

" The Cornhill Magazine 1860-1870 : a consideration
of some of its non-fiction articles."

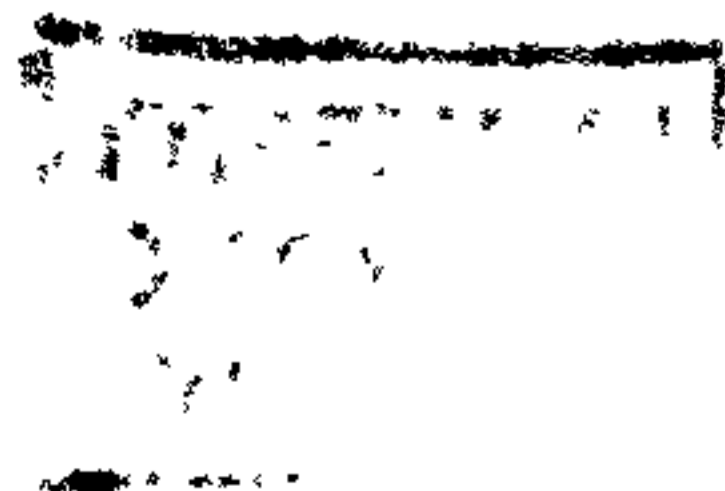
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Abstract

This thesis is a consideration of some of the non-fiction articles which appeared in the Cornhill Magazine during the period 1860-1870. The Cornhill began publishing in 1860, and its main attraction during the period was undoubtedly the fiction it published by such authors as Thackeray, Trollope, Mrs. Gaskell, George Eliot, and Charles Reade; nevertheless, in addition to that of minor writers, the magazine did publish work by Matthew Arnold, John Ruskin, Matthew James Higgins, James Fitzjames Stephen, and Leslie Stephen.

This non-fiction material was miscellaneous, and its diversity constituted one of the attractions of the magazine for the contemporary reader; from this miscellany seven topics have been chosen which received more frequent treatment : education, social studies, science, literature, history, foreign affairs and travel. By reference to other periodicals, and by quotation from the Cornhill itself, this study attempts to show some of the issues which were deemed of interest to the contemporary reader, and the way in which the Cornhill dealt with them. Where appropriate, the involvement of the Cornhill in contemporary magazine

controversy has been noticed.

In addition, the first chapter describes the origins of, the preparations for, and the reception of, the first number of the Cornhill, whilst the last chapter comments briefly upon the nature of the magazine which was so popular among readers of the middle classes in the sixties.

In the appendices are included a copy of an unpublished letter from Thackeray to Garibaldi, some comments for the reader about other periodicals quoted in the text, and a statement, with representative examples, about the illustration in the Cornhill of the period.

Preface

Part of Chapter I was published in the Review of English Literature, April 1963, iv, 23-34, and some of the material relating to the reception of Matthew Arnold's "My Countrymen" was used in my thesis for the degree of M.A. of the University of London (1958).

In the footnotes the abbreviation CM is used for the Cornhill Magazine; elsewhere abbreviations have been sparingly used, and always follow a full title.

It is with pleasure and gratitude that I acknowledge the help given me by my supervisors, Professor Bernard Harris and Mr. Geoffrey Summerfield, and by other members of the University of York's teaching staff, especially Professor Gwyn Williams and Dr. Eric Sigsworth.

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Chapter I

The Cornhill Magazine - Number 1

The plan flashed on me suddenly, as did most of the ideas which have in the course of my life led to successful operations. *

Thus did George Smith, the energetic business-man and publisher, of Smith, Elder and Co., describe the moment of origin of the Cornhill Magazine. This moment of inspiration occurred early in 1859, and what must have been both exciting and exacting months for its publisher and editor were to pass before both were to rejoice at the fact that in December 1859 along Cornhill

nothing was to be seen but people carrying bundles of the orange-coloured magazine. Of the first number some 120,000 copies were sold, a number then without precedent in English serial literature. **

Smith was a man of considerable business acumen who had already rescued the family firm of Smith, Elder and Co. from ruin so that now, buttressed by the fine profits of the merchant and export side of his business, he was able to indulge his delight in publishing. As this astute man of business reviewed contemporary periodical literature, it

* S.Lee, George Smith : A memoir with some pages of autobiography, printed for private circulation (1902), p. 106.

** ibid., p.113.

seemed that either the magazines were too high-priced or else were too "narrow in literary range." * Smith's plan was to publish for one shilling, the price normally paid for a serial number of one of Thackeray's novels, a magazine to include not only at least one novel in serial form, but also other literary matter of a high standard. That his contemporaries were subsequently aware of the novelty of his scheme may be seen from the following comments in the Illustrated London News on the occasion of the first number of Temple Bar:

It was not to be supposed that the new era in the history of magazines which was inaugurated by the publication and the success of the Cornhill and Macmillan's was to be satisfied by the production of those two periodicals. It must be remembered that the principle on which this revolution was made in periodical literature was founded on the extraordinary efficacy which "a shilling" has been found to possess in other undertakings. This only means that the conductors of these publications desired to address themselves to the largest possible number of persons. The reading population of this country grows every day; and it is just a duty, and nothing else, in those

* George Smith, p.106

For a survey of such magazines see "The Press," Early Victorian England (ed. G.M. Young), ii, 3-97, and Alvar Ellegard, The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian England, Goteborg, 1957 (reprint from Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, vol.lxiii, 1957). Short descriptive comments on the periodicals most frequently referred to in this thesis will be found below in Appendix V, pp.521-528.

who have the means and opportunity to afford quantity and variety of literary "pabulum" to that class. *

Even in these early days Smith was alive to the pulling power of Thackeray's name and realised that, if his magazine were to contain a Thackeray novel in serial form in addition to other articles and essays, it "would command a large sale." ** Since Smith considered a novel by Thackeray an essential part of his scheme he rapidly approached Thackeray with a most handsome offer.

It was soon after 19 February 1859 that Thackeray was already writing delightedly of his latest good fortune: "And 8500 [£] in the next 2 years from Smith and Elder - prodigious!" *** That Thackeray was able to anticipate

* Illustrated London News, 8 December 1860, p.545. For comments on the aptness, in time, of Smith's idea, see Sonia Bicanic, A Critical Study of the Fiction in the Cornhill Magazine, a thesis submitted in 1960 for D.Phil of the University of Oxford, p.5:

... it carried serialized novels by two of the leading novelists of the day, Thackeray and Trollope. The latter fact is notable not only from the contemporary point of view, but from the historical, for a magazine serial would not have been the most favourable place for a leading novelist to publish a new novel 20 years before, nor was it to be 25 years later. George Smith, an acute man of business, had just anticipated the full ripeness of the time for this form of publication.

** George Smith, p.106

*** Letter to Mrs. Carmichael-Smyth of February 1859, The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 130.

such an income in the years to come was the result of his accepting the offer which Smith made to him in the form of a memorandum with the words: "I wonder whether you will consider it, or will at once consign it to your waste paper basket." * The memorandum which Smith gave to Thackeray was as follows:

Smith, Elder, and Co. have it in contemplation to commence the publication of a Monthly Magazine on January 1st, 1860. They are desirous of inducing Mr. Thackeray to contribute to their periodical, and they make the following proposal to Mr. Thackeray:

- i. That he shall write either one or two novels of the ordinary size for publication in the Magazine - one twelfth portion of each novel (estimated to be about equal to one number of a serial) to appear in each number of the Magazine.
- ii. That Mr. Thackeray shall assign to ~~Mr.~~ Smith, Elder, and Co. the right to publish the novels in their Magazine and in a separate form afterwards, and to all sums to be received for the work from American and Continental Publishers.
- iii. That Smith, Elder, and Co. shall pay Mr. Thackeray 350£ each month.
- iv. That the profits of all editions of the novels published at a lower price than the first edition shall be equally divided between Mr. Thackeray and Smith, Elder, and Co.

65 Cornhill: February 19th, 1859 **

It was little wonder that Thackeray refused to put

* George Smith, p.107.

** ibid.

such an offer in his waste-paper basket. During this period he was most anxious to provide a competency for his daughters in the event of his death, and in 1857 he writes to his mother of his thoughts about standing for Parliament, but puts them aside with:

It mustn't be for a year though or before we have made those 20000 £ we talked of. *

And similarly, when talking of the application he had received to lecture on the "Four Georges," he comments:

... but I must reap the corn stands and pocket these hundreds for the children's sake ... **

That the terms were good can be seen from the fact that for The Virginians, which Thackeray had published during late 1857 and early 1858, he was offered £300 per month, but was willing to receive £250 per month as the book did not do as well as had been expected; *** moreover, this payment itself was twice as much as he had previously received, owing to the popularity of his lectures entitled "The Four Georges." ****

Having engaged Thackeray, whose name he felt was one

* Letters, iv, 4.
 ** ibid., iv, 6.
 *** ibid., iv, 65.
 **** ibid., iv, 44-45.

"to conjure with," * Smith's next problem was to appoint an editor; and this proved to be no easy task. In his "Some pages of Autobiography" Smith tells us that he considered several people, but he mentions only one by name, Thomas Hughes, with whom he began negotiations. With what Smith calls his "characteristic loyalty," ** Hughes refused Smith's offer because he was already engaged to help his own publisher, Macmillan, in the production of his magazine. Macmillan's Magazine was to appear two months before the first Cornhill and Thomas Hughes was already committed to write a novel for that magazine, a

* George Smith, p.106.

See also A. Trollope, Autobiography, p.133:

Perhaps some of my future readers will be able to remember the great expectations which were raised as to this periodical / i.e. the Cornhill 7. Thackeray's was a good name with which to conjure.

For further evidence of the popular esteem in which Thackeray was held, see Westminster Review, October 1862, xxii(NS), 583. The writer is reviewing The Adventures of Philip on his way through the World, and is explaining why the novel is not "so good as we have the right to expect from him":

Once a novelist has become so popular that every line by him will fetch a high price and find eager readers, it were almost too much to expect that he will be very solicitous about how he writes, or even care much for the opinions of posterity. Under these circumstances, he considers fame to imply a large balance at his banker's.

** George Smith, p.107.

novel which was to appear as a continuation of Tom Brown's Schooldays, that is Tom Brown at Oxford. *

Smith's difficulties continued until, he maintained, he was at his wits' end; it was at that moment that a solution presented itself as suddenly as had the original idea of the magazine. After a morning gallop on Wimbledon Common,, he was struck by an idea which he states in the words of his "good genius":.

Why should not Mr. Thackeray edit the magazine, you yourself doing what is necessary to supplement any want of business qualifications on his part? You know that he has a fine literary judgement, a great reputation with men of letters as well as with the public, and any writer would be proud to contribute to a periodical under his editorship. **

Smith immediately went to see Thackeray and persuaded him to accept the editorship, a post that was by the original agreement to earn Thackeray £1000 a year; after the success of the first number Smith doubled his salary. It is interesting to note that from the outset Smith felt that Thackeray would need some help with the business side of the work; it is to Thackeray's credit that, according to his daughter, Anne, he himself did not readily accept the

* E.C. Mack and W.H.G. Armytage, Thomas Hughes, p.108.

** George Smith, p.108.

offer, and would only do so when Smith offered to shoulder the business arrangements:

I am told that my Father demurred at first to the suggestion of editing the 'Cornhill.' Such work did not lie within his scope, but then Mr. George Smith arranged that he himself was to undertake all business transactions, and my Father was only to go on writing and criticising and suggesting; and so the first start of the 'Cornhill' was all gaily settled and planned. *

Now began a time for both Smith and Thackeray when they had to set about gathering contributors about them. In her Journal for 1859 Anne Thackeray writes:

Twenty one days have gone since we reached home / i.e. about the middle of October when Thackeray and his daughters returned from the Continent, during which the Cornhill has been put together. **

and gives the impression that the gathering together of material was a simple matter, whereas in fact we know that as late as the end of October no arrangements had been made for a second novel for serialisation; indeed, Trollope did not begin to write Framley Parsonage until the end of the first week in November. *** However, Thackeray, with his literary reputation and wide circle of friends, and Smith, with his business skill, and the authority and confidence

* Lady Ritchie, "The First Editor: and the Founder," CM, January 1910, xxviii (NS), 2.

** Letters of Anne Thackeray Ritchie, ed. H. Ritchie, p.113

*** See A. Trollope, Autobiography, pp.131-136.

which his publishing activities gave him, made a formidable pair, and it is little wonder that together they were able to approach and secure some of the important literary figures of the age for the successive numbers of their magazine.

Much of the negotiation must have been done by word of mouth: as a postscript to a letter to John Hollingshead, at this time a member of the staff of Household Words but later a contributor to the Cornhill, * Thackeray writes: "I want some articles done which can be better discussed by talk than by letter." ** However, there is some written evidence of some of the negotiations which were conducted in an attempt to persuade men of the highest reputation to contribute. Had Smith had his way the early numbers of the magazine would have contained "another set of 'Idylls.'" Indeed, he approached Tennyson *** and made an offer which he considered "a 'record' as far as the market rates of poetry up to that time were concerned." **** Smith offered

* His first article was "Ideal Houses," CM, April 1860, i, 475-482.

** Letters (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 157.

*** It is interesting to note that Macmillan tried to get a contribution from Tennyson for his new magazine. See C. Morgan, The House of Macmillan 1843-1943, pp.57-58. See also below, p.11.

**** George Smith, p.112.

Tennyson 5000 guineas

for as many lines as were contained in the 'Idylls of the King' (in fact 4,750 lines), on condition that the poems should be printed in the Cornhill Magazine and that I should publish them for three years afterwards. *

Smith, with his emphasis on the mathematical and financial aspects of the transaction, ignored the difficulties which must have faced Tennyson in resurrecting a hero who had died so splendidly in "Morte d'Arthur." Tennyson, Smith tells us, listened to his proposal with "extreme calmness" and also good humour - when his wife came into the room Tennyson said:

"My dear, we are much richer than we thought we were. Mr. Smith has just offered me five thousand guineas for a book the size of the 'Idylls.' And... if Mr. Smith offers five thousand, of course the book is worth ten!" **

Agreeable as their discussion was, nothing came of the proposal, but the wooing of Tennyson was not complete. In October 1859, after his return from the Continent, Thackeray wrote to the poet expressing both his admiration of the "Idylls," which he had but recently read, and also his disappointment that Tennyson was unable to accept Smith's

* George Smith, p.112.

** ibid., p.113.

proposal. Thackeray puts in a further plea for a contribution:

If you can't write for us you can't.
 If you can by chance some day, and help
 an old friend, how pleased and happy
 I shall be! This however must be left
 to fate and your convenience: I don't
 intend to give up hope, but accept the
 good fortune if it comes. *

The good fortune was not long in coming, and on 15 December Thackeray was writing to thank Mrs. Tennyson for the sending of "Tithonus" ** which was to appear in the second number of the Cornhill Magazine. ***

Smith's sense of the drawing-power of Tennyson's name was certainly shared by the writer in the Illustrated London News. As early as the beginning of January, in a gossip column called "Town and Table Talk on Literature, Art, etc.," we can read:

Tennyson to the rescue for a third time!
 The Poet Laureate of Cambridge was called
 on some six months since to catch three-
 penny pieces for Once a Week. This month
 the same great poet has been engaged to
 draw as many shillings as he can for
Macmillan's Magazine. And now - i.e. next
 month - he is engaged at a guinea a line to
 bring shillings to the golden granary of
 the Cornhill Magazine. Who is to have him
 next? ****

Tennyson was not the only poet whom Thackeray solicited

* Letters (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 153

** ibid., iv, 168-169.

*** CM, February 1860, i, 175-176.

**** 7 January 1860, p.10.

for contributions; in November 1859 he wrote to Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning for contributions for an early number of the magazine. In this letter there is further evidence of Smith's determination to spare no expense in gaining first class contributors for the Cornhill, for here Thackeray promises "a liberal portion of the letter ["i.e. money_7" * to such contributors as the Brownings. Robert Browning answers the letter on 17 January 1860 and though he declines the invitation for himself, he does ask that if his wife

finds herself at any time provided with what is likely to suit your book, she may send it and be sure of the most benignant inclination of your brow. **

Elizabeth Barrett Browning did in fact send to Thackeray "A Forced Recruit at Solferino" which was published in the Cornhill Magazine for October 1860, **** but the original request was to have more unfortunate results for Thackeray: he was placed in the embarrassing position of having to refuse a contribution, "Lord Walter's Wife," **** which Elizabeth Browning had sent him. That Thackeray did find the situation embarrassing may be implied from him

* Letters (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 166.

** ibid., iv, 172.

*** ii, 419-420.

**** Identified as such by Lady Ritchie, "The First Number of 'The Cornhill,'" CM, July 1896, i(NS), 12.

letter in which he writes:

... and who am I to refuse the poems of Elizabeth Browning, and set myself up as a judge over her? I can't tell you how often I have been going to write, and have failed. *

The reason for the rejection, Thackeray explains, is that his readers would object to the "unlawful passion felt by a man for a woman" * and in the process of excusing himself he outlines his conception of the audience for whom he prepares the magazine:

You see that our Magazine is written not only for men and women, but for boys, girls, infants, sucklings almost ... *

Such duties were considered by Thackeray to be the thorns in his editorial cushion, ** and such rejections may well have resulted in part from the habit of family reading. As we know Mr. Podsnap's "young person" was "an inconvenient and exacting institution, as requiring everything in the universe to be filed down and be fitted to it; " and at all costs everything must be avoided that might bring a blush to her cheek. Of such delicacy and of the habit of family reading, E.E. Kellett writes:

* Letters (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 226-227.
In November 1860 Thackeray had to reject a story by Trollope "Mrs. General Tallboys," on similar grounds; this time it was because Trollope referred to a man with illegitimate children, and to a woman "not as pure as she should be."
See Letters (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 206-207.

** See CM, July 1860, ii, 122-128.

Much of the (largely imaginary) Victorian prudery and reticence is probably due to this habit. It would take a tough man to read some novels of to-day aloud to his children. *

Less embarrassing to refuse was the unsolicited contribution from Edmund Yates, journalist and editor, and a man against whom he was to defend himself and his employer in a later number of the Cornhill. ** Yates, in his Recollections and Experiences, tells of the fate of that contribution :

I remember when I first read the prospectus being rash enough to think that the great Titmarsh, having been so successful in his antiseptic treatment of me, might possibly possess sufficient magnanimity to induce him to regard me with a little indulgence, and I wrote and forwarded to him, without remark, a little poem, which I may say now was as good as most magazine verse, and was suitable for his opening number. It came back by return of post, with a line from his secretary, who was "desired by Mr. Thackeray to return the enclosed." ***

Although Thackeray did manage ultimately to persuade both Tennyson and Elizabeth Barrett Browning to contribute, he was not so successful in gaining Carlyle as a contributor. On 20 October 1859 Carlyle, obviously in answer to a letter of Thackeray's, wrote:

* "The Press," Early Victorian England (ed. G.M. Young), ii, 48-49n.
 ** See "On Screens in Dining-Rooms," CM, August 1860, ii, 252-256. Also below pp. 277-283.
 *** ii, 57-58.

Right gladly I would, if only I could,
but I can yet bethink me of nothing
in the least likely. Indeed I am so
crushed to death amid Prussian rubbish,
these long years past, I have nearly
lost the power of thinking in any
form ... *

That Carlyle was sincere in his wish to contribute can be seen from his letter to Thackeray of 26 May 1860. He had apparently an idea for an article based on the Fontenoy incident:

The thing I contemplated just now (or the nucleus of the thing) was a letter concerning that anecdote about Fontenoy. "Faites feu, Messieurs," on the part of the English, with answer from the Gardes Françaises, "Begin you, gentlemen; wouldn't do such a thing for the world!" **

Unhappily Carlyle felt that the publishing of a letter from Lord Charles Hay, Captain of the Scots Fusiliers, and "main actor in the business," was necessary for his article, and Lord Gifford, who owned the letter, was unable to give his permission to publish. Carlyle, in the same letter, promises to let Thackeray have plenty of things, "If I ever in the end of this book have life left;" this was a promise which could not be fulfilled as Thackeray died before the completion of Carlyle's Frederick the Great. ***

* Letters (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 157-158.

** ibid., iv, 188.

*** For Thackeray's unsuccessful attempt in February 1860, to enlist Garibaldi as a contributor, see Appendix IV.

Thackeray wanted such writers to contribute partly because of their pulling power, but also because they would help him to make the magazine that he wanted. We have seen from his dealings with Trollope and Elizabeth Barrett Browning that Thackeray had an image of what the Cornhill was not to be: that is, not a magazine which could not be read with propriety by all members of the family. However, in the months before the publication he had formulated a more positive idea of what he wanted the Cornhill to be. During that time when Smith and he were trying to find a name for the magazine, Thackeray wrote:

But the Magazine must bear my cachet
 you see and be a man of the world
 Magazine, a little cut of Temple Bar,
 or Charles I on the outside? *

This new magazine was to be, as was the Pall Mall Gazette in Pendennis, written "for gentlemen by gentlemen," and Thackeray sets out in detail, in an advertising letter addressed to "A Friend and Contributor," what he hopes it will contain:

We want, on the other hand, as much reality as possible - discussion and narrative of events interesting to the public, personal adventures and observations, familiar reports of scientific discovery, descriptions of Social Institutions - quicquid agunt homines - a "Great Eastern," a battle in China, a

* Letters (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 150.

Race-Course, a popular preacher -
 there is hardly any subject we don't
 want to hear about, from lettered and
 instructed men who are competent to
 speak on it. *

The magazine was to be such that it would not offend the ladies and their daughters, and it would include a varied selection of material relating to matters of immediate public interest; what is not made clear, but what becomes subsequently apparent, is that political and religious controversy is to be avoided.

It will be seen from that section already quoted of "A Letter from the Editor to a Friend and Contributor" that Thackeray seems anxious to attract a different kind of writer from the professional: in a phrase which occurs later in the same letter, he would have "well-educated gentlemen and women "who had something of interest to say writing in his magazine. That this was his avowed intention is confirmed by a letter Sir Henry Thompson, the surgeon, wrote to Lady Ritchie (Anne Thackeray) which she quotes in one of

* Letters (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 160.
 These ambitions seem at odds with the suggestion which Thackeray made to George Smith in a letter dated November 1859, Letters (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 162:
 Twelve good articles on twelve good books I maintain would be as readable, pleasant, and useful as any we could furnish in the shape of tales, sketches, etc.

her Centenary Biographical Introductions:

Before the Cornhill came out your father told me that he intended to develop a new principle - that he thought every man, whatever his profession, might be able to tell something about it which no one else could say, provided the writer could write at all: and he wanted to utilise this element. *

The result in this instance was the article, "Under Chloroform," which Sir Henry Thompson wrote and which was published in the Cornhill Magazine for April 1860. And it is true that the Cornhill in its early years does include articles by men who were not professional writers, but it is equally true that many articles were written by such men as Sala, Hinton, Lewes, and Fitzjames Stephen who were either professional writers or, at least, men who were augmenting income from another source by frequent writing for the periodicals. That Thackeray recognised this is shown by John Hollingshead in his My Lifetime. At the first dinner ** which Smith gave to the contributors it was soon

* The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray, with biographical introductions by his daughter, Lady Ritchie, XVIII, xxxvi.

** See letter to Sir John Burgoyne of 6 January 1860, G. Wrottesley, The Life and Correspondence of Field Marshal Sir John Burgoyne, ii, 397:

The editor and publisher are both reasonably pleased, and the latter has determined to show his sense of gratitude, by inviting the contributors to dinner, more Anglorum.

realised that Thackeray's desire to open the Cornhill to non-professional contributors had been but partially fulfilled; most of the writers were already known to each other. Hollingshead writes:

Thackeray at once realised the situation, and, as the Americans say, immediately owned up to it. Standing with his tall, erect form on the hearthrug, and with a merry twinkle behind his everlasting spectacles, he said: "I see there are only a certain number of regular cabs on the stand, and whether they are bad or good, rickety or otherwise, we must make the best of them!" *

As we have seen there was discussion concerning the name of the magazine; in her "The First Number of 'The Cornhill,'" Anne Thackeray recollects the days prior to the first publication, and remembers

her father walking about the house, coming in and out of the room, and sitting down in an armchair in his study upstairs to think over a name for the new magazine. **

No decision had been reached by September 1859, and it was whilst Thackeray was on holiday in Switzerland during September and October that he and George Smith corresponded about a name for the prospective magazine. Finally it was Thackeray's own suggestion that was adopted, and two of

* My Lifetime, i, 163.

** CM, July 1896, i(NS), 2.

his letters to the publisher demonstrate the way he moved towards his choice. At the end of September he was writing from Coire in Switzerland:

Have you found a title? St. Lucius, who founded the church of St. Peter, Cornhill, is buried here. Help us, good St. Lucius! and I will be your faithful W.M.T. *

Five days later he wrote to Smith:

I see Macmillan's advertisement, and am glad he appears in November. The only name I can think of yet is "The Cornhill Magazine." It has a sound of jollity and abundance about it. **

Three weeks later Trollope writes in reply to an invitation to contribute and refers to the Cornhill Magazine, and at the beginning of November, in that advertisement "A Letter from the Editor to a Friend and Contributor," already mentioned, Thackeray opens with:

Our Store-House being in Cornhill, we date and name our Magazine from its place of publication. ***

Thus, Thackeray's suggestion was accepted, but it was not thought appropriate by everyone; it was, according to George Smith, at the time

much ridiculed. Sarcastic journalists

* Letters, (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 154.

** ibid., iv, 156.

*** ibid., iv, 159.

asked whether it suited the 'dignity' of literature to label a magazine with the name of a street? Should we not next have such periodicals as 'The Smithfield Review,' or 'The Leadenhall Market Magazine'? But the name Cornhill Magazine really set the example of quite a new class of titles for periodicals - titles that linked the magazines that bore them to historic localities in London, where perhaps they were published. Thus we have since had 'Temple Bar,' 'Belgravia,' 'St. Paul's Magazine,' the 'Strand,' etc., etc.*

The appearance of the first number of the magazine which Smith and Thackeray were producing was awaited with interest by many in the literary world. ** When it did come out, the contents of the first number, in addition to the opening chapters of Trollope's Framley Parsonage and of Thackeray's Lovel and Widower, were:

The Chinese and the "Outer Barbarians" by
John Bowring.

Studies in Animal Life by
G.H. Lewes.

Our Volunteers by
Sir John Burgoyne.

* George Smith, pp. 108-109.

** See, for instance, A. Trollope, Autobiography, p.130:
While travelling on postal service abroad ...
I had no opportunity of becoming acquainted
with literary life in London ... But even in
Ireland, where I was still living in October
1859, I had heard of the Cornhill Magazine,
which was to come out on the 1st of January
1860, under the editorship of Thackeray.

A Man of Letters of the Last Generation by
by Thornton Hunt.

The Search for Sir John Franklin
by Allen Young.

Roundabout Papers No.1.
by W.M. Thackeray. *

There were also included two poems, "The First Morning of 1860," and "Father Prout's Inaugurative Ode to the Author of Vanity Fair."

In one sense the first Cornhill is not a typical number for subsequently each issue usually contained at least seven articles in addition to the serialised parts of the two main novels; that this one contains six articles is due to the unusual length of the article by Allen Young. However, the first number has certain qualities which are to persist throughout the first ten years of the magazine's life: first, there is its topicality, not in the sense that it deals with news, but that it treats of ideas and facts which are of current concern; secondly, there is the variety of subjects considered, and finally there is the fact that the contributors are all men of some authority in their subjects.

* The names of the contributors were taken from a manuscript book in the possession of John Murray, Ltd., publishers. There is ample evidence in the listed works of such men as G.H. Lewes, Fitzjames Stephen, and Leslie Stephen that the list is correct. The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900, published in 1966, made use of the same account books.

Even from these six articles it can be seen that the Cornhill Magazine offered a variety of subjects - science, literature, exploration and adventure, foreign and home affairs - to the reader of 1860. That reader, the common reader in the Johnsonian sense, * it was assumed, would not only be interested in a literary figure, Leigh Hunt, but would also be prepared to accompany G.H. Lewes in his scientific study of biology, not only be interested in the state of defence of his own country, but also in the activities of his country's soldiers and diplomats abroad; and finally, the intelligent reader, it was expected, would not only be delighted by the fascinating and stirring study of Arctic exploration, but also by the man-of-the-world jottings of Thackeray. For a number of reasons it is impossible, a little over a hundred years after the appearance of the first number of the Cornhill Magazine to find a magazine which offers the same opportunities to the intelligent non-specialist to become acquainted with some aspects of current thinking,

* See CM, July 1860, ii, 21 :
 When a common reader takes up a physiological work, his feelings are apt to be those of admiration, rising rapidly to astonishment and soon sinking into despair ...

whether scientific, literary, or sociological. *

Each article in the first number of the Cornhill was of immediate interest to the reader of 1860. Darwin's ideas of evolution and natural selection were not new, but it was the publication of his Origin of Species in 1859 and the championing of the book by T.H. Huxley which drew attention to his ideas, and, as Sir Oliver Lodge wrote, "the 'sixties accordingly reverberated with the controversies aroused by that work."** Lewes's "Studies in Animal Life" is not a direct consideration of Darwin's theory nor does it engage in the controversy, but is an exploration in particular of certain forms of animal life

* See C. Morgan, The House of Macmillan, p.61: A new magazine in this liberal tradition, seeing literature as a wisdom and a delight, without prejudice of sect or fear to sing songs and to tell stories, is a civilised asset of which we have strangely deprived ourselves. Macmillan's is gone, Cornhill is gone, Scribner's is gone. We have specialised in this as in all else.

** O. Lodge, "Science in the Sixties," The Eighteen Sixties, (ed. J. Drinkwater), p.245. See also C. Bibby, "Huxley and the Reception of the 'Origin,'" Victorian Studies, iii No.1, 76-86.

It is interesting to note that Huxley had already reviewed the Origin in the Cornhill's competitor; see T.H. Huxley, "Time and Life: Mr. Darwin's 'Origin of Species,'" Macmillan's Magazine, December 1859, i, 142-148.

together with certain general conclusions. Indeed, it is not until the fourth chapter that he mentions Darwin, but certainly it is then with these illuminating words:

The reader is now in a condition to appreciate the general line of argument adopted in the discussion of Mr. Darwin's book, which is at present exciting very great attention, and which will, at any rate, aid in general culture by opening to many minds new tracts of thought. *

Equally prompt and interesting to the reader was the article by Captain Allen Young on the search for Sir John Franklin and his companions who had not returned from the Arctic expedition in 1845-46. Young was a member of the most recent of several expeditions which had set out in the attempt to discover what had happened to Sir John Franklin and his party. ** This expedition was financed partly by public subscription *** and partly by Lady Franklin herself, and its adventures and those of the original Franklin expedition had captured the imagination of the public. The extent of this interest may be judged

* CM, April 1860, i, 442.

** See F.L. M'Clintock, A Narrative of the Discovery of the fate of Sir John Franklin and His Companions, p.8 :

Captain Allen Young joined me as sailing master, contributing not only his valuable services but largely of his private funds to the expedition.

*** Thackeray himself contributed £5 to the fund. See F.L. M'Clintock, A Narrative, p.402.

not only by the words of Captain F.L. M'Clintock, the leader of the expedition, * but also by the frequent references to the expedition in the press, and the extensive reviews which M'Clintock's book, A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions, received. ** Further evidence of the interest stimulated by the expedition can be seen in the fact that M'Clintock's book was for some time in Mudie's list, and in January 1860 heads it, Mudie having bought 3,000 copies of it as compared, for instance, with the 2,500 copies of

* See Spectator, 26 May 1860, p.489. A report of a speech by M'Clintock on receiving the freedom of the City of London :

The Franklin story now forms a part of our national history; and all history fails to supply a more beautiful and striking instance of heroic manly endurance under the most appalling circumstances; and no less enduring devotion, true womanly constancy and courageous hope. The youth of future generations will read this ennobling story with the deepest emotion, and will receive from it the impress of those eminently great and good qualities of which it tells.

** See, for example:

Times, 30 December 1859, p.8.

Blackwood's Magazine, January 1860,

lxxxvii, 117-126.

Athenæum, 24 December 1859, pp.

843-846.

Adam Bede. *

In the same way the article, "Our Volunteers," by Field Marshal Sir John Burgoyne, gave attention to a topic that was of urgent and considerable interest to the reader of 1860. ** France was considered to be preparing for war, and Burgoyne considered that it was "natural that the preparations should be made chiefly with reference to a contest with Great Britain." *** Burgoyne's argument was that, since the regular army was insufficient in number and since Great Britain had not the power of conscription to remedy that lack, the Volunteers were necessary, but that the Volunteers should be properly trained : "Soldiership," Burgoyne maintained, "is become a scientific profession." **** The topicality of this article and also its interest for the contemporary reader can be judged by the frequent references to the Volunteer Movement in such periodicals as the Spectator, the Saturday Review, Temple Bar, Macmillan's and Punch, in the last of which appeared many

* See Spectator, 28 January 1860, Advertisement, "Mudie's Select List," p.94.

** See Spectator, 7 January 1860, p.13:
The defence of the country at present occupies the minds of all men interested in its welfare ...

*** CM, January 1860, i, 77.

**** ibid., i, 78.

cartoons with John Bull striking a pose at once aggressive towards, and contemptuous of, Louis Napoleon. * Indeed, Punch actually notices Burgoyne's article, and comments thus on his criticism that the Volunteer was unable to meet the physical demands made upon a soldier :

... Mr. Punch respectfully submits to Sir John Burgoyne that for all purposes requiring endurance of fatigue and exposure, the stamina of the Volunteer is likely, caeteris paribus, to be to that of the regular soldier of the Line as seventeen to four, and to that of the Guardsman as twenty to four ... **

Another writer, this time a Captain of the Militia, had printed in the Spectator his objection to Burgoyne's article. Whilst recognising that the article was "ably written," he considered that Burgoyne's ideas of giving the Volunteer more regular training were impractical. *** Further evidence both of the interest of the topic and of the respect that the Cornhill was already earning is given by the fact that the Times used Burgoyne's article as a spring-board for a leader:

* It is interesting to note that men as different as Matthew Arnold and Edmund Yates hastened to join the Volunteers. See The Letters of Matthew Arnold, (ed. G.W.E. Russell), i, 109; E. Yates, Recollections and Experiences, ii, 44-48.

** Punch, 14 January 1860, p.13.

*** "On National Defence," Spectator, 7 January 1860, p.13.

A short article on our Volunteer Corps in the Cornhill Magazine deserves consideration as a good contribution to our stock of knowledge on that new but important subject. The paper in question is brief and simple, but an air of authority pervades its remarks, a professional bias is discernible in its tone, and when we add that it is openly attributed to Sir John Burgoyne we shall have said enough to justify our notice of its contents. *

The other topic to which the reader of the first number of the Cornhill had his attention directed was that of Chinese affairs. War with China was imminent, and such was the importance of this issue that the author felt

warranted in devoting some of our earliest pages to the consideration of a topic involving our relations with a people constituting more than one-third of the human family, and commercial interests even now of vast extent, and likely to become in their future development more important than those which connect us with any other nation or region of the world. **

At some length Sir John Bowring follows in detail the military expedition prior to, and the negotiations which led up to, the Treaty of 1858; and whilst admitting "the necessity of teaching the Chinese that treaties must be respected, and perfidy punished," *** he does stress the difficulty of

* Times, 6 January 1860, p.6.

** CM, January 1860, i, 26.

*** ibid., i, 43.

the situation and the danger of attempting

to overthrow the government of China. Bad as it is, anarchy will track its downfall, and the few elements of order which yet remain will be whelmed in a conclusive desolation. *

These articles, in addition to the one by Thornton Hunt on his father, Leigh Hunt, who had recently died, were what was offered to the public in the first issue. And, as we have seen already, the public was quick to buy what was of unprecedented value. With pardonable vanity Smith calls the publication the "literary event of the year," and goes on to say that the sale of the magazine was unparalleled for such serial literature. ** This success far exceeded Smith's expectations, but its effect on Thackeray was remarkable. J.T. Fields, in his Yesterdays with Authors, relates at some length the effect on Thackeray who "half delirious with joy" went over to Paris to escape from the excitement for a few days. There he existed in an almost euphoric state, and Fields says that he had to use all his efforts to prevent Thackeray

from rushing in and ordering a pocketful of diamonds and "other trifles," as he called them; "for," he said, "how can I spend the princely sum Smith allows me for editing the Cornhill unless I begin instantly somewhere? ***

* CM, January 1860, i, 43.

** George Smith, p.113

*** J.T. Fields, Yesterdays with Authors, p.31

Even Thackeray's sleep was disturbed for he found himself lying awake "counting his subscribers." *

Meanwhile at home ** the magazine was receiving considerable attention, much of which was extremely flattering. For instance, Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, wrote to Thackeray on 27 December 1859:

Obliged for and pleased with No.1.
It is almost too good for the public
it is written for and the money it
has to earn. How you, the contribu-
tors, and the publishers are to be
paid out of it is economically in-
conceivable ... I like the Leigh
Hunt very particularly. ***

* ibid.

** Unknown, no doubt, to Thackeray and Smith, the early numbers of the magazine were also being welcomed with delight in the Australian outback. See W.H. Fitchett, "How I came to know the 'Cornhill,'" CM, January, 1910, xxviii (NS), 60-61:

But the chief treasure brought from the sea-coast was a bundle of Cornhills, and the night the tilted cart reached the camp - hours after the other members of the party had fallen asleep - I hung with fresh, unspoiled appetite over the wonderful magazine ... Loves and sorrows, villains, heroes and heroines, real or imaginary, crept out from between the bright golden-tinted covers, and marched in procession through my imagination. The hum of London streets, the chatter of Oxford dons, the murmur of personage gossip, seemed to come through space and darkness to my boyish senses.

*** Letters (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 169-170.

Such an expression of pleasure must have been pleasing to Thackeray, but equally gratifying to both the editor and the publisher of the Cornhill must have been the attention which the first number received in the press. The notices which succeeded the publication, of which a writer in the Daily News said:

It is a long time since any event unconnected with politics or battles has been so eagerly looked for as the appearance of the first number of "The Cornhill Magazine". *

are remarkable for their number, and the consistency with which they praise the new venture. Notices appear in the daily and Sunday newspapers, in the weekly periodicals, in at least two provincial papers, and there is even a reference in the Dublin University Magazine.

The last mentioned is interesting as it indicates the extent to which the new magazine was being discussed. In an article entitled "My Club Table," which is devoted mainly to the discussion of books, the author describes himself dining in his club:

The other night I endeavoured to shut my ears to the clatter of plates and spoons and to seize the snatches of dialogue which were passing to and fro around me. They were couched

* Daily News, 22 December 1859, p.5.

somewhat as follows: "I wonder whether the Emperor will make" - "those horrid crinolines" - "no, I never heard Spurgeon, but" - "The Cornhill Magazine is far the most amusing of the two" - ... *

The overheard speaker is moved to use the superlative in comparing the Cornhill with, presumably, that other new magazine, Macmillan's, and the juxtaposition of the remark with those on other topics which engrossed people in 1860 - the Emperor of the French, fashion, and religion - demonstrates the fame of the magazine.

Two daily newspapers in which notice was made of the first number both comment on the cheapness of the magazine, a cheapness which was not achieved by the presentation of the second-rate. The Morning Post maintained that

He would be both avaricious and discontented who could complain of not getting his money's worth after investing a whole shilling in the Cornhill Magazine! **

The Morning Herald displays its admiration of the cheapness and quality even more positively:

... it is one of the marvels of the time that so much material, and of so excellent a quality, can be provided at so moderate a price. ***

* Dublin University Magazine, February 1860, lv, 233.
 ** Quoted in Saturday Review, 7 January 1860, p.32.
 *** Morning Herald, 23 December 1859, p.3.

The Daily News, although it does not refer to the price, does refer to the quality in most enthusiastic terms. Every page, it finds, is "marked with a distinctive superiority," and the notice ends with a judgement which puts the Cornhill among the best of its kind:

... we offer a cordial and respectful welcome to the new comer from Cornhill as one well fitted to take a place ... in the foremost rank of the serial literature of our country. *

The Sunday Times is less grudging! The writer is not content to place the Cornhill merely among the best, but deems it the ne plus ultra of periodical literature:

It is almost impossible to imagine any further developments, either in quality or in quantity, of the periodical literature of this country, than that which is attained in the new monthly serial issued from the house of Smith, Elder, and Co. **

Among the periodicals, the Athenæum quietly states that "Mr. Thackeray's new venture has met with great and with well-earned success," *** whilst the Examiner heartily congratulates "both editor and publishers of the new periodical on the brilliant success of the first number." ****
The Illustrated Times and the Illustrated News of the World

* Daily News, 22 December 1859, p.5.

** Sunday Times, 25 December 1859, p.2.

*** Athenæum, 31 December 1859, p.890.

**** Examiner, 24 December 1859, p.821.

both write of the Cornhill as having fulfilled the "high anticipations which rumour had excited." * Both periodicals continue with eulogy which must have pleased but also perhaps have embarrassed Smith and Thackeray. "It is a marvel of excellence and cheapness," maintains the writer in the Illustrated Times, a judgement which rivals that to be found in Notes and Queries: "It is a marvel of cheapness, and a model of excellence." ** The writer in the Illustrated News of the World is even more excited by the appearance of the first number; his excitement betrays him to a trite image: "A new and glorious light has risen on the literary horizon." ***

Some notices, such as that of the Literary Gazette, **** contain, in addition to general praise, comments on individual articles. This periodical first admits that the

* Illustrated Times, 31 December 1859, p.443.

** Notes and Queries, 31 December 1859, p.542.

*** Illustrated News of the World, quoted in Saturday Review, 7 January 1860, p.32.

Some years later the Saturday Review was still remembering the novelty of the Cornhill:

Ten years ago the genus has not been discovered. Macmillan's and the Cornhill Magazine showed the way, and since then the shilling magazines have sprung up like mushrooms.

16 May 1868, p.643.

**** Literary Gazette, 31 December 1859, p.641.

Cornhill is a "model of the 'best'" and then in equally handsome terms compliments the individual writers and their articles: the paper on the Volunteers is by "the skilled hand of Sir John Burgoyne," the "Studies in Animal Life" is "the very poetry of natural history" and so on. The review concludes:

Enfin, - the Cornhill Magazine at once takes as high a place in literature as its promoters can have desired. *

In the light of such enthusiasm it may come as a surprise to read in the Illustrated London News ** that "the standard set up is not of the highest." However, the writer is not in fact criticising the Cornhill, but merely saying that very properly it does not set out to compete with the reviews. What is implicit in the other criticisms here becomes stated by the reviewer: that the Cornhill is not to be compared with, nor judged by the standards applicable to, the more learned reviews and quarterlies such as, for example, the Edinburgh Review. Having recognised this fact, the writer is soon joining his fellow reviewers in praise:

The Cornhill is a magazine as distinguished

* Literary Gazette, 31 December 1859, p.641.

** Illustrated London News, 7 January 1860, p.4.

from a review. Taking it as a specimen of periodicals of the second class, it is as nearly as perfect as possible. *

The news of the advent of the Cornhill had, as we have seen, reached Dublin; it was also early referred to in at least two provincial newspapers, the Manchester Guardian and the Leeds Intelligencer. On the eve of publication the London correspondent of the Manchester Guardian was giving information, erroneous as it happened, of the content of the magazine: "The first number is to contain a paper by Sir Howard Douglas on the Volunteer movement ..." ** In this reference, and in the one a week later, both of which were quoted in the Leeds Intelligencer, this correspondent showed a particular concern for numbers and finance:

The success of the Cornhill Magazine, No.1, has been quite without parallel in the records of magazine sales. I am afraid to repeat the figure to which reports, which I should have considered a priori well founded, carry the sale ... The advertisements of the number alone must have gone a long way towards paying its expenses. When I tell you that these include a salary of £350 a month to Mr. Thackeray, you see they must be enormous, as compared with anything hitherto known in the experience of periodicals. ***

* Illustrated London News, 7 January 1860, p.4.
** Leeds Intelligencer, 24 December 1859, p.3.
*** Leeds Intelligencer, 31 December 1859, p.3.

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* Illustrated London News, 7 January 1860, p.4.
 ** Leeds Intelligencer, 24 December 1859, p.3.
 *** Leeds Intelligencer, 31 December 1859, p.3.

Such notices, even if they only referred with wonder to the number of copies sold, must have been gratifying, but they must also have caused concern, if not embarrassment. To have achieved the "best" and become a "model of excellence" with the first number must have given the originators of the Cornhill concern about maintaining such a standard. Several notices do in fact, whilst recognising immediate worth, hope for its continuance. The Lady's Newspaper writes:

/The Cornhill Magazine 7 is a wonderful shilling's worth, whether we regard the quantity or the quality. If the editor can continue as he has begun, he will soon distance all competition, and reign supreme in the world of periodical literature. *

and the Press recognises "about this periodical higher promise than we have witnessed in any other enterprise for a long time." ** Finally, the reviewer in the Illustrated London News, in a sentence remarkable for its ponderous length, hopes that the editor will follow the advice of Father Prout in his "Inaugurative Ode" *** so that the magazine will achieve a "miracle":

A feeling that it would be superfluous

* The Lady's Newspaper, 31 December 1859, p.534.
 ** ~~ibid.~~ Quoted in Saturday Review, 7 January 1860, p.32.
 *** CM, January 1860, 1, 75-76.

if not impertinent, to dwell separately on the claims which this number of the Cornhill Magazine has on the acceptance of the public induces us to pause in such a work of supererogation, and to add merely that, if the sound, manly advice given to its conductor by Father Prout in his "Inaugurative Ode" to the editor be adopted and exemplified in action, a miracle in popular literature will be achieved, for the price of this periodical must not be left out of view when its merits are under discussion. *

Although it occurred during the second year of the life of the Cornhill Magazine, it seems only fair to include one disparaging - at least one assumes it to be so - comment on the magazine; it was a writer in the Economist who specifies it as "a kind of 'Chambers's Journal' for the higher classes of society." ** This comment, presumably, denies to the Cornhill any claims to be "literature," suggests that it makes no severe intellectual demands on its readers, and classes it with a journal which specialised in the provision of useful information and of popular scientific instruction.

However, this is a lonely voice, and whether or not the Cornhill Magazine fulfilled during the first ten years of its life the bright promise of its first number will

* Illustrated London News, 7 January 1860, p.4.

** Economist, 9 March 1861, p.

perhaps become evident throughout the rest of the study of some of the non-fiction which appeared in the magazine during 1860-1870. The succeeding chapters will not be devoted to a year by year history of the Cornhill, but will be concerned with the treatment of certain topics of interest and concern to the reader of the period which received attention in the pages of the magazine. The Illustrated London News claimed that beyond "any other of our periodicals, the Cornhill repeats the general tone of society" * and by dealing with the subject matter in this way it is hoped to show, with references to other magazines and periodicals, the way in which the Cornhill reflected and even at times formed the opinions of the contemporary common reader.

* Illustrated London News, 4 August 1866, p.107.

Chapter II

Education

The great peculiarity of periodical literature is, that it reflects, with minute exactness, the moral and intellectual features of the society in which it exists; and there is no particular in which it does this more precisely than in respect of the different degrees of earnestness and power with which different subjects are discussed. *

The difficulty of discussing the non-fiction material which appeared in the Cornhill Magazine results from what must have been one of its most attractive features for the contemporary reader of this period, 1860-1870, - its diversity. Party politics and religion excepted, there are few topics of general interest on which, at some time during the decade, there did not appear an article. However fascinating it would be to attempt to show by particular attention to each article the "moral and intellectual features of society," the most that one can attempt is to demonstrate "the different degrees of earnestness and power with which different subjects are discussed." Articles on certain topics recur, and it is by attention to those subjects more frequently dealt with in the magazine that one can hope to reveal what were deemed to be the pre-

* CM, September 1861, iv, 305.

occupations of the readers of the Cornhill, pre-occupations which will at times be seen to be shared by readers of other periodicals. In other words, by considering these topics and by referring to the treatment they received in other and similar periodicals one can hope to demonstrate what in fact was concerning intelligent "common readers" of the period.

One such topic which received considerable attention was that of education. The magazine is at times frankly instructional, as we shall see in the chapter on Science, but the Cornhill concerns itself with education in two other senses, both more general. First, it concerns itself with schools, and such questions as staffing, curricula, and examinations, especially those connected with schools for the middle classes and with public schools. In devoting space to the consideration of schools for the middle classes, the Cornhill not only deals with a topic of immediate concern to its readers and such contemporaries as Matthew Arnold and Harriet Martineau, but also one of importance which was recognised when the Schools Inquiry Commission was

appointed in 1864. * In dealing with the question of the public schools the Cornhill was reflecting the interest of the middle and upper classes in the condition of institutions to which, as G.M. Young says, they had been reconciled by Dr. Thomas Arnold. ** However, the particular attention which, as we shall see, was given by the Cornhill to the great public schools did more than reflect opinion; it helped to form it. Out of the letters to the Cornhill which Matthew Higgins wrote under the pseudonym of "Paterfamilias" grew considerable controversy and a Government Commission, the Clarendon Commission, which materially affected the future of these schools.

Then, intimately connected with the education of the middle class in a more general sense are some of the articles which Matthew Arnold wrote for the magazine. Profoundly dissatisfied with the condition of the middle classes, Arnold wrote for the Cornhill both "My Countrymen" which he was later to include in Friendship's Garland, and

* Known as the Taunton Commission after the chairman, Lord Taunton, it was appointed to examine the state of education for "those large classes of English society which are comprised between the humblest and the very highest," and to recommend "practicable and expedient reforms."

B. Simon, Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870, p.318.

** "Portrait of an Age," Early Victorian England (ed. G.M. Young), ii, 497.

the bulk of his Culture and Anarchy, a book which J. Dover Wilson has called "the finest apology for education in the English language." * It is because Arnold was not only the urbane and witty critic of the middle class, but also the urgent and sincere champion of a reformed educational system for its children that some comment on his work for the Cornhill is made in this chapter as well as in the later chapter on Literature. **

Charitable Institutions

It is interesting to note that one of the earlier articles on education published in the Cornhill was "Little Scholars," an article which appeared in May 1860 *** and which, inspired by Thackeray himself, was written by his daughter, Anne. In a letter to George Smith, written in 1900, Anne Thackeray writes:

I had written several novels and a tragedy by the age of fifteen, but then my father forbade me to waste my time any more scribbling, and desired me to read other people's books.

I never wrote any more except one short fairy tale, until one day my father said that he had got a very nice subject for me, and that he thought I might now begin to

* Introduction to his edition of Culture and Anarchy, p.xii.

** See below, pp. 203-221.

*** CM, i, May 1860, 549-559.

write again.

That was Little Scholars which he christened for me and of which he corrected the stops and the spelling, and which you published to my still pride and rapture. *

The first article of his daughter's to appear in print did not achieve that success merely because Thackeray was the editor. Indeed, Thackeray wrote to Smith and, whilst admitting that the article was a "sweet paper" and that it "moistened his paternal spectacles," he left the decision with Smith whether to publish or not:

Papas, however, are bad judges - you decide whether we shall have it or not! **

The note of the sentimental is evident in the article

* Letters of Anne Thackeray Ritchie
(ed. H. Ritchie), p.115.

** George Smith, p.116.

See J.T. Fields, Yesterdays with Authors, p.32:

He took very great delight in his young daughter's first contributions to the Cornhill, and I shall always remember how he made me get into a cab, one day in London, that I might hear, as we rode along, the joyful news he had to impart, that he had just been reading his daughter's first paper, which was entitled "Little Scholars."
"When I read it," said he, "I blubbered like a child, it is so good, so simple, and so honest; and my little girl wrote it, every word of it."

itself, not perhaps unacceptable in an age, as G.M. Young says,

when, if brides sometimes swooned at the altar, Ministers sometimes wept at the Table; when the sight of an infant school could reduce a civil servant to tears; and one undergraduate has to prepare another undergraduate for the news that a third undergraduate has doubts about the blessed Trinity ... *

The first part of the article is a description of a school, not during the lesson time, but at dinner when the "kind motherly" school mistress devotes her energies to feeding what must have been her under-nourished, if not starving, children. A typical passage reads:

As the two children come stepping through the sunny doorway, with the smoking jar between them, I think Mr. Millais might make a pretty picture of the little scene; but my attention is suddenly distracted by the round-eyed baby, who is peering down into the great soup-jug with such wide wide open eyes, and little hands outstretched - such an eager, happy face, that it almost made one laugh, and cry too, to see. **

The article continues with descriptions of the writer's visits to a Girls' Industrial School, and to two Jewish schools. The article has a certain naive charm - where

* G.M. Young, "Portrait of an Age,"
Early Victorian England, ii, 424-425.

** CM, May 1860, i, 550.

today, for instance, could one read the following, even though such facts still need to be recognised: "Little Jew babies are uncommonly like little Christians; just as funny, as hungry, as helpless, and happy now that the bowls of food come steaming in." *

Perhaps to the twentieth century reader the most fascinating feature of the article is the attitude of the writer, which is both sentimental and assured, even perhaps callous, and in which there exists satisfied acceptance of the situation alongside the stirrings of a social conscience. She displays, for instance, what we might feel to be a strange lack of sensibility, but what seems merely to be an acceptance of the situation, when she tells of the behaviour of some of the Jewish children who were "gobbling up" their half-penny worth of rice and browned potatoes:

As we were busy talking to him, a number of little things sitting on the floor were busy stroking and feeling with little gentle fingers the soft edges of a coat one of us had on, and the silk dress of a lady who was present. **

Even when the writer protests at the poverty and suffering,

* CM, May 1860, i, 558.

** ibid.

she does so in words which now appear patronising:

We may be sure that such little sufferers - thanks to these Good Samaritans - will be tenderly picked up and cared for. But, I wonder, must there always be children in the world hungry and deserted? and will there never, out of all the abundance of the earth, be enough to spare to content those who want so little to make them happy? *

And, whilst praising the work of the Industrial Schools where the girls are taught laundry and similar domestic duties, she contrasts their earlier life in the slum cellars with their present life in the "quiet little haven" where they learn those virtues essential to the poor in the "struggle of life," that is, where they are taught "to be good, industrious, and sober and content." Anne Thackeray's final thoughts, having witnessed the relish with which the young and hungry children attacked their half-penny or even twopenny meals, are to suppose first that thus do "people of all nations and religions love and tend their little ones, and watch and yearn over them," and then to rejoice that the "fatherly Providence ... has sent this pure and tender religion of little children to all creeds and to all the world." **

* CM, May 1860, i, 552.

** ibid., i, 559.

The other article on education which Anne Thackeray wrote for the Cornhill, "Out of the Silence," is again an account of her visit to an institution, this time The Jewish Home for Deaf and Dumb Children. Again there is a frankly emotional approach, with appealing descriptions of the children:

The children all looked up at us with bright flashing eyes - little boys and little girls in brown pinafores, with cheery little smiling faces peeping and laughing at us along their benches. *

But, although one reads of how her "heart aches," there seems an absence of sentimentality, especially as the article does include a thoughtful appreciation of the efforts of the teachers, and an interesting description of some of the methods, based on lip reading, used to encourage the children to talk. This concern for the education of the handicapped is further demonstrated some years later in an equally interesting and informative article by Rev. H.T. Armfield, describing the visit he made to an institution in Belgium, organised by Les Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne. Here an experiment was being conducted in which children were taught to speak by having them watch and feel

* CM, May 1868, xvii, 574-575.

the throat muscles of the teacher. The writer in the Cornhill describes the technique in detail and is moved finally to hope that such methods, with the right teachers, be used in England:

There can be no reason why our own dumb should not be taught to speak and so be rescued from that terrible isolation which has been hitherto accepted as their destiny, just as well as these Continental mutes. But if they are to be so taught, the task will be accomplished, not by the sort of man who would do well enough for the mere routine of keeping boys in order, giving a few hours' languid brainless attendance in return for a scanty maintenance, but by men of ability, of enthusiasm, and, above all, of self-control; by men of large intellectual resources, who approach it not as an instrument of remuneration, but as a labour of Christian love. *

It is worth noting that these three articles are in a tradition which was to flourish during the sixties; this is the tradition of personal reporting. In Macmillan's Magazine for November 1860 there appeared, for instance, an article entitled "Blind!" by Dinah Mulock, the author of John Halifax, Gentleman, which describes a visit to the headquarters of the Association for Promoting the General Welfare of the Blind. "I have given," the author concludes her article, "a plain account of what I saw and heard that

* CM, December 1867, xvi, 703.

day." * On the same topic there appeared an article in the Cornhill itself in which the author, after a historical sketch of methods of helping the blind, introduces her description with "But let us visit the institution." ** Perhaps the most famous piece of social reportage of the period is the description of a night spent by Frederick Greenwood's brother, in one of the casual wards in London, which was published in the Pall Mall Gazette. Trollope, in his Autobiography, records the success of this particular piece, and indicates the popularity of this kind of reporting:

... that record of a night passed in a workhouse had done more to establish the sale of the journal than all the legal lore of Stephen, or the polemical power of Higgins, or the critical acumen of Lewes. ***

A Working Man's View of Popular Education.

One other article which deals with education other than that for the middle classes and those classes which sent their sons to the public schools is distinguished from Anne Thackeray's by being neither an essay in reportage, nor one in which sentiment is so readily expressed. This

* Macmillan's Magazine, November 1860, iii, 57.

** CM, May 1864, ix, 615.

*** A. Trollope, Autobiography, pp.181-182.

article, "A Working Man on the Education of the Working-Classes," was written by a journeyman engineer * who sets out to answer at some length these questions:

Are the working-classes, as a body, as well educated as they might be, and as their circumstances would fairly admit of their being? and has the enormous expenditure of money and labour, which for years past has been bestowed upon the education of these classes, been productive of proportionately great results? **

In a well-argued and what now appears a sensible article, this engineer emphatically denies that the working classes are as well educated as they should be, and that the large expenditure has been justified by results. His fellow workmen he finds gullible and ignorant, and maintains that the

whole tone of workshop life is a practical protest against the belief that working men of the present day are in point of educational intelligence equal to the age they live

* See Culture and Anarchy (ed. J. Dover Wilson), note on page 238:

the Journeyman Engineer: i.e. Thomas Wright, author of The Great Unwashed (1868), Some Habits and Customs of the Working Classes (1867), etc., who attempted to interpret the ideas and habits of the working classes to the rest of the community.

** CM, September 1866, xiv, 283.

in. *

The writer is not content to say that popular education is failing, but goes on to demonstrate both what he considers to be the reason for its failure and what he feels would improve the situation. He maintains that the system of education is vainly attempting to make "scholars" of the children instead of merely trying "to pave the way to their becoming intelligent men." Too many branches of knowledge are attempted, he insists, and in the development of a "mechanical and comparatively useless power of memory" he sees the sacrifice of the "cultivation of the higher faculties." This is a thoughtful approach to, and an attack upon, a system of education which produced such an alumnus as Mr. Gradgrind's Bitzer, and which H.G. Wells was later to call the "valley of the shadow of education." This working man's suggestions for the reform of the system are equally liberal for his age. He believes that reading,

* CM, September 1866, xiv, 288.

This view of popular education, although not shared by other writers in the Cornhill, is echoed by a writer in the Saturday Review, who says in an article entitled "The Dark Side of Popular Education":

We are now, perhaps, paying the penalty of those extravagant promises of rapid improvement which the friends of education held out when popular education was in its infancy. 28 December 1861, p.661.

writing, and arithmetic should form the basis of the education of the working class child, but that these subjects should be so treated as to inspire a desire for knowledge:

Working men cannot be made scholars, but by reading they may gain knowledge, and to create and direct a taste for reading should be the chief aim of their education. *

This critical attitude to contemporary education of the working classes and liberal suggestions for its reform were expressed at a time when the Revised Code, whereby the Government grants which schools received were assessed according to the attendance and proficiency in mechanical knowledge of their pupils, was in force. Admittedly this system had been attacked, by Matthew Arnold among others **, but writers in such journals as Blackwood's Magazine *** could defend its introduction at length. However, one need not look beyond the covers of the Cornhill to realise the novelty of the views expressed by the "Journeyman Engineer." One author, John Sutcliffe, who writes of "Middle Class and Primary Education in England: Past and Present," stoutly maintains:

It is a distinct, but significant fact,

* CM, September 1866, xiv, 294.

** "The Twice-Revised Code," Fraser's Magazine, March 1862, lxxv, 347-365.

*** "The Poor and their Public Schools," January 1862, xci, 77-102.

that at this present time, these two classes / i.e. the "highest" and "lowest" classes in England, so far removed, are those which receive the best and most thorough education, each according to its needs and opportunity. *

"Paterfamilias," in his first letter to the Cornhill about the public schools, also refers to the progress of, and standards achieved in, popular education:

... the children have a happy and cultivated look, and the result of this improved system of school-teaching obtrudes itself gratefully on the eye and ear of the visitor in well-written copies and careful drawings, in distinctly enunciated reading, in harmonious singing, and in arithmetical calculations of surprising accuracy and rapidity. **

"Paterfamilias" and the Public Schools

"Paterfamilias," the pseudonym of Matthew Higgins, one of the great Victorian controversialists, is here of course using a eulogy of the schools for the working classes a part of his debating technique: he wishes to contrast the care and effectiveness of these schools with the inefficiency and indifference to the needs of their pupils found in the public schools. This letter of "Paterfamilias's" is the first of three such letters whose avowed aim is to consider the ineffectiveness of the great public schools, and whose

* CM, July 1861, iv, 50.

* CM, May 1860, i, 608.

ultimate result was the Public Schools Commission of 1864.

"Paterfamilias" makes the reason for his attack quite clear when he states, in words to be echoed by the Edinburgh

Review:

It is of the utmost importance to every man of England that the schools at which our future legislators are educated should be good schools, and that the governors of this country should be at least as well educated as the governed. *

And his letters certainly place him among T.H. Huxley's "sceptical minority" who, he says in his "A Liberal Education and Where to Find It,"

ask whether the richest of our public schools might not well be made to supply knowledge, as well as gentlemanly habits, a strong class feeling, and eminent proficiency in cricket. **

Before considering the grounds upon which "Paterfamilias" attacks the public schools, there are, I think, two things which are worth saying. First, these three letters by Matthew Higgins, of whom as "Jacob Omnium," another

* CM, May 1860, i, 614.
In "Eton College," Edinburgh Review, April 1861, cxiii, 387-426, the writer refers to the matter as "a question of such vital importance to the upper classes - indeed to all classes of Englishmen," (p.391) and maintains of the public schools that "their welfare and progress concerns in the highest degree the Empire itself." (p.426)

** Macmillan's Magazine, March 1868, xvii, 368.

pseudonym, Trollope wrote in his Autobiography, "Jacob Omnium ... I regard as the most forcible newspaper writer of my days," * are splendid examples of polemical writing. These letters, and especially the third in which he answers and destroys the defence of William Johnson, the Eton master who had, as we shall see, attempted to answer "Paterfamilias" in a pamphlet, make readily understandable the phrase which Frederick Greenwood uses in an obituary notice of Higgins in the Cornhill: " ... in attack, the most formidable penman in English journalism." ** Secondly, they demonstrate the readiness and ease - because of the number of suitable periodicals being published - with which writers and public men would engage in controversy.

"Paterfamilias" in his first letter maintains that the staff of public schools are not trained to teach, nor are the schools open to inspection by Government officials. His most damning criticism, however, is that these great schools are "mere money speculations, in which the welfare and progress of the pupils are held altogether subservient to the pecuniary profits of the masters." *** In his description of his own days at Harchester, the fictional name he gives

* p.180.

** CM, October 1868, xviii, 507.

*** CM, May 1860, i, 609.

to "one of our most celebrated public schools," "Paterfamilias" includes among its disadvantages: the recruitment of teaching staff from only "one small and not very distinguished college at Oxbridge, which possessed a sort of vested interest in Harchester," * the low proportion of masters to boys which precluded any moral supervision, and a syllabus restricted to classics. Such, he feels, were the disadvantages of a public school thirty or forty years ago, yet then

such a system as this did very well for our governing classes; well or ill educated, the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Army, and the Civil Service, received with open arms the children of the powerful and the rich; eldest sons, after a couple of years' additional idleness as gentlemen commoners at Oxbridge, went into parliament and voted all the more steadily with their party, because they were confirmed and incurable dunces; whilst younger sons obtained commissions in crack regiments, or stools in the Treasury and Foreign Office, and rose through the money and the parliamentary influence their fathers could command, rather than through their own merits and exertions. **

Such a system may well have answered in the past, but by 1860, "Paterfamilias" argues, reform is needed for two reasons: first, middle class schools, such as Marlborough

* CM, May 1860, i, 609.

** ibid., i, 611-612.

and Cheltenham, are being founded and presenting serious competition to the older public schools, and secondly, for success in the Army or the Civil Service a boy must now pass an entrance examination. It was the visit to one of these new schools together with the scrutiny of the list of successful candidates in one of the higher open examinations which prompted "Paterfamilias" to write his letter, for the boy who headed the list was from the new school which he visited, whilst the boy who was last but one on the list was "educated at Eton, and at subsequent tutors."

To improve the public schools "Paterfamilias" suggests that a system of voluntary inspection should be instituted. In discussing such a system, one already existing for those elementary schools in receipt of a Government grant, he delivers a further attack on Eton:

Supposing that at this moment Eton, or any other great school, confident in its system and its educational integrity, were to avail itself of this privilege, and that the government inspectors should report that they had examined that establishment; that its educational staff was abundant; that its fifth and sixth forms were generally not only good classical scholars, but so well grounded in English, French, arithmetic, and mathematics as to be able to present themselves without the intervention of "crammers" for examination for the Army or the Civil Service, with every prospect of success - what an advantage such a report as that

would be to the school and to the pupils: what a load it would remove from the bosoms of hundreds of doubting and anxious parents: what a stimulus it would give to other less faithfully conducted educational establishments! *

Such a report, it is obvious from the rest of the letter, could not possibly be given.

Mack, in his Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860, calls this first letter "an initiator of a prolonged controversy," ** a controversy which in this case had definite results. There is at least a possibility, however, that the first letter, unmentioned, for instance in both the Spectator, which that month did not review the magazines, and in the Illustrated London News, which did ***, would have been ignored if no less a person than Sir John Coleridge, a judge, a former pupil of Eton, and incidentally a brother of a master and Fellow of Eton, had not

* CM, May 1860, i, 615.

** p. 8

*** Illustrated London News, 12 May 1860, p. 444.

The reviewer mentions three articles which appeared in the May number of the Cornhill: "Campaigning in China," "Little Scholars," and the current instalment of the series on William Hogarth.

echoed some of the criticisms. * On 4 September 1860 Sir John Coleridge delivered a speech at the re-opening of the Tiverton Grammar School. Something of the nature of that speech, and some of its possible results we can gather from a letter by his son, John Duke Coleridge:

My father is much as usual, and, as I tell him, during the Long Vacation he has like Lord Nelson a gazette of his own. He has been giving a lecture at Tiverton about public schools, which came, in fact, to a lecture about Eton and to the broaching of all sorts of opinions, enough to make poor old Keate and Goodall turn uneasily in their graves, and more than enough to put Tutor into a taking. He will be answerable, of course, for the sins of his elder brother, and his elder brother suggesting that the Fellows!! should actually do something and should be reduced in number. **

In addition to its being reported and commented upon

* See "Eton College," Edinburgh Review, April 1861, cxiii, 390:

It is not probable that this letter would have caused any very great sensation, had not the ball thus thrown up by 'Paterfamilias' been unexpectedly caught and returned by the more practised and powerful hand of 'one of Eton's most distinguished living sons.' [i.e. Sir John Coleridge]

** E.H. Coleridge, The Life and Correspondence of Lord Coleridge, i, 262.

in the Times * this speech was also referred to in a review of books dealing with public school life in the Quarterly Review of October 1860. ** Although the lecture is listed among those books under review, there is only one reference to it when the reviewer quotes from the speech the words which refer to the success of the system which makes a boy "a manly boy and a gentleman." In his references to the virtues of the public school the reviewer in the Quarterly typifies the kind of reaction which "Paterfamilias" and Sir John Coleridge provoked. In his justification he is moved to enunciate his stern philosophy of life:

By the inexorable law of nature, the two great instructors of mankind, from the cradle to the grave, are Pain and Labour. We beg not to be misunderstood. We would inflict no unnecessary pain; we would use every art to abridge labour: we only state the general law which regulates the microcosm of a public school as strictly as the great world on which is waged the battle of life ... It is by suffering of some sort that most human virtues are brought into action. Courage presupposes cause for fear; patience and fortitude are called forth by pain and adversity; gratitude could scarcely expand if not brought out by the experience of unkindness. Even the most impulsive virtues - such as humanity, charity, and generosity - are the children

* Times, 8 September 1860, p. 9; and 11 September 1860, p. 6.

** "Public School Education," Quarterly Review, October 1860, cviii, 387-424.

or the nurslings of reflection, and reflection is the offspring of suffering. *

Thus does he seek to justify the excellence of the physical and moral training of the public school system, a training which "though not enforced by the regulations of masters, is so valuable as a preparation for the business and duties of life." **

Reading the article in the Quarterly Review one suspects by the number of references to the "Novels before us" that mention of Sir John Coleridge's lecture was an addition to an article already planned - as well it might be considering the late date of the speech in relation to the date of publication. Certainly the reviewer only quotes that part which is pertinent to his theme of the moral value of public school education as it is. In a similar and equally understandable way "Paterfamilias," in his second letter to the Cornhill, quotes from the speech and the article in the Quarterly Review those parts which support his argument. In a modest way he assumes that Sir John Coleridge had not seen his first letter; the statement of this assumption is an example of "Paterfamilias's" skill in polemics:

I am convinced that when Sir John delivered his admirable lecture at Tiverton, he had

* Quarterly Review, October 1860, cviii, 413-414.
 ** ibid., cviii, 411.

never seen or heard of the humble letter on the same subject, which I had previously published in your pages; but it does so happen, and I mention it with pride, that in argument, in fact, and almost in illustration, the lecture of "Eton's most distinguished living son" and my letter to you are strangely coincident, due allowance being made for Sir John's rare qualities and copious eloquence, and for my less cultivated and homelier style. *

Whilst he finds that Sir John Coleridge agrees with him on issues of inadequate staffing, neglect of mathematics and modern languages, and self-indulgence amongst the boys, "Paterfamilias" dismisses the eulogy of the Quarterly Review as "impartial and unsound," and only quotes that small section in which criticism is made. But "Paterfamilias" uses his second letter to the Cornhill for more than just referring to Coleridge's lecture and the article in the Quarterly Review; he further explores what he calls the "breeches pocket question." He again roundly accuses Eton of being a "mere money speculation," and indicates the large incomes of both the headmaster and the assistant masters, incomes which would be diminished by the appointment of more staff. Even the moral advantages of a public school education are attacked:

Even that much-vaunted self-reliance and premature manliness, which we are

* CM, December 1860, ii, 643.

so often assured is the exclusive attribute of public school education, is, in reality, worth little more than is the morbid precocity which the children of the poor acquire in our populous cities by being allowed to grovel uncared for in the gutter. *

This time the Spectator did notice the letter from "Paterfamilias" in the review of the month's magazines. It is a perfunctory notice and includes one word, "querulously," which seems singularly inappropriate :

The Cornhill begins with a second letter from Paterfamilias, in which that fatherly personage querulously expresses his views upon English Middle-Class Education ... **

The Saturday Review, however, joins more heartily in the discussion and proceeds to use "Paterfamilias's" letter for its own purpose, which is to recognise the inefficiency of the instruction, but to applaud the public school system in a way similar to that of the writer in the Quarterly Review. Under the title "Private and Public Schools," the writer refers to Sir John Coleridge's having "belled the cat" and expresses the hope that Eton masters "can be induced by the fear of public discredit to reform themselves." Then he turns to "Paterfamilias's" letter which he sees as a protest against inadequate supervision out of school hours :

* CM, December 1860, ii, 648.

** Spectator, 1 December 1860, p.1151.

He does not object, as Sir John Coleridge and others have done, that the Eton masters are insufficient in numbers effectively to guide the studies of the boys, and to maintain a proper discipline among them. He complains that they are insufficient for a much wider sphere of duties ... *

The writer sees "Paterfamilias" as subscribing to a doctrine, held also by others, that "human nature is an elaborate article of manufacture, to be painfully put together by certain cunning artificers who are called schoolmasters." ** This, he maintains, is the reverse of the theory upon which the public schools have hitherto acted, which is to encourage independence and strength of character:

To the boy or the community alike, the constant reliance upon one another for aid in difficulties, guidance in perplexities, shelter from temptations, fatally weakens the fibre of character ... The object of a public school is to introduce a boy early to the world, that he may be trained in due time for the struggle that lies before him. ***

This travesty of the second letter to the Cornhill, and it should be mentioned that, although the Saturday Review mentions the speech of Sir John Coleridge, it does

* Saturday Review, 8 December 1860, p.727.

