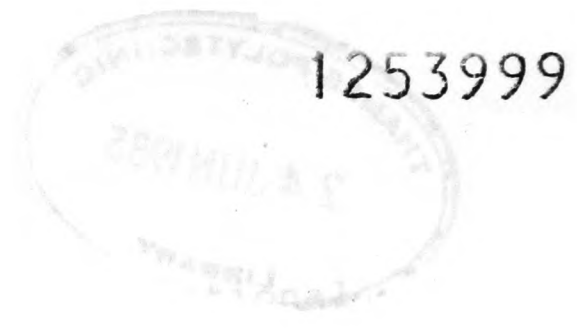# FICTION AS HISTORY

an examination of the cultural context and ideological content of the Nineteenth Century novel of manners

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ABSTRACT

This essay begins by claiming that much conventional usage
of fictional literature as historical evidence is
inadequate. Rejecting any view of literature as passive
'reflector' of reality, it suggests that literature should
be seen as an active cultural product. To develop this
idea, several areas of cultural and literary theory are
addressed: literature is seen as functioning within the
overall context of written and spoken language; as part of
an ideological system continuously concerned with its own
production and reproduction.

The example of mid-Victorian Britain is used to illustrate
this assertion. The place of reading and writing within
sections of this society are examined. They are seen to be
the context of a literary culture based around the
periodical press; fictions are examined as part of that
literary culture.

Fictional literature is thus seen as a connected part of a
system whose functioning was to produce and reproduce the
culture and ideology of the time, and specifically with the
ideological compromise between traditional
aristocratic/gentry and middle class cultures which
occurred at that time.

The final chapter summarises the essay itself and comments
on recent literature in the field of Victorian history. It
demonstrates the need for a history of ideological change
which examines, as here, the mechanisms producing that
change, claiming that such study would not only inform
history, but would be of much use in understanding current
major social problems. The final claim illustrates the
originality of an investigation whose approach both to
cultural theory and to cultural history is, while
comparable with much current work in the field of cultural
studies, of itself unique in both subject-matter and
emphasis.

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CONTENTS

Textual conventions: numbered references to notes beginning on page 220, and editorial matter within quotations, are in square brackets []. Throughout, the word "Chapter" commencing with upper-case C refers to the essay itself; commencing with small-case c to parts of other works under discussion.

Chapter One.

The Problem of Literature and History.

The use of fictional literature as historical evidence is commonplace. Historians of the ancient, medieval and modern worlds have drawn on the literatures produced by their periods of study to amplify or to exemplify; to provide evidence of social, economic and political facts and values they have claimed to have occurred in, or to have pertained to, past societies [1]. Literary texts are so often and so freely used both by historians and historical sociologists that we often fail to see the very real problems involved in using them as direct evidence. This study first addresses these problems, asking in what ways literature can be seen as a historical phenomenon. It is not hoped merely to reach a theoretical conclusion on this point, however: the major part of the essay is devoted to an investigation of a concrete historical period, the mid-nineteenth century in Britain, and of the ways in which literature can be seen as having played a part in social construction at this time.

The nature of the literature and history problem in this period must first be confronted. Historians of Victorian Britain are faced with over-abundant evidence, both in printed and in written source material. So much of this exists as to induce in even the most sanguine

researcher feelings of frustration at forced selectivity.
The result is often that aptly portrayed in the preface to
Lytton Strachey's <u>Eminent Victorians</u>; faced with this
abundance of material, all the student can do is to

> row out over that great ocean of
> material, and lower down into it, here
> and there, a little bucket, which will
> bring up to the light of day some
> characteristic specimen from those far
> depths, to be examined with a careful
> curiosity [2].

The use of the word "characteristic" is important here. How
convenient if the bucket could bring up for the historian a
work, or a series of works, which may be said to be truly
characteristic or typical: in citing one piece of evidence
for all, the historian helps to solve the problem of
abundance. It is sometimes claimed, indeed, that this or
that piece of fictional writing can be seen to represent
the typical life or ideas of a part of the nation - the
middle class woman, the working class man, the Liberal
nonconformist, the Tory squire, and so on. [3]

Citations of typicality are often the pretext for the
use of fictional literature as historical evidence. In the
case of mid-Victorian Britain, one novelist in particular,
Anthony Trollope, has often been used by historians and
sociologists. Trollope's writings are claimed to be
faithful portrayals of the ways of living of the
mid-Victorian middle and upper classes. Michael Sadleir
called Trollope "The Voice of an Epoch" [4]; Owen Chadwick
refers to Trollope's characters and events as realities
throughout <u>The Victorian Church</u> [5]; W.L.Burn takes
Trollope's characters as typical throughout <u>The Age of
Equipoise</u> [6]. Trollope, it seems, has often been seen as

'typical' or 'characteristic' in some special sense, and his novels quoted as precise, realistic portrayals of the world in which he lived. This study will itself discuss Trollope's work as 'realistic', but not in the limited way in which the authors above have used the word.

A brief discussion of two essays, by writers in different disciplines, which make use of Anthony Trollope's writings, will help to point out the limitations of such an approach. The better known of these is historian Asa Briggs's essay 'Trollope, Bagehot and the English Constitution', first published in 1954 [7]. Briggs uses the writings of both Trollope and Bagehot to illustrate various aspects of the theory and practice of politics and government in mid-Victorian England: the "age of Palmerston", as he says both writers would have called it. Trollope the novelist is here seen as an observer, and a very complete and successful one; a novelist whose characters reflected the commonly-held ideals of the time: for example, his character Plantagenet Palliser, Duke of Omnium, Briggs sees as being very close to a "Palmerstonian" governing ideal. This saw statesmanship as the ability to act within a constitutional framework stressing dignity, loyalty and deference reinforced by traditional hierarchy and ritual, and in which the idea of government by 'gentlemen' was far more important than questions of policy as such. The 'descriptions' of this ideal in Bagehot's writings, notably The English Constitution, are paralleled exactly, according to Briggs, in the fictions of Anthony Trollope:

> Trollope accepted the social pre-
> suppositions of Bagehot and explored them

very fully in his novels. A more
convincing impression of what everyday
life was like in England in the middle
Victorian years can be gathered from his
pages than from any other source. It is
true that Trollope did not describe the
turbulent industrial North, but he was a
faithful reporter of the shires, the
small boroughs, and the metropolis. [8]

Briggs goes on to provide examples of Trollope's

observatory power. Having told us that Trollope saw class

relations as a whole, and especially the rise to power and

influence of the plutocracy, he passes quickly on to

illustrate Trollope's powers of observation with reference

to corruption at elections and to the problems of Civil

Service reform. Trollope had been himself a Parliamentary

candidate, and Briggs cites Trollope's own experiences, as

detailed in the Autobiography, as well as the elections

portrayed in the novels Rachel Ray, Ralph the Heir, and The

Way We Live Now. Referring to Trollope's attitude to Civil

Service reform, similarly, Briggs first outlines a

chronology of change in conditions of Civil Service

employment, then Trollope's own experiences as detailed in

the Autobiography, before finally recounting the evidence

of the novel The Three Clerks. Briggs's essay concludes

with the following:

We must turn from Bagehot and Trollope to
the makers of Victorian values, to those
who did not scruple to preach values to
the select few or to the multitude and
sometimes - though rarely - to both.
Neither Trollope nor Bagehot ever
preached: they left this task to men like
Samuel Smiles and Thomas Hughes [9].

This concluding statement contains an assumption often

made by historians and sociologists who use literature: it

is an important part of the notion of the 'typical'. The

novelist is seen, conveniently, as a neutral observer of

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society; given this assumption, her or his work can then be used as 'reflector' or 'mirror' of that society: an exact copy, from which illustration may be drawn. The assumption carries with it certain limits to the usefulness of literature as evidence. A historical fact or value is presented, chronologically placed and described, by the use of non-literary evidence, and only then is a novel from the same period cited as evidence of the same fact or value. The novel, for all its usefulness, has in this scheme of things nothing new, or of its own, to say; it is supportive, corroborating, evidence only. For all Briggs's claim that the novels of Trollope give "a more convincing impression...than...from any other source" such impressions are used merely to reinforce positions established by evidence outside the novels themselves.

Historians are not alone in making such limiting assumptions. Sociologist Margaret Hewitt's article 'Anthony Trollope: Historian and Sociologist', which appeared in the British Journal of Sociology in 1963 [10] uses a similar methodology. This essay is primarily a study of the position of middle class women in Victorian society. It shares Asa Briggs's assumptions of the novel as reflector, but goes further in claiming the uniqueness of the novel as the source of a certain type of historical information:

> The novel is a more rewarding source for prevailing attitudes and practices relating to women than for most other general aspects of Victorian society [11].

Hewitt's concern, then, is with Trollope's portrayal of the attitudes taken to, by, and of the lives of Victorian middle and upper class women. Like Briggs, she dismisses

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Trollope's attempts to portray the lower classes, while claiming that his portrayal of the upper was entirely successful. She claims at one point more than merely naive reflectionism in this portrayal - that Trollope "deliberately showed in the lives of his women characters the pattern of life his women readers should copy" [12] - but then, having briefly allowed the novelist a 'preaching' role, falls back on a classic definition of realism, as simply reflection: Trollope is a chronicler, patiently recording experience, without distortion, or fantasy, or the imposition of a personal moral structure upon observed experience.

Given this assumption, again, the novels are generally read for evidence of facts or values previously established by other sorts of historical evidence. Hewitt discusses the 'female career' = 'marriage' equation and its problems, firstly as they were recorded by non-literary evidence and then as seen by Trollope: the marriage market, the double standard, the 'fallen woman', the boredom of the under-employed wife, the consequences for women of marital failure. Her conclusion emphasises the naive realist approach:

> The position women held in society during a particular epoch is reflected in the literature of the time...in the novels of Anthony Trollope this reflection is both accurate and detailed and...his work thus constitutes a reliable source for historically-minded sociologists [13].

And despite Hewitt's earlier statement that Trollope was providing his female readers with models to copy - positing for literature an active role - she relies on the passive, reflexive model throughout her essay. This type of

approach conditions the evidence: it leads to the asking of such questions as 'does this fiction support this view of mid-Victorian society?'. If it does, it may be quoted or cited; if not, it may be dismissed curtly as 'untypical', or merely ignored altogether. If literature is of use, according to this hypothesis, it is largely as secondary, corroborative, evidence of facts already established. Given this attitude and use, it is hardly surprising that fictions should have remained marginal, optional sources for historical investigation; even of topics such as those discussed by Briggs or Hewitt. Used in this way, fiction can only be seen as secondary in importance, and therefore dismissed as of little account, or ignored.

This marginalisation of fictional literature as historical evidence has often led to its disappearance even where its use might seem most appropriate: not all historians and historical sociologists of mid-Victorian Britain see fit to use fiction. In 1978, for example, was published a collection of ten essays entitled The Victorian Family [14]. Eight of the essays here were by historians, the other two by writers on literature. Cross-disciplinary writing - indeed any attempt by the historians to use fictional literature as evidence - is here conspicuous by its absence. Even David Roberts's treatment of 'The Paterfamilias of the Victorian Governing Classes', a discussion of the real and ideal roles of fathers, ignores fiction altogether, relying instead on memoirs, autobiographies and biographies.

Of the two essays in this collection by literary critics, one is a study of the life and family

relationships of Charlotte Bronte [15]. This uses fiction as evidence in a way similar to that of Briggs and Hewitt, but is of course too singular a study for any generalisation, useful or otherwise, to be made therefrom. The other is more interesting. This is Elaine Showalter's 'Family, Secrets and Domestic Subversion: Rebellion in the Novels of the 1860s' [16], which mentions several novels' plots, and many novelists, and also (if tantalisingly briefly) discusses the relation of the novels' themes to their historical context. Showalter reminds us of the passing in 1857 of the Matrimonial Causes Act, which allowed divorce, for the first time, to those able to afford civil action. She suggests that since novelists like Mary Braddon and Mrs. Henry Wood were wives and mothers as well as prolific writers, and were therefore "in close attunement to the typical Mudie's customer, a leisured middle class wife or daughter" [17], their presentation of women characters in rebellion against marriage - by poisoning their husbands, fleeing with their lovers, or suing for divorce - may have been intentionally subversive, and certainly had the effect of introducing a subversive element into generally available literary culture.

Seen in this way, literature begins to assume more importance in its own right: it ceases to be seen as reflection. There is a sense here that literature, and indeed literary culture as a whole, was playing an active role. Fiction, then, can be seen not as the passive 'reflector' of an already given society, as with the model used (or ignored) by the historians and sociologists discussed above. Instead fictional literature can be seen

as active within society, as being aimed at particular readerships within it, of presenting, to that specifically chosen audience, certain types of information and attitude, and helping to form or change attitudes and behaviour. There is here perhaps a way forward from the restricting model of fiction as passively illustrative or reflexive of society and towards a history which, by seeing literature as a more important, interactive part of its society, may be able to use it more positively as evidence.

Of course any use of evidence requires preconception, and one of the reasons for the marginalisation of fiction as evidence has been the failure by historians to ask certain sorts of question about the societies they study. Briggs's essay, although nominally on the constitution, discusses government, the Civil Service and Parliamentary elections. Only occasionally does Briggs turn to more abstract ideas such as the nature of statesmanship or the notion of deference; and with the latter Briggs, with his assumption of both Trollope's and Bagehot's passive role as writers, fails to appreciate the active nature of both writers' concerns. It has been argued, and will be argued here in Chapters Three and Four, that what Bagehot was presenting in The English Constitution and other writings, was "not so much description as prescriptive" [18]. Bagehot, and indeed Trollope, were concerned with the active, forming power of their words. They were aware of the interactive nature of the reading process, and exploited it: they did indeed 'preach'.

Empirical academic writing has not entirely ignored this kind of argument. The sociologist Joan Rockwell, for

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instance, in her book of 1974 Fact in Fiction, claimed that fiction of all types has been used by societies as a method of social formation and control - that the "norms" contained in works of literature, read by certain social groups, helped to form their collective identity. According to Rockwell,

> Literature neither 'reflects' nor 'arises from' society, but rather is an integral part of it and should be recognised as being as much so as any institution, the Family, for instance, or the State. [19]

Literature, therefore, "ought to be added to the regular tools of social investigation" [20]. It can give us access to two types of information about a given society. Firstly and most obviously, facts about a society's technology, social hierarchy, laws, and institutions (the reflexive model again); secondly and perhaps more importantly, 'facts' about values and attitudes.

Rockwell goes on to discuss Classical Greek fictions, the Sagas, and eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth-century European fiction, concluding with two longer case studies, firstly on the Oresteia, in which she finds evidence of a possible matriarchal society in pre-Classical Greece, and secondly on the changing normative attitudes to the Establishment evinced in 'spy fiction' in twentieth century Britain. Unfortunately, promises made early in the book are not realised in these case studies: the author states that literature was normative, but not precisely how fiction's norms were transferred to the readers. The claims made early in the book do not prove their point. It is not enough to ask what a piece of literature says; how it says it, i.e. how it transmits its messages, and how those

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messages are received and decoded, are just as important. Rockwell's case studies are merely readings in the same naive-reflexive model used by both Briggs and Hewitt. Furthermore, for all the claimed contextual view of literature, this is a reading which relies heavily on the texts themselves, and assembles contextual evidence from them - the reverse of the procedure adopted by Briggs and Hewitt, but with similar problems.

If we are to appreciate the use of literature in past societies, both procedures would seem to be inadequate. Historians either of literature or of literary criticism have tended to isolate them from their wider context - the ways in which they were produced and read by the societies which produced them - and have therefore tended to deal with abstracted 'traditions' of aesthetic development: they either ignore, or just fail to see, the close contemporary concerns of most forms of writing. There are of course exceptions. One such, an attempt at a more integrated study of the place of literature in Victorian society, and one which also uses other kinds of writing than fictions in order to make its points, is George Watson's The English Ideology [21]. Novels, Watson argues, are sources of historical evidence of as much - or as little - value as other contemporary accounts. This is particularly true of the Victorian novel because, Watson claims, it was actually seen by its contemporaries as social knowledge: T.H. Green's assertion to that effect in an essay of 1862 [22], and Maria Edgeworth's review of Elizabeth Gaskell's Mary Barton (1848), which explicitly welcomed that novel as a contribution to the debate on political economy [23], are

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cited as examples. Watson further argues that the centre of this whole culture was the idea of Parliamentary government, and of the ideological notions supporting it, most importantly of access to power via class (Watson rather eccentrically prefers to use the term "caste") status. English writings of all types endlessly debated the nature of historical change, usually from a 'Whig-Historical' point of view; the role of the State (if any) in the running of the national economy; and the relative merits of liberty and equality, always with the idea of Parliament and access to it as central to the argument. Fiction was a part of, a contributor to, these debates, as were many political, economic, sociological, and theological writings.

For Watson, then, fiction was part of a much larger body of writing, a whole literary culture. And this literary culture, as a whole, was concerned with the propagation of ideas, which tended to help the process of social formation: they aided the formation of the entire culture. These assumptions are rather more than the simple reflexive model; they enable us to ask of literature rather more searching questions than simply 'does literature reflect this or that fact or value?'. But they do not answer such questions.

For all Watson's acute perception of the place of fiction in literary culture as a whole, he does not ask several important questions about the way in which the system works; how this literary culture was produced, or how it acted on its readers; or whether its debates are a record of change or of ideological stasis. Questions of

production and readership are obviously vital in any question of literature's effect. Watson's failure to ask such questions leaves his book, for all its historical awareness, somewhat unsatisfactory as history.

Questions of literary production and distribution have been tackled by historians usually at a micro- rather than a macro-level [23]. We know much of the relationships various individual writers had with their publishers and with their audiences [24]; something of the nature of readership in mid-Victorian England [25]; but nothing for nineteenth-century literature as a whole to compare with the detailed description given by Robert Darnton of the production and distribution of one eighteenth century text, the Encyclopedee [26]. We also have ambitious attempts in the sociology of literature to show the interrelations between these aspects of publishing and reading history [27]. We lack, however, any close study of the ways in which readers actually consumed literature: how they reacted to it. If we are to see fictions as part of their society we have to ask such questions.

There are the beginnings here of a genuinely contextual examination of literary culture, and of fiction within it. They prompt the crucial question to which this study attempts to find an answer: if literature <u>did</u> carry values, either in conflict, compromise, or concord, how were such ideas imbibed and placed by their readers? And how important was debate or agreement <u>at this level</u> compared with other institutions of cultural formation?

To answer these questions we need a model of Victorian society, and of the place of literary culture within it. It

is necessary firstly to clarify theoretically the meanings of many words already used in this Chapter: such concepts as culture, ideology and literary culture. Armed with a more precise theoretical model - a clearer idea of the way in which societies operate, and of the ways in which we can describe and analyse such operation - we can approach mid-Victorian society and ask what place literature had in its formation. If literature was an active part of society, we must ask <u>how</u> it acted and in what context. Chapter Two, therefore, will examine these concepts, and will conclude by asking in what way literature can be seen within theories of culture and ideology.

Chapter Two.

The Interpretation of Past Cultures.

Continuing debates have centred around the words 'culture' and 'ideology' [1]. Marxist theoreticians, scholars of literature, history, politics and society have intervened in debates about the nature and usefulness of various concepts associated with these words. This Chapter is <u>not</u> intended as an intervention in any such debate, nor is it intended as an overview of a body of writing. It makes no attempt to include, even by reference, all the views of those whose writings have been considered important in these debates [2]. Rather it continues the line of argument commenced in Chapter One. Given that most approaches to the use of literature as evidence are conceptually inadequate, this chapter addresses the fields of social, political and literary theory with one specific intent: to clarify the ways in which literature might be approached as a historical phenomenon.

1.'Culture'.

> 'Cultural practice' and 'cultural production'...are not simply derived from an otherwise constituted social order but are themselves major elements in its constitution. [3]

Raymond Williams's assertion in his book of 1980, <u>Culture,</u>

is an indication that the word can be used to denote not merely some set of activities as far removed as possible from all other areas of human activity, as is so often meant when the term is conjoined with 'the arts', or even when the similar but democratic version, 'popular culture' is used [4], but something which is actively produced by a society, and which in itself contributes importantly to that society's formation. Any limiting definition such as the isolationist 'the arts' carries with it assumptions of 'culture' as at best a reflector of society, at worst completely divorced from it, while the study of 'popular culture' often seeks to set up similarly arbitrary definitions from the more populist standpoint: divorcing culture from political activity, for example; or more generally concentrating on leisure activities, or the behaviour of very small groups [5]. Yet the 'popular culture' approach, selective as it so often is in its chosen objects of study, contains within it many aspects of use to the historian: attempting to force areas of activity not normally studied into academic focus, such courses have done service, not least in helping to move the general use of the word 'culture' away from the most restrictive one mentioned above ('the arts'), and enabling the aspects highlighted by Williams to move to the centre of attention.

The definitions of 'culture' which avoid the limiting assumptions derive in the main from anthropological terminology. Far from hiving off culture to some part of society outside its normal exchanges, anthropologists have tended to see culture as the sum total of all the lived human experience in the societies they have studied. All

human practices are thereby seen as 'cultural' [6]. Conversely, it can be argued that 'culture' is what shapes all human life and thought, and is the ultimate, or at least the most important, giver of meaning. Psychologists, sociobiologists and others may debate the existence or power of genetic or other physiological necessities or of psychological drives and limits on behaviour, but it is at least arguable that what is important in any given society, and indeed what differentiates one society from another, is the way in which such needs, if there are any, are structured: this structuring, in a very complete sense, is 'culture' [7].

This broad definition might seem almost frighteningly universal to the historian claiming to deal in historical cultural studies (to whom Lytton Strachey's remarks, quoted on page two, serve as a salutary warning), but the broad definition does in fact carry with it certain advantages. Its assumptions are firstly that all human events are interrelated; secondly that they all have and contribute a meaning for those who participate in them. This gives a uniquely sensitive approach to the 'trivial', the 'everyday'; the ordinary daily acts of human existence. It assumes that such events have significance: that they are invested with meaning as part of a whole pattern of cultural events. As the anthropologist Clifford Geertz put it in his influential essay 'The Interpretation of Cultures' [8]:

> The concept of culture I espouse... is
> essentially a semiotic one. Believing,
> with Max Weber, that man is an animal
> suspended in webs of signification he
> himself has spun, I take culture to be
> those webs, and the analysis of it to be

> therefore not an experimental science in
> search of law but an interpretative one
> in search of meaning. It is significance
> that I am after, construing surface
> expressions on their surface enigmatical.
> [9].

The aim of this approach is to provide, finally, "thick description" [10] - not simply to describe an event, or to detail its internal structure, but to relate it to other contemporary events and the meanings such events have for those who participate in them or observe them.

Crucial to Geertz's work, and to his definition of culture, is the assumption that culture is public: that its meanings are shared among people, so helping to form communities and groups. Humans work, perforce, in cultures; they need to channel their activities through such structures because their behaviour is relatively genetically uncontrolled. Culture is neither arbitrary nor merely a passive aggregate of observable events: it is a publicly-formed, interactive, control mechanism, an instinct-substitute; to use Geertz's words again

> a set of control mechanisms - plans,
> rules, instructions (what computer
> programmers call programs) for the
> governing of behaviour [11].

Again, in this approach, the small event must be explained by reference to the whole context. 'Thick cultural description' of the signs and symbols of a group will mean the reconstruction of that group's thoughts, feelings, and actions: its common ground. The semiotic investigation of cultural symbols of the kind applied to various aspects of French culture of the 1960s in Roland Barthes' collection of short essays Mythologies [11] could be applied to the symbols of mid-Victorian Britain. Historical cultural

studies must not be afraid of anthropological or structuralist approaches to the past.

But there remains the very real difference implied by the word 'historical'; Geertz and Barthes are concerned with contemporary groups and events. Their descriptions, while often informed by historical knowledge, are essentially static: cultural historians must not forget that their task is to explain, or at least to describe, change. Some idea of change and development within cultures is needed if we are to address any historical problem. The mechanisms of change within cultures themselves need to be identified and assessed. The concept 'culture' as so far described will not do this. Some historians, indeed, have taken 'culture' as their explanatory starting point: a 'school' of historical writing, following the work of E.P.Thompson and Christopher Hill in particular,has emerged in Britain since the early 1960s [12].

The products of this type of history have been a series of studies of largely fragmented groups and classes. Supplanting the mid-twentieth-century consensus of whig-historical studies of the growth of the labour movement, they have shown the (economically-defined) working class to have been divided across lines of geography, income, gender and race: that, in other words, there were many working class cultures, or alternatives within working class life, co-existing in the recent or immediate past [13].

It is questionable, however, whether such 'cultural' histories provide an adequate explanation of historical change. Some have argued, usually from the point of view of

orthodox Marxism, that this type of history misses the point: not only does it fail to provide a substitute for an explanatory system based on theories of mode of production and economic class, but it all too often fails to theorise itself adequately - i.e. to draw on its own analyses to provide models applicable to other groups, societies and situations [14]. What is missing, again, seems to be some kind of concept of mechanism or agency of change. "Thick description", to be _historical_ description, must carry with it some notion of change over time - some notion of change within cultures; and of _how_ and _why_ it happens.

We need, therefore, to think not so much of 'cultures' in themselves - for this invites a casually static approach - but of the two concepts in the quotation, above, from Raymond Williams: "cultural practice" and "cultural production": to which must be added the third and possibly most important from the historian's point of view, 'cultural reproduction'. R.S. Neale has written of the need for a study of "self-perception and its consequences for action"; tellingly, he claims that

> what social historians have to do, indeed
> must do, is to understand and make
> explicit those perceptions that men and
> women have of themselves, at the highest
> as well as the lowest levels of society
> and culture, that led them to perceive
> themselves and their societies in certain
> systematic ways and thus to want to
> perpetuate or change themselves and their
> societies, and to relate these
> perceptions to the life experiences of
> men and women [15].

In order to clarify theoretically what is seen as the mechanism of establishment and change in cultural practice, we turn to another currently hard-worked term, 'ideology'.

2. 'Ideology'.

The word 'ideology' is, like 'culture', a pawn in a long-standing debate. Again, it is not intended here to enter the debate fully. The focus will be on the use of the term seen as a supplement to the definition of 'culture' as a created system of meanings.

The most obvious current-use definition of the term would be that an ideology is 'a set of ideas', a coherent set of ideas which colour both belief and practice [16]. Here, in outline, is what we are looking for: the details of the 'programs' Geertz talks about in his consideration of culture [17]. Yet there is more to it than this. Theories of ideology have become far more precise in recent years. Taking as their starting point Marx's assertion that "it is not consciousness which determines social being, but social being that determines consciousness" [18], many writers have tried to elucidate the position of ideology and ideological theory within the framework of Marxist thought [19]; others have tried to relate these theories to considerations of the literary [20]; these, too, will be of use in our consideration of the problem of literature and history.

Perhaps the most influential realisation of the concept in recent times has been that of the French communist Louis Althusser [21], who in a well-known definition offered the idea that "ideology represents the imaginary relations of individuals to their real conditions of existence" [22]. In other words, it tells people how to act; for example, to go to church, or to marry and have

children, to send their children to school, to obey the law; and it gives reasons for their doing so. It is inculcated, according to Althusser, primarily by the State, via what he called Ideological State Apparatuses - the family, the schools, the church (as opposed to the Repressive State Apparatuses of police, army and so on) [23]. Althusser proposed six theses on ideology:

> 1. Ideology has a material existence.
> 2. Ideology serves to ensure the reproduction of the existing relations of production.
> 3. Ideology has no history.
> 4. Ideology interpellates concrete human individuals as concrete subjects.
> 5. Ideology represents the imaginary relations of individuals to their real conditions of existence.
> 6. Ideology is a necessary part of every totality.

These assumptions claim firstly that ideology is omnipresent, a category present in every society: it is that necessarily limited and distorted mode of comprehension through which people live. Secondly, that it acts by "interpellating" - speaking directly to - individuals, making them understand (if in a limited way) how their society works, and why; helping, therefore, to make them into functioning members of their society. Thirdly, that it sees itself as outside history, serving always to maintain the status quo. Althusser has not only claimed that ideology is present in every society, but that it will be so in the societies of the future [24]. It is 'relatively free' from economic determination: it functions as a 'relatively autonomous level' of the social formation [25].

The most important idea here is that of

interpellation. This can be developed to form a theory of personal placing; ideology can be seen as the point of contact between the personal and potential, and the public and actual, forms of the human individual. As they stand, however, Althusser's theses take us little further than the idea of 'culture as program' put forward by Geertz [26]. In each case a whole set of symbols, events, meanings is addressed: they are analysed statically. 'Ideology' here is a substitute for 'culture' rather than an integral, moving part of it. Theories of power and dominance seldom explain change: and Althusser's theory of ideology is no exception. As Raymond Williams points out, "what is then ommitted, as in the idealist uses of 'culture', is the set of complex real processes by which a 'culture' or an 'ideology' is itself produced" [27]. There is no room here for opposition to, or subversion of, a single monolithic structure, the 'dominant ideology' (or culture) reproducing itself ahistorically. Perhaps the most surprising assumption, given Althusser's claim, simultaneously published, about levels of knowledge [28], is his view of ideology as a single coherent set of ideas which is reproduced as the dominant ideology.

Althusser claims that the ideological process takes place without our conscious awareness, influencing us and our perceptions of the world in ways which escape conscious attention. The 'dominant ideology thesis' in this form fits happily with the sociological notion of 'social control', which has often been used by historians and sociologists to describe and account for class relations in mid-nineteenth century Britain [29]. Caught within the most important

problematic of twentieth century Marxist thought - the attempt to provide a systematic analysis of modern capitalism which would include within it an explanation of the comparative social stability of capitalist societies, and the lack of a revolutionary working class consciousness - theories of the dominant ideology and social control have usually concentrated on relationships between the ruling class(es) and the working class, considered from the latter's viewpoint. This leads to selective and often inadequate consideration of the ruling class itself. Although a certain amount of lip-service has been paid from time to time to the idea that a greater understanding of the ruling class might help to improve our understanding of power relations, studies of the ruling class remain somewhat thin on the ground [30]. This lack of knowledge reinforces the most simplistic of the dominant ideology or social control theories.

There are several major problems with this view. The 'dominant ideology' is usually assumed to be the property of an economically-defined ruling class, which conspires to impose it on the working class [31]. It is said to aid the ruling class to maintain its power, to explain the world to classes which do not share power in such a way as to prevent their coherent opposition. The internal dynamics of the 'dominant ideology' (i.e. its effects on the ruling class) are taken for granted. The assumption that there is indeed a single set of ideas and values, shared by those in the economically-defined ruling position, remains scarcely tested. The second problem with the view - its implication that the lower classes receive this ideological domination

passively, and co-operate extensively in their own indoctrination - has in fact been powerfully challenged both by historians and sociologists [32], who have documented past and present strategies of working class resistance, and have commented upon past and present lower class cultures with very different ideas and values from those identified as the 'dominant ideology'. Such research therefore undermines the basic assumption of the dominant ideology thesis: that an acceptance of a set of values whose behavioural outcome works in the interests of the ruling class is a necessary part of any relationship between classes. The sociologists Nicholas Abercrombie, Bryan S. Turner and Stephen Hill have argued, in a text whose central argument is a reassertion of the primacy of the economic in any explanation of class relations [33], that the thesis cannot account for "the emergence of deviant, oppositional values and of whole subcultures within society" [34] because of its prior assumption of the power and coherence of the so-called dominant ideology.

For Abercrombie et al., the dominant ideology thesis is irrelevant to the study of relations between classes, but not to all sociology. In dismissing the thesis as an explanation of the 'incorporation' of the working classes into a system which exploits them, they do not deny the existence of a dominant ideology as such, nor that it plays an important role in social construction. For them, the dominant ideology was of most use in the production and reproduction of the ruling class itself. In 'feudal' society, for example, one aspect of the dominant ideology was Christianity - specifically that of the Roman Church.

This was of very little interest or importance to the lower classes, these authors say [35], and had no real effect on their behaviour. Catholicism did, however, with its insistence on the sanctity of marriage, on the family, on monogamy and so on, exert a powerful influence on the marriages of the ruling class - and therefore on the controlled transmission of property-ownership which reproduced the class [36].

Here we see in part the proposed relationship between 'culture' and 'ideology'. A cultural system - marriage - is controlled and explained to its participants by an ideology, Roman Christianity. This may well be applicable in feudal society itself; and the Church remained an influential force in nineteenth century Britain. But it cannot be invoked as sole or even dominant social controller at the latter time. Such a simple model is not applicable in mid-Victorian Britain. To take the same example: even given the presence of the State Church, there were many different levels of religious belief available to those in political and/or economic power, including none at all [37]. Clearly, we have to be very careful when talking of the dominant ideology, even with regard to a single class: once again the Althusserian model must be challenged. The notion of a single, uniform ideology in dominance is inadequate. Mid-Victorian society at least was far too complex, as the debates on the 'labour aristocracy' [38] and on the making of the English working class [39] have shown: very different cultures were practised by groups with very similar economic and social positions.

A further point against the dominant ideology thesis

as applicable to mid-Victorian Britain is that we are not here dealing with a simple class society, and certainly not with the two-tier power structure implied by the thesis. The work of R.S.Neale has suggested that there were at least five identifiable social classes in Britain in the early nineteenth century [40]; while two recognisable fractions often subsumed under the blanket term 'middle class', the lower middle class and the 'very wealthy', have received some recent attention from historians [41]. It is significant, also, that a recent sociological book is entitled The Upper Classes, i.e. classes, in the plural [42]. The society upon which the 'dominant ideology thesis' has been imposed was (and indeed is) too complex to sustain it.

At this point, many accounts either of theory or of empirical explanation would now turn to another term widely debated on the academic left. This is the concept of 'hegemony', in origin the intellectual property of the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci, and a theoretical concept which certainly offers more than the 'dominant ideology thesis' in its usual form as an explanation of the basic mechanism of class and power relations. Gramsci posited that there were two ways in which a society can be dominated by a single class. One is by coercion. The other is when, in the words of Tony Bennett,

> a dominant class is able, by moral and
> intellectual means, to co-ordinate the in-
> terests of subordinate and allied classes
> with its own. Under such circumstances,
> the subordinate classes in society, to a
> degree, actively subscribe to the values
> and objectives of the dominant class
> rather than have these simply imposed on
> them. This consent, however, is not
> guaranteed...It has...incessantly to be

> produced. In this sense, hegemony refers
> not to an achieved state, but to a
> process: to the ideological processes
> whereby such consent is continually
> reproduced and secured - or lost [43].

It is a process of <u>negotiation</u>, involving compromise among the ideologies of classes, rather than a single pattern of dominance.

There is much that is of value here, not least to the historian mystified by the assumptions of the 'dominant ideology thesis'. It is currently the rabbit most often pulled out of the hat in explaining class relations, and can be found referred to, as the proposed way forward, in many recent books and articles [44]. The idea of negotiation, involving the clash of, and compromise among, ideologies, is clearly helpful, as is the notion that such negotiation is continuous. This removes some of the more static implications of the Althusserian theory. Yet it does not provide a set of easy answers, as the cryptic references to it so often made indicate: it does not specify, of itself, how ideologies work, and in particular how they work at the level of the formation of the individual.

What remains of use in Althusser's concept of ideology is precisely that most important concept of 'interpellation' - of the formation of the individual as a member of a group. This has been developed by one of the most fluent of Althusser's followers, Goran Therborn. In his book <u>The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology</u> [45], Therborn extends Althusser's concept of ideological formation and gives it greater applicability. He sees it, not as a monolithic structure with predetermined effects,

but as a fluid category of thought. Ideology is most importantly "that aspect of the human condition under which human beings live their lives as conscious actors in a world which makes sense to them in varying degrees" [46]. It is a social process of address, talking in the name of a social group to an individual, telling her or him what exists in the world (e.g. nature, society, people), thus creating for the individual a sense of place and identity. Within this, it informs the individual what is good, just, right, beautiful, enjoyable, desirable and so on, thus structuring the individual's desires. And it tells the individual what is possible and impossible, thereby structuring her or his hopes, ambitions and fears [47].

As Therborn points out, it is easier at any stage of ideological analysis to talk of ideologies, in the plural: of strands of ideas and thought which often compete with and contradict each other. Ideologies attempt to fix meanings and behaviour in and through an individual's verbal life, tending to inhibit her or his behaviour - in other words, to place him or her culturally - by talking for instance about freedom, or equality before the law, rather than about class or gender exploitation, or the high level of lawyers' fees; or about attainable affluence, rather than about those continually below the poverty line; or admitting social inequality while insisting that any change in the social structure would necessarily be for the worse [48].

Therborn isolates four categories of ideological thought which may be used for analytical purposes:

> 1. Inclusive-existential ideologies: these concern life, suffering, death, the

cosmos and the natural order, and are expressed largely in myth, religion and morality.

2. Inclusive-historical ideologies: these constitute members of historical social worlds, such as tribe, village, race or nation. Such ideologies are also exclusive, saying who does not belong to a group.

3. Positional-existential ideologies, which qualify individuals for a position in the world with reference to individuality, gender, and age.

4. Positional-historical ideologies: these qualify individuals for a position in any actual historical world, and concern such things as membership of family or class, educational status, or occupation. [49]

As Therborn makes clear, such categories in fact overlap continuously and impinge on one another, often contradictorily, in real life: he gives as an example a young man who is also a member of the working class, a Roman Catholic, an Italian, and a citizen of the United States of America [50]. 'Subjectivity', or individuality placed by ideologies within cultural systems, is not always a unifying process, therefore: and often in the contradictions present in most people's ideological experience there is at least the possibility of alienation, of subversion, of open rebellion. For all, ideology and culture involve presented alternatives, and choice between them, not just the dictation and participation implied by the dominant ideology thesis. Ideologies are sanctioned as well as affirmed; social groups maintain their ideological unity by such means as expulsion and excommunication: but this process, too, involves choice and not mere dictation.

This model obviously leaves room for historical change, for the infiltration of new, as well as the

reproduction of old, ideologies and cultural patterns.
Therborn's model sets up a far more flexible system of
production and reproduction than Althusser's monolithic
ideology imposed by the ideological state apparatuses.
Therborn again expands these categories, making the concept
more fluid: he claims that ideologies are inculcated or
affirmed by normal social contact at both formal and
informal levels throughout an individual's life:
"ideological interpellations are made all the time,
everywhere, by everybody" [51].

There is, in other words, an ideological role in
conversation (and, it may be added, in informal modes of
writing such as letters) as well as in the more formal
structures of education. Ideology is <u>actively</u> present in
language: not in the sense of a monolithic entity, but as
something being constituted and reconstituted continuously
by the people who speak in and act through it. Language,
therefore, can be assumed to be the basic component of
ideology. And indeed the work of many writers has given
attention to this assumption [52]. The student who wishes
actually to <u>use</u> such writings is faced with a formidable
task: the whole field of structuralist and
post-structuralist thought has been a real growth-industry
in recent years, generating many overlapping lines of
enquiry and methodological routes by which empirical work
might be guided [53]. The important thing to note here is
perhaps merely that such lines of enquiry, be they
influenced by Lacan, Derrida, Barthes, Foucault, or others,
all stress the importance of language.

There remains a real problem of focus: of the

selection, emphasis and application of these ideas. It is perhaps less important to follow the models of any of these 'major' writers than to consider in what ways their methods or findings might be adapted for other purposes; this might at least clarify the importance of language to the 'culture, ideology, language' matrix. It is not, therefore, proposed to treat the writings of Lacan, Derrida or Foucault in extenso in and for themselves. Others have done so [54]. But it is important to indicate some of the ways in which this work addresses the questions of language, ideology and culture.

For Lacan, language was crucial in the formation of human identity. His 'rereading' of the works of Freud led him to conclude that the focal point of all human 'subjectivity' - the making of a cultured, and especially gendered, 'subject' from an otherwise potentially very different human individual - is its entry into language. When a child first uses language, she or he becomes, culturally, a male or female person [55]. Of course this claim seems to the lay person not so much insightful as obvious; hedged around with Freudian jargon, it has, however, proved a fecund instigator of debate, drawing both praise and hostility from Marxist and feminist critics. The point here is not to take Lacan's implicit argument - a placing of male dominance within all learned culture, in all children - seriously [56], but to note the priveleging of language within this theory, the notion of language as the culturally fixing agent: language as the centre of ideology, and the focus of the individual's experience as a member of a social order.

This assertion is part of the legacy of structuralism. The structuralist emphasis has been on the problems of language, meaning and representation. De Saussure's claims about the differences between sign and signified, the partial closing of meanings in any grammar and vocabulary, the smallness of a practical language compared with its potential vastness [57], have been inherited and transformed by Derrida and Foucault [58]. Derrida has claimed that all Western thought until very recently has been predicated upon some sort of closed system of meaning and representation, controlled or inspired by an 'ultimate signifier', the centre of all meaning - 'God', perhaps, or the transcendent human ideal. Derrida himself, on the other hand, is of the opinion that language is not the centred bearer of ultimate truths, but merely a system in which meaning is constructed from the differences within it. Meanings are not fixed for ever by reference to one fixed point, but can be rearranged in almost any direction. Thus ideologies are changeable; by random process, or by the objective appraisal of and alteration of current meanings: they can be 'deconstructed' in directions different from those some of their users or makers intended [59]. Literary texts can easily be 'deconstructed' in this way [60].

The work of Foucault has emphasised, perhaps more similarly than might at first sight appear, the large scale of systems of meaning, which he groups together under the term 'discourses'. His study has been the relationships among contemporaneous verbal and institutional formations which form a 'discourse', and with the ways in which power relations are made in, and affect, such discourses. Like

Therborn's formulations on ideology, Foucault recognises that these discourses are a flexible and malleable vehicle of power relations, and do not constitute or systematise absolutely. Foucault also recognises the <u>ordinariness</u> of power relations, the part played in their formation by all who take part in them [61]. This is an important challenge to the 'dominant ideology thesis' with its implicit assumptions of centralised authority. Power, as Therborn also suggests, can be transmitted along many other lines than those controlled by the state. With all three post-structuralist writers and their followers, the emphasis on language and its potential changeability, rather than on some idea of unchanging human nature, helps us to see how ideologies work, and the important part they play in the formation of human cultures.

How, then, are we to use these interrelated concepts, language, discourse, ideology, culture, to form a truly historical approach to historical languages, a "thick description" of the way a piece of historical language was formed, which will necessarily lead to the exploration of historically specific language use: of the role of a past ideology or discourse in the formation of a past culture? As Tony Bennett points out, one approach recognising all these parameters is Volosinov's argument for the historically specific nature of all language <u>use</u>:

> The sign, in its actual and concrete usage, is thus always socially formed. Its actual use and meaning...is reciprocally determined by <u>whose</u> word it is and <u>for whom</u> it is meant. It is always set within and, in part, moulded by a particular set of social relationships between speaker and listener: that is, by particular conditions of socioverbal interaction which are themselves moulded

> by the broader social, economic and
> political relationships in which they are
> set. Given that all language forms are
> predicated on distinctive, historically
> produced relationships between speaker(s)
> and listener(s) - Volosinov mentions such
> cases as drawing-room conversation and
> language etiquette - the central
> analytical task is to determine how those
> language forms are determined by the
> relationships on which they are
> articulated, and to specify how, in their
> inner organisation, they 'refract', or
> signify those relationships [62].

In the case of literature, Volosinov had argued that

> The peculiar signification of reality
> that literary works affected was to be
> explained not in idealist terms as the
> manifestation of some unchanging set of
> formal properties but as the product of a
> particular, socially constrained practice
> of writing and as the manifestation of a
> particular set of class relationships
> within language [63].

Language , then, is the fundamental component in any
ideology: it works in historically specific, socially
constructing ways, in all its forms, from conversation to
literature. Here we begin to see more clearly how
literature, far from reflecting reality, relates to its
social context: we begin to see literature as a part of a
whole language. Here again the ideas of Foucault are
useful. Like Volosinov, Foucault stresses the relationships
within language; he also stresses the relationships within
language use at any given time: his "discourses", like
Goldmann's "homologies", are formed within the whole
structure of a society's language and thought. Thus
different pieces of language - separate texts - can be
grouped together and studied for their "intertextual
relations". This does not apply merely to literary texts:,
the publication in 1859 of <u>Adam Bede</u>, <u>Self-Help</u> and <u>Origin
of Species</u>, is no coincidence; these texts, for all their

superficial differences of genre, are closely related in ideological content. The point of contact between Darwin's scientific ideas and their political, sociological and literary contexts has received some attention [64]; much more of this kind of comparative study, ignoring the whig-historical tendencies in both the history of science and of literature, would be of value [65].

Of course there has been much sociological study of language, grouped under the general heading 'sociolinguistics' [66]. A great deal of this type of writing, unfortunately, is closely related to the 'dominant ideology thesis'. The basic view is that spoken and written language contain in themselves a structure of dominance, helping to encode and enforce power differences. The assertions of Berger and Luckmann that language is crucial to 'The Social Construction of Reality' [67] have been developed mainly by those interested in questions of language, power and social class - the controversy between Bernstein, Labov and others on language and class in education being a prominent example [68]. Among recent work in sociolinguistics is Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Trew's Language and Control, whose fundamental assumption is that "different social strata and groups have different varieties of language available to them" [69]. But to assess these, they point out, needs an appreciation not only of language, but of literacy: of reading and writing, and the part they play in social construction. In a chapter of this symposium entitled 'The social values of speech and writing', G. Kress considers speech therapy. He argues that one of the problems of this mode of normalisation is its

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reliance not on the fluidities of conversational speech, but on the more formal processes of written language: on what Kress calls "standard English". According to him (and others) this is a formalised version of the language of the middle classes [70].

