanous ethereal qualities, the pleasurable elegance of its form.[54] Thaïs Morgan, in her essay 'Reimagining Masculinity in Victorian Criticism' (1993), critiques the homoerotic poetry of both Pater and Swinburne, addressing the authors' assumed masculine androgyny, and their preoccupation with the aesthetic beauty of Ancient Greek art. She reads these authors as valourizing effeminacy as an important masculine appropriation of a somewhat hermaphroditic ideal of beauty.[55] This section will discuss the characters of Thomas Leaf (*Under the Greenwood Tree*) and Christian Cantle (*The Return of the Native*) as 'anomalies', rather than hermaphrodites or androgynes per se, who do not suffer 'social isolation', but who in

[50] Martha Vicinus, review of Alice Domurat Dreger, *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex* (Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1998), *Victorian Studies* Vol. 42, No. 2, (1999), pp. 321-323 (p. 323).

[51] Vicinus, 'Hermaphrodites', p. 322.

[52] Vicinus, ibid.

[53] Vicinus, ibid.

[54] See Algernon Charles Swinburne, *Gems of Art*. (1890).

[55] Thaïs Morgan, 'Reimagining Masculinity in Victorian Criticism: Swinburn and Pater', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 36, No.3, (Spring 1993), 315-322 (p. 316).

fact are seamlessly integrated within the novelistic communities which they each inhabit.

The 'Unman' as a biological and societal construct of resistance is independent of the figure of the androgyne, instead 'he' may be interpreted as not displaying any physical or social characteristics regarded as particular to either sex. Freud argued that all humans are constitutionally bisexual, as both masculine and feminine 'currents' exist within everyone. To this end Freud insists that masculinity can never exist in a pure state.[56] Rather than being bisexual in this Freudian sense, Hardy's representations of Leaf and Cantle are more asexual in orientation, each occupying a sexually indeterminate space within the masculinity spectrum. In this way Hardy's texts might be argued as articulating an 'Unman' perspective. The Otherness of Diggory Venn and Little Father Time demonstrates the possibility of remaining 'extimate' to society while simultaneously remaining vital to exigencies of plot. Through the characters of Leaf and Cantle Hardy represents an extreme liminality that is not only used as a yardstick by which to gauge the masculinities of the other protagonists, and by which they may measure each other, but also introduces instances of 'opposition and resistance' that 'facilitate the deployment of new social arrangements' to accommodate them.[57]

Thomas Leaf may be seen as an early attempt by Hardy (1872) at delineating an alternative gender perspective. Leaf in introduced into the narrative via indications of how his masculinity contrasts with that of the other characters within his narrative community. Leaf displays 'a weak lath-like form' and stumbles along 'with one shoulder forward and his head inclined to the left, his arms dangling nervelessly'.[58] If we juxtapose this image with the emphasis placed upon the 'ordinary-shaped nose…ordinary chin…ordinary neck and ordinary shoulders' of Dick Dewey, the novel's central protagonist, it is immediately apparent that Leaf is *extra*ordinary.[59] He is a 'human skeleton [in] a smock-frock…very awkward in his movements', but before the reader can become disconcerted, Hardy adds the qualification, 'apparently on account

[56] For a discussion of Freudian gender theories from a late twentieth-century perspective with particular emphasis on masculinities see R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, op cit., chapter 1: 'The Science of Masculinity'.
[57] Connell, *Masculinities,* p. 229.
[58] Thomas Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, ed. Simon Gatrell (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 1999), p. 13. All references will be to this edition.
[59] Hardy, *UGT*, p. 12.

of having grown so very fast that before he had had time to get used to his height he was higher'.[60] This character is portrayed as never having understood the notion of physical attractiveness, and thus the arrival of Fancy Day to the village leaves him uncertain as to how he should react after hearing the other men praise her beauty.[61] In addition he seems to show not the least hesitation in comparing himself to a woman when trying to defend his singing ability: 'I can sing my treble as well as any maid, or married woman either, and better'.[62] Yet though he is described by the other characters as having a 'reedy voice', 'ghastly looks' and 'no head', he is accepted by them as a valid member of the narrative community.[63] Angelique Richardson notes that in this novel 'Hardy depicts a community underpinned by co-operation and inclusion, rather than struggle and exclusion, which underpinned the eugenicist position'.[64] She notes that even Leaf's name 'signals his belonging to the organic whole'.[65] This is an important observation because for such a liminal entity to achieve effortless integration into society can be construed as anathema to the eugenicist position of Hardy's contemporaries such as Max Nordau and Francis Galton. Grant Allen, a biologist and novelist, argued for the pre-eminence of biological beauty being equated with perfection in his book *Physiological Aesthetics* (1877): 'the heart and core of such a fixed hereditary taste for each species must consist in the appreciation of the pure and healthy typical specific form. The ugly for every kind…must always be (in the main) the deformed, the aberrant, the weakly, the unnatural, the impotent'[66]. He goes on to say that should any society prefer 'the morbid to the sound', then that race 'must be on the high road to extinction'.[67] But through the construction of Leaf's character Hardy ranges himself in opposition to thinkers like Allen. While Leaf is 'deformed', 'aberrant' and 'unnatural', he is also an example of resistance to a eugenicist dialectic – eugenicists who fear that the inclusion of the 'morbid' will lead to extinction. This is best illustrated

[60] Hardy, *UGT*, p. 17.

[61] Hardy, *UGT*, p. 34.

[62] Hardy, *UGT*, p. 77.

[63] Hardy, *UGT*, pp. 81-82.

[64] Angelique Richardson, 'Hardy and Biology', in *Thomas Hardy: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Phillip Mallett (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 156-180 (p. 166).

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

when Thomas Leaf appears at the wedding of Dick Dewey and Fancy Day at the novel's conclusion. At first members of the community are dubious as to his appearance on such a public occasion, until the Tranter gently explains why this inelegant effeminate youth should be welcomed: 'Suppose we must let 'en come? His looks are against 'en, and he is terrible silly; but 'a have never been in jail and 'a won't do no harm'.[68] In this passage of dialogue Hardy can therefore be read as affirming that a seemingly unfortunate appearance is not necessarily concomitant with an immoral or 'unnatural' disposition. And when Geoffrey bids Leaf 'th'rt welcome 'st know', he is not inviting the 'extinction' of the Mellstock community, he is instead 'bringing new social arrangements into being', acceptance of the 'morbid', of the Unman.[69]

The character of Christian Cantle is rendered more explicitly 'neuter' or 'third sex', he is the 'Unman' to Diggory Venn's 'Other'. References to Cantle's liminal masculinity are much more prevalent throughout the text than in Hardy's representation of Leaf, Cantle being a more fully developed character whose part within the plot of *The Return of the Native* (1878) is more intricate, his interaction with his fellow protagonists more involved. Like Leaf, Cantle's appearance is awkward to the point of abnormality. He is, according to the narrator, a 'slack-twisted slim-looking maphrotite fool' and a 'faltering man with reedy hair, no shoulders, and a great quantity of wrist and ankle beyond his clothes' who speaks in a 'thin gibbering voice'.[70] Emphasis is also placed upon his designation as 'the man no woman will marry'[71], due to suspicions that he is a 'man of no moon', a hermaphrodite. Christian was born during the interval between an old moon and the first appearance of a new one, which, according to Egdon folklore, identifies him with the saying 'no moon, no man'.[72] As his character admits of himself: 'Tis said I be only the rames of a man, and no good in the world at all'.[73] But as with Leaf, this Unman is also unquestioningly included as a valid

[68] Hardy, *UGT*, p. 190.

[69] Ibid, p. 190.

[70] Ibid, p. 28.

[71] Ibid, pp: 28-29. Ironically, the myth of how the original hermaphrodite was formed is based precisely upon sexual attraction and fulfilment. Hermaphroditus, the son of Hermes and Aphrodite, was the subject of Salmacis's sexual fascination, she prayed that they may become so inextricably united that 'the twain might become one flesh'. Her prayer was heard and she and the boy became one body.

[72] Hardy, *RON*, p. 29.

[73] Ibid.

member of the community within the novel in his own right: 'Wethers must live their time as well as other sheep, poor soul'.[74] Wethers are rams that have been castrated before reaching sexual maturity.

Sandy Cohen sees Diggory Venn as a Christ-like figure while viewing Cantle as a 'negative Hermes', a 'messenger of evil' and an 'angel of destruction'.[75] Cohen is of the opinion that Christian's name is ironic, describing the character as a 'dourful' and 'defective doomsayer'.[76] Though Cantle is portrayed as exhibiting a gloomy disposition, Cohen provides no examples of any 'destruction' wrought by this individual within the plot, and the 'message of evil' referred to is simply Christian's account of an occurrence in Church one morning during which Susan Nunsuch pricks Eustacia Vye with a stocking-needle, believing her to be a witch. Cohen does not make clear how this event is meant to reflect negatively upon Cantle's character, and therefore his argument does not do justice to the complexity of Hardy's engagement with matters of masculine resistance. John Paterson's argument regarding Cantle's character is embedded with prejudices similar to those of Cohen when he writes of Cantle as being a 'ludicrous figure' who represents an 'explicit denigration of Christianity' on Hardy's part.[77] He uses the example of the Pagan bonfire the other denizens of Egdon Heath participate in early in the novel, and describes Cantle as quaking 'in constant terror of the sights and sounds of the savage heath', his 'physical decrepitude and sexual impotence' standing in contrast to 'the life-worshipping vitality' of the 'lusty crew' as they dance and enjoy themselves.[78] He does not explain why being unwilling to participate in a Pagan celebration is also a denigration of Christianity, like Cohen, Paterson seems to have taken a somewhat narrow approach to his reading of Hardy's tale.