** ibid.

*** ibid.

not refer to the first letter of "Paterfamilias" to the Cornhill, deserved the protest that "Paterfamilias" was later to make that his article had been criticised without having been read. In the next week's edition of the Saturday Review there appeared a second article on "Public and Private Schools" in which the writer informed his readers that his earlier article has elicited two letters, one from "Paterfamilias" and one from Dr. Goodford, the Headmaster of Eton. The one from "Paterfamilias" is answered by a further insistence that he had at least implied a strict supervision of the boys. The answer to Dr. Goodford is more interesting for two reasons. First, the writer declines, in the light of the evidence which Dr. Goodford provides, to withdraw his views that Eton masters are selected less by merit than by chance, and in so doing hits out at both Eton and "Paterfamilias":

Really this is very embarrassing. We have no difficulty in finding a reply that would be very conclusive, but we have great difficulty in finding one that would be polite. The perplexity of this discussion is that it must either be confined to general assertions, which are always unsatisfactory, or it must degenerate into personal insult. That blasphemous and unfeeling Paterfamilias ventures to say of certain authorities at Eton, whose names he gives, that at the time of their elevation they "had achieved no particular distinction at the University or in any branch of literature, or, indeed, of any kind." We should give to this discussion an acrimony which we do not wish to import into it if we imitated so uncivil

an example. We must therefore decline the war of personalities to which Dr. Goodford invites us ... *

Secondly, it is revealed that Dr. Hawtrey, the Provost of Eton, on reading the letter to the Cornhill, wrote to the editor of that magazine to ask whether certain statements would be retracted if refuted; the reply, presumably from Thackeray, was an offer to insert a "smart and pleasant article" from Dr. Hawtrey. The Saturday Review's comment is worth repeating:

There was an ingenious inhumanity about this offer. If anything could embitter the wounded feelings of a scholastic dignitary at being criticised in a periodical, it would be the receipt of a request that he would defend himself "in a smart and pleasant article" ... We are astounded at our contemporary's courage in proposing it. **

By now Sir John Coleridge has published his lecture as a pamphlet which received notices including that which appeared in Macmillan's. The writer in Macmillan's applauds the words of Sir John, although he does find one fault:

... he has tempered his judicial severity with a little too much of partial tenderness. Even thus, what he does say shows that he strongly feels the imperative need of reform. ***

The article is interesting for the evidence it gives, and

* Saturday Review, 15 December 1860, p.758.

** ibid.

*** "Eton," Macmillan's Magazine, February 1861, iii, 293.

the statement it makes, of the interest which the issue was provoking; it speaks of the evidence from various sources "that the public mind is turned or turning to this subject." * Despite its recognition of the benefits of the public school system, one which embodies "most characteristically that spirit which pervades our whole political and social system," ** the article argues for reform on the most general grounds of the necessity of change:

We have by this time outgrown the presumption of imagining that we can make institutions for all time; and the worst evils of change are less than those that result from forcing one age to work in the harness of another. ***

Whilst the world of the periodicals was waiting, in vain, for the "smart and pleasant" article from Dr. Goodford, one "Old Etonian" did publish a pamphlet entitled "Thoughts on Eton: suggested by Sir John Coleridge's Speech at Tiverton." The Spectator, in its notice of the pamphlet, sees it as a protest "distinguished, perhaps, rather by warmth of feeling than by ability of execution," **** and

* Macmillan's Magazine, February 1861, iii, 292.

** ibid.

*** ibid., iii, 293.

This expression of the need for change is reminiscent of Matthew Arnold. See Lectures and Essays in Criticism (ed. R.H. Super), pp.109-110.

**** Spectator, 9 February 1861, 142.

one which proceeds by denial rather than by refutation. Of more interest and importance, since it called forth another letter from "Paterfamilias," is the pamphlet by William Johnson. "The task of defending the fair fame of Eton," writes the reviewer in the Saturday Review, "has been shoved from one pair of shoulders to another, until it has rested upon those of a junior master. Mr. Johnson is so far a well-selected champion, that he is perfectly safe from any taunts on the subject of scholastic or academical distinction." * After some remarks upon the lack of real credentials for criticism possessed by "Paterfamilias," that "rough contributor to the Cornhill Magazine," Johnson admits that,

in spite of the offensiveness of the Magazine article, there is some truth at the bottom of it,

and maintains that consequently

the reader is at once warned that he will be disappointed, if he expects to find in these pages a mere polemical reply. **

It is this reasonableness, this recognising the truth of the attacks, which no doubt prompted the writer in the Saturday

* "The Eton Defence," Saturday Review, 23 February 1861, p.191.

** Eton Reform, p.8.

Review to say of Johnson:

He is not satisfied with abusing his adversary's attorney, though he performs that duty with considerable liberality, but he fills up his spare space with very sharp back-handers against his client. *

However, Johnson does attempt a defence of Eton. He justifies the restriction of recruitment of staff to those men educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, by asserting:

that it does not so much matter that a master be clever, as that he think himself and his own wisdom less than the spirit of the school's constitution. **

On the question of inadequate staff, he advances the view that difficulties of room and lodging prevent the enlarging of the staff, and that, anyway, half the superiority of a public school consists in "the stimulus given by brisker competition "to be found in larger classes. He also attempts to answer the criticism of "that imitator of Cobbett" about the Headmaster's salary by saying that

there is no self-evident impropriety in its being equal to the stipend of a bishop, because it is not enjoyed in old age, and it is one of the few great prizes of a profession. ***

* Saturday Review, 25 February 1861, p.191.
 ** Eton Reform, p.17.
 *** ibid., p.30.

Finally, he does, as one might expect, challenge "Paterfamilies" over the matter of supervision out of the classroom and maintains that

the regulation of games, the control over the use of leisure time, and the pastoral action of the tutor, are carried as far as they can be carried without violating the principles of the school's constitution. *

The Edinburgh Review, conscious of the fact that it had itself initiated a controversy about the public schools fifty years previously, now entered the discussion with an article which noticed the letter of "Paterfamilies," the speech of Sir John Coleridge and the pamphlet of Johnson. ** It is a discussion which the writer recognises as being of "such vital importance to the upper classes - indeed to all classes of Englishmen," because "the salutary revolution which has been effected in our lower and middle class education" has not reached the public schools, which the writer maintains, must now be the worst in the country. It is this reviewer who, after giving a reasonable and favourable summary of "Paterfamilies's" first letter to the Cornhill, points out a direct connection between the letter and the subsequent speech of Sir John Coleridge. ***

* Eton Reform, p.33.

** "Eton College," Edinburgh Review, April 1861, cxiii, 387-426.

*** See above, p.61, footnote.

When the reviewer considers the pamphlet by Johnson he continues to make quite clear upon which side he ranges himself. Johnson had maintained that staff could not be increased because of the difficulties of building and then went on to write what the Edinburgh Review calls the "oracular sentence" that "'there are reasons, obvious enough to Etonians, which make it undesirable to dwell on the hindrances in the way of the physical or structural enlargement of the school.'" * The reviewer's comment on this is worth quoting in full:

... he must clearly have had in his mind the empty increment chest of the college, and the bursting pockets of the provost and fellows. We thank him heartily for the hint which he thus gave us, and trust that we have earned his approval by the use which we have made of it. *

The solution which the Edinburgh Review suggests is the establishment of a Royal Commission which would consider not only Eton, but also the other great public schools; only then, it maintains, will "new life and increased power" be given "to the most venerable and popular seat of English education." **

Before the Royal Commission was established

* Edinburgh Review, April 1861, cxiii, 417.

** ibid., cxiii, 426.

"Paterfamilias" was to write one further letter to the Cornhill, a letter which is in answer to Johnson's pamphlet. It is a letter which surely contains evidence for the assertion which, as we have seen, Frederick Greenwood was to make in his obituary notice of Matthew Higgins, that he was "in attack, the most formidable penmen in English journalism." * "Paterfamilias" seizes upon Johnson's declaration of intent not to write a "mere polemical reply," and quoting such phrases from Johnson's pamphlet as, "a rough and offensive person, dealing with reckless and foolish assumptions," "an unscrupulous reviler," and "a disingenuous perverter," he proceeds to ask innocently

if such be his habitual vocabulary in his calmer and more reflective moments, to what degree of invective he rises when he permits himself to be "polemical" ? **

Subsequently "Paterfamilias" proceeds to attack the arguments of Johnson on all the issues which he had formerly concerned himself with. In a calm and business-like manner he exposes to ridicule the weakness and superbity implied in so many of the assertions of Johnson, and leaves the reader of the Cornhill with this apology for the devastating nature of his own reply:

Had he not been so overweening and contemptuous towards us of the Cornhill Magazine - had he given us credit for

* CM, October 1868, xviii, 507.

** CM, March 1861, iii, 258.

the possession of some small portion of good feeling and good sense - and had he not clambered up to such a ludicrously high pinnacle of social and intellectual superiority, before he opened his fire upon us, it is possible that he might feel more comfortable now, and that his colleagues and his pupils might find it easier to accost him, after reading his pamphlet and the reply it has called forth, without a smile. *

In his memoir of Matthew Higgins, Sir W.S. Maxwell wrote:

As "Paterfamilias" he opened the eyes of, and spread rage and dismay amongst, the sleepy authorities of our fashionable public schools; he led the van in the discussions out of which the Public Schools Commission arose; and he may be justly credited with the removal of many of the blots and abuses which disfigured the schools at which the children of the wealthy acquired their small Latin and less Greek. **

With the establishment of the Public Schools Commission, at least one of "Paterfamilias's" aims had been achieved; it was to be expected that when the Commission reported "Paterfamilias" would wish to comment. Thus, in 1864, the Cornhill published an article by him entitled "On some points of the Eton report." Naturally he uses the evidence presented to this Commission to indicate that his original charges of low standards of scholarship, inadequate staffing,

* CM, March 1861, iii, 269.

** M.J.Higgins, Essays on Social Subjects, with a memoir by W.S. Maxwell, p.lv.

excessive incomes among the staff, and low moral standards among the boys, have been substantiated. Again essential to his case is his charge of inadequate staffing which results from the greed of the Eton Fellows and masters :

Indeed this [i.e. excessive drinking among the boys], and almost all the other ills and shortcomings of the Eton system which have been pointed out by the Commissioners, may be traced to the futile attempt, which is still obstinately persevered in at Eton, to tend many lambs with a few over-paid and over-wrought shepherds. *

Before turning to consider those articles which deal with middle-class education, it is worth mentioning the review which the three letters received in the Spectator when they were published as a pamphlet. The reviewer expects his readers to be already aware of what he calls "these trenchant epistles" - an assumption revealing both the interest aroused by the controversy and the popularity of the Cornhill - and he admits the justice of "Paterfamilias's" indictment which, he feels, neither the article in the Quarterly Review, nor Johnson's pamphlet have "materially shaken." However, in an age suspicious of Government interference, an age in which Liberty had just been written by John Stuart Mill and the benefits of independence urged by Samuel Smiles, his reaction to such

* CM, July 1864, x, 121.

attacks is understandable: let parents refuse to send their boys to Eton, since that school has no monopoly of education:

... if the aristocracy are contented that every class in the community should be better educated than itself, they have nobody to blame but themselves. Let them once speak out, and Eton will very soon listen. *

The Education of the Middle Class.

Such engaging faith, thus expressed in the Spectator, in the ability of educational institutions to reform themselves without the interference of the State was not shared by Matthew Arnold who had already published in the Cornhill some of the articles which form part of his Essays in Criticism when "My Countrymen," his first excursion into direct social criticism, appeared in the Cornhill for February 1866. The fact that this essay can be traced back to his "On Translating Homer" via "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time" demonstrates what Dover Wilson has said of Matthew Arnold, that he "was indeed all of a piece." ** The essay which appeared in the Cornhill was in fact a defence made by Arnold to a critical paper which Fitzjames Stephen wrote in the Saturday Review of 3 December 1864 called "Mr. Matthew Arnold and His Countrymen." ***

* Spectator, 20 July 1861, p. 789.

** Culture and Anarchy (ed. J. Dover Wilson), p.xi.

*** pp.683-685.

In the course of a critical and attacking examination of Arnold's ideas, Stephen characterises Arnold as having a

self-imposed mission to give good advice to the English as to their manifold faults, especially as to their one great fault of being altogether inferior, in an intellectual and artistic point of view, to the French. *

He also asks whether it is

just, or even decent, to talk about "British Philistines" because we English do not choose to recognise as eternal truths a set of platitudes which may be proved to be false? **

This is the challenge which Arnold meets in the essay, "My Countrymen."

Arnold reacted to Stephen's article in two ways. First, by adding footnotes to the "Function of Criticism at the Present Time" when it appeared in the 1865 edition of Essays in Criticism, he continued to argue with Stephen on specific points that were raised. Secondly, however, he determined to write an article of a different kind which would, besides dealing with other matters, set right what he considered Stephen had falsified. On 7 December 1864 he wrote to his mother:

* Saturday Review, 3 December 1864, p.683.

** ibid., p.684.

So far from anything like a direct answer, or direct controversy, I shall religiously abstain; but here and there I shall take an opportunity of putting back this and that matter into its true light, if I think he has pulled them out of it; and I have the idea of a paper for the Cornhill, about March, to be called "My Countrymen," and in which I may be able to say a number of things I want to say, about the course of the Middle Class Education matter amongst others. *

In fact the essay was not published until February 1866. The reason for this delay was that Arnold was abroad from April 1865 until November of the same year for the Taunton School Inquiry Commission. To his journeys Arnold refers in his essay, and there seems little doubt that they influenced both its contents and its presentation; certainly "My Countrymen" became a great deal more than a disquisition upon, "among others," the matter of Middle Class Education.

The essay becomes an attack upon the middle classes and upon their lack of intelligence, sensibility, and culture. Although Arnold does not deal in detail with the "Middle Class Education matter," save by quoting a remark by one of his foreign friends:

"Your middle class is educated, to begin with, in the worst schools of

* Letters (ed. G.W.E.Russell), i, 243.

your country, and our middle class
is educated in the best of ours ..." *

yet the whole essay is an attack on the lack of education and the stunted growth of a class, which, Arnold felt, was the only one capable of dealing with the modern problem, i.e. the spread of democracy. The condition of that class, in a pivotal position as regards the health of England, Arnold again portrays in the words of a foreign friend:

"Drugged with business, your middle class seems to have its sense blunted for any stimulus besides, except religion; it has a religion, narrow, unintelligent, repulsive ... What other enjoyments have they? The newspapers, a sort of eating and drinking which are not to our taste, a literature of books almost entirely religious or semi-religious, books utterly unreadable by an educated class anywhere, but which your middle class consumes, they say, by the hundred thousand; and in their evenings, for a great treat, a lecture on teetotalism or nunneries. Can any life be imagined more hideous, more dismal, more unenviable?" **

This essay, besides demonstrating Arnold's concern

* CM, February 1866, xiii, 164. Arnold was not alone, as we shall see, in being concerned with the state of middle class education. Compare "Middle and Private Schools," Saturday Review, 15 June 1861, 610:

The Central Desert of English Education is thickly studded with institutions which, being in no sense public property, are exempt from public control, and consequently, for the most part, from public knowledge. The opprobrium of English education is to be found, not in its public schools nor its poor schools - not in its Universities nor its charity schools - but in its middle and private schools.

** ibid.

with the lack of education, in the wider sense of the word, also provides further evidence of the fact which we have seen exemplified by the reception of the letters of "Paterfamilias": that the Cornhill at times contributed to the public debate so often conducted in the periodicals of the day. The reaction to "My Countrymen" was considerable, and in his letters Arnold mentions various people, of such contemporary importance as Bright and Carlyle, as being full of it. * Of the response in periodicals as various as the Court Journal and the Edinburgh Evening Courant, the Nonconformist and the Saturday Review an account will be given in a later chapter; here it is sufficient to point out that many of the reviews - not including that in the Saturday Review - see his strictures as just, although this recognition of the value of what he has to say is coupled with complaints about his indifference to things English and about the way in which he has voiced his criticism. **

The intention of Culture and Anarchy, most of which appeared in the Cornhill, *** is very similar to that of

* See two letters to his mother, 3 and 23 February 1866, Letters (ed. G.W.E. Russell), i, 315-317.

** See below pp. 211-221.

*** "Culture and Its Enemies," CM, July 1867, xvi, 37-53. "Anarchy and Authority," CM, January 1868, xvii, 30-47; February 1868, xvii, 239-256; June 1868, xvii, 745-760; July 1868, xviii, 91-107; August 1868, xviii, 239-256.

"My Countrymen," for in it Arnold seeks to point out the failings of his fellow countrymen, and especially those of the middle class, in the hope of effecting the reform of a class so important in the urgent times of 1867. Indeed, Arnold himself saw these writings as homogenous, for in July 1868 he wrote to George Smith, the proprietor of the Cornhill and his publisher:

Do you not think a timely and pleasing little volume might be made of these energy and authority essays, the Culture one, My Countrymen, and the Arminius letters? *

And again, although Arnold does not deal explicitly with the mechanics of middle class education, implicit in these articles is a passionate plea for the "liberal education" of which Newman wrote in his Idea of a University. For a more direct statement of the need for an effective middle class educational system, we can turn to his other writings, both the education reports published earlier, and other essays published subsequent to this period. Many years later he wrote:

To generate a spirit of lucidity in provincial towns, and among the middle-classes, bound to a life of much routine and plunged in business, is more difficult. Schools and universities ... are in this case the best agency we can use. **

* W.E. Buckler, "Studies in Three Arnold Problems," P.M.L.A., June 1958, lxxiii, 262.

** Five Uncollected Essays of Matthew Arnold (ed. K. Allott), p.92.

Arnold remained throughout his life convinced of the need for this reform which was not effected until local authorities were empowered to provide secondary education in 1902, and in its pursuit he exhibited not the quality of "disinterestedness," for which at times culture called, but that concern for his fellows of which he writes so eloquently in Culture and Anarchy.

If Arnold's concern, a concern shared by his father for similar reasons, * led him to believe in and insist upon the State provision of suitable schools for the middle classes, there were many who opposed such intervention by a central authority. ** Arnold himself, in Culture and

* See T. Arnold, Miscellaneous Works, pp.226-227.

** This topic was much discussed during the period. See, for example, Saturday Review, 30 March 1861, 313:

The time has arrived when the question of the relation of the State to education must be fairly faced and finally decided.

and the Spectator, 25 May 1861, p.558; during a review of Arnold's Popular Education in France the writer says:

Nominally a careful sketch of the French system of public instruction, it is really an elaborate essay upon the advantage of centralized or State action over the action of individuals. Mr. Arnold takes the side which is in England still unpopular, and which is therefore the one thinking men ought most carefully to examine.

Anarchy, makes play with the remarks of one such opponent whom he reports as having said:

"There had been a cry that middle-class education ought to receive more attention. He confessed himself very much surprised by the clamour that was raised. He did not think that class need excite the sympathy either of the legislature or the public." *

In the Cornhill, moreover, there appeared two articles on Middle Class Education, the first one of which deals with Arnold's idea of State intervention as set out in his A French Eton, recently published in book form. ** Both these articles were written by Miss Harriet Martineau, the popular economist and social reformer, and, whilst in both Miss Martineau deplures the existing condition of middle class education, she is firmly opposed to the intervention of the State in this field.

In her first article, "Middle-Class Education in England - Boys," Miss Martineau admits that there is "busy discussion about how a very large proportion of the boyhood would be educated henceforward," and maintains that it is important to extend this stir to the middle classes themselves, if

it is true, as some persons insist,

* CM, January 1868, xvii, 43.

** Originally published in Macmillan's Magazine, September 1863, viii, 353-362; February 1864, ix, 343-355; May 1864, x, 83-96.

that the bulk of the middle class is too apathetic, too ignorant, and therefore conceited, to be roused by what breaks the rest of their neighbours by night and weighs down their hearts by day ... *

Miss Martineau sets out to assist that stir by reviewing what existing provision there is for the education of middle class boys: the large Dissenters' schools, old established grammar schools, private schools, and proprietary schools. Not one of these types of school does she find adequate for the need which exists, although two of them, the grammar schools and proprietary schools, may produce, she feels, something for the future. During this review she frequently refers to Arnold's A French Eton with its plea for State intervention. She writes :

It would be a great blessing if Mr. Arnold's little book could be read in every middle-class home in England, for two reasons: that all might see the utmost that can be said on behalf of State aid in the case; and that those most concerned might catch something of the spirit of earnestness and conscientiousness in which it is written. **

Whilst, however, admitting the earnestness she does doubt very much whether Arnold will make any converts:

From Lord Granville at Ardingley, declaring his entire dissent from Mr. Arnold's view, and Lord Brougham in the Lords vehemently

* CM, October 1864, x, 410-411.

** ibid., x, 424-425.

denouncing the proposal of State aid, to the humblest citizen who can spare enough from his income to send his child to day school, every Englishman will insist that no central administration can do anything for him and his neighbours that they ought not to do for themselves. *

This article is mainly an expression of the need for reform and of her repudiation of Arnold's ideas of State intervention, for although Miss Martineau supports the idea of a Commission of Inquiry, she has little positive to say. Her final sentence is worth quoting to show how she makes the rejection of State intervention depend upon a general principle, and to note how similar is her assertion to that of the reviewer, quoted above p. 77, who maintained that Eton required no interference other than that of the parents:

From first to last we must keep before us the sound English faith that the English nation will deteriorate in its best qualities in proportion as it learns to depend on the State for whatever can be really and truly as well done otherwise; but not less anxiously must we remember that in the present all-important case our only way of repudiating that dependence and deterioration is by achieving a capital middle-class education by our own heads and hands. **

Thus, Miss Martineau was not alone in her antipathy of State aid in the field of Middle Class education. In his

* CM, October 1864, x, 422.

** ibid., x, 426.

A French Eton Arnold makes much play with the opposition of men such as J.A. Roebuck and Charles Adderley; other critics, like Sir Edward Baines and Edward Miell, were so opposed to such intervention that they led the Nonconformist movement known as "Voluntaryism in Education," whose ambition was to free education from all Government interference. Fears about the debilitating effect of State aid are similarly voiced in Lord Fortescue's Public Schools for the Middle Classes, published in 1864:

Some anxiety on this matter will not appear unreasonable, when we remember the sterling value of the Middle Class, such as we have it in England - with deficiencies indeed such as this movement is intended to supply, but with a homely strength and honest independence too precious to itself and to the whole nation to be thoughtlessly placed in jeopardy. And placed in jeopardy these might be if, for the sake of bestowing on the class additional acquirements or higher polish, we were to have recourse to unEnglish means, bureaucratic or eleemosynary; cramping by the one, or tainting by the other, the education of 'the boy, the father of the man.' *

That the State would provide education for middle class girls Miss Martineau did not even contemplate in her second article, "Middle-Class Education in England - Girls," for, she says:

Probably there is nobody in England

* pp.1-2.

who for a moment dreams of asking the State to undertake, or to touch more or less, the education of the daughters of the most active, intelligent, practical and domestic class of English citizens. *

However, she maintains that the subject has especial interest to her contemporaries because of the change of circumstances among many middle class women. No longer can many expect to be maintained throughout their lives by husbands for many of them do not marry and

so a multitude of women must work for the support of themselves, and sometimes their connexions... **

Again she devotes much of her article to a survey of the existing provision for, in this case, girls' education, and finds it inadequate. In this article, however, she does point hopefully to the success of Queen's College in Harley Street, and that of the Ladies' College in Bedford Square. Thus the Cornhill again reflects a contemporary interest in a topic at a time when Miss Buss and Miss Beales, both former students of Queen's College, were already beginning to reform the education of girls at the North London Collegiate School for Ladies, and at Cheltenham Ladies College respectively.

Competitive Examinations

There is a further topic of educational interest to

* CM, November 1864, x, 559.

** ibid., x, 554.

the contemporary reader which is referred to in the Cornhill of the period. In 1864 Fitzjames Stephen, brother of the future editor of the Cornhill, wrote upon "Competitive Examinations," a subject of which J.W. Adamson has written:

Of the less obtrusive educational developments of the nineteenth century one of the most influential was that of the examination system. *

At the beginning of the century the Universities had introduced class examinations, and in the fifties the system of open examinations had been applied to certain candidates for service with the Crown; then, in 1858 the Local Examinations of Oxford and Cambridge had been instituted. We have already seen that it was the performance of some of Eton's pupils in public examinations which had caused "Paterfamilias" such concern. Stephen reviews the system at some length, both as an instrument of education, and as a means of distributing political office; he finds it of strictly limited value. As a means of education, examinations are useful, he believes, when dealing with the immature and the lazy, and for the distribution of public offices they are of value only for "Government offices of an inferior kind." The limited value, he maintains, stems from the fact examinations test "accuracy, neatness, docility, and plasticity," and whilst they can test specific knowledge, the communication of which is

* English Education 1789-1902, p.279.

one object of education, they cannot test "the development of the powers of the mind itself," a far more important concern for education. *

Stephen's article is comprehensive and judiciously fair - as one might expect from a lawyer of his standing. Two of his objections have a modern ring, and are of interest to the twentieth century reader at a time when the system of which he wrote has become ubiquitous. Of the use of examinations in education he wrote:

Early youth is not the time for results. It is a sort of profanation to look upon liberal education, solely or principally, as a means of giving a man a better chance and a better start than his neighbours in a general scramble for wealth and honour. **

Support he also gives to the contention of some today that competitive examinations have a deleterious effect upon the quality of education:

In short, competitive examinations are subject,

* A number of articles critical of examinations appeared during the period. See, for example, "Competitive Examinations," Saturday Review, 3 November 1860, pp.551-552; and "Competitive Examinations," Quarterly Review, October 1860, cviii, 569-605.

** CM, December 1861, iv, 698.

in the highest degree, to the danger which besets every test or external sign, of gradually superseding and excluding the thing to be tested or signified. *

Whilst it is obvious that education in the sixties of the last century was considered to be of interest to the readers of the Cornhill, it would be false to assume that all educational topics exercising the attention of both politicians and educationalists of the period are dealt with in the magazine. For instance, there is no mention of the introduction in 1861 of the proposal by Robert Lowe whereby those schools in receipt of Government aid should have the amount of that aid assessed by examination of their pupils, that there should be, in other words, payment by results. Lowe's proposal aroused what J.W. Adamson has called a "storm of protest;" such a narrow and mechanical view of education, rooted in the notion of an efficient return for investment, provoked the liveliest controversy in which Arnold himself joined with his "The Twice-Revised Code," published in Fraser's Magazine for March 1862. **

* CM, December 1861, iv, 700.
See Goldwin Smith, Lectures on Modern History (1861), for his doubts on the value of competitive examinations: The abuse of patronage drove the nation to the system of competitive examination. Competitive examination, in its turn, may be found to have its drawbacks ... p.10.

** lxv, 347-365.

Similarly, of the agitation which preceded the introduction by W.E. Forster of the 1870 Education Act we hear nothing in the Cornhill. Nevertheless, contemporary interest in, and concern about, education is reflected in the Cornhill of this period, if not by the extent with which it deals with the topic, then certainly by the stature of the people whom George Smith engaged to write upon it: Matthew Arnold, Matthew Higgins, Harriet Martineau, and Fitzjames Stephen. These are names which have lived into our own century, and we see them concerning themselves with topics which continue to have an immediate interest for us: secondary education, public schools, the role of the central authority in education, and examinations.

CHAPTER III
THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND

It is a DUTY laid on us all to investigate the action of regulations which have an immediate (or mediate) influence in making, and which most essentially concern, the happiness, the life, and the moral welfare of our fellow citizens. We are each of us, "our brother's keeper"
... *

In the previous chapter we have seen the interest in education of various kinds which was reflected in the Cornhill Magazine of the period. Intimately related to this interest is the concern of many thinkers and writers, during the sixties, with the conditions of the less fortunate members of society, with what John Morley called "all the most terrible questions of the day - pauperism, prostitution, and widespread indigence;" ** and with, one must add, the concomitant of poverty and degradation - crime. The relationship, according to the contemporary view, of this interest with that in education is readily seen from these words of John Morley's:

... education means less crime, less vice, less helplessness, less pauperism

* Frances Powe Cobbe, "Workhouse Sketches," Macmillan's Magazine, April 1861, iii, 461.

** "Social Responsibilities," Macmillan's Magazine, xiv, September 1866, 383.

less brutishness, and more of everything that makes society tranquil, prosperous, and wise. *

This view of the school as an agent of the "humanisation of man in society" was shared by Matthew Arnold, and powerfully expressed in his urgent plea for the rescinding of the Revised Code; the schools, he insisted, were more than the mere purveyors of information, and argued:

And so, too, in schools the State has another interest besides the encouragement of reading, writing, and arithmetic - the protection of society. It has an interest in them so far as they keep children out of the streets, so far as they teach them - the dull as well as the clever - an orderly, decent, and human behaviour; so far as they civilize the neighbourhood where they are placed. **

- * "Social Responsibilities," Macmillan's Magazine, September 1866, xiv, 383. This is but one of many such expressions of faith in the power of education. See, for further examples, Punch, 4 February 1860, xxxviii, 42, where it is stated that one member at a meeting of reformers proved, by the strong force of figures, how much better it was to send young criminals to school, where they were instructed, instead of locking them up in gaols, where they only got corrupted. Also, Spectator, 22 June 1861, 674-5, for a review of J.M. Levy's The Sliding Scale of Life: It is Dr. Guthrie, he says, and not the police inspector, who has improved the tone of the dangerous classes in Edinburgh, and it is the schoolmaster, and not the detective, who must complete the work.
- ** M. Arnold, "The Twice-Revised Code," Democratic Education (ed. R.H. Super), p.228.

However, strong though the hope thus placed in education was, many were not content to leave to its working the solution of what were most urgent social problems.

It would be false to assume that because in the periodical literature of the period 1860-1870, including the Cornhill Magazine, there are numerous articles concerning the "condition of England" that this concern was something new. In her paper on "Charity," in Early Victorian England, Mrs. E. Lascelles shows that by 1860 there already existed 640 institutions with an annual income of two and a half million pounds for the relief of the sick and others in various kinds of need. * What we see in this period is an extension of this philanthropy and an increased concern for the "sufferings of children, the poor, the disabled, lunatics, defectives and criminals," ** and the foundation of many societies for the care and protection of those in need. Frances Powe Cobbe in her essay, "What is Progress, and are we Progressing?" sees this increase in beneficence as one of the advances of her age:

A most notable advance is that of the growth of Philanthropy in England during the last sixteen years. For one man or woman

* Early Victorian England, ii, 320-321.

** G. Rose, The Struggle for Penal Reform, p.15.

formerly devoted to such pursuits, there are now a hundred; and philanthropic institutions of every sort rise up like mushrooms all over the country. What our fathers would have thought of a Social Science Congress with all its thousand schemes of benevolence for the sick and the sound; for children to be taught; criminals to be reformed; penitents to be reclaimed; paupers to be made industrious, it is hard to guess. One thing they would certainly confess, if they questioned never so much the wisdom of some of the plans proposed: they would admit that the great public virtue of general beneficence was rising vigorously among us. We have even coined a new word to describe it - as men always do when anything begins to take an important place in their lives - we call old-fashioned "Charity," now-a-days, "the Enthusiasm of Humanity." *

The growing concern for action in these various fields is reflected in such facts as that in 1865 ** Florence Nightingale, a sick woman, took the house at 35 South Street, and from there poured out the innumerable letters and memoranda which led to the creation of nursing services in many parts of the world; it was in the same year that Ruskin gave Octavia Hill her first three houses. In 1866 Dr. Barnardo, then a medical student at a London hospital, first began to be concerned with the plight of the street waifs, and in the same year the Howard Association was

* Fortnightly Review, 1 March 1867, i(NS), 363.

** She had already in 1860 published her Notes on Nursing.

formed. Many of the charitable organisations were now employing full-time secretaries, and the influence of such newly formed bodies as the Social Science Association, and the delayed effects of Benthamism were encouraging people to make a more critical, professional and organised attack upon the problems of the day; Anne Thackeray could well write in her Cornhill article, "Toilers and Spinsters," that "Statistics are very much the fashion now-a-days..." * These influences prompted such people as Octavia Hill to tackle her pioneer work in slum re-housing in a certain way, and also to admit that further

organisation in our mode of dealing with the poor is now generally agreed to be necessary ... **

The days of indiscriminate charity were passing - or at least many wished they were - and a writer in the Cornhill who stigmatised them as "maudlin philanthropy" could complain of those who

grumble at the poor-laws, and are niggardly to the respectable and trustworthy charities, while they bestow their alms on some cringeing rascal who gets his lazy living by pilfering, lying, and fraud. ***

This interest in, and concern for, these social problems

* CM, March 1861, iii, 321.

** "Organised Work among the Poor," Macmillan's Magazine, July 1869, xx, 219.

*** Rev. H.W. Holland, "Thieves and Thieving," CM, September, 1860, ii, 333.

find expression in the Cornhill Magazine in many articles of the kind which, the Illustrated London News says, convey "useful knowledge in the entertaining form so familiar to all readers of periodical literature." * It is assumed throughout this period that the reader will be interested in various aspects of the law, in crime and the treatment of the criminal, in the treatment of the sick, in the life of the poor and humble, and in the lot of those serving in the Armed Forces.

The Law

During these years articles were published for the interested layman on various aspects of the law and its conduct in England. ** The lawyer himself and his profession

* 7 May, 1864, p.443.

** It is worth noting that Macmillan's which often covers, though at its own level, much the same ground during this period as the Cornhill carries few articles on the law and its conduct. The number in the Cornhill may well have resulted from the fact that James Fitzjames Stephen, a well-known journalist and lawyer, was a regular contributor. The opening to "The Consolidation of the Law," Saturday Review, 10 October 1864, p.417, demonstrates contemporary interest - perhaps perennial - in this subject:

From the first it has been felt that the Jurisprudence Department was the salt of the Social Science Association ...

are discussed by Fitzjames Stephen and other writers. Stephen, himself a lawyer and well-known for his differences with Matthew Arnold, discusses, for instance, "Professional Etiquette," * which becomes especially a consideration of the lawyer, and also "The Morality of Advocacy," in which he enquires

what is the relation between advocacy and morality, and whether the profession of an advocate is really one which cannot be pursued successfully without disregarding the claims of honour and conscience. **

As one would expect from a considerable member of the profession, the conclusion he reaches is not unfavourable to his colleagues, nor is it wildly eulogistic:

The simple truth is, that advocacy is neither more nor less moral than other professions. It is a practical expedient devised as the best mode of doing a very difficult thing, namely, administering the law. It shares with all other human pursuits the reproach of doing harm as well as good, though on the whole it does good. ***

A similar investigation into the "rationale of the system of advocacy" was conducted by F. Parker in 1865 ****, but

* CM, July 1863, viii, 101-111.

** CM, April 1861, iii, 448.

*** ibid., iii, 459.

**** "The Profession of Advocacy," CM, July 1865, xii, 105-115.

these articles do not concern themselves exclusively with English legal practice. In December 1864 Stephen published an essay, "Bars of France and England," in which he compares the qualities of the two groups of lawyers.

"Englishmen in general," he complains, "know perhaps less than they ought to know of the French bar;" * and later he writes:

No doubt the English are quite right, as they always are, and must be, on every occasion; but there is still room for some admiration of our neighbours. **

Stephen attempts to relieve such ignorance, and to help his reader to a qualified respect for French justice. Of his success, and of one critic's pleasure in his article we can find evidence in the Illustrated London News, which claims that it is

a highly interesting article on the French Bar, in which the leading distinctions between it and ours are ably pointed out. ***

* CM, December 1864, x, 673.
Stephen had earlier compared the two systems of justice in "The Criminal and the Detection of Crime," CM, December 1860, ii, 697-708. Similar articles can be found in other periodicals; for example, "French Justice," Saturday Review, 29 November 1862, p.639, in which we can read:

Our procedure is as inefficient as that of France is cruel; and if each country would condescend to learn from each other, there is no reason why the humanity of an English trial should not be reconciled with the searching scrutiny of a French Court.

** CM, December 1864, x, 678.

*** IO December 1864, p.582.

These articles dealing with the law did not always receive such praise. "Oaths," also by Stephen, the Illustrated London News writes, "is one of those long, casuistical papers peculiar to the Cornhill." * But not all these articles were as technical as the "Law of Libel," ** or, if technical, they included, as did "Extenuating Circumstances," ***

some droll instances of the ingenuity of French juries in discovering circumstances of mitigation in the very enormity of the offence ... ****

As the author of a historical paper on "State Trials" wrote, "Criminal trials are always interesting," ***** and such interest was gratified by an article on "Circumstantial Evidence" which becomes a detailed account of the celebrated crime and trial of Jessie M'Lachlan. *****

- * Illustrated London News, 11 April 1863, p.418.
 ** CM, January 1866, xv, 36-46.
 *** CM, February 1864, ix, 210-218.
 **** Illustrated London News, 6 February 1864, p.138.
 ***** CM, September 1862, vi, 351.
 ***** CM, November 1862, vi, 689-701.
 That the Cornhill was being topical may be seen from the following remark in the Saturday Review 29 November 1862, 644:
 ... Sir George Grey, in respiting the woman M'Lachlan, respresented a powerful form of public opinion ... It was said that half Glasgow was all but in revolt on the supposition that Jessie M'Lachlan would be hanged ...

In general, we can say of the numerous articles on the law which appeared in the Cornhill of the period that they reveal concern both for the proper administration of the law and for the integrity of the legal profession. Some of them are, in addition, interesting to us as indicating certain attitudes and practices which are no longer common, and also the kind of person it was assumed would be reading the magazine. In an article on "Marriage Settlements," for instance, we read:

When two people are engaged to be married, the business part of the matter is, according to the ordinary phrase, "put into the hands" of a solicitor, or perhaps two ... This kind of domestic legislation has become so common, indeed so nearly universal among the comfortable and moderately wealthy classes, that it is insisted on as a matter of course, as a precaution of ordinary prudence, whenever a marriage takes place in those classes. *

And the Criminal

If the Cornhill reveals some interest in the lawyer and the conduct of his profession, it certainly assumes, not without reason, that the mid-century reader would be interested in the criminal classes. In the first year of the magazine we can read an article entitled "Thieves and Thieving," ** by Rev. H.W.Holland, and in a later volume

* CM, December 1863, viii, 667-668.

** CM, September 1860, ii, 326-344.

one called "Professional Thieves," by the same author; before considering these two articles it is worthwhile to see how the former was received by one critic:

... there is a very admirable article purporting to come from the pen of a clergyman, entitled "Thieves and Thieving," which gives as full and in many senses a better and more philosophical view of an extraordinary phase of the social life of London than any ~~the~~ the most experienced police official could have produced. *

Both these articles display effective reporting, a real but not sentimental concern for the wrongdoer, and a critical approach to the causes and treatment of crime. In his first article the writer established what he feels to be his special qualifications for his reporting and the novelty of his article. As far as he knows, he says, nothing

has been written about thieves by one who might consider himself a working clergyman, going amongst the thieves with no official purpose, with no literary design, going amongst them as their accepted friend, visiting their sick, and sometimes kneeling by the bedside of the dying thief. This

* Illustrated London News, 8 September 1860, p.218. Holland's is certainly the kind of article which Thackeray was seeking; see his letter addressed to "A Friend and Contributor," Letters (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 160:

We want, on the other hand, as much reality as possible - discussion and narrative of events interesting to the public, personal adventures and observations...

was exactly my position in one of the largest towns in England for nearly two years. *

In both articles the writer effectively reveals the quality of life of the inhabitants of the thieves' quarters and in many of his references and descriptions reminds the reader of Mayhew, whose pioneering work in descriptive sociology, London Labour and the London Poor, was being published in its final form in the early sixties. The following extract will give some indication of the quality of Holland's description:

There is a thieves' quarter in all the large towns well known to the police, and better known to the thieves. They flourish, with kindred infamy, amidst congeries of small rag-shops, Irishing shops, coffee-houses, beer-houses, spirit-shops, and lodging-houses for singlemen, with, of course, a tripe-seller, a bird-fancier, a fiddler to play at the thievery carnivals, and a ragged school within hail ... The adults look seedy and sleepy, as if they had been up all night. They lounge about the doors, indulging in subdued laughter, and now and then call to one another across the street, or saunter listlessly through the quarter with their hands in their pockets. **

In what are in fact sociological surveys of a kind with which we are familiar today, the author investigates and

* CM, September 1860, ii, 326.

** CM, November 1862, vi, 645.

comments upon not only the condition of the thieves' lives, but also upon their pleasures, literature, songs, and even their jargon. And these revelations are made with a sympathy which does not excuse, but seeks to understand the cause of such crime and degradation. We see a compassionate regard for the

poor helpless little children, who literally grow up into a criminal career, who have no means of knowing that they are wrong, and who cannot help themselves / and who / have strong claims on the compassion of every lover of his species ... *

and for the plight of the released prisoner:

I also found another class of thieves whose case commended itself to my deep commiseration - young men, originally honest, who had lapsed into crime through momentary temptation. These, after the commission of a first offence, are overwhelmed with a deep sense of shame and personal loathing; which, instead of being the means of their recovery, renders them desperate, and plunges them into a life of crime. To go back to pure life would be to expose themselves to suspicion, desertion, taunts and sneers; and as they cannot face these mortifications, they feel embittered, and bid adieu to the habits and associates of their quondam honest life. **

* CM, September 1860, ii, 330.
See also "Fauna of the Streets," Macmillan's Magazine, January 1862, v, 225-229, for concern about the street waifs of London.

** CM, September 1860, ii, 330.
For a further consideration of this topic, see "The Convict out in the World," CM, August 1861, iv, 229-250.

This kind of writing, social reportage, was extremely popular, as we have seen in the previous chapter, and may have been in the mind of Fitzjames Stephen when he wrote in an essay published in the Cornhill:

Journalism will, no doubt, occupy the first or one of the first places in any future literary history of the present times, for it is the most characteristic of all their productions. *

Similar writing we find in such articles as "The Science of Housebreaking and Garrotting," ** and "Criminal Women," in the latter of which the authoress seeks to give a "sketch of the habits of the lowest class of women in London, of a class be it observed, lower than the ordinary poor with whom most householders come more or less in contact." *** However, such articles were not offered by their writers merely to satisfy a natural curiosity; Mrs.

* "Journalism," CM, July 1862, vi, 52.

** CM, January 1863, vii, 79-92.

*** CM, August 1866, xiv, 156.

Both criminal women, and garrotting, a species of robbery which entailed throttling the victim, were of immediate and considerable interest. In Punch of 6 December and 13 December 1862, for instance, there are a number of articles and cartoons about garrotting; and curiosity about criminal women is revealed by the following ^{words} from the Illustrated London News, 27 September 1862, p.334:

The "lion" of this dull season, in a bookish sense, is undeniably the "Female Life in Prison," by a prison matron.

Owen, in her "Criminal Women," reveals her own ambitions:

Sick at heart at the contemplation of the habits of these unhappy creatures - convinced that the majority of them are irreclaimable, the writer set to work to learn their antecedents, with the hope of finding the root of the evil - of learning whether there were any possibility of taking the disease in an early and preventible stage. *

and it is clear from the articles of the Rev. H.W. Holland that he felt some "definite conclusions about the causes of crime" must precede any attempt to deal with it. In his articles we see a critical and scientific attempt to understand the problem; such an attempt reveals an attitude which T.H. Huxley would see as typical of his time:

I conceive that the leading characteristic of the nineteenth century has been the rapid growth of the scientific spirit, the consequent application of scientific methods of investigation to all the problems with which the human mind is occupied ... **

In Prison

The same concern, the same critical and methodical approach, and the same inclusion of what Fitzjames Stephen calls "more or less graphic descriptions" are to be found in those articles in the Cornhill which deal with prison

* CM, August 1866, xiv, 156.

** L. Huxley, Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley, ii, 374.

life and the treatment of the prisoner. This conjunction of entertaining description and sociological investigation is typical of the magazine, and it was such writing, no doubt, which prompted one reviewer to talk of

the easy and pleasant way of conveying information for which this magazine is celebrated. *

The interest which such articles aroused may perhaps be gauged by a review in the same paper, the Illustrated London News, which found of all the articles in one issue of the magazine, October 1864, "the most entertaining" ** to be "A Visit to a Convict Lunatic Asylum;" the choice of adjective seems most illuminating.

For the appearance of these articles in the Cornhill of the period about the convicted prisoner, there is a general reason and, on occasion, certain specific ones. During the fifties, owing to the objections of the colonists in Van Diemen's Land, Queensland, and other colonies, the system of transportation began to be curtailed until

the second Penal Servitude Act (1857) recommended that terms of penal servitude should correspond exactly to previous sentences of transportation, and that then there should be some remission in

* Illustrated London News, 9 September 1865, p.250.

** ibid., 8 October 1864, p.370.

the case of convicts whose behaviour in prison was satisfactory. *

The result was naturally "an increasing growth in the provision for long-sentence offenders in England," ** and certainly to judge by the frequent appearance in periodical literature of the time of articles on the subject, *** a widespread interest in the criminal and his treatment by society.

The first article to appear in the Cornhill which deals with the prisoner is one called "The Poor Man's Kitchen," in which E.S. Dallas, the author, concerns himself with the diet of both the imprisoned and the poorer working classes, both of which topics were attracting

* D.L. Howard, The English Prisons, p.80.

** G. Rose, The Struggle for Penal Reform, p.3.

*** See, for example, "Life in the Criminal Class," Edinburgh Review, cxxii, October 1865, 337-381; and "English Convicts: What should be done with them," Westminster Review, January 1863, xxiii (NS), 1-32. There are also numerous articles in such papers as the Spectator, the Saturday Review, Temple Bar, Punch, and so on. The opening words of the article in the Edinburgh Review, referred to above, are:

After all that has been published, in many forms, within a few years, we have never till now had the means placed before us of forming any true and complete conception of the distinctive life and character of the criminal class of our population ...

attention during the period. * Miss Mary Carpenter in her book, Our Convicts, published in 1864, was to complain that

few labouring men either could afford, or would eat if they could, so large a dinner as is given to convicts four days in the week, one of those being Sunday, when the plea of hard work is not available. **

It is this opinion which the writer in the Cornhill wishes to examine, and after a description of prison diet in which details such as the following appear:

* See, for instance, "Convict Systems in England and Ireland," Edinburgh Review, January 1863, cxvii, 264:

... the present outcry about the dietary of our State prisons is altogether a mistake; and we must assert the principle that bodily health is one of the requisites to moral reformation.

Also, "Garrotting and the Gallows-Cure," Punch, 6 December 1862, xliii, 227:

"Stuff a cold," says the popular adage, "and starve a cough." At present the moral reverse of this rule is observed in penal economy. You stuff a convict and starve a pauper.

The same paper uses the topic as the subject of many cartoons and articles; for example, "The Comforts of Convicts," allegedly written by a convict, Punch, 24 November 1860, xxxix, 209:

... don't you be gamon'd by them accounts like as peared tuther day in The times About the good Livin they allows Huss convix.

** M.Carpenter, Our Convicts, i, 123.

A table-cloth is laid for each; it is a piece of brown paper somewhat less than the size of the present page. Upon this the salt, to which the prisoner is allowed to help himself in any quantity, or his bread, or anything else, is deposited, and after dinner he pockets the paper, for he will receive a new table-cloth on the morrow. *

the author arrives at the conclusion that the diet is certainly "beyond the means of many poor families" and admits that

there must be something wrong if criminals are so much better off than the honest artisan who is starving with his family on a pittance of 20s. a week. **

The interest of the remainder of the article lies in the fact that the author suggests that the fault is not that "the prisoners are so well fed, but that honest men are worse fed," *** and that he sees the reason in the mismanagement of what little money they do receive. He sees the remedy in the provision of communal kitchens for the honest poor that will enjoy all the advantages of bulk buying and so on, which enable the prison authorities to provide such meals so cheaply.

* CM, June 1860, i, 747.

** ibid., i, 749.

*** ibid., i, 751.

Such an article demonstrates concern for the poor, and of course interest in the domestic economy of the prison. What are also illuminating are the suggestions which he makes for the provision of such kitchens. On the one hand, he suggests that private philanthropy would gladly assist, and indicates the number of worthy people prepared to help in such cases:

And surely there are many gentlemen in this metropolis who take an interest in the poor of our great cities, who only require that such facts as the foregoing should be brought under their notice, in order to follow them up to a practical conclusion, and whose names would be certain to obtain from the public the small sum of money necessary to erect the cooking apparatus, and to put the scheme in motion. *

On the other hand he suggests - and this is the age of Self-Help - that since the working classes "have lately exhibited such a talent for organisation," ** the unions themselves might make the provision. Finally he makes a plea for food for the poor, and, as he warms to his task, even ascribes some divorces to its lack:

How many of the piteous cases that come before Sir Cresswell^{Cresswell} are to be explained by deficiency of food, badness of cooking, and fits of indigestion? ***

* CM, June 1860, i, 753.

** ibid., i, 753.

*** ibid., i, 754.

Certainly one can agree with the reviewer in the Illustrated London News who claimed that

lessons inculcated in the paper, "The Poor Man's Kitchen," are sufficiently comprehensive to take in a wider circle than that indicated in the title ... *

A reader of the period had also, in the pages of the Cornhill, the opportunity of studying descriptions of, and comments on, the prison system written either by the convicts themselves or based, as one writer puts it, "chiefly on the information of convicts themselves." ** The ambition of two of these authors in their "Revelations of Prison Life" is to show that "prison life at the present ... has no terrors for the regular practitioners of crime," *** and

* Illustrated London News, 9 June 1860, p.548.

** The editor is at pains to point out the authenticity of such articles. For instance, to "A Letter from a Convict in Australia to a Brother in England," CM, April 1866, xiii, 489; there appears a footnote which reads:

It may be unnecessary to state that this Letter is really the production of a convict, now in Australia ...

At times Macmillan's makes similar claims. See footnote to "Autobiography of a Navy," December 1861, v, 140:

This paper is exactly what it professes to be - the story of a Navy's life, taken down from his own narration, facts and sentiments together, just as they came.

*** Rev. H.W. Holland and F. Greenwood, CM, May 1863, vii, 638. This is an opinion shared by others. See Saturday Review, 3 January 1863, p.10, which talks of "the general belief that our convicts are so well cared for that prison has no terrors for them ... "

Their article becomes an entertaining description of the habits of the inmates of a prison. As such a description it would no doubt have appealed to the 19th century reader in much the same way as some of the article which appeared in the edition of the Twentieth Century * entitled "Crime" appealed to the 20th century reader. In the Cornhill we can read such statements as:

These exceptions are known to the rogues with whom they deal as "right-screws." They receive money from a prisoner's friends, and expend it for him (of course, with certain abatements) in the purchase of meat, drink, and tobacco. They also traffic very profitably in "cross-stiffs." A cross-stiff, the reader should be told, is a letter written secretly by or for a prisoner, and smuggled out of the gaol precincts by a "right-screw" ... **

We can also enjoy a detailed description of the "telegraph" and other means of communication which the prisoners used to overcome their imposed silence. The article is not only interesting to the reviewer in the Illustrated London News, but also, as far as he was concerned, successful in achieving its aim:

The most generally interesting of the other contributions is the paper on "Prison Life," stated to be mainly

* Winter 1962.

** CM, May 1863, vii, 639.

derived from the revelations of the convicts themselves, and which certainly aids us to discover why imprisonment has lost its terrors. *

What is apparent at the end of the article is a dissatisfaction with the current treatment of the criminal; indeed, the authors show a total disbelief in the "dream of reforming criminals by any mode of prison discipline now practised." It is not surprising, perhaps, that such views were shared by the convict authors of both "A Convict's Views of Penal Discipline" ** and "A Letter from a Convict in Australia to a Brother in England;" *** what is perhaps more interesting is the attitude of Thornton Hunt, son of Leigh Hunt, towards the English system of treating criminals which he reveals in his "The Irish Convict System," **** an article which, together with its supplement, "The English Convict System," ***** attracted, the reviewer in the

* Illustrated London News, 9 May 1863, 522.

** CM, December 1864, x, 722-733.

*** CM, April 1866, xiii, 489-512.

Such discontent with the system was often voiced during the period. See, for example, Gentleman's Magazine, "A Great Social Problem," April 1869, p. 533:

And lastly, we have a gigantic and costly State machinery for dealing with pauperism and crime, in principles which from their nature are only applicable when the evils are developed, and, for the most part, beyond the possibility of cure.

**** CM, April 1861, iii, 409-432.

***** CM, June 1861, iii, 708-733.

Illustrated London News tells us, "so much well-merited attention." *

As is quite clear, there was during the sixties a continued interest in the convict, and at times, such as the period 1862-63, when the criminal assault known as garrotting became common in the streets of London, there arose what the Edinburgh Review called one of England's "occasional panics about its convicts." ** By 1863 the same quarterly could talk of

the popular weariness of the topic of
Prison Discipline, which every body has
heard of ad nauseam. ***

but when Hunt wrote of the "Irish Convict System" his topic still had a certain freshness about it, and the clue to the attention the article received may be found in the subtitle: "Why it has Succeeded." What Hunt's article does is to describe the system in Ireland which,

substituting a truly correctional for
a merely penal handling, has made sweet
the uses even of the bitterest adversity,

* Illustrated London News, 17 August 1861, p.160.

** "Convict Systems in England and Ireland," Edinburgh Review, January 1863, cxvii, 241.

As we have seen, at this time Punch carried a number of articles about crimes with violence; e.g. 21 March 1863, xliv, 114:

The Crime of highway robbery
We find increased of late,
Accompanied by violence
Alarming to the State;
The practice of garrotting
Has grown to that extent,
A Bill's brought in to check the same
By Corporal Punishment.

*** ibid.

the adversity of criminal geol. *

According to Hunt, the Irish System, invented by Captain Crofton, head of the Directors of the Irish Convict Prisons, allowed first for the "principle of individualization" -

each man's case being separately handled with reference to his antecedents, his character, and his actual state of mind ...**

- and secondly for a system of intermediate prisons

in which the convict could be subjected to trial before his discharge. ***

In the earlier part of his article Hunt describes in detail a system which, according to his behaviour, allowed the prisoner greater freedom and personal responsibility until he could work in something similar to open prisons on projects useful to the community and profitable financially to himself. In addition to describing the treatment and fortunes of prisoners, both men and women - and some of Hunt's case studies are also reminiscent of Mayhew - he also devotes an important part of his article to the justification of the Irish system. Of its success he writes:

... it is obvious that the very largest number of relapses does not amount to 20 per cent., and probably does not exceed 10 per cent., and might be yet further reduced with extended powers of surveillance and longer sentences. I say nothing of England, where, before

* CM, April 1861, iii, 410.
 ** CM, April 1861, iii, 411.
 *** ibid., iii, 414.

the wholesale retrograde movements of Portland and Chatham, the relapses have stood at nearly 90 per cent., because, I repeat, I am not comparing the two systems. Only flesh and blood cannot resist a glance at contrasts so striking. *

The writer in the Edinburgh Review was not so hesitant and could roundly write that in no department of public affairs

has the Government of England shown a more wretched and mischievous indecision and fickleness than in that of convict management. **

and insists that whereas the English system is ineffective, a different administration of the same law in Ireland effects "on the one hand the reform of four-fifths of the offenders, and on the other the perpetual reduction of the criminal class." *** These comments, together with numerous references to the topic in other periodicals, demonstrate that the article in the Cornhill was generally reflecting a current interest in the treatment of the criminal and in techniques that would diminish the rate of crime. There is also evidence that the article on the "Irish Convict System" elicited a more particular response. In the Illustrated London News we can read the following remarks concerning the meeting of the Social Science Association in Dublin:

* CM, April 1861, iii, 424.
 ** Edinburgh Review, January 1863, cxvii, 242.
 *** ibid., cxvii, 266.

The Irish convict system as compared with that pursued in England, under the auspices of Sir Joshua Jebb, will also be fully ventilated, and it is a pity that the social scientists have not the advantage of the presence of Mr. Thornton Hunt, whose able and interesting articles on convicts and convict discipline in the Cornhill Magazine have attracted so much well-merited attention. *

and earlier the Spectator had pointed out that

Just as the events / i.e. the outbreaks at various prisons / are occurring in the model English establishments, the Cornhill Magazine publishes an admirable description of the system pursued in Ireland. **

One response to Hunt's article, which was most important since it led to a second essay in the Cornhill, was the letter, written by Sir Joshua Jebb and published in the Times *** accusing Hunt of inaccuracies. Hunt replied to the Times offering, "if the same facility were afforded me here as in Ireland, to bestow all pains in making a report upon the English system as complete as that which had been challenged."

**** Such facilities were offered and Hunt investigated the establishments, the practices, and the successes of the English system, publishing his account of them in the Cornhill

* Illustrated London News, 17 August 1861, p.160.
 ** Spectator, 30 March 1861, p.329.
 *** Times, 15 April 1861, p.9.
 **** CM, June 1861, iii, 708.

of June 1861. Objective and diplomatic though he tries to be "I wish," he says, "to avoid the controversial part of the subject" - there seems little doubt which system he favoured. He certainly would not have agreed with that writer in Temple Bar who reached this conclusion:

Looking at our English system and its results, I think we have reason to be proud of it, and that we may fairly say, "They do not manage things better in -- Ireland!" *

The Poor

Considerable though the interest was that it showed in the criminal and his treatment, the Cornhill does not neglect other less fortunate members of society; together with other periodicals it assumes that the

middle respectable classes, hurrying along from one comfortable firelit world to another, - worlds closed in by curtains and shutters, warmed by fires and carpets, steaming with the flavour of good things ... **

were interested in and concerned for the poor, the humble,

- * Temple Bar, September 1861, iii, 194.
See Spectator, 7 September 1861, p.985:
Mr. Sala, in Temple Bar, has started a rival writer upon convicts against the Cornhill gentleman, who, of course, arrives at an exactly opposite conclusion, maintaining that the English convict system is better than the Irish.
- ** A. Thackeray, "Chirping Crickets," CM, February 1869, xix, 237.

the sick and the destitute. * At a period when one author could write that the "poor are always with us, but how terrible [is] their lot in this mid-winter of 1860-61," ** when their presence was especially felt because of the cotton famine resulting from the American war, it is not surprising that some attention should be given to the workings of the Poor Law. Once such article, "French System of Relieving the Poor," after describing the foreign system of relief concludes that "it is certain that the French poor are (at infinitely less cost) much better cared for and much more tenderly treated than our own," and stoutly maintains that

with us, the chief object of the relieving officer and other officials under the Poor Law, seems to be the diminution of the rates, rather than the relief of the unfortunate ... ***

The English system also comes under attack in "Life of a Farm Labourer," where we find it argued that the Poor Law was having a debilitating effect upon the "peasantry" because it was at war with "the full development of the principle of self-help, gained by means of sound provident

* See J. Hollingshead, Ragged London in 1861 (1861), p.3 :

The one domestic question at present uppermost in the public mind is the social condition of the humbler classes.

** "A Great Social Want," Spectator, 12 January 1861, p.36.

*** CM, July 1862, vi, 50-51.

societies." * What, however, is more interesting is the material by which the author seeks to prove his point. In this and in a similar article which it inspired, "The Scottish Farm Labourer," ** the authors give fascinating descriptions of the lives of farm labourers and their families, descriptions which include detailed statistical evidence of income and expenditure. Together with such illuminating details as:

The doctor's bill proves a heavy item, but the doctor is kind, and will wait till they can pay him, and will have a tolerable test of his kindness, I fear. In addition is the monthly call of the bagman clothier for contribution for a dress nearly worn out, but not nearly paid for; also of the bagman shoemaker for boots in the same predicament; so that what with rent and occasional outgoings, as well as fixed ones, the wife has looked trouble in the face, and trouble has returned the gaze, and stamped upon her countenance a careworn expression before she is one-and-twenty. **

we find the following table:

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- * CM, February 1864, ix, 186.
 The condition of farm labourers was of continued interest during the period. See Saturday Review, 19 January 1861, p.66:
 The newspapers have lately been filled to overflowing with the misery of the agricultural labourers. The state of their cottages has occupied the correspondents of the Times for weeks, and has even overflowed into the pages of Punch.
- ** CM, November 1864, x, 609-622.
 *** CM, February 1864, ix, 179.

INCOME

	s.	d.
Father (average)	14.	0.
Mother "	2.	0.
Eldest boy "	7.	0.
Second boy "	2.	0.
	<hr/>	
	25.	0.
	<hr/>	

EXPENSES

	s.	d.
House-rent	3.	0.
Club		9.
Food (say 8 in family)	15.	6.
Beer (at home) at 1s.4d. a gal.	1.	0.
Schooling for three children		6.
Fuel	2.	0.
	<hr/>	
	22.	9.
	<hr/>	

There remains a balance of 2s.3d. for the bagmen, and - save the mark! - for clothing father, mother, and children, for bedding, for accidents and repairs to domestic furniture and other incidental expenses which will arise, and must be met. *

"The Scottish Farm Labourer" is perhaps an even more effective summary of the habits and economics of the life of a farm labourer in Scotland, but both articles are what the Illustrated London News called "interesting contribution(s) to social science," and are worthy forerunners of a kind of writing with which we have become familiar in our own century, especially from someone such as George Orwell in his Road to Wigan Pier.

In a similar tradition, that of the "better class of agreeable essays, crowded with information pleasantly disguised, of which this magazine /i.e. the Cornhill 7 has also almost

* CM, February 1864, ix, 181.

** Illustrated London News, 5 November, p.470.

a monopoly," * are two articles on "Life and Labour in the Coal-Fields," and "Fire-Damp and its Victims." ** The first offers ample scope for the author's powers of description and his exposition of the techniques of coal mining are interspersed with such pictures as:

In a small corner-like recess, full of floating coal-dust, foul and noisome with bad air and miscellaneous refuse and garbage, glimmer three or four candles, stuck in clay which adheres to wall and roof; or there may be only a couple of Davy lamps, each of which may be truly styled lucus a non luncendo. Close and deliberate scrutiny will discover one hewer nearly naked, lying upon his back, elevating his small sharp pickaxe a little above his nose, and picking into the coal-seam with might and main; another is squatting down and using his pick like a common labourer; a third is cutting a small channel in the seam, and preparing to drive in wedges. ***

The second article, as its title implies, is more technical, but even in this there are vivid accounts of some of the accidents that had occurred.

During this period we can find revealed in many middle

* Illustrated London News, 11 April 1863, p.418.

** CM, April 1862, v, 426-437.

Coal mining was a topic which was exciting interest during the period. See "Life, Enterprise, and Peril in Coal-Mines," Quarterly Review, October 1861, cx, 329:

There are few of the principal elements of our commercial prosperity so little known, yet ~~as~~ few so worthy of being universally known, as our coal-mines.

*** CM, March 1862, v, 349.

class magazines a persistent desire for knowledge about the "other England." A writer in the Saturday Review makes clear this desire when he says:

First of all we want to know what is actually going on among the poor ...
In the second place, it would be most desirable to have it clearly explained what is now being done for the poor ... *

If articles such as those about the farm labourers satisfy the first desire, then articles such as the "French System of Relieving the Poor," and "The Working Man's Restaurant" would help to satisfy the second. The first of these was, as we have seen, another attack on the Poor Law in England, proving that such things are indeed managed better in France, whilst the second is a description of a "philanthropic experiment that has been made to pay." Apparently the originator of this restaurant, where food could be had which was both wholesome and cheap, was first inspired

by an article which appeared in the Cornhill Magazine (June, 1860), entitled the "Poor Man's Kitchen." In this article it was pointed out that while dietetics have been most carefully studied by governors of prisons and workhouses, they have literally received no attention whatever from any parties interested in the comforts of the working classes.**

The article itself is an account of how that originator, a Mr. Thomas Corbett, successfully sought to put within the

* Saturday Review, 15 November 1862, p.581.

** CM, February 1863, vii, 255.

reach of the working man "cheap and wholesome food and drink, so as to establish a successful competition with the attractions of public-houses and gin-palaces." *

As an instance of what else was being done for the poor we have an evocative description by Anne Thackeray of the Newport Refuge, a charitable institution which acted both as a casual ward and an orphanage. Interesting and revealing though her pictures of the inside of the ward and orphanage are, the twentieth century reader, despite the sincerity and sense of compassion conveyed, may well cavil at such an expression of sentiment as the following:

It is pleasant to come away from these refuges and hospitals with a remembrance of children's laughter in the twilight, and voices at play, of troubles quieted, of the sick and wounded made whole, of a divine light of hope and love shining upon the arid and blighted vineyard, and the weary or failing labourers at work among the vines. **

The Sick

Also reflected in the Cornhill is the contemporary interest in, and concern for, the treatment of the sick. If we look at the magazines we can find articles such as that in the Gentleman's Magazine, "A Walk through King's College

* CM, February 1863, vii, 255.

** "Chirping Crickets," CM, February 1869, xix, 242. The Spectator, 6 February 1869, p.173, noticing the article and quoting another such description finds it a "charming little picture."

Hospital," * or in Macmillan's, "The History of a Hospital," ** or in the same magazine an article by Elizabeth Garrett, "Volunteer Hospital Nursing." *** In the Cornhill there is the same kind of treatment of the topic, treatment which ranges from the descriptive, and in the main satisfied, to the controversial, and dissatisfied and exhortatory. In the "Inner Life of a Hospital," the author seeks to correct current misconceptions about hospital life - "the popular ideas," he writes, "of hospital life are widely different from reality" - by following:

the course of a day's labour in one of these institutions; and, as a type of the method in which the medical and surgical administration of a hospital is conducted, we will select the most ancient of these sanctuaries of suffering poverty. ****

The treatment of the patients, the routine of their day, their diet, and even the manufacture of their pills - all these aspects of the life in a hospital are considered and by the end of the article the reader will certainly have "gained some knowledge of the intricate and costly machinery by which these valuable institutions are worked, and of their claim to consideration on the part of the wealthy and

* Gentleman's Magazine, September 1868, i(NS), 524-531.
 ** Macmillan's Magazine, July 1862, vi, 252-260.
 *** Macmillan's Magazine, April 1867, xv, 494-499.
 **** CM, April 1862, v, 462.

benevolent." * Equally revealing, though again informed by sentimentality, is Anne Thackeray's description, entitled "A City of Refuge," ** of a hospital for incurables. The reviewer in the Spectator once more found the tone and style of Anne Thackeray's article congenial, and wrote of it:

The most valuable paper in the Cornhill is the one headed "A City of Refuge," a most pathetic account of the Hospital for Incurables on Putney Common, an account which might make a tender heart ache for weeks, and will bring, we may hope, thousands of pounds to the hospital. ***

There is little enough of sentimentality to be found in "Nurses Wanted," an article which the Illustrated London News called

a vigorous essay on a subject of public concern in which we seem to recognise the elastic pen of Miss Martineau. ****

Miss Martineau's ambition is twofold. Her first aim is to demonstrate the falseness of the myth that women should not have to work, for she says:

Any pretence of horror or disgust at women having to work, is mere affectation in a country and time when half the women must work in order to live, and

* CM, April 1862, v, 477.

** CM, June 1868, xvii, 735-744.

*** Spectator, 6 June 1868, p.683.

**** Illustrated London News, 8 April, 1865, p.327.

when one-third of them must be independent workers. *

Secondly, she seeks to show that all the occupations that a woman might undertake with both honour and profit, nursing is unsurpassed. Harriet Martineau rejects with scorn the image of a nurse current, apparently, at the time of the Crimes:

While they were contending with the hardest and most prosaic difficulties, and seeing men die of sheer hunger and dirt, they had little relish for the romancing of the day - for the fervours of enthusiasts who would have gone out as heroines - or for the pictures of their service held up in novels or poems, in which the nun-like nurse finds her lover in a hospital, cures him, and goes off with him, unmindful of all engagements and of all duties voluntarily undertaken. We grew tired of hospital-romancing years ago ... **

Instead she demonstrates the critical need - a need still supplied mainly by nurses often "scarcely caricatured even in Mrs. Gamp" *** - and the relief which the training for, and acceptance of, such work could give both to the women needing work and to those people who needed nursing. Such articles, robust and intelligent, together with such books

* CM, April 1865, xi, 409.

Concern at the position of women who must work had earlier been expressed by Anne Thackeray in "Toilers and Spinsters," CM, March 1861, iii, 318-331.

** CM, April 1865, xi, 412.

*** ibid., xi, 413.

as Florence Nightingale's Notes on Nursing - "a work of genius," one reviewer would have it * - must have done much to raise the status of this profession.

There is evidence in the periodicals also of interest in the mentally sick, and of the recognition of the fact that, as the Edinburgh Review said, "modern science and an enlarged philanthropy" ** were affecting the treatment of the insane. G.A. Sala, for instance, wrote two lengthy articles, each accompanied by a full-page illustration, in the Illustrated London News *** of his visit to the Royal Hospital of Bethlehem. Throughout his article Sala insists upon the care and skill with which the patients are treated, and demonstrates a real sympathy for the mentally disturbed, and a delicacy of perception of their problems and their dilemmas. The two articles in the Cornhill concern themselves rather with the vexed and currently discussed legal problem of an effective definition of madness. The first article, by Fitzjames Stephen is a more abstract discussion of the problem, and its tendency is to demonstrate that

there is little to complain of in the
arrangements made for ascertaining whether

* Quarterly Review, April 1860, cvii, 392.

** See "Idiot Asylums," Edinburgh Review, July 1865, cxxii, 37-74.

*** Illustrated London News, 24 March 1860, pp.291-293; 31 March 1860, 304-305.

or not people are lunatics, and that both the enormous trouble and the immense expense of trying such questions out, are inevitable results of the nature of the subject-matter of the inquiry. *

"A Visit to a Convict Lunatic Asylum" is equally comforting for its author comes to the conclusion that

every male prisoner I had seen was properly deprived of his liberty, and that the taunt incessantly cast upon the Government for its morbid sympathy with criminals is unjust. **

What makes the article particularly fascinating to the reader curious about such institutions and their inmates are the verbatim accounts which the author gives of his meetings and discussion with lunatics whom we in our century have learned to recognise and readily classify as patients suffering from such illnesses as paranoia and schizophrenia.

In the Armed Forces

This interest in, and curiosity about, various social institutions and the life of their members were considered by the editors of the periodicals not to be restricted to civilian matters; the state of the fighting services was, as we shall see in a later chapter, of especial interest during the sixties, and there appeared in the magazines articles which, by describing the life of servicemen, reflect

* "Commissions of Lunacy," CM, February 1862, v, 220.

** CM, October 1864, x, 460.

such issues as the problems of recruiting and the technological changes in naval warfare. James Hannay, himself once a sailor who had written novels about the sea, contributed three papers *, about one of which the Spectator commented:

The best paper in the Cornhill, apart from the stories, is on "Naval Men," which it is, we fancy, quite safe to attribute to Mr. Hannay. At least, if the author of Singleton Fontenoy did not write it, there is someone else alive who might have written Singleton Fontenoy, which is an advantage to the world. By the way, why on earth does Mr. Hannay leave off writing novels? Marryat is dead, and Chamier, and except himself we do not remember a man who can write a decent sea story, not to mention that nobody else seems to have an idea that the modern naval officer is very much like the modern Englishmen of any kind, just as little professional and just as much aware of the general movement of the world. **

What Hannay stresses in his articles, which reveal both first-hand experience and a historical knowledge of his subject, is the change that is taking place, necessitated by the revolution following steam-power and iron-plateing for ships of war, in the training and attitudes of the naval officer; the application of mechanical invention to naval matters was

* "Inner Life of a Men-of-War," CM, February 1863, vii, 172-188.
 "Social History of the Navy," CM, September 1865, xii, 374-384.
 "Naval Men," CM, October 1866, xiv, 462-479.

** Spectator, 6 October 1866, p.1117.

demanding a new type of naval officer. Technically the naval officer must be highly educated if the "difficulty in maintaining our old supremacy" is not to be increased; the fool, in authority because of influence, can no longer be tolerated:

In these days of iron-clads, the risk from a noodle is prodigious, the stake being so costly and vast. Then gunnery is more elaborate, - by the difference of a whole revolution; steam opens up a new world of its own; and electricity is employed in carrying orders to and fro the mighty bulk of our marine monsters. *

The bluff, hard-swearing officer of the "old school," to be found in Marrayat, is fast disappearing and now the

great characteristic of modern naval life is that it is no longer separated from the life of the rest of the world, as it used to be. An admiral no longer asks for his carriage to be brought round to the door by telling the servant to man the boat. The Navy reads and dances, and has opinions on Colenso and crinoline. **

Hannay deals mainly with the officer in the Navy, but the two papers, giving accounts of Army life, appeared which concerned themselves with the common soldier - in his barrack and in his prison. Each author gives as the raison d'être of his article the provision of information about

* CM, October 1866, xiv, 472.

