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INTRODUCTION
Rachael Curzons

In this, the second edition of VIDES, the students on the Master of Studies degree in Literature and Arts at the University of Oxford present a series of articles that act to explore interdisciplinary issues, raised by the interrogation and illumination of the connections and relationships between two chosen artefacts. Including a wide variety of objects that span the humanities disciplines, literature texts; images and visual culture; historical sources; and philosophical treatises are all employed to enlighten the study of a particular event, period or idea.

Many of the articles elude, or even elide, categorisation, and the solutions for the editor of a journal that is not only interdisciplinary in content, but demands an actively interdisciplinary approach, are multifarious. The sections attempt to broadly represent the primary ideas, themes or stimuli of the articles. ‘Britain in a Global Context’ situates Britain against the backdrop of its global relations through the analysis of the two chosen objects. Focusing closer to home, ‘British Political Culture’ considers artefacts that span from the restoration to the late-nineteenth century, in order to examine the dense political culture of the 1800s. The articles in ‘Gender and Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century’ draw upon text and visual culture in order to deepen understanding of gender relations in this period whilst the various articles of ‘Inquiries in Social History’ focus on how the connections between the chosen artefacts can be explicated to elucidate knowledge about society from 1722 to 1914. Finally, ‘Spirituality and Knowledge’ draws together a diverse selection of ideas about faith, virtue, ethics and the production of knowledge and sentiment.

Donal Murphy, in the opening section, ‘Britain in a Global Context’, cogently argues the reassessment of John Derrick’s *The Image of Irelande with A Discouerie of Woodkarne* and Edmund Spenser’s *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. Murphy suggests that the intended meaning is subverted by a fundamental philological misunderstanding, denying a previously commonplace notion of the Gaelic-Irish as ‘savage’. In another exploration of the relationship between Britain and its near-neighbours in the Early Modern period, Ernesto Oyarbide focuses his study on the resulting propaganda of the failed Spanish Match. Through an assessment of the impact of Thomas Scott’s Second *Vox Populi* on Thomas Middleton’s ‘A Game at Chess’, Oyarbide illuminates a subversive reading of the Spanish diplomat Count Gondomar; created by Middleton, as the mythical Black Knight. Offering a view of Britain’s relations with the American Union in the nineteenth century, David Hirsch’s speculation takes us further afield as he examines whether the British ironclad ships would have bested the American Union’s ironclad ships, had they come to blows during the Union’s blockade of the Confederate sea ports. His original comparison draws upon a broad discipline base to compare the might of the British HMS *Warrior* and the American Union’s USS *Monitor*.

Considering Britain’s global context from an alternative perspective, Maggie Henderson-Tew’s piece, ‘The English Tea-Table: The Domestic Feminisation of an Exotic Commodity, from the Arrival of Tea in England c.1660 to 1760’, explores the way a foreign substance becomes not only a familiar beverage in Britain, but introduces a feminised and fetishised ritual. This is illustrated by the tea-table (1760) from the Ashmolean Museum collection, and a c. 1720 painting by Joseph Van Aken, *An English Family at Tea*.

Beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, ‘British Political Culture’ opens with Terry Allen’s examination of the perceptions of the concept of ‘Restoration’ via the poem ‘The Statue
of King Charles I’ by Edmund Waller and a statue of that same monarch. Allen outlines observations about the evolution of the term, based on the placing of the statue and the language of the poem, in order to explore the relationship between the British public and their own revolutionary past. Whilst Allen’s article is focused on the meaning of a term, Ralph Walter’s piece focuses on the meaning of numbers. Through an in-depth statistical analysis of by-election results from 1885 to 1910, Walter determines the forecasting of general election outcomes through by-election results as anecdote, rather than data.

The next section of VIDES, encompasses a broad range of work in order to enlighten current understanding of gender and sexuality in the nineteenth century, via the intersections found between literature and visual culture of the period. Beginning with a focus on the presentation of women’s pockets in *Lady Audley’s Secret* and a plate from an 1864 women’s fashion magazine, Deirdre Duffy investigates the shared properties between the two artefacts. She opens up both the literal and metaphoric pockets of women’s clothing in order to identify intimate levels of detail in the identities of the female characters of Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s 1862 novel. George Taylor by contrast considers the depiction of male formalwear, particularly the Dinner Suit, in the work of the Scottish painter William Quiller Orchardson. The social ramifications of what one wears is of the utmost importance to the men of this period, argues Taylor, and the older gentleman in the painting *Mariage de Convenance* is overlooked as a result of his stiff, outmoded dress.

Alison Westwood seeks to examine the idea that breaching the boundary between the public-male and private-female spheres was considered fundamentally dangerous, and a precursor to a state of chaos. By taking up two well-known artefacts in Holman Hunt’s painting, *The Lady of Shalott* and Wilkie Collins’ novel, *The Woman in White*, Westwood is able to identify the ways that a male figure’s infringement on female-created content in these two objects, causes a breach between the two spheres.

Both Travis Piper and Jessica Lenihan are concerned with the Pre-Raphaelite paintings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, considering how his work intersects with literature of the nineteenth century in order to illuminate themes of complex sexuality and burgeoning independence in Rossetti’s work. Piper’s article focuses on Rossetti’s use of mirrored reflections and narcissistic motifs in *Woman combing her hair* and ‘Hand and Soul’ in order to explicate a more complicated understanding of Rossetti’s representations of identity and sexuality. Lenihan identifies the provenance of Rossetti’s *Lady Lilith*, examining two editions of the same painting, and asserts that a close assessment of the Victorian obsession with physiognomy in this painting and the Sensation novel *Lady Audley’s Secret* reveals the portrayal of hair as significant to the understanding of the identity of the Victorian woman.

From the focused and period-specific, the next section pans outwards and is comprised of inquiries into diverse social histories that span several topics and several centuries. Maria-Gloria Simpson and Robert Deba both identify prisons as informing artefacts that enable them to comment on the legacy and social impact of Britain’s organisation of punishment both at home and abroad. Beginning with the eighteenth century, Simpson’s article considers the intersection between the presentation of prisons in art and text, and the impetus to reform of penitentiaries that takes place during this period. Making use of the depictions of Newgate Prison in *Moll Flanders* in conjunction with Jeremy Bentham’s plans for the Panopticon, Simpson asserts that there is a reciprocal exchange between the art and text of the period and the motivated prison reform that leads to the rehabilitation of prisoners as a preferred method of penance over punitive punishment. Robert Deba’s paper compares two places of confinement with 6,339 miles separating them; by examining Kilmainham Gaol and Aapravasai Ghat, Deba
establishes connections between two locations of British colonial rule, and their abilities to offer a sense of cultural identity and a thought-provoking understanding of the Empire.

Concentrating on the long-nineteenth century, Kenneth Gray’s article takes the motif of Death as its focal point via artefacts that were amassed by John Johnson, and are kept in the collections of his ephemera and books at the Bodleian Library. Through his analysis of a nineteenth-century handbill that protests against smallpox vaccinations, and an image from an emblem book of 1789, Gray charts the recurring motif as its significance shifts. The skeleton becomes progressively more active in the visually represented process of death in the examples of its use in the nineteenth century.

Noble Lo takes his two artefacts as the well- and lesser-known Jane Austen novels, *Pride and Prejudice* and *Mansfield Park*, in order to explore the domestic spaces of the nobility and gentry of the long-eighteenth century. Lo maintains that these spaces are symbolic of characterisation in both novels, as they are equally significant of the social class held by the family who owns the property.

Alexander Goldsmith and Susanna Cerasuolo both concern themselves with the developing education and employment of women. Through engagement with the architecture of the ‘The New Hospital for Women, opened in 1872, and the *Punch* cartoon, ‘Our Pretty Doctor’ of 1870, Goldsmith asserts the relationships between these artefacts as the emerging acceptance of progress towards developing gender equality, suggesting the building of the hospital itself as significant of the rebellious actions of these women. Susanna Cerasuolo outlines the representation and reality of an education at the first women’s college: Girton College, Cambridge. An examination of a *Punch* cartoon that presents women as ignorant of classical languages, alongside the termly reports from the Mistresses of the college, expose the inaccuracies of the media’s representation of these women’s education. More broadly, Cerasuolo’s article is able to enlighten understanding of the attitudes towards women’s growing independence in the mid-nineteenth century.

Tyson Rallens articles addresses the philosophy surrounding knowledge-making in the mid-eighteenth century. Through an evaluation of an essay on quantity by Thomas Reid and an engraving of the mathematician and astronomer, Abraham Sharpe, Rallens argues that the production of knowledge in this period begins in the mind, but must become tangible in order to be accepted in intellectual communities.

Considering a particular kind of sentiment as contributory to an understanding of modernity, Rachael Curzon examines the polyvalence of nostalgia as it interacts with the developing Victorian railway. Taking the sonnet, ‘Suggested by the Proposed Kendal and Windermere Railway’ and the Parisian museum, *Museé d’Orsay*, Curzon suggests that the act of nostalgia shifts in Victorian Britain from a sentimental remembering of the pastoral, to a rapidly accelerating aesthetic understanding of a traumatic entrance into modernity.

Candice Pearson and Virginia Henley integrate ideas about spirituality and morality through an analysis of religious building and literary text. Exploring the fiction and reality of the imposing Worcester Cathedral, as it is perceived and employed by Ellen Wood in her novel, *The Channings*, Pearson discusses the constancy of this religious building and its impact upon the contemporary and modern reader of *The Channings*, as the novel itself impacts reciprocally on the reader’s experience of the cathedral. Virginia Henley, similarly considering the cause and effect of an artefact, examines the possibility of the separation of creator and creation. Employing Thomas Hardy’s *Jude the Obscure* and a stained-glass window designed by Simeon Solomon (arrested in 1873 for indecent exposure and attempted sodomy), Henley emphasises the public and media’s inability to distinguish between the acts of the creator and the creation itself.
Aesthetic creations, therefore, attract a moral judgement that affects both creator and creation; for Hardy it is the creation on trial, whilst in the case of Soloman, it is the creator himself.

Arguing for a new assessment of the obscure embroidery, the *Shepheard Buss*, as a representation of Early Modern virtue, Jenny Rallens explores the notion that the memorable emblems originate from *The Heroicall Devices of M. Claudius Paradin*. As this emblem book’s purpose is to cultivate virtue, Rallens discusses the possibility that Paradin’s account of virtue is fostered through the emblematic mnemonic systems found on the *Shepheard Buss*. Thomas Poynor also asserts a reassessment of the Victorian’s relationship with Arthurian legend. Through a close examination of the quest for the grail in Malory’s *Le Morte D’Arthur* alongside William Dyce’s conflation of two of the epic’s scenes, Poynor is able to present the repurposing of Arthurian legend for English moral and religious painting as defining Victorian Britain’s ideal of, *rex quondam, rexque futurus*.

The final article, written by Elizabeth Li, focuses on a persistent philosophical enquiry into reason and faith. Through consideration of both the sermons and poetry of John Henry Newman, Li is able to determine his theology as rejecting the dichotomy of many others who examine the same relationship. Arguing that they reflect different things about humankind and man’s relationship to God, this article argues Newman presents a more cohesive relationship that does not neglect reason, but does prioritise faith as implicit to an understanding of one’s own existence.

As this journal is published, the writers are preparing to write their final dissertations, some of which will develop from the articles found here. Several students will be further expanding these articles into doctoral research immediately, and many others will do the same in due course. For some, their article in this journal marks the beginning of a journey of personal research independent of an institution. For all, this journal marks a significant development of our interdisciplinary skills.
PART 1: BRITAIN IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT
**IMAGOLOGY AND IOMARBHÁ: REPRESENTATION AND CONTENTION IN EARLY MODERN IRELAND**

Donal Murphy

**Abstract:** This paper examines John Derricke’s *The Image of Irelande with A Discouerie of Woodkarne* and Edmund Spenser’s *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. It outlines the origin and purpose of the politics of representation contained therein and shows how a proper interpretation of one illustration subverts the intended meaning.

In 1833 John Small, librarian at Edinburgh University, published an edition of John Derricke’s *The Image of Irelande with A Discouerie of Woodkarne*. Derricke had written this work in 1578 and published it three years later in 1581. It was entered in the Stationers’ Register in July 1583. The *Discouerie* consists of a dozen woodcut illustrations appended to Derricke’s main text. The *Image* has been described as ‘one of the most influential Elizabethan books on Ireland.’ The attached woodcuts have been termed ‘the most famous images of the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland.’

In 1833, as now, of the handful of surviving copies of Derricke’s work, only the copy in Edinburgh University library was complete in having the full set of woodcuts extant. Small theorized that the ‘disappearance of these plates may have been due to their being of a much larger size than the letterpress of the book, or possibly, they may have been destroyed as being considered satirical, and so unpalatable to the Irish people.’ This latter theory is unlikely as the whole of Derricke’s book is polemical. Morgan’s statement that the ‘woodcuts must have been stripped out of the other copies – obviously these images were much sought after as posters, and as separated ephemera they have been lost’ rings true.

The original book was printed by John Day, whose more famous product, John Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*, also contained woodcuts. Morgan proposed that Derricke’s book ‘must have cost a small fortune to produce, being set and cut in John Day’s printshop by Dutch experts.’ The *Image* has been described as ‘a book published in London in 1581, in praise of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy in Ireland for Queen Elizabeth.’ It purports to record Sir Henry Sidney’s military campaigns during his second and final term as Lord Deputy. Of the twelve woodcuts, the six which feature Sidney are of a higher quality than their companions. Two of the six are signed with the initials ‘I.D.’ and the other four ‘F.D.’. Small proposed that it ‘is possible that the former [initials] may be those of the author, and the other perhaps those of a brother.’ As the dedication of the book to Philip Sidney, Sir Henry’s son, in Dublin on 16 June 1578 was signed ‘John Derricke’, Small may well be correct on this. ‘Formally’, as Fintan Cullen wrote, ‘these cuts initially stem from the narrative woodcut designs of Hans Holbein the Younger, of Basle, who

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7 Small, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.
died in England in 1542. Derricke’s designs are also products of the more indigenous English histories produced as pro-Protestant propaganda from the mid-century onwards.  

Little is known about Derricke himself except that he was in the patronage of the Sidney family. Hadfield and McVeigh proposed that he ‘may have been the Mr. Derricke employed to make the great seal for Ireland in 1557, in which case the woodcuts extant in some editions might be his work also.’ This makes Morgan’s positing of Dutch craftsmen problematic. A John Derricke is also listed as a customs officer in Ireland at this period but Morgan held this ‘may simply have been a sinecure to pay for Sidney’s war artist.’ A John Derricke was also listed with Sir Robert Sidney among the Earl of Leicester’s forces in the Netherlands in 1585-87. This would accord with being under Sidney patronage as the Earl and Sir Henry Sidney were brothers-in-law.  

Derricke’s Image is a combination of verse and illustration which ‘records Sidney’s (ultimately unsuccessful) campaign to bring Ireland under the firm control of the English Crown in the 1570s…its ostensible function is to report the historic events for those back in England. But…Derricke’s book offers a pointed political position on the Irish situation…’ Sir Henry Sidney’s final period in Ireland ended in the same year Derricke wrote the Image with his recall to London, having lost his health, fortune and political reputation at court during his Irish campaigns. Derricke’s work is a sustained verbal and visual polemic extolling Sidney and presenting his campaigns as successful.

Knapp suggested that in Derricke’s Image ‘we have an example of a thoughtful manipulation of form in the service of a specific political message.’ This manifests itself in that ‘the author was at particular pains to picture the primitive state of Irish society beyond the Pale’, that is the small area under English control at that period. The Image deliberately sets up a binary opposition between civilization represented by Sidney and his army and barbarism represented by the native Irish. Derricke puts forward a carefully crafted image of ‘the nature of the Irish woodkern, strictly speaking soldiers, but clearly serving metonymically for all the native Irish.’ Thus Derricke is an early example of ‘the representation of Ireland in visual modes determined by the coloniser…’ The Image was produced at a turning point in the development of English policy in Ireland. Previously, attempts to extend full government control beyond the Pale were intermittent and incomplete. The political status quo was accepted by the authorities, however grudgingly, as being preferable to the rigours and expense of military campaigns to effect change. Sidney’s regime set out to alter this policy.

The six unsigned woodcuts which do not feature Sir Henry Sidney ‘depict the activities of the Irish kern…The contrast that divides the series – echoed in the poem’s verse…makes the case for Englishness on the grounds of form, as the barbarity of the disobedient kern is

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10Morgan, History Ireland, p 6.
15Hadfield and McVeigh, op. cit., p. 41.
16Cullen, op. cit., p. 7.
presented literally “to the view”. This visual contrast between imputed civility and barbarity is illustrated in Plate 7 of Derricke’s *Discouerie*.

The accompanying verse reads:

> Which for to prove in every poynt, (to his eternall fame)  
> He standeth forth in open field, for tryall of the same,  
> Round compast with a worthy crewe, most comely to be seene,  
> Of Captaines bolde, for to beholde the honor of that Queene.  
> And they begarded with the like, of valiaunt Souldiars then:  
> Whereof the meanest have been founde, full often doughty men.  
> All which are in readynes, to venture lyfe and bloud:  
> For safeguard of her happy state, whereon our safeties stoode,  
> Bute ere they enter mongest those broyles, Syr Henry doth prefarre:  
> (If happe to get) a blessed peace, before most cruell warre,  
> Which if they will not take in worth, (the folly is their owne)  
> For then he goeth with fire and sworde, to make her power knowne.

The picture contrasts the serried ranks of well-armed and equipped troops with the rough dress and spear of the Gaelic messenger ‘donolleobreane’ (Dónal Ó Briain/ Donal O’Brien). Moroney could have been speaking of this Plate as well as of the whole work when she wrote that at ‘the center of the Image is the figure of the woodkerne, the armed footsoldier and wild man whose marginal place in the social world is marked by his low birth, bestial habits, and grotesque refuge in woods and bogs. All exemplars of Gaelic identity…inhabit the physical and metaphysical

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space Derricke assigns to the kerne…’18 In his ‘Introduction’ Small quoted Sir Walter Scott’s notes on Derricke’s work; ‘…the inhabitants of Ireland in Queen Elizabeth’s time, those, at least, who resided beyond the English pale [sic] were little better than tribes of absolute savages.19

This illustration is an example of an imagology of the foreign ‘other.’ ‘Imagology,’ wrote Leerksen, ‘may be loosely defined as the study of the discursive or literary expression of national attitudes.’20 Leerksen based his insight on the work of Hugo Dyserinck and the Aachen School of comparative literature which stresses Fremderfahrung, the writer’s ‘experience of the foreign, in the very aspect of its foreignness, i.e. that which distinguishes it… from the writer’s own position or presuppositions.21 The result is an image of the foreign other which enters the textual tradition as an accepted trope, an ‘imagotype’, which is analogous to a stereotype but even less mutable. Thus the ‘dress, manners and culture of the Gaelic Irish are described in the language of ethnic disdain.22 Concomitant with this disdain, the ‘inner workings of Gaelic culture seem to have remained a closed book to English observers, as is evinced by their wholesale denigration of the Gaelic Irish as uncivilized barbarians….23 In actual fact, as well as a martial reaction to colonial military expansion there was also a literary reaction to cultural encroachment. Iomarbhá was one Bardic term for this cultural contention.

Negative perceptions of Gaelic culture began in the late medieval period with the arrival of the Normans. These varied in intensity ‘until the sixteenth century when as part of the expansion of English rule and the attempted transformation of the indigenous culture, such prejudices were articulated with renewed vigor [sic].24 As Vincent Carey observed, ‘Derricke and Sidney’s world view was based on the assumption that they represented civility, justice, and divine retribution.25 As a concomitant of this ‘it follows that the imputed barbarism of the natives is the main excuse for whatever ruthless policy may be deemed expedient.26 There were a number of books and pamphlets in the years following Derricke’s publication supporting this view, of which Edmund Spenser’s A View of the Present State of Ireland ‘is the best-known example. A common element in such writings was the tendency to deny civility, be it in religious or socio-cultural terms, to the natives…equating them with animals.27

Spenser’s View is presented in dialogue form. This is an important facet as it locates the text firmly in the Renaissance humanist context. It is not a Platonic dialogue where two contrasting views are expounded, however, but a Ciceronian one which is expository of one definite viewpoint only. In humanist terms, it is a rhetorical rather than a philosophical text. Coughlan argued that, as a dialogue, the text is ‘the generic embodiment of civility – in the case

21ibid.
23ibid.
26ibid., p. 41.
27ibid.
of the *View*, itself an instance of that civility whose lack in Ireland it inveighs against.\textsuperscript{28} Moreover, as McCabe pointed out, the ‘dialogic format of *A View*…effectively functions to exclude the Gaelic voice’.\textsuperscript{29} The *View* was written in 1596 but ‘was not, for reasons still unclear, printed during Spenser’s lifetime’.\textsuperscript{30} It circulated in manuscript form until it was printed, in an expurgated format, in 1633. Hadfield proposed that the *View* was ‘a work designed for manuscript circulation not publication’ as it proposed directly the type of ruthless war needed, in Spenser’s view, to ensure conquest.\textsuperscript{31} The fact that at least twenty manuscript copies are known to survive shows it did have a wide circulation. Canny argued that the ‘immediate importance of a formal text such as this was…that it elaborated upon ideas, prejudices, and responses that were widespread among those…who were involved in government service in Ireland’.\textsuperscript{32} When the printed edition appeared, ‘Spenser’s status as an Elizabethan man of letters positioned his text as a central authority on the Elizabethan view of Ireland.’\textsuperscript{33}

Spenser loses no time in telling the reader the purpose of the *View*. It is to show a method of ‘reducing that savage nation to better government and civility.’\textsuperscript{34} Spenser’s second interlocutor responds that ‘the evils…are very many and almost countable with those which were hidden in the basket of Pandora’.\textsuperscript{35} The most pernicious of these evils are of three kinds.

Firstly, the natives follow their own laws rather than those of the government and ‘it seemeth hard to plant any sound ordinance, or reduce them to a civil government…’\textsuperscript{36} Furthermore, ‘it is vain to speak of planting of laws, and plotting of policies till [sic] they be altogether subdued.’\textsuperscript{37}

Secondly, the customs of the people are barbaric as Spenser traces their origins mainly to the Scythians, ‘the most barbaric people known to the ancient world’.\textsuperscript{38} Among the evil customs that Spenser the humanist scholar highlights are pastoralism, whereby the natives become ‘the more barbarous and live more licentiously…’\textsuperscript{39} As Hadfield pointed out, Spenser ‘would have known that this representation did not accurately describe the more sophisticated and complex reality of Irish agricultural and social practices. Spenser’s description is a deliberate piece of propaganda…’\textsuperscript{40} Even native hairstyles are deplored as giving them ‘their savage brutishness and loathly filthiness…’\textsuperscript{41} Native dress is described as ‘a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief.’\textsuperscript{42}

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\textsuperscript{28} Patricia Coughlan, ‘“Some secret scourge which shall by her come unto England”: Ireland and Incivility in Spenser’ in Patricia Coughlan (ed.), *Spenser & Ireland: an interdisciplinary perspective*, (Cork University Press, Cork, 1989), p. 59.


\textsuperscript{39} Spenser, *A View*, p. 50.

\textsuperscript{40} Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser, A Life*, p. 215.

\textsuperscript{41} Spenser, *A View*, p. 53.

Thirdly, as regards religion, not only are the Irish ‘all Papist by their profession, but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed, for the most part as that you would rather think them atheists or infidels…’ Thus, they ‘shall all die in their sins, for they have all erred and gone out of the way together.’ Spenser has his main interlocutor give a lurid account of how the Irish fighters say prayers to their swords before battle and seal oaths with bowls of blood. He even reports that they turn into wolves once a year. There are more than echoes of Derricke when Spenser writes ‘the Kerne…be the most loathly and barbarous conditions of any people I think under heaven…they do use all the beastly behaviour that may be…’ Having outlined the ills, the View is equally trenchant on the solution. Spenser states that ‘where no other remedy may be found nor no hope of recovery had, there must needs this violent means be used.’ This must be done ‘by the sword, for all those evils must first be cut away with a strong hand before any good can be planted, like as the corrupt branches and the unwholesome boughs are first pruned.’ As Derricke’s work eulogised Sidney, Spenser seeks to vindicate a later viceroy, Lord Grey, and discount the ‘complaint…made against him, that he was a bloody man, and regarded not the life of …subjects, no more than dogs…’ This was a reference to Grey’s execution of Spanish and Italian prisoners at Smerwick harbour. Spenser ‘vigorously defended the enforcement of order through ruthless suppression, exonerating Lord Grey de Wilton from charges of needless cruelty and representing him as a singular figure who truly had grasped the real nature of England’s difficulty in Ireland.’ Like Derricke, ‘A View makes no secret of its attitudes, its use of the concept of “necessity” is both frequent and unashamed.’ Thus Spenser says that ‘in that sharp execution of the Spaniards at the fort of Smerwick… myself being as near then [to Grey] as any…There was no other way but to make that short end of them which was made.’ As Hadfield pointed out, Grey’s account of the proceedings at Smerwick survives in a letter in Spenser’s handwriting; Spenser was Grey’s secretary at that time. Grey related that following the surrender ‘I sent straight certain gentlemen in to see their weapons and armures laid downe & to guard the munition and victual there left for spoile. Then putt I in to certain bandes , who fell straight to execution. There were 600 slayne…’

The representation presented in picture and text by both Derricke and Spenser is consistent. These are colonial documents with a particular politics of representation. ‘Justifying early modern English expansion overseas,’ noted John Morrissey, ‘the Irish were “imagined” in Tudor England as the richest and most enduring source [of] demonology…’ It is necessary to recall that the ‘Latin word colonum (farmer) spawned the English twin terms colony and colonel, while agricultural “plantation” became the word for settler colonizations that effectively left little

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43 ibid., p. 84.
44 ibid., p. 85.
45 ibid., p. 58.
46 ibid., pp. 71-72.
47 ibid., p. 95.
48 ibid.
49 ibid., p. 106.
52 Spenser, A View, pp. 107-108.
subsistence for the original inhabitants. Irving pointed out that ‘this conception of empire was a legacy from the Roman language of imperium.’ Inherent in this was the Roman legal concept of res nullius whereby ‘unoccupied or under-utilized land remained the common property of humanity until it was brought into efficient use by an enterprising people who might then become its owners.’ This was also a humanist trope in the early modern period; Thomas More, for example, wrote in *Utopia* that its inhabitants made colonies only in neighbouring territories whose inhabitants did not properly or fully utilise the land they had. It was therefore necessary to have negative images of the indigenous population in common currency to establish the notion that the land was effectively waste. As Burlinson noted, “Waste” is here a topographical description… denoting unproductive land with special resonance in sixteenth-century writings about Ireland. Such negative depictions were also potentially profitable to those crafting them. Spenser went from being Grey’s secretary to a substantial landholder on being granted a castle and hundreds of acres in the Munster plantation.

The indigenous occupants were, therefore, depicted as being a wild ‘other’ outside civil society. As Coughlan noted, the ‘Wild Man was often portrayed as dumb or a meaningless babbler, thus lacking the most essential qualification for civility, language.’ Knapp’s comment that ‘the justification for the harsh treatment of the Gaelic-Irish relies on an aesthetic understanding of civility’ can be applied to both Derricke and Spenser. In Small’s edition of Derricke’s work, his note on Plate 7 reads: ‘Sidney’s army drawn up and ready to march is shewn in this plate; on one side the horse, and on the other the foot soldiers. Sidney himself is delivering a letter to an Irish Karne who had a very rude kind of spear in his hand. Under his feet is written “DonolleObreane, the messenger,” and out of his mouth proceeds the word “Shogh”’. This latter word is a phonetic representation of the Gaelic word ‘Seo’, meaning ‘Here’. This shows that the messenger is delivering the message to Sidney rather than the other way around. This reversal of the balance of power in the transaction subverts the notion of Sidney, the representation of civility, condescending from horseback to the ‘savage’. In fact the transaction is going the other way. This also subverts Spenser’s thesis in the *View* that no intercourse except violence can be countenanced with the native inhabitants. Instead of the rude savage, the indigenous inhabitants become those described by Seamus Heaney:

> Perhaps I just make out
> Edmund Spenser,
> dreaming sunlight
> encroached upon by
> geniuses who creep
> ‘out of every corner of the woodes and glennes’…

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59 Coughlan, ‘“Some secret scourge…’, p. 49.

60 Knapp, ‘“That moste barbarous Nacion”’, p. 417.


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THE MYTH OF THE BLACK KNIGHT: SUBVERTING THE IMAGE OF COUNT GONDOMAR IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

Ernesto Oyarbide Magaña

Abstract: This article centres its attention on the propaganda produced after the failure of the Spanish Match: the marriage negotiations between Spain and England from 1614 to 1623. More specifically, it wishes to analyse Thomas Scott’s Second *Vox Populi* through its images and assess their influence on Middleton’s *A Game at Chess*. One of the purposes of this article will be to address Middleton’s use of Scott’s iconography and, to a certain extent its prose, to more clearly identify this playwright’s rhetorical strategies in the creation of the myth of the Black Knight: a subversive reading of the Spanish diplomat, Count Gondomar.

During the Early Modern Period, Catholic Spain and Protestant England shared an ambivalent relation that had a constant influence in the social and cultural debates of both nations. Sure enough, after King Henry VIII’s repudiation of his first wife, the Spanish Catherine of Aragón, in 1533 and his subsequent religious reform, the diplomatic relations between both kingdoms started a long process of decay. Later on, the implication of Queen Elizabeth in the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands triggered the 1588 Invincible Armada Campaign, which finished in disaster for Spain. For the greatest part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both countries were filled with propaganda that effectively antagonised each other. However, at the beginning of the Seventeenth century diplomatic ties gained new momentum with the accession of James Stuart to the throne and the signing of the peace treaty between both countries in 1604. In 1612, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, later to be known as Count Gondomar, was appointed Spanish ambassador to the English Court. For the following ten years, this diplomat managed many English policies to agree with the interests of Spain and also became one of King James’s closest friends. Gondomar was essential in the protection of English Catholics and the prevention of buccaneering in the Americas. He also succeeded in keeping England initially neutral during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) through the promise of an Anglo-Spanish royal match between Prince Charles and the Infanta, María.

From 1614 to 1623 the marriage negotiations helped both countries maintain a cordial relationship, regardless of their religious differences and life-long enmities. Nonetheless, with the passing of the years many considered that Gondomar’s political influence over King James I was becoming too strong. Surely, in 1618 the Spanish ambassador was successful in procuring a warrant for the execution of Walter Raleigh after he disregarded royal orders and attacked the Spanish colonies in the Americas during his maritime voyages. King James was forced to consent to Gondomar’s plea in the name of peace. Raleigh was very popular in England and his execution at the hand of Gondomar proved a turning point in the rekindling of tensions between both countries. Indeed, the many lengthy bureaucratic setbacks and religious discussions arising from the marriage negotiations between England and Spain did not help in alleviating discontent either1.

In 1623, anti-Spanish sentiment reached again a high point in London following Prince Charles’s return from Madrid. After eight tedious years of negotiations, the Anglo-Spanish royal

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1 For more information regarding the political tensions between Spain and England at the end of the 1610s, see Louis B. Wright, ‘Propaganda against James I’s “Appeasement” of Spain’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 6, no. 2 (1943): 149-172.
match finally reached a dead-end and both nations were again coming closer to a war. Consequently, English streets were filled with libels that effectively antagonised everything Spanish. Some notable propaganda during this period are Thomas Scott's pamphlet, *The Second Vox Populi*, and Thomas Middleton's play, *A Game at Chess*. Both openly attacked Spain, and more particularly Gondomar, who was called by Scott the ‘Spanish Matchiavell’ in allusion to this Diplomat's allegedly imitation of the infamous Florentine's political tactics and his role as one of the main activists in favour of a Spanish Match.