In order to profitably investigate Cantle's character as an instance of liminal masculinity, Christian is better interpreted as articulating an Unman perspective. He is a 'neuter' or 'third sex' individual who, far from being 'ludicrous', acts as a gauge by which others may measure their own manliness, while also demonstrating an

[74] Ibid.

[75] Cohen, 'Blind Clym', p. 54.

[76] Ibid.

[77] John Paterson, 'An Attempt at Grand Tragedy', in *Thomas Hardy: The Tragic Novels*, ed. by R.P. Draper (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 107-115 (p. 114).

[78] Paterson, p. 115.

inclusiveness in direct opposition to Grant Allen's eugenicist rejection of all such supposed aberrations within society. With reference to the masculinity assigned to Cantle's character by the narrator, the novel's other protagonists periodically exhort Christian to 'Lift up your spirits like a man!', and his father Granfer Cantle at times despairs of his son's complete lack of machismo: 'Really all the soldiering and smartness in the world in the father seems to count for nothing in forming the son'.[79] Traditional patriarchal expectations are subverted by one who describes himself as 'a bruckle hit'.[80] The rest of the Egdon community do not show a preference for what Allen termed 'the sound' over 'the morbid', Cantle is instead instructed by Timothy Fairway to 'never pitch yerself in such a low key as that'.[81] Hardy does not castigate this 'no moon' man's lack of manliness, rather he illustrates through his portrayal of Cantle the inefficiency of attempts at human conformity, and the position adopted by contemporary Malthusians that such individuals, via positive and preventive checks, should be left by the wayside in order to maintain a healthy population control.

While the character of Diggory Venn can be read as being Other within the confines of his particular narrative, he also displays the potential to fulfil David Gilmore's 'imperative triad', the 'three moral injunctions' in any society in which '"real" manhood is emphasized' – impregnating women, protecting 'dependants from danger, and provision of kith and kin'.[82] *The Return of the Native* concludes with Venn giving up his nomadic reddle business in order to finally marry Thomasin Yeobright. Though he may be considered an example of *das Unheimliche* by Freudian standards, this quality does not impair his character or impede his masculine progress. Hardy shows that he not only survives where others such as Eustacia Vye and Damon Wildeve perish, but goes on to prosper, an illustration of how a liminal masculinity may prove successful within a society which marginalizes that which it cannot readily assimilate. Little Father Time is also Uncanny but is unable to, or is never given the opportunity to, mature and achieve 'manhood'; his character is refuted in a demonstration of Schopenhauerian anti-natalism. Like Little Father Time the Unman is also incapable of enacting any component of the 'imperative triad'; Thomas Leaf and Christian Cantle's masculinity are

[79] Hardy, *RON*, p. 32, 382 respectively.

[80] Ibid., p. 382.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making*, pp. 222-223.

both called into question by the modality contained within their respective plots, yet in a direct disavowal of a nineteenth-century eugenicist position Hardy places great emphasis on ensuring that these characters are both accepted and fully integrated into their respective narrative communities. Through these characters Hardy represents a 'FAILURE OF THINGS to be what they are meant to be', and demonstrates a range of instances of opposition and resistance in order to 'bring new social arrangements into being (however partially)'.

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Review: Laura Eastlake, *Ancient Rome and Victorian Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 247pp. ISBN 978-0-19-883303-1, £65.00.

QUENTIN BROUGHALL

THE RENAISSANCE POET Petrarch once asked if all history was not merely praise of Rome. Certainly, from the fifth century C.E. to the nineteenth century, classical Rome never left the cultural and political imagination, remaining ever-present throughout the medieval, early modern and eighteenth-century periods as a potent historical model, sometimes to be emulated, sometimes avoided. By the opening of the Victorian era, however, Thomas Carlyle, writing in chapter eight of *Chartism* (1839), could remark that '[t]he stream of World History has altered its complexion; the Romans are dead out, [and the] English are come in'. Although many contemporaries shared his belief that Britain's unprecedented industrial progress and colonial expansion since Waterloo had set them apart in history, some felt that far from superseding the Romans, they were becoming them.

The prevalence and importance of classical culture in Victorian society has long been recognised, though its study has been the victim of a continued imbalance. This is because arguably far more scholarly attention has been paid to the nineteenth-century reception of ancient Greece than Rome, and to how antiquity was understood by members of the Victorian social elite than the middle or lower classes. A number of studies have sought to address this disparity, such as Norman Vance's *The Victorians and Ancient Rome* (1997) and Sarah J. Butler's *Britain and its Empire in the Shadow of Rome* (2012), but much remains to be done to present in true perspective the relationship between classical Rome and Victorian Britain, especially in its vital interactions with class and gender.

Part of Oxford University Press's *Classical Presences* series, Laura Eastlake's *Ancient Rome and Victorian Masculinity* seeks to define Rome's influence on visions of male identity during the nineteenth century. The central purpose of her study is to explore the multiple, competing visions of Rome that were drawn upon during the Victorian era, which she argues were often contested because the forms of masculinity that they sought to support were just as disputed themselves. Throughout, she emphasises the adaptability of ancient Rome as a model for contemporary masculinity,

highlighting its often-contradictory uses 'from Waterloo to Wilde'.[1] In doing so, she portrays how Rome was appropriated across the full spectrum of Victorian masculinity, from the vigorous pluck of imperial manhood to the languid posturing of the *fin-de-siècle* aesthete.

Developed from her doctoral research, Eastlake's monograph is divided into four parts of two chapters apiece, covering her main thesis in the context of classical education, British political reform, the British Empire, and the Aesthetic/Decadent movements. She argues that classical Rome represented a complex object of reception and usage for Britons throughout the nineteenth century, as well as a site of cultural conflict for its various forms of masculinity. In doing so, Eastlake covers an eclectic range of topics, from children's fiction to colonial history, from *Punch* cartoons to 'swords-and-sandals' novels, which together embody what she terms the 'constellation of complex, contradictory and continuously evolving receptions of Rome'.[2]

The first part of the monograph, 'Classical Education and Manliness in the Nineteenth Century', summarises the culture and practices that saw the study of Latin, Greek and ancient history represent the preferred form of educating boys throughout the Victorian era, especially among Britain's social elite. It then takes three well-known examples of schoolboy fiction, Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857), F.W. Farrar's *Eric, or Little by Little* (1858) and Rudyard Kipling's *Stalky and Co.* (1899), subjecting their narratives to close analysis and focussing upon their idealising of the ' Man of Letters' as a counterpoint to the imperial warrior.

The second part, 'Political Masculinity in the Age of Reform', starts by examining the crucial period from Waterloo to the Reform Act, when Britain wrestled with reclaiming classical Rome from its recent Napoleonic appropriation, while reorganising the country's political structure. It then skips ahead to the 1870s to analyse the reception of the opposing political poles of Caesar and Cicero in the works of Anthony Trollope, showing how these Roman perspectives shaped his beliefs about what a contemporary public man should be.

The third part, 'Imperial Manliness', investigates two specific case studies in order to illuminate the connection between ancient Rome and colonial masculinity. In the first, Wilkie Collins's novel *Antonina, or the Fall of Rome* (1850) is considered in the

[1] Laura Eastlake, *Ancient Rome and Victorian Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 11.

[2] Ibid., p. 3-4.

context of liberal imperialism, colonial advance, and 'the rise of the imperial father'.[3] The second examines the figure of Cleopatra and the later-Victorian 'New Imperialist', showing how, as the British Empire became increasingly Caesarist in its ambitions, Egypt became perceived as a potentially 'feminine' colonial conquest.

The fourth part, 'Decadent Rome and Imperial Masculinity', begins by examining London as a locus of potential corruption for Britain's imperial society, showing how metropolitan degeneration was alleged by many commentators in the later Victorian era with reference to ancient Rome. It then turns to the late-Victorian Aesthetic and Decadent movements, where Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde are examined in the context of their positive aesthetic appropriations of Roman decline, with a specific focus upon their reception of the Emperor Nero.

As Yopie Prins and Isobel Hurst have shown in the case of female Victorian receptions of ancient Greece, understanding how classics was gendered in different ways in this period represents a fruitful area of current scholarship. *Ancient Rome and Victorian Masculinity* is a valuable addition to the study of nineteenth-century classical reception, offering a new perspective on how Victorian men of various types perceived their masculinity through the lens of Roman history and literature. Fluently written (and complemented with nine black-and-white illustrations), Eastlake's argument is credible and her conclusions sound, with arguably the finest feature of her study being her close textual analysis of such an eclectic range of contemporary literary works.

That said, a number of criticisms may be raised. Most conspicuously, the study deals with its subject chiefly in regard to the Victorian social and literary elite, rather than the middle or lower classes. Much of this concentration owes to the greater quantity of sources surviving from this former group, but other scholars have shown the insights that alternative visual and performative sources are capable of providing for understanding culture-wide classical reception. (For instance, Edith Hall and Henry Stead's forthcoming book *A People's History of Classics* promises a great deal in this regard.) Consequently, Eastlake's study exhibits what might be termed a zoetropic view of its subject, rather than a panoramic one, presenting detailed, often colourful and vivid flashes of interest, but without giving the reader a sense of the full picture.