** CM, September 1865, xii, 384.

little known aspects of the national life. "Life in a Military Prison" begins:

In 1865, when stationed in Canada, I became an inmate of the Montreal military prison, all through taking a drop too much. I never was in any such position before. Now the management of military prisons is a sealed mystery. I shall open the seal. *

And the opening paragraph of "Life in a Barrack" reads:

The British people has, without doubt, a deep interest in its Army, as well as a lasting pride in it; but of the daily life of the individual soldier, his duties and indulgences, his surroundings and his sentiments, little seems to be known beyond the barrack wall. And yet a plain, unvarnished statement on some of these matters cannot fail to be interesting, and so I, a man in the ranks, make bold to attempt it. **

Both, purport, one notices, to be written by serving soldiers, and certainly carry conviction; the evidence available, however, points to Frederick Greenwood as the author of "Life in a Barrack."

If "Life in a Barrack" was written, rather than ghosted, by Greenwood, then the conclusions drawn in the article, after a straightforward description of a private soldier's life, may be regarded as suspect. The tendency of the paper

* CM, April 1867, xv, 499.

** CM, April 1863, vii, 441.

is to indicate contentment with the conditions of service, which seems out of harmony with the reasons for the lack of Army recruits expressed in a later article, "The Limited Enlistment Act," * also written by a serving soldier. The conclusion of the writer of "Life in a Barrack," is that the lot of a common soldier compares favourably with that of various civilians:

You, who read this, have seen pretty clearly what is the ordinary day's work of a soldier, and it must have struck you as being, in comparison with that of a shoemaker and tailor, who toil twelve hours a day for a pound a week, very light. Of course, there are certain additional contingencies, such as the chance of being shot at, or of being fatigued and starved to death in a trench; but I have no doubt it would be found, on inquiry, that the tailor's trade is more destructive to life in the long run than the soldier's. And then the soldier's calling keeps him healthy while he does live: the operative's is often little better than a lingering disease; and I take that to be a very great difference in our favour. **

Though modestly written, "Life in a Military Prison" is a most effective expose of the organised methods practised in such establishments to break a man's spirit and to degrade him by the nature of his employment. The "grand part of the punishment" was the shot-drill, when for an hour and a half the prisoner moved a thirty-two pound shot to and fro

* CM, August 1864, x, 207-217.

** CM, April 1863, vii, 455.

between two points five yards apart, accompanied by the

voices of the warders: "Keep your knees straight, that man of the Royal Artillery, No.11; no bending of the knees either in lifting or laying the shot." "Keep your heels close, that man of the Rifle Brigade; if I have to speak to you again I'll take down your name." "Carry the shot out from your body, that man of the 30th Regiment, No.21 ..." *

The comment of the Illustrated London News, which saw such practices as an extension of the normal discipline of the army, seems fair:

"Life in a Military Barrack" is delineated by one who has had personal experience of it. Those who have witnessed the dismal monotony of a barrack will have some conception what sort of a place a military prison must be. The repulsive description here given does not surprise us, nor do we see how the harsh features of the system can be materially ameliorated. The writer is no doubt correct in considering that the severities he describes must tend to deter men of feeling and independence from entering the Army; but we fear this is equally true of the whole system of military discipline. **

Two Critics

Many of the articles discussed so far in this chapter are descriptive, and demonstrate a desire for knowledge about the less fortunate and a real compassion for those in various kinds of need. Some of them are critical of

* CM, April 1867, xv, 510.

** Illustrated London News, 6 April 1867, p.346.

contemporary institutions and practices, but much of the comment and some of the suggestions can be construed as superficial, of being what John Morley called "little bits of sticking plaster" when he said that the

hideous phagedenic ulcer of pauperism is aggravated, not appeased by little pieces of sticking-plaster in the shape of stray threepenny pieces. *

And if Macmillan's could find a writer in John Morley who saw the need for more fundamental changes in society and its attitudes, and who could insist that a

huge, incalculable force is needed to lift the great machine of the State out of a rut. Vast and sustained changes of the electric current of conviction are necessary before the inert mass of accumulated practices and traditions can be made to yield a single iota. **

then the Cornhill could make available to its readers the ideas of John Ruskin and Matthew Arnold both of whom regarded society critically and felt the need for something more radical, for instance, than a more efficient and more humane administration of the Poor Law.

The appearance in the Cornhill of Arnold's "My Countrymen" and the major part of Culture and Anarchy has already been noted and commented upon in the chapter on

* "Social Responsibilities," Macmillan's, September 1866, xiv, 381-382.

** ibid.

Education. Both of them - and again a connection between the material considered in this and the previous chapters is made clear - are essays in social criticism, as is Ruskin's Unto this Last. Ruskin's attack upon the "soi-disant science of political economy," his insistence that no satisfactory economic relations would be achieved until a working man was regarded as a total sentient being, not as a mere production unit, a pair of hands, * and his economic theories which involved moral values - all these appeared heretical to his audience in the Cornhill. Derision greeted words and ideas which now seem acceptable enough today; if his views about the proper relations between the rich and the poor, the employer and the employed, smack today of a rather offensive paternalism, he does make his eloquent plea for Justice rather than Charity:

... and the mistake of the best men through generation after generation, has been that great one of thinking to help the poor by almsgiving, and by preaching of patience or of hope, and by every other means, emollient or consolatory, except the one thing which God orders for them, justice. **

* Compare Thomas Arnold, "Letter on the Social Condition of the Operative Classes," Miscellaneous Works, p.209: A man sets up a factory, and wants hands: I beseech you, Sir, to observe the very expressions that are used, for they are significant. What he wants of his fellow creatures is the loan of their hands; of their heads and hearts he thinks nothing.

** CM, October 1860, ii, 408.

The work of both Ruskin and Arnold involved the editor and publisher in controversy, something of which will be discussed in a later chapter on Literature, despite an obvious wish on their part to avoid polemics. Arnold's writing often irritated and provoked the kind of comment we find in the Illustrated London News:

Mr. Arnold's papers on "Anarchy and Authority" are also concluded, and we hardly think they will be much missed. They contain incidentally much fanciful humour and many just and striking observations; but, taken as a whole, they are but the laborious apology of a fastidious man for labouring at nothing else. Mr. Arnold is fond of calling those from whom he differs intellectual Philistines - he is himself an intellectual Pharisee. "Stand by, I am holier than thou." is virtually forever on his lips ... *

On the other hand, it did not anger to the extent that some of the work which Ruskin contributed to the magazine did. Despite such a reaction as:

For our part, we liked "Unto this last," principally, we believe, for the reason that we had never before been able to read any one work on political economy without skipping four pages out of six. Now you may disagree with Ruskin; but you must read him. **

there is no doubt, as has been said, that Ruskin's economic theories were too novel for his day. After four

* Illustrated London News, 8 August 1868, p.126.

** ibid., 1 December 1860, p.513.

sections had been published, George Smith, the publisher, decided not to continue for

his doctrine was seen to be too deeply tainted with socialistic heresy to conciliate subscribers. *

Considering the kind of article which has been discussed in the last two chapters, it is obvious that the Cornhill cannot be accused of what a reviewer in the Spectator called the

crying evil of our ablest Magazines -- want of connexion with the current interests of life ... **

In spite of the fact that the currently controversial topics of religion and politics - and after all this was the decade of Essays and Reviews, the evolution argument, and of the Reform Act - were excluded, *** there still remained, as we have seen, enough scope for the Cornhill to earn praise from a reviewer in the Illustrated London News for

* George Smith, p.30.

** Spectator, 6 July 1861, p.732.

*** See N. Annan, Leslie Stephen, p.66. Annan is quoting Stephen's remarks about the Cornhill of which he became editor in 1871:

"What can one make," he grumbled, "of a magazine which excluded the only subjects in which reasonable men can take any interest: politics and religion?"

Compare Spectator, 2 November 1861, p.1207:

The Cornhill is full this month of papers, thoughtfully and excellently written, but a little deficient in vitality. Politics are, we presume, deliberately excluded, but a magazine can touch upon topics of the day without engaging in controversy ...

the tact usually displayed by this periodical in bringing forward those subjects in which the public happens to be interested at the time. *

In addition, of course, to publishing novels by such men as Thackeray, Trollope, Collins and so on, this topicality was one of the reasons for the success of the Cornhill. Another was that it offered a class, which its critics certainly accused of being abominably educated, an opportunity for self-instruction. The Cornhill was renowned for the variety of its miscellaneous papers, and its readers enjoyed

that class of popularising disquisitions on subjects of general interest for which this miscellany is distinguished. **

And in the next chapter we shall see how the magazine in dealing with scientific topics justified the general praise a reviewer expressed when he said that a particular issue was

as usual ... replete with entertainment, and not devoid of instruction. ***

* Illustrated London News, 7 November, p.455.
 ** ibid., 6 May 1865, 442.
 *** ibid., 6 June 1868, 558.

CHAPTER IV

Science in the Sixties

At a time when concern is still often expressed at the existence of what C.P. Snow has called the "Two Cultures," it is interesting to consider how far such a dichotomy was recognised a century ago. Information about such a recognition can indeed be gained from a study of magazines popular among educated laymen, of which the Cornhill was of course one. We can survey the extent to which a magazine, devoted during the period 1860-1870 to the publication of the novels of such writers as Thackeray, George Eliot, Trollope and Wilkie Collins, and including essays by such men as Arnold, the brothers Stephen, and J.A. Symonds, offered information on scientific topics which were currently important among scientists, or exciting interest among men of education. It was obviously assumed that, to use Snow's terms, the readers would know and be interested in their Shakespeare. What is of interest to us in this chapter is whether the editors of a magazine such as the Cornhill considered that, despite their ignorance in scientific matters, the readers would be prepared and capable

of reading about the Second Law of Thermodynamics. *

At once it must be admitted that, considerable though the interest was both in science of a fundamental nature and in its technological applications, already the communication of scientific information was becoming difficult.

M.M. Bevington in his book, The Saturday Review 1855-1868, writes:

... as science became more complex and abstruse, understanding it became increasingly difficult for the educated laymen. The Origin of Species was almost the last great scientific book that a man without scientific training could feel competent to judge. **

This opinion - perhaps rather extravagant since it ignores such a book as Newton's Principia - finds some echo in an essay by A.J. Ayer who more circumspectly claims that until the beginning of the 19th century an intelligent layman could familiarise himself with the currently important scientific concepts and principles, but that

with the rapid growth of science in the last hundred and fifty years, and with its ever-increasing specialisation, it becomes more and more difficult for anyone who is not a specialist in a given

* Certainly one magazine assumed so. See Macmillan's Magazine, March 1862, v, 388-393, where Professor W. Thompson begins his article, "On the Age of the Sun's Heat," thus:

The second great law of Thermodynamics involves a certain principle of irreversible action in nature.

** p.287.

branch of science to have more than a superficial knowledge of it. *

These are two scholars of this century seeing the difficulties that were beginning to exist for the educated layman, i.e. a typical reader, we may assume, of the Cornhill, in his effort to understand and be interested in scientific studies. More enlightening, perhaps, are the remarks of a contemporary critic who, on an occasion when the well-known German chemist and bio-chemist, Baron von Liebig, published in the Cornhill a paper on "Induction and Deduction," wrote :

The articles are all good in their way, but we doubt if their way is quite suited to the readers of the Cornhill. Baron Liebig is a little too abstruse for non-scientific readers ... **

To gauge what the Cornhill was doing to make those readers more knowledgeable about scientific matters of contemporary interest, and to estimate the quality and relevance of the scientific papers which it published involves the consideration of several issues. How lacking, we may ask, in scientific knowledge were the readers ? How far did the Cornhill acquaint its readers with what was currently exciting the interest and attention of scientists of note ?

* A.J.Ayer, "Science and Philosophy," Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians (N.Annan and others), p.206.

** Spectator, 2 September 1865, p.983.

See also Illustrated London News, 9 September 1865, p.250 :
Baron's Liebig's scientific paper is hardly likely to find many readers ...

What attitude to science and to scientists is revealed in the writings published in the magazine? And a final question we may ask, the answer to which will help us to judge the kind of contribution that the Cornhill was making, is: how does it compare with the other magazines which were flourishing during this decade?

Just how knowledgeable the readers were before they read these scientific articles is, of course, difficult to assess with any accuracy. What we can say is that, apart from those male readers who had read for the Natural Sciences Tripos instituted at Cambridge in 1852, the readers had almost certainly received little or no formal education in science. Among the public schools *, and even the newer proprietary schools, only one or two included anything scientific in the curriculum, and as C. Bibby says:

... in general the mid-century adult was quite ignorant of science. Huxley had to be assured that Tennyson was not joking when he inquired whether the ascent of sap in plants did not disprove the law of gravitation, and those responsible for selecting school texts in 1870 could approve one

* Of one Victorian at Harrow in the fifties we can read: Symonds was bitter because he was sent out into the world without even the rudiments of mathematics and no physical science whatsoever ... P. Grosskurth, John Addington
Symonds, pp.28-29.

which declared that "the fly keeps the warm air pure and wholesome by its swift and zig-zag flight."*

The fact that the classics, which Matthew Arnold called "the grand fortifying curriculum" in his Friendship's Garland, were still firmly entrenched, can be demonstrated by the persistent campaigning of T.H.Huxley for the inclusion of science in the curriculum:

If I insist unweariedly, nay fanatically, upon the importance of physical science as an educational agent it is because the study of any branch of science, if properly conducted, appears to me to fill up a void left by all other means of education. **

* C.Bibby, T.H.Huxley, p.165.

** T.H.Huxley, "On the Method of Studying Zoology," a lecture delivered before Science classes at the South Kensington Museum, reprinted in Modern Culture: its True Aims and Requirements, ed. E.L.Youmans (1867), p.115.

It is interesting to read one of Huxley's grandsons writing, rather wildly perhaps, of the educational system of the middle years of the nineteenth century:

We grumble about our educational system, but forget that less than a century ago there was no system at all, merely a squalid absence of education, with here and there an oasis of Renaissance learning, where a few privileged boys could acquire the useful arts of construing Cicero and turning Gray's Elegy into heroic couplets.

Foreword by Aldous Huxley to C.Bibby, T.H.Huxley, p.xi. It is worth noting that during the sixties the Cornhill published nearly as many articles about science and technology as about literary matters.

It would be quite wrong, however, to assume that the Cornhill by publishing in its early years papers of a scientific nature was fulfilling a function that all felt to be useful.

It is clear from the "liberal education" debate of the period, * in which men like Pattison, Mill, Huxley, Farrer, Sidgwick and so on engaged, that what John Grote, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge, called "the stoutest defenders of what we call classical education" existed in plenty. ** In 1855 W.G. Clark was writing that the study of classics "is indispensable as a basis of education for each and every profession;" *** just over a decade later the Times, reviewing Essays on a Liberal Education which F.W. Farrer edited, was agreeing with the recommendations of the Clarendon Commission that classics

* J.S. Mill in his "Inaugural Address at St. Andrews," talks of

the great controversy of the present day with regard to higher education, the difference which most broadly divides educational reformers and conservatives; the vexed question between the ancient languages and the modern sciences and arts; whether general education should be classical - let me use a wider expression, and say literary - or scientific.

James and John Stuart Mill on Education (ed. F.A. Cavenagh), p.138.

** "Old Studies and New," Cambridge Essays, p.77. Just how entrenched was their position can be seen from their handling of Faraday when he gave evidence to the Clarendon Commission.

*** "General Education and Classical Studies," Cambridge Essays, p.305.

"should have the chief place in the higher education of the country." * But for a stout attack upon the inclusion of science in the curriculum we can turn to the pages of the Spectator. There, with great condescension, the writer admits to there being no harm in a "smattering of French" and that there is "great good in mathematics;" then, warming to the defence of the classics, he continues:

But unless the experience of all great Englishmen from Alfred downwards is worthless, there is no mental gymnasium like a severe course of classical tuition ... The classics may be cultivated too exclusively at Eton, but they ought still to be the basis of education, and any attempt to smother them under bits of science and scraps of the rubbish which succeeds at a competitive examination, demands a jealously vigorous resistance. **

However, despite the ignorance of many, and, presumably, the disapproval of some, the Cornhill did not hesitate at least in its early years to include scientific articles of either general or specific interest. What is of particular interest to us in this chapter is to see how far the magazine concerned itself with what was pre-occupying the scientists of the period. It has been said that:

* Times, 6 February 1868, p.4.

** Spectator, 4 May 1861, p.471.

The inclusion of science in the curriculum is discussed in "National Science in Schools and in General Education," Macmillan's Magazine, October 1861, iv, 474-480.

Three main scientific generalizations emerged in the nineteenth century : the conservation of matter, the conservation of energy, and evolution. *

This fact the same author, A.E.E.McKenzie, has stated in personal terms when he said :

From about 1830 until 1865 the major scientific developments came from Britain in the work of Lyell, Faraday, Joule, Darwin, and Maxwell. **

If, then, the Cornhill was acquainting its readers with what was of immediate interest to scientists and to men of education, we should expect articles concerning these men and their work, or statements of the work currently in hand.

Studies in Animal Life

In a magazine first published in 1860 one would expect

* The Major Achievements of Science, i, 239.
Compare Huxley talking of the immortality of the soul:
It is not half so wonderful as the conservation of force, or the indestructibility of matter.

Quoted in C.Bibby, T.H.Huxley, p.59.

** ibid., i, 251.
See also B.Russell, "Introducing the Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians," Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians (N.Annan and others), p.22 :
The Victorian age, especially in its central portion, had many great merits surpassing, I think, any to which we can lay claim. It did great things in science; Faraday and Maxwell, for example, though less famous than Darwin, were scarcely less important.

above all, reference to Darwin and his Origin of Species which had been published in the year previous. This was a book of which H. Fawcett, writing in Macmillan's, said:

No scientific work that has been published within this century has excited so much general curiosity as the treatise of Mr. Darwin. It has for a time divided the scientific world into two great contending sections. *

And of course we do find reference to Darwin and his work in a series of articles which G.H. Lewes, a man of considerable and versatile talents, now perhaps more well-known as the friend of George Eliot, began in the first number of the Cornhill called "Studies in Animal Life. ** These articles

* Macmillan's Magazine, December 1860, iii, 81. The point that Darwin's work caused such considerable interest and excitement hardly requires much labouring. For a useful statement of the reception of the book, see the already quoted C. Bibby, "Huxley and the Reception of the 'Origin,'" Victorian Studies, III, No.1, 76-86. The divisive effect of Darwin's work is detailed by Edmund Gosse in his Father and Son.

** This subject was in fact suggested by George Smith, the proprietor of the Cornhill; see an extract from the journal of G.H. Lewes, dated 27 October 1859, The George Eliot Letters, ed. G.S. Haight, iii, 189:

On Thursday 27 October I had a visit from George Smith of Smith and Elder in consequence of a correspondence between Thackeray and myself, in which I agreed to cooperate in the forthcoming "Cornhill Magazine" if terms and subject suited. Smith evidently wishes to nouer des relations and proposed a series of papers on Natural History which might afterwards form a volume.

are interesting both intrinsically and historically; they interest still because of their subject matter, and give a fascinating picture of what was deemed to be a suitable way in which to convey scientific information. This was a way which was appreciated by some of his contemporaries; the reviewer in the Illustrated Times wrote:

Mr. S. /sic/ H. Lewes follows next with one of those marvellous "Studies of /sic/ Animal Life" in which are so strangely blended wit, humour, keen poetic feeling, and thorough scientific knowledge. Such a paper as this, while of the utmost interest to the initiate, can be read with pleasure by the most scientific ... *

What Lewes, however, does not do in these articles is to engage directly in the philosophical and religious controversy which was already surrounding Darwin's statement in his Origin of Species. It would of course be difficult to write in 1860, as Lewes does, of such topics as Linnean classification and the definition of a species without referring to and indeed quoting Darwin; what Lewes does is to adopt a didactic and apparently objective tone, and help his readers to understand certain issues which Darwin raises. This purpose becomes clear in one article when he says:

Before proceeding to open the philosophical discussion which inevitably arises on the

* Illustrated Times, 31 December 1859, p.443.

mention of Mr. Darwin's book, I will here set down the chief groups, according to Cuvier's classification, for the benefit of the tyro in natural history, who will easily remember them ... *

and later, after such a statement:

The reader is now in a condition to appreciate the general line of argument adopted in the discussion of Mr. Darwin's book, which is at present exciting very great attention, and which will, at any rate, aid in general culture by opening to many minds new tracts of thought. **

Thus Lewes does in this particular paper appear to be making an objective exposition of Darwin's ideas by stating the two opinions regarding variation:

... one school declaring that the extent of variability is limited to those trifling characteristics which mark the different Varieties of each Species; the other school declaring that the variability is indefinite, and that all animal forms may have arisen from successive modifications of a very few types, or even of one type. ***

He continues by urging that both these opinions are necessarily hypothetical, and that the

utmost that either hypothesis can claim is, that it is more consistent with general analogies, and better serves to bring our knowledge of various points into harmony. Neither of them can claim to be a truth which warrants dogmatic decision. ****

* CM, April 1860, i, 442.

** ibid., i, 442.

*** ibid., i, 444.

**** ibid., i, 444.

Despite his tone of apparent objectivity Lewes does, however, show quite clearly where his own sympathies lie. He proceeds to choose an analogy which he maintains "modern philologists have proved to be indubitably the case" - that is, the development of a number of separate languages out of a common parent language. This theory, like Darwin's, was very much a matter of contemporary interest, * and Lewes, amongst his studies of animal life, elaborates his analogy to the extent of printing the conjugations of the verb "to be" in various languages. The use he makes of this analogy seems to be a trifle suspect but certainly demonstrates his sympathies:

All these languages resemble each other so closely that they point to some more ancient language which was to them what Latin was to the six Romance languages; and in the same way we are justified in supposing that all the classes of the vertebrate animals point to the existence of some elder type, now extinct, from which they were all developed. **

Although in these pages Lewes admits the controversy and indicates his own position, he does not champion the evolutionary ideas as, say, Huxley did.

However, there is much else of interest even though

* See, for instance, "The Origin of Language," Macmillan's Magazine, November 1862, vii, 54-60; and "Max Muller on the Science of Language," Edinburgh Review, January 1862, cxv, 67-103.

** CM, April 1860, i, 447.

the religious controversy is avoided. * Perhaps the first point to note is that in the six articles, which deal with a variety of subjects, there are included specific studies of animal life. The author's study of such creatures as infusoria, rotifera, and various forms of pond life is accompanied, moreover, by clearly drawn and annotated

* Stephen's complaint about the attitude of the Cornhill to religious issues has already been noted. This shying away from the controversial in the Cornhill is neatly demonstrated in a review of Herbert Spencer's System of Philosophy which appeared in the short-lived series in the Cornhill called "Our Survey of Literature, Science, and Art " :

It will be obvious to every one that this is not the fitting place to open a discussion on the great problems of Philosophy and Religion, but our " Survey," superficial as it is, must include at least the mention of a work so lofty in aim and remarkable in execution as the System of Philosophy which Mr. Herbert Spencer is issuing to subscribers ... Here we have one more attempt to reconcile the contending claims of Religion and Science; an attempt we shall not venture to appreciate in these pages, but which, we may as well warn our readers, will be found satisfactory by very few orthodox thinkers.

CM, August 1862, vi, 273.

illustrations. In fact, the studies of particular creatures are intended to encourage the reader of the Cornhill to take part in similar explorations, and it is to that end that Lewes includes the following advice:

As a beginning, get a microscope. If you cannot borrow, boldly buy one. *

Thus, the articles, both in their studies of particular specimens, and in the more general discussion of such matters as Linear classification, the biography of Cuvier, and so on, are frankly instructional.

But Lewes intends to do more than convey information,

* CM, January 1860, i, 63.
A microscope had by now become a comparatively popular piece of equipment. See review of J. Hogg, The Microscope, in the Saturday Review, 26 September 1868, p.432:

Six editions, with a sale of fifty thousand copies within fourteen years, may be taken as vouchers for the worth set by the public upon Mr. Jabez Hogg's popular treatise upon the Microscope. Clearly and attractively written, as well as falling in admirably with the current of public attention to natural science, it may itself have been the means of contributing in a material degree to the remarkable interest which has undoubtedly sprung up in the interval on behalf of microscopical studies.

It is amusing to note that Lewes writes in his journal, after accepting Smith's offer:

I agreed to consider his proposal, and he drove me into town, where I called on Smith and Beck, and exchanged my old Microscope for one of their First Class Instruments.

The George Eliot Letters (ed. G.S. Haight), iii, 189.

interesting though he considers it to be, about cilia or other parasitic creatures; he wishes to convince his readers that such studies are worthy of the attention of an educated person. He would have his reader enjoy the interests of a Farebrother or, even if humbly, the research activities of a Lydgate, and his justification of a serious man giving his attention to the minutiae of nature is stated at some length:

Frogs, and parasites, worms and infusoria - are these worth the attention of a serious man? They have a less imposing appearance than planets and asteroids, I admit, but they are nearer to us, and admit of being more intimately known; and because they are thus accessible, they become more important to us. The life that stirs within us is also the life within them ... I cannot think any serious study is without its serious value to the human race; and I know that the great problem of Life can never be solved while we are in ignorance of its simpler forms. *

In the third paper he even makes a kind of apologia for science as a means of education, and insists that Biology is above all effective for such a purpose:

The one reason why the study of Science is valuable as a means of culture, over and above its immediate objects, is that in it the mind learns to submit to realities, instead of thrusting its figments in the place of realities - endeavours to ascertain accurately what the order of Nature is, and not what it ought to be,

* CM, January 1860, i, 74.

or might be. The one reason why, of all sciences, Biology is pre-eminent as a means of culture, is, that owing to the great complexity of all the cases it investigates, it familiarizes the mind with the necessity of attending to all the conditions, and it thus keeps the mind alert. *

Similarly homiletic in tone is the remark he makes at the end of his biographical study of Cuvier:

It is to the studies of his youth that I would call your attention, to read there, once again, the important lesson that nothing of any solid value can be achieved without entire devotion. Nothing is earned without sweat of the brow ... In science, incessant and enlightened labour is necessary, even to the smallest success. **

Thus does Lewes, by advancing the claims of science as a subject of study, make an oblique contribution to the "liberal education" debate, the mid-nineteenth century version of the "Two Cultures" dialogue.

Conservation of Matter and Other Ideas

Although these articles tend to be of a miscellaneous kind, they have at least referred the readers of the Cornhill to one scientific idea, i.e. evolution, which was exciting the attention of thoughtful people and scientists of note. Also included in the articles are references to other ideas, the effective statement of which

* CM, March 1860, i, 290.

** CM, June 1860, i, 690.

we owe to the nineteenth century. And the first of these is the Conservation of Matter which, as we have already stated, is one of the scientific generalizations which were enunciated in the nineteenth century. As an introduction to his study of rotifera Lewes ponders on the condition of " an old garden wall, dark with age, gray with lichens, green with mosses of beautiful hues and fairy elegance of form " :

Not only are there obvious traces of age in the crumbling mortar and the battered brick, but there are traces, not obvious, except to the inner eye, left by every ray of light, every rain-drop, every gust. Nothing perishes. In the wondrous metamorphosis momentarily going on in the universe, there is change, but no loss. *

Because of the style he chooses to use in writing for his general audience - " the very poetry of natural history " one reviewer called it ** - it is not always clear whether Lewes is referring to the theory of the Conservation of Matter, or that of the Conservation of Energy; sometimes what he says seems to be an amalgam of the two.

Another idea which we find expressed in Lewes's articles is the conception of the community of nature, the view of

* CM, March 1860, 1, 283.

** Literary Gazette, 31 December 1859, p.641.

man not as a being placed, according to Pope, "on this isthmus of a middle state," that is a being created to stand in an intermediary position between the beasts and the angels, but as a creature and member of the animal world. Lewes stresses this intimate relationship in his very first article:

Unless animals are obviously useful, or obviously hurtful to us, we disregard them. Yet they are not alien, but akin. The Life that stirs within us, stirs within them. We are all "parts of one transcendent whole." The scales fall from our eyes when we think of this; it is as if a new sense had been vouchsafed to us; and we learn to look at Nature with a more intimate and personal love. *

Lewes is here expressing the transcendental or natur-philosophie notion of the unity of the whole world, but to the contemporary reader his remarks might well have appeared to underline the idea of man's intimate relationship with other forms of creation, an idea which follows easily from

* CM, January 1860, i, 61-62. We can see the dawning of the same idea amusingly stated by Meredith in his The Ordeal of Richard Feverel, which was first published in 1859, pp.93-94:

Richard's pride also was cast aside. He affected to be, and really thought he was, humble. Whereupon Adrian, as by accident, imparted to him the fact that men were animals, and he an animal with the rest of them.

"I an animal!" cries Richard in scorn, and for weeks he was as troubled by this rudiment of self-knowledge as Tome by his letters. Sir Austin had him instructed in the wonders of anatomy, to restore his self-respect.

the theory of evolution. Equally related to Darwinian thinking is the concept of change and movement which pre-occupied so many thinkers in the nineteenth century. In politics, in matters of religion, and above all in scientific studies do we find a concern with, and a frequent expression of, the idea that change and movement are essential conditions of life. * This view often recurs in the Cornhill, and we can find expression of it in Lewes' articles:

In the wondrous metamorphosis momentarily going on everywhere in the universe, there is change, but no loss ... We are involved in the universal metamorphosis. Nothing leaves us wholly as it found us. Every man we meet, every book we read, every picture or landscape we see, every word or tone we hear, mingles with our being and modifies it. **

Coupled with this idea of change is, we can see, the idea of indestructibility; Lewes and other scientists might sing with the hymn-writer "Change and decay all around I see," but they, like the writer in Macmillan's were also aware of that

* See G. Tillotson, Poetry in the Nineteenth Century, p.9: The nineteenth century was very much aware of movement, and very much in love with it. It is the century in which we hear a great deal about "the march of intellect," "the march of mind"

** CM, March 1860, i, 283-284. Compare "The movements of plants," Macmillan's Magazine, October 1864, x, 506.

Everything that exists is constantly changing its place - there is nothing quiet in Nature, not even stagnant water! Absolute repose is impossible.

indestructibility:

/"that / Nature herself is unchangeable ...
The nineteenth-century man is deprived of
this soothing notion. Irrefragable evidence
has been laid before him by the geologist
that nothing is as it was, nothing as it
will be. "Alps and Andes are children of
yesterday;" rivers do not flow on for ever:
between the granite rock and the cloud it
is but a question of time; with the stabili-
ty of both the forces of nature are ever at
war. Yet the fact that underlies this uni-
versal destruction is, Indestructibility ... *

Physiology

This same relationship between change and indestructi-
bility was finding its expression in the work of the German
scientist Leibig, and that of J.B. Dumas and J. Boussingault
who began to develop the idea of the cyclic view of nature,
a view which recognised "those long since under the earth
Nourishing the corn." It was the work of these men, whose
major publications were between the years 1840-1850, in
organic chemistry which was influencing the investigation
into the nature of living matter, and thus giving an impetus
to the study of physiology. By the sixties this study was
being popularized, and, indeed, Lewes, who has been called
"more a teacher than a research worker," ** published a
popular work on physiology in 1860 entitled The Physiology

* Macmillan's Magazine, August 1862, vi, 337.

** A.T. Kitchell, George Lewes and George Eliot, p.298.

of Common Life. As Lewes was intimately connected with the Cornhill one might have expected those articles under the title "Physiological Riddles" and others concerning "Food" to have been written by him. In fact they were written by a young scientist named James Hinton, and Lewes was annoyed that the public were thinking that these articles were a mere "rechauffé of my physiology." *

There is certainly this similarity between the two men - they both have a deliberately didactic aim; Lewes urges his reader to buy a microscope - Hinton begins by acknowledging a popular confusion about his own subject, physiology:

When a common reader takes up a physiological work, his feelings are apt to be those of admiration, rising rapidly to astonishment, and soon sinking into despair. **

It is to encourage the reader to overcome such despair that Hinton attempts his expositions, *** and in his consideration of such issues as "Why we act" and "How we grow" he refers

* The George Eliot Letters (ed. G.S. Haight), letter of G.H. Lewes to John Blackwood, 28 June 1861, iii, 430.

** CM, July 1860, ii, 21.

*** He was not alone in such attempts; see "Philosophy of Health," Saturday Review, 4 February 1865, p.148:

Among the many attempts to popularise science which of late years have been increasingly numerous, none has had a more immediate bearing on our welfare than the effort to bring the general facts of our bodily structure and functions within the circle of common knowledge.

to certain concepts concerning the physical world which we have already seen stated by Lewes.

Hinton, unlike Huxley, for instance, may think of an animal as a "divinely made machine" and see in its construction "delicacy, perfection and complexity," but this belief does not prevent him from viewing the animal as involving

in the laws of its activity, no other principles than those which we every day apply, and see to regulate the entire course of nature. *

Later in the same article, and in a style reminiscent of the final pages of Darwin's Origin of Species, Hinton makes his point more grandly:

The actions of the body result from one form of force resisting the operation of another;—are not the revolutions of the planets regulated by the same law? Motion opposing gravity — these are the forces which (in equilibrium perpetually destroyed and perpetually renewed) determine the sweep of the orbs about the sun. Nor does observation reveal to us, nor can thought suggest, any limit to the mutual action of these kindred, but balanced powers. Life sets its stamp upon the universe; in Nature the loftiest

* "Physiological Riddles," CM, July 1860, ii, 24.

claims kindred with the lowest; and
the bond which ties all in one
Brotherhood, proclaims one Author. *

In his first article Hinton had, with the aid of detailed engravings of such things as the termination of the nerves in a forefinger or in muscle fibre, sought to explain:

why the living body has in itself a power
of acting, and is not like the inert
masses of merely inorganic matter. *

and in the second article in the series, called "Why we grow" he seeks to explore the paradox that physiologically life is subject to, yet overcomes, decay. Often using a rhetoric that in the circumstances strikes the twentieth century as unusual, such as -

All things succumb to Death's assault;

* "Physiological Riddles," CM, July 1860, ii, 32. Hinton is here also expressing what may be called standard natural theology which saw evidence of God in the created world. Such relation between science and religion can be met with in various scientists of the period. See W. Wilson, A Hundred Years of Physics, p.16, where Joule is quoted:

"but we are not left with this argument alone [i.e. the argument that the powers with which God has endowed matter cannot be destroyed or created by human agency], decisive as it must be to every unprejudiced mind.

** "Physiological Riddles," CM, July 1860, ii, 22.

Life smiles at his impotence, and
makes the grave her cradle * -

Hinton, in his explorations, combines an examination of issues which are apparently of a limited kind involving technical references to albumen, carbon, ammonia and so on, with the kind of general statements which might loosely be termed philosophic. Once again, this time in rejecting the widely held concept of a Vital Principle, he stresses the essential unity of the whole world:

Life is strong, because it is dependent; immortal, because it draws its being from a perennial source. All things minister to it. The tender organic frame needs no self-preserving power within, because all the natural powers are its servants. The earth and air and distant orbs of heaven feed it with ceaseless care, and supply, with unfeeling constancy, its wants. Life is in league with universal forces, and subsists by universal law. **

In these articles we again meet the idea of life being a process in a universe the essential element of which is change. Moreover, in his descriptions of the fungus and the wood in an attempt to show that life "has its roots in death, and is nourished by decay," Hinton repeats the cyclic view of nature with Liebig and others were developing. Hinton states that the

wood was living, the fungus lives now;

* CM, August 1860, ii, 167.

** ibid., ii, 167-168.

the wood has decayed, the fungus has grown; the wood, in its decay, has given out force; the fungus, in its growth, has taken up and embodied force, and is ready in its decay to give it off again. The life of the wood has, in short, been transferred to the fungus. The force has changed its form, but it is the same force in both. *

After his third article, in which he discusses what he considers determines the forms of living creatures, Hinton devotes his fourth and final paper in the series to a conclusion in which he makes a summary of what he has said about growth, form and function. And he re-iterates his idea of the unity of the created world, both animate and inanimate:

What is Life? Ever remembering that we speak of the bodily life only, may we not reply: It is a particular mode of operation of the natural forces and laws? We can trace the force operative in life, to and fro, between organic and inorganic bodies; we can see that in the organic world the laws we know in the inorganic are still supreme. **

What is perhaps most interesting is the position to which his scientific studies leads Hinton, the son of a well-known Baptist minister, and the way in which his

* CM, August 1860, ii, 170.
Hinton is obviously referring to ideas of change and indestructibility to which we can assent today; in the process, however, he seems to be involving another theory, the Indestructibility of Force, which is no longer regarded as a tenable scientific concept. As we shall see, below p. 172, the contemporary use of the word "force" can cause confusion to the twentieth century reader.

** CM, October 1860, ii, 426.

beliefs inform his science. T.H. Huxley might say:

True science and true religion are twin-sisters, and the separation of either from the other is sure to prove the death of both. Science prospers exactly in proportion as it is religious; and religion flourishes in exact proportion to the scientific depth and firmness of its bases. *

but he would hardly join Hinton in his conclusion to these four articles when he says:

The study of Nature, revealing to us, though faintly, yet truly, traces of the laws and methods of the Highest and Universal Worker - revealing to us, in His work, an absolute singleness of aim and unity of means, perfectness of calm repose one with unflinching energy of action - this study has its worthy end, only when it raises us to act like Him; with steadfast and single aim which no passion can pervert, nor interest corrupt; with means which, ever changing, are yet ever one in changeless rectitude; with an activity untiring, and a calmness that cannot be disturbed, rooted in love and

* Quoted in C. Bibby, T.H. Huxley, p.58.

trust. *

The qualities of Hinton's work already revealed in "Physiological Riddles" are also apparent in other articles he contributed to the Cornhill which dealt with physiological matters. Three of these were concerned with Food **, and in them we can again see the admiration akin to worship, the technical instruction, and the philosophic comment. In the course of his articles Hinton discusses such technicalities as the importance of nitrogenous substances, the function of the lining of the stomach and that of the salivary glands which secrete the gastric juices, but the

- * CM, October 1860, ii, 431.
This is the kind of thinking of physiologists who "continued to concern themselves quite largely with the final cause, as well as with the efficient cause of phenomena;" this is a pre-occupation which K.J. Franklin in "Physiology and Histology," A Century of Science 1851-1951 (ed. H. Dingle), pp. 222-223, maintains hindered the advance of the subject. However, many of the greatest men of science, Maxwell, Kelvin, Faraday and Joule, did not allow scientific theory to interfere with their religious faith. And it is worth noting that Huxley himself shared with Hinton the idea that scientific discovery should influence morality:
Indeed, outraged by the picture of nature red in tooth and claw, Huxley declared that ethically good conduct consists in opposing the predatory operations of biological evolution.
A.E.E. McKenzie, The Major Achievements of Science, i, 247.
- ** "Food - What it is," April 1861, iii, 460-472.
"Food - What it does," July 1861, iv, 75-93.
"Food - How to take it," September 1861, iv, 281-294.

reader is not allowed to become so immersed in these technicalities as to ignore the destiny of man. Hinton begins his first article in this series determined that his readers should be aware of the importance of his topic, and certainly puts forward an arresting idea:

Civilisation rests on hunger. Whatever part Mr. Darwin's Struggle for Existence may have played in the development of the animal creation, it has certainly had no mean place in the development of man. The recurring and unfailing stimulus which the stomach supplies, lies at the root of all those energetic efforts by which men gradually advance from ignorance to knowledge, from impotence to full dominion over nature. *

And, for instance, during a discussion of the physiological functions of oxygen, we are asked to share the author's grave wonder at creation:

This element is active and prone to change in its free or gaseous state, tending to oxidise every substance that is capable of undergoing that process; it is passive and stable when combined. Surely in these deep relations, and in the adjustments of the living body to their demands, we have glimpses of a profound harmony and a far-reaching adaptation, the full recognition of which might raise to a worthier level our conception of creative wisdom. **

* CM, April 1861, iii, 460.

** ibid., iii, 463.

Certainly when he deals with appetite and nutrition they become, in his own words, "invested with a strange dignity," and once again he makes his readers aware of the interdependence of the created world in which man, the other animals, and inanimate forces interact:

We do not "live upon" food, but the food lives in us. The body is but a theatre on which it may exhibit its latent powers; powers stored up by patient chemistry, day by day, from warmth and light, and vagrant currents of electric force. Brought into union with the animal structure, these forces, thus bound up in the food, pour their energy through new channels; but they are the same forces still, and they constitute its life ... It is thus the body grows; a temple - meet image of the highest Temple - made without hands, and built of living stones. *

These quotations demonstrate some of the qualities of Hinton's articles, including a richness of style not likely to be found in similar articles today; two other features are worthy of comment. First, there is Hinton's readiness to refer to, and to quote from, the leading physiologists of the day, including von Liebig, the famous German chemist and bio-chemist already mentioned in this chapter, and Dr. W.B. Carpenter, author and one of a group, including such men as Faraday and Tyndall who were regularly lecturing at the Royal Institution. And secondly, there is in his third article the practical application of his knowledge to the

* CM, July 1861, iv, 93.

consideration of "the quantity of food required to support life in the best way," in which he refers to, and quotes from, Chadwick and others on a question that was exercising men of good will at the time. *

"Force"

We have seen in these articles dealing with biology and physiology two great concepts we owe to the scientists of the nineteenth century, i.e. evolution and the Conservation of Matter, referred to both directly and by implication. The third idea, that of the Conservation of Energy, was actually discussed in a separate article. In the Cornhill of October 1861 we find an article, again by Hinton, entitled "Force," which discusses and explains this great principle that had received its earliest adequate statement by the German physicist Hermann von Helmholtz in a lecture to the Physical Society of Berlin as recently as 1847. **

* See above Chapter III, pp. 109-111 ; also H. Chester, "The Food of the People," Macmillan's Magazine, October 1868, xviii, 476-485, and "A Hard Day's Work," Macmillan's Magazine, March 1867, xv, 432-440, in which Professor Heston discusses "the nature of the food a hard day's work requires."

** See W. Wilson, "The Concept of Energy," A Century of Science (ed. H. Dingle), pp.14-15.
The topic was being discussed in various journals; see, for instance, Professor Bain, "On the Correlation of Force in its bearing on Mind," Macmillan's Magazine, September 1867, xvi, 372-383; Sir John Herschel, "The Origin of Force," Fortnightly Review, i, 435-442; Professor Helmholtz, "On the application of the law of the conservation of force to organic nature," a lecture delivered to Royal Institution, see Proceedings, vol. iii, 12 April 1861.

In that lecture Helmholtz named the principle Erhaltung der Kraft, which is literally "conservation of force," but was in fact enunciating the principle which we know as the Conservation of Energy. The habit of contemporary scientists of using the word "force" as, among other meanings, synonymous with "energy" is confusing to the twentieth century layman, especially as the word "force" has its own specific scientific connotation. However, though for most of the time Hinton uses the word in which is now an unacceptable way, his is a lucid exposition of the principle of Conservation of Energy, and one which would, one imagines, be comprehensible to the contemporary "common reader" of the Cornhill. This work of popularisation Hinton shared, as we have seen, with writers in other magazines: Professor Bain, for example, wrote:

It is an essential part of the doctrine that force is never absolutely created, and never absolutely destroyed, but merely transmuted in form or manifestation. *

Bain wrote for the readers of Macmillan's; Hinton, for the readers of the Cornhill, explained:

... the conservation of force, means that when any kind of action - be it motion or any other - in the physical world, ceases, some other and equal action arises. There is never an absolute ceasing; never an absolute beginning. If

* Macmillan's Magazine, September 1867, xvi, 373.

any action come to an end, some other continues or follows elsewhere; if any action begin, some other, in that beginning, comes to an end. Science busies herself with tracing these; revealing them when hidden, and referring to previous activities which have seemed to cease, any actions which appear isolated and spontaneous. *

Surveys of Science

So far reference has been made to separate articles which dealt with particular scientific topics. Now mention should be made of an attempt during this period to keep the readers of the Cornhill abreast with what was of current interest in, among other matters, Science. A series originally called " Our Survey of Literature, Science, and Art " began to appear monthly in July 1862, and the first two surveys were conducted by G.H.Lewes and Frederick Greenwood, the two men George Smith appointed to share with him the running of the magazine when Thackeray retired in March 1862. ** The surveys continued until April 1863 and

* CM, October 1861, iv, 415.

** See George Smith, pp.35-36.

Of course Thackeray's resignation prompted considerable comment. For his own statement of his difficulties as an editor, see " Thorns in the Cushion," CM, July 1860, ii, 122-128; this was written two years before his resignation. For a taste of the reaction to his resignation see Illustrated London News, 5 April 1862, p.329 :

The wildest, the stupidest, and, in some instances the wickedest, rumours have been flying about town touching the resignation by Mr. Thackeray of the editorship of the Cornhill Magazine.

at first began to flourish; soon additional writers took part, including Sir John Herschel, a well-known scientist of the period, but the last three contributions shrank to "Notes on Science," the first two of these being written by Sir John Herschel and G.H. Lewes, whilst the last was written by what appears a rather lonely G.H. Lewes. One feels that the idea of the surveys might have been that of Lewes since it began to appear so soon after his inclusion on the editorial board, and since he took so prominent part in its preparation. The aims were laudable enough:

Our object is, with the aid of "eminent hands," to touch lightly, yet firmly, on the chief topics of the day; to indicate the quality of the most notable works, and to record the glories of scientific progress. *

but seem more in keeping with the Fortnightly Review which G.H. Lewes was to edit in its early years from its inception in 1866, and to which, incidentally, Sir John Herschel was to contribute, than with the Cornhill of Thackeray's design. That the series was so brief may have been for the same reason as that for which Lewes resigned from his consulting editorship:

the diminished and constantly diminishing circulation no longer permitting the Magazine to be at such an expense which could be spared. **

* CM, July 1862, vi, 103.

** Journal of G.H. Lewes, 2 October 1864, The George Eliot Letters (ed. G.S. Haight), iv, 165.

The number of subjects covered in this series is considerable, and to some extent the surveys touch, as one might expect, upon the sort of topics which are dealt with in the longer articles. Thus, we again hear in the number for November 1862 of what the review calls "the splendid generalization of the mutual convertibility of forces," * of physiological issues like Liebig's "Theory of Food," of de Saussure's theory about "a regular balance between the processes of animal and vegetable life," and of theories about the functions of the nerves. ** But there were also introduced to the readers other topics which were of moment and, in some cases, which were in the forefront of scientific research. For instance, in July 1862 we can read an account made with praiseworthy clarity of "the most thrilling discovery of modern times - namely, the spectrum analysis." *** This discovery of a process "by which men can accurately ascertain the composition of the atmosphere of the sun and the stars" **** had been made as recently as 1859 by Bunsen and Kirchoff. What in fact the Survey is here doing is to review a course of lectures delivered at the

* CM, November 1862, vi, 707.

** See also J. Hinton, "What are the nerves?" CM, February 1862, v, 153-166.

*** CM, July 1862, vi, 109.

**** ibid.

Royal Institution, * and it is this kind of note, together with the critical approach to theories which "for many years enjoyed an almost uncontested approval" but which are "becoming less and less accepted among real investigators," ** that encouraged the reader to feel that he was being shown some of the matters which were of immediate concern to contemporary men of science.

Astronomy

Another study which we have not yet noticed and which appears both in the surveys and among the separate articles is astronomy. In the surveys we can read of such topical events as, for example, the sighting by an American observer in 1862 of a planet, the existence of which had been deduced by Bessel, "the creator of the astronomy of the invisible,"*** and earlier in the same year there is a fairly technical statement about the "variability of nebulae" **** observed by astronomers in the fifties and early sixties. The longer individual articles vary from an example of what perhaps the Spectator would be pleased to call "padding," that is

* In other notes we are referred, for instance, to a lecture by Tyndal to the Royal Institution, and to experiments related in the current proceedings of such bodies as the Royal Society, and the Académie des Sciences.

** CM, October 1862, vi, 547.

*** CM, April 1863, vii, 545.

**** CM, January 1863, vii, 143-144.

a piece of reportage which describes for the reader the equipment and activities of the Greenwich Observatory, * to a technically demanding paper on the "Colours of Double Stars;" ** other papers are included dealing with such topics as "Great Solar Eclipses," *** "The Approaching Transit of Mercury," **** and "The Prevalence of Sun-Spots." ***** It is perhaps worthwhile to make two quotations from R.A. Proctor's article, "The Colour of Double Stars." In the first we can see Proctor insisting on the plurality of worlds, even though it is incapable of proof, and thus taking part in the current Brewster-Whewell debate on the subject; it is also a further example of that natural theology which is, as we have seen, present in the writings of some of the scientists of the period:

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- * "A Night at Greenwich Observatory," CM, March 1863, vii, 381-389.
- ** CM, December 1863, viii, 679-687. See Illustrated London News, 12 December 1863, p.590: "'The Colours of the Double Stars' is a very good scientific paper."
- *** CM, August 1868, xviii, 155-169.
- **** CM, November 1868, xviii, 591-600. See Illustrated London News, 7 November 1868, 455: "The Transit of Mercury" and "Critical Elections" are good examples of the tact usually displayed by this periodical in bringing forward those subjects in which the public happens to be interested at the time.
- ***** CM, August 1869, xx, 236-245.

We can have little doubt that these systems, and the stars generally, are encircled about by planets, which, in their turn, are the abodes of living creatures. Without entering here, at any length, on the vexed question of the plurality of worlds, it may, we think, be safely said, that no trick of logic will convince the reflective mind that the myriads of bright orbs visible to the eye, or revealed by the telescope, or the myriads on myriads that no eye of man has seen, or shall ever see, speed in their orbits through a gigantic solitude - that from no spot in the illimitable universe but the speck we inhabit arises the voice of adoration or prayer... What should be the nature of beings inhabiting such planets, what the material constitution or the products of those planets themselves, it were beyond the faculties given to man to imagine. It is sufficient that we know that their Almighty Creator has, with infinite wisdom and mercy, adjusted their nature and their powers to the situation in which He has placed them. *

From the second quotation we can appreciate the close reasoning that the reader of the Cornhill was expected to

* CM, December 1869, viii, 682.
It is interesting to compare this position with that of Tyndal who in his presidential address to the British Association in 1874 said:
The impregnable position of science may be described in a few words. We claim, and we shall wrest from theology, the entire domain of cosmological theory. All schemes and systems which thus infringe upon the domain of science must, in so far as they do this, admit to its control and relinquish all thought of controlling it. Acting otherwise proved always disastrous in the past, and it is simply fatuous today.

Quoted in A.E.E. McKenzie, The Major Achievements of Science, i, 241.

follow; after describing at some length Doppler's theory that like sound, the colour of light varies when the emitting body is varying relatively to the observer, * the author continues:

M. Doppler urges that the considerations we have detailed are sufficient to account for the colours of the stars generally, but especially for the colours seen so conspicuously in double, triple, and multiple systems. He supposes that all the stars are white, or nearly so; that, in fact, they differ little from our sun in their original constitution and present stage of development. Where a star appears to be violet, indigo, blue, or green, he conceives that, owing to its orbital motion, its proper motion, the motion of the solar system in space, or these combined, it is approaching us, with more or less velocity, according to its apparent colour. **

Applied Science

The articles we have discussed so far have concerned themselves with what, even in this popular form, we may call pure science. The mid-nineteenth century reader would be well aware of the distinction between the pure and applied sciences, and his periodical literature was quick to point out to him that his prosperity and comfort, and indeed the progress of his civilisation, depended upon, and stemmed from, the activities of the pure scientists. In his article on Faraday in Macmillan's Magazine the author

* See W.P.D. Wightman, The Growth of Scientific Ideas, p.263.

** CM, December 1863, viii, 685.

insists that

The path of a cannon-ball through the air, of a steamship through the ocean, of a railway train across a chasm, are illustrations at once of the predictions of pure physical science and of the rewards conferred upon those who believe in it with a faith so implicit as to induce them to adopt the principles of science into the ventures of practical life. *

The Saturday Review, in an article complaining of the general indifference to science, ** makes the same point more satirically:

There is another reason why physical science should be popular even among shopkeepers. It is the parent of mechanical invention, and from its largest generalizations flow those narrower practical discoveries whose value the most stupid people may understand. ***

Indeed, some felt that it was the peculiar genius of this country to apply the discoveries of the pure scientists.

In the Edinburgh Review, for instance, a writer maintains

* J.S. Russell, "Faraday, a Discoverer," Macmillan's Magazine, June 1868, xviii, 185.

** Neglect of the scientist is discussed in the article on Faraday already quoted; at the end of his article, p.191, the author writes:

While earning countless wealth for the nation, Faraday's own income seems never, but in one year, to have exceeded the modest bounds of 300£. On that noble testimony of a nation's gratitude we left him to live and die.

*** Saturday Review, 1 September 1866, p.262.

that "the first successful application may fairly be said to have been made in these islands "of the majority of those inventions which "within the last eighty years ... have changed the whole face of society, altered the conditions of life, and powerfully affected the destiny of mankind." * It is not surprising, then, in the light of such interest and pride to find the Cornhill devoting some of its pages to what the Saturday Review, to make its own point, slightly refers to as those "narrower practical discoveries."

Of the many current applications of scientific knowledge the electric telegraph excited great interest during this period; it is rather surprising to see equipment which is now so much part of our lives described as "the greatest and most incredible" of achievements in science and engineering of the previous eighty years. ** In the company of other magazines, *** the Cornhill prints articles - two to be precise - which are about telegraphy and the attempts to put America and England into telegraphic communication. The first of these articles gives an explanation and a history of

* Edinburgh Review, January 1861, cxiii, 113.

** ibid., cxii, 114.

*** For instance: "The Atlantic Telegraph and its lessons," Fortnightly Review, 1 July 1866, v, 442-461; "The Transatlantic Telegraph," Blackwood's Magazine, February 1861, lxxxix, 183-200; "Narrative of the Atlantic Telegraph Expedition, 1865," Macmillan's Magazine, September 1865, xii, 440-456.

the telegraph, * whilst the second deals with the more recent attempts to lay the Atlantic Telegraph. ** All the attempts of the Atlantic Telegraph Expeditions of 1857, 1858, and 1865 were failures, but the writer remains - and we know that he had good reason to do so - soberly confident of the ultimate success of the venture. Interesting as this article is, at least one critic finds a similar one published in Macmillan's much more effective:

The account of the Atlantic Telegraph in the Cornhill is thrown into the shade by Mr. Deane's narrative in Macmillan's which is accompanied by some valuable charts of the bed of the Atlantic. ***

Space is also devoted to an article which describes the uses which the electric telegraph was put to by the military authorities. In fact, this article, "Military Signalling and Telegraphy," **** concerns itself with a survey of the various ways of signalling used in the armed forces, and the account is accompanied by a number of engravings of such matters as the "shutter apparatus" for signalling by the naval forces, or the "wire-wagon" used to lay the cable for telegraphic communication. One application of this widely acclaimed invention to civil life is discussed in an article

* "Electricity and the Electric Telegraph," CM, July 1860, ii, 61-73.

** "The Atlantic Telegraph," CM, September 1865, xii, 364-373.

*** Spectator, 2 September 1865, p.984.

**** CM, June 1869, xix, 744-760.

published in March 1869, called "Railway Signalling." * In this paper the author, at some length and again with the use of illustrations, gives a comprehensive introduction to the "block system" of organising a railway service which the electric telegraph, and the consequent speedy communication between the signal boxes, had made possible. Not only is the author at pains with his diagrams to describe the theory and practice of the block system, but he also includes a description of a visit to Cannon Street station signal-box. The conclusion to the article combines a hope that the study will be of general interest with a tribute to one kind of applied scientist, the engineer:

We have thus endeavoured to give a sketch of an important and complicated system. The necessity of compression on the part of the writer may possibly entail the necessity of careful study on the part of his readers. We trust, however, that the interest of a subject which touches so nearly the welfare of the millions who travel by railways, will justify such study. This paper will prove, at least, that our engineers use no slight amount of skill and forethought to prevent the occurrence of railway collisions. **

* CM, March 1869, xix, 280-293.

** ibid., xix, 293.

See Illustrated London News, 6 March 1869, p.231: "Railway Signalling" should be left unread by nervous passengers, though it might be well that these were aware of their indebtedness to the care and intelligence of the signalmen, but for whom the large metropolitan stations would be scenes of daily slaughter.

Interest in the application of science to another form of travel is also revealed in the Cornhill in its two articles on weather * and two about lighthouses and light-vessels. ** Those papers about lighthouses and light-vessels tend, in the one case, to be a historical study of the various means of illumination, including electricity, and, in the other, a description of the life on board one of the light-vessels. The articles on meteorology, however, whilst concerning themselves with the practical issues of weather forecasting echo, especially the one entitled "Weather," some of the general ideas which we have seen stated earlier in this chapter. We can read the following and be reminded of the other statements concerning the unity of the created world:

It is impossible to consider, even in a very slight degree, these phenomena of weather in their direct relation on the one hand to the sun and moon, and periodic changes in the constitution of these distant bodies, and on the other hand to

* "Weather," CM, November 1860, ii, 565-579.

"Winds," CM, March 1865, xi, 346-353.

** "Life among the Lighthouses," CM, February 1860, i, 220-232.

Both these topics are discussed in various other magazines; see, for example, "Weather Forecasts and Storm Warnings," Edinburgh Review, July 1866, cxxiv, 51-85; several articles about lifeboats etc. in Macmillan's, for instance, "The History of Lighthouse Illumination," March 1862, v, 378-385.

ourselves, as representing the highest form of organisation with which we are acquainted, without being struck with the mutual dependence that exists between the material and immaterial parts of the great system of creation. *

And the ideas on which the author rests are those, which we can regard as familiar, of change and the revelation of God in the created world:

It cannot be too strongly stated that variety itself is the law which the God of Nature has impressed on all His works. No one need therefore be surprised at incessant change; for it is only by means of such change that the whole system is retained in that marvellous harmony and balance which is its peculiar characteristic. **

Health

In reviewing G.H. Lewes's book, The Physiology of Common Life, the Saturday Review said of Physiology that there

is no branch of science which touches us all so nearly, and none in regard to which it is so desirable that the general ignorance should be dispelled. ***

As we have seen already, the Cornhill made its attempts to overcome that ignorance in its articles on physiology; it also, in a number of "that better class of agreeable essays, crowded with information pleasantly disguised" ****

* CM, November 1860, ii, 579.

** ibid.

*** Saturday Review, 11 October 1862, p.444.

**** Illustrated London News, 11 April 1863, p.418.

seeks to keep the reader informed upon that subject of perennial interest - his health. * The essays range from that on "Health," by James Hinton, in which he defines from the point of view of the physiologist the laws of health, to the consideration of "Tobacco: its Use and Abuse." **

Hinton is able to acquaint his readers with what appears a rather forbidding or even, perhaps, an unhelpful definition of those laws of health:

They are all summed up in this: - to provide for the due maintenance, and the unhindered performance, of the chemical changes on which the activity of the body depends. To do that is to ensure, so far as it is in our power, the perfection of our instrument; to fail in it is to incur inevitable loss. Life has no exemptions, is treated with no favour. We can no more live with the conditions of chemical change within our bodies wanting or deranged, than we can fire a cannon with damp gunpowder, or with none. ***

* Although Lewes in his essay, "Training in Relation to Health," CM, February 1864, ix, 219, says, with what one would have thought was a great deal of truth, Whoso speaks on Health is sure of a large audience; if he speak wisely, of a grateful audience ...

we can also read the following in the Saturday Review, 11 November 1865, p.603:

There are a good many reasons which may help to explain what is, at first sight, the extraordinary fact that health is only just coming to take a first place among the objects of a reasonable man's interest.

** CM, November 1862, vi, 605-615.

*** CM, March 1861, iii, 335.

What is perhaps more interesting is his final insistence that mental well-being was as essential to health as physical well-being. Writing at a time when psychology was just emerging as an experimental science in its own right and interest was growing in the treatment of the mentally sick, * Hinton directs his readers' attention to what we would now call the psychosomatic origin of some ill-health, although he tends to stress the physical connection between the mind and the body:

Lastly, for health are needed pleasurable activity of mind, and freedom from depressing cares. The mental operations, like all others, are connected with changes in the material of the body. **

Strangely enough, such insight into the delicate relationship between physical and mental well-being can be combined with a dogged and stoic acceptance of conditions which must have been suffered by many in mid-nineteenth century England - but not perhaps by the readers of the Cornhill:

Happiness is a requisite for health.

* See "First Beginnings," CM, April 1862, v, 481: Of late years the science of mind, healthy and diseased, has been placed, as it were, in the field of the intellectual microscope ... and "State Medicine," Macmillan's Magazine, February 1865, xi, 311:

It is confessed by every psychologist who is worth his salt that our knowledge of mental pathology is in its infancy.

** CM, March 1861, iii, 340.

It is happy, therefore, that this, at least is within our reach. We may be confined to close and narrow homes, shut up in cities, and cut off from the sweet face of nature and the pure breath of heaven; to regulate our diet may not be in our power; exhausted by sedentary toil, exercise may seem almost forbidden to us, and baths a luxury hardly to be thought of. But happiness may be ours: for it lies in doing good. *

The Cornhill not only allows Hinton to state his key to the laws of health but also invites several other writers to recommend ways of continuing in good health, or of avoiding ill health. One of these was G.H. Lewes who took the occasion of the famous championship fight between Heenan and Tom Sayers to consider the idea of "Training in relation to Health." Lewes recognises that training is the means by which the athlete develops especial strength and activity, and says that

perceiving that we are getting fat, or wasted, and that our digestion is laborious, and that any sudden call upon our bodily energies reveals our feebleness, we cast wistful glances at the muscles of the trained man, and ask whether something of that energy may not be gained by imitating the practices which developed it. **

* CM, March 1861, iii, 341.

** CM, February 1864, ix, 221.

The rest of the article is really an informed scrutiny of the methods used by professional trainers, and an assessment of their use to "sedentary men, and men of hard-worked intellects." The other article on "Training" * is restricted to a discussion of the practices of the professional coach.

Other articles about health have a curiously modern flavour to the twentieth century reader. We find, for instance, as has already hinted at in the quotation from "Training in relation to Health," that there was then, as there is now, a concern about obesity. The first of two articles on this issue which appear in the Cornhill of the period is called "Corpulence," ** and the second, "Over-eating and Under-eating," discusses the effects of malnutrition, a topic of interest during the famine in the Lancashire cotton districts -

bowel complaint, scurvy, scrofula, consumption, ulcers, rheumatism, and gout ... besides a decidedly increased susceptibility to contagious fevers and acute inflammation. ***

- with the dangers of over eating:

* CM, January 1867, xv, 92-103.
The same interest in the benefits of physical education is revealed in Macmillan's: A. MacLaren, "National Systems of Bodily Exercise," February 1863, vii, 277-286; J.C. Morison, "Physical Education," April 1869, xix, 511-516.

** CM, April 1863, vii, 457-468.

*** CF, July 1863, viii, 39.

A considerable proportion of our wealthy over-feeders lead lives which may be said to be as nearly as possible free from the disturbance of laborious intellectual work, or of wearing emotion, and to these, as far as their own chances of long and comfortable lives are concerned, it might be well, perhaps, to apply such a system of diet as we have described. *

Both the contrast and the advice is such that one reads and comprehends easily one hundred years later; possessing an equally modern ring is the article on food additives, "Adulteration, and its Remedy." **

Marine Studies

Before considering the two final topics of this chapter - i.e. the attitude to science and scientists which is revealed in the magazine, and a comparison of the Cornhill with other magazines in their coverage of scientific topics - mention should just be made of a subject about which several articles appeared in these issues of the magazine. The subject is marine studies and includes both an article like "Under the Sea," *** which is a description of deep sea diving, and those like "The Salmon and its Growth"****

* CM, July 1863, viii, 44.
 ** CM, July 1860, ii, 86-96.
 *** CM, June 1868, xvii, 664-680.
 **** CM, July 1861, iv, 42-49.

and "Oyster Farming" * which treat these creatures as "objects of natural history" and as "articles of commerce." **

During a review of a book about the salmon published in 1865, the Saturday Review maintained that everyone was interested in that fish, *** and certainly by the frequent reference in the magazines to its life history and by the appearance of those articles which deal with this

paramount question, viz. the interest of the public in the greatest possible supply of salmon in its best condition as an article of food. ****

one can see that this was a topic which caused considerable interest; there was even a Royal Commission in 1861 to inquire into the salmon fisheries in England and Wales. *****

The paper in the Cornhill on the salmon was by J.G.

* CM, January 1865, xi, 52-64.

** CFI, July 1861, iv, 49.

*** Saturday Review, 18 March 1865, p.320:
Everyone who is interested in salmon - and who is not? - should read this capital book.

**** "A Slice of Salmon," Macmillan's Magazine, November 1861, v, 47.

***** For a consideration of its report see Westminster Review, July 1861, xx(NS), 36-54.

Bertram and in addition to such articles as "The Herring Harvest," * "Fish Culture," ** and "The Pearl Harvest" *** the author published an article on "Oyster Farming" **** which dealt with the methods of oyster-breeding first tried in France and which earned a favourable review in the Illustrated London News:

"Oyster Farming" is also a valuable paper. The recent progress of this branch of industry in France can only be characterised as stupendous; and, as our own beds are becoming exhausted, it is high time for us to follow the example of our neighbours. *****

Attitude to Science and Scientists

It must be apparent from what has been already said that this collection of scientific articles which appeared in the Cornhill during the sixties is a very mixed bag; and yet, when one considers the attitudes to science and the scientists of the various contributors it becomes clear that, with one powerful and entertaining exception, they share an attitude to their subject which is almost reverential.

* CM, October 1861, iv, 440-451.

** CM, February 1862, v, 195-203.

*** CM, August 1866, xiv, 161-173.

**** CM, January 1865, xi, 52-64.

***** Illustrated London News, 7 January 1865, p.22. See also "Oyster and Cyster Fisheries," Edinburgh Review, cxxvii, 43-76 ; "Oysters: A Gossip about their Natural and Economic History," Macmillan's Magazine, March 1863, vii, 401-408.

Repeatedly by direct statement or by implication is the reader assured of the importance of Science; even Leslie Stephen in his "Useless Knowledge" admits:

There is no name of greater power
at the present day than that of
science. *

Culling statements from various articles one gathers a fairly homogeneous definition of the word "science," which, of course, is now very definitely used in its restricted sense of natural science. ** For one contributor it is the "true and exact knowledge of things around us," *** and another sees the "Genius of modern science"

[as] a weighing and a measuring one. Men are not satisfied now-a-days with knowing that a peculiarity exists; they seek to determine its extent, how far it is variable - whether from time to time or from place to place, and so on. ****

The passionless objectivity is stressed with such phrases

* CM, July 1869, xx, 48.

** As Professor Geoffrey Tillotson has pointed out in his English Poetry in the Nineteenth Century, p.23:

It is a concise demonstration of the power of science in the nineteenth century that it was able to capture the word for itself.

*** CM, July 1862, vi, 65.

**** CM, June 1868, xvii, 728.

as "the stringent severity of its attitude towards facts," *
 "the severer eye of Science" ** and with such a statement
 as

To end this controversy, we must
 appeal to science, with her passion-
 less experimental methods ... Science
 sets aside emotion, and sees only the
 logical connection between a premiss
 and its conclusion. ***

Certainly it is considered that in its "wide domains," in
 which the methods of science "exhibit ... precision and ...
 extent of sweep," **** Science possesses authority and
 frequently "scientific authority" or for a change "the
 authority of science" is invoked to confirm or dispute
 some commonly accepted belief. At times we meet such
 ponderous statements as: "Science answers this question in
 the affirmative." *****

In these articles we can find two attitudes, both
 equally reverential, towards the achievements of science.
 The first refers, and does so frequently, to what science
 has already achieved; we hear of the "achievements of which

* CM, January 1862, v, 41.

** CM, May 1863, vii, 651.

*** ibid., vii, 649.

**** CM, April 1863, vii, 545.

***** CM, October 1861, iv, 414.

Science boasts, and justly boasts, as its peculiar glory," * of "the triumphs of science," ** and of its brilliant achievements, and learn that "Science is certainly performing wonders in the world." *** The second attitude reveals a complete confidence in the continuing triumphs of science; the phrase "the progress of Science" recurs, and in such sentences as -

It is inevitable that the rapid progress of discovery should be incessantly upsetting our convictions, and disclosing the precipitation with which our limitary boundaries have been erected. ****

- we can recognise the faith, complacent we may feel, in the triumphal march of science.

To all this reverence there appears in the Cornhill

* CM, January 1862, v, 37.
See also F.P. Cobbe, "What is Progress and are we Progressing?" Fortnightly Review, 1 March 1867, i(NS), 368:

The progress which has been made since 1851 in Science is a great accession to one of the very purest forms of happiness - the Happiness of Knowledge - even without taking into consideration the practical improvements to which such discoveries have led. Merely to glance over the steps taken in this direction, the discoveries in geology, astronomy, geography, chemistry, geometry, algebra, philology, ethnology, history, and the records of pre-historic ages, would demand learning to which the writer can make no pretence, and space equal to that of an Inaugural Address at the Congress of the British Association.

** CM, April 1863, vii, 545.

*** CM, June, 1862, v, 748.

**** CM, November 1862, vi, 710.

one voice of protest, that of Leslie Stephen, who, under the pseudonym of "Cynic," does a little to prick the bubbles of adulation and self-esteem. Stephen recognises that his protest may appear both singular, for "there is no name of greater power at the present day than that of science," * and even dangerous, for

it is as awkward to say anything against the pretensions of men of science, as it once was to be a heretic of a different order. You cannot, it is true, be burnt alive, or put into an inquisition, but, which is almost as bad, you can be made to look extremely foolish. **

Indeed, continuing in his mock-serious tone, he acknowledges his regard for these men of science:

In saying all this, I do not mean for one moment to sneer at scientific people. I love and admire them. I rejoice to see blue flames, and electric sparks, and to hear loud explosions, and even to smell disagreeable odours at the Royal Institution or at the Polytechnic. ***

Stephen proceeds in his work of depreciation by pointing modestly at one "trifling fault" which men of science possess:

They are apt to be a little arrogant, and to presume upon the respect which they

* "Useless Knowledge," CM, July 1869, xx, 48.
 ** ibid.
 *** ibid., xx, 49.

have fairly won. *

Moreover, Stephen not only questions the pretensions of such men, he also derides the talismatic brandishing of the mere word "science":

If a man of genius spends years in investigating the habits of a microscopic animicule, it does not follow that the game was worth the candle, simply because we give to the knowledge gained the mystic name of science. **

He obviously felt that the much esteemed scientific study could shelter its Reverend Edward Casaubon, and in his irreverent attitude reminds one of such critics as Swift and Aldous Huxley.

The Cornhill and other Magazines

Finally we may ask how the Cornhill Magazine compared with other and similar magazines in its provision of scientific articles for its readers. As has been apparent during this chapter the Cornhill and Macmillan's, for instance, catered for its readers in very similar ways.

* CM, July 1869, xx, 50.
That Stephen's views were shared we can see from the Spectator, 10 July 1869, p.825, where the reviewer writes thus of Stephen's article:

The world will, however, sympathise with the satire on the arrogance which some men of real scientific attainment have begun to manifest, an arrogance which sometimes approaches that of the old theologians, and is based on the same assumption, that they alone are the depositaries of absolute truth.

** CM, July 1869, xx, 49.

Over the period they include articles on similar topics and give roughly the same sort of emphasis to the subject. However, there is no doubt that Macmillan's is bolder and will, for instance, deal more fully with a topic like evolution; moreover, Macmillan's was quick to employ controversial figures like Huxley as contributors - his famous lecture "On a Piece of Chalk," for example, was printed in Macmillan's. * What is lacking from the Cornhill is the presence of men of the stature of Bain, Bastian, Thomson, Lyell, and Lockyer, all of whom contributed to the Macmillan's Magazine; these were men who were well-known in their own day as research workers, and are remembered in ours for their contribution to science.