It is within this historical context that this article wishes to analyse Scott's *Second Vox Populi* through its images and assess their influence on Middleton's *A Game at Chess*. Both play and pamphlet render their propagandistic messages through a variety of formats. One of the purposes of this article will be to address Middleton’s use of Scott’s iconography and, to a certain extent its prose, to more clearly identify this playwright’s rhetorical strategies in the creation of the myth of the Black Knight: a subversive reading of the figure of Gondomar that was pervasive in English historiography. In addition, this article would like to further assess the correlation between Middleton’s devilish Black Knight and the real historical ambassador.

In 1624, the English preacher Thomas Scott (1580-1626) published a pamphlet entitled *The Second Part of Vox populi*. This libel continued with the spirit of its 1620 predecessor: the first *Vox Populi or News from Spaine* [fig. 1], where Scott showcased his Anti-Catholic and Anti-Spanish feelings. Both documents are presented as true accounts extracted and translated from high-profile councils held in the Spanish court between Spanish nobles and representatives from the Catholic Church. Both libels also address the question of the Spanish Match and the Crisis of the Palatinate. However, there are some differences in the use of images and the content of the news. The first *Vox Populi* barely uses engravings and showcases a more domestic political approach to matters. Gondomar narrates his recent successes in corrupting the English government and his role in the relaxation of the recusancy laws and the destruction of Raleigh, among other feats. The 1624 *Second Vox Populi*, on the other hand, brings a Spanish council again into session to relate Spain’s worrying political and military situation in all its holdings around Europe. Whereas the first *Vox Populi* is written in an admonitory tone that constantly warns against the Spanish threat to England, the second pamphlet is written after Prince Charles’s return to London, marking a definite failure for the Spanish Match. The tone of this second libel

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2 For this article, I will be using J.W. Harper's 1966 edition of Middleton’s *A Game at Chess*, which heavily relies on the Trinity College and Bridgewater-Huntington Manuscripts. Spelling and capitalizations have been modernised. For Scott’s pamphlet, I will be using the copy held at the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus), which is digitally available through the Early English Books Online tool (EEBO): http://eeco.chadwyck.com/home

4 The complete title is: *The second part of Vox populi, or Gondomar appearing in the likeness of Matchiavell in a Spanish parliament wherein are discovered his treacherous & subtile practises to the ruine as well of England, as the Nederlandes faithfully translated [sic] out of the Spanish coppie by a well-willer to England and Hollond.*

5 In this sense, it is ironic that Scott uses a well-known rhetorical strategy from Cervantes in order to criticise Spain. Very early in the novel, the author of *Don Quixote* claims to be able to relate the adventures of the Knight and the Squire thanks to a Moorish manuscript he found and translated into Spanish.

6 In order to learn more about the intricacies of the Spanish Match and the importance of the Palatinate crisis, see Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

7 In her article about Middleton’s Black Knight, Trudy Darby places the play in the context of the festival book. The optimistic tone of Scott’s *Second Vox Populi* could be also understood within this perspective. See Trudy Darby, *The
is therefore more triumphant and Scott presents the prospect of a politically faltering Spain as an opportunity for the English cause.

It is within this more optimistic and facetious rhetorical strategy that the iconography of the 1624 pamphlet can be best understood. In contrast to the sober presentation of the first version, the title page from the Second Vox Populi provides a full-body portrait of Gondomar [fig. 2]. A laudatory reading of this diplomat could be inferred from that depiction, were it not for the presence of a chair with a hole. Gondomar was known to suffer from rectal fistula, making it necessary for him to have access to special seating. In addition, the image also portrays the Count in a sedan chair carried by donkeys, a very well known and detested hallmark of his in the London of the times. Two Latin inscriptions accompany the illustration, both serving as a description of Gondomar that can either be taken at face value or be understood as sardonic remarks: *Gentis Hispaniae decus* (‘Distinguished ornament of the peoples of Spain’) and *Simul Complectar omnia* (‘I will encompass [successfully accomplish or conquer] everything and everyone’).

A second image from subsequent pages in the pamphlet portrays a gathering of Church official and Spanish eminent nobles or *grandes*, among which Gondomar is included, according to Scott’s textual account of the attendants. They all reunite in Seville in order to hold a ‘Spanishe Parliament’ [fig. 3]. A small, smiling devil takes centre stage in the seat where the King should have been expected to preside, as implied by the hanging coat of arms. Another Latin inscription reads *Ingentibus exidit ausis* (‘Fallen in the execution of bold deeds’). This caption was probably inspired by one of Ovid’s verses from the *Metamorphoses* (‘Magnis tamen excidit ausis’, Book 2, 328). The classical quote comes from a passage where the poet narrates the myth of Phaeton. By using one of the lines of Phaeton’s funeral epitaph in the classical tale by Ovid, the image associates a classical myth of reckless pride with the Spanish policies of the times and seems to pass judgement on their outcome.

The third image presents another assembly [fig. 4]. This time, however, the characters portrayed are Catholic priests and Jesuits. As the engraving explains, ‘they use to sitt at Counsell in England to further ye Catholicke Cause’. The use of actual names in the image, and in Scott’s text, reveals a wish for these people to be clearly identified. Scott relates in the pamphlet how this group of clerics are in correspondence with Gondomar. The pamphlet’s denunciation of Catholic activity in England only becomes stronger when one realises that this image is almost a copy of a previous anti-Catholic engraving that directly associates this kind of meetings with events such as the Gunpowder plot of 1605 [fig. 5].

The Second Vox Populi came to be widely known in London’s underground world. The connection between this pamphlet and *A Game at Chess* has been widely mentioned but very little analysed from an iconographic point of view. This play from Thomas Middleton (1580-1627) was first performed in the summer of 1624 for an unprecedented nine days in a row until it was brought to an abrupt end by King James’ command. This drama satirizes the unhappy outcome of the Spanish Match by telling the story of the White Knight (Prince Charles) and his voyage to the Black Kingdom, where he cleverly uncovers the plots of the Black Knight (Gondomar).

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8 For the sentence to have a complete meaning in Latin, the word ‘exidit’ should actually be ‘excidit’. Typographical errors were not uncommon.

9 In Ovid’s tale, Phaethon asks his father, the sun god Helios, for some proof that would demonstrate his relationship with him. Helios promises to grant him whatever he wants; and Phaeton requests to drive the Sun’s chariot for a day. Nonetheless, when placed in charge of the chariot, he loses control of the fiery horses. Seeing the earth in danger of being consumed by fire, Zeus killed him with one of his thunderbolts.
Middleton could have drawn its very first inspiration for *A Game at Chess* from a quote in the *Second Vox Populi*. Certainly, at the beginning of the pamphlet's story, Scott describes prince Charles as a ‘pretious a pawne’ that managed to escape from Spanish hands. In addition, passages from the play are almost a literal copy from Scott's *Second Vox Populi*, such as when the Black Knight's boasts about his knowledge of England:

> Pray what use put I my summer recreation to?
> But more to inform my knowledge in the state
> And strength of the White Kingdom! No fortification,
> Haven, Creek, landing 'bout the White coast
> But I got draught and platform, learned the depth
> Of all their channels, knowledge of all sands,
> (4.2.58-64)

Scott's Gondomar gives an almost identical account:

> For during the time of my abode in England, and whilst I lay in London, I got partly by the means of well affected freinds, and partly by mine owne experience (for in sommetime, vnder the colour of taking the ayre, I would take vew of the countrie) I had perfect knowledge of the estate of the whole Land: for the was no Fortification, Hauen, Creeke, of Landing place about the Coast of England, but I got a platforme and draught thereof, I learned the depth of all their Channels, I was acquainted with all Sands, Shelves, Rocks, Rivers that might impeach or make for invasion (C2, p. 15)

A contemporary account by the then recently appointed Spanish Ambassador, Carlos Coloma, leaves no doubt about the true identity of Middleton's Black Knight from the very first time it was put into stage:

> The subject of the play is a game of chess, with white houses and black houses, their kings and other pieces, acted by the players, and the king of the blacks has easily been taken for our lord the King, because of his youth, dress and other details. [...] Count of Gondomar, who, [is] brought on to the stage in his little litter almost to the life, and [is] seated on his chair with a hole in it (they said), confessed all the treacherous actions with which he had deceived and soothed the king of the whites\(^\text{10}\)

> The King's men went to great depths to get a hold of some of the former ambassador's belongings for the performance. Unsurprisingly, Spanish authorities strongly protested against the play to King James and he eventually ordered for its removal and for the start on inquiry. However, a more relevant aspect for the purpose of this article is to emphasise the rhetorical construction of Middleton's Black Knight in performance through the use of an old diplomat's clothes and chair. The importance of this decision should not be underestimated. Indeed, as Stallybrass states, Renaissance England was a clothes society: 'in the Renaissance, clothes could be imagined as retaining the identity and form of the wearer [...]. The garment bears quite literally

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the trace and the memory of the owner. In addition, for the identification between Gondomar and the Black Knight to be obvious, the performance of *A Game at Chess* followed almost step by step a previous characterisation already provided by the images from Scott's *Second Vox Populi*. Sure enough, the association of the Black Knight with Gondomar was carefully executed through dramatic props and imagery, along with a strong collaboration with the text. On his first appearance on the stage, the Black Knight is deemed by the Fat Bishop, another relevant character from the play, as the 'fistula of Europe' (2.2.19). As Dutton explains, 'Gondomar's malady comes to stand synecdochically not only for Gondomar himself, but for his policies and aims in their broadest possible extent'. Accordingly, a clear association is made between the Black Knight's physical and moral state, following the same assumption made by the English public (and Scott's image in the pamphlet) about Gondomar's ailment. Middleton doesn't forget the Latin inscriptions present in Scott's title page either, as he is clear to give the Black Knight a preeminent role among the many other characters from the Black Kingdom and he addresses Gondomar's portentous ability to be at the backstage of every happening in the London of the period. Indeed, when the Black Knight is informed by a pawn about the discovery of his plot, he playfully retorts: 'Which of the twenty thousand and nine hundred/ Four score and five, canst tell?' (3.1.126-127). In addition, when he is defeated at the end of the play, the White Knight readily recognizes his worth in calling him 'the mightiest Machiavel-politician' (5.3.204).

As in the case of Gondomar and the gathering of Spanish *grandes* portrayed in Scott's illustration and widely treated in the pamphlet, the Black Knight raises among the other black pieces, but in the end is defeated through his own conceit, just as in the myth of Phaeton. In this way, *A Game at Chess* does not only ends triumphantly for the White Kingdom's cause but also serves as an admonitory play about the perils of being too friendly with the Spanish and Catholicism. Just as Álvarez Recio explains, during the Jacobean period, Anti-Catholic and Anti-Spanish discourses combined in order to firmly oppose the idea of a Spanish Match for the Prince of Wales. Both Scott's writings and *A Game at Chess* echo the idea of a major threat for England: the attempt of a Universal Monarchy by the Spanish and a Universal Church by the Pope. Under this light, the Spanish Match did certainly appear as a step towards this goal. In this particular aspect, the image of the "plotting" priests and Jesuits from Scott's Pamphlet gains special relevance and is again deeply tied to Gondomar, who was infamous all around London for securing the release of many Catholic priests and Jesuits from prison during his time in the English Court. Scott's pamphlets usually denounces the Jesuits as a source of social unrest, and Middleton follows in this idea by adding in his play a scheming Jesuit in the Black Bishop's pawn and a deceitful Jesuitess in the Black Queen's pawn, not to mention the devious intervention of St. Ignatius and Error in the play's Induction. And still, in *A Game at Chess*, even though the Black Knight is aware of the Jesuits schemes and sometimes helps them in their exploits, Middleton gives the Black Knight Gondomar a higher role in the achievement of a Universal Catholic Monarchy when this characters comments on the subject during the play: 'I've bragged less [than the Jesuits], But have done more than all the conclave on 'em' (1.1. 254-255).

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Scott continued to use the figure of Gondomar in subsequent publications in order to further his political causes. Many English contemporaries followed on Scott and Middleton’s lead. For decades, the Black Knight Gondomar became an almost mythical figure that inflamed English imagination. Nonetheless, this literary and historical obsession is far from being devoid of interpretative complexity. Just as Elena Levy-Navarro has noted, the figure of the Black Knight proves too central to the play to deem it as a mere satirical target: ‘As actors have long known, however, villains can sometimes steal the show, and satirical caricatures too can sometimes unintentionally offer a figure worthy of admiration’.

In her analysis of the Black Knight Levy-Navarro explains that none of the White pieces are morally superior to the Black Knight. Certainly, the White Knight can only defeat him by employing the same deceptive techniques by confessing himself to be an “arch-dissembler” (5.3.145), a plotter of devious schemes. Indeed, the White Knight has to become more Machiavellian than the Black Knight in order to uncover the latter’s corruption: ‘Perhaps, despite the efforts of the players to make the Black Knight the buffoon, the Black Knight finally is seen to be a far more worthy politician than even Middleton may have wanted him to be’. The White pieces may thus succeed in the end, but they lose their moral ground in the process. A similar thing happens to Scott in the *Second Vox Populi*, where he finishes deeming Gondomar as a *grande* of Spain. In the end, Middleton’s villain ends up becoming larger than life and a complete disapproval of his deeds comes to be impossible.

Regardless of Scott’s and Middleton’s opinion on the matter, when comparing the figure of the Black Knight with his flesh and bone *alter ego*, one is bound to find substantial differences between fiction and reality. Indeed, Gondomar was not considered a *grande* by his Spanish peers. He was certainly admired, but never became a key figure in Spanish policy-making. In his biography of Count Gondomar, Bartolomé Benito explains that he was originally given the post in England by King Philip III’s * valido*, the Duke of Lerma, to remove him from the political picture; and during that period the Count certainly considered that post a setback for his political career. Additionally, with the passing of the years and the accession of Philip IV and his * valido*, the count-duke Olivares, Gondomar was eventually considered suspicious in many Spanish political circles due to his many English friends and his admiration of English culture. His open

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14 An example of an ulterior publication centered on Gondomar would be Scott’s *Sir VValter Ravleighs ghost, or Englands forewarner: Discovering a secret consultation, newly holden in the Court of Spaine. Together, with his tormenting of Count de Gondemar; and his strange affrightment, confession and publique recantation: laying open many treacheries intended for the su[...]ntion of England.*


16 For more information regarding other contemporary publications and images about Count Gondomar, see Javier Sánchez Cantón et al., *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1935), pp. 67-72.


19 For more information, see Bartolomé Benito Fernández, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar: el Masquiarvelo español* (Gijón: Editorial Trea, 2005).
criticism to the Spanish political decisions of the 1620s did not help him obtain a considerable political promotion either.\footnote{For more information regarding Gondomar’s discontent with Spanish policies, see John Huxtable Elliott and José F. de la Peña, \textit{Memoriales y Cartas del Conde-Duque de Olivares} vol. 1 (Alfaguara: Madrid, 1978), pp. 103-115. Also, see Gondomar's letter to Philip III of Spain (March 28th, 1619) published in Duque de Alba et al, ‘Correspondencia oficial de Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar’, \textit{Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España} vol. 2, pp. 131-147.}

Count Gondomar has been the target of multiple historical interpretations that are very difficult to reconcile. What remains for certain is that each reading of Gondomar is deeply intertwined with the other, and that in every possible interpretation he was considered an avid politician by both the Spanish and English traditions. Although eminently negative, English obsession towards this Renaissance diplomat serves as a proof of the importance Gondomar played in the political stage of Jacobite England. From a contemporary point of view, nothing of the same proportion can be said regarding Spanish acknowledgement of its fellow countryman. Certainly, Scott’s diatribes against Gondomar effectively antagonised this diplomat, but also firmly set his presence in the imagination of Early Modern England. This article has shown that Middleton did not only find inspiration for \textit{A Game of Chess} in the pamphlet’s text, but that the images from a \textit{Second Vox Populi} also proved to be critical in the actual construction of the plot and the early performances of the play. With the appearance of the early quarto editions of the play a year and a half later after its first performance, one can appreciate the pervasive influence of the iconographic tradition set by a subversive pamphlet such as Thomas Scott’s publication (fig. 6 and fig. 7).

From a 21st century point of view, it would be hard to say if Scott predicted so much success for his Gondomar diatribes when he wrote them. As many other libels from the period, its cultural endurance was deeply tied to a very specific political context that was prone to change quickly, making this kind of productions highly ephemeral. Nonetheless, Middleton’s use of Scott’s textual and iconographical rhetorical strategies for his play in many ways helped perpetuate the message from the \textit{Vox Populi} series and deeply set their message in English historiography, regardless of possible historical inaccuracies.
Figure 1. Title-plate from Thomas Scott’s first Vox Populi
STC 22100.3 copy 1 [1620]
By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library
Figure 2. Title-plate from Scott’s Second Vox Populi
STC 22103.2 copy 3 [1624]
By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library
Figure 3. ‘The Spanishe Parliament’ in the Second Vox Populi
STC 22103.2 copy 1. sig. A2r [1624]
By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library
Figure 4. Gathering of priests and Jesuits in the Second Vox Populi
STC 22103.2 copy 1, p. 54 [1624]
By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library
Figure 5. Anonymous. A plot without powder
Reg. No. 1868,0808.3216; PRN. PPA71473 [1620]
© The Trustees of the British Museum
Figure 6. Title-plate to Thomas Middleton’s *A Game at Chess*  
Quarto edition (1625)  
By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library
Figure 7. Title-plate to Thomas Middleton’s *A Game at Chess*
Quarto edition [1625?]
By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library
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CLASSICAL WORKS AND EARLY MODERN PAMPHLETS


*The second part of Vox populi, or Gondomar appearing in the likenes of Matchianell in a Spanish parliament wherein are discovered his treacherous & subtile practises to the ruine as well of England, as the Netherlandes faithfully transnated [sic] out of the Spanish coppie by a well-willer to England and Holland.* , Printed at Goricom [Gorinchem, i.e. London] : By Ashuerus Ians [i.e. William Jones], 1624. Stilo novo. Consulted a copy from the University of Illinois Library (Urbana-Champaign Campus). Digitalised version is available at http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home [accessed 19 Feb 2014].


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ACADEMIC ARTICLES


E-RESOURCES

THE END OF WOODEN WALLS: A COMPARISON OF HMS WARRIOR (1861) TO THE USS MONITOR (1862)

David L. Hirsch

Abstract: In this article I will compare and contrast two warships, the British HMS Warrior and the American Union’s USS Monitor. These ships were the early ironclads which brought an end to the wooden ship navies of the world. Although they never met in battle, both ships were available for military action during the first years of the American Civil War (1861-1865). From early November 1861 until the end of December of the same year Britain and the American Union almost came to war with each other over the HMS Trent Affair. This article will speculate whether the British ironclads would have bested the Union ironclads and broken the Union’s blockade of the Confederate sea ports.

While Britain and France were allies during the Crimean War (1857-58), the French Navy had a wooden steam fleet which briefly achieved numerical equality to the British wooden steam fleet. “This fact, in combination with the laying down of Gloire [by the French] in March of 1858, sparked off the [British] invasion scare of 1858-59.”1 The Gloire was an armor-clad wooden ship. French Emperor Napoleon III ordered the construction of the Gloire as a direct challenge to the previous forty five year British command and control of the world’s seas using wooden ships. HMS Warrior was the British answer to Gloire and the policy that she represented. “Warrior was in every respect a more advanced ship than Gloire, indeed so advanced that she could not have been built in France.”2 The Gloire was 256 foot, 5,500 ton ironclad wooden ship whereas the Warrior was an iron-hulled ship. The word “ironclad” is used in this essay and by other authors to refer to both armor-over-wood and entirely iron ships. The Gloire was a seagoing harbor assault ship whereas the Warrior was a 420 foot long and fast 9,000 ton frigate which was not designed for harbor assault. The Warrior had four and one half inch thick wrought iron armor and forty 8 inch smooth bore and 7 inch rifled guns. Unlike the Gloire, these guns gave accuracy and armor piercing capability.

When she entered service in 1861 HMS Warrior instantly rendered every other warship afloat obsolete and her combination of size, speed and firepower helped to defeat Imperial France in a major naval arms race. She was the ultimate Victorian deterrent3.

The design deficiencies of the Warrior were significant. The screw propeller shaft was above the water line and a lucky shot could have disabled the vessel. The shaft should have been protected by armor. Since the knowledge of how to apply copper to iron did not exist at the time, the Warrior’s iron hull was easily fouled by barnacles that greatly reduced her speed and maneuverability. The British and the French had previously attached copper to the bottom of wooden ships in order to discourage fouling. Because of her 420 foot length, only a few

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2 Ibid.p.8.
3 Ibid.p.7.
shipyards in England could dry dock her to remove the fouling. The ship’s entire service was confined to the English Channel area so she could be close to English dry docks.  

The *Warrior* had both steam and sail so she could theoretically use both to travel to America. The ship was fitted out and ready for action June 1862. “Overseas service was out of the question, at least until new dry docks had been constructed [near the area of battle]. “It wasn’t until 1866 that a floating dry dock was invented and ordered. It was launched in 1868. Its purpose was to be taken to Bermuda where it could be used to remove the fouling from ironclads. Without the floating dry dock, the fouling prevented the ironclads from leaving the English Channel area. Bermuda was chosen so that British ironclads could challenge American ironclads if necessary.

“The [American] Civil War began on the [Atlantic] coast, with the firing on Fort Sumter in April 1861. President Lincoln immediately called up the troops and imposed the blockade of the Southern ports as part of the [1861] Anaconda Plan to strangle the South, the blockade’s enforcement became the dominant naval activity of the war. “The American Civil War produced inventions like the submarine, torpedoes, reconnaissance balloons, ironclads (like the *Monitor*), the Dahlgren guns, repeating rifles and many more. When the war started, the Union

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4 Ibid. p.15.
5 Ibid. p.40.
6 Ibid. p.40.
7 Ibid. 47,
had 90 vessels and only 20 were steam powered. Between 1861 and 1865, the Union Navy would grow from 90 ships to 600.9

In March of 1861 the Philadelphia Examiner opined that “Before the end of the year, France will have eight and England six such vessels [ironclads]. How many are we to have?”10 An Ironclad Board was established by the Union Navy and it granted $1.5 million dollars for these innovative state-of-the-art vessels. The Union Congress subsequently approved the $1.5 million and the President signed the bill on 2 August 1861. On 4 October a contract was signed and $275,000 was awarded to build the USS Monitor. Final payment for the ship was based on its performance in battle at war.

The Monitor was unique. It was 172 feet long, 41 feet wide and incorporated two separate iron hulls. One hull was a flat iron raft which formed the deck and the other was an iron cradle which hung under the craft below the waterline. There was no true keel. An armor belt of iron on the upper hull protected the lower hull from shot, shell and ramming. The upper hull over hung the lower by several feet. It protected the propeller and anchor well. There was a seal between the two hulls which plagued the Monitors throughout their operational lifetimes.11 The Monitor was entirely steam propelled.

Only the turret and the pilothouse protruded above the raft, the former containing two eleven-inch Dahlgren guns and their crews, and the latter a pilot and captain for steering and command. The only significant target presented to the enemy, the twenty-one foot diameter [rotating] turret was protected by eight-inches of armor plate…and had a rounded shape to deflect any shot that would hit.12

In February 1862 the Union Navy was concerned that the Confederate Ironclad the CSS Virginia was headed to Hampton Roads, Virginia to break the Union blockade of wooden ships. The Monitor had been launched in January 1862 and was sent to Hampton Roads in March. The Virginia was an armor on wood rebuild of a captured Union wooden ship. The Virginia got to Hampton Roads first and sunk the Union ship Cumberland, and set the Congress on fire. The two Union wooden ships were no match for the ironclad. The Monitor arrived in Hampton Roads the next day and spent four hours battling the Virginia. Although the Virginia had most of her extremities shot away whilst the Monitor had twenty two hits sustaining only minor damage, the first battle of ironclads ended in a stalemate.

For the Union, the Monitor had saved the blockade fleet from the threat of the Virginia and achieved its tactical goal of protecting the USS Minnesota [a Union ship not damaged by the Virginia]. The Confederacy saw the Virginia’s destruction of the Congress and the Cumberland as evidence of its triumph…13

In May of 1862 the Union Army occupied Norfolk, Virginia forcing the Confederate Army to destroy the Norfolk docked Virginia as they retreated from the city. The Monitor sank at sea at the end of 1862 after having no further battles with ironclads. The Monitor’s poor hull design was the probable cause of its sinking.

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10 Ibid.p.27.
11 Ibid. p. 41.
12 Ibid. p.41.
13 Ibid.p.75.
By the end of July 1862 four Monitor style ships were delivered. Two more were delivered in August of the same year. In all, eight four ironclads were built by the Union during the war. Of the eighty four, sixty four were improved Monitor style, including the Weehawken.

“In June of 1863, the Weehawken…defeated and captured the Confederate ironclad ram Atlanta in a close-in duel, the most notable success of a monitor after Hampton Roads.”14 In December of the same year a sudden rush of water into the hull whilst docked sank the Weehawken. This design flaw made the ship only useful for protecting the Union blockade from Confederate wooden and ironclad ships. The Monitor design made it and its sister ships unable to fight battles on the high seas. The shortcomings of the design were also a problem when tied to a dock as shown by the Weehawken example.

The Monitor design was also unable to protect against the new torpedoes. “In the battle of Mobile Bay [August 1864] “…the [Union ] monitor Tecumseh sank in thirty seconds after striking a Confederate torpedo…”15 It is obvious that the invention and use of the torpedo during the Civil War was as much of a problem for the ironclads as it was for iron and steel clad ships in later wars.

In comparing and contrasting the Monitor and the Warrior it seems evident that each had serious deficiencies. The Warrior’s unprotected propeller shaft could be disabled by one shot. The ship could not operate in the waters off the American coast since it could not dry dock in Bermuda until 1868. The fouling of the hull would disable the ship once it had crossed the Atlantic Ocean.

The Monitor was not able to travel or to fight on the high seas. The poor seal between the hull and the deck and its flat bottom made it unseaworthy in rough seas. At least the ship was small enough to be dry docked for hull cleaning in most Union dry docks and its propeller was below the waterline so it was protected from gun fire. The Union ship was only 141 feet long whereas the British ship was 420 feet long. This difference in length made the dry docking a critical deficiency for the Warrior. Both the Monitor and the Warrior had poor maneuverability. During this period, conventional naval tactics would have both wooden ships and ironclads battling each other at close range. Hence the poor maneuverability of both vessels would probably not have been as important disadvantage in a one on one battle like the battle between the Virginia and the Monitor.

14 Ibid.p.114.
15 Ibid.p.114.
A battle between the first ironclads, *Warrior* and *Monitor*, might have occurred during the American Civil War. On 12 April 1861 Fort Sumter surrender to the Confederate Army and the American Civil War began. Less than a month later, Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederates States, declared an official state of war. At about the same time, President Lincoln orders a blockade of all southern ports to stop the import of weapons and munitions and the export of cotton. By October 1861 the Union had trained and equipped 100,000 soldiers and had lost the war’s first major encounter which was referred to by the Union as the First Battle of Bull Run and by the Confederate forces as the First Manassas.

Without a fleet of its own, the Confederacy was not capable of breaking the blockade. Confederate President Davis needed Britain to help reopen the southern ports to obtain southern cotton and to export to Confederate ports much needed guns and munitions. The Confederate cabinet also felt the blockade was illegal under the [1856] Declaration of Paris [Respecting Maritime Law]. President Davis appointed two experienced politicians, Senators James Mason and John Slidell to be the Confederate Commissioners in Europe. Slidell was to go to Paris to plead the Confederate cause to Emperor Louis Napoleon III and Mason was to plead the cause to British Prime Minister Lord Palmerston.

On 1 November 1861 Mason and Slidell were on their way to England aboard the British mail packet R.M.S. *Trent* when they were captured off the coast of Cuba by the Union vessel *San Jacinto*. In May of the same year Queen Victoria had issued a British Declaration of Neutrality which forbid the use of British ports to transport military equipment or arms but allowed both the Union and the Confederacy the right to obtain fuel and supplies in British ports. France, Spain the Netherlands and Brazil all followed the British lead.

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16 Amanda Foreman, *A World on Fire, Britain’s Crucial Role in the American Civil War*, (Random House, 2010), p.82.
17 Ibid. p.150.
18 Ibid.p.155.
About the middle of November, Slidell and Mason were transported to a prison in Boston. The Union Media celebrated the event and called it the “Trent Affair.” On 27 November news of this event reached Britain. The British press and public opinion were incensed by this news. The British media called it the “Trent Outrage.”

While in prison Mason wrote his wife a letter that some believe indicates that Mason and Slidell provoked the entire event to pressure Britain to recognize the Confederacy. Previously the Confederacy had stopped the export of cotton [the “King Cotton Plan”] to pressure Britain to support the Confederacy.

It is not clear if the Confederacy provoked the event but it is clear that the Union ship violated international law and “outraged” the British media, public opinion and Parliament. Most members of parliament were not supportive of siding with the Confederacy. Britain had abolished slavery in its empire by 1833 and public opinion would not support recognizing the southern slaveholders of the Confederacy. This did not mean that the British would go to any lengths to avoid a war with the Union. No doubt this was a watershed in Anglo-American relations.

Prime Minister Palmerston prepared Britain for war. He sent troops to Canada and ordered the British Atlantic Fleet to prepare to face the Union Navy. In fact, after the Trent Affair was over, it was reported that the British spent £2,000,000 to send British troops to protect Canada. This was a considerable sum in 1861.

By 1861 the Union had a population of 20,000,000 and in 1776, during the American War for Independence; the British had fought a war with an American population of 3,000,000. Palmerston was aware that Britain had been unable to win a war in America thousands of miles away before. He was also aware that a British war with the Union would give Napoleon III a free hand in Europe. Finally he knew that saber-rattling about the Trent Outrage within Britain was not widespread.

The one major exception in Palmerston’s Cabinet seemed to be William Gladstone, his Chancellor of the Exchequer (1859-1866), who spoke in favor of support of the Confederacy.

After the capture of Mason and Slidell the Union media celebrated the action and the Union Congress awarded a medal to the Captain of the San Jacinto. President Lincoln was pleased with some good news after losing The First Battle of Bull Run, but he knew that a war with the British would divert his effort to bring the southern states back into the Union. His Secretary of State Seward had previously said he wanted to annex Canada so Seward was somewhat conflicted by this situation where a war with Britain might have resulted in such an annexation.

In the end, Prime Minister Palmerston sent the Union a demand for release of the Mason and Slidell, the text of which was changed by Albert, the Prince Consort, to allow the Union to save face. This would be Prince Albert’s last act before his death. Lincoln’s cabinet decided on 26 December to release the Confederate Commissioners. They sailed for England aboard a

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20 Ibid. p.63.
21 Ibid.p.15.
22 Ibid.p.65.
24 Ibid. p.76.
26 Ibid.p.85.
28 Ibid. p.87.
British ship on 1 January 1862, shortly after the Prince Consort died of typhoid on 16 December 1861.

If the Confederate Commissioners had not been released and if war between Britain and the Union commenced in 1862, it is likely that the British Navy could not have broken the Union’s blockade of the Confederacy. By 1862 the Union had six Monitor class ironclads and two iron-on-wood ships. By June of 1863 a Monitor class vessel had beaten and captured a Confederate ironclad. Although the Monitor class vessels were not very seaworthy (due to their double hull design), their role was to maintain the blockade of the confederate ports in calm harbors and river delta waters, not to fight battles on the turbulent high seas. The *Warrior* had no experience in fighting another ironclad and would have been unable to sustain a battle action on the Atlantic seacoast of America and unable to penetrate shallow waters near rivers and ports. The lack of a dry dock facilities on or near the Atlantic seacoast, needed to remove iron hull fouling, would greatly inhabit the use of the vessel (or any other British ironclad) in breaking the blockade. If a battle with a Monitor class vessel and the *Warrior* had taken place it is also likely that the *Warrior* would have been more easily disabled and captured due to the destruction of her unprotected propeller. Therefore, it is unlikely that the British Navy of wooden ships (without the Warrior class of ironclads) could have broken the Union blockade of the Confederate ports which was enforced by Monitor class vessels.