The latter point has been made of literacy in general by several writers working in different disciplines [71]. It is often presented as an important part of the dominant ideology/social control theory of class relations [72]. Literacy is often assumed to be somehow inherently 'bourgeois' [73]. Certainly, in the case of nineteenth century Britain, literacy was all too obviously a privilege. Such historical studies of literacy as are available [74] show that even the ability to sign a personal name was not a universally-held skill (though they show nothing else about literacy, and must therefore be treated with very great caution). Reading and writing have to be learnt, and taught. This requires time set aside by both pupil and teacher, even if the latter be the child's parent; in other words a specifically educational system, however informal, has to be created. As such structures are often controlled by powerful institutions such as the Church or the state, it has often been argued that the formal education in England specifically developed by the state after the 1870 Education Act had the intention of imposing on the working classes the written form of 'standard English' which was the intellectual property of the ruling class, and the bearer of its values [75].

Here we have the useful notions of written language as a formal codification of an ideology, and of literacy as a

process of ideological formation. However, as with the rest of the 'dominant ideology thesis', this tends to make the assumption that there is a single set of values ascribable to the ruling groups in society. Seeking to explain working class subordination, and by a method claimed by some to be unsatisfactory [76], it makes simplistic assumptions about ideology in the ruling classes. An obvious mid-Victorian example is the way such theories interpret Matthew Arnold's Culture and Anarchy, which is often seen as part of a dominant ideology, and as arguing for the use of this established ideology in social control [77]. In fact, this series of papers, first published in the Cornhill Magazine in 1866-7, and in book form in 1869, is principally concerned with the involvement not of the working classes but of the middle classes (his "philistines") in the continuum of established, aristocratic/gentlemanly and University-taught culture, by means of education. It was published first, crucially, during the debate on the extension of the franchise which preceded the passage of the second Reform Act in 1867, and is part of that debate: votes, of themselves, Arnold argues, do not make their owners fit to rule; 'culture' does. Or should. Culture and Anarchy, then, is not description but prescription; not a part of an already existing ideology and culture but part of a debate on how to change them - part, therefore, of the historical process through which ideology and culture were being re-formed. The question for Arnold, in this text at least, was who was going to form the new ruling class.

Writings, then, can be seen to play, like all language, a formative ideological role, and therefore to

fit with Goran Therborn's fluid concept of ideology. "Words and their syntax have an historical identity, and the close analysis of this exposes the mediations of ideology into consciousness" [78]. Writing was an undoubted, indeed very important, part of mid-Victorian British culture (and will be analysed as such in Chapters Three and Four). It is easy enough perhaps to see how Culture and Anarchy, and Bagehot's The English Constitution, works published in serial form in the periodical press in 1866-7, played an active role both in literary culture and ideological formation: less easy, mainly because of the privileging of 'English Literature' which has occurred since that time [79], to identify the part played in this culture by fiction. The wide-ranging essay by George Watson, The English Ideology, discussed in Chapter One, does indeed see fiction as a part of literary culture as a whole, part of an overall information system, as much so as pamphlets and newspapers [80]. But it accords no special place to literature; it seems concerned, indeed, to emphasise the ordinariness of literature as historical evidence.

3. Writing, Literature and Ideology.

Most writings about literature concerned both to place it contextually and to analyse it specifically as in a special category belong to or are at least heavily influenced by the work of Marxist literary critics. Georg Lukacs, arguably the most influential of these, saw the novel as a straightforward reflection of the ideology of the dominant class, providing for the reader of that class

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a more complete explanation of her or his world than she or he would otherwise possess. The more complex the 'reality' portrayed in the fiction, for Lukacs, the greater the value of the work, and the greater the insight it offers into the particular stage of the "dialectic of human existence and consciousness" [81], the process by which people live as members of society, which has been reached at the time of the novel's making.

Lukacs sees the novel as a reflection on, as well as of reality, different from and complementary, rather than inferior, to other epistemological forms such as philosophy or science. Like those forms, literature is historically specific, conditioned both in form and in content by the times in which and for which it was written. The most valuable novels present in most complete form the 'typical' of those times, in character, event, and world outlook: they thus allow us access to the way in which individual members of societies lived and were conscious of living. In that they resolve the contradictions inherent in such ways of living, presenting lived relations as an integrated whole rather than a problematically fragmented one, they reveal ideological modes of perception of the world [82].

This last emphasis indicates that Lukacs saw the novel as a form playing an active part in the ideological construction of the society in and for which it was written. One of Lukacs' most important followers, Lucien Goldmann, developed this point. Writing in the same Hegelian style as Lukacs, Goldmann stresses the dialectic as historical process, a process which involves the continual changing of the world-view of those involved in

it, a "destructuration of old structurations and structuration of new totalities creating equilibria capable of satisfying the new demands of the social groups that are elaborating them" [83]. Literature is not merely a reflection of, but an active participant in, such process, and is a constituent element in the changing collective consciousness, "that element that enables the members of the group to become aware of what they thought, felt and did without realising objectively its signification" [84].

Goldmann's only fully worked-out example shows the explanatory potential of a methodology based upon this assumption. He considers the strands of thought woven around the phenomenon of Jansenism in seventeenth century France. Pascal's Pensees and the tragedies of Racine are seen as expressing different aspects of the dilemma of the noblesse de la robe, a social group torn between bourgeois origins and interests, and those of the monarchy which had ennobled them. Pascal's thought and Racine's tragedies are homologous with the emergence of the religious ideology of Jansenism. All three played their part in the expression of the contradictory experience of this social group, helping it to define and limit its historical role, to conceal the 'real' contradiction grounded in the failure of this originally bourgeois social group - despite the very obvious hostility shown towards it by the traditional 'feudal' aristocracy - to break with royalist absolutism and to establish the conditions for free-market capitalist development. Jansenism, and the works of Pascal and Racine, do not merely illustrate this historical dilemma, they are themselves evidence of the direction of its resolution: the

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thought of the group was so constructed as to render impossible the very concept of independence from and hostility to the monarchy [85].

The positions taken by Lukacs and Goldmann have been strongly attacked by other Marxist theoreticians and critics. The ramifications of the dispute as a whole, involving Brecht and Benjamin among others, and concerned to some extent with the vexed question of 'literary value', may be found elsewhere [86]; here it is interesting to note that some later commentators on the relationship between literary texts and history writing from an avowedly Marxist standpoint, critics such as Pierre Macherey and Terry Eagleton, have used Althusserian theory [87]. They stress the idealism and tautology inherent in the approaches of Lukacs and Goldmann, claiming loyalty instead to Althusser's theories of ideology, and the influence of 'post-structuralism' generally, and the 'deconstruction' of ideologies in particular, with the emphasis not on ideological wholeness but on the gaps and absences which any ideology must contain. For such critics, the value of literature as an ideological index lies in its exposure, rather than concealment, of the contradictions of lived reality.

These approaches, for all their claims of uniqueness, are of course merely opposite sides of the same coin. Both stress that the 'realist' novel embodies a world-view or ideology. Lukacs and Goldmann point to the completeness aimed at by such a world-view, and that reading the 'best' literature of a time will give access to the whole world-view; they do not claim that such a view actually <u>is</u>

(or was) comprehensive; merely that it pretends to be, and may well be a convincing enough explanation of events for the class which sets it up to be able to operate satisfactorily within it. Macherey and Eagleton, on the other hand, point out that completeness is impossible to achieve: they tend to value most highly literature which they say is distanced from the world-view of a class, and therefore shows the contradictions of that class's world-view most clearly [88].

The problem with these arguments - among literary critics at any rate - is that they are closely concerned with value judgements, with judgements made in order to justify the selection of texts for study. This ideology of literary value distorts the concerns of all, even when it is asserted that the question at issue is one of politics [89]. But this is not to say that Marxist considerations of literature are merely useless backscreens for the exercise of personal taste. The constant stress on history, on the placing of literature in its context, is valuable, as are Goldmann's ideas of homology, of the part played by writings in the actual formation of the ideology of a class. Eagleton, too, has provided a useful model in his concept of a 'science' of literary production.

In summary, Eagleton argues that the dominant mode of production in any given society includes within it one or more literary modes of production. These are not available to all, some being excluded both from production and consumption (due, for example, to poverty or illiteracy). In the case of Victorian England, one such mode was the three-volume novel. These were expensive to buy, which

aided the growth within the production structure of the circulating libraries, such as Mudie's, which were effectively able to censor their members' reading matter "in accordance with the demands of general ideology" [90]. This "general ideology" is linguistic, political, and cultural, and may be accepted wholesale, or partially opposed, by the personal ideology of the author her or himself. The author will also be influenced by the current aesthetic ideologies - notions of taste, form, tradition and so on.

The final product, the text, is closely articulated with educational ideology; indeed, it forms part of the educational process: "Literature is a vital instrument for the insertion of individuals into the perceptual and symbolic forms of the dominant ideological formation" [91]. Literature is therefore an active force, helping to shape those who have access to it. And it can thus be read as historical evidence of a kind not usually available to the historian: evidence of past ideological formations, as for instance:

> Jane Austen's fiction offers us a version of contemporary history which is considerably more rewarding than much historiography...Austen's forms...are the product of certain ideological codes which, in permitting us access to certain values, yield us a sort of historical knowledge...For without the exclusion of the real as it is known to historical materialism, there could be for Austen nothing of the ethical discourse, rhetoric of character, ritual of relationship or ceremony of convention which she presents...These rituals and discourses are not just the vacant spaces left by the withdrawing of the real; there is nothing 'unreal' about the fierce ideological combats they encode [92].

In other words, the unseen historical reality of class conflict is encoded in the visible ideological reality of social discourse and ritual. Inside this ideological process of signification, the individual members of society live their lives, communicating verbally and behaviourally in an ideologically controlled manner which hides the reality of their economic and power relations.

Thus far in Eagleton's scheme, the vexed question of 'literary value' has not obtruded. But Eagleton goes on at this stage to fall into what one might call the literary-critical mode of production, using Althusser's notion that 'the best' literature embodies and reveals the contradictions in ideology [93] to make neo-Leavisite value judgements about the status of authors and texts. For he claims that the "major fiction" of Victorian society was the product of what he calls the petty bourgeoisie, giving as examples of this class the Brontes, Dickens, Eliot and Hardy, and quite specifically claiming that the insights provided by their class position make their work better than that of for example Thackeray, Trollope, Disraeli or Lytton. The argument used to support this assertion is most curious. Eagleton claims that those writers from the petty bourgeoisie who were placed ambiguously within the social formation - in other words, on the borderlines between social classes - produced "major" works, whereas those who were solidly class members did not [94]. This justification of the left-Leavisite canon seems both irrelevant and confusing to the argument for literature and history. It is certainly contradictory. Eagleton sees Austen as a "major" writer. Yet Austen was not placed particularly ambiguously

within a social formation, well though she observed and chronicled the lines of class antagonism within the polite society of her time, as Eagleton himself points out in the passage quoted above [95]. Thackeray and Trollope, on the other hand, <u>were</u> so placed. Brought up as 'gentlemen' but forced by parental or personal poverty to work for their livings, their class experiences were at least as contradictory as those of Dickens or Eliot, and arguably more so [96]. Disraeli, too, was culturally very ambiguously placed - a point discussed in Chapter Three [97]. Even Lytton was a comparatively poor member of the gentlemanly classes at the start of his literary and political career - being advised that marriage would probably ruin him [98]. So if we grant that Austen was "particularly well placed" to see and to record the conflicts among and between the aristocracy, gentry and middle classes which took place in her society, then we can hardly grant the same for Thackeray, Trollope, Disraeli and Lytton in theirs, precisely <u>because</u> of their class ambiguity. In the case of Trollope, Raymond Williams has pointed out his ability to observe the problems of class membership [99]. The major point made by Eagleton about the reading of Austen's texts, then, holds good for many mid-Victorian authors. The works of such writers can indeed be used to provide "a kind of historical knowledge", regardless of the 'value' of their works as literature, or their position, ambivalent or otherwise, in the class system [100].

4.Summary.

It remains to draw the theoretical strands together and to propose the basic principles on which the investigation of mid-Victorian British literature may proceed. We are faced with a problem of "thick description": of how to account for the significance of literature within its society. This requires firstly an examination of that society as a whole, and especially at the role of literary culture within it - of how written and printed words were produced and consumed, and by whom. We must ask what relationship existed between fiction and non-fiction - what other words those who read fiction were reading, and how they were taught to do so. And we must ask how fiction fitted into the pattern of production and consumption, how it was produced, published, sold, reviewed and read, and about the authors' financial, aesthetic and/or didactic concerns in writing. Having asked such questions we may be in a better position to address the most important questions of the role of literary culture in general, and fictional literature in particular, in mid-Victorian British society.

Throughout the following investigation, reference will be made in the following terms. Societies, whether nations, social classes or sub-groups, live and are collectively self-defined primarily in cultures, which are systems of thought and behaviour practised by the group, class or other clearly identifiable society as a whole. The constituent, flexible parts of any culture, the modes of

thought which form it at any time, but through which changes in it are possible, are _ideologies_. Ideologies structure all cultural practice: but they conflict and compete, and do not necessarily produce uniformity; they contribute to structures of thought and feeling which can allow for very different actions by the various individuals within the groups, but exert fundamental control over the boundaries of cultural practice by such enforcements as social ostracism, excommunication or expulsion, as well as legal punishment. Ideology is the chain binding practices together in a system of signification: the result of the process of ideological/cultural change may perhaps be called the hegemonic ideology of the time, but not the dominant ideology, for reasons given above.

Culture, then, is human behaviour constructed and explained to its participants via ideologies encoded in spoken and written language. While different types of language use, and different texts within specific types of language use, are related and can be grouped together for study of such 'intertextual' relationships, the whole system is fragmented, being challenged and often redrawn by ideological exchange. If interpellation happens all the time, then it is often re-interpellation, involving the setting up of new boundaries to, and explanations of, behaviour. "Thick description" of a cultural event or artefact must include some idea of its place on the ideological process of production and reproduction.

Even to approach such a question requires an analysis of historical context which will firstly assess the ways in which historians have chosen to view our chosen area of the

past: this, after all, and not 'the past itself', is what we can hope to engage and perhaps change. We must, therefore, ask what historians have seen, and how the views taken in this Chapter might influence such ways of seeing. The object of the next stage in the investigation is to identify the cultural structures of mid-Victorian Britain, from which we can investigate their ideological role; discover, in other words, the mechanism of cultural reproduction. R.S. Neale's dictum as to the value of the study of "self-perception and its consequences for action" is referred to above: G.M. Young, similarly, has claimed that

> Victorian history is before all things a history of opinion. To see ideas embodying themselves in parties and institutions: institutions and parties closing in upon ideas; to show old barriers sometimes sapped, and sometimes stormed, by new opinions: positions once thought impregnable abandoned overnight, and forces once thought negligible advancing to unforeseen victories, that is to understand Victorian history [101].

It is the aim of Chapters Three to Six to examine precisely this process, and especially the part played therein by writings; we start with an overview of aspects of society, and proceed to identify the cultural institutions open to change via the opinions and self-perceptions Young and Neale identify as being so important. These will include the literature of the time, not as a 'reflector' or 'typical', but as an active part of society.

Chapter Three.

The Context of the Investigation.

Mid-Victorian Society has often been characterised as a period in which the various fractions constituting society as a whole were in an uncertain balance: W.L.Burn's phrase "The Age of Equipoise" (which he used of c.1850-1867) is typical. It is the object of this Chapter to explore some of the ways in which a view informed by the theories of culture and ideology discussed in Chapter Two can help in the understanding of this balance and the forces maintaining it, its achievement, preservation and decay. The following two Chapters will explore aspects of mid-Victorian literary culture. This Chapter sets out to show why literary culture was such an important controlling institution in this society. A short overview of some of the currently-held notions of the history of the time will lead on to a discussion of the mechanisms of social formation, including the informal as well as the more obviously formal. It will be suggested that among certain sectors of the population, literacy was a very important force, contributing directly to ideological (or individual) and cultural (or group) formation; the parameters of this literacy will then be outlined.

1.

The concept of mid-Victorian stability has become so

widely accepted as to be that rarest of phenomena, a descriptive statement virtually uncontested among historians [1]. While explanations of this stability vary, almost all are agreed on the validity of the description itself. It is not intended to challenge that agreement here. Political, social and economic historians have painted a picture of the 1850s to 1870s as a time of improvement for almost all groups and classes within society. Inter-class relations are seen to have been more stable than they had been at any time since the Napoleonic wars. Chartism was a spent force; no calls for violent revolution agitated the ruling classes as some of their number had been worried at various times in the 1830s and 1840s [2]. Real wages were rising. The incipient social reform movements of the later Victorian era, the womens' movements and the new trades unionism, were small clouds on the horizon even in the 1870s; "outcast London" was still a matter for sensational journalism rather than public concern [3].

The main talking point in relations between ruling class and working class came to be trade unionism, which, although often enough presented on both sides as class war, came increasingly actually to be seen as group accommodation. Employers and workers, even while in dispute, worked (if reluctantly) as part of the same system. The Royal Commission on the Trade Unions set up following the 'Sheffield Outrages', as much as the formation of the Parliamentary Committee of the TUC in 1871, can be seen as the bringing within the pale of legal definition, and therefore public control, of the trade

unions; their practice was being mutually defined in a way which brought them further within national culture. They were becoming part of the legal system, centred on Parliament and the redressing of grievance through the passage and implementation of new legislation; they had to a certain extent therefore been accommodated within ruling class culture as a whole. This process was to continue in the twentieth century [4].

Similarly, the leaders, and leading organisations, of the agitation for a widened franchise who were prominent in the years before the 1867 Reform Act were not asking for a revolutionary change in the style of government, or indeed in public policy; they were simply asking for admission to a higher echelon of the already-existing system. For all their trampling on the flowerbeds of Hyde Park, the 1867 agitators were trying to gain a more secure place in the already existing system, not to destroy it. The leaders of the Reform League and the Reform Union, the two pressure groups for an extension of the franchise, were rather more worried by the turn of events at Hyde Park than were most Conservatives [5].

Within many layers of society, then, a primary focus of social formation was obedience to the law, and especially to its most important aspect: the idea of Parliamentary government. The politics of mid-Victorian Britain were in this important respect a politics of acceptance. Throughout the 1860s one of the most important areas of debate was how far indirect access to this controlling system should be opened; to whom, in other words, the vote should be given. It was usually assumed that those who voted accepted, or

would accept, the ground rules, and would not use such votes for the overthrow of the system. Among fractions outside the pale of access to Parliament, this acceptance of Parliamentary-legal control was widespread to the extent that agitation for, and therefore fear of, political revolution was notably absent. This is one sense in which the phrase "Age of Equipoise" is useful: pressure from outside the legal/Parliamentary system for its overthrow was absent, and relations between ruling and ruled classes were therefore comparatively quiescent.

The phrase can also, however, and as importantly, be used to describe relations among the various groups who were already members of the ruling class - i.e. who had the vote, or were in other positions of authority, at this time. It is important to consider these because of the inadequacies of the widely accepted orthodoxy concerning relations among the fractions of the ruling class during the nineteenth century. This sets out to account for quiescence seen not in terms of 'equipoise', but of dominance; the basic argument is that the years following the Reform Act of 1832 were the years of the political and cultural triumph of the middle classes.

The 'Great Reform Act' of 1832 has often been presented as for the benefit of the middle classes; as a stage in a non-violent 'bourgeois revolution' which effectively transferred the political apparatuses of the State to middle class control. It is similarly argued that other aspects of the culture of the ruling classes was altered; that a 'bourgeois morality' became normative. The argument as a whole runs as follows. At the end of the

eighteenth century, power was effectively controlled by the small elite of London-based aristocrats and gentlemen who formed, according to Harold Perkin, E.P. Thompson and others, the only coherent "class" at that time [6]. These men dominated the key positions in the hierarchy - in the small Civil Service, the church, the army, the judiciary, as well as in Parliament itself. Their lifestyle, epitomised perhaps by that of Charles James Fox, emphasised 'fast living': gambling, drunkeness, and sexual profligacy were all accepted behaviour. Even that comparative model of propriety the younger Pitt sometimes led the House of Commons while in a state of obvious intoxication [7]. These were the moral standards of the leaders of the country.

English society remained comparatively open, however, and the era of the dandies, in the years immediately following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, was the last in which 'rakes' were socially sanctioned leading members of society. After the 1832 Act, the argument continues, the middle classes began to exert political control. The apparatus of social administration at both national and local levels grew, as exemplified by the New Poor Law of 1834 and its consequent bureaucratic growth. Competitive examinations for civil servants and army officers, increased professional training for clergymen, and less strict religious requirements for entry into Parliament, gradually opened institutions of State previously dominated by the old, small elite to the middle classes. The parallel process of professionalisation in such fields as medicine, engineering, architecture and the academic pure sciences, supported the growth of new areas of both local and central

government. The whole hierarchy was expanding; the number of people in positions of power, i.e. able to make or implement decisions, multiplied. To this extent the middle classes were partaking of power, as the 'bourgeois revolution' argument implies.

Furthermore, proponents of this argument assert, a stricter and more puritanical behavioural morality was in evidence. Drunkenness among political leaders, or indeed among any members of Society, was now frowned upon [8]. The code of honour was pacified and duelling outlawed [9]; laws were passed in 1845 to control gambling, one of whose effects was that the most widely patronised aristocratic gambling house, Crockford's, closed its doors in January 1846 [10]. Chaste domesticity and regular attendance at places of worship became the norm as much for the traditional ruling classes, the aristocracy and gentry, as for the middle classes who were filling the new positions in the hierarchy.

Such changes as had occurred in economy, politics and society had been the result not of violent political agitation but of gradual, legislated change within existing structures of Parliamentary power. Aristocrats and gentlemen remained at this centre of power, dominating government cabinets until the end of the nineteenth century. Having given up some of their power in the 1832 Reform Act, and more of it in the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, meanwhile aiding the government growth which was providing middle class employment, the Parliamentary classes can be seen as giving up their own power, aiding and abetting the transfer of power to the middle classes.

While there was no violent revolution, there was apparently an abdication.

The 'bourgeois revolution' thesis perhaps finds its central focus in the Great Exhibition of 1851. This great national event was planned, by Prince Albert among others, as a celebration of trade and industry. Hundreds of thousands flocked to it (their good behaviour reinforcing the view, held among contemporary observers as much as later historians, of quiescent behaviour among working class people replacing the recent militancy of Chartism [11]). The whole pride of the nation was focussed as it quite simply never had been before; previous objects of national attention had been on matters military and perhaps monarchical; here was not war, but trade and industry, and a celebration of the worldwide dominance of British manufacturing industry. The triumph of the middle classes indeed [12].

Or was it? As was mentioned above, this view leaves very little room for equipoise, since it considers that a single economically and culturally definable group, the middle class, rose gradually to dominance. It sees the imposition not just of bourgeois power and economics but also of bourgeois moral values on both the traditional upper classes and those of the lower they could directly influence. This argument as a whole is by no means a new one; it was put forward by among others T.H. Escott in 1892, O.F.Christie in 1927, Raymond Williams in 1961, and Robert Gray in an article published in 1977 [13]. This last uses Gramscian terminology to claim that a state of 'bourgeois hegemony' existed in nineteenth-century England;

the middle classes dominated the ideologies of the
aristocracy and to a lesser extent of the working classes.
Unfortunately this brave attempt to apply the most
sophisticated of the 'dominant ideology' theories, the
notion of hegemony, to a piece of specific historical
analysis tends to boil down to the 'vulgar Marxist'
proposition that, since what was actually reproduced in
Victorian Britain were capitalist relations of production,
then bourgeois values must have been dominant - or vice
versa. This is perhaps surprising given that Gray seems
fully to realise the complexity of the process as it
affected the ruling groups; he points out that "hegemonic
ideology had differentiated versions and interpretations,
and was constantly argued out and re-formulated within the
ruling class" [14]. Indeed, when, on the periphery of his
argument, Gray considers an actual conflict of values
between social fractions - the interaction of bourgeois
with working class values among the artisans producing the
composite notion of the 'respectable trade union' - he
undercuts his own assertions; here is no single-sided
dominance, but an interactive process leading to
compromise.

This is not to say that the Gramscian notion of
hegemony is of no use in describing class relations; its
very flexibility has continued to make it attractive. With
its emphasis on active competition for supremacy among
value-systems, we have an explanatory framework which may
help in understanding the process of social change which
occurred in nineteenth century Britain [14]. Yet it must be
borne in mind that the fusion of competing ideologies does

not lead to the creation of a single, static, dominant ideology: the theory of hegemony implies, as does the model of ideology adopted in Chapter Two, continuing change in the ideological structure of any given society. 'Hegemony', properly understood, is not a thing-in-itself, but the sum total, at any given moment, of the whole process of ideological competition and cultural formation.

The 'bourgeois hegemony' thesis is a good enough illustration of this point. As set out by Gray, it refers to the argument, described above, that the middle classes assumed moral and political, as well as economic, control in Victorian Britain. The point is contestable. Given that the Great Exhibition marked the culmination of a process in which middle class influence was increased, it can be argued that after this ostensible 'triumph of the middle classes' between 1832 and 1851, the process of the transfer of power at least slowed down considerably, and perhaps went into reverse. It is arguable, indeed, that there was from this point a perpetuation of ruling class exclusivity and identity arrived at by a process of incorporation, tempering aristocratic exclusivism but also tempering such 'bourgeois' ideologies as utilitarianism, Malthusianism and nonconformism. The "pattern of government growth" [15], and increases in the scale of capital, were paralleled by the growth of the public school system, a large increase in the number, and membership, of the West End 'gentlemen's Clubs', and a very large increase in the number of presentations at Court [16]. None of these things can be said to be ideologically bourgeois in any anti-aristocratic sense. By the end of the century, whatever bourgeois

progress there had been was tempered by the emergence of a public school, university and club ethos openly contemptuous of industry in general, and engineering in particular; of the study of scientific subjects at school; and of any form of money-making other than that form of gambling still given open public sanction despite the laws against gaming of 1845 - the Stock Exchange. The ruling class, for all its supposed domination by 'bourgeois' values, was still inclined as a whole to value the rural rather than the urban, the agricultural or at worst the financial rather than the industrial. This cultural/ideological bias, an indication of the incompleteness of any simple model of post-1832 middle class takeover, has often been used in explanation of English economic decline [17], or of the confused state of English intellectual thought [18].

It was Perry Anderson and Tom Nairn who, in the early 1960s, elaborated an historical model of the English ruling elite which stressed compromise and absorption rather than opposition and single-sided victory [19]. Anderson and Nairn, in a series of articles in New Left Review, claimed that the late eighteenth century elite was essentially a capitalist class. The industrial revolution had begun in England while this class was becoming yet more wealthy and self-confident. "There was thus from the start no fundamental antagonistic contradiction between the old aristocracy and the new bourgeoisie" [20]. However, aristocratic capitalism was rentier, rather than entrepreneurial or productive. The accommodation between aristocracy and bourgeoisie meant the "adaptation by the

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new middle classes to a comparatively aloof and passive economic role" [21], very different from the image of the self-made industrialist some still see as the typical product of the industrial revolution. To explain this accommodation between the ideologies, and therefore the behaviour, of the middle and upper classes is the major problem of the 'age of equipoise'.

The final product of the process has in fact been well identified by historians; indeed, the effect of this major ideological change in the latter part of the nineteenth century has been so well treated that it has become standard textbook material [22]. The new public schools network was, by the end of the century, turning out a middle class soldier or bureaucrat 'type', with the Classical education of the traditional grammar school or Clarendon Commission public school, the communal ethic of shared (normally Anglican) religious belief, games-fostered team spirit, and institutional rather than personal loyalties: what Kitson Clark refers to as the "New Gentry" [23]. This, however, is merely the end product of a process which had been continuing for many years. The very institutions which formed the 'new gentry', the public schools and universities, had themselves been subject to reforming or formative processes which helped them to play their late-century role in creating the servants of Empire.

In order to investigate the process by which the institutions forming the 'new gentry' themselves came into being, it is necessary to examine the institutions or apparatuses of ideological control which were available at mid-century. The law, the Church, the schools and

universities, all helped to instil commonly-held notions. Less formal institutions and events also played the same role: the balls and dinner parties of the Season, and the sporting occasions which surrounded it, all played an important part in the lives of members of the ruling class and those who aspired to join them. These were the cultural institutions providing the framework within which ideologies were established, challenged and changed.

It is important to remember that the established ruling class in mid-Victorian Britain organised life around 'leisure'. Thorstein Veblen's classic work The Theory of the Leisure Class [24] describes this lifestyle. Its basic hallmark, according to Veblen, is conspicuous consumption - on the ostentatious display of dress, buildings, number of servants and so on. More subtly, it also includes the pursuit of habits, hobbies and interests which to those outside the elite group seem able only to fulfil a ritualistic rather than a "useful" function. The obvious example of this form of conspicuous consumption is the study of Classical literature and history. Veblen stressed that to be a "gentleman" was not an easy occupation, requiring the learning and execution of a set of complex behavioural rules. The rules were also enforced, Veblen asserted, by sanctions such as social ostracism, expulsion or excommunication. The rules had therefore to be learnt, by anyone wishing to be a member of this society; both formal and informal institutions and events of the social world provided this education. The similarity of Therborn's ideas and those of Veblen will be apparent: both stress the including and excluding elements in ideological

institutions.

Typical of all these institutions, in their socially forming and consolidatory role - and arguably more important in this regard than the public schools and universities, at least until the 1870s - were the 'gentlemen's clubs', situated in the West End of London. These institutions helped to instil and maintain common values in men from such apparently socially disparate groups as aristocrats and gentry; bankers and merchants; civil servants and other professionals; artists, writers and actors; all of whom were encouraged to mix in some clubs. During the nineteenth century the benefits of club membership (personal status and access to collectively owned, palatial property in the heart of the West End) spread down the social scale. This was quite deliberate. In 1824, for example, John Wilson Croker, son of an Excise officer, and carpenter's son Sir Francis Chantrey were the leading lights in the setting up of the Athenaeum, nominally for the meeting of artists, scientists and their patrons [25]. The strict entry requirements for the Athenaeum - artists were normally members of the Royal Academy, while scientists had to have published - led to the formation in 1831 of the Garrick Club, whose requirements were less exacting and which turned out to be more successful as a meeting ground for the different social groups [26]. Similarly, the opening of the Carlton and Reform clubs can be seen as marking the deliberate opening of politics to those previously denied access [27]; the benefits of club membership, including the political access this implied, were opened up to those lower down the

social scale.

A brief examination of the social role of the gentleman's club reveals much of the social process that resulted in the making of the 'new gentry'. Even in their architecture, clubs confirm the view that there was no simple middle class takeover in Victorian ruling class culture. The buildings assert, strongly and selfconsciously, their makers' collective cultural position: this, architecturally at least, was highly conservative. The Athenaeum building, designed by John Nash, is in the Palladian style, with its entablature sporting an exact copy of the frieze of the Parthenon [28]. This, therefore, (like the title of the club itself) is a proclamation of its members' adherence to the already established, aristocratically approved, neo-Classical 'correct taste'; and therefore to collective gentlemanly status. It is a conservative ideological statement. It will be remembered that the Athenaeum was largely middle class in foundation, and expressly designed for the mixing of the professional and leisured classes. Here, in an institution set up as a meeting ground for men of the ruling and middle classes, traditional 'classical' culture was present: an indication of the care needed when talking of a bourgeois revolution in values. Classical styles remained the norm for club building throughout the century, much as 'Classical' education remained at the core of the public school curriculum.

Public taste did not remain precisely static, however. And there were changes in public morality. The 'new gentleman' was a cultural hybrid, neither a traditional

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gentleman nor a traditional bourgeois. The club here played an important role as arbiter of these behavioural changes. From the early 1820s, most clubs discouraged both gambling and drunkenness; they forbade the playing of games of chance, even before these were made generally illegal in 1845 [29]. Cheating at cards, and drunkenness in the confines of a club, could and often did mean expulsion; known troublemakers were simply not elected to membership [30]. The ultimate sanction of expulsion was tantamount to social ostracism (which usually followed as a matter of course). Here in institutionalised form are the sanctions referred to by Veblen. Where the fact of belonging to a club was an important status symbol, part of the apparatus of 'gentlemanliness', expulsion meant the removal of this status. Clubs helped middle class people to learn correct taste, and aristocrats and gentlemen to live less extravagantly; bringing men from different backgrounds into contact, they helped the process by which new behavioural standards reflecting to some extent the interests of all groups with access to club membership were formed.

But these institutions were not the only places of contact and of forming influence in ruling class society. For one thing, they were restricted to men only until the latter part of the century [31] - the only comparable institution controlled by women being the network of parties and dances known collectively as The Season [32]. It is important to remember that there were many less apparently formal events which were also important in the socially constructing process. The constitutional historian G.H.L. Le May, for example, has claimed that

> In no other country, perhaps, did the
> dinner party play so significant a part
> in politics. Constitutional historians
> have generally overlooked this informal,
> but essential, part of the political
> network, though it was perfectly well
> understood by contemporaries, and
> emphasised in the novels of Disraeli and
> Trollope [33].

That such events could well be important may be illustrated not from the novels, but from the actual political life of Disraeli. Throughout his Parliamentary career, Disraeli had to fight hard for recognition as leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons, meeting with great suspicion on account of his being a parvenu, a Jew, a novelist, and in general, of his failure to have been born into a traditional ruling class family. A close observer of society and its mores, he also played a part as a member of it; and this meant for one thing entertaining on his own account. In many ways a formal occasion, a dinner party had to conform to a set of more or less unwritten rules, regarding dress, menu, etc, the most important of these relating to the guests invited. There was for instance the question of precedence, the order in which guests were to enter the dining room. If a host made any mistakes in this, the guests placed too low in the order of precedence were almost certain to be offended. Disraeli was well aware of this as he organised a dinner for his supporters in 1857. He worried about various aspects of this for months, and was especially concerned at the precedence of the Baronets whom he had invited. He wrote at one point to Sir William Jolliffe, himself a Baronet, who was then Conservative Chief Whip,

> could you send me a list of the Baronets?
> I want to know the dates of their

creations, that I might not make any mistakes in their preceding. I have ten Baronets dining with me! and I might outrage the feelings of the order, which is notoriously a sensitive one. [34].

Disraeli's letter gives a clue as to how to proceed in the investigation of mid-Victorian culture and its formation. It emphasises the interaction of the public with the private which was discussed as the major role of 'ideologies' in Chapter Two, and gives a clear example of the machinery by which acces to the "leisure class" was controlled, as described by Veblen. Precedence at dinner among the Baronets was a piece of public knowledge possession of which helped the possessor to take her or his place in the type of society which gave such parties. Were such knowledge not possessed, then the individual would either be instructed in it, (as Hudson, the self-made 'railway king', was instructed in etiquette at parties given nominally by him, but actually under the direction of Lady Parke, in the 1840s [35]), or would neither be able nor permitted to take a place in that part of Society. Without knowledge of precedence, Disraeli would have lost both political support and social standing. It is significant indeed, then, that he sought counsel not in some printed guide either to the families, or to etiquette, but informally, through personal literary production: by letter.

This is the crucial point to be made in this Chapter. The main channel of communication of such socially necessary information was of course informal spoken or written language. Through such communication ideology and culture were made. It is significant here that Victorian

upper and middle class society was a highly <u>literate</u> society. Literacy was a phenomenon which straddled the public and private worlds. It was taught to individuals usually at a very early age. Boys might receive later formal grammatical training at school, while girls might more often stay at home - but would often receive similar tuition; generally schools taught Latin and Greek, rather than English, grammar. The young of both sexes would usually have private tuition in the basics of English language use, including reading and writing, before school age. The parents were as often teachers of English as were hired tutors [36].

Thus the basics of the ability to read and write, were laid in the home, the most apparently private, but probably the most important, of all the institutions whose role can be seen as socially forming. Not surprisingly, therefore, many literary forms tend to be familial or personal: letters and diaries of course, but also autobiographies or memoirs, which were often printed for private circulation among friends and relatives. Their concerns reveal, however, the <u>limits</u> of the personal and familial. Showing the family to be merely the first institution of the whole cultural system, a part of and not divorced from it, they show the depth, and constancy, of the private/public interaction; and the role of literacy in the formation of the place of the individual in her or his society. Literacy is essentially an interactive phenomenon: even the most personal diary is largely a record of questioning or exploring the writer's relationships with people or institutions in the outside world. Letters are as often a

direct commentary on the writer's place, and proposed changes to it, in relation to wider social expectations.

Autobiographies and memoirs are usually reflections on the writer's place, or former place, in society, and perception of that society. They often sold well. Publisher Edward Bentley considered biographies and autobiographies to be as important to his lists as fiction [37]. They were often seen as deliberately exemplary, as providing models by which others might live, or reflect on their places in society. Harriet Martineau wrote, in the preface to her Autobiography, that

> From my youth upwards I have felt that it
> was one of the duties of my life to write
> my autobiography. I have always enjoyed,
> and derived profit from, reading those of
> other persons, from the most meagre to
> the fullest [38]

Revealingly, Martineau goes on to say that she does not think letters, as being truly private, should be published. Read in conjunction, both forms provide an immediate point of access to the ideological formation of the individual in a literate society; and, more importantly, show the continuities among the various literary forms which were available in mid-Victorian literary culture, both in their personal and wider concerns and in their very style of writing. The contents of letters, diaries, autobiographies and memoirs provide, therefore, the only conceivable starting point for an investigation of the ideological role of a literary culture; the beginning of an exploration of the 'Problem of Literature and History' in this period surely starts here. Such forms of writing represent the starting point, the common grounding of the whole society's literacy; it was the letter (and not the novel, or even the

religious tract) which was the most common form of literary production.

Not surprisingly, the domestic is the major focus of such records. The family, and its reproduction through marriage, are constantly observed and commented upon. But these are not seen as merely personal, or abstractable, but as the concern of society as a whole, and society's moral strictures on the marriage system are observed, commented on, reinforced or challenged in private literary work. Marriage, of course, had to be with the correct spouse - preferably with a financial and social superior, but at least with an equal, or one whose wealth or nobility alone was marked enough to compensate for the absence of the other quality. Louisa Bowater (later Lady Knightley), for instance, wrote in her diary that she wished to marry someone she could love; her parents were insistent that she should not marry beneath her station. In June, 1864, a Captain B-- proposed to her and was rejected. Louisa reflected in her diary that "Even if Mama approved - and she is strongly averse to the idea of marriage with an officer in a marching regiment - I do not think my decision ought to have been otherwise" [39]. (Presumably a cavalry officer would have been at least potentially acceptable for this general's daughter). Later in the year, Louisa reflected on a public marriage scandal:

> We were all of us electrified by the news
> of Lady Florence Paget's marriage, last
> Saturday, to Lord Hastings. If a shell
> had exploded in the midst of London
> society, it could hardly have astonished
> it more than this. For it is not a month
> since the town rang with the news of her
> engagement to Mr. Chaplin...It appears
> that she was at the Opera on Friday night
> with Mr. Chaplin, and on Saturday morning

walked through Marshall & Snelgrove's
shop, stepped into Captain Granville's
brougham, and drove off to church to be
married. I don't envy the feelings of any
of the trio. Even Captain B- must feel
that his fate, trying as it is, is
infinitely preferable to either that of
Mr. Chaplin or Mr. Heneage, who three
days before his marriage with Lady Adela
Hare discovered that it was his money,
not himself, she cared for. Poor Lady
Florence, hers is indeed a sad story, and
not yet all told, I doubt. [40]

Similarly, Kate Stanley, later Lady Amberley, whose
diary also records and comments on many marriages, made the
following observations in June 1866:

"At 5 Lady Rose Fane came down with her
fiancee Mr. Wiegall (the painter) and
Mrs. T. Hughes as chaperon. Mr. W. did
not seem to me in love with her, but I
think has done it for rank and position.
She fell in love with him because he
painted her picture and made her quite
pretty by putting a paper knife to her
mouth and so hiding those hideous teeth"
[41].

A later concern over marriage in the Amberley papers
directly involved one of its most important social aspects,
the inheritance of the family name and its concomitant rank
and wealth. Kate Stanley's elder brother, quite possibly
the only Victorian aristocrat to have embraced Islam, came
into his inheritance in June 1869. The rest of the family
were most concerned, not so much at the prospect of a
Muslim Lord of the Manor, but more especially as he brought
with him on his return to England a Spanish wife whom none
of the family as yet knew but who might well become the
mother of future Lords Stanley. Kate wrote to her mother on
August 22, 1869, "The worst part of your letter is the
suspicion that she is not respectable and that he never
married her according to English law. I hope he will do so
at once" [42]. The family's enquiries, led by Lyulph

Stanley (who stood to inherit if his elder brother had no heir, and eventually did so), proved that the marriage had been legal, and that the woman was, by their lights, respectable; thus the reproduction of the family, and its place and status within English society, was assured [43].

The problems of marriage were by no means interesting only to women. The following is an extract from a letter written in November 1862 by Sir William Hardman:

> "Skittles" has bolted with a married man, of good family. His name is Aubrey de Vere Beauclerk...This wretched fool has left a charming wife, and, I believe, young children. He has four thousand pounds a year, which will be even as fourpence halfpenny to such a woman. His little wife sits meekly at home, and waits his return [44].

Hardman goes on to mention that the same Beauclerk had previously jilted a fiancee on the supposed day of their wedding, for which he had been beaten up at the door of his club by the fiancee's 16 year old brother [45]; the "charming wife" of the present instance eventually sued her husband for divorce [46]. Hardman's correspondence is full of such stories, displaying concern for the maintenance of the basic domestic unit as of primary importance; he sided with Charles Dickens's wife when Dickens left her, for instance [47].

Such personal documents, then, the most widely practised forms of literary production, include many comments on the basic mode of social reproduction, marriage, and the close social and economic boundaries within which that institution was controlled. They also often concern themselves with society in a slightly wider sense: with social membership, with eligibility, with who

is or is not to be visited or invited to visit, and thereby accepted as a member of Society. George Eliot, for example, presented something of a problem; she was often tabooed as a member of society, even while her works were widely read and admired, because of the nature of her relationship with G.H.Lewes. Friends and acquaintances were often in a dilemma as to the correct mode of behaviour in this circumstance. Charles Eliot Norton wrote to George William Curtis on 29th January, 1869, a propos of an invitation from Lewes, who had asked him to call on himself and George Eliot,

> saying that she never made calls herself,
> but was always at home on Sunday
> afternoons...she is not received in
> general society, and the women who visit
> her are either so emancipee as not to
> mind what the world says about them, or
> have no social position to maintain.
> Lewes dines out a good deal, and some of
> the men with whom he dines go without
> their wives to his house on Sundays. No
> one whom I have heard speak, speaks in
> other than terms of respect of Mrs.Lewes,
> but the common feeling is that it will
> not do for society to condone so flagrant
> a breach as hers of a convention and a
> sentiment (to use no stronger term) on
> which morality greatly relies for
> support. I suspect society is right in
> this. [48].

Invitations could also be turned down because the other guests, rather than the hosts, were considered unsuitable. Kate Stanley wrote to Lyulph Stanley on 16th November 1860,

> "Lady de Tabley pressed us very much
> indeed to go over there to a dance this
> evening but Mama declined as we could not
> all go & it would have been dull to
> separate. Lady Egerton had a rival dance
> as Lady de T did not invite her party
> over as Nelly told us it was quite
> impossible, there were such horrid people
> & Lady de T said 'fancy, Lady E has 9 men
> 6 of whom were blackballed at every club

in London!' " [49].

Dancing with men who had been blackballed would never do, especially as the whole point of such meetings was courtship. Dances, parties and balls were important events entry to which, like entry to clubs, was of itself an indicator of social position: as Kate Stanley's remarks indicate, they were two parts of a system designed to restrict social membership and therefore the possibilities of social extension through marriage. The formal rituals of this circle, the Season, including as its highpoint presentations at Court, were paralleled both in London and County society by many smaller circles of dining and dancing events. All were to a certain extent part of the marriage market; and for many young, unmarried women, balls and parties were high points: their letters and diaries record the events, the small talk, their dancing partners and their social rank, often with great relish. Here are two short remarks on social occasions made by the young Anne Thackeray: in 1857,

> Home at four o'clock this morning from
> Woolwich Ball. Very pretty, but somehow
> it wasn't quite up to my ideal. Should
> like to go to a ball three times a week
> [50].

and in 1859,

> Rotten Row with Amy in the afternoon.
> Somebody on a white pony came up to us.
> It was Arthur Prinsep looking like a
> little knight out of Spenser with violets
> in his buttonhole...Everything
> delightfully glittering and life-full,
> ladies horses, spring sunshine. [51].

To attend parties was a mark of social status; it was equally important to give them. Mary Jeune married on 15th August, 1871, Colonel Stanley, second son of Lord Stanley

of Alderley. They settled in a house in Wimpole Street. Mary later wrote in her autobiography

> Though it was not a small house, we lived
> more simply in those days, requiring few
> servants, while those we had did a great
> deal more work than servants of to-day. A
> cook, a house-maid, a parlour-maid,
> sufficed for our wants, and though we
> lived quietly, we were still able, with
> even our small household, to give little
> dinners [52].