It is much the same story with the Fortnightly Review which was founded in 1866 with Lewes as its first editor. ** Although there were not so many articles of a scientific nature included, those that were appear more high-powered than those, often on similar topics, which were published in the Cornhill. In the Fortnightly Review from 1866 to 1870 men of the calibre of Tyndal, Bain, Huxley, Bastian and John Herschel contributed articles of a scientific nature which at times could be relied to stimulate controversy and opposition. Nothing, for instance, appeared in

* Macmillan's Magazine, September 1868, xviii, 396-408.

** See A. Trollope, Autobiography, pp.172-178.

the Cornhill like Huxley's lecture "On the Physical Basis of Life" of which the editor of the Fortnightly, John Morley wrote:

No article that has appeared in any periodical for a generation back (unless it be Deutsch's article on the Talmud in the Quarterly of 1867) excited so profound a sensation as Huxley's memorable paper On the Physical Basis of Life (1869). The stir was like the stir that in a political epoch was made by Swift's Conduct of the Allies, or Burke's French Revolution. *

In other fields the Cornhill could cause a stir by the publication of Unto this Last and Culture and Anarchy, but in scientific matters it did not compete with a periodical like the Fortnightly.

Nevertheless, it provided many more scientific articles than, say, Blackwood's or the Gentleman's Magazine, and whilst, perhaps, not preparing its readers to understand the Second Law of Thermodynamics, or to follow someone like Maxwell in his researches, it did something at least to mitigate the ignorance of scientific matters in which their formal education had left them, and to satisfy what the Saturday Review called an "enormous demand" for popularised science. ** As the same periodical said of one piece of scientific popularising, "Because truth is

* Quoted in C. Bibby, T.H. Huxley, p.92. Huxley's article appeared in Fortnightly Review, 1869, vol. v(NS).

** Saturday Review, 3 May 1862, p.503.

told in a familiar manner it need not be either undignified or unattractive;" * and about the Cornhill's provision in this field for the common reader we can rejoice to concur with those critics who repeatedly praise the magazine for being "eminently clever and readable," and for providing "light and palatable intellectual fare."

* Saturday Review, 31 March 1866, p.388.

CHAPTER V

Literature

There were several ways in which a magazine like the Cornhill could assist what one of its contributors called the "important - we had almost said sacred - office" of Literature. * It could, of course, publish works which were regarded then, or have been recognised since, as the stuff of literature. It could engage in literary criticism, an exercise which, it seems, could include the work of men whose proper concern was, in Eliot's words "the elucidation of works of art and the correction of taste," and also the work of those whose stock-in-trade was the gossip, often untrue and mostly malicious, of Literary London of the day. Finally, such a magazine could, as a particular kind of critical activity, publish its monthly reviews of those books which either were exciting contemporary interest, or were deemed worthy reading for men of cultivation and good taste. In its own way the Cornhill of the sixties was involved in each of these activities, though it is only fair to add that its concern with literary gossip was a matter of refutation and not initiation.

Although the function of this study is to consider

* "Our Survey of Literature, Science, and Art," CM, July 1862, vi, 105.

certain areas of thought as revealed in the non-fiction articles which appeared in the Cornhill during the eighteen sixties, it would be a serious, indeed a laughable omission in a chapter entitled "Literature" not to mention, however briefly, the novels which the Cornhill published during this decade. For some, perhaps many, of the readers the publication of the novels in monthly instalments will have been the raison d'être of the magazine. * As Thackeray said in his "Letter from the Editor to a Friend and Contributor," for "some folks, novels are as daily bread," ** and certainly these people were well nourished during this decade. As an appendix to this thesis there is set out a list of the novels published during this decade in the magazine; *** what is sufficient at the moment is to state that between 1860-1870 the Cornhill published three novels by Thackeray, four by Trollope, two by Mrs. Gaskell, one by George Eliot, one by

* It is interesting, and a little chastening, to read Mrs. Gaskell's comments, in a letter to George Smith of 29 December 1859, on the first number:

I extremely like and admire Framley Parsonage, - and the Idle Boy; and the Inaugural address. I like Lovel the Widower, only (perhaps because I am stupid,) it is a little confusing on account of its discursiveness, - and V's verses; and oh shame! I have not read the sensible and improving articles.

The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell (ed. J.A.V. Chapple and A.Pollard), p.596.

** The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray (ed. G.N.Ray), iv, 160.

*** See below pp. 457-459.

Wilkie Collins, and one by Charles Reade. Of these only a few like those of Trollope, who published in the Cornhill Framley Parsonage and The Small House at Alington, have retained some of their popularity for our own day. Nevertheless, the novels and nouvelles which were offered to the reader of the Cornhill represent a high level of competence, even if some of them must be reckoned, in Ruskin's terms, "good books of the hour."

Matthew Arnold

If among those who wrote fiction for the magazine we can number such authors as Trollope, George Eliot, and Thackeray, then among the critics we can name one writer who was famous, even notorious in his day, and remains respected in our own; quite overshadowing the other non-fiction writers whose work appeared in the Cornhill of the period is the figure of Matthew Arnold. Of those writers who wrote on literary-cum-social topics none, except Ruskin, has earned the same reputation. Indeed, save for the fiction, nothing published during this period in the magazine made the same impact as the essays of Matthew Arnold; and nothing has since enjoyed such distinction. Nothing else published during the period could, with some justice, be praised in such terms as the following:

... I do not say the best thing he ever wrote but certainly his most characteristic

utterance - is Culture and Anarchy, which is at once a masterpiece of vivacious prose, a great poet's great defence of poetry, a profoundly religious book, and the finest apology for education in the English language. *

A century later, we can see that the Cornhill, by its publication of Culture and Anarchy in essay form, helped to increase our stock of "good books for all time."

The publication of the Cornhill in 1860 practically coincided with the beginning of Arnold's career as a prose writer whose concern was both literary and social criticism. From 1859, with the publication of his pamphlet England and the Italian Question, Arnold turned more and more from poetry to the writing of prose. It is worth noting that the Cornhill and Macmillan's appeared a little over two years after Arnold's election as Professor of Poetry at Oxford, and when he began to seek publication of his lecture material, he turned to such magazines as Fraser's, Macmillan's and the Cornhill where he could be certain of reasonable payment.

There is little doubt that the appearance of so much of Arnold's prose work during this decade in the Cornhill was due to the generous payment which the proprietor was prepared to make to secure contributors of the right calibre. Sidney Lee, in his George Smith, a Memoir, mentions not only the resourcefulness and energy of the proprietor, but also his

* Culture and Anarchy, (ed. J. Dover Wilson), p.xii.

liberality, *whilst in the same volume we read George Smith's own assertion that

Our terms were lavish almost to the point of recklessness. No pains and no cost were spared to make the new magazine the best periodical yet known to English literature. **

Perhaps the easiest way to demonstrate the comparative generosity is to set down the essays which appeared in the periodicals during the earlier part of the decade, and to state the amount Arnold received for each article *** :

"Maurice de Guérin"	<u>Fraser's</u>	January 1863	£11 5.
"The Bishop and the Philosopher"	<u>Macmillan's</u>	January 1863	£16
"Dr. Stanley's <u>Lectures on the Jewish Church</u> "	<u>Macmillan's</u>	February 1863	£10
"Eugénie de Guérin"	<u>Cornhill</u>	June 1863	£21
"Heinrich Heine"	<u>Cornhill</u>	August 1863	£21
"Marcus Aurelius"	<u>Victoria</u>	November 1863	£20
"A Word more about Spinoza"	<u>Macmillan's</u>	December 1863	£ 7 7.
"Joubert"	<u>National Review</u>	January 1864	£22
"Pagan and Christian Religious Sentiment"	<u>Cornhill</u>	April 1864	£20
"Literary Influence of Academies"	<u>Cornhill</u>	August 1864	£25
"Functions of Criticism"	<u>National Review</u>	November 1864	£22

* George Smith, pp.29-30.

** ibid., p.110.

*** These figures are given by R.H. Super in his edition of Lectures and Essays in Criticism, volume iii of The Complete Works of Matthew Arnold.

"Study of Celtic
Literature"
4 essays

Cornhill

March, April, 1891 5.
May, July
1866

From these figures it can be seen that the Cornhill made the highest individual payment, and was consistently generous in its fees. That Arnold was aware of this generosity is made quite clear by reference to his letters. Even before the publication of his essay on Maurice de Guérin in January 1863 he told his mother that he intended to write one on Eugénie de Guérin for Macmillan's for May of the same year. By the middle of February, however, Arnold was writing to George Smith about the inclusion of an article on Eugénie de Guérin in the Cornhill. * When he was considering the placing of his lecture on Heinrich Heine the reasons for his choice of the Cornhill are made explicit in a letter to his mother:

I have had two applications for the lecture from magazines, but I shall print it, if I can, in the Cornhill, because it both pays best and has much the largest circle of readers. **

Concerned as Arnold was about money *** - like Thackeray for the sake of his children - it would be unfair to under-rate the importance in Arnold's eyes of the large circulation of the Cornhill. Throughout his letters and his prose writings is evident, both explicitly and implicitly, his very genuine desire to effect some change in the attitudes, ideas, and

* See W. Buckler, Matthew Arnold's Books, p.63.

** Letter of 16 June 1863, Letters (ed. G.W.E. Russell), i, 195.

*** See W. Buckler, Matthew Arnold's Books.

practices of his fellow-countrymen. A most powerful statement of his concern can be seen in the following extract from a letter to his sister:

Whatever Mary [another sister] may say, or the English may think, I have a conviction that there is a real, an almost imminent danger of England losing immeasurably in all ways, declining into a sort of greater Holland, for want of what I must still call ideas, for want of perceiving how the world is going and must go, and preparing herself accordingly. This conviction haunts me, and at times even overwhelms me with depression; I would rather not live to see the change come to pass, for we shall all deteriorate under it. While there is time I will do all I can, and in every way, to prevent its coming to pass. *

Perhaps at this point, having demonstrated two very good reasons for Arnold's choice of the Cornhill for the publication of most of his work during the sixties, it is appropriate to list just what Arnold did publish in George Smith's magazine:

"Eugénie de Guérin"	June 1863	vii	784-800
"Heinrich Heine"	August 1863	viii	233-249
"Pagan and Religious Sentiment"	April 1864	ix	422-435
"The Literary Influence of Academies"	August 1864	x	154-172
"My Countrymen"	February 1866	xiii	153-172
"The Study of Celtic Literature"	March 1866	xiii	282-296

* Letter of November 1865, Letters (ed. G.W.E. Russell), i, 309-310.

"The Study of Celtic Literature"	April 1866	xiii	469-483
" "	May 1866	xiii	538-555
" "	July 1866	xiv	110-128
"Culture and Its Enemies"	July 1867	xvi	36- 53
"Anarchy and Authority"	January 1868	xvii	30- 47
" " "	February 1868	xvii	239-256
" " "	June 1868	xvii	745-760
" " "	July 1868	xviii	91-107
" " "	August 1868	xviii	239-256
"St. Paul and Protestantism"	October 1869	xx	432-451
" " "	November 1869	xx	598-620

It would of course be untrue to say that the Cornhill published all his works - for instance, there were the educational writings including French Eton, published in Macmillan's, and "The Twice-Revised Code" in Fraser's - but it is true that during this highly productive decade of his life the Cornhill did provide an outlet for a considerable amount of Arnold's writing.

We have seen in the earlier chapter on Education that the Cornhill occasionally became strongly involved in contemporary controversy, but no other writer engaged the magazine so repeatedly in those exchanges between different newspapers and periodicals which are such splendid demonstrations of a lively, active and educated class. Arnold was above all a polemical writer, and almost everything he wrote in his easy, polished and provocative way evoked positive response, and a response, moreover, which often influenced subsequent writings of Arnold himself. His writings in the Cornhill did

not all elicit the same amount of response, and, as is to be expected, the response grew as Arnold's writings tended to be more concerned with controversial topics involving social and religious criticism. To those essays which later formed Essays in Criticism we find several references, in other magazines and journals, on their first appearance. * Arnold's essay on Eugénie de Guérin, for instance, elicited a favourable response in the Saturday Review, a paper Arnold considered as his "old adversary." ** Later the same paper writes:

Mr. Arnold - who, almost alone among Englishmen, explores the rich vein of thought offered by the contrast of the English and the French intellect - has recently published a paper in the Cornhill Magazine which purports to discuss the influence of Academies on literature. ***

Surprisingly enough, the same article, "The Literary Influence of Academies," prompted a favourable review from E. Miell, the editor of the Nonconformist, who referred to it in his article entitled "Provinciality." ****

Similarly, throughout the publication in the Cornhill

* When they appeared in book form, the essays were, like all Arnold's works, subjected to considerable reviewing.
 ** Saturday Review, 6 June 1863, pp.717-718.
 *** Saturday Review, 6 August 1864, pp.175-176.
 **** Nonconformist, 18 January, p.52.

of those essays which were later to be published in book form as Culture and Anarchy, there was comment and attack in such papers and magazines as Macmillan's, * Fortnightly Review **, Saturday Review, *** and the Spectator. ****
 The Globe, an evening newspaper appealing to a middle-class and reasonably well-educated audience, notices one of the essays in a rather strange way:

In the Cornhill that which concerns us most is that Mr. Matthew Arnold is getting dull, which we did not believe possible. He is the prince of magazinists, if only he will be a little splenetic and sarcastic; but he is really beginning to write like a Philistine. *****

Quite obviously a detailed consideration of the nature and reception of all that Arnold published in the Cornhill is quite beyond the scope of this thesis. Yet some demonstration is necessary of the involvement for the reader of the Cornhill in contemporary magazine controversies of

- * H. Sidgwick, "The Prophet of Culture," Macmillan's Magazine, August 1867, xvi, 271-280.
 ** F. Harrison, "Culture: A Dialogue," Fortnightly Review, November 1867, ii(NS), 602-614.
 *** "Mr. Matthew Arnold on Culture," Saturday Review, 20 July, 1867, p.78.
 **** "Mr. Arnold on the State," Spectator, 4 January 1868, p.5.
 ***** Globe, 2 July 1868, p.1.

the day which these articles brought. Other articles that we have discussed in earlier chapters may well have acquainted readers with matters of contemporary scientific, say, or social concern, but Arnold's articles, like those of "Peterfamilias," actually connect the reader of the Cornhill with the active intellectual life of the time, with that spirited exchange of ideas and opinions via the magazines and newspapers which is such a characteristic of the period. As an example of this engagement I propose to comment at some length on the reception which one of Arnold's essays, "My Countrymen," * was given. It should be mentioned that "My Countrymen" was later to be included in Friendship's Garland, and in this essay, using an oblique method of attack in which criticism of his own country flows from his foreign friends, Arnold delivers his most concentrated indictment of the British middle classes. One of the delights of the essay is the irony involved in Arnold's appearing as the earnest, but ineffectual champion of the middle classes.

In fact, "My Countrymen" created two kinds of reaction in the press - first, those references to it, especially in the weekly papers, as part of the current edition of the Cornhill which was being reviewed with other magazines for

* CM, February 1866, xiii, 153-172.

the month of February 1866, and secondly, articles which reviewed and criticised the essay at length.

Despite the fact that The Court Journal, having mentioned The Claverings, decides that there

is nothing else noticeable in the number, except that Armadale pursues the even tenor of its way. *

nevertheless, The Court Circular comments on "the capital paper on 'My Countrymen,' for which, it seems, we are indebted to some comments which appeared long ago in the Saturday Review." ** The reviewer, while finding it "ably written and suggestive; of more real value, perhaps, than anything that has appeared in the Cornhill for a long time," makes no attempt to indicate the contents of the essay to his readers, nor to make an appraisal of Arnold's ideas.

One other short notice is worthy of comment for two reasons. First, it is to be found in the Nonconformist, the leading weekly political voice of the Dissenters, about which Arnold was to say hard things in Culture and Anarchy, and indeed he had already commented on some of its editor's

* Court Journal, 3 February 1866, p.130.
Compare John Bull, 3 February 1866, p.75:
The Cornhill is brimful of amusing matter,
but has nothing calling for criticism.

** Court Circular, 10 February 1866, p.135.

pronouncements in "My Countrymen;" secondly, it contains a misprint which no doubt amused Arnold's critics, some of whom saw in what they felt to be superciliousness an unwillingness to associate himself with people and things English.* Under the heading "The Magazines" we can read in the Nonconformist:

The Cornhill begins a new story, The Claverings, and Mr. Matthew Arnold has a claim to be heard, and will be heard, as to the topics he has taken up under the heading "Thy / sic / Countrymen" - which is eminently the expression of Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his true individuality. **

The "Literary Lounger," writing in the Illustrated Times, finds the most noticeable thing in the Cornhill "a rather capricious paper, by Mr. Matthew Arnold, entitled 'My Countrymen.'" This writer takes up Arnold's admission

* The Daily Telegraph, Arnold's enemy and butt, was particularly incensed about his fondness of quoting and recommending Continental habits and virtues to his fellow-countrymen. Writing of him a leading article complains:

Then, when we have learned to make no fuss either about the heaven above, the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth, we are to cross the Channel and take lessons from Germany and France ... None the less are we to be humble pupils of a people which cannot govern itself, which cannot advance without revolutions, and which has borrowed more thoughts from us than it has ever repayed.

Daily Telegraph, 8 September 1866, p.5.

** Nonconformist, 7 February 1866, p.119.

that he is "no arguer, as is well known" and elaborates it. He finds a want of logic in Arnold's writing, a lack that results from the fact that while he "can compare ... he cannot infer." Therefore, this writer maintains, "our duty to a distinguished man like Mr. Arnold" is not to look for a logical method in his writing but "to endeavour as far as possible to see with his eyes ... for it is vision that he finds us deficient in." He concludes his article by rather wistfully making the criticism that others were to be more forthright about:

But I wish he were more of an Englishman,
and more just about (for example) the
Indian mutiny. *

Alone among the shorter reviews the writer in the Sunday Times, a paper appealing to an educated audience, besides distinguishing the essay as "powerfully written" and "an excellent article," attempts to make his readers aware of the aims of Arnold's essay. He points out that it begins with "what appears an apology for having called his countrymen Philistines" and then that Arnold proceeds to show "the opinion really entertained of us by foreigners." ** The short review is completed by a comparatively long quotation from the essay which compares Europe's regard for England in 1866 with that which it enjoyed in 1815; this is a section of the essay which contains the most aggressive criticism of the

* Illustrated Times, 10 February 1866, p.90

** Sunday Times, 11 February 1866, p.2.

middle class.

Among the longer responses to the essay are the two editorials which appeared in the Edinburgh Evening Courant *. Arnold, it claims, has opened up some questions which

have a bearing on the politics of the future, and the discussion of which is peculiarly opportune when we are threatened with a fresh influx of the democratic element in our constitution. **

The intention of the writer and his use of Arnold's essay is indicated in the word "threatened." In fact, Arnold's essay was used by the writer in this paper for party political purposes; the Edinburgh Evening Courant, in opposition to Parliamentary Reform, sought to find support for its own Tory regard for the aristocracy. The other notices which I intend to mention are, in this respect at least, more in harmony with Arnold's essay which they discuss, as he writes, without ulterior party political motives.

It is not surprising that the Saturday Review should take notice of "My Countrymen," an article which Arnold maintains was inspired by certain remarks in that periodical. *** More than four columns are devoted to "Mr. Arnold on the

* 31 January 1866, p.4, and 2 February 1866, p.4.

** Edinburgh Evening Courant, 31 January 1866, p.4.

*** "Mr. Matthew Arnold and His Countrymen," Saturday Review, 3 December 1864, 683-685. Written by Fitzjames Stephen, a fellow contributor to the Cornhill during the sixties, this article was itself inspired by Arnold's essay "Functions of Criticism at the Present Time," National Review, November 1864.

Middle Classes," an article which, though amusing at times, is a serious attack upon the criticisms of the middle classes and England to be found in "My Countrymen." Above all, the article constitutes an answer to the strictures which Arnold put in the mouths of his foreign friends - a fictional device which his contemporaries found extremely annoying. After conducting his readers through a consideration of the various points which these foreign friends made the writer asks his reader to consider four facts which are: that England only of European countries enjoys political freedom, that her religious controversies "have taken a practical form and are likely to lead to practical results," that she governs India, and that she has "a qualified and well-defined supremacy" over a large empire. In conclusion, and revealing, I think, the depth of feeling that could be provoked by Arnold's criticisms, he wrote a patriotic defence of middle-class England:

Look well at these four facts, think what they mean, try for a moment to take their measure, and then ask whether it is worthwhile to give even a passing thought to the opinion which the Prussians may form of our attitude in the Danish question. Think, too, for a moment of the intense and varied energy with which millions of men are working out different

bits of one or more of these vast problems. Remember that every ship loaded by the despised shopkeeper, every order taken by the vulgarest traveller, every article written in a penny paper, every vote given by a 10 l. householder, goes to make up the vast whole which constitutes the action of England on the world; and if you still sneer at the general result, and still fail to see the lines of greatness and majesty through the dust and sweat and noise and turmoil which obscure what they develop, you despise human life itself. There are those who think otherwise, and who would prefer to grind in such a mill, ever so roughly, ever so coarsely, ever so meanly, all the days of their life, to the most aesthetic form of dawdling that could be invented by a joint committee from all the cafés and theatres between the Mediterranean and the Baltic. *

The writer in the Examiner also objects strongly to the criticism which Arnold puts in the mouths of his foreign friends and which he answers so feebly. The article entitled "Mr. Sampson" describes how the writer, whilst travelling on a railway in France, entered a carriage in which were

a French gentleman and an English one, whom I found engaged in a very animated discussion, if that can be so called in which the argument was all on one side. **

The writer, who was about to continue reading "a very

* Saturday Review, 10 February 1866, p.163.

** Examiner, 17 February 1866, p.99.

interesting article in the last Cornhill Magazine, one entitled 'My Countrymen'" became fascinated by the argument.

Mr. Sampson, whose name of course recalls the Jewish hero *, is obviously intended to be Matthew Arnold. He was seen to be in a very despondent mood and was an

intellectual-looking person, with an expression so free from unbecoming diffidence that I was rather surprised to observe he scarcely found an occasional feeble reply to the overflowing eloquence which was being addressed to him. **

And Sampson's French companion, to whom he was only able to object with monosyllabic interjections before being silenced, delivered throughout the early part of the article a

* This is ironical, of course, to emphasise the weakness of Arnold's replies, and appropriate because it continues his image of the Philistines. See also Illustrated London News, 10 February 1865, p.142:

Our Samson is, moreover, continually giving the Philistines a hold upon him, either by inaccuracies of statement or eccentricities of opinion.

Swinburne, in his "Mr. Arnold's New Poems," Fortnightly Review, October 1867, ii(NS), 425, also describes Arnold as "the moral Samson who has played for ~~our~~ behoof the part of Agonistes or protagonist in the new Gaza where we live ... A profane alien in my hearing once defined him as "David, the son of Goliath."

** Examiner, 17 February 1866, p.99.

a caricature of the arguments which Arnold's friends had presented in "My Countrymen":

"Yes, my dear Monsieur," the French gentleman was continuing, "I am truly grieved to say it, owing partly to the predominance of your wretched middle class having no ideas, and no sympathies except for guineas, your country, which fifty years ago stood first in common estimation, has thus sunk in the opinion of the world to - let us see - to the fourteenth place: after Turkey." *

During this early part of the article the Frenchman reveals himself to be arrogant and ignorant; and finally, he demonstrates his stupidity in his reply to the writer's opinion of the earlier discussion between Mr. Sampson and himself:

"It seems to me, then, that nearly all I have had the privilege of hearing Monsieur say was most exquisite, absolute, unmitigated Bosh."

"Monsieur," said my companion, removing his hat, "I find myself very happy in having, in one day, met with two amiable, intelligent, and truly convincing Englishmen. Boche! Aha, I have been talking du Boche all my life without knowing it! Be sure henceforth I shall often use your so expressive and beautiful word! - Bouche! Bauche! Boche! **

Although the writer of the article which appeared in the Spectator finds many of Arnold's strictures just, he

* Examiner, 17 February 1866, p.99.

** ibid., p.100.

sees little to commend in Arnold's attitude to the people he is criticising. Despite a very favourable estimate of Arnold's skill -

In the new number of the Cornhill Magazine there is another, and perhaps the most perfect specimen yet published of Mr. Arnold's exquisitely polished English, his keen and delicate irony, his dogmatic mock humility, his airy scorn, his luminous exposition, and his entire indifference to any but æsthetic principles. * -

the writer opposes Arnold, an opposition early revealed by the title, "An Intellectual Angel," and the phrase "we dull laborious critics." This article also contains the criticism which was often made of Arnold's attitude. Several of Arnold's critics found him, at least as revealed in his writings, supercilious, unsympathetic, and condescending, and believed that those writings implied that Arnold felt himself to be superior. In this quotation from the Spectator we see that this writer, like others, makes play with the Biblical quotation which Arnold includes in "My Countrymen":

He prefers contemplating blankly the gulf between him and the uncultured people he pities. He exults in the intellectual paces which he displays before them, and to the beauty and delicately graduated variety of which they are simply blind. He is almost supercilious in his disdain for their clumsy and heavy tread. "Let them that be filthy be filthy still," is too accurate an expression of his grand

* Spectator, 3 February 1866, p.125.

unconcern. *

The last sentence is a calumny, but such was the criticism to which Arnold was exposed when he involved himself, and the Cornhill, in this kind of public debate.

John Ruskin

It is now interesting to speculate why, if George Smith would allow the magazine to become involved in contemporary controversy as a result of Arnold's writings, there was the withdrawal of support for Ruskin's essays which were later published in book-form as Unto this Last. ** Smith and Thackeray had accepted happily for the third number an article by Ruskin, "Sir Joshua and Holbein," but when the parts of Unto this Last appeared it seems that this treatise upon political economy smacked too obviously of socialistic heresy to be acceptable to the majority of readers. *** There is some confusion as to who was responsible for the early conclusion to the papers; Sidney Lee, Smith's biographer, writes:

Smith published four articles and then informed the author that the editor could accept no more. Smith afterwards issued Unto this Last in a separate volume, but the forced cessation of the papers in the magazine impaired the old

* Spectator, 3 February 1866, p.126.

** CM, ii, August, September, October, and November 1860.

*** Ruskin talks of "this violent reprobation of them by the Cornhill public." See Works (ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn), xvii, 143.

cordiality of intercourse between author and publisher. *

However, according to Ruskin, it was from Thackeray that he learned that he must draw the series to a close, and in his Munera Pulveris writes:

The editor of the Magazine was my friend, and ventured the insertion of the first three essays; but the outcry against them became too strong for any editor to endure, and he wrote to me, with great discomfort to himself, and many apologies to me, that the Magazine must only admit one Economical Essay more.

I made, with his permission, the last one longer than the rest, and gave it blunt conclusion as well as I could - and so the book now stands. **

Of the many attacks that appeared in the conservative press none was more vehement than the article in the Saturday Review entitled "J.R. on Political Economy." In it the author obviously supports the orthodox economists like Smith Ricardo and Mill, and makes what he feels a mockery of Ruskin's opinions. Coupled with a patronising tone is an obvious concern lest Ruskin's heresies might spread:

The set of opinions which J.R. advocates is not likely to obtain any great influence amongst people of education, with the

* George Smith, p.30

** The Works of John Ruskin, (ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn), xvii, 143.

exception, indeed, of those who have a romantic liking for opinions of which the application is utterly opposed to the whole structure of society; but there is great reason to fear that their popularity amongst the lower classes will be almost in direct proportion to their falsehood and their danger. *

In the following months there followed in the Saturday Review a number of attacks on Ruskin's work, sometimes conducted incidentally as when, in an article devoted to the criticism of John Bright, the writer says:

If anything can excuse Mr. Ruskin's impertinence in writing on a subject of which he knows nothing, it is the arrogance of those who know a little of the same subject and talk as if their knowledge lifted them above the level of common humanity. **

More persistently vitriolic is the long article called "Mr. Ruskin Again" in which the author uses all the scorn at his disposal to belittle Ruskin's efforts, and finally makes the kind of appeal reminiscent of those that appeared in the Daily Telegraph when its "young lions" roared at Matthew Arnold:

To English feelings, the most revolting part of Mr. Ruskin's performance is his gross calumny on the nation to which he belongs. Ours is not a country to cry about. Philanthropic gentlemen are infinitely too ready with their pity. It is simply false and absurd to assert

* Saturday Review, 4 August 1860, p.136.

** Saturday Review, 1 December 1860, p.683.

that a man who is industrious and sober - and how the rich prevent the poor from being either utterly passes our understanding - cannot, as a rule, get a living here. *

With such positive and passionately critical response it is understandable that the proprietor and editor felt that such explosive material was not meet for a family magazine. To many of its middle-class readers the Cornhill, in publishing these articles, must have appeared to be attacking their own assured prosperity; certainly the Saturday Review, which seized the opportunity that the cessation of the series offered for a further attack upon Ruskin, indicates considerable surprise that the magazine should have offered shelter to such a renegade:

A great deal of surprise has been expressed that such a periodical as the Cornhill Magazine should have given its imprimatur to a production so unworthy of it as the series of papers headed Unto this Last. That they should have issued from Mr. Ruskin's pen is not, perhaps, so much to be wondered at. He has achieved so much ingenious absurdity in dealing with subjects with which he is tolerably familiar, that he could hardly have failed to attain to absurdity pure and unadulterated when he came to deal with a subject of which he knows absolutely nothing. On the whole, the wonder is that he has stopped short at the point which he has ... Perhaps he yielded to the force majeure of editorial sagacity; perhaps the strong pressure of

* Saturday Review, 10 November 1860, p.584.

nineteenth-century enlightenment has forced a foreign element of common sense into the structure of his thoughts. *

It would, however, present a false picture if it were implied that all readers found the articles either dangerous or distasteful. In his notice of the December issue of the Cornhill the reviewer in the Illustrated London News gave considerable space to a very sympathetic obituary of Unto this Last; as can be seen, the writer realises that his predilection for Ruskin's economics is a minority taste:

"Unto this last" has disappeared from the pages of the Cornhill. Mr. Ruskin is doubtless disgusted with preaching to a perverse and ungrateful generation. For our part, we liked "Unto this last," principally, we believe, for the reason that we had never before been able to read any one work on political economy without skipping four pages out of six. Now you may disagree with Ruskin; but you must read him. As, however, 99,000 out of the 100,000 readers of the Cornhill may not be of our opinion, Mr. Ruskin has done wisely to shake the dust off his feet on the threshold of the orange-coloured magazine. **

Others were less grudging: Frederick Harrison says the essays as they appeared in the Cornhill Magazine filled him as

* "Sentimental Economics," Saturday Review, 27 October 1860, p.514.

** Illustrated London News, 1 December 1860, p.513.

"with a sense of a new gospel on this earth, and with a keen desire to be in personal touch with the daring spirit who had defied the Rabbis of the current economics." * And Carlyle was also enthusiastic; in a letter quoted in the English Illustrated Magazine, November 1891, he wrote:

Such a thing flung suddenly into half a million dull British heads on the same day, will do a great deal of good. I marvel in parts at the lynx-eyed sharpness of your logic, at the pincer-grip (red-hot pincers) you take of certain bloated cheeks and blown-up bellies. More power to your elbow (though it is cruel in the extreme) ... **

Although Ruskin was, as we shall see in chapter VIII, to be the cause of other writing in the magazine, he did not again contribute after this experience.

The Miscellany

When we turn to the other articles which deal with literary topics we find that apart, as we shall see, from the obituaries of Thackeray by Trollope and Dickens, none of their authors is of the stature of either Ruskin or Arnold. A number of the authors we should now consider of little moment; nevertheless, in the Cornhill of the period we can

* F. Harrison, Autobiographic Memoirs, i, 230.

** Quoted in D. Leon, Ruskin The Great Victorian, p.296.

read some of the occasional work of men like G.H. Lewes, J.A. Symonds, Leslie Stephen, James Fitzjames Stephen, and Thomas Wright. These were not men of great creative talent, but they possessed fine, critical minds, and helped the magazine to foster among its readers an intelligent interest in literature, even if they did not attempt to emulate the more scholarly approach of such quarterlies as the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that the audience for whom these men wrote were as formally ignorant of literature as they were of science. A writer in the Fortnightly Review might proclaim that there

is no need in our day to be dithyrambic on the glory of Literature. Books have become our dearest companions, yielding exquisite delights and inspiring lofty aims. *

but the delights were not officially learned at school. As Altick has pointed out:

Despite the growing importance of these examinations / i.e. competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service, instituted in 1855, and those for the Home Civil Service a little later, by the mid-sixties little attention was yet given to literature as a class-room subject. The Taunton Commission found that very few schools gave lessons in English

* G.H. Lewes, "The Principles of Success in Literature," Fortnightly Review, 1865, i, 85.

Literature. *

In such circumstances one cannot but be amazed at the quality and nature of the material that was offered to the reader, even if some writers in the weeklies might refer to it as padding. **

* R.D. Altick, The English Common Reader, p.184. For a plea that "the study of English authors should have a recognised place side by side with that of the ancients," see H.G. Robinson, "On the Use of English Classical Literature in the Work of Education," Macmillan's Magazine, October 1860, ii, 425-434. Compare T.H. Huxley, "On the Methods of Studying Zoology," Modern Culture: Its True Aims and Requirements, ed. E.L. Youmans, p.115:

I have the greatest respect and love for literature; nothing would grieve me more than to see literary training other than a very prominent branch of education: indeed, I wish that real literary discipline were far more attended to than it is ...

J.F. Boys, in his "Memorial of Thackeray's Schooldays," Cornhill Magazine, January 1865, xi, 126, shows that whilst their official diet might be Latin and Greek, the boys at Charterhouse indulged their wider tastes when they "took in the Magazines - Blackwood, the New Monthly, the London, and the Literary Gazette - then in nearly their first glory, and full of excellent articles."

** Not all contemporaries would have applauded the quality of writing in the Cornhill; see "Periodical Writers," Saturday Review, 25 April 1868, p.544:

And the padding ... of all existing magazines is tame even in the best specimens ... sometimes useful, as supplying statistics or thought, but quenching life and spirit as surely as carbonic acid gas. Does laughter or satire ever ring through the solemn precincts of Macmillan's? Do the apostles of the Fortnightly ever introduce a joke into their evangelical discourses?

In "The Starring System in Literature," Saturday Review, 16 May 1868, p.644, the writer complains not of dullness, but of superficiality:

It is a peculiarity of English society that there are more people who read superficially in proportion to those who study deeply than in any other country except the United States. The mass of readers who support magazines want amusement, but are not sufficiently cultivated to appreciate thorough cultivation in others.

Certainly if one objects, a hundred years later, to their rather contemptuous dismissal as "padding," one cannot quarrel with the other epithet often used by the reviewers in reference to the non-fiction articles in the Cornhill - "miscellaneous." * During this decade, apart from the work of Ruskin and Arnold, there were some sixty articles which dealt with literary or dramatic topics, and simply for the purposes of this survey they may be divided into those dealing with contemporary or near contemporary writers, and those which deal with writers and genres of the past. A consideration of the latter kind of article will take its proper place in the next chapter, where such essays will be seen as yet another manifestation of a contemporary interest in the past.

At once it should be said that, owing perhaps to Smith's concern to avoid controversy, there is very little reference to contemporary writers, ** apart from one article on Clough

* The miscellaneous nature of the articles was welcomed by at least one reviewer; see Illustrated London News, 7 April 1866, p.334:

The Cornhill has all the charm which is proverbially attributed to variety, and the variety is so arranged that one enjoys all the effects of strong contrast.

** In Macmillan's, for instance, during the same period there are, in addition to various articles on topics of general literary interest, considerably more articles on the work of such writers as: Coventry Patmore, Elizabeth and Robert Browning, George Eliot, William Barnes, Clough, Hawthorne, Tennyson, and Gladstone.

and one on Browning. And, apart from the obituaries and one article by Anne Thackeray called "Heroines and their Grandmothers," there are no references to novelists; the editors were happy to offer novels in the magazine but perhaps did not yet consider them worthy of criticism. * This neglect is all the more surprising to us since the novel, though poetry continued to enjoy prestige, ** had clearly become the dominant literary form, and contemporary drama was in a degraded state. Perhaps there lingered in their

* The ambivalence of the Victorian attitude to the novel has been explored by various critics; see, for example, G.H. Ford, Dickens and His Readers.

** For entertaining evidence of this see "The Starring System of Literature," Saturday Review, 16 May 1868, p.644:

It has been lately discovered that one of the best expedients for floating a magazine number is to get Mr. Tennyson to write a poem. It matters little, apparently, whether it is a short stanza, or an elaborate and highly finished work. The great thing is to have an opportunity of advertising, on every hoarding in London and at every railway station throughout the kingdom, that the Poet-Laureate is a contributor to the lucky periodical. His name must meet our eye in every variety of gorgeous and gigantic letters that the genius of the "champion bill poster" can invent ... Mr. Tennyson's last new poem seems, if we judge from what we see in our streets, to be as potent a cause of popular excitement as the arrival of the Japanese jugglers and the appearance of the hairless horse at the Crystal Palace.

See also above, Chapter I, p.11.

minds the attitude to the novel exemplified in Trollope's reference to his youth when

the families in which an unrestricted permission was given for the reading of novels were very few, and from many they were altogether banished. *

That this kind of suspicious regard for the novel persisted among some may be seen from an article in the Publishers' Circular for 18 January 1878, where the writer insists:

Free libraries, which should only be provided for the poor and helpless, not for those who can help themselves, should be resorted to for education and instruction, and should begin at elementary works, long antecedent to works of imaginative fiction. If the ratepayers are to provide imaginative fiction, or the luxuries of the mind, for slightly poorer classes, why should they not also provide free games, free plays, panem et circenses, free cakes and nuts for the boys. *

Anne Thackeray on the Novel

In fact, solitary though it is, the article by Anne Thackeray, "On Heroines and their Grandmothers," is a remarkably interesting example of one Victorian view of the function and effect of novel-writing. She considers "why women nowadays write such melancholy novels" and the article is in a sense a protest against the differences between the heroines of, say, Jane Austen, and those of modern writers

* A. Trollope, Autobiography, p.197.

** Quoted in R.D. Altick, The English Common Reader, p.232.

like Mrs. Storm, from whose George Geith she quotes at length, and to whose Too Much Alone, City and Suburb, and The Moors and Fens she refers. Miss Austen's characters, we learn, "came tripping into the room, bright-eyes, rosy-cheeked, arch and good-humoured," whereas now the reader is confronted with

the soul-workings and heart troubles of Miss Kavenagh's Adèle, or our old favourite Ethel May in the Daisy Chain, or Cousin Phillis, or Margaret Hale, or Jane Eyre, or Lucy Snowe, or Dinah or Maggie Tulliver's distractions, or poor noble Romola's perplexities. *

Not only, Anne Thackeray complains, do the heroines suffer during the book, but the reader is even denied the cheering consolation of a happy ending. She maintains:

A sad ending is very touching at the time, and moves many a sympathy, but in prose - for poetry is to be criticized from a different standard - whoever reads a melancholy story over and over and over as some stories are read? **

And she refers to her father as saying that "a bad ending to a book was a great mistake, that he would never make one of his own finish badly."

One could easily point out the insensitive and indiscriminate linking of the various heroines, the ignorance

* CM, May 1865, xi, 630.

** ibid., xi, 637.

of the repeated delight of some of her contemporaries in a story like The Old Curiosity Shop, and the almost incomprehensible implication that Vanity Fair has a happy ending. Similarly one can notice the critical naïveté that assumes that serious novels are

written to cheer one in dull hours, to soothe, to interest, and to distract from weary thoughts, from which it is at times a blessing to escape. *

And yet one cannot view without interest her cathartic theory of novel writing which at least acknowledges a view

* CM, May 1865, xi, 637.
 Although this is the only full length article on the novel, there are three pages at the end of the last instalment of Wives and Daughters explaining that the novel was unfinished owing to Mrs. Gaskell's death. In the short appreciation of Mrs. Gaskell we find an echo, though with a significant difference, of Anne Thackeray's ideas:
 While you read any one of the last three books we have named / i.e. Cousin Phillis, Wives and Daughters, and Sylvia's Lovers /, you feel yourself caught out of an abominable wicked world, crawling with selfishness and reeking with base passions, into one where there is much weakness, many mistakes, sufferings long and bitter, but where it is possible for people to live calm and wholesome lives; and, what is more, you feel that this is at least as real a world as the other. The kindly spirit which thinks no ill looks out of her pages irradiate; and while we read them, we breathe the purer intelligence which prefers to deal with emotions and passions which have a living root in minds within the pale of salvation, and not with those which rot without it.

CM, January 1866, xiii, 13.

of reality akin to Thoreau's which maintains that most of us live lives of "quiet desperation," and therefore recognises that her vision of a heroine "with her April moods and her tenderness and laughter, her frankness, her cleverness, her gay innocent chatter, her outspoken youth and brightness" * belongs to fiction and not to reality. Novel writing, she maintains, "must be like tears to some women, the vent and relief of many a chafing spirit" and her reason for the number of novels written is

because there are so many people feeling, thinking, and enduring, and longing to give voice and expression to the silence of the life in the midst of which they are struggling. The necessity for expression is a great law of nature, one for which there is surely some good and wise reason, as there must be for that natural desire for sympathy which is common to so many. **

Equally interesting is her final complaint against the modern heroine which

is not so much that they are natural and speak out what is in them, and tell us of deeper and more passionate feeling than ever stirred the even tenour / sic / of their grandmothers' narratives, but that they are morbid, constantly occupied with themselves, one-sided and ungrateful to the wonders and blessings of a world which is not less beautiful now than it was a hundred years ago. ***

* CM, May 1865, xi, 636.

** ibid., xi, 639.

*** ibid., xi, 640.

It is not so much that she complains of the recognition of the lachrymæ rerum, but of its expression which might suggest

a strained and affected view of life to some of their younger readers, instead of encouraging them to cheerfulness, to content, to a moderate estimate of their own infallibility, a charity for others, and a not too absorbing contemplation of themselves, their own virtues and shortcomings. *

This was the time when "Say not, 'The struggle naught availeth ...'" was written, when Arnold excluded his "Empedocles on Etna" from the 1853 edition of his poems because it described a situation "unrelieved by incident, hope, or resistance; in which there is everything to be endured, nothing to be done. In such situations there is inevitably something morbid;" ** this was a time when there was work for the young readers to set their hands to. Jejune though one may find Anne Thackeray's literary criticism, just as one feels that the note of the sentimental marred her social criticism, yet one cannot ~~fail~~ fail to recognise and applaud a morality which urges a realistic but cheerful view of living, and not one where action has been inhibited by an excessive introspection. ***

* CM, May 1865, xi, 640.

** M. Arnold, On the Classical Tradition (ed. R.H. Super), p.3.

*** That the writer is recognisably a child of her own time may be learned from W.E. Houghton's chapter on "Earnestness" in his The Victorian Frame of Mind, pp.218-262.

Dickens and Trollope on Thackeray

When Thackeray died the Cornhill marked the occasion by two obituaries, one by Dickens * and the other by Trollope. In that of Dickens one looks in vain for the kind of percipient criticism we have since learned to expect from "novelists on the novel." ** Instead Dickens early disclaims any such intention:

In no pages should I take it upon myself at this time to discourse of his books, of his refined knowledge of character, of his subtle acquaintance with the weaknesses of human nature, of his delightful playfulness as an essayist, of his quaint and touching ballads, of his mastery over the English language. Least of all, in these pages, enriched by his brilliant qualities from the first of the series, and beforehand accepted by the Public through the strength of his great name. ***

* Not surprisingly, in light of their relationship, this was not written very willingly. See letter to Wilkie Collins, 24 January 1864, The Letters of Charles Dickens, p.568:

At the solicitation of Mr. Smith and some of his friends, I have done what I would most gladly have excused myself from doing, if I felt I could - written a couple of pages about him in what was his own magazine.

** One reviewer noticed the lack. See Illustrated London News, 6 February 1864, p.138:

Mr. Dickens writes with the geniality of a kind heart and the instinctive felicity which never deserts him when addressing himself directly to the public. Still the paper does not betray much critical insight ... Mr. Trollope writes of Thackeray with the enthusiasm of a disciple, tempered by the discrimination so peculiarly his own. Without having said anything very brilliant or profound, he has expressed the general sentiment with point and accuracy.

*** CM, February 1864, ix, 130-131.

Early in the article one is assured that Dickens is not going to disobey the injunction to write de mortuis nihil nisi bonum, and what follows is recognisably a public eulogy of the subject's virtues. Dickens does, however, permit himself the expression of one difference of opinion:

I thought that he too much feigned a want of earnestness, and that he made a pretence of undervaluing his art, which was not good for the art that he held in trust. *

One immediately recalls Thackeray's Roundabout Paper, "On a Lazy Idle Boy," published in the first Cornhill, where he says:

Novels are sweets. All people with healthy literary appetites love them -- almost all women; -- a vast number of clever, hard-headed men ... I make no doubt that the eminent parties above named partake of novels in moderation --- eat jellies -- but mainly nourish themselves upon wholesome roast and boiled. **

and those depreciatory remarks in Vanity Fair about putting away the puppets.

In Trollope's memorial, printed in the same number of the Cornhill, we find the same testimony to the virtue of Thackeray: "... it is not so much that he who has left us

* CM, February 1864, ix, 130.

** CM, January 1860, i, 127-128.

was known, admired, and valued, as that he was loved." *
 But it includes two statements which are of particular interest to us; the first is the reference to Thackeray's retiring from the editorship of the magazine:

At the end of two years Mr. Thackeray gave up the management of the Magazine, finding that there was much in the very nature of the task which embarrassed and annoyed him. He could not bear to tell an ambitious aspirant that his aspirations were in vain; and, worse again, he could not endure to do so when a lady was his suppliant. **

This reinforces what Thackeray had already said in his Roundabout Paper, "Thorns in the Cushion," *** and emphasises his embarrassment at the duties of his position; the author of an obituary in the Illustrated London News stresses the waste of Thackeray's talents:

Mr. Thackeray, editor of the Cornhill Magazine, must have been dreadfully

* There were many notices of Thackeray's death which celebrated the affection he inspired. See, for instance, Saturday Review, 2 January 1864, pp.9-10:

By the friends who knew him best, Mr. Thackeray was thoroughly beloved, and in the due proportion of nearer or remoter intercourse he inspired an affectionate regard in all who shared his conversation ... His survivors understand better the essential purity of character which was intimately connected with his sparkling fancy and with his keen observation.

Also Home and Foreign Affairs, April 1864, iv, 467:

... of all recent writers he excites the greatest personal sympathy.

** CM, February 1864, ix, 134.

*** CM, July 1860, ii, 122-128.

bored, and did not tell us in those "Roundabout Papers" one tenth of his troubles. He ought never to have given time, trouble, or anything but his name to periodical work; and we verily believe that the proprietors did all in their power to prevent his being worried and disturbed in his lawful labours. *

The second interesting comment that Trollope makes is his evaluation of Thackeray's novels :

Esmond, of all his works, has most completely satisfied the critical tastes of those who profess themselves to read critically. For myself, I own that I regard Esmond as the first and finest novel in the English language. Taken as a whole, I think that it is without a peer. **

This is high praise indeed; perhaps Henry Esmond is the novel which Trollope would most like to have written himself. Certainly the qualifications of Trollope as a critic were

* Illustrated London News, 9 January 1864, pp.33-34. For similar comments about Thackeray's attitude to the editorship, see George Smith, p.123, and J.Payn, Some Literary Recollections, p.226. Some years later the writer of "The Works of Thackeray," Edinburgh Review, January 1873, cxxxvii, 100, was to say
A most goodnatured editor, conscientious as well as kind, was Thackeray; but the work was not to his taste, and after a short period he relinquished it at a large pecuniary sacrifice. To that terrible person, the owner of a 'rejected contribution,' he was frequently most generous, breaking the literary disappointment with the solace of a bank-note in many instances. But he found it painfully difficult to say "No" when it became imperative to reject would-be contributors, and fled from the field in despair accordingly.

** CM, February 1864, ix, 136.

called into question by James Payn:

Trollope was the least literary man of letters I ever met ... Though he certainly took pleasure in writing novels I doubt whether he took any in reading them; and from his conversation, quite as much as from his own remarks on the subject in his autobiography, I should judge he had not read a dozen, even of Dickens's, in his life. *

One should just mention that a year later, in January 1865, there appeared an article by J.F. Boyes entitled "A Memorial of Thackeray's School Days." ** The article is little more than literary gossip, with the customary eulogy of the virtues and loveableness of the subject. The reviewer in the Illustrated London News dismisses the article with praise only for the illustrations:

The reminiscences of Thackeray, by his schoolfellow, amount to very little, but serve to introduce some curious specimens of his juvenile drawings. ***

"Jacob Omnium"

The Cornhill of the period also includes the obituary of a writer who, if forgotten in our own day, was perhaps as well known among the literati of London as Thackeray himself. In October 1868 Frederick Greenwood, himself a journalist of note and one of the editors of the

* J. Payn, Some Literary Recollections, pp.221-222.

** CM, January 1865, xi, 118-128.

*** Illustrated London News, 7 January 1865, p.22.

Cornhill, * published the memorial of Matthew Higgins, under the title of "Jacob Omnium;" in fact, we have already had occasion to refer in the chapter on Education to Higgins, for it was he, then under the pseudonym of "Paterfamilias," who initiated the controversy which led to the setting up of the Clarendon Commission. In an obituary which is at once judicious and flattering, Greenwood characterises, as

* See W.H. Robertson Scott, The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette (1950), pp.93-94:

On the retirement of Thackeray in 1862 the magazine was conducted by a triumvirate. For two years this triumvirate consisted of Smith, Frederick Greenwood - who had been a frequent contributor from the second number, and had helped Thackeray as sub-editor - and that "wonder of versatile talents," George Eliot's G.H. Lewes. When Lewes gave up (1864) Greenwood continued for three years after the starting of the Pall Mall Gazette, which seems strange. Later, the magazine was in the hands of Smith and Dutton Cook. On Dutton Cook's retirement (1871) the indomitable Leslie Stephen, who had made his way from holy orders to agnosticism, and had written for the magazine since 1866, took charge, and held on until he became the editor of the Dictionary of National Biography (1882). As to the share which Smith took in the direction of the periodical, Sir Edward Cook has the judicious observation, in his Literary Recreations, that 'in the land of Cornhill there was a succession of Prime Ministers, but the sovereign remained the same, and his influence, though exercised with unostentatious tact, was, I suspect, great and constant.'

we have seen, Higgins as "in attack, the most formidable penman in English journalism," and mentions the various causes which Higgins supported, and the various abuses he attacked, activities in which the mass of the public recognised

the sound sense, courage, and justice of "Civilian" or "Paterfamilias," cheered him on to the attack accordingly, and in most cases loyally carried him through to the achievement of his end. *

Matthew Higgins is such an interesting figure because he does, as it were, represent the social conscience of the period, and was only too ready to bend a fine mind, and a polemical artistry to the correction of current abuses, and to the ventilation of the "topics of the day." We have seen that the Cornhill provided for him a platform for what was to become a very successful attack on the inadequacies of the public school system; it was also the place in which he wrote his "The Story of the Mhow Court Martial." Already as "Civilian" he had written to the Times ** and in the Cornhill of November 1863 he set out a forceful, and well-documented attack on the conduct of Colonel Crawley and his activities as prosecutor in the court-martial of Paymaster Smales, during which Crawley imprisoned one of the defence

* CM, October 1868, xviii, 511.

** "The Death of Sergeant-Major Lilley," Times, 8 June 1863, p.9.

— "The Court-Martial of Colonel Crawley," Times, 18 June 1863, p.11.

witnesses, a Sergeant-Major Lilley, who died whilst under restraint. The issue had all the makings of a cause célèbre * -- dissension among the officers of a famous regiment, behaviour which called in question the ethics of the soldier and gentleman, the involvement of a divorcee, a ruthless interference with the justice of the court, and finally, in the case of Sergeant-Major Lilley, something akin to manslaughter. All this Higgins dwells upon and elaborates with force, and parts of his article were quoted in the Times, under the heading "Origin of Mhow Scandal." ** Little wonder that his article aroused considerable response, a response forecast by the critic in the Illustrated London News:

* Certainly the Saturday Review relished the opportunity it gave of attacking the Army Staff; see "Sergeant Lilley," Saturday Review, 13 June 1863, 745:

It is evidently Utopian to expect that there should be any perceptible approximation between the morality of the Horse Guards and the morality of the rest of the world. Sergeant Lilley's case is almost as strong a test as could be applied. Colonel Crawley did to him precisely what Surajah Dowlah did to the English merchants -- precisely what the slave-traders do to their negroes in the hold of a slave-ship. He put him into a prison so foul and close that, in the hot Indian climate, though a robust and sober man, he sickened and died ... The Commander-in-Chief, disputing none of the facts, does not punish the offender -- he does not even force him to resign ...

** Times, 31 October 1863, p.6.

Nothing in the magazine literature of the month is so likely to attract attention as "Jacob Omnium's" paper on the Mhow court-martial in the Cornhill. We must say that we regret the publication of this able essay, holding it most reprehensible to comment upon matters that must shortly come under the cognisance of a legal tribunal, especially when the party principally concerned is already the object of strong popular odium ... and it is no excuse to say that his object is to denounce the radical vices of the present administration of military law, since this might well have been done just as well after the trial, with the advantage, it is too probable, of large additional materials for illustrating the subject. *

Higgins's article was noticed by various periodicals, including the Spectator where we read:

... the Cornhill has an account of the Mhow Court-Martial such as only Jacob Omnium can write, and which, if it be as Mr. Hughes argues in another place, only special pleading, is of the sort which usually secures a verdict ... **

In fact, the other place was the Spectator of the same date, where Thomas Hughes took Higgins to task for the unfairness of his article. This itself had issue in an answer from Higgins, as "Jacob Omnium," addressed to the Editor of the Cornhill Magazine, *** and finally in a Note which was published at the end of the January 1864 number of the Cornhill:

A second letter having appeared in the Spectator, signed by Mr. Thomas Hughes,

* Illustrated London News, 7 November 1863, p.462.
 ** Spectator, 31 October 1863, p.2693.
 *** CM, December 1863, viii, 758-760.

again impugning the fairness and accuracy of the statements contained in the paper recently published in this Magazine upon the Mhow Court-martial, the Editor begs to state that he has carefully examined the passages referred to by Mr. Hughes, and having compared them with the inferences which that gentleman has drawn from them, he considers it unnecessary to invite the writer of the paper to continue the discussion. *

This note the critic in the Illustrated London News finds, very understandably, ambiguous, and suggests the reason for the cessation "a doubt whether the redoubtable Jacob would be in a condition to 'come to time.'" ** More likely the editor wanted to avoid further involvement in a controversy which was to result in the court-martial of Colonel Crawley, the declaration of his innocence, and consequently, as Greenwood points out, the quarrelling of the Times with Higgins so that "the Times recorded his death in three or four lines, sternly repressive of every symptom of regret." ***

The extent of Higgins's fame and the respect in which he was generally held may be judged by the fact that both the critic in the Illustrated London News **** and the one in the Spectator find the nature of the obituary in the Cornhill disappointing. The Spectator writes:

* CM, January 1864, ix, 128.

** Illustrated London News, 2 January 1864, p.10.

*** CM, October 1868, xviii, 512.

**** Illustrated London News, 10 January 1868, p.355.

The sketch of "Jacob Omnium" is kindly and sympathetic, but its details are meagre. Almost any one might have given the list of Mr. Higgins' signatures with which the Cornhill is contented, and might have added vaguely that each recalls some victory over folly, cruelty, disorder, jobbery, maladministration, or abuse. The account of "Jacob Omnium's" quarrel with the Times is hardly more full than the paragraph in which the Times announced his death. Few perhaps who observed the sudden disappearance from the Times of all those well known signatures following just after the virulent attack on one of its oldest and most steady correspondents were surprised at the paragraph. But we might have expected a fuller and more intimate sketch of "Jacob Omnium" from the Cornhill. *

The Death of David Gray

Inadequate though the Spectator might find the obituary of Higgins, the Cornhill did by its inclusion find space to commemorate one of its more distinguished contributors of the sixties; it also found space to publish a memorial to, and a review of the work of, a poet who unhappily gained little repute in his own day **, and remains a nonentity in ours - David Gray. But, in the words of the critic in the Illustrated London News, "we must not overlook a beautiful memoir of the late David Gray." ***

It is a sympathetic and sensitively told account of

* Spectator, 10 October 1868, p.1195.

** His works, The Luggie and Other Poems, were, in fact, reviewed in the Edinburgh Review, April 1862, cxv, 567-576, by R. Monckton Milnes who is shown in the Cornhill article to have been a kind and helpful friend to Gray.

*** Illustrated London News, 6 February 1864, p.138.

the young peasant poet who dedicates himself to his art, and accepts poverty, neglect, and finally death in his attempts to succeed. It is a tale that could well have been informed by the sentimental, but Robert Buchanan, himself a poet and the author of the controversial essay, "The Fleshly School of Poetry," published in the Contemporary Review (1871), and also the friend mentioned in the memoir, succeeds, despite a certain explicitness of statement, in conveying the depth and reality of the feelings involved in this unhappy young poet's suffering. Of the parents' attitudes he writes:

Great, meanwhile, had been the commotion in the handloom weaver's cottage, after the receipt of this bulletin: "I start off to-night by the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, right on to London, in good health and spirits." A great cry arose in the household. He was fairly "daft;" he was throwing away all his chances in the world; the verse-writing had turned his head. Father and mother mourned together. The former, though incompetent to judge literary merit of any kind, perceived that David was hot-headed, only half-educated, and was going to a place where thousands of people were starving daily. But the suspense was not to last long. The darling son, the secret hope and pride, came back to the old people sick to death. All rebuke died away before the pale sad face and the feeble tottering body; and David was welcomed to the cottage hearth with silent prayers. They set him in the old place beside the fire, and hushed the house. The mother went about her work with a heavy heart; the father, when the day's toil was over, sat down before the kitchen fire, smoking his pipe, speaking very little, and looking sternly at the castles that crumbled

away in the blazing coal. *

And in his quotations from Gray's letters, Buchanan succeeds in conveying the sense of fear and distress which the young poet suffered:

His own feelings at this time were well expressed in a letter home "I am dreadfully afraid of Brompton: living among sallow, dolorous, dying consumptives, is enough to kill me. Here I am as comfortable as can be: a fire in my room all day, plenty of meat, and good society -- nobody so ill as myself; but there, perhaps hundreds far worse (the hospital holds 218 in all stages of the disease -- 90 of them died last report) dying beside me, perhaps -- it frightens me." **

He had gone to the hospital, had been received by a "nurse of death" (as he phrased it), and had been inducted into the privileges of the place; but on seeing his fellow-patients, some in the last stages of the disease, he had fainted away. On coming to himself, he obtained an interview with the matron. To his request for a private apartment, she had answered, that to favour him in that way would be to break written rules, and that he must content himself with the common privileges of the establishment. On leaving the matron, he had furtively stolen from the place, and made his way through the night to the hotel. Before Blank had time to comprehend the state of affairs, there came a second letter, stating that David was on the point of starting for London. "Every ring at the hotel bell makes me tremble, fancying they are coming to take me away by force. Had you seen the nurse! Oh! that I were back at home -- mother! mother! mother!" ***

* CM, February 1864, ix, 171.

** ibid., ix, 173.

*** CM, February 1864, ix, 174.

On Clough

There remain to notice two other articles concerning contemporary writers which appeared in the Cornhill of this period -- one on Arthur Hugh Clough, and one on Robert Browning. In the article "Clough's Life and Poems" we see the Cornhill paying tribute to a poet whose life, if not his poetry, held a particular interest and fascination for his contemporaries. As we have seen in other chapters the Victorians of this time were very conscious of their period as being one of change, one of transition; and this feeling of disturbance, of movement, of questioning, of destruction and construction was, of course, felt in religious matters. Darwin had published his Origin of Species in 1859, Essays and Reviews had appeared the following year, and Arnold's Literature and Dogma was to be published in 1873. Mrs. Humphrey Ward has given us an insight into this sense of intellectual turbulence when, of a time only slightly later, she writes:

... beating round us all the time were the spiritual winds of an agitated day. The Oxford of thought was not quiet; it was divided, as I have shown, by sharper antagonisms and deeper feuds than exist today. Darwinism was penetrating everywhere; Fusey was preaching against its effects on belief; Balliol stood for an unfettered history and criticism, Christ Church for authority and creeds; Renan's Origines were still coming out, Straus's last book also; my uncle was publishing God and the Bible in succession to

Literature and Dogma; and Spiritual Religion was making no small stir ... *

And what fascinated Clough's contemporaries was that he was impelled to confront and acknowledge and live the doubts which other men felt but sporadically. "Other men," the writer in the Cornhill, J.A. Symonds, tells us

are able after a time to dismiss the insoluble problems which must suggest themselves to every thinking mind, or at least to entertain them only as matters of inquiry independent of the real concerns of life. **

but Clough felt constrained to resign his Fellowship at Oxford because "almost anything, he thought, was 'honester than being a teacher of the Thirty-nine Articles.'" *** In a way he must have been regarded by some as something of an intellectual hero, a man of acknowledged good-will and

* Mrs. Humphrey Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p.165.

** CM, October 1866, xiv, 412.
See also "A.H. Clough," Fortnightly Review, 1 December 1868, i(NS), 588-617. For instance, p.591: Clough happened to live during a period of transition in the history of human thought, when it was impossible for a thinking man to avoid problems by their very nature irresoluble in one life time.

That the burden of the Fortnightly article is very similar to that of the one in the Cornhill is hardly surprising since J.A. Symonds wrote them both.

*** CM, October 1866, xiv, 414.

piety, and proven sensibility, who had much to gain from an acceptance of, or at least a public adherence to, the officially accepted beliefs, but who insisted on acknowledging his inability to accept the more comfortable tenets of his day. *

Certainly this is the vision that we gather from the article in the Cornhill Magazine which significantly devotes far more space to a consideration of the man's life than to a criticism of his poetry. Stressed is the plight of this man of scruple who suffered by the conjunction of piety and a "baffled intellect." We are told that in

* For the influence of Clough on Symonds and his friends, see P. Grosskurth, John Addington Symonds, pp. 103-104:

These were the earnest young intellectuals of the mid-century, the Robert Elsmere, with their intense friendships, their religious doubts, and their interminable questions. Most of them had brilliant academic records behind them. Their keynote was 'sincerity' and they venerated Arthur Hugh Clough for his 'honest scepticism.'

It is interesting to speculate how much Mrs. Humphrey Ward had Clough in mind when she wrote Robert Elsmere.

the midst of doubt about the proper object of life, he never swerved from the conviction that there was a duty to be obeyed, a law of right and wrong which should not be transgressed. *

yet that above all things

he refused to acquiesce in make-believe religions and opinions of which he had discerned the hollowness. **

The author celebrates Clough's virtues of courage, reverence, loyalty and sincerity, all of which he insists, were needed "in the present day, when people are too ready on the one hand to hoot down speculation and to stifle doubt, while others take a pride in rushing prematurely to negative conclusions." *** As one might expect, Symonds, as he traces Clough's career, stresses his potential, his promise, and also his failure to achieve that promise. Clough was for his contemporaries and for his friends, amongst

* CM, October 1866, *xiv*, 413.

** ibid. It is interesting to note that some saw Clough as embodying certain intellectual features of his age. See, for instance, Saturday Review, 30 November 1861, p. 564:

... Clough's career is bound up in a very marked way with the recent history of Oxford. What he felt and did and thought is very illustrative of all that was going on in his University during his early manhood.

*** CM, October 1866, *xiv*, 413.

whom he numbered some of the most distinguished men of the age, an enigma of unfulfilled promise, * and Symonds in this article in the Cornhill suggests that his early days at Rugby under Dr. Thomas Arnold were at least the partial cause of Clough's failure. Bagehot, in his essay on Clough, powerfully pointed out that, admirable though the Doctor was "for a common English boy, -- the small, apple-eating animal whom we know," his influence could be deleterious for the intelligent and sensitive boy:

A susceptible, serious, intellectual boy may be injured by the incessant inculcation of the awfulness of life and the magnitude of great problems. It is not desirable to take this world too much au sérieux; most persons will not; and the one in a thousand who will, should not. **

And Symonds, both in this article and in the one in the Fortnightly Review, whilst recognising some virtue in Arnold's influence, does single out for comment "the almost unhealthy sense of responsibility and premature importance which was forced upon the older boys." *** He refers to the "hotbed system of Rugby," and insists that Clough's health seems to have been "greatly broken by too assiduous study and

* Katharine Chorley in her Arthur Hugh Clough refers to "the legend of dazzling promise unfulfilled" and talks of "the enigma of his personality."

** W. Bagehot, "Mr. Clough's Poems," Literary Studies, ii, 275. This essay was originally published in the National Review, 1862.

*** CM, October 1866, xiv, 410.

premature anxiety."

The interest, as we have said, remained with the man, and in his scant appraisal of the poems, Symonds sounds again the note of unfulfilled promise. "Death," he writes, "put a stop to the further expansion of a mind which showed so fair a promise of noble and more enduring fruit." In fact, the criticism hardly avoids a contemptuous tone, and certainly succeeds in patronising with such comments as "a certain meagreness and awkwardness of speech" or "his words barely and unattractively clothe thoughts of great fertility and beauty." Such faint praise seems strange to an age which finds Clough's poetry more congenial, and only rarely in the criticism do we see any apprehension of those qualities of Clough which prompted Graham Greene to have his hero in The Quiet American say: "He was an adult poet in the nineteenth century. There weren't so many of them."

On Browning

The other article devoted to a contemporary is the one entitled "Browning in 1869" which appeared in the Cornhill Magazine for February 1869. It was, as the text demonstrates, immediately occasioned by the appearance of the early parts of The Ring and the Book, and interests not only for the comments on Browning's poetry, but also for its statement of fashion in literature and changes in taste, especially for

Browning's poetry. Like so many writers and thinkers of the period, the author, Frederick Greenwood, sees his own time as one of accentuated change, a quality he sees manifested in contemporary attitudes to literature:

That there should be fashions in literature, modes and changing tastes, is one of the most constant and melancholy proofs of the imperfection of the human mind; nor is their succession less pleasing to contemplate if it be true, as we think it is, that these tides and fluctuations of favour are more frequent and violent in modern times than they were in times of old. *

Greenwood sees one of these changes in taste in the renewed interest in poetry, and gives what appears, intentionally no doubt, rather like a chairman's report to a joint-stock company:

Now-a-days, just at this particular nick of time, we seem to be at the beginning of another variation in the general estimate of poets and poetry ... the taste has revived. The demand for novels slackens; and those who watch the market say that good average poets are likely to command a ready sale for some time to come. **

Greenwood may be humorous in his summary of current trends but is essentially serious when he welcomes, as one of the manifestations of change, the renewed and intelligent

* CM, February 1869, xix, 249.

** ibid., xix, 250-251.

interest in Browning. * He pillories the early indifference of many to Browning, and indicates what had been considered "the proper tone to take about Browning 'in society'" :

You could say, with a creditable air of being critical and candid, that he was really too obscure for you; that the labour of reading was too much. **

Greenwood sees the change in taste for Browning's poetry occurring after the publication of "Caliban," a poem "of such manifest worth that the world must have been as dull and deaf as it had been on several previous occasions if it had not instantly known it for an immortal thing." What

* The reviewer in Fraser's Magazine, February 1863, pp.240-256, had earlier felt the need for reappraisal, and in his "Robert Browning" had asserted: "It is about time that we began to do justice to Robert Browning."

** CM, February 1869, xix, 251. The charge of obscurity was one which was often brought against Browning. See London Quarterly Review, July 1863, xx, 527:

How is it that the general public has refused to ratify the verdict of the critics, and Mr. Browning's poems remain unsold?

The reasons are, we think, obvious: his style is so obscure that it is often exceedingly difficult to determine his meaning.

The same kind of thinking is implicit in a Saturday Review article, although the writer is critical of the readers rather than Browning. Of one poem he says:

Every word which we find in it carries its own well-considered meaning and carefully anticipated weight. If, therefore, a man rattles through it expecting to sound its depths by one glancing inspection, for anything which he will draw from it to enrich his intellect, or awaken his imagination, he might just as well be reading Tupper ...

Saturday Review, 7 February 1863, p.180.

follows is a eulogy of Browning's subsequent poetry, a eulogy tempered by a sad recognition of errors which resulted from careless writing, indifference, and slovenliness. That Greenwood is accurately reflecting a growing change in taste may be inferred from the reaction of the reviewer in the Illustrated London News who wrote of the article:

A paper on "Browning in 1869" very properly congratulates the public on the progress they have made in understanding and appreciating the poet, and, with equal propriety, takes the poet himself to task for the unnecessary obstructions he throws in the way of his own fame by eccentricity, slovenliness, and obscurity. *

The Modern Stage

If Greenwood is optimistic about the state of poetry, those who write about the contemporary theatre in the Cornhill of this period are not so sanguine. True, one writer, John Hollingshead, could with stout faith insist that following generations should

go in liberally measured moderation to all play-houses, -- houses of pantomime and burlesque, of comedy and farce, of opera, melodrama, and play, of tragedy with Hamlet à la Tom Sayers, or Hamlet à la mode; let them go to all. It is part of the education of life; no harm, but much good will come from it; let them go to all. **

However, those articles which throughout this period touch upon the state of the contemporary theatre echo the pungent comment we find in the Illustrated London News which writes

* Illustrated London News, 6 February 1869, p.135.

** CM, January 1862, v, 92.

of "the hopeless degeneracy of the modern stage." * We hear in the Cornhill the past referred to as "the palmy days of drama," and the stage which delighted in the acting of Mlle. Colas castigated as being in "a pitiable condition," whilst the general proposition that "our drama is extinct as literature and our stage in a deplorable condition of decline" is offered for general assent.

Such an agreed condemnation of the dramatic activity of the 1860's -- and one which finds support in our own day -- does not, however, prevent the appearance in the pages of the Cornhill of a number of articles which reveal an interest in the current theatre. One such article, entitled "Burlesques," which appeared in August 1861, spends some time giving the genre respectability by tracing it to Aristophanes, via Gay and Sheridan, but the writer devotes the final pages of the essay to a summary of the contemporary scene. With due regard to Planché, he shows the growth of the form until

pieces of this class have asserted a much more extended sway. They are now played in and out of season, and at one, if not two theatres, they hold the stage all the year round, and constitute the chief attraction. The young school of burlesque writers follow a method peculiarly their own, though, of course, they

* Illustrated London News, 10 October 1863, p.374.

are largely indebted to the traditions of their immediate predecessors. The chief elements which enter into the composition of these pieces are, pretty scenery, negro melodies, "break-down" dances, and outrageous puns. It is also a necessary condition to their success, that one or more saucy actresses with good legs should be employed in their performance. The music and the scenery go for much, the puns go for more, but the comic dance goes for most of all. *

Sadly though the writer contemplates this manifestation of public taste, he will not countenance its being used as an excuse for the failure of legitimate drama, and insists that the "true legitimacy may well be questioned when it cannot maintain its claims against this bastard pretender."

The Cornhill reader is given some insight into the workings of this contemporary theatre in two articles which describe in fairly light-hearted terms the trials which must face the aspiring young dramatist. The first one, "Behind the Curtain," is in the form of a letter which invites the aspirant to step with the author "for a few moments behind the scenes" and points out that as

the mission of the theatrical manager is not to found a school of modern English dramatic literature, but rather to pay his bills, and save himself from appearing at the theatre legal, Basinghall Street, it is hardly surprising that he should prefer a tested play, to one that is entirely untried in the acting furnace. **

* CM, August 1861, iv, 173-174.

** CM, December 1860, ii, 743.

As the intending dramatist is conducted to the green room, and to his first hesitant reading to an assembled and critical company, one is readily reminded of Nicholas Nickleby's apprenticeship to Mr. Crummles. Even the "real pump and two washing-tubs" appear in a slightly different guise:

A story is told of the late Mr. Douglas Jerrold, which has something to do with this branch of our subject. When he started in life as a literary man, he became the "stock," or engaged author of a metropolitan theatre. As dramas were wanted, he wrote them to order: always, you may be sure, with a due regard to the resources of his manager. On one occasion he was in the manager's room, when an admiral's rather faded state coat was placed before him. "What am I to do with this?" asked the stock author. "I want a little piece written," returned the manager; "to bring it in in some way; I've just bought it second-hand at a pawnbroker's."

It may seem strange to you, my dear young friend, as, at one time, it seemed strange to me; but no theatre is without its admiral's coat, if I may be allowed to speak figuratively. *

The force of economic pressure is further emphasised in such comments on the provision of plays for theatres which

are well supplied with a good, strong, serviceable class of play at about a pound an act, and I really cannot see why they should pay any more for it. **

* CM, December 1860, ii, 744.