The Union’s rapid buildup of ironclad vessels and its fighting force of hundreds of thousands of men would have prevented Britain from having any conclusive impact on the American Civil War. A British attack and a Union defense might have prolonged American the Civil War but would not have changed its outcome. Even though they were more maneuverable, wooden ships could not best the ironclads. Only ironclads could fight ironclads. The inventions of American Civil War brought the end of the wooden hulled ships used by the British as well as the rest of the world. The 1862 battle of the ironclads *Virginia* and *Monitor* at Hampton Roads changed naval warfare forever.
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THE ENGLISH TEA-TABLE: THE DOMESTIC FEMINISATION OF AN EXOTIC COMMODITY, FROM THE ARRIVAL OF TEA IN ENGLAND CIRCA 1660 TO 1760.
Maggie Henderson-Tew

Abstract: ‘Along with air and water, tea is the most widely-consumed substance on the planet.’
This rather startling statement underlines the position of tea as England’s, and the world’s, most popular drink. Along with other exotic luxuries from the Orient, tea was introduced into England in the mid-seventeenth century. The use of tea helped to define class and gender and played a significant role in the development of taste and fashion within wealthy elite society. Although tea-drinking and enjoyment was, of course, not limited to women, it is the rapidly-feminised nature of tea-drinking during the first hundred years of its use in England that I explore here, using two material objects as illustration. The first artefact is a physical object, a tea-table. This item of domestic furniture was made in England around 1760, and is in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Fig 1, below). The second object is a painting of ‘An English Family at Tea’ (Fig 2, below), c. 1720, by the Flemish artist working in London, Joseph Van Aken.

The dates 1660-1760 neatly bracket the first century of tea consumption in Britain. The first official importation of the commodity, of just two ounces of black tea at the court of King Charles II, is recorded in 1660, although tea had arrived in England a few years earlier. The following hundred years were ones of escalating growth in British tea consumption. In the decade 1671-80, the East India Company imported 536 lbs per annum and, by the decade 1751-1760, imported 3,735,0004 lbs per annum5; almost seven thousand times as much.

To understand how popular tea drinking became in just a few decades in England, it is important to know how, why and where it arrived, and by whom it was consumed. It is not known precisely when the first tea arrived in the country and who brought it in, but, at first, tea was sold by apothecaries, and others, as a medicinal product. Its animating and psychoactive effect found great favour with ladies of the moneyed classes. This linkage legitimised the use of

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2 This claim is made on the website of The United Kingdom Tea Council.
3 Other imported luxuries included cane, bamboo, rattan and lacquer-ware, porcelain, coffee and chocolate, as well as parrots and monkeys.
4 Data from Chaudhuri, K. N., Table C19. Total imports of tea from China, derived from the East India Company, General Ledger Books, India Office Records, British Library Services L./AG/1/1/1-20, in The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760 (Cambridge: CUP, 1978) pp 538-9. Information sourced from Ellis, Markham, Tea and the Tea-Table in Eighteenth Century England (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010, in 4 volumes), Introduction, p iv. This data represents only the legally imported, and therefore taxed, commodity, and not the far-greater amount estimated to have entered the country through smuggling.
5 Although a huge proportional rise, the explosion in mass consumption occurred later, in the nineteenth century, after two critical events; the ending of the East India Company’s monopoly on the tea trade in 1833 and the creation of tea plantations in Assam, India, in the 1840s. The commodity was grown only in the closed market of China until the early part of the nineteenth century.
this expensive product by women⁶, although it was never seen as suitable only for female use. Dr Johnson’s personal devotion to tea-drinking is well-known. He wrote:

> Its proper use is to amuse the idle, and relax the studious, and dilute the full meals of those who cannot use exercise, and will not use abstinence. That time is lost in this insipid entertainment cannot be denied; many trifle away, at the tea-table, those moments which would be better spent.⁷

The feminisation of the exotic commodity of tea in its English cultural context was a result of two key factors. The first was the enthusiastic sponsorship of tea-drinking by three successive queens of England; Catherine of Braganza and the daughters of King James II, Mary and Anne. Given their position as leaders of fashion and creators of taste, these women were largely responsible for the spread of tea-drinking at first laterally, within the elite, and then vertically, as, through the desire to copy the habits of the privileged, the drink became popularised more broadly throughout society. The second factor was the importance of the tea-table, which, through its domestic setting in private houses, and its domination by women, gave a particularly feminine tone to the ritual and social gatherings associated with tea-drinking.

To begin, I explore some of the uses, literal and metaphorical, of the term ‘tea-table’ in the century from 1660-1760, and look at some of the ways in which this was a highly gendered descriptor. The term was used literally, to describe a tea-table as a physical object, and metaphorically, to describe the largely-female gatherings around it. The Oxford English Dictionary gives the following definition: ‘a table at which tea is taken, or on which tea-things are placed for a meal⁸. A special piece of furniture, usually small and of a light and elegant make,’ and further defines it as; ‘the place for a social gathering for tea and conversation’ and ‘for the whole company assembled at tea’. Neither the ‘gathering’ nor ‘the whole company’ would always have been exclusively female, but, in the same way in which the contemporary, exclusively-male preserve of the eighteenth century coffee-house in England gave the activity of coffee-drinking a strongly masculine association, so tea-drinking developed the opposite polarity. Where the word ‘tea-table’ is used below in its metaphorical sense of a gathering, I shall present it in parenthesis, to distinguish it from the literal use.

For a variety of political and fiscal reasons, the impoverished Charles II needed to marry a wealthy European princess. After extensive negotiations, he married, in 1662, Catherine of Braganza, daughter of King John IV of Portugal, one of the richest monarchs in Europe.⁹ Luxury goods, including several chests of tea and sugar, were sent from Portugal as gifts and tradable items in advance, enabling Charles II to sell them advantageously and pay off some of his considerable debts. Trade links between Portugal and China meant that tea had arrived at the Portuguese court many years before 1662. Its high price and exoticism established tea-drinking

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⁶ Jonas Hanway’s epistolary essay, An Essay on Tea, considered as pernicious to health, obstructing industry and impoverishing the nation... appended to A Journal of Eight Days Journey (London, 1757), fulminated against what he regarded as the excessive use of tea by women, warned them of the detrimental effect of the ‘the Chinese drug – tea’ on their health, as their genetic weakness made them particularly susceptible to its effects: ‘How many sweet creatures of your sex, languish with weak digestion, low spirits, lassitudes, melancholy, and... nervous complaints? Tell them to change their diet, and among other articles leave off drinking tea, it is more than probable the greatest part of them will be restored to health’. He also appealed to their vanity - insisting that ‘there is not quite so much beauty in this land as there was’ because so many women drank excessive quantities of tea.


⁸ Definitions are taken from The Oxford English Dictionary on-line edition.

⁹ Catherine of Braganza’s dowry was to comprise £500,000 in cash and all kinds of material goods, from commodities and valuable artefacts to land, though, when it came to settlement, so much cash was not available.
as a very fashionable practice at the Court where Catherine grew up and this was mirrored at the
English court after Catherine’s arrival. As Queen-consort, she exerted huge influence over
fashions of all kinds at the English Court. The tea-drinking predilection of Queen Catherine was
so well-known, so quickly, that Edmund Waller wrote in this short public poem in honour of the
Queen’s birthday in 1663:

Venus her Myrtle, Phoebus has his bays;
Tea both excels, which she vouchsafes to praise.
The best of Queens, the best of herbs, we owe
To that bold nation which the way did show
To the fair region where the sun doth rise,
Whose rich productions we so justly prize.
The Muse’s friend, tea does our fancy aid,
Repress those vapours which the head invade,
And keeps the palace of the soul serene,
Fit on her birthday to salute the Queen.\(^{10}\)

This poem credits Catherine with introducing the fashion of drinking tea to the nation and
emphasises its value, rarity and health and strongly-feminised psychoactive benefits. Her
enjoyment of tea was taken up by others in her sphere of influence and the practice spread
rapidly through aristocratic and noble circles.

Tea remained an expensive luxury for many decades, available only to men and women
of elite society. Women of fashion wanted the accoutrements of her tea-table to be as fine as
possible, preferably of rare Chinese porcelain\(^{11}\) or precious metal, but if not, then silver-plate or
English bone china. The tea-tables, kettles, cups, saucers, lockable caddies, sugar tongs and tea
spoons had practical utility but were also vehicles for the display of wealth and fashionable good
taste. The ritual of tea-preparation and drinking had all the exotic appeal of the ‘otherness’ of the
East and tea-tables, usually rectangular, like trays, often featured little fences of Chinese fretwork
to retain the precious objects.

There is only one tea-table\(^{12}\) currently on display at the Ashmolean (Fig 1). It is in Gallery
52, ‘Arts of the Eighteenth Century’. It is of typical style, being rectangular, with fretwork
surround, English-made, but of rare, expensive mahogany, a wood new to Europe and imported
from the English colonies in the West Indies. I have not chosen this piece because it is a
particularly beautiful, rare or remarkable item of eighteenth century domestic furniture, but more
because it is so typical, and illustrative of the expensive paraphernalia essential to tea-drinking at
socially elite level.

\(^{10}\) ‘Of Tea, Commended by Her Majesty’ a poem by Waller, Edmund, taken from Gilfillan, Rev. George, Waller, The
Poetical Works of Edmund Waller and Sir Richard Denham, with memoir and dissertation by the Rev. George Gilfillan 1882

\(^{11}\) So that valuable cargoes of tea would not be contaminated on the long sea voyage from the Far East to Europe,
Chinese blue and white porcelain was used as necessary ballast and the fashion for these tea-wares (known
generically as ‘China’) grew as rapidly as the appetite for the drink itself.

\(^{12}\) The museum label on this item of furniture reads: English, about 1760, Mahogany, Presented from the estate of
Tea could be bought from tea traders, apothecaries or from coffee-houses, where it was sold in leaf or liquid form. It could be consumed publically, in coffee-houses, from which women were excluded, or in the public tea-gardens in which the fashionable could promenade or sit, or drunk privately, at home. Public gardens, like those established at Ranelagh and Vauxhall in London, where tea could be bought and consumed, rapidly became too popular to remain socially exclusive, with the consequence that the *beau monde* met in their own homes and gardens, apart from the *boi-palloi*. Invitations to day-time or evening gatherings around a noble tea-table became a mark of membership of elegant society.

Queen Mary reinforced the same taste for tea, porcelain and lacquer-ware that Catherine of Braganza had begun, and by the time that Anne succeeded her sister Mary as Queen, remarked Richard Steele in *The Tatler* (1710), ‘instead of three rumps of beef’ for breakfast, as during time of Queen Elizabeth I, ‘tea and bread and butter...have prevailed of late years’. Anne succeeded to the throne in 1702 and the association of tea-drinking with the Queen, the Court and, particularly, with women, continued. In Alexander Pope’s ‘The Rape of the Lock’ (1712), Canto III refers to Anne’s tea-drinking habit in the following mock-heroic couplets:

> Close by those Meads for ever crown'd with Flow'rs,  
> Where Thames with Pride surveys his rising Tow'rs,  
> There stands a Structure of Majestick Frame,  
> Which from the neighb'ring Hampton takes its Name.  
> Here Britain's Statesmen oft the Fall foredoom  
> Of Foreign Tyrants, and of Nymphs at home;  
> Here Thou, great *Anna*! whom three Realms obey,  
> Dost sometimes Counsel take — and sometimes *Tea*.16

In the final line of this extract, the oppositional relationship between ‘Counsel’ and ‘Tea’ is set up. Both activities are appropriate for a queen, but there is a bathetic contrast between the

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13 Ranelagh House and grounds, beside the Chelsea Hospital in London, were bought in 1741 by a commercial syndicate and opened to the public the next year, for the entrance fee of 2s 6d. At its centre was a rotunda, a ‘Chinese House’, which was a venue for promenading by the fashionable and for concerts. Nine-year old Mozart performed there in 1765.

14 Vauxhall Gardens, a public pleasure garden, to which entrance was gained by a fee, initially of one shilling, pre-dated the imitative Ranelagh Gardens, and was on the south bank of the Thames. It was a place for promenading and public entertainments and contained a number of buildings, including one built in the style of rococo chinoiserie. Music, fireworks, dramatic enactments and other events were staged and, in 1749, a crowd of over 12,000 assembled to hear a rehearsal of Handel’s *Music for the Royal Fireworks*.

15 Queen Anne was the daughter of James II and niece of Charles II, and came to the English throne in 1702.

importance of masculine statecraft, and the triviality of tea-drinking, with its strongly feminine associations. The anti-climax of this line underlines the association of tea-drinking with the effeminate gossip of the court. The Canto continues:

Hither the Heroes and the Nymphs resort,
To taste awhile the Pleasures of a Court;
In various Talk th' instructive hours they past,
Who gave the Ball, or paid the Visit last:
One speaks the Glory of the British Queen,
And one describes a charming Indian Screen.
A third interprets Motions, Looks, and Eyes;
At ev'ry Word a Reputation dies.17

Queen Anne held court across the silver of her tea-table, and, in imitation, fashionable women in England sipped Chinese tea from tiny porcelain bowls and ordered one of the new tea-tables on which to serve it.

An oil painting (Fig 2) entitled ‘An English family at Tea’18, circa 1720, by Flemish artist, Joseph Van Aken, features an unidentified, but obviously affluent, English family and their servants in an elegantly neo-Classical interior. The equipment necessary for tea drinking has been set up by servants, the drink has been brewed by the hostess (aided by a servant bringing hot water as required), and is served by her to her guests. The tea-table, around which the family is grouped rather stiffly, and upon which are displayed the expensive necessities in silver and porcelain of tea-preparation and consumption, is very like the table in the Ashmolean (Fig 1) in appearance, complete with fretwork fencing. Though not a picture of great artistic significance or merit, this is a self-reflexive piece of commissioned metatheatrics, reflecting the desire of these tea-drinkers in the early eighteenth century to project their expensive habit and their genteel domestic informality as the epitome of civilized behaviour within the wealthy elite. Tea-drinking provided those rich enough to indulge; ‘an opportunity to display their wealth and magnificence in the matter of teapots, cups and so on.’19 This painting illustrates well some of the complex cultural formulations associated with tea-drinking and the social gatherings of ‘the tea-table’.

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17 Pope, lines 9-16.
19 Duc du Rochefoucauld, quoted in Thomas, Gertrude Z., Richer than Spices: how a royal bride’s dowry introduced cane, lacquer, cottons, tea, and porcelain to England, and so revolutionised taste, manners, craftsmanship, and history in both England and America. (New York: Knopf, 1965), p 115.
The table was open to men and women, although women presided, and the ideological and metaphorical constructions of ‘the tea-table’ were central to eighteenth century conceptions of gender and domesticity. By the mid-eighteenth century, a lady would serve tea to a select group of friends, or family, in her parlour and the equipment necessary for enjoyment of tea had formed a highly-ritualised pattern of its own, which mimicked in some ways, although it never rivalled in cultural significance or intricacy, the highly-feminised tea-making, -serving and -drinking rituals of China and Japan that survive today.

‘The tea-table’ and ‘the coffee-house’20 function as the most significant historiographical models of contrasting male and female interests; the former masculine and public and the latter feminine and private. Both function within a highly-complex cultural landscape, in which socialising, interests, fashion, consumption, display, politeness, good taste and manners were interlinked, but highly-gendered, activities.21 The exclusively-male coffee-houses were open to any man who could afford the entrance fee, but the tea-table was a private preserve, to which access was limited and sought-after. The fashion for tea and ‘the tea-table’ created a novel kind of social life,22 providing a locale where men and women, but particularly women, could meet with propriety.

On a spectrum of social activity, the ‘tea-table’ could be a gathering place for intellectual women, such as the Bluestockings23, excluded from masculine spheres of intellectual and political activity, or the tea-table could be the domain of female gossip and triviality, and, as such, highly-satirised. Such conceptions are fundamental to an extract of text from the William Congreve’s Restoration Comedy, The Way of the World, first performed in London in 1700, in which the ‘tea-table’ is presented as a feminine preserve of refined cultural expression, gossip and fashion. Those scions of fashionable society, the beau, Mirabell, and the ‘fine lady’24 of his desire, Mrs Millamant, negotiate the nature of their relationship beyond their forthcoming marriage:

Mira: Have you any more conditions to offer? Hitherto your demands are pretty reasonable.
Milla: Trifles, - as liberty to pay and receive visits to and from whom I please; ...to be sole empress of my tea-table, which you must never presume to approach without first asking leave...
Mira: Lastly, to the dominion of the tea-table I submit, - but with proviso, that you exceed not your province; but restrain yourself to native and simple tea-table drinks, as tea, chocolate, and coffee. As likewise to genuine and authorised tea-table talk - such as mending of fashions, spoiling reputations, railing at absent friends, and so forth...25

Congreve’s play celebrates elite London society to itself and satirises aspects of behaviour and habit of this milieu. Millamant’s and Mirabell’s discussion places the tea-table, and the social interactions associated with it, firmly in Millamant’s domain. The purchase of the tea-table, the luxury commodity of tea (by 1700 regarded as ‘native’) and the tea-ware will be Mirabell’s

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20 There were over 500 coffee-houses in London by the turn of the eighteenth century.
21 This paragraph is indebted to Ellis, Markham, Tea and the Tea-Table in Eighteenth Century England (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010, in 4 volumes), General Introduction, pp xvi-xvii.
22 Thomas, p 106.
23 ‘Blue Stockings’ was the name given to intellectually- and politically-engaged women who gathered around hostess Elizabeth Montagu in the 1750s.
24 Millamant is thus described in the Dramatis Personae that precedes the play.
responsibility, but, thereafter, ownership of this social sphere passes to his wife. This mistrusted female milieu is perceived as a potentially transgressive space, in which women deny men’s authority and assert their own agendas, which Mirabell seeks to contain. Millamant responds; ‘I hate your odious proviso,’ to which he retorts, with presumptive, dominating masculinity; ‘Then we are agreed.’ Functioning as a space in which women could assert their own authority and pursue conversations, serious and trivial, that were not sanctioned by men, and therefore potentially subversive, the ‘tea-table’ was subject to constant masculine attack in prose, poetry, plays and visual media.

The power of tea to change habits, tastes and, ultimately, society itself, was extraordinary. As an alternative to alcoholic beverages, tea played; ‘an important part of the movement towards greater refinement of manners, behaviour and society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’ . It is accurate to characterise much of this ‘refinement’ as feminising of social behaviour, with the prevailing construct of femininity defining itself largely in opposition to a set of ascribed, often boorish, masculine behaviours. ‘Of all the foreign oddities her dowry loosed on England, it would be tea which most affected English tastes and habits’, wrote Gertrude Thomas of Catherine of Braganza and Waller’s celebratory poem presents Catherine in historical perspective, linking the East and the West as the royal sponsor of tea . Although the excesses of the Restoration Court stimulated interest, and legitimised desire, for all sort of luxuries that had been denied during the auster Puritan Commonwealth, tea became the very essence of Englishness. Within 150 years of its arrival, tea was viewed, not as an exotic luxury, but a daily necessity at all levels of society, drunk by men and women, but sponsored principally, and continuously, by women.

26 Ibid, p 213.
27 Ibid, p 213.
28 Thomas, p 104.
29 Ibid, p 102.
30 See p 3 of this article.
31 Thomas, p 99.
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PART 2: BRITISH POLITICAL CULTURE
REMEMBERING KING CHARLES I: HISTORY, ART AND POLEMICS FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REFORM ACT

T. J. Allen

Abstract: The term Restoration can be used simply to refer to the restored monarchy under Charles II, following the Commonwealth period. But it can also be applied to a broader programme of restoring the crown’s traditional prerogatives and rehabilitating the reign of the king’s father, Charles I. Examples of this can be seen in the placement of an equestrian statue of Charles I at Charing Cross and a related poem by Edmund Waller. But these works form elements in a process that continued for 200 years in which the memory of Charles I fused with contemporary constitutional debates.

At the southern end of Trafalgar Square, looking towards Whitehall, stands an equestrian statue of Charles I. This is set on a pedestal whose design has been attributed to Sir Christopher Wren and was carved by Joshua Marshall, Master Mason to Charles II. The bronze figure was originally commissioned by Richard Weston (First Earl of Portland, the king’s Lord High Treasurer) and was produced by the French sculptor Hubert Le Sueur in the early 1630s. It originally stood in
the grounds of Weston’s house in Surrey, but as a consequence of the Civil War was later confiscated and then hidden.

The statue’s existence again came to official attention following the Restoration, when it was acquired by the crown, and in 1675 placed in its current location. Perhaps fittingly given Charles’ own high church aesthetic and the sacerdotal view of kingship held by many royalists, it stands on the former site of one of the Eleanor crosses that Edward I built to the memory of his consort, and which was demolished by Parliamentary forces in 1647 (a Victorian replica can be seen at the entrance of Charing Cross station). Indeed, the Charles I statue narrowly missed a similar fate as Parliament had placed it with a brazier, John Rivett, with the intention that it too should be destroyed.

In the 1670s, the statue would have looked towards the complex of buildings forming the Palace of Whitehall, including the Inigo Jones’ Banqueting Hall, which had been a venue for the royal masques that had infuriated puritan sentiment – and before which the king was beheaded in 1649. At this time, Charing Cross was a smaller open space, in contrast to the modern Trafalgar Square, marking the point at which the Strand (the main thoroughfare to the City of London, along which stretched the mansions of the upper nobility) met Whitehall at a pronounced bend in the Thames. Since its current placement in central London, the statue has therefore been part of a traffic island – and in the eighteenth century iron railings were added, although these were removed in 1860.

The use of equestrian imagery to evoke princely power was a popular one in the seventeenth century, although innovative in England during the 1630s. It was employed by Charles I in various contexts, including major portraits by Anthony van Dyck (also from the mid-1630s) similarly showing the king in half-armour with baton and sword sheathed – an imposing example of which is on display in the National Gallery. Such images of the king were also used in engraving (for example by Wenceslas Hollar), coins and medals (such as that designed by Nicholas Briot in 1633 depicting Charles’ return from his Scottish coronation). The purpose of such representations was to create an image that is majestic and commanding. They are also suggestive of martial activity, but without any overt reference to battlefields or conflict. This required careful management: Charles was of slight stature (his portraits with Queen Henrietta Maria are carefully positioned) and the campaigns against Spain and France that had occurred early in the reign had ended badly. Hubert Le Sueur also produced busts of the king in bronze and marble; and Charles presented these as gifts to certain individuals and localities. The concept of majesty embedded in these statues was meant to elicit a suitably respectful response from observers – the royal governor of Portsmouth required members of the garrison to lift their hats to a local bronze commemorating Charles’ safe return from Spain in 1623.

This carefully constructed Caroline iconography came crashing down during the constitutional crisis of 1641/42. Prior to the Civil War commencing in England, Charles’ prestige

had been seriously undermined as a result of failed campaigns against the Scottish Covenanters (the so-called Bishops’ Wars, 1639-40) and an Irish uprising (1641). In the circumstances, the king’s personal rule ended as first the Short Parliament (April-May 1640) and then the Long Parliament (from November 1641) were convened, followed by the trial and execution of his leading minister, the Earl of Strafford, the imprisonment of Archbishop Laud and even threats of impeachment against the queen. Laud wrote that the king’s abandonment of Strafford proved him to be ‘a mild and gracious prince, that knows not how to be, or be made, great’. Subsequently, Charles was able to rally sufficient support during 1642 to make possible a protracted civil war. But it was the king’s conduct following his military defeat rather than his generalship that had greater consequences for his memorialization.

At the end of the fighting, the king faced the ignominy of captivity, and was then tried and condemned as a tyrant. But his trial and execution proceeded only after the Army had mounted a coup (Pride’s Purge) in which a large number of MPs were excluded from the Commons, which would shortly become a unicameral ‘Rump’ Parliament once it had dispensed with the House of Lords. This assisted the king in presenting himself as defending the rule of law and constitutional usage by refusing to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Parliamentary Commission or ‘court’ that presumed to judge him. Declining to plead for his life, the king’s demeanour as he went to the scaffold was widely judged to exemplify kingly behaviour, providing solace and inspiration to the (for now) defeated royalists.

On the day that Charles was executed (30 January 1649), royalists began circulating published copies of the Eikon Basilike: the Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings. This work purported to represent the king’s own reflections on the Civil War as well as advice to his heir, Charles II, although its authenticity has long been debated. In tone, it seeks to avoid being polemical or partisan, presenting the king as the father of his people. But for the leading figures around whom the parliamentary opposition had coalesced there is scorn and he predicted (accurately): ‘I am confident they will find Avengers of My death among themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them shall first be punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing Me.’

This and other royalist perspectives were actively challenged during the eleven years of republican government that followed, including by John Milton in his Eikonoklastes. Royalists forced to compound for their estates needed to be wary of offending the new regime. But Charles’ prediction proved true in that Cromwell could find no satisfactory constitutional settlement that could command broad support, and the Commonwealth quickly unravelled after his death.

With the Restoration, there was a predictable royalist reaction. In political terms, this was most clearly manifest in the efforts of the Cavalier Parliament (1661-79) to restore the crown’s prerogatives and episcopal government as well as to counter sedition. And while the crown offered a broad pardon (delivered by the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion) for acts committed during the Interregnum, there was an exception and bloody reckoning for those deemed to be regicides. In the context of this essay, concerned with fluctuations in personal reputation and the need for power to be underpinned by public display, it is noteworthy that in October 1660 several individuals who had sat in judgement or assisted at Charles I’s execution were themselves publicly hung, drawn and quartered at Charing Cross before an audience that reportedly included

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Charles II. On the 13th, for example, Samuel Pepys (who had been present in Whitehall at Charles I’s death) mentions also being present for the execution of Major-General Harrison.

It was against this background that royalist writers did not simply challenge their opponents but, under his son, could develop a new state-sponsored orthodoxy regarding the first Charles. The years immediately following the placement of Charles’ statue at Charing Cross saw, in particular, the publication by William Dugdale (1605-86), royal herald and antiquary, of his *Short View of the Late Troubles in England* (1681) and John Nalson’s *Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State from the Beginning of the Scotch Rebellion in the Year 1639 to the Murder of King Charles I* (1682-3).

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**The Statue of King Charles I**

That the First Charles does here in triumph ride,
See his son reign where he a martyr died,
And people pay that rev’rence as they pass,
(Which then he wanted!) to the sacred brass,
Is not the effect of gratitude alone,
To which we owe the statue and the stone;
But Heaven this lasting monument has wrought
That mortals may eternally be taught—
Rebellion, though successful, is but vain,
And kings so kill’d rise conquerors again.
The truth the royal image does proclaim,
Loud as a trumpet of surviving Fame.

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In similar vein, but with greater brevity, Edmund Waller wrote his poem *The Statue of King Charles I* at the time of its erection. From a literary perspective Waller is a comparatively minor poet, bridging the period between the Metaphysical Poets and the age of Dryden, and who promoted the use of rhyming couplets. In addition, he was a secondary figure on the political stage, sitting in various Parliaments between the 1620s and the Restoration. But his career was not atypical in that he sought to navigate the fraught conditions of the age in which he lived: having been found complicit in a royalist plot in the 1640s, he was banished from England; he subsequently ingratiated himself with the new regime by writing *A Panegyric to my Lord Protector* in

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11 Waller’s poems, including this one, are reproduced by Project Gutenberg, see [http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/12322.html](http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/12322.html)
the 1650s; but also wrote verse praising Charles II at the Restoration,\textsuperscript{12} before offering this retrospective on the first Charles in the following decade.

Waller’s \textit{Statue} poem uses the word ‘martyr’ in relation to the late king – while also invoking sacredness and heaven, albeit in a rather terse manner. Martyrdom was the central theme among high-Anglican royalists. Charles I did not simply die for refusing to jettison his view of the constitutional rights of monarchy but also for defending the apostolic Church of England. This was an idea central to the \textit{Basilike Eikon}; and it could be linked to the king’s statements during his last days and to Bishop Juxon’s reading to him of a lesson using \textit{Matthew} 27 (on Christ’s crucifixion) immediately prior to the execution; it was formalised by the reference to ‘K Charles Martyr’ alongside 30 January in the 1662 \textit{Book of Common Prayer}; and to Parliament’s decision in 1681 to declare that day an occasion for public fasting.\textsuperscript{13} For Kevin Sharpe, the \textit{Basilike Eikon} ‘remade Charles into a king’.\textsuperscript{14}

But the wheel of fortune was shortly to turn again. At the north end of Trafalgar Square stands the fine bronze cast of James II in Roman costume (attributed to Grinling Gibbons). The statue dates from 1686 when James appeared secure having defeated Monmouth’s Rebellion a year previously. But within three years the Glorious Revolution (1688/89) would sweep aside James’s absolutist pretensions, while doing so under the cover of restoring an ancient, mixed constitution (which in 1642 both sides had claimed they were upholding). The new monarch, William III, was content to present his father-in-law as having fled into exile, as were the political elite, allowing them to employ the convenient notion that the crown had been abandoned and therefore might be passed to the nearest protestant member of the royal family.\textsuperscript{15}

Later ideas of divine right and regicide came to be associated with an earlier, less enlightened age. Moreover, as direct experience of the 1640s and 1650s faded and attitudes the new constitutional settlement became the litmus test in politics, it was natural that the emotions prompted by the reign of Charles I and the Civil War would lose some of their intensity. But if the need to control the narrative surrounding this period lost some of its existential quality, the recent past still aroused strong emotions and remained inextricably linked to party politics, although later adversaries (a few Jacobites apart) preferred to fight their battles vicariously and with the pen rather than sword in hand.

It was against this background that the great \textit{History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England} by Edward Hyde (Earl of Clarendon, 1609-74) was belatedly and posthumously published in 1702-04. Hyde had been a key minister and confidant to Charles I and Charles II, although he had begun his parliamentary career as an opposition member, was acquainted with many of its leading members and respected the idea of a mixed constitution. He had also known Edmund Waller through the Great Tew Circle, a literary and clerical group brought together in the 1630s by Lord Falkland at his Oxfordshire manor. Perhaps inspired by its scholarly ideals, Hyde asked for publication to be delayed until tempers had opportunity to cool.

Reflecting on the conflict that followed, Hyde looked back on the 1630s as the time when England enjoyed the ‘fullest measure of felicity that any people in any age for so long time together have been blessed’; in doing this he stressed that he had not forgotten the reign of Elizabeth I, whose memory was venerated (somewhat curiously) by many Roundheads, including

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{To the King, upon his Majesty’s Happy Return}. [1660].

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{ibid} p461. Richardson \textit{ibid} p42.


\textsuperscript{15} While William III reigned alongside his wife Mary II until her death in 1695, executive power was vested in him alone.
Charles I. was neither dissembler nor tyrant, and his attempt to reconcile the conceit and ill-will of certain opposition leaders. It also provides a window on a monarch not endowed with extraordinary abilities who has to contend with exceptional times, rather than a saint.