Dinner parties, riding in the Row of an afternoon, balls and dinners were all constructed around the primary focus of what contemporary commentators called the marriage market. All such events were used for the pairing off of socially and/or economically desirable partners, often to the considerable resentment of men, who felt - quite rightly - that such events were set up primarily in order to entrap them [53]. The marriage market was largely controlled by women. It was Lord Amberley's mother who decreed that he and Kate Stanley should not see each other for six months before finally deciding whether or not to marry; this on the grounds not of social or economic unsuitability but that they were too young to rush into it [54]. Parties, balls, and so on also, however, played a part in the masculine power games of politics. They were often politically important. And here women also played a role, the only one they were openly allowed to play in politics: that of political hostess.

The outstanding political hostess of the early 1850s was of course Lady Palmerston. To be invited to one of her parties was a real mark of social acceptance by the Whigs (or Liberals). The parties were as importantly a great attraction. When Eliza Wilson was betrothed to Walter

Bagehot, the couple decided that her role in married life was to be domestic support to her career-active husband, and that she would therefore give up attending, by herself, such social occasions as Lady Palmerston's parties. In February 1858 Eliza paid a last visit to a Lady Palmerston party, "as a formal parting with the great world" [55]. (Bagehot himself did not give up hunting, and the couple were well-known entertainers themselves; this decision was not taken on the grounds of poverty, but of domestic ideology [56]). But the primary purpose of the events was the bestowal (or seeking) of political approval (or support). Lady St. Helier recalled that

> Mr. Abraham Hayward, chief of the staff, kept her informed of everybody who came to London and ought to be invited to her house, whose political support was worth having, and whose claims must not be overlooked, and undoubtedly Lady Palmerston, by her social gifts, was a very great assistance to her husband in his political life [57].

Female diarists and letter writers were well aware of their role as women in this society, and were often acutely aware of the restrictions on them, wrote about their situation, and tried actively to improve their lot in life and that of their fellow women in other social stations. Feeling left out of most politics, they could yet play their part in organising new outlets for women - supporting the Married Women's Property Bill, or the idea and then the reality of Girton College, as did George Eliot among others [58]; arguing with men about the inherent abilities of men and women over the dinner table, as did Anne Thackeray Ritchie [59]; supporting working women's organisations, as did Lady Knightley [60]; and often simply writing of their

problems as women [61].

Yet they were also aware, and often proud, of their importance as supporters of the system, its controlled reproduction through marriage and the admission of new talent and new wealth to Society. Here one of the major turning points was the 1867 Reform Act, a long-term result of which was to increase the numbers of people in Society. This can be seen through the eyes of Society hostesses. Lady Dorothy Nevill, for instance, reminisced in her memoirs, published in 1906, about the difference between society as she saw it at that time and as she had seen it in the 1860s, "as it used to be - a somewhat exclusive body of people, all of them distinguished either for their rank, their intellect, or their wit...wealth has usurped the place formerly held by wit and learning" [62]. Another hostess, Lady St. Helier, was quite clear as to the mechanism by which the broadening of Society to include the plutocracy had occurred. This was the democratisation of politics after 1867, including the extension of membership among both Liberal and Conservative parties [63], and the rise of a more coherent Irish national party. In Lady St. Helier's words, the 1867 Act led to a "new cosmopolitanism in English Society" [64]. This was especially noticeable in the parties given by Lady Waldegrave, who had assumed the mantle of Lady Palmerston and become leading Liberal hostess; she welcomed actors, doctors, writers and painters to her parties in numbers as substantial as those of the old order. High Church adherents, agnostics and socialists met in her company and tacitly agreed not to shout each other down [65], the result being according to Lady St.

Helier quite a success: "It seemed somewhat audacious, when society was nore or less in the melting pot, to attempt to get the very different elements simmering in it to melt; the experiment appeared audacious, but after the first plunge the rest was easily accomplished" [66].

The concerns of male letter writers, diarists and autobiographers are similar in many ways, offering insights into the points of contact between personal, cultural and political areas. They tend to emphasise sporting occasions rather than parties or balls; their social world includes the club and the common room as well as the drawing room; but the same concern for social status and continuity is also present. The problem of social status was often phrased in such terms as 'Is he a gentleman?' or 'Is she a lady?'. The rector of Clyro, a Mr. Venables, wrote to his brother on 10th November 1864, "I have got a young fellow here named Kilvert about the curacy and I believe it is settled. He seems to be a gentleman and I like what I have seen"; William Hardman often wrote on this question, with for example the sardonic comment "Gladstone has too much of the northern accent to be strictly gentlemanly" [67]. These terms themselves, however, must not be taken to imply that there was some fixed reference point according to whose criteria questions of gentle status could be answered once for all. Such questions were not factual but ideological; and ideologies, as discussed in Chapter Two, are not unchanging reference standards but flexible systems constructed in debate. A good enough illustration may be taken from the journal of Lord Amberley; on June 3rd, 1862, while at Oxford, he noted that

Kirby the don was being discussed in a
very unkind tone by Macneill and Everett,
& after they had observed that he was not
a gentleman, though he tried to be one,
S. said we had better drop the
conversation, Kirby was a friend of his
etc. I would have said more to the same
effect, but the subject dropped. I think
I never felt so proud of my friend
before. [68].

The notion of gentlemanliness was not confined to the
centres of traditional education; it was fought for in
other areas. Darwin, for instance, once returned from a
meeting of the Zoological Society rather more concerned as
to the conduct, than the substance, of the debate: "I went
the other evening to the Zoological Society, where the
speakers were snarling at each other in a manner anything
but like that of gentlemen" [69], he wrote, in a letter
which makes no mention of the subject under discussion.
Darwin, a 'traditional' gentleman (i.e. born into County
Society, the inheritor of a considerable personal fortune,
and who therefore did not have to work for a living) as
well as a scientist, was concerned lest science be carried
on in an 'ungentlemanly' manner. He was fighting for the
integration of the new science with the older ideological
and cultural values. (This point will be discussed at
length in Chapter Four).

Private writings such as letters, diaries and memoirs
are not merely personal, then, but social documents,
showing the extent to which even the most basic forms of
literary production played an active role in the production
of cultural behaviour through ideological debate - and in
the case of memoirs and autobiographies, in producing
history, the imposition of coherent viewpoints on the past.
In all cases they are in some sense a comment on 'the way

we live now', and an invitation to join with the writer's perception of things. But these forms, letters, diaries and autobiographies, were only a part of mid-Victorian literary culture as a whole. As they themselves indicate; whether written by men or women, scientists or parsons, literary or sporting or social figures, all are full of references to reading matter: to the various forms of the printed word. Most are to two forms very closely related at this time: the periodical press and the novel.

This is the second important point to be made in this Chapter. The literate Victorians _wrote_ about the world and their places in it; and they also _read_ about the same, in the press, the novel and other publications. To take a few examples: George Eliot read Darwin's _Origin of Species_ in December 1859, a few months after the book's publication; she found it an example of intellectual honesty and clarity, though ill written [70]. Darwin, meanwhile, had been reading George Eliot; he wrote to Theodore Hooker on 18th April, 1860: "I am glad you like Adam Bede so much. I was charmed with it" [71]. Naturally, both Darwin and Eliot read widely in the periodical press, which they also wrote for, as did many other women and men of letters [72]. But the periodical press was not only for the professional or semi-professional writer; it was for readers, many of whose literary production was confined to the letters or diaries discussed above. Kate Stanley lent her copy of _Macmillans's Magazine_ for October 1860 to the de Tabley family [73]. She was also a regular reader of the _Westminster Review_, _Good Words_, and the _Cornhill Magazine_. Her husband contributed to the _North British Review_ and to the _Fortnightly Review_

[74]. Eliza Wilson read the Saturday Review, as did Lady Knightley. Sir William Hardman read the Cornhill, Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Once a Week and the Pall Mall Gazette [75]; Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, the Cornhill [76]; Mary Jeune the Fortnightly and the Nineteenth Century [77].

Furthermore, all the above claimed to be avid readers of novels. Scott, Elizabeth Gaskell, Thackeray, Dickens, Trollope, the Brontes, all provided reading matter considered entertaining and important by this particular cross-section of Society. The taste was universal. Tennyson remarked to William Allingham that "What I dislike is beginning a new novel. I should like a novel in a million volumes, to last me my life" [78]; while Allingham also recorded part of a conversation with A.R. Wallace: "We digressed to novels. Mr. W. (rather to my surprise) reads a good many in the course of the year; but does not hurry them. He and Hallam [Tennyson's eldest son] exchanged names of novels to be ordered from the Circulating Library..." [79]. Kate Stanley was considered too young at 16 to read certain novels, being forbidden to read further than half the second volume of The Mill on the Floss; no such strictures were placed on her reading The Woman In White, which the whole family read in turn [80]. The more mature Mrs. Bain, wife of bookseller James Bain, also read novels, liking Trollope and Thackeray and even defending Adam Bede against charges of immorality levelled by a more puritanical friend; she did not, however, like Wilkie Collins's Man and Wife: "don't like it, not a nice book" [81]. Middle class housewives, literary people, young

society women, leading scientists, leading poets, all read
novels. Darwin specifically exempted the novel from his
list of those types of art, poetry and music he could no
longer tolerate in middle age [82]. Only George Eliot seems
to have read fewer novels, as she grew older, as a matter
of conscious choice [83].

The next two Chapters will discuss examples of this
reading matter in detail; it remains here to summarise
findings so far, and to relate them to the concerns of
Chapter Two. The historians' view of the period is
essentially one of quiet or of balance; it has been
suggested here that the explanation for this using the
notion of 'equipoise' is more useful than the model
sometimes put forward of middle class domination. The
central concern of Chapter Two was to advance a view of
culture, of accepted group values and behaviours, as being
constructed through ideologies, strands of thought which
address individual people as members of cultural groups. In
looking at the institution of literacy, and its most
important basic components, the letter and the diary, we
have seen one of the ways in which this system worked.
Grounded in the personal and the domestic, letters were
also a primary means of socialisation, enabling their
writers and readers to extend their verbal ability to
explore the values and accepted behaviours of their world.
Not surprisingly, therefore, we have seen that letters are
a centre of the personal/public interaction in which
culture was made. Disraeli asking about precedence; Kate
Stanley reflecting on a possible scandalous marriage in the
family; Darwin complaining that some of his fellow

scientists were not behaving as 'gentlemen'; all these are examples of this personal literary form acting as a purveyor of social values. The personal letter was closely bound up with the reproduction of upper and middle class society.

At a personal level, then, writing and reading were ideological weapons, carriers of opinion and/or consensus. But there was more to the literary culture than letters and diaries; the novel and the periodical press were two forms also widely read, consulted, and mentioned in private correspondence. It is now proposed to examine the relationships between these various forms of literary production; in widening the context for study of the novel, it is hoped to provide a rather 'thicker description' of the novel and its place in literary culture and in the history of ideology than might otherwise have been the case. Middle class literacy and the letter are a most important part of the context; but it is in their relationship with the printed word that we can see the ideologies cohere in public form, producing public opinion, action, and reaction. It is to these two forms, the periodical press and the novel, also addressed to the personal, and continuous with the world of private letters, that we now turn to examine the way in which culture was made and remade.

Chapter Four.

Mid-Victorian Literary Culture.

The learning of reading and writing were centred in the home. The most widely practised forms of literary production, letters and diaries, were also centred in the home, and were primarily of 'domestic' concern. The most widely read form of the printed word, the periodical magazines and novels, were sent to the home, either from sellers or from the circulating libraries; and it can be argued that the primary focus of the novel was itself 'domestic' at this time. It is the object of the following three Chapters to explore the contact of the domestic world with the public world, and to examine the ways in which the two interacted. This will be done by comparing the private literacy of the letter and the diary, discussed in the previous Chapter, with the public literature of the generally available novels, the political writings of the time, and the more abstract 'scientific' analyses of society which, together, formed the whole of the literary culture.

There was more to reading, and more available as reading matter, than books. Newspapers and weekly, monthly or quarterly periodicals formed the most widely available corpus of printed words in mid-Victorian Britain. A large number of these were intended for the middle and upper classes: books were also, usually, addressed to this audience. This is one of the few definitions of readership which can be offered. It is important to remember that

English society did not as yet suffer from the division of sciences and humanities identified by C.P.Snow as "two cultures" [1]: English literary culture had very wide boundaries of knowledge. Admittedly these were organised in agreed disciplines of subject and form of writing. Religion, travel, the natural sciences, the arts, poetry both lyric and narrative, and the novel, were all distinctive literary genres, some with their own taxonomy of sub-genres; as for example within religious works, there were full-length volumes, collections of essays and sermons, religious verse, and tracts. The connection of all these genres and subjects - rather than their uniqueness - was clear to the contemporary readers, if not to later audiences.

The questions of authorship and audience are as important as those of genre and subject. The analyses of Altick and others have shown that most, whether occasional contributors to magazines or professional journalists and/or novelists, were from the middle and upper classes. Of the nineteenth-century writers mentioned in The Concise Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature 16 were from the aristocracy and upper middle classes, 62 from professional and business backgrounds, 15 from lower middle class (shopkeeper, clerk, schoolteacher, artisan) backgrounds, and 9 from the working class, including small farmers and labourers (these definitions are by the position of the writer's father) [2]. Similar figures apply to writers of all kinds: and there were many of them. The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, when complete, will list some 12,000 contributors, to only 47 of the many

hundreds of magazines [3]. Not all contributed at the same level: professional writers like G.H. Lewes were involved full-time, where others like Sir Francis Doyle had the occasional poem published, and Lord Amberley the occasional article [4]. The point is that writing for print, like the private literary production discussed in Chapter Three, was an activity shared among a very wide cross-section of the upper and middle classes. It was their literary culture, not that imposed on them by a few professionals.

Similarly, the audience for much of this literature was assumed to be upper and middle class. This is certainly so in the case of the two most quantatively important forms of publication (apart from the ephemeral religious tracts), the newspapers and periodical magazines and the novel. Two short studies have explored this aspect of literary production. Darko Suvin, in his recent article 'The Social Addressees of Victorian Fiction: a Preliminary Enquiry' [5], claims that throughout the period 1867-1900 the addressees of new fiction published in book form were those (middle and upper class) people having a yearly personal/family income of over one hundred pounds per annum. These comprised, according to Suvin, "from one twelfth to one eighth of the population of Britain as a whole in the second half of the nineteenth century, and expanded in absolute numbers from one to two million income earners and their families" [6]. New fiction in book form was aimed, Suvin suggests, at a particular income group as much as at any particular cultural group; in other words, it was aimed at clerks, teachers and even domestic servants as much as at 'ladies' and 'gentlemen'. It was quite

specifically not aimed at working class people. Many of these could not afford to buy or hire new novels; and when they did read, they read other things, as the contents of working class autobiographies indicate [7]. So new fiction was aimed at a wide audience, at a very widely defined middle class, as well as at the traditional ruling class.

Suvin's estimate of the type of audience for new fiction agrees with the conclusion reached in Alvar Ellegard's paper, 'The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain' [8]. Considering newspapers, as well as periodicals and reviews, Ellegard concludes that all were implicitly addressed to one section or other of the middle and upper classes; most had as primary addressees a particular religious, political or other sub-group within those classes. His paper ends with a directory of many of the more important newspapers and magazines which attempts to categorize each by reference to its potential audience. Ellegard's work is based on these cultural groupings, rather than on the economic categories used by Suvin, but is nevertheless comparable in its estimates; both Suvin and Ellegard confirm the more fragmentary remarks on the topic of readership made by such as Williams and Cox [9].

The two forms considered by Suvin and Ellegard were of course closely connected. The periodicals usually carried serialised novels, which were often published in book form towards the end of their run in a magazine. Periodicals also carried reviews of specific novels, of the novels of specific authors, of specific genres within the form such as the sensation novel, and of the form itself [10]. This

applies to almost all the periodical press; all except the quarterly reviews and some of the religious magazines published serial fiction, and all but the same religious magazines published reviews of novels. The highbrow Fortnightly Review was not above the publication of serial fiction; while even the nonconformist magazine Good Words carried fictions of an 'improving nature'. It would seem reasonable to assume, therefore, that there was more to this consistent publishing pattern than the mere (if correct) assumption on the part of editors and publishers that such a practice would increase sales; this assumption itself has to be explained. The novel, a somewhat disreputable form in the early nineteenth century, was now to be found rubbing shoulders with the writings of John Stuart Mill, Walter Bagehot, E.A. Freeman and others in the Fortnightly Review, and with the earnest moral promptings of Dr. Norman Macleod, Dean Alford, Dr. Thomas Guthrie and others in Good Words. The relationship between fiction and the periodical press will be explored first in general, and then, in Chapters Five and Six, with reference to specific periodicals.

2.

The periodical press was a continuously important part of nineteenth century literary culture. The great quarterly reviews, the Edinburgh Review, the Quarterly Review and the Westminster Review, had been supplemented during the century both by monthly magazines such as Fraser's Magazine and Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, and by weekly magazines

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such as The Athenaeum and The Spectator. There was a continuous expansion in the number of magazines available at any one time throughout the century, with the most marked increase in new appearances, very significantly, in the years 1850-1870, and a decline in new appearances after 1880 [11]. The content of these periodicals remained remarkably stable throughout the century; it also remained surprisingly uniform across the different types of periodical. Apart from leading articles and political commentaries, usually written from an avowed political standpoint, almost all these magazines carried articles on history, biography, geography, theology, science and what we would now call 'the arts'. There were several notable changes in format, three in particular occurring in mid-century. There was firstly a tendency for the review article as such - i.e. an article whose ostensible purpose was to review a recently published book or books - to disappear in favour of articles generated by specific topics. The genre thereby became more apparently self-sufficient, an authority on life's problems itself rather than a reference point to outside authority. Secondly, there was an increasing use of signed articles, challenging and eventually almost replacing the collective anonymity of the early-century reviews. This challenge was led by the Athenaeum and the Fortnightly Review [12]. Thirdly, there was a major change in the attitude taken by the reviews towards fiction. These three changes - all becoming noticeable in the period 1850-1880 - prompt some preliminary suggestions as to the role of the periodicals in mid-Victorian society.

The number of periodicals available can perhaps best be explained by considering the number of sub-groups within literate society. There were for example many different religious groupings; there were also different educational levels (it is always worth remembering, when considering society at this time, that the great expansion of the public school system we tend to think of as essentially Victorian did not really get under way until late in the century; also that Oxford and Cambridge Universities were still Anglican institutions, and seen as such, before the University Tests Act of 1871. So the education system in its most obvious, institutionalised form was less useful as a means of constructing class coherence than it has since become [13]). Certain types of information had to be presented in slightly different ways to these different social groups according to their educational standing, their political and religious beliefs [14]. Above all, there was a need for information about the world which increased as the number of power levels within society, and the number of people operating at each level, increased. The periodical press was a most useful means of the dissemination of such information. The editors of a recent and valuable symposium of essays on The Victorian Periodical Press [15] summarise this point:

> The press, in all its manifestations,
> became during the Victorian period the
> context within which people lived and
> worked and thought, and from which they
> derived their (in most cases quite new)
> sense of the outside world [16].

The first essay in this collection, the late W.E. Houghton's consideration of 'Periodical Literature and the Articulate Classes' [17], identifies the groups for whom

such information was vital. Referring to an essay by Walter Bagehot, which first appeared in the National Review for October 1855, Houghton explains that there was an obvious need for quickly and easily digestible summaries of information, both because a) the flow of information was by then too great for anyone to digest at the scholarly level; and b) there was a large, and growing, "half-educated" class who needed such easily digestible information because they were incapable of understanding more detailed work. As Bagehot put it, "It is indeed a peculiarity of our times, that we must instruct so many persons"; revealingly, the people he thought most needed teaching were, according to Houghton,

> The mass of influential persons...the
> ministries and London Clubs, the country
> houses and country rectories, the town
> councils and holders of the suffrage in
> the boroughs and counties, the Bench and
> the Bar, the leaders of industry, the
> chiefs of the political parties; to which
> may be added members of Parliament [18].

As Houghton points out, this list -at least in 1855 - did not refer to a very large proportion of the total population. He quotes Ellegard's figures for the circulation per issue of various periodicals in 1860: the Edinburgh Review 7,000; the Quarterly Review 8,000; the Westminster Review 4,000; the North British Review 2,000; Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 10,000; Fraser's Magazine 8,000; and Bagehot's own National Review only 1,000 [19]: seven magazines with a total circulation of 40,000 (of course, some of these were monthlies, some weeklies, so a reliable circulation figure for this group as a whole is impossible to achieve [20]). Circulation figures by themselves do not, however, equal readership. Club members,

and members of mechanics' institutes, did not themselves have to purchase these journals in order to read them, but could use the copies bought by the libraries of their institutions. Further access was provided by the circulating libraries. The most successful of these, Mudie's, had upwards of 50,000 subscribers in the 1850s; and prominent on Mudie's lists at that time were some 23 periodicals [21].

The buying, lending and stocking policies adopted by Mudie's circulating library illustrate so well the openly ideological aspects of Victorian literary production and consumption that Mudie's has been seen as the most important centre of literary censorship in Victorian Britain [22]. This is, to say the least, arguable; the newspapers, weekly and monthly magazines, and quarterlies, all had real influence in choosing which works to review, and how to allot praise or blame among these. Mudie's did, undoubtedly, play a part in this censorship process; but just as interesting as its policies of restriction is the access it offered to a very wide range of writings. This shows the type of information it was deemed commercially sound to make available to the "half-educated" public of Bagehot's phrase. In 1855 Mudie advertised that in his latest list, "the preference is given to Works of History, Biography, Religion and Travel. The best works of fiction are freely added" [23]. In 1860 he wrote in a letter to the Athenaeum defending himself against charges of corrupting public morals by over-exposure to fictions, that of the 391,000 volumes he had bought from January 1858 to October 1859, some 42% had been fiction, 22% history and biography,

13% travel and adventure, and 23% miscellaneous, including scientific and religious works, and periodicals. He claimed in this letter that fiction, overall, comprised about one third of his total stock [24]. Many of his advertisements made the same point. Fiction was important to Mudie, but was by no means the whole story; and as the Table on page 120 shows, fiction was also very important - either in the form of serialised novels, or reviews, and usually both - to the mid-Victorian periodical press. It was part of an overall information system.

3.

It would be easy enough to assert here that serialised fictions were incorporated in journals whose prime function was to inform and educate merely in order to 'entertain'; or to increase their circulation. Indeed, such claims have been made [25]; and it certainly seems to be the case that sales were affected by the popularity or otherwise of the novels carried by a magazine: Fraser's, for example, probably did less well than the norm because it did not publish serial fictions after 1869; Macmillan's, whose novelists were not particularly popular, did not have the same success as Blackwood's, whose regularly published novelists included one of the more popular writers of the 1860s, Margaret Oliphant [26]. All three magazines, as Table One indicates, published relatively similar proportions of other information: all had contributors we would now consider to have been distinguished [27]. The presence or absence of fiction affected sales: but was this

due solely to their value as 'entertainment' ?

This is not an easy question to deal with. Contemporary readers of novels, whether amateur (i.e. ordinary middle and upper class readers) or professional (the reviewers who wrote on the novels for the periodicals and newspapers) tended to react to their reading in very similar ways; they were concerned, whether approvingly or not, with the notion of literary realism, and with an awareness of what they were reading as 'realistic'. Among those readers not paid to give their reactions, we find for example William Allingham's aunt, whom Allingham recalled reading novels aloud to the family in the evenings: "The end of a chapter often used to give rise to comments, always on the incidents and characters, just as though they were real, never on the literary merits of the work, or the abilities of the author" [28]. Others commented on the realism of the dialogue: "the dialogue is what people naturally use; it is even more than that: they could not use any other" is a typical reaction to the novels of Trollope; another praised "those meaningful dialogues and imaginary letters which he goes on writing out with such patience, and which are so exactly like the dialogues we hear and the letters we read in real life". The first of those reactions was from a reader, the second from a review [29].

This makes the important point that the reactions of both ordinary readers and paid literary reviewers were often very similar. Almost all literary criticism, of course, was published in the periodicals themselves; it was written not by specialist literary critics, in today's

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academic sense, but by men and women, of the middle and upper classes themselves, whose profession was best described as journalism; who provided commentary on all the issues of the day for their wide audiences. Readers and writers, from the same class backgrounds, with the same domestically-taught literacy, shared common reactions: they were members of the same 'discursive formation', the same literary culture.

There was no strict dividing line between readers and writers, and none between literary reviewing and other forms of journalism; and, significantly, <u>there was no strict dividing line between any form of journalism and the writing of novels</u>. Many journalists turned out the occasional novel. We all know of George Eliot's gradual flowering as a novelist, from a background of journalism; less well known are details of the publishing career of her consort, G.H.Lewes. His career in the 1840s included contributions to the reviews on subjects as diverse as drama, German philosophy, and physiology; he wrote for many periodicals, including <u>The British and Foreign Quarterly Review</u>, the <u>Westminster Review</u>, the <u>Edinburgh Review</u>, and <u>Fraser's Magazine</u>; he reviewed novels by Disraeli, Browning's poetry, and Macaulay's <u>History</u>. He wrote one play, <u>Noble Heart</u>, and also translated one, <u>The Game of Speculation</u>, from the French. His most substantial work of the decade was the four-volume <u>Biographical History of Philosophy</u>, published in 1845-6. But he also, during the 1840s, wrote and had published two novels: <u>Ranthorpe</u>, published in 1847, and <u>Rose, Blanche and Violet</u>, published in 1848. He was by no means untypical in this [30].

Lewes, then, was a journalist and novelist. Similar points could be made about people we tend to think of purely as novelists: Trollope (who first became a fully professional writer when he resigned his job at the Post Office, not because his novels were selling well but in order to edit the newly-founded St. Paul's Magazine), Dickens, Meredith, George Eliot, Margaret Oliphant and others, all of whom wrote regularly in other than fictional modes for the periodical press, as well as writing fictions [31]. Novelists who were not also journalists were very much in the minority through the 1840s to 1870s, notable exceptions being Elizabeth Gaskell and the Brontes, none of whom lived in London.

Typical of journalists who became novelists was Thackeray. Poverty forced him to turn to journalism in the 1830s. In 1844, being already known as a humorous or satirical sketchwriter, he started to write for the Morning Chronicle. Here he wrote on a wide variety of topics, reviewing books of all kinds (seven travel books, five histories, four memoirs or autobiographies, one long poem and one collection of poetry, three full-length novels and six 'Christmas books', and one cookery book). Other assignments for the Morning Chronicle included attendance at three exhibitions of painting, and the two great Chartist meetings in 1848. By this time he was also a regular contributor to Punch; and his own novel, Vanity Fair, was beginning to make an impact. Later Thackeray was to edit the Cornhill Magazine [32].

These two examples show the close connection between the various modes of writing which centred around the most

important form of printed literary production of the day, the periodical press. It helps to reinforce the point that all the writings of the novelists and journalists mentioned above, Dickens, Trollope, Meredith, George Eliot, Margaret Oliphant and so on, were concerned with the issues of the day, were in some sense therefore journalistic. Their own critical reactions, like those of most contemporary reviewers and readers, centred around the notion of 'realism'.

4.

This, again, is not an easy term to define; as the discussion in Chapter Two helped to illustrate, it has not been easy to theorise in retrospect without straying into the subjectivity involved in the notion of 'literary value'. The point modern literary theorists might agree on is perhaps that 'realism' does not in any simple sense mean 'the reflection of reality'. 'Realism' is at any time an agreed, limited system of signification. Despite the naive reactions noted above, readers and writers of the mid-nineteenth century were often aware of this: "Naturalism, limited by respect for conventional moral susceptibilities" [33] is as complete a summary of contemporary critical appreciation of the novel as is available in a short definition. But the statement should not be taken to imply a simple dichotomy between naturalism or realism on the one hand, and values on the other. The

two components make an ideological whole and are not easily separated; rather, they are mutually reinforcing. The point which needs to be stressed, however, is that the 'moral' aspect of literary realism was not, again, simply 'reflection' of an already-existing moral structure, a 'reality' foisted on a falsely-conscious reading public; it was actively asserted, debated and fought for, and if there were a moral system, it was <u>agreed to</u>; there was a choice. A novel's moral structure was part of a debate, part of the choices; ideology was not a pre-existing category of conditioned response, but something continually being argued over and reconstituted. The 'realism' of the novel was part of this process.

Novels did not exist in some precious literary vacuum. They were discussed, analysed, and reacted to, as people went about their daily actvities. Elizabeth Rigby wrote in a review of <u>Vanity Fair</u> that "A remarkable novel is a great event for English Society. It is a kind of common friend, about whom people can speak the truth without fear of being compromised, and confess their emotion without being ashamed" [34]. G.H. Lewes wrote enthusiastically to George Eliot's publisher, William Blackwood, on the success of <u>Middlemarch</u>:

> the book is being talked about in various
> influential quarters. Thus one gentleman
> told me there was an animated discussion
> in the smoking room of the Athenaeum, and
> while he was saying this up came Pigott
> who said he had just left Partridge who
> had told him that at the Academy dinner
> Bishops and Archbishops were enthusiastic
> - I went on to the London Library and
> there saw Sir James Alderton who had been
> staying at Hatfield [the abode of Lord
> Salisbury] and there Middlemarch was the
> subject of much discussion [35].

The novel, then, was public property in a way in which family life and letters were not: it gave people a chance to discuss domestic ideology in public without touching on their own domestic secrets. It is therefore a most important point of contact between the public and private.

This was not a new role. The novel in the eighteenth century was often seen by contemporaries as being concerned with the ordinary, the everyday people and events of their own world [36]. The development of the narrative form from the epistolary novel has been taken to show the close contact between this form of literature and the personal world, in the same way as has been argued for the Victorian novel in the present study [37]. The stylistic clashes between Fielding and Richardson have been seen as showing the ideological divisions between literate groupings in the eighteenth century, between the traditional ruling classes and new groupings, with the stress often being retrospectively placed on the novel as representative of a new world-view, that of an increasingly class-conscious and powerful middle class [38]. The novels of Jane Austen have also been seen as being concerned with the conflicts between economic groups in English society [39]. However, the demand that a novel should be contemporary, (or even that it should be faithful to 'actual life'), had not been a part of literary appreciation in the early nineteenth century, the era of Scott. Novelists of the 1820s and beyond were more often concerned to portray contemporary life, if in rather restricted ways. They did not often portray middle class life. The two genres mentioned by Thackeray in chapter two of Vanity Fair, the 'Silver Fork'

and 'Newgate' schools of fiction [40], were about an idealised aristocracy and an equally idealised criminal underworld respectively. The great popularity of the novels of Dickens made the portrayal of middle class life in literature more acceptable, and gradually critical appreciation of the novel of middle class life increased until this was seen as the norm. Whereas in 1838 Harriet Martineau had trouble finding a publisher for Deerbrook, because its hero was a surgeon, and its heroine came from Birmingham [41], by 1851 a reviewer in Fraser's Magazine welcomed a novel precisely because "it is perfectly quiet, domestic and truthful...there is nothing irreconcilable with everyday experience" [42]. It should be stressed immediately that the 'everyday experience' was seen as that of the middle classes: 'realism' here meant writing about the middle classes, or at least from an avowedly middle class point of view. It also quite specifically meant writing about the present. George Smith's contract with Thackeray, signed by the latter on 9th April 1859 on his appointment as editor of The Cornhill Magazine, included the following:

> Mr. Thackeray, in consideration of the engagements of Smith, Elder & Co. contained in this agreement, agrees to write two novels the scenes of which are to be descriptive of contemporary English life, society and manners [43].

As T.H. Green wrote in 1862, novelists "undertake to copy present life, and they do so...the 'reading public' is charmed with the contemplation of its own likeness" [44]. Perhaps the most important component of mid-Victorian literary realism is this emphasis on the contemporary middle class and upper class as 'ordinary'; such highly

qualified and selective 'realism' was by the 1850s considered normative for the three-volume novel.

The temptation must be avoided, however, to class the novel as a sign of middle class socio-economic hegemony: just as the Newgate novel did not mean lumpenproletarian hegemony. As remarked above in Chapter Three, the culture of the ruling classes did not change uniformly in any direction. A good illustration of this process of ideological conflict and compromise is to be found in critical reaction to the novels of Thackeray. His first novel, Vanity Fair, was welcomed by most reviewers; significantly, it was warmly reviewed in the Athenaeum, a periodical previously noted for its dismissal of the novel as an inferior form [45], and by the similarly conservative, and immensely serious, Quarterly Review. In the review already quoted, which was from the latter magazine, Elizabeth Rigby (later Lady Eastlake) wrote that

> A remarkable novel is a great event for English society. It is a kind of common friend, about whom people can speak the truth without fear of being compromised, and confess their emotion without being ashamed...Everybody, it is to be supposed, has read the novel by this time...Vanity Fair is pre-eminently a novel of the day - not in the vulgar sense, of which there are too many, but as a literal photograph of the manners and habits of the nineteenth century, thrown onto paper by the light of a powerful mind [46].

Five years later, the Quarterly Review again recommended a Thackeray novel, The Newcomes, as "the most minute and faithful transcription of actual life which is anywhere to be found" [47]. The realist middle/upper class novel had here won eminent approval, and from a journal which was, and remained, politically Conservative. The ideological

process was far from straightforward here, however. Part of the approval of the Quarterly, as with other periodicals and newspapers, was given to the new presentation of the upper and middle class; part of it signified patrician approval of the ideology within which such people and their lives were presented. It was obviously very important that Thackeray wrote like a 'gentleman'. G.H.Lewes wrote in The Leader, on 21st December 1850, reviewing Thackeray's Pendennis, that Thackeray's style was "essentially, that of gentlemen" [48]; the Saturday Review remarked during a review of The Virginians, on 19th November 1859, "One of the great leading features of Mr. Thackeray's books – and one of their most honourable features – is that they are the writings of a thorough gentleman and of a man of high and liberal education" [49]. This is perhaps the most important restriction placed on the concept of realism. The middle/upper class 'ordinary' was constructed in very particular ways, and it was seen as part of the whole point of this type of writing that it should be 'gentlemanly' as well as 'realistic': a point which will be developed at length below.

5.

The realism was often, in fact, assumed, rather than stated, by reviewers; nevertheless, words like copy, transcript, photograph and daguerrotype were frequently used by readers and by critics – both by those who approved of novelistic realism and by those who wished the novelist to transcend the limits imposed by the 'naturalistic'

portrayal of middle and upper class life and to make her or his work achieve the 'artistic' status of poetry or music [50]. This led to two sorts of criticism. Some complaints were made that realist novels were dull; the National Review, for example, while accepting the 'realism' of Margaret Oliphant's Chronicles of Carlingford novel series, complained of its limitations: "domestic virtues have been the staple of interest, and the decalogue of creative art is summed up in the commands, to be genteel, and to marry at the end of the third volume", leaving therefore in the mind a "craving...for something beyond words, dress and small talk...the monotony of common things" [51]. Other criticism was more openly hostile, and indicates clearly the limitations of realism: in the same year the Saturday Review complained that Anthony Trollope's novel Rachel Ray was far too lifelike; a recording of the domestic trials and triumphs of small-town brewing families would have been better if suffused with rather more poetry [52]. The young Kate Stanley, reading the same novel at home, reacted in a similar way [53]. The implication is obvious: the 'novel of middle class life' was to portray only a certain level of the middle classes, the groupings most culturally and economically close to the old order; the 'genteel' professional groups, rather than the industrial or trading. Trollope's The Struggles of Brown, Jones and Robinson was another of his least successful (i.e. least popular) works [54]. Novelists who treated the 'wrong' aspects of middle-class life, or who wrote of the 'wrong' part of the middle class, were subjected in this way to hostile criticism whose ideological effect was clearly to reinforce

the normative cultural status of those closest in temper to the traditional ruling classes.

One obvious component of 'literary realism', then, was its careful restriction to the depiction of upper middle and upper class life. Again, this did not just happen: it was asserted, fought for and constructed, as the review of, and Kate Stanley's reaction to, Rachel Ray shows. Another part of 'literary realism' was its self-conscious moralism. This was also produced in the reviews and in the reactions of ordinary readers as much as in the works themselves. As the Saturday Review said of Trollope's novels, they were essentially the literature of the 'respectable' middle classes;

> Commonplace in subject, but neither vulgar nor mean, pure in tone, but not in the least degree noble or enthusiastic, it is essentially the literature of the moral and respectable middle class mind - of people too realistic to be bothered by sentiment, too moral to countenance the sensationalism of crime, and too little spiritual to accept preachments or rhapsody for their daily use [55].

This quotation subtly reveals the moralism which was the reverse side of the naturalistic coin. For 'realism' was not merely a question of putting down on paper what would actually happen in any given set of circumstances. No doubt this was in part the case, and authors often made a point of informing their readers of the lengths they had gone to in order to ensure correct detail. Wilkie Collins announced his verisimilitude in the preface to the second edition of The Woman in White (1859), describing his rearrangement of the novel's chronology in response to criticism made in a review of the first edition in The Times [56]; Charles Reade wrote novels after consulting his collection of

notebooks and newspaper clippings, boasting that his novels were "a fiction built on truths...gathered...from a multitude of volumes, pamphlets, journals, reports, blue-books, manuscript narratives, letters, and living people" [57]. Disraeli advertised his reliance on Parliamentary reports in his preface to Sybil, and Trollope announced that he had consulted a lawyer for the precise details of the legal opinion given as chapter XXV of The Eustace Diamonds [58]. But there was more to 'realism' than the inclusion of lifelike detail: 'realism' consisted, and was agreed to consist, as much in what was left out of novels as in what was included in their pages [59].

Naturalism in detail was matched by the ignoring of various aspects of 'real life' in their entirety: thus the ideologies set out to control reality by attempting to limit it. Read in retrospect, the writings of the mid-Victorian period form not a continuously applicable explanatory system, but one which disguises or ignores many aspects of what we know to have been contemporary reality. The most obvious example in the case of the novel is that despite the genre's reliance on stories of marriage, courtship, reproduction and inheritance, nineteenth century English novelists tended to ignore altogether the various physical processes of human reproduction. Even to hint at either sex, or pregnancy, or childbirth, as direct physical experiences, was to invite disaster, either in the form of censorship before publication, or hostile reaction – and therefore often the failure of the novel – after it. Thackeray, whose novels, as we have seen, society generally thought of as quintessentially realistic, claimed in the

preface to Pendennis that he thought it most unfortunate that he could not do what Fielding had done and portray "a real MAN" [60]. In other words, he dared not write explicitly about his hero's sexual desires; indeed, Arthur Pendennis's desires are presented so vaguely that they are almost unnoticeable, while his recorded behaviour is morally exemplary (in the sense that his pre-marital feelings are of guilt as much as of desire, and are not explicitly seen as having been consummated, and once married he becomes a most touchingly faithful husband). Trollope, in his Autobiography, boasted that not a word he had written would bring a blush to the cheek of the parson's daughter - a common standard for judging the content of fiction [61]. Such an attitude was not reserved for fictional literature alone. The first editor of what is now the Oxford English Dictionary, J.A.H. Murray, refused to carry 'four-letter words' in the Dictionary for the same reason; that such a book was meant for the drawing-room, and should therefore contain nothing which might embarrass young ladies [62]. Even outside literature such a moral attitude was common: The Spectator was scandalised by the plot of Verdi's opera La Traviata, writing that "we claim for music itself, and for art in general, a nobler inspiration than can be caught from the regions of sensual profligacy and degradation" [63]. Censorship on these moral grounds was often applied to novelists. Mudie took Meredith's Sir Richard Feverel off his shelves after complaints from readers [64]. Dickens refused to publish Charles Reade's Griffith Gaunt in All the Year Round because of its open portrayal of bigamy [65]; such novels

as were published dealing with this and other aspects of sexual 'immorality' were usually most strongly attacked by the press [66]. The <u>Saturday Review</u> even went so far as to object to the portrayal of pregnancy in <u>Adam Bede</u> as too graphic [67]. Again and again we find novelists ticked off for failing to come up to the moral mark - despite the 'realism' of their portrayals. A novel, it was fairly generally agreed, should be

> a work of polite literature, to be read aloud in the family circle while the members are pursuing some graceful or fanciful work after the severer duties and studies of the day are closed [68].

This is a most significant statement; for the above quotation from the <u>Athenaeum</u> is not a reference to a work the reviewer feels will be liable to expose the young female reader or hearer to embarrassment because of its exposure of sexual 'immorality'. It is from a review of Kingsley's <u>Alton Locke</u>, which regrets that novel's concentration on 'vulgar' characters. Here, as noted above in the case of Anthony Trollope's <u>Rachel Ray</u>, is the second limitation in the definition of 'realism'. Authors were not to be encouraged to display sexual 'immorality'; neither were they expected to write about 'low' life. The focus of attention was to be upon the everyday experience of 'ordinary' people: given that the 'ordinary' people were not the criminals of the Newgate novels, or the precious aristocrats of the Silver Fork school, but the respectable middle classes, reading novels essentially about themselves, <u>en famille</u> in the drawing-room; the very people whom the <u>Saturday Review</u> saw as the typical readers of Anthony Trollope's novels.

By the 1850s, then, 'realism' largely meant the focussing of attention on the domestic lives of middle class people, the "general wants, ordinary feelings, the obvious rather than the rare facts of human nature...the actual, palpable things with which our everyday life is concerned" [69]. But this did not mean the 'reflecting' of an already-given ordinary, but the establishing of the ordinary, the forming of the norms by which 'ordinary' people should live, the education of the "mass of influential persons" seen by Bagehot as in need of such an education. As such the novel - as with the rest of periodical literature - played a vital part in the formation of common values among the expanding ruling class. The 'ordinary' which was being newly asserted was not to be 'vulgar': thus the concern over the characters and scenarios portrayed in Alton Locke; and the similar concern about character and incident portrayed in Rachel Ray and two later Trollope novels, The Struggles of Brown, Jones and Robinson and Miss Mackenzie [70].

The style of novel illustration was also changing to reflect this mood: gone were the sarcastic portrayals of Cruickshank and Phiz, with their strong tendency to caricature, and in their place a bland naturalism, seen at its best perhaps in the work of Millais for such novels as Anthony Trollope's Framley Parsonage [71]. Only George Eliot's portrayal of 'vulgar' characters received consistent approval [72]. On the whole, reviewers were unhappy about fictions which, however realistically, portrayed as main characters people from walks of life which were not at least recognisably genteel/professional.

They were not dismissive of tradespeople or the working classes as such, but rather of their behaviour, unless this was itself recognisably (and absurdly) 'genteel' throughout the course of a novel, as it was for instance in Dinah Mulock Craik's John Halifax, Gentleman. The argument as a whole was for a set of behavioural norms which we can only attempt to define more closely by referring back to the concept 'gentility'.

6.

Gentility is another complex notion which has often been oversimplified by historians and other commentators [73]. The word is not symbolic of a single, stable ideological system, but of a hegemonic behavioural concept which was constantly changing and being challenged. It is related to the concept of the 'gentleman', which was perhaps at its clearest in Regency London, where a small group of men constituting the upper layers of a hierarchy based largely on birth disported themselves inside a set of behavioural norms which commentators today would refer to as 'leisured'. The rituals of gambling, drinking, duelling and hunting, and the institutions within which these were practised, such as the gentlemen's clubs, became increasingly formalised during the century. As was seen in Chapter Three, the type of behaviour permitted within these institutions also changed. Gambling clubs were effectively made illegal by Act of Parliament in 1845; duelling was made illegal in 1847; drunkenness became a social taboo [74]. The behaviour expected of the

'gentleman' was radically different in 1815 and in 1850. Again, however, the temptation to characterise this change as bourgeois ideological triumph must be resisted. For one thing, the idea of honest sobriety as gentlemanliness had been challenging the more rakish ideal since the eighteeenth century [75]. But sober ideals did not make a clean sweep. For all the disappearance of duelling and at least open gambling beyond the pale of social respectability [76], hunting, and a high valuation of the ostentatious display of 'leisure' pursuits, remained to trouble the middle-class conscience. Such a typical new middle class professional as Bagehot hunted, as did many of his contemporaries; to hunt remained a sign of social status [77]. Football and boxing remained - if codified and therefore less ostentatiously violent - while horse racing, again under stricter control, became ever more popular and continued to receive the open patronage of Society [78]. It remained socially acceptable to gamble on horse races; gambling in all forms did not quietly disappear along with Crockford's, but remained a bone of contention throughout the century [79]. Athletic sports and the 'Classics' remained the core of the curriculum at both the traditional public schools and most of the newer ones, as they did also at Oxford and Cambridge [80]. Perhaps most importantly, the contempt for manufacturing industry and its leaders, and for the pursuit of profit, remained, as it remains, a powerful force in British society [81]. 'Gentlemanly' behaviour changed, but it did not change completely. A compromise was effected.

By the end of the century the 'idea of a gentleman'

had become a composite notion reflecting the interests and inherited ideas of several fractions of the post-1832 ruling class; it remained comparatively open, and was used by sub-groups and cadet groups to mean rather different things. The very word 'gentleman' was a most powerful symbol of this system, which might perhaps be described as a coherent disunity. The important thing to remember is that this polite ideological conflict was being produced continuously in writing: in the letters and diaries referred to in Chapter Three, where the word 'gentleman' is obviously of great importance in the writers' views of social status and authority; and in the printed writings of the time, most notably in the periodical press and the novels. Suvin's article on the social addressees of Victorian fiction referred to above, perceives a part of this complexity. He argues that while the addressees were a wide cross-section of the upper and middle classes,

> the dominant segment or core of this readership, the hegemonic social addressees of the literature of the time, were some groups from the upper-middle and middle classes, i.e from the perhaps 2-3% of the population that joined to economic affluence the dominant role in a cultural and ideological consensus. [82].