There are also a number of omissions. For example, there is no mention of *virtus*, a key component of Roman male behaviour in the public sphere highly relevant to the

[3] Ibid., p. 111.

author's discussion of Victorian forms of political masculinity. Similarly, the vital importance of *Altertumswissenschaft* (the 'science of antiquity') on Victorian classical reception goes ignored. Apart from references to 'muscular Christianity', there is no extended discussion of the interaction of religion with contemporary masculinity, despite its vital importance to Victorians. In particular, Catholic Rome was often perceived in gendered terms as a more effeminate, superstitious alternative to manly, sober Protestantism. Related to this, popular travel to Italy, too, is overlooked, despite representing one of the most potent material forms of Victorian interface with Rome as a place and as a concept.

The monograph would also have benefitted from reference to the work of a number of scholars. For instance, C.A. Hagerman's *Britain's Imperial Muse* (2013) and Phiroze Vasunia's *The Classics and Colonial India* (2013) would have added much to Eastlake's discussions of the links between classics and empire. Additionally, considering its central analysis of gender, the volume could have explored in greater depth the connections between its subject and male sexuality, which goes largely unexamined apart from a few remarks.[4] Nor, despite discussion of Pater and Wilde, is there any mention of 'queer' classical reception.

There are few, if any, textual errors, but one or two factual inaccuracies have crept in. For example, Egypt was never a formal 'imperial acquisition' for Britain in the period under discussion in the third part of the book; from 1882 to 1914, it remained a *de facto* possession in which London exercised merely indirect jurisdiction.[5] Only with the declaration of war against the Ottoman Empire in 1914 was Egypt transformed into a formal protectorate, which lasted until 1922.

Nevertheless, these criticisms aside, Laura Eastlake has produced an admirable and engaging overview of the connections between ancient Rome and Victorian masculinity, which will be of value to students and scholars of nineteenth-century culture, gender and literature. Incarnations of classical Rome in Victorian society were manifold and protean, which makes them challenging to recover in their entirety. This process is further complicated by the dearth of evidence to inform middle- and lower-class receptions, as well as the difficulty of drawing conclusions that apply across the strict class and gender divides of Victorian society. Taking these issues into

[4] Ibid., p. 139 & 142.

[5] Ibid., p. 135.

consideration, Eastlake has managed to illuminate clearly, if not wholly, some of the vital links between ancient and modern in Victorian masculinity, showing how things were rarely simple, even in a man's world.

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Review: Catherine Waters, *Special Correspondence and the Newspaper Press in Victorian Print Culture, 1850-1886* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 236pp. ISBN 978-3-030-03860-1, £59.99.

FRANÇOISE BAILLET

'[…] IN THE FURY of the fight, there is sure to be in the thick of everything an Englishman with a note-book, whose only object is to see and know'.[1] When Leopold, Duke of Albany, addressed the 1882 Press Fund Dinner in these terms, the usual presence of a reporter "in the fury of the fight" had already become one of the main fixtures of modern press coverage. The mid-Victorian era had indeed brought a dramatic change in British journalistic forms and practices. In the context of an increased competition between major newspapers, the gathering and distribution of news, national and international, had become a thriving business. Transformed by the repeal of the so-called "taxes on knowledge", the introduction of new technologies, and the growth of capital investment, newspapers promoted new strategies to capture the attention of what had become a mass readership. Among these new practices was the development of the role of the 'Special Correspondent' which Catherine Waters investigates in *Special Correspondence and the Newspaper Press in Victorian Print Culture, 1850-1886*, a 236-page volume recently published by Palgrave Macmillan (2019). A renowned literary and media scholar, Waters is the author of several articles on this scantily researched subject which she initially approached through her work on Dickens's *Household Words*.[2] In this study, which includes extracts from four of these articles, the function of the special correspondent is examined through the voice and experience of three first-generation 'specials': William Howard Russell (1820-1907), first dedicated war correspondent for the *Times,* George Augustus Sala (1828-1895), influential reporter for the *Daily Telegraph* from 1857, and Archibald Forbes (1838-1900), chronicler of the Franco-Prussian War for the *Morning Advertiser* and author of dispatches from India and Africa for the *Daily*

[1] 'The Duke of Albany on the Newspaper Press', *Daily News*, 26 June 1882, p.3. Cited in Catherine Waters, *Special Correspondence and the Newspaper Press in Victorian Print Culture, 1850-1886* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019) p. 220.

[2] Catherine Waters is the author of *Dickens and the Politics of the Family* (1997) and *Commodity Culture in Dickens's Household Words* (2008).

News. Waters' aim, as expressed in her documented introduction, is to 'examine the stories told by individual specials while at the same time considering how they contributed to, and were shaped by, broader developments in the newspaper and periodical press of the second half of the nineteenth century'.[3] Concentrating on the three decades between 1850 and 1886, a key period which saw the introduction of electric telegraphy, Waters organises her study around five areas covered by the ' specials' – 'Armchair Travel', 'Technology and Innovation', 'War Correspondence', ' Home News' and 'Reporting Royalty' – while the last chapter focuses on their 'self-performance on the lecture circuit'.[4]

The ambiguous status of special correspondence, a liminal form 'occupying an uneasy boundary between objective reportage and imaginary storytelling' is defined in Chapter 2.[5] In an age when the expansion of railways improved access to events, Waters explains, reporters were able to 'eclipse the limits imposed by space and time', articulating 'a new aesthetic of contemporaneity and presence'.[6] Relying on a large and thoroughly explored corpus of primary sources, many of them dispatches sent by Sala as he travelled through America, Algeria, Venice and Vienna in 1865-66, Waters stresses the performative dimension of this new genre intended to 'transport readers imaginatively to the scene described'.[7] Sala's texts, she demonstrates, are the site of a complex interplay of the verbal and the visual, a hybrid and hyphenated 'word-painting ' form brimming with 'colour, texture, light and movement'.[8]

But 'doing the graphic' was not only an art, it was also, Waters contends, a new media technology 'blur[ring] the boundary between human and machine'.[9] Mainly based on narratives of the 1859 trial trip of the *Great Eastern* and the 1865 Atlantic Telegraph Cable Expedition by the reporters of the *Times, Daily Telegraph, Daily News, Morning Chronicle* and *Morning Post*, Chapter 3 ('Technology and Innovation') explores the formal and technical problems associated with special correspondence at a time when the introduction of electric telegraphy significantly altered the nature of

[3] Waters, p. 12.

[4] Ibid., p. 25.

[5] Ibid., p. 31.

[6] Ibid., p. 19, 10.

[7] Ibid., p. 10.

[8] Ibid., p. 55.

[9] Ibid., p. 24.

international news coverage. Reuters, established in 1851, had been the first agency to conduct a centralized 'wire service', collecting and distributing international news across Britain.[10] As special correspondent for the *Times,* which had only reluctantly subscribed to the agency's service in 1858, William H. Russell acutely felt the difficulty of competing with instantly transmitted telegraphic news. His 'Diary of a Cable', a daily chronicle of events on board the *Great Eastern*, later republished together with twenty-six sketches by Robert Dudley, reflects this 'shifting relationship between old and new media'.[11] Waters very convincingly analyses Russell's 'artful repetitions and animated, anthropomorphic descriptions' as a response to the competition represented by the expansion of electric telegraphy, and the subsequent loss of influence for a reporter who had made his reputation through his graphic narratives of the Crimean War (1853-56).[12]

These narratives are the subject of the strongest chapter of the book, 'War Correspondence', which suggests a seminal reflection on the constitution of war as spectacle. Waters' argument is mainly centred on the reports written by Russell while in Crimea and on the many British accounts of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), some of which were simultaneously 'praised for their immediacy and authenticity, and yet at the same time derided for their sensationalism, stylistic excesses, and blurring of the boundary between fact and fiction'.[13] The *Saturday Review*, for instance, devoted in 1870 a column to the function of the special correspondent, questioning the authenticity of some of the reports.[14] Replacing these issues within a context in which the leading newspapers were defined by their ability to acquire scoops, Waters shows that some journalists, Archibald Forbes in particular, wrote their reports in advance, based on war plans acquired through diplomatic contacts, thus abandoning 'the ethic of eye-witnessing'.[15] Beyond the lack of reliability of such narratives, Waters remarks,

[10] Richard R. John and Jonathan Silberstein-Loeb, *Making News. The Political Economy of Journalism in Britain and America from the Glorious Revolution to the Internet*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) p. 111.

[11] Waters, p. 85.

[12] Ibid., p. 81.

[13] Ibid., p. 101.

[14] 'The Special Correspondent', *Saturday Review*, 10 September 1870, pp. 325-6 (p. 326).

[15] Waters, p. 119.

other problems emerged, like the progressive abandon of the practice of journalist anonymity and a subsequent narcissistic turn towards personality.[16]

In an age of growing sensationalism, when cultural artefacts deployed a variety of shock and suspense effects, the special correspondent, Waters observes in Chapter 5, was commissioned to develop a technology of presence based on distinctive effects. Among them are Henry Mayhew's voice transcriptions as part of his reports on London labour and the London poor for the *Morning Chronicle* (1849-50). Later published as a volume (1851), these texts 'carried the by-line "From Our Correspondent" thus suggesting that [Mayhew] could be regarded as one of the specials'.[17] Similarly, the ' London Horrors' series published in the *Morning Post* in 1861 and written by John Hollingshead, depicted metropolitan paupers in dramatic terms. Sala's description of the first private hanging (1868) allows Waters to highlight another of the controversies raised by special correspondence. The *Saturday Review* complained, she explains, that the vivid descriptions of the prisoner at the gallows published in the *Daily News* contradicted the provisions of the Capital Punishment Amendment Act 1868, which had put an end to public executions. There again, a question of ethics was raised concerning this new technology in relation to the broader media landscape.