At the same time, it could not escape being labelled Tory history, in part because its publication was overseen by Hyde’s son, Lawrence Hyde, Lord Rochester, who was recognised as a leader of the High-Tory party during the reign of Queen Anne and who appended his preface to the history; and also because of the considerate treatment given to Charles I. And for the rest of the eighteenth century, party labels continued to attach to most analyses of the Civil War. When mid-century, David Hume in his *History of England* decided that the evidence required a more sympathetic treatment of the Stuarts than was common at this time, his work was labelled as Tory. He found that Charles I death was ‘tragical’. ‘Never monarch, in the full triumph of success and victory, was more dear to his people, than his misfortunes and magnanimity, his patience and piety, had rendered this unhappy prince’.17

The opposing Whig historiography was less sympathetic to Charles I and absolutist claims, but it tended to recoil from regicide. For the influential Huguenot writer de Rapin, it was no easy matter ‘to give a just character of Charles I amidst the excessive commendations bestowed on him by some, and the calumnies wherewith others have endeavoured to blacken his reputation…’.18 He had ‘many virtues and noble qualities’, even if sincerity was not among the most important of these. In the same spirit, Charles James Fox19 decades later wrote that the execution of the king was an event of such ‘singular a nature’ that it was to be expected that it would excite more sensation than any other event ‘in the annals of England’. For Fox, who had very publicly sympathised with the French Revolution, the English Republic was not justified in taking the king’s life on the basis of the precautionary principle, even if he doubted Charles’ sincerity.20

The nineteenth-century heirs to this Whig tradition wrote in similar vein. For Henry Hallam, seeking to write an authoritative constitutional history, Charles I had been arbitrary and his character imperfect but this did not justify his death.21 Lord John Russell, for whom resistance to Stuart pretensions was almost family property, observed the king while alive was a ‘baffled tyrant’ who became in death a royal martyr.22 Borrowing from Talleyrand, Macaulay observed crisply that in executing the king, and by allowing him to be portrayed as a martyr and penitent, his opponents had ‘committed, not only a crime, but an error’.23

Russell and Macaulay were also Whig politicians who were closely engaged with the passage of the Great Reform Act (1832). And it is notable that the constitutional struggles of the

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18 Rapin de Thoyras, P., *The History of England*, vol. 10 (trans. N Tindal, 1760) London, p538. The original work was produced in French during the 1720s, although dedicated to George I.
19 Fox, C J. (1808) *A History of the Early Part of the Reign of James the Second*, London. Fox was via his mother a great grandson of Charles Lennox (1st Duke of Lennox), an illegitimate child of Charles II and therefore grandson of Charles I.
seventeenth century appeared to hold a particular fascination for historians, politicians and the wider reading public at this time, as Britain moved from a political system directed by inherited authority and landed property to one that was more broadly based. But the Whig-Liberal narrative did not go unchallenged; and in this last period before the rise of university-based academic history, Charles I was not without a new generation of sympathisers.

Isaac D’Israeli observed that after two centuries the king’s name could still awaken the most conflicting opinions, but also noted the dangers of judging the past by modern standards and wanted to underline that the king had confronted circumstances that were exceptional.24 His son, Benjamin Disraeli, was more pointed in drawing lessons for those that wanted to force the pace of constitutional change. In his address to the electors of High Wycombe in 1834, he looked back to that earlier period as demonstrating the dangers of an all-powerful Commons able to overawe both the Crown and the Lords.25 This was a theme he returned to a decade later in the second novel of his Young England trilogy: *Sybil: or The Two Nations*.26 For the poet Robert Southey, the king’s death was simply murder.27 Charles’ ecclesiastical policy, advanced by Laud, was naturally favoured by the swelling number of adherents to the Oxford Movement. And among academic writers, the Roman Catholic historian John Lingard looking at Charles’ opponents concluded that from the moment they felt that war was inevitable behaved as if they were ‘absolved from all obligations of honour and honesty’.28

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the Civil War and the fate of the king at its end has hardly ceased to prompt controversy. As Blair Worden has shown, the decision to erect a statue of Cromwell next to Parliament in the 1890s was no small matter.29 And Marxists have sought to identify the success of the puritan cause as a bourgeois revolution removing the vestiges of feudalism. But the fusion of political and historical thinking that existed for two hundred years following Charles I’s demise has become less marked with time, even if Weight and Haggith have recently argued that Britons still find it difficult to come to terms with their revolutionary past.30

As well as being geographically proximate, the King Charles’ equestrian statue and Cromwell’s share another link. In May 1941, a letter appeared in the *The Times* stating it was absurd that such a fine post-medieval sculpture as the one at Charing Cross should be left to take its chances in central London during the Blitz, and noting wryly that the subject had been liquidated by a military dictatorship.31 A few weeks later the statue was removed to a place of safety. The refuge chosen was Mentmore Park, Buckinghamshire. There was some irony in this choice. The Park belonged to the Earl of Rosebery, whose father had sponsored the erection Cromwell’s statue. The statue returned to its long-term home in 1947.32 And a few years later, a bust of Charles I was added to the exterior of St Margaret’s Church, Westminster opposite Cromwell’s statue, to keep a wary eye on the Lord Protector.

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26 Disraeli, B (1845) *Sybil: Or the Two Nations*, reprinted The Mayflower Press, Plymouth (1927). In which Charles I is described dying as a consequence of his church policy and his efforts to make taxation less regressive, see p350.
32 ibid, 5 May 1947, p8.
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Abstract: This paper examines the value of by-elections as predictors of the next general election during the period from the third reform act to the passing of the parliament act of 1911. It finds that gross counts of party changes or swings in voting percentage provide no statistical insight. A heuristic review of the by-elections during the last year of a parliament occasionally provides some explanatory intuition.

A by-election provides an opportunity for the voters in a constituency to evaluate, speak, and vote upon current government’s performance. The results of by-elections are often taken as prognosticating the outcome of future general elections. Two objects from the Late Victorian through Edwardian period reflect this common perception.

One of these is the cover of a collection of essays on Parliamentary by-elections from 1832-1914. The illustration is a cartoon from the 13 March 1913 issue of Punch. Its title is ‘Set Stormy’ and it is described as ‘a contemporary view of the meteorology of by-elections’. The cartoon shows Lloyd-George and a Liberal party by-election candidate standing in a hallway. Through the window one can see a fierce rain falling. The by-election candidate is bundled up and has an umbrella in his hand. The Chancellor is wearing a smoking jacket and enjoying a good cigar. The dialogue in the caption reads:

Candidate: ‘I say, this looks pretty hopeless. Still going down.’
Lloyd-George: ‘OH! It’ll be all right in a few years.’
Candidate: ‘Yes, but I have to go out now.’

The second object is a quote from the Liberal Unionist of 1 February 1889. The newspaper complained of the ‘terrific outburst of political meteorology’ associated with the outcome of recent by-elections. Gladstone had been touting the by-election returns as a rejection of Salisbury’s government. In a series of articles of 1887, 1889, and 1891, he used arbitrary and arcane arguments to predict combined Liberal and Home Rule majorities of 78 to 120, 109 to 116, and 100 to 160, respectively. Their actual majority was forty in the 1892 general election.
These two objects raise the question of the effectiveness of ‘political meteorology’ defined as using by-election results forecast to a general election. Can the patterns of by-election outcomes provide clues to predict the winner of the next general election, especially during the period of the objects?

The figures cited below are displayed in the attached table, entitled ‘By-elections 1885-1910’.

This was a period of significant political turmoil. The electorate was evenly divided. There were four Liberal governments and three Conservative; however, the Conservatives were in power sixty per cent of the time. Before examining the by-election data, a review of the politics of the period provides background.

In the period between the third reform act and the outbreak of the First World War, 1884-1914, there were seven general elections.

The November 1885 general election was the first under the Third Reform Act’s expanded electorate and seat redistribution. The result was that the 23rd parliament was hung (i.e. no party had a majority.) Liberals won 319 seats with sixteen independent liberals, providing enough support for Gladstone to form a government. However, this was a short lived parliament, lasting only six months. Gladstone’s epiphany with respect to Irish home rule rent his party. The parliament was dissolved in June 1886 when the Irish home rule act failed. Due to its short sitting, sixty per cent of the by-elections were ministerial.

The election for the 24th parliament in July 1886 also resulted in a hung parliament. There were 316 Conservative members returned compared to 192 Gladstone Liberals; however, 77 Liberal Unionists were also returned. This faction, led by Chamberlain and Hartington, had split from Gladstone and the rest of the Liberal party over the Irish home rule issue. These schismatic members supported the Conservative leader, Salisbury, in forming a government, but did not immediately join the cabinet. This parliament ran almost its full term, being dissolved in June 1892.

The election for the 25th parliament in July 1892 again produced a hung parliament. The Conservatives returned 268 seats; Liberal Unionists 45; Liberals 272; and Irish Nationalists 81. The combination of Liberals and Irish Nationalists, totalling 353, allowed Gladstone to form his fourth ministry. He resigned in March 1894 over a dispute with his own cabinet over naval estimates. He was succeeded by Rosebery, a Liberal imperialist. Fifteen months later, this government fell over a purported army cordite supply scandal.

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7 All figures are from Rallings, Colin and Thrasher, Michael, eds. and comps., British Electoral Facts 1832-1999 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
8 Before the third reform act there were 196 single-member constituencies and 211 two-member constituencies. (There were also twelve three-member and one four-member constituency for a total of 658 seats.) After the act, there were 616 single-member and only twenty-seven two-member constituencies.
9 There were 670 seats in parliament during this period. Thus the 319 Liberal with 16 liberal independent represented exactly half the seats. Further, the 86 Irish Nationalists supported Gladstone due to his Irish home rule initiative.
10 The 1707 act of succession required that a member of Commons who took a royal appointment had to stand for re-election in his constituency. The purpose of the re-election was to assure the independence of Commons vis-à-vis the crown. By the time of the third reform act, this requirement was constitutionally obsolete. This requirement was severely limited in 1919 and abolished in 1926. See Pugh, Martin “Queen Anne is dead”: The Abolition of Ministerial By-elections, 1867-1926’ Parliamentary History, 21 (2002), 277-305.
The election for the 26th parliament in July 1895 produced a Conservative majority of 411 seats including 71 Liberal Unionists. There were 177 Liberals and 82 Irish Nationalists. The Liberal Unionists immediately joined Salisbury’s government, most notably Chamberlain as the Colonial Secretary. The later years of the parliament were dominated by the Second Boer War. In September 1900 the parliament was dissolved on encouraging war news.

The election, known as the ‘Khaki election’, for the 27th parliament in October 1900 again produced a Conservative majority with 402 combined seats between the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists. The Liberals held 183 seats and the Irish Nationalists 82. This parliament also saw the first two Labour members returned. An ailing and failing Salisbury resigned in July of 1902. He was succeeded by his nephew Balfour. In 1903, Chamberlain divided the Conservative party over the imperial preference tariff, reversing the free trade policy.12 Balfour resigned after a series of poor by-election results and intraparty dissention resulting in a parliamentary dissolution in January 1906.13

The election for the 28th parliament in January 1906 was a Liberal landslide. The Conservatives and Liberal Unionists retained only 156 seats. The Liberals won 399 seats. Labour increased to 29,14 and the Irish Nationalists maintained 82 seats.15 Campbell-Bannerman served as the Liberal prime minister for the first two plus years of the parliament until ill-health forced his resignation. Asquith was his successor. In 1909 the Chancellor, Lloyd-George brought forth the ‘people’s budget’. It was rejected by the House of Lords, causing a constitutional crisis. Lords by tradition did not reject finance bills. Parliament was dissolved in January 1910 to ask for a mandate on the ‘people’s budget’.

The election for the 29th parliament in January 1910 resulted in neither the Liberals nor Conservatives receiving a majority. The Conservatives with their Liberal Unionist16 allies won 272 seats. The Liberals obtained 274. There were 40 Labour members and 82 Irish Nationalists. In return for support of home rule, the Irish Nationalists backed a continuation of the Liberal Asquith government. The Lords passed the ‘people’s budget’. The government, however, wanted a bill to limit permanently the Lords’ power. The new king, George V, demanded a new election be fought before he would agree to create the necessary peers to pass the bill. Accordingly the parliament was dissolved in November 1910 after sitting for less than a year.

The election for the 30th parliament in December 1910 had results similar to the previous January 1910 election. Neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals received a majority. There were 271 Conservatives (including Liberal Unionists), and 272 Liberals.17 Labour and Irish Nationalists each gained each two seats, totalling 42 and 84 respectively. Again Irish Nationalists supported the continuation of Asquith’s Liberal18 government. The act to limit Lords was passed without having to pack Lords. An Irish home rule bill was also passed, but the outbreak of the Great War put its implementation on hold. This parliament sat until the end of war.

14 For an overview of the rise of the Labour party, see Tanner, Duncan, Political change and the Labour party 1900-1918 (Cambridge: CUP, 1990).
15 The Irish Nationalist ran only 86 candidates of which 82 were returned with 73 of them unopposed.
16 The Liberal Unionist party formally merged into the Conservative party in 1912.
17 There was one independent conservative elected. If he is included into the Conservative party sum then both the Liberals and Conservatives won the same number of seats.
18 For a dated but still interesting view of the dissipation of the Liberal party after the second 1910 general election see Dangerfield, George, The Strange Death of Liberal England (Stanford, CA: SUP, 1997)
The statistical question becomes: Do the by-elections during the nth parliament provide any insight into the voting for the n plus one parliament. A look at the characteristics of by-elections provides insight into their ability to forecast.\footnote{The by-election data are based upon Craig, F.W.S., ed. and comp., *Chronology of British Parliamentary By-elections 1833-1987* (Chichester: Parliamentary Research Services, 1987). It is expanded upon and cross referenced with Craig, F.W.S., ed. and comp., *British parliamentary Election Results* (Chichester: Political Reference Publications, 1972) and Walker, Brian M., *Parliamentary election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978).}

Between the 1885 election of the 23rd parliament and the December 1910 election of the 30th parliament, there were 668 by-elections. This is an annual turnover of 4.3\%.\footnote{This statistic is the number of by-elections in a parliament divided by the product of the number of seat times the length of the parliament. This statistic measures the frequency of by-elections commensurably between parliaments of different lengths.} This is equivalent to almost twenty-nine by-elections per year. The highest turnover was during the short 1885 23rd parliament at 11.3\%, driven by the governmental change. The lowest turnover was 3.2\% during the 1900 27th parliament. The two adjoining elections had below average turnovers of 3.4\% for the 1895 26th parliament and of 3.8\% for the 1906 28th parliament.

Of the 668 by-elections, there was a party change in only 108 (or 16.2\%). In the short January 1910 29th parliament there were no changes of party in any by-election. Given the highly political atmosphere during the ‘people’s budget’ dispute and the limiting of Lords’ power, this was understandable. The small changes between the results of the January 1910 and December 1910 general elections demonstrate that the political party lines were hard set. The other short parliament, 1885 23rd, had three changes, all liberal losses. Two were to Conservatives and one to an independent. During the 1900 27th parliament there were thirty-one changes in party, resulting in a net gain of sixteen for the out-of-power Liberal party, which won the 1906 general election. During the 1886 24th parliament there were twenty-six changes in party. The out-of-power Liberals had a net gain of twenty seats. They also won the 1892 general election. During the 1895 26th parliament, eighteen seats changed party. This resulted in a net of loss eleven seats for the ruling Conservatives, which despite this setback handily won the 1900 general election. During the 1906 27th parliament, sixteen seats changed party, all losses by ruling Liberal party. The Conservatives gained twelve seats and Labour four. Despite this setback, the Liberals maintained control of the government after the January 1910 general election. During the 1892 25th parliament, fourteen seats changed, the out-of-power Conservatives gained net four seats and won back control of parliament in the July 1895 election. The pattern is clear, but from the perspective of ‘political meteorology’ disappointing. During each parliament the incumbent, controlling party lost seats. The size of the loss does not provide any indication of the success of the incumbent party. The controlling party also did not gain seats at the next general even if it retained control. Looking at the net seat changes as a percentage does not add any further insight.\footnote{The final part of the attached table provides a complete breakdown of losses and gains by parliament and by party.}

The converse of a party change is the party retaining or holding the seat. During the period, the incumbent party held the seat 83.8\% of the time in the by-election. For the same seats, however, the party held the seat 85.8\% in the next general election.

Of the 136 ministerial by-elections, only two resulted in a change in party. One was the 4 May 1905 Brighton defeat of an incumbent Conservative by a Liberal.\footnote{The second was the famous 24 April 1908 Manchester NW defeat of the then liberal Winston Churchill standing after being appointed president of the board of trade.} It was one of seven Conservative losses in the last year of the 27th 1900 parliament. There were no Conservative
gains in that pre-election year. The Conservatives held six seats, or slightly under half of those contested that year. That is not a good record when over eighty per cent of the time the incumbent held. The Liberals held the seat in all three by-elections they contested. This scenario is consistent with the January 1906 general election Liberal landslide. Since the Conservatives lost a net total of only sixteen seats during the entire sitting it may have looked as if storm clouds had gathered for the Conservative party.

During the next parliament, 28th January 1906 the incumbent party also lost a net of sixteen seats. In the last year of parliament, 1909, the Liberals contested eight elections: winning four and losing four. Three of the losses were to the Conservatives and one to Labour. The Conservative held the two contested by-elections. Possible storm clouds were looming again for the incumbent party. The weather was even more ominous: The only contested by-election in Britain after Lloyd George introduced his ‘people’s budget’ was Bermondsey on 28 October 1909. It was a loss of a ‘safe’ Liberal constituency to a Conservative. The Liberals had won the seat with over 61% of the vote in 1906. The Conservatives won the three way by-election with 47.5% of the vote. This result caused Labour to trim its ambitions for the upcoming election. Labour was concerned that in certain districts a three-way race would assure a Conservative result. This action by Labour prevented enough storm clouds from forming so that the Liberal government with Labour and importantly Irish Nationalist support was retained after the January 1910 election. Bermondsey seat comfortably returned a Liberal in the January 1900 election with 55% of the vote in a two-way race. To push the metaphor, Labour seeded the clouds.

During the 1886 24th parliament the incumbent Conservatives lost twenty seats net. Gladstone had been using these results to predict a Liberal triumph in his Nineteenth Century articles. In the twelve months before the July 1892 election were there any storm clouds? Of the eleven contested British by-elections in which the Conservative was the incumbent, the Conservatives held nine seats. Thus 81.8% of the seats contested were held. This was nearly the 83.8% observed average over the entire 1885-1910 period. The Liberals held all three contests in which they were the incumbent. This seems to be hardly threatening weather. Gladstone’s weather gauge did not improve as the general election got closer.

During the 1892 25th parliament, the Liberals lost a net of only four seats in by-elections. They were to loose ninety-eight in the 1895 general election. How was the weather during the last year before that July 1895 election? The Liberal incumbents were challenged in nine contests and were successful in six, losing three. This hold percentage of only 66.7% is below the observed average. There were seven contested by-elections with Conservative or Liberal Unionist incumbents. They were also successful in six, losing only one. This 85.7% retention percentage was above average. Thus during the last year, the Liberals lost a net of two seats. The net loss for the Liberals was only four seats during the three year sitting of the parliament; however, half of the net loss occurred in the last year. Some clouds, perhaps?

The only multi-year parliament not yet discussed with respect to the by-elections during the last year of its sitting is the 1895 26th parliament. The incumbent Conservatives lost a net of eleven seats; however, they maintained their majority in the October 1900 general election. In the year before the ‘Khaki election’, the Conservatives won all seven contested by-elections in which they were incumbents. Similarly the Liberals won all three of the contested by-elections in which they were incumbents. The results were neutral which may have meant fair weather for the sitting Salisbury government.

So far we have looked at raw totals of seats changes and patterns in the last year before a general election. Whilst some clever anecdotes can be drawn, nothing of statistical significance can be determined. The next step is to look a little deeper into the vote totals to find a pattern. To do this one needs to look at changes in voting percentage or ‘swing’ at each separate by-election. This analysis of swing between the previous general election, the by-election, and the next general election cannot be applied to all 668 by-elections. This is due to both sephological and political factors. The 127 Irish by-elections are not considered because the politics of that island during this period was all one issue: home rule. Except for four counties in northeastern Ulster and the Dublin University, the Irish representation was consistently Nationalist. There can be no insight from these returns about the relative position of either the Conservative or Liberal party. Next the 186 uncontested British by-elections are eliminated as there are no vote totals. Further, the thirty-one by-elections in a two-member district are omitted because multi-member races do not provide comparable returns. This leaves 324 contested British single-member by-elections to be studied. However another 106 of those do not have fully comparable data. For example, a general election was uncontested, or a Labour party candidate won in a general. Therefore there were only 218 (or 32.6%) by-elections for which satisfactory comparable by-election swing data exists.

Looking at the parliaments historically, there were four by-elections with complete swing data during the 1885 23rd parliament. From the 23rd to the 24th parliament, the Conservative percentage of the vote increased from 45.6% to 51.8%. This was a gain of 5.6%. However, in a constituency with a by-election the Conservative lost 2.3% at the by-election but rebounded with a 5.2% gain from the by-election to the next general. Given the small sample size any inference is suspect. That said, a drop at the by-election is not an indicator of success at the general. For the next 1886 24th parliament, there were sixty-one by-elections. This was the largest number for all of the parliaments which this paper considers. In Britain the Liberal party vote increased only 1.0% from the 24th to 25th general election. At the by-election the Liberal vote increased on average 3.8% and from the by-election to the next general, 1892, the Liberals gained an additional 0.5% of the votes. This healthy gain at the by-election may be a source of Gladstone’s meteorology. During the 1892 25th parliament, the Conservatives gained 1.3% at the by-election and another 0.5% from the by-election to the 1895 general. The Conservative gain of 1.0% from general to general might have seemed a bit less than the trend resulting from the by-elections.

During the 1895 26th parliament, the Conservative swing from the general to the by-election was negative 3.2%. The Conservative gained 3.6% from the by-election to the 1900 general election. The Conservative gain from the 1895 to 1900 general election was 0.5%. These figures reflect that the incumbent party often loses seats at by-elections during parliament even if it retains control at the next election.

During the 1900 27th parliament, the swing to the Liberals was 4.8% from the general election to the by-election. The swing from the by-election to the 1906 election was an additional 2.2% to the Liberals. The Liberals gain from 1900 Khaki election to the 1906 Liberal landslide was 3.1%. The by-election swing was greater than the result of the next general.

24 This handy little trio of general, by-election, and general is complicated by the fact fifty-three times a constituency had more than one by-election during a parliament.
25 Some attempts have been made at measuring swing from a multi-member race to a single member race and back again to a multi-member race. All seem arbitrary and lack elegance.
26 This figure is only for Great Britain as the Irish by-elections are not considered.
During the 28th parliament, the Liberals drop from the 1906 general to the by-election was 11.2%. The Liberals rebounded and gained 5.5% from the by-election to the January 1910 general election. Overall in Britain, the Liberals lost 5.5% of the vote from 1906 to January 1910. This was consistent with sum of the by-election loss plus the recovery at January 1910. However one cannot predict the general recovery from the significant loss at the by-elections.

During the short 29th parliament, the Liberals dropped 2.3% from January 1910 general election until the by-election. From the by-election to the December 1910 general election the liberal percentage slipped another 0.5%. However the Liberals actually gained 1.1% of the British vote from the January to December elections. There was not much meteorology in these vote swings figures.

Again, after a detailed discussion of these numbers, nothing appears as the statistically consistent pattern. Looking at raw election results, by-elections in the year before the next general election, and by-elections vote swings during parliaments, lead to some interesting anecdotes but sadly to no grand conclusions.

**Table**

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Party hold at by-election  
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| Revision at general  
|            | Lib | Con | Lib | Con | Con | Lib | Lib | Average |
| Change at general  
|            | Lib | Con | Lib | Con | Con | Lib | Lib | Average |

Election results

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Breakdown of by-elections

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PART 3: GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
POCKETS OF IDENTITY: NINETEENTH-CENTURY WOMEN’S POCKETS IN LADY AUDLEY’S SECRET AND A FASHION PLATE FROM THE ENGLISHWOMAN’S DOMESTIC MAGAZINE
Deirdre A. Duffy

Abstract: Copious nineteenth-century novels feature women’s fashion as more than passing references or descriptive details for the sake of imagery. In fact, a female character’s development is often linked to the style and manner to in which she wears her clothing. One such example of a minor fashion element is the pocket, specifically, the pocket(s) in women’s dresses. This essay analyzes the subtle, yet notable presence that pockets occupy for the women characters in Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s 1862 Sensation novel, Lady Audley’s Secret, while also examining the placement and function of pockets in a nineteenth-century dresses from a fashion plate featured in an 1864 edition of the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine. Juxtaposed as fact versus fiction, these two nineteenth-century artefacts share intriguing properties that invite analysis of the novel’s female characters by what they sustain or lose from their pockets.

Women’s fashion in the nineteenth century is notorious for dramatic transformations in shape, style, detail, and stability. In an era bursting with consumerism, textile availability, and the social elite’s hunger for high-fashion trends, women’s dresses, specifically, morphed somewhat rapidly among these decades, propagating symbolic statements of identity via the clothes with which a Victorian woman displayed herself. At the same time as this fashion frenzy, the period’s authors and artists often utilized the concrete details as well as implied properties associated with women’s clothing with powerful symbolism, using the ‘awareness of clothing as something that has potential for both restriction of identity as well as expression of it’. 1 Thus this prolific attention to detail and nuance, both in the literature and in the documented fashion, provides for an examination of how subtle clothing details reveal expanded possibilities for critical analysis. One such example of a detail in women’s fashion is the pocket, an item which itself embodies a fluctuating identity in women’s apparel, particularly from the eighteenth century to the twentieth century. Research reveals that throughout the eighteenth century, women wore pockets as separate garments tied beneath their skirts; pockets were not yet stitched into dresses as they were into men’s clothing. In the nineteenth century, evidence indicates that while some women still possessed these tie-on pockets as separate garments, the latter half of the century’s artefacts show that the more fashionable dresses began having pockets stitched within the garment. 2 As a pocket provides various practical functions for carrying one’s possessions, the location, accessibility, and potential privacy of this clothing item offer a lens with which to investigate the potent symbolic and metaphorical potential the pocket embodies for female figures in nineteenth-century art and literature.

2 ‘A History of Pockets’, Victoria and Albert Museum <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/a/history-of-pockets/> [accessed 3 June 2013].
Victorian novels reveal a panoply of female characters who negotiate their identities in various manners, and often their clothing embodies aspects of their flux in status. Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s 1862 Sensation novel, *Lady Audley’s Secret*, features a unique female character that possesses a chameleonic identity on several levels. She is at once the heroine and the villain of the story, transforming herself through four separate names, homes, and occupations during the novel. While iterated in retrospect and referred to as the titular name of Lady Audley or ‘My Lady’ by the omnipresent narrator, details about her physical appearance and dress punctuate the narrative, alluding to not only elements of the Sensation genre but to elements of Victorian fashion. Early in the novel, Lady Audley’s dress pocket becomes a source of intrigue that leads to a significant revelation about her identity. In comparison, an 1864 fashion plate from the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* features a drawing of two women and a young girl in the fashionable wide-skirted, crinolined dresses of the time. Two of these figures wear dresses with clearly displayed pockets sewn into the dresses themselves, each with one hand casually tucked into their pocket as if to emphasize them as an accented detail as well as an accessible container for possessions. In Braddon’s novel, Lady Audley, Alicia Audley, and Phoebe Marks all discover, place, or remove items from their respective pockets, and each of these specific actions directly link to the sequential discovery of Lady Audley’s true identity. In *New Perspectives on Mary Elizabeth Braddon*, Laurence Talairach-Vielmas contends that the plethora of ‘female accessories’, such as fashionable clothing, that surround Lady Audley’s identity gradually deconstruct her into a “two-dimensional” female character who is more like “a model posing on a fashion plate”. In this respect, the novel and fashion plate then share a symbiotic connection, allowing these two nineteenth-century artefacts to not simply demonstrate commonalities with the material functions of pockets, but to pose larger questions regarding women’s identity in terms of their clothing.

A specific pocket reference appears in the opening chapter of *Lady Audley’s Secret*, which commences not by introducing Lady Audley, but by introducing her stepdaughter, Alicia Audley. The narrator intimates that the eighteen-year-old Alicia is displeased with her stepmother’s presence in Audley Court because, as a child, she had ‘reigned supreme in her father’s house’ and had ‘carried the keys, and jingled them in the pockets of her silk aprons’ as she believed ‘she had been keeping the house’. While the keys represent Alicia’s formerly felt ownership and independence as young mistress of the estate, her pocket is what allows her to possess and carry those keys and ‘jingle’ them as a reminder that she was, in a sense, the estate’s ‘Lady Audley’. Thus her pocket, now empty of those sacred keys she delighted in jingling, acts as a metaphor for her retrograde transition from the lady who once ‘reigned supreme’ to the child unwillingly relegated to stepdaughter. The narrator goes on to point out Alicia’s refusal to submit to her role as docile stepdaughter as she ‘set her face with a sulky determination against any intimacy between herself and the baronet’s young wife’ because, by marrying the girl’s father, Lady Audley had ‘made one of those apparently advantageous matches which are apt to draw upon a woman the envy and hatred of her sex’. The ‘match’ of Lady Audley to Alicia’s father effectively makes Alicia the defeated mistress, causing her to view her stepmother as a rival, which continues throughout the novel. This also marks one of the early possibilities that Lady Audley’s character is in some way suspicious.

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As the novel begins to disclose aspects of Lady Audley’s character, the narrator frequently refers to the character’s clothing and accessories. Posing as the governess Lucy Graham, she wears ‘a narrow black ribbon round her neck, with a locket, or a cross, or a miniature, perhaps, attached to it; but whatever the trinket was, she always kept it hidden under her dress’.

When Lucy Graham becomes the married Lady Audley, her wardrobe increases, as does the distance from her true identity as Helen Talboys. She accrues a plethora of fashionable dresses and jewels, thereby procuring a new identity for herself as a wealthy woman of the upper class. Another early clue that she harbors a deep secret is discovered in the exact luxurious clothing with which she adorns herself, and a pocket-to-pocket exchange ensues. When Phoebe Marks takes her fiancé into Lady Audley’s dressing room through the ‘fairy-like boudoir’, she discovers while folding the ‘heap’ of ‘rustling silk dresses’ that her mistress has forgotten the keys ‘she always keeps herself’ which unlock her massive jewel collection.

As she was shaking out the flounces of the last, a jingling sound caught her ear, and she put her hand into the pocket.

‘I declare!’ she exclaimed, ‘my lady has left her keys in her pocket for once in a way; I can show you the jewelry [. . .]’

Once again, keys jingling in a pocket mark a transition of identity: the jingling keys from young Alicia’s pocket figuratively inherit a new form as the keys Lady Audley keeps in her dress pocket, which then jingle to pique Phoebe’s curiosity. Barbara Burman contends that the pocket is ‘literally at the edge’ of clothing and that the interiority of pockets ‘suggests a particular intimacy [. . .] of the few permissible breaches of the clothed space between the private body and the public world.’ This ‘breach’ then causes the pocket to function as a threshold to Lady Audley’s privacy, a place of transition between her identity as Lady Audley and Helen Talboys. The pocket ultimately prompts Phoebe to literally unlock a piece of Lady Audley’s secret by discovering the ‘baby’s little worsted shoe rolled up in a piece of paper, and a tiny lock of [. . .] hair, evidently taken from the baby’s head’. Now a portion of Lady Audley’s background has been unearthed and, similar to the transfer of power from Alicia to her stepmother, Phoebe seizes power by ‘putting the little parcel into her pocket’ for future aid in blackmailing her mistress.

The pivotal pocket in Lady Audley’s dress summons ideas of where and how women wore pockets in their dresses during the time period of the novel. Talairach-Vielmas writes that the novel features Lady Audley as a ‘fashionable artefact designed for visual stimulation’, thus this invites the ability to compare and analyze Braddon’s use of female characters’ pockets in relation to primary sources of 1860s fashion. The 1864 fashion plate from *The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* showcases two women and a young girl modeling the current dresses in contemporary women’s high fashion.