Here there is both the perception that the addressees as a whole were being informed through fiction of a pattern of dominance to which their adherence was being requested, and a failure to see that this 'consensus' was the product of interaction not just among the various fractions of the middle class but between those fractions and the aristocracy and gentry of the traditional ruling class. The final consensual product could be summarised in an eleventh commandment that might read something like: 'Ordinary

people should not be vulgar, but should behave like ladies and gentlemen'. Were they to do so, the rewards in terms of social status would follow. And indeed, Peter Bailey's study of the "problem of leisure" for the middle classes of mid-Victorian Britain suggests that this message was, with some misgiving, taken to heart [83].

Bailey argues that the 1850s and beyond saw an end to the seriousness that had characterised utilitarian and/or evangelically-influenced middle class lives; the pursuit of leisure became a possibility, even a necessity, as prosperity removed the burdens of work, and as the growth of suburbia, separating working from domestic environments, also emphasised the difference between working and leisure hours. The leaders of the various religious denominations - congregationalist R.W.Dale, for example - were often exercised at this time in drawing up categories of permissible leisure pursuits; a new theology of recreation emerged to balance that of Christian duty in the workplace. Meanwhile, changes in retail and distribution practises made more goods easier to buy; standards of living were rising, and began to include a level of conspicuous consumption [84]. J.A.Banks has shown how middle class family limitation must have been practised, from the 1860s onwards, in order for such families to place their expenditure elsewhere than on children; more recently, he has explored the argument that this change owes something to an ideological move away from evangelical Christianity [85]. Thus the priorities of the middle class were reoriented along the lines so well theorised by Thorstein Veblen as those of the 'leisure class' - of 'Classical'

learning in schools, useful only in display, of conspicuous consumption on domestic architecture, on servants and so on [86]. That the new pursuits - especially organised sports - showed a more disciplined ethos than the traditional leisured activities does not deflect from the fact of the middle classes embracing leisure in a way which reinforces the view of compromised incorporation seen by Perry Anderson as typical of relations between upper and middle classes in the formation of a new ruling class in nineteenth century Britain [87].

Typically, and importantly, Bailey cites among the evidence for his arguments articles published in the periodical press, including debates on the permissibility and role of leisure [88]. The implication of this work - not drawn out by Bailey himself - is of the acceptance of a gentrified, leisured, and therefore traditional ruling class lifestyle as normative. The emphasis on the periodical press as evidence reinforces the view that the educative role played by the press included the creation of this consensual, normative product. In the same way as that identified by Suvin in the case of novels, the periodical press was educating a 'new model ruling class' [89], creating at all levels of power within ruling class society a set of agreed concepts, producing a coherent behavioural system within which individual members of the class(es) could place themselves. This had to be done at the public, institutional level of the press in mid-Victorian Britain; the British ruling class, whose rule extended far beyond the shores of the British Isles, could not possibly work effectively within a culture transmitted orally. If there

were to be a consensus, therefore, it must come from the commonly-held beliefs and commonly-practised behaviour transmitted by commonly-attended or commonly-read institutions: the schools and universities, the clubs, the ritualised killings of birds and animals, and the commonly-read literature of the periodical press. Coherence was obtained without complete uniformity by the inclusion within the whole of many minor differences; here, perhaps, the role of the periodical press, in providing a space in which the various fractions could establish their own relationships with the necessary information, was especially important.

7.

Consider for example the opposition between 'religious' and 'scientific' explanations of the world. These differences are usually held to have intensified during the 1860s and 1870s as a result of the publication, and widespread acceptance among scientists, of Darwin and Wallace's theories of evolution by natural selection. It is certainly true that The Origin of Species, and indeed Darwin's later works, were widely reported in all sections of the periodical press [90]. Yet there was no question of 'scientific' views merely replacing 'religious' views and thereby attaining unchallenged normative status. Both continued to exist side by side, in the culture as a whole, and in the periodical press. Furthermore, there was a sustained effort on the part of many of the leading figures of the Victorian literary world, including editors of

periodicals, scientists, and churchmen of various denominations, to ensure that the debate was conducted with tolerance and respect. The Metaphysical Society, the gathering of mid-Victorian intellectuals most transparently concerned to effect this mutual tolerance - and to keep the 'scientific' within the bounds of general culture - included among its 62 members the editors of 9 periodicals. These were the specialist scientific journal Mind, and the following eight journals aimed at broader readerships: the (Roman Catholic)Dublin Review, The Fortnightly Review, The Cornhill Magazine, The Economist, Fraser's Magazine, Macmillan's Magazine, and two periodicals especially associated with the Metaphysical Society and its founder, Sir James Knowles, The Contemporary Review and The Nineteenth Century [91]. Tennyson, Thirlwall, Sidgwick, R.H.Hutton, J.R.Seeley, Huxley, Ruskin, Gladstone and Manning among others of apparently disparate background and view (the only name missing from the list who one might assume retrospectively to have been a probable contributor is Arnold) met regularly between April 1869 and November 1880, for dinner and to discuss such papers as for example 'On the Theory of a Soul', 'The Relativity of Knowledge', 'Faith and Knowledge', 'The Theory of Evolution in its Relation to Practise' [92].

Here, at the very highest level of Victorian literary culture, we have thinkers and editors of the time agreeing to differ, and continuing to debate, in the pages of the periodical press as in their private meetings, the relative merits of Christian, scientific, humanist and positivist explanations of the world. The pluralism was a deliberate

part of mid-century literary culture's attempt to cater for the various groups on the fringes of the ruling class of the time. For all that many of the periodicals were avowedly sectarian in their overall religious or political views, liberty of opinion was commonplace in their pages in the mid-century. W.E.Houghton, in the article mentioned above, takes as an example of this pluralism two review issues of July, 1864. In the purportedly Tory and Anglican Quarterly Review, half the articles were by authors who also wrote for the Whig Edinburgh Review; in the avowedly nonconformist British Quarterly Review only three of the ten published articles were recognisably nonconformist in attitude. This, Houghton suggests, was a common development in periodical literature from the 1840s onwards, reaching its apogee in the mid-1860s when periodicals began to appear which made a point of self-consciously denying any attachment to party or faith. The first of these was the Fortnightly Review, first published in 1865, while a year later "The Dean of Canterbury banished 'all sectarian and class prejudices' from his Contemporary Review. By 1877 The Nineteenth Century was deliberately printing 'symposia' in which people were invited to express their contrary opinions" [93].

So at the very time when Arnold was complaining that one of the chief obstacles to his proposed national culture was the sectarianism of the periodical press [94], the periodicals were in fact displaying more uniformity of tone and less pure sectarianism than before; they agreed to differ, and discussed the same topics, using the same arguments on all sides, in doing so. Often the arguments

were presented without clear arbitration: the reader was left to make up her or his own mind on the matter under discussion.

This new liberalism of tone is clearly related to another change in the content of periodicals which came to a head in the 1860s; the appearance of signed articles. The early-century reviews and magazines had published all contributions anonymously; a doctrine of 'collective responsibility' had grown accordingly. Writers on reviews were expected to speak with one voice. Such practices as that of the London Magazine, whose entire journalistic staff dined together once a week, reinforced this idea - which was taken so seriously that duels were fought, one resulting in the death of the first editor of The London Magazine, while Grantly Berkeley duelled with the editor, and horsewhipped the proprietor, of Fraser's Magazine after an unfavourable review of a novel; there was no question that either had actually written the review in question, but they were held ultimately responsible for it [95]. This practice of anonymity all too often led, not just to vitriolic abuse aimed at some authors, but to the patronage of others for commercial reasons: the 'puffing' of books published by the companies who published the reviews was common, as was the practice of reciprocal 'puffing' between reviews. This caused considerable annoyance to those whose literary productions were not so treated. The Athenaeum began to campaign against these types of puffery, and the anonymous publishing which facilitated them, during the 1830s [96]; by the 1860s most of that magazine's contributions were signed. It was the deliberate policy of

the Fortnighly Review, as of most periodicals founded in the 1860s and later, not to publish any article or review without a signature [97].

This characteristic of the 'age of equipoise', the comparatively free flow of opinion across a wide range of journals aimed at diverse audiences, can be seen as one of the strogest components of contemporary ideology and, especially, as one most conducive to the non-violent incorporation of different groups within the one cultural system. The tolerance of opinion worked within the readership as a whole as a force for unity. Religious, political, or scientific views as such mattered far less than tolerance of the views of others in signalling one's gentility; this could be seen as the basis of the 'politeness' that remains such an important part of the ruling class's definition of 'Englishness'. And such tolerance could help to bind the class(es) together, to mould the fragments into a unity capable, simultaneously, of thinking independently but of acting together. A.W.Brown's remarks on the Metaphysical Society seem apt enough as a summary of the coherence this agreed diversity could in fact achieve:

> the Victorian intellectual tradition, with its emphasis on freedom, dignity, courtesy, and mutual respect, is the tradition of a class, but of a class of men who would protest any name but that of a 'gentleman' [98].

Similarly, Roy Porter's essay 'Gentlemen and Geology: the Emergence of a Scientific Career, 1660-1920' [99] has shown how the cultural/behavioural ideas of gentlemanliness suffused the English scientific world, with its emphasis on the dinner as much as the seminar or the published paper as

an institution in which ideas were communicated or debated, its continuing high valuation of the amateur - such as Darwin - and, as Darwin's letter quoted above in Chapter Three indicates, its emphasis on courtesy and restraint even in disagreement [100]. The idea of the gentleman had in this way remained a potent one even in the 'hardest' of the new professions. The dilettante valuation of 'pure' science (often useless except as an intellectual exercise) as opposed to research for specific industrial, technological or social purposes has coloured the relationship between science, scientists and British society ever since [101]. To this extent, of course, the 'two cultures' argument about the place of science in society is overstated. The separation of sciences from arts has undoubtedly occurred since the middle of the nineteenth century, but the cultural mode within which scientific research has been pursued has remained directly comparable with that governing academic research in the humanities. Both are still surrounded by the ideological paraphernalia of a 'gentlemanly', 'leisured' class: both are good examples of the influence such an ideology still maintains.

In mid-nineteenth century Britain, however, science had not yet become isolated: it was very much a part of literary culture as a whole. All the periodicals published items of scientific interest and debate, as Table One, below, indicates. Physiology, geology and evolution theory were widely available informatory and explanatory systems. Similar information was available in articles about travel, history, theology and religion; exemplary biography and memoirs; reviews of the arts and of recently published

books; statistical information concerning English and foreign societies. And in almost all magazines, as well as reviews of fiction and poetry, actual poems and short stories and serialised novels were published. Such items were not exceptional, repositories of a spectacularly different type of writing, a purely aesthetic region of literature, but were, and were seen to be, parts of the same overall information system that the remainder of the periodical or newspaper sought to constitute. Chapters Five and Six will explore, in some detail, the relationship between fictions and their immediate literary contexts, the periodicals in which they first appeared. Here the general parameters of the information system, and the particular place of fiction within it, will be outlined.

Table: Contents of various periodicals, 1860-1875.

The figures represent percentages of the total number of articles in each magazine during the period in question.

periodical:	Mac- millan's	Black- wood's	Fraser's	Cornhill	Fort- nightly
fiction	21.45	23.76	11.5*	44	11.1
reviews	1.5	1.75	-	0.5	8.57
arts	11	9.1	11.7	6.7	13.35
hist/biog	11.8	10.8	13.1	9	10.1
domestic 1	16.8	19	23.4	4	24
domestic 2	2.8	9.2	3.1	6.4	1.2
foreign	14	15.45	14.7	10.75	11.46
education	3.2	2.25	2.2	1	2.4
law	1.2	0.72	1.5	1.75	1.98
religion	5.6	2.4	7.76	1.25	5.8
philos	1.9	-	1.7	1.1	4.8
science	4.3	1.75	4	5.4	3.1
misc	4.7	3.64	5.26	7.8	1.9
total no. of articles	1557	1372	1843	1647	1213

sources: 1. original research. 2. W.E. Houghton, ed., The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals (1966-). Following the conventions of the latter, no account has been taken of ephemeral poetry, which was published by each of the magazines above.

+The Fortnightly Review commenced publication in May, 1865.

*Fraser's Magazine did not publish serial fiction after September 1869; some short stories were published.

Domestic 1: political and economic articles, including consideration of the countries forming the British Empire.

Domestic 2: 'lighter' articles, usually concerning social behaviour.

Foreign: includes articles on travel in, as well as on the politics and economics of, countries outside the British Empire.

Reviews: of fine art, music and writings of all kinds.

Charles Mudie's letter quoted above indicates that the novel in book form was seen in context as one of a number of literary genres including history and biography, travel, science and religious works. The same can be said for the novel in the periodical press. The important question is what specific role, if any, did fiction play in this context. The suggested answer is that the novel form had a role as mediator between hard information in its printed presentation, and the private forms of reading and writing which all members of literate society practised. The novel, constructed as an openly ideological form in the way outlined above, presented hard information about lifestyle, character, acceptable and unacceptable behaviour and so on in a way which related as directly as possible to the reader, as closely as possible to her or his own literary experience - which experience itself was often directly ideological in concern, as the letters quoted in Chapter Three indicate.

'Literary realism' was a specific and direct formal ideology. With its stress on the contemporary, the middle and upper classes as 'ordinary', and its strong domestic, marital and moral concerns, the novel was an openly ideological form capable of acting as an agent of information regarding social formation and reproduction. It was continuous with abstracted information on the one hand, and with highly personal forms - the letter, the reported conversation - on the other. It is no coincidence that most Victorian novels contain 'transcribed' letters as well as 'transcribed' dialogue; nor that readers' reactions, and those of professional reviewers, so often insisted on their

fidelity to actual life [102]. It must always be remembered, however, that such reactions were only a part of the story: "Naturalism" was always "limited by respect for conventional moral susceptibilities". The novel was therefore closely related to debates and behaviour, to the culture as a whole, outside itself: and most immediately, to the other literary publications of the day.

In the periodical press, this close relationship was seen - as it can now be studied - in microcosm in each of the magazines and reviews. Three chapters of a novel might well be followed by discussions of travel in Asia, the recent business of Parliament, politics in France, Germany or Italy, reviews of books by scientists and theologians. Not all authors of fictions welcomed this close proximity to other literary genres. George Eliot was simply averse to having her works "cut up into little bits" [103], though she agreed to the appearance of Romola in the pages of the Cornhill Magazine when the price was right [104]. William Allingham records that Browning was similarly concerned about the publication of his narrative poem The Ring and the Book. Asked about this, Browning had replied: "Magazine, you'll say: but no, I don't like being sandwiched between politics and deer-stalking, say" [105]. For the majority of mid-nineteenth century fictions, however, the usual mode of publication was as follows: serialisation, over a period of six months to two years, in a magazine; publication in three-volume form just before the appearance of the magazine containing the final episode, many of the sales of the first edition going to the circulating libraries; one or two years later,

republication in a cheaper, single-volume edition; finally, republication very cheaply [106]. For up to two years before its appearance in book form, then, a novel would appear in serial form in the pages of a magazine; this conjuncture, the immediate context, will be further explored in the following two Chapters.

Chapter Five.

The Point of Contact: Fiction in <u>Blackwood's</u> and <u>The</u>
<u>Cornhill</u> in the early 1860s.

It is the object of this Chapter to explore the points
made in general in Chapters Three and Four with reference
to two periodicals; <u>The Cornhill Magazine</u>, in 1860-62, the
first two years of its existence; and <u>Blackwood's Edinburgh</u>
<u>Magazine</u> in the period January 1865 to June 1866. Chapter
Six will then present an overview of the place of fiction
in another periodical, <u>The Fortnightly Review</u>, over a much
longer period, 1865-1875. The differences between the three
journals will be brought out, but the aim is to point more
to the similarities, especially the way in which all three
publications used fiction.

<u>The Cornhill Magazine</u>, 1860-2.

<u>The Cornhill Magazine</u> was perhaps the outstanding
literary production of the mid-century 'age of equipoise':
its whole ethos was to entertain and instruct as large a
section of the literate 'new model ruling class' as
possible. Publisher George Smith, of Smith, Elder & Co.,
conceived in 1859 the idea of founding a new magazine. "The
existing magazines were few, and when not high-priced were

narrow in literary range"; he wished, therefore, "to give the public both the contents of a general review and the entertainment of first-class fiction at the price of a shilling" [1]. Smith was not alone at this time in seeing the potential for such a magazine; Macmillan's, a journal very similar in scope, was launched in November 1859, two months before the Cornhill first appeared on the bookstalls. Intended as a combination of "political and religious articles, with travel sketches, fiction, and poetry, something like Blackwood's; but it was to sell for a shilling" [2], Macmillan's had many distinguished contributors (such as Goldwin Smith, Arnold, Pater and Seeley). Novelists whose works appeared in the magazine included Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley.

The first edition of this avowedly middlebrow publication sold 10,000 copies, more than the sales of all but one of the reviews cited by Houghton in the article referred to in Chapter Four. If this is itself an indication of the expansion of the reading public interested in such reading matter, then the success of the first edition of the Cornhill more than confirms it: over 100,000 copies were sold. In the first few months this sales level continued, to the astonishment of The Bookseller:

> The Cornhill Magazine has opened our eyes
> to the great fact of there being a very
> large, and hitherto overlooked mass of
> readers for literature of high class.
> Whoever believed that a 100,000 buyers
> could be found, month after month, for
> that serial? [3].

Smith had quite deliberately aimed for such popularity by spending large sums of money in assembling his team of

editor and contributors. Thackeray was retained as editor and requested a new novel from Anthony Trollope, to the latter's surprise:

> ...the letter from Smith & Elder offering me £1,000 for the copyright of a three-volume novel, to come out in the new magazine - on condition that the first portion of it should be in their hands by December 12th. There was much in all this which astonished me; - in the first place the price, which was more than double what I had yet received...Then there was the suddenness of the call. It was already the end of October, and a portion of the work was required to be in the printer's hands within six weeks. [4].

Needless to say, Trollope fulfilled the conditions to the letter, and the first edition of the <u>Cornhill</u> contained the first instalment of <u>Framley Parsonage</u>, complete with illustrations by Millais , another expensive contributor [5]. Smith spent similar sums in securing the services of other contributors, including Elizabeth Gaskell, Ruskin, G.H.Lewes, and G.A.Sala.

The early success of the magazine was not maintained after the resignation of Thackeray in 1862, and a steep decline in circulation followed the appointment of Leslie Stephen to the editorial chair. It has been argued, interestingly enough, that it was Stephen's policy to <u>exclude</u> 'serious discussion' of religious, moral and political issues, in an attempt to revive sales [6]. The move failed: the inference is that the reading public wanted precisely the middlebrow mixture which had been offered to them in the earliest days of the magazine.

What marks the first two years' issues is a consistent blend of information. Fiction was one of the main selling points of the journal, but as an editorial in the first

number pointed out, this was partly because fiction had such a broad appeal:

> Novels are sweets. All people with
> healthy appetites love them - almost all
> women; a vast number of clever,
> hard-headed men...Judges, bishops,
> chancellors, mathematicians are notorious
> novel-readers....our Cornhill Magazine
> owners strive to provide facts as well as
> fiction [7].

This magazine, therefore, saw its role as educator, as well as entertainer. Articles on animal and plant physiology, on the geography and politics of foreign countries, on famous people past and present, and on current British politics were complemented by poetry and fiction.

It was suggested in Chapter Three, and developed in Chapter Four, that this was not a casual conjuncture: that fiction was very deliberately complementary to the rest of a periodical's contents; complementary, and not supplementary. For one thing, the Cornhill, like the rest of the periodical press at the time, thought of the novel as a fundamentally realistic mode. Novels were not so much seen as works of the imagination as documentations of the lives of the 'ordinary Englishman':

> They are pictures of the everyday life to
> which he has always been accustomed -
> sarcastic, sentimental or ludicrous, as
> the case may be - but never rising to
> anything which could ever suggest the
> existence of tragic dignity or ideal
> beauty [8].

Apart from this general recognition of realism and its limitations, there was sometimes a more specific reference to the novel as a part of everyday life: as part of the real world. An article in the November, 1860 issue, 'Oratory' [9], discusses the debating powers of the House of Lords, from the point of view of an author who claims to

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have had tea recently with a number of bishops,

> and among them, under the tutelage of his
> wife, I was glad to see our friend and
> everybody's friend, Dr.Proudie, looking
> none the worse because it had been
> decreed by higher than episcopal
> authority that on this historic night he
> was to vote for the government. [10].

The reference is not further explained, but it is assumed that all would know the Dr.Proudie to whom reference was made.

And indeed all readers of The Cornhill Magazine at least should have known Dr.Proudie, not a 'real' bishop but a character in Anthony Trollope's fiction; for at this very time the magazine was serialising Trollope's novel Framley Parsonage. Dr.Proudie, the bishop of Barchester, who had previously appeared in Trollope's Barchester Towers and Doctor Thorne, was also a minor character in Framley Parsonage, as was his formidable wife. The characters of the currently serialised novel were again commented on and taken as real in an article called 'Falling in Love', in the January, 1861 issue of the journal [11]. The author considered that love is a human attribute or experience of which great care should be taken. The right man and woman will always fall in love with each other, if gradually and controlledly:

> Lord Lufton and Lucy Robarts may serve as
> a true illustration. This, however,
> introduces us to all the moral and social
> complications of the question, arising
> from modern manners, mental cultivation,
> and an artificial state of society [12.
> My italics].

It is especially important to preserve marriage as the central guardian of Christian morality:

> In a Christian country, where the sexes
> openly mingle in society, the only

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> safeguard for domestic happiness and the
> purity of social life is to be found in
> prudent marriages of affection [13].

The very next item in the magazine for that month is Chapters XXXVIII-XXXIX of Framley Parsonage, whose young leading characters have just been held up as typical, morally correct, above all as real. Furthermore, in this very episode of the novel there comes a successful proposal of marriage, based indeed on prudent affection rather than young love. It is a proposal by Doctor Thorne, a successful county medical practitioner, to Miss Dunstable, a considerable heiress whose money comes from her father's successful career as a medical quack. It is a proposal based on long friendship and affection, and of course on financial security.

There could be no better illustration of the place of fiction in the literary culture of the time than this direct and casually assumed use of fictional characters as examples of morally correct behaviour in an article exhorting good marital practice. And thus we see the connections. For marriage was a topic of considerable importance in the personal literary production of the time, as we saw in Chapter Three; it was also of importance to the periodical press. One of the central foci of class and status, it was seen at the time to be of critical importance in the maintenance or alteration of social standards: crucial, in other words, in the reproduction of culture. An article entitled 'Keeping Up Appearances' was published in September, 1861 [14]. This starts by commenting on a recent correspondence in The Times concerning young men who, not wishing to marry, keep

mistresses. Marriage was considered by such men to be too expensive, but the writer claims that this was merely a besetting sin of an increasingly materialist society, "the vulgar but almost universal desire to keep up appearances, which makes newly married couples expect to begin where their fathers and mothers ended" [15]. The writer goes on to argue again for prudent marriages. He does not, however, claim that keeping up appearances is wrong, indeed he agrees that "whatever may be said to the contrary, it does cost a great deal to be a gentleman, and a great deal more to be a lady" [16] - ladies being more expensive because they are not allowed to earn money in their own account. This is an interesting example of the new socio-economic fluidity of the word gentlemen, which in this case applies even to men who work, provided they spend enough on the right lifestyle. The real crux of the article, then, is that while the professions can in themselves claim for their members the title gentleman, those professionals who choose to marry early will have to "forfeit the social rank of a gentleman by living in an extremely frugal manner" [17]. Here can be seen the power of the concept of the 'leisure class' as proposed by Veblen - the emphasis placed on conspicuous expenditure. In summary, the author argues, "the adoption of a liberal profession is inconsistent with early marriage" [18] unless joint income is already high.

The status of the professions, and indeed of the middle class in general, was often commented on by the magazine. An exhortation to middle class people to educate their children better by private tuition warns them to beware of phoneys. They should employ only MAs of Oxford,

Cambridge or "even" Durham or Dublin: "men who can write these letters after their names always know something, whether they can teach it or not; and they are generally gentlemen" [19]. Another author complains of the poor standard of education offered by the leading public schools; he makes it plain that their traditional methods are no longer adequate:

> Middle-class schools are rising round
> them - in London, in Liverpool, at
> Cheltenham, at Bradley, at Marlborough,
> at Bradfield, and elsewhere - which are
> readily adapting themselves to the
> altered requirements of the age; and
> unless "Harchester" wants to be left in
> the lurch, that venerable establishment
> must conform also [20].

i.e. it must prepare pupils for the Army and Civil Service examinations; at present, the article claims, the only Etonians passing such exams have been to crammers.

Again, this should not be taken as evidence of the triumph of 'bourgeois' ideals. Ideological compromise, not a single dominant ideology, was producing a 'hegemony' in which traditional values were still present. The traditional public schools were still seen as important: they were to be reformed and brought closer in curriculum to the middle-class schools, but not to be closed down. The February 1861 article 'The Civil Service as a Profession', a reprinted lecture by Anthony Trollope, insisted on the "manliness" and "independence" of the civil servant - using ideological terms more often used to describe the back-bench country M.P. [21]. There was worry that competitive exams would not reproduce this independence, but only slavish mediocrity [22]. The concern was to keep the professions an area where the term 'gentlemanliness'

was appropriate: to blend the class views, not to replace one with another. Further articles elaborated the growing work/leisure distinction in a similar, mediating way, praising both work and holidays as blessings and duties of life. Traditional leisured lifestyles were also represented [23].

The journal was by such means deliberately addressing as wide an audience as possible: both members of the traditional 'leisured' classes and those families with working breadwinners. As we saw in Chapter Four, the change in the patterns of middle class leisure activity were often a focus of attention for the periodical press at the time, as they provided information enabling the classes to draw culturally closer. Addressing as wide an audience as possible, the magazine was yet helping to unify the disparate groups into one recognisable cultural pattern. This width of social address was no doubt one reason for the early popularity of the Cornhill Magazine. Above all, throughout this mid-Victorian product runs the concern for class compromise, for the meeting and fusion of ideologies to place the different social groupings in relation to various over-reaching ideas and concepts. The praise of work was balanced by praise of leisure; the professions were shown as areas of work in which men could be 'gentlemen'; it was proposed that the education of both middle and upper classes should be directed to the same goals; above all, perhaps, information was provided for the newer middle classes which might enable them to move in their new surroundings more freely. The mechanisms of the leisure class were displayed in a series of short articles

called 'Bird's-eye View of Society'. These were by Thackeray himself, and consisted of three pages of text accompanying a fold-out illustration. 'At Home', published in the April, 1861 edition, is typical. The drawing is of a large room full of people: more are seen crushed together on a staircase through an open door. The people are eating, drinking, chatting, or trying to do any of those things but being prevented by the crush. It is intended, Thackeray writes,

> chiefly for the information of country cousins, intelligent foreigners, and other remote persons; also ladies and gentlemen growing up, and not yet out, to let them know what and where they may expect to go if they should 'give up to parties what is meant for mankind' [24].

A humorous look is cast upon a social occasion, but its main distinguishing points - invitations, supper, and the courting which takes place - are related the while, providing for _nouveaux riches_, as well as those "not yet out" from the traditional leisured groups, information about what is to be expected if they wish to become cultural members of the ruling class. They are told about the event itself, about what happens, and about how to behave.

Thackeray's comic sketches of Society, like Trollope's serious consideration of the Civil Service as a profession, remind us that novelists were also journalists. As such they were concerned with their contemporary society; it is hardly surprising, therefore, that there are such obvious continuities between their journalism and their fictional descriptions of society. Trollope's _Framley Parsonage_, as noted above, was seen as real and as exemplary by its

contemporaries. The context in which it was published was a magazine aimed at a wide audience and continuously concerned with problems of class and status. The plots of Framley Parsonage are continuous with these concerns. A young clergyman, Mark Robarts, brought into contact with fast-living London socialites, puts his name to a bill in order to oblige one of them, a local country gentleman and M.P. This transaction nearly causes the financial ruin of both Robarts and his family. His guilt at the near betrayal of his family and of those whose patronage placed him in polite society form one of the major foci of the book. Several other aspects of the problems of class and status are raised. The troubles of a very poor clergyman, Josiah Crawley, the status problems of 'genteel poverty', and the shame felt when he accepts charitable donations from people who by one definition - that of education and profession - are 'gentlemen', and therefore his equals, are graphically portrayed. Similarly, the violent hostility shown by Lady Lufton towards the penniless, and physically unimpressive, Lucy Robarts when it is proposed that Lucy marry her son, raises questions of class and status around the very important question of social reproduction through marriage. Here, too, there are comic scenes describing social events, such as Mrs. Proudie's conversazione (Chapter XVII), which provide social information, as well as amusement, for the nouveaux riches in exactly the same way as Thackeray's 'Bird's-Eye View' sketches. In the Cornhill Magazine, then, not only was fact provided as well as fiction: both were ordered in the same, ideologically formative, direction.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, January 1865-June 1866.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (hereafter Blackwood's) had been started in 1817 by William Blackwood. The idea was to run a Tory periodical which would rival the Edinburgh Review but would be more dashing, and more deliberately controversial, than the other Tory journal, the Quarterly Review [25]. John Wilson and John Gibson Lockhart shared editorial duties - but not editorial responsibilities - with the proprietor; the magazine remained the property of the Blackwood family throughout the century [26]. Known to its staff, readers and contributors alike as "Maga", Blackwood's remained conservative in editorial principle; for all this it was not by any means monolithic in its opinions by the 1860s. By the mid-1860s, indeed, the contributions to the magazine, like those to the Cornhill, seem more concerned with social flexibility than with the feudalism or paternalism with which the magazine has sometimes retrospectively been associated.

In the period January 1865 to June 1866, the magazine for some months serialised, simultaneously, three novels - Laurence Oliphant's Piccadilly, Margaret Oliphant's Miss Marjoribanks, and Charles Lever's Sir Brooke Fossbrooke. Taken in context, these reveal an extensive concern with social, political and economic status. Even taken by itself, the context disproves the assertion that Blackwood's "championed a semi-feudal society, supporting a privileged, landowning class with certain self-imposed

duties and responsibilities to the lower orders, and steadily supported all rural, as opposed to all urban, interests" [27]. The attitudes to be found in this magazine are far more complex than this picture of a consistent paternalism would seem to suggest.

This is not to deny that Blackwood's, throughout the nineteenth century, was a Tory magazine; it is rather to suggest that there was more to Toryism, even in the 1860s, than the feudalist version of the golden age myth. The days of Young England's dream of an alliance between working class and traditional aristocracy had passed, and the new Tory party was busy forging the links with the professional and industrial middle classes which have proved so successful in the long run. The contents of the journal at this time help to reinforce the point. Political reports, a proportion of the magazine's column inches only exceeded by fiction, (as the table in Chapter Four shows), were presented in several ways. Firstly, there were straightforward reports, or forecasts, of the business of the House of Commons [28]. Secondly, rather less frequently, there were reactions to proposed or passed legislation, or to speeches: these were often violent attacks on Liberal measures or speeches, or on individual Liberal politicians. Gladstone, the turncoat who had been when younger a leading Conservative, was often the target for abusive personal attacks. During the year 1865 alone there were four articles critical of Gladstone; he was accused of hypocrisy over his change of party, over the budget - especially the malt tax - and over his speeches in favour of his son as a Parliamentary candidate for Chester

[29]. In its August, 1865 edition the magazine rejoiced over Gladstone's electoral defeat at Oxford [30].

This particular article, 'The Late Election', is of special interest as it shows the concerns of the magazine as continuous with those of mid-Victorian culture as a whole. It complains that too many candidates for Parliament wish to enter the House of Commons before becoming members of Society: they become M.P.s, in fact, in order to "establish for themselves a place in society" [31] rather than as convinced politicians. The article goes on to attack the problem of social status from a very different angle, complaining that three new Members in particular, Lord Amberley, Mr. Baines, and Herbert Gladstone, have betrayed their class and status. No 'gentleman' could possibly believe that they are really in favour of the extension of the suffrage to £6 householders, or even, heaven forbid, of universal suffrage. These three, "all gentlemen, be it observed, by birth and education" [32], are betraying their own consciences, as well as their status, by saying so. Finally, noting with regret Gladstone's return to Parliament as one of the members for South Lancashire, the article says that this is because of support from Roman Catholics, whose cause, it alleges, Gladstone is to advance in the United Kingdom, to the deadly hurt of the Anglican church.

Nowhere is the ideological matrix better revealed than in such articles as this. The church, the idea of the gentleman, the relationship between Parliament and Society, all are revealed as linked, within the context of a polemical call for a certain type of behaviour - political

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honesty. Society's ideals are seen as in a state of flux. So were the opinions put forward by Blackwood's. For it is not the case that the magazine was merely 'reactionary' in all social and political issues; like many contemporaries, Blackwood's believed that the franchise should be extended, if only to "the superior order of mechanics and working men" [33]. Most of its political commentary was, however, concerned with the existing politics/society relationship. The suspicion that many candidates for Parliament were trying to gain entrance to Society by the back door was voiced regularly. Charles Lever's comment column, written under the pen-name 'Cornelius O'Dowd', often comments on Parliamentary membership. "The House, too, is a rare club" [34], but this does not mean that members should enter Parliament without political interests or opinions. These, and other articles, assert that Parliament should be a representative forum, not just the meeting place of the traditional ruling classes, but for all groups. Parliament is seen as a place of compromise, of peaceful class interaction, notably of accommodation between trade, industry, finance and land; and of accommodation between the various religious denominations. 'Cornelius O'Dowd' set this forth: "The landowner, the millowner...the man of mines, the friend of Exeter Hall, the advocate of the Pope...I am certain that at the price of listening to an enormous amount of twaddle we purchase safety" [35. My italics]. The perception that the compromise was necessary to produce the peaceful integration of different social groups could hardly be more clearly put. The centre of the traditional culture, Parliament, was opened up to the new

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influences of industrialism (and the Dissenting and Catholic interests): as a result, 'safety' was purchased by those whom Blackwood's represented. This included the opportunity to integrate the newcomers more fully into the traditional ways.

The problem of the notion of gentlemanliness, so important a part of this process, cut across the theory of representative government and its ideas of class compromise. The fluidity of this notion can best be seen in an article on the Liberal government of the day in March 1866. This firstly warns the conservative-liberal, post-Palmerstonian majority (sound fellows) that they are being manipulated by a minority of radicals within the Liberal Party. The article goes on to criticise Lord Russell's leadership, claiming that this exacerbates the divisions within the party because of Russell's own social elitism: Russell always "had no taste for exchanging ideas, far less jibes and jokes, except with a very minute fraction of the upper ten thousand" [36]. On the other hand, the article complains about the bringing of Goshen into the Cabinet on classically social-elitist grounds; this "descendant of a not very long line of Prussian money-lenders" may be "a politician and a gentleman" [37], but might very well not; and if not, of course, he should not be a member of the Cabinet [38].

The definition of 'gentleman' there rests on cultural codes, with the strong implication that foreign businessmen do not follow those codes; but it does not rule out the possibility that they may do. Industrial and financial wealth was not dismissed, and was indeed sometimes praised.

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Gladstone's father was held up as an example of the true path; a self-made man earning money honourably, becoming an M.P., and sending his son to Eton and Oxford, where he became a fine classic and an M.P. in his turn - these outlines earn approval even if the younger Gladstone's later behaviour does not [39]. Margaret Oliphant, reviewing Eliza Meteyard's biography of Josiah Wedgwood, comments that the potter was a hero: a new type of hero, a business hero, to stand beside the military heroes of former times. An increasing population, Oliphant says, needs heroes of this new type to support it [40]. Wedgwood was an exceptional figure, who could be seen as as artistic 'genius' as well as successful businessman: but even so, the praise given to this humbly-born mass-producer suggests that the rules of social acceptance were changing.

This itself, as many contributions to the magazine recognised, led to incr easing concern with the problems of status definition. The magazine took a fairly dim view of social climbers per se, whether MPs trying to join Society [41], or nouveaux riches attempting to provide themselves with spurious heraldic insignia as part of a portfolio of gentility [42]. It was confidently assumed that those already in Society would be able to disport themselves in Parliament more easily than members not from the traditional ruling class [43]. Nevertheless much information was provided, if obliquely, for those who were not aware by upbringing of the social mores required for personal, social or political success.

Much of this information was presented in 'Cornelius O'Dowd's' contributions. January 1865 contains 'People Who

Come Late', and complains of people who turn up late for dinner engagements and also of those who "send you their apologies an hour before your dinner" [44]. They don't seem to realise that dinners are planned events, all guests being needed to make up a well-balanced party; casual absences are likely to ruin the whole event. Or again, in December 1865, 'Shall Bagmen Drink Wine?', O'Dowd comments on a debate among commercial travellers as to the advisability of drinking wine rather than beer:

> Between the man who drinks wine, and him
> who drinks beer, what an ocean of social
> difference may be said to roll! Wine is a
> brevet of gentility; it is the stamp of
> station, sharp, defined and indelible. He
> who sits at a table with a decanter
> beside him knows that there, at least,
> his flank is defended [45].

And always the relationship between Society and politics is insisted upon: those who behave correctly will not only be socially acceptable, but will be better equipped to play a part in Parliamentary politics. In April 1866 O'Dowd's 'A Glance at the New House' included the following:

> I am disposed to think that the men who
> will soonest distinguish themselves in
> the new House will be those who are
> distinctively "men of the world" - such,
> in fact, as mix most in society, and
> contribute largely by their gifts to the
> world they live in. The common sense of
> common life is a very available quality.
> It is a sort of money that everyone
> accepts. It is legal tender everywhere
> [46].

The fictions published in Blackwood's during these eighteen months show similar concerns; while the social and/or political information is presented in a more reader-friendly form, with 'plot', 'character', and the genre itself as mediating agents, the same element of socially constructing debate is to be found. There was

considerable overlap between the three novels which were serialised during this time; for four months, indeed, from May to August 1865, all three were running simultaneously.

Miss Marjoribanks began to appear in the pages of Blackwood's in February 1865, and was concluded in May 1866; it was published as a three-volume novel, also by William Blackwood and Sons, in the same month as the final episode appeared in the magazine. Margaret Oliphant was at this time, as she had been since 1854, a regular contributor to Blackwood's [47]. A woman of prodigious literary energy, she published besides c.100 novels and short stories, countless reviews and articles and many books of history and biography. During the 1860s her works, often published anonymously, were at the height of their popularity, her series of novels known as 'The Chronicles of Carlingford' (of which Miss Marjoribanks was a part) being attributed by some to George Eliot [48], and compared by others with Anthony Trollope's Barsetshire series. As V. and R.A. Colby have pointed out, the main social area discussed in the Carlingford novels, all of which first appeared in Blackwood's, was precisely the area of concern identified by other contributors to the magazine, the social fractions below the aristocracy: "The aristocracy rarely figures in Mrs. Oliphant's fiction. Wealthy characters are plentiful, but they are usually not higher in the social scale than the squirearchy" [49]. These people, of course, were the ones whose status was most fluid and ill-defined, and whom it was therefore most important to discuss.

Like all the novels in the series, Miss Marjoribanks

is set in the small English town of Carlingford, observing its life through focussing on the thoughts and actions of one of its leading characters, Lucilla Marjoribanks. Miss Marjoribanks returns from finishing school and the grand tour to keep house for her recently widowed father, the senior doctor of the town. She is determined to become the leader of Carlingford society, and has a strategy to accomplish this ambition involving the giving of two types of social events: dinners, and evening parties. The dinners, modifying her father's recent tradition of 'bachelor' dinner parties, are specifically to win over the men:

> She knew...that there was a great difference between the brilliant society of London or of Paris, which appear in books, where women have the best of it, and even the very best society of a country town, where husbands are very commonly unmanageable, and have a great deal more of their own way in respect to the houses they will or will not go to, than is good for that inferior branch of the human family. Miss Marjoribanks had the good sense to see and appreciate these details; and she knew that a good dinner was a great attraction to a man, and that, in Carlingford at least, when these refractory mortals were secured, the wives and daughters would necessarily follow [50].

Wishing to consolidate her position, she does not encourage the affections of cousin Tom; she has a mission in life, cannot be distracted from it by love or marriage, and besides, being young, considers that she has "plenty of time for all that" [51]. Instead the plans for social leadership continue: the drawing-room is redecorated; she finds a contralto voice to accompany her soprano for duets at the evening parties, and invites a wide cross-section of Carlingford society to attend these gatherings. This leads

to social confusion, highlighted when Barbara Lake, the contralto, a poor drawing-master's daughter, begins a romance with Mr. Cavendish, an apparently eligible young man who is a recent arrival in the district, a candidate for Parliament, and who has shown more than a passing interest in Lucilla herself. Miss Marjoribanks is concerned at the impact on the town's status system a marriage between Barbara and Cavendish would have: "Poor Barbara! I wish she could only look a little bit like a lady" [52]. It becomes increasingly clear to her, however, that Cavendish himself is not, as he appears to be, a gentleman of good family. It is revealed that he is, in fact, the son of a Newmarket trainer, who Archdeacon Bentley tells Lucilla "was a handsome fellow, and picked up a little polish; and really for people not quite used to the real thing, was as nearly a gentleman - " [53]. The Archdeacon's sentence ends at this point, leaving it to the reader to draw implications. The information helps Lucilla, shortly afterwards, to reject Cavendish's proposal of marriage, which she now knows is for social climbing, with indignation [54].

The second part of the novel opens with a review of Miss Marjoribanks's position. Ten years have passed; she is still the leader of Carlingford society, and remains unmarried. County lawyer Mr. Ashburton and Cavendish, who has recently reappeared in the district, are rivals both for her hand and for Parliament. Cavendish is, however, also interested in his old flame, Barbara Lake, to the scandal of Carlingford society; Mr. Ashburton, therefore, wins the seat. He proposes to Lucilla, who has meanwhile

been rendered poor by the collapse of the Indian finance house in which all her father's money was invested.This of course removes the freedom she had earlier felt in dismissing unwanted suitors, and indeed any notion of marriage; but she does not like Mr. Ashburton. Luckily, cousin Tom, by now a successful barrister and the recent inheritor of some Marjoribanks property, arrives in the nick of time to make his own proposal, which is accepted; the couple decide to set up as county lady and gentleman in the ancestral village, Marchbank.

Plot, character,and detailed conversation in this novel explore the parameters of social status and reproduction: the vexed question of the 'gentleman', as exemplified by Cavendish; the focus on Parliament as the centre of male society, and competition for places there from members of different social and professional groups; the importance of marriage with the 'right' person in society's eyes; and the different roles of men and women. Above all the novel exposes the importance in social construction, in the making of the community, of the dinner-party, the evening party, and less formal meetings and conversations. These concerns, of course, are also expressed in Cornelius O'Dowd's columns of social advice, and in the other articles on class, status and parliamentary politics. The information is the same, but the form of mediation brings it that much closer to the semi-public, or private, worlds of the individual or family to which such information was supposed to relate.

A distant cousin of Margaret Oliphant's, Laurence Oliphant, was the author of Piccadilly, a short novel

serialised in Blackwood's from March to September 1865 but first published in book form only in 1870. It is a novel of the fashionable world, written in the first person, in a style reminiscent of Thackeray or even Disraeli. The author was at the time of its first appearance a rising young man. A lawyer, diplomat and journalist, he had written several books, notably those describing journeys to India, China, and Russia [55]. In 1865, deciding to settle down in England, he became MP for Stirling Burghs. Later this year Piccadilly appeared, to some critical acclaim, and some notoriety. Two years later, Oliphant resigned his Parliamentary seat and joined the mystical sect of the American charlatan Thomas Lake Harris. Piccadilly itself is, for all its satire, a religious work; it has been said to show signs of its author's incipient madness, as well as of his spiritual beliefs [56]. It was its author's first published fiction.

The opening sets the scene, and suggests the social and political context, admirably:

> Sitting in my bay-window the other evening, and reading the 'History of Civilisation' by my late lamented friend Mr. Buckle, it occurred to me that I also would write a history of civilisation - after having seen the world, instead of before doing so, as was the case with that gifted philosopher [57].

Thus begins Piccadilly, its first few lines announcing its contemporary literary realism as confidently as its subtitle, 'An Episode of Contemporaneous Autobiography'. Unlike Miss Marjoribanks, this is not to be about the grey areas of status definition among the provincial gentry and bourgeoisie, but about those whose life revolves around the centre of fashion, London; the brief and confident snobbery

of the phrase "the world" sets this up as a history of this, very limited but self-proclaiming, world, as all that matters of civilisation.

Piccadilly, however, is by no means a self-congratulatory novel. It does not depict a society without problems, but rather raises acute questions about the status and behaviour of many of the members of "the world". At a country house party, the main characters are introduced. The dowager Lady Broadhem, young Lord Dickiefield and his sisters, a wealthy Indian Christian named Chundango who wishes to become an MP, and an American millionaire, Appollonius T. Wog, who wishes to meet British aristocrats. As with Cavendish in Miss Marjoribanks, social gradations are not always what they seem. Lady Broadhem, for instance, is a financial speculator; not only on the Stock Exchange, but also with the hand of her daughter. She wishes Lady Ursula Broadhem to marry the highest bidder, even if that means Chundango, against whom, like all the other characters in the novel including the first-person narrator, she is racially prejudiced. Everywhere the influence of City money is felt:

> Due to the noxious influence of tall
> chimneys upon broad acres, whereby the
> commercial effluvium of Plutocracy has
> impregnated the upper atmosphere, and
> overpowered the enfeebled and enervated
> faculties of the aristocracy; lust of
> gain has supervened upon love of ease
> [58].