The last chapters of the volume, in which Waters examines reportage on royalty (Chapter 6) and the lecture circuits of some specials (Chapter 7), confirm both the considerable advances generated by the development of special correspondence in terms of efficiency and modernity, and the issues brought up by these very developments. Chapter 6 argues that while the blurring of generic distinctions between news reporting, travel writing and personal stories was instrumental in the popularisation of the modern daily newspaper, the lack of independence of the 'specials ' was consistently deplored by some commentators. During the Prince of Wales's Tour of India, in 1875-76, Russell's status as 'an embedded journalist' within the Prince's suit was criticized by the *Athenaeum* which remarked that the *Times*'s correspondent had ' very seldom indulged in the slashing comments on political and social affairs, of which, had he been writing as a journalist, his temperament would have led him to give us so many'.[18] The last chapter, 'Celebrity Specials on the Lecture Circuit', shows how such

[16] Ibid., p. 117.

[17] Ibid., p. 132.

[18] Ibid., p. 177 & p. 186.

first-generation specials as Russell, Forbes and Sala capitalised on the popular appeal of their columns to confirm their celebrity.[19] The success of these tours, Waters writes, resulted from their ability to reproduce in their lectures 'the special correspondent's unique capacity to transport readers imaginatively through his graphic reportage'.[20]

After a short conclusion stressing the legacy of special correspondence to this day, Waters' well written, convincingly argued and well-illustrated book ends on a useful index providing a clear and searchable list of the persons, places, and sources mentioned throughout the volume. The (surprising) lack of a bibliography in such a meticulous volume somewhat limits its utility for academic research, even if Waters' copious and thorough footnotes are highly informative. All in all, and in the true spirit of special correspondence, this scholarly and enjoyable book successfully merges journalistic, literary and political history in what is undoubtedly a major contribution to the field of Victorian print culture.

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[19] Ibid., p. 191.

[20] Ibid., p. 197.

Review: Barbara Leckie, *Open Houses: Poverty, the Novel, and the Architectural Idea in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 312pp. ISBN 978-0-812-25029-9 £69.00.

MATTHEW REZNICEK

FOCUSING ON THE social conditions and the epistemological problems of representing housing in the nineteenth century, Barbara Leckie's *Open Houses: Poverty, the Novel, and the Architectural Idea in Nineteenth-Century Britain* provides us with an important re-examination of housing in nineteenth-century Britain and British fiction, with an eye toward the problem Martin Heidegger raises: how should we understand the role of the home in an age of precarity and poverty. Leckie's *Open Houses* traces the documentary and expository impulse of nineteenth-century writings on housing in order to demonstrate the way that these writings—both professional studies and works of fiction—were intended to shock the reader by exposing 'the wretchedness, unworthiness, and anti-poetic quality of housing of the poor', and, more importantly, to convince the reader of the 'urgent need for architectural reform'.[1]

In both professional studies and novels, Leckie highlights the genre of the exposé as a consistent framework for the analysis of housing conditions, and one that is rooted in a nineteenth-century print tradition that depended upon 'an Enlightenment confidence in print culture to promote social justice'.[2] According to Leckie, for the most part, the exposé is animated by a 'keen desire to get it right, and, accordingly, to provoke political action', but it can nonetheless also fail to achieve this 'keen desire'.[3] Indeed, as she explains in her provocative conclusion, '[t]he story of housing of the poor [...] is not only about the extreme erosion of housing conditions of the poor and their representation in Victorian print culture; it is also about print culture's failure to generate the changes it sought'.[4] This second element sits in 'productive tension' with the first in order to 'look more closely at this paradigm of visibility and the mechanisms of exposé it underwrites', a lead she takes from 'the nineteenth-century documentary

[1] Barbara Leckie, *Open Houses: Poverty, the Novel, and the Architectural Idea in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018) p. 3.

[2] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 9.

[3] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 9.

[4] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 240.

commentators and novelists who were themselves increasingly wary of a model to which they nevertheless continued to subscribe.[5]

This epistemological and textual model of the exposé is the primary concern of Leckie's compelling book. Situating her study within a tradition of criticism that maps 'a different story of modernity', Leckie draws on architectural critics such as Sigfried Giedion and scholars of the Victorian period like Lynda Nead, Ruth Livesey, Pamela Gilbert, Ellen Ross, Kate Flint, Michelle Allen, and Simon Joyce.[6] What *Open Houses* brings to this well-established conversation is an explicit focus on the question of '*what* house' is used to represent the 'new city life' and to help generate the 'new kind of novel' that Raymond Williams argues emerges with Charles Dickens's representation of a new urban modernity in nineteenth-century London, which was rooted in the houses and not the city's streets.[7] Leckie argues that, instead of the comfortable home of Dickens's bourgeois reader, it is the 'housing of the poor' that embodies the new Victorian urban and literary landscape; the homes of the poor 'suggest not […] closed and protected bourgeois interiors […] but […] open, unaccountable, troubling, illegible, and fractured interiors' associated with disease, unrest, and poverty.[8] In this respect, the greatest contribution this study offers is its ability to use the porousness of these homes in order to combine the 'discourse on housing' with the more often discussed novelistic representation of the poor. This in turn reveals an intertwined political, social, cultural, and literary debate regarding both the state of housing in Britain and the best method to encourage an adequate response to the issue.

Leckie uses the concept of the exposé and its attendant discourse of interpenetration, or the ability to look '*into* the houses of the poor', to interrogate such documentary texts as Edwin Chadwick's *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population* (1842) and George Godwin's *Another Blow for Life* (1859) as well as Dickens's *Bleak House* (1853), Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871-72), and James's *The Princess of Casamassima* (1886).[9] Leckie's *Open Houses* is split into two sections: the first

[5] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 241.

[6] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 16.

[7] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 17; Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 154.

[8] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 17-18.

[9] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 4.

explores the documentary texts of Chadwick's *Report* and Godwin's *Blow* and argues that the exposé model deployed by these texts was intended to help 'describe inadequate housing conditions, tabulate their impact on inhabitants, and call for improved designs'.[10] These texts, drawing on the realist impulses of exposition as well as melodramatic tactics, demonstrate a shifting understanding of architecture in mid-nineteenth-century Britain. Architecture, especially domestic architecture, was increasingly understood to 'have a *productive* dimension', and with it an ability to shape and change social issues.[11] As Leckie argues, the exposés of the mid-century saw architecture as capable of curing the soul through a 'sanitary idea' that shaped reform thinking throughout the period.[12]

Leckie's discussion of these exposés provides an important and critical intervention into the development of 'the architectural idea', a term which Leckie defines as an 'approach to the housing of the poor that coupled looking inside the house with uncovering a secret truth and publicizing it as a catalyst for social reform.[13] Despite the proliferation of such exposés, according to Leckie, 'housing conditions fail to improve', leading the commentators 'into scepticism' about print's capacity to generate change.[14] The complexity of this concept provides the framework for the remainder of the argument: these exposés depend upon the revelation of a 'secret truth' that emerges from within the houses of the poor to achieve social change, but, despite the proliferation of such expository reports, the conditions did not improve. So, Leckie asks, despite repeated entries into the abject domiciles of the poor, why did social reform fail to materialise?

The second section of the book, which turns to fiction, suggests that social reform failed because of a combination of methodology, media, and social attitudes. If the medical and political reports failed to spark social reform even with their melodramatic tactics, did nineteenth-century novels by Dickens, Eliot, and Henry James fare any better? Certainly, as Leckie shows by building on Raymond Williams's introduction to *Dombey and Son*, these authors were able to interpenetrate the homes

[10] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 11.

[11] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 37. Emphasis in original.

[12] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 31.

[13] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 33.

[14] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 11.

of the poor in ways that not only reveal the dark interiors but also urged a broader programme of social reform, like the exposés of the mid-century. However, the relationship between exposing the interior space of the impoverished home and the need for housing reform takes on a more complex and spirited approach through its mediation in the nineteenth-century novel, both in the specific novels that Leckie analyses and in the very form of the nineteenth-century novel. In its mediating capacity, the nineteenth-century novel is able to take up 'a reform agenda, a petitioning for social change' that uses 'the darkness, the rats, the death [...] as the beginning and not the end of analysis'.[15]

While recovering these medical and political reports is itself of immense value, Leckie's interrogations of specific spaces are exceptional for their interweaving of formalism, mediation, and architectural theory. For example, in her reading of Hablot Knight Browne's 'dark plate' representing Tom-all-Alone's in *Bleak House*, Leckie draws together Benjaminian discussions of the arcade as well as Sigfried Gideon's concept of 'interpenetration' to reveal the ways in which Dickens's representations of the slum 'turns the room inside out' in order to baffle distinction 'between the interior and exterior'.[16] The central displacement of Tom-all-Alone's in *Bleak House* refocuses the scale of poverty in the nineteenth-century novel. While the slum is often relegated to the periphery, its refusal to adhere to proper boundary demarcations, its proliferation, its severity, and the threat it is perceived to pose to the moral nature of the national identity means, as *Open Houses* clearly demonstrates, that poverty was of central importance to the nineteenth-century novel and ought therefore to be of central importance to our *understanding* of the nineteenth-century novel.