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5 Braddon, p. 8-9.
7 Braddon, pp. 27-30.
The woman on the left models the dress style that became popular in the 1860s: a skirt with a flatter front and the fullness moved toward the back using a bustle as well as triangular panels to aid in allowing the skirts to lie smoothly over the crinolines, or hooped petticoats, formed underneath. The dress distinctively highlights a pocket in the jacket bodice and the woman’s inserted hand implies that this pocket would certainly be fitting to hold small possessions, such as keys or a secret parcel. Based on actual dresses still intact at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the fashion plate’s image is most certainly a realistic example of what an upper-class Victorian woman would wear. The following dress from the museum’s collection is extremely similar in shape and style, and also features pockets:

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9 Goubaud and Fils (publisher), and Legastelois (printer), Fashion Plate Print from the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine, 1864, Victoria and Albert Museum Department of Prints and Drawings and Department of Paintings, Accessions 1959 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O121369/print-goubaud/> [accessed 27 January 2014]. This hand-coloured lithograph is displayed in the Victoria and Albert Museum Department of Prints and Drawings and Department of Paintings collection. In 1860, the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine’s publisher, Samuel Beeton, added hand-coloured fashion plates from French fashion to the publication along with paper patterns to appeal to the ever-growing audience of women readers who owned personal sewing machines.
The museum’s description provides extensive detail of this surviving fashion artefact, such as the ‘green silk with a woven horizontal stripe’, the hem being trimmed with a ‘deep flounce bound with darker green satin’ and a ‘watch pocket inside the centre front waist band’ as well as a ‘white glazed pocket in a seam on the right-hand side.’ The similarity of this dress to that featured in the fashion plate suggests the existence of more discreet pockets sewn into women’s clothing; not only are pockets part of the garment itself, but one might have to be familiar with the dress in order to locate the pockets.

Much like fashion today, Victorian women’s clothing evolved, and is categorized, by decade. Distinctive changes can be particularly evinced in the skirt shape of a dress, which may account for where pockets, if included in the dress, were located. Dresses in the 1840s and 1850s featured skirts with crinolines made with layers of petticoats covering whalebone hoops, but by the 1860s and 1870s, bustles changed the shape of dresses by flattening the sides and pushing the fullness to the back of the skirt. These details are significant in the novel as to how Phoebe discovers Lady Audley’s keys in her pocket. As she folds the aforementioned ‘heap’ of ‘rustling silk dresses’ she hears the jingling keys as she is ‘shaking out the flounces’ of the dress before putting her hand into the pocket. A flounce—a strip of material sewed at its top to a woman’s skirt as a decorative feature—is also noted in the description of the museum’s 1868 dress, and dress patterns from the 1840s through the 1860s exhibit pockets sewn into dress seams, eventually becoming more frequent than the tie-on pockets popular in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. While cultural realism is not necessarily vital in a Sensation novel, these

subtle details grant Lady Audley’s 1860s dress some validation as a believable representation of a Victorian-era women’s fashion artefact.

Lady Audley’s dress pocket continues to act as a symbol for the exposure of her true identity. Upon hearing the name ‘George Talboys’ as the companion to her visiting nephew, Robert Audley, she hurriedly orchestrates a sham for needing to leave Audley Court and flees just before the men visit. The narrator describes her as being in a ‘haste’, yet, prior to exiting, she pauses ‘deliberately’ at the door of her dressing room, ‘double-locked it, and dropped the key into her pocket. This door once locked cut off all access to my lady’s apartments.’ 13 Though Lady Audley’s truth is still mysterious to the reader, she seems to, at this moment, command protection over her identity by placing the key in her pocket, suggesting that the pocket is a space she deems safe and secure. Whereas she carelessly leaves her keys in her dress pocket before her knowledge of George Talboys’s visit, this ‘deliberate’ locking of her door and pocketing of her keys illustrates an augmented alertness for Lady Audley, motivating her to concoct yet another false story in order to explain her absence while her nephew and companion visit the estate. By persuading Phoebe to deliver the telegram in London, Lady Audley creates a kind of one-dimensional image of herself, figuratively assuming a similar property of the woman in the fashion plate because she is ‘first and foremost an aesthetic composition.’ 14 With hand in pocket, Lady Audley clings to something hidden from the reader and other characters, and instead presents the aesthetic, idealized version of herself that she has assembled.

As her secret begins to unravel, pockets continue to function as more than subtle details. During her stepmother’s feigned absence, Alicia shares a letter with Robert Audley and George Talboys where Lady Audley specifically inquires as to how long the men plan to visit, and demands that Alicia write back in order to ‘answer my question about Mr. Audley and his friend, you volatile, forgetful Alicia!’ Alicia produces this letter ‘from the pocket of her riding-jacket’ and Robert’s attraction to Lady Audley propels him to inspect the letter. He remarks that her handwriting is the ‘prettiest, most coquettish little hand I ever saw’ and that, even if he had never laid eyes on her, he should ‘know what she is like by this slip of paper [. . .] the flaxen curls [. . .] the winning, childish smile; all to be guessed in these few graceful up-strokes and down-strokes’. 15 This scrutiny of Lady Audley’s handwriting foreshadows a piece of of Robert’s evidence in revealing her past through use of another letter by her hand. Though the letter is the actual clue, it is Alicia’s pocket that possesses and produces this vital information, thereby once again granting her a level of power in her home, much as she had as a child, jingling the keys in her pockets.

Alicia’s pocket plays a pivotal role here as, several pages later, she invites the men to view her stepmother’s private rooms. Lady Audley’s pocket again echoes within the plot; since the keys to her locked rooms are with her in her pocket, Alicia prompts the men to gain access to the dressing room by crawling through a secret passage. This metaphorical violation of Lady Audley’s privacy mimics that of Phoebe reaching into the dress pocket to retrieve the keys; in a sense, the men are almost climbing into Lady Audley’s pocket by entering her most private and supposedly secure space. Once again, a pocket, or, in this case, the lack thereof, is revelatory as not only do Robert and George seize a voyeuristic view of Lady Audley’s ‘glittering toilette apparatus’, ‘ivory-backed hairbrush’, and ‘treasures within’ the ‘open doors of a wardrobe’, but George identifies his presumed-dead wife by the Pre-Raphaelite portrait with its ‘crispy ringlets

13 Braddon, p. 60.
14 Talairach-Vielmas, p. 133.
15 Braddon, p. 61.
and the heavy folds of her crimson velvet dress'. 16 Her identity via the painting compares with the fashion plates in its literal form as a one-dimensional object and her 'ideal femininity' becomes 'more and more artificial'. 17 Yet George’s recognition of his wife posing for both the portrait and as Lady Audley in life personifies the image, creating a climactic transcendence of her many falsities and fueling Robert to unveil her true identity.

As a fashion detail, nineteenth-century women’s pockets reveal layers of possibilities for the portrayal of identity. If clothing in general is indeed ‘one of the most consistently gendered aspects of material and visual culture’, then the visual details in the novel and the visual details in the fashion plate conjure a synthesis of importance. Pockets and their functions create an ancillary lens for analysis on both a literal and figurative level; the women’s pockets in the fashion plate convey a sense of desired style while the characters’ pockets operate to portray their desired status in life. In particular, the power struggle that ignites among Lady Audley, Alicia Audley, and Phoebe Marks can all be tied to what they carry, find, or lose via their pockets. Thus an exterior detail morphs into a symbol of interior space with vast potential, proving the importance of the intimacy associated with women and their clothing.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DINNER SUIT AND DEPICTIONS OF FORMALWEAR IN WILLIAM QUILLER ORCHARDSON’S MARIAGE DE CONVENANCE

George Taylor

Abstract: Scottish Artist William Quiller Orchardson (1832-1910) depicted numerous high-society scenes, and clothing is a central feature of these works. The following essay will use his Mariage de Convenance painting as a foundation for a contextualization of the developments of male formalwear (with particular regard to the Dinner Suit) in the latter period of Orchardson’s career, and will pass comment on the social ramifications of this, both for the characters of his work, and beyond.

This article’s aim is to use William Quiller Orchardson’s Mariage de Convenance (1883) [See Fig.1] as a way to begin a contextualisation and analysis of the developments in male formalwear in the late Victorian period. Orchardson had a long-established connection with male dress and its importance; he was ‘the son of a Scottish father, Abram Orchardson, who was a tailor.’¹ This resonated from an early age, and by the end of his life ‘period costumes for dressing models were a prominent part of the artist’s House Sale in 1910: costumes alone accounted for 130 lots.’² He

² Hardie, A Scottish Arts Council Exhibition, p.6
was meticulous about the clothing on display in his work, and would undertake ‘months of research, often in the Victoria and Albert (then the South Kensington) Museum.’

‘After the fall of the Second Empire in 1870, France had permanently lost its sartorial pre-eminence, as English society in ever-greater numbers opted to patronize London’s tailors and dressmakers rather than make the once-customary annual trip to Paris.’ As a London resident for most of his painting career, and with a tailor father, his use of clothing as an indicator of mood and personality for his subjects and the narratives they inhabit is noteworthy. Narrative quality is important and deliberate, chiming with concerns of the time, noted in this 1904 letter: “I wonder what it is that the writers of fiction pay so little attention to the costuming of their male characters,” the letter began; “of course, nobody expects a man’s clothes to be as interesting as a woman’s, but they certainly deserve more space than they get in novels, particularly the novels of women.”

Orchardson’s painting is narrative: concerns here about the written word are addressed in his work with the brush, and depictions of clothing help facilitate that.

‘Two developments are conspicuous in Orchardson’s later subject-matter: the growing preoccupation with a late Victorian and Edwardian dream of material elegance, on the one hand; and on the other, an increased empathy with the inhabitants of the gilded cage.’ *Mariage de Convenance* depicts a private supper between man and wife, presided over by a butler. The woman embodies the cause for empathy, and sartorial depictions help to convey this. The charcoal study…which does not even include the figure of the wife which is so essential to the ‘story’, shows that Orchardson was primarily concerned in this painting to indicate a certain effect of light.”

Hardie’s noting of ‘story’ confirms the worth of narrative here; clothes are a functioning piece of that narrative and contextual knowledge allows them to speak out to the viewer metaphorically. Whilst this analysis of *Mariage de Convenance* is concerned with male clothing, it is primarily a painting about a woman: she is the character best embodying the turmoil of the scene; the male is a focalization of her unhappiness, but she is the one displaying emotive responses. Additionally, she is absent in the painting’s sequel; she is visible in a portrait over the husband’s shoulder, but there is no actual female presence [See Fig.2].

Orchardson’s painting presents a divide between the two figures, most directly created by their sitting at the opposite ends of a long dining table, adorned with fine tableware, food, and decoration: ‘in an era of crowded compositions, his use of empty spaces is refreshing.’ The setting is likely a grand townhouse, whilst the beige and brown palate of the décor further draws the eye to the focal point of the well-lit table. To the left, the young wife sits, uninterested, unhappy, and bored, her body language closed off to her husband, seated right. He looks defeated; attempts at conversation will likely fall flat. Their ages are of extremes: she is perhaps in her early twenties, whilst he is in his sixties. Interestingly, Orchardson’s own domestic existence was a happy one: ‘his family and his home were the real centre of his life: he was a devoted husband and father. His daughter regarded the pictures which show domestic strife – e.g. the three ‘Mariage de Convenance’ pictures – as attempts by Orchardson to imagine the converse of his own happily married life.’ The dress of the painted couple and their unhappiness serve as a

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3 Hardie, *A Scottish Arts Council Exhibition*, p.6
5 Shannon, *The Cut of his Coat*, p.1
6 Hardie, *A Scottish Arts Council Exhibition*, p.12
7 Hardie, *A Scottish Arts Council Exhibition*, p.13
8 Hardie, *A Scottish Arts Council Exhibition*, p.13
9 Hardie, *A Scottish Arts Council Exhibition*, p.12
reason to engage with the wider sartorial undertakings of the high society of the time. She is depicted as embodying characteristics of young ladies of the period, with her dress and manner suggesting she would rather be socialising with men her age. Atypically however, circumstance has most led to her entering this titular marriage of convenience: the relationship has allowed for financial and societal comfort, but her actual desires are clear; they are not sat across from her.

The husband’s clothing is traditional eveningwear for dinner at home: tailcoat and trousers, stiff bib fronted high collared shirt, white waistcoat, and white bowtie. As a nod to their stilted relationship his buttonhole, likely a carnation, appears to be wilting. Importantly, there is little distinction between the gentleman’s and his butler’s dress; it became a ‘recurrent complaint by gentleman that conventional evening dress rendered them indistinguishable from servants.’

Both in tailcoats and white bowties, there is little to distinguish. The shorter dinner jacket, developed in this period, would go on to offer a more apparent visual distinction between guests and the tailcoat-wearing staff, as would the manner of its easy fit and the relatively casual cut in shaping the behaviour of the gentlemen and the service.

By the 1880s, the Gazette of Fashion and Cutting Room Companion began to refer to the critique of conventional evening dress ‘as the “waiter argument,”’ [See Fig.3] and many called for a radical redesign of formal evening wear…yet several fashion authorities and journalists dismissed such objections. “It is not necessary to have a distinguishing dress for a waiter,” Clothes and the Man concluded; “If a gentleman is a gentleman, what does it matter if the mistake is made?” For Brent Shannon, ‘clothing acts as a symbolic visual code by which individuals communicate to others their membership in a particular social group.’ However, James Laver is quoted as stating that ‘clothes of the gentility do not say “I am a man – And how!” but “I am a gentleman, and I hope to attract women not by asserting my masculinity but by demonstrating my membership of a social class.”’

The gentleman in the painting has attracted a woman with his social bearing, but he does not maintain the relationship, as it is built on nothing more than this premise. Regardless of these conflicting positions, a change in eveningwear was developing.

It is apparent from the demeanour of the couple in Orchardson’s work that his membership of the upper class is the defining factor in their relationship. His age and deportment suggest a bearing not suited to her actual preferences, but nonetheless his status affords her a lifestyle more comfortable than that faced if not married; the work’s title reflects this: ‘she might not be physically attracted to her older husband; he might lack the physical and emotional energy of a younger man; she might have less in common with him than a younger man and thus find herself bereft of true companionship; he might be unwilling or unable to produce children.’ At the time of the painting of this piece, developments in men’s formalwear flourished among a small and sociable group, and for varying reasons. Notably, ‘the upper-classes developed increasingly complex fashion rules and occasion-specific clothing to distinguish themselves from the rising bourgeoisie.’ The dinner jacket, a more casual adoption of eveningwear, serves as an acknowledgement of this deliberate creation of class distinction, whilst also meeting requirements of relaxing tastes and priorities of comfort.

In 1888, The Brooklyn Daily Eagle noted that dinner jackets are ‘worn with the low cut waistcoat and black trousers of the ordinary evening dress and though it is somewhat informal in

10 Shannon, The Cut of his Coat, p.149
11 Shannon, The Cut of his Coat, p.152
12 Shannon, The Cut of his Coat, p.14
13 Shannon, The Cut of his Coat, p.161
15 Shannon, The Cut of his Coat, p.18
appearance it is far from being an infringement of the conveniences which require a fixed uniform for all men after dark;"\textsuperscript{16} moreover, ‘it was cool and comfortable, and saved wear and tear of the daily use upon the dress coat, with the consequences that it took at once. The following winter men wore it to bachelor dinners and to their own tables when guests were not present."\textsuperscript{17} This new comfort and relaxation juxtaposes with the husband’s rigidity in tradition and propriety: ‘fashion was linked to sartorial propriety in many ways…it was subordinated to propriety: “manners” set limits on fashion’s domain, limits that could be overstepped with impunity only when new “manners” were established."\textsuperscript{18}

‘Propriety was the venerable, recognized science of appropriately handling possibilities in clothing according to place and circumstance, while fashion was the unstable, ever-changing science of optimum management of the possible within an interplay of innovation and obsolescence."\textsuperscript{19} Orchardson’s man values propriety above fashion; his wife likely values fashion above propriety: they are at an impasse. ‘Menswear – epitomized by the development and the endurance of the men’s three-piece business suit – has long been regarded by fashion historians as both uniform and a uniform, reflecting men’s desire to adopt a standardized, fixed, and practical costume that affords little room for ornamental flair or personal expression."\textsuperscript{20} The man depicted is sombre and expressionless; formalwear’s remit is to create a consistent appearance in male clothing so as to enable women to stand out; instead, in Orchardson’s painting, it brings her down. ‘By mid-century…colour, decoration, and fittiness remained only in military and evening wear…the straight lines, practical fabrics, dark tones, and loose fit of men’s dress – juxtaposed against the flowing lines, rich materials, fine detail, and constricting forms of women’s dress – has become a powerful sign system of gender segregation."\textsuperscript{21}

The dichotomy of male and female is seen in Orchardson’s painting; the layers of fabric in her dress, and the slumped posture she holds contrast the staid pose of the man. In this instance she is likely judging his uniformity; his clothing allegorizes his lack of character, and his inability to excite her; he conforms to uniform rather than subverting it within the parameters possible, as was happening elsewhere at this time.

Dressing for dinner in the most formal way possible is a visual metaphor for the man’s lack of creativity and malleability within his societal framework, and it is easy to then interpret an unadventurous personality based upon her reaction. Her body language, age, and decorum seem to long for a more adventurous partner; in this social context, her preferred man would likely be wearing a more modern cut of eveningwear: a dinner jacket. As Orchardson suggests, her marriage is one of circumstance or convenience; now she is in the gilded cage, her priorities have changed and she can see and long for a more suitable partner. Edward VIII, embodying sartorial expressionism, notes:

Throughout the greater part of the twenties the evening tailcoat…reigned supreme. For several years after the war it was still worn even at private dinners, while at the smarter restaurants and nightclubs…it was the absolute rule…the dinner jacket came out into the open, and by the end of the twenties it was worn

\textsuperscript{16} Peter Marshall, \textit{The Black Tie Guide} <http://www.blacktieguide.com>
\textsuperscript{17} Marshall, \textit{The Black Tie Guide}
\textsuperscript{19} Perrot, \textit{Fashioning the Bourgeoisie}, p.167
\textsuperscript{20} Shannon, \textit{The Cut of his Coat}, p.5
\textsuperscript{21} Shannon, \textit{The Cut of his Coat}, p.25
as a matter of course…we took to having it made – and the dress coat too – in a midnight-blue cloth in place of black.\textsuperscript{22}

The developments that led to this were happening in the 1870s and 80s as Orchardson worked: an early prototype for the shorter evening jacket is first recorded as early as 1865, made for Edward VIII’s grandfather, Edward VII, by London tailor Henry Poole [see Fig.4].

With a nod to practicality, ‘the Gazette of fashion and Cutting Room Companion simply stated, “People have not time now-a-days to change their dress three of four times a day”;\textsuperscript{23} ladies did, however. The homogenisation of male eveningwear with daywear, specifically cut and shape and fit, is a nod to this shifting attitude, although it still allows changing for dinner [see Fig.5]. Suited particularly to the comforts of home or a club, the dinner jacket aligned with the changing taste of daywear, whilst also serving to keep the distinctions of class and formality that eveningwear, and the act of dressing for dinner, stand for. In Orchardson’s painting, this familiarity with changes is not apparent, though, and his wife seems affected by this. The fashions of men are more influenced by the occasion of wearing, less by the precise moment of time at which they are worn.\textsuperscript{24} Philippe Perrot provides a contextual example of dress advice for women: ‘it is especially at balls that you should resist the ridiculous temptation to be the belle. At home, because of the pains you take, you believe that you are ravishingly dressed. Your family’s compliments reinforce the illusion.’\textsuperscript{25} In Orchardson’s painting, she appears to have no such reinforcement; her age and demeanour suggest she’d rather be at a ball than at home with her husband.

Eveningwear developments occurred alongside developments in daywear: ‘in a relatively short time, the lounge suit had emerged from its humble beginnings as casual sportswear to usurp the frock coat and become an all-purpose menswear for all but the most formal occasions.’\textsuperscript{26} The success of this transformation in the shape of daywear is mirrored in the evening; the dinner jacket filled the more casual remit of the lounge suit, whilst retaining the distinguishing features of its evening-wear status: silk facings, striped trouser seams, and peaked or shawled lapels; ‘the dinner coat is, of course, merely the evening version of the day lounge suit.’\textsuperscript{27} To emphasise the shifting standards of eveningwear, ‘by the 1890s some men had also abandoned traditional formal evening dress for lounge suits and sports jackets;\textsuperscript{28} this remains common practice.

Contextually, what is now known as the business or lounge suit ‘originated in the late 1850s and ‘60s from the lounge (or “sack”) coat as an alternative to the distinguished but confining frock coat, which contoured at the waist before skirting away from the body, sometimes reaching below the knee…the shorter, looser, and boxier lounge jacket provided more comfort and was quickly adopted as informal wear.’\textsuperscript{29} Also important to note is that tailcoats,

\begin{itemize}
  \item with fronts cut away to waist level, which had been a style for both day and evening wear before 1830, had by the beginning of the reign become mainly a style for evening wear. It still appeared for formal daytime wear in the 1840s, but
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{22} Hardy Amies, \textit{The Englishman’s Suit} (London: Quartet Books, 1996), p.25
\textsuperscript{23} Shannon, \textit{The Cut of his Coat}, p.183
\textsuperscript{24} Anne Buck, \textit{Victorian Costume and Costume Accessories} (Bedford: Ruth Bean, 1984), p.200
\textsuperscript{25} Perrot, \textit{Fashioning the Bourgeoisie}, p.97
\textsuperscript{26} Shannon, \textit{The Cut of his Coat}, p.176
\textsuperscript{27} Amies, \textit{The Englishman’s Suit}, p.78
\textsuperscript{28} Shannon, \textit{The Cut of his Coat}, p.162
\textsuperscript{29} Shannon, \textit{The Cut of his Coat}, p.174
by 1860 it was an evening style only, and it remained the style of evening dress to the end of the century and beyond.\textsuperscript{30}

Writing in 1994, Amies notes that ‘the dinner coat is of course peccable: that is to say, faulty in lineage. Its lineage goes back only 100 years, half that of the tail coat.’\textsuperscript{31}

Traditionally for eveningwear, ‘the waistcoat was often white, in many different kinds of silk at the beginning of the period, but black evening waistcoats were fashionable in the 1860s and 1870s; only in the 1890s did white Marcella or pique become the usual wear, the black waistcoat remaining with the dinner jacket.’\textsuperscript{32} It is this dinner jacket that is indicative of the new changes in formal traditions, and serves, by its omission, as a visual clue to Orchardson’s man’s attitudes and resignations. ‘After a period in the 1840s when black cravats were fashionable for evening wear, white remained usual for full evening dress for all the rest of the period, whatever the shaping of the cravat or tie… in the 1890s, when the collar became higher, many varieties of knot and a great variety of materials were used in ties.’\textsuperscript{33} Anne Buck notes the fabrics used for eveningwear:

The pantaloons and trousers for evening wear at the beginning of the period were black cloth, and black trousers continued to be the only style for eveningwear to the end of the century…the evening coats were made of fine, milled cloth and form the beginning of the period were usually black or navy blue. Brown, dark green and mulberry colour might still appear but, by 1860, a black tailcoat was the universal evening uniform.\textsuperscript{34}

The new dinner jacket met the requirements of intimate and domestic events, whilst a tailcoat remained for much longer the necessary dress code for Balls and Banquets. \textit{An 1887 issue of Vanity Fair} presciently asks ‘dinner-jackets have for some years been worn in country houses when the family are en famille; but I hear that the Prince of Wales appeared in one at Homburg at a ball given by an American. Is this the first move towards the disappearance of the unsightly tail-coat, which has too long been the only acknowledged style of evening dress?’\textsuperscript{35}

Orchardson’s scene embodies the environment established for the more informal coat, and therefore suggests the husband’s lack of social adaptability: ‘the new jacket was appropriate only for the most informal evening occasions, quaintly summarized by one source as “the club, stag parties, the dinner at home, card parties and private billiard bouts.”’\textsuperscript{36} Importantly, ‘period descriptions commonly categorized the garment as a form of “negligee” and frequently implored readers to wear it only with black bow ties as they were regarded as less formal than the white option.’\textsuperscript{37}

In Orchardson’s painting, there is little comfort on display. The man remains stiff in appearance and the lady is clearly emotionally uncomfortable: clothing is a potent visual metaphor for this state. He is unwilling to adapt, both for his own benefit and for hers, and fear of change is a likely reason; Hardy Amies notes, with an appropriate caveat, that ‘ceremonies are useful to humanity. Clothes help the ceremony remain impressive. It does no good to anyone to

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{30} Buck, \textit{Victorian Costume and Costume Accessories}, p.188
\bibitem{31} Amies, \textit{The Englishman’s Suit}, p.76
\bibitem{32} Buck, \textit{Victorian Costume and Costume Accessories}, p.192
\bibitem{33} Buck, \textit{Victorian Costume and Costume Accessories}, p.196
\bibitem{34} Buck, \textit{Victorian Costume and Costume Accessories}, p.188
\bibitem{35} Marshall, \textit{The Black Tie Guide}
\bibitem{36} Marshall, \textit{The Black Tie Guide}
\bibitem{37} Marshall, \textit{The Black Tie Guide}
\end{thebibliography}
change unless it is for comfort, which does not destroy style in looks. The soft collar did not spoil the look of the dinner coat. In 1888, The Times of Philadelphia noted that 'the Tuxedo coat is evidently the garment of the future...it is a coat to lounge in. Physically and morally, its wearer is entitled to the privileges of demi-toilette. He may smoke, cross his legs, yawn, put up his heels, stretch himself and wriggle at ease with no coat-tails to disturb his post-prandial comforts.'

Mariage de Convenances’s narrative content of interpersonal relations and sartorial presentation raise questions about dress and propriety, and the sartorial prerequisites of the 1880s. There are clearly other factors at play, but by understanding the developments of the period’s dress, particularly formalwear when considering upper-class considerations, a more in-depth reading of the scene can be made. The depicted marriage is built upon weak foundations, with upward mobility the wife’s likely motivation; a change of clothing will not fix this. However, changes were happening: the dinner jacket’s development at this time, and Orchardson’s omission of it in his depiction of a particular social strata, represents that which the husband is not: young, exciting, and adaptable. Here, clothing serves as a subtle but powerful metaphor for the perils of a marriage of convenience: ‘Perhaps there is a tendency among Englishmen to judge a man too much by the shape of his hat or the kind of collar he wears,’ conduct author John Wannamaker confessed; “But one must remember that in England if you wear the wrong thing, you will probably do the wrong thing, and generally be the wrong thing.”

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Fig. 2: William Quiller Orchardson, Mariage de Convenance - After, 1886, oil on canvas, Aberdeen Art Gallery, Scotland <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/mariage-de-convenance-107527> [accessed 4 February 2014]
**Fig. 4**: Henry Poole Ledger, 1865, photograph, Henry Poole <http://www.blacktieguide.com/History/04-Victorian_Late_Etiquette_&_DJ.htm> [accessed 3 February 2014]

**Fig. 5**: The ‘Fashion’ Dress Chart, 1902, print, Fashion <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dress_Chart_(Fashion)_1902.jpg> [accessed 17 February 2014]
BETWEEN THE SPHERES: BREAKING THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SPHERES IN WILKIE COLLINS’S *THE WOMAN IN WHITE* AND WILLIAM HOLMAN HUNT’S *THE LADY OF SHALOTT*

Alison Westwood

Abstract: The nineteenth-century notion of a public sphere for male-authored content and a private sphere for female-authored content made the female diary an apt literary device to incorporate female narration into fiction. The hypothetical effects of breaching the boundary between these two spheres precipitates a move from a state of order to a state of chaos, through the medium of text in Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White*¹ and through painting in William Holman Hunt's *The Lady of Shalott*².

Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* and William Holman Hunt's *The Lady of Shalott*, two artefacts created in the latter half of the nineteenth century, both explore the idea of public and private spheres and the effects of movement between them. Both artefacts present a woman’s text created within the private sphere, a male catalyst, and an instance of the male catalyst initiating a breach in the boundary heretofore confining the woman's text to the private sphere. In each artefact, the moment when the boundary between private and public sphere is breached initiates a movement from a state of order towards a state of chaos.

The concept of two distinct and gendered social spheres is of importance in nineteenth century works generally, and central to this analysis³. The public sphere was considered a male domain and a suitable platform for published work, politics and open social communication. Whereas women, and thus their texts, were expected to exist within the realm of the private sphere, adhering generally to Coventry Brown’s ideal of the *Angel in the House*.⁴ This nineteenth-century proprietary notion of women belonging in the private sphere made diaries an acceptable female form of writing. Diaries could be written in the home, based on domestic happenings, and they were not written for an audience, so they could remain within the private sphere upon completion. This proprietary suitability makes the diary a common literary device for

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¹ Wilkie Collins, *The Woman in White* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). (Subsequent references within the text to ‘The Woman in White’ are to this edition.)
² References to Hunt's *The Lady of Shalott* in this work refer to his final treatment of the subject, the 1890-1905 oil on canvas version seen in Figure 1.
³ The separate spheres concept was prominent in Victorian England, the premise being that men and women were inherently different (through biology and God’s will) with men suited to activities in the public sphere such as commerce, politics and law. Women were thought best-suited to domesticity, child care, housework and religious study which existed within the private sphere of the home. See generally, Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland, and Jane Rendall, *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
⁴ Joan M. Hoffman, “‘She Loves with Love That Cannot Tire’: The Image of the Angel in the House across Cultures and across Time”, *Pacific Coast Philology*, 42 (2005), 264-271 (p. 264): Brown's poem was popular in the late nineteenth century as an account of the perfect woman and idealised femininity. The term 'angel in the house' became synonymous with an ideal Victorian woman – a wife and mother who was submissive to her husband and completely focused on serving her children and family.
incorporating female narration into nineteenth century novels.\textsuperscript{5} The distinctions and gendering of these two spheres and the potential for breaching the boundary between them, provide a plane upon which to consider \textit{The Woman in White} alongside \textit{The Lady of Shalott}.

The premise of the \textit{Lady of Shalott} is a cursed Lady imprisoned in isolation who must observe, indirectly through a mirror, the events of King Arthur’s reign, and document them in a woven tapestry. Unable to engage with the life she observes in the public sphere, she toils at weaving her observations into tapestries. Hunt describes the Lady as, “weav[ing] her record, not as one mixing in the world…but a being sitting alone; in her isolation she is charged to see life with a mind supreme and elevated in judgement.”\textsuperscript{6} This authorial quality imbued in the weaving suggests that the Lady is not merely recording but imposing a layer of analysis as a narrator would. Roland Barthes characterised the role of weaver as more than a mere maker of textiles, but rather a, “maker of texts.”\textsuperscript{7} Through these interpretations, the Lady is a diarist. Her weaving is her diary created from her observations made within the private sphere and which, owing to her isolated confinement, has no intended audience and thus will remain solely in the private sphere. The Lady's diary takes on an additionally-feminised form; rather than being created from base units of words and language (the tools of publication, commerce and law) it is created through weaving: a decorative medium, conventionally female-crafted, and produced in the private sphere of the home.

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{figure1.png}
\caption{William Holman Hunt. The Lady of Shalott (1890-1905), oil on canvas.\textsuperscript{8}}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{5} Catherine Delafield, \textit{Women's Diaries as Narrative in the Nineteenth-century Novel} (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1988), p. 158. (Subsequent references within the text to ‘Delafield’ are to this edition.)


The Lady of Shalott depicts the moment when the Lady breaks from her assigned role of diarist confined to the private sphere. The Lady's gaze is redirected from the mirror, which symbolically redirects her gaze back into the private sphere, through the open window. In that instant, the boundary between the private and public spheres is disrupted.

Amidst the range of narrative voices which The Woman in White employs is a lengthy section which the reader is told comes from Marian Halcombe's diary. The reader is informed that excerpts from her diary, which are irrelevant to the novel's plot, are omitted but that the content is otherwise unaltered. Thus Collins introduces Marian's narrative as a found document: a woman's record of happenings around her. Marian, like the Lady, is a lone female diarist working within the private sphere to record events in a text which, with no intended audience, is expected to remain within the private sphere.

Marian's section of the novel ends abruptly. The plot device Collins uses to achieve this is a fever which physically prevents Marian from continuing her diary. Without interrupting the epistolary style of the section, Collins lets the reader discover this through a postscript written in Marian's diary by another character, Count Fosco. It is through this postscript that the reader learns that Fosco has stolen, read and added his own entry into Marian's diary. Fosco has reached from the public sphere into the private sphere rupturing the boundary between the two. By the acquisition of an unintended audience, Marian's diary moves with Fosco into the public sphere.