** ibid., ii, 745.

The other article, "The Miseries of a Dramatic Author," has much the same story to tell, although it is slightly more serious in tone, and the author is even more eloquent about the "galling trials which the dramatist has to endure from the sullen, silent opposition of dissatisfied actors." * The reviewer in the Illustrated London News sees the article as a personal account of G.H. Lewes's own failure as a dramatist **, but in his appreciation joins in the general condemnation of the condition of the contemporary theatre:

The paper is lively, clever, and a very neat exhibition of the hopeless degeneracy of the modern stage, not from any absence of histrionic ability, but from the mechanical routine to which actors are enslaved, and the deficiency of refined aesthetic feeling. At the same time, it supplies plenty of indirect proof that the writer's labours were prompted by no higher motive than the delusion that he was "drawing cheques on the Bank of Fame," finding which dishonoured, he judiciously left off. ***

* CM, October 1863, viii, 507.

** Lewes came from an acting family, and was for a time a professional actor; he was also a dramatist. Much of his work, adaptations and translations, he did as "Slingsby Lawrence." He did write, however, one play over his own name, The Noble Heart, which, though produced in London, was not a great success. "It reads, if one can imagine such an improbable phenomenon, like the work of a Victorian Marlowe, in which rhetoric is constantly halted by moral reflexion." See R.L. Brett, "George Henry Lewes: Dramatist, Novelist and Critic," Essays and Studies 1958, p.103.

*** Illustrated London News, 10 October 1863, p.374.

In an article which appeared in the same year, "Foreign Actors and the English Drama," * Lewes takes a more serious look at the contemporary situation. He suggests that no one will disagree that "our drama is extinct as literature, and our stage in a deplorable condition of decline." Against the hope of a revival^{are} the current practice of staging "translations from the French or adaptations from novels," ** the slow extinction of provincial theatres which had provided experience for actors, and finally "the accident of genius on our stage being unhappily rarer than ever." Given such a situation, Lewes finds it quite understandable that

intelligent people now go to witness inferior pieces ... because better things are not produced; and sensation pieces, although appealing to the lowest faculties, do appeal to them effectively. ***

and sympathises with a public which, properly seeking amusement at the theatre, turns "from dreariness to Dundreariness." However, the initial reason for the article is the success of three foreign actors, Fechter, Ristori, and Mlle. Colas,

* Lewes included this article in his On Actors and Acting which he published in 1875 with the ambition, as he said in his dedication to Anthony Trollope, to assist the "revival of the once splendid art of the actor," a revival which needed not only "accomplished actors and an eager public," but also a "more enlightened public."

** See M. Booth, English Melodrama, pp.49-50, for documentation of these practices.

*** CM, August 1863, viii, 172.

from which Lewes is happy to deduce "a vast and hungry public ready to welcome and reward any good dramatist," * whilst the body of the article is a critique of the effectiveness of these three actors.

The appearance in 1863 of Lewes's article, concerning among others Fechter, the great Shakespearian actor currently performing in England, together with the article in the same year by J. Oxenford, "Stage Adaptations of Shakespeare," may be accepted as a faint recognition of the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth. Subsequently there were other articles on the dramatist, but Oxenford's essay is concerned with the contemporary stage, and its consideration seems relevant here. He shares with the other writers their estimate of the degraded nature of the contemporary drama, but in the matter of Shakespeare sees it in conjunction with a movement for a greater regard for the quality of the text performed. He writes that

there is no doubt that, much as the taste for the higher drama has declined among the public, and much as the strength of theatrical companies has diminished, more genuine Shakespearian poetry has been heard on the London stage during the reign of Queen Victoria than during the reign of

* CM, August 1863, viii, 174.

any other sovereign since Charles I. *

What follows is a comparatively detailed, and certainly interesting, review of the work of Shakespearian adaptors such as Davenant, Cibber, and Nahum Tate. Throughout his survey Oxenford notes the successful attempts of such men as Garrick, Kean, and Macready to produce plays nearer to the original text, but more interesting to us perhaps is the evidence for the popularity and persistence of Colly Cibber's version of Richard III, which had been altered "for the sole purpose of giving increased importance to the principal character at the expense of the rest." Oxenford insists that "in spite of every effort to revive the text of Shakespeare, Cibber's version is the acknowledged play for the stage;" and maintains that Porson's remark that

"if the persons who have only read Cibber's Richard III were divided into companies of ten, and if every one who had read the original play were to wait upon a company, many decades would go without a cup-bearer..." **

remained substantially true for his own day.

Surveys of Literature

Finally, there are two further functions which the Cornhill performed in its attempts to engage its readers' interest in literature. The first, that of reviewing current

* CM, July 1863, viii, 48.

** ibid., viii, 54-55.

publications can easily be admitted as a service in the cause, whilst the second, that of participating, on a singular and quite spectacular occasion, in a quarrel among writers must be seen as merely titillating the common reader's curiosity about the personal relationships between men of letters.

As we have seen in the chapter on Science, the Cornhill did, between 1862 and 1863, offer its readers "Our Survey of Literature, Science and Art." The books which were reviewed during this period do, as one might expect, represent a fairly catholic selection, and range from Mrs. Henry Wood's Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles via a certain Dr. Julius Althaus's The Spas of Europe to Carlyle's Frederick the Great, and An Inquiry into the Theories of History, which was published anonymously. Some of the books chosen demonstrate immediate interests; there are, for instance, two books on North America, including Trollope's account of his travels in that country -- a book which, though favourably reviewed in the Cornhill, Trollope was later to dismiss as "not a good book. I can recommend no one to read it in order that he may be either instructed or amused." * If the books on America are timely because of the Civil War in progress, then Count Arrivabene's Italy under Victor

* Autobiography, p.154.

Emmanuel is so because of the continuing interest in the Italian struggle for independence, and his book is recommended as an eye-witness account of

the eventful scenes of 1859, '60, and '61, in which a powerful nation was born out of a petty few states, and Garibaldi's wondrous Sicilian expedition made us aware that the old achievements of Romance might have been very sober history. The narrative is rapid, animated, breathlessly interesting. *

Several of the books reviewed reflect the contemporary interest in the past, an interest we shall pursue in the next chapter, and one of these is the twentieth volume of Thiers's Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire upon which, on account of its many inaccuracies, the Cornhill critic performs with a finely ground hatchet.

The work of two poets is reviewed, one of these being Arthur Hugh Clough. This review appeared before the full-length article on Clough which we have already noticed, and makes similar points:

Certain books have an indirect interest, personal or historical, which renders them more attractive than many that are intrinsically better. The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, for example, claim but a very modest place as poems, but they are attractive as the writings of a man of sweet, sincere, sensitive nature, and of high culture. A poet he was not; neither by the grace of God, nor by the acquired cunning of em-

* CM, August 1862, vi, 275.

bitious culture, could he become a singer; and it is mere rhetorical evasion in his friendly biographer, to say that "Clough lived his poem instead of writing it." Yet the feeling which prompted this evasion suggests the source of interest we feel in this volume; it is the intense conviction, produced in friends, of some supreme excellence which Clough might have achieved, ought to have achieved, but somehow did not. *

The burden is once again of unfulfilled promise; similarly a work of a French poet is reviewed in the same Survey, and his writings referred to as being among those "prospectuses which never become works." Of Maurice de Guérin's Journals, Lettres et Poèmes the reviewer writes as

one of the most delightful French books we have read for a long while; one which has the rare and, in French literature, inestimable merit of being perfectly pure ... His poems seem to us without great promise; but his journals and letters reveal a nature so poetic, so sensitive, so pious, and so vacillating and feeble, that while we read them our sympathies are deeply engaged. **

The reviewer's remark -- and one wonders pleasantly whether the reviewer was G.H. Lewes -- about purity and French literature not only provokes a curiosity about what was considered impure -- Madame Bovary, perhaps -- but also reveals the quality of discrimination which persists throughout these reviews. Carlyle, for instance, is castigated

* CM, September 1862, vi, 398.

** ibid., vi, 400.

for being, in his Frederick the Great, scornful not merely of the "sham and charlatan" but also of "good, honest endeavour," and for preaching the doctrine of "Might is right."* The critic makes his moral distinctions, and is equally judicious in his appraisal of such modern works as Lady Audley's Secret, and Mrs. Henry Wood's Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles; both he sees as books of passing popularity and of limited value, but is none the less impressed. His comments on Lady Audley's Secret show a concern for values which is such books do not assist, they do not hinder:

Granting, as we must, that works of this class merely appeal to the curiosity -- that they do nothing more than amuse the vacant or the wearied mind; if they do that, it is something. They may be as transitory as fireworks, and raise no loftier emotions. But a frivolous and a wearied public demands amusement. To say that certain works merely amuse, may not be high praise, but it is something, and the public may be grateful when such amusement leaves behind it no unwholesome sympathy with crime and criminals. No one will dispute the assertion, that all the

* Compare "Immoral History," Saturday Review, 11 April 1868, pp.478-479:

There have lately been some very desirable protests against the growing fashion of modern historians to admire success at the expense of morality. We are invited to fall down and worship a Caesar or a Frederick, without even the pretence that they were virtuous, simply because they were successful.

nobler forms of literature have far higher and deeper influences than mere amusement. *

Similar discrimination is exercised when he considers the biography -- of doubtful value since "it is not in biography that we must seek for a true picture of a character" -- of Lady Morgan, the successful novelist of an earlier age. Compare her novels, he says,

with those of her predecessor Jane Austen, then scarcely heard of, but now recognised as secure of immortality, and the difference between works which reflect the passing moods of the hour, and works which reflect the eternal truths of life and character, will be conspicuous. **

It is in this review of the biography of Lady Morgan that one of two other points of interest emerges. The reviewer begins with these words:

Few of our readers who have mingled freely in the circle which skirts Bohemia on the one side, and stretches into Belgravia on the other, which calls itself "Society," and may perhaps be more aptly designated the "intellectual-fashionable circle," will have forgotten one remarkable figure, flitting to and fro, familiarly spoken of as "old Lady Morgan." ***

This may well have been flattering to some of the readers of the Cornhill, but certainly the reviewer assumes that a portion at least of the subscribers will belong to that

* CM, January 1863, vii, 135.

** ibid., vii, 134.

*** ibid., vii, 132.

"intellectual-fashionable" circle. If this comment indicates something about the nature of the audience, a remark which occurs in a review of the anonymous An Inquiry into the Theories of History marks out one of the intellectual boundaries of the magazine. Commenting on the references in the book to Auguste Comte, the reviewer proceeds:

The volume gives ample proof of metaphysical acuteness; and yet at times there are passages which we can only account for as proceeding from inexperience in metaphysical discussions. It would lead us beyond our limits, and beyond the regions of thought traversed in this magazine, to discuss such points. *

This is an explicit statement, most probably by one of the joint editors, G.H. Lewes, who was most likely to review a book on philosophy, of what is apparent from the nature of the great majority of the articles which appear during the period -- that a matter as controversial or intellectually demanding as a discussion of positivism would generally be avoided. In fact, as we shall see in the next chapter, Fitzjames Stephen's two essays on "The Study of History" prove to be something of an exception.

* CM, September 1862, vi, 402.

Kinglake on the Crimea

Quite unusually the Cornhill published in February 1863 a full-length article which reviewed a particular book, or to be precise the first two volumes of A.W. Kinglake's The Invasion of the Crimea. That such distinction should be accorded to this book is understandable when one reads the words of the writer in the Edinburgh Review who claimed that Kinglake's work

has the freshness of an unwritten page of history, yet it awakens the remembrance of events which deeply stirred the heart of the nation. It records the greatest political transactions and the greatest military enterprise in which the men of our time have engaged. *

The Crimean War had profoundly affected public opinion, and since it was known that Kinglake had had access, among other material, to the private papers of Lord Raglan, his book had been eagerly awaited. When it was published it caused great excitement and prolonged controversy.

The Times, for instance, devoted six extensive reviews, ** attributed to W.H. Russell, *** to a consideration

* Edinburgh Review, April 1863, cxvii, 307.

** Times, 21 January 1863, p.12. 1 April 1863, p.5.
27 January 1863, p.6.
9 February 1863, p.10.
23 February 1863, p.5.
23 March 1863, p.6.

*** See History of the Times, ii, 474-475.

of Kinglake's first two volumes. The first review, dealing with the first volume, is appreciative, and the readers are assured that

the world has no reason to complain if the postponements of publication have in any degree conduced to the admirable completeness of finish of which the present volume bears promise. *

However, in the remaining articles the voice of the "Thunderer" sounds out in most aggressive criticism, impugning above all the impartiality and accuracy of Kinglake. ** The following are two quotations from the Times indicating the nature of what the Saturday Review deemed "its sustained attack on Mr. Kinglake":

The most serious charge against Mr. Kinglake is that he has written a most mischievous book. The exhibition of violent prejudices, which would expose this country to ridicule or ill will abroad, will also engender ill-feeling and bitterness of heart at home ... We think it due to our good name, our good faith, and the national honour to repudiate his book as a history of the war or as an exposition of the feelings

* Times, 21 January 1863, p.12.

** The Saturday Review, 14 March 1863, p.332, comments thus on the change of tone:

Afterwards /i.e. after the first article 7, a change appeared to come over the spirit of the Reviewer. It was suggested by those who like to find an explanation for everything, that, when the first article was written, the Reviewer had only read the first volume of the book, and that subsequently, taking up the second volume, he came upon a piquant description of a certain "Company," which altered his view as to the merits of the work. We are not ourselves inclined to embark in these speculations.

of the people of Great Britain. *

Now, we think that in everything regarding France Mr. Kinglake's mind is so warped, his opinions and statements cannot be accepted with safety. Indeed, his work abounds in so many fancies, that it may be more properly described as a fiction founded on fact, or as a historical romance, than as a history. **

On the other hand, the Saturday Review, which also devoted much space to its reviews of the two volumes ***, comes out strongly in favour of Kinglake's work. In its pages we can read that "a great and immortal addition has been made to the historical literature of England," and see Kinglake referred to as possessing "discriminating insight and an almost Tacitean power." But the Saturday Review did more than review Kinglake's history; it also defended him in two articles **** against the attacks of the Times, in one of which it makes its own position quite clear:

But, having accepted Mr. Kinglake's book as deserving the character of a history -- though without pledging ourselves to all the details, much less to all the expressions of opinion -- we feel rather bound to show some cause to our readers for not acquiescing in the conclusion to which the

* Times, 9 February 1863, p.10.

** Times, 23 February 1863, p.5.

*** Saturday Review, 24 January 1863, pp.113-115.

17 January 1863, pp.82-84.

31 January 1863, pp.147-149.

7 February 1863, pp.177-179.

**** "Mr. Kinglake's Historical Accuracy," Saturday Review, 28 March 1863, pp.399-400, and 14 March 1863, pp.332-333.

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Times in its later articles has come, that the book is a heap of malignant fictions, overdrawn caricatures, and "sick man's dreams." *

In the Quarterlies we find something of the same kind of difference of opinion. The Quarterly Review writes of Kinglake's "reckless accusations" about Louis Napoleon -- and Kinglake's aggressive treatment of Louis Napoleon and the French is the real bone of contention -- and its final judgement of the book it sums up in the following sentence:

Whether, therefore, as inflicting unnecessary pain upon the living or as wantonly damaging the reputation of the dead, whether as injurious to the fame of English literature or as hurtful to our national character, we feel ourselves compelled to coincide in the verdict that has been almost unanimously pronounced upon Mr. Kinglake's work -- that it is, in every sense of the word, 'a mischievous book.' **

The Edinburgh Review is equally critical and sees the book as marred by bombastic expression, by Kinglake's gusts of vindictive passion, and by his mere fits of peevishness; it

* "Mr. Kinglake's Historical Accuracy," Saturday Review, 14 March 1863, p.332. M.M. Bevington, in his Saturday Review 1855-1868, p.353, attributes all the articles on the book to Abraham Hayward, an essayist and political writer who further indulged his interest in Kinglake's book in a privately printed pamphlet, Mr. Kinglake and the Quarterlys (1863).

** Quarterly Review, April 1863, cxiii, 576.

maintains that Kinglake has made the book "the vehicle of his personal animosities and predilections," * and that it is fit fodder for the circulating libraries. The Westminster Review, on the other hand, is prepared to accept the book, with certain provisos, as "a history which is destined ... to take its place on the bookshelf as a classical or permanent work." **

It is impossible to follow in all its fascinating detail the story of the reception of the book; enough has been said to indicate the kind of heated discussion that was being conducted when the Cornhill Magazine published its own review in February 1863. George Hooper, the reviewer --- a journalist and himself the author of a historical work ***--- is unhesitatingly complimentary. He first welcomes the book, despite its delays:

In the midst of the rolling flood of hasty writing it is a relief to repose now and again upon a real book, unfolding in all its massive breadth and radiant minuteness the history of some momentous passage in the Life of Nations. For this task Mr. Kinglake had an abounding mass of material, gathered from all quarters, of which the invaluable papers of Lord Raglan formed the nucleus. The result is a work of almost contemporary history, which will be widely read, and which will deserve to

* Edinburgh Review, April 1863, cxvii, 311.

** Westminster Review, April 1863, xxiii(NS), 601.

*** Waterloo; the Downfall of the First Napoleon (1862); it was well reviewed in the Saturday Review, 31 January 1863, pp.152-153.

live. *

He applauds Kinglake's treatment of his source material, and rejoices in the vitality and drama which Kinglake imparts to his story:

It is the art of giving real dramatic force to the personal encounters, the contest of mind with mind, the art of bringing men before us by the use of measured, and strong because measured, language, which gives so distinctive a character to this remarkable history. **

He even finds Kinglake's attitude to Louis Napoleon to his taste ***, and writes of "the cool and relentless analysis of the character of Louis Napoleon." In this, to judge from the Quarterly Review, Hooper's is something of an eccentric taste:

Mr. Kinglake's sketch of the character of the Emperor, his sneer at his personal courage, and his merciless and reckless abuse -- sometimes uttered in words scarcely befitting, at other times in unbecoming

* CM, February 1863, vii, 269.
Compare London Quarterly Review, April 1863, xx, 159:
In these days of rapid writing, when every man seems to turn out his thoughts in the rough, it is really a treat to come upon not a mere chapter or section, but an entire work, in which there is nothing incomplete, nothing careless or slipshod, nothing weak or commonplace.

** CM, February 1863, vii, 271.

*** The Saturday Review agreed; see 24 January 1863, p.113:
The view taken by Mr. Kinglake of the character of Louis Napoleon himself corresponds pretty closely with that which has been frequently suggested in this Journal.

sarcasm -- have been so generally and justly condemned, that we have no wish to dwell upon them. As regards the private characters of his ministers and friends, assuming all Mr. Kinglake says to be true, which, however, we are far from doing, it is no concern of ours. *

For the rest, Hooper gives accounts of the book's contents, treating Kinglake as a trustworthy historian. Certainly the Cornhill Magazine, by its review, associated itself with those who welcomed the book; that no indication is given of the controversy which flared round the book may be explained by the facts that the first depreciatory review in the Times did not appear until 27 January, the quarterlies did not in the main notice the book until April, and Hooper's review came out in the Cornhill published at the beginning of February.

Thackeray v. Yates and Dickens.

There remains in this chapter to notice the one article which relates directly to the literary gossip of the day. The article, entitled "Screens in Dining Rooms," is one of

that late collection of pieces contributed to The Cornhill by its editor, which record the hovering movements of a free, mature, homely intelligence so subtly as to seem a work of nature, so gently as to seem breathing rather than speech. **

* Quarterly Review, April 1863, cxiii, 525.

** G. Tillotson, Thackeray the Novelist, pp.14-15.

This particular "Roundabout Paper," however, can be regarded as atypical for it has, as Thackeray's answer to some malicious gossip by Edmund Yates, more steel in it. In the New York Times there appeared an article, under the title of "Echoes from the London Clubs," which itself became the subject of a mischievous article in the Saturday Review of 23 June 1860 beneath the heading "Newspaper Gossip." * This article from the Saturday Review needs quoting in extenso:

Principally he /i.e. the writer in the New York Times / writes about the Cornhill Magazine. He does not seem to agree with Mr. Thackeray's rose-coloured views of the success of that publication, and no reader of the New York Times is likely to believe that the author of Vanity Fair has had much cause to streak himself with the red paint that was, as he has told us, the proper accompaniment of his triumph. "That notable periodical," we read, "went up like a rocket and came down like a stick." But particulars about the sale of different numbers into which he enters are wearisome, and open to question, so he soon hurries to something a little more personal. "There have been four tremendously heavy dinner

* The following comment from the Spectator, 28 July 1860, p.720, where the writer in one periodical quotes someone in a second who refers to two other periodicals, demonstrates how fascinating the episode proved:

The London correspondent of the Manchester Review of last Saturday, in alluding to "some silly gossip in the worst possible taste about English literary men, etc., which had appeared in the New York Times and which has been very properly censured in the Saturday Review," says:-

"The culprit, it seems, is the old offender, Mr. Edmund Yates."

It will be noticed that while the writers are properly censorious they do not hesitate to further broadcast the gossip.

parties given by Smith at his residence in Gloucester-terrace." Most of us remember the circular in which Mr. Thackeray announced his Magazine, and spoke of the claret of different growths that figuratively adorned his editorial board. This was poetry; but the correspondent sees only prose, and gives the following unvarnished account of these editorial repasts:- "Thackeray is of course the great gun of these banquets, and comes out with the greatest geniality in his power, speaking of G.H. Lewes as Mr. Bede, and drawing out each man to the extent of his ability." A dinner, we fear, might well be tremendously heavy at which the greatest geniality of the great gun is shown by his calling Mr. Lewes "Mr. Bede". There then follows a story to the disadvantage of the host. "Smith, the proprietor of the Cornhill, and the host on these occasions, is a very good man of business, but totally unread. On the first occasion of their dining with him, Thackeray remarked to those around him, 'This is a splendid dinner, such a one as Cave, the bookseller of St. John's Gate, gave to his principal writers when Johnson's coat was so shabby that he ate his meal behind the screen.' Then, calling out to his host, who was at the other end of the table, Thackeray said, "Mr. Smith, I hope you've not got Johnson there behind the screen." 'Eh!' said the bibliopole, astonished, 'behind the screen! Johnson! God bless my soul, my dear Mr. Thackeray, there's no person of the name of Johnson here, not any one behind the screen.'*

George Smith, in Sydney Lee's George Smith: A Memoir with some pages of Autobiography, attributed without any hesitation

* Saturday Review, 23 June 1860, p.800

the original article to Edmund Yates, a journalist and a future editor of Temple Bar, and suggests the origin of the attack as being the dispute between Thackeray and Yates. This dispute, of which Yates gives a lengthy and detailed account in his Recollections and Experiences *, involves an article which Yates wrote on Town Talk in 1858 about Thackeray. Objecting to the tone of the article, Thackeray made the accusation that Yates had used information gained as a fellow-member of the Garrick Club to provide copy for his magazine article. The result of the dispute was that Yates was required to leave the Garrick, but not before Thackeray and Dickens, who had acted as Yates's adviser, became involved in a correspondence which, Yates insists, demonstrated their latent hostility. Perhaps a further motive for the attack can be found in Thackeray's subsequent rejection of a contribution to the Cornhill, which we mentioned in the first chapter; it is evident from his Recollections and Experiences that the rejection rankled.

George Smith tells us that the article in the Saturday Review left him undisturbed,

but my wife, who was ill at the time, was much annoyed, and Thackeray with generous sympathy, rebuked the 'Saturday' in a brilliant 'Roundabout' entitled 'On

* E. Yates, Recollections and Experiences, ii, 10-37.

Screens in Dining Rooms.' *

Brilliant the paper is but, as one might expect, such distinction is not achieved without effort, and it is clear from the letter which he sent to Smith that the "Roundabout Paper" had made demands upon Thackeray:

I have been lying awake half the night about that paper in a sort of despair; but I think I have found a climax dignified and humorous enough at last, Heaven be praised, and that our friend won't sin again. **

The beauty of the piece lies in the variety of tone which Thackeray blends in his attack -- from the lightly amused and amusing, through the reasonableness of:

That a writer should be taken to task about his books, is fair, and he must abide the praise or the censure. But that a publisher should be criticized for his dinners, and for the conversation which did not take place, -- is this tolerable press practice, legitimate joking, or honourable warfare? ***

and the wrath of:

... Mr. Saturday Reviewer ... suppose, not that you yourself invent and indite absurd twaddle about gentlemen's private meetings and transactions, but pick this wretched garbage out of a New York street, and hold it up for your readers' amusement -- don't you think, my friend, that you might have been better employed? ****

* George Smith, p.121.

** The Letters and Private Papers of W.M. Thackeray (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 189-190.

*** CM, August 1860, ii, 255.

**** ibid.

to the final and victorious commination of:

Attack our books, Mr. Correspondent, and welcome. They are fair subjects for just censure or praise. But woe be to you, if you allow private rancours or animosities to influence you in the discharge of your public duty. In the little court where you are paid to sit as judge, as critic, you owe it to your employers, to your conscience, to the honour of your calling, to deliver just sentences; and you shall have to answer to heaven for your dealings, as surely as my Lord Chief Justice on the Bench. The dignity of letters, the honour of the literary calling, the slights put by haughty and unthinking people upon literary men, -- don't we hear outcries upon these subjects raised daily? A dear Sam Johnson sits behind the screen, too proud to show his threadbare coat and patches among the more prosperous brethren of his trade, there is no want of dignity in him, in that homely image of labour ill-rewarded, genius as yet unrecognised, independence sturdy and uncomplaining. But Mr. Nameless, behind the publisher's screen uninvited, peering at the company and the meal, catching up scraps of the jokes, and noting down the guests' behaviour and conversation, -- what a figure his is! Allons, Mr. Nameless! Put up your notebook; walk out of the hall; and leave gentlemen alone who would be private, and wish you no harm. *

To complete the account one should mention that George Smith states that it was Trollope who gave Yates the information on which his article in the New York Times was based:

He expressed the deepest regret, and

* CM, August 1860, ii, 256.

said: 'I told the story, not against you, but against Thackeray.' *

Thus, although, as we have seen, the Cornhill hesitated to include metaphysical discussion, its concern with contemporary literature extended from the publication of Culture and Anarchy to an engagement in a quarrel involving some of the foremost writers of the day. Perhaps the range is not quite so immense, for Culture and Anarchy is also in its liveliest moments involved with personalities, and both Arnold and Thackeray in their work are concerned with civilized standards of behaviour. Both works, too, are testimonies to a liveliness and engaged controversy in an age marked by the energetic and public debate of a variety of topics. Thus we can view this decade as part of our past; in the next chapter we shall see how the Cornhill helped its readers to become aware of their own past, and concerned with the contemporary interest in history.

* George Smith, p.121.

CHAPTER VI

Of the Past

To question your neighbour's knowledge of history is nearly as bad as doubting his orthodoxy, or disparaging his discrimination in wine. As it is respectable to be acquainted with these matters, respectability is in arms at any imputation of its deficiency therein. *

And, of course, since the Cornhill made for respectability, and its proprietor and editors only too anxious to remedy the intellectual deficiencies, with certain powerful exceptions, of its readers, there is little wonder that numerous articles about the past are to be found in its pages during the sixties. Such a preoccupation, and it was one which the Cornhill shared with the reviews and other magazines, can have a complex of motives and a variety of results. It can, as for the early William Morris, be a way of avoiding the present:

Forget six counties overhung with smoke,
 Forget the snorting steam and piston stroke,
 Forget the spreading of the hideous town;
 Think rather of the pack-horse on the down,
 And dream of London, small, and white, and clean,
 The clear Thames bordered by its gardens green. **

Perhaps even this idealised view of the past is, as part of

* Saturday Review, 22 June 1861, p.635.

** "The Earthly Paradise," William Morris: Selected Writings and Designs (ed. Asa Briggs), p.68.

a kind of pastoral tradition, a critique of the present, as when a writer in the Cornhill welcomes a study of the Middle Ages as "an appeal to the poetry and sentiment of our own heroic and faithful ages against the tyranny of mere mechanism and industrialism." * But a study of the past often succeeds more explicitly in defining, making comprehensible, and enriching the present. ** This view of the study of history is recognised by Morris himself when later he wrote, giving further testimony to a contemporary interest in the study:

When I think of this, and the usefulness of all this knowledge, at a time when history has become so earnest a study among us as to have given us, as it were, a new sense: at a time when we so long to know the reality of all that has happened, and are to be put off no longer with the dull records of the battles and intrigues of kings and scoundrels -- I say when I think of all this, I hardly know how to say that this interweaving of the Decorative Arts with the history of the past is of less importance than their dealings with the life of the present: for should not these

* CM, February 1867, xv, 156-157.

** As the Saturday Review, 12 January 1861, p.48, said:
Contributions towards a knowledge of our ancestors' life are always valuable to those who seek, through antiquarian and literary research, to find a clue to many exploded ideas, obsolete fashions, and quaint forms, chiefly interesting as precursors of our own, which are destined in their turn to similar scrutiny and criticism.

memories also be a part of our daily life? *

The Science of History

In its own way the Cornhill catered for this variety of interest in the past -- from the antiquarian to the philosophic -- but nowhere were its readers more encouraged to acknowledge a relationship between the past and the present than in two articles which Fitzjames Stephen wrote, each entitled "The Study of History." Moreover, in the discussion of the philosophical issues raised, the articles involved the readers in one of the current intellectual debates, and at a level not often met with in the monthly periodicals. In his opening sentence Stephen states the issue and also indicates the interest with which it was regarded:

No abstract question has of late years attracted or deserved greater attention than the inquiry whether history is or is not capable of being studied as a

* "The Lesser Arts," William Morris: Selected Writings and Designs (ed. Asa Briggs), p.88.

science. *

Thus Stephen introduces his reader to, or reminds him of, a debate which exercised men of the stature of John Stuart Mill, Buckle, J.A. Froude, Herbert Spencer, and the two recently appointed Professors of Modern History at Oxford and Cambridge, Goldwin Smith and Charles Kingsley.

Stephen's articles relate to this debate in two ways -- one general, and the other specific. Generally it takes its place, a minor one of course, in the controversy which for some years centred on the writings of Auguste Comte, and his system of philosophy known as Positivism.

* CM, June 1861, iii, 666.
 See the opening words of one of Goldwin Smith's Lectures as Professor of Modern History at Oxford:
 The first question which the student of history has now to ask himself is, Whether history is governed by necessary laws? If it is, it ought to be written as a science. It may be an imperfect science as yet, owing to the complexity of the phenomena, the incompleteness of the observations, the want of a rational method; but in its nature, it is a science, and is capable of being brought to perfection.
 "On the Study of History I," Lectures on Modern History, p.9.
 See also "Mr. Goldwin Smith on the Study of History," Westminster Review, October 1861, xx(NS), 293:
 Whether the facts of human nature and society are capable of scientific treatment is undoubtedly the question upon which the course of future thought must depend.

As early as 1845 G.H. Lewes had heralded Comte's Philosophie Positive with the words:

A new era has dawned. For the first time in history an Explanation of the world, society, and man is presented which is thoroughly homogeneous, and at the same time thoroughly in accordance with accurate knowledge: having the reach of an all-embracing System, it condenses human knowledge into a Doctrine, and co-ordinates all the methods by which that knowledge has been reached, and will in future be extended. *

and writing of the 1840's John Stuart Mill says in his Autobiography:

I had contributed more than any one else to make his /Comte's/ speculations known in England, and, in consequence chiefly of what I said of him in my Logic, he had readers and admirers among thoughtful men on this side of the Channel at a

* G.H. Lewes, History of Philosophy from Thales to Comte, ii, 590.

It is evident that not everyone was so impressed, and Comte was regarded by some as an intellectual ogre.

See "Mr. Goldwin Smith on the Study of History," Westminster Review, October 1861, xx(NS), 297:

But, after all, the application of causation to society is adopted by men who have no other thing in common with M. Comte even philosophically. Of course his is a very unpopular name, and the convenient synonym for his system tells with the public, especially with an ecclesiastical public.

time when his name had not yet in France emerged from obscurity. *

Of the complex and extensive writings of Comte, a man inspiring to some and disturbing to others in the 1860's, it is necessary, in order to understand Stephen's articles, to make one or two references. The first is to the view Comte had of the nature of human development which he saw in progressive terms obviously in harmony with the concept of evolution currently concerning the educated public. His Lois des Trois États nominated three stages in human and social development: the Theological, the Scientific, and finally the Positive. In the final stage man was to achieve a unification of knowledge by the application, to all fields of study, of the scientific method, and was to live by the laws which he would adduce by such a method. In the view of Comte and his followers the scientific method proceeded by two stages: first, the ascertaining of facts, and secondly the framing of laws. ** And it was Comte's proud boast that he had extended the methods of natural science to the fields of History, Politics and Morals, and had so created a new science, Sociology; this is why some followers of Comte in England were at times referred to as

* J.S. Mill, Autobiography, p.277.

** For a scientist's comments upon some of Comte's remarks about scientific method, see T.H. Huxley, Science and Education, pp.48-49.

"sociologists." *

Such considerations proved of great interest to the scholars, but certain corollaries of "history as a science" provoked what Fraser's Magazine called a "considerable amount of attention of late" among the readers of the magazines, or at least among the writers for the magazines. This attention centred on the predictability of events; if history, or sociology, could establish laws, then events could be predicted, and, argued some, if events were predictable then they were determined:

The chief interest of the subject centres,

* See "Science of History," Fraser's Magazine, May 1862, lxxv, 651.

Also T.H. Huxley, "On the Educational Value of the Natural Sciences," Science and Education, p.58:

Biology deals only with living beings as isolated things -- treats only of the life of the individual: but there is a higher division of science still, which considers living beings as aggregates -- which deals with the relation of living beings one to another -- the science which observes men -- whose experiments are made by nations one upon another, in battle-fields -- whose general propositions are embodied in history, morality, and religion -- whose deductions lead to our happiness or our misery -- and whose verifications so often come too late, and serve only "To point a moral, or adorn a tale" -- I mean the science of Society or Sociology.

we apprehend, in the inquiry -- Whether the course of events can be predicted? The laws, if discovered, could of course be applied equally to the explanation of the past, or the prediction of the future. *

And if events were determined, then, of course, man's dignity was diminished by the loss of free will. If such principles are true, argued one writer, then they are "really subversive of morality, inasmuch as they are incompatible with free agency, without which there can be no responsibility." **

This scientific conception of history reinforced, as W.E. Houghton has pointed out, the social determinism which insisted that mind was built up by the influences of environment. And, the kind of urgency with which this debate about Necessity and Free-will was regarded is powerfully stated by John Stuart Mill in his Autobiography:

... the doctrine of what is called Philosophical Necessity weighed upon my existence like an incubus. I felt as if I was scientifically proved to be a helpless slave of antecedent circumstances; as if my character and that of all others had been formed for us by agencies beyond our control, and was wholly out of our own power ... I pondered painfully on the subject, till gradually I saw a light through it ... I saw that though our character is formed by circumstances, our own desires can do much to shape those circumstances; and that what is really inspiring and ennobling in the doctrine of freewill,

* Fraser's Magazine, May 1862, lxxv, 651.

** Macmillan's Magazine, May 1863, viii, 27.

is the conviction that we have real power over the formation of our own character; that our will, by influencing some of our circumstances, can modify our future habits or capabilities of willing. *

So much for the interest in the topic, and the general context of the debate in which Stephen's two articles in the Cornhill are to be placed. They also have, however, a specific occasion, and once again help to keep the readers of the magazine in touch with the kind of public controversy which was such a distinctive feature of the intellectual life of the period.

The first element in the particular setting of the two articles by Fitzjames Stephen was the appearance in the Westminster Review of an article by Frederic Harrison entitled "Neo-Christianity." This article is initially a review of Essays and Reviews, a collection of critical essays on religious topics which caused an excited response, and even great offence. ** During his article Harrison is at pains to insist on "the great discovery of Auguste Comte, the idea of law as permeating social equally with physical fact." *** Linking Essays and Reviews with the work of Buckle, whose History of Civilisation was appearing, and with

* J.S. Mill, Autobiography, pp.168-169.

** The writers included such men as Temple, Jowett, and Pattison; two of the contributors, H.B. Wilson and R. Williams, were tried in the Court of Arches, and found guilty of heresy.

*** F. Harrison, Autobiographic Memoirs, i, 262.

that of Darwin, whose Origin of Species had been published in 1859, Harrison remarks during the review:

Just as Mr. Darwin has introduced the principle of growth, in one of the most rigid laws of the physical world; so the reception given to the book of Mr. Buckle has proved that public opinion was ripe for the admission of regular laws in the moral ... In a word, whatever views of history may be inculcated on the universities by novelists or epigrammatists, it is certain that the best intellects and spirits of our day are labouring to see more of that invariable order, and of that principle of growth in the life of human societies and of the great society of mankind, which nearly all men more or less acknowledge and partially and unconsciously confirm. *

The teaching at the Universities referred to was the inaugural lectures given by Charles Kingsley and Goldwin Smith, Professors of Modern History at Cambridge and Oxford respectively. The champions of Comte, especially Frederic Harrison and Professor Beesley, saw in these two lectures their teacher and their ideas being "vehemently attacked" by the two Professors of History at the Universities. ** Kingsley indicated his position by the words of his title, "The Limits of Exact Science as Applied to History," whilst Goldwin Smith in his lecture made his point of view emphatically clear with such words as:

* Westminster Review, October 1860, xviii(NS), 324-325.
 ** F.Harrison, Autobiographic Memoirs, i, 262.

Till the law of history is not only laid down but shewn to agree with the facts, or till humanity has been successfully treated by scientific methods, I confess I shall continue to suspect that the new science of Man is merely a set of terms, such as 'development,' 'social statics' 'social dynamics,' 'organisation,' and above all, 'law,' scientifically applied to a subject to which in truth they are only metaphorically applicable; I shall continue to believe that human actions, in history as in individual life and in society, may and do present moral connections of the most intimate and momentous kind, but not that necessary sequence of causation on which alone science can be based; I shall continue to believe that humanity advances by free effort, but that it is not developed according to invariable laws, such as, when discovered, would give birth to a new science. *

Little wonder that the writer in the Saturday Review says that Goldwin Smith rejected the attempts to invest history with the certainty and precision of a science

with a contempt which has not been without some irritating effect on the school of clever speculators who are proud and confident of their discovery. **

This irritating effect led in its turn to a resolution on the part of Frederic Harrison and Professor E.S. Beesley "to reply to these criticisms and to defend our views in the Westminster Review." *** Both articles appeared in 1861, and

* G. Smith, Lectures on Modern History, pp.45-46.

** Saturday Review, 13 July 1861, p.48.

*** F. Harrison, Autobiographic Memoirs, i, 262.

both attack the Professors for lack of definition, confusion, and inconsistency. * Distinction, however, is made between the intellectual qualities of the two men, and whilst Goldwin Smith is treated with respect, Charles Kingsley is in effect recommended to leave philosophising and to return to story-telling. The tone of each article suggests the convert, the proselyte anxious to defend and spread his new faith which he sees opposed by the forces of orthodoxy and ignorance; the following quotation from the article by E.S. Beesley demonstrates the feeling engendered by the debate:

Scientific ideas have asserted their

* E.S. Beesley, "Mr. Kingsley on the Study of History," Westminster Review, April 1861, xix(NS), 305-336.
 F. Harrison, "Mr. Goldwin Smith on the Study of History," Westminster Review, October 1861, xx(NS), 293-334.
 The debate continued in the magazines. See, for instance:
 "Science of History," Fraser's Magazine, May 1862, lxv, 651-660.
 "History and its Scientific Pretensions," Macmillan's Magazine, May 1863, viii, 25-35.
 "Mr. Froude on the Science of History," Fortnightly Review, August 1867, ii(NS), 226-237.
 Articles in Saturday Review, 13 July 1861, pp.47-48; 2 November 1861, pp.450-451.
 References to the controversy occur later in the Cornhill, in "Old English Chroniclers," February 1867, xv, 173, we can read:
 We refer to the current of thought of which the late Mr. Buckle was the best known representative, and the aim of which was to reduce history to a science properly so called.

supremacy over one branch of human knowledge after another; in no case without a severe struggle. They are extending themselves now to the phenomena of society, and the champions of the old systems are everywhere standing on the defensive. It is a significant fact, and one that points unmistakably to the tendency of modern thought even in England, that the alarm should have been raised almost simultaneously in both Universities ... Modern history, though in a mutilated shape, is at length making good its footing; and as the essential unity of the subject is recognised, neither the sneers of shallow wits, nor the protests of alarmed orthodoxy, nor the cunningest fence of sophists, will stifle the tendency to treat it scientifically. *

It is the lectures and the earlier two articles in the Westminster Review to which Stephen refers explicitly in the Cornhill of June and July 1861. Stephen early indicates the nature of the interest which the discussion has evoked among such as are likely to read the Cornhill:

To the world at large the chief interest of the question lies in its bearing on morality. It is a phase which, in this country at least, is somewhat novel and unusual of the old controversy on free-will and necessity, the interest of which it revives rather by the new evidence which it is supposed to adduce on the necessarian side than by new arguments. **

He also points to the kind of response which had been made to the published opinions of those who sought to construct

* "Mr. Kingsley on the Study of History," Westminster Review, April 1861, xix(NS), 306.

** CR, June 1861, iii, 666.

a science of history:

It is impossible to read their writings without a constant revolt against the harsh indifference with which they treat the common sentiments of mankind, and the eagerness with which they adopt, on every occasion, forms of speech of which it is difficult to say whether they are most remarkable for inaccuracy or offensiveness ... The broad obvious inference which most of their writings suggest, and which a vast majority of their readers would draw, is, that man deserves neither praise nor blame for his conduct; that he has no power over his own actions; that he is a helpless puppet who ought to be contemplated not as an individual at all, but (to use Mr. Goldwin Smith's expressions) as a link in a chain, or a grain in a mass; and that the only objects which can enlist the sympathies of persons enlightened enough to admit their own insignificance are vague abstractions, called by such names as progress and civilisation. *

In two closely reasoned articles Fitzjames Stephen attempts a compromise in which, whilst recognising to a limited extent the claims made for history as a science, he seeks to demonstrate that regularity of action, and therefore its predictability, is consonant with free-will and moral responsibility -- that, indeed, "the whole discussion is altogether irrelevant to morals, and that the base upon which they rest would remain unshaken, even if it should turn out to be possible to construct a real science of history." **

* CM, June 1861, iii, 672.

** ibid., iii, 666.

In the first article he deals with the speculative issues involved, and conducting his argument with a number of examples, reaches such compromises as:

This is an unequivocal instance of predicting the act of a free agent, his freedom being the very ground of confidence with which the prediction is made; and this power of prediction is all that is required in order to render possible a science of history. *

As other writers in the discussion, ** he examines the use of the word "law" as applied to science and indicates the kind of confusion that has resulted from its lack of definition; he also considers the issue of praise and blame which become meaningless if men are no longer free agents. Happily he comes to the conclusion that historical science "is nothing more than a collection of the results of observations systematically classified" and that where prediction is possible it does not imply a loss of men's freedom; similarly he decides, after a lengthy discussion, that "praise and blame may well be awarded to action."

The second article is less speculative, and considers what light is thrown upon the question by considering those two

branches of knowledge relating to human action / which / have been thrown into what may not improperly be called a

* CM, June 1861, iii, 674.

** See, for instance, "Mr. Kingsley on the Study of History," Westminster Review, April 1861, xix(NS), 315 seq.

scientific shape, so that their result on the freedom and morality of the classes of actions to which they relate can be tested by direct observation. *

And here Stephen refers to political economy and statistics. That the advocates of "history as a science" used the findings of these more recent studies to buttress their argument is apparent both from F. Harrison's "Neo-Christianity" ** and from Goldwin Smith's lecture. ***

Once again Stephen is reassuring and insists that

neither statistics nor political economy, though each has fair claims to be described as a science, and though each relates to human conduct, affords any evidence whatever against its freedom and morality, or imposes any other restraint on the actions of any human creature than a map or a railway time-table imposes on a traveller. ****

And, after considering a further issue, that of the influence of individuals on the course of history, which exercised the disputants in this discussion, ***** Stephen achieves a triumphant resolution in which he makes effective freedom and responsible moral choice depend upon Science. Science, he says,

in point of fact, is so far from being

* CM, July 1861, iv, 25.

** Westminster Review, October 1860, xviii(NS), 324.

*** Lectures on Modern History, p.17.

**** CM, July 1861, iv, 31.

***** See, for instance, "Mr. Kingsley on the Study of History," Westminster Review, April 1861, xix(NS), 324-326; and "The Personal Theory of History," Saturday Review, 2 January 1864, pp.10-11.

injurious to morality or to freedom, that without some principles either being, or claiming to be, scientific, neither morals nor freedom would exist. *

and referring directly to history he concludes:

Freedom would not exist, or would be useless, for freedom means the power of choosing between two or more branches of an alternative, according to the wishes of the person who makes the choice; but scientific history in its own province, and other sciences in theirs, point out the nature of these alternatives and the consequences of adopting either branch of them. **

Stephen's contribution to the controversy did not go unnoticed, and one reviewer, writing in the Spectator, suggested that the two articles were "well worth perusal," and went on to notice the judicious nature of the argument:

We have not seen anything more thorough or more temperate than the writer's defence of the influence of individual men on history, while demonstrating that such influence in no way deprives history of its scientific character. ***

Not all reaction was quite so favourable; in fact George Eliot was positively scathing in a letter to Sophia Hennell:

I am rather puzzled and shocked, however, by your high admiration of the articles on the Study of History in the Cornhill. I should speak with the reserve due to the fact that I have only read the second article; and this, I confess, did not impress me as exhibiting any mastery of the

* CM, July 1861, iv, 40.

** ibid., iv, 41.

*** Spectator, 6 July 1861, p.732.

question, while its tone towards much abler thinkers than himself, is to me extremely repulsive. *

And, although W.T. Thornton, in his "History and its Scientific Pretensions," sees Stephen as "one of the ablest and most judicious apologists of the new creed," ** he considers his attempt to square "eternal and immutable laws" with free agency and moral responsibility as ingenious but essentially specious.

"Philological Criticism"

If, as R.G. Collingwood points out in his Idea of History, *** the abler and more conscientious historians of the period quietly set aside the second stage of Comtian scientific method, i.e. the discovery of general laws, they nevertheless in their own way concerned themselves with the first stage, the collection and verification of facts. One of their own methods was that of "philological criticism" which consisted of a discriminating study of source material; such materials were scrutinised to discover the more trustworthy portions, which in turn were examined to discover "how the author's point of view affected his statement of the facts ... so enabling the historian to make allowances

* Letter of 12 July 1861, The George Eliot Letters (ed. G.S.Haight), iii, 438.
 ** Macmillan's Magazine, May 1863, viii, 26.
 *** R.C. Collingwood, The Idea of History, p.129.

for the distortion thus produced." * The classical example of this method was Niebuhr's treatment of Livy, and the technique was being belatedly introduced into England, as is evident from Frederic Harrison's article, "Neo-Christianity," and employed in contemporary Biblical criticism. **

In his article, "Was Nero a Monster?", G.H. Lewes early refers his readers in the Cornhill to Niebuhr who, he claims, "changed the whole aspect of Roman history by simply discriminating its mythological elements." However, Niebuhr, though skilled in the interpretation of texts,

was as obtuse as his predecessors in all that related to psychology; and not being versed in science, was unable to detect fictions which any scientific sceptic would at once expose. ***

In this excursion into yet another field of study, G.H. Lewes distressed at the "unreflecting credulity with which history is written," offers to submit the evidence of Nero's crimes to the kind of rigorous verification demanded in science

as illustration of what would result if men began seriously to investigate the evidence on which the mass of traditional opinions is founded. ****

* R.C. Collingwood, The Idea of History, p.130.

** See Westminster Review, October 1860, xviii(NS), 297 and 310.

*** CM, July 1863, viii, 113.

**** ibid., viii, 114.

After a short but discriminating review of the reliability of the historians Tacitus, Suetonius and Dion Cassius, during which he comments upon such matters as "their naivete and critical laxity with which they repeat stories too numerous for belief," Lewes examines for his readers the four major crimes imputed to Nero -- the murder of Britannicus, the murder of his mother, the burning of Rome, and the murder of his wife. The evidence for none of these does he find sufficient for proof; what interests now is the cool and rational method of procedure which Lewes himself would no doubt have called that of a "scientific sceptic," and also the appeal, where appropriate, to Science in its more limited sense of Natural Science. Here, for example, is how he comments upon the death of Britannicus:

This is the story. The first remark which Science suggests is that the sudden death of Britannicus may very probably have been due to epilepsy, but cannot have been due to poison, since there was no poison known to the ancients capable of such instantaneous effects. In our own days the only poisons known to take effect in a few seconds are prussic acid, oxalic acid, strychnine, woorara, and the venom of certain snakes; and these were not known in Rome. Aconite, which on good grounds is believed to have been a common poison employed in Rome, requires from one to three hours to produce fatal effects; and the majority of mineral poisons require several hours. Secondly, Science knows of no poison which instantaneously blackens the face

of the victim. There are certain mineral poisons which, taken slowly discolour the skin, but not one which, acting rapidly on the organism, rapidly betrays its presence by such discoloration. *

Equally interesting as this conscious appeal to Science are the remarks, which Lewes makes in passing, concerning the imaginative presentation of history. He points out that an imaginary conversation is, in fact, "Fiction, though it passes as History," and that "dialogues which the novelist or dramatist offers as the work of imagination, the historian calls upon us to accept as grave fact." ** This we can see perhaps as the protest of a scientific sceptic against Macauley's injunction that "a perfect historian must possess an imagination sufficiently powerful to make his narrative affecting and picturesque," or against the attitude which prompted James Anthony Froude to conclude his Life of St. Neot with the words, "This is all, and perhaps rather more than all, that is known of his life." ***

The Idea of Progress

As W.E. Houghton has pointed out, one of the tenets of those who regarded history as a science was the belief in

* CM, July 1863, viii, 119.

** ibid., viii, 117.

*** See G.P. Gooch, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century, p.310.

discovery of the dynamic law or laws of social development. *

In Beesley's article on Kingsley's lecture we can read such remarks as:

When, therefore, we demand that history shall be cultivated scientifically, we mean that it should be cultivated with a view to the discovery and verification of sociologic laws. Not only the method of comparison, but those of observation and experiment, suppose the existence of history, and would cease to be available without it. In fact, in so far as sociology contemplates the progress of society, as distinguished from its order, it is identical with the comparison of consecutive stages, and is what is commonly called the philosophy of history, or abstract history. **

Involved in this thinking was the optimistic belief in the discovery of laws which would accelerate the progress of society and enable men "to rise on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things." The idea of progress, of course, was not restricted to the positivists -- Goldwin Smith speaks of the history of the race as demonstrating "a course of moral, intellectual, and material progress" -- nor to the intellectuals, a fact of which the success of Samuel Smiles' Self-Help is adequate testimony; and, indeed, as Collingwood has said "in the late nineteenth century the idea of progress became almost an article of faith." However, as stated in a short but remarkably

* W.E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, p.35.

** Westminster Review, April 1861, xix(NS), 312.

interesting article by G.H. Lewes called "Two Aspects of History," the idea of progress is stated in scientific terms with a quasi-religious intensity and with, perhaps inevitably since it is Lewes who is writing, analogies drawn from biology and physiology. The present, we are told, is "the offspring of the past, and is big with the future," and every successive episode is a "stage of evolution." This article in the Cornhill has the fervour and earnestness of a creed: "The history of our globe tells of gradual progress towards a higher, that is, more complex life" ... "The modern world is notoriously a great advance upon the ancient world. It has new capacities of development." And Lewes concludes by referring to the idea of a global community, with its interdependence and interaction between man and man, and between man and nature, all of which, despite appearances, moves towards the higher life:

If every tree that is cut down by squatters in a primeval forest affects the climate of the world, if every invention increases the wealth of the world, it is by devious and invisible routes, which are not less effective because they escape our notice; and in all periods of History, could we read them aright, we should see the progress of Evolution where a despairing philosophy can see nothing but the planless episodes of destruction and change. *

Such optimism, such belief in the inevitability of

* CM, March 1861, ix, 296.

progress was not unchallenged; even at the time, and writing in the same magazine, there was Matthew Arnold, whose self-imposed mission was to cry "Jerusalem is not yet," and for whom perfection was that "unattainable but irresistible lode-star;" his answer to the complacency of his generation was:

That promised land it will not be ours
to enter, and we shall die in the wilder-
ness: but to have desired to enter it, to
have saluted it from afar, is already,
perhaps, the best distinction among con-
temporaries. *

And by 1893 Thomas Huxley, the champion of Evolution, was to reject, in his lecture "Evolution and Ethics," the easier assumptions, implicit in Lewes' article in the Cornhill, of Spencerian evolution with its belief in the inheritance of acquired characteristics and the essential beneficence of the natural law. For Huxley moral progress was to be achieved by opposing the natural law; for him social progress meant a checking of the cosmic process at every step and the substitution for it of

* M. Arnold, "The Function of Criticism," Lectures and Essays in Criticism (ed. R.H. Super), p.285.
See also Frederic Harrison, "A Few Words about the Nineteenth Century," The Choice of Books, pp.417-447, where he stresses the responsibilities rather than the advantages of material progress. For him Jerusalem is not yet, but it will be soon:
We are on the threshold of a great time, even if our time is not great in itself. In science, in religion, in social organisation, we all know what great things are in the air. "We shall see it -- but not now" -- or rather our children and our children's children will see it. (p.425).

another, which may be called the ethical process. *

However, it is in such ways that the Cornhill assisted its readers to keep in touch with some of the philosophical issues involved in the contemporary study of history, and concerned them rather with Historiography than with History. Most of the other articles concerned with the past are recognisably the kind of work which the writer in the Saturday Review attributed to the historical essayist whose real office was

to carry the facts of history to numberless minds which they would never reach at all without his aid. His function is to manufacture the raw material which the researches of others have collected into a form in which a lazy or a busy age can consume it. At the present pace at which the world is going, human life is far too short to suffer the mass of active men to study anything thoroughly; and if they are to be acquainted with any of the details of history at all beyond those which they learn at school, they must be indebted for it to the writers whose business it is to compress history into a compact and readable form. **

As we shall see, some of these articles direct the reader's attention to work currently in progress among scholars, but others of them tend to be of the kind which would appeal to an antiquarian interest, and constitute, in the main, what a writer in the Saturday Review termed the "crumbs which fall from the historian's table [and which] often

* T.H. Huxley, Evolution and Ethics, p.81.

** Saturday Review, 25 January 1862, p.105.

furnish an agreeable repast for the antiquary and essayist." *
 Such of these occasional articles as I mention, I intend to group according to the period of history to which they relate.

Classics in Translation

At a time when the education of its readers -- the male ones at least -- was largely restricted to "what is usually comprised under the compendious title of the 'classics' -- that is to say, the languages, the literature, and the history of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and the geography of so much of the world as was known to these two great nations of antiquity," ** it is hardly surprising that the Cornhill of the period includes some articles dealing with antiquity. Indeed, it is rather surprising that there are not more.

That there are comparatively so few may be explained by reference to an article, "Classics in Translation," which appeared in the Cornhill of July 1867. Every man of the world, the author writes,

must be surprised at the rarity even among highly educated men, of men who continue to read the classical literature as a literature ... Many lose the power of the familiar perusal of these masters by continuous neglect of the language, and some indeed have, with every advantage, failed

* Saturday Review, 28 December 1861, p.676.

** T.H. Huxley, "A Liberal Education and Where to Find It," Macmillan's Magazine, March 1868, xvii, 374.

to attain it. Of many more it may be said that "the world is too much with them," -- with all its struggles and temptations, -- for that kind of thing; while the immense extent of modern literature offers to others a more intellectual excuse. But outside the comparatively small circle of the most highly educated class, lies a vast body of intelligent men, eager for knowledge, fond of reading, but to whom, from their want of early training in the subject, the Greek and Latin authors must for ever remain, -- as regards the originals, -- a fountain sealed up. *

It would seem that though the classics were deemed worthy as the "basis of higher education," such use did not prepare for a continued enjoyment of their reading, whilst of course, as the writer points out, many never knew them. With such a title chosen for the article, one might expect its author to take part in a discussion which R.H. Super has described as one of "very lively current interest," ** and one which Arnold's lecture "On Translating Homer" had explored. But the ambition of the writer in the Cornhill was altogether of a humbler nature; only incidentally does he discuss the relative merits of various translations, for his intention is to recommend to "those who have forgotten their classics and those who never knew them," the rich source of pleasure which was available to them in translation. In so doing he does survey, for instance, the translations

* CM, July 1867, xvi, 109-110.

** M. Arnold, On the Classical Tradition (ed. R.H. Super), p.239.

of Homer from that of Chapman to the contemporary and much appreciated one of P. Worsley, but his intentions include more than the exercise of literary discrimination, a fact which, together with his continued faith in the worth of a classical education, may be gathered from the final paragraph:

The intelligent reader sees what we want: we desire to concentrate into a focus the scattered interest of a valuable class of books, the existence of which is half useless, just because they are seldom thought of in connection with each other, and remain unknown because of their isolation. Let a library of them be formed anywhere, giving the preference to the best, and their importance would be instantly seen. If every public library, such as those of the Mechanics' Institutes and Literary Institutions of the country, contained every book that we have mentioned in this paper, and they were only in moderate demand there, we should look forward without despondency to the growth of the thought and taste of the rising generation. *

Martial

In fact, the only classical writer whose works are considered in the Cornhill as literature is Martial, a surprising enough choice until it is realised that the occasion of the article is to celebrate the publication of a "judiciously expurgated edition" of the poet, ** from which

* CM, August 1867, xvi, 128.

** M.V. Martialis Epigrammatica selecta. Select Epigrams from Martial, with English notes, by F.A. Paley and W.H. Stone.

is excluded "the gross language and odious allusions with which the most sparkling and beautiful collection of vers de société, which the world can boast of, is unhappily disfigured." * The article is largely biographical, although it does include an appreciation of the qualities of the poet's work, and has as its explicitly stated aim the direction of the literary world's attention to an author who "has never yet been recognised." Most interestingly the article tells us something of the mid-Victorian attitude, at least a public one, to the coarse and bawdy, and to what was considered the corrupting in literature. The author welcomes this school edition because the "difficulties and impurities have been removed together" and writes approvingly:

And at length we have Martial before us in the guise of a modern gentleman, polite, observant, and facetious; full of anecdote, of repartee, of shrewd or jocund inuendo / sic /; but at the same time perfectly decorous, and perfectly intelligible. **

Subsequently the writer seeks to defend the original Martial, not this be-whiskered, frock-coated, bowdlerized version, from the charges of excessive grossness, and insists:

Sometimes that which indicates great laxity in the writer is comparatively harmless to the reader, as Tom Jones. Sometimes that which is dangerously exciting to the imagination, proceeds from the pen of one who is comparatively pure in conduct, as

* CM, April 1869, xix, 446.

** ibid., xix, 447.

Clarissa Harlowe. The first shocks our taste, but it is the second which seps our morals. The first kind of grossness consists simply in calling a spade a spade. *

Martial is to be compared to Fielding, and the writer's defence of him is that it is the age and not Martial which is at fault ** -- that the spade was there to be thus designated -- and, in a moment of self-conscious tolerance, maintains that:

We are only entitled to judge of Martial's misdemeanours exactly as posterity may judge of any modern writer who shall allude to the vices of the present day with a freedom offensive to our grandchildren. There are those who do so already, with a freedom offensive to ourselves. ***

* CM, April 1869, xix, 451.

** That this was not an uncommon defence of Martial may be seen from C.T. Cruttnell, A History of Roman Literature (1877), a book "designed mainly for Students at our Universities and Public Schools, and for such as are preparing for the Indian Civil Service or other advanced Examinations." Martial, Cruttnell writes, is much on a level with the society in which he finds himself; the society, that is, of those very freedmen, favourites, actors, dancers, and needy bards, that Juvenal made the objects of his satire. And therefore we cannot expect him to rise into lofty enthusiasm or pure views of conduct. (p.431).

*** CM, April 1869, xix, 451.

It was the tolerance, perhaps, which prompted the reviewer in the Illustrated London News, 3 April 1869, p.335, to find the article, though agreeably written, "somewhat too favourable to the character of the poet, both as an author and a man." The reviewer rejoices that the "principal causes of this neglect / of Martial / have now, for English readers, been effectually removed by the admirable edition of Messrs. Paley and Stone."

This awareness of the present in the consideration of the past is also apparent in the way in which the author deals, at length, with the position of the author in Roman society of the first century A.D. After discussing the ignominious system of patronage under which Martial suffered the writer ponders:

That it should have been the lot of one whose works were read all over Europe; who was the friend of Lucan, Pliny, and Quintilian: and who was in the receipt of an income sufficient to enable him to live in all other respects like a gentleman, is indeed wonderful. Imagine the Poet Laureate going off at seven o'clock in the morning to cringe in the ante-room of a duke, and returning in the afternoon to receive half-a-crown from the hall-porter! *

And his comment, "It is these curious contrasts which make Roman life so interesting a study ..." together with the comparisons, like that of Martial to Thackeray, which he makes during the article, demonstrate that one of the interests of the study of the past was its ability to help to define the present.

The Etruscans etc.

The author of "The Etruscans, the English of Antiquity," which appeared in the Cornhill in May 1869, reverses the process and, as his title indicates, defines the past in terms of the present. Given his title, his description of the

* CM, April 1869, xix, 447-448.

Etruscans tells us one view of themselves by a Victorian:

Their inhabitants were a strong-limbed, broad-headed, industrious race, given to road-building, sewer-making, canal-digging, and nature-taming generally. They were religious too, commercial, manufacturing, keen of business, of course luxurious, not wholly unmindful of beauty, but preferring the strength and comfort that comes of a practical view of things: a people in the end whose hard-earned riches and long-tested mechanical science failed to save their political being when imperilled by an ambitious, war-like neighbour. Still, though subdued in the field, their arts and civil polity conquered the conquerors. For centuries they ruled the seas, and were the great wave-lords of antiquity. English in their maritime skill and force, they were like the English in many other points of character, especially in their fondness for horse-racing and pugilistic encounters. *

The remaining articles devoted to classical times, save for three which will be considered below, are mostly of a light entertaining kind, and range from the chatty to the obviously instructional. In "How Young Folk Amused Themselves in the Classical Period" the author enumerates the various games which ancient youth enjoyed and which have often persisted throughout the ages. The following quotation reflects both the tone of the article and the desire of the author to make his reader see the relevance of the past to the present:

* CM, May 1869, xix, 600.

Great has been the athletic revival of recent years, and the residents in suburban villas are, we believe, not unfrequently gratified with the spectacle of corpulent elderly gentlemen disporting themselves in their back-gardens on the horizontal bar; but we have still much to learn before an aged member of the Athenæum or the Senior United Service will be able to gain an appetite for dinner by trundling a hoop down Piccadilly enroute for his club. The inventive ingenuity of the gamin displayed itself much after the same fashion by the Tiber as by the Thames. *

At the other extreme is the article which, after discussing the relation of the "Platonic to the real Socrates," sets out to render Plato's "doctrine of ideas intelligible to our non-Platonic readers." ** This, of course, is a piece of popularising which it was recognised that the Cornhill could do so well, but it does at least refer the reader to the work of the well known classical scholar, George Grote, who four years previously, had published his Plato and Other Companions of Sokrates, which is mentioned in the article.

Comparative Mythology

In a similar, but more scholarly, way the article entitled "Comparative Mythology" introduces the reader of the Cornhill to the current theories of scholars concerning the origins of the myths of the ancient world. By the middle of

* CM, September 1869, xx, 288.
Compare "City Life in Old Greece, Macmillan's Magazine, May 1866, xiii, 407-420.

** "The Platonic Doctrine of Ideas," CM, October 1865, xii, 460.

the nineteenth century the comparative philologists were busy theorising about the hypothetical form of speech known as Proto-Indo-European which had been formulated following the discovery, at the end of the ~~eight~~^{eigh}teenth century, of Sanskrit. * This study of the ancient and sacred language of India was to have, according to the writer in the Cornhill, immediate results for the study of mythology, for

by-and-by scholars came to read the Vedas, the old Brahmin hymns, and then at once the whole mystery of Greek mythology was cleared up. **

At this point the author had already written at some length and with considerable erudition of the earlier theories about myths and their interpretation -- Bacon, Neibuhr, Grote, Gladstone, and various other scholars are introduced by name and by direct and detailed references to their work. Their work and their theories have, we are assured, been superseded by the new generation of scholars who had studied the "science" of mythology -- once again that ubiquitous word appears; its charismatic power, it seems, must elevate any study to which it is applied. These scholars, the Grimm brothers, Ottfried

* The Cornhill refers only incidentally to the current work in language, unlike Macmillan's which during the sixties published such articles as:

"The Origin of Language," November 1862, vii, 53-60.

"Introductory Lecture on the Science of Language, delivered at the Royal Institution," March 1863, vii, 337-349.

"Philology as one of the Sciences," January 1869, xix, 252-257.

** CM, January 1869, xix, 40.

Muller, Kuhn, and "a host of German philologists (amongst whom let us not forget to place the Oxford Professor of Modern Languages)" brought to bear the findings of comparative philology upon the language of the mythical stories, thereby

eliciting from those dry relics of antiquity a wondrous living meaning and establishing a veritable science of comparative mythology. *

The explanation of these scientists as to the origin of myths was surprisingly simple:

Take any myth as related by a poet or historian, reduce it to its simplest form, translate the proper words which occur in it, and you arrive at a representation of some ordinary fact of nature. **

What, in fact, they had discovered by their study of the Vedas was that those

words which in Greek existed only as proper names, were shown to have once denoted some natural phenomena ... ***

But the writer in the Cornhill is not satisfied with referring merely to the past successes of the new science; he feels that the future is big with possibilities for the study:

The science of Comparative Mythology, the morbid anatomy of the human mind, is as yet in its infancy; and we venture to predict that those who choose to pursue the

* CM, January 1869, xix, 39.

** ibid., xix, 41.

*** ibid., xix, 40.

study will find a subject before them whose treasures will throw into the shade the vagaries of "Spiritual Wives," and the examination of which will furnish some of the most interesting chapters in that book hardly as yet begun to be written -- the mental history of the human race. *

Perhaps we can accept this as a prophetic view, looking forward to the work later in the century of social anthropologists like Sir James Frazer.

Within the article it is made abundantly clear that the understanding and the interpreting of myths were exercising the scholars in the Universities; for further proof we can refer to the article, "Comparative Mythology," which Max Muller contributed to Oxford Essays (1856). That during this decade the study of mythology and its allied one of philology were deemed worthy of consideration by the intelligent common reader is apparent from the articles on philology which had appeared in Macmillan's Magazine, and from, for instance, the long review which had appeared in the Saturday Review entitled "Comparative Mythology," where we read that "the germs of Greek, Roman, and German Mythology are to be found in the Veda admits no longer of any reasonable doubt." ** That such certainty as to the validity of the theory was not shared by all is apparent in the review of the Cornhill article which appeared in the Illustrated London News:

* CM, January 1869, xix, 44.

** Saturday Review, 13 February 1864, p.201.

"Comparative Mythology" is an exposition of the views of those scholars who consider nearly all the traditions of ancient mythology as personifications of natural phenomena. There is unquestionably much truth in this theory, but it seems to us in danger of being ridden to death. The capricious play of poetic fancy is quite capable of originating a beautiful story, without intending to express anything in particular by it. This simple explanation seems to us in most cases preferable to the ingenuities of the comparative mythologists who sometimes refute themselves. For example: Daphne is said to represent the dawn and Apollo the sun. But, unless we greatly mistake, the legend is much older than the period at which Apollo and the Sun, at first perfectly distinct deities, were confounded by the ancients. *

Rome and Modern France

The last two articles relating to the classical period, "The Rise of Roman Imperialism" and "Julius Caesar" both from their titles seem remote and innocuous enough. In fact, together they involved the reader in the contemporary European situation, and one of them, "Julius Caesar," succeeded in causing the April 1865 number of the Cornhill to be seized in Paris. The explanation of their contemporary significance is that both articles whilst initially dealing with Roman affairs are, in fact, explicitly concerned with Emperor Louis Napoleon of France. The relations of England with France, as exemplified in the Cornhill will be discussed

* Illustrated London News, 9 January 1869, p.46.

in a later chapter; here it is sufficient to say that among many, including Sir John Burgoyne as he demonstrates in his article "Our Volunteers," France was viewed as having "indisputably the most warlike propensities of any nation in the world," * and many also believed that "England is the nation which, perhaps sooner than any other, may be called upon to check her in the indulgence of this propensity." ** Naturally Louis Napoleon and his works were of considerable interest; it was this interest that influenced the reception of Kinglake's Crimea mentioned in the last chapter.

The body of "The Rise of Roman Imperialism" is an interesting account of the rise to power of Caesar Augustus, and the methods which he employed to maintain his ascendancy. What made, and makes, the article particularly interesting are the parallels which the author draws between the activities and successes of Augustus, nephew of Julius Caesar, and those of Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte. The author sees the situation, in which the career of Louis Napoleon is but a "providential plagiarism on that of Octavius Caesar," as evidence of a divine providence and the men involved as "so many instruments of a nursery game in the hands of a superior intelligence," and throughout

* CM, January 1860, i, 77.

** ibid.

the article reveals what he feels to be the historical parallels to the contemporary situation. Perhaps the most significant is:

Political expediency is a great teacher of humility, and, as it conducted Louis Napoleon in 1848 to the home of Thiers, Changier, Berryer, and even of Proudhon, in the hope of securing their help to triumph over their parties, it now brought the smiling Augustus to the door of the important functionary who, both by his authority as consul, and his force as general, had the power of making him sole master of the commonwealth. *

So anxious is the writer to demonstrate the historical parallels that he inverts the past and the present.

As might be expected the Cornhill article was received with interest. The reviewer in the Illustrated London News saw it as

an able article, especially suggestive from the comparison implied in every line between the career of Augustus and that of the restorer of Imperialism in France. **

The Spectator was equally appreciative and considered it

the endeavour of an acute writer to draw a parallel between the careers of Caesar Augustus and Louis Napoleon, and to sketch that singular gravitation of the public mind towards Government by an individual which enabled them both to build up thrones. The parallel is well conceived, and in parts the comparison is indicated

* CM, February 1865, xi, 187.

** Illustrated London News, 4 February 1865, p.110.

rather than traced with unusual skill. *

Earlier in his notice of the current magazines the reviewer had specified the Cornhill article as "a curious comparison between Augustus Caesar and Louis Napoleon which had apparently suggested itself to the Emperor of the French." **

In fact, as is evident from the article "Julius Caesar," which is a review of the first volume of Louis Napoleon's History of Julius Caesar, translated by the well-known scholar Thomas Wright, the ambition of Louis Napoleon was to identify himself with Julius Caesar, rather than with Augustus. Louis Napoleon's experiences, we are told, taught him

to look with some disdain on the prototype whose genius was eminently peaceful, and whose personal courage was dubious. Accordingly, it is pretty clear from the book before us that the Emperor wishes us to regard him as the analogue in modern history not so much of Octavius as of Julius Caesar himself. ***

While anxious to be impartial and praise some aspects of the book's scholarship, the reviewer does not hesitate to reveal its extra-historical ambitions when he directs the reader's attention to Louis Napoleon's preface:

"The preceding remarks sufficiently explain the aim I have in view in writing this history. This aim is to prove that when

* Spectator, 4 February 1865, p.134.

** ibid., p.133.

*** CM, April 1865, xi, 499.

Providence raises up such men as Caesar, Charlemagne, and Napoleon, it is to trace out to peoples the path they ought to follow; to stamp with the seal of their genius a new era; and to accomplish in a few years the labour of centuries. Happy the peoples who comprehend and follow them! woe to those who misunderstand and combat them." *

Nor does the writer in the Cornhill neglect to castigate the arrogance and over-weening ambition of the author:

It is curious indeed to think that any man's vanity should so besot him as to make him think, as in this case is but too apparent, that his personal ambition is enhanced among his fellow-men by this coaxed or forced assimilation of himself to any great man whatever. Is human nature really so frivolous as to be thus deluded? Are the French people in particular, so shrewd in detecting absurdities and self-deceptions, the slaves of this trifling pretension? **

The publication of the Emperor's book caused, as may be imagined, a considerable response, and many reviewers were anxious to explore this proposed parallel between Louis Napoleon and Julius Caesar. No review could have had a more splendid fate than that in the Cornhill, the details of which are given in the Illustrated London News:

The Cornhill of this month has enjoyed the singular honour of being seized at Paris, on account of a review of the "Life of Caesar" which has offended august susceptibilities. It is unnecessary to dilate on the shabbiness of this proceeding, and the undignified irritability it betrays. To silence discussion while

* CM, April 1865, xi, 497.