Barbara Leckie's *Open Houses* provides not only superb readings of recovered documentary and canonical literary sources, it also provides a model for scholarship rooted in politics. Leckie ends this important and impressive monograph with a call to re-examine our epistemological understanding of housing policies, especially for the poor, precisely because it is an epistemology 'on which it is difficult to found a reliable politics'.[17] Instead of a politics and epistemology of 'exposé', Leckie's study urges

[15] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 12.

[16] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 135; Steven Marcus, 'Homelessness and Dickens', *Social Research*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (1991) 93-106 (p.105).

[17] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 242.

scholars, readers, and reform-minded individuals to 'relax our hold on an epistemological model that seeks to uncover the truth and prise it free from its defining structures.[18] In so doing, she argues, 'the field will be inspired and animated', but so too will we be able to 'giv[e] shape [...] to how we imagine the future'.[19] If Barbara Leckie's *Open Houses* is a sign of that inspiration, animation, and future, then our field will undoubtedly benefit from this important and impressive work.

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[18] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 243.

[19] Leckie, *Open Houses*, p. 244.

Review: Gregory Mackie, *Beautiful Untrue Things: Forging Oscar Wilde's Extraordinary Afterlife* (Toronto, Buffalo, & London: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 304pp. ISBN 978-1-4875-0290-4, $80.00.

AARON EAMES

WHEN OSCAR WILDE lay dying in his hotel room, he was barely able to acknowledge the presence of his friends; in Robert Ross's account, he communicated by raising his hand from the bedsheet. In those final days, the legendarily eloquent conversationalist had fallen silent and, at the last, in the place of brilliant epigram came a harrowing death rattle.[1] After 30th November 1900, many people expected, in some cases hoped, that would be the last they heard of Oscar Wilde. However, they were quite wrong in assuming that this particular Victorian would vanish with the nineteenth century, as Gregory Mackie demonstrates in his lively, well-researched account of Oscar Wilde's afterlife.

The 'beautiful untrue things' of the book's title, borrowed from Wilde's essay ' The Decay of Lying',[2] are various forms of Wilde-related forgery. Giving due acknowledgement to the existing scholarly literature on other fakers, such as the poet and palm-oil trader J.M. Stuart-Young and the poet and pugilist Arthur Cravan, Mackie zeroes in on three fascinating fabricators: 'Dorian Hope', Hester Travers Smith, and Mrs Chan-Toon. Stuart-Young's absence from the study is the result of Mackie's focus on forgeries of the 1920s, as well as Stephanie Newell's excellent biography *The Forger's Tale: The Search for Odeziaku* (2006). The forgeries of the twenties include fake love letters in pseudo-Wildean prose, manuscripts copied in a convincing Wildean hand, even entire dramas, not to mention messages from beyond the grave.

The study opens with a discussion of Wilde's story 'The Portrait of Mr. W.H.' (1889). It is itself a story about the practice of forgery centred on the theory that the true addressee of Shakespeare's sonnets was a boy actor named Willie Hughes. Charles Ricketts produced a real-world equivalent of the tale's titular portrait done in oils. This was sold at auction in 1895 after Wilde's bankruptcy and remains untraceable. All we

[1] Robert Ross, 'Robert Ross to More Adey (14 December 1900)', in *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde*, ed by Merlin Holland and Rupert Hart-Davis (London: Fourth Estate, 2000), p. 1219-1223.

[2] 'The final revelation is that Lying, the telling of beautiful untrue things, is the proper aim of Art.'

have is a cursory sketch of the original done by Ricketts in 1912, now in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library; it appears as the first of the book's twenty-one illustrations. Mackie neatly employs the history of the Ricketts portrait as a framing device for his overall theme: involvement in Wilde's 'story' through the creation of new literary material.

The core of Mackie's persuasive and engaging argument is that 'the Wilde forgeries of the 1920s', whilst having an obvious financial incentive, 'can also be recognized as forms of fan fiction'.[3] Drawing on the work of Sabine Vanacker and Catherine Wynne, as well as Daniel Cavicchi, he extends the concept of fandom to include his trio of minor criminals and, by observing the 'intersection of art and crime' in Wilde's own aesthetic system, builds on recent research by Joseph Bristow and Rebecca N. Mitchell.[4]

Mackie's argument is especially well expressed in the first chapter which outlines the law-abiding activities of Wilde's literary executor Robert Ross; Wilde's bibliographer Christopher Millard; and the collector of Wildeana, Walter Ledger. As the compilers of the first *Collected Works* (1908) and several volumes of bibliography, these three men were the producers of what Mackie calls 'fan fact', to be distinguished from fan fiction.[5] In their efforts he identifies the same kind of admiration, even devotion, that prompts the forger's pen. Rather than see these as two opposing groups, Mackie points out that the verb 'forge' applies both to the quest to authenticate Wilde and to the practice of creating works that simulate authenticity.[6]

The jacket illustration, a 'Portrait of Oscar Wilde' by a forger of Aubrey Beardsley, adroitly embodies the primary concerns of the work. We recognise Wilde, with his wing-collar and jewelled tiepin, but it is not quite the real Wilde, the mouth is too pinched and the posture a touch too languid. One wonders if University of Toronto Press

[3] Gregory Mackie, *Beautiful Untrue Things: Forging Oscar Wilde's Extraordinary Afterlife* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2019) p. 200.

[4] Ibid., p.10; See Joseph Bristow and Rebecca N. Mitchell, *Oscar Wilde's Chatterton: Literary History, Romanticism, and the Art of Forgery* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2015), and 'The Provenance of Oscar Wilde's "Decay of Lying"', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. 111, No. 2 (2017) pp. 221-240.

[5] Mackie, p.28.

[6] Ibid., p.11.

considered, at some stage, imitating the green and gilt design of the Ross-curated *Collected Works*.

Chapter 1 also provides the potted history of Wilde's posthumous legacy necessary for a full understanding of the milieu in which the forgeries of 'Hope', Travers Smith, and Chan-Toon appear. This contextual leg work might have made for heavy reading, but in Ross, Millard and Ledger, Mackie has a colourful cast. Ross was a wit in his own right and Ledger was an eccentric who often dressed as a sailor. This makes *Beautiful Untrue Things* a rare book, one in which Ross is outdone by a medium who could channel quips direct from Wilde's disembodied personality, and in which Ledger 's nautical quirks are upstaged by Mrs Chan-Toon's pet parrot, Co-co, who lent her a piratical air. Mackie capitalises on the latter brilliantly in his discussion of mimicry and exoticism under the subheading 'The Parrot Text'.[7]

Mrs Chan-Toon, the subject of Chapter 4, is the most audacious of the book's forgers.[8] She succeeded in passing off an entire play as Wilde's. Astoundingly she even managed to have this dramatic work, *For Love of the King*, brought out by Methuen, the publisher of the *Collected Works*, despite, as Mackie reveals, having plagiarised the plot from a short story she had published two decades earlier. Wilde would have been impressed; no wonder he later referred to her as a 'perfect specimen' in one of his communiques from the Great Beyond.[9] Mackie also discusses Mrs Chan-Toon's made-up memoir of Wilde which is much less well-known and has been previously overlooked. He sees her overarching project as a mixture of 'discipleship' and an attempt to 'establish a textual relationship with Oscar Wilde' from which she could profit.[10]

Chapter 2 showcases the extent of the book's original research. Mackie offers a highly plausible, and indeed highly probable, identity for 'Dorian Hope'. A forger or the ringleader of a group working under a single soubriquet: 'Hope' is Brett Holland, drag performer and 'queer-identified son of a bourgeois family from Gastonia, North

[7] Ibid., p. 186-190.

[8] The discussion of Mrs Chan-Toon in chapter 4 expands on Mackie's 'Forging Oscar Wilde: Mrs. Chan-Toon and *For Love of the King*', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (2011) 267-288.

[9] Mackie, p. 161.

[10] Ibid., p. 190.

Carolina'.[11] He committed multiple impostures, such as signing himself as 'André Gide' or 'Pierre Louÿs' on counterfeit manuscripts. The fact that he donned a fur coat for his business meetings in allusion to the famous Napoleon Sarony photographs of Wilde indicates just how blurred forgery and fandom can become. Holland even inserts himself into the narrative, dropping his pseudonym into a piece of sham correspondence between Wilde and Lord Alfred Douglas. 'Dorian Hope', "Wilde" writes, 'is really the Dorian Gray of my book'; Mackie sees this fabrication as a sort of fanciful origin story.[12]

In the book's subtitle 'afterlife' refers to posthumous activity and mythmaking. However, 'afterlife', when a proper noun, possesses another meaning: the continuing existence of the spirit. Chapter 3 explores the juncture of these two definitions. In 1923 the medium Hester Travers Smith began publishing Wilde's post-mortem pronouncements on, among other things, his current existential state, contemporary literary criticism, and that year's production of *The Importance of Being Earnest* at the Haymarket Theatre, London. Wilde communicated through a kind of automatic writing or by directing the planchette on a Ouija board.

The collaboration between Wilde's spirit and Travers Smith culminated in a play; at first titled 'The Extraordinary Play' and later retitled 'Is It a Forgery?' (the answer being yes, yes it is). There is only one known typescript in existence which is held at UCLA's Clark Library.[13] Given its rarity, it is a pity Mackie does not take the opportunity to quote from it more extensively, although he does provide an evocative synopsis and some short remarks from each of the three acts. While we do get two complete lines of dialogue on page 150, these are also cited in a 1924 article in the *Occult Review* which is available online. In general, having read several of the forged works myself, I believe a reader of *Beautiful Untrue Things* would benefit from first-hand familiarity.