Lady Broadhem is even prepared to take nouveaux riches into Society - provided they are Members of Parliament (a view interestingly typical of those expressed in Blackwood's, as we have seen); as the author puts it, "the creme de la creme require an absence of aspirates to be made up to them

somehow" [59].

The strongest theme of the novel is its exposure of the marriage market, the "Daughticultural Show" [60] by which the ruling class seeks to ensure its continued reproduction. Lady Broadhem is even prepared to marry Chundango herself, if that means that his money can be used for the greater good of the family fortunes. The book is impregnated with a claimed Christian morality, and the narrator often displays pious horror at those who profess Christianity but do not in practice love their neighbours. At one point the author remarks on the need for Christian missionaries, not in non-European countries, or even among the English poor, but here in Society [61]. The confusion of status, and of behavioural standards, consequent from the meeting of people whose comparable wealth cannot disguise their very different social backgrounds is apparent throughout: and this at a time when Blackwood's, like other periodicals, was debating a further change in the power structure via the extension of the franchise [62], and was providing, overall, an optimistic picture of the integration of new wealth into Toryism.

Last of these three concurrent Blackwood's novels to commence publication in the magazine was Charles Lever's Sir Brook Fossbrooke, which began to appear in May, 1865, and was published in three-volume form, also by Blackwood & Sons, in 1866. Lever, like Margaret Oliphant, was a regular contributor to the magazine, writing several novels, miscellaneous reviews and other articles, as well as the social comment column under the pen-name 'Cornelius O'Dowd'. His last novel for the magazine before Sir Brook,

an Irish story called <u>Tony Butler</u>, had concluded in the January, 1865, edition. A German-trained doctor, Lever had practised medicine in both Dublin and Brussels, first publishing novels in 1843; he was editor of the <u>Dublin University Magazine</u> from 1842-1845. In 1858 he became British vice-consul at Spezia, and in 1867 consul at Trieste. <u>Sir Brook Fossbrooke</u>, like the Cornelius O'Dowd column, was written from Italy.

Sir Brook Fossbrooke is a man of mature years whom we first meet dining with the colonel of an Irish regiment in Dublin:

> If he was beyond question, a gentleman,
> there were also signs about him of narrow
> fortune; his scrupulously white shirt was
> not fine, and the seams of his
> well-brushed coat showed signs of both
> care and wear [63].

He has in fact inherited, married, and won and lost at least three fortunes. He is in Ireland to see the son of Lionel Trafford, (an old Christ Church contemporary),whose family are worried about him. Put out to grass in an unfashionable regiment because he has been overspending in London, Tom Trafford has, unpardonably, announced his engagement to Lucy Lendrick, whose father has been cut off from his inheritance by his grandfather. This means family pressure to prevent such a marriage, in which Sir Brook has been invited to join. Typically, Tom Trafford is told that he cannot marry Lucy Lendrick as she is "without family or fortune" [64]; and is warned that if he does, he himself will be cut off from his inheritance.

Again, an outsider with apparent pretensions to gentility, Colonel Sewell, arrives. He is a gambler, treats his wife very badly, and forges promissory notes to

maintain himself, among other nefarious deeds. His marriage of convenience a mockery, he is finally confronted by Fossbrooke, who promises not to reveal the secrets of his sordid past, and indeed to help him, on condition that his marriage - that most sacred of contracts, preservable even though the site of great cruelty - remains in being.

Both main plots, therefore, assert the importance of marriage to the social structure, while questioning the basis on which such contracts are made. But there is a further important, point. Sir Brook, having no money and wishing to gain some, does not himself forge, gamble, card-sharp, or look out for the nearest heiress; nor is he given a windfall inheritance. He goes to an unspecified foreign country and opens a mine. Working hard, in the company of Tom Trafford, he makes the mine work: they find silver, and thus the Fossbrooke fortune is remade once again - and Tom will have more than enough to marry Lucy [65]. The point is that Fossbrook and Trafford, socialite and army officer, work in industry to make a living. At a time when Blackwood's was conscious of, and indeed was taking part in, the debate over the extension of the franchise, this sanction of labour by born gentlemen is noteworthy. It performs the same ideological function as the praise heaped upon Josiah Wedgwood as 'industrial hero', and confirms the positive side of the question about Goshen's status as an industrialist and member of Government.

During these two years, then, Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine was the vehicle for a strong politically-centred Toryism aware of social change and actively involved in

directing it towards the compromises between groups which transformed the Conservative Party during and after the 1860s from the party of the country gentleman to a party which encouraged the middle classes to join, and tried to make them feel at home, by precisely these ideological means. The criticisms of "the world" contained in Piccadilly sit easily alongside information on acceptable behaviour in that society; the emphasis in that work and in Miss Marjoribanks on correct behaviour (rather than birth) as an index of social status are well integrated into a text - the magazine as a whole - whose political commentaries often remarked on the fact of social blending even in the apex of Society, the House of Commons. The portrayal of Sir Brook Fossbrooke as an industrialist, despite or as well as being a gentleman, and the final granting by Lady Trafford of permission for her son to marry Lucy Lendrick, a girl whom she had previously thought "beneath" the family, are indications of the acute awareness of the new socio-economic parameters within which culture and ideology were being redrawn: they are strong evidence indeed of the part played by the periodical magazines - and of the fictions published as a part of them - in that process.

Chapter Six.

Fiction and The Fortnightly Review, 1865-1875.

Blackwood's and The Cornhill were not alone in their use of the novel, as a glance at the table in Chapter Four shows. The same is true of one of the most prestigious of all the mid-century periodicals, The Fortnightly Review. For all its highbrow status, the Fortnightly was a typical periodical of this particular historical moment, and published fiction as an integral part of its contents from the beginning. It is the object of this Chapter to explore the relationship between the fictions in the Review and the rest of its contents in rather greater depth than was done for either of the examples in Chapter Five, and over a longer period of time. The Chapter will end with a more detailed look at one of the novels published in the Review at this time, Anthony Trollope's Lady Anna.

Two advertisements placed in the Saturday Review to inform the public of the impending arrival of the new journal make clear its principles, and its involvement with fiction. The announced 'liberalism' of editorial principle fits well with the tolerance identified in Chapter Four as characteristic of the periodical press at this time. On March 25th, 1865, the following appeared:

> The Fortnightly Review will address the
> cultivated reader of all classes...it is
> hoped that the latitude which will be
> given to the expression of individual

opinion will render it acceptable to a very various public [1].

and on 22nd April 1865, it was announced that

> The object of the 'Fortnightly Review' is to become the organ of the unbiassed expression of many and various minds on topics of general interest, in Politics, Literature, Philosophy, Science, and Art. Each contributor, in signing his own name, will...claim the privilege of perfect freedom of opinion...the first number will open with a new story by Mr. Anthony Trollope, which will continue throughout the first sixteen numbers of the Review [2].

George Eliot records that the venture was agreed upon at that most characteristic Victorian institution, a dinner party [3]. A committee, including besides Eliot herself and Lewes, Trollope, Bagehot, F. and E. Chapman, and Laurence Oliphant, decided to put up £9,000 of capital among themselves, and to work independently of a publisher in the first instance. The open editorial policy was agreed from the outset. In the words of Anthony Trollope,

> "We would be neither conservative nor liberal, neither religious nor freethinking, neither popular nor exclusive; but we would let any man who had a thing to say, and knew how to say it, speak freely. But he should always speak with the responsibility of having his name attached" [4].

Lewes, despite fears over his health, was persuaded to become the journal's first editor, but illness forced him to resign his post after 17 months [5]. At this time several changes occurred. John Morley took over as editor. The copyright of the title was sold to Chapman and Hall, the original £9,000 having been spent; and the new publishers decided to continue publication on a monthly rather than fortnightly basis, the fortnightly issue not having proved successful. The title remained unchanged.

Circulation was only about 1,000 per issue when Morley assumed the editorship, in December, 1866; it reached about 2,500 in 1872,and remained at this level throughout the 1870s [6].

The content of the magazine over its first ten years can be seen from the table in Chapter Four, in which it is compared with that of others published at the time. Domestic, colonial and foreign political and economic affairs; religious, scientific and educational questions; 'the arts', and serialised fictions provided most of the review's contents. As the table shows, this is by no means untypical of the magazine's contemporaries. It should be stressed that for all the journal's avowed highbrow status, it contained in this period as much serialised fiction as the average; it also published poems and short stories. The editorial committee at least did not find this contradictory: while George Eliot could write that "it is a thoroughly serious periodical", she, with the rest of the committee, were unanimously agreed that the magazine should carry serialised novels [7].

This apparent contradiction - a 'serious' periodical publishing what would often be considered merely entertaining literature - led W.E.Houghton to assert that it is true that the review published "some verse and fiction of a high calibre - Swinburne, Trollope and Meredith - but this was infrequent" [8]. In fact, every issue of the review until that of March 1873, when there was no fiction in that one issue, contained at least one portion of a novel. And it is untrue that all of these were of "high calibre", in the sense that posterity has

condescended to approve of their continuing evaluation and use as 'literature'. Even the firmest devotees of the fictions of George Whyte-Melville, Thomas Adolphus Trollope, Frances Eleanor Trollope and Marmion W. Savage would hesitate before calling these authors' works "high calibre"; while there are yet many professional students of English Literature who would not place Anthony Trollope or George Meredith in the English literary Pantheon. Fiction, ordinary fiction in the sense outlined in Chapter Four, played a designedly important part in the early years of the Review, as the following examination of its contents during the first ten years will indicate.

The Fortnightly Review saw its task in much the same way as Bagehot had seen that of the periodical press as a whole in 1855; in the words of the journal's second editor, John Morley, this was "the momentous task of forming national opinion" [9]. However, while it provided, like the other reviews, information on a wide range of topics, it did so without taking up many unambiguous positions of its own. Like the other highbrow periodicals, the Review was a relatively open publication, giving access to many contradictory opinions. In this it is typical of the 'mid-Victorian' attitude of agreed difference discussed in Chapter Four in relation to the Metaphysical Society: 'gentlemen' could afford to differ in opinion, provided they were all agreed on mutual recognition as 'gentlemen'; and the precise definition of this word was a major concern of mid-Victorian literary culture in all its aspects. It is above all a question of class; of access to power and property, and of how that power and property should be

used. It is clearly to be seen underlying the articles on politics, the State, education, marriage and so on published by the Review at this time. The question was who ruled, and who was to do so in the near future; of how economic and political power were related to educational and cultural position and behaviour.

The problems of class and status are most obvious in the articles published by the Review dealing with education. Broadly, these were of two types; those calling for a uniform, state-controlled education system for all [10], and those critical of, and proposing reforms for, the public schools and Oxford and Cambridge Universities [11]. Certain attitudes were commonly held among the latter group of articles; typical is this exhortation to the middle classes by Lewes: "A very little effort on their part, to raise their aims, and learn the ways of cultivated thought, would quickly make their power irresistible, and enable them to assume in the conduct of public affairs the position which is their due" [12]. Lewes here echoes (and indeed at one point quotes [13]) Arnold in assuming that the middle classes can merely be incorporated into the present power structure by changing their ideas to fit it. But this assumption of a present culture, easily available for the new classes to learn, is hardly borne out by the review's many articles criticising the traditional educational structures. Here the public schools and universities are seen as reproducing the traditional ruling-class culture, and are criticised for so doing. One article asked 'Shall we Continue to Teach Latin and Greek?' [14], and answered in the negative, proposing instead a

curriculum based around modern languages, English, mathematics and the sciences; another made similar curricular proposals about the universities, noting that the lack of scientific study "operating through our whole scholastic system" [15] would soon begin to inhibit further national economic progress. The public schools and universities were seen as <u>potentially</u> liberating forces, able to promote a 'national culture' at least among the upper and middle classes, but <u>actually</u> as forces whose effects on the class system were unsatisfactory. The reaction to the Clarendon Commission report on the public schools is typical:

> The report on our public schools showed disgraceful deficiencies, with vested interests standing in the way of necessary reforms...Eton for another year will remain an aristocratic nursery of idleness – where the proper stimulus for honourable exertion seems wanting, and the boys can no more learn than they can play cricket; where the rich tradesman who sends his son to learn aristocratic habits has rather Lord Dundreary placed before him as a model, than Sir Phillip Sidney or Lord Falkland, or any other honourable exemplar [16].

By this argument, of course, the upper middle class was already being incorporated into an existing culture. The campaign led by Arnold to forge a national culture, to reform the public schools and universities, was trying to change the direction of a process <u>which was already taking</u> <u>place</u>. The public schools founded in the second half of the nineteenth century, largely Anglican and mainly, if not always completely, oriented around the traditional curriculum of Classics and mathematics, and emphasising games as much as other learned cultural practices, were compromises between the old model of public-school

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education and the new model demanded by Arnold and friends, including, on the whole, the Fortnightly Review. The discussion of education in the pages of the Review, therefore, displays a concern at the effects on the power structure of current educational institutions; it maintains that the upper and middle classes not only can be, but already are being, connected by exposure to a common culture; it claims that more power and status will be good for the middle class; and it intervenes in the debate about the future content of this common culture.

A similar awareness of the process of change in class relations, and wish to intervene in and direct that change, is shown in the journal's attitude to the 'land question'. This aspect of Victorian liberal thought, surprisingly neglected by historians [17], was continually discussed in the pages of the Review, which published, between 1865 and 1874, twenty-one articles directly concerned with the ownership of land and pressing for reforms of the law relating thereto. The main problem was seen to be that the ownership of land was concentrated in the hands of too few people. This was generally explained with reference to history: the concentration of ownership was a long-term phenomenon consequent from the 'feudal system', the Black Death, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the enclosure of common land [18]. As a result of this process, most active farmers were tenants rather than landowners in their own right, while the majority of workers on the land were landless labourers. Rent was paid to people − mainly aristocrats and wealthy country gentlemen − who, while interested in the continuing arrival of their rents, (still

for most aristocrats and gentry the most important part of their income), were not necessarily interested in maximising the full agricultural potential of the land they owned. Thus none of the groups connected with the land was working it to the fullest common good, and the financial constraints of tenancy led to the continuing impoverishment of both farmers and labourers, and to the depopulation of the land [19].

Two solutions to this problem were discussed in the pages of the Review. One of these was nationalisation. It had been suggested in the Westminster Review, in fact, that the State should buy all cultivatable land and let it again in equally-sized smallholdings [20]. This was rejected on the grounds that it would leave too much power in the hands of the State, which would firstly have to evict all present tenants and then in order to let the land again to the landless poor, would have to invest enormous sums in livestock and implements [21]. It was also suggested that decisions as to who would receive which areas of land – not all soil being equally fertile – and how much land constituted a viable holding, would not necessarily lead to equal distribution, since the large bureaucracy needed to take them would be open to corruption [22]. The other solution discussed, and more favourably received, was to create a land-owning 'peasantry', firstly by enabling tenant-farmers to buy their own properties, and secondly by reforming the laws of inheritance (especially primogeniture, strict settlement and entail) in order to prevent the continuing concentration of land ownership [23].

All contributors to the 'land question' debate were agreed that too much land lay uncultivated. There was a closely related debate on the continuing relationship between wealth, power, and certain cultural patterns. It was argued that large estates were too often devoted to 'leisured' use - hunting, shooting and fishing, or simply 'landscape' - rather than to agriculture, which of course employed more people than did the preservation of game [24]. Land use was a perceived aspect of the class/power structure. Hunting, shooting and fishing were aspects of traditional ruling class culture; they were challenged consistently (but not abolished, as were certain other bloodsports [25]), during the nineteenth century. The Fortnightly Review published three polemical articles against fox-hunting during its first ten years; two of these were by E.A.Freeman, the other by Helen Taylor [26]. One defence of this activity was offered, a reply to Freeman's first article by Anthony Trollope [27]. Three further articles, all by A.H.Beesly, argued more generally against the Game Laws and their effect on land use. The overprotection given to 'sport' is seen as unjustifiable; 'preservation' means the depopulation of land, while the preserved animals and birds are free, under legal protection, to damage what farmland remains [28]. Farmers themselves are prevented from killing them; this has to be left to the 'sportsmen' who kill under the sanction of the landlords. These, however, are no longer solely the traditional aristocracy and gentry; Beesly recognised that such social rituals were no longer the preserve of the traditional ruling class:

> it is not a few noblemen, but a number of
> wealthy men, who compete for highland
> estates...it is owing to the competition
> of our nouveaux riches that forests fetch
> a funny price...a vulgar craze to be in
> the fashion, and no love of sport as
> sport, animates them. [29].

The attitude here is strikingly similar to that displayed in the remarks quoted above about the incorporation of the new wealth at Eton: the same fear that the traditional ruling class is enlarging itself with the minimum possible cultural change. Not only land ownership, but land use, were rightly seen as interrelated aspects of ruling class power; the ritualised slaughter of birds and animals was seen as one way in which the traditional upper classes and the new wealth were being culturally integrated. As with the debates on education, the discussions of land ownership and use reveals an area where a new composite class was forging a common cultural identity.

The same can be seen in the journal's discussion of contemporary politics. The Review was launched at a time when a further opening of the Parliamentary franchise was being contemplated. It is no coincidence that the very first article of the very first issue was the opening part of Walter Bagehot's The English Constitution; that cynical and prescriptive essay on 'national traditions' was, like Arnold's essay-series Culture and Anarchy (itself being serialised at that time in The Cornhill Magazine) a contribution to the debate on the extension of the franchise. All commentators published in the Fortnightly Review were in favour of some measure of franchise reform; Frederic Harrison, for example, argued that the time had come to give the vote to the 'respectable' working classes,

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the artisans, whom he claimed to be the most politically aware group in the country [30]. Reaction to the 1867 Act as passed was not favourable; Harrison, again, was convinced that the extension had been too great, giving the vote not only to the (liberal-progressive) artisans, but also to a large part of what he called the "large and floating body of voters, whom in times of prosperity and political stagnation a little demagogism can easily win for the Conservative side" [31]. In the same essay, however, Harrison notes that there is now another class which will increasingly tend to support the Conservatives:

> in all the new centres of middle-class industry, wealth and cultivation, we see an unmistakeable fact, that the rich trading class, and the comfortable middle class has grown distinctly Conservative. [32].

Here again we see a realisation that merely to take people from different backgrounds into the political scene would not necessarily change politics very much. There was a tendency for traditional institutions to reproduce themselves after minimal alteration; in this case allowing tradesmen to become members of the Carlton Club was giving the Conservative Party a new lease of life. Blackwood's, as we saw in Chapter Five, viewed the same process, with guarded approval, from the Conservative point of view. In Parliamentary politics, as in education, in the ownership of land, and the hunting rituals which surrounded it, the various contributors to the Review perceived the continuity in ruling class culture, while arguing for more radical changes in it; in the case of Parliament, for instance, it was often proposed to abolish the House of Lords (though the Lords was also defended as an institution) [33].

Advocates of proportional representation, and of the admission of women to the franchise, were also represented in the pages of the Review [34].

2.

Several other debates appearing in the Review at this time further open the questions of class and status which we have seen to be a major concern of the contents, including fictions, published in other periodicals. One of these concerned the nature and future of the House of Lords. Henry Fawcett argued that the Lords should no longer have a legislative function in a society moving towards democracy. He proposed that the Lords as a representative assembly should be abolished, and that the Commons should simultaneously be made more truly representative with the introduction of a system of proportional representation [35]. This straightforward argument cut no ice with Lord Houghton, who asserted that the Lords was still a popular part of the Constitution, and had remained so because of "the curious and indefinable liking of the British and Irish people for the titled classes" [36]. He pointed out that the Lords was not merely a static caste: mobility both into and out of the peerage was possible:

> intermarriages are frequent not only with
> the gentry, but with the business and
> professional classes. All barriers
> against any honest toil are brokem down:
> a cadet of the loftiest lineage is too
> thankful to get into fair City business.
> [37].

The only changes to this system of interaction among various parts of the ruling group advocated by Lord Houghton were that men from public life - including such professionals as doctors as well as lawyers - should be added to the peerage from time to time, and that the Lords should be given more business to initiate and discuss by the Commons [38].

Later in the same year 'The Aim of Reform', by Goldwin Smith, returned to the case for the abolition of the upper chamber. The aim of reform, according to Smith, was to "put an end to class government, and to establish a government of the nation" [39]. The main obstacle to such a truly national government was the chief symbol of government by class, the House of Lords. Like Houghton, however, Smith was well aware that the Lords were not merely traditional aristocrats - indeed a good deal of his paper is devoted to an historical survey of the upper chamber's composition which indicates that membership of the Lords had never been the prerogative of a static caste - but as in the eighteenth century, mixed freely with elements of the new 'nobility of wealth'. "Did not the peerage and the aristocracy generally bow down in the saloons of Hudson?" [40] Smith asked; and in answering his own question in the affirmative pointed out that the wealthy have increasingly become part of the same social and political grouping:

> With this incorporation of the mill-owners and stockbrokers a marked change has come over the Tory Party...It has become simply the party of the rich, having for its sole object the maintenance of such a political system as shall protect every fibre of the rich man's stomach against the discontent or the aspirations of the rest of the community [41].

To prevent the continuation of this process the House of Lords must be abolished, and the land-ownership laws reformed. Then the aristocracy would no longer be a symbol of power, and their culture - indolently leisured and complacent - would no longer be attractive to or imitated by other groups in society [42].

These articles on the position of the Lords have obvious connections with those on the ownership of land, and on the game laws, discussed above. The connections between property ownership and political power; the continued dominance of an oligarchy based on property-ownership; the changing composition of that oligarchy; all are observed and commented upon, raised as problems worthy of reform. It is particularly noteworthy that change is seen as happening already, and that further, more radical change is seen as possible.

Similar concerns - with the nature of power relations in contemporary society - are at the heart of the writings concerning women, and marriage, published by the Fortnightly Review at this time. With one exception, all these articles assumed that women both could and should become the equals of men in political, social and intellectual life. Arthur Arnold wrote that the first step towards this potential equality should be the 'Political Enfranchisement of Women' [43]. Henry Laurentz claimed that the role played by women in society was already changing. Such (very severe) restrictions as remained were customary prejudices, often, though decreasingly, shared by women themselves [44]. Laurentz identified one area of change as in the practice of marriage. Women were now very often

allowed by their families to choose their own spouses. As yet, however, much customary prejudice surrounded the notion of a woman choosing a husband. There were still many taboos on, or at least open disapproval of, anything which might seem like 'husband-hunting' [45]. Laurentz went on to suggest that women would be accepted in various fields of work then dominated by men within a short time of their having commenced to work; similarly, he believed that votes for women would become acceptable as soon as the practice began. He assumed their success in each case as inevitable.

This assumption followed from Laurentz's belief that only custom determined womens' role. Others were less sanguine of, or were opposed to, changes in womens' position, largely because of their views on the nature of marriage. Montague Cookson argued that career equality for women was impossible given the nature of married life. Marriage was an institution which oppressed women of all classes. "Society...does not require a wife to be much more than the head-domestic of her establishment, and if her nursery is full it commonly permits her head to be empty" [46]. Devotion to childbirth and childcare prevents a woman's cultural or career development. This establishes a vicious circle; women brought up to be wives and mothers perform their set function well and often, with the result that there is considerable overpopulation, not only in working class jobs - with consequent unemployment and low wages - but also in the middle class professions, where underemployment is rife among barristers, for instance. Family size must therefore be limited, Cookson argued. His only practical proposal to this end was that the ruling

class must set a good example in family limitation, with the hope that the working classes would then follow suit [47].

Another writer pessimistic about the prospects for changes in women's position in society, Henry Maudsley, also based his argument around women's role in motherhood. Maudsley, however, believed that this role was biologically determined, to the extent that women who did not concentrate their lives around motherhood would turn out to be bad mothers, to the probable detriment of society as a whole. Maudsley's article, 'Sex in Mind and Education' [48], was an intervention in a debate over women's education whose only previous appearance in the pages of the Review was an article on the foundation of Girton College, by Emily Shirreff [49]. Maudsley argued that women were not capable of pursuing the same careers or courses of study as men without ipso facto damaging their abilities to become successful mothers. A nation of educated women, by this argument, would soon dwindle: "it would be an ill thing, if it should so happen, that we got the advantage of a quantity of female intellectual work at the price of a puny, enfeebled and sickly race" [50]. Maudsley asserted that there was evidence to substantiate this belief in the United States of America, where female college graduates did not make good mothers; an appendix to the article admits, however, that such evidence is very slight [51].

Maudsley's article was countered by Elisabeth Garrett Anderson [52]. She refuted the biological argument that womens' constitutions would be damaged by the rigours of study firstly by pointing out that menstruation was the

loss of surplus material and not a sign of weakness in the woman herself, and secondly by adverting to the fact that young middle and upper class girls were already physically and emotionally taxed at the very age at which Maudsley had claimed that exertion would do most harm:

> From the purely physical point of view, it is difficult to believe that study much more serious than that pursued by young men would do a girl's health as much harm as a life directly calculated to overstimulate the emotional and sexual instincts. The stimulus found in novel-reading, in the theatre and ball-room, the excitement which attends a premature entry into society; the competition of vanity and frivolity, those involve far more dangers to the health of young women than the competition for knowledge, or for scientific or for literary honours has ever done, or is likely to do [53].

Boredom after marriage was far more likely to affect a woman's abilities as mother than her educational attainments [54].

These articles about women and marriage expose another important aspect of the power relations of society: the dominance of men, enforced by customary or cultural practices (one of which was the biological science favoured by Maudsley [55]), and the vital role played by women, as wives and mothers, in the maintenance of the social system. They recognise the crucial part played by marriage in the continued reproduction not merely of the species but of the power relations which made up contemporary society. Like the articles on the Lords, they recognise that changes are occurring in these practices and relationships, and attempt to alter the direction of such changes. Yet for all their polemical content, all these articles are written with the politeness discerned in Chapter Four as an important part

of the mid-Victorian literary culture, the agreement to differ and the stress on honesty of opinion for which The Fortnightly Review openly stood.

The continuing importance of these ideas of honesty and restraint, and the open recognition of its importance, can be seen from another debate conducted in the pages of the Review during the years 1871-1874. In October 1871 the journal published an article by T.H. Huxley entitled 'Administrative Nihilism' [56]. This call for a comprehensive state-run education system available to all included a polemical attack on minimalist Liberalism. Opponents of State education who argued that the state's only task is to prevent people from harming each other failed to see that this definition might include educating and amusing them, vaccinating them and cleaning their streets to prevent disease, and preventing, the crimes of violence consequent from social deprivation which would need to be policed. The State, asserted Huxley, must concern itself positively with the creation of the well-being of the people, and must start by setting up a non-denominational, uniform education system [57].

Two direct replies to this article appeared in the Review. 'Specialised Administration', by Herbert Spencer [58], argued his usual case. Society can be directly compared to a higher organism. In such organisms, specific organs with very different functions operate towards the well-being of the whole. These are not centrally controlled by the brain, which only needs to assume direct control during critical operations for offensive or defensive purposes. Furthermore, the specialised organs can continue

to function even when the central controlling system is malfunctioning: even lunatics can breathe, digest, and so on. Similarly, the factories of Manchester continue to work while MPs are taking the opportunity afforded by the Parliamentary Recess to shoot grouse. All that is needed for society as a whole to function normally is the maintenance of law and order - which should include such forms of regulation as the detection and punishment of City frauds as well as the policing of street crime. The only result of the kind of state mechanism proposed by Huxley would be to prevent specialisation and therefore to prevent change, which only the freedom to be different, to innovate, can guarantee.

The second reply to Huxley's article was 'The New Attack on Toleration' by Helen Taylor [59]. She, like Spencer, saw Huxley's call for state education and more direct state control of everyday life as a recipe for a static and oppressive uniformity. The most important mechanism for continued social progress was the open discussion of different views; therefore, there must be different forms of education. The most important thing was continued tolerance of different opinions, which Huxley's proposed system might destroy.

Another article, not this time written in direct response to Huxley's, summarises this valuation of discussion and tolerance precisely. It is the concluding chapter of Walter Bagehot's <u>Physics and Politics</u>, which appeared in the <u>Review</u> of January 1872. Here Bagehot asserts that "the greatest living contrast is between the old Eastern and customary civilisations, and the new

Western and changeable civilisations" [60]. Progressive change can only occur, according to Bagehot, in societies in which there is both open discussion and toleration. Only in this way can societies hope to control the aggressive human nature inherited from the more savage epochs of human existence. The opposite of toleration and discussion is warfare and other forms of aggression. As it is, the immediate product of discussion and toleration in England has been a "vigorous moderateness in mind and body" which has led, and will lead in the future, to peaceful progress [61].

Across all these areas of discussion, then, there is an underlying consensus focussed on the concern that the composition of the ruling class is changing, and that the change itself ought to be directed in different ways. The reader who subscribed to the Fortnightly Review during the first ten years of its existence would have received this concern along with a great deal of other information about the contemporary world. But the concern was general; with it, the reader would have received a literature of debate rather than of hard opinion. The effect of this openness of discussion was certainly to create the conditions for as wide an agreement as possible among readers, thus forming another consensual position whereby conflict was contained within verbal and literary argument (within 'discourse' rather than violent political action, one might say), and resolutions to disagreement were the product of discussion. The journal offered those able to read it a way of seeing, and acting within, the world. And it offered this way of seeing with regard to real problems, as the above

discussion of the theme of class constitution across the areas of education, land ownership, land use, the position of women, and political change indicates.

The general tone of all the Review's articles is well-mannered and intellectual; they seem at first sight to be worlds away from the easily digestible colour-supplement type of information-by-entertainment of the Cornhill or the politicised news and comment of Blackwood's. Yet, as with each of those periodicals, fiction played an important part in the content of The Fortnightly Review. Many novels were reviewed, and critical reaction clearly shows the continuity between this highrow journal and its contemporaries. The fiction actually published by the Review, similarly, demonstrates typical interrelatedness with the rest of the magazine's contents. Again, fiction can be seen here as a mediating point between the hard information of the Review's articles and the private worlds of personal experience, education and literacy: as the point of contact helping to transform personal ideologies into public property.

3.

Throughout this time, the Fortnightly Review carried serialised novels. These were read within a framework which conceived of them as 'realistic' in the way described in Chapter Four for mid-Victorian periodicals as a whole. An appreciation of fictions as moralistic, naturalistic and concerned with 'ordinary' people's lives is present throughout the journal's many reviews of fictions. The

second issue of the _Review_, for May 1865, castigates Percy Fitzgerald's _Never Forgotten_ on the grounds that it presents "unreal characters" [62]. 'Realism' of character or event was often demanded, especially of novels purporting to deal with contemporary life:

> in proportion as the story lies among scenes and characters of familiar experience, in proportion as the writer endeavours to engage our sympathy by pictures of concrete realities...the critic demands a closer adherence to truth and experience. Monte Christo may talk a language never heard off the stage, but Major Pendennis must speak as they speak in Pall Mall [63].

Or, more succinctly, "want of verisimilitude destroys the interest" [64]. The journal's reviewers also shared the view that fiction should be 'moral'. An article entitled 'Immorality in Authorship' claimed that

> if an Englishman of today were to...tell such tales as 'La Berceau' of La Fontaine, or The Carpenter's Wife of Chaucer, we should hound him from our libraries...Whatever our private life may be, our literature is singularly alive to the proprieties [65].

Perhaps the most important point to note here is that this acceptance of a morally qualified fiction which yet adhered to "truth and experience" as defining a fiction dealing adequately with the real world did not only appear in those pages of the magazine specifically dedicated to book reviewing. In the same way as in the _Cornhill,_ other contributors used fictions as evidence of real contemporary patterns of behaviour. A reviewer of Anthony Trollope's novel _The Claverings_ remarked as follows:

> Mr. Trollope becomes increasingly realistic. In his latest work, indeed, realism seems to have reached its limits. Confining himself to actual life in England, and relying implicitly upon his

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> power to inspire interest by the accuracy
> of his descriptions and the complex
> verisimilitude of his sketches, Mr.
> Trollope scorns all extraneous aid
> whatever. [66].

Casual and typical remarks perhaps; but it was not only reviewers of novels who accepted their realism. As was the case in the Cornhill, Trollope's novels are twice cited in the pages of the Review as evidence of concrete social attitudes. Bagehot, in part IV of his Physics and Politics, which appeared in the magazine in November 1871 (while the Review was serialising Trollope's novel The Eustace Diamonds) actually quotes Trollope, at some length, on the superior manner of the successful in society, while arguing that it is not pure intelligence or wealth alone but the ability to act in a socially approved manner which ensures the success of an individual [67]. H. Laurentz, in the article mentioned above discussing the part played by custom in determining the role played by women in society, casually asserts of the changes in this role that "Mr. Trollope, passim, proves it as conclusively as any lady lecturer" [68]. Similarly Goldwin Smith, in the course of the article referred to above arguing the need for the abolition of the House of Lords, turns to the novels of Disraeli for his evidence of the dissolute behaviour of the contemporary aristocracy:

> Lothair goes to the University, but he
> uses it as a tavern and a hunting box.
> And, speaking of Lothair, what a
> revelation of the society of which the
> House of Lords is the organ! What a
> picture of the abject self-complacency
> with which that society lives in idleness
> and gluttony by the sweat of other men's
> brows. [69].

Fictions, then, were regarded both by the magazine's

reviewers and by other contributors as real pictures of society. Appearing alongside the other writings in The Fortnightly Review, the fictions published in that magazine could be read as another aspect of the journal's commentary on the contemporary world, and as forming part of the discursive consensus identified in Chapter Four above. Certainly they dealt with the same problems, as the remainder of this Chapter will show. Some of these 'intertextual relations' will now be identified, firstly in a general survey of some of the novels published during the first ten years of the Review, and then by a closer examination of two of those novels in their immediate literary context.

4.

First came the "new story by Mr. Anthony Trollope" which had been promised in the magazine's prospectus; this was The Belton Estate. Trollope himself dismissed it in his Autobiography thus: "It is readable, and contains scenes which are true to life;...but it has no particular merits...I seem to remember almost less of it than of any book I have written" [70]. Nevertheless the novel opens up several areas identified above as of major importance to the Review as a whole. The Estate in question belongs to a Mr. Amedroz. The law (of primogeniture) prevents its passing to his daughter, Clara; his son having died, it is to pass to a cousin of the family, Will Belton. The latter is a prosperous farmer; Trollope informs us on his first appearance that he is "not a gentleman" [71]. Clara is in

love with a Captain Aylmer, MP, a man who is a 'gentleman', but also a hypocrite, whose desire for Clara is considerably increased when it appears that Will Belton, himself in love with Clara, wishes her to keep the Belton Estate, and considerably diminished when it appears that she will refuse to take it. The engagement between Aylmer and Clara is dissolved when she refuses to obey his mother and break off a friendship with a Mrs. Askerton, who is known to have lived with her present husband while her former husband remained alive. Will Belton, whose scruples in this matter are relatively easy, successfully proposes to Clara, and thus the Belton Estate remains in the hands both of its rightful heir in law, and of Mr. Amedroz' biological heir. Obviously, this novel raises questions about the laws of property and inheritance, and of the role of marriage in preserving the concentration of land ownership; and the close connections between these and the moral and behavioural demands of society, which often lead to the most blatant hypocrisies and the holding of double standards. It was discussing, in other words, the same cultural problems as the articles in the Review referred to above, on the land question, the role of women, and the reproduction of class.

George Meredith's <u>Vittoria</u> commenced publication in the issue of the Review dated 1st January 1866. This was ostensibly a sequel to Meredith's novel <u>Emilia in England</u> (also known as <u>Sandra Belloni</u>), which had been published in 1864. The tale revolves around an opera in which leading female character Vittoria sings an aria expressing the wish of the Italian people for freedom. Its tone is throughout

sympathetic to the Italian cause - in which it stands in
agreement with the attitude taken by all commentaries on
Italian politics in The Fortnightly Review at the time
[72]. The final twist of the plot, the marriage of Vittoria
and a Welsh servant of the Risorgimento, Merthyr Powys,
emphasises the closeness to the Italian cause felt by many
British people; it is certainly part of a great deal of
interest in Italian affairs shown by British writers in the
late 1860s [73]. In March 1868, indeed, the Review began
the serialisation of another 'Italian' novel, this being
Leonora Casaloni, by Thomas Adolphus Trollope (elder
brother of Anthony Trollope). Here, although the
Risorgimento is presented as being the major interest of
two of the protagonists, it is kept in the background. The
plot concerns a young Italian nobleman and a middle-aged
peasant whose 'daughter' is in fact, though unknown to
either of them, the nobleman's cousin, and whose only
servant is in fact, though unknown to any save an
inquisitive lawyer, the rightful heir to the Casaloni
fortune and title.

Between the two Italian novels came The White Rose, by
George Whyte-Melville. An author whom subsequent literary
criticism has failed to patronise, Whyte-Melville was a man
of independent means who wrote novels as an amateur rather
than for a living. He served in the Crimean war, and after
it was an active huntsman and authority on field sports, on
which he published; apropriately enough, he died following
a hunting accident in 1878. His biographer states that as
an author he "could scarcely have been a greater favourite
with readers of his own class" [74]. What they read of

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themselves in The White Rose was not straightforwardly complimentary, however. One of the main characters is a cultivated country gentleman (Eton, Oxford, reputedly a good classic) who is represented as a profligate, leisured drone: "The Vandeleur of forty was, I fear, little more useful or respectable than the Vandeleur of twenty-five" [75]. Wishing to marry Nora, the daughter of a local clergyman, Vandeleur accomplishes it by removing his only rival, a young army officer called Gerard Ainslie. This is done firstly by persuading a mill-owner's daughter, Fanny Draper, to flirt openly with Gerard, to Nora's discomfiture; secondly, by arranging for a commission for Gerard with a regiment based out of the county, and then ensuring that no letter of his reaches Nora; and finally by his telling Nora that Gerard is a heartless and profligate youth. So he marries a girl twenty years his junior. (I should have known, thinks Gerard in disillusionment, having read all about women and marriage in Thackeray [76]).

Meanwhile Gerard himself has promised to marry Fanny Draper, who had quickly fallen in love with him: "She wanted to be a lady more than ever. Why? Because Mr. Ainslie was a gentleman" [77]. Gerard realises, however, that Fanny is not a 'lady' [78]. The cost of marriage, the attempt to achieve 'respectability', forces them abroad: Gerard becomes a gambler and loses all his money. Nora Vandeleur meets him; both are unhappy in their marriages. Nora has even been verbally abused by her husband: "No male voice had ever spoken to her before but in accents of kindliness, courtesy, even deference" [79]. Worse is to follow: Vandeleur chases her round a room with intent to

assault her physically, but falls out of a convenient window.

The problematisation of the concept 'gentleman' continues as Gerard Ainslie is forced to work for a living, unsuccessfully at the gold diggings in Australia, then on his return to Britain as a dock labourer, and finally, with some success, as a playwright. Nora Vandeleur remains in Society but refuses to marry, despite her apparent widowhood. An old friend of Gerard's, Dandy Burton, takes her refusal of an offer of marriage as a personal insult, on which the author comments: "the Dandy was not in the least a gentleman, in the real acceptation of that word, though he was received as such by society" [80], - with the obvious implication that such status should be seen as a mark of behavioural rectitude rather than merely as a sign of birth or economic position.

Gerard Ainslie, by contrast, is always presented as 'gentlemanly', even when a dock worker. His career is allowed to develop: meeting an old friend who now runs a theatre, he begins to write plays, having some success. The message of the novel is not one of the triumph of self-help, however. He receives a windfall inheritance of £7,000 per year from the will of a great-uncle. Both Fanny and Vandeleur die, and Gerard and Nora are finally united in marriage. Gerard, whose honesty is never doubted, remains for the author a 'gentleman' despite having had to work for a living; Vandeleur, for all his accepted place in Society and his landed income, is 'no gentleman' in the eyes of those who know about his treatment of Nora. Yet despite its problematising of the word 'gentleman' and its

social status, the novel's conventionally happy ending remains the product of the windfall inheritance: the provision of enough money for the couple married in the final chapter to be able to pursue a leisured lifestyle. Despite raising the same questions of status and behaviour as the rest of the contents of the Review, the ending confuses them and makes the reading of any direct ideological message from this work unclear.

In July 1870 the Review commenced the serialisation of Anne Furness by Frances Eleanor Trollope (wife of Thomas Adolphus Trollope). The Anne Furness of the title is the daughter of a prosperous farmer who begins to lose money by betting unsuccessfully on horse races. The problems of 'genteel poverty' and of dishonest 'gentlemen' are raised and explored as Mr. Furness is defrauded of his last money by criminals involved in a racing stable, one of whom is set up as a 'gentleman' for the purposes of the fraud. A sub-plot tells of the snobbery of a family so determined to rise in the social scale that it will not permit its daughters to marry below what it sees as their 'station'. The misery and wasted lives formed in consequence are starkly exposed. Anne Furness herself marries her childhood love, a doctor, who is a real 'gentleman' in the eyes of the author [81]. Again the relationships between property, culture and status are explored in this novel, as they are in the surrounding writings of the Fortnightly Review. Here the ending confirms the place of the novel in the social debate taking place elsewhere in the journal. The novel raises questions of class and status, of morally and socially acceptable behaviour, and of the restrictions

placed on women by the expectation that the only career open to them is marriage to partners acceptable to their families.

Two novels by Anthony Trollope were then published in succession. The Eustace Diamonds and Lady Anna are also closely related to the aspects of thought surveyed in the first two sections of this Chapter. The problems of class, power and the ownership of property; of marriage and its controlling effect on women; of changes in ruling class culture, and of access to it; are exposed and discussed in these novels as in the other Fortnightly Review articles, and novels, discussed above. The first of these novels to be published, The Eustace Diamonds, is the longer, and has the more complex plot structure, but is thematically more simple. Its basic concern is with property and its effects on behaviour - the limitations imposed alike on those who do not possess it and on those who do. Lady Lizzie Eustace is the young widow of Sir Florian Eustace, a man she married for his money. His death has left her with a son and heir, with a life settlement of money and a property in Scotland, and with a diamond necklace which she claims has been given to her. The other members of the Eustace family try to repossess these jewels, claiming that they are a family heirloom: the Eustace Diamonds.

In order to keep the diamonds, Lizzie Eustace lies, prevaricates, alienates her fiancee, Lord Fawn, flirts with her cousin, Frank Greystock, while knowing not only that she is engaged to marry someone else, but also that he is, pretends that the jewels have been stolen, and then when they really are stolen and the thieves arrested, refuses to

appear and give evidence at their trial and admit her duplicity. Having finally rejected Lord Fawn, she accepts the hand of a very dubious character, the preacher the Rev. Joseph Emilius, thinking that he will not be too insistent as to his legal rights over her property - in which thought she is mistaken.

Two sub-plots also revolve around the questions of marriage and property. One concerns the romance of Frank Greystock with Lucy Morris, the governess of the Fawn family. This relationship is not tested merely by Lizzie Eustace's flirtations, for Lucy Morris is, as her situation would suggest, poor. While Frank Greystock is not himself in grinding poverty - he is a barrister with a growing practice and an MP, with a reputation as a rising young man - neither he nor his family consider that he is wealthy enough to keep a wife and children. Frank's father, the Dean of Bobsborough, assures him that "in our class of life" such a marriage as he proposes would be impossible [82]. One of Frank's friends, a fellow barrister, similarly puts pressure on him by saying that it is impossible for one in his position to marry [83]. Frank eventually decides to resist these pressures and to renew his proposal to Lucy, who also resists pressure in accepting him [84].

The other marital sub-plot concerns two of Lizzie Eustace's friends. Lucinda Roanoake is the orphaned niece of Mrs.Carbuncle, a lady of few financial resources who is consequently very keen to marry Lucinda to the first man of independent property who asks for her. This turns out to be Sir Griffin Tewett, a loudmouthed, ignorant and boorish man whose principal source of admiration for Lucinda is that

she can ride a horse well. Forced to accept him by the pressure of her situation, Lucinda immediately regrets her action; his first attempt to kiss her causes her immense distress: "For the sake of this man who was to be her husband, she hated all men...The embrace had disgusted her. It made her odious to herself" [85]. The engagement between the couple is marked by increasingly violent quarrels, and by increasingly desperate attempts on the part of Mrs. Carbuncle to reconcile Lucinda to her fate. In the end Mrs. Carbuncle fails, for on her wedding day Lucinda rises, dresses normally, and sits in her own room, reading the Bible (and thus appealing over the heads of actual men to the ultimate authority in this male-dominated society, 'God' [86]). She refuses to leave her room and the wedding is cancelled.

Lady Anna commenced serialisation in The Fortnightly Review in April 1873, and ran until the following April. It was first published as a two-volume novel in May 1874. It had been written, by Anthony Trollope, during a sea-voyage to Australia: "Every word of this was written at sea during the two months required for our voyage, and was done day by day - with the intermission of one day's illness - for eight weeks, at the rate of 66 pages of manuscript in each week, every page of manuscript containing 250 words. Every word was counted" [87]. Such a bland description of the mechanics of literary production should not blind the reader of Trollope's Autobiography to the fact that he goes on to state that the novel had a quite clear polemical content; the 66 pages per week were not filled with nothingnesses, nor even the entirely conventional plot

which so much Trollope criticism has identified and criticised [88]. From the start Trollope was determined to write a specific storyline in which "a young girl, who is really a lady of high rank and great wealth, though in her youth she enjoyed none of the privileges of great wealth and rank, marries a tailor who has been good to her, and whom she had loved when she was poor and neglected" [89]. In order to press the point home, the tailor was to be provided with a rival in the form of a young and handsome Earl, the lady's cousin. From the start, therefore, the plot was seen as controversial; Trollope's personal correspondence from this time indicates the depth of interest such a novel could cause, including the concern from some quarters that it should have a 'correct' outcome; he wrote in June 1873 (i.e. while the novel was still running in the Review) "My dear Lady Wood, of course the girl has to marry the tailor...All the horrors had to be invented to bring about a condition in which an Earl's daughter could become engaged to a tailor without glaring error on her side" [90]. Lady Wood's complaint, and Trollope's defence, clearly indicate the extent to which the novel was seen to be part of the public world, as described in Chapter Four. That it displayed the 'correct' moral choices was seen to be important, and the debate about this was in itself part of the ideological discussion.