** ibid., xi, 500.

affecting to invite it is a measure which Cæsar would have disdained, but which is quite in the spirit of that degenerate successor who descended into the arena to fight with those gladiators only whose swords had been blunted for the occasion. The article that has called forth this arbitrary proceeding is by no means unfavourable; indeed, there is so little for Imperial vanity to quarrel with that it is difficult to conjecture the cause of the prohibition. Possibly the Emperor feels by this time a little ashamed of having indirectly compared himself to Julius Cæsar, and is annoyed at the indiscreet prominence given to this breach of modesty and good taste. *

The Middle Ages

An interest in classical times we can, given the pattern of contemporary secondary education, expect; a similar, and perhaps even more powerful, interest in the Middle Ages is rather more difficult to explain. There have, of course, been a number of reasons advanced to explain this interest among Victorians for this period in their history. Some, like W.E. Houghton, have argued that in an age conscious of change, conscious of being a transitional period between the past and the future, men felt that it was the spirit and ideas of feudalism which they had outgrown, rather than those of the more recent past of the 17th and 18th centuries. When, for instance, Carlyle wishes to contrast the past with the present it is to the Middle Ages that he turns, and in his Past and Present the past is represented by a monastery and

* Illustrated London News, 8 April 1865, p.327.

the present by a modern factory. When Millais and his fellow-painters wish to reject the contemporary style of painting they do so most emphatically when they turn to pre-Raphaelite art; and Morris's response to the "joyless vulgarity" and the "dull squalor of its civilisation" was to recommend what he considered to be the attitudes and practices of the Middle Ages. The pre-Reformation interest of the Oxford Movement, both in dogma and ritual, was evident, and Matthew Arnold in his turn saw the modern spirit of democracy in contrast to the feudal organisation of the past, and believed that those who opposed the modern spirit felt "that, with a good will and strong hand, it is perfectly possible to retain or restore the whole system of the Middle Ages." *

* Matthew Arnold, Democratic Education (ed. R.H. Super), p.19. We can find the same conscious contrast between the two ages in magazine articles. In "The Old English Chroniclers," CM, February 1867, xv, 158, we can read:
 ... taking them / i.e. the chroniclers / not individually and in detail, but as a group, which, though distributed over many generations, had yet a common type of faith, knowledge, style, and taste, as distinct from the faith, knowledge, style, and taste of the modern civilised, accomplished, industrial, non-feudal, non-Catholic world in which we live.
 And in Frances Powe Cobbe's "What is Progress, and Are we Progressing?" Fortnightly Review, April 1867, i(NS), 367:

If we ask whether life now in England, or life in England in the Middle Ages, were happier, no hesitation can be left in our minds. We are far happier in our times, even with all our sorrows.

Others, including Frederic Harrison, saw the Middle Ages as containing the seeds of modern times; the thirteenth century, Harrison claimed, was

one of the landmarks between the ancient and the modern world, one of the most pregnant, most organic, most memorable, in the annals of mankind. It is an epoch ... which is big with those problems, intellectual, social, political, and spiritual that six succeeding centuries have in vain toiled to solve. *

In a review of Thomas Wright's A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages a writer in the Saturday Review stresses not only this sense of continuity, but also the contemporary attitude to the importance of such studies when he writes:

Such learning ... is becoming a necessary part of a well-bred Englishman's education ... It is something more than a mere amusement to trace in those early days the origin of many of the characteristics of our own social life in the present age. **

Contemporary Sources

Whatever the reasons advanced for the phenomenon it is certain that an interest in the Middle Ages was a distinctive feature of the intellectual life of the period; it is not surprising, therefore, that more articles appear in the Cornhill concerned with this age than with any other. The importance of one of these articles, "The Old English Chroniclers," is that it both recognises this interest and

* F. Harrison, The Meaning of History, p.146.

** Saturday Review, 18 January 1862, p.77.

feeds it in a way which was gathering momentum in the sixties. Before he deals with the substance of his paper which is "a temperate and judicious plea for those neglected writers, written with much knowledge of the subject," * the author reviews the growth of interest in the period from Scott to the more recent past, and advances two good reasons for it:

Mr. Caryle founds a book on the life of a twelfth-century monk; Mr. Tennyson a series of poems on the Mort d'Arthur; Mr. Dasent and Dr. Carlyle study the Norse Sagas; Lord Lindsay and Mr. Ruskin the masterpieces of Christian art. That all this is a reaction after, and in some degree against, classicism, is no doubt true. But this is far from being the only important feature of it. It is a most valuable appeal to the poetry and sentiment of our own heroic and faithful ages against the tyranny of mere mechanism and industrialism, and it also helps to elevate and refine these. **

Not only does the author make his readers aware of this growth of interest in the Middle Ages, but he also reveals the reason for the nature of a number of articles about the period which appeared in the Cornhill in the sixties. In a passage worth quoting in extenso he indicates the growing movement among scholars which he now recommends to the general reader -- i.e. the study of contemporary documents of the Middle Ages, preferably in the original or at least in translation. He is talking of the work of Thomas Carte, the

* Illustrated London News, 9 February 1867, p.146
 ** CM, February 1867, xv, 156-157.

Jacobite historian, and of a writer largely indebted to him, David Hume, the Scottish philosopher and historian:

When we read them, -- as when we read Lingard or Sir Francis Palgrave, -- we are still communicating with the good old monks, whether of St. Alban's, Peterborough, Melrose, or elsewhere; whose names and works are as green as ever. The English Historical Society and similar bodies have re-edited them in our time; and they are still being re-edited in the Government series ... The English translations in Mr. Bohn's Antiquarian Library, though not proof in every part of their plating against the heavy artillery of the Saturday Review, deserve a good word from all who care for such subjects, as readable, portable, pleasant representatives of the often obscure originals. A reader engaged in detailed research, a historical writer or critic, will, of course, take care to consult the originals in their best texts. But for the general purposes, the labours of Dr. Giles, Mr. Riley, and their colleagues, are sufficient; and it would be a wise thing for "the general reader" to take a good deal of his history even in that form, so that he might see past ages face to face, were it only through a glass, rather than trust to those echoes of echoes, those hashings-up of other people's philosophy, with which our common-place histories abound. For it is better to read in ancient times than about them; just as it is better, instead of reading about ancient writers, to read the ancient writers themselves. We venture to say, for instance, that a good vigorous prose translation, as nearly literal as possible, would give the intelligent mechanic or aspiring clerk a better notion of Homer, than any amount of articles upon him. *

* CM, February 1867, xv, 160.

The sixties were, of course, the decade which saw, under Furnivall, the foundation of the Early English Text Society in 1864, and which was beginning to enjoy the publications in the Rolls series. This series was begun in 1857, and a number of chronicles and so on began to appear in "a series of works whose publication was authorized by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury .. [and] directed by the Master of the Rolls, to whose opportune suggestion we owe the exhumation of much valuable historical material." * The decade also saw the application of a scientific discovery which led one enthusiastic and optimistic reviewer to write that now the

Mechanics' Institutes of our country towns might fairly enough be expected to buy the Domesday Book of their county, and perhaps of its neighbours, and the study of local antiquities would thus be promoted. **

The process, the "application of photography to the multiplication of our old records," which allowed the reviewer to foresee a time when the earnest frequenters of the Mechanics' Institutes would peruse ancient and original documents, was called photozincography. Reviewing the Legends of Saint Swithin and Sancta Maria Aegyptiaca by John Earle, a writer in the Saturday Review thus describes the process:

* Westminster Review, January 1862, xix(NS), 274.
 ** Saturday Review, 20 July 1861, p.71.

The method is extensively employed for cartographic purposes under Sir Henry James, at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton; and Mr. Earle's Anglo-Saxon facsimiles have been executed for the present work by the officers of that establishment. The peculiarity of the process is, that when once the photograph has been transferred to the zinc plate, impressions from it can be multiplied indefinitely by the common operation of printing, like any ordinary engraving. Thus we have the accuracy of photography combined with unlimited facility of cheap reproduction, and with the certainty that the copies (which are taken with printer's ink) will never fade away. *

Domesday Book

The relevance of these facts to the Cornhill of the period is obvious when it is understood that seven out of the articles about the Middle Ages which appear in the magazine make reference to contemporary sources and the work of the annalists, and several quote them. One of these articles, entitled "Domesday Book," is understandably occasioned by the publication of the edition in the Rolls Series, and in a footnote refers the reader to the fact that a "facsimile of these volumes, taken by the new process of photozincography, has^{been} recently published by order of the Master of the Rolls." ** The ambition of the writer is to indicate the occasion of, the techniques used in, and the findings of, the survey, the account of which constitutes the Domesday Book. As so often with these miscellaneous articles, the writer indicates an

* Saturday Review, 25 January 1862, p.106.

** CM, November 1863, viii, p.602.

avowedly educational aim to provide knowledge, not this time for the aspiring clerk or earnest mechanic, but for "nineteenths of educated Englishmen [who are] either wholly ignorant, or very imperfectly informed" concerning the Domesday Book. Of especial interest to us is one of the conclusions he reaches; after his description of the Domesday Book he writes:

The illustration of contemporary manners furnished in Domesday, though scanty, is not without interest. In several leading features we find the rudimentary Englishman of the eleventh century resembling his developed descendant of the nineteenth. Gifted with firm will, warm passions, and strong muscles, which, owing to a profound ignorance of natural laws, he was unable to direct aright, no wonder that he often erred into violent and profligate excesses. Yet the sentiments of justice and order, of devotion and charity, if too weak to leaven, were powerful enough to tinge his political system and daily habit of life. *

19th Century Attitudes to the Middle Ages

In an article published in the Fortnightly Review, entitled "Authenticity of the Paston Letters," the author refers to the "growing spirit of scepticism in history" and the current practice of what he calls "whitewashing" the past.** A contemporary reader of the Cornhill might be

* CM, November 1863, viii, 612.

** Fortnightly Review, 1865, ii, 579.

See "Whitewashing," Saturday Review, 17 June 1865, 721: There is no one left now except Judas Iscariot; at least there is no one left that would do an historical artist real credit. The whitewashers have done every one that requires merely moderate skill.

forgiven for regarding those references to "the sentiments of justice and order, of devotion and charity" as just such an attempt to whitewash his ancestors; certainly the Cornhill published a number of articles concerned with the social life of the Middle Ages which would disabuse him of romantic notions about that period, and would encourage him to see such remarks as an idealisation of the past. Thomas Wright's article, "How Prior Richard of Dunstable ruled his Monks," * would, for instance, provide an insight into how lacking in charity were the relations between the Church and the townsmen of Dunstable, whilst "The Catalan Rover -- Roger de Flor," ** the story of the military and naval activities of Roger de Flor, would demonstrate how precarious were both medieval order and medieval justice. Two other articles, "A Group of Vagabonds" and "Punishment in Days of Old," both written by John Rutherford, certainly earn the comments made on them in the Illustrated London News:

"A Group of Vagabonds" is another chapter from the social life of the Middle Ages, and another proof that these are best admired at a respectful distance. ***

and

We commend "Punishment in Days of Old"

* CM, December 1862, vi, 830-841.

** CM, October 1869, xx, 452-470.

*** Illustrated London News, 6 June 1868, p.558.

to the attention of those who regard the chivalrous picturesqueness of the Middle Ages as an equivalent for their ferocity and brutality. *

The first article, in its early pages, is an exploration, with reference to contemporary sources, of the fact which Rutherford early establishes about medieval pilgrimages, that "bit by bit our ancestors eliminated harsh devotion, and substituted amusement, until they became the orthodox means of spending a holiday;" ** later it becomes a series of accounts of various groups of penitents, like the dancers of Aix-la-Chapelle and what the author calls "the gloomy flagellants." His other article, "Punishment in Days of Old," is a long account of the numerous examples of torture which he had culled from the Chronicles and other documents of the period. It is a strange article, and there is an ambivalence of tone which is set in the opening paragraph where, after pointing out the ways in which he and his contemporaries "fall very short of our progenitors," Rutherford writes:

* ibid., 9 May 1868, p.471.
 ** CM, June 1868, xvii, 681.

But if we were called to name anything in particular in which a great falling off from the past is visible we should certainly designate the gibbet as one of the little matters in which we have most degenerated from the perfection of our sires. *

If it is ironic the comment is certainly not in keeping with the usual sobriety of the Cornhill! Despite various genuflections in the direction of contemporary sensibility ** like "the terrible Middle Ages," and "the list is endless, and as we have no desire to compile a mere list of these enormous perversions of justice," there is nevertheless such a specificity of detail in his accounts of the tortures and other barbarities that one suspects him, like other journalists before and since, of having his moral

* CM, May 1868, xvii, 558.

** See Saturday Review, 21 November 1863, p.667:

It is a received opinion that ours is a refined age. Our manners, our language, our social arrangements, all that meets eye and ear, testify this of us in notable contrast to former times, of which we read, and on which we speculate, with a shudder.

cake and eating it. * Not for him a description of the common appliances of torture, for he says that owing to the work of novelists he was not under "the necessity of enlarging on such fascinating items as the rack, the wheel, the thumb-screw and the boot." Instead he spreads himself on descriptions of such "detestable inventions of cruelty" as the chambre à crucer and baiser la vierge, an altogether more recherché occupation.

The same author, and that of "Out of Schools in the Middle Ages," which the Spectator called "an amusing account of college life in those days on the Continent, with its privations, its licence and its severities," ** are more reticent when they consider the coarseness and bawdiness of the age about which they write. In "A Group of Vagabonds," writing of Arlotto il Piovine, "the most celebrated droll

* This may be similar to the contemporary preoccupation with the "Social Evil." See Saturday Review, 6 October 1860, 417; there the writer comments upon the plethora of books and articles about prostitution. Leslie Stephen, in an article "Arcadia," CM, November 1869, xx, 591, has a pertinent comment:

The indignant denouncer of folly places him or herself upon a lofty pedestal, and acts the part of the faithful

Abdiel with intense satisfaction ...

Moreover, the preacher is really pandering to the tastes which he professedly attacks; the audience which delights in such weaknesses is precisely the one which likes to read a glowing description of them, rendered more piquant though professedly concealed under a thin veil of denunciation.

** Spectator, 3 April 1869, p. 428.

and incorrigible vagabond of his age," he thus introduces an account of one of his pranks:

The following is anything but a fair example of his "facetiae." It is, however, relateable which is much ... *

Subsequently he maintains rather coyly that on pilgrimages a "shrine was considered an excellent place of assignation," and when he writes of the sexual mores of the pilgrims he prefers to quote his authority in the original Latin:

A bishop of the period writes as following concerning our pilgrim countrymen; --
 "Perpaucae enim sunt civitates in Longobardia vel in Francia aut in Gallia, in qua non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum, quod scandalum est turpitudine totius ecclesiae." **

The same diffidence and the same technique is employed in the description of the lodgings used by students in "Out of School in the Middle Ages":

Writing on the subject in the thirteenth century, Cardinal de Vitry remarks -- and these remarks had better remain in the "decent obscurity" of the language he uses -- that "in una autem et eadem domo scholae erant superius, prostibula inferius. In parte superiori magistri legebant; in inferiori meretrices officia turpitudinis exercebant. Ex una parte meretrices inter se et cum cenonibus (lenonibus) litigabant; ex alia parte disputantes et contentiose agentes

* CM, June 1868, xvii, 682.

** ibid., xvii, 683.

clerici proclamabant." *

Clearly those readers who had enjoyed the "grand fortifying curriculum" and had kept up their Latin here received a bonus.

The author of "The Old Poets on the Seven Deadly Sins," an informed essay on how the allegorists from "Piers Ploughman" to Spenser had treated the subject, faced less difficulty. On the one hand, he could justify the coarseness by reference to the moral purpose of the writer, and excuse it by, as does the writer on Martial, viewing it as part of the age; for instance, when discussing Spenser's picture of Envy, he writes:

Here the image is sufficiently disgusting, it must be confessed, but it should be recollected that the Elizabethan was not a mealy-mouthed age, nor was it the object of the poet to make the deadly sins drawing-room characters, or such attractive gentlemen, that if one were to knock against them in the flesh, one's first impulse would be to ask them to dinner. **

* CM, April 1869, xix, 428.
The women in the family would, no doubt, have no Latin; we can find a similar concern for their protection elsewhere, as, for instance, in "Tales from the Old Dramatists," Gentleman's Magazine, March 1869, p.482:
I believe that I am not overfond of describing as an agricultural implement for the delving of the soil that which I could call by a monosyllable, but reading men know that the old dramatists are impossible for reading women ...

** CM, May 1866, xiii, 633.

On the other hand, he can welcome frankness because of its moral effectiveness as when he talks of the figure of Lust in Chaucer's "Court of Love":

his corrupt body and clouded intellect
inspire us with the utmost horror and
loathing of the vices which he
personates. *

The sense of ease which the author feels in dealing with his subject may be gauged -- indeed it may have been engendered by the way he was able to share the poets' moral ambitions and to point up the contemporary relevance of the satire. These remarks range from the mildly amused, but slightly critical:

An amusing story is told in one of the Percy Society's publications of a woman, who, for excessive pride, wore a very long white train, which, when she walked, raised a great cloud of dust behind her -- after the manner of our modern fashionable fair ones. **

to the censorious:

From his [i.e. Covetousness's] confession we gain information respecting the principal trade tricks of the time, which, it may be remarked, bear a striking resemblance to those which our police courts are continually bringing to light. That the manufacturers of wooden nutmegs, old port, Derby champagne, and birch-broom tea have much to learn from the confession of Covetise, we greatly doubt; but it may at least possess for them an antiquarian interest, and, perchance, may grace the preface of some future editions of The Chest's Vade-Mecum. ***

* CM, May 1866, xiii, 637.

** ibid., xiii, 627.

*** CM, May 1866, xiii, 633.

Considerable though the number of articles referring to the Middle Ages was, other times were not neglected, and the reader of the Cornhill was invited to discover, or indulge an interest in, his more recent past. Of such remaining articles which appeared in the 1860's the work of three authors must be mentioned -- that of J.A. Symonds, Leslie Stephen and Thackeray. The first two direct their readers' attention to the literature of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, whilst Thackeray entertained his readers with the re-publication of the four lectures he gave on the "Four Georges."

On Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama

What is evident in the work of Leslie Stephen and J.A. Symonds is the sense of discovery which they communicate by their choice and treatment of their subjects: they both discuss areas of literature which they feel have been unfairly neglected. Other writers, with the same ambition, had written in the Cornhill of "Erasmus," * "The Satirists of the Reformation," ** and "Andrew Marvel;" *** Symonds in his turn, seeks to have justice done to "The English Drama during the Reigns of Elizabeth and James." In the main his two articles **** discuss the social background to the plays and

* CM, July 1865, xii, 116-128.

** CM, November 1867, xvi, 609-628.

*** CM, July 1869, xx, 21-40.

Concerning this article on Marvel, see Illustrated London News, 3 July 1869, p.11:

There is much sound criticism, which will contribute to revive the memory of this excellent but neglected poet.

**** CM, May 1865, xi, 604-618. CM, June 1865, xi, 706-716.

"the circumstances under which our theatre was developed." In his exploration of his initial position that at all periods of history "the stage has been the mirror of the spirit of the century in which it has arisen," he celebrates the spirit of flamboyance, exuberance, vitality and vehemence of passions which, he maintained, marked the age and its contemporary drama; these are virtues which, understandably, he finds lacking in his own day. Significantly it is to dramatists other than Shakespeare that he turns to illustrate his theme; it is significant because it demonstrates his anxiety that such dramatists should receive their due:

We are too apt to forget that any authors held the stage except him whom England and the world has idolized. This, however, is an error of our indolence. In his lifetime he seemed one among many, pre-eminent it is true, but as a colleague rather than a king. Even now, in looking back upon the period, we can trace the brilliancy of many planets hardly inferior to the sun whose name was Shakespeare. *

Such articles we may accept as being in the van of a concern for Shakespeare's contemporaries that led later to the publications in the Mermaid Series, in which men such as

* CM, June 1865, xi, 716.
 In a generally appreciative review, the writer in the Illustrated London News, 10 June 1865, p.558, takes exception to this diminution of Shakespeare's stature: When, however, he speaks of some as hardly inferior to Shakespeare, it is plain that his hobby is running away with him.

Havelock Ellis, Swinburne, Gosse, and J.A. Symonds himself were involved.

On the Novels of De Foe and Richardson

Similarly, we can see Stephen's two articles as taking their place, and an honourable one, in the growing volume of serious criticism of the novel which Kathleen Tillotson sees as already under way in the 1840's;* certainly in the magazines of the sixties, both monthly and quarterly we can sense a growing acknowledgement that the novel was not only a serious, but also the dominant, literary form. As J.A. Symonds said when discussing Elizabethan drama, in "those days a story fell as naturally into the form of a drama as in ours it assumes that of a novel." ** In an earlier chapter we have seen that the Cornhill did not engage in much discussion of the contemporary novel; however, it did offer its readers two articles by Leslie Stephen on De Foe and Richardson, in each of which he takes as his starting point a puzzle that his article seeks to resolve. About Richardson it is in fact a multiple query as to why the novelist enjoys celebrity, but not popularity, why such a prig should be so highly regarded by French writers such as Balzac, de Musset, and even Diderot, "the stoic author of one of the filthiest novels extant," and why

* K. Tillotson, The Novels of the Eighteenth Century, p.16.
 ** CM, May 1865, xi, 610.

the quiet tradesman could create the character which has stood ever since for a type of the fine gentleman of the period; or how from the most prosaic centuries should spring one of the most poetical of feminine ideals. *

The query about De Foe concerns the difference in quality between Robinson Crusoe and his other novels, and the article seeks to justify the neglect of those "secondary novels."

It is impossible here to follow Stephen's arguments; it must be sufficient to say that through him the Cornhill offered its readers criticism of a fine quality. Learned -- though, as has been said of Launcelot Andrewes, he "carries his learning like a flower" -- urbane, and witty, Stephen gives his readers critical aperçus into the art of novel writing, and evaluations of his subject's works that may be read today with enjoyment and instruction. His arguments proceed with that wealth of reference to novelists and novels of the present and past, and, where appropriate, close attention to the text that makes such criticism both stimulating and illuminating. Of interest, in a chapter concerned with the Cornhill's preoccupation with the past, are some remarks he makes indicating a current change in attitude to the 18th century:

It is a fact, however, that our grandfathers, in spite of their belief in pigtaails and in Pope's poetry, and other matters that have

* CM, January 1868, xvii, 49.

gone out of fashion, had some very excellent qualities, and even some genuine sentiment, in their compositions. Indeed, now that their peculiarities have been finally packed away in various lumber-rooms, and the revolt against the old-fashioned school of thought and manners has become triumphant instead of militant, we are beginning to see the picturesque side of their character. They have gathered something of the halo that comes with the lapse of years; and social habits that looked prosaic enough to contemporaries, and to the generation which had to fight against them, have gained a touch of romance. *

Much the same, mutatis mutandis, might be said of our own renewed interest in Stephen's own generation.

"The Four Georges"

Occasionally in the articles of Symonds already mentioned we find the contrasts with, and comparisons to, his own age. With a note of weariness he contrasts times past when "men had not been rubbed down by contact into uniformity," when men "beheld the world in its youth," with the less vital times of the present. For instance, "the field, again, of wealth and science, over which we plod with heavy and well-regulated footsteps, spread before them like a fairy land of palaces." ** And, of course, he feels constrained to comment upon, and where he can excuse, "the crudity of passion ... whether exhibited in brutal and unbridled lust,

* CM, January 1868, xvii, 49-50.

** CM, May 1865, xi, 610.

or in hate, cruelty, and murder;" such things "we cannot understand." The same kind of process of definition abounds in Thackeray's "Four Georges," which he had originally delivered as a series of public lectures. Such a contrast between the past and present Thackeray makes part of his declared intention, when he writes:

... we may peep here and there into that bygone world of the Georges, see what they and their courts were like; glance at the people round about them; look at past manners, fashions, pleasures, and contrast them with our own. *

One critic has claimed that these lectures, which incidentally were very popular, ** were a "strange medley of history, gossip, and homily;" *** certainly Thackeray makes no claim to be a historian and we can catch something of the tone and ambitions of the articles from such a statement as:

We are not the Historic Muse, but her ladyship's attendant, tale-bearer -- valet de chambre -- for whom no man is a hero; and, as yonder one steps from his carriage to the next handy conveyance, we take the number of the hack; we look all over at his stars, ribbons, embroidery; we think within ourselves,

* CM, July 1860, ii, 2.

** See letter to F. Cozzens of 1857, The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 17:

The Georges are so astoundingly popular here that I go on month after month hauling in fresh bags of sovereigns, wondering that the people are not tired and that the lecturer is not found out.

*** J.Y.T. Greig, Thackeray A Reconsideration, p.137.

O you unfathomable schemer! O you
warrior invincible! O you beauti-
ful smiling Judas! *

Of course a novelist who has demonstrated his fascination with the past by writing, in effect, historical novels, cannot but indicate its attraction for him, and at times he extols the fact that "it was a merrier England, that of our ancestors, than the island which we inhabit," and that then "we were amused by simpler pleasures." More typical is the sentimental note of relief at the progress of refinement and court morals:

There are some old-world follies and some absurd ceremonials about our Court of the present day, which I laugh at, but as an Englishman, contrasting it with the past, shall I not acknowledge the change of to-day? As the mistress of St. James's passes me now, I salute the sovereign, wise, moderate, exemplary of

* CM, July 1860, ii, 17.

One contemporary reviewer did not look for scholarship in Thackeray's lectures, but nevertheless welcomes their publication in book form; see Westminster Review, January 1862, xxi(NS), 278-279:

In the "Four Georges" of Mr. Thackeray we do not look for historical exposition: his sketches describe only manners and life, and that not exhaustively but suggestively. So considered, what humour, what sarcasm, what pathos, what scorn of vice and admiration of nobleness, what fine mastery of language, and easy vivid portraiture do they not display! These lectures seem to carry with them at the present moment a peculiar interest, since they were once addressed to an American audience.

life; the good mother; the good wife;
the accomplished lady; the enlightened
friend of art; the tender sympathiser
in her people's glories and sorrows. *

However, in articles which Greig has ^gstigmatized as being
informed by "sentiment and sanctimony" we are reminded, with
relief, of the author of Vanity Fair by such moments as:

Our prince signalled his entrance into
the world by a feat worthy of his future
life. He invented a new shoebuckle. **

In its comments on Thackeray's articles the Illustrated
London News applauds their publication in this new form
because thereby "they are more likely to reach more of
those who are no doubt desirous of becoming acquainted with
them by the means now employed than they hitherto have
done." *** The comment could perhaps have been expressed
with more grace, but it nevertheless indicates a function
which the Cornhill fulfilled worthily in historical matters
and, as we have seen, in other areas of thought. On the
simplest level it provided "a little serious thought and
information ... which can be dipped into and laid aside." ****
At a different level it did introduce the readers to, and

* CM, August 1860, ii, 182.

** CM, October 1860, ii, 389.

*** Illustrated London News, 4 July 1860, p.4.

**** "Padding," Saturday Review, 19 January 1861,
p.64.

involve them with, some at least of the issues which were exercising men of scholarship. If it could do that for the past, in the next two chapters we shall see what the Cornhill did to acquaint its readers with countries and peoples beyond the shores of their own country.

CHAPTER VII

Foreign Affairs

There is no better sign of educational progress than the growing popular demand for maps and plans. We do not mean merely the occasional interest excited by passing events, such as the war in the Crimea, or the Italian campaign, or the advance on Peking; although the influence of contemporary history upon the popularity of geographical science is not small. But, if we may judge from the number and the progressive improvement of the Atlases which issue in quick succession from the press, there would seem to be a rapidly expanding circle of students or readers who have learned practically that geography is one of the most important handmaids of history and general knowledge. That this is the case must be a subject of real congratulation to all who are interested in the intellectual advancement of the age. *

England pays a heavy price for its neglect of general contemporary history, and inattention to what takes place in foreign countries. **

These two comments about the current attitude to the world beyond the shores of England which appeared in two other journals nestly indicate the kind of provision which the Cornhill made in the sixties to acquaint its readers with foreign affairs, and with foreign places and peoples. Judging from the Cornhill there co-existed a comparative indifference to foreign politics, together with a growing

* Saturday Review, 16 February 1861, p.174.

** "The Slave Power," Westminster Review, October 1862, xxii(NS), 505.

curiosity about the world which increased and improved facilities of transport allowed to be more fully satisfied. As far as the Cornhill was concerned the indifference to foreign politics was comparative in two senses. First, it did not devote nearly so much space to their consideration as the quarterlies, as one might expect, nor as a monthly magazine such as Macmillan's. Secondly, the number of articles about the various international issues is far fewer than those concerned with foreign travel. However, as we shall see, the readers of the Cornhill were encouraged not to completely ignore the political activities of other nations, especially, as in the case of France, where they had an obvious bearing on the peace and prosperity of England. The 1860's was both the period of the American Civil War and of the aggressive stances of Emperor Louis Napoleon, and also the period when Mr. Cook's office and Mr. Murray's Handbooks were equally famous; although the Cornhill gave more space to foster and indulge an interest in the social and geographical differences of other peoples and places, it did not altogether ignore the political and military affairs of other nations, in particular those of America, France, India, China, Italy, and Poland. In this chapter I propose to comment on those political or semi-political articles; in the following chapter I shall discuss those papers concerned with foreign travel.

The American Civil War

It must be stating the obvious to say that many of the periodicals reflect an absorbing interest in the Civil War in America; the reasons for that interest, however, include not only the obvious ones, but some more subtle. America was still the erstwhile colony, its people were still referred to as "our Transatlantic cousins" and "our own race," and over the past decades the relations between the two countries had been of the kind to excite attention; moreover, at one time there was, on account of the "Trent" incident, a real possibility of England being actively involved in the war itself. * The war, by causing the cotton famine in Lancashire, had an obvious and serious effect upon industry; and, at a time when further extension of the franchise was a matter of heated and running debate, Mr. Bright and his followers had persistently pointed to

* See "The American Crisis," Quarterly Review, January 1862, cxi, 259:

But the conduct of America towards this country for the last fifty years has been too uniformly offensive to permit us to think that the late explosion of ill will was accidental, and it has culminated at last in an act of outrage which leaves us no alternative but reparation or war.

America as a splendid type of democracy. *

The interest provoked by the war, then, was considerable and wide-spread. Referring to an earlier indifference the Saturday Review writes:

Now, we think, our Transatlantic cousins have nothing to complain of, so far as our interest in and acquaintance with the geography and politics of America is concerned. Which of us has not pored over maps of Virginia and Tennessee sketched on a scale of truly American magnitude, and tried to comprehend the meaning of American party names, and the political significance of movements taking place in States and cities whose very names some of us first learned from Reuter's telegrams. **

But the interest was not impartial, and in the main was antagonistic to the North. *** The tendency of the arguments advanced, for instance, in the Tory Quarterly Review was to

* See "The Confederate Struggle and Recognition," Quarterly Review, October 1862, cxii, 538:

If Mr. Bright or his friends had been formerly content to claim for their pet democracy nothing more than that it was no worse than some of the old European monarchies, few people would have cared to question their modest panegyric. But it is the background of their extravagant adulation which throws forward into so strong a relief the calamities under which the Americans are suffering. They never ceased to assure us that democracy was a cure for war, for revolution, for extravagance, for corruption, for nepotism, for class legislation, and, in short, for all the evils with which the states of Europe are familiar.

** Saturday Review, 2 April 1864, p.423.

*** The Spectator supported the North and claimed that because of that policy, "we lost more money than we care to think about," 6 June 1868, p.670.

deny that the war was merely about slavery, and to insist that the differences were of a much more complicated nature, concerning a whole range of political, economic and cultural factors. * The same attitude involved a recommendation to accept the secession as a fait accompli, and to realize that it was perfectly reasonable, and that

to compel the Southerners to return as willing citizens and take their place as of old in the political mechanism of the Republic, was an undertaking beyond the power of the highest genius and the mightiest armies. **

On the other hand there was support for the North in the more radical Westminster Review which in one article, "The Slave Power," seeks to explain:

Why is the general voice of our press, the general sentiment of our people, bitterly reproachful to the North, while for the South, the aggressors in the war, we have either mild apologies or direct and downright encouragement? and this not

* See "The Rival American Confederacies," Westminster Review, October 1861, xx(NS), 491:

All things taken into consideration, therefore, the wonder is not that two systems so inherently antagonistic as are the Northern and Southern economies should struggle for separation, but that they should have remained united for so long.

J.S. Mill, in his Autobiography, p.269, comments thus: There were men of high principle and unquestionable liberality of opinion, who thought it a dispute about tariffs, or assimilated it to the cases in which they were accustomed to sympathize, of a people struggling for independence. It was my duty to be one of the small minority who protested against this perverted state of public opinion.

** "The Confederate Struggle and Recognition," Quarterly Review, October 1862, cxii, 537.

only from the Tory and anti-democratic camp, but from Liberals, or soi-disant such? *

After discussing various reasons for such antipathy and such support, the author finds the main cause of such attitudes in the ignorance of the English people who

did not, nor do they yet, know that the object, the avowed object, of secession was the indefinite extension of slavery; that the sole grievance alleged by the South consisted in being thwarted in this; that the resistance of the North was resistance to the spread of slavery -- the aim of the North its confinement within its present bounds... **

It is such ignorance of the situation which Fitzjames Stephen, in his Cornhill article "Dissolution of the Union," sets out consciously to overcome. This is the only article in the Cornhill which discusses with seriousness the issues involved in the struggle and it is, as one would expect from Stephen, a persuasive consideration of the North's legal rights; it is, nevertheless, rather surprising that the Cornhill should publish in favour of the Federalists. Stephen deprecates the attitude of the principal English journals, and feels that "the Northerners are entitled to more sympathy than they have received from the most influential part of the English press." *** His argument is briefly that the South had no business to withdraw unilaterally from an agreement from which they had received such benefits,

* "The Slave Power," Westminster Review, October 1862, xxii(NS), 503.

** "The Slave Power," Westminster Review, October 1862, xxii(NS), 505.

*** CM, August 1861, iv, 164.

whilst the North had every right to seek to maintain an institution of the greatest importance to them. Stephen does, however, agree on two points with the "most influential of our newspapers." He does doubt the wisdom of fighting, but feels that to persist or not is essentially a decision for the Northerners themselves:

To advise brave and high-spirited men to permit, or not to resist, the forcible, wrongful destruction of institutions to which they rightly attach the highest value, on the ground that it is extremely difficult to maintain them, is what men who recognise the claims of courage and spirit ought to be loth to do. That the North has right on its side, there can be no doubt. That it has sustained grievous wrongs and insults, is equally plain. Surely it is a question rather for them than for us, whether there is a reasonable prospect of redressing those wrongs by force of arms. *

In addition, he does not seek to defend the behaviour of the American press, and in commenting on it provides an interesting gloss on one of Arnold's favourite words, "Americanized" :

In America, both politics and periodical literature have fallen, to a great extent, into the hands of an ill-educated class. The excessive vulgarity of a great part of what they say and write gives far too low a notion of the strong points of the American character, and has a fatal tendency to make their policy as unworthy a representative of the real powers of their minds as their literature unquestionably is. It is very desirable that every reasonable opportunity

* CM, August 1861, iv, 165.

should be taken of showing the noisy and ill-bred people who have constituted themselves the representatives of the opinions and feelings of the United States, that we rate them exactly at what they are worth, and that their brag and fustian have just as much and just as little effect upon us as the raw-head-and-bloody-bones swagger which were the pre-cursors of the famous battle of the cabbage-garden in 1848. *

This single article by Fitzjames Stephen appears insignificant when compared with the number of articles of a serious nature which the more politically committed Macmillan's Magazine published during the same period; in addition to appointing a special correspondent, Macmillan's enlisted writers of the calibre of Harriet Martineau, Goldwin Smith, Leslie Stephen and Thomas Hughes. The other six articles referring to America in the Civil War which appeared in the Cornhill are on an altogether different level; they are entertaining and even instructive, but are essentially the personal and anecdotal accounts of travels or of military and naval actions. Three of them, "Richmond and Washington during the War," ** "Charleston under Fire," *** and "A Run through the Southern States," **** belong to a tradition of travel literature about America, the extent of which G.A. Sala indicates in his introduction.

* CM, August 1861, iv, 166.

** CM, January 1863, vii, 93-102.

*** CM, July 1864, x, 99-110.

**** CM, April 1863, vii, 495-515.

to My Diary in America in the Midst of War, itself in part a collection of pieces he had originally published in the Daily Telegraph:

I am sure that, as a man of letters, I am not fit to hold a candle to the tourists who have gone before me:- to Basil Hall, to MARRYAT, to Fanny Kemble, to the Trollopes, mother and son, to Miss Bremer, to Miss Martineau, to Edward Dicey, to Robert Chambers, to Charles Mackay, to Gretton, to the Howitts, husband and wife, to Sir Charles Lyell, and Lady Emmeline Wortley, to say nothing of such really great writers as Charles Dickens and William Howard Russell. *

What the time allowed was the additional description of the dangers and discomforts resulting from the war, and the level at which these personal reminiscences worked may be judged from the following:

The hotels were quite full; a bed in a crowded room being all the accommodation that could be expected. Three times a day a bell rang, the doors of the dining-room were thrown open, and the crowd pushed and struggled into their places for meals. Any one arriving late got nothing to eat. The company one meets on such occasions is decidedly mixed -- generals and private soldiers, rich planters and mechanics, mingled with all sorts of adventurers which the war has brought

together, sit down at the same tables. It was at St. Louis where I noticed my opposite neighbour in great difficulties; he had had a basin of thin soup given him, the spoon had been forgotten, and he sat himself down quietly to eat it with a knife -- he evidently felt something was wrong, but he had not sufficient confidence in himself to ask for a spoon. *

The remarks of the reviewers in the Illustrated London News and the Spectator respectively are generally applicable to each of these articles, especially as to their sympathy for the Southern cause:

"A Run Through the Southern States" is a singularly graphic and genial paper, the work of a British officer, too old a campaigner to be put out of temper by petty inconveniences, and whose varied experience of life seems to have divested him pretty effectually of the shell of prejudice in which the British tourist is most commonly ensconced. **

and

The paper of the Cornhill this month is the "Run Through the Southern States," by an English officer, which, like most of the original papers published during the war, is strongly Southern in feeling. ***

The other three articles, "How We Broke the Blockade," ****

"Campaigning with General Pope," ***** and "The Cruise of

* "A Run through the Southern States," CM, April 1863, vii, 502. One is reminded here of the description by Dickens of Mrs. Pawkins's boarding house at the dining hour; see Martin Chuzzlewit, pp. 333-334.
 ** Illustrated London News, 11 April 1863, p. 418.
 *** Spectator, 4 April 1863, p. 1845.
 **** CM, October 1862, vi, 471-479.
 ***** CM, December 1862, vi, 758-770.

the Confederate Ship 'Sumter,'" * deal more nearly with the actual hostilities. One of them, "The Cruise of the 'Sumter'" is, in fact, the journal of a combatant, one of the officers aboard the Confederate ship. The diary gives an account, for the first ten months of its commissioning, of the ship's marauding activities against the Union merchantmen. It is the kind of reportage which now seems an inevitable part of, and aftermath of war; it is mainly a factual account, interlarded with moments of "human interest" about the crew, and the kind of clichés which enshrine the patriotic heroics:

It was thought that the Iroquoise would undertake to board us in boats. Had the attempt been made, the Yankees would have met with a warm reception ... The boys knew that once in the hands of the Yankees they could not expect any other than the most brutal treatment, and, remembering the fate of the Savannah's crew, resolved never to give up the ship. Death is preferable to capture ... **

In "How We Broke the Blockade," a Southerner gives a straightforward account of the dangers he and his wife encountered in their successful attempt to reach New Orleans by sea from Europe, whilst the article concerned with General Pope describes the manoeuvres of the Northern Army and the experiences of the author at the Battle of Cedar Mountain,

* CM, August 1862, vi, 187-205.

** ibid., vi, 196.

experiences sufficiently affecting to make his final paragraph readily comprehensible:

I shall not further prolong this article. Suffice it to say, that I went back on the eve of the second battle of Bull Run, and witnessed new and more terrible slaughters. Typhus fever, the relic of certain experiences before Richmond, seized upon me again; and wearying of the horrible spectacles of the field, I renounced the army and the press. *

The Risorgimento and the Polish Struggle

Almost co-temporaneous with the struggle for independence of the Southern States of America was the movement for freedom from foreign domination and for political unification in Italy. Interest in, and support for, the movement was considerable in England among the politically conscious, some of whom saw it as yet another example of the persistent fight for the achievement and maintenance of liberty, a point of view we can see forcefully expressed in the Westminster

Review:

It is nearly two years since Italy began to draw to herself the almost exclusive attention of that highly educated portion of the European public whose minds, unshackled by local interests or the prejudices of country, enable them to take an unbiassed cosmopolitan view of that great struggle for civil and religious liberty, which, although the theatre of the combat has often changed, has never entirely ceased to agitate the breast of

* CM, December 1862, vi, 770.

man, for whenever the fire has been trampled out in one spot, some brave spirits have ever been found ready to kindle it in another. *

The writer in the Edinburgh Review demonstrates also the sense of witnessing some momentous point in history:

It is the privilege of few generations to assist at so grand a spectacle as the resurrection of a people and the birth of a new state into the old commonwealth of nations. **

In addition to the political interest it aroused, the struggle in Italy made a much wider appeal through the person and activities of Garibaldi. He became so popular a figure in England that there were unprecedented scenes in the streets of London when he visited it in 1864. It has been estimated that half a million people were in the streets to greet him, and it was certainly the most triumphant welcome ever accorded to a foreign visitor. The Saturday Review, with a characteristic note of astringency, thus referred to the occasion:

All London has gone mad during the present week. We have had a sort of dull Carnival, and Garibaldi has been led about the streets for Boeuf Gras. ***

The Cornhill's response to the risorgimento was similar

* "The Organisation of Italy," Westminster Review, October 1860, xviii(NS), 386.

** "The Kingdom of Italy," Edinburgh Review, January 1861, cxiii, 253.

*** Saturday Review, 16 April 1864, p.458.

in several ways to its coverage of the American Civil War; it made comparatively little reference to the political issues involved, again unlike Macmillan's, and its main interest seemed to be in printing the personal reminiscences of those who had taken part in the campaigns of Garibaldi. * The only articles dealing with what was admittedly a most complex political situation, "The Situation of the Moment in Italy," and "Italy's Rival Liberators," were both written by T.A. Trollope, brother of Anthony Trollope whose Framley Parsonage was currently appearing in the Cornhill. They appear as despatches, concluding with the date and place, "Florence, September 4, 1860," "Florence, 6th October 1860", and the statement by Trollope of his purpose is phrased in terms which assist the reader to feel the urgency and the fluidity of the situation:

Difficult, nay, almost impossible, as it is, to secure a moment's breathing space for the purpose, probable as it is that ere these lines can reach the reader's eye, events may have happened which will essentially modify all the elements of the situation, it may not be uninteresting to those who are following with eager sympathy every phase in this renaissance of a nation, to attempt a comprehensive, if it be but momentary, view of the actual position of Italian hopes and fortunes, as seen from

* Reference has already been made in Chapter I to Thackeray's attempt to enlist Garibaldi himself as a contributor. See Appendix IV, pp.519-520.

what may be supposed to be the cabinet,
rather than the camp, stand-point? *

The first article explores the dilemma which faced King Victor Emmanuel, his government, and his ministers in dealing with the domestic situation, difficult enough by itself, but further complicated by the international issues involved. The problem was to follow a policy

within the limits permitted by the exigencies of European politics, that shall content the impatience of the Italian patriots; or to keep pace with the ardour of the latter, without risking dangerous complications abroad. **

The domestic difficulties ensued partly from the fact that the motives and aspirations of the various liberating forces were by no means indetical, and especially troublesome to the constituted government was the "party of action", i.e. Mazzini and the old republicans. The article is in effect a plea for support of responsible government by the King and Cavour, and it is interesting to note that at this point Trollope congratulates Garibaldi who, unlike Mazzini, had exercised wisdom and restraint. A month later, in "Italy's Rival Liberators," called by the Spectator "an examination of the respective characters of Cavour and Garibaldi," *** Trollope feels that Garibaldi's reputation has been somewhat

* CM, October 1860, ii, 487-488.

** ibid., ii, 488.

*** Spectator, 3 November 1860, p.1056.

dimmed, and sees the future of Italy safe only in the statesman-like hands of Cavour:

Garibaldi is -- has every element for being -- the idol of the popular heart. He has by no means ceased to be so. Count Cavour is the object of no such enthusiastic affection. He has few or none of the qualities necessary for making himself a popular hero. Yet let it once be seen that the wise and reserved patrician diplomate /sic/ is the pilot most capable of steering the national barque to the desired harbour, that the gallant chieftain so beloved for his noble nature, so admired for his impetuous chivalry, is likely to risk the great object in view, and the nation -- with whatever regret, with whatever sacrifice of its favourite hero-worship, and pulling down of the popular idol -- will rally round and support the man who can attain the object which it is bent on accomplishing, with a unanimity of which history has few examples. *

Obviously Trollope was on the side of "law and order," was for the party that was to find Garibaldi an embarrassment, but he most certainly was not for the law and order that was maintained in the Papal States. His "Pope's City and the Pope's Protectors," is violently anti-Papal, and combines an evocative description of Rome under the protection of French troops, with a discussion of the "inscrutable policy" of the Emperor. His vision of the city is conveyed in such

* CM, November 1860, ii, 592.

words as:

Very much of social ill, very extensive rottenness at the core of a body politic, may exist, while to a superficial observer all on the surface looks sound and prosperous. But such is not the case at Rome. The most careless sight-seer, the most self-engrossed pleasure-seeker, could not walk the streets of Rome in these days without being painfully impressed by the too evident signs of suffering, discontent, and suppressed hatred, on the part of the people; imbecility, oppression, and by no means suppressed hatred, on the part of the cassocked rulers and their myrmidons; and contemptuous insolence, masterdom, and conscious possession of unlimited power, on the part of the military protectors and upholders of a state of things so truly foul and disgraceful to humanity ... *

The tree-shaded spaces to the south of the Coliseum are the spots selected by the ubiquitous Gallic host for drum and trumpet practice! Every day, and apparently all day long, a hideous and intolerable clangour mocks the great death-like silences of the place, and seems to symbolize aptly enough the general tone of the relationship between effete, moribund Rome, and its hated, feared, yet most indispensable protectors. **

After discussing French policy, past and present, in relation to the Holy City, Trollope finally and hopefully sees a welcome outcome for the continued support of the Papacy by the Emperor of the French; it might prevent the new country from choosing such an effete and degraded place as their chief city.

* CM, December 1860, ii, 719-720.

** ibid., ii, 721.

As we have seen, Thackeray was unable to gain Garibaldi as a contributor; the magazine was, however, successful in recruiting the talents of two combatants, the Italian patriot, Alberto Mario, and his English wife, Jessie White Mario. Both were close to Garibaldi, both took part in various campaigns, and each subsequently wrote a book which have since been used by historians such as G.M. Trevelyan and Denis Mack Smith as important sources of information about the conduct of Garibaldi's military operations. * Alberto Mario contributed four articles ** which gave accounts of the days immediately succeeding the conquest of Sicily, of the

- * A. Mario, The Red Shirt (1865)
 J.W. Mario, The Birth of Modern Italy (1905)
 Alberto Mario included in his book the articles which had been published in the Cornhill. The Westminster Review, April 1866, xxix(NS), 540, writes thus of the book:
 The "Red Shirt," by Albert Mario, is very properly called episodes, for it is in no sense a history of the remarkable enterprise in which he took part; but it gives, what few histories do, the clearest insight into the animus which prevailed among the better part of that strangely adventurous band. The enthusiasm, audacity, and moral exaltation which for a time set at naught every calculation of ordinary prudence, are reflected in every page of this narrative.
- ** "Garibaldi's Invisible Bridge," CM, May 1864, ix, 537-554.
 "The Red Shirt in Calabria," CM, June 1864, ix, 666-687.
 "My Three Days' Dictatorship," CM, July 1864, x, 33-53.
 "Isernia-L'Addio," CM, March 1865, xi, 365-384.

initial and exploratory crossing of the Messina Straits and the early reconnoitring campaign in Calabria before the real extension of the war to the mainland, and finally of the meeting of Garibaldi and King Victor Emmanuel and their armies at Teano which ended in the temporary retirement of Garibaldi to his island home of Caprera. Mrs. Jessie White Mario, an Englishwoman of great courage and tenacity of purpose who cared for Garibaldi's wounded, published one article which relates the events prior to, and during the battle of Mentana, where Garibaldi was defeated in his attempt to capture Rome. *

The work of these two writers is distinguished of its kind, and although the articles are military memoirs rather than despatches, they are of a quality which W.H. Russell, by his work as war correspondent for the Times in the Crimea and in India during the Mutiny, had taught the public to expect. They offered the readers of the Cornhill informed and absorbing accounts of important moments in the fighting, and by their inclusion of conversation and detailed descriptions they gave a vividness to their writing which successfully indicated the nature of the dedicated guerilla warfare which

* "Garibaldi's Last Campaign," CM, January 1868, xvii, 111-128.

Garibaldi's men so often conducted. Moreover, although Jessie White says that her office was that of "narrator not of critic," both her articles and those of her husband do incidentally underline the complexity of the political situation and the conflicting interests which were operating. And, of course, the publication of Alberto's articles about Garibaldi were obviously opportune in 1864 when in London a

musical show on Garibaldi had already run ... and Garibaldi biscuits and blouses called "Garibaldies" were all the rage. *

Such interest found satisfaction in these articles as they revealed the personal magnetism of Garibaldi, this freedom-fighter of the 19th century, and the devotion which, apparently so easily, he inspired in his followers. Such a description as the following shows the General as an almost classic figure of the revolutionary who does not allow his ideals to become perverted by his success, who rejects in his clothes the established conventions, and who continues in victory to share the hardships and privations of his men:

I found him on my return stretched on his little iron bed, his elbow on the pillow, his head upon his hand, evidently lost in thought. At the foot of the bed stood a small table, covered

* Denis Mack Smith, Garibaldi, pp.138-139.

with papers, which served as his desk; in the opposite corner a basin and ewer; on the drawers a whip, or rather a slip of black leather, rolled up at one end to form a handle; a wide-awake, a bandana, a sword, and a box of cigars. A Mexican saddle, which served for a bed in the camp, hung over the back of a chair; a second chair completed the furniture of this carpetless room.

"Sit down and smoke," said the general; "that box contains cigars from Nice; they are all that remains to me of my poor country." Then with true Ligurian economy, he broke one in halves and began to whiff in silence.

"We must provide for those brave fellows," he said at length. *

In Alberto's articles we gather the sense of enthusiasm and of faith in the future which Garibaldi could foster among his followers. Garibaldi, we are told, "in his pavilion, was a magician. Faith in the future was boundless; the passage to Naples, the entry into Rome, the storming of Verona, were spoken of as certainties ere the winter should set in." ** It must therefore have been especially dispiriting for the reader of the Cornhill to follow in Jessie White Mario's "Garibaldi's Last Campaign" the defeat of the General outside Rome, and to read of his ignominious handling and arrest by the troops of the King. Garibaldi leaves the pages of the Cornhill being "sent back to his island under escort ... under the surveillance of Colonel

* CM, May 1864, ix, 542.

** ibid., ix, 540.

Camozzi and the carabinieri." *

Another country whose struggles during this period were exciting sympathy among "honourable men of all classes throughout the West of Europe" ** was Poland. Her struggle for independence, currently against the Russians, was seen by some, including the correspondent in the Observer, as "the death-struggle between Liberty and Despotism," *** and the response of the Cornhill was to print a short article in April 1863 entitled "Poland and her Friends." It gives a short historical account of the various partitions which had been perpetrated since 1772, and concludes with comments upon the present situation. It is written with a sympathy and a sense of urgency which calls for some kind of action, for, the writer says, the Poles

will submit no longer to the triple torture under which they have writhed for so many years, and it is for the West of Europe to choose whether it will help the Poles against Russia, or whether, sooner or later, the Poles shall be forced to obtain Russian assistance against Prussia and Austria. ****

* CM, January 1868, xvii, 128.

** CM, April 1863, vii, 532.

*** Observer, 26 April 1863, quoted in The Observer of the 19th Century (selected by Marion Miliband), p.196.

**** CM, April 1863, vii, 541.

Louis Napoleon and the Defence of England

It is clear that the reader of the Cornhill was reminded of Louis Napoleon's involvement in Italian affairs, but apart from the notice of his book, Julius Caesar, which, as we have seen in the last chapter, caused the banning of the magazine in Paris, there are no articles devoted exclusively to French political affairs. Nevertheless, the reader was made very conscious of what were seen to be the military ambitions of the French and their Emperor by the number of articles which appeared, especially during the earlier years of the decade, concerned with National Defence. It was not merely in the Cornhill that such articles were published: in the weeklies, such as the Illustrated London News, the Spectator, and the Saturday Review, in such monthlies as Macmillan's and Blackwood's, and finally in the three important quarterlies, the Westminster, the Quarterly and the Edinburgh -- in all these there frequently appeared articles dealing with the condition of the national defences. So much comment, in addition to that in the daily newspapers, prompted one writer in the Westminster Review to begin his article, "On National Defences," with the following words:

If the dictum of Solomon be true,
 that "in the multitude of councillors
 there is safety," we ought long ere
 this to have discovered the right path
 to national security and confidence.
 Never, perhaps, were brains and pens so

prolific as those which have been engaged for several months in analysing the subject of our national defences ... Every one, in fact, considers himself as competent to give an opinion on military subjects as those who have been brought up to the profession ... *

There were seen to be two reasons for what Matthew Higgins, in an article called "Invasion Panics," referred to as "the invasion-panic under which the nation has been shivering." ** The first and fundamental one was the fear of aggression and invasion by the French; such a "fit of timidity" is frequently referred to in the journals. Higgins expresses his sense of bewilderment at "why millions of strong, brave, well-armed Englishmen should be so moved at the prospect of a possible attack from twenty or thirty thousand French," *** and, as we noticed in the last chapter, Sir John Burgoyne, in his "Our Volunteers," which appeared in the first number of the Cornhill, saw France as the vainglorious nation whose military ambitions must ultimately be frustrated by England. The writer in the Westminster Review takes up a similar if rather more restrained attitude:

Let us study national impulses on this subject, those of our neighbours being, necessarily, our guide of action. Now, clearly, those of France are warlike;

* Westminster Review, October 1860, xviii(NS), 465-466.

** CM, February 1860, i, 135.

*** ibid., i, 136.

ours, peaceful. One has incessantly in its mouth, the glory of France, while the other talks of the interests of England. One, in its very expression breathes war; the other, peace. Have we not, however, acts as well as expressions, indicating every readiness for warlike operations? There was anything but reluctance on the part of France to send armies into Italy, to China, or to Syria; on the contrary, no Power is so manifestly ready to engage in any military enterprise.

The French may have no present intentions nor desire to attack us, as is strongly urged by those who object to the contemplated precautions on our part; but at least, we have the greatest indications of their determination to be prepared for the conflict, should it occur; and by such strenuous efforts and vast expenditure, as must show how strongly they believe in the possibility of such an event. *

The second reason for the fears was a technical one; suddenly it was realised that the Channel had narrowed with the advent of steam ships. Writing of 1858 a writer in the Quarterly Review comments:

We knew, then, for it had become a by-word with us, -- that steam had partially bridged the Channel; but we continued, with intermittent feelings of uneasiness, to rely principally upon naval protection until we realised the fact that a gallant and imperial ally was outstripping us in the process of converting a sailing into a steam fleet. This touched us on our most sensitive point. The startling announcement rang through the land, that our first, our only line of defence was endangered. **

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- * "Our National Defences," Westminster Review, October 1860, xviii(NS), 467.
 - ** "The Volunteers and National Defences", Quarterly Review, July 1862, cxii, 111.

Various actions followed the national comprehension of, and the national alarm at, the situation, the most expected, and the most English perhaps, being the appointment on 10 August 1859 of a Royal Commission to inquire into "the Present state, condition, and sufficiency of the Fortifications for the Defence of the United Kingdom." The sense of urgency may be gauged by the celerity of its report in February 1860, and the speed with which one of its recommendations was put into effect -- the encouragement of the recently formed Volunteer Corps. This Volunteer movement was the object of much interest in periodicals like the Illustrated London News,

* The Illustrated London News, 5 May 1860, p.429, even published the words and music of "a patriotic song and chorus" called "The Volunteers of England":

Arm, arm ye sons of England!
 Let us strive with heart and hand
 To shield our dear old country --
 Our own, our native land.
 We will be always ready,
 As Britons brave should be,
 To guard our wives, our children, --
 Our homes, where dwell the free.

Then, then be up and ready,
 To fight for those so dear:
 Make ev'ry youth in England
 A rifle volunteer.

See also the same paper, 30 June 1860, p.628, for "Review of the Volunteers by Her Majesty in Hyde Park":

The grand review on Saturday last was in every respect a triumph. Another such a sight has not been seen in our days. We have had, indeed, brilliant military displays, but none so perfectly national, none that combined elements of such peculiar and stirring interest, as this great pacific demonstration.

and Punch where much visual material, humorous and serious, was devoted to the subject; indeed, most of the magazines, monthly and quarterly, devoted space to considering the Volunteer Movement, and the contribution of the Cornhill to the discussion was the paper in which Sir John Burgoyne examined the value of the Corps. He readily admits that they cannot expect that their naval superiority "will be so absolute as to enable ..[_them_].. to trust entirely to [_their_] 'wooden walls,' or to defensive armaments afloat," * and that, in the absence of powers of compulsory enlistment because of the "nature of our institutions and our feelings of personal independence," the Volunteer Movement had much to recommend it. However, despite his encouragement and approval of the movement, he does point out the need for extended training, and feels that only a restricted use might be made of many of the men. Fascinating for us are the fears he expresses that the volunteers

composed, as they will be, of men accustomed to the comforts and conveniences of life, would, however animated by daring for fight, be disgusted not merely with the hardships, but (as compared with their usual habits) the indignities of a common soldier's life, such as the hard fare, the necessary but menial occupations of cooking, the care and cleaning of their clothes and arms, and the discomfort of being huddled together in masses in tents, or houses, if they have the good fortune

* CM, January 1860, i, 78.

to obtain either. *

The reviewer in the Illustrated London News welcomed the article and says that he would, "if indeed it be necessary, press on the consideration of every one who is animated by that national spirit which is embodied in the volunteer movement the short treatise on that subject by Sir John Burgoyne." **

Since the navy was no longer thought to be a sure defence

- * CM, January 1860, i, 81.
The movement was largely middle class, as Matthew Arnold, himself a serving member of the Queen's Westminster Rifle Volunteers, pointed out:
Far from being a measure dangerous by its arming the people -- a danger to which some persons are very sensitive -- it seems to me that the establishment of these Rifle Corps will more than ever throw the power into the hands of the upper and middle classes, as it is of these that they are mainly composed, and these classes will thus have over the lower classes the superiority, not only of wealth and intelligence, which they now have, but of physical force.
Letter to Miss Arnold, 21 November 1859, Letters (Ed. G.W.E. Russell), i, 109.
That the volunteer had every cause to be concerned at facing the "indignities of a common soldier's life" is made clear in a later Cornhill article by Frederick Greenwood, "Life in a Barrack," April 1863, vii, 441-456.
- ** Illustrated London News, 7 January 1860, p.4.
See G. Wrottesley, Life and Correspondence of Sir John Burgoyne, ii, 397, letter from Theobald to Burgoyne of 6 January 1860:
I have heard the article talked of in a hundred places, and everywhere with praise. We ventured to add one very little sentence of consolation for the Volunteers, for which I hope you will hold us harmless.

against attack across the Channel, it began to be realised that England's vulnerability must extend as far as the capital. London was thought to be under threat, and in June 1860 the Cornhill added its voice to the recommendations for its defence. "London the Stronghold of England" is a detailed argument by a soldier for the defence of the capital by ringing it with six forts to be manned by the Volunteers. The article demonstrates both the sense of urgency, and the patriotic feeling that was stirred by the situation; the author writes that if the enemy entered London:

The Government would be powerless for anything but "making terms" with the invading foe; Parliament would be nowhere; martial law alone would prevail; our glorious old Constitution would be abrogated, and the monarchy itself would be in jeopardy. The day of England's disgrace and humiliation might inaugurate a saturnalia of brutal soldiery; crime and misery, such as the imagination recoils from conceiving, might desolate our hearth and homes; and destruction of property to the value of untold millions would involve paralysis of commerce, death of credit, stoppage of manufacturers, ruin of trade, and the dissolution of every bond of law and society: nay, even this frightful calamity might be heightened by the horrors of the sack of London. *

During the first two years of the magazine various aspects of defence were discussed in the Cornhill, as they

* CM, June 1860, i, 642.

were in many other periodicals, although those on naval affairs predominate. One urgent question was the use of protective armour on fighting ships, and in "England's Future Bulwarks," * as the Illustrated London News says, the "question of the iron-plated vessels of war is ably discussed;" ** in the following year, in an article entitled "The Warrior and La Gloire," *** these two iron-plated vessels of the English and French navies, which seemed to symbolize the respective efforts for naval re-armament by the two countries, were compared as to their relative merits. Later in the decade the Cornhill continued to publish articles about defence which were not prompted by an immediate fear of French invasion, but responded to public interest in the reform and re-equipping of the Army. For instance, in 1866 after the Danco-Prussian war in which the breech-loading "needle gun" was used so successfully, attention was directed to the replacing of the muzzle-loading guns of the British Army, and a Special Committee was appointed to review the merits of various breech-loading rifles. The Cornhill follows the consequent discussion in three technical articles ****, complete with detailed diagrams of mechanisms

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- * CM, October 1860, ii, 493-500.
 - ** Illustrated London News, 6 October 1860, p.306.
 - *** CM, February 1861, iii, 192-204.
 - **** "Breech-Loaders," CM, September 1866, xiv, 342-357.
 "Breech-Loading Rifles," CM, August 1867, xvi, 177-190.
 "The New Military Breech-Loader," CM, May 1869, xix, 583-599.

and statistical analyses of performances, to the point where the Henry-Martini rifle was chosen.

India

The readers of the Cornhill were invited during this decade to become interested in the affairs of two other countries and the British interests involved therein; these were India and China. The period of the sixties was, as concerned the affairs in India, one of significant change, controversy, and earnest re-appraisal of the means of maintaining the British raj. The immediate cause of interest in Indian affairs was, of course, the Indian Mutiny of 1857-9, before which, Woodruff maintains in his essay "Expansion and Emigration," the general attitude was one of "indifferent placidity;" in the House of Commons at that time, he says, "a debate on any question connected with India was as strictly an affair of experts as the discussion of some local gas bill." * For many years, of course, India had, through the activities of the East India Company, been a rich source of profit for England, and had provided for many individuals fine and prosperous careers; the effect of the Mutiny, however, was to direct attention rather to the responsibilities of governing the sub-continent than to ways of furthering its exploitation. The effect of

* Early Victorian England, ii, 404.

the India Act of 1858 was to take responsibility for rule and maintenance of order away from the East India Company, supervised as it was by the Board, and to vest the British Government with full and direct control of India. The country, it was thought, must be civilised and not merely conquered, and the function of government was not only to protect commerce but also to administer justice. Writing of a Mr. Wilson as financial expert to India in 1860 the Illustrated London News, voicing these changed attitudes, wrote that he

hopes to redeem the credit for India, and to render her once more a diamond in the crown of England instead of a millstone round her neck. *

Although this renewed interest is apparent, and Macauley could write in his diary thus of the effects of the Mutiny on public opinion:

The cruelties of the Sepoy natives have inflamed the Nation to a degree unprecedented within my memory. Peace Societies, Aborigines Protection Societies, and societies for the reformation of criminals are silent. There is one terrible cry for revenge. **

yet there is ample evidence that, once the heated demand

* Illustrated London News, 27 March 1860, p.278.

** Quoted in Early Victorian England, ii, 404-405.

for revenge subsided, there persisted what the Illustrated London News called the "comparative indifference to Indian affairs [which] has always been the normal condition of the home mind." * Nine years later, in her article in the Cornhill called "The Defenders of our North-West Indian Frontier," Lady Verney wrote that to the British public, "Indian politics in general are strangely uninteresting, although the smallest details of some petty squabble nearer home are eagerly caught up." ** Further evidence for what was obviously felt, among Anglo-Indians, to be a neglect of Indian affairs is to be found in the notice in the Fortnightly Review of J.W. Keye's Lives of Indian Officers:

The work should also promote the more general comprehension in England of Indian problems, a matter doubly essential now that the Parliament of England acts more and more directly in the government of India. ***

Thus, the Cornhill, with its sixteen articles about India published during the decade, did a little at least to overcome such indifference and ignorance, and whilst, as one would expect, it devotes no space to the rigorous and exclusive examination of the past and present policies of government in India, it does nevertheless help to convey some of the complex problems, military, social and political,

* Illustrated London News, 14 January 1860, p.28.

** CM, November 1859, xx, 539.

*** Fortnightly Review, 1867, ii(NS), 376.

involved in the governing of such a huge country.

Since this was the period immediately succeeding the demise of the East India Company, and since also the Cornhill numbered among its regular contributors one of the Company's distinguished servants, J.W.Kaye, it is not surprising that some notice should have been taken of the Company. Thus, in a whimsical article called "The House that Jack Built," Kaye gives a nostalgic and frankly sentimental account of the East India Company which, in the days before competitive examinations, effected its business in a leisurely and paternal manner, cared for its servants as individuals, blithely practised nepotism, tolerated the eccentricities of Lamb, and rejoiced in the distinction of the Mills, father and son, and also in that of Peacock. Kaye is not optimistic about what he considers the intrusion of Whitehall in the affairs of India, and even sees the Company as having been betrayed in the reaction of the Mutiny; thus does he express the sense of betrayal in the allegoric mode which he uses throughout the article:

Everything went wrong -- so wrong, at last, that Mr. Company was killed by the shock. How it happened will, perhaps, never be rightly explained. There was a great commotion on the good gentleman's Indian estates; and the black people rose up against their white masters, and there was bloodshed and terror everywhere. Mr. Company took it sorely to heart. He grieved for his distant servants, and he wrought mightily to deliver them, sending out, at his own

charges, large bodies of troops, and otherwise exerting himself to rescue his imperilled people. But there was great loss of life and treasure all the same ... It fell out that when things were at their worst, some of the chief servants of Mr. Bull fell upon him and mocked him. They laid at his door all the offences which either they had committed themselves or had urged him to commit. *

Kaye tells more directly of his faith in the old system when he writes in his "Westminster Abbey : March 25, 1863" of Sir James Outram, of whom the article is an obituary notice. The system of the East India Company had been one which trained men to trust themselves, and released them from "the thralldom and martyrdom of Red Tape." ** It was a system which encouraged and did not stifle the initiative of great men; referring to the funeral service, Kaye writes:

It is the glory of such men as Outram that they owe nothing to birth, nothing to connection, nothing to patronage, nothing to privilege, nothing to party; that they make their way to the front without finesse, without trickery, without deceit. There was not a Westminster lad in the Abbey on that day, who might not, if the same stuff were in him, do what Outram had done -- risen as Outram had risen. He might be the son only of some humble member of the middle classes -- for Outram was no more -- and yet he might be buried in Westminster Abbey, with statesmen and warriors clustered round

* CM, July 1860, ii, 120-121.

** CM, May 1863, vii, 579.

his grave. *

For Kaye, and no doubt in fact, the East India Company had offered to the middle class opportunities for success and distinction which were denied them in their own country. In a less emotional article in the Fortnightly Review, "British India," a Colonel Pelly, whilst appreciating the inadequacy of the East India Company for the continued government of India, recognises its past successes as a testament to the virtues of the middle class:

Yet it had its own merits, its own proper glory. It was a worthy and a wondrous monument of the common sense, the self-government and the patient endurance of exile in vile climates of a handful of Englishmen ... The basis and sustaining power of our great dependency has been the same with that which heretofore raised and still maintains our own country: the moral, mental, and physical qualities of our middle classes. Without these British India would never have been consolidated or even won. **

But Kaye was also not unmindful of the difficulties which faced the Anglo-Indian even under the East India Company, and in an earlier article about the career of Sir James Outram, "The Career of an Indian Officer," he not only

* CM, May 1863, vii, 588.

** Fortnightly Review, 1865, ii, 32.

See S. Smiles, Self-Help, p.17:

Indeed the empire of England in India was won and chiefly held by men of the middle class ... men for the most part bred in factories and trained to habits of business.

celebrates the accomplishments of this soldier-politician who had played such an important part in the relief of Lucknow, but also details the difficulties of climate, * officialdom and political jealousy with which Outram had to contend. It is a tale which is continued in an article, "The Climate and the Work," occasioned by the death of Lord Canning who had been Viceroy during and after the Mutiny. This article, in addition to the insights it gave to the contemporary reader into the problems of governing India, has an additional interest today since it is one of several articles contributed to the Cornhill by William Howard Russell, and was no doubt in part the product of his experiences when he covered the Mutiny as correspondent for the Times. Early in his article Russell stresses, in general terms, the cost of an Indian Empire:

* See "The Calcutta Cyclone of 1864," Fortnightly Review, 1865, ii, 425:

It is no life of luxury that Englishmen lead in India. The novelist's representations of oriental ease and comfort bear about as much resemblance to truth as many other of their views concerning the constituents of human happiness. The first year in India, especially in the lower provinces, will effectually dispel these romantic dreams. From the middle of January till the middle of November the heat is all but insufferable. One wonders, not that so many Europeans die there, but that so many live to return home.

The nation pays tribute of that which is dearest to it for the glory or advantages of ruling over these many-tongued races in the East. Scarcely do we ourselves count the cost. See, mail after mail, how the list of the dead lengthens out! What household is there which does not own its losses? What family is there which has not to say of some loved one -- "He died in India?" It seems quite a natural thing to us that young men should be cut off in their prime, and lay their bones in that strange land. Scarcely less numerous are they who retire, wounded to death, from the field, and can just carry their wearied limbs homewards to fall on the threshold and expire ... It may be true that few of the great statesmen of India died in office, though some there have been who did; but the number of those who have fallen victims to the effects of climate, incessant mental exertion, and physical suffering, and exposure, cannot be easily estimated. *

There follows an account of the career of an imaginary Viceroy who, fresh from England, has to face all the intrigues of an established officialdom, and who gradually succumbs to the excessive burden of office and the enervation of the climate. Finally, the article becomes more particular, and concludes with an appreciation of the work of Canning during the Mutiny when he earned his sobriquet of "Clemency Canning" by opposing himself to the "passions of the hour" and behaving with honour, courage, and justice. The article was apt not only because of the recent death of Canning, but also because there was current discussion about

* CM, August 1862, vi, 241.

the suitability of Calcutta as the site for central government because of its injurious effect upon health; it was a discussion not without some point if we can believe Mr. John Strachey whom the Saturday Review quoted as saying:

"In the filthiest quarters of the filthiest towns that I have seen in other parts of India, or in other countries, I have never seen anything which can be for a moment compared with the filthiness of Calcutta." *

The kind of problem with which Canning had to contend is indicated in the Cornhill article "The Capture of the Dehli Prizes," which is an account, to our eyes strangely insensitive, of the organised and official looting which followed the re-capture of the city by the British. Such moments as the following occur in what is a bland account of the cruelty, and indifference to suffering of the conquerors:

A closely-shut door was opened after violent threats, and I got into a small darkened room on the ground floor, ill-smelling and filthy, with but one article of furniture, a native charpoy, or bedstead, whereon lay an old man, declared by an attendant hag, probably his betrayer, to be bedridden, and very ill.

Amidst shrieks of pretended pain from its occupant, the bedstead was moved to one side, in accordance with previous instructions, and the coolies commenced to dig. The ground had evidently been disturbed not long before, and soon a clink, as of metal against pottery, was heard,

* Saturday Review, 29 April 1865, p.506.

and the ghurra was lifted out, with a cloth tied over the top -- not without some difficulty, as it was of the largest size made. My clumsy assistants managed to break the vessel in setting it down, and amid triumphant shouts from all the spectators except the old man, who shrieked feeble prayers to the "sirkar," or Government, as represented by me on the occasion, a stream of silver gushed from the interior. *

The article, as far as the Cornhill is concerned, is something of a sport, and displays in such phrases as "probably his betrayer" and "pretended pain" a complacency and cynicism not normally found in its pages.