The Woman in White's plot, and mystery, steadily develop until the reader encounters Fosco's post-script. That moment serves as a turning point for the narrative trajectory to move towards a state of chaos. Fosco's theft of the diary serves this purpose by providing the means for Marian's suspicions and observations to pass into Fosco's knowledge. Marian's voice, by way of her diary, is silenced which creates a gap in written records which becomes crucial at the novel's climax when solving the mystery is dependent on contemporaneous written records, such as a diary could provide. Without the diary's movement from private to public sphere, the progress of the narrative could not logically follow the same path to the climax of the mystery. From the moment that Fosco disrupts the boundary between the spheres, a course of events is put into action which includes two women's identities being swapped, one being wrongly committed in an asylum, and an international network of espionage and secret societies being revealed. In short, all knowns and constants disintegrate and the order and social propriety which had previously existed in the novel are replaced by chaos.

Fosco's postscript also serves to create an awkward triangular relationship structure between diarist, diary-reader and novel-reader. The readers, who in standard novel convention believed they had been privately reading Marian's diary, “discover that Fosco has beat them to it, and has been watching them – so to speak – over their shoulders”.9 Collins has aligned the reader's sympathies with Marian throughout the course of her level-headed, good-humoured diary. The interruption by Fosco may offend the reader's allegiance with Marian, but it must be, “overlooked in favour of a coherent narrative”.10 The switch in narrative voice makes the reader suddenly aware that the knowledge he or she has read in a private diary has already been revealed to the story's arch villain, affecting the plot and also bringing another fictional reader into the reader's consciousness. This creates a meta-textual situation where the reader is startled by

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Fosco’s voyeurism and his or her imagined privileged access to the diary is lost, thus his or her attention is drawn to the fact that he or she, as a reader, is also a voyeur deriving pleasure from reading Marian's diary.

*The Lady of Shalott* similarly depicts a descent into chaos caused by the disruption of the boundary between the private and public spheres. Hunt paints the instant when the Lady’s gaze is diverted from her mirror and her weaving out the window. An earlier treatment of the subject by Hunt, depicting the Lady prior to her fatal look out the window, still restless at her weaving is described as a, “severe, straightforward visual treatment of the scene […] demure and modest”. Demure modesty is replaced by fiery energy in Hunt’s final version which focuses on the moment the boundary between the private and public spheres is ruptured. Central to the painting is the path of the Lady’s gaze: straight out through the open window to Lancelot in the public sphere. Visual chaos surrounds the Lady as viewer and the path of her gaze down to Lancelot. The unleashed hair and the unravelling tapestry’s threads violently circle the painting suggesting a vortex or disorderly orbit of energy. There has clearly been a recent transition from order to chaos, not a sustained period of disruption: tapestries which were once completed are now coming undone, which, “echo[es] the motif of hair in the tangled ends of the unravelled weaving”. The unravelling tapestry also suggests a destruction of gender roles as the Lady’s redirection of her gaze out of confinement into the world has caused, “women's quintessential gendered duty, weaving [to be] savaged by the curse.” An image of Pandora’s Box on the painting’s frame, also designed by Hunt, reinforces the theme of a sudden release of chaotic energy, which has been described as, “a muffled but powerful explosion.”

![Figure 2. Hunt’s 1850 Sketch for the Lady of Shalott.](http://www.victorianweb.org/painting/whh/drawings/28.html) ![Figure 3. Another of Hunt’s Lady of Shalott sketches featuring - - the demure, modest Lady.](http://www.victorianweb.org/painting/whh/drawings/28.html)

13 Udall, p. 36.
14 Ibid.
Beams of light, “shadows and shafts of sunlight, extending from the front to the back of the scene,” suggest an ability to penetrate through all planes of the painting evoking a movement through the boundary between private and public spheres such as the Lady's gaze has done. The light which, “shin[es] into the world of the canvas from the direction of our own real world,” draws the viewer into the painting and, as in The Woman in White, creates an awkward triangular structure between viewer, and characters in the artefact. The painting's viewer looks at the Lady who looks at Lancelot, but only the Lady is on the cusp of a fatal punishment for her act of looking. This suggests a meta-textual awareness that as Lancelot is being watched by the Lady, both are being watched by the viewer of the painting. The relationship between viewer, Lady and Lancelot can be seen as, “an erotic triangle,” in which the Lady is the object of the viewer's (and painter's) gaze and also the controller of the gaze at Lancelot. Of all the gazes present, it is only the Lady's which breaks from convention by rupturing the boundary between private and public spheres and prompts the movement from order to chaos within the painting.

In both artefacts, the catalyst for the diarised content's move from the private sphere to the public sphere is linked to gender and initiated by a male figure. This male influence is more overt in The Woman in White with Fosco unequivocally responsible for purloining and altering the diary. Fosco first assumes physical possession of the diary by taking it out of the ailing Marian’s hands. Second, he reads the diary, giving it an audience which was neither intended nor sanctioned by its author. Third, he alters the diary by adding his own text, changing both the diary’s authorship and its contents.

The male catalyst in The Lady of Shalott is more subtle, but still present. Although it is ultimately the Lady's action of redirecting her gaze from the mirror to the window which brings upon the curse, it is Lancelot's presence which prompts the Lady's look out the window. Lancelot is a comparatively small and faintly-coloured figure in the painting, but is positioned at virtually the centre of the canvas. The painting's composition has been described as a wheel shape, with a series of images arranged in a circular pattern around a central point. Lancelot occupies this central point around which the rest of the images are arranged. Considering the painting as a wheel formation, Lancelot is the hub or static centre point around which the painting's chaos visually orbits. The wild, undone hair, the visual allusions to Pandora and Medusa, the discarded shoes, and the unravelling tapestry all circle around the fixed, sunlit Lancelot presumably unaware of the chaos which his presence has prompted.

Both Fosco and Lancelot have an exponential impact in comparison to the comparatively small presence which they occupy in their respective artefacts. Although Fosco's post-script is of minute length compared to the dozens of pages of Marian's narrative which preceede it, it is the few paragraphs of Fosco's writing which change the nature of the diary and shock the reader. While Marian recounts events, Fosco, “re-appropriates the narrative agency – the ability to direct and shape the course of events.” Fosco colonises Marian's textual body of work and, “possesses its narrative and controls its ending,” leading critics to label his postscript a, “textual rape.”

Lancelot's presence in The Lady of Shalott is similarly fractional and faintly coloured in relation to the Lady and indeed the rest of the painting. Despite seeming a small visual

17 Stein, p. 294.
18 Udall, p. 35.
19 The wheel formation is seen in Hunt's 1850 sketch of the subject seen in Figure 2. The wheel motif decreased in prominence in his later treatments of the subject, but the series of images arranged around a central hub can still be seen in the final oil painting.
addendum to the painting, a viewer familiar with the legend will recognise that this small element is ultimately the catalyst for the rest of the happenings in the painting.

In addition to the gendering of the movement between private and public sphere, sensuality is also implied in each work when the curtilage confining the woman's diary to the private sphere is breached. Hunt presents the chaos of the curse in *The Lady of Shalott* in a sensualised fashion. The painting is set within the imprisoned Lady's private room, immediately positioning the viewer in a locus of intimacy. The Lady's shoes are discarded and her feet are bare. Although fully clothed, her sleeves are pushed up to her elbows and, what appears to be, a petticoat is visible where her dress is pulled up by the tangle of unravelling threads. Likewise, the threads ensnare her and pull her loose-fitting clothing close to her body to reveal the contours of her figure causing, “her gown [...] to reveal the attractive outlines it ought to conceal in graceful drapery.”

Her whole state of dress appears dishevelled in an intimate fashion in which a woman would not be seen outside the privacy of her own rooms. One of the most prominent features of the painting is the dramatic fan formed by the Lady's hair swirling above her head. Long, flowing women's hair is a common symbol in Pre-Raphaelite art consistently associated with female sensuality, and Hunt himself considered it integral to this work, stating that he spent a significant portion of time perfecting the Lady's hair. Mirroring the symbolism of female sensuality is the male sexuality suggested by Lancelot's phallic sword appearing to penetrate a loop of thread in the foreground. Thus an implied sensuality is suggested between the Lady and Lancelot, linking them and spanning both sides of the boundary between the spheres.

Immediately prior to Fosco's interception of her diary, Marian is stricken by the fever which allows Fosco to extricate the book from her. Marian's last writings become increasingly focussed on the symptoms which the fever wreaks on her body. She documents, “heat that parches [her] skin,” while she is, “shivering from head to foot,” and aware that a, “chilled, cramped feeling [leaves her], and the throbbing heat [comes] in its place.” Previously, Marian's narrative has been limited to observational commentary of other characters. Her own physicality is only presented directly before Fosco's intervention adding a level of intimacy, and thus violation, to Fosco's entrance. Following Marian's descriptions of her increasing physical distress, Fosco interjects with descriptions of his excitement and pleasure at reading her diary proclaiming himself, “charmed, refreshed, delighted”. This has been said to heighten the, “sexual transgression of Fosco's act of reading,” and to create an, “inter-textual penetration.” Collins further heightens the anxiety with, “repetitive language and circular images,” from Marian's writing as she drifts from lucidity closing with, “I can write but the lines all run together,” and, “the strokes of the clock, the strokes I can’t count keep striking in my head,” leaving Marian, and by extension the reader, “breathless and agitated – embodied.” Fosco’s assertions of the, “intellectual pleasures,” of reading Marian's diary are undermined by the physicality of her last words and the reader is left to feel the intrusion, “evokes a much more carnal pleasure.”

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21 Stein, p. 294.
23 Stein, p. 295.
24 Collins, pp. 341-342.
25 Ibid., p. 343.
26 Anderman, p. 85.
28 Collins, p. 342.
29 Anderman, p. 86.
30 Collins, p. 343.
31 Anderman, p. 86.
Fosco's oleaginous post-script has prompted numerous commentaries equating the episode to a narrative rape. Fosco's arousal by, first, his voyeuristic act of reading, then, his penetrative act of writing combined with Marian's physical anxiety, and the transfer of power from Marian to Fosco with his assumption of physical and narrative control of the diary, add weight to this analysis. The physicality and sensuality are pernicious and aligned with power rather than pleasure. Peter Brooks posits that Fosco acts not merely against Marian, but also the reader as, “our readerly intimacy with Marian is violated.”32 An awkward triangular relationship between two characters in the artefact and the reader is again formed when the boundary between the private and public spheres is breached. The underlying sexuality present when this boundary is breached is one-sided: a symbolic rape, a power struggle initiated and won by Fosco when Marian loses consciousness and with it sovereignty of her diary.

The moment of breaching the boundary between the spheres in The Lady of Shalott incorporates elements of power and sensuality in a markedly different way. The Lady's sensuality appears linked to a different kind of power than the power struggle for the narrative voice between Marian and Fosco. Unlike Marian's physical weakness, which allows Fosco's exploitation of her diary and enables his voyeuristic pleasure, the Lady's act of looking through the boundary at Lancelot appears to bring her pleasure and power. In spite of her knowledge that her actions have brought the curse upon her, Hunt paints the Lady in a lioness-like stance of defiance, with a flaming mane of hair around her. Her posture is confident, with her hand strongly planted on her waist. Her face displays no fear, and her steely gaze is fixed on Lancelot through the window rather than showing any interest in the destruction of her tapestry diary. Hunt shows her welcoming her destiny in which, although fatal, she has played a part. She appears to be deriving pleasure from looking out the window into the public sphere rather than retreating into the chaos of the room. Unlike Marian whose physical weakness is what allows Fosco's eyes to reach from the public sphere to scrutinize her diary in the private sphere, the Lady's act of piercing the boundary into the public sphere is her most decisive act, and Hunt presents her confident in her newfound (albeit short-lived) agency. The Lady commands the gaze which disrupts the boundary between private and public spheres, whereas Marian becomes a gazed upon object when the boundary is pierced. Although doomed, the Lady appears as a victor over the boundary between the spheres, unlike victimised Marian for whom the boundary was not impenetrable enough to prevent her narrative sovereignty.

In their exploration of the idea of the broken boundary between the private and public sphere, The Woman in White and The Lady of Shalott both envisage the artistic causes and effects of such a breach similarly. Each artefact contains a woman's text within the private sphere, the imposition of a male catalyst on that text which leads to a breach in the boundary between the private and public spheres. While the concept of chaos is conveyed differently through the fluidity of text and the stasis of painting, the overlapping elements of gender, sensuality, power and chaos suggest a nineteenth-century notion that the boundary separating the private and public spheres is safest left unbreached.

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MIRRORS OF THE SOUL: REFLECTIONS OF SEXUAL IDENTITY IN DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI’S ‘HAND AND SOUL’ AND WOMAN COMBING HER HAIR

Travis Piper

Abstract: As an artist and man Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882) was mesmerized by women, focusing consistently on female images and identity throughout his career. The unique visages of his muses, models, and lovers can be found throughout his painting and poetry. The following article will consider two distinct pieces from Rossetti’s oeuvre which exemplify his foundational interest in sexual identity and desire. His 1849 short story ‘Hand and Soul’ shall be shown to have informed the composition of his 1864 watercolor Woman combing her hair as an act of narcissism.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti’s influence in both painting and poetry has been immense. His artistic ability to evoke aspects of both sensuality and sexuality among his female subjects remains an accomplishment both complex and seminal in the eyes of critics. John Holmes has written of the highly original ways that Rossetti established ‘the framework within which sexual identities have been defined ever since’,1 while according to J. B. Bullen, the composition of his later work created a ‘developmental syntax for psycho-sexuality’.2 The genesis of Rossetti’s fixation on sexuality and identity came early in his career when he became interested in gothic traditions, especially paranormal events, doppelgängers, and mirroring.3 In fact, many of his most notable works, from the late 1840s onward, evoke narcissism. As such, both ‘Hand and Soul’ and Woman combing her hair exemplify male constructions of female identity.

The story of Narcissus is familiar to many. In Ovid’s retelling, upon realizing the true identity of his lover’s image in the water, Narcissus exclaims: ‘Tis I in thee — I love myself — the flame arises in my breast and burns my heart — what shall I do? Shall I at once implore? Or should I linger till my love is sought? […] Oh, I am tortured by a strange desire unknown to me before’.4 Unable to reconcile auto-eroticism with the need for physical partnership, Narcissus pine away, eventually suffering death and transformation into the contorted flower that today bears his name. Drawing from this myth, Martin Danahay has written that ‘masculinity in the Victorian period was characteristically represented by a swerve into the feminine, the male viewer projecting repressed aspects of his own identity onto the woman’.5 Although Rossetti did paint many pictures of men, most notably King Arthur and Dante Alighieri, they are always portrayed in relation to women and femininity, either as men surrounding women or as masculinity cast

3 See some of Rossetti’s many visual interpretations of Edgar Allan Poe’s work, especially ‘The Raven’ and ‘Ulalume’. His most notable piece involving doppelgängers is his 1864 watercolor, How They Met Themselves. This painting clearly expresses Rossetti’s interest not only in doubling but also in displaced identities.
upon women as a form of narcissism. The female subjects in some of Rossetti’s most striking paintings, such as *Fazio’s Mistress*, *Fair Rosamund*, *The Blue Bower*, and *Boca Baciata*, exemplify the latter, as they all possess overtly masculine features. Interestingly, all of the aforementioned paintings were modeled by Fanny Cornforth, Rossetti’s long-time muse and lover. Cornforth’s muscular neck, powerful shoulders, and protruding jaw are featured in many of Rossetti’s most intimate, erotic portrayals.

Rossetti’s representations of sexuality are made yet more intricate by his frequent use of mirrors. J. B. Bullen has suggested that the mirror, both literal and figurative, is routinely used for the purpose of revealing or constructing identity: ‘the glass can reflect back the image of the self, or it can show the other in the self’.\(^6\) Rossetti’s paintings and poems that include mirrors can be shown to reflect the creator’s complex search for desire and identity in the form of narcissistic love. As Danahay writes, ‘women’s supposed narcissism held a powerful attraction for Victorian men who […] could represent them in displaced form through images of women looking into mirrors’.\(^8\) His three *toilette* pictures portraying Cornforth, *Fazio’s Mistress*, *Lady Lilith*, and *Woman combing her hair*, all illustrate this complex interplay between sexual identity and mirrors.\(^9\) Within

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\(^8\) Danahay, ‘Mirrors of Masculine Desire’, p. 40.

\(^9\) *Lady Lilith* was originally modeled by Cornforth, but her body was subsequently superimposed with Alexa Wilding’s face probably at the request of the painting’s owner, Frederick Leyland. The request for a visage more
these pieces we find an implicit longing, or, as Wendy Lesser has written, a ‘desire to be the other as well as to view her, and at the same time an acknowledgment of irrevocable separation’ [her italics]. According to Lesser, all post-Freudian work on narcissism and mirroring can be attributed to this notion of the two selves: ‘the one experiencing and the other watching, the one inside and the other somehow more external’.

There may be no greater nineteenth-century expression of this motif than in Rossetti’s ‘Hand and Soul’, an artist’s manifesto outlining the philosophical approach to art and aesthetics to which Rossetti himself prescribed. In it, Chiaro, a fictional Renaissance painter, is discouraged by his inability to find truly inspirational art. Despite his success and fame, he is concerned that all of his work has been done for the wrong reasons; what he had taken for reverence had really been ‘no more than the worship of beauty’. Following his realization, Chiaro ‘sets a watch upon his soul’ and reluctantly commits thereafter to create art only concerned with moral greatness. It is at this time that he has a vision in which a beautiful woman appears before him and speaks, not ‘from her mouth or in his ears; but distinctly between them. “I am an image, Chiaro, of thine own soul within thee. See me, and know me as I am […] Seek thine own conscience (not thy mind’s conscience, but thine heart’s), and all shall approve and suffice.”’ As he listens he kneels to the floor in a state of spiritual awe, realizing the profundity of his experience. Chiaro, it seems, has undergone a spiritual transformation in which faith has been converted to love. Her final request to him, leaving his side, is to ‘paint me thus, as I am, to know me […] so shall thy soul stand before thee always, and perplex thee no more.’

Subsequently, Chiaro obtains an entirely new approach to his work, a true, inspirational method originating from his very soul. The nineteenth-century narrator of ‘Hand and Soul’ explains that while in Florence in 1847 he stumbled upon the very same painting that Chiaro made of his soul. Regarding it, he writes, ‘the most absorbing wonder of it was its literality […] it was not a thing to be seen of men.’ The suggestion that transformative art could come not from religious iconography but from personal experience — beauty rather than faith — is made clear in this statement. While the narrator’s sense of awe upon viewing the picture further develops the mysterious nature of the image’s duality, for the depiction of another’s inner being in fleshly form remains an experience both profound and uncanny.


14 Ibid., p. 30.

both of their faces reflected in a mirror as they collaboratively wield the brush in creation of her likeness.\textsuperscript{16}

![Figure 2: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ulalume (1847)](image)

Todd Williams has made some interesting connections between Rossetti’s use of mirrors and Jacque Lacan’s mirror stage, another prominent post-Freudian account of the formation of identity. Lacan describes a period when an infant, upon first seeing his reflection, assumes an image of the other (his reflection) as the one true self but one that is ultimately unrealizable.\textsuperscript{18} For both Freud and Lacan, ‘the sense of being a separate worthy person in the world […] is thus intimately connected with a sense of “being watched”, of having one’s life supervised by a self-within-the-self’.\textsuperscript{19} Rossetti’s portraits of women may be shown to possess both sexual ambiguity and the problematized displacement of identity indicated in Lacan’s theory: the divided self, made manifest between artist and art. As an outward manifestation of Chiaro’s soul, the woman’s identity remains imbedded in his own, both a mechanism of his imagination and a component of his physiology. The artist’s interpretation of femininity remains crucial to her identity; the union of his hand and soul, as it were, suggests an aesthetic purity and wholeness harkening back to Eve’s constituent union with Adam.\textsuperscript{20} In J. Hillis Miller’s article on Rossetti’s double work of art, he suggests: “God in speculation looks at himself in the mirror of the world, having engendered his material counterpart, the creation, by way of his mirror image, the Son […] Man, then, in imitation of God, as God’s mimic or mime, looks in the mirror and sees a

\textsuperscript{16} As explained by Jan Marsh, the illustration was destroyed by Rossetti prior to publication. See Marsh, \textit{Dante Gabriel Rossetti}, p. 72.

\textsuperscript{17} Dante Gabriel Rossetti, \textit{Ulalume} (c. 1848) <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ulalume-Rosetti.jpg> [accessed 5 December 2013]

\textsuperscript{18} Todd Williams, ‘Reading Rossetti’s THE MIRROR through Lacan’s Mirror Stage’ (Kutztown University: Heldref Publications, 2008)

\textsuperscript{19} Lesser, \textit{His Other Half}, p. 14.

\textsuperscript{20} This suggestion is based on Genesis 2:22-23 wherein God creates Eve, the first woman, from one of Adam’s ribs. Following this Adam states, ‘This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man.’ See the King James Version, Genesis 2:23.
sister-image there that does not fit him.”\textsuperscript{21} Despite Hillis Miller’s notion of the incomplete female, it is in this way that Chiaro justifies the legitimacy of his art. If ‘Hand and Soul’ is to be read as a manifesto of Rossetti’s career, it lends great value to the interpretation of his later female portraits, their implicit masculinity a reflection of Rossetti’s artistic identity.

Of the three women who dominated Rossetti’s artistic life: his wife, Elizabeth Siddal; Fanny Cornforth; and Jane Morris, it is Cornforth’s influence that is of most interest to this study, for her unusually masculine appearance is central to many of Rossetti’s most erotic pictures and most clearly illustrates Rossetti’s narcissistic projections. Upon their first meeting Rossetti described her as possessing an ‘interesting face and jolly hair and engaging disposition’.\textsuperscript{22} However, as compared to the thin, striking features of his other models, especially Siddal, Cornforth was a very different sort of model. According to Rossetti’s biographer Jan Marsh, ‘of all those who had loved Gabriel, in his times of most need Fanny proved the most faithful, if not the wisest.’\textsuperscript{23} There is no doubt of the esteem in which Rossetti held Cornforth.

![Figure 3: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Elizabeth Siddal, The Return of Tibullus to Delia (c. 1855)](http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/s62d.rap.html)\textsuperscript{24}

Their long-standing, affectionate relationship may help us understand Woman combing her hair as a narcissistic expression of art, in which Rossetti’s artistic depictions of Cornforth reveal his desire for her in the form of transposed self-love. Although Rossetti was certainly not alone in his interest of the woman’s toilette scene — there are numerous nineteenth-century paintings of the same title and many similar Renaissance compositions — the perspective of this picture is quite unique.\textsuperscript{25} In this picture the anonymous woman, modeled by Cornforth, stares deeply into her

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p. 508.
\textsuperscript{24} Dante Gabriel Rossetti, \textit{Elizabeth Siddal, The Return of Tibullus to Delia (c. 1855)} <http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/s62d.rap.html> [accessed 29 November 2013]
\textsuperscript{25} For other prominent nineteenth-century examples of the woman’s toilette scene see French Impressionists Pierre-Auguste Renoir and especially Edgar Degas, whose preoccupation with the scene resulted in dozens of drawings and paintings, mostly nudes, bearing similar titles.
mirror, which is also the viewer. We do not see her as she herself does. We, as mirrors all do, consume her true identity, while projecting back to her the inverted image of her reflection: our own creation of identity. In this way the masculine construction of femininity remains at the center of the picture, affording Rossetti a ‘vehicle of psychological and artistic self-expression’. As in his other toilette scenes, Rossetti presents an image in which the viewer is ‘irrevocably implicated in the act of contemplating beauty’. Of the many signifiers of intimacy found in both *Woman combing her hair* and ‘Hand and Soul’, the women’s hair and eyes remain the most significant. In this painting Cornforth’s pensive stare evokes a distinct closeness reminiscent of that between Chiaro and his soul, where he ‘felt her to be as much with him as his breath’ and the ‘first thoughts he had ever known were given him as at first from her eyes’. Cornforth’s abundant, unpinned red locks indicate an erotic, highly personal scene, one which, from a nineteenth-century perspective, feels voyeuristic. While Chiaro at one point is enshrouded in the great ‘golden veil’ of his soul’s hair ‘through which he beheld his dreams’ and later is described weeping into her hair which covered his face. Since the description of his soul’s wild hair and ‘austere gaze’ comes from the artist’s unconscious desires, then, because of the unique positioning of the mirror, we may also see *Woman combing her hair* as a narcissistic manifestation

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28 Ibid., p. 31.
of beauty. In both cases Rossetti’s depictions of the most intimate forms of beauty stem from masculine projections.

Titian’s *Woman with a Mirror* (c.1513–15) is a painting which ‘echoes through all of Rossetti’s toilette scenes’ and thus must be discussed for its influence upon Rossetti’s *Woman combing her hair.*

In terms of composition there is certain congruity in the placement of the oval mirror above both models’ left shoulders. However, the most significant departure in composition is found in their gazes. In the Titian, the woman looks on to a second mirror above her right arm, ostensibly reflecting the back of her head. In this way her gaze neglects the viewer; we are meant to look on her classical beauty directly. While in Rossetti’s composition, we see Cornforth’s visage as a reflection of our own design. This argument may be further strengthened by the conflicting masculinity found in Rossetti’s picture. Titian’s model, a woman heretofore unidentified, is marginally robust, but possesses a classically beautiful face. While juxtaposed, Rossetti’s depiction of Cornforth’s face, although certainly erotic, appears mannish in its muscularity and prominence of features. In conjunction with the mirror, the result of these differences wholly distorts the construction of sexual identity in Rossetti’s painting. By aligning the mirror with the viewers’ perspective, Rossetti has altered the model’s identity, leaving viewers responsible for defining feminine beauty. Although it is certainly beyond the scope of this study to assess Rossetti’s sexual desires, it is plausible to suggest that the effects and distortions of mirrors may express his own inner-desires.

Mark Pendergrast has aptly stated that ‘mirrors are meaningless until someone looks into them […] a history of the mirror is really the history of looking, and what we perceive in these

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30 Treuherz, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, p. 188.
31 Titian, *Woman with a mirror* (c. 1513–15)
magical surfaces can tell us a great deal about ourselves.\textsuperscript{32} We know that Rossetti was throughout his life terribly shy of exhibiting his work.\textsuperscript{33} His reluctance to make public his unique, intimate portrayals of beauty may suggest his own anxieties about beauty and sexuality, while the transposition of masculinity onto his female subjects exposes a greater insight into the complexities of his own largely obscured identity and sexuality. Insofar as mirrored reflections afford a unique perspective of our identity and narcissistic desires, we may see ‘Hand and Soul’ and \textit{Woman combing her hair} together as a window into the complicated sexuality and aesthetic vision of Dante Gabriel Rossetti.


\textsuperscript{33} Marsh notes the prevalence of these concerns throughout Rossetti’s life. As early as 1859 he was essentially through with displaying his work in public galleries, considering them ‘all a mistake, to which he would not again succumb’. See Marsh, \textit{Rossetti}, p. 101.
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Williams, Todd, ‘Reading Rossetti’s THE MIRROR through Lacan’s Mirror Stage’ (Kutztown University: Heldref Publications, 2008)
Abstract: In a culture obsessed with physiognomy, where the Victorian female body was a canvas of symbols to be read, the portrayal of hair – and particularly hair colour – was a powerful means of characterising women in both literature and art. The 'fair-haired paragon' Lucy Audley in Braddon's novel Lady Audley's Secret (1862) would thus appear to be the antithesis of the subject of Rossetti's painting Lady Lilith (1866-68, altered 1872-73), whose locks are the typically vivid red colour of the Pre-Raphaelite woman. However, the characters of Lady Audley and Lady Lilith are not as simple as their tropes. There are shades of meaning between these apogees and ultimately, the hair colour of both women can be described as 'red-gold'. The fusion of these two seemingly conflicting symbolic shades and the murky area between them brings to the fore questions about the nature of the Victorian woman.
before words’; our first judgements have always been visually-stimulated.¹ The depth of this stimulation in the Victorian era was however particularly potent. As Galia Ofek points out, Victorian bodily aesthetics were 'an important mode of signification...social, political, cultural and literary'; the body became a symbolic language.² Hair was arguably the most sensational of symbols. It is physical, and therefore 'extremely personal'; it is intimate.³ Yet it is also generally visible and therefore 'public rather than private'.⁴ Moreover, its physicality is malleable, thus rendering it capable of symbolising changes on both the personal and public levels. Hair has always had this potency but at no time more so than within this Victorian culture of the 'reading of bodies'.⁵ Indeed it should be noted that to refer to the Victorian, as Michael Mason contends, is not simply to refer the chronological – to the years 1837-1901 during which Victoria reigned – but is also to convey 'the idea of...restrictiveness'.⁶ The bodies of both sexes were certainly ‘restricted’ from view, particularly in the case of the female body, which will be examined here. As Ofek has pointed out, ‘[Victorian] fashion dictates and social mores prohibited bare hands, legs and other parts which were covered for modesty’s sake’.⁷ Hair, therefore, was 'almost the only exposed, visible and distinctly feminine body part in a lady’s appearance.'⁸ Moreover, Victorian men’s hairstyles were becoming 'short and less ornate'.⁹ The hair of the Victorian woman was thereby invested with what Ofek has deemed 'an over-determination of sexual meaning.'¹⁰

Hair’s symbolic properties were thereby also over-determined, or saturated, with meaning. Colour is surely the most striking property of hair and can cause one to make what Altick has described as ‘quick characterisations’ about personalities; the angelic blonde, for instance, or the fiery red-head, are common tropes in Western culture.¹¹ At first glance then, the 'fair-haired paragon’ Lucy Audley in Braddon’s novel Lady Audley’s Secret would appear to be the antithesis of the subject of Rossetti’s painting Lady Lilith (Fig. 1), whose locks are the typically 'shrill' red colour of the Pre-Raphaelite woman.¹² Certainly both Braddon and Rossetti used the connotations of these hair shades to their advantage, as shall be discussed. However it is also apparent that both author and artist questioned these learned assumptions; the characters of Lady Audley and Lady Lilith are not as simple as their tropes. There are shades of meaning between these apogees. It will emerge that the hair colour of both the women in question varied, and that ultimately the shade of both women’s hair can be categorised as a type of ‘red-gold’. The fusion of these two seemingly conflicting symbolic shades within one character brings to the fore questions about the nature of the Victorian woman and, as shall be seen, arguably

⁴ Ibid., p. 381.
⁷ Galia Ofek, Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture (Farnham, 2009), p. 3.
⁸ Ibid., p. 3.
⁹ Ibid., p. 3.
¹⁰ Ibid., p. 3.
mirrors the dichotomy seen in the Victorian phenomenon of what became known as the 'New Woman'.

To describe Lady Audley as a 'woman' seems, at least superficially, rather inappropriate. Braddon employs the trope of the golden-haired female as child-like and angelic in the construction of her female protagonist. The brightly-coloured lock of Lady Audley’s hair which is discovered in a book by Robert Audley is described as being ‘of that glittering hue which is so rarely seen except upon the head of a child’. Indeed this metaphor is taken to an extreme in chapter 7 of volume 1, where Braddon tells the reader that 'the innocence and candor of an infant beamed in Lady Audley's fair face [...]. The rosy lips, the delicate nose, the profusion of fair ringlets, all contributed to preserve to her beauty the character of extreme youth and freshness [...] as girlish as if she had just left the nursery. As the Victorian reader might have expected, her appearance seems largely to mirror her character; 'all her amusements were childish. She hated reading, or study of any kind, and loved society. Rather than be alone, she would...sit chattering...while she counted and admired her treasures'. The expectation of innocence in her character is particularly strong when we consider that her golden hair is taken to angelic extremes by Braddon; it is said to fall 'about her face like the pale golden halo you see round the head of a Madonna in an Italian picture'. Superficially, she thus belongs, as Elizabeth G. Gitter notes, to a ‘long literary tradition’ of the golden-haired female whose ‘shining hair...[is] her aureole’. She is presented as a fairy-tale heroine, much like the characters of Rapunzel or the Goose-girl who were found in the fairy tales anthologised by authors including the Grimm brothers, Andrew Lang and Joseph Jacobs in the nineteenth century. As Gitter points out, the Victorian reader was ‘well-read in such fairy tales and steeped in a culture that insisted on the preciousness of hair’; such a reader would inevitably have been influenced by this visual language.