"The horrors" are indicated powerfully enough by the opening sentences:

> Women have often been hardly used by men,
> but perhaps no harder usage, no fiercer
> cruelty was ever experienced by a woman
> than that which fell to the lot of

> Josephine Murray from the hands of Earl
> Lovel, to whom she was married in the
> parish church of Applethwaite...on the
> 1st of June, 181-. That her marriage was
> valid according to all the forms of the
> Church if Lord Lovel were then capable of
> marrying, no-one ever doubted; nor did
> the Earl ever allege that it was not so
> [91].

The implication is drawn out, and twisted slightly, in the first, scene-setting chapters. The Earl, a middle-aged man, is a vicious voluptuary; "women had been to him a prey" [92]. He claims, having lived with his young wife for less than six months, that "the marriage was no marriage, and that she was - his mistress" [93], and was most welcome to remain so. Josephine Lovel, as she continues to call herself, having quite deliberately married the title rather than the man, is not willing to agree to this proposal. She continues to call herself the Countess Lovel, while he firstly throws her out of his house and then leaves the country.

The second part of the equation which will bring forth the marital result desired by Trollope is now introduced. Without money, the Countess falls on hard times. She and her baby daughter, the Lady Anna, are taken in by Thomas Thwaite, a radical tailor who "hated the Earl with all his heart" [94], and on one occasion had knocked him to the ground because of his treatment of the Countess. Thomas Thwaite then proceeds to expend his life savings in prosecuting Lord Lovel for bigamy, hoping to lose in order to prove the right of the Countess to the title she still claims; this result, the acquittal of the Earl, is finally achieved after nine years. For eight more years the Countess and her daughter continue to live in the tailor's

house. And hence it is that the central moral and social problem of the novel is propounded:

> The world, as a rule, did not believe
> that she who again called herself the
> Countess Lovel was entitled to the
> name...if she were a countess, why had
> she thrown herself into the arms of an
> old tailor? Why did she let her daughter
> play with the tailor's child — if, in
> truth, that daughter was the Lady Anna?
> Why, above all things, was the name of
> the Lady Anna allowed to be mentioned, as
> it was mentioned, in connection with that
> of Daniel Thwaite, the tailor's son?
> [95].

The Earl dies, attempting to leave all his wealth except entailed property to an Italian mistress and nothing whatever to the Countess or Lady Anna, whom his will reiterates are not legally related to him. This will is immediately contested and set aside on the grounds that the Earl was insane when making it. The family of the new Earl, nephew of the late Earl, then announce legal action to prove that the late Earl was in fact a bigamist; this is in order to keep the Earl's property and money together, for without such a decision the Countess and Lady Anna will inherit a great deal. Both the Countess's lawyers and the new Earl's lawyers have doubts as to the possibility of proving the case; they therefore move towards a compromise:

> What if the contending parties were to
> join forces, if the Countess-ship of the
> Countess were to be admitted and the
> heiress-ship of the Lady Anna, and if the
> Earl and the Lady Anna were to be united
> in holy wedlock? Might there not be a
> safe solution from further difficulty in
> that way? [96].

This, at any rate, is how the lawyers see the solution. Thus several interrelated problems of class and status are opened for discussion at monthly intervals throughout the following year, in the pages of a magazine whose other

contents also indicate a widespread concern with such matters. The problems are that the Earl, if it is acknowledged that the Countess and her daughter are indeed heirs to the moveable property of the late Earl, will be very poor by the standards of his class, unable to behave in the way an Earl should, i.e. to expend, conspicuously, large sums of money, and to offer his hand in marriage to the daughters of his fellow peers [97]. Similarly, it is presented as an obvious problem that Lady Anna considers herself betrothed to her childhood sweetheart, the tailor's son - and now tailor in his own right - Daniel Thwaite. If this marriage should take place, class positions will be compromised.

These first two chapters set the scene for the sociomoral debate which takes up the remaining forty-six chapters. All the parties to the debate are closely involved in both the central problems: not just the solicitors and barristers, but also the young Earl and his family, the Countess and her daughter, the tailor Thomas Thwaite and his son Daniel. It is the concern of the Countess to emphasise the social difference the title places between her daughter and her friend Daniel, the boy she grew up with, benefactor of both women.

> "My dear", she said one day when Daniel
> Thwaite had left them, "you should be
> less free in your manner with that young
> man...It is not fitting that there should
> exist between you and him the intimacy of
> equal positions. You are not and cannot
> be his equal. He has been born to be a
> tailor, and you are the daughter and
> heiress of an Earl" [98].

The Countess goes on to make the same point to Thomas Thwaite, and he, reluctantly agreeing with her, agrees to

pass on the message to his son.

At this point Trollope chooses to illuminate the mind and opinions of Daniel Thwaite, in a way which opens possibilities and further challenges the values and assumptions of other characters in the novel, and, as the reactions of the readers of the Fortnightly Review showed, also challenged the assumptions of the general readership. Without either criticism or satire, Trollope presents Thwaite's social opinions:

> To diminish the distances, not only between the rich and the poor, but between the high and the low, was the grand political theory upon which his mind was always running. His father was ever thinking of himself and the Earl Lovel; while Daniel Thwaite was considering the injustice of the difference between ten thousand aristocrats and thirty millions of people, who were for the most part ignorant and hungry [99].

When his father tells him that he should not be living in the same house as the Countess and Lady Anna because "they are different from us" [100], he gravely informs his father that such rank is to him irrelevant:

> There are Earls and Countesses as there used to be mastodons and other senseless, overgrown brutes roaming miserable and hungry through the undrained woods - cold, comfortless, unwieldy things, which have perished in the general progress. The big things have all to give way to the intellect of those more finely made [101].

Daniel Thwaite, therefore, is more than a tailor; he is a gradualist utopian socialist; but he means to marry his childhood sweetheart, whatever her class position.

The lawyers for the young Earl have meanwhile sent their view of the best possible resolution of the case - the marriage of the Earl to the Lady Anna - to the Earl's

uncle, wealthy clergyman the Rev. Mr. Charles Lovel. After some misgiving (this side of the family always having believed that the Countess was an imposter, the former Earl a bigamist, and Anna therefore no Lady), it is decided to invite Lady Anna to Mr. Charles Lovel's house, Lovel Grange, where she will be in regular social contact with the young Earl and will hopefully fall in love with him and/or agree to marry him. The invitation is accepted, despite similar misgivings on the part of the Countess and her lawyers. The Countess herself quickly becomes convinced of the value and propriety of the proposed marital solution, as it will both guarantee her title and that of her daughter, and prevent her from marrying Daniel Thwaite. Anna herself is persuaded to make the visit after meeting the young Earl at his lawyer's chambers. Despite her feelings for Daniel Thwaite, she takes to the Earl at once. Things are made easier for her, according to Trollope, because he looked "every inch a gentleman" [102], and behaves towards her with a shy politeness which enhances his bearing and good looks: "He had been to her eyes beautiful, noble, almost divine" [103]. Nonetheless, she considers the possibility of marriage to him to be out of the question, as her troth has already been plighted. This is increasingly worrying her mother; "Daniel Thwaite was the enemy that now she dreaded, and not the Italian woman, or the Lovel family" [104].

Daniel Thwaite himself becomes morosely jealous at the news of the proposed visit, telling Anna that the young Earl only wishes for her money, which he would then spend "at racecourses, in betting clubs, among loose women, with

luscious wines, never doing one stroke of work for man or God, consuming and never producing, either idle altogether, or working the work of the devil" [105]. The open ideological contestation in such a statement is clear. Thwaite the producer, the socialist, casts aspersions upon the life and culture of the leisure class. The Lovels, meanwhile, are equally suspicious of entertaining a 'Lady' who might turn out, after the forthcoming trial, to be no such thing, and who had undoubtedly spent much of her time in the company of tailors. The visit takes place, the family is impressed against its will with the 'ladylike' behaviour of the Lady Anna, and the Earl dutifully falls in love with her and proposes. She as dutifully rejects him, and when pressed reveals that she is engaged to Daniel Thwaite, whom she defends spiritedly against the Earl's first assertions that it would be wrong for her to marry a tailor:

> If I could believe in your love after two days, Lord Lovel, could I not trust his after twenty years of friendship?...He was not beneath me. He was above me...he and his father had money, which we took...my mother was a Countess...but if ever rank and title were a profitless burden, they were to her [106].

This horrifies the Earl, who reacts in some disgust:

> Could he take to his heart one who had been pressed close in so vile a grasp? Could he accept a heart that had once been promised to a tailor's workman? Would not all the world know and say that he had done it solely for the money? — even should he succeed in doing it [107].

He has already told her that he believes her claim to the title to be just and that he intends to drop the lawsuit. And despite his agonising over Thwaite, he does not change his mind on this point: "Let her marry but the sweeper of a

crossing, and he must still call her the Lady Anna" [108].

This is not the end of the story. The remaining two thirds of the novel concerns the increasing pressure put on the Lady Anna by her friends and relatives; pressure to conform to social expectations and to marry the Earl, or at least not to throw them over altogether by marrying the tailor. This pressure is put on at several levels, firstly by conversation. The Earl himself is continually polite, albeit reproachful:

> You astounded me. It is not that I think much of myself...but I do think much of my order; I think much of being a gentleman - and much of ladies being ladies [109].

equally he is convinced that Daniel Thwaite "cannot be a gentleman" [110]. He proposes to prove this to be the case by buying Thwaite off [111]. The Countess, devoted to the establishing of her daughter's rightful place in the world, agrees to this, and resolves that she will cast her daughter from her if the marriage to the tailor should take place. "She would love still, but would never again be tender till her daughter should have repudiated her base - her monstrous engagement" [112]. The Countess decides to move house without informing Thwaite of the new address; when Thwaite finds this out, Anna is sent to stay at the house of her mother's lawyer, Serjeant Bluestone. Here the verbal pressure is continued:

> Mrs. Bluestone lectured her daily, treating her with the utmost respect, paying to her rank a deference...so that Lady Anna might better comprehend the difference between her own position and that of the tailor [113].

Mrs. Bluestone's daughters also take up the fight for the preservation of status: "I don't think a tailor can be a

gentleman...I think that a girl who is a lady, should never marry a man who is not a gentleman" [114]; while the Serjeant himself similarly addresses her in terms emphasising the importance of her choice for the whole class structure, as well as for herself: "Here in England the welfare of the State depends on the conduct of our Aristocracy!" [115]. The Earl, having overcome his scruples about pursuing his suit, is invited to dinner. Again he makes a good impression, but fails to persuade Anna to throw over her engagement in his favour, despite his continually asking her to "tell yourself that he is unfit to be your husband" [116].

The trial takes place, and the Earl's instructions are followed; the Countess and her daughter are finally given their title, and its concomitant money. The Countess, however, refuses to be triumphant as the shadow of her daughter's possible marital disgrace looms more heavily over her. The Earl has by the same decision been made comparatively poor; to his uncle's disgust, he economises, even to the point of trying to sell his hunters. Daniel Thwaite, however, is enriched to the amount of the £9,000 his father, now dead, is calculated to have spent over the years in the cause of the Countess. He thinks of emigrating. He is twice offered sums of money, including an annuity of £400, if he will withdraw from the engagement, and reacts by suggesting that a similar inducement made to the Earl might prove more fruitful. Anna's insistence that the engagement remains in being, leads to her mother's, refusal even to speak to her. Overcome by the excitement of it all, the daughter falls ill. The Countess is

unrepentant: "I sometimes think that it would be better that she should die and there be an end of it" [117]. As Anna's majority approaches, she offers the Earl most of her fortune, but finally refuses to consider his offer of marriage. The Countess attempts to rush her daughter off to Paris; illness again intervenes.

The lawyers, appealed to by both daughter and mother, again confer. By this time both the Solicitor-General, Sir William Patterson, and Serjeant Bluestone are in agreement that if Anna really wants to marry Daniel Thwaite, then she should be permitted to do so. His possession of a reasonably large sum of money now speaks in his favour. Sir William Patterson puts it thus:

> It is not with us as it is with some
> German countries in which noble blood is
> separated as by a barrier from blood that
> is not noble. The man I am told is clever
> and honest. He will have great means at
> his command, and I do not see why he
> should not make as good a gentleman as
> the best of us [118].

Lady Anna comes of age, and begins to recover from her illness. Again her mother refuses to speak to her. Daniel Thwaite has an interview with the young Earl, who treats him politely and agrees to the financial and marital arrangements proposed by Lady Anna; Thwaite is disappointed at the young Lord's good behaviour [119]. The Countess realises that only one means of preventing this disgrace now remains open to her. She arranges that Daniel should meet her daughter, and when he arrives, attempts to shoot him dead. She succeeds in inflicting only a fleshwound, and Thwaite in his turn can now appear noble, refusing to take any proceedings against his future mother-in-law. The Countess now withdraws from active opposition, and the way

is open for the marriage to take place. There remains the question of the marriage settlements, i.e. to work out the disposal of the money between the partners. Half of Anna's money is given to the Earl, and half to her husband, who is most insistent on this: "When she is my wife her property shall be my property...she shall certainly have nothing after marriage independent of me" [120]. (The author comments drily at this point "For a man with sound views of domestic power and marital rights always choose a Radical!" [121]).

The one remaining question is of Daniel Thwaite's future status. With enough money available for him to lead a leisured lifestyle, and with a titled wife, the possibilities of class mobility are open. Earl Lovel agrees with Sir William Patterson that "we must make a gentleman of him" [122]. He arranges for the wedding to take place from Lovel Grange, and for a local squire to look after Daniel before that event. Daniel is persuaded to buy smart clothes. Sir William Patterson tells him that the aristocracy is not, as he thought, the refuge for idleness and profligacy, and invites him quite specifically to join the ruling classes and see this for himself:

> Come into Parliament, Mr. Thwaite, and if you have views on that subject opposed to hereditary peerages, express them there...could you establish absolute equality in England tomorrow, as it was to have been established in France some half century ago, the inequality of men's minds and characters would re-establish an aristocracy within twenty years. [123].

But this is not the last word, and cannot be read as a straightforward denial of the opinions previously attributed to Daniel Thwaite; for Thwaite does not wish to

join the English ruling class, and sets sail instead, with his titled wife, for the classless shores of Sydney, Australia.

Plot, character and dialogue in Lady Anna are intimately bound up with the rest of the contents of the Fortnightly Review. Marriage and the position of women, the problems of hereditary titles and primogeniture, and the place of the new wealthy are all debated around the central questions of class and status which, as in so many fictions of the time, are the novel's most important concerns. These topics were also, as discussed above, to be found in the rest of the Review's contents. It could be argued that this fictional presentation of the problems of class, status and gender does not make its points with the same clarity as the articles by such as Henry Maudsley and Goldwin Smith discussed above. However, it must be said that all the fictions published in the Review can be read for this type of many-sided ideological concern. The Belton Estate, The White Rose, Anne Furness and The Eustace Diamonds could all receive similar, detailed treatment and provide a similar wealth of corrrespondence. They were, if less clearly argued as tracts, at least part of the same set of arguments, presenting the same issues, and were presenting them as happening not to abstract individuals, types or classes but to 'real' individuals.

The magazine's own view of fiction was that it should be 'realistic' in the sense of dealing with the everyday lives of 'ordinary' people. The fiction it published dealt with such 'real' individuals' reactions to contemporary issues. In that ideology is a process whose point of

formation is the individual, this was of primary importance, in this literate society's literary culture, standing between the private literary production of the letter and the public literary production of the press, the booksellers and publishers, and the lending libraries. Seeing themselves in the pages of a novel, and society as a whole in the rest of the articles in a journal such as the _Fortnightly Review_, readers could more easily place themselves in their society.

Chapter Seven.

Conclusion.

It is the purpose of this concluding Chapter to summarise the investigation's findings, and to point to their relevance both to the study of history and to the present. Several recent historical works which contain much of value about nineteenth-century British society are reviewed in the light of the approach adopted here, and a call is made for historical investigation to be more concerned with the functioning of past ideologies. This approach is, finally, warmly recommended to all those concerned (either as would-be social engineer or as victim)with the processes of social change in contemporary Britain.

The previous two Chapters explored various aspects of the relationship between mid-nineteenth century novels and their immediate literary contexts. They have shown the way in which novels were part of a wide-ranging literary culture whose focus of discussion was the reproduction of society: with the integration of the new wealthy, new powerful, and new respectable groups into the already-existing ruling class culture, and the modification of that culture to include within it many new ideological elements associated with those groups. As part of the periodical press, the novel was very much a part of this process.

It should not be thought, however, that only those novels read in serial form helped to perform that ideological function. The novels published in monthly parts, or borrowed in three volumes from the lending libraries, were just as much concerned with these matters, and were read themselves in a similar context. They were read, in other words, in conjunction with other written information, both public and private: it should be remembered that all readers of novels were also involved in the private literary production of the letter, which Chapter Three identified as being of crucial importance to the formation of individuals as members of their society and culture. Only the constraints of space have prevented this study from considering examples of literary work outside the periodical press: the same 'intertextual' points can easily be made of almost all mid-Victorian published writing.

The mid-nineteenth-century novelist, then, wrote in a literary context whose concerns closely matched those of the novel: concerns principally with the reproduction of society and with the stable integration of the different elements within it. Novelists displayed many variations of these problems, mostly organised around love and marriage plots, stressing different versions of honesty and acceptable behaviour, and the creation of social status. Coterminous with the world of private writing, the novel was at this time the most important mediating element between the private and the public. The novel was an arena of public information, of public debate, and of 'interpellation', helping by its concerns to form society

by helping to form individuals as members of that society.

1.

This study has attempted to show, firstly, one way in which literature may be used as primary historical evidence, not just of 'reflective realism', but as evidence of a process not normally documented by other forms of historical evidence. Chapter One, discussing the more usual ways in which historians of Victorian Britain have used literature as evidence, pointed out that these tended to devalue literature as evidence in its own right, seeing it as confirmatory of and secondary to other forms of evidence. It was suggested that literature could be seen as having a directly ideological role in society, and that it is most certainly a cultural product. Chapter Two, therefore, addressed the questions of culture and ideology as seen through the explanatory frameworks of contemporary cultural theory. The conclusion drawn was that ideology works as a system by addressing individuals, telling them how to act as members of a certain group or society. This information, debated and acted on by individuals, forms the system of ideas, meanings and behaviour which make up a culture.

The investigation then proceeded to examine literature as an aspect of the culture of mid-Victorian Britain. Chapter Three discussed ways in which this society has been seen by historians, and suggested that the view of culture taken in Chapter Two contained, at its admittedly theoretical level, a possible approach to that society

which would help to illuminate its processes of stasis and change. The key concept was seen to be the process of cultural address contained in the basic form of education, literacy, with its surrounding ideologies of domesticity and privacy and its focus on the family as the centre of social and cultural reproduction. The letter, the most basic and most personal form of literary production, was shown to be both domestic and social in its concerns. Like the private diary, it is a record of a society deeply concerned to control its own reproduction; a society concerned with questions of status, eligibility, and so on, and with the crucial focus of social reproduction, marriage. The personal reflections of diaries and the interpersonal statements contained in letters were seen to be directly ideological; as in Therborn's phrase "ideological interpellations are made all the time, everywhere, by everybody" [1], so letters are part of this process of ideological formation.

Even as the ideological process does not end with the letter, so the investigation continued to look at the other written cultural artefacts of the time - the novel and the periodical press. Noting that a large amount of such material was directly addressed to the middle and upper classes, the contents of a selection of periodicals was analysed, and shown to be closely connected with the fiction of the time. In reviewing, in publishing in serial form, and in thematic continuities, the novel and the periodical press had close ties. The press in general was also concerned with status, respectability, and social reproduction. Three case studies showed the ways in which

periodical press and fiction interacted to form an overall information system. These, with the letters and diaries, formed "the context within which people lived and thought, and from which they derived their (in most cases quite new) sense of the outside world" [2]. Literature was socially active, and an important part of the social process.

This study has also, therefore, attempted to provide the beginnings of a history of an ideological and cultural formation. Its purpose has been both to provide new methodological paths and to use these for empirical study. While it is for the reader to decide which aspect is of more use - if either - the point should be made here that it has always been the purpose to use the outcome of theoretical and methodological enquiry for concrete historical investigation: the stress has been on the interpretation of fact, not on the problems of setting up the interpretative system: on the "thick description" itself, rather than on the problems involved in such a description. This has led to an imbalance some may find disturbing, or disappointing, or simply inadequate.

The choice of stress on the empirical use of theoretical models was made partly because the balance of published material in the later 1970s was towards theory. Sociologists, social historians and literary critics were all in some sense or another concerned with theories and models, often to the virtual exclusion of empirical research, or the (no doubt vain) attempt to provide all-inclusive explanations of past or present. The waning of the 'theoretical moment' which has occurred more recently has coincided with a growing interest in the

application of theory [3]. It is the need for such application which has been one of the basic reasons behind this study.

Perhaps more importantly, it has also been the concern here to develop an approach to the use of the nineteenth-century novel as historical evidence which would avoid the pitfalls described in Chapter One. The object of the investigation was to see how the novel fitted into its cultural context, in the widest sense - how it was used - and not how it 'reflected' its time.

2.

The amount of ground coverable by any single academic worker is necessarily small, and this study could very easily be supplemented by further work using the same basic ideas. More letters and diaries, novels and periodicals, and other forms of published writing could be analysed. The time-scale of the investigation could be extended both backwards and forwards: to the eighteenth century, in which literature in its context has been seen by some recent commentators in a way comparable with that shown here [4]; and forwards through the later nineteenth century to the present day. The work here presented is thematically comparable with much of the investigation currently being carried on into the media and other contemporary cultural institutions.

Similar remarks about further work could be, and often are, made of many historical studies. The point to stress here is that this is by no means a project conceived either

in vertical terms or in horizontal. It has not been thought of in isolation. It could be added to by study of other periods, along the same lines; and could also be of use to students of mid-Victorian Britain who wish for yet another angle on their chosen historical period. But there is more to it than this. The study here carried out has been projected as part of a study, in total, of the Victorian ruling elites and changes in those groups. This is neither seen as being whimsical, nor just another pure sacrifice on the altar of Clio; it was conceived as being relevant to the present day. (The final section of this Chapter will attempt to demonstrate this relevance).

Recent studies of the British elite and its culture have gone some way to show the inadequacies of the current state of knowledge, and most especially of the lack of informed discussion among disciplines which might show the way forward. Gash, Watson, Gilmour, Gorham, Rubinstein, Wiener, Offer and others have all studied aspects of the ruling class or middle class with at least some stress on its ideological make-up as well as its politics [5]. Often books written from different standpoints and addressing different problems can be read to supplement each other. Norman Gash's provocatively written textbook Aristocracy and People, Britain 1815-1865, for instance, is in part an argument against the 'bourgeois revolution' thesis discussed in Chapter Three, above [6]. According to Gash,

> The feature of British history in the
> first half of the nineteenth century is
> in fact the success of the aristocracy
> and gentry in retaining both the
> substance of their traditional political
> power and the social deference of other
> influential classes...the men who filled
> the House of Commons, the diplomatic

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corps, the Civil Service, the armed
forces, the magistracy, the universities
and the established church in 1865
differed little in social composition
from their predecessors of 1815 [7].

Gash goes on to claim that this was not a closed caste but
a relatively open system, despite the laws of entail,
strict settlement and primogeniture. However he only cites
two examples of industrialists actually buying large
amounts of land and thereby buying themselves into the
peerage (his examples are Darby and the Whitbreads) [8].
Lawrence and Jeanne Stone have recently published a book,
discussed below, containing a great deal of genealogical
evidence to refute this view. This does not mean, however,
that there was no such thing as social mobility; merely
that social mobility was not that simple, and neither was
the survival in political power of the aristocracy and
gentry.

As was suggested in Chapters Three to Six, above, what
was really happening at this time was a widening of status
definitions, so that the <u>non-landed</u> wealthy could see
themselves as <u>culturally</u> on a par with the landed classes,
as 'ladies and gentlemen' and so on, without actually going
to the vast expense of investment in land itself. They
could share the same ideology and culture without this
expenditure, and many did so. This has been brought out by
the work of W.D.Rubinstein, who has shown that the
wealthiest people outside the aristocracy and gentry were
usually simply not wealthy enough to buy land on a scale
large enough to join the ranks of the genuinely 'landed'.
As Rubinstein says,

the reluctance of the post-Industrial
Revolution rich to purchase land on a

vast scale in the manner of their
predecessors down the ages is evidence of
several changes of the first importance
in the structure of the nineteenth-
century British elites [9].

Furthermore, more new wealth was to be found in the City of
London and the South-East than in the North of England: it
was centred on finance and commerce rather than on
manufacturing industry. London, therefore, was "the fixed
point round which the Victorian middle class revolved"
[10].

Combining Gash's and Rubinstein's views, we can see a
clearer picture of the state of the ruling classes, and one
which, at the level of ideology, agrees with the
Anderson-Nairn view of class integration. Gash stresses the
continuity in political power of the traditional
aristocracy; Rubinstein that new wealth rarely challenged
this ascendancy directly, but became 'gentlemanly' in its
turn, achieving status without displacing the current
holders of status. According to Rubinstein, British
wealth-holders were constrained to a "slavish imitation of
the landed aristocracy and its mores in the West End of
London, and most certainly in the life-styles expected of
their sons and grandsons" [11]. This did not mean that they
bought enough land to vie with traditional landowners. They
bought small, non-producing country estates, or just rented
them [12]. The status was gained without the enormous cost;
it was therefore more widely available. As Chapter Three
noted, the same process can be seen in the expansion of the
London Club network; Chapters Four to Six showed various
ways in which personal and public writings reacted to, and
tried to direct, these changes. By the later 1870s, cadet

groups of the elite were also being expressly catered for, and were claiming gentlemanly status for themselves. The public school network was expanding. Examinations were creating systems of accredited professionalisation in medicine and the services - military and civil - to match those already established in the Church and the law. Thus jobs for the middle class boys - including sons and grandsons of successful entrepreneurs - were created; Kitson Clark's "new gentry" had arrived [13].

It is one of the most important aspects of this study that it illuminates this process, showing how the 'new' became 'gentry'. The ideological debates conducted in the periodical press and the novel show the ways in which the central cultural formations organised from literacy opened up concepts like 'lady' and 'gentlemen', making them available to a wider cross-section of society: a process which can be seen as much in the highbrow, Liberal, Fortnightly Review as in the middlebrow, Conservative Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. Institutions like the club, the school, and the profession, were joined at this socially formative level by 'the media' in presenting ways in which society restructured itself. Thus we can help to explain how social transition occurred without violent upheaval. Status and power were more widely distributed in both institutional and informal ways.

Seen in this way, as a specific part of an information system, literature can reveal much about the formation of past societies; much that is complementary rather than merely confirmatory. In a history of ideologies literature can be an important constituent providing evidence

unavailable elsewhere. In the study of mid-Victorian society, the task is now to use such knowledge, to resynthesise our view of the Victorian ruling classes and their cadet groups. W.D. Rubinstein's suggestion for an integrated study of this changing social structure, asking questions about class, power, ideology and politics (in which he footnoted that fiction could be a good source of material) should now be pursued as a matter of urgency [14].

This must be done principally at two levels: the local, and the metropolitan. The study currently being carried out by Leonore Davidoff and others into middle class groups in Birmingham and Essex [15] must be both extended in scope and supplemented by similar studies of the lives of cohorts of middle and upper class people from other environments; most especially, more study must be made of the ruling classes' relationships with London. The Season, the Clubs, the Court, patterns of residence, patterns of marriage within and between class and kinship groups must be analysed to complement and perhaps to qualify the mass of data presented by the Stones. The role of London as the centre of social life, and especially of 'the marriage market' will then become clearer. The ways in which the literary culture of the time contributed to this cultural formation will also be more clearly revealed.

The family is one of the most important basic units of social as well as biological reproduction. The lack of concerted study of the family as such, as the reproducer of social class, is thus a wide gap in our knowledge. The Benwell Community Report The Making of a Ruling Class [16],

though brief, shows how such knowledge could contribute to our understanding of class relations. This shows the way in which 17 family dynasties, over 150 years, came to control much of the industrial and public utility base in Tyneside. These families had and have links in both national and local politics; they were and are bound together by friendship ties based on shared education. The necessity for histories of culture and ideology to be supplemented by studies, such as the Benwell Project report, of statistically harder cultural practices like residence and marriage patterns, can be illustrated by reference to two recent works whose inadequacies in this area, of relating the ideology to the context, are their most disappointing aspects.

Martin J. Wiener's English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980 [16] is perhaps the most comprehensive attempt yet made to explain English economic decline as a result of ideological changes. According to Wiener, the members of the re-formed ruling elite of late nineteenth century Britain subscribed to a view of England not as urban, disciplined and hard-working but as rural, leisured and 'traditional'. This applied to businessmen, or to those who were at school and were to become businessmen, just as much as to those who were, or were to be, civil servants, professionals, or landed gentry. Schooled in the Classics, humanities or social sciences, rather than in the pure or applied sciences or business studies, the English ruling class, whether industrialists, professionals or politicians, viewed manufacturing industry with distaste and hard-nosed profit-making with contempt. Thus, Wiener

argues, any simply economic explanation for British economic decline must at least be supplemented, and perhaps supplanted, by explanations stressing the impact of this dominant aspect of ruling class culture.

Wiener argues that this reaction against the seemingly triumphant industrialism whose finest hour was the Great Exhibition of 1851 occurred throughout ruling class life: the standards of middle and upper classes were fused to produce a new cultural hybrid. The public school/Oxbridge 'New Gentry' were hostile to careers in industry; those who did become businessmen (the less successful at school and therefore quite possibly the less intelligent members of each generation) turned their boardrooms into small-scale gentlemens' clubs; the pursuit of profit was not considered gentlemanly. This type of argument Wiener considers entirely adequate as an explanation of the consistentley lower investment levels at, say, ICI as opposed to IG Farben Industrie. The author is able to summon the evidence of a great deal of published material to support his claim. Prominent writers both of right (e.g. Ruskin, Alfred Austin, G.K. Chesterton) and left (William Morris, Robert Blatchford) are quoted as condemning the sores of industrialism with equal fervour, conjuring up instead a vision of England as a pre-industrial rural paradise, whether hierarchical or egalitarian. Politicians - again including Bevan from the left, as well as the predictable Churchill, Baldwin and Enoch Powell - are shown borrowing directly from this rhetoric of moral censure of the Industrial Revolution.

The limits of this approach are apparent from the last

section of Wiener's book, a three-page appendix considering
the more usual, economic, explanations of English
industrial decline. It is particularly unfortunate that
Wiener does not attempt any quantitative analysis of his
own; some engagement with the strengths (and weaknesses)
of economic history's statistical base would have bolstered
his case rather better than his short, blanket refusal of
them. Wiener has no statistical approach of his own to
offer; his book would have been the more impressive for
some indication at least of the numbers of politicians and
businessmen educated at public schools during the period,
the subjects they had studied there and at university, and
so on. In the absence of such data, the impression remains
that Wiener has proved the existence of an ideology, but
not of its practical cultural or economic effects. We have
to know how people themselves fitted into this ideological
matrix - as this study attempts to show by reference to
reading, writing and public discussion - or we are left
with an ideology whose effects are not clearly proven. The
evidence remains circumstantial: the description is too
'thin' [17].

Similar problems arise from the recent book by Avner
Offer, Property and Politics 1870-1914, Landownership, Law,
Ideology and Urban Development in England [18]. As its
title implies, this is a wide-ranging study. Its central
concerns are with changes in the ownership of property and
the institutions surrounding property, and with the
ideological debates surrounding those changes. Debates on
land reform and familiar-sounding attacks on and defences
of the solicitors' monopoly of conveyancing are presented

in a study of the politics of land which attempts to describe and explain the emergence of a populist land reform movement among the supporters of the last Liberal government. Throughout this work, ideology and event are, apparently, closely linked: political movements are seen as influenced by the utopian reformer Henry George, for example. Yet the book as a whole fails to convince that a history of ideological change can usefully inform political history. Chapter 20 is entitled 'Romantic Residues', and is a concentrated attempt to explore the ideology of Liberalism. Offer claims that it is necessary to his purpose "to digress into the mental history of those sections of society, in the middle class and among artisans, that actively assimilated, propagated and lived out Liberal attitudes and ideals" [19].

These turn out to be a downmarket version of the ideology described by Wiener: the attitude that everything rural is attractive, everything urban unattractive. Artists like Turner and Constable, their propagandist Ruskin, and the eighteenth-century theologian Paley, are all marshalled as nature-worshippers. Dilke and Chamberlain, Leslie Stephen and Bertrand Russell are seen as progenitors of a feeling for the countryside that is essentially urban and nostalgic, or leisured and sporting; beneath the elite, the National Trust and the rambling movement are seen as evidence of a similar attachment to the rural. Offer goes on to discuss the debate on land reform, which he mistakenly ascribes only to the period after 1880 [20], and the ruralist views of socialists like Morris, Carpenter, Blatchford and Hinton, and the builders of the 'garden

cities'.

The problem here is not so much one of description as of integration. In a book which often suffers from jumps in subject-matter or mode of analysis, this chapter confuses rather than clarifies. The Alpine Club's enthusiasm for guided tours of the Eiger is not clearly related, as Offer seems to claim, to the movement for small-holdings in land: land as a common recreational area and land as owned and worked by a neo-peasantry are just not the same thing, and to lump them together seems most arbitrary; indeed, at another point Offer identifies separate elite and popular approaches to land and nature, without clearly analysing, or even labelling, either. No approach to the ideologies at the point of individual or group formation is made. As a result the confusion persists: the ideologies seem to exist in a vacuum, without clear function, effect, or place in the society Offer is attempting to analyse. It is significant that Offer makes no use of the theory of ideology as discussed here in Chapter Two: recourse to such a model as Goldmann's theory of homologies, for example, might well have helped the integration of the material he discusses in his chapter 20 into the rest of his text, and might also have helped him to see the crucial differences among the systems he attempts to describe as the same ideology. Offer's work is more, however, than an illustration of the pitfalls involved in under-theorised research. The confused way in which his chapter 20 is written does not detract from the importance of the attempt to investigate the ways in which thinking and acting - specifically, of ideologies and political action - are

interrelated, and in which ideologies are not a matter of set patterns but of debate and continuous reconstruction.

Mention should be made here of Lawrence and Jeanne Stone's recent book <u>An Open Elite? Britain 1530-1930</u>, which, unfortunately, appeared too late for detailed consideration. Where Wiener discusses an ideology in a contextual vacuum, and Offer presents both ideology and context but fails to connect the two convincingly, the Stones' book is the predictable blend of brute statistics and heavy-handed interpretation. 2,000 aristocratic and gentry families are studied. Among the conclusions are that in the nineteenth century the aristocracy, far from being the "open elite" claimed by such as Gash, were in fact very much a closed, intermarrying caste until the watershed 1880s. Furthermore, Stone claims, the cultures of gentry and aristocracy and middle class were noticeably different and separate, the middle class being notably more urban in their social and political concerns.

The statistical data presented in this book will no doiubt be questioned by those more able to do so than the present writer. The interpretation, however, is hardly a new one, supporting as it does the conclusions reached by earlier students of the marriage patterns of the peerage such as Thomas and Pumphrey. The Stones' claim of separate cultures misses the point, and is a neat illustration in itself of the usefulness of a theorised app roach to ideology. As we have seen, Rubinstein has shown that the new wealthy were indeed a separate stratum, being in the main too poor to buy land on any scale. Even if this meant their exclusion from the delights of County

society, it did not mean that they were prevented from sending their children to schools based on the Clarendon Commission schools, or from joining clubs based loosely on the aristocratic Brooks's and White's, or from adopting a more leisured lifestyle based on the model of conspicuous consumption provided by the aristocracy and gentry. Nor were they prevented from sharing the same reading matter, in all its forms.

Sharing this reading matter, and the ideological debates taking place in and around it, they were able to see themselves as 'ladies and gentlemen' even if they did not attend exactly the same parties as their aristocratic neighbours. The growth of middle-class Conservatism argued for and about in the periodical press shows this clearly: ideology is not about 'reality' but perception, and most importantly self-perception. The shared information system was a powerful integrating force making for cultural similarity even if the classes did not actually meet to any great extent. Certainly the claimed post-1880 transition was not accompanied by any great social upheaval: if the two groupings did not intermarry much until then, they certainly shared enough common assumptions to be able to do so without fuss when land did become, finally, more of a privelege than a pleasure.

This is a good example of the value of ideology as a component of historical study. It is a part of the way societies function, and of the way in which different groups, and individuals, situate themselves in relation to one another. As such it must be taken more into account in future historical study: what is needed, as Rubinstein has

said, remains a more clearly integrated approach. The deficiencies of approach illustrated by Offer, Wiener and Stone may be remedied in a combined study approaching culture, ideology and politics in a new and larger synthesis.

Such calls may sound absurdly irrelevant in the 1980s, at a time of continuing, stringent, cuts in education spending; a time, indeed, when the very future of history as an independent discipline at school level is under threat [21]. But the final point to be made from this study is indeed to look outward from it, and from the disciplines of English and History, towards contemporary society. For when the remark was made above that the need for an overview of the ruling classes in mid-Victorian England was urgently needed, this was not so even in the sense of a 'need' for professional historians to generate more work or job opportunities for themselves. The study is of direct relevance to society today.

3.

It is rapidly becoming commonplace that society is at present witnessing lifestyle changes as profound as those put in train during the Industrial Revolution. Microtechnology is able to replace menial jobs and will soon be able (if permitted) to replace middle management decision-making. It has also made available new patterns of media consumption, such as video, and cable and satellite television. The overall result is often seen to be the proliferation of 'leisure', both in the sense of available

leisure industries and services, and in the sense that full-time employment as it has been practised for the last two hundred years or so has probably become, for the majority of people, a thing of the past.

Such changes have profound implications, striking at the heart of the 'work ethic' which has sustained much of Western society at least since the Industrial Revolution. Neither the academic industry nor government have responded to these actual or forecast changes with any degree of consistency. It remains necessary, therefore, to understand and predict the social effects of such changes if they are to occur without disruption. To this end historical cultural studies are both necessary and important.

Currently available historical cultural studies, and especially histories of leisure, tend to concentrate on the experience of the working and/or lower middle classes [22]. This literature describes, and often tends to celebrate, 'leisure' as something worked for and earned; as a separate sphere or layer of life derived from work, rather than as an integral part of a continuously structured way of living. The literature therefore implicitly reproduces the accepted ideologies of work and leisure. As new technology's impact may lead either to very high levels of unemployment or to shorter working hours or working lives and longer holidays for all, then ideologies must be changed to fit these patterns; else at the very least personal and group dislocation will occur. This is probably, indeed, happening already.

In the story of the ruling classes and their cadet groups in nineteenth-century Britain, however, we have an

example of radical changes in economic and political life being accommodated gradually, without severe disruption; of ideologies and cultural practices changing by debate and mutual consent; and of an expansion in the size of the ruling groups and in the diversity of their socioeconomic makeup. Gash's challenge to the 'bourgeois revolution' theory of British politics after 1832 is an important balance to the 'bourgeois hegemony' theories of Gray and others: it supports the view of Anderson and Nairn, confirmed more recently by Wiener, of class accommodation at the top of British society: of status definitions changed to leave both traditional and new ruling class groups happy with their lot. This study is a contribution to the explanation of that accommodation, which may be of value in helping to predict or direct social change towards new cultural patterns today.

This, then, while ostensibly a part of 'leisure' history, attempts to escape from many of the assumptions of this and its sociological companion, 'popular culture': the divorcing of 'leisure' from the rest of life. The interpretation presented here has more points of contact with the study of contemporary youth or subcultures, in which the political aspects of culture and ideology are often at least considered [23]. Reading was an important, constructed part of mid-Victorian culture; integrated with other personal and interpersonal activities, the reading of novels and of other literature was deemed <u>socially necessary</u>, at least to the extent that those who did not read novels thought it prudent to apologise for their failure [24]. Novel-reading was 'leisure', but it was also

important. Such works, and the discussions surrounding them, were part of a social formation in which 'leisure', too, was important. The gentlemanly ideology stressed 'leisure' even as it expanded to include working men within it. The anti-leisure stress of some of the middle class groups was changed as they adopted a more 'gentlemanly', leisured lifestyle [25]. The values and lifestyles of both groups were changed, but the accommodation which was reached remained focussed on a culture in which what we now see as 'leisure' and separate was then a very important, centrally integrated part of the lifestyle. It was as important as the dinner party: and the dinner party was important, as Le May remarked, to politics; it was a structured event full of significance for the classes who gave or attended such gatherings. And yet it was also a part of 'leisure'; most certainly it was not 'work'.

The patterns of work and leisure among these social groups was far indeed from workaholism. Anthony Trollope, often criticised for his mechanical approach to writing, never wrote for more than three hours in any one day; Darwin refused to compromise his standing as a gentleman by working more than four hours a day, even while on the Beagle; many politicians, similarly, simply stopped working at a certain time of day, whatever the pressures of the time [26]. Attending parties, or shooting birds and animals, were important means of gaining status and satisfaction which many today, brought up to live for work, might fail to understand. And yet work as such was not stigmatised, even in the pages of the highly conservative Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.

If a plethora of free time is to be our common future, then it is in our common interests to study the ways in which such changes as those described here have happened in the past: to study the past ways of thinking, or ideologies, which made such ways of behaving, or cultures, acceptable and indeed 'normal'. To that end, this particular ideological history drawn from the study of the problem of literature and history is of direct relevance to us all.

<u>Notes</u>.

Place of publication for all references is London unless
otherwise indicated. Titles of works and journals are
abbreviated after the first reference in each Chapter; e.g.
<u>op. cit</u>. refers to a work previously cited in the same
Chapter, whether or not it has been cited in other
Chapters.

Notes to Chapter One.

1.See for example A. Briggs, 'Trollope, Bagehot and the
English Constitution', ch. 4 of <u>Victorian People</u> (1954;
Pelican, 1965); W.L. Burn: <u>The Age of Equipoise</u> (1965),pp
27, 29, 59, 78, 99, 240, 249, 255, 316-7, 320; J.A. Banks:
<u>Prosperity and Parenthood</u> (1954), 113-128; G. Kitson Clark,
<u>The Making of Victorian England</u> (1962) pp 103, 223, 253,
259; G. Best, <u>Mid-Victorian Britain</u> (1979 ed.), pp 146,
172, 174, 226, 228, 261, 263, 267, 270-71, 272, 274, 275,
277, 285-6, 316, 321. The problems of using literature as
historical evidence are discussed in relation to Dark Age
Britain by D.Dumville, 'Sub-Roman Britain: History and
Legend', <u>History</u> vol 62 no 205, June 1977, 173-192, and in
J. Markale, <u>King Arthur King of Kings</u> (Paris 1976; trans.
London 1977); in reference to Early Modern Britain by
P.Laslett, <u>The World We Have Lost</u> (3rd ed., 1983); and to
Modern Britain by P. Branca, <u>Silent Sisterhood</u> (1978),
11-12, G. Best, <u>op. cit</u>., 14-15, and F. Field, 'Literature,
Society and the Historian', <u>History</u> vol 64 no 2, (Feb.
1979), 54-58.
2. L.Strachey, <u>Eminent Victorians</u> (1922), 221.
3.For instance, on the middle class woman, see P. Thompson,
<u>The Victorian Heroine: a Changing Ideal</u> (1965); P. Branca:
<u>op. cit</u>. (1975).
4. M Sadleir: <u>Trollope: A Commentary</u> (1927; 2nd ed., 1945)
5. O Chadwick: <u>The Victorian Church</u> (2 vols, 3rd ed 1972).
6. W L Burn, and G. Kitson Clark, as cited in note 1.
Others include A.P. Thornton, <u>The Habit of Authority</u>
(1966), 240; W.D. Rubinstein, <u>Men of Property</u> (1981), 38-9;
A. Ponsonby, <u>The Decline of Aristocracy</u> (1912), 111.
7. A Briggs, <u>art. cit</u>. Trollope and Bagehot are also
discussed in G. Kitson Clark, <u>op. cit</u>., 49.
8. Briggs, <u>art. cit</u>., p101
9. <u>ibid</u>., p 123. This is not the case. Novelists were often
<u>expected</u> to preach. G.H. Lewes wrote to William
Blackwood,25 Nov. 1872, reporting that a West End clergyman
had referred to George Eliot in a sermon as a great
teacher: G.S. Haight, ed., <u>The Letters of George Eliot</u>
(1954-6) vol 5, 533. And see e.g. <u>The Athenaeum</u>, March 31,
1888, commenting on <u>Robert Elsmere</u>: "Having a great deal to
say and exceptional ability for saying it, Mrs. Humphry
Ward no doubt chose the novel for the form of her work as
being that which would best attract the attention of those
she wished to reach. It is impossible to find fault with
her decision. Few subjects are inadmissible in the novel of

today, and through the novel alone can one speak effectively to the masses". Quoted in V. Colby, The Singular Anomaly. Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century (1970), 7; see also ibid., 298. These matters are discussed further in Chapters Three and Four.