Most of the other articles, with titles like "Notes of the late Campaign on the Punjab Frontier," ** and "The Defenders of our North-West Frontier," *** concern themselves either with personal accounts of military activities, or discuss such issues as the value of native troops "who, under the guidance of British officers, constitute what Sir W. Mansfield called 'the steel head of the lance which defends India.'" **** However, there are one or two articles on economic topics such as Indian cotton which was of immediate interest because of the American Civil War, and one

* CM, October 1862, vi, 530.

** CM, March 1864, ix, 357-367.

*** CM, November 1869, xx, 539-548.

**** Illustrated London News, 6 November 1869, 471.

or two which reveal a rather more sophisticated understanding of the problems of British rule. In the "Santals," an account of the disturbances among a hill-tribe, the reader is encouraged to comprehend that some more subtle means than the effective training and disposition of troops is required in dealing with the "natives":

From the foregoing remarks it may be judged how little, even now, we really know of our Indian fellow-subjects. We have hitherto been content to divide them into Mohamedans and Hindus, carefully classifying the latter into four castes. We have recognised, indeed, the differences of religion, but scarce a passing thought have we paid to the difference of race. The oversight, however, led in great measure to the Santal insurrection, and underlies much of our indisputable unpopularity, in spite of our justice and active benevolence. *

The cost of government, however, was not only to be counted in lives and health lost; as Kaye, in yet another article "The Peace-Conflicts of India" points out, reputations too were often in jeopardy. In his article he discusses the kind of scandal, like the Mhow Court-Martial mentioned in a previous chapter, which excited such considerable comment in England. He is very much on the defensive, and claims that such scandals are not proportionately any more frequent

* CM, August 1868, xviii, 238.

in India than in the home country, but that

the conditions of Anglo-Indian society render it necessary that the petty personal conflicts, from whatever source they may arise, which for convenience we designate by the generic name of "scandals," should obtain extraordinary prominence in India. It may be an affair of love or an affair of money; but when it may be fairly surmised that a very large majority of the readers of a newspaper know something about the parties concerned in the case, it is, of course, published with minuteness of detail. *

Kaye does, however, indicate the peculiar conditions of Indian service where in military matters "Idleness begets strife," and in domestic ones separation encourages the "illicit rove." There was, until recently, the long journey by sea when "the voyage to and from India occupied four or five months ... and ... was seldom accomplished without a 'scandal'" and similar scandals arose

at the hill stations, where women temporarily separated from their husbands -- "grass widows" -- enjoy themselves in the invigorating mountain air whilst their husbands are toiling on the plains. They are exposed to the flatteries and seductions of idle men, who have nothing to do but to make themselves agreeable to others and to amuse themselves. **

Obviously Simla society existed in the sixties; it was to wait twenty years to be captured by its chronicler, Rudyard

* CM, October 1866, xiv, 425.

** ibid., xiv, 424.

Kipling.

The Chinese War

India continued to be of interest throughout the decade, and the interest was expressed, as far as the Cornhill was concerned, by the occasional but persistent appearance of articles relating to it; concern, on the other hand, with the affairs of China was more restricted in time, and was reflected by the publication of the majority of the articles dealing with China in the first two years of the magazine's life. In the early part of 1860 national interest in China was revived after a lull which had followed the success of Lord Elgin's mission which had concluded the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858; as Sir John Bowring wrote in his "The Chinese and the 'Outer Barbarians'":

after the lull and the slumber, come again the rousing and the excitement, and China occupies anew the columns of the periodical press, and awakens fresh interest in the public mind. *

The immediate cause of the excitement was the Chinese prevention by force of the British Minister, the Honourable Frederick Bruce, from proceeding to Peking to ratify the treaty which Lord Elgin had recently concluded with them; in exasperation at what it considered the further duplicity and evasion of the Chinese authorities, the British Government

* CM, January 1860, i, 26.

decided early in 1860 to mount an armed expedition of some 14,000 men, to declare war, and to insist on their entry into Peking. The kind of interest provoked by the situation and the nature of the British involvement in the affairs of what was often termed the "Celestial Empire," * may be judged from a leader in the Illustrated London News:

There can, however, be but few who will conscientiously assert that anything is left to us but the vigorous reassertion of our power. In spite of all the obstacles opposed to us, English interests in China have attained such an importance; so many British subjects are actually ingrafted on that empire; so much capital has been invested in the trade with that country; so many of its commodities have been adapted to our habits of life; and, in short, China is so decidedly one of our markets that our rulers are bound to preserve for us, at least, that hold which we have obtained on its soil, and even that would be perilled unless a vigorous and a determined policy were to be pursued. **

Of the six articles which the Cornhill published during 1860-1 four are of a kind which reflected the general interest in China that the war had provoked. "Inside

* Obviously a current term. See Letters of Charles Dickens, letter of 3 May 1860, p.496. Talking of one of his sons Dickens writes:

His brother Frank ... I have just recalled from France and Germany, to come and learn business, and qualify himself to join his brother on his return from the Celestial Empire.

** Illustrated London News, 21 July 1860, p.48.

Canton," * "Chinese Pirates," ** "Chinese Officials," *** and "Chinese Police" **** are either personal reminiscences or straightforward accounts of a country and its culture which the English at home were learning to regard not merely as strange but as alien. The other two articles of this period, however, relate more immediately to the military/political situation of 1860 and are by two writers both of whom had played important parts in the earlier mission of Lord Elgin; the first was by Sir John Bowring, a former plenipotentiary to China and Governor of Hong Kong, and the second was written by Laurence Oliphant, personal secretary to Lord Elgin, and author of the recently published Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan (1859). Certainly their articles gave evidence of the success of George Smith's and Thackeray's ambitions to recruit distinguished and informed contributors.

Bowring's article, with its detailed account of diplomatic activity, is of a kind not often met with in the Cornhill, and is unique if only for the length and frequency of its footnotes. What Bowring did was to use the opportunity presented by the renewed interest in China to make a

* CM, April 1860, i, 412-416.

** CM, October 1860, ii, 432-437.

*** CM, January 1861, iii, 25-32.

**** CM, February 1861, iii, 154-165.

study of the activities which resulted in the Treaty of Tientsin, and give an exposition of all the problems which faced the Western diplomats in dealing with a people whose attitudes to honour, truth, and good faith were, they felt, so different from their own. This was immediately relevant since the impending war was caused by the refusal of the Chinese to ratify that treaty. Incidentally, Bowring takes the opportunity afforded by the anonymity of his article to comment upon actions of his own which at that time had been the object of much controversy and of a heated attack in the House of Lords by Lord Derby::

It was the affair of the Arrow which brought about the inevitable crisis. The question of Sir John Bowring's action on that occasion was entangled with the party politics of the day, and little more need now be said than that the verdict of the country reversed the condemnatory decision of the House of Commons. *

Bowring's conclusions come rather strangely from a former secretary of the Peace Society, but perhaps experience in the field had convinced him of the need of gun-boat diplomacy; throughout the later part of his article we read such comments as:

... where our policy has failed, and where it will always fail in China, is in placing confidence in the Chinese ...

* CM, January 1860, i, 35.

A treaty with China will always be waste paper, unless some security is obtained for giving it due effect ... There is, in fact, neither safety nor dignity in any course but the stern, steady persistence in the assertion and enforcement of whatever conditions are the subject of imperial engagements. *

Oliphant's article, "Campaigning in China," is more in the style of those others in the Cornhill which give details of military expeditions in India and Italy, but it is enlivened at the beginning by some satiric comments upon the bumbledom of Army officials; of their lack of enthusiasm for the coming campaign he writes:

So we have croaking articles in the Indian journals, and gloomy forebodings on the part of officers experienced in Indian warfare, who have never been in China, but who "know the East," and are, therefore, qualified to speak with confidence and authority upon all affairs, military or diplomatic, which may be undertaken anywhere between Cairo and the Sandwich Islands. **

His justification for his article is that at a time when operations were about to begin in China "some account of the longest march into the interior of the country ever yet performed by British troops may not be uninteresting;" *** but Oliphant is not satisfied merely to describe this expedition against the "Braves" who had been harassing Canton,

* CM, January 1860, i, 40-41.
 ** CM, May 1860, i, 537.
 *** ibid.

but concludes by drawing the appropriate moral for the impending expedition to Peking and for subsequent dealings with the Chinese:

The same effect will be produced in the north of China if the same means are resorted to. It was not until the local militia at Canton received a lesson which taught them our power of inflicting chastisement, that they subsided into respectful quiescence. So, in 1858, the Court of Peking changed its tone of arrogance for one of subserviency the moment we arrived at Tien-tsin: a feat supposed impracticable by the Chinese government. *

Like Bowring he believed in the efficacy of diplomacy backed by the threat, and if necessary, the practice of force, and in the words of the author of "Chinese Pirates" recommends that the "British Lion put his paw" upon the Chinese.

As has been said most of these articles appeared early in the sixties; there was one, however, of both intrinsic and historical interest, which was published in November 1864. ** Intrinsically it is fascinating as an account of the routing of the Taepings, members of a revolutionary religious movement, by the imperial "Ever Victorious Chinese Army" under the command of an English officer; historically it is of interest since that officer was Colonel Gordon.

* CM, May 1860, i, 547.

** "Colonel Gordon's Exploits in China," CM, November 1864, x, 625-638.

After the conclusion of the 1860 war, the British began to support the Imperial Government in its attempts to establish order, and Gordon was loaned to them to organise a force to defeat the Taepings; Lytton Strachey gives an entertaining account of this episode in Gordon's life. * The Cornhill article is an account of his difficulties and ultimate success. Demonstrating his perspicacity, a reviewer in the Illustrated London News concludes his notice of the article thus:

Colonel Gordon's success in making soldiers of the Chinese was an eminent proof of his talents for organisation, and his conduct in the field was no less conclusive as to his great military ability. The world will probably hear more of this gallant and humane soldier. **

We have seen that it was the deliberate intention of its proprietor to exclude from the pages of the Cornhill the consideration of domestic contemporary politics; it is clear that, with one or two exceptions, papers dealing with foreign politics were equally unwelcome. One might well not agree with the details of the Illustrated London News's specification of the "Class of essay for which the Cornhill is famous -- light, chatty, but replete with information;" the epithet "chatty," at least in our use of the term, does not apply to much of the material, but the definition does

* L. Strachey, Eminent Victorians, pp.212-219.

** Illustrated London News, 5 November 1864, p.470.

indicate the kind of essay not to expect. The quarterlies, and monthlies like Macmillan's and the Fortnightly Review, could and did devote more space to the serious and detailed consideration of foreign political issues; the Cornhill was content, in the main, to offer material based upon personal experience which incidentally revealed some of the political issues involved, and at this humbler level engaged the reader in affairs other than his own parochial and insular ones. In the next chapter we shall see how the Cornhill encouraged and satisfied a non-political interest in other peoples and places.

itself * a historical account of the thermæ, followed by a description of the use of an institution which was rapidly becoming popular in Europe. When, however, one considers the other institution, that of travelling, and the way in which the Cornhill, especially during the later part of the decade, reflected and gratified the growing contemporary interest in it, then the enormity of one's responsibilities, in the eyes at least of the writer in the Saturday Review becomes alarming. During the sixties, foreign places, expeditions, tours, and peoples are dealt with more extensively than any other topic. More than sixty articles appear and the range in quality may be measured by the discriminating reviewer in the Spectator. One of the Cornhill articles he instances as:

... a perfect example of "thin" writing fostered by magazines. The words are pleasant words, but there is nothing in them... **

and complains that "a tour of Holland is worthy only of 'Household Words.'" *** At the other extreme he applauds one as being a paper "worthy the careful perusal of men who know something;" **** and even acknowledges one as being capable of influencing his actions:

* "The Turkish Bath, CM, March 1861, iii, 375-384.
 ** Spectator, 7 October 1865, p.1124.
 *** Spectator, 31 October 1865, p.2693.
 **** Spectator, 7 December 1867, p.1387.

Next comes a lively article on the "Knapsack in Spain," which is not only capital reading for the month of universal travel, but will remain on the memory till the next tour is contemplated, and may seriously affect the choice of destination. *

What was in progress during the sixties was the continuation of a process which even preceded the coming of the railway and the steam packet, and persists a hundred years later -- that is the democratisation of travel. The Grand Tour had been the prerogative of the few; by the 1860's the experience of foreign travel had come within the scope of the middle classes, and, indeed, according to Mona Wilson, the foreign holiday had turned "with the help of Cook's tickets, into a scamper for the multitude." ** The portly English bourgeois, struggling with a foreign language, learned no doubt at his "Classical and Commercial Academy," and being answered in faultless English, was one of the contemporary Punch jokes; and in 1854 there had been, of course, that exposé of the middle class abroad, Richard Doyle's series of cartoons, The Foreign Tour of Brown, Jones, and Robinson. Such an extension of privilege was not always welcome then -- as it is not now -- among the

* Spectator, 7 September 1867, p.1009.

** "Travel and Holidays," Early Victorian England, ii, 312.

cognoscenti, and we meet in the periodicals, often implied, attitudes which Leslie Stephen, in his "Some Remarks on Travelling in America," makes explicit:

We may be blasés in the matter of European travel; it grows stale, flat, and unprofitable; ... and even in the ever-glorious Alps, the certainty of meeting Brown, Jones, and Robinson in the most hidden recesses of ice and rock is rather damping to one's enthusiasm ... Europe, in short, has been so overrun that the most improbable result of travelling in a country is to see anything of the natives; for the cosmopolitan race of guides, hotel-keepers, and valets de place, who gather round the traveller as barnacles fix upon the timber of a ship, wards off all contact with the genuine population ... The grand tour of the present day is a trip through America to San Francisco, and thence by Australia, Japan, and China, to India, and back by the Holy Land. *

We can read much the same opinions expressed by G.H. Lewes in an essay "The Opera in 1833-1863," where he sees the wider appeal of the opera resulting from the

enormous diffusion of wealth, bringing with it not only an universal increase in expenditure, but also a more strenuous ambition in all classes to emulate the style of living and share the enjoyments of the Upper Ten. **

And he sees a similar popularization in the matter of travel:

It is as with the Grand Tour formerly performed by a few of the wealthy, now the holiday of professional men, Government clerks, and shopkeepers, great

* CM, March 1869, xix, 323.

** CM, September 1863, viii, 295.

and small. In the old days there was a certain distinction attained by a visit to Paris or Florence, which is now secured only by an exploration of the Nile, or a flirtation with the Amazons of Dahomey. *

As one might expect, such growing interest and participation in foreign travel was reflected in an abundant publication of relevant articles and books. Reviewing one such book of travels, and indicating by his comments the plethora of publication, a critic in the Saturday Review wrote:

This is a somewhat better book of travels than usual. The subject is less hackneyed. The north of Europe is much less known than either the south or the east, and it has not become, in the same degree, the spoil of the professional book-maker. **

That the Cornhill, a magazine for the comfortable classes, i.e. those now able to join in the journeying, should add its considerable quota to such travel literature is understandable. The genre, however, is an inclusive one, and can comprehend a range of writing from the serious account of geographical exploration and ethnographical description to the inconsequential anecdotes of the annual holiday. The numerous articles in the Cornhill may be divided into five main categories -- those of popular ethnology, geographical discovery, personal anecdote, travel guides and Alpine

* CM, September 1863, viii, 295.

** Saturday Review, 2 March 1861, p.227.

literature. Before dealing with these various categories, however, something should be said of the contemporary rationale of travel and the annual holiday.

Rationale of the Holiday

It is not, perhaps, surprising that an age of which one scholar has said, "Except for 'God,' the most popular word in the Victorian vocabulary must have been 'work,'" * should have felt the need for a rationale of the holiday, or rather an apologia for what had become a national institution. The adult readers of the sixties, after all, were a generation who had in their youth listened to Carlyle saying:

Man is sent hither not to question, but to work: the end of man, "it was long ago written," is an Action, not a Thought," **

and were even then hearing the gospel of Work promulgated with such success by Samuel Smiles, the aim of whose Self-Help was "to stimulate youths to apply themselves diligently to right pursuits, -- sparing neither labour, pains, nor self-denial in prosecuting them, -- and to rely upon their own efforts in life ..." *** It is true that in the Saturday Review one can read a more revolutionary attitude to labour,

* W.E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, p.242.

** "Characteristics," Works, v, 22.

*** S. Smiles, Self-Help, p.9.

or what has been called the "religion of work" *:

What is the sum total of human labour but the sum total of human effort after freedom -- freedom to exist, freedom of choice, freedom not to labour? And what is civilisation but the diminution of the ratio between the labour -- the moral and physical resistance overcome -- and the freedom or immunity from labour achieved? ...

If there is one truth in the present day more certain than another, it is that the activity of the country threatens to become excessive, and that wise encouragement to rest, and resistance to the depraved appetite for the excitement of artificial and enforced activity, is more needed than loud calls to increased labour and the unnecessary contempt poured upon leisure, the amount of which within men's reach is, in fact, one measure of civilisation. **

But, in both that article and in those upon the subject which appear in the Cornhill we are made aware that the recognition of the need for holiday is comparatively recent, and that it is not recognised by all. "We are coming to understand this as a nation better than we once did," *** says one writer in the Cornhill of the need for holiday, but feels that too many people were wont

in a sneaking, contemptible sort of way to apologize for our holidays, as though

* "Properly speaking," said Carlyle, "all true Work is Religion." Quoted in N. Annan, L. Stephen, p.85. See also W.E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, pp. 242-262. R.H. Tawney, in his Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, had earlier pointed out that the virtues inculcated by religion made for success in business.

** Saturday Review, 24 June 1865, p.756.

*** CM, August 1860, ii, 242.

they were no better than small sins, delinquencies, aberrations, to be compounded for by additional labour and self-denial. *

The same writer talks of "the enemies of holiday-making -- whereof there are, I am afraid, thousands within a short distance of this Hill of Corn," whilst another writer in the Cornhill quotes many a paterfamilias as saying, "that holiday travel is, in the present day, pushed to an extreme."** Both writers refer to the sense of guilt which attached to the idea of the holiday which stemmed from a "lingering asceticism of sentiment" which "still affects our modes of thought," *** and prompts them to take some of their "most pleasant and most needful recreations with a half suspicion that they are only half right." **** It is perhaps significant that the area of the Continent which was, according to the Edinburgh Review, "appropriately styled the playground of Europe," ***** that is the Alpine region of Switzerland and Savoy, should offer neither relaxation nor sybaritic ease, but rigorous and vigorous exertion -- i.e. yet another kind of work.

* CM, August 1860, ii, 243.

** CM, September 1867, xvi, 315.

*** ibid., xvi, 318.

**** ibid., xvi, 319.

***** Edinburgh Review, July 1869, cxxx, 118.

"The Playground of Europe" was the title which Leslie Stephen chose for his collection of mountaineering papers which he published in 1871.

The justification for "a custom which has thoroughly incorporated itself with modern civilisation" is so interesting because of one contemporary view it gives of the sixties that it is worth quoting in extenso. Briefly it is that the distinctive mark of their times is that heavy demands are made upon the intellect and the nervous system, and that it is these faculties which need recruitment by the holiday:

In comparison with our great grandfathers, we are highly nervous, restless, and what they would have called "mercurial." The stress of nineteenth-century civilisation is on the brain and the nerves; and one of the sad forms in which this fact becomes visible to the eye is the melancholy vastness of such establishments as those at Colney Hatch and Hanwell. Of course the very stress under which so many break down develops the power and capacity of vastly larger numbers than succumb to it; and if in the present day there is some diminution in the muscular development of the race, there is a more than corresponding increase in its nervous development and of all that depends thereon ... The typical John Bull is fast becoming a merely legendary personage; his vegetative life and stationary habits and local prejudices are all disappearing beneath the stimulating influences of railways and telegraphs and great cities ... Our great grandfathers ate and drank, laughed and grew fat; we plan and study, labour and fret, and are nervous and thin. They took life as it came: we are more anxious to mould it to our purpose, and make it what we think it ought to be. They were content with news when it had already become history; we want to watch the history of this generation in the very process of making. They lived a life which was self-contained and satisfied; we are greedy of information,

anxious for conquest, determined to acquire. Their times are typified by the pillion and the pack-horse; ours by the telegraph and the train ... Their work was almost play compared with ours; business of all kinds was steadier and quieter, politics were less exacting and exhausting, literature was rather a pursuit than a profession, and even divinity was duller. It may be that our pleasures are more refined than theirs were, but they are of a more exciting character; we take them in a busier and more bustling way, and tire of them sooner. Hence our greater need of change of scene and surrounding. Travel was only a luxury to them, but it has become a necessity to us. *

Such thinking has a curiously modern note.

The justification for the holiday soon becomes the justification for travel, for not only is rest needed, but also change -- there is, therefore, one author writes, "not only a profound necessity for holidays, but a reason equally good why we can never take our holidays at home." ** This need for change of environment, for "change of scene, and

* "Off for the Holidays," CM, September 1867, xvi, 315-316. This kind of thinking can be found in various other periodicals; that this layman's opinion also accorded with received medical reasoning may be seen from a Cornhill article on insanity, written by a doctor, "First Beginnings," April 1862, v, 483:

In this age, when the race is neck and neck, and the struggle for life is ever straining men's minds to the breaking-point ... is it to be wondered at, that the mental fibre becomes weakened and unable to resist the strain of any great excitement, or further process of exhaustion?

** CM, September 1867, xvi, 317. For a rationale of travel see "Vacation Tourists," Macmillan's Magazine, May 1861, iv, 92-96.

change of air, and change of action," * is stressed and even elevated to "the law of the body's wholeness, [and] of the mind's health." ** And frequently the assumption is that the travel will be foreign:

The High Court of Parliament sets the example, removes itself from the sphere of our weekly prayers, and diffuses itself over vast expanses of country, in quest of new wisdom and new strength, and plentiful amusement, which is both. Then Justice takes the bandage from her eyes, lays down her scales, tucks up her flowing robes, and girds herself for a walking tour half-way over Europe, with a pipe in her mouth. The Exchange quickly follows suit. Commerce grows a moustache, assumes the wide-awake, goes sketching on the Rhine, and draws pictures of Ehrenbreitstein, instead of bills of exchange. ***

Of course assumptions are also made that the readers of the Cornhill will be among those to whom the critic in the Saturday Review referred in his opening sentence of a review of a book about the Alps:

Now that so large and important a section of the comfortable part of the community are going, or going to go, to Switzerland ... ****

However, one writer in the Cornhill does extend his plea for holidays; he would have the holiday enjoyed not only by the affluent, but also by their menials -- by servants, and artisans, and labourers:

* CM, August 1860, ii, 248.

** CM, September 1867, xvi, 318.

*** CM, August 1860, ii, 242.

**** Saturday Review, 5 September 1863, p.332.

Are holidays only for heads of families -- masters or mistresses, as the case may be -- and for the dumb animals who serve them? There are those, I know, who think them sheer impertinences, and esteem it dire presumption in menials to ask for holidays, even to see their parents and their little brothers and sisters, a few miles off. *

For his part he rejoices in the facilities which the railway offers to the domestic and less affluent traveller, and, although we today may find his tone a little patronising, his concern is obviously sincere:

It is no small thing that in these times a toil-worn artisan may transport himself from the stifling alley or the reeking court in which he lives, to the fresh, breezy coast of Brighton, for half-a-crown, and be carried home again for nothing ... There is nothing pleasanter than the sight of a railway-train freighted with excursionists outward-bound, all radiant with the expectation of a day's pleasure ... I hear people who can take their month's holiday when they like, and travel by express trains, and get up expensive outfits for the occasion, with all sorts of elaborate contrivances suggestive of nothing less than an expedition into Central Africa, sneer at these excursions, as things snobbish; but it seems to me that the sneerers are the real snobs, and that I have seen, in first-class carriages, extensively got-up holiday-makers of both sexes, far more vulgar because more pretentious, than the poor little Pippas of the silk mills treated by their admiring swains to half-a-crown's worth of fresh air and green leaves in the pleasant country. **

When the same writer hopes that when "Hand goes to

* CM, August 1860, ii, 245.

** ibid., ii, 248.

Rye House, and Head to Wisebaden" each will be "equally benefited by the change," * he touches upon a feature of the contemporary rationale of the holiday that must have appeased even a Samuel Smiles. These writers are not recommending the holiday for the mere pleasure-seekers to whom the Saturday Review refers:

There are thousands and hundreds of thousands of men and women in England who have apparently no other object whatever in life than to amuse themselves; and as the country grows wealthier every day, this class grows larger and larger ... **

but for those workers, by hand and by brain, who will return to their labour refreshed, and ready for renewed and perhaps even greater exertion:

We come back to our duties none the worse, but much the better, for having indulged in them; and though, as we return to the old associations, the cares and responsibilities return to meet us, and the old burden waits to be taken up again, we take the burden upon strengthened shoulders, and meet the stress of circumstances with freshened minds. The body's wholeness and the mind's elasticity have both been restored, and we are recreated and renewed. ***

* CM, August 1860, ii, 249.

** Saturday Review, 8 April 1865, p.397.

*** CM, September 1867, xvi, 318.

See Saturday Review, 30 March 1861, p.321:

... how absolute a necessity the summer holiday of Englishmen has become, and how much we owe to the mountainous regions which year by year send us back our ablest and most valuable workers with a new lease of health and strength for further exertion.

Holidays and travel were, after all, not a matter of idleness but a serious undertaking; Leslie Stephen, who sometimes wrote in the Cornhill under the pseudonym of "Cynic," insisted upon the benefits of travel, not in his case as regards health, but as regards the intellectual edification of the traveller who will return, he hopes, "with his mental horizon permanently widened, and a clearer perception of the bearing of many important and social changes at home." *

Travel in the Alps

Writing of Mountaineering in 1861 by John Tyndall, scientist and committed Alpine climber and author, a critic in the Saturday Review said, "Alpine books ... are as inexhaustible in their possible variety as the Alps themselves. They may be made to suit every capacity and every taste;" ** certainly the articles which appeared in the Cornhill of the sixties made three distinct appeals -- to the aesthete, the athlete, and the tourist. Explicitly referred to in the first two kinds of article, John Ruskin's influence is felt even in those making their appeal to the tourists, persons he despised as being those whose

objects in travelling will be, first, to get as fast as possible from place to place, and, secondly, at every place where they arrive, to obtain the kind

* CM, March 1869, xix, 339.

** Saturday Review, 31 May 1862, p.627.

of accommodation and amusement to which they are accustomed in Paris, London, Brighton, or Baden. *

J.A. Symonds's article, "The Love of the Alps," is a deeply felt explanation of his passionate affection for Alpine country, and has various similarities to the last two chapters in the fourth volume of Ruskin's Modern Painters which had been published eleven years before. In Ruskin we read:

For, to myself, mountains are the beginning and the end of all natural scenery; in them, and in the forms of inferior forms of landscape that lead to them, my affections are wholly bound up; **

Symonds declares his love less soberly:

But neither Rome nor the Riviera wins our hearts like Switzerland. We do not lie awake in London thinking of them; we do not long so intensely, as the year comes round, to revisit them. Our affection is less a passion than that which we cherish for Switzerland. ***

Both men discuss the attraction of the mountains in history, and both acknowledge the inspirational and religious power of mountain scenery. To Ruskin the Alps are at once the "schools and cathedrals" of the human race, "Quiet in pale cloisters for the thinker, glorious in holiness for the

* Modern Painters, Works (ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn), iv, 455.

** ibid., iv, 418.

*** CFI, July 1867, xvi, 24.

worshipper." * In his article Symonds makes quite clear that he is happy, too, to let Nature be his teacher:

Some of the most solemn moments of life are spent high up above among the mountains, on the barren tops of rocky passes, where the soul has seemed to hear in solitude a low controlling voice. It is almost necessary for the development of our deepest affections that some sad and sombre moments should be interchanged with hours of merriment and elasticity. **

And in a passage in which religious terms are so evident, Symonds reveals the strength of his emotional attachment to the Alps:

A photograph of Bisson's, the name of some well-known valley, the picture of some Alpine plant, rouses the sacred hunger in our souls, and stirs again the faith in beauty and in rest beyond ourselves which no man can take from us. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to everything which enables us to rise above depressing and enslaving circumstances, which brings us nearer in some way or other to what is eternal in the universe, and which makes us feel that, whether we live or die, suffer or enjoy, life and gladness are still strong in the world. On this account, the proper attitude of the soul among the Alps is one of reverential

* Modern Painters, Works (ed. E.T.Cook and A. Wedderburn), iv, 425.

** CM, July 1867, xvi, 28.

silence. *

There is of course a difference of tone between the writings of the two men, and a significant difference of attitude appears when J.A. Symonds celebrates the isolation and the escape which the Alps afford him:

Perhaps it is our modern tendency to "individualism" which makes the Alps so much to us. Society is there reduced to a vanishing point, -- no claims are made on human sympathies, -- there is no need to toil in yoke-service with our fellows. We may be alone, dream our dreams, and sound the depths of personality without the reproach of selfishness, without a restless wish to join in action or money-making, or the pursuit of fame. **

That J.A. Symonds is voicing feelings to which his readers could to some extent respond is no doubt true; *** that for him the Alps fulfilled a particular and powerful need is made clear by Phyllis Grosskurth in her John Addington Symonds:

In 1866 he wrote an essay, "The Love of the Alps," in which Ruskin's emotional demands, his own conflict about the law, and his anxiety to make his father proud

- * CM, July 1867, xvi, 28-29.
One suspects that Symonds would have joined with Ruskin who "criticised Stephen for the sacrilege of smoking a pipe on the top of a peak." N. Annan, Leslie Stephen, p.81.
- ** CM, July 1867, xvi, 27.
- *** The writer in the Illustrated London News, 6 July 1867, p.11, found the views reasonable enough:
The rationale of our admiration of Alpine scenery is the theme of another essayist, who has condensed the essence of many eloquent rhapsodies into a few sensible paragraphs.

of him, all coalesce in a longing to escape to the peace of the Alps ... *

It was not only the tourist in the Alps whom Ruskin despised; he had written disparagingly in Modern Painters of "our modern experimental or exploring activity, and habit of regarding mountains chiefly as places for gymnastic exercise." ** He is even more withering in his comments in Sesame and Lilies (1865) when he talks of the activities of the mountain-climbers and refers to:

the Alps themselves, which your own poets used to love so reverently, you look upon as soaped poles in a bear-garden, which you set yourselves to climb and slide down again, with "shrieks of delight" ... ***

Ruskin thus expressed his disdain of the activities of the Alpine mountaineers; the writer in the Saturday Review, one of many such critics, **** sounded the note of weariness at hearing so much of the pursuits of these sportsmen:

We have heard almost as much as we wish to hear about Peaks and Passes ... For the most part, men now start for the Alps, not to ramble at their ease wherever their fancy leads them, not to choose the spots of richest beauty, but to scramble, without looking right or left, over a succession of dreary "Cols" in half an hour or less than

* P. Grosskurth, John Addington Symonds, p.107.

** Modern Painters, Works (ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn), iv, 458.

*** Sesame and Lilies, Works (ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn), xviii, 89-90.

**** For example, a reviewer in the Westminster Review, January 1864, xxv(NS), 253, writes of "the somewhat monotonous details of Alpine Climbing. Perhaps nothing is so difficult to convey as the enjoyment and exhilaration attendant on those otherwise somewhat purposeless feats."

the shortest time in which the feat was performed last year. The natural result is that professional mountaineers in Switzerland are now about as numerous as cricket professionals at home. *

It is of such criticisms, and especially those of Ruskin, that Leslie Stephen is very much aware in his "Regrets of a Mountaineer," first published in the Cornhill. Although there had been pioneers like Albert Smith ** who had been climbing in the forties, mountaineering in the Alps did not begin to be more generally popular until the fifties when the French railways reached Basel and Geneva, and Switzerland became about a day's journey from London, at a fare of less than ten pounds; by 1860 the Saturday Review could write that mountaineering "seems to be obtaining general recognition as one of our national sports." *** In 1857 a number of enthusiasts, mainly upper-class professional men, ****

* Saturday Review, 9 July 1864, p.58.

** Smith's course of lectures given in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, during the early fifties did much to popularise climbing in the Alps. Smith had been one of the first to make an ascent of Mont Blanc, and his account of the climb "garnished with songs, characters, and splendid illustrative views by William Beverley," formed "the staple of a monologue given by him at the Egyptian Hall." See E. Yates, His Recollections and Experiences, i, 226-227. *** 12 October 1860, p.449.

**** Quoting unpublished material, Noel Annan in his Leslie Stephen, p.298, says that of the 432 members, 149 were lawyers, 103 business men, 70 dons and schoolmasters, 37 clergymen, 31 officers of the navy or the army, and 30 civil servants.

formed the Alpine Club to which Leslie Stephen was elected, and of which he became President in 1865. * It was two years later that Stephen published in the Cornhill his defence of mountaineering in which he takes up, as a rhetorical device, the position of one who is now "debarred -- it matters not how -- from mountaineering;" it is a dramatic pose since he was long to continue climbing.

Written with his customary wit, Stephen's paper in the Cornhill is a serious answer to Ruskin's charges which he outlines when he says that some critics put the mountaineer's pleasure

on a level with the passion for climbing greased poles. They think it derogatory to the due dignity of Mont Blanc that he should be used as a greased pole, and assure us that the true pleasures of the Alps are those within the reach of the old and the invalids, who can only creep about villages and along high-roads... Our critics admit

* The comments of the Edinburgh Review, July 1869, cxxx, 121, on the Alpine Club are worth quoting:

The formation of the Alpine Club was the natural result of the great modern irruption of choice and daring spirits into the magnificent regions which have now become familiar to English mountaineers; and that this society should be founded in London, and should consist of British adventurers, was equally natural and reasonable. There are gentlemen in London and in the provinces at this day who are better acquainted with the high Alps than most men born under their shadow; and, as Swiss guides have confessed, the natives would never have climbed the highest peaks or dared the most perilous passes except in company with our countrymen, and fired with their enthusiasms. The very flower of British strength and manhood has disported itself in these exploits ...

that we have a pleasure; but assert that it is a puerile pleasure -- that it leads to an irreverent view of mountain beauty, and to oversight of that which should really most impress a refined and noble mind. *

Stephen's answer makes two important points. The first is that mountaineering is a sport which like other sports "brings one into contact with the sublimest aspects of nature, and, without setting their enjoyment before one as an ultimate end or aim, helps one indirectly to absorb and be penetrated by their influence." ** That such sportsmen do not indulge in "fine writing" about their activities is due to a diffidence and humility that recognises that it "is not everyone who can with impunity compare the Alps to archangels." Hence,

They affect something like cynicism; they mix descriptions of scenery with allusions to fleas or to bitter beer; they shrink with the prevailing dread of Englishmen from the danger of overstepping the limits of the sublime into its proverbial opposite... and it seems rather hard to these luckless writers when people assume that, because they make jokes on a mountain, they are necessarily insensible to its awful sublimities. A sense of humour is not incompatible with imaginative sensibility; and even Wordsworth might have been an equally powerful prophet of nature if he could sometimes have descended from his

* CM, November 1867, xvi, 540.
One of the Ruskin passages being referred to has already been quoted; the other is: "The real beauty of the Alps is to be seen, and seen only, where all may see it, the child, the cripple, the man of grey hairs." Sesame and Lilies, Works (ed. E.T. Cooke and A. Wedderburn), xviii, 25.

** CM, November 1867, xvi, 541.

stilts. *

The mountaineer, and this is Stephen's second argument, may be reticent about his emotional and aesthetic experiences, but in fact he alone can know those qualities which make for sublimity; if it be the size, the steepness, and the apparent inaccessibility of the mountains which exert their special influence upon men, then it is the mountaineer who is most open to receive their impressions "with tenfold force and intensity." The merit, he writes,

of mountaineering is that it enables one to have what theologians would call an experimental faith in the size of mountains; to substitute a real living faith for a dead intellectual assent. **

Stephen may reject Ruskin's strictures about the mountaineers, but in his Cornhill article he is equally fierce about the tourists, a huge swarm of whom, according to the Saturday Review followed the early pioneers -- "spreading, as some think, civilisation; or, as others would consider it, vulgarising even the regions of the eternal snow." *** In the Cornhill Stephen talks of the fashion "to go and 'see the glaciers'":

Ladies in costumes, heavy German professors, Americans doing the Alps at a gallop, Cook's tourists, and other varieties of a well-known genus, go off in schools and see -- what?--a

* ibid.

** CM, November 1867, xvi, 545.

*** Saturday Review, 18 February 1865, p.206.

gigantic mass of ice, strangely torn with a few of the exquisite blue crevasses, but defiled and in dirt and ruins. *

But he defies even the worst efforts of the tourists to diminish the grandeur of the Alps:

Innumerable tourists have done all that tourists can do to cocknify (if that is the right derivative from cockney) the scenery, but, like the Pyramids or a Gothic cathedral, it throws off the taint of vulgarity by its imperishable majesty. Even on turf strewn with sandwich-papers and empty bottles, even in the presence of hideous peasant-women singing "stand-er auf" for five centimes, we cannot but feel the influence of the scenery. **

The other two articles which would make an appeal to the mountaineer, in fact or in fancy, among the readers of the Cornhill do not concern themselves with any justification for the sport. One of them, "The Art of Alpine Travel," *** deals with practical advice for the would-be climber, and discourses upon such technical matters as crampons, boot-nails, the skills of bivouacking, and blisters. The other, "A Night on the Ortler Spitz," **** is something of an exemplum to the theories expounded in the "Art of Alpine Travel," and describes the hardships involved in being

* CM, November 1867, xvi, 550.

** ibid., xvi, 543.

*** CM, August 1862, vi, 206-216.

**** CM, October 1866, 480-486.

This kind of article was appearing elsewhere. See for instance, "My First Glacier Pass," Macmillan's Magazine, September 1863, viii, 390-398.

trapped by storm on the top of the Ortler Spitz. In the article we are reminded both of Ruskin, with this description of the feelings evoked by the scenery:

Sunset now drew near, and the mountains presented an astonishing scene. A huge black curtain of cloud appeared to be drawn across the upper part of the heavens, below which the myriad peaks around literally glowed like spires of lurid flame rising out of a sea of gold. The scene was awful in the extreme, and pen or pencil could never adequately represent the strange and exciting spectacle which displayed itself to our gaze. *

and of Stephen, with the reticence of the last sentence in this extract:

We could not move forward lest we should fall over the precipice which lay beneath; we could not sleep, for there was no place to lie down in; and we dared not sleep leaning against the rock, as it involved the danger of tumbling over also. We could not walk backwards and forwards, so as to keep ourselves warm with exercise, because the shelf we were on sloped so much, and the loose stones under our feet rolled down the height at every step. We had no food, no drink, no light, and our clothes were saturated with wet by the constant dripping from the rock over us. We were altogether in a most unenviable position. **

Thus the Cornhill catered for and reflected the Alpine interest of the aesthete and the athlete; mention must be made of two other articles concerned with the Alps for they

* CM, October 1866, xiv, 482.

** ibid., xiv, 483.

describe climbing experiences more obviously within the scope of the ordinary, if more adventurous tourist. Both describe the excursions of two sisters and a brother who indulge in what, as the author of both articles says, "foreigners know as the English mania for wandering and mounting." * In the first article, "How we slept at the chalet des chèvres," the two sisters take advantage of the arrival of their brother to persuade "the prudent heads of the family" to allow them to sleep in a deserted chalet on the summit of the Jura. With great detail the adventures of their ascent and night in the rough surroundings are described, and despite a certain laborious humour and a predilection for the polysyllable the account has a charm which stems from the conveyed sense of obvious delight in the novelty of their experiences. Certainly it indicates the physical stamina and prowess of the two women ** who are shown in the accompanying and charming engraving dressed in a seemly but inappropriate fashion; the brother thus refers to one sister:

M. had a weakness for performing all her excursions in a roomy crinoline, and it had been an amusement to A. and G. the whole time to watch the peculiar forms into which

* CM, September 1863, viii, 317.
 The Saturday Review, 14 September 1861, p.274, maintained that "Englishmen are distinguished among the nations of the earth as pedestrianising animals."

** See Saturday Review, 17 May 1862, p.567:
 Mountain climbing has fully earned the right to rank among the established amusements of Englishmen -- we may almost add of Englishwomen.

the inflated petticoats were driven by the superincumbent weight of the copper tea-pot, slung, as has been said, under the skirts of her dress. *

In the second article, "How we mounted the Oldenhorn," the athletic ambition is greater, for, inspired by the news that two Englishwomen had earlier climbed the Oldenhorn, these two sisters determined to emulate them. There is the same account of the difficulties encountered en route, and this time of the hardships of sleeping in an inhabited chalet.

Like Stephen's typical mountaineer, the author makes his "allusions to fleas," but the purpose of these adventures, if not the fact of the climbing, would have been sympathetically viewed by Ruskin. On both occasions they seek the sunrise. In "How we slept at the chalet des chèvres," the sunrise, which is so impressive that one sister even neglects the embroidery that she had so prudently taken with her, prompts the following observations:

With more of awe than they cared to confess, and in silence which they almost dared not break, the three adventurers turned at length to the hut which had afforded them so kindly a shelter. It required some effort to shake off the feeling that oppressed them; and all felt a certain relief when a few light words, and a palpable return to the more commonplace circumstances of their position, expelled the overpowering reality of a too great beauty. It has never come back upon them in its full force; perhaps never will do so: the human mind is not capable of retaining a living recollection of a scene whose loveliness is divine; the

* CM, September 1863, viii, 324.

utmost that can remain in the memory is the consciousness that at one period of existence a beauty too great for comprehension has stirred the soul, too pure for words ... *

The author, a clergyman, turns naturally, or perhaps professionally, to religious imagery when he describes the sunrise from the Oldenhorn, giving ample evidence that he at least did not hesitate to try his hand at "fine writing":

The mountains clothed from base to barrier in glacial dress looked like some white-clad early Christian crowd at baptismal Easter-tide, raising the clasped hands of prayer and adoration; with here one and there springing up in the eager attitude of praise, and seeking with aspiring palms enveloped in the bright garments of the new birth, to grasp the incomprehensible, to attain the infinite. And the answering rays came down with abiding softness, and played as it were lovingly around the adoring head and on the hands of prayer; and they sweetly lighted up the ascribing palms with divine phosphorescence. And the spotless virgin in pure Cistercian garb of jewelled ice and snow, at whose voice when raised in wrath the Wengern Alp is seen to tremble, and the rugged Carmelite at her side from beneath his concealing cowl, renewed evermore their worship and their vows; and the ministering Engel-hörner softly lurked behind. **

He should perhaps have contented himself with "flea and bitter beer;" his attempt to "bend the Ruskinian bow" proved to be clearly beyond his strength.

* CM, September 1863, viii, 330.

** CM, June 1864, ix, 713.

For the Tourist

If the Cornhill reader was not an Alpine enthusiast then he could enjoy many articles about alternative places to which he might travel -- France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Near East; the attractions of all these countries are, at some time during the decade, celebrated in the magazine. Indeed so numerous are these articles relating to foreign travel that editorial policy must have assumed an almost insatiable demand among the readers of the Cornhill for such writing; * one wonders, however, if some of the readers did not sympathise occasionally with the attitude expressed by a critic in the Saturday Review when he said of one traveller:

he may certainly have had a very agreeable trip; but we cannot admit that he has acquired a right to increase the quantity of existing literature. **

It has already been pointed that in the eyes of the critic in the Spectator these articles about travel varied considerably in quality, and to-day the significance of many of them is merely that they contribute to a total which itself

* A similar assumption is made in Macmillan's Magazine during the same period.

** Saturday Review, 4 November 1865, p.588.

demonstrates that a keen interest in foreign travel was deemed to be an attribute of the middle class reader of the period. However, such a body of writing deserves a little more than a cursory dismissal, and it is worthwhile to indicate something of the nature of this material by a reference to three papers which make differing appeals.

The first is the article which, as we have seen, was approved of by the critic in the Spectator, "The Knapsack in Spain;" it is similarly applauded in the Illustrated London News, whose standards, incidentally, never seem quite so demanding as those of the Spectator and the Saturday Review, as "charmingly written and capitally illustrated." The article is written against a background of assumptions about the hazards and discomforts of travelling in Spain which the author seeks to dispel; after all, even the

diligence is now obsolete. Except Granada, there is no place of any importance which is not to be reached by rail; and at Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Granada, Malaga, Cordova, Cadiz -- in fact at every town which has a place in the regular Spanish tour -- he will find hotels quite as civilised as those of France, Italy, or Germany, and in which he runs just about as much risk of being poisoned with the garlic and rancid oil we are told of as at the Trois Frères. *

The ambition of his article is, however, not to recommend Spain to those who wish to find the benefits of London

* CM, August 1867, xvi, 163.

civilisation in the Sierras, but to anyone who "does not mind such an amount of 'roughing it' as, with the aid of moderate endurance, good indigestion, and a packet of Keatings's insect-destroyer, will serve as a sauce piquante to his pleasure." *

In an article on the Turkish Bath we are told of the well-to-do Englishman who thinks "everything in England is better than anything abroad, and the result of his travels is that he feels more strongly the true value of the institutions of his own country, and the comforts of his home." ** The Spanish traveller does not seek the confirmation of his prejudices, but enjoys the appreciation of the experience of different places and people which his travels offer him. Indeed, what he seems particularly proud of is not the superior civilisation of his own country, but the reputation for eccentricity which his fellow-countrymen enjoy. The traveller on foot, he says, will probably excite surprise and some curiosity, but

fortunately even in the remotest nooks of the Peninsula it is now pretty well understood that the English are an eccentric people, having peculiar ideas on the subject of pleasure; and at the worst, when his nationality is known, he will be set down as a "loco" from the distant Thule where "the men are as mad as he." ***

* CM, August 1867, xvi, 162.

** CM, March 1861, iii, 375.

*** CM, August 1867, xvi, 166.

For this eccentric Englishman the author is ready enough with information that will make his journey more fruitful. For instance, the "bota," as indispensable to the traveller in Spain as the umbrella to the Londoner, receives attention:

Some authorities advise a course of aguardiente by way of seasoning, which is apt to have the effect of replacing the honest taste of leather by the sickly flavour of aniseed; but a thorough soaking in many waters, followed by a discipline of rough wine, will generally suffice to correct the peculiar bouquet of old boots which hangs about a bota fresh from the shop. *

Obviously what the critic in the Spectator said of another travel article appearing in the Cornhill - that it was written "in the half-serious style which is happily disappearing, but still full of keen and not unkindly observation" ** -- can be applied to "The Knapsack in Spain." We can but hope that the readers in the Cornhill would, unlike perhaps the reviewer in the Spectator, welcome and not disparage the amusement afforded by the description of the patients at the mineral spa at Lanjaron:

Whatever their ailments may be, the sufferers have that look of placid contentment which is observable in all mineral-water patients, and breakfast and dine with the healthy appetite which seems to be incidental to debility. In the morning they turn out and go through the ceremony of drinking the waters with amazing

* CM, August 1867, xvi, 164-165.

** Spectator, 10 July 1869, p.825.

gravity, and in the evening they stroll on the Granada road, or lounge under the orange-trees, and watch the sunset with that tranquil enjoyment of life which belongs to a disorganised system and an entire immunity from all worldly cares. *

His tone becomes more solemn, however, when he arranges his singing robes about him for a set-piece description of the scenery:

But the hard morning's work in the scrambling way would be well repaid by the view which either of these summits commands. In the first place there is the Corral de la Veleta, as the chasm is called, which seems almost to open under the climber's feet as he tops the highest crags. The first impression conveyed is perhaps that of the crater of an extinct volcano, or of one of the cirques of the Pyrenæes, with its natural grimness intensified a hundredfold. But such similitudes are far too mundane to be entirely satisfactory. The spot is altogether too weird and mysterious to be connected with any commonplace convulsion of nature. It seems rather to be the socket out of which some frantic Titan has torn up a mighty peak by the roots. It is a place where Dante might have made studies for the scenery of the Inferno, where Faust and Mephistopheles might have held revelry with witches, or Frankenstein's monster sought a retreat. **

This excursion into literature to enrich a description is a technique which is found extensively used in the second article, "On the Cornice," which is one of several

* CM, August 1867, xvi, 170.

** ibid., xvi, 172-173.

articles about the Continent which J.A. Symonds contributed to the magazine. Indeed, in an article of eleven pages describing the scenery and setting of Mentone and San Remo, Symonds manages to include references to Petrarch, Shelley, Lucan, Theocritus, Empedocles, St. Augustine, and even Paley! The article, whilst demonstrating the well-stocked literary mind, and a keen sense of the past, is a strange mixture. It takes as its starting point the personal experience of "a dull afternoon in February when we left Nice, and drove across the mountains to Mentone," * and includes passages of sensitive descriptions of natural scenery, but so often his experiences are seen through the spectacles of books:

Through lemon groves, -- pale, golden,
tender trees, -- and olives, stretching
their grey boughs against the lonely
cottage tiles, we climbed, until we
reached the pines and heath above. Then
I knew the meaning of Theocritus for the
first time ... **

To further distinguish this article beyond the pedestrian and anecdotal account of personal experience is Symonds's theme, suggested by his observations, of the contrast between ancient Greek and mediaeval modes of regarding Nature:

* CM, November 1866, xiv, 536.

** ibid.

Both Greeks and monks, judged by nineteenth-century standards, were very unobservant of natural beauties. They make but brief and general remarks upon landscapes and the like ... But the Greeks stopped at the threshold of Nature; the forces they found there, the gods, were inherent in Nature, and distinct. They did not, like the monks, place one spiritual power, omnipotent and omnipresent, above all, and see in Nature lessons of divine goodness. Since Paley somewhat over-strained the latter point of view, we have returned vaguely to Greek fancies. Perhaps we talk so much about scenery because it is scenery to us, and the life has gone out of it. *

There is a hint of nostalgia for the past, and criticism of the materialised present in the last sentence which is further demonstrated in:

We who have lost sight of the invisible world, who set our affections more on things of earth, fancy that because these monks despised the world, and did not write about its landscapes, therefore they were dead to its beauty ... This is mere vanity. **

The third article, "A Holiday in Venice," by Miss Isa Blagden, is perhaps an example of the genre at its weakest, and is marked by a determination to convey the nature of her delight by the frequent use of superlatives. Nothing, we are assured, is more beautiful than the Piazza St. Marco, and some of the architectural splendours "would have ravished the soul of a connoisseur," -- in fact, "this city took possession of heart and mind and memory as

* CM, November 1866, xiv, 547.

** ibid., xiv, 546.

none other has ever done." * The article offers information about history, art and literature, and even the virtues of Venice as a health-centre are celebrated:

It is this silence and this absolute freedom from dust which makes Venice such a boon to hypochondriacal or neuralgic patients. **

Writing in an essay, under the title of "Tourists," an author in the Saturday Review states:

Now it is a very useful step in a man's education to learn that some foreign nations are really very large collections of mankind, spread over a considerable territory, and overspread by a complicated network of interests. ***

"A Holiday in Venice," and other such articles may have helped some readers of the Cornhill to take such a step, and possibly offered to others a vicarious enjoyment of foreign travel; **** any thing more elevating or entertaining can hardly be claimed for them.

Geographical Discovery

Of the three other kinds of travel article, some comment will be made on those concerned with geographical discovery and popular ethnology; the nature of the third kind, that of personal anecdote, under such headings as

* CM, October 1865, xii, 442.

** ibid., xii, 447.

*** Saturday Review, 9 September 1865, p.324.

**** As a reviewer in Macmillan's said of Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860 (ed. F. Galton):

... no reader of the volume can help enjoying by proxy some of the tours it describes ...
Macmillan's, May 1861, iv, 93.

"A Kangaroo Drive," * and "My Experiences in a Greek Quarantine," ** is sufficiently indicated by the titles. The middle of the nineteenth century was a comparatively rich period of discovery, especially in Africa. Men like du Chaillu, Speke, Burton, Livingstone, Palgrave, Sturt and Stuart -- men whose names and exploits have lived into our own century -- were exploring in Africa, Arabia, and Australia, and extending the frontiers of known and mapped territory. Their activities were noticed at length in the quarterlies, *** and Macmillan's Magazine devoted a number of articles to such matters as Baker's exploration of the Nile sources, and other African discoveries, and also to the work of Eyre in Australia; **** the Cornhill, however, despite the space given over the decade to travel articles, prints only three which deal with this kind of pioneering travel.

One of them was mentioned in the first chapter when the articles which appeared in the first number were discussed: "The Search for Sir John Franklin" was the

* CM, December 1866, xiv, 735-746.

** CM, February 1866, xiii, 173-183.

*** See, for example, "Palgrave's Arabia," Edinburgh Review October 1865, cxxii, 482-517; and "Baker's Exploration of the Albert Nyanza," Edinburgh Review, July 1866, cxxiv, 151-184.

**** The magazine published such articles as:
 "African Discovery," May 1861, iv, 63-74.¹⁸⁶⁵
 "Palgrave's Travels in Arabia," September, xii,
 386-397.

account by Allen Young, a member of the expedition, of the last and successful attempt to discover what had happened to Sir John Franklin who, with all members of his expedition, had not returned from his voyage in 1847. As has been pointed out, the expedition, which included the exploration of what has come to be known as the M'Clintock Channel, and the completion of the discovery of the Prince of Wales Island, captured the interest of the public, as such exploits have continued to do, and Captain M'Clintock's A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin, published late in 1859, achieved considerable success. No doubt one of the contributory reasons for the public interest was the involvement in the enterprise of Lady Franklin, an enterprise which was to prove her a widow; it was an involvement to which Young thus refers:

It was then that Lady Franklin (who had already sent out three expeditions) urged again that the search should be continued, and that our countrymen should not thus be left to their fate; but although her appeal was backed by the most competent officers, the season of 1856 passed away without endeavours to clear up the mystery; and determining that another year should not be lost in vain entreaties, Lady Franklin once more undertook the responsibilities and the expenses of a final effort to rescue our long lost sailors from their perhaps living death among the Esquimaux, or to follow up their footsteps in their last journey upon earth, and to give to the world the scientific results of the expedition for which those gallant men had given up their

lives. *

Young's article in the Cornhill is of a kind which must have helped to gratify for the readers of the magazine their interest in the expedition. Told in a direct and unaffected way, it takes its worthy place among such writings which stretch to our own day via the work of men like Scott and Cherry-Garrard. With its informative detail and solidity of specification the writing has that effective simplicity which was so noticeably lacking in an article like "A Holiday in Venice." He talks, for instance, thus of the coming of the summer towards the end of the journey:

The summer burst upon us; water was pouring down all the ravines, and flooding the ice in the harbour, and with extreme satisfaction we saw the snow houses and ice-hummocks melting in the now never-setting sun. A joyous feeling existed throughout the ship, for our work was done, and we had only to look forward to an early release, and a return to our families and homes. **

And geographical information, and accounts of the hazards experienced are interspersed with moments such as the following when he describes the period when the crew wintered in Greenland:

* CM, January 1860, i, 96-97.
 ** ibid., i, 120.

We arrived hungry and unshaven, our faces begrimed with oil-smoke, our clothes in tatters; the good women of Holsteinberg worked and washed for us, repaired our sadly disreputable wardrobes, danced for us, sang to us, and parted from us with tears and a few little presents by way of souvenirs, as if we could ever forget them. *

The article has the authentic ring, and certainly justified the editor's opinion of which, as we have seen, Sir Henry Thompson wrote to Thackeray's daughter:

... he thought every man, whatever his profession, might be able to tell something about it which no one else could say, provided the writer could write at all. **

Another article which is related, rather tenuously one must admit, to pioneering travel is that entitled "Camp Life in Abyssinia;" it responded to the considerable public interest which was evoked by the military expedition of an army of 12,000 men into the heart of a little known country. Macmillan's Magazine, which devoted four lengthy and serious articles to the expedition, thus refers to its

* CM, January 1860, i, 107.

** Centenary Biographical Introductions, XVIII, xxxvi. It is worth mentioning that Allen Young contributed another article, similarly effective, "Voyage of the 'Diana' Whaler of Hull, in the Year 1866-67," based upon information "given by the survivors and from the journals of the surgeon and the ship's log book." The article, CM, June 1867, xv, 748-760, tells of the hazards of the whaling industry in the northern regions of the Davis Straits, and the trials of the crew when their ship became ice-bound.

occasion:

Never was the cause of quarrel more just, nor the work to be done more distinctly marked out, than in this British expedition against the robber who detains an English consul and his secretary, and the whole suite of an English mission, in chains, in the heart of Abyssinia. Seldom, so far as we can judge, was a task of this nature more feasible. *

Macmillan's prints four articles by Clement R. Markham, Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society and Geographer to the expedition; the Cornhill published one personal and anecdotal account by G.A. Henty, who accompanied the expedition as a correspondent, though the article seems to imply that he is a serving soldier. Henty soon established the features of the expedition with which he intends to deal -- i.e. "the actual routine of camp life, the food we eat, and the way we live" ** -- for he feels that the

public are kept so thoroughly informed by the despatches of the authorities, and by the letters of the special correspondents, as to the general progress of this expedition, and the main features of the people and country through which we are passing, that any details upon these subjects would appear to be quite superfluous. ***

He writes instead of the privations of the march, the restricted nature of tent life, and seasons his account with

* Macmillan's Magazine, "The Abyssinian Expedition," March 1868, xvii, 435.

** CM, June 1868, xvii, 696.

*** ibid.

some criticism of the army authorities and the commissariat; obviously his experiences were to provide future copy, and one feels that the article might well have been called "With Napier to Magdala."

"Camp Life in Abyssinia" was found by a reviewer in the Illustrated London News to be "a racy and amusing sketch."* That the Cornhill could also include the more serious account of geographical discoveries is demonstrated by the appearance of "Recent Discoveries in Australia," by Francis Galton, scientist, climber, writer and friend of Leslie Stephen. The article is of the kind which no doubt appealed to that interest which had made the Geographical Society, though of comparatively recent date, take "high rank among the scientific institutions of this country." ** The author gives a summary of the pioneering work of such men as Gregory and Stuart, who had explored unknown territory in Australia, and completes his essay with a more detailed and stirring account of the "greatest, and the most tragical of all Australian explorations -- that of Burke." *** Burke was the first person to cross Australia from south to north, but stirring though the tale is, as told in the Cornhill, of the expedition, the importance of his work was later considered to

* Illustrated London News, 6 June 1868, p.558.

** Edinburgh Review, October 1860, cxii, 296.

*** CM, March 1862, v, 359.

be slight:

The scientific results of this journey were small in comparison with the resources expended, and Burke and Wills hardly stand in the front rank as explorers. They owe their fame more to their tragic deaths than to their geographical achievements. *

Popular Ethnology

In an article "Recent Geographical Researches," a writer in the Edinburgh Review complains that even in 1860 "the methods of geographical instruction are too exclusively moulded" upon the conception of geography as a physical science. Instead, he insists, geography's

first and most needful office, indeed, must ever be that of an index to the living history of mankind; - a relation including all ages, and every region of the earth, whether peopled by savage or civilised life. **

It is an injunction which seems to have been heeded by the editors of the Cornhill to judge by the articles on what we may call popular ethnology which were published during the decade. There are articles such as "Witch Murders in India," W.G. Palgrave's "Turkomans," and "The Devils of Morzine." Many of these articles responded to a current interest which we can see reflected in other publications. The "Druses and Maronites,"***for instance, gives an account of the two tribes

* J.N.L. Baker, A History of Geographical Discovery and Exploration, p.430.

** Edinburgh Review, October 1860, cxii, 300.

*** Cornhill, September 1860, ii, 370-379.

in Syria and Lebanon whose enmity flared up into "those sad massacres which in 1860 drew all eyes upon Syria and the Lebanon," * and had been written of in a book by Colonel Churchill, The Druses and Maronites under Turkish Rule, 1840-1860 (1862). And "Maori Sketches," a discussion of the primitive people and their recent history, remarkable incidentally for its sympathy expressed in such terms as --

Our readers will, we think, be inclined to agree with us that the Maoris are suffering now from a surfeit of Europeanism, if we may coin the word, quite unsuited to their situation. **

-- was timely during a period of one of the New Zealand Wars. Two of these articles, "Friends in High Latitudes" and "Haberfeld Treiben in Upper Bavaria," are worth a little more comment as indicating the range of material about foreign people and places that was offered to the readers of the Cornhill during the sixties.

Interest in the Esquimaux was nothing peculiar to the nineteenth century; it had begun when such explorers as Martin Frobisher and John David had brought back accounts of them. Indeed, the author of "Friends in High Latitudes" recognises this when, at the beginning of his article, he quotes and

* Westminster Review, July 1862, xxii(NS), 243.

** CM, October 1865, xii, 512.

refers to the descriptions which Frobisher had given of the Esquimaux. What is of particular interest in his article is the description he gives of these primitive people in Danish Greenland at a time when their culture was in collision with, and having to accommodate to, a different mode of life introduced by the European. Sympathetic though the author is, he cannot avoid a patronising note, and an amused lack of comprehension of mores which differ from his own:

Again, their own law is, that everything shall be divided, and it is painfully amusing to see a crowd of hungry natives standing on the shore, waiting for an adventurous man who has gone out among the broken ice and trembling bergs to kill a seal for the starving settlement; yet their hunger once satisfied the offer of a halfpenny diamond ring, or a scarlet cotton pocket-handkerchief (such as is sold by the Birmingham Christians to the slave-traders on the Zambesi), would be quite sufficient to tempt them to dispose of the rest for dogs' food. It is thus much the same whether the Government gives high or low prices for the oil or ivory. The more a Greenlander receives the more he wastes. Pay a native a few rigsdaler, and the chances are that ten minutes afterwards you will see him disposing of the whole amount in the trader's shop. Thus a little change is quite sufficient for a settlement, because it does not long remain in any single individual's pocket. No doubt this sharing of the product of the hunt is absolutely necessary in a community always struggling between plenty and starvation, but it conduces to the stand-still of the natives in civilization: a hunter having no stimulus to,

or reward for, superior exertion or skill, except the vain-glory of the thing -- the lazy worthless loafer being every whit as well off as he. *

Obviously the Eskimo does not understand free enterprise and the profit motive; and "on the subject of morality there is little to be said for the Greenlanders." In the usual English way, the writer restricts the scope of the word "morality" to sexual behaviour, and though the mores of the Greenlanders are not to his taste, he does in fairness point out that "in this respect the Danes set a very indifferent example to the natives. Half-castes of illegitimate^{origin} abound..."

** The article which demonstrates a genuine concern for these primitive people at a time of the conjunction of two patterns of life -- "civilisation engrafted on savagedom" -- has an intrinsic interest, and a historical one of allowing us to watch a man judge another culture by the standards of his own.

The fascination of "Haberfeld in Upper Bavaria" stems not from the consideration of a different culture, but from the revelation of ancient and primitive practices persisting in 19th century Europe. The Haberfeld, a secret society "which projects as it were from the Middle Ages into our own

* CM, July 1869, xx, 60-61.

** ibid., xx, 58.

utilitarian times," * had as its function "the preservation of female purity and the punishment of incontinence -- especially that of unmarried girls .. [and it] .. left male peccadilloes untouched, except in so far as the exposure of the female sinner necessarily led to that of her male accomplice." ** The author has done his field work in a way which we, accustomed to the interest of scholars in folk-culture, can find exemplary:

Of course nothing authentic in the way of documentary evidence can be expected as to the laws and rules of a secret society; but having conversed with many inhabitants of the district, some of them either actually or at some former period members, I can offer a certain amount of reliable detail. ***

And with the knowledge thus gained, he is able to describe a gathering of the Haberfeld:

At about half-past ten or eleven o'clock at night the members of the society may be seen making their way swiftly but silently across the fields and through the woods, by twos and threes, which, as they approach the scene of the execution, increase gradually into groups of tens and twenties, each man carrying a loaded gun, pistol, or some other arm, in addition to the trumpets, etc., as also materials for constructing a temporary platform, and torches ... The "act of accusation" is meanwhile read aloud by some loud-voiced peasant. This document is composed of rudely

* CM, December 1867, xvi, 670.

** ibid., xvi, 669.

*** ibid., xvi, 670.

rhymed verses -- what are called Knittel-verse, that is to say, bludgeon-verses, in the broad patois of the district -- for the secret tribunal disdains the use of prose, eschews all legal terminology, and has its own poet-laureate. A great deal of broad humour, sometimes blended with really genial ideas, and mostly with a large admixture of coarseness and obscenity, is contained in these rhymes, which are sure to provoke numerous improvisations of a corresponding character from the assessors and assistants of the court ... the culprits, ... when their delinquencies have been published, are mercifully permitted to withdraw and hide themselves. *

The "Haberfeld Treiben in Upper Bavaria" provoked the admiring comment from the writer in the Spectator that it "is also, at least to us ignorant folk, new," ** and the critic in the Illustrated London News sees it as a part of an "excellent repertory of miscellaneous reading." *** Certainly it works at a level not always achieved in the Cornhill articles dealing with the world beyond the shores of England. The range of this material has been demonstrated to be from that which is ephemeral, but no doubt interesting to many of the contemporary readers, to that which was, and continues to be, both illuminating and entertaining. Bacon recommends that the young man abroad should regard not only "disputations and lectures" but also "triumphs, masks, feasts

* CM, December 1867, xvi, 672-674.

** Spectator, 7 December 1867, p.1388.

*** Illustrated London News, 7 December 1867, p.615.

[and_] weddings;" the readers of the Cornhill were certainly offered more of the lighter forms of travel literature, but even those must have helped to diminish what Matthew Arnold thought of as one of his contemporaries' worst failings -- their "provinciality."

Chapter IX

Epilogue

Each age, one suspects, creates an immediate past in the image of what it needs or desires; and it is a truism to remark that the ambivalent attitude of any age to that past is compounded at once of feelings of nostalgia and of rejection. A hundred years later we have no longer the pressing need exemplified by Lytton Strachey to reject and to debunk those Victorians part of whose staple reading we have been considering. Instead, for some time we have learned to regard them with sympathy and with respect as people living in a period of accelerated change who were struggling to cope with the novel problems of a recently industrialised democracy, and of an international involvement into which their imperial ambitions were leading them. Our sympathy stems from the fact that we realise that we continue to try and cope with similar problems -- although, in the matter of international affairs, we begin, with relief perhaps, to accept our new role of a "greater Holland." Our respect results from our recognition of their virtues of energy, determination, and hope with which they tackled their emerging social, intellectual, and political problems -- problems which, as we have said, persist and remain unsolved.

Of course the term "Victorian" continues at times to be

used in an offensive and pejorative sense, and the age continues to be criticised by some for its smug complacency, hypocritical piety, and unhealthy prudery, as though our own age cannot display in contemporary forms those particular failings. What perhaps we lack are critics of our own age of the stature of those who belaboured the Victorians. The "medievalists-at-all costs," writes Frederic Harrison in his essay "The Nineteenth Century," demonstrating his awareness of those critics, "Mr. Carlyle, Mr. Ruskin, the Aesthetes, are all wrong about the nineteenth century. It is not the age of money-bags and cant, soot, hubbub, and ugliness." * And a most instructive exercise is to read the chapter on "Hypocrisy," in W.E. Houghton's The Victorian Frame of Mind, and note the number of critics who recognised the failings of their own age and soundly berated their contemporaries for them -- Dickens, Mill, Leslie Stephen, Carlyle, Morley, Butler, Matthew Arnold, and so on.

One of those critics, Matthew Arnold, said in the preface of his Culture and Anarchy, the bulk of which had previously appeared in the Cornhill, that

futile as are many bookmen, and helpless

* F. Harrison, The Choice of Books, p.425.

as books and reading often prove for bringing nearer to perfection those who use them, one must, I think, be struck more and more, the longer one lives, to find how much, in our present society, a man's life of each day depends for its solidity and value on whether he reads during that day, and, far more still, on what he reads during it. *

It is, of course, an impossible task to estimate the effect of the Cornhill upon its readers; such matters do not admit of any sort of quantitative assessment, and, after all as Thomas Hardy said in the Cornhill in his occasional poem, "An Impromptu Poem to the Editor," published in the Jubilee issue of the magazine:

But if we ask, what has been done
To unify the mortal lot
Since your bright leaves first saw the sun --

Beyond mechanic furtherance -- what
Advance can rightness, candour, claim?
Truth bends abashed, and answers not.

Despite your volumes' gentle aim
To lift the mists, let truth be seen,
Pragmatic wiles go on the same ... **

However, it is reasonable, and appropriate as an epilogue to this study to comment on the quality of reading that was offered to the readers of the Cornhill during the sixties, and to estimate, as one way of defining it, whether Arnold himself would regard it as an ally in his "puny warfare

* Culture and Anarchy (ed. J. Dover Wilson), p.6.

** CM, January 1910, xxviii(NS), 6-7.

In fairness to the Cornhill one should quote the next verse:

Though I admit that there have been
Large conquests of the wry and wrong
Effected by your magazine.

against the Philistines," or as an institution, like his Daily Telegraph or the British constitution, likely to manufacture these "stiff-necked people," and to sustain them in the narrowness and vulgarity of their "bad civilisation."

In "My Countrymen" the epithets applicable to the civilisation of the English middle class which Arnold puts into the mouths of his foreign friends are "hideous," "dismal," "illiberal," and their reading is referred to as "the trash which circulates by the hundred thousand among your middle class." Part of the attack reads:

The fineness and capacity of a man's spirit is shown by his enjoyments; your middle class has an enjoyment in its business, we admit, and gets on well in business and makes money; but beyond that? Drugged with business, your middle class seems to have its sense blunted for any stimulus besides, except religion; it has a religion, narrow, unintelligent, repulsive. All sincere religion does something for the spirit, raises a man out of the bondage of his merely bestial part, and saves him; but the religion of your middle class is the very lowest form of intelligential life which one can imagine as saving. What other enjoyments have they? The newspapers, a sort of eating and drinking which are not to our taste, a literature of books almost entirely religious or semi-religious, books utterly unreadable by an educated class anywhere, but which your middle class consumes, they say, by the hundred thousand; and in the evenings, for a great treat, a lecture on teetotalism or nunneries. Can any life be imagined more hideous, more dismal, more

unenviable? *

And of the three powers "which go to spread the rational, humane life which is the aim of modern society: the love of wealth, the love of intelligence, the love of beauty," the middle class has only the first.

Perhaps the first point to make -- and it is surely not an unimportant one -- is that after all these words did appear in the Cornhill Magazine, the most popular monthly magazine of the sixties among the middle and upper middle classes, despite its diminishing circulation towards the end of the decade. Presumably the reading of "My Countrymen" must be regarded as a worthier and more liberalising occupation than "a lecture on teetotalism or nunneries." Secondly, like the good propagandist that he is, Matthew Arnold does not define his terms. Thus, whether the Cornhill of the period promotes the "love of beauty" is a question which so depends on some detailed definition of beauty, not given to us, that it is unanswerable; on the other hand, we can take "love of intelligence" to mean an openness to ideas, a respect for the intellectual life, and a genuine and disinterested concern for things of the mind. Now, it seems

* CM, February 1866, xiii, 164.

that in the light of the way which the Cornhill treated those areas of thought and interest which have been considered in this study, it cannot be denied that it did, in its own way, work for "the love of intelligence," despite certain limitations and a range of quality about which something will be said later.

In the consideration of these various topics of education, social studies, literature, history, science and foreign affairs, the readers were invited to become engaged in some of the issues which were exercising men of good will, men of intelligence, and at times men of scholarship. And despite the anxiety on the part of George Smith to avoid controversy, the writings of such men as Fitzjames Stephen, Matthew Higgins, John Ruskin, Leslie Stephen, and Matthew Arnold did involve the readers in the active, and at times forthright, intellectual life of the period which so often found its expression in lively public debate in its periodicals. Leslie Stephen might well talk of the Cornhill as being "an unprecedented shillingsworth -- limited to the in-offensive;" * certainly it was polite literature, destined not to offend too seriously the sensibilities of the family

* J. Robertson Scott, The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette, P.69.

audience, and not to disgrace the drawing rooms of the middle class into which it was introduced in such numbers. It shared with other acceptable writings some of the reticences of its age, and imposed some of its own, but, as one hopes has been demonstrated, it does not sound the notes of vulgarity or crass materialism, nor that of smug complacency which prompted Mr. Arthur Roebuck -- whom Arnold pilloried into fame -- to declare: "I pray that our unrivalled happiness may last." *

The Cornhill, as we have seen, offered its readers much material to provoke and satisfy intellectual interests in literature, history and science, thus assisting the "love of intelligence," even if the articles did not achieve the depth and erudition of those appearing, say, in the Edinburgh Review. But, as Matthew Arnold said in its pages:

there is of culture another view, in which not solely the scientific passion, the sheer desire to see things as they are, natural and proper in an intelligent being, appears as the ground of it; a view in which all the love of our neighbour, the impulses towards action, help, beneficence, the desire for stopping human error, clearing human confusion, and diminishing the sum of human misery ... motives eminently such as are called social -- come in as a part of the grounds of culture, and the main and primary part. **

* "Anarchy and Authority," CM, February 1868, xvii, 252.
 ** "Culture and its Enemies," Ch., July 1867, xvi, 38.