We must however also consider the other sense in which golden hair would have been read as precious - in its inextricable link to gold as a precious metal. The worth of hair in the Victorian period was akin to money. As Gitter has pointed out, 'the ubiquitous Victorian lock of hair, encased in a locket or ring or framed on the wall, became, through a Midas touch of imagination, something treasured...intrinsically valuable, as precious as gold'. It was also tangibly valuable in the Victorian market-place, where hair was regularly bought and sold for aesthetic augmentation. Yet the Victorian attitude towards money was, like the prevailing attitude towards women, dichotomous. Both were desirable but, as Ruskin warned in *Munera Pulveris*, to desire them could be to 'take dust for deity'. Money was a glittering, lustful attraction but could lead men astray. Women embodied this sense of desirable danger. Desire was, even in this

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13 The term “New Woman” was defined in the Westminster Review 1865; 'New Woman, as we read of her in recent novels, possesses not only the velvet, but the claws of the tiger. She is no longer the Angel, but the Devil in the House. "new woman, n." OED Online. Oxford University Press, March 2014. Web. 14 March 2014.
http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/276487
15 Ibid., Vol. 1, Ch. 7, p. 60.
16 Ibid., Vol. 1, Ch. 7 p. 60.
17 Ibid., Vol. 2, Ch. 10, p. 293.
19 Ibid., p. 943.
20 Ibid., p. 943.
21 Ibid., p. 944.
Victorian culture of 'restrictiveness', as present as ever. As David Grylls has noted, 'courtship and romance' were 'the staple...of the mainstream Victorian novel.' Likewise, the subjects of women and sexuality filled the canvases of the Pre-Raphaelite painters who were so prominent in the Victorian era. And yet these desirable women were simultaneously threatening, as their position in Victorian society shifted. As Stevens has noted, the phenomenon of the 'New Woman' with 'her demands for education and the right to pursue a career rather than marriage, her rejection of the patriarchal family and life of domesticity and her demand for political power' caused concern that the woman would be, as one writer noted in the *Saturday Review*, 'stripped of all that is womanly'. The image of golden hair then, which was filled with connotations of sexuality and value, became the ideal visual tool through which artists and authors could express these shifting, dichotomous and uncertain attitudes.

Indeed, it becomes apparent that Lady Audley's golden hair has been a 'shining snare' in enabling her marriage to Michael Audley. It is her hair, which defines her appearance and inspires expectations of an angelic character, which allows Lady Audley to achieve her marriage to Sir Michael Audley. Lucy Graham comes 'into the neighbourhood as a governess in the family of a surgeon in the village near Audley Court' and – though 'no one knew anything of her' – achieves for herself a wealthy husband by virtue of that 'head, with its wealth of showering flaxen curls'.

The intangible value of her hair thus draws in both Michael Audley and his wealth. The notion that the shifting role of the female posed a threat to the social order was a very real fear in a Victorian society preoccupied with hierarchical distinctions. Women such as Lady Audley, who rose through the societal structure by their looks, were especially threatening to what Gitter has termed the 'fabric of peaceful family and social existence' in an age when artifice - in the form of hair-dye and make-up - was increasingly available and increasingly used. This threatening aspect to the character of Lady Audley is revealed by Braddon's descriptions of the red shades in her hair. In a very telling description of Lady Audley's portrait, Robert Audley details the way in which 'her fair head' appears to be 'peeping out of the lurid mass of colour as if out of a raging furnace... the red gold gleaming in the yellow hair'. Here, the use of the colour red certainly portrays the traditional sense of danger with which it is associated; it is like fire. This is a particularly apt simile when we later discover that Lady Audley is not the innocent, angelic blonde that she first appeared. She is a criminal, who commits arson and, to her knowledge, murder. She is not a virginal girl but has married once before. She is not a child, but has a child. Her Madonna-like appearance was thus deceiving. Both this woman, and her appearance, lie.

Red hair in the Victorian period was inextricably linked with deception. As hair was imbued with the aforementioned 'over-determination of sexual meaning', red hair in particular – with its fiery, attention-grabbing vivacity – suggested what Ofek has termed 'smoldering sexuality'. It thus appeared ever frequently in the fashionable, contemporary paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites, whose paintings often fixated on the sexuality of the woman. Lady Audley is in

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26 Ibid., p. 943.
30 Ofek, *Representations of Hair*, p. 3.
fact directly linked with this Pre-Raphaelite auburn-haired woman; Robert Audley asserts that 'the painter must have been a pre-Raphaelite. No one but a pre-Raphaelite would have painted, hair by hair, those feathery masses of ringlets'.\(^{31}\) As red hair appeared more frequently in art and literature, so too did it appear in Victorian society and, as Altick put it, 'where nature refused to assist...artifice – unmitigated, womanly deceit – rushed in to supply the lack', in the form of hair-dye.\(^{32}\) This was certainly the way in which a significant proportion of polite Victorian society viewed the use of substances which changed appearance. Manipulating your physicality was a form of deception in a society concerned with physiognomy – 'the study of the features...as being supposedly indicative of character'.\(^{33}\) This notion of sexuality and trickery, in combination with the natural suggestion of danger suggested by the colour red, conspired to make red-haired women the ideal embodiment of the *femme fatale*. It is thus no coincidence that Lady Audley's apparently golden hair is seen by Robert Audley to be 'flashing like red gold' as the true nature of her character merges.\(^{34}\) Her appearance and character, like the appearance and character of the 'New Woman', shifts.

Likewise, the red hair given to Rossetti's Lady Lilith, which at first glance seems to embody her character, is not as phrenologically definitive as it appears. The character of Lilith, as Allen notes, was 'according to legend...created with Adam from the same handful of dust, and, as his equal, refused to be subordinate to him'.\(^{35}\) Instead, she is said to have consorted with demons and resultanty has 'demon-begot infants who die daily', causing her to 'bewitch' men and to prey on the children of others.\(^{36}\) As Rossetti wrote in the painting's accompanying poem *Body's Beauty* (first published in *Poems* 1870, re-published under the title *Body's Beauty* 1881), 'Of Adam's first wife, Lilith it is told/That, ere the snake's, her sweet tongue could deceive'.\(^{37}\) The deceptive nature associated with red-headed women thus seems to fit her character perfectly. Moreover we are told in *Body's Beauty* that she 'draws men to watch the bright web she can weave, Till heart and body and life are in its hold,' suggesting a danger linked to the braiding, or weaving, of her hair.\(^{38}\) This is certainly mirrored in Rossetti's image of Lilith, whose hair demands the attention of the viewer. As Barringer, Rosenfeld and Smith have recently suggested, Rossetti's Lilith offers 'a paradigm of aesthetic pleasure, tactile...and visual'.\(^{39}\) Much of this can be attributed to a 'fleshly and erotic suggestiveness' which is created by the tactile intimations of the combing of her hair and the sheer amount of skin visible to the viewer.\(^{40}\) This sensuality, obvious to the modern viewer, would have been glaringly present to the Victorian eye, accustomed to the over-sufficient clothing and tied-back hair of the 'respectable' Victorian woman. Lilith indeed sits as a counterpoint to the ideal Victorian wife and mother, and in this sense she can, like Lady Audley, be viewed as an early embodiment of the 'New Woman' so feared by polite Victorian society. As noted previously, an 1868 volume of *The Saturday Review* (a periodical which Allen notes was 'part of Rossetti's reading'), contained remarks referring to


\(^{34}\) Braddon, *Lady Audley's Secret*, Vol. 1, Ch. 13, p. 139.


\(^{36}\) Ibid., p. 286.


\(^{38}\) Ibid., p. 127.

\(^{39}\) Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld and Alison Smith (Eds.), *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Avant-garde* (London, 2012), p. 132.

\(^{40}\) Ibid., p. 132.
the supposed refusal of modern, educated women to 'do their duty to England' in reference to the 'deterioration' of consent to unlimited childbirth. It is seemingly no coincidence that the femme fatale characters of both Lady Lilith and Lady Audley fail in their duties as mothers. The red hair of the Pre-Raphaelite woman, described by E.H. Gombrich as 'shrill' and seen by Barringer and Rosenfeld to 'sound a note of dissidence' was the ideal vehicle for this portrayal. Lady Lilith is not a woman seduced by a man but is the seducer. The way in which she combs out her red hair whilst admiring it in a mirror demonstrates a narcissistic pride in her beauty. She is not attracted to men but to herself, and will use her attractiveness (and specifically her hair) to, as Rossetti notes in *Body's Beauty*, put her 'spell through him' and leave 'his straight neck bent'. The trope of the dangerous red-head thus seems to be simply and effectively deployed by Rossetti to personify societal fears.

Yet just as Lady Audley is not the true embodiment of the angelic blonde, neither is Lady Lilith the dangerous red-haired woman she may initially appear to be. Her hair too negotiates the shades between these two colours. Rossetti states blatantly that 'her enchanted hair was the first gold'. Indeed his first version of the *Lady Lilith* image (Fig. 2, 1866-68) was painted using the fair-haired model Fanny Cornforth and was only changed to a red-haired woman (using the model Alexa Wilding) at the request of the purchaser F. R. Leyland, who considered the blonde-haired Cornforth's features 'too sensual and commonplace'. (As has been noted, blonde hair could thus clearly also have negative connotations). Tropes were thus not the simple 'quick characterisations' they may first appear to be. Rossetti's Lilith, despite her characterisation by one contemporary as a 'queen of the demons', was first a golden-haired blonde, with all of the connotations this implied. It is perhaps impossible to create a golden-haired character and avoid the sense of the angelic golden-haired heroine. Rossetti in fact seems to have deliberately retained a sense of this innocence in the painting, even after changing the colour of his subject's hair, 1873-73. Lilith is 'clad in traditionally virginal white' and there is an 'exploration of white, cream and silver across the composition'. There is an extent to which this could be an artistic choice linked to the aesthetic preference of the artist and/or the patron. It has certainly been suggested by Barringer and Rosenfeld that this colour palette could be linked to the Aesthetic Movement, which favoured shades of white. Yet in a society so attuned to the language of appearance, the virginal connotations of these colours, particularly in contrast to the fiery red hair, surely serve a purpose. Oliphant argued in her telling article of 1856 that, 'when a very high effect is intended, red is the hue par-excellence'. By pairing this bright hue with the contrasting palette of whites, Rossetti draws deliberate attention to the duality of good and evil, sensuality and virginity, deceptiveness and purity within this one woman. This dichotomy is heightened when we consider that *Lady Lilith* and the accompanying poem *Body's Beauty* were paired with Rossetti's slightly earlier red-headed woman *Sibylla Palmifera* (1866-70, also using Wilding as a model) and its accompanying poem *Soul's Beauty* (published 1881), highlighting a further duality –

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42 Gombrich, 'Style', p. 9.
44 Ibid., p. 126.
45 See http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/08.162.1 for a high-resolution image of Rossetti's *Lady Lilith* (1866-68), using model Fanny Cornforth.
48 Barringer, Rosenfeld and Smith (Eds.), *Pre-Raphaelites*, p. 132.
49 Ibid., p. 132.
50 Margaret Oliphant 'Novels' (first published in *Blackwoods*, 1867), in Andrew Maunder (Ed.) *Varieties of Women's Sensation Fiction, 1855-1890* Vol 1, p. 183.
between spiritual love and lust. These characteristics allude to the dichotomous Victorian attitude towards the burgeoning concept of the 'New Woman' and arguably contribute to her creation; she was after all, as Ofek notes, 'a semiotic and social phenomenon that blurred the borderlines between reality and fiction'. The status of the Victorian 'New Woman' as a blurring of notions in art and literature with the reality of the women of the day – the relationship reciprocal – indeed appears to be recognised by Rossetti. Not only does Lady Lilith, like Lady Audley, embody the contrasting tropes of the golden-haired paragon and the red-headed siren but her surroundings too echo this dichotomy. The trees, for example, can only be seen in a mirror behind Lilith's red hair, which further obscures them from view. The image reflected at the viewer is thus a distorted reality, and not the whole picture. The 'New Woman' was a distortion of reality seen in word and image – she was a construct, who could not be quantified as easily as she was portrayed.

Indeed, it can be concluded that the portrayal of both Braddon's Lady Audley and Rossetti's Lady Lilith are ambiguous and that this ambiguity manifests itself in the portrayal of their hair, a potent symbol which the Victorian reader would have been attuned to. Though the character of Lady Lilith has been described as the 'queen of the demons', it is far from clear that Rossetti demonised her. Her vivid red hair, though associated with danger and 'smoldering sexuality' was also the same hair colour seen in the painting's companion piece *Sibylla Palmifera*, which depicts a woman consumed by spiritual love. Moreover, Lilith was originally painted with golden hair and remains associated with the innocence of this fair appearance through the shades of white and silver which surround her now-red hair. Likewise, Lady Audley demonstrates much of the vulnerability and innocence linked to blonde hair. Even when her crimes have been admitted, we are still encouraged to feel a sense of pity towards her, which Braddon links to the nature of her hair; 'it had served her so little after all, that gloriously glittering hair, that beautiful nimbus of yellow light'. We see her not as justly punished but as a 'naughty child' who is, as Braddon titles her chapter, 'buried alive'. Alongside this however, as Beller notes, Lady Audley's 'ruthless self-interest made her a target for Victorian fears about the loss of femininity in the modern woman'; it is arguably this side to her character which prompts the flashes of 'red gold' we see in her Pre-Raphaelite portrait, a style of painting which itself was linked to the 'overturning [of] current orthodoxies'. In this sense, both women embody the qualities of the emerging Victorian 'New Woman' construct. It is surely no coincidence that both of the women in question are 'ladies'. It was these women in the higher echelons of society who became the subject of Victorian questions about femininity. The 'New Woman' however, posed more questioned than she answered. She was, like Lady Audley and Lady Lilith, dichotomous. The portrayal of such women in Victorian culture thus resulted in the simultaneous adoption and rejection of phrenological ideas and aesthetic tropes. Both Braddon and Rossetti clearly adopted the language of appearance, and particularly the language of hair, to a large extent in the portrayal of these two female characters. Yet in rejecting absolute tropes in terms of hair colour, they arguably also rejected, as Ofek has put it, the 'absolute hierarchical distinctions 'between nature and artifice, 'high' and 'low' literature, ethereal and evil femininity, female victims and female

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52 Ofek, 'Sensational Hair', p. 112.
54 Ofek, *Representations of Hair*, p. 3.
58 Barringer, Rosenfeld and Smith (Eds.), *Pre-Raphaelites*, p. 9.
victimisers, female readers and female heroines. As Berger has put it since, 'the relationship between what we see and what we know is never settled'. The portrayal of women in both Victorian literature and Victorian art was not as simple as black and white, or indeed gold or red. In a world of scientific categorisation and phrenological study, the Victorian woman - and her position in the home and in society – embodied shades of meaning.

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57 Ofek, 'Sensational Hair', p. 113.
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PART 4: INQUIRIES IN SOCIAL HISTORY
CORPORAL OR PSYCHOLOGICAL PUNISHMENT? A COMPARISON BETWEEN NEWGATE PRISON AS DESCRIBED IN CONTEMPORARY IMAGES AND IN DANIEL DEFOE’S MOLL FLANDERS AND JEREMY BENTHAM’S MODEL FOR THE PANOPTICON

Maria-Gloria Simpson

Abstract: This article deals with the effects that the material shape of a prison and its system of punishment may have on offenders and touches on the role that art can play within a given society by denouncing or highlighting inhumane or corrupt procedures, thus putting in motion social and political reforms. As a case study Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon will be compared with Newgate Prison, as described in images of the period and in Daniel Defoe’s Moll Flanders, with a view to examining its potential implications for prisoners as a result of an increased institutional exercise of power and control. Although never built as a prison in England, over time the Panopticon offered an architectural blueprint for other institutional buildings such as hospitals, schools, factories and asylums in Britain and abroad.

The choice of artefacts for this article was suggested by the perceived role that visual and narrative works played in eighteenth-century England as a propelling force for the reform of the penitentiary. In fact, with the benefit of hindsight, it could be argued that reciprocal influences were engendered whereby the realistic descriptions of prisons in artworks awoke a social consciousness of the need for penal reforms which, in turn, fed the public taste for further works portraying crime and punishment. In his book, Imagining the Penitentiary, Fiction and the Architecture of Mind in Eighteenth-Century England, John Bender perceptively defines the influence that the novel had on prison reform:

‘Eighteenth-century prison reform found its form in the sphere of novelistic discourse, where, through the material of language, an emergent structure of feeling took shape and, like an image floating into focus, became subject to conscious experience.’

In the eighteenth century, interest in crime was rife and the public enjoyed reading stories about villains and participating in the ‘show’ of capital or corporal punishment as if it were indeed a spectacle (Figure 1). Perhaps the gruesome experience had a cathartic effect similar to that of Greek tragedies, as the vision of pain and the engendering of fear have often had a purgative result on man’s negative instincts. Thus the punishment inflicted and publicly witnessed might have had the effect of curbing further criminal intents by operating as a form of social and moral control.

Corporal punishment was central to the spectacle of execution or mutilation, but gradually physical chastisement was substituted by punishment of a different nature, determined through a tighter juridical system and administered by way of the institutionalised prison, initially put in motion by the Penitentiary Parliamentary Act of 1779. Bentham’s Panopticon, an architectural and ideological concept for the surveillance of prisoners, was an important proposal toward the new philosophy of chastisement. In the panoptical prison inmates would be subjected to the authority and control of their jailers, with a view to their potential redemption and eventual rehabilitation into society as dictated by growing evangelical and philanthropic attitudes to crime and punishment.

Despite the gradual shift away from corporal punishment, the appeal of crime fiction continued and had the result of keeping alive public interest in offenders and confinement. This interest grew into a serious commitment and dedicated agenda on the part of legal and social reformers and philanthropists such as Elizabeth Fry, John Howard, Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir John and Henry Fielding, and Jeremy Bentham to name but a few. Jeremy Bentham, creator of the Panopticon, was a philosopher and the founder of Utilitarianism and his interest in penal reforms was more pragmatic than philanthropic. He believed that ‘fictions might be identified, mastered, and turned to socially useful ends’ a concept that supports the view that the confines between reality and fantasy can become blurred and intertwined hence a novel can often be perceived as reality.

A comparison between an architectural plan of Newgate Prison published in 1800 (Figure 2) and Bentham’s planned model for the Panopticon of 1791 (Figure 3) offers the opportunity to examine historical material conditions of detention in England in the early nineteenth century and to evaluate the proposed new penitentiary. Newgate Prison stood at the corner of Newgate Street and the Old Bailey in the City of London, and served as a

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2 The Penitentiary Act of 1779 was drafted by John Howard and William Blackstone and offered a prison sentence as an alternative to the death penalty or transportation.

3 The name Panopticon from the Greek pan meaning “all” and opticon meaning “to observe” is a round shaped architectural structure with an inspection tower placed in the middle from which a continuous surveillance of prisoners can be exercised.

4 He was influential in the abolishment of the death penalty for theft and minor offences.

5 Henry and John Fielding are usually considered the founders of the Metropolitan Police, an institution that would be sanctioned by Parliament only in 1829. Information derived from J. Bender, *Imagining the Penitentiary, Fiction and the Architecture of Mind in Eighteenth-Century England*, 1987, 145.

6 J. Bender, *ibid*, 37.
custodial house for over 700 years from 1188 to 1902. Prior to the penitentiary reform, however, prisons were not institutionalised but were privately run on fees exacted from the prisoners and minimal charitable contributions and were rather like secure staging posts, or as John Bender defines them, ‘liminal’ houses where offenders were safely kept while awaiting judgement. Cases against felons were brought by the victims of crime and the sentence envisaged was capital punishment, transportation or a declaration of innocence, but, as Elizabeth Fry wrote, in the early nineteenth century: ‘Crimes of almost all grades and descriptions were [...] punishable with death’.9

Even when acquitted by the magistrate, an innocent inmate would not necessarily be released from Newgate, but could be kept indefinitely if unable to pay the fee expected by the prison keeper for his/her deliverance.10 This situation was confirmed by John Howard, ex-Sheriff of the County of Bedford turned penal reformer, when he visited prisons in England to acquaint himself with their conditions.11 Not only did he find the jails that he inspected in a poor state, but he also discovered that prison keepers were extremely corrupt and often ran illegal ‘tap-houses’ and operated a system of bribes paid by the inmates for better room, board and services.12 In fact, the level of freedom and quality of accommodation and food at Newgate varied in relation to how much the inmates could afford or were prepared to pay for their keep. Inmates with money could be lodged in bailiffs’ houses aptly defined ‘spunging houses’, but poor inmates suffered the most abject conditions in squalid, unhealthy cells or dungeons prey to jail fever and with no bedding or heat and with very scanty food.

The drawing of Newgate Prison in Figure 2 shows a rectangular façade with two lateral wings. The legend included on the drawing specifies how the building was used for the detention of felons of both sexes, but also of debtors, which means that Newgate did not distinguish between prisoners based on their level of offence. The distribution of space in the plan indicates that felons and debtors were housed in different quadrangles, as were male and female felons, but suggests that the same quadrangle was dedicated to debtors of both sexes (often accompanied by their families), from which one can infer that a degree of sociability and communication could be maintained among the inmates. Condemned felons, however, were always kept in isolated, dingy cells. From the available image, one can surmise that the heavily rusticated building by George Dance the Younger (1780-3) was reminiscent of Giulio Romano’s Mannerist work and had Palladian echoes in its design. Its heavy masses betrayed the function for which it had been destined, thus answering the vision of an ‘architecture parlante’, and its

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7 In 1780 Newgate was burnt down by the Gordon rioters, but was rebuilt on the same plan. Information derived from John Howard, The state of the prisons in England and Wales, with preliminary observations, and an account of some foreign prisons and hospitals, (London: Johnson, C. Dilly and T. Cadell, MDCCXCII [1792]), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, University of Oxford, Sections I, II, III and VII (221-255).
8 J. Bender, Imagining the Penitentiary, Fiction and the Architecture of Mind in Eighteenth-Century England, 1987, 64.
11 J. Howard, The state of the prisons in England and Wales, with preliminary observations, and an account of some foreign prisons and hospitals, 1792, 221-255.
13 J. Howard, The state of the prisons in England and Wales, with preliminary observations, and an account of some foreign prisons and hospitals, 1792, 5.
14 As defined by the French architect Jacques-François Blondel for buildings that express through form their
exterior exuded authority and denounced a lack of visibility of the interior from the adjoining public road. No windows punctuated its lateral wings and although the central façade had copious fenestration, this section was for the use of the keeper and turnkeys.

Fig. 2 - Architectural plans for Newgate Prison, London, c. 1800
Original in the Crace Collection at the British Library.
[http://www.bl.uk/collections/map_crace.html]

By contrast, Bentham’s utilitarian design for a cellular, round-plan, multi-storey penitentiary-house was based on its very feature of complete visibility. Materials such as glass and cast iron as well as the round architectural shape would allow a transparent view of backlit, radial, individual cells separated by projecting walls. These cells would be subjected to the surveillance of a warder placed in a tower at the centre of an ‘annular well’, but the visibility would be in one direction only as the warder would be concealed behind curtains or blinds provided with spyholes, thus giving the inmates the impression of a continuous watching presence. The inspection tower would also allow the surveillance of warders thus answering the old question *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* The system, in fact, would operate at both the horizontal and vertical level of hierarchical discipline. Although Bentham’s architectural principle could be applied to different establishments such as schools, military complexes, factories and hospitals, the prime interest of its creator was for a new form of penitentiary-house architecturally conceived to facilitate the administration of the punishment envisioned by reformers for the rehabilitation of prisoners.

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17 As declared on the title page of J. Bentham’s *Panopticon or The Inspection House (1791)*, Part I.
Essentially, the idea behind the panoptical design was that, kept in a single cell and under strict surveillance, the prisoner would reflect on his/her crime, repent and gradually develop a new behavioural identity that could allow his/her productive re-integration into society. It was felt that 'instead of taking revenge, criminal justice should simply punish'\(^\text{18}\) by substituting corporal penalty with more humane and morally restorative means of control. This concept was intended to limit capital punishment to the most serious offences, such as murder and treason, and reflected a new philanthropic and religious attitude to crime and punishment that led to the wide-ranging penal reforms of the nineteenth century. The utilitarian aspect of the panoptical plan also saw the process of surveillance as the apt procedural rehabilitation of a workforce destined for industry and the military, as the discipline imparted and learnt in prison could later be applied productively to different sectors of activity.

The internal arrangement of the proposed panoptical apparatus, as detailed in Bentham’s writings, gives the reader a good impression of what would be the mental and emotional impact of its architectural design on a prisoner shut in his/her individual cell (in which to work, eat, attend Divine service, and sleep,\(^\text{19}\) while regular periods of airing would be strictly monitored) wondering at all times whether s/he is being observed, analysed, branded and used as a scientific cipher of investigation into human psychology. Under the influence of new scientific methods of classification, a Linnaean taxonomy of prisoners could be effected and inmates could be grouped according to sex, age, offence committed and whether first-time offenders or habitual criminals, but the system would deprive them of their individual identity in an attempt to slot them into fixed categories.

Surveillance and isolation were also deemed by the authorities as excellent and economic ways of avoiding the communing of prisoners – which might occasion insurrections, on-site criminal activities, attempts at escape and infectious corruption leading to recidivism – but would isolate the individual from the society of his equals, ultimately creating potential syndromes of social inadequacy once the prisoner was due for release. In fact, even when engaged in forced,


\(^{19}\) Information derived from J. Bentham’s _Panopticon or The Inspection House (1791)_ , Part I, 22.
collective labour, (work formed part of Bentham’s vision for making the penitentiary profitable and, in his words, would be like ‘a mill grinding rogues honest and idle men industrious’),

the inmates would not be allowed any communication or interaction. In his Discipline and Punish, The Birth of the Prison Michel Foucault equates the panoptical design with a menagerie where prisoners are like animals kept in cages.

When comparing Newgate Prison with the Panopticon, the interdependence of text and image to create a vision or to emphasize a concept becomes evident. In fact, as the narrative description of prison ‘realities’ in Moll Flanders shaped a reader’s mental image of life inside Newgate, the architectural design for the Panopticon gained vivid form for reformers through Jeremy Bentham’s letters and plan of construction as detailed in his Panopticon, or The Inspection House (1791). In Daniel Defoe’s novel the chapters describing Moll Flanders’s period at Newgate give a picture of what the conditions of incarceration in that establishment might have been like in 1722. Daniel Defoe had himself spent a short period in custody at Newgate and had been subjected three times to the pillory convicted of seditious libel, and reading his novel it is clear that through the diaristic fiction the author ventriloquised his own experiences and observations giving the conditions described a high level of authenticity.

The question of how fiction may influence reality is intriguing and not immediately quantifiable, but the descriptions of Newgate in Moll Flanders concurred with what John Howard later wrote about contemporary prison conditions in England. Moll Flanders can be said, therefore, to have made an early denunciation of a problem that needed attention and political action. This correspondence between fiction and reality makes one reflect that, besides being a mimetic representation of life, art can take on a real, living and integral role in the progress of social and legal history. As John Bender suggests: ‘[…] we can see more in works of art than mere reflections. They clarify structures of feeling characteristic of a given moment and thereby predicate those available in the future’.

As far as conditions at Newgate were concerned, although sociability of a kind could be maintained during Moll Flanders’s period of incarceration, the undisciplined communing of felons and debtors and male and female detainees had deleterious effects on the good management of that house as debauchery and promiscuity reigned supreme. Redemption and rehabilitation did not form part of the managerial ethos of the place and with the prospect of death hanging over their heads, felons indulged in all types of vices: violence, gambling, drinking, swearing, and sexual misdemeanours. Repentance for their past actions was the least of their concerns as they tried to cling to the remnants of a known life that would be soon either cut short or changed for ever as a result of transportation.

At her arrival at Newgate, Moll Flanders underwent an initiatory process and gradually became a ‘Newgate bird’, i.e. part of a microcosm that obeyed its own unruly rules, and where individual identities were quashed and, as she wrote, prisoners were exposed to a grim reality dominated by:

…the hellish Noise, the Roaring, Swearing and Clamour, the Stench and Nastiness, and all the dreadful crowd of Afflicting things that I saw there; joyn’d

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22 A picture of Daniel Defoe in the pillory can be seen at: http://www.peoplesworld.org/today-in-labor-history-daniel-defoe-pilloried-for-defending-dissent/
together to make the Place seem an Emblem of Hell itself, and a kind of an Entrance into it.25

Custodial prisons were randomly organised and, given their nature as temporary places of confinement, they only had to answer the need for securing felons and debtors. Moll Flanders, born in Newgate of a convicted mother, came to see her detention there as an act of divine retribution for a life of evil pointing to a prescribed, unavoidable, fatal end. The protagonist, however, became conscious of her moral descent into a brutal condition when she met again with her Lancashire husband, (apprehended for highway robbery and facing a similar fate), and through a process of self-examination, conducted in solitary confinement, began ‘to think, and […] he that is restor’d to his Power of thinking, is restor’d to himself’.26 Moll’s ensuing repentance, helped by a Minister, although defined by John Bender as more secular and economic than religious,27 proved nonetheless effective in avoiding her execution, thus giving her a lifeline and a future.

It can be argued, therefore, that Moll Flanders constituted an example of how repentance and reformation could produce an honest and prosperous life which, in the specific case, was the life of an enterprising plantation owner in the American colonies where she had been transported with her husband Jemmey. The cause and effect suggested by the novel parallels the progressive rehabilitation envisioned by the proposed regime of punishment which hoped to transform a prisoner from convicted criminal into repent and reformed social being. As John Bender suggests: ‘peculiar traits of the modern novel, as set forth early in the eighteenth century by Defoe, contradict the cultural predicates of the liminal prison and shape the penitentiary idea’.28 Hence the seed of the penitentiary was emblematically sown in Moll Flanders and the change from corporal penalty to a system aimed at the rehabilitation of offenders was conceptually delineated and promoted. Moll’s story could be seen thus as symptomatic of the social and moral effects that the penal changes contemplated by social reformers could bring to criminals and to criminal justice.

Having examined two models of prisons, one custodial the other punitive, different as to architecture, punishment inflicted and managerial concept, one wonders why Bentham’s Panopticon did not receive concrete application as a penitentiary in England. Financial and technical considerations, as well as difficulties in locating a suitable site for the construction of a penitentiary complex, seemed to have stopped the realisation of the project. Bentham’s plan was also somewhat impractical and his suggestion of running the Panopticon through a contract system29 was not received well at high level as it could lead to corruption.30 Bentham later revised the plan in several points, on technical advice, and contemplated the building of double cells, for two to up to four inmates, to be assigned to deserving prisoners. This ‘mitigated seclusion’ could solve, he believed, some of the problems of space management and might alleviate the psychological impact of total isolation. However, isolation was still reckoned as essential for ‘refractory prisoners’ or to provoke a quick reformative response in the offender. John Howard

26 D. Defoe, ibid, 221.
28 J. Bender, ibid, 63.
30 Bentham had hoped to run the Panoptical penitentiary himself as contractor-governor.
supported the measure of absolute isolation and wrote: ‘Solitude and silence are favourable to reflection; and may possibly lead […] to repentance’.31

Even if the panoptical prison did not find practical application in England, its concept continued to excite interest internationally as its architectural form lent itself perfectly to the surveillance and control of prisoners. Penitentiaries were built on its blueprint in several foreign countries, for instance the prison on the Island of Santo Stefano, Italy, built in 1792-3 and in use until 1965,32 Stateville Correctional Center, Crest Hill, Illinois, USA (1925), where executions were carried out until 1998, Prison Presidio, Isla de la Juventud, Cuba (1928), to-day a museum, and others.33 Nowadays, CCTV cameras have replaced the Argus-eyed prison warder making the panoptical architectural plan redundant for the surveillance of prisoners, but the panoptical principle lives on in the wide-spread use of technology to which we are all subjected daily. In the modern age, in fact, as Lyall King wrote: ’we are constantly visible and our society has become not unlike the Panopticon, i.e. “an architecture of control and supervision, eliminating confusion through the elaboration of a permanent grid of power;” a machine that “turns the monitored individual into a visible, knowable, and vulnerable object.”’34

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31 J. Howard, The state of the prisons in England and Wales, with preliminary observations, and an account of some foreign prisons and hospitals, 1792, Part III, 22.