10. M. Hewitt, 'Anthony Trollope: Historian and Sociologist', British Journal of Sociology vol XIV, 1963, 226-239.

11. ibid., 226.

12. ibid., 226.

13. ibid., 239.

14. A S Wohl, ed., The Victorian Family (1978).

15. M Adams, 'Family Disintegration and Creative Reintegration: the case of Charlotte Bronte', ibid., 148-179.

16. ibid.,101-116.

17. ibid., 109.

18. D. Cannadine, 'The Context, Meaning and Performance of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition, c. 1820-1977' pp 101-164 of E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, eds., The Invention of Tradition (1983), 107 n.8.

19. J Rockwell: Fact in Fiction (1974), xvii. See also her 'A Theory of Literature and Society', in J. Routh and J. Wolff, eds., The Sociology of Literature: Theoretical Approaches (Sociology Review Monographs, Keele 1977).

20. Rockwell,Fact in Fiction., 3.

21. G Watson: The English Ideology (1973). A more sophisticated approach to 'intertextuality' will be discussed in Chapter Two. The work of Foucault is important here: see F. Lentricchia, After the New Criticism (1980).

22. ibid., 5; see also T.H.Green, 'The Value and Influence of Works of Fiction in Modern Times', in T.H. Green, Works, ed. R.L. Nettleship, Longman 1888, vol III, 20-45.

23. ibid., 3.

24. e.g. J.A. Sutherland, Victorian Novelists and Publishers (1976); R.L. Patten, Dickens and His Publishers (1978); S. Lonoff, Wilkie Collins and his Victorian Readers (1982); V. and R.A. Colby, The Equivocal Virtue: Mrs. Oliphant and the Literary Market Place (Hamden, Connecticut, 1966); R.A. Gettman, A Victorian Publisher. A Study of the Bentley Papers (Cambridge 1960); and the various volumes of the Routledge and Kegan Paul Critical Heritage series.

25. e.g. R.D. Altick, The English Common Reader (1957); L. James: Fiction for the Working Man (1964); A. Ellegard: The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain (1957); D. Suvin, 'The Social Addressees of Victorian Fiction', Literature and History vol 8 no 1, (Spring 1982), 11-40.

26. R. Darnton, The Business of Enlightenment (1979).

27. e.g. Routh and Wolff, eds., op. cit; R. Escarpit, The Sociology of Literature (2nd ed., 1971); D. Lawrenson and A. Swingewood, The Sociology of Literature (1972); E. and T. Burns, eds., The Sociology of Literature and Drama (1973); J. Hall, The Sociology of Literature (1979).

Notes to Chapter Two.

1. 'Culture' and 'Ideology' have been joined by 'hegemony' as words with a powerful force within English academic life. This chapter tries to make them do some work, for a change, rather than putting them on a pedestal.
2. See e.g. J. Larrain, The Concept of Ideology (1979) for a historical discussion and exegesis of 'major' writers; University of Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, On Ideology (1978) for the same plus an idea of the difficulties involved in using the word in any concrete analysis; D.J. Manning, ed., The Form of Ideology (1980); J. Plamenatz, Ideology (1970); a conservative critique, L. Feuer, Ideology and the Ideologists (1975); and the journal Ideology and Consciousness.
3. R. Williams: Culture (1981), 160; also Williams, Marxism and Literature (1977), 166: "meaning is always produced; – it is never simply expressed". A similar view is in M. Barrett, P. Corrigan, A. Kuhn and J. Wolff, eds., Ideology and Cultural Production (1980), 10.
4. Williams, Culture; also Williams, Keywords (1976), Culture and Society (1963 edition).
5. See T. Bennett, 'Popular Culture: Defining our Terms', in Upen University Course U203, Popular Culture, Units 1 and 2, 75-87. e.g. p. 80: "It is also clear that a trade unionist in negotiations with an employer or taking part in a political rally is not involved in cultural activity in the same sense he or she is when attending a rock concert, going to the cinema or whatever". It is by no means clear in what the distinction lies; the Popular Culture course, however, sets up this arbitrary distinction by concentrating almost throughout on leisure activities (though it also openly politicises its discussion of e.g. youth subcultures): block 3, 'Popular Culture and Everyday Life', for example, concerns itself with brass bands, holidays, and television. This makes the later emphasis on youth cultures versus the education system seem rather more arbitrary than it might, had the opening case study of Christmas been carried through with an analysis of the cultural politics of the everyday domestic environment. It is throughout the emphasis of the present study that there is far more to culture than leisure practices.
6. See discussions in e.g. E. Leach, Culture and Communication (Cambridge 1976); K.H. Basso and H.A. Selby, eds., Meaning in Anthropology (Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1976); E. Hatch, Culture and Morality: the Relativity of Values in Anthropology (New York 1983); and most importantly C. Geertz: The Interpretation of Cultures (1975). A succinct overall definition is provided by S. Rothblatt: "'Culture' here means 'values implied or expressed in behaviour", Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education (1976), 10.
7. For sociobiology's view of essential humanism, see e.g. R. Dawkins: The Selfish Gene (1976; Paladin, 1978), and for opposition to this e.g. J. Sayers, Biological Politics (1982). My thanks to Denise Thorn for the latter reference. For Freudianism there is of course a jungle of

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contradictory interpretations, as well as the writings of Freud himself: see e.g. the hagiography by E. Jones, The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud (3 vols, 1953-5, abridged in 1 vol, Pelican 1964); an easy introduction to Freud's own writings in Two Short Accounts of Psycho-Analysis, ed. J. Strachey (Pelican 1962). Some notion of the absurdities inherent in this system of thought can be seen from S. Timpanaro: The Freudian Slip (trans. K. Soper,1976).

8. Geertz, op. cit. in note 5, above.

9. ibid., 5. Compare L. Goldmann, Towards a Sociology of the Novel (1975): "genetic structuralism sets out from the hypothesis that all human behaviour is an attempt to give a meaningful response to a particular situation" ,156.

10. op. cit., 44.

11. R. Barthes: Mythologies (1972).

12. The leading figure of the 'culture school' of British historians is E.P. Thompson, whose Making of the English Working Class (1964) has inspired many less ambitious works, most notably R. Foster, Class Structure and the Industrial Revolution (1974); M. Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire (1971). The 'labour aristocracy' debate noted in note 13 below is in part a debate between this approach and more traditional labour history.

13. See also 12, above. For the labour aristocracy debate, see R.Q. Gray, The Aristocracy of Labour in Nineteenth Century Britain (1981).

14. e.g. R. Johnson's two essays from R. Johnson, J. Clarke and C. Critcher, eds., Working-Class Culture (1979): 'Culture and the Historians', 41-71, and 'Three Problematics: Elements of a Theory of Working Class Culture', 201-237. See also P. Anderson, Arguments Within English Marxism (1980).

15. R.S. Neale, Class in English History 1680-1850 (Oxford 1981), 8.

16. e.g. in Manning, ed., op. cit.: L.G. Graham, 'Ideology and the Sociological Understanding', 12-21, and Manning, 'The Place of Ideology in Political Life', 71-89; and Feuer, op. cit.

17. See note 10, above.

18. Marx, quoted in T. Eagleton, Marxism and Literary Criticism (1976), 4.

19. Specifically Marxist ideology theories are discussed in e.g. Larrain and Feuer, works cited in note 2, above.

20. e.g Macherey, Eagleton, Lukacs, Goldmann, Brecht. These are discussed in sections 3 and 4 of this Chapter.

21. Althusser: see For Marx (1979); Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays (1971) and with E. Balibar, Reading Capital (2nd ed., 1970). Althusser has of course been heavily criticised, notably by E.P. Thompson, The Poverty of Theory (1978), 193-406. This is itself reviewed in a symposium in Literature and History, vol 5 no 2 (Autumn 1979), 139-146, and by P. Anderson, Arguments Within English Marxism (1980). Other hostile reactions to Althusser include A. Callinicos, Althusser's Marxism (1976); S. Clarke, et al., One-Dimensional Marxism (1980) and D. sayer, Marx's Method (1979).

22. Althusser's 6 theses are proposed in 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', Lenin and Philosophy, 153.

23. ibid.

24. ibid.
25. The concept of relative autonomy, with its complementary insistence on 'last-instance' determination by the economic, seems to have been thought up to defend proponents of ideology theory from the charge of deviation from the path of true, economic, Marxism. It seems to serve no more useful purpose.
26. Geertz on 'programs': see note 10, above.
27. Williams, Culture, 29.
28. Althusser and Balibar, op. cit., 54-62: examples of the way in which this has been used include for example T. Eagleton's dictum, "Criticism must break with its ideological prehistory, situating itself outside the space of the text in the alternative terrain of scientific knowledge" (Criticism and Ideology, 1976, p 42), or P. Brooker's review article, 'Power to the Pen', Literature and History vol 5 no 2, Autumn 1979, where P. Parrinder is ticked off for being both nostalgic and "in need of...theoretical rigour" (p 226); this latter producing an eloquent reply from Parrinder, 'Power to the Pen: A reply', Literature and History vol 6 no 2, Autumn 1980, 249-251, which usefully points out the ideological nature of scientism. The circular nature of Althusser's argument is well brought out in Callinicos, op. cit., 58-60.
29. e.g. C. K. Watkins, Social Control (1975); B. Davies, Social Control and Education (1976); C. and B. Smart, eds., Women, Sexuality and Social Control (1978); J. P. Gibbs, ed., Social Control: the view from the Social Sciences (1982); two collections of historical essays on this are A. P. Donajgrodski, ed., Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain (1977), and S. Cohen and A. Scull, eds., Social Control and the State (Oxford 1983).
30. Lip-service as paid by G. Therborn, The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology (1980),50-54, 109, which floats the idea that social stability depends primarily on ideological coherence among the ruling groups; also N. Abercrombie, S. Hill, B. Turner, The Dominant Ideology Thesis (1980), 29. There are of course some examples of historical study of aspects of the ruling class. Benwell Community Project, The Making of a Ruling Class (Newcastle on Tyne, 1978)is a useful but brief survey of dynastic power, wealth and influence. Political history written from a ruling class viewpoint includes N. Gash, Aristocracy and People: Britain 1815-1865 (1979); cultural history of the ruling class, L. Davidoff, The Best Circles (1973); ideological history from a ruling class standpoint, G. Watson, The English Ideology (1973), R. Gilmour, The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel (1981), and M. Wiener, English Culture and the decline of the Industrial Spirit (1981). The recent sociological work by J. Scott, The Upper Classes (1982) contains much useful historical information.
31. See works cited in note 29; a crude and rather silly example is R.N. Price, 'The Working Men's Club Movement and Victorian Social Reform Ideology', Victorian Studies vol XV no 2 (1971, 117-147. The approach is refuted in Abercrombie, et al., op. cit.
32. e.g. S. Hall and T. Jefferson, eds., Resistance through Rituals (1975); T.E. Perkins, 'Rethinking Stereotypes', in M. Barrett et al., eds., Ideology and Cultural Production,

135-159; the works of E.P. Thompson; and the various contributors to the debate outlined in R.Q. Gray, op. cit.
33. N. Abercrombie, et al., op. cit.; similar arguments are found in Abercrombie, Class, Structure and Knowledge (1980).
34. ibid, 55.
35. ibid, 59-94.
36. ibid. cf. J. Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society (1981), chapter two, 'That Damned Morality, Sex in Victorian Ideology', 19-37, which stresses that middle class sexual mores were not aimed at the repression of the working class so much as at their own reproduction as a power/status group.
37. Levels of Victorian religious belief included Broad, High and Low churches in the Anglican church alone, liberal and traditional Catholicism, etc. etc. And none at all, before as well as after Darwin.
38. For the 'labour aristocracy' debates, see notes 12 and 13, above.
40. See R.S. Neale, op. cit., and D. Smith, Conflict and Compromise. Class Formation in English Society, 1830-1914 (1982).
41. For the lower middle class, G. Crossick, ed., The Lower Middle Class in Britian, 1870-1914 (1977); for lower middle class women, D. Gorham, The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal (1982) and P. Branca, The Silent Sisterhood (1976); for the very wealthy, J. Scott, op. cit, and W.D. Rubinstein, Men of Property (1981); 'New Men of Wealth and the Purchase of Land in Nineteenth Century England', Past and Present no 92, (Aug. 1981), 125-147; 'Modern Britain', in Rubinstein, ed., Wealth and the Wealthy in the Modern World (1980).
42. J. Scott, op. cit.
43. T. Bennett, 'Popular Culture: History and Theory', Unit 3 of the Open University Course U203, Popular Culture. The entire course is studded with references to this concept. See also R. Williams, Marxism and Literature (1977), 110-115; 137; Birmingham C.C.C.S., On Ideology, esp. 'Politics and Ideology:Gramsci', by S. Hall and B. Lumley, 45-73.
44. See for example T. Bennett, 'Marxism and Popular Fiction', Literature and History vol 7 no 2 (Autumn 1981), 138-165; p. 164; H. Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution (1980), 197-200.
45. G. Therborn, The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology (1978).
46. ibid., 2.
47. ibid., 18.
48. ibid., 20.
49. ibid., 24-25.
50. ibid., 54.
51. ibid., 84-85.
52. See note 66. It should be pointed out once again that the purpose of this Chapter is to select and not to include, even by reference, everything that has been said or done in any particular academic field.
53. Brief guides to the many varieties of post-structuralist and deconstructionist literary criticism can be found in e.g. J. Culler, Structuralist Poetics (1978) and The Pursuit of Signs(1982); D. Lodge, Working

with Structuralism (1981); C. Belsey, Critical Practice (1980); C. Norris, Deconstruction. Theory and Practice (1982), and G. L. Burns, Inventions: Writing, Textuality and Understanding in Literary History (1982). One of the most creative uses of these theories is B. Sharratt, Reading Relations: Structures of Literary Production, A Dialectical Text Book (Brighton 1982). The self-indulgent tendencies of these approaches, best seen in the florid pages of The Oxford Literary Review,have been well criticised by T. Eagleton, most succinctly perhaps in his essay 'Aesthetics and Politics', New Left Review no 107, Jan-Feb 1978.

54. Lacan: Ecrits. A Selection (1977); The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis (1977); A. Wilden, ed., The Language of the Self (New York, 1968). Derrida: Of Grammatology (Baltimore, 1977); Writing and Difference (1978). Foucault: The Order of Things (1973); The Archaeology of Knowledge (1974); Language, Counter-Memory, Practice (1978); The History of Sexuality (1979).Critical reactions to this type of thought can be found in e.g. L.S. Dembo, Directions for Criticism (Wisconsin 1977); G. Graff, Literature Against Itself (1979), and F. Jameson, The Prison-House of Language (1972). Positive assessments of Foucault can be found in F. Lentricchia, After the New Criticism (1980), A. Sheridan, Michel Foucault: the Will to Truth (1980), and most interestingly in J. Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society (1981). Lacan is glossed in A. Wilden, 'Lacan and the Discourse of the Other' in The Language of the Self, 159-311.

55. See Lacan, works cited in note 54, above. This series of notions are difficult to explain, probably because they don't make any sense, but possibly because those interested in them often choose not to write in English but in badly translated academic Franglais, the most absurd example of the later being R. Coward and J. Ellis, Language and Materialism (1977). Opposition to this dehumanised post-structuralist, post-Marxism can be found in for instance K. McDonnell and K. Robbins, 'Marxist Cultural Theory: the Althusserian Smokescreen', in S. Clarke et al., op. cit., 157-231.

56. Criticism of Lacan's sexism can be found in e.g. T. Lovell, 'The Social Relations of Cultural Production: Absent Centre of a New Discourse', in S. Clarke, et al., op. cit, 232-256: e.g. "an account of sexed identity which locates the constitution of women in processes so massively concentrated in the first few years of life, more or less completed with the resolution of the Oedipus complex, is to place women and their politics under a crippling burden of determination in an epoch of their lives in which they have the least possibility of control and change", 243; similar comments are made by Marxist-Feminist Literature Collective, 'Women's Writing: Jane Eyre, Shirley, Villete, Aurora Leigh, in F. Barker et al., eds., 1848: the Sociology of Literature (Essex 1978), 205; editorial collective, 'Psychology, Ideology, and the Human Subject', Ideology and Consciousness no 1 (May 1977), 41-45; S. Timpanaro, On Materialism (1975), 171-192; and E. Wilson, 'Psychoanalysis: Psychic Law and Order', Feminist Review no 8 (1981), 76: "The last thing feminists need is a theory that teaches them only to marvel anew at the constant

recreation of the subjective reality of subordination and which reasserts male domination more securely than ever within theoretical discourse".

57. See F. de Saussure, Course in General Linguistics (1974).

58. Works of Derrida and Foucault available in English are detailed in note 54.

59. Derrida, 'Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences', Writing and Difference, 278-193, is a more or less readable summary. A vaguely similar approach characterises the work of Barthes: see e.g. The Pleasure of the Text (New York, 1975).

60. See note 53, above.

61. Foucault, The History of Sexuality, 89.

62. T. Bennett, Formalism and Marxism (1979), 79-80. Bennett is glossing P.N. Volosinov, Marxism and the Philosophy of Language (1973). An example is the use of the public-school accent in defining cultural boundaries: see J.R. de S. Honey, Tom Brown's Universe (1977), 237.

63. Bennett, op. cit., 80; also Williams, Marxism and Lit., 168, which stresses "the lived and living relationships which, within any native language(the language of real societies, to which all men belong) make all formal meanings significant and substantial".

64. For the intertextual context of Darwin's work, see R.M. Young, 'The historiographic and ideological contexts of the 19th Century debate on Man's place in Nature', in M. Teich & R.M. Young, eds., Changing Perspectives in the History of Science (1973); idem, 'The role of Psychology in the 19th Century Evolutionary Debate', in M. Henle, J. Jaynes & J.L. Sullivan, eds., Historical Conceptions of Psychology (1973); and G. Beer: Darwin's Plots. Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot and Nineteenth Century Fiction (1983).

65. Whig History of Science is the usual approach to Darwinism, of course; recent examples are L. Barber, The Heyday of Natural History, 1820-1879 (1980), and G. Jones, Social Darwinism and English Thought (1980), both of which imply e.g. that people ceased forever to attend church on the morning following the publication of Origin of Species. Whig History of literature is best represented by the classics by F.R. Leavis: The Great Tradition (1948) and (equally arbitrary) Raymond Williams: Culture and Society (1958).

66. e.g. G. Kress and R. Hodge, Language as Ideology (1979); Kress, Hodge, R. Fowler and T. Trew, Language and Control (1979); P. Bourdieu and J-C. Passeron, Reproduction in Education, Society, Culture (1977) section 2.

67. D. Berger and T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (New York 1966).

68. The arguments here can be found in B. Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control (3 vols, 1971-7), and W. Labov, Language in the Inner City (Oxford 1977), and Sociolinguistic Paterns (Oxford 1978). A commentary on the controversy and on Bernstein's views in general can be found in B.H. Rosen, Language and Class (3rd ed., Bristol 1974).

69. R. Fowler, B. Hodge, G. Kress, T. Trew, Language and Control (1979),1.

70. G. Kress, 'The Social Values of Speech and Writing', ibid., ch.3.; also R. Williams, The Long Revolution (1961),

and T. Davies, 'Education, Ideology and Literature', <u>Red Letters</u> no 7 (1977), 4-15. For similar work with regard to France, see R. Balibar, 'An example of Literary Work in France', in F. Barker et al., eds., <u>1848: the Sociology of Literature</u> (Colchester 1978), 27-46.

71. Standard English is discussed in Davies and Williams, works cited in note 70, above. See also B. Doyle, 'The Hidden History of English Studies', in P. Widdowson, ed., <u>Re-Reading English</u> (1982), and chapter 2 of T. Eagleton, <u>Literary Theory</u> (Oxford 1983).

72. See the above, and esp. Davies, <u>art. cit.</u>

73. Williams, <u>op. cit</u> and also <u>Communications</u> (1964) and <u>Television</u>(1974), has consistently made or implied this naive statement: e.g. in <u>Television</u>: "The acquisition of literacy...almost always involved submission to a lengthy period of social training - education - in which quite other things than literacy or similar skills were taught; in which, in fact, values and norms were taught which became, very often, inextricable from the literary", 131; the essays by Kress, Balibar and Davies noted above argue the case with specific empirical examples; sociologist J. Hall, <u>The Sociology of Literature</u> (1974) uses "a neo-Weberian concept of 'bourgeois literacy' which emphasises the role of the bourgeoisie as the carrier of the values of discipline and literacy that proved of great importance in creating a powerful literary culture", vi.

74. e.g. L. Stone, 'Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1900' <u>Past and Present</u> vol XLIII (1969), 69-139; P. Laslett, <u>The World We Have Lost</u> (3rd ed., 1983), 229-245; R.D. Altick, <u>op. cit.</u>

75. Davies, <u>art. cit</u>; also D. Musselwhite, 'The Novel as Narcotic', in F. Barker, et al., <u>op. cit.</u>, 207-224.

76. Abercrombie et al., <u>op. cit.</u>

77. e.g. T. Eagleton, <u>Criticism and Ideology</u> (1976), 104.

78. 'Editorial Preface', <u>Literature and History</u> no 5 (Spring 1977), 2.

79. The as yet under-exposed history of English Studies, with its concomitant set of highly questionable value-judgments often laid at the door of F.R. Leavis, can be approached via B. Doyle and T. Eagleton, works cited in note 71. F. Mulhern, <u>The Moment of 'Scrutiny'</u> (1979) is an exhaustive, though favourably biased, account of the rise of Leavisism.

80. e.g. G. Watson, <u>op. cit.</u>, ch. 1.

81. G. Lukacs, 'Art and Objective Truth', in Lukacs, <u>Writer and Critic and Other Essays</u> (1970), 51.

82. <u>ibid.</u>, 34-35.

83. L. Goldmann, <u>Towards a Sociology of the Novel</u> (trans., 1975), 156.

84. <u>ibid.</u>, 160.

85. A short exegesis both of the methodology and of this specific example may be found in Goldmann, <u>The Human Sciences and Philosophy</u> (trans., 1969), 128-130.

86. Lukacs' defence of realism, argued for instance in <u>The Meaning of Contemporary Realism</u> (trans., 1963), led to a debate with Brecht and others which is covered in the anthology, G. Lukacs, B. Brecht, E. Bloch, G. Benjamin and T. Adorno, with an afterword by F. Jameson, <u>Aesthetics and Politics</u> (1978), which volume is reviewed by T. Eagleton, <u>loc. cit.</u>

87. Althusserian literary criticism can be found in P. Macherey, A Theory of Literary Production (trans., 1978); Macherey and E. Balibar, 'On Literature as an Ideological Form, Some Marxist Propositions', Oxford Literary Review vol 3 no 1 (1978); and T. Eagleton, Criticism and Ideology (1976). Eagleton's more recent writings have followed other paths: e.g. Walter Benjamin or Towards a Revolutionary Literary Criticism (1981); The Rape of Clarissa (Oxford 1982).

88. Eagleton, Criticism and Ideology, 54.

89. For a recent example of artistic taste hiding behind a smokescreen of political theory, the mid-1970s Screen stands as an excellent example. This can be approached via the realism debate referred to in note 86, above, and in C. MacCabe, 'Realism and the Cinema', Screen vol 15 no 2 (1974) and MacCabe, 'Principles of Realism and Pleasure', Screen vol 17 no 3 (1976). Some of the implications of this stand are convincingly if heavy-handedly drawn by McDonnell and Robbins, art. cit.; a more succinct opposition comes from T. Eagleton: e.g. "It is temptingly easy to caricature the aesthetics to which such a case leads - to fantasize that films which draw your attention to the camera thereby impel you out inexorably onto the picket lines", art. cit., 24.

90. Eagleton, Criticism and Ideology, 52.

91. ibid.

92. ibid., 54.

93. Althusser's views on the relationship between art and ideology are to be found in 'The "Piccolo Teatro", Bertolazzi and Brecht', in For Marx, 131-151; 'A Letter on Art in reply to Andre Daspre', and 'Cremonini, Painter of the Abstract', in Lenin and Philosophy, 203-8 and 209-20. A text which argues against Eagleton's notion of 'literary value' is T. Bennett, Formalism and Marxism, e.g. 149-154; both are discussed in P. Widdowson, '"Literary Value" and the Reconstruction of Criticism',. Lit. and Hist., vol 6 no 2 (Autumn 1980), 138-150. The problem is faced throughout Eagleton's Literary Theory.

94. Eagleton, Crit. and Ideol.., 125-126. cf. D.Daiches, 'Literature and Social Mobility' in I. Meszaros, ed., Aspects of History and Class Consciousness (1971), 152-172; and L.B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (1955).

95. ibid., 54.

96. Thackeray and Trollope, both brought up to gentlemanly expectations but faced, in early manhood and youth respectively, with poverty which denied them that place in the world, were arguably rather more culturally confused than George Eliot at least, who was born into the lower middle class and, partly by the conscious choice made to live with Lewes, remained on the fringes of Society. For Thackeray's continuing concern to earn enough money to keep his family in what he considered their proper station, see H. Ritchie, ed., The Letters of Anne Thackeray Ritchie (1924), 53, 114.

97. Disraeli, of Jewish extraction, comparative poverty, journalist and novelist, was again culturally ambivalently placed as compared woth the back-bench Baronets whose support he needed to lead the Tory party. See Chapters Three and Four, below.

98. Lytton was advised before his literary success began that he would be too poor to marry. This, again, would place him at the economic margins of the society he observed and later became a member of. See R. Nevill, ed., The Reminiscences of Lady Dorothy Nevill (1906)

99. R. Williams, The English Novel from Dickens to Lawrence (1970), gets some of this right in his comments on Trollope's work, 85-90; he then goes on to explain in the usual literary-critical style that George Eliot was a better writer because she saw things differently.

100. Eagleton, as cited in note 92 above. The problems of literary as against historical valuation are discussed in P. Widdowson, P. Brooker and P. Stigant, 'History and Literary Value: the case of Adam Bede and Salem Chapel, Lit. and Hist. vol 5 no 1 (Spring 1979), 2-31. A thoroughly naive reading of fiction as history can be found in D. Craig and M. Egan, 'Historicist Criticism', in P. Widdowson, ed., op. cit., 207-222.

101. G.M. Young, Portrait of an Age (2nd ed., 1953), vi.

Notes to Chapter Three.

1. The most sustained challenge to this description has been not to its political but its economic component; see R. Church, The Mid-Victorian Boom, 1850-1873 (1975).

2. See M. I. Thomis and P. Halt, Threats of Revolution in Britain 1789-1848 (1977).

3. Sensational journalism on the realities of poverty, with anthropological rather than political undertones, can be seen from the work of e.g. James Greenwood, three of whose articles from the 1860s and 1870s are reprinted in P. Keating, ed., Into Unknown England (Fontana, 1976).

4. The 'incorporation thesis' of labour history is usually dated back to this post-Chartist era. See P. Anderson, 'Origins of the Present Crisis', New Left Review no 23, Jan-Feb 1964; E.P. Thompson, 'The Peculiarities of the English', reprinted in The Poverty of Theory (1978); T. Eagleton's use of these ideas in Criticism and Ideology (1976), 111, show their acceptance as orthodoxy. T. Lane, The Union Makes Us Strong (1974), R. Miliband, Parliamentary Socialism (1973), and D. Coates, The Labour Party and the Struggle for Socialism (1975) take the story closer to the present.

5. M. Cowling, 1867 (1967), 268; also R. Shannon, The Crisis of Imperialism (1974), 60.

6. See H. Perkin, The Origins of Modern Society 1780-1880 (1969); E.P. Thompson, 'Eighteenth Century Society: Class Struggle Without Class?', Social History vol III no 2, (May 1978); P. Laslett, The World We Have Lost (3rd ed., 1983). The view is discussed by R.S. Neale, Class in English History 1680-1850 (Oxford 1981), chap. 3.

7. Pitt's alcoholism is acknowledged in e.g. J. H. Plumb, England in the Eighteenth Century (Pelican ed., 1963); for similar behaviour, see e.g. A.D. Kriegel, ed., The Holland House Diaries 1831-1840 (1977), the diary of Henry Richard Vassall Fox, third Lord Holland. Holland wrote, 7th Oct. 1831, "The Chancellor [Brougham] in the course of his speech drank at least a bottle and a half of mulled port,

and, taking some more after he had returned to the woolsack, was so intoxicated that he could hardly put the question", 64.

8. e.g. from the diary of A.J. Munby: "8 Aug 1870: dined...at the Arts Club. There I learnt that Swinburne is no longer a member of the Club. He has resigned, to save himself from expulsion, on account of his gross drunkenness." D. Hudson, Munby, Man of Two Worlds (1972), 289. For a similar episode, see ibid., 270. see also G. Berkeley, My Life and Recollections (4 vols, 1865-6), IV, 1; Kate Stanley's diary, 1st March 1865, "When I lamented the absence of wits now they said one reason was that the bottle flowed less freely now than it used to, & that Sheridan was never witty till he was drunk": B. and P. Russell, eds., The Amberley Papers (2 vols, 1937), I, 376-7.

9. See e.g. H. Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society (1969), 280: "Between 1780 and 1850 the English ceased to be one of the most aggressive, brutal, rowdy, outspoken, rioutous, cruel and bloodthirsty nations in the world, and became one of the most inhibited, polite, orderly, tender-minded, prudish and hypocritical" . See also G. Berkeley, op. cit., 286; W. Bagehot, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu', National Review Jan. 1862, xiv, reprinted in N.St.J. Stevas, Walter Bagehot (1959), 121.

10. Gambling was outlawed by the Act to amend the law against Games and Wagers, (8-9 Vic., c. 109)., itself a result of reports of Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament: see Parliamentary Papers 1844 vol VI, 1-486: 'Reports from the Select Committee on Gaming; Three Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the Laws respecting Gaming'. The Act forbade games of chance, such as baccarat. This encouraged the growth of whist and later bridge playing - argued to be games of skill and not mere chance. The latter were driven underground, and the former seen as respectable; see the only later nineteenth century enquiry into gambling, the Select Committee on the Club Registration Bill of 1893, Parliamentary Papers 1893-4 vol X, 463-582.

11. For the Great Exhibition as epitome of middle class triumph, see M. Wiener, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980 (1981), 27-30.

12. ibid. The problem with 'rising middle class' theories, of course, is that they can be applied to almost any period in British history, and certainly to every one since the sixteenth century: see e.g. L.B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1935); I. Watt, The Rise of the Novel (1957).

13. T.H. Escott, Social Transformations of the Victorian Age (1892); O.F. Christie, The Transition from Aristocracy (1927); R. Williams, The Long Revolution (1961); R.Q. Gray, 'Bourgeois Hegemony in Mid-Victorian Britain', in J. Bloomfield, ed., Class, Hegemony and Party (1976); also H. Perkin, The Origins of Modern Society (1969), 273, 280.

14. Gray, art. cit., 81; similarly, see J. Oakley, 'The Boundaries of Hegemony: Lytton', in F. Barker, et al., eds., 1848: the Sociology of Literature (Essex, 1978), 166-184. This type of argument as a whole is well countered in D. Smith, Conflict and Compromise. Class formation in English Society 1830-1914 (1982), which argues that there

was no priority for the reproduction of capitalist relations of production over the reproduction of 'genteel' culture and social relations; just conflict and compromise whose outcome was a national ruling group with an agrarian or traditionalist ideology.

15. See O. McDonagh, A Pattern of Government Growth 1800-1860 (1961); some idea of the way jobs for the middle class boys were created by this process can also be seen in standard monographs on the evolution of state institutions such as R.M. Fraser, The Evolution of the British Welfare State (1973) and E. Midwinter, Victorian Social Reform (1970), as well as the histories of the professions such as W.J. Reader, Professional Men (1967) and S. Pollard, The Genesis of Modern Management (1965).

16. For public schools, see Kitson Clark, op. cit, 267-274; etc. For Clubs, see A. Blake, The Social Role of the Gentleman's Club: Some Preliminary Comments (unpub. dissertation for MA in Victorian Studies, University of Keele, 1980), 14-27, and A. Ponsonby, The Decline of Aristocracy (1912). For the role of the Season, including such rituals as Court presentations, see L. Davidoff, The Best Circles (1973); D. Cannadine, Lords and Landlords. The Aristocracy and the Towns 1774-1967 (Leicester 1980) points out that the mid-century and after saw a rapprochement between towns and the aristocracy, something unthinkable in the 1830s and 40s. Some idea of the expansion in numbers of those claiming gentle status can be seen from the number of families licensed to display arms on writing paper or cutlery: c.7,000 in 1830, 25,000 in 1855, 43,000 in 1868. See D.C. Moore, 'The Gentry', in G.E. Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside (2 vols, 1981), II, 385.

17. See e.g. W.D. Rubinstein, Men of Property (1981), 61, 110, 182, 248; D. Smith, op. cit., xii, 191-207. Two examples provided in S. Rothblatt, The Revolution of the Dons (1968) emphasise the attitudes cited. The Cambridge Review June 7, 1882, p 354: "nowadays no one loses caste by the mere fact of being 'in the City'". But in 1899 the Cambridge Appointments Association was founded specifically to "end the mutual distrust existing between the University and men of business"; Rothblatt, op. cit., 261-2. See also the recent debate in History: M. Fores, 'The British Industrial Revolution', ibid., vol 66 no 2 (June 1981), 181-198: "industrial England was in the North, split off geographically and culturally from London and the Home Counties, from which the Empire, domestic politics and much of the nation's commerce have been run...to the dominant group...in Britain...'industry' is remote, unsympathetic, alien and obtrusive in a bothersome way", 189: and the reply by A.E. Musson, 'The British Industrial Revolution', ibid., vol 67 no 2 (June 1982), 252-58, which points out that there were some industries in the south.

18. Ruralism and academicism: P. Anderson, 'Components of the National Culture', New Left Review 50 (1968).

19. See P. Anderson, 'Origins of the Present Crisis', New Left Review no 23 (Jan-Feb 1964); 'Socialism and Pseudo-Empiricism', NLR no 35 (Jan-Feb 1966). T. Nairn, 'The British Political Elite', NLR no 23 (Nov-Dec 1963); 'The English Working Class', NLR no 24 (Apr-May 1964). The thesis has been applied to Europe as a whole in A. Mayer, The Persistence of the Ancien Regime (1981). see also W.

Arnstein, 'The Survival of the Aristocracy', in F.C. Jaher, ed., The Rich, the Well-Born and the Powerful (Chicago, 1973),203-256; G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian Britain (1962), 5. This is an orthodoxy in itself of course, and is the basis for the attitude taken in e.g. I. Gilmour, The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel (1981), 2.

20. Anderson, 'Origins', 31.

21. Wiener, op. cit, 8; also N. Abercrombie, et. al, The Dominant Ideology Thesis (1980): e.g. 108-9; D. Cannadine, op. cit., 38; I. Gilmour, op. cit., 96-99; J. Scott, The Upper Classes (1982), chap 5. A good illustration of the gentrification of middle class values is given by E. Ellegard, Darwin and the General Reader (Goteborg 1958): "though both Darwin and Wallace explicitly acknowledged their debt to Malthus, the resemblance between Natural Selection theory and the economic theory of laisser-faire was not often advertised on the Darwinian side; instead, opponents used it to discredit Darwinism. The Manchester School was not popular in the 1860s"; 334.

22. Kitson Clark,op. cit., 230-274; G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain (1971), 169-190 and 268-285.

23. Kitson Clark, op. cit, 230-274; also Mayer, op. cit., 92-3.

24. T. Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (1899; 2nd ed., 1892). Veblen's theory is principally concerned with the leisure class of America. Another essay about American society with similar parallels to British ruling-class society is F.C. Jaher, 'Style and Status: High Society in Late Nineteenth-Century New York', in Jaher, ed., op. cit, 258-284.

25. Blake, op. cit., 7; The Survey of London vol XXX (1960), 474; T.H. Escott, Club Makers and Club Members (1914), 177.

26. G. Boas, The Garrick Club 1831-1947 (1948), 11.

27. For example the Carlton and Reform Clubs; for the way in which this process continued, see Blake, op. cit., 26-28.

28. A brief survey of club architecture will be found in S. Muthesius and R. Dixon, Victorian Architecture (1978); the Athenaeum itself is more fully referred to in Sir J. Summerson, Georgian London (3rd ed., 1978), 243-246; the whole of 'Clubland' (St. James's Street and Pall Mall) is exhaustively historically described in vols XXX and XXIX of The Survey of London (both 1960). The same cultural principles apply to domestic architecture: see M. Girouard, The Victorian Country House (2nd ed., 1979); Summerson, op. cit., 27-51; and P. Borsay, 'Culture, Status and the English Urban Landscape', History vol 67 no 219, (Feb. 1982), 1-12; e.g. in 17th-century Bath, "to possess a classical doorcase lifted its owner above the petty provincialism of his neighbours...and in a manner of speaking made him part of the international community", 5-6.

29. See note 10, above.

30. Blake, op. cit., 21-24.

31. ibid., 29-35.

32. L. Davidoff, op. cit.

33. G.H.L. Le May, The Victorian Constitution (1979), 10-11.

34. A Politician in the Fifties. A Selection from the Correspondence of the Right Honourable Sir William Jolliffe, Bart., M.P. (ed. anon. and printed for private circulation by John Murray, 1905), 40. My thanks to P.M. Gurowich for this reference. The authoritative Victorian view of precedence is Sir Charles Young's Order of Precedence with Authorities and Remarks (1851) - which does not give dates of creation of individual titles. More recently, the topic has been covered by G.D. Squibb, Precedence in England and Wales (Oxford 1981), which cites 20 court cases concerning precedence in the 19th century.

35. See A. Briggs, The Age of Improvement (1959), 299; L. Davidoff, The Best Circles, 27.

36. Parents as teachers - see e.g. M. Jeune, Lady St. Helier, Memories of Fifty Years (1909), 33-4; D. Gorham, The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal (1982), 19-21; entry 'Charlotte M. Yonge' in DNB.

37. R.A. Gettman, A Victorian Publisher (Cambridge 1960), 135.

38. H. Martineau, Autobiography (3 vols, 1877; 2 vols, 1983), I, 1. Lady de Rothschild's daughters, Constance and Annie, both kept journals from their early teens. L. Cohen, Lady de Rothschild and her Daughters (1935), 82. Anthony Trollope also kept a journal from age 15: Autobiography (1883; Oxford 1950), 42.

39. J. Cartwright, ed., The Journals of Lady Knightley of Fawsley, 1856-1884 (1915), 79; also 53-4, 64, detailing other unsuccessful proposals.

40. ibid., 87. Chaplin had his revenge, winning £80,000 from Hastings at the 1867 Derby: Hastings, ruined, died in 1868. S.M. Ellis, A Mid-Victorian Pepys: The Letters and Diaries of Sir William Hardman (3 vols, 1923, 1927, 1930), III, 244-5. Most marriage gossip was far from scandalous, of course: the most commonplace engagements were commented on. e.g. Eliza Wilson to Walter Bagehot, 7th Jan., 1858: "I find our engagement is spreading in 'fashionable circles'. My family went to a smart dinner party last night at a cousin of Sir Wim. Molesworth's, and she had heard of it by letter from his sister, Mrs. Ford": R. Barrington, ed., The Love-Letters of Walter Bagehot and Eliza Wilson (1933), 89.

41. B. and P. Russell, eds., The Amberley Papers (1937), 105; 515.

42. ibid., 275.

43. The common interest in such matters can be seen in the case of the Tichborne Claimant. Arthur Orton, a butcher's son from Wapping, claimed to be Roger Tichborne, who had been drowned. The dowager Lady Tichborne, who did not like the family into which she had married, accepted him as her son, and the rest of the family took the case to court. Bound copies of the proceedings of the two trials (of 1871 and 1873-4) were sold: one was seen in the library of the Earl of Harrowby in 1979. W.L. Burn, op. cit., 255, mentions the similar trial Thelwall v. Yelverton, concerning the contractual status of an alleged marriage. Hardman's letters contain references to many such cases, e.g the Windham lunacy case, in which a young man had married Agnes Willoughby, a demi-mondaine, and his family had tried, and failed, to have him proved insane. S.M. Ellis, ed., op. cit, I, 90-91. Also 46-7, 179; and III, 50.

44. ibid., I, 211. 'Society' was fascinated by the

demi-monde, but did not rigorously exclude it. "Skittles" often appeared at Society functions - to the annoyance of some (as for instance Grantly Berkeley, op. cit, II, 37). Lady St. Helier recalled the arrival of former prostitute Laura Bell, now married, in the county: "At first the county looked askance at the new arrivals, and she was not visited...after many heartburnings, my grandmother consented, in order to please my aunt, to receive Mrs. Thistlethwaite. We children were sent out of the house the day when she paid her first visit, and only gathered from the mysterious whisperings of the maidservants that someone who ought not to have come to the house had been here, and that we had been sent out of the way to avoid meeting her". St. Helier, Memories, 43. Mrs. Norton, who had publicised her life estranged from her husband but with their children in English Laws for Women in the Nineteenth Century (1854) was also an uncomfortable social figure; see C.E. Smith, ed., Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake (2 vols, 1895), II, 21, and Burn, op. cit., 237..

45. Hardman ed. Ellis, op. cit., 212. 46. ibid., 212.

47. ibid., 81. And many discuss their own or friends' marriages, again showing the concern for continued class/status position: e.g. George Meredith to William Maxse, 1 June 1864, about his forthcoming marriage with Marie Vullamy and how their joint income will be just enough to sustain an acceptable lifestyle: C.L. Clive, ed., The Letters of George Meredith (3 vols, Oxford 1970), I, 260.

48. G.S. Haight, ed., The Letters of George Eliot (6 vols., 1954-1955), vol 5, 7.

49. B. and P. Russell, ed. cit., 99.

50. H. Ritchie, ed., Letters of Anne Thackeray Ritchie (1924), 105.

51. ibid., 109.

52. M. Jeune, Lady St. Helier, Memories of Fifty Years (1909), 149. These were important occasions. Lady Cavendish's diary reveals that on June 20, 1865, "I fussed and fidgeted a good deal all day under the anticipation of our first real Dinner Party; arranged flowers, mused over the bill of fare, contemplated the table, displayed china...all went very well, but I began with a good fit of nervousness": J. Bailey, ed., The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish (2 vols, 1927), I, 270-71.

53. See e.g. G. Berkeley, op. cit., I, 257-8; B. Lytton, England and the English (1833; 3rd ed., 1874) 87-89; and the poem by Alfred Austin, The Season: a Satire (1861).

54. B. and P. Russell, ed. cit., 253.

55. Mrs. R. Barrington, ed., The Love-Letters of Walter Bagehot and Eliza Wilson (1933), 174. Married women were more likely to renounce the Season anyway, as Lady Amberley did in 1869: The Amberley Papers, II, 188.

56. ibid., 177-178. The Bagehots' social life is discussed briefly in N. St. J. Stevas, Walter Bagehot (1959), 14-16.

57. M. Jeune, op. cit., 80. At this time Lady Derby, Lady Salisbury and Lady Jersey performed a similar function for the Tories: see anon., A Politician in the Fifties, 63. Later Lady Amberley was expected to assume Lady Palmerston's mantle, until revelations of her husband's interest in birth control ended his political career: The Amberley Papers, II, 110.

58. Haight, ed., ed. cit., vol 4, 399.
59. Ritchie, ed., ed. cit., 109-110.
60. Cartwright, ed. cit., xii-xiii.
61. e.g. ibid., 130; M. Jeune, op. cit., 339-345; C. Eastlake Smith, ed., The Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake (1895), vol II, 296.
62. R. Nevill, ed., The Reminiscences of Lady Dorothy Nevill (1906), 99-100.
63. Aspects of this are covered in J. Vincent, The Formation of the Liberal Party, 1857-1868 (2nd ed., 1976).
64. M. Jeune, op. cit., 187.
65. ibid., 187, 210.
66. ibid.
67. F. Grice, Francis Kilvert and his World (1983), 33; the Hereford Times wrote in its obituary notice of the same Francis Kilvert, on 4th October 1879, that "In a quiet, gentlemanly way, he did his work thoroughly", ibid., 37. Ellis's remark, from ed. cit., 219, is a typical enough reaction by those who disliked or opposed Gladstone; e.g. Bouverie to Ellice, Jan. 16th, 1866, "Gladstone is neither honest, moderate or gentleman enough to be the Whig minister": Cowling, op. cit., 101. Similarly, Mrs. Oliphant said of publisher Blackett, of Hurst and Blackett, that he was "not exactly what you understand by a gentleman", V. and R. Colby, The Equivocal Virtue (Hamden, Connecticut 1966), 178.
68. B. and P. Russell, eds., ed. cit., 231.
69. F. Darwin, ed., The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin (3 vols., 1887), II, 274; also III, 23: "a scientific man had better be trampled in the dirt than squabble". A similarly anguished attempt to delimit the acceptable limits of disagreement arose during the acrimonious theological debate between the Rev. H.L. Mansell and F.D. Maurice. At one point the latter wrote "whether it is equally admirable as coming from a clergyman and a gentleman, I leave to the author's conscience": quoted in R.V. Sampson, 'The Limits of Religious Thought', in P. Madden, W.A. Madden, and M. Wolff, eds., 1859: Entering an Age of Crisis (Bloomington, Indiana 1959), 75.
70. Haight, ed., ed. cit., vol 3, 227.
71. F. Darwin, ed. cit., 305.
72. See discussion of the very large number of actual contributors to the periodical press in Chapter Four.
73. B. and P. Russell, ed. cit., 97.
74. ibid., 258-62; 482.
75. Barrington, ed. cit., 85, 174; Cartwright, ed. cit., 39; Ellis, ed. cit., 10, 42, 81.
76. Sir F.H. Doyle, Reminiscences and Opinions (1886), 354.
77. M. Jeune, op. cit., 343; Meredith, surprisingly, subscribed to Once a Week: Clive, ed., Meredith Letters, I, 302..
78. G. Grigson, ed., The Diary of William Allingham (1967), 293.
79. ibid., 277. Francis Kilvert was another who read novels voraciously and without discrimination: F. Grice, op. cit., 17.
80. B. and P. Russell, ed. cit., 79-80. Similarly, Lucy Caroline Lyttleton remembered that Adam Bede had been read aloud, "suitably Bowdlered for our young minds". She was 18. J. Bailey, ed., The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish

(2 vols, 1927), I, 83.
81. A. Bain, A Bookseller Looks Back (1940), 65.
82. F. Darwin, ed. cit., vol 1, 100-101.
83. e.g. Haight, ed. cit., vol 4, 377; vol 5, 132; vol 6, 123; etc. Most who didn't read novels thought it necessary to apologise for their lack of contemporary social grace: e.g. John Wilson Croker, to Charles Phillips, Dec. 29th, 1853: B. Pool, ed., The Croker Papers (repr. 1967), 245.