And, in its writings on education and social matters, the Cornhill did help to nurture a growing social conscience, and foster "the noble aspiration to leave the world better and happier than we found it." * Finally, with its preoccupation with foreign travel it did, as we suggested at the end of the last chapter, help to diminish what, in Arnold's eyes, was that other middle class failing -- its provinciality. At least no one, having attended to his reading in the Cornhill during this decade, could agree with those young men of Arnold's who

go through Europe, from Calais to Constantinople, with one sentence on their lips, and one idea in their minds, which suffices, apparently, to explain all that they see to them: Foreigners don't wash. **

The limitations of the magazine, as an intellectual organ, stem partly from the restrictions imposed by George Smith, as a result of which it ignores, for instance, any serious discussion of Darwin's Origin of Species and of Essays and Reviews, and finds no place to discuss all the political activity preceding the Reform Act of 1867, the considerable protest at the inception of the Revised Code, and the passing of Forster's Education Act. Its limitations also result partly from what made it attractive as a family magazine -- its range of subject and treatment. In its

* "Culture and its Enemies," CM, July 1867, xvi, 38.

** "My Countrymen," CM, February 1866, xiii, 166.

pages we meet writers ranging from Henty to Ruskin, from Isæ Jane Blagden to Matthew Higgins, from the Rev. G.F. Browne to that recent convert to agnosticism, Leslie Stephen; and its material ranged from "Railway Signalling" to "The Study of History," from "My Holiday in Venice" to "Culture and Anarchy," and from "Little Children" to "Letters of Paterfamilias to the Editor of the Cornhill Magazine." It must be admitted that, on the one hand, the level at which some of these articles worked was personal and anecdotal, bordering on the trivial, even though they were sometimes related to issues of current public concern. On the other hand, much of the material we have considered in this study has been shown to reflect, in the Cornhill's own fashion, current matters of interest and concern, and must have made considerable intellectual demands upon the members of what many considered a woefully ill-educated middle class.

In an essay entitled "Recent Novel Writing," published in Macmillan's Magazine, Thomas Arnold, Matthew's brother, wrote:

Unfortunately, as has been lately pointed out in various quarters, the great imperfections of our middle-class education imply in the majority of these persons, when thus placed in the way of obtaining wealth, and in the possession of some leisure, a previous culture little adapted to fit them for making the

most of their opportunities. If they read Chamber's Miscellany, it is well; but most of them probably give their patronage to something more sensational ... *

Three years later, Mark Pattison wrote of the Colleges at the Universities that they

have become boarding schools in which the elements of the learned languages are taught to youths. **

Thus, both those who had enjoyed a University education, and those whose schooling had been restricted to the kind that was offered to Mr. Bottles at the Lycurgus House Academy, Peckham, had according to some, still to discover some "effective centre of civilisation." In the view of one critic, admittedly biassed in its favour, they could have found it in the pages of the Cornhill:

The 'note' of the CORNHILL is the literary note, in the widest sense of the word; its soul is the spirit of humane culture, as Matthew Arnold describes it in the pages, reprinted from the CORNHILL, of 'Culture and Anarchy.' Any collector of the CORNHILL who treasured his or her 599 numbers in the original parts was well qualified, I dare ever, to graduate in literis humanioribus. ***

* Macmillan's Magazine, January 1866, xiii, 204.

** M. Pattison, Suggestions for Academical Organisation with especial reference to Oxford (1868), p.127.

*** E.T. Cook, "The Jubilee of the 'Cornhill'", CM, January 1910, xxviii (NS), 16-17.

Appendix I

Fiction in the Cornhill Magazine

1860 - 1870

Only those stories with four or more
instalments are quoted.

- Collins, Wilkie Armadale 20 parts 1865-1866
Illustrated by George Thomas; engraving by W. Thomas
- Eliot, George Romola 14 parts 1862-1863
Illustrated by F. Leighton; engraving by Linton and Swain
- Gaskell, Mrs. E. Cousin Phillis 4 parts 1863-1864
Illustrated by G. du Maurier; engraving by Swain
- Wives and 18 parts 1864-1865
 Daughters
Illustrated by G. du Maurier; engraving by Swain
- Greenwood, F. Margaret Denzil's 11 parts 1863-1864
 History
Illustrated by A. Hughes and R. Barnes; engraving by Swain
- Lever, C.J. The Bramleights of 17 parts 1868-1869
 Bishop's Folly
Illustrated by M.E. Edwards; engraving by Swain
- That Boy of 5 parts 1868-1869
 Northcott's
Illustrated by M.E. Edwards; engraving by Swain

- Reade, C. Put Yourself in 10 parts 1869
 His Place
- Illustrated by R. Barnes; engraving by W. Thomas
- Stowe, Mrs. H. Agnes of Sorrento 12 parts 1861-1862
 Beecher
- Thackeray, Anne The Story of 5 parts 1862-1863
 Elizabeth
- Illustrated by F. Walker; engraving by Swain
- The Village 8 parts 1866-1867
 on the Cliff
- Illustrated by F. Walker; engraving by Swain
- Thackeray, W.M. Lovel the Widower 6 parts 1860
 Illustrated by the author; engraving by Swain
- The Adventures of 18 parts 1861-1862
 Philip
- Illustrated by the author and F. Walker; engraving by Swain
- Denis Duval 4 parts 1864
 Illustrated by F. Walker; engraving by Swain
- Trollope, A. Framley Parsonage 16 parts 1860-1861
 Illustrated by J. Millais; engraving by Dalziel
- The Struggles of 8 parts 1861-1862
 Brown, Jones, and
 Robinson

The Small House 20 parts 1862-1864
at Allington

Illustrated by J. Millais; engraving by Dalziel

The Claverings 16 parts 1866-1867

Illustrated by M. Ellen Edwards; engraving by Herral

Verney, Frances P. Stone Edge 5 parts 1867

Illustrated by F.W. Lawson; engraving by W. Thomas

Avonhoe 4 parts 1868

Illustrated by F.W. Lawson; engraving by Swain

Verney, Frances P. Lettice Island 8 parts 1868-1869

Illustrated by F.W. Lawson; engraving by Swain and W.
 Thomas

There were a certain number of articles about art published during this period in the Cornhill, including one by Ruskin, "Sir Joshua and Holbein," * and a series by G.A. Sala on Hogarth. ** In addition to such articles which concerned themselves with individual artists, there were one or two particularly interesting papers on taste. One, "The Fashion of Furniture," *** by Charles Eastlake, the artist, speaks across the years to us, and advances opinions which are still congenial to generations acquainted with the subsequent work of Morris and Read, and which must have appeared novel in a period when design seemed to have been confused with ornamentation. A second paper on taste, "How to form Good Taste in Art," is the publication of a lecture which F.T. Palgrave delivered at the Royal Institution. In it he expounds his view that taste depends upon knowledge, knowledge which is implied in his statement that a

work of art will be good in proportion as it is true to natural fact, conformable to the laws of its material, and capable of giving high, pure, and lasting pleasure (a condition which includes suitability to its own age) to the spectator who brings a fair degree of knowledge and attention to the study of it. ****

* CM, March 1860, i, 322-328.
 ** CM, February - September 1860, vol. ii.
 *** CM, March 1864, ix, 337-349.
 **** CM, August 1868, xviii, 179.

The readers of the Cornhill during the sixties had opportunity each month to test out the criteria enunciated by Palgrave on the illustrations which were included in each number. Not including some initial letters, and the technical drawings which accompanied such articles as Lewes's "Studies in Animal Life," or those concerned with naval architecture, like "The Warrior and La Gloire," each monthly Cornhill carried two and sometimes three plates; these usually accompanied the serialised novels but sometimes poems. There were also at times small inset drawings accompanying such an article as that mentioned in Chapter VIII, "How we slept at the chalet des chèvres." * For a short period only did the Cornhill at this time carry illustrations that folded in -- those accompanying the series by Richard Doyle, "A Bird's Eye View of Society."

Illustrators in the Sixties

Critics are generally agreed that the period was, to put it conservatively, a fine one for book illustration. David Bland talks of the revival of illustration in the sixties as being "a period of consistent excellence in illustration," ** and Forrest Reid in his Illustrators of

* See above, pp.423-424.

** D.Bland, The Illustration of Books, p.70.

the Sixties claims that this was a "really great period, during which the output of first-rate work was remarkable." * More recently Quentin Bell has stated that the 1860's produced "what may fairly be described as the Golden Age of English Illustration." ** Between them Bland and Bell mention with approbation the following artists who illustrated during the period: George du Maurier, Charles Keene, Frederick Walker, Frederick Leighton, F. Sandys, Richard Doyle, G.J. Pinwell, Arthur Hughes, and John Millais. All these artists drew for the Cornhill during the sixties, in addition to M. Ellen Edwards, Robert Barnes, F. Lawson, Marcus Stone, and George Thomas.

The reasons for the fine quality of work during this period are of course various, the most obvious being the conjunction of the need and opportunity with the talent. Magazines, including Good Words and the Cornhill, but not, incidentally, Macmillan's, were not only benefitting from the good book illustration of the period but also helping to encourage it by providing an outlet which proved attractive to talented artists.

The Wood-Engravers

The talent, however, was not merely to be found among

* F. Reid, Illustrators of the Sixties, p.1.

** Q. Bell, Victorian Art, pp.60-61.

the illustrators; as important was the availability of four great wood-engravers -- Swain, Linton, and the two Dalziel brothers. Before the use of zinc lithography, the application of photography to printing, and other processes, the work of the wood-engraver was of crucial importance. Some artists, like Millais, Holman Hunt, and Rossetti, drew their designs on the wood block; others merely gave the engraver their designs on paper. In both cases the responsibility of translating the drawing into a printing block was a heavy one, and made demands of skill and craftsmanship which not all could meet. Even the Dalziels, now recognised to have possessed great technical skill, had to contend with bitter complaints from Rossetti that they had ruined his work, and Leighton, who was at first not used to drawing on wood, insisted that the engravers Linton and Swain had spoiled his drawings for Romola which was published in the Cornhill.

These four men, Swain, Linton and the Dalziels, the finest wood-engravers of the period, worked for the Cornhill during the sixties, and it is clear that Smith's claim that his magazine "was no less distinguished for its artistic merit than for its literature" * was a fair one.

* George Smith, p.117.

Selection of Illustrations

To indicate something of the quality of work which the reader of the Cornhill during the sixties could enjoy, copies of some of the work of the following artists are included in this study :

Godfrey Sykes
 Richard Doyle
 John Millais
 Frederick Leighton
 Frederick Walker
 George du Maurier

There follows comment upon these men and their work for the Cornhill.

Godfrey Sykes -- and the cover of the 'Cornhill'.

We have seen in the first chapter that Smith and Thackeray were still considering a name for the magazine and the purchase of a second novel for serialisation at a time which seems perilously near to the date of the publication of the first number. The same situation occurred in the matter of a cover for the magazine. Early in November 1859 Thackeray wrote a letter to George Smith which reveals him trying to engage Keene, the Punch cartoonist, to design a cover, attempting to provide one himself, and finally negotiating for the final design :

I have been with Mr. Keene and pressed him in vain. His hands he says are quite too full. I spent a great part of

yesterday at the Museum trying if I could devise a title page myself but this morning bethought that my friend Mr. Cole at the Boilers / the popular name for the Kensington Schools of Art / might find an artist to my purpose. He introduced me to a gentleman there of the very highest skill to whom I explained the design we wanted, who took immediately my view of it and will bring me a drawing as soon as done. *

In his autobiographic sketch Smith writes:

The cover of the magazine, designed by Mr. Godfrey Sykes, a young student at the South Kensington Schools of Art, had the good fortune to strike the popular taste, and I still think it most effective. When I showed the sketch of the cover to Thackeray, he said: "What a lovely design! I hope you have given the man a good cheque!" **

It may well be that the person with whom Thackeray negotiated was not Godfrey Sykes; indeed Anne Thackeray's account in her "The First Number of 'The Cornhill'" can be read to imply that a general invitation was made to the students of the Schools of Art to submit designs:

Even the pretty cover, which still holds its own among present vaporous landscapes, inarticulate nymphs, and fashion blocks of to-day, was the spirited outcome of a new school of art which had lately grown up at South Kensington under the protection of the Prince Consort. Sir H. Cole had advised my father to apply to the Schools for a design for the cover, and one of the pupils, a young man called Godfrey Sykes, sent in a drawing for the cover. The design came in; another previously thought of, was put aside, and the new one immediately accepted ... 'What a fine engraving! what a beautiful drawing!' my father writes; 'there has been nothing so ornamentally good done anywhere

* The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray (ed. G.N. Ray), iv, 162.

** George Smith, p.111.



Godfrey Sykes The Cover of the Cornhill Magazine

that I know of.' *

Included in this study is a photograph of the original engraving now in the possession of the Victoria and Albert Museum. As can be seen, the artist has used the name of the magazine for his inspiration and the four medallions represent the four activities of ploughing, sowing, reaping, and threshing. The centrepiece includes the cornucopia with its implication of "jollity and abundance." The other symbols in the centrepiece -- the broad-brimmed hat adorned with wings, the staff surrounded with two serpents, and possibly the wings at the bottom of the staff -- are all associated with Hermes. Their appropriateness to the Cornhill Magazine will be recognised when it is remembered that among the multifarious functions and achievements of Hermes were: Herald of the Gods, God of Eloquence, Author of a variety of inventions including the alphabet, numbers, astronomy, music, gymnastics, and so on. The miscellaneous nature of his talents and duties would make him an excellent patron of such a magazine.

The cover did not go unnoticed in the reviews of the first number. The Daily News referred to it as an "exquisite design," but, no doubt to the chagrin of Sykes, attributed it to Linton; ** and the Illustrated Times maintains that the

cover (a fanciful flower and scroll work border, with four medallions showing the operations of ploughing and sowing,

* CM, July 1896, i(NS), 2.

** Daily News, 22 December 1859, p.5.

reaping and thrashing corn) is tastefully designed. *

The Morning Herald is most flattering and states that the drawing of the four medallions is "proof that they are the productions of a master hand," and that the cover is "enough to tempt one to buy what is concealed by so fair an outside."** One critic, that of the Examiner, feels that the cover suggests "how in a journal one may plough, and sow, and reap, and on occasion use the flail;" -- an interesting speculation but one which proved incorrect as to use of the flail. ***

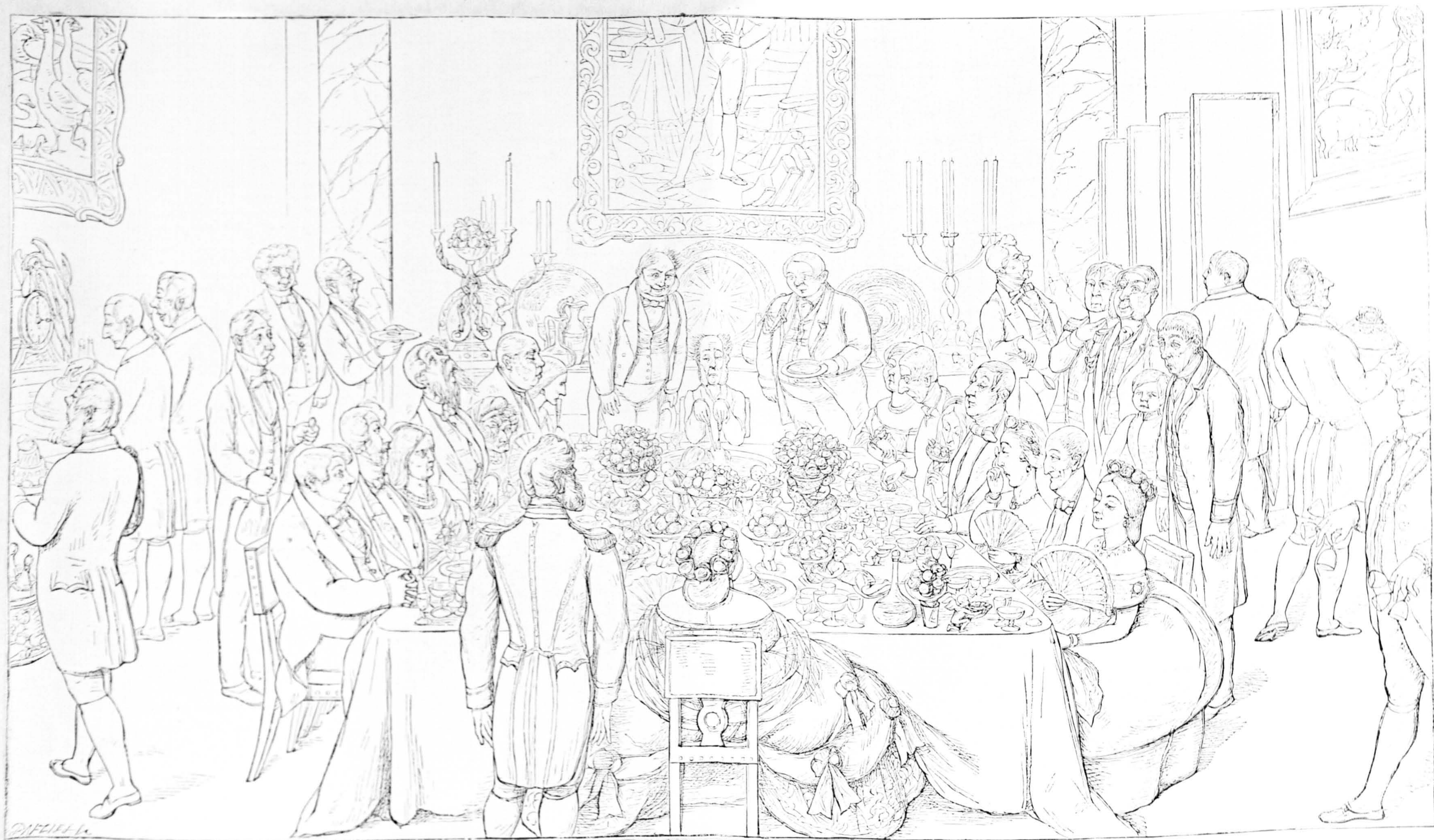
Richard Doyle (1824-1883)

Richard Doyle, until 1850 a regular contributor to Punch, was already a well-known cartoonist when he was engaged by Smith for his series, "Bird's Eye View of Society;" in 1854 he had published his successful The Foreign Travels of Brown, Jones, and Robinson, a highly entertaining and at times devastating satire of the English bourgeois abroad. The title of his Cornhill series includes a reference to his nickname, "Dicky," which itself is usually represented by the bird perched on his monogram signature. The series ran to sixteen pictures, each of which was accompanied by a page or so of text which verbally underlined the satiric point which Doyle was making more effectively in his picture.

* Illustrated Times, 31 December 1859, p.443.

** Morning Herald, 23 December 1859, p.3.

*** Examiner, 24 December 1859, p.821.



R.Doyle

" A State Party "



R.Doyle

" At the Sea-side "

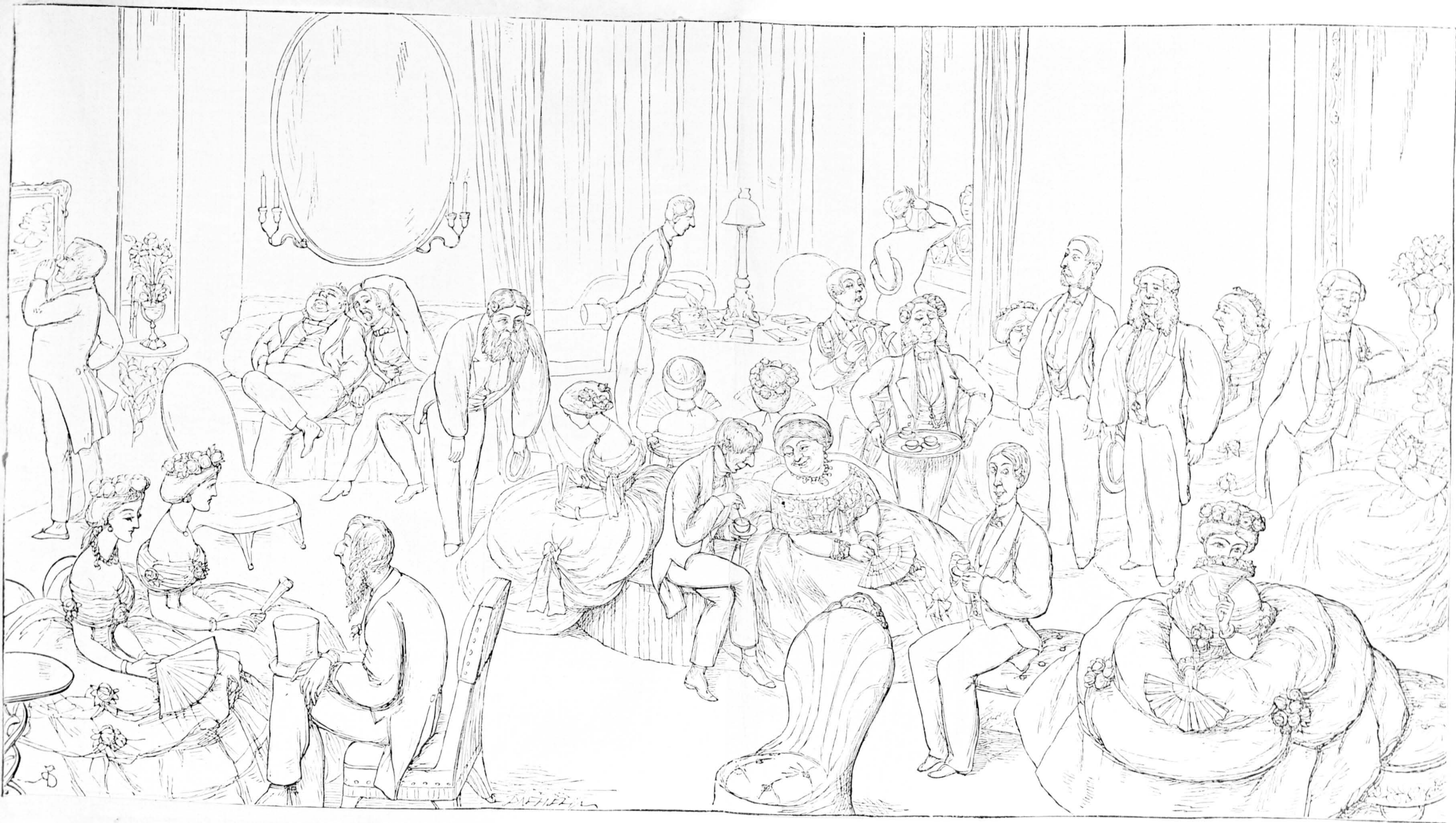
Four of his pictures are included in this study; the whole series was:

- "At Home," April 1861, ii, 497-499.
- "A Juvenile Party," May 1861, iii, 513-516.
- "A Morning Party," June 1861, iii, 734-735.
- "A State Party," July 1861, iv, 73-74.
- "A County Ball," August 1861, iv, 218-219.
- "A Charity Bazaar," September 1861, iv, 338-339.
- "The Picture Sale," October 1861, iv, 470-471.
- "At the Sea-side," November 1861, iv, 582-583.
- "A Popular Entertainment," December 1861, iv, 713-714.
- "Dining down the River," January 1862, v, 105-106.
- "Belgravia out of Doors," February 1862, v, 218-219.
- "After Dinner," March 1862, v, 365-366.
- "Rotten Row," May 1862, v, 588-589.
- "A Concert," June 1862, v, 744-745.
- "Conversazione: Science and Art," August 1862, vi, 269-270.
- "The Smoking-Room at the Club," October 1862, vi, 512-513.

Doyle restricts his field of satire to the social life of the middle and upper middle classes, * and the comment he makes throughout the series is on the tedium, the self-inflicted boredom which results from the entertainments

* It is interesting to discover one piece of evidence that Doyle included one of his contemporaries in his drawing; perhaps there were more examples. In the first picture of the series, "At Home," there is one figure that towers above the crush; this has been identified as Matthew Higgins who was six feet eight inches tall. See "A Memoir of Matthew James Higgins," Essays on Social Subjects (ed. W.S. Maxwell), p.lxvii:

He was in no wise displeased by his own caricatured likeness which his friend the inimitable Richard Doyle introduced into the supper room of his 'At Home, small and early,' a figure which gives at least a just idea of his towering stature.



R. Doyle

" After Dinner "



R. Doyle

" After Dinner "



R. Doyle

" A Concert "

which he describes. In pictures remarkable for both their attention to individual detail and their conveyed sense of the crowded social gathering, Doyle's satiric comment, though highly amusing, remains gentle; it is the follies of polite society which he demonstrates and not its vices. That the inoffensive nature of the criticism in his comedy of manners was recognised by his contemporaries is evident from the notice in the Saturday Review of this series when it was published in book form; there the writer comments::

If this is English life, we have no great reason to be ashamed of it. Contrast it with the parallel portrait of Paris as weekly recorded in the picture page of the Charivari, and we have no reason to think ill of London ... Our popular artists all draw virginibus puerisque. They solicit a cheery smile, but never ask for a prurient blush. *

John Millais (1829-1896)

Of the artists who illustrated for the Cornhill during this decade Millais has remained the most distinguished; in all, Millais contributed, in addition to some initial letters, thirty drawings which included those for Trollope's Framley Parsonage and The Small House at Allington, four accompanying poems, and one for a short novel Horace Saltoun. As examples of his work I include copies of the set of illustrations for

* Saturday Review, 2 January 1864, pp.20-21.

Framley Parsonage, and a copy of the drawing he made for the poem "Last Words" by Owen Meredith.

Millais was not engaged to illustrate Trollope's Framley Parsonage until after it had begun to appear, and it was certainly a happy thought on the part of George Smith, and one which delighted Trollope: "Should I live," he wrote to Smith on 12 February 1860, "to see my story illustrated by Millais nobody would be able to hold me." * The six drawings which Millais provided appear, except for "Lady Lufton and the Duke of Omnium," facing the first page of the new serial part, and occur at the following points:

<u>CM</u> ,	i,	449	"Lord Lufton and Lucy Roberts"	Beginning of chapter x
<u>CM</u> ,	i,	691	"Was it not a lie?"	Beginning of chapter xvi
<u>CM</u> ,	ii,	130	"The Crawley Family"	Beginning of chapter xxii
<u>CM</u> ,	ii,	472	"Lady Lufton and the Duke of Omnium"	Middle of chapter xxix
<u>CM</u> ,	iii,	48	"Mrs Gresham and Miss Dunstable"	Beginning of chapter xxxvii
<u>CM</u> ,	iii,	342	"'Mark,' she said, the men are here.'"	Beginning of chapter xliii

By their positioning each, save for the exception already mentioned, acts as a kind of invoice for what is to follow in that particular section of the novel, but the functions of the illustrations are not always the same. Three

* Quoted in M. Sadleir, Trollope : A Commentary, p.203.



J. Millais

" 'Mark,' she said, ' the men are here. ' "



J. Millais " 'Mark,' she said, ' the men are here. ' "

of them were designed to represent climactic moments in the story: "Was it not a lie?" "Lady Lufton and the Duke of Omnium," and "'Mark,' she said, 'the men are here;'" in each case the reader would bring his knowledge of earlier events and attitudes expressed in the novel to bear upon the picture, during which activity his appreciation of the situation would be heightened and enriched. Thus, in "'Mark,' she said, 'the men are here,'" the reader would know even at first glance that with the arrival of the bailiffs Mark Robert's financial and moral problems had to be confronted; the reader is fully aware of the context which makes the picture significant, and begins to read the new part with expectations. On the other hand, the suggested movement forward of Fanny and her arm linked through that of Mark's, his bowed head, physical dejection, and lack of response to Fanny's gesture -- all these help to emphasise for the reader the catastrophic results of Mark's folly, and the loyalty, support, and sympathy which Fanny offers him. Even the fittings of the room help at once to remind us of the comfort and ease which have been put in jeopardy, and of some of the frivolities of Mark's life.

The other three illustrations serve different functions. Two of them allow the reader more readily to visualise not a moment of climax in the story, but, in one case, a setting



J. Millais

" Mrs. Gresham and Miss Dunstable "



J. Millais

" Lord Lufton and Lucy Roberts "

which is important to the story, and, in the other, a conversation which leads to the marriage of one of the participants. The Crawley parsonage and its inhabitants are important to the main story because they provide a strong contrast, both materially and spiritually, to the life at Framley Parsonage, and also because illness there allows Lucy to demonstrate her qualities of determination and good-will. The other picture, of Miss Dunstable and Mrs. Gresham, seems the weakest of the six in its relation to the story, but at least does offer the reader a portrait of a fascinating character who makes a considerable appearance in the novel. The third of these pictures, that of the first meeting of Lord Lufton and Lucy Roberts, serves a special purpose; this time the illustrator has chosen a moment which is to have future consequences, and indicates to the ignorant reader what that relationship between the two young people is to become.

What evidence there is shows that it was Millais who decided what moment or situation he was to illustrate, though as the following letters show, Trollope did make his suggestions:

I think the scene most suited to an illustration in part 3 of Framley Parsonage would be a little interview between Lord Boanerges and Miss Dunstable. The lord is teaching the lady the philosophy of soap-bubbles, and the lady is quoting to the lord



J. Millais

" The Crawley Family "

certain popular verses of a virtuous nature. The lord should be made very old, and the lady not very young. I am afraid the artist would have to take the description of the lady from another novel I wrote called Doctor Thorne. *

Many thanks for the Magazine. The Crawley family is very good, and I will consent to forget the flounced dress. I saw the very pattern of that dress some time after the picture came out.

There is a scene which would do well for an illustration. It is a meeting between Lady Lufton and the Duke of Omnium at the top of Miss Dunstable's staircase. I cannot say the number or chapter, as you have all the proofs. But I think it would come in at the second vol. If Mr. Millais would look at it I think he would find that it would answer. If so I would send him the vol. of Dr. Thorne in which there is a personal description of the Duke of O. **

As will be seen from these letters Millais rejected one suggestion and accepted the other.

In his Autobiography Trollope writes thus of Millais:

as a good artist, it was open to him simply to make a pretty picture, or to study the work of the author from whose writing he was bound to take his subject. I have too often found that the former alternative has been thought to be the better, as it certainly is the easier method. An artist will frequently dislike to subordinate his ideas to those of an author, and will sometimes be too idle to

* Letter to George Smith, 20 January 1860; quoted in M. Sadleir, Trollope : A Commentary, p.202.

** Letter to George Smith, 21 July 1860; quoted ibid., p.209.



J. Millais

" Was it not a lie ?"

find out what those ideas are. But this artist was neither proud nor idle. In every figure that he drew it was his object to promote the views of the writer whose work he had undertaken to illustrate, and he never spared himself any pains in studying that work, so as to enable him to do so. I have carried on some of those characters from book to book, and have had my own early ideas impressed indelibly on my memory by the excellence of his delineations. *

Except in the matter of Lucy's dress in "Was it not a lie?" which is surely in keeping neither with her character nor her position, it is quite clear that Millais had studied and followed Trollope's text. He is most successful in "'Mark,' she said, 'the men are here,'" where Trollope's words are:

And then when the servants left him he still stood without moving, exactly as he had stood before. There he remained for ten minutes, but the time went by very slowly. When about noon some circumstances told him what was the hour, he was astonished to find that the day had not nearly passed away.

And then another tap was struck on the door, -- a sound which he well recognised, -- and his wife crept silently into the room. She came close up to him before she spoke, and put her arm within his:

"Mark," she said, "the men are here; they are in the yard." **

* A. Trollope, Autobiography, pp.140-141.
 ** CM, March 1861, iii, 352.



J.Millais

" Lady Lufton and the Duke of Omnium "

On the other hand, to convey the full import and nature of the encounter between the inveterate enemies, Lady Lufton and the Duke of Omnium, proves too difficult a task for the illustrator. In Trollope's description the reader is allowed to savour fully the situation:

In doing this she was brought absolutely face to face with the duke, so that each could not but look full at the other. "I beg your pardon," said the duke. They were the only words that had ever passed between them, nor have they spoken to each other since; but simple as they were, accompanied by the little byplay of the speakers, they gave rise to a considerable amount of ferment in the fashionable world. Lady Lufton, as she retreated back on to Dr. Easyman, curtseyed low; she curtseyed low and slowly, and with a haughty arrangement of her drapery that was all her own; but the curtsey, though it was eloquent, did not say half so much, -- did not reprobate the habitual iniquities of the duke with a voice nearly as potent, as that which was expressed in the gradual fall of her eye and the gradual pressure of her lips. When she commenced her curtsey she was looking full in her foe's face. By the time that she had completed it her eyes were turned upon the ground, but there was an ineffable amount of scorn expressed in the lines of her mouth. She spoke no word, and retreated, as modest virtue and feminine weakness must ever retreat, before barefaced vice and virile power; but nevertheless she was held by all the world to have had the best of the encounter. The duke, as he begged her pardon, wore in his countenance that expression of modified sorrow which is common to any gentleman who is supposed by himself to have incommoded a lady. But over and above this, --



J. Millais

" Last Words "

or rather under it, -- there was a slight smile of derision, as though it were impossible for him to look upon the bearing of Lady Lufton without some amount of ridicule. *

However, a study of the six illustrations will show the reason for Trollope's delight, and will encourage us to number Millais among those artists who, David Bland has said, were "adept at translating a given situation into a design -- which is one definition of illustration." **

The other example of the work of Millais which is included in this study is his drawing to accompany "Last Words," a poem by Owen Meredith. *** The poem, in the tradition of the dramatic monologues of Robert Browning, relates the spoken thoughts of the dying man who passes through self-recrimination to a reconciliation and contentment in the face of his impending death. It seems very much as though Millais, in order to heighten the pathos, made his characters younger than those in the poem; and both the poem and the illustration show how the reader of the 1860's was at times offered a sentimental pathos which does not suit modern taste, and demonstrates that, as has been said, though the marriage bed was a private matter in

* CM, October 1860, ii, 473.

** D. Bland, The Illustration of Books, p.68.

*** CM, November 1860, ii, 513-517.

Victorian literature, writers were not so reticent about the death bed. Nevertheless, Forrest Reid, in his Illustrators of the Sixties, maintains that

"Last Words," in the second volume, comes very near to his finest work. It is an interior, and it is strange how the tiny glimpse of landscape through the window gives it an atmosphere of romantic poetry. *

Frederick Leighton (1830-1896)

As famous in his own day as John Millais was Frederick Leighton who in 1878 had earned such a reputation that he gained the Presidency of the Royal Academy in the face of competition from Millais himself. In addition to some initial letters, and single plates for poems, Leighton supplied for the Cornhill twenty-four full-page illustrations for George Eliot's Romola. He is still recognised for the expert quality of draughtmanship displayed in pictures which seem curiously devoid of feeling. Quentin Bell in his Victorian Artists is critical:

What the public -- the prosperous picture-buying public -- needed was some kind of inoffensive and intellectually unprovocative mythology. Mr. Geoffrey Grigson has pointed out that Grant Allen's Physiological Aesthetics (published 1877)

* F. Reid, Illustrators of the Sixties, p.80.



F. Leighton

" The Great God Pan "

formulates a theory of Ideal Aesthetic pleasure -- a conjuring up of pleasantly imagined situations -- which provides in some sort a theoretical programme for the cosy ideal subject matter of much late Victorian art.

The perfect exemplar of such art is Lord Leighton ... Leighton was the perfect painter of that age: incredibly skilful, exactly hitting off the kind of thing that his public wanted; handsome, dignified, impeccable in his morals, magnanimous, kindly, and yet never guilty of extravagance or enthusiasm. *

Even Forrest Reid, who tends to be more generous in his assessments, maintains that although it is plain that his drawings for Romola are the work of a highly trained draughtsman and that some of them "have a kind of cold, formal dignity," nevertheless "that they are sympathetic drawings will hardly be proposed." **

The example of his work which is included in this study is his drawing "The Great God Pan," an illustration to Elizabeth Barrett Browning's "A Musical Instrument," that appeared in the Cornhill for July 1860. *** It certainly demonstrates Leighton's skill as a draughtsman, and equally well reveals some of his failings as an illustrator. As an illustration of the poem it is a mockery of the poet's

* Q. Bell, Victorian Artists, pp.48-49.

** F. Reid, Illustrators of the Sixties, p.

*** CM, July 1860, ii, 84-85.

intentions, and the kindest thing to suggest of Leighton is that he did not even read the poem, but sought to make an ornamental page on the idea of the Great God Pan. Of the violence and the suffering which must precede the poet's song there is no inkling in the drawing, although Elizabeth Browning could hardly be more explicit; such uncomfortable and disturbing ideas have either not been appreciated or have been deliberately ignored. All is safe, and Pan plays not on the reeds that he has torn "and hacked and hewn" from the river bank, but on neatly manufactured pipes; the artist has been tamed and institutionalised.

Frederick Walker (1840-1875)

During this decade when he was in his twenties Walker made many drawings for the Cornhill. Among his illustrations are those he made for the following novels and short stories:

W.M. Thackeray	<u>The Adventures of Philip</u> <u>Denis Duval</u>
Anne Thackeray	<u>The Story of Elizabeth</u> <u>The Village on the Cliff</u> <u>Jack the Giant Killer</u> <u>Out of the World</u>
R. Mulholland	<u>Mrs Archie</u>

Walker trained with Edward Whymper, the wood engraver, after an earlier apprenticeship in an architect's office and study at various drawing schools, and by 1861 was both

proficient and eager to obtain work. L. Huxley in his House of Smith, Elder gives a long account of Smith's engagement of Walker to re-draw on wood Thackeray's sketches for The Adventures of Philip. * Smith took the young man, in a very nervous state, to see Thackeray at his home; the novelist proposed that Walker should draw his back whilst he shaved:

Thackeray's idea of giving his back to Walker as a subject, was as ingenious as it was kind; for I believe, if Walker had been asked to draw Thackeray's face, instead of his back, he would hardly have been able to hold his pencil. **

Smith, with Thackeray's approval, engaged Walker to make Thackeray's sketches ready for the engraver, for the novelist was finding drawing on wood irksome. Soon the young artist, tired of making good other people's ideas, persuaded Smith to let him design illustrations himself.

For Anne Thackeray's Jack the Giant Killer, a story of three instalments, Frederick Walker supplied two full-page drawings, copies of which are included in this appendix. The story is a fascinating one -- more so perhaps to the social historian than to the student of literature -- which

* L. Huxley, House of Smith, Elder, pp.142-143.

** ibid.

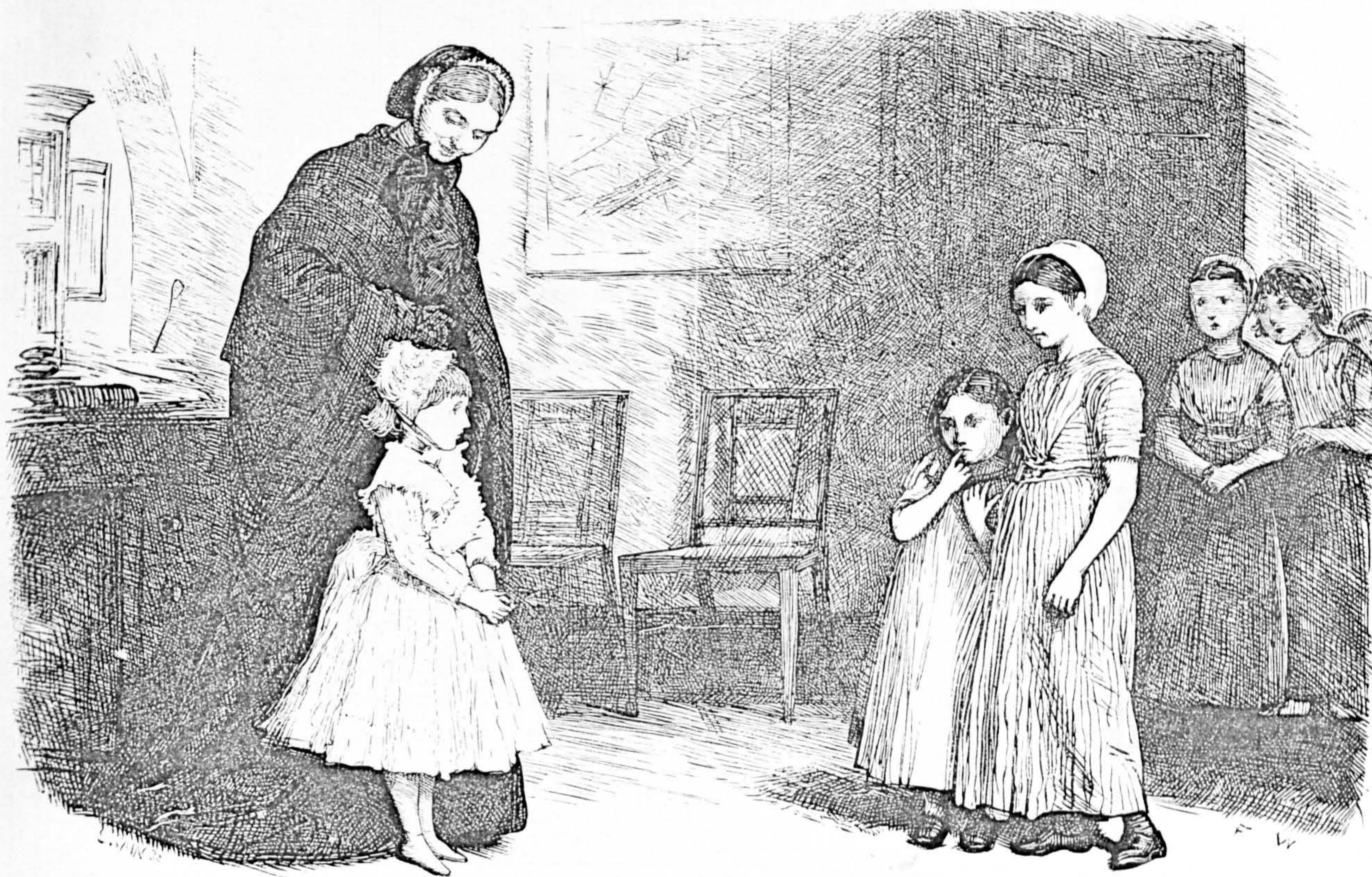


F. Walker

" The Fates "

tells of the decision of John Trevithic to surrender his life of ease as a country parson, and assume the duties of chaplain to a workhouse. In his new post he uncovers corruption, indifference, and brutality, and brings comfort and practical assistance to the inmates; his success, however, is gained at the cost of his own domestic happiness, for his socially ambitious wife refuses to accompany him to his new post. She, with her young daughter, remains separated from John Trevithic until the final chapter when there is a reconciliation and acceptance on the part of the wife of this different, and worthier life.

The first illustration, "The Fates," records the moment when the wife, entertaining three good ladies of the parish, learns from the observations of the figure in the extreme left of the picture that her husband has taken her at her word, and is leaving "carrying a carpet bag;" too late she starts up in an attempt to stop him. The picture, detailed and accurate in its relationship to the text, works on an immediate and on a symbolic level, and refers not only to the moment of separation, but also indicates that the three ladies, involved literally in unravelling the wool which the wife has knotted, have subsequently their part in effecting the final reconciliation. The second picture, "Waiting for Papa," a picture which Forrest^{Reid} maintains is a masterpiece of pure and delicate line work, describes the moment



WAITING FOR PAPA

F. Walker

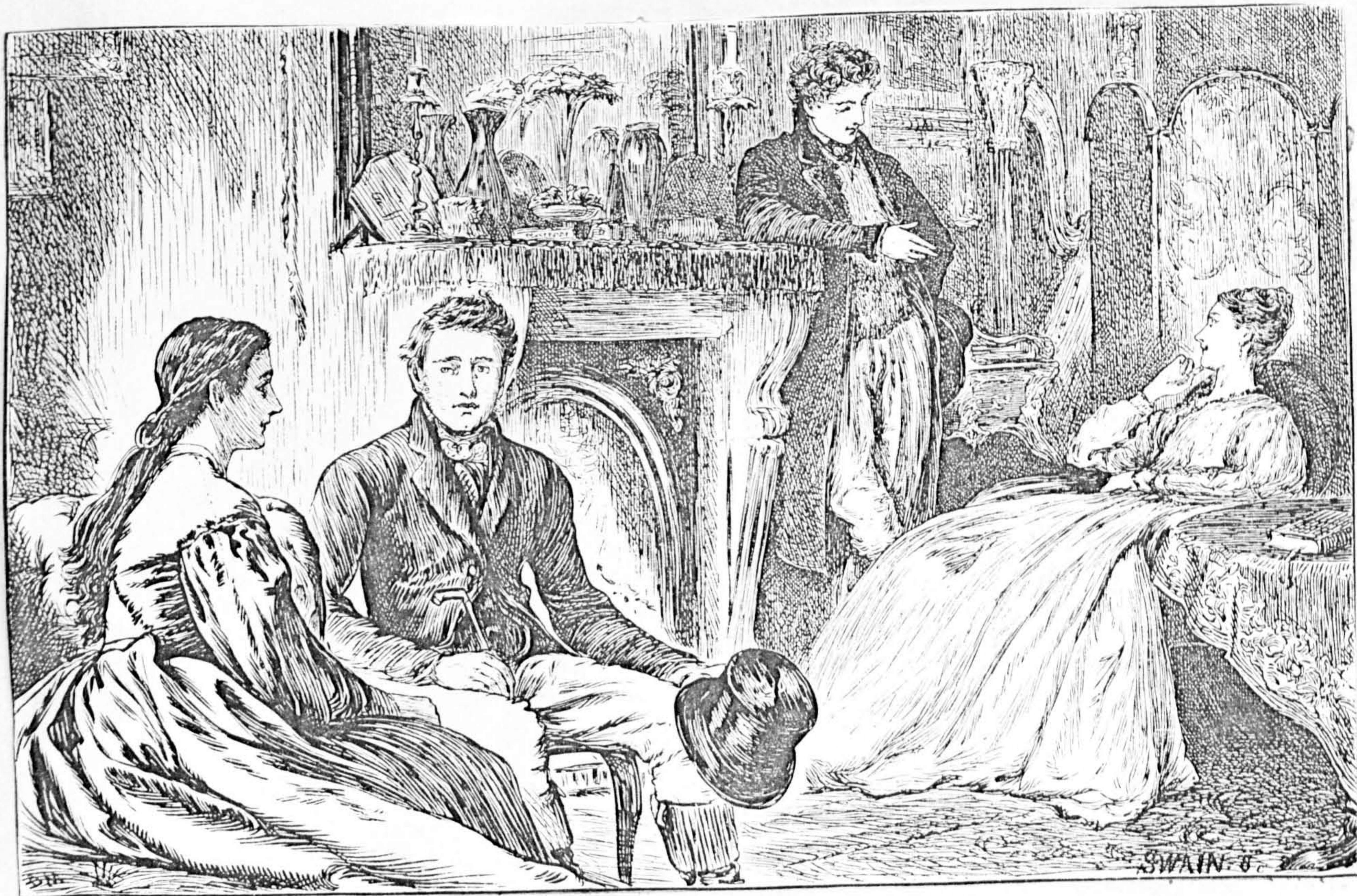
" Waiting for Papa "

just prior to the meeting of Trevithic and his daughter, after their separation; his wife has gone to seek him, and the child waits with a nurse in the workhouse office, the cynosure of the eyes of the pauper children. Placed at the beginning of the instalment it must stimulate the curiosity of the reader, and Walker takes full advantage of the juxtaposition of affluence and poverty.

George du Maurier (1834-1896)

The final illustrator copies of whose drawings are included is George du Maurier, another prolific contributor to the Cornhill, and an artist who was later to gain such renown as the author of Trilby. He is perhaps now best known for those drawings which in later decades were to give Punch its special tone. In that periodical in cartoon after cartoon are to be met his elegant women and distinguished men of the upper classes, at their balls, at their dinners, dealing with their servants, dealing with their precocious children, and so on. For these drawings, especially the earlier ones, Quentin Bell claims "a beautiful distinction of line, a justness of placing, a feeling for the harmonious interval which make them extremely satisfying and successful." *

* Q. Bell, Victorian Artists, p.62.



G. du Maurier

" Shakespeare and the Musical Glasses "



G. du Maurier

" Roger is Introduced and Enslaved "

Among the drawings which du Maurier made for the Cornhill during the sixties are those for Mrs. Gaskell's Cousin Phillis, and Wives and Daughters, and of the drawings for the latter novel Forrest Reid claims that "these beautiful designs he never surpassed, never again, to my thinking, equalled." *

The two illustrations included in this appendix, both for Wives and Daughters, in addition to his skill in draughtsmanship and his sense of composition, demonstrate a fidelity to the written text, and a real sense of character. In the first drawing, "Shakespeare and the Musical Glasses," two conversations are taking place: in the corner the sophisticated and elegant elder brother, Osborne, is talking of the metropolitan splendours with the vain and vapid Mrs. Gibson, whilst in the foreground the gauche Roger is talking with the step-daughter, Molly Gibson. In the second picture it is Roger who is being introduced by Molly to her step-sister, the beautiful and charming Cynthia. These pictures have not the same dramatic content as those which Millais drew for Framley Parsonage, but in their exploration and revelation of sentiment they equal the work of the more famous artist.

* F. Reid, Illustrators of the Sixties, p.183.

Appendix III

Contributors of non-fiction articles
to Cornhill Magazine 1860-1870

I. Contributors

The list of contributors below has been taken from
The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900.

Name	Dates	Occupation	No. of articles	D.N.B.
Abbott, John	-	-	2	
Aidé, Charles	1826-1906	author and musician	2	*
Allen, Richard	-	printer	1	
Allen, Robert	-	-	2	
Allen, Robert C. (prob.)	1812-1903	sailor	2	*
Amos, Sheldon	1835-1886	jurist	1	*
Ansted, David	1814-1880	geologist	5	*
Anstie, Francis	1833-1874	physician	7	*
Armfield, Henry	1836-1898	divine	1	
Arnold, Matthew	1822-1888	school-inspector, poet, critic	17	*
Bell, Joseph	-	-	1	
Bell, Robert	1800-1867	journalist	1	*
Bennett, Charles	1829-1867	caricaturist	1	*

Bernard, Mrs. William	-	-	1	*
Bertram, James	1824-1892	sportsman	5	
Black, William	1841-1898	novelist war correspondent	1	*
Blagden, Isa	1816-1873	American author	3	
Blandford, George	1829-1911	psychologist	3	*
Bothmer, Marie von	1845-1900	-	1	
Bowring, John	1792-1872	diplomat	5	*
Boyes, John	1811-1879	scholar	2	
Bradshaw, Oswald	-	soldier	1	
Brady, John	1797-1883	-	2	
Breadkey, S. Leslie	-	divine	2	
Brown, Robert	1842-1895	geographer, botanist	2	*
Browne, George	1833-1930	divine	4	*
Browne, Thomas	1826-1915	Australian writer	1	
Buchanan, Robert	1841-1901	poet, critic	1	*
Burgh, William de	-	-	1	
Burgoyne, Sir John	1782-1871	soldier	1	*
Callender, C. Henrietta	-	-	1	

Cane, Edmund du	1803-1903	soldier	1	*
Carlill, B.	-	-	1	
Carter, Robert	1828-1918	surgeon	1	
Cave, Robert	b.1830/31	divine	1	
Clayden, Peter	1827-1902	journalist	2	*
Cole, Henry	1808-1882	public official	2	*
Collins, Charles	1828-1873	novelist	4	
Cowie, Henry	b.1840/41	-	1	
Crabbe, George	1819-1884	divine	1	
Cupples, George	1822-1891	author	1	
Cyples, William	1831-1882	philosophical writer	3	*
Dallas, Eneas	1828-1879	journalist	6	*
Danvers, Juland	1826-1902	official	2	
Dickens, Charles	1812-1870	novelist	1	*
Dixon, Edmund	1809-1893	divine	2	
Dodd, George	1808-1881	writer	1	*
Dodge, Mary	1838-1905	American journalist	1	
Donnelly, John	1834-1902	soldier	1	*
Doran, John	1807-1878	writer	12	*
Douglas, William	-	soldier	1	

Doyle, Richard	1824-1883	illustrator	16	*
Drake, Frank	-	American sailor	1	
Drayson, Alfred	b. 1827	soldier	1	
Drummond, Robert	1833-1920	divine	1	
Dwyer, Francis	-	soldier	1	
Eastlake, Charles	1836-1906	public official	2	*
Edwards, Henry	1828-1906	journalist	2	*
Elliot, George	1812-1901	sailor	1	*
Elliott, Charles	1817-1883	American author	1	
Elmes, John	b. 1831	barrister	1	
Elton, Charles	1839-1900	lawyer	2	*
Emmanuel, Joel	-	-	1	
Esquiros, Henri	1814-1876	author	1	
Fletcher, Henry	-	soldier	1	
Forbes, Archibald	1838-1900	war correspondent	1	*
Forrest, Robert	1835-1914	engineer	1	
Fowke, Francis	1823-1914	soldier	1	
Freeman, G.E.	1820-1903	-	2	
Gale, Frederick	1823-1904	-	1	*
Galton, Francis	1822-1911	scientist	1	*

Gengio, M.	-	-	1	
Gielgud, Adam	-	Polish writer	1	
Gilbert, William	1804-1890	naval surgeon	2	*
Goldschmidt, Meier	1819-1887	Danish writer	1	
Goschen, Henry	-	-	1	
Gover, Charles	d. 1872	folklorist	1	*
Greenwood, F.	1803-1909	man of letters	12	*
Greg, William	1809-1881	industrialist	1	*
Hair, John	-	-	1	
Hall, William	1835-1894	legal writer	2	*
Halliday, Andrew	1830-1877	essayist, dramatist	2	*
Hamerton, P.G.	1834-1894	artist	1	*
Handley, James	1837-1900	judge	1	
Hannay, James	1827-1873	journalist	21	*
Harwood, John	-	novelist	4	
Hassall, Arthur	1817-1884	doctor	1	
Hayman, Henry	1823-1904	divine	1	*
Healey, John	1841-1918	prof. of classics	2	
Helps, Arthur	1813-1875	social critic	1	*
Henty, G.A.	1832-1902	journalist	1	*

Herschel, John	1792-1871	scientist	8	*
Hewlett, Henry	1832-1897	historian	1	
Higgins, Matthew	1810-1868	journalist	10	*
Hinton, James	1822-1875	surgeon	14	*
Holland, Henry W.	-	divine	4	
Hollingshead, John	1827-1904	journalist	7	*
Holt, T.F.	-	-	1	
Hooper, George	1824-1890	journalist	4	
Hopkins, Menley	1818-1897	consul general	2	
Horne, Richard	1803-1884	man of letters	1	*
Hunt, Thornton	1810-1873	journalist	5	*
Hutton, James	1818-1893	miscellaneous writer	2	
Jacob, Robert	-	-	1	
Jarves, James	1818-1888	American historian	1	
John, James	1801-1875	traveller	1	*
Jones, Gavin	-	-	1	
Keruth, J.	-	soldier	1	
Kaye, J.	1814-1876	official in East India Co.	13	*
Kebbel, Thomas	1827-1917	journalist	12	

Keighly, Henry	-	soldier	1	
Kemble, Adelaide	1814-1879	vocalist and author	3	*
Kemble, Frances	1809-1893	actress	1	*
Kempe, John	1810-1907	divine	1	
King, Richard	1839-1932	divine	1	
Knollys, William	1832-1904	soldier	1	
Laurence, Samuel	1812-1884	portrait painter	1	*
Lee, Henry	-	-	1	
Leifchild, John	b. 1815	commissioner to coal-mines	2	
Leon, Edwin de	1818-1891	diplomat, journalist	1	
Lever, Charles	1806-1872	novelist	1	*
Lewes, George	1817-1878	man of letters	34	*
Lewin, Robert	b. 1834/5	-	1	
Liebeg, Justus von	1803-1873	scientist	1	
Macbeth, James	-	-	1	
MacCarthy, Lady	-	-	2	
Macdonald, John	1854-1939	-	1	
Macfarren, George	1813-1887	composer	1	*
MacLennan, John	1827-1881	barrister	1	*

Majendie, Vivien	1836-1898	soldier	6	
Mario, Alberto	1825-1883	Italian patriot	5	
Mario, Jessie	1832-1906	-	3	
Martin, Frances	-	-	1	
Martineau, Harriet	1802-1876	writer	3	*
Mathew, Theobald	-	-	1	
Maturin, Grafine	-	-	1	
Mayers, William	1831-1878	scholar	2	*
McCroskey, H.	-	divine	1	
Merivale, Charles	1808-1893	divine	1	*
Merivale, Herman	1806-1874	man of letters	1	*
Merivale, Louisa	1819-1885	writer	2	
Miller, John	-	-	1	
Milnes, R. Monckton	1809-1885	man of letters	1	*
Mitford, Algernon	1837-1916	diplomat	1	*
Moncrieff, Henry	1840-1909	judge	1	*
Morris, Georgiana	wife of W. O'Connor Morris		1	* (under husband)
Morris, Miss	-	-	2	
Mulock, Dianah	1826-1887	novelist	2	*

Murray, Eustace	1824-1881	journalist	5	*
Murray, Henry	-	writer	1	
Mushet, Miss	-	-		
Neale, Frederick	-	consular service	1	
Neck, Alfred	-	-	1	
Norris, Emilia	1835-1875	novelist	1	
Oliphant, Laurence	1829-1888	war correspondent	1	*
Ormsby, John	1829-1895	barrister	6	*
O'Shaugnessy, M.	-	-	1	
Owen, Mrs. M.E.	-	-	1	
Oxenford, John	1812-1877	dramatist	2	*
Palgrave, Francis	1824-1897	art critic poet	1	*
Palgrave, William	1826-1888	traveller	2	*
Parker, Francis	1842-1903	barrister	1	
Patterson, Robert	1821-1866	journalist	1	*
Patterson, Thomas	-	-	1	
Polson, Archer	d.1866	writer on law	4	
Proctor, Richard	1837-1888	scientist	8	*
Pycroft, James	1813-1895	divine	1	*

Rands, William	1823-1882	journalist	1	*
Reddie, James	-	-	2	
Reed, Edward	1830-1906	naval architect	3	*
Ritchie (née Thackeray) Anne	1837-1919	essayist	10	* (under husband)
Robinson, John	1839-1903	statesman	3	*
Roe, James	-	divine	1	
Roe, Susannah	-	-	1	
Rogers, Alexander	-	civil servant	1	
Ruskin, John	1819-1900	art critic writer	5	*
Russell, William	1820-1907	journalist	5	*
Sala, George	1828-1896	journalist	9	*
Scott, Charles	-	-	1	
Scott, Robert	1833-1916	scientist	1	
Searle, Charles	-	-	1	
Sheridan, Helen	1807-1867	playwright	1	
Shibutsu, Kino	1783-1839	Japanese preacher	1	
Simpson, H.	-	-	3	
Skelton, John	1831-1897	author	2	*
Skirving, Robert	-	writer	1	

Smart, Benjamin	1786-1892	writer	1	*
Smith, Albert	1816-1860	author	1	*
Smythe, Emily	d.1887	-	1	*
Spence, Catherine	-	novelist	1	
Starke, William	-	soldier	1	
Stebbing, William	1832-1926	journalist	1	
Stephen, Caroline	1834-1909	-	1	* (under L. Stephen)
Stephen, James F.	1829-1894	barrister	32	*
Stephen, John	-	electrician	1	
Stephen, Leslie	1832-1904	man of letters	12	*
Stephenson, Thomas	-	-	1	
Stigand, William	1825-1915	consular service, writer	2	
Stillman, William	1828-1901	American journalist	2	
Strachey, George	1828-1912	divine	4	
Strange, William	1816-1891	physician	1	
Stratton, John	1827-1905	divine	1	
Stuart, Charles	-	-	1	
Stuart, John	-	-	1	
Sutcliffe, John	-	-	1	

Symonds, John	1840-1893	man of letters	17	*
Taylor, Bayard	1825-1878	American poet	1	
Thompson, Henry	1820-1904	surgeon	1	*
Tilley, Henry	-	traveller	1	
Townsend, Edward	-	-	1	
Townsend, George	1841-1914	American journalist	2	
Travelyan, George	1838-1928	historian	1	*
Trollope, Anthony	1815-1882	civil servant, novelist	3	*
Trollope, Francis	1834	novelist	3	
Trollope, Thomas	1810-1892	writer	4	*
Tuckett, Elizabeth	-	travel writer	2	
Turner, Samuel	b. 1833/4	divine	1	
Vernon, John	b.1833	divine	1	
Vizetelly, Frank	1830-1883	artist	1	*
Ward, Adolphus	1837-1924	historian	1	*
Ward, Charles	-	-	1	
Walpole, Spencer	1830-1907	historian	2	*
Watkins, Morgan	b. 1835	divine	1	
Weld, Charles	1813-1869	historian	1	*
Whitaker, Edward	-	-	2	

White, Lawrence	-	soldier	1	
Wicks, Frederick	1840-1910	journalist	1	
Wilberforce, Edward	1834-1914	barrister	4	
Wilson, James	-	-	1	
Wise, John	-	naturalist	1	
Wolfe-Barry J.W.	1836-1918	engineer	1	*
Wood, Henry	1825/6- 1882	divine	8	
Wood, John	1827-1889	writer on natural history	3	*
Wright, Thomas	1810-1877	scholar	2	*
Wright, Thoas	-	engineer	2	
Wyllie, John	1835-1870	writer	1	*
Wynter, Andrew	1819-1876	physician	1	*
Young, Allen	1827-1815	sailor	2	*
Zerffi, Mme.	-	-	1	

II. Occupations

Total number of contributors : 239

	No.	% of total
Writers	68	28
Doctors and Scientists	23	10

	No.	% of total
Divines	22	9
Sailors and Soldiers	19	8
Public Servants	15	6
Musicians, Artists, & Dramatists	12	5
Scholars	11	5
Lawyers	9	4
Miscellaneous	7	3
Unidentified	52	22

These figures, for a number of reasons, must be regarded as approximate; the comparatively large number, for instance, of contributors who remain unidentified as to their occupations, encourages one to be careful in comment. However, approximate though the figures are, they are sufficiently accurate to indicate certain facts of interest:

- a. 50% of the total number of contributors were not professional writers. Thackeray's "new principle" (see above p.18) seems to have been implemented over this decade, and many contributors were men writing of what they had exclusive or particular professional knowledge.

- b. This large number of non-professional writers was almost entirely composed of men of education. As can be seen from the table above, members of all the major professions were to be numbered among the contributors to the Cornhill; their professions imply that most of them had enjoyed some form of higher education.
- c. Regarded, loosely, in class terms one may say that most of the contributors were men and women of the middle and upper middle classes writing for their peers.
- d. However, as can be seen from the list of contributors, a great number of them -- in fact, 78% of the total number -- wrote only one or two articles for the magazine. The following writers contributed ten or more articles during the decade:

Matthew Arnold	17
John Doran	12
Frederick Greenwood	12
James Hannay	21
Matthew Higgins	10
James Hinton	14
John Kaye	13
Thomas Keibel	12
George H. Lewes	34
James F. Stephen	32
Leslie Stephen	12
J.A. Symonds	17
Anne Thackeray	10

All these can be regarded as professional, or semi-professional, writers; thus, though repeatedly the Cornhill was printing material which was the occasional, and sometimes solitary, work of non-professionals, the staple of the reading -- about one third of the total number of articles -- was provided by thirteen professional writers.

III. Dictionary of National Biography

Those contributors marked with an asterisk appear in the Dictionary of National Biography. Since that work was inspired and published by George Smith there may have been some slightly greater likelihood of his contributors appearing in it; however, that 105 (44% of the total) of the contributors appeared in the D.N.B. further demonstrates that many of the contributors were men of some distinction in their own times. It is worth quoting Smith's own vision of what inclusion in the D.N.B. meant:

... this history will quote George Smith's own description of the Dictionary, as taken down from his conversation by Dr. Fitchett in 1899 ... "Every man who has done anything entitling him to recognition and remembrance ought to have some record, no matter how brief, of his work. The value of such a dictionary lies not so much in its account of the few great and rare men of the race, for enough ink is shed on

them elsewhere, but in the fact that it saves the memories of an enormous number of useful and noble citizens from perishing. It is a great treasure-house of English lives. *

* L. Huxley, The House of Smith, Elder, pp.180-182.

APPENDIX IV

Thackeray's Letter to Garibaldi

Among the famous whom Thackeray attempted to attract as contributors to the Cornhill was Garibaldi, a person who, as we have seen, excited such interest in England. Thackeray's letter to Garibaldi, a photostat copy of which is included, has, as far as I know, not been published; it is not printed in G.N. Ray's The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray. The original letter is held by Institutio per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano in Rome, and it was Professoressa Emilia Morelli who kindly sent me a copy.

The letter reads:

Sir

We have 500,000 readers. How many more should we have for an article by you? Biography, Italy, America, Military Tactics - (on wh. you have touched apropos of General Burgoyne's article in our first number) - how grateful our public would be for any contribution from your pen. I am Sir with very great respect

Your faithful servant

W M Thackeray

(Editor of the C.H. Magazine)

There is obviously a reference to some comment which Garibaldi made on Burgoyne's article, "Our Volunteers;" I have been unable to trace this comment.

47
91
590,483



65 Cornhill
London
Feb 2. 1860

Sir

We have 500,000 readers. How many more
should we have for an article by you? Biography,
Italy, America, Military Tactics. (as we have
have touched apropos of General Burgoyne's article in
our first number) - how grateful our public would
be for any contributions from your pen. I am Sir
with very great respect

Your faithful servant

W. M. Thackeray

(Editor of the C. H. Magazine)

Thackeray's Letter to Garibaldi.

Appendix V

Comments upon some periodicals
quoted in the text.

For each periodical the information in section A is quoted from Alvar Ellegard, "The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain," Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1957, lxiii, 3-38.

The information in Section B refers to the 1860's.

The Quarterlies

The Tory knew very well, without our assistance, that he ought to take in the Quarterly -- the Whig the Edinburgh -- the 'earliest and dedicated Reformer' (alias Liberal Unattached) the Westminster ...

The Globe, 17 January 1860

The three most highly regarded quarterlies were the Quarterly, the Edinburgh, and the Westminster, and probably in that order since it was thus that they were usually reviewed. These three were very similar in make-up; each number would contain nine or ten long articles, each from 40 to 50 pages in length, in which the reviewer would select a number of recently published works relevant to his topic. The resulting review, whilst referring to the books named at the head of the review, often presented a particular point of view. The topics these quarterlies covered were also similar -- home and foreign affairs, politics, theology, English and foreign literatures, travel, history and so on. The intellectual level at which they operated was high, and assumed a highly intelligent and educated audience to whom no concessions need be made.

H. Merivale
 R. Monckton Milnes
 J.S. Mill
 Goldwin Smith
 A.P. Stanley
 Thomas Wright

The Westminster Review

- A. Published : Quarterly
 Price : 6s.
 Estimated : 4,000
 Circulation
 Readership : "Its readers were the educated
 upper to middle class, pre-
 dominantly liberal of the
 philosophical-radical brand,
 with rationalistic views on
 religious matters."
- B. Editor : John Chapman

The famous Benthamite review which John Stuart Mill had owned and edited in the thirties; during the fifties George Eliot had been a sub-editor, and the Review published both her work and that of G.H. Lewes. During the sixties its contributors included:

Professor E. Beesley
 Frederic Harrison
 John Stuart Mill
 F.W. Newman
 Herbert Spencer

The Monthly Magazines

Before the publication of Macmillan's and the Cornhill in 1859/1860 there were four monthly magazines of repute -- Bentley's Miscellany, Blackwood's, the Dublin University Magazine, and Fraser's. After 1860 there speedily followed a number of similar magazines which published fiction and non-fiction articles of varying degrees of seriousness; e.g. Temple Bar (1861), St. James' Magazine (1861), Victoria

Magazine (1863), Fortnightly Review (1865), St. Paul's Magazine (1867).

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine

- A. Published : Monthly
 Price : 2/6
 Estimated :
 Circulation : 9,000
 Readership : "Of some importance as an organ of opinion, its readers were upper middle to upper class, of good education, politically conservative."
- B. Editor : John Blackwood
 Contributors :
 W.E. Aytoun
 A. Alison
 W.L. Collins
 E.S. Dallas
 J.W. Kaye
 C. Lever
 G.H. Lewes
 E. Bulwer-Lytton
 H. Merivale
 L. Oliphant
 R.H. Patterson

The "Maga," distinguished in its early days for its Toryism and exuberant criticism of, for instance, the "Cockney School," was by the sixties a far more staid magazine. It remained staunchly Tory, championing, it has been said, the Scottish semi-feudal society. During the sixties, in addition to its fiction, it was publishing articles similar in subject matter to those in the Cornhill, although it also included political articles.

Fortnightly Review

- A. Published : Monthly
 Price : 2/-
 Estimated :
 Circulation : 3,000
 Readership : "The periodical appealed to an educated middle to upper class public, politically liberal-

The Spectator

- A. Published : Weekly
 Price : 6d.
 Estimated
 Circulation : 3,000
 Readership : "Its readers were upper middle
 to middle class."
- B. Editors : M. Townsend
 R.H. Hutton
- Some Contributors : F.P. Cobbe
 R.H. Hutton
 M. MacColl
 H. Merivale
 M. Townsend

The editors, both men of talent, were responsible for a considerable proportion of the contents of each edition. During the decade the Spectator was noted for its seriousness -- some said its solemnity, its intellectual power, and its moral earnestness. The paper dealt with political, religious, and literary matters, and was noted for its coverage of scientific subjects.

Saturday Review

- A.. Published : Weekly
 Price : 6d.
 Estimated
 Circulation : 18,000
 Readership : "Readers were middle to upper
 class, highly educated, of
 both liberal and conservative
 opinions, though apparently,
 as in the paper, with some
 preponderance of the latter."
- B. Editor : John Douglas Cook
- Some Contributors : Robert Cecil (Lord Salisbury)
 E. Freeman
 J.R. Green
 T.H. Huxley
 John Morley
 Anne Mozley
 Max Muller

F.T. Palgrave
 J. Fitzjames Stephen
 Leslie Stephen

J.W. Robertson Scott, The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette, p.27, quotes F.W. Maitland: "As memoirs are published, it becomes always more evident that anyone who never wrote for the Saturday Review was no one."

The Saturday Review was distinguished among literary-political reviews of the period on account of its influence, its contributors, and its circulation. It was an intellectual, forthright, and critical paper written by very intelligent young men; it has been characterized as "bright and successful." Some found it hypercritical, malicious and destructive, and it earned itself various sobriquets such as "Saturday Reviler," "Saturday Snarler," "Scorpion," and "Butcher." An entertaining comment in the Spectator, 2 September 1865, p.984, indicates one aspect of the Saturday Review's reputation; the writer is noticing a novel which was appearing in the Temple Bar:

... and Mr. W.G. Willis / continues /
 his "David Chentrey," which will be
 still more popular with authors, be-
 cause his hero horsewhips a Saturday
 reviewer.

Illustrated London News

A.	Published	:	Weekly
	Price	:	5d.
	Estimated	:	80,000
	Circulation	:	
	Readership	:	"Readership middle to upper classes."

B. A very popular, liberally illustrated weekly magazine, it was intelligent, but neither adventurous, nor too demanding. It covered political events, and topics of current concern; its interest in literary matters ranged from book and magazine reviews to gossip.

APPENDIX VI

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The Spectator

The Sunday Times

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The Cornhill Magazine

The Dublin University Magazine

The Fortnightly Review

Fraser's Magazine

The Gentleman's Magazine

Macmillan's Magazine

Temple Bar

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The Edinburgh Review

The Home and Foreign Review

The London Quarterly Review

The Quarterly Review

The Westminster Review