The final section presents an act of forgery possibly sanctioned by Wilde himself. In a letter to his publisher Leonard Smithers, Wilde implies that his friend Maurice Gilbert had signed some copies of *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* on his behalf.[14] With this example Mackie demonstrates that little had changed since 1898: Wildean forgeries had

[11] Ibid., p. 69.

[12] Ibid., p. 108-109.

[13] Ibid., p. 154.

[14] Ibid., p. 201-202.

always been driven by both finance, in the marked-up price of the signed author's edition, and fandom, as Wilde's admirer Gilbert dutifully turned his hand to copying Oscar's signature. Admiration for Wilde motivates the makers of forgeries and the creators of 'fan fact' alike, and, for Mackie, brings together the 'otherwise disparate groups that shaped the archival contours of his literary afterlife'.[15]

Wilde might, if he ever read these sham texts, have called them 'untrue' but never, one doubts, 'beautiful'. Whilst 'true' is the wrong term, Mackie's study is certainly both extensively researched and beautifully written; his own fandom may be sensed in his allusive prose and clever headings. This book represents a substantial contribution to the study of Wilde's afterlife and itself demonstrates the attraction of adding to Wilde's story.

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BIOGRAPHY: Aaron Eames is a doctoral research student at Loughborough University. His thesis, supervised by Dr Nick Freeman and Dr Sarah Parker, is entitled 'The Critics as Artists: Oscar Wilde's Sexuality in Biographical Literature, 1900-1967'. His research investigates the development and transmission of ideas concerning Wilde's sexual identity. Aaron is also a committee member of the Oscar Wilde Society and is the editor of their regular e-Newsletter.

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[15] Ibid., p. 200.

Review: Phyllis Weliver, *Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon: Music, Literature, Liberalism* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017) 305pp. ISBN 978-1-107-18480-0, £78.00.

ROGER HANSFORD

MARY GLADSTONE (1847–1927) was a talented musician, arts critic, writer and hostess, as well as private secretary to her father, Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone. Positioning Mary within her social context, Phyllis Weliver's new monograph, *Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon*, explores the importance of the musico-literary intersections of the late nineteenth-century salon to Victorian liberalism. The liberal movement, partly inspired by Thomas Hill Green, favoured individual self-improvement and action over state intervention. For Oxford Idealists in the Gladstones' network, a moving political speech or work of art inspiring charitable action among the populace was more valuable than government funding for short-term isolated projects. Artistic romanticism was therefore particularly valuable in liberal salons: an emotional appreciation of artworks mingled with political discussion, and sublime elements of performances aimed to enliven participants to enact social improvements outside. Liturgical developments at High Anglican places of worship like St Paul's Cathedral similarly immersed listeners more deeply than before in organ music and synaesthetic ritual to inspire Christian charity, even among less fortunate participants.

As ecclesiastical secretary between 1881 and 1885, during the second of William Ewart Gladstone's four leadership terms, Mary had formal and informal modes of influence, including upon her father's appointment of Church of England clerics. While Mary's salon was part-familial and part-political, so the Gladstone family's reception of *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total art work) crossed public-private boundaries, both secular and ecclesiastical. Mary and her salon guests appreciated the music of Wagner, Chopin, Liszt and Schumann, championing *Zukunftsmusik* (the music of the future) whilst also enjoying Beethoven, Bach and Handel from the past.

Improving scholarly understanding of women's role in this musico-political milieu, *Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon* documents Mary's public impact on funding and staffing London's Royal College of Music (RCM), established in 1882–3. As well as occasional authority over concert programming in the capital, which was

granted her by her musical connections, Mary was central to a network of Anglican clergy, Oxbridge academics and romantic artists including Alfred Tennyson, George Eliot and Edward Burne-Jones. Drawing convincingly on established theories of the *salonnière* (Seyla Benhabib) and aesthetic critic (Linda Dowling), Weliver's interdisciplinary study explores the liberal belief that social appreciation of the romantic arts was divinely inspirational of public philanthropy by salon members.

In *Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon*, Weliver intends to re-define 'liberal', performing a 'politics of appraisal' to explore liberalism that is 'rational and inspirational, verbal and extra-linguistic'.[1] Although one reviewer positions 'liberal' as an overworked analytical term in the monograph, the project's juxtaposition of detailed literary and musical analysis specifically alters our perceptions of gender and audience in Victorian Britain, making important contributions to studies of the long nineteenth century.[2] By highlighting Mary as a liberal female *salonnière*, this text circumvents previous male-dominated studies of Liberals and other late nineteenth-century British statespersons. Weliver recovers previously neglected aspects of European salon history too, given that little scholarship exists which examines salon life in Britain during the 1870s–1880s, or situates salon activities as a discourse of the public/private 'social sphere'.[3] Readers find precise details of the Gladstone's Thursday Breakfasts set against the Keble College group's ideals and the philosophical backdrop of Romanticism. Weliver's study of these gatherings reveals that high Victorians met and socialised in a more *ad hoc* manner than previously thought, that men were more avid salon members than nineteenth-century fiction would have it, and that domestic music-making had its light-hearted moments. Mary and her friend Arthur Balfour shared scholarly expertise and a comic appreciation of Handel's music, contradicting established ideas of the composer's reverent public reception. Weliver's original contextualisation of progressive musical performances, her fresh reading of Dante/Rossini reception in *Daniel Deronda*, and her digitisation of song scores and recordings, which illuminate the Tennyson chapter, are

[1] Phyllis Weliver, *Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon: Music, Literature, Liberalism* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 51.

[2] Emily Jones, review of '*Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon: Music, Literature, Liberalism*,' *Reviews in History*, <https://reviews.history.ac.uk/review/2258> [Accessed 30/05/2019].

[3] Weliver, p. 88.

all significant contributions to understanding the salon as an artistic context for Liberal politics.[4]

A key strength of *Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon* is the way in which it uniquely extends nineteenth-century scholarship by revealing new details and connections. Just as Mary's thirteen-volume diary – Weliver's key source – reflected her delicate social role through carefully-selected inclusions or omissions, this monograph recreates the world of its liberal heroine with equal discernment in content and similar quotidian immediacy. After a well-paced and clearly-structured 'intellectual history' which introduces liberalism, the Gladstones, and the musical functions of the salon, three case studies rigorously scrutinise important musical and literary forms at play in the Victorian home. Mary's life-writing is examined in the context of national musical progress, before two analyses assess the impact of literature on Gladstonian political actions: Mary finished reading Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* just before starting her first secretarial post on 5 October 1876, and William heard Tennyson's poetic recitations on 1 November 1876 as Prime Minister whilst dealing with the Eastern Question. Weliver argues that literature offered both Gladstones inspiration – even guidance – in their public roles. From Weliver's painstaking new study of archival material, readers will discover comprehensive details of literary and musical repertoire, musicians and musical instruments involved at the Gladstone breakfast gatherings and country house visits, and links between these gatherings and improvements in the public musical world. The RCM's establishment was a national development mentioned recently by television presenter Lucy Worsley, and Mary's diary reveals fascinating new details about this Victorian institution's founding.[5]

Weliver's exploration of the salon's musico-literary intersections deviates from overly simplistic surface readings as well as more nuanced theoretical approaches emanating from late twentieth-century criticism, and her monograph is structured to allow interdisciplinary interpretations of salon artefacts. Musicologists, however, might criticise a distinct gear-shift towards literary studies as the Tennyson chapter commences, although it references his recordings of the poems on phonograph and their musical settings by C. Hubert H. Parry and Tennyson's wife, Emily. Furthermore, when Weliver tallies Mary's diaries with her personal letters, differentiating them as to

[4] 'Sounding Tennyson', <http://www.soundingtennyson.org/> [Accessed 01/06/2019].

[5] Lucy Worsley, *Queen Victoria: My Musical Britain*, television broadcast, BBC, 11 May 2019.

register and purpose, she risks over-reading Mary's actions and intentions. Did Mary forward her cousin Arthur Lyttelton's letter on staffing at the RCM to its first director George Grove and, when evaluating the 1872 performance of Leonora in Beethoven's *Fidelio* by 'new woman [Marianne] Brandt',[6] did she scribe words over stave lines in her diary in a deliberate evocation of the sublime? Mary's objectives here as diarist and correspondent are open to question by readers and, while clearly presenting Gladstonian intentions for the liberal salon, Weliver admits that its public efficacy – as on John Ruskin's 1878 visit – was not necessarily guaranteed. A future study could more thoroughly investigate how directly Mary's salon guests responded as aesthetic critics by engaging in civic duties afterwards.

It may appear that Weliver elides artistic ideals with historical reality when she includes the fictional references sometimes shared among salon members; however, this achieves her aim to explore literary aspects of the liberal mindset. Her monograph links real events to near parallels in contemporary novels, not least Margaret Oliphant's *Miss Marjoribanks* (1866) whose heroine shares attributes with Mary Gladstone: 'both contributed to civic change, declined marriage offers until their thirties and organized Thursday social events'.[7] However, could all the subjects of Weliver's study have equalled her own comprehensive knowledge of Victorian literature? When she relates Mary's experiences of the political campaign platform to Gwendoline's appreciation of chapel architecture in *Daniel Deronda*, the Gladstones almost become imagined characters in a fictional denouement because of the poetic way she describes them. William and his daughter Mary – 'like a Wagner figure sitting on stage' – are observed by the cheering crowds and '[n]ature itself seems to respond enthusiastically'.[8] From hindsight, Weliver deliberately explores the permeability of fictional and historical boundaries: she communicates her point on liberalism by drawing readers outside the cohesive world of the drawing room into state politics using the romantic artist as image.