Notes to Chapter Four.

1. C.P. Snow, Two Cultures (1959); also G.M. Young, 'The New Cortegiano', Daylight and Champagne (1937).
2. See R. Escarpit, The Sociology of Literature (2nd ed., 1971), 126; R.D. Altick, The English Common Reader (1957), and 'The Sociology of Authorship: The Social Origins, Education and Occupations of 1,100 British Writers, 1800-1935', Bulletin of the New York Public Library vol LXVI no 6 (June 1962), 389-404; also R. Williams, The Long Revolution (1961), chap. 5. E. Showalter, A Literature of their Own, claims that "women novelists were overwhelmingly the daughters of the upper middle class, the aristocracy and the professions", 37.
3. According to W.E. Houghton, 'Periodical Literature and the Articulate Classes', in J. Shattock and M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings (Leicester 1982), 27, n. 63.
4. Occasional writers for periodicals included e.g. Sir Frances Doyle, one of whose poems is reproduced in his Reminiscences and Opinions (1886); Constance de Rothschild, who wrote short stories: L. Cohen, Lady de Rothschild and her Daughters (1936), 165; Sarah Hardman reviewed: S.M. Ellis, ed., The Hardman Papers (1925), II, 227;
5. D. Suvin, 'The Social Addressees of Victorian Fiction: A Preliminary Enquiry', Literature and History vol 8 no 1, (Spring 1982), 11-40.
6. ibid., 27. See also J. Banks, introduction to 'The Challenge of Popular Culture', in P. Madden, W.A. Madden, M. Wolff, eds., 1859: Entering an Age of Crisis (Bloomington, Indiana, 1959), 199-215. Banks divides the 'literate' public into 7 groups: 1. Leisured landowners, farmers, J.P.s and M.P.s. 2. Farmers. 3. Professional 'gentlemen', e.g. barristers, clergy. 4. Professional men: e.g. attorneys, doctors. 5. Industrialists. 6. Clerks. 7. Teachers. Quite where women fit into this scheme is unclear: women and their reading are dealt with in e.g. J. Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood (1980) and P. Branca, Silent Sisterhood. Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home (1975).
7. Suvin, 14; see D. Vincent, ed., Testaments of Radicalism (1977).
8. A. Ellegard, The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain, Goteborg 1957.
9. e.g. R. Williams, The English Novel from Dickens to Lawrence (1970); R.G. Cox, 'The Reviews and Magazines', in B. Ford, ed., From Dickens to Hardy (1958), 188-204; R.K. Webb, in ibid., 205-226. Ellegard estimated that the total monthly circulation of magazines dealing at any level with

Darwin's ideas was 6,094,000.

10. e.g. in the Fortnightly Review: of a single novel, 'The Romance of the Peerage', by F. Harrison, a review of Disraeli's Lothair, vol 13 no 6, 655-667; of specific novelists, 'Mr. Anthony Trollope's Novels', by J.H. Stack, vol 11 no 2, 188-198; of genres, 'Some Recent English Novels', by J.H. Stack, vol 15 no 6, 731-746, a commentary on the domestic novel; on the form as a whole, 'Balzac's Novels', by L. Stephen, vol 15 no 1, 17-39.

11. see e.g. Cox, art. cit., 195, and Ellegard, op. cit., 4.

12. This is discussed in section 4, below.

13. For an account of the growth in the public school network, see J.R. de S. Honey, Tom Brown's Universe (1977).

14. Ellegard, op. cit, has a useful list of periodicals categorised by style and audience aimed at. See also note 16 and article by Houghton cited in note 14.

15. J. Shattock and M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings (Leicester 1982).

16. ibid., xiv-xv. Hazlitt said much the same in an article, 'The Periodical Press', Edinburgh Review no. XXXVIII (May 1823): "To dig to the bottom of a subject through so many generations of authors is now impossible: the concrete mass is too voluminous and vast to be contained in a single head; and therefore we must have essences and samples as substitutes for it...Knowledge is no longer confined to the few: the object therefore is to make it accessible and attractive to the many"; P.P. Howe, ed., The Complete Works of William Hazlitt (reprinted New York 1967), XVI, 219-220.cf. S. Mitchell, 'The Forgotten Women of the Period: Penny Weekly Magazines of the 1840s and 1850s', in M. Vicinus, ed., A Widening Sphere (1980), which argues that much information for the upwardly socially mobile was contained in such magazines; as do D. Gorham, The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal (1982), section 2, 'advice'; C. White, Women's Magazines 1693-1968 (1970); and L. Davidoff, The Best Circles (1973); also S. Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education (1976), 60-61, which like White and Davidoff draws attention to the similar role of courtesy books, etiquette guides, and guides to living 'respectably': this was the age of Mrs. Beeton, and of such publications as Mrs. Eliza Warren's How I Managed my House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year (1864); see also J.H. Friswell, London Society (1871): "The education of novel reading is the only kind of education that many even of the higher and middle classes can be said to have"; quoted in W.B. Thomas, The Story of The Spectator (1928), 37. See also table on page 120 of this Chapter.

17. loc. cit., 3-27.

18. ibid., 7.

19. Houghton, art. cit, 7.

20. Ellegard groups reviews by 'type' (e.g. religious, scientific) and by type of audience, rather than by circulation period.

21. For the history of Mudie's, see G.L. Griest, Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel (1970).

22. ibid., 19-22, 150; T. Eagleton, Criticism and Ideology (1976), 181. Both Mudie's and the press were important. Blackwood wrote to George Eliot, 7th Jan. 1858, "The

Leviathan Mudie was induced to take the 350 by our giving him an extra 10 per cent discount...the review in The Times was a most fortunate circumstance", G.S. Haight, ed., The Letters of George Eliot (6 vols, 1954-5), II, 417; see also III, 7-8, 298. Bentley told Gissing that his first novel, Mrs. Grundy's Enemies was "too painful to please the ordinary novel reader and treats of scenes that can never attract the subscribers to Mr. Mudie's Library": R.A. Gettman, A Victorian Publisher (Cambridge 1960) 215. See also note 64.

23. Griest, op. cit., 89.

24. ibid., 38.

25. Houghton, art. cit; also his introductions to the Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals vol 1 (1966) and vol 2 (1972).

26. ibid., vol 1, 8.

27. Distinguished contributors, to Fraser's included Carlyle, Thackeray and Kingsley; Froude was editor for a time. Among contributors to Macmillans were Arnold, Pater, Seeley, Goldwin Smith and Thomas Hughes.

28. G. Grigson, ed., The Diary of William Allingham (Fontwell, Sussex, 1967), p. 27.

29. F. Locker-Lampson, My Confidences (1896), quoted in K. Graham, English Criticism of the Novel 1865-1900 (Oxford 1965), 22. The Saturday Review XX (19th Aug. 1865), 240-2, quoted in D. Smalley, ed., Trollope: the Critical Heritage (1969), 240.

30. For a complete list of Lewes's writing, including the two novels, see appendix to G. Haight, ed., The Letters of George Eliot (1955), 358-383. Similar was Mary Cowden Clarke, who wrote 2 novels and many short stories, contributed to 13 periodicals, worked for 16 years on a concordance to Shakespeare, and translated, among other things, Berlioz's treatise on orchestration, and Cherubini's on counterpoint: see her My Long Life (1896).

31. Other journalist/novelists included Harriet Martineau, who wrote her Illustrations of Political Economy in the form of stories, and one full-length novel, Deerbrook (1839), as well as much journalism, history and social comment. Meredith, despairing of success as a novelist, wrote to Swinburne, March 10th 1867, "I suppose I shall have to give up and take to journalism, as I am now partly doing". C.L. Clive, ed., The Letters of George Meredith (3 vols, Oxford 1970), I, 354. C. Lansbury claims that Trollope's style was influenced by the reports he wrote while in the employ of the Post Office. Unfortunately, she does not provide any examples to substantiate this: The Reasonable Man. Trollope's Legal Fiction (Princeton, New Jersey 1981).

32. Thackeray and journalism: see G.N. Ray, ed., Thackeray's Contributions to the Morning Chronicle (Urbana, Illinois, 1955). B. Hardy claims that Thackeray's journalistic eye "makes his novels more socially informative than the work of more profound artists like Dickens or George Eliot": The Exposure of Luxury. Radical Themes in Thackeray (1972), 16.

33. See J.D. Jump, 'Weekly Reviewing in the Eighteen-Fifties', The Review of English Studies vol XXIV (Jan 1948), 55.

34. 'Vanity Fair and Jane Eyre', The Quarterly Review

LXXXIV (Dec 1848), 77.

35. G.S. Haight, ed., The Letters of George Eliot (6 vols, 1956), V, 365.

36. Novel and realism: I. Watt, The Rise of the Novel (1957), etc.

37. R. Perry, Women, Letters and the Novel (New York, 1980).

38. I. Watt, op. cit.; R. Gilmour, The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel (1981), ch. 1, 16-36.

39. e.g. Eagleton, op. cit., 125-6.

40. See D. Musselwhite, 'Notes on a Journey to Vanity Fair', Literature and History vol 7 no 1 (Spring 1981), 62-90.

41. H. Martineau, Autobiography (2 vols, 1983), II, 115. R. Stang, The Theory of the Novel in England, 1850-1870 (1959), 144.

42. ibid., 144. W.L. Burn points out that this contemporary insistence was applied also to painting. The Times, 19th April 1862, remarked on the sale of Frith's The Railway Station "All those who believe that the art of the time is then most vital when it occupies itself with what belongs to the time, stamps it, makes it of importance to the world, must rejoice in Mr. Frith's achievement". Likewise The Athenaeum, 12th April 1862, of the same, "Every work is to be judged by the laws which govern the class of people it belongs to, which in this case is the natural, familiar and bourgeois, as opposed to the ideal, epic and heroic". Burn, The Age of Equipoise (1964), 80-81.

43. J. Sutherland, Victorian Novelists and Publishers (1976), 76. Kingsley changed Yeast to incorporate several directly contemporary references, between serialisation and publication in novel form: see L.K. Uffelman and P.G. Scott, 'Kingsley's serial novels: Yeast', The Victorian Periodicals Newsletter vol IX no 4 (Dec. 1976), 111-119.

44. T.H. Green, loc. cit., p 29.

45. L. Marchand, The Athenaeum: Mirror of Victorian Culture (1941), 315.

46. 'Vanity Fair and Jane Eyre', loc. cit., 77-79.

47. Stang, op. cit., 149.

48. The Leader, 21 Dec 1850, vol 1, 929-930; quoted in G. Tillotson and D. Hawes, eds., Thackeray: The Critical Heritage (1968), 100-101.

49. The Saturday Review, 19 Nov 1859, VIII, 297-304 and 610-612; quoted in Tillotson and Hawes, ed. cit., 299. The Saturday Review made similar remarks in reviewing Trollope's The Bertrams, 26th March 1859: [Trollope] "always writes like a gentleman": D. Smalley, ed., Trollope: The Critical Heritage (1969), 96.

50. Stang, op. cit., 150; T.H. Green, loc. cit. Meredith was conscious of the limits of realism: "between realism and idealism, there is no natural conflict...Realism is the basis of good composition: it implies study, observation, artistic power, and (in those who can do more) humility. Little writers should be realistic...A great genius must necessarily employ ideal means": Meredith to A. Jessop, 20th Sept 1862; The Letters of George Meredith, I, 161. More common than incitement to High Art was that to preach correct behaviour: e.g. see C. White, op. cit., 43.

51. Stang, op. cit., 181.

52. ibid., 181.

53. Kate Stanley reacted thus to <u>Rachel Ray</u> "it bored me to death but Papa persecuted me till I gave in...it is a mere description of a girl entering the world - I think one knows them without reading of them": B. and P. Russell, eds., <u>The Amberley Papers</u> (2 vols, 1937), I, 271. George Eliot saw the same, but interpreted more positively: "Rachel is a sweet maidenly figure, and her good mother's spiritual confusions are excellently observed": <u>The Letters of George Eliot</u>, IV, 110.

54. Contemporary critical reaction to <u>Brown, Jones and Robinson</u> and <u>Miss Mackenzie</u> can be found in D. Smalley, ed., <u>Trollope: the Critical Heritage</u> (1969), sections 12, 184-8 and 14, 220-238.

55. Quoted in J.D. Jump, 'Weekly Reviewing in the Eighteen-Sixties', <u>Review of English Studies</u> n.s. vol III no 11 (July 1852), 257.

56. W. Collins, <u>The Woman in White</u> (2nd ed., 1859), preface.

57. Stang, <u>op. cit.</u>, 29.

58. A. Trollope, <u>The Eustace Diamonds</u> (1872; Oxford, 1950), chap. XXV; see also Trollope, <u>An Autobiography</u> (1884; Oxford, 1950), chap. 6. George Eliot consulted Frederic Harrison as to legal details in <u>Felix Holt</u>: <u>The Letters of George Eliot</u>, IV, 216-219, 221.

59. Agreement was often by dialogue between writer and readers: see e.g. S. Lonoff, <u>Wilkie Collins and his Readers</u> (1982); B.A. Booth, ed., <u>The Letters of Anthony Trollope</u> (Oxford, 1951); also between writer and reviewer: Thackeray's preface to <u>Pendennis</u> announced that "Even the gentlemen of our own age - this is an attempt to describe one of them, no better nor worse than most educated men - even these we cannot show as they are"; <u>The Spectator</u> commented on this preface entirely at face value, showing the agreement: it was accurate "as far as conventional decency will allow to be shown"; XXIII, 21st Dec. 1850, 12-13, quoted in Tillotson and Hawes, ed. cit., 100.

60. W.M. Thackeray, <u>Pendennis</u> (1852; Everyman, 1959), preface.

61. A. Trollope, <u>Autobiography</u>, 146, 182; also <u>Saturday Review</u>, vol XXIV, 21 Sept. 1867, 381-2: "It is safe. The most careful mother need not make a pioneer excursion among Mr. Trollope's pages in quest of naughtiness forbidden to her daughters". Quoted in A. Skilton, <u>Anthony Trollope and his Contemporaries</u> (1972), 22. This attitude was not confined to novelists. J.C. Jeffreson prefaced his <u>Brides and Bridals</u> (1872) with the words "I shall in some places speak with the greatest resolve, in order that my pages may contain no single sentence calculated to disincline the English gentlewoman to place them in her daughter's hands": quoted in R.B. Outhwaite's introduction to <u>Marriage and Society</u> (1981), 6. See also Griest, <u>op. cit.</u>, 128-138; Gettman, <u>op. cit.</u>, 220; <u>The Letters of George Meredith</u>, I, 39.

62. Reported by current editor of the <u>OED</u> in television conversation, August 1983.

63. W.B. Thomas, <u>The Story of the Spectator</u> (1928), 214.

64. See also Clive, ed., <u>Meredith Letters</u>, I, 39: July 7, 1859, to Samuel Laws, "alas and woe's me! I find I have offended Mudie and the British Matron. He will not, or haply, dare not put me in his advertised catalogue".

65. Stang, op. cit., 201. Charles Dickens, jr., also bowdlerised Trollope's Is He Popenjoy? when serialising it in All the Year Round: C. Kincaid, The Novels of Anthony Trollope (1977), 214. See also Altick, op. cit., 125.

66. ibid., passim.; K. Graham, English Criticism of the Novel, 1865-1900 (1965), 19-70.

67. Jump, '1850s', loc. cit., 55.

68. ibid., 51.

69. A.H. Clough, quoted in Griest, op. cit, 217. Lilian Faithful, born 1865, daughter of a wealthy professional, reacted thus to the novels of Charlotte Yonge: "The boys and girls of Miss Yonge's huge families were indeed ourselves - people of like passions, emotions, hopes and fears, and we were as intimate with every detail of their lives...as with the lives of our sisters, cousins and aunts": quoted in D. Gorham, op. cit., 163-4. Dickens once told Collins that while he admired one of the latter's short stories, "nothing offensive to the middle class" was permissible in All the Year Round; Stang, op. cit., 200.

70. See D. Smalley, ed., op. cit., sections 12, 184-188, and 14, 220-238; also H. Martineau, op. cit., 114-5, on the difficult publishing history of her Deerbrook. As P. Widdowson and P. Stigant say in 'Barnaby Rudge - a Historical Novel?', Lit. and Hist no 2 (Oct. 1975), 3: "The Processes of fictional realism" are "the selection and structuring of material to reveal significance".

71. See e.g. N.J. Hall, Trollope and His Illustrators (1980); A.R. Life, 'The Periodical Illustrations of John E. Millais and their Literary Interpretation', The Victorian Periodicals Newsletter vol IX no 2 (June 1976), 50-72.

72. M.B. Bevington, The Saturday Review 1855-1868 (New York, 1941), 178.

73. Discussed in e.g. G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian Britain (1964), 230-274,; G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain (1971), 169-190 and 268- 285; succinctly in J. Scott, The Upper Classes (1983), 90.

74. See Chapter Three, 51-2, 60.

75. Discussed in Gilmour, op. cit., chap. 3.

76. Covert gambling remained as part of male upper/middle class culture: see J. Ashton, The History of Gambling in England (1899).

77. Bagehot, middle class writer, hunted: see R. Barrington, ed., The Love-Letters of Walter Bagehot and Eliza Wilson (1933), 177-8. Trollope did so until he could hardly sit on a horse: Autobiography, 171.

78. Horse racing: see W. Vamplew, The Turf (1976).

79. See note 66; also Chap 3.

80. Core curriculum remained conservative: see e.g. D. Smith, Conflict and Compromise (1982), 191-207.

81. Contempt for profit was part of the behaviour Samuel Smiles complained about in Self-Help (1859, repr. 1958): "There is an ambition to bring up boys as gentlemen...they acquire a taste for dress, style, luxuries and amusements which can never form any solid foundation for manly or gentlemanly character", 290. Note the ideological ambivalence of the use of the word gentleman. Agreeing that it stands in part for the sort of behaviour he rejects, Smiles still needs to use it for the mode he approves.

82. Suvin, art. cit., 27. A similar claim is made by J. Burstyn, op. cit., 13: the upper middle class, c. 750,000

in 1867, "their influence was significant because their lifestyle became the ideal for all the middle classes".

83. P. Bailey, '"A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures": the Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure', Victorian Studies vol 21 no 1 (Autumn 1977), 7-28.

84. ibid; also H. Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution (1980); G.M. Young, Portrait of an Age (2nd ed., 1963), 77; A. Trollope, ed., British Sports and Pastimes (1868), articles reprinted from St. Paul's Magazine, covering cricket, climbing, yachting etc.

85. J.A. Banks, Prosperity and Parenthoood (1954); Victorian Values: Secularism and the Size of Families (1981).

86. T. Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (2nd ed., 1918).

87. For more on this see Chapters Five and Six. In 1868, British Sports and Pastimes said that sport is "a most serious influence on the lives of Englishmen of the upper and middle classes"; while in 1863 Cobden complained that sport was leading "manufacturers and merchants...to prostrate themselves at the feet of feudalism": R. Carr, 'Country Sports', in G. Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside (2 vols, 1981), II, 478.

88. Bailey, art. cit., notes 10, 16, 24, 34, 38, 45, 48.

89. This particularly felicitous phrase is quoted from R. Shannon, The Crisis of Imperialism (1974), 34.

90. A. Ellegard, Darwin and the General Reader (Goteborg 1958). Darwin's views were not, of course, treated with equal weight by the different papers. A similar 'trivialising' process in modern publishing caused S. Sontag to complain that "I didn't understand the gross impact which writing about new or little-known activities in the arts can have in the era of instant 'communication'. I didn't know - I had yet to learn, painfully - the speed at which a bulky essay in Partisan Review becomes a hot tip in Time Magazine": Against Interpretation (1967), ii. See also N. Annan, 'Science, Religion and the Critical Mind', in P. Madden, W.A. Madden, M. Wolff, eds., 1859: Entering an Age of Crisis (Bloomington, Indiana, 1959).

91. A.W. Brown, The Metaphysical Society: Victorian Minds in Crisis (New York, 1947), Appendix C.

92. ibid. It was claimed that the Metaphysical Society had changed the views both of Huxley and Tyndall: W. Allingham, op. cit., 353. The Society was not the only club of the time formed to debate these issues. Meredith, for example, was a member of the Century Club, which, according to Frederic Harrison, "was an evening talking club, dealing with the most 'advanced' questions in politics, literature, or theology": Harrison, Autobiographic Memoirs (1911), II, 83, quoted in Meredith Letters, I, 460. For antecedents to the Metaphysical Society see W.F. Cannon, 'Scientists and Broad Churchmen: an Early Victorian Intellectual Network', Journal of British Studies vol 4 (1964), 65-88, and P. Allen, The Cambridge Apostles, The Early Years (Cambridge 1978), and for a discussion of former Apostle Tennyson's role in the Metaphysical Society, see J. Steffenson Hagen, Tennyson and his Publishers (1979), 10, 120-121.

93. Houghton, art. cit., 13.

94. ibid., 11.

95. Duels fought over periodical articles are described in

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E.M. Everett, The Party of Humanity (North Carolina 1939), 6; J. Gross, The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters (1969), 12; G. Berkeley, My Life and Recollections (4 vols., 1865-6), vol II, 53-5.
96. L. Marchand, op. cit, 97-165.
97. Trollope, Autobiography, 191.
98. Brown, op. cit., 218.
99. R. Porter, 'Gentlemen and Geology: the emergence of a Scientific Career, 1660-1920', The Historical Journal vol 21 no 2 (1978), 445-467.
100. Darwin, letter quoted in Chap 3 note 69; his position as financially self-sufficient 'country gentleman' had meant that he did not work hard for his medicine degree at Edinburgh University: F. Darwin, ed., The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin (3 vols, 1887), I, 36.
101. See e.g. Snow, op. cit., Porter, art. cit., Wiener, op. cit.
102. The Realism debate is discussed here, 91-103, and in Chapter Two, 37-43.
103. The Letters of George Eliot, III, 151, 161; V, 146.
104. ibid., vol IV, 17-18.
105. W. Allingham, op. cit., 181; Meredith wrote to George Smith of Smith, Elder, Nov. 14th,. 1871, "I am told that W.H. Smith's Library gives the bound-up copies of the Cornhill containing Richmond in place of the three volumes...are you aware of the fact, and is it worth a remonstrance?" Meredith Letters, I, 456.
106. See Griest, op. cit.

Notes to Chapter Five.

1. W.E. Houghton, ed., The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900 vol 1, 1966, 329.
2. ibid., 329.
3. ibid., 330; J.A. Sutherland, Victorian Novelists and Publishers (1976), 37.
4. A. Trollope, Autobiography (Oxford, 1950), 138.
5. Millais' work for Trollope's novels, and especially for Framley Parsonage, is surveyed in N.J. Hall, Trollope and His Illustrators (1980).
6. G.H. Lewes also edited the magazine for a time. See G.S. Haight, ed., The Letters of George Eliot (6 vols, 1954-5), IV, 165. There is some debate over Leslie Stephen's policy; Houghton, ed. cit., 330, says Stephen kept "serious discussion" of religious, political or moral issues out of the magazine.
7. The Cornhill Magazine, vol 1 no 1, Jan 1860, 126. Thackeray wrote to Trollope: "One of our chief objects in this magazine is the getting out of novel spinning, and back into the world": R.D. Altick, 'The Literature of an Imminent Democracy', in P. Madden, W.A. Madden, and M. Wolff, eds., 1859: Entering an Age of Crisis (Bloomington, Indiana, 1959), 221.
8. Cornhill, vol 2 no 3, Sept 1860, 353.
9. Cornhill, vol 2 no 5, Nov 1850, 580-590.
10. ibid., 581.
11. Cornhill, vol 3 no 4, Jan 1861, 41-47.
12. ibid., 43.

13. ibid., 47.
14. Cornhill, vol 4 no 3, Sept 1861, 305-318.
15. ibid., 307.
16. ibid., 309.
17. ibid., 307.
18. ibid., 312.
19. Cornhill, vol 4 no 1, July 1861, 51.
20. Cornhill, vol 1 no 5, May 1860, 612.
21. Cornhill, vol 3 no 2, Feb 1861, 214-228. A forthcoming article in The Historical Journal by P.M.Gurowich discusses the ideology of the backbench M.P.
22. Cornhill, vol 4 no 6, Dec 1861, 692-712, 'Competitive Examinations'.
23. Cornhill, vol 2 no 2, Aug 1860, 242-252, 'On Holidays'.
24. Cornhill, vol 3 no 4, April 1861, 497.
25. Houghton, ed. cit., 7.
26. ibid., 8.
27. ibid., 8.
28. See Table, Chapter Four, p 120.
29. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol XCVII no 2, Feb 1865, and no 3, March 1865, 240-260 and 261-290, 'The Right Hon. William Gladstone M.P.'; vol XCVII no 6, June 1865, 754-772, 'The Government and the Budget'; vol XCVIII no 1, July 1865, 107-120, 'Mr. Gladstone at Chester'.
30. Blackwood's vol XCVIII no 2, Aug 1865, 257-268, 'The Late Elections'.
31. ibid., 259. A similar comment came from Bagehot: "The House of Commons is thronged with people who get there merely for social purposes, as the phrase goes; that is, they and their families may go to parties else impossible". The English Constitution (1867; Oxford, 1928), 41-2.
32. 'The Late Elections', loc. cit., 260.
33. Blackwood's vol XCIX no 4, April 1866, 534.
34. Blackwood's vol XCVII no 2, Feb 1865, 229.
35. ibid., 228.
36. Blackwood's vol XCIX no 3, March 1866, 'The Position of the Government and their Policy', 382-402, 383.
37. ibid., 383.
38. ibid., 395.
39. Blackwood's vol XCVII no 2, Feb 1865, 240.
40. Blackwood's vol XCVIII no 2, Aug 1865, 154-170 'Josiah Wedgwood'; he is described as one of the "heroes of the great industries", 155.
41. See note 31, above.
42. Blackwood's vol XCVII no 6, June 1865, 721-2, 'How to Make a Pedigree'.
43. Blackwood's vol XCIX no 4, April 1866, 493-497, 'A Glance at the New House', 495.
44. Blackwood's vol XCVII no 1, Jan 1865, 57-71.
45. Blackwood's vol XCVIII no 6, Dec 1865, 761.
46. art. cit in note 43, 495.
47. For the life and work of Margaret Oliphant, see her Autobiography and Letters (2 vols, 1899), and V. and R.A. Colby, The Equivocal Virtue: Mrs. Oliphant and the Victorian Literary Market Place (Hamden, Connecticut, 1966).
48. ibid., 42.
49. ibid., 125.
50. Margaret Oliphant, Miss Marjoribanks. (Blackwood's, 1865-6. Ed. used, ed. Q.D. Leavis, Zodiac Press, Chatto &

Windus, 1969), chap II, 37.
51. ibid., chap V, 54.
52. ibid., chap XV, 145.
53. ibid., chap XVII, 170.
54. ibid., chap XX, 197.
55. For the life of Laurence Oliphant, see Margaret Oliphant (a distant cousin),Memoir of the Life of Laurence Oliphant, and of Alice Oliphant, his Wife. (2 vols, 1891); DNB, 1027-1031; M. Sadleir, introduction to his edition of L. Oliphant, Piccadilly (Constable, 1928).
56. ibid., vii-x.
57. L. Oliphant, Piccadilly, ed. cit., 2.
58. ibid., 52.
59. ibid., 84.
60. ibid., 118.
61. ibid., 162-3.
62. Piccadilly was not actually published in book form until 1870, by which time the franchise debate was over for the time. It was reviewed in Blackwood's by Margaret Oliphant, vol CVIII, Oct 1870, 401-422.
63. C. Lever, Sir Brook Fossbrooke (Blackwood's, 1866; ed. used, 3 vols, 1866), vol I, chap I, 3.
64. ibid.,vol I, chap VIII, 87.
65. ibid., vol III, chap LXIII, 179-180.

Notes to Chapter Six.

N.B. beginning with note 10, references not otherwise identified are to The Fortnightly Review.

1. E.M. Everett, The Party of Humanity (North Carolina, 1939), 332.
2. ibid., 333.
3. Quoted in Houghton, ed., The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, vol II (1972), 893.
4. A. Trollope, Autobiography (Oxford 1950), 189.
5. ibid., 189.
6. Everett, op. cit., 73.
7. Trollope, Autobiography, 189; idem, 'On English Prose Fiction as a Rational Amusement', reprinted in M.C. Parrish, ed., Four Lectures (1938), 95.
8. Houghton, 'Periodical Literature and the Articulate Classes', in J. Shattock and M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings (1982); 17.
9. ibid., 7.
10. e.g. F. Seebohm, 'On National Compulsory Education', vol 14 no 1 (July 1870), 102-113; T.H. Huxley, 'Administrative Nihilism', vol 16 no 4 (Oct 1871), 525-543; J. Morley, 'The Struggle for National Education', vol 20 no 2 (Aug 1873), 143-162; Sir C. Dilke, 'Free Schools', vol 20 no 6 (Dec 1873), 789-796.
11. e.g. T. Fowler, 'Shall we Continue to Teach Latin and Greek?', vol 9 no 1 (Jan 1868), 95-105; F. Jenkin, 'Technical Education', vol 10 no 2 (Aug 1868), 197-228; F.A. Paley, 'Religious Tests and the Nationalising of the Universities', vol 11 no 3 (March 1869), 322-330; E.W. Shireff, 'Girton College', vol 20 no 1 (July 1873), 87-93.
12. G.H. Lewes, 'Public Affairs', vol 6 no 1 (Aug 1866),

105.
13. Lewes, 'Public Affairs', vol 6 no 6 (Dec 1866), 881.
14. T. Fowler, art. cit. in note 80, above.
15. Sir G. Gore, 'The Promotion of Scientific Research', vol 20 no 4 (Oct 1873), 505-524.
16. Lewes, 'Public Affairs', vol 6 no 1 (Aug 1866), 105.
17. For some treatment of this question see A. Offer, Property and Politics 1870-1914 (C.U.P. 1981), which deals with certain aspects of the debate although mistakenly attributing it only to the later 1880s and after. It was in full swing before then.
18. F. Seebohm, 'The Land Question', vol 13 no 3 (March 1870), 217-234; J.S. Mill, 'Professor Leslie on the Land Question', vol 13 no 6 (June 1870), 644-654; F.A. Maxse, 'Our Uncultivated Lands', vol 14 no 2 (Aug 1870), 199-215; E.A. Curley, 'The Threatened Exodus of Agricultural Labourers', vol 21 no 5 (May 1874), 517-533.
19. As above; see also C. Elton, 'The Historical Aspect of the Land Question', vol 17 no 3 (March 1872), 288-302.
20 F. Seebohm, 'The Westminster Review on the Land Question', vol 15 no 2, (Feb 1870), 130-136.
21. ibid., 133-5.
22. H.Fawcett, 'The Nationalisation of the Land', vol 18 no 6 (Dec 1877), 634.
23. Maxse, art. cit; Elton, art. cit.
24. ibid.
25. See B. Harrison, 'Animals and the State in Victorian England', English Historical Review (Oct 1973), reprinted in Harrison, Peacable Kingdom (Oxford 1982).
26. E.A. Freeman, 'The Morality of Field Sports', vol 12 no 3 (Sep 1869), 353-385; idem, 'The Controversy on Field Sports', vol 14 no 6 (Dec 1870), 674-691; H. Taylor, 'A few words on Mr. Trollope's Defence of Fox-Hunting', vol 13 no 1 (Jan 1870), 63-68.
27 A. Trollope, 'Field Sports', vol 12 no 6 (Dec 1869), 616-625.
28. A.H. Beesley, 'The Game Laws and the Committee of 1872', vol 19 no 4 (Apr 1873), 352-372; idem, 'The Game Law Committee Report', vol 21 no 4 (April 1874), 385-406.
29. ibid., 395. In 1868, A. Trollope, ed., British Sports and Pastimes said that sport is "a most serious influence on the lives of Englishmen of the upper and middle classes"; while in 1863 Cobden had regretted sport as leading "manufacturers and merchants...to prostrate themselves at the feet of feudalism". R. Carr, 'Country Sports', in G. Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside (2 vols, 1981), II, 478.
30. F. Harrison, 'Our Venetian Constitution', vol 7 no 3 (March 1867), 277.
31. idem, 'The Conservative Reaction', vol 21 no 3 (March 1874), 304.
32. ibid., 304. Harrison's fear predates the wholesale change of allegiance in the City mentioned in W.D. Rubinstein, intro. to idem, ed., Wealth and the Wealthy in the Modern World (1980), 21. This is the same process that was being argued for in Blackwood's, of course.
33. H.Fawcett, 'The House of Lords', vol 16 no 4 (Oct 1871), 491-504; Lord Houghton, 'The Position and Practice of the House of Lords', vol 17 no 1 (Jan 1872), 1-33; G. Smith, 'The Aims of Reform', vol 17 no 3 (March 1872),

242-264; F. Bowen Graves, 'Fifty Years of the House of Lords', vol 19 no 1 (Jan 1873), 89-108.
34. e.g. T. Hare, 'An Electoral Reform', vol 2 no 4 (Aug 1865), 432-451; A. Arnold, 'The Political Enfranchisement of Women', vol 17 no 2 (Feb 1872), 204-214.
35. H. Fawcett, art. cit.
36. Lord Houghton, art. cit, 4.
37. ibid., 11.
38. ibid., 105-8.
39. G. Smith, art. cit, 242.
40. ibid., 242.
41. ibid., 254.
42. ibid., 258.
43. A. Arnold, art. cit.
44. H. Laurentz, art. cit., 311.
45. ibid., 314.
46. M. Cookson, 'The Morality of Married Life', vol 18 no 4 (Oct 1872), 397-412: 399.
47. ibid., 408.
48. H. Maudsley, 'Sex in Mind and Education', vol 21 no 4 (April 1874), 466-483.
49. E. Shirreff, art. cit.
50. Maudsley, art. cit., 472.
51. ibid., 483.
52. E. Garrett Anderson, 'Sex in Mind and Education: a Reply', vol 21 no 5 (May 1874), 582-594.
53. ibid., 590.
54. ibid., 592.
55. For science as ideology, see Radical Science Journal, passim: for the use of biological ideology in the social construction of women see e.g. K. Figlio, 'Chlorosis and Chronic Disease in Nineteenth Century Britain: the social construction of illness in a capitalist society', Social History vol 3 no 2 (May 1978), 167-198, and more generally B. Ehrenreich and D. English, Complaints and Disorders: the Sexual Politics of Sickness (New York 1975).
56. Huxley, art. cit.
57. ibid.
58. H. Spencer, 'Specialised Administration', vol 16 no 5 (Nov 1871), 627-654.
59. H. Taylor, 'The New Attack on Toleration', vol 16 no 6 (Dec 1871), 718-727.
60. W. Bagehot, Physics and Politics., conclusion, vol 17 no 1 (Jan 1872), 46-70.
61. ibid., 69.
62. Short review in vol 1 no 2 (April 1865), by F.G. Trafford.
63. G.H. Lewes, 'Criticism in Relation to Novels', vol 3 no 4 (Feb 1866), 335. (here reviewing Miss Braddon's Sir Jasper's Tenant).
64. Lewes, short review of W. Winwood Reade, See-Saw, vol 3 no 6 (March 1866), 632.
65. R. Buchanan, 'Immorality in Authorship', vol 6 no 6 (Dec 1866), 297.
66. J. Morley, short review of A. Trollope, The Claverings: vol 7 no 6 (June 1867), 770.
67. W. Bagehot, op. cit., part IV; vol 16 no 6 (Dec 1871), 696-717. p 715 of this quotes Trollope as follows: '"It is not at all", Mr. Trollope fully explains, "rare ability which gains the supremacy; very often the ill-treated man

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is quite as clever as the man who ill-treats him. Nor does it absolutely depend on wealth; for, though great wealth is almost always a protection from social ignominy, and will always ensure a passive respect, it will not in a miscellaneous group of men of itself gain an active power to lead others. Schoolboys, in the same way," the novelist adds, "let some boys have dominion, and make others slaves". And he decides, no doubt truly, that in each case "Something in the manner or gait" of the supreme boy or man has much to do with it. On this account in every society a dignified manner is of essential importance; it is, then, only an ancillary mode of acquiring respect, but a principal mode"'. I am unable to identify the quotation.

68. H. Laurentz, 'Custom and Sex', vol 17 no 3 (March 1872), 311.
69. G. Smith, art. cit in note 33, 252.
70. A. Trollope, Autobiography, 196.
71. In vol 1 no 1 (May 1865), 27.
72. e.g. 'Public Affairs', vol 5 no 2 (Feb 1866), passim.; W. G. Cartwright, 'The Policy of Italy', ibid., 641-653.
73. e.g. in A. Trollope's novel He Knew He Was Right (1867); see in general on this K. Churchill, Italy and English Literature 1764-1930 (1980), chap. 11.
74. DNB, 2260. Whyte-Melville is refereed to as a "third- or fourth-rate" novelist in Sir L. Woodward, The Age of Reform (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1962), 534.
75. G.J. Whyte-Melville, The White Rose, (Ward, Lock and Bowden Ltd, 'new edition' in 1 vol., n.d.), 21.
76. ibid., chap XIX, 115.
77. ibid., chap IX, 46.
78. ibid., chap XIX, 118.
79. ibid., chap XXVI, 171.
80. ibid., chap XL, 238.
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82. A. Trollope, The Eustace Diamonds (1872; Oxford, 1950), chap. XXXV, vol I, 319.
83. ibid., chap XXIV, 224.
84. e.g. ibid., chap LXV, vol II, 235-7; chap LXXVII, vol II, 346.
85. ibid., chap XLI, vol II, 13.
86. ibid., chap LXIX, vol II, 273.
87. A. Trollope, Autobiography., 346.
88. This type of Trollope criticism is seen at its worst in D. Levine, 'Can You Forgive Him? Trollope's Can You Forgive Her and the myth of Realism', Victorian Studies vol XVIII no 1 (1973), 3-28.
89. A. Trollope, Autobiography, 347.
90. 21st June 1873. B.A. Booth, ed., The Letters of Anthony Trollope (Oxford 1951), 308.
91. A. Trollope, Lady Anna (1873; Oxford, 'The World's Classics', 1936), chap I, 1.
92. ibid., 4.
93. ibid., 4.
94. ibid., 7.
95. ibid., 11.
96. ibid., 22.
97. See R.L. Pumphrey, 'The Introduction of Industrialists into the British Peerage; a study in the Adaptation of a Social Institution', American Historical Review, vol LXV no

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98. Lady Anna., 28.
99. ibid., 35. The Saturday Review, XXXVII (9th May 1874) reacted to Thwaite in some distaste, calling his opinions "disruptive of social order": D. Skilton, Anthony Trollope and his Contemporaries (1972), 22.
100. Lady Anna., 37.
101. ibid., 39.
102. ibid., 50.
103. ibid., 108.
104. ibid., 115.
105. ibid., 124.
106. ibid., 168.
107. ibid., 169.
108. ibid., 175-6.
109. ibid., 185.
110. ibid., 186.
111. ibid., 192.
112. ibid., 210.
113. ibid., 230.
114. ibid., 235.
115. ibid., 237.
116. ibid., 284.
117. ibid., 398.
118. ibid., 428.
119. ibid., 440.
120. ibid., 483.
121. ibid., 483.
122. ibid., 492.
123. ibid., 501.

Notes to Chapter Seven.

1. G. Therborn, The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology (1980), 84-5.
2. J. Shattock and M. Wolff, introduction to The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings (Leicester 1982), xiv-xv.
3. The application of theory can be seen in e.g. the journal Literature and History.
4. e.g. R. Gilmour, The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel (1981); R. Perry, Women, Letters and the Novel (New York 1980); J. Barrell, English Literature in History 1730-80 (1982).
5. R. Gilmour, op. cit.; N. Gash, Aristocracy and People (1979); G. Watson, The English Ideology (1973); D. Gorham, The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal (1982); M. Wiener, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit (1981); A. Offer, Property and Politics (1982).
6. The bourgeois revolution thesis is discussed in Chapter Three pages 50-57.
7. Gash, op. cit., 8; also H. Martineau, Autobiography (2 vols, 1983), I, 429.
8. Gash, op. cit., 18-20.
9. W.D. Rubinstein, Men of Property: the Very Wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution (1981), 218-219.
10. ibid., 110.
11. ibid., 182.

12. Rubinstein, 'New Men of Wealth and the Purchase of Land in Nineteenth Century England', Past and Present no 72 (Aug. 1981), 125-147: 140.

13. G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England (1962), 230-274.

14. Rubinstein, 'Modern Britain', in Rubinstein, ed., Wealth and the Wealthy in the Modern World (1980), 46-89; see esp. 79, and note, 84.

15. L. Davidoff and C. Hall's project has been introduced in their 'Marriage as an Enterprise: the English Middle Class in Town and Countryside, 1780-1850', unpub. paper read at American History Society, Dec 1982. I am most grateful to Leonore Davidoff for giving me a copy of this paper. Work like this would flesh out the very thin generalised essays so far available: e.g. A.S. Wohl, ed., The Victorian Family (1978), E. Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family (1976), M. Mitterauer and R. Sieler, The European Family (Oxford 1982), and the more interesting J. Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society (1981). The best studies of family and dynastic power and influence are N. Annan, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy', in J.H. Plumb, ed.,Studies in Social History (1957); and Benwell Community Project, The Making of a Ruling Class (Newcastle on Tyne 1978)

16. M. Wiener, op. cit.

17. ibid., appendix.

18. Offer, op. cit. This clumsy book has been remarkably well received by the historical profession: see e.g. review by P.F. Clarke, History vol 68 no 222 (Feb 1983), and D. Fraser's review article 'The Urban History Masquerade: Recent Trends in the Study of English Urban Development', The Historical Journal vol 27 no 1 (March 1984), 253-264.

19. op.cit., 328.

20. ibid., 400-406; see Chap 6, above; that these questions were topical and controversial in the 1860s can be seen from Kate Stanley's diary, 30th Dec. 1866: "There was a great discussion in the library at 5 o'clock tea on the land tenure question and entails and Papa got very angry against Amberley and Lyulph, the latter took it up & got in a rage with Papa": B. and P. Russell, eds., The Amberley Papers (2 vols, 1937), I, 539. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963), 83, points out that there were annual Bills against primogeniture, strict settlement and entail in the House of Commons every year from 1836 to the 1870s.

21. The Historical Association has become increasingly worried about this in recent years, and in February 1984 held a one-day conference in London, one of a series of regional conferences, stressing 'The Value of History at School and After'. See The Historian, I (Autumn 1983), 11, and II (Spring 1984), 2

22. For recent histories of leisure, see e.g. H. Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c. 1780-1880 (1980), R.W. Malcomson, Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850 (1973), H.E. Meller, Leisure and the Changing City (1976), J. Walvin, Leisure and Society, 1830-1950 (1978); for an approach to the leisure of the historical ruling class, D. Cannadine's review essay 'The Theory and Practice of the English Leisure Class', The Historical Journal vol 21 no 2, 1978, 445-467, has some valuable suggestions.

23. 'Leisure', however, has to be seen as an integrated part of a lifestyle which could include work or even politics as of equal weight: see note 26.

24. See e.g. John Wilson Croker, to Charles Phillips, Dec. 29th, 1853: B. Pool, ed., The Croker Papers (repr. 1967), 245.

25. See on this e.g. P. Bailey, '"A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures"': the Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure', Victorian Studies vol 21 no 1 (Autumn 1977), 7-28; the problem is discussed here in Chapters Three to Six.

26. W.L. Guttsman puts this well, showing the integration of leisure into the lifestyle, and the inclusion of politics within this culture as a whole: "Politics were not expected to interfere with social or literary activities, or with sport and travel. Posts as junior ministers were not, as a rule, taken very seriously. Granville had to be reprimanded for neglecting his duties as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lansdowne's appointment to a minor post did not lead to any reduction in his social activities. A record of Balfour's daily activities when Irish Secretary at a time of great political tension reads like this: 'Golf or real tennis, 12-2, Castle 2-7, the work that does not get done in five hours remains undone'". Guttsman, The British Political Elite (1963), 149.

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L.Brake, 'From Critic to Literary Critic'.

M. Woodfield, 'Richard Holt Hutton as Critic'.

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