Shaped around Mary Gladstone's perspective as music critic and listener, Weliver's monograph interacts fascinatingly with several scholarly streams. Analysing audience response to emotive performances of romantic music and literature as

[6] Weliver, p. 155–7.

[7] Ibid., p. 197.

[8] Ibid., p. 243–4.

motivation for civic action, Weliver is strongly influenced by the Greenian contribution to British Idealist philosophy. As a result, she justifiably claims greater complexity than Marxist, Foucauldian or poststructuralist approaches, and deeper interdisciplinarity than the foregoing tradition of musico-literary scholarship she helped establish. While Mary employed music for political persuasion and amelioration, she also aided its professionalisation and appreciation in and beyond the late Victorian salon. Here, Weliver extends scholarship in two areas: firstly, the shift towards a silent, listening audience by the 1870s (James H. Johnston, Christina Bashford); and, secondly, how romantic paintings depict subjects showing an attentive listening manner (Richard Leppert). Both Ruskin – although sometimes in political disagreement with the Gladstones – and the French critical tradition influenced the ways in which Mary used her criticism to convey sublime elements of performances to her own audience. Weliver's long called-for study leaves readers optimistic about music, literature, feminism, the salon, and liberalism in the Victorian Downing Street she vividly recovers. Likely to inspire future cultural-intellectual histories of British New Women, this meaningful approach extends nineteenth-century diary scholarship so effectively that no longer is this *salonnière*'s diary 'a secret-keeper befitting Mary's role as private secretary'.[9]

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BIOGRAPHY: Roger Hansford's research interests revolve around nineteenth-century romanticism, particularly keyboard and vocal music in Victorian Britain and their literary contexts. At University of Southampton, Roger was among the early supporters of the Southampton Centre for Nineteenth-Century Research, and a teaching assistant for the undergraduate course 'Materials of Music History, 1500–1900'. He has presented papers at the Biennial Conference on Nineteenth-Century Music, the Biennial Conference on Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain, and at University of Southampton's 'Other Voices Study Day'. Roger holds a Post-Graduate Certificate in music education, and gained distinction for his MMus in Musicology. His doctoral research attracted funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council and led to the 2017 monograph *Figures of the Imagination: Fiction and Song in Britain, 1790–1850* (Taylor & Francis).

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[9] Ibid., p. 174.

Review: Nicoletta Leonardi and Simone Natale (eds), *Photography and Other Media in the Nineteenth Century* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018) 239pp. ISBN 978-0-271-07915-5, £27.95.

BETH KNAZOOK

THIS AMBITIOUS COLLECTION of essays joins a growing body of literature examining nineteenth-century photography through the lens of intermediality, specifically aiming to situate the study of photographs within the disciplinary framework of media history. It follows efforts such as *Media, Technology, and Literature in the Nineteenth Century: Image, Sounds, Touch* (2011), Stephen Bann's *Distinguished Images: Prints in the Visual Economy of Nineteenth-Century France* (2013), and Geoffrey Belknap's *From a Photograph: Authenticity, Science and the Periodical Press, 1870-1890* (2016) in exploring photography's material and cultural relationship to the broader media landscape.[1] The essays examine nineteenth-century photography in the context of railways, the postal service, telegraphy, photographic animation, and phonography, while also revisiting its more frequently explored intersections with literature, the graphic arts, and painting.

The premise put forward by editors Nicoletta Leonardi and Simone Natale is that media historians have ignored photography for too long, while historians of photography have been guilty of media-specific tunnel-vision, and the time has come for both photo-art historians and media historians to awaken to each other's work. Leading with the assertion that the history of photography needs to 'overcome artificial distinctions among "individual" media in favor of an integrated approach' is admittedly somewhat perplexing given that this field of scholarship has evolved in recent decades to become widely engaged with the cultural, social, technological, and representational contexts for photographs.[2] From the recent material turn led by scholars such as Elizabeth Edwards, a visual anthropologist, to the inheritance of the essentially literary

[1] Collette Colligan and Margaret Linley (eds), *Media, Technology and Literature in the Nineteenth Century: Image, Sound, Touch* (Aldershot, Hants; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011); Stephen Bann, *Distinguished Images: Prints in the Visual Economy of 19th Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Geoffrey Belknap, *From a Photograph: Authenticity, Science and the Periodical Press, 1870-1890* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016).

[2] Leonardi and Natale, 'Introduction,' p. 1.

attitudes shaping the works of Susan Sontag and Roland Barthes, photography is a discipline that has historically benefitted from cross-disciplinary perspectives. In the concluding chapter, presented as a dialogue between photograph historian Geoffrey Batchen and media historian Lisa Gitelman, Batchen acknowledges that the current scholarship has moved away from media specificity, from 'an almost exclusively art historical discourse to one scattered across many disciplines, including history, American studies, women's studies, race studies, anthropology, and so on'.[3] How exactly, then, does this collection challenge 'the established boundaries within which the history of photography is usually approached'?[4]

The editors admit that the framing discourse is intentionally provocative, posing a challenge not just to media essentialism and an autonomous history of photography, but calculated to uproot our understanding of photography as a fundamentally visual phenomenon.[5] For instance, a theme running through the book as a whole is the idea that movement – or the circulation of images across distances and across media, and not only in a representational capacity – presages understanding. In considering photography in relation to a wide range of expressive forms, this collection aims at removing what Leonardi and Natale view as 'the otherwise limiting boundaries of historical narratives based on the idea of technological revolutions', revealing that the boundaries which remain are not so much disciplinary as conceptual.[6] For many years now, photographic historians have played with the idea of multiple histories of photography and this would seem to be the natural extension of that fracturing narrative: to acknowledge both the material and immaterial aspects of photography demanded by a media history framework, the photographic image must be divorced from the photographic object so that each aspect can be weighed and understood.[7]

The essays are arranged in three parts: "The Emergence of Modern Communications," "Technologies of Reproduction," and "Popular Cultures." In the first section, Erkki Huhtamo undertakes a brief literature review of the history of photography to prove its readiness for integration into the theoretical framework of

[3] Batchen and Gitelman, 'Afterword', p. 206.

[4] Batchen and Gitelman, p. 205.

[5] Leonardi and Natale, 'Introduction,' p.3.

[6] Leonardi and Natale, 'Introduction,' p.3.

[7] Batchen and Gitelman, p. 212.

media archaeology, while in chapter 2, 'A Mirror with Wings: Photography and the New Era of Communications', Natale submits a re-thinking of his important article for the *History of Photography*, which situated photography within nineteenth-century communication technologies.[8] Leonardi contributes a discussion of 'the visual economy of railroad landscape representation and reception in the United States' as a means of exploring the burgeoning cultural practice of looking at the world through machines.[9] Interestingly, all three of these authors utilize examples of human-machine hybrids ('proto-cyborgs') in nineteenth-century visual culture as evidence of the ways in which photography participated in the attitudes towards media generally; making it clear that expressions of anxiety and wonder around mechanization were both drawn from photography and imposed on it from other areas. David M. Henkin's chapter represents a focused inquiry balancing the daguerreotype's specific materiality against its place in a larger culture of media exchange. He looks at how radical reductions in U.S. Post Office rates contributed to the craze for daguerreotype portraiture by facilitating the movement and reach of these unique, non-reproducible objects, revealing how daguerreotypes became inextricably linked with letter writing as a means of maintaining relationships and personal contact, sometimes across great distances.

An exciting new direction promised by this book is a closer engagement with the seedier and more menacing side of photography, signaling an end to what both Natale and Huhtamo point to in their respective chapters as the canonical, laudatory history. Richard Taws reveals the negative perceptions of power and control that were associated with Claude Chappé's pre-electronic telegraph in post-Revolutionary France, which continued to influence the popular perception of telegraphy long after its decline. Looking specifically at Nadar's writings on electric telegraphy and photography in *Quand j'étais Photographe* (1900), Taws points to an ongoing, 'significant metaphorical currency' that engendered mistrust and left both technologies walking 'a fine line between truth and falsehood, fraud and sincerity'.[10] Jumping ahead to the section on popular cultures, Peppino Ortoleva's chapter on Honoré de Balzac's *Comédie Humaine* (1844) similarly launches from a re-thinking of photography's

[8] Simone Natale, 'Photography and Communication in the Nineteenth Century', *History of Photography* Vol. 24, No. 4 (2012) pp. 451–56.

[9] Leonardi, 'With Eyes of Flesh and Glass Eyes,' p. 72.

[10] Taws, 'The Telegraph of the Past,' p. 68

development alongside another communication media, the birth of serialized fiction. Balzac famously referred to the work as an exercise in "daguerreotyping a society," which is often understood to mean that he imagined his writing to be a truthful and accurate representation of the world.[11] Ortoleva looks at other implications, such as the daguerreotype's potential to deceive and distort, which enabled authors of fiction to conjure not a picture of reality but 'a machine-made ghost world'.[12] He concludes that the daguerreotype's appeal to literary figures at the time may have come from the possibilities it opened up for experimenting with society rather than reflecting it.

Since William Ivins' assertion that half-tone prints have 'no syntax' (suggesting that we look *through* them rather than *at* them), and Estelle Jussim's emphatic counter that they absolutely do communicate through their materials, there has been no shortage of scholars who have looked at photographic reproductions.[13] Here, however, the studies look far beyond pictorial influence and visual culture. Lynn Berger examines the role of the photographic press in cultivating a peer-based community of open exchange, while Jan von Brevern proposes that photography as a reproductive medium changed the arts more dramatically than photography as an art, by redefining *what painting was.* Steffan Siegel's exploration of the use of aquatints to reproduce daguerreotypes in Noël Lerebours' *Excursions Daguerriennes* (1841-43) grapples with the question of whether a photograph is reducible to the message that it communicates. Siegel asserts that aquatint engravings of photographs communicated an understanding of photographic verisimilitude and precision that endowed them with photographic authenticity. Geoffrey Belknap pursues a similar line of reasoning in his look at the reproduction of eclipse photographs in the scientific periodical *Nature* (a re-working of a chapter in his book, *From a Photograph*), deftly demonstrating that hand-made reproductions could be understood as photographs provided that an unbroken chain of authenticity affirmed that the source was an original photograph.

[11] Honoré de Balzac, 'Preface', *The Splendors and Miseries of Courtesans* (1844), qtd. in Peppino Ortoleva, 'In the Time of Balzac', p. 149.

[12] Ortoleva, p. 152.

[13] William Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, Mass: The M.I.T. Press, 1953); Estelle Jussim, *Visual Communication in the Graphic Arts: Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York and London: W. W. Boker, 1983).

The final section of the book includes Ortoleva's look at the daguerreotype and serialized fiction, as well as Anthony Enns' study of 'sound photography' and Kim Timby's chapter on 'perceptual realism' in animated photography. Each contrasts photography with the kinds of sociocultural institutions that André Gaudreault and Philippe Marion consider important to their widely accepted 'double-birth model' developed for cinema studies. Gaudreault and Marion conclude this section by considering how their model, which aims at separating invention from institutional legitimacy, might be applied to photography fairly. Acknowledging that photography had many births and developments, they explore a three-pronged approach that looks at the appearance, emergence, and advent of the daguerreotype as separate moments, positing that Niépce's idea of heliography and Daguerre's announcement of the daguerreotype represent the invention and institutionalization, while Nadar's photographic practice might indicate the real moment of rupture. It is a chapter that ironically looks very closely at media exclusivity in order to demonstrate that media participate in, and derive meaning from, contact with various 'cultural series' (a concept proposed by Gaudreault and Marion that is seen to be less media specific than 'cultural practice').[14]

The approaches to intermediality explored in this volume resonate well beyond the history of photography, and beyond media history too. Positioned as a starting point with a call for further enquiries, this collection taps into the spirit of materials-focused, context-aware analysis in current scholarship and embraces a shift away from an emphasis on production contexts towards dissemination and reception. The potentially wide-ranging applications of this inclusive approach should have the desired impact of encouraging scholars in far-reaching disciplines to also engage with photography outside of art history in non-Western, non-visual, or contemporary digital contexts.

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[14] Gaudreault and Marion, 'The Double-Birth Model Tested Against Photography,' pp. 200-201.

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Romance, Revolution and Reform

Call for Submissions: Reform

From fraught restructures of the voting franchise and the education system, to vast infrastructural redevelopments and the overhaul of poor relief systems, an understanding of the reform movements of the long-nineteenth century and their various implications for politics, culture and society continue to play a central role in scholarly engagement with the epoque. In an era punctuated by the French Revolution, Slavery Abolition Acts, civil war in America, successive British Reform Acts, and the rise of women's suffrage movements across Europe, advocates for change and stasis alike constantly and often violently jostled for primacy. Arising from these vast and complex conflicts and debates, new political, literary, journalistic, musical, philosophical and artistic discourses—from Malthusian political economy to serial fiction—emerged as a means of supporting, challenging and interrogating the reforms being proposed and implemented.

Papers are invited of between 4,000 and 8,000 words on any aspect of reform during the long-nineteenth century. Potential topics could include: reform legislation; domestic and foreign policy making; health and sanitation; infrastructure and urban improvements; education; (dis)enfranchisement; politics; philosophy; economics; slavery and emancipation; resistance to reform and Conservatism; literary and print cultural reform; the fine arts, music and culture; gender and sexuality; religion and dissent; and Church, State and Constitution.

RRR is an interdisciplinary, instantaneous open access journal for the Humanities and Social Sciences, specialising in the long Nineteenth Century (1789-1914). Working in association with the Southampton Centre for Nineteenth Century Research (SCNR) and now moving towards its third issue, *RRR* continues to welcome papers from researchers at any stage in their careers, offering support throughout the publication process and employing a double-blind peer review process, which engages the most appropriate experts to maintain a high standard of scholarship.

The closing date for submissions is Sunday 12th April 2020. To submit an article, please email RRR@soton.ac.uk

The Last Word

ZACK WHITE
(Editor-in-Chief)

As this issue of *Romance, Revolution & Reform* draws to a close, so the first chapter in the journal's life also comes to an end. Since October 2017, I have had the privilege of leading this hugely ambitious enterprise. Now, nearly two and half years later, the time has come for me to step down, and hand over to a new Editor-in-Chief.

As a result, I want to take the opportunity to reflect on *RRR*'s phenomenal success and pay tribute to all those who have made it happen. *RRR* began as an almost off-hand comment at an Annual General Meeting. The concept was embraced whole-heartedly by the SCNR, but there can be no question that I had no appreciation of the scale of the task that building a high-quality academic journal entailed. Plenty of times academics with far more experience, well-meaningly, kindly even, suggested that it just was not possible. There was no viable business model for an Open Access publication that did not have access to unlimited funding from an academic institution. The notion of Post-Graduates running a respectable academic publication was thought implausible, and a less ambitious operating model should therefore be adopted. More than anything else, people queried whether anyone would want to publish with an unknown start-up that claimed to combine the seemingly divergent aspirations of academic rigour with providing a supportive environment for the next generation of researchers to showcase their findings, whilst also engaging with, and publishing the work of, established academics.

Twenty eight months on from its inception, *RRR* is not only still standing, but continues to blaze a trail as an academic journal of integrity; a visionary enterprise whose realisations of its ambitions that has been recognised by an award from Southampton University, and which has achieved a following that now spans four continents. In just two issues we have published work from scholars ranging from Emeritus Professors to Masters Graduates. Our authors hail from seven countries, and our academic output already amounts to some 120,000 words of high quality, rigorously reviewed research. Working in close companionship with the SCNR, the journal's

research environment continues to grow, with a programme of events accompanying the publication that includes roundtable discussions, symposia and conferences.

Crucially, however, our commitment to Open Access publication, and supporting less experienced researchers continues to define us, and marks our most emphatic success in finding our niche. As one author recently put it to me:

> Writing this article was definitely a learning process for me, and I feel that the final result reflected the reviewers' comments and your support too. I'm very happy to have my piece included in your journal in particular, as I think it's so important to challenge the big academic publishers as 'gatekeepers' of knowledge, have papers freely available online to anyone who is interested, and support young scholars.

RRR hasn't just proven itself to be viable. It has proven to be a triumph.

Yet whilst I write this euphoric exaltation of *RRR*'s achievements, I am acutely aware that these are successes of the journal's exceptional editorial team. Although I may have had the pleasure of overseeing the daily running of the journal, none of what *RRR* represents could have been achieved without the superb team who have committed countless hours to ensuring that the journal excelled.

Our Lead Academic Editor, Professor Mary Hammond, has always been a patient source of advice and support throughout the often challenging, and at times fraught, task of running and building a journal from scratch. Our Academic Editors Dr Aude Campmas, Dr Ildiko Csengei, Dr Trish Ferguson, Dr Roger Hansford, Dr Andrew Hinde, Dr Megen De Bruin Mole, Professor Francesco Izzo, Professor Andrew King, and Dr Chris Prior, have all played an active and vital role in our efforts to hone both the journal's operating procedures, and the articles that authors have sent to us, sharing with equal enthusiasm the journal's passionate pursuit of the highest standards of academic rigour. Our 'PGR Editors' Emma Barnes, Stephen Edwards, Emma Hills, Katie Holdway, William Kitchen, Yuejie Liu, Clare Merivale, Anisha Netto, and Fern Pullan have been just as energetic, whether discussing the journal's future, or editing more than twenty pieces of work which have passed across our desks over the past two issues. The journal is infinitely better run, and our issues more meticulous for all their input.

On a personal note, it has been a genuine privilege to have been part of the *RRR* enterprise. From working with colleagues who I would normally never have had the pleasure of meeting, to helping cutting-edge scholars of the nineteenth century communicate their fascinating findings, being Editor-in-Chief has been humbling and rewarding in equal measure.

Yet for all that I have spoken about the past, I have no doubt that an even brighter future awaits this journal. As I hand over to our new Editor-in-Chief, Katie Holdway, I do so in the unequivocal knowledge that she is eminently suited to the task of building on the journal's achievements and raising it to even greater heights of success. Katie has a deep and profound appreciation of the journal's founding principles, having devoted huge amounts of time in co-founding it with me, achieving great things as Deputy and Reviews Editor, and has developed her own clearly defined vision of how the journal can, and must, improve further. There is no-one more committed to the journal, no-one better suited to the tasks that lie ahead, and nobody that I would rather see succeed me.

All that remains for me to do is thank everyone who has made the journal such a pleasure to work on. From the editorial board, to all those who offered sage advice on how to set up and run a journal; from the followers of our online community, to those who have attended our events; from our reviewers, to our authors, and everyone who continues to read this publication. *RRR* is a success because of your engagement, your passion, and your belief that the seemingly impossible not only could be done, but was actually worth doing.

Zack White
(Editor-in-Chief, 2017-2020)
14th January 2020