32 Famous political Italian figures were imprisoned in the Island of Santo Stefano including Sandro Pertini, a future Italian President.

33 Photographs of panoptical prison complexes can be seen on: www.google.co.uk/search?q=panoptical+prisons+images&esv=210&esa=U&biw=714&bih=759&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ei=&ved=0ahUKEwiwv9WZ6dUUrWOagJ7Ab7eXQAjQ_AUoEBmgE.


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EMPIRE AND ITS DISCONTENTS: AN EXAMINATION OF KILMAINHAM GAOL AND AAPRAVASI GHAT

Robert Deba

Abstract: Despite being separated by over 6,339 miles, Kilmainham Gaol and Aapravasi Ghat are inextricably linked as artefacts documenting the legacy of the British Empire. This essay shall consider the geo-historical and socio-political dimensions of each by examining them under a lens for both form and function. Chronologically, it shall consider events across the long nineteenth century (1789-1914). Consequently, it shall enable an understanding of the role of these events’ contextual impact upon the British Empire by birthing the related, nascent independence movements; the shaping of its legacy; and recasting of its identity.

The apparatus and framework of the British Empire was vast, unwieldy and heterogeneous. Ranging from Ireland, since antiquity; it sprawled to India, in the 17th to 19th century; and beyond to the New World. Residing in relative isolation, the island histories of both Gaelic Ireland and multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic Mauritius (intimately linked with India) have been shaped by the imperious agenda of the British Empire. Their relatively peripheral geographical locations belie their major role within the Empire and its dictates. Kilmainham Gaol and Aapravasi Ghat (a Hindi term, meaning ‘immigration depot’) are stark symbols of the British Empire. Visually; aesthetically; architecturally; the form and functional components of the built environment of each reflect the aims and objectives of the Empire. Furthermore, they inform both its own identity; those of its former territories; and its unwitting legacy, the consequence of unintentional outcomes. By examining each at a granular, detailed, micro level, the essay’s critical analysis combines perspicacious information and discerns pertinent data, thereby enabling a more sophisticated exposition regarding the macro level: Irish-Anglo; Anglo-Indian; and, tangentially, Irish-Indian relations.

"HE WHO WOULD WIN ENGLAND, MUST WITH IRELAND BEGIN."

(UNATTRIBUTED) SIXTEENTH CENTURY PROVERB

The County of Dublin Gaol, known as Kilmainham Gaol, “the dismal house of little ease”, was built in 1796, during the prime ministership of William Pitt the Younger, and monarchical rule of George III. It replaced a dungeon that occupied the same location. Critically, given it closed in 1910, Kilmainham’s working life effectively bracketed the long 19th century. Accordingly, Irish history pivots around its scenes: Kilmainham Gaol is of immediate and impressive historical

2 For reasons of conciseness, the term ‘Empire’ refers to the British Empire, unless noted otherwise.
3 Please note, references to ‘India’ denote its pre-partition guise, consistent with the sub-continent in its entirety, termed ‘Bharat’ (from the Sanskrit term).
5 R. Hylton, Ireland’s Huguenots and Their Refuge, 1662-1745: An Unlikely Haven (Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2013) p.90
importance. Whilst ostensibly functioning as a working jail, it was a working artefact documenting Anglo-Irish interactions; now it is a memorial to Anglo-Irish relations past. Attendant upon Kilmainham, the defining feature of the Anglo-Irish relationship was the struggle for Irish independence. Consequently, its narrative mirrors the history of the Irish independence dynamic. The spectrum of Irish nationalism bridged the chasm between complete independence, typified by a tradition advocating for; to a measure of ‘Home Rule’, as espoused by constitutional movements.

Kilmainham was founded only two years preceding the desperate but stifled rebellion of 1798, known as Éirí Amach. Henry Joy McCracken, a founder of the United Irishmen group responsible for this uprising, was imprisoned at Kilmainham in its founding year. His group initially sought parliamentary reform, as a liberal political organisation, consistent with the Age of Enlightenment and Lockean ideals. However, allied to the French revolutionary movement (1787-1799) and drawing inspiration from the American revolution of the same broader period, they engendered a rebellion against the occupying British Empire. McCracken was later hanged for his role in orchestrating it. Consequently, the Empire sought to protect its flanks, its Irish territories, by legislating the contentious 1800 Act of Union, thereby creating the United Kingdom. Therein, this examination of Kilmainham provides a tangible link between the micro and macro.

Subsequently, Ireland’s experience under the British Empire in the first half of the 19th century was punctuated by agrarian agitation exacerbated by absentee landlords, as exemplified by the Tithe Wars of the 1830’s; sectarian violence (particularly in Ulster); and penal laws suppressing the majority Catholic population (and campaigned against by Daniel O’Connell). The built environment of Kilmainham reflects Britain’s domination of Ireland. From the exterior, it forms an imposing, grey monolith: there is little aesthetically pleasing to redeem it. Its interior is equally muted and cold. Compounding this, the gaol initially operated without glass in its windows, and was thus exposed to the bitter elements. Further compounding this, it functioned with little lighting – instead, prisoners were given a small candle every fortnight. The ensuing pervasive darkness encapsulates the antithesis of the burgeoning Enlightenment.

The defining event of the Irish experience was the Great Famine (1845-1850), under the Peel and Russell governments. It saw a large increase in the number of prisoners entering Kilmainham. People were desperate enough that they sought refuge there via acts of (oftentimes justifiable) petty theft and criminality; actions motivated by mass starvation. Severe overcrowding occurred, with the prisons inspectorate noting it as running up to five times capacity. Compounding this, segregation of prisoners by gender or age was largely absent: records indicate that the youngest prisoner was but a seven-year-old child.

Contemporaneously, the Young Irelanders, a nationalist group, rose to prominence. Their cause was ignited by the famine, and imbued by the spirit of revolution which captured continental Europe in 1848. Their rebellion (or uprising, contingent upon one’s perspective) of the same year was swiftly quelled by the Empire’s forces. Accordingly, their pair of leaders, William Smith O’Brien and Thomas Francis Meagher, were imprisoned at Kilmainham. This

9 http://www.heritageireland.ie/en/media/39954%20KilmainhamGaol.pdf
process of aborted, nullified revolution, stamped by the devastating *an Gorta Mór* (‘great hunger’), bracketed the first half of Ireland’s eighteenth century experience, under British rule. It aptly illustrates the cyclicality of history, as propounded by P.R. Sarkar. Discontent was rife, a thematic thread that ran through the historical Anglo-Irish narrative. In Kilmainham itself, the head guard, Edmund Wellisha, was convicted of undernourishing those who supported the rebellion. Critically, on a macro level, some activists and scholars, such as John Mitchel then and Professor Francis Boyle now, consider the implementation and execution of Britain’s policies during the famine as a genocidal (or rather, democidal) act. This coupling of microcosm and macrocosm certainly reflects with clarity the banal, blithe brutality of the machinery of the British Empire.

Borne of this, Irish militancy grew. A group named the Irish Republican Brotherhood, in league with its American counterpart, the Fenian Brotherhood, swore to overthrow British rule in Ireland. Their organised uprising of 1867 against the aristocratic ‘locust’ oligarchy stood in contrast to the spirited but ineffectual 1848 movement. It resulted in many imprisonments at Kilmainham, following the suspension of habeas corpus (which in itself is a further indictment of the Empire’s government and rule of law).

The relatively more sophisticated Irish National Land League was a more evolved organisation still. Its president, Charles Stewart Parnell, coordinated and directed it, in tandem with his position as leader of the Irish Parliamentary party at Westminster. Ostensibly owing to his party’s open rejection of Gladstone’s Land Act of 1881, he was imprisoned at Kilmainham under the controversial Coercion Act, Protection of Person and Property Act 1881. Further, many of his colleagues in the Commons were also incarcerated, evidencing the Empire’s limiting, non-progressive approach to addressing genuine issues and grievances, despite them being advocated in a formal arena, namely parliamentary legislature. Gladstone, relatively progressive and liberal, acknowledged this shortcoming, noting that “we are bound to lose Ireland in consequence of years of cruelty, stupidity and misgovernment”.

Perhaps the most striking motif that the Gaol possesses is at its entrance. There, five snakes entwined with chains are chiselled from stone. According to local legend, they represent the view that crime is under control. But, equally, they might also readily be interpreted as Britain’s subduing of Ireland, “that stormy cloud in the west”, and its peoples, “brutal savages in an unknown island”. They are evocative of Celtic imagery, and reminiscent of the legend of St Patrick banishing snakes from the emerald isle.

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15 Arthur Gribben (Ed.), *The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America* (Massachusetts, University of Massachusetts Press, 1999) p. 122
19 Quotes from William Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli, respectively.
Given that Kilmainham was a gaol (rather than a prison) the notion of redemption and reform, as outlined by Alexis de Tocqueville, was somewhat lacking in its original mandate.\textsuperscript{20} Its exterior structure – foreboding, gray and unremittingly bleak endorses this view. However, counterbalancing this perspective, one must consider that replacing the original dungeon, an icon of concealed cruelty and tyrannical power, was a step away from the Cromwellian pathological brutalisation of Ireland.\textsuperscript{21} So, whilst Kilmainham was typically consistent with popular conceptions of Victorian values as unrelentingly severe, austere and Spartan; there were, in time, elements of relatively progressive, pragmatic measures and practices, which is semi-congruous with the development of the Empire.

This is best represented by the gaol’s East Wing, which opened in 1862. It was resplendent in featuring a striking panoptic structure, closely correlated with Jeremy Bentham’s conceptualization, “a mill for grinding rogues honest”.\textsuperscript{22} It was, in turn, based upon HMP Pentonville (built in 1842) and echoed Potemkin’s architecture in Russia.\textsuperscript{23} Structurally, its design was consistent with Victorian modernity and encompassed the aim of the ‘all seeing eye’, a requisite reflecting the need for monitoring within the Empire. The skylight at the top of the

\textsuperscript{20} The distinction between this pair of oft-confused terms is succinctly made by Alexis de Tocqueville in his seminal work of 1833, \textit{On the Penitentiary System in the United States and Its Application to France} (co-authored with Gustave de Beaumont).

\textsuperscript{21} Micheal O’ Siochru, \textit{God’s Executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the Conquest of Ireland} (London: Faber & Faber, 2008) p. 51


\textsuperscript{23} Alexander Etkind, \textit{Internal Colonization: Russia’s Imperial Experience} (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2013) p. 134
Robert Deba

building mirrors Enlightenment era values such as justice and freedom, and is a marked departure from its dungeon predecessor. However, there was a dystopian purpose: whilst architecturally sound, its use was manipulated, if not abused, by the Empire, a critique referenced by Augustus Pugin.⁴⁴ From this genesis grew the post-modern, Orwellian ‘surveillance state’; a distinctive legacy of the British Empire.

The East Wing reflected the Victorian sentiment that architecture was imperative in the effective reform of inmates. Accordingly, the prison operated on “the principles of silence and separation”.⁵⁵ This notion may be overlaid with the British Empire as, figuratively, silence and separation were key instruments employed by the establishment in manipulating and managing its peoples and territories via mendacious machinations and divide and conquer tactics, as evidenced by actions in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and the Boer War too.

"…IF WE ARE TO GO ON PEACEABLY AND HAPPILY IN INDIA...NOT TRYING TO TRAMPLE ON THE PEOPLE AND CONTINUOUSLY REMINDING THEM AND MAKING THEM FEEL THEY ARE A CONQUERED PEOPLE."

QUEEN VICTORIA, IN A LETTER TO LORD SALISBURY, 1898

A distinctly different, but equally profound experience of British colonial rule was its dominion at Aapravasi Ghat, located in Port Louis, the capital of Mauritius. For over three quarters of a century (1849 to 1923), in an episode known as ‘the great experiment’, half a million Indians passed through the Immigration Depot.⁶⁶ They did so as indentured labourers. This was a form of contractual debt bondage whereby individuals exchanged their labour for being kept in (basic) accommodation and sustenance, for a fixed term, in the hope of a better life typified by passage to a ‘new world’.⁷⁷ And thus it was so that Mauritius was the first British colony to receive indentured, or bonded, labour from India. The most profitable commodity was sugar. Its crop was harvested on an industrial scale – the legal abolition of slavery necessitated the procurement of a replacement workforce to fulfill this role. Consequently, the modern subcontinent diaspora began, as an alternative labour source following the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, under Charles Grey’s Whig government (1830-34) and William IV’s reign. In terms of its efficacy as a proxy supply of labour, it proved cheaper than the emancipated slaves and equally abundant. As a result, it gave rise to a nascent form of today’s capitalism, founded upon globalisation. It was a historic phase in capitalism, consistent with Eric Hobshawm’s *Age of Capitalism*.⁸⁸

In terms of etymology, ‘Aapravasi’ is the Hindi word for "immigrant". ‘Ghat’ translates, literally, as "interface". Contextually, it aptly captures the sweeping passage of immigration between the old world and the unfolding new world, as facilitated by the Empire. The history of Aapravasi Ghat is pivotal to explaining the economic development of the Empire, and the shape of its social and cultural composition too. Located at a junction of (the perhaps aptly named) Abattoir Road and Immigration Square, it sits on the east side of the bay of Trou Fanfaron. The aesthetic appeal of Aapravasi Ghat is largely unremarkable, as illustrated in the photo below. This emphasises the fact that (understandably) form, function and efficiency were prioritised by

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the British Empire, over aesthetics and visual appeal. The most symbolic feature of the compound is its fourteen steps, from the wharf to the land. These represent the movement and transition of the subcontinent peoples.

Fundamentally, the built environment of Aapravasi Ghat is “among the earliest explicit manifestations of what was to become a global economic system and one of the greatest migrations in history”. In terms of the building complex itself, it blends a ‘Mauritian’ style of architecture with Gallic flair, owing to the prior French colonisation of the islands. The Mauritian features included “walls of stone with lime mortar or latanier wood, and roofs of argamasse mortar over shingles (a technique imported from India) or latanier leaves”. A UNESCO world heritage site, experts estimate that only about 15% of the original site still authentically exists today. Nevertheless, a veritable tapestry survives to document daily life for the immigrants: in evidence are kitchens, housing, lavatories and hospitals. Prior to this century, Aapravasi Ghat lay in a state of disrepair and erosion – reflective, perhaps, of the transient, fleeting nature of the immigrants’ stay there. Several efforts endeavour to preserve the period features of the Ghat. For example, the original lime mortar alluded to comprised yoghurt, butter, egg whites and "gingely" oil in its recipe. Fundamentally, it is used for restoration work on Aapravasi Ghat today. Additionally, the buildings possessed clay tile roofing, to enable improved ventilation and insulation. Whilst this might be perceived as the Empire expressing a humane concern for its subjects (as distinct to its citizens), it is also a reflection of the fact that the Empire sought to protect its commodities, namely the labour-force and its intrinsic worth.

The bonded labourers were filtered and funneled, put to work in Mauritius itself, or ultimately dispersed to similar plantations throughout the British Empire. It came to pass that the trade in human capital (i.e. labour) surpassed that of the sugar crop. In obeying Newtonian laws - for every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction - the ‘great experiment’ entailed great consequences. Equally, the rule of unintended outcomes was in evidence too, as a legacy of

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29 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1227
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
British colonial rule.\textsuperscript{32} The diaspora fundamentally and irrevocably altered both the economies and societies of British colonies in every conceivable corner of the globe: from Fiji to South Africa to Guyana (as depicted in the picture below); countries in which ethnic ‘Indians’ comprise a majority or substantial percentage of their populations. As such, over two thirds of the current population of Mauritius itself is of Indian ancestry.

The sheer scale of the system operated was unprecedented. The British model rapidly spread. Critically, it was reproduced and emulated by other European powers, principally France and Holland.\textsuperscript{33} Accordingly, the British Empire’s action had a ‘multiplier’ effect. It permanently altered every aspect of multiple colonies, as well as the occupying countries themselves too, via ‘reverse immigration’, effectively constituting a reciprocal feedback mechanism.\textsuperscript{34} Whilst unheralded profit and wealth were generated for the colonisers, the human effects entailed were equally vast. Indentured labourers were often pejoratively termed, most often labelled by the epithet, ‘coolie’. Subsequent to the waves of immigration, progeny of interracial relationships were (and still are) labelled ‘dougla’, which originates from the Hindi-Bhojpuri word, ‘doogala’.

Such a negative framing prompted concerns surrounding cultural heritage and provoked unresolved questions of identity, owing to the displacement of people from their native lands. More positively, however, a rich vein of art and literature documents this struggle and evolution, the legacy of which has served to transform global societies.

\textsuperscript{32} http://www.d.umn.edu/cla/faculty/jhamlin/4111/Readings/MertonSocialAction.pdf
CONCLUSION

In deconstructing this coupling of artefacts, this essay has analysed the geo-historical, socio-political and different cultural dimensions of their legacy within the Empire. Kilmainham Gaol is a monument of chief importance in documenting Anglo-Irish relations; Irish history; and the struggle for Irish independence from the British Empire. Its history is firmly intertwined with this movement, whilst its legacy was echoed a hundred years later, in the closure of HMP Maze, and the Good Friday Peace Agreement of 1998. ‘The great experiment’ at Aapravasi Ghat quietly shaped both the Empire and the globe; its ripples generated seismic, dynamic changes. Whilst superficially different, there are shared similarities to each experience, upon examination. Ireland and India formed fractious outposts of the British Empire. Furthermore, Irish-Indian relations were nurtured and solidified by both their shared struggles for independence; and their respective diasporas, thereby enabling a sense of unity. Such events provide insight into the Empire in its relatively benign guise today, as the Commonwealth. Equally, they proffer a reference point for cultural identities, and a focal point for understanding the Empire.
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SKELETONS FROM THE JOHNSON CLOSET:
COMPARING AN ANTI-VACCINATION HANDBILL WITH EARLIER IMAGES OF DEATH

Kenneth Gray

Abstract: This article examines interesting correspondences between two items collected by John Johnson: a 19th century handbill protesting compulsory smallpox vaccination in which Death is shown vaccinating a child and an image after Holbein with motto and text in an emblem book of 1789 showing Death leading away a child.

John de Monins Johnson (1882 – 1956), former scholar of Exeter College, Oxford, papyrologist and later Printer to the University, made an extensive collection of printed ephemera now in the Bodleian Library. Johnson was among the earliest general ephemera collectors, describing his collection of some 1.5 million items as ‘everything which would ordinarily go into the waste paper basket after use’. There are also several thousand titles in the Library’s ‘Johnson’ printed book collection.1, 2

TWO ITEMS DESCRIBED

Among the Johnson ephemera is an undated British handbill (Fig. 1) protesting against compulsory smallpox vaccination for children.3 It shows a skeleton vaccinating a small boy in his mother’s care while a police constable looks on. The mother has a wedding ring suggesting respectability. There are three elements in the handbill – the picture subtitled ‘Compulsory Vaccination Act.’, two quotations, a title above the picture and a section of explanatory text below.

The handbill originates from the London Society for the Abolition of Compulsory Vaccination. The original measuring 442 mm by 273 mm shows evidence of vertical and horizontal folding (perhaps for postal distribution) and the verso is blank. The picture is signed ‘J. Watkins’, questionably John D. Watkins who exhibited from 1876 at the Royal Academy and elsewhere.4

Child vaccination was compulsory from 1853. Given the quotation from Joseph Pease’s speech5, his Baronetcy of 18826, the formation of the London Society in 1880 and its re-forming in 1896 as The National Anti-Vaccination League, we can date the handbill as post-1882 and probably pre-1896: it was re-printed in 1899 (giving a terminus ad quem) with the loss of some nuance.7

2 John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera website http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson/about.
3 Bodleian Library, John Johnson Collection, Public Services folder 4.
5 Pease, J., Hansard, HC Deb 03 April 1878, Vol. 239, Col. 487: speech on 2nd Reading, Vaccination Law (Penalties) Bill.
7 Anon., Los Angeles Herald, Number 148, 25 February 1899. The picture is after the handbill but differs in some details (note the constable’s cuff) showing its having been re-worked.
The picture differs from a similar one on an envelope rightly described by Durbach as a ‘caricature’ in which a policeman clearly grips the mother’s arm\(^8\); a similar envelope postmarked 1878 is depicted on a website about the Quaker anti-vaccinationist, J. A. Petvin.\(^9, 10\)

Also in the Bodleian Library is an emblem book of 1789 stamped ‘John Johnson Bibl. Bodl.’ entitled ‘Emblems of Mortality…’ and containing an emblem (Fig. 2) with a skeleton taking a child.\(^11\) The emblem features John Bewick’s woodcut after Holbein, a title with a motto taken from Job 14.1 and Correzet’s verse translated from Middle French.

Emblem books used a tripartite structure in which a motto and a picture (frequently enigmatic) were explained in an accompanying verse, each emblem thus having three elements. They were often elaborated with quotations and commentaries.\(^12\)

This emblem book is one of many after an original of 1538 containing woodcuts attributed to Hans Holbein.\(^13\) This article does not rehearse the history of subsequent versions and attributions\(^14\) nor the prior history of Holbein’s prints ‘The Great Dance of Death’ which were doubtless prompted by medieval wall paintings, in turn probably inspired by plague. Smallpox too was well established in Europe. Shuttleworth notes that in 1772 the preacher Edmund

\(^10\) I am grateful to Stephen Marks for his philatelic advice.
Massey identified the ‘boils’ inflicted on Job as smallpox.\textsuperscript{15,16} Death taking the child consequent on smallpox in 1538 cannot be ruled out.

**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

This paper considers each item in the light of the other by exploring correspondences between them along with other pertinent sources.

Both have a tripartite structure. The emblem has a motto of Biblical authority, the picture and the verse. On the handbill the authoritative motto comprises quotations from the President of the Royal College of Physicians\textsuperscript{17} and the Recorder of the City of London.\textsuperscript{18} In place of the explanatory verse is a text which begins by describing the picture rhetorically (‘What have we here?’) and proceeds to tell the reader what to think (‘Be not deceived’) and what to do (‘avoid vaccination’). An explanatory commentary following the verse was not unusual in emblem books.

The late-nineteenth century audience for the handbill was being exposed to a motto, image and text in emblematic form. Both are moral narratives of everyday life. Both were intended to stimulate response.

The constable dutifully displays the Act of Parliament to the mother who regretfully accepts his authority though perhaps in silent reproach. The skeleton uses a lancet-like instrument to make a third incision to the child’s arm. The constable seems to be looking at the incisions with concern or perhaps horror. His right hand does not restrain the mother but may be hesitantly reaching as if with a desire to intervene. Durbach found not all policemen were unsympathetic: significant numbers claimed exemption certificates.\textsuperscript{19}

The much earlier dance of death (or of the dead rather than of Death\textsuperscript{20}) materials relate to death as an incident at the end of life – they show individuals joining the dead or being led to the grave by a skeleton iconic of Death.


\textsuperscript{16} The *Authorised Version of the Bible* (King James Version), the Book of Job, 2.7 ‘So went Satan forth from the presence of the LORD, and smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown.’

\textsuperscript{17} Watson, (Sir) T., *Smallpox and Compulsory Vaccination*. *The Nineteenth century: a monthly review*, Mar. 1877-Dec. 1900; Jun 1878, 1001 – 1009. See 1006. Watson was strongly for vaccination and was misrepresented by the selective use of the quotation.

\textsuperscript{18} Probably quoted from Chambers, Sir T., *Hansard*, HC Deb 03 April 1878, Vol. 239, cc 477-508: ‘He had received most touching letters from all quarters, complaining of the grievous sorrow and suffering inflicted on families…’; Chambers was, in 1878, against vaccination as explained in his summary (p. 28 onwards) in *Vaccination, is it worthy of national support? : verbatim report…*, (London: E.W. Allen, 1878).

\textsuperscript{19} Durbach, N., ibid, 2005, 216, note 55.

In the dance of death paintings all individuals are in the same picture regardless of social status in life, whereas in the emblem books they appear one by one and always with the high-status individuals first – pope, emperor, cardinal, king, abbot, knight – and those of lower status later – ploughman, peasant and child. The sequential images suggest personal failings or sins for which death is the outcome: for example, a nun being serenaded by her lover when Death calls.

Westin, discussing the *memento mori* tradition, suggests that Death may be passive or active in reminding us of life’s transitory nature and this is reflected in varying degrees in the dance of death paintings, the emblem book and the handbill.

In earlier images Death is often seen taking the individual lightly by the hand, dragging those who resist, indicating the way, providing musical accompaniment or helping complete a task – but less frequently in direct action to end life: the most obvious exception is Death killing a knight with a lance in the emblem books of 1538 and 1789. Oosterwijk has noted other

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21 Gelfand, L. H., ‘Social Status and Sin: Reading Bosch’s Prado Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things painting’ in Newhauser, R., (Ed.), *The Seven Deadly Sins from Communities to Individuals*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 232.
emblems in which Death uses the spear, for example, in Rowlandson’s print of *Death and the Antiquaries* of 181623 and Death about to spear an infant in the cradle from a book of hours, c. 1512.24 Another example is Death holding a ‘dart’ in an illustration accompanying the ballad *Death and the lady; or the Great messenger of mortality* in a version c. 1800 in which he asserts ‘my dart is sure, And far beyond the doctors’ skill to cure.’25 In many such emblems (slightly more than 50% in Bewick) the hourglass appears, and sometimes Death raises the glass to show us the inexorable nature of death, but it is time which is usually of the essence, not Death’s actions in the scene except for the use of the lance. Of the 50 emblems in Bewick, Death gives the quietus directly in only two (the Knight and the Soldier) and is arguably violent in three more.

The handbill skeleton is actively intervening to hasten the death of the child as indicated in the title. In this case Death wields the lancet – a diminutive of the lance – of which many varieties were in use.26 From the medieval dances of death we have moved from death occurring at the right time by the hourglass without Death’s intervention other than as guide or helper (with exceptions as noted above) to a later view in which Death is a more obvious instigator.

This shift in Death’s instrumentality occurs elsewhere. Combe’s *English Dance of Death* (1815) has an image by Rowlandson of Death rendering alcoholic drinks lethal in a drink shop accompanied by the satirical verse ‘Some find their death by Swords and Bullets; And some by fluids down the Gullet.’27 A similar work by (or after) Rowlandson shows Death making up poisoned medicine for an apothecary.28

Another comparison is of interest: in the emblem books every kind of person is liable to death and, excepting the satirical or moral suggestion of sin, equally so. However, the anti-vaccination literature always shows a respectable working class or lower middle-class mother with her child put at risk from vaccination: it never shows a prince’s, lord’s or clergyman’s child in this situation.

Although nineteenth-century compulsory smallpox vaccination applied to all, the upper classes could afford child vaccination by physicians whereas the lower classes used the free public vaccinators. Anti-vaccination propagandists focussed on the risks of inter-patient infection from the free service and of death from vaccination. Gilray had already in 1802 caricatured Jenner’s early vaccinations with the subtitle “The cow-pock - or - the wonderful effects of the new inoculation! - Vide, the publications of ye anti-vaccine society: the ‘wonderful effects’ pictured were the various cow-like excrescences on the patients.29

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25 Broadsides Ballads Online from the Bodleian Libraries: Bod5934. (Dated between 1797 and 1846, Printed by J. Turner, High Street, Coventry).
26 Baxby, D., ‘Smallpox vaccination techniques; from knives and forks to needles and pins’ in *Vaccine*, vol. 20, 2140 – 2149, 2002.
28 Wellcome Library. Death as an apothecary’s assistant making up medicines with a mortar and pestle for the apothecary attending a female patient who sits by the fireside. Watercolour by T. Rowlandson or one of his followers. Library no. 20131i. On the same theme see Bridgeman Art Library website: ‘Death and the Apothecary’ or ‘The Quack Doctor’, illustration from ‘The English Dance of Death’, published by R. Ackermann, London 1815-17 (colour etching), Rowlandson, T. (after) / Private Collection / The Bridgeman Art Library
29 Wellcome Library. Edward Jenner vaccinating patients in the Smallpox and Inoculation Hospital at St. Pancras: the patients develop features of cows. Coloured etching after J. Gillray, 1802. Library No. 11755i
Deuchar’s emblem book, claimed by him to be after Holbein has a page ‘The Child’ – dated to 1810 from the watermark and thought to be after Hollar – which shows (Fig. 3) Death exultant holding the hourglass in triumph while leading away the child.

Through the use of the raised hourglass it shows Death as cruel. By contrast Holbein’s 1538 image repeated by John Bewick in 1789 shows Death leaving with the child but the hourglass is left on the ground, a reminder of time running out but not of triumph.

Ambiguity is present in both items. For the emblem there have been comments in the secondary literature that Death sometimes appears kindly and humane, particularly when leading a child but agreement on this is not general. The interpretation of Job is not fully determined. In the handbill the sub-title ‘The Vaccination Act.’ is ambiguous: it may refer to the legislation, to the action of the skeleton or to the entire action portrayed. Even the word ‘Act.’ with terminating full stop may imply vaccination is merely theatrical, an act, a trick – albeit lethally final. The phrase ‘Jenner-ation of disease’ implies that Jenner’s method generated disease, not health. The constable’s stance suggests an ambivalent attitude. One motto-like quotation misrepresented the views held.

While there are dissimilarities between the two items there are a number of positive correspondences – the overall form of each is tripartite with motto, picture and text; Death is present as a participant; inevitability and compulsion are features; the people are respectable and of modest status.

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30 Deuchar, D., [and others] The dance of death, through the various stages of human life, (London: Printed for B. Crosby and Co. 4, Stationer’s Court, by John Jackson, Louth, 1811).
31 Capital Collections website URL: http://www.capitalcollections.org.uk/index.php?a=ViewItem&i=28469&WINID=1386695146502
32 Oosterwijk, S., 2006, ibid, 161.
33 Deuchar, D., etching dated 1810, Fine Art Library, Edinburgh and Capital Collections. URL: see Bibliography.
A virtual exhibition of the Gemmell Collection in Glasgow draws attention to the late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century contemporary and largely satirical relevance of the dance of death. Such images as those noted above were widely and variously available in print.

By contrast interest in emblem books had fallen though they continued to be produced: some twenty editions of Francis Quarles’ popular book were printed in the 19th century. Quarles’ allegorised the soul ‘imprisoned within a skeleton with the lament “Who shall deliver me from the body of death?”’ This continued activity would have maintained awareness for readers as context for viewing the handbill.

Moreover, for the Victorians religion and death were matters of everyday life: given the high rate of infant mortality, nationally 150 per 1,000 until it declined from c. 1890 to present-day levels of 5 per 1,000, most Victorian parents would have attended funerals.

The Book of Common Prayer which the Church of England used since 1559 at funeral services drew almost verbatim on Job 14 in the King James Version: ‘Man that is born of woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. He cometh up, and is cut down, like a flower; he fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one stay’ just as in the child emblem.

In the handbill an underlying message about the role of the mother allowing her child to be vaccinated can be discerned: her compliance sets her in the tradition of biblical commentaries on Job 14.1 prevalent from the 16th to the 19th centuries (including those by Mathew Henry and John Wesley) which described woman as the weaker vessel, as the source of sin and corruption, and of calamity and a short life, echoing the earlier emblems. We might conclude that the handbill seeks the intervention of fathers – absent in the fields, the office or the workshop – to offset the weakness of mothers whose protests were sometimes disregarded by officials.

**CONCLUSION**

The discussion above suggests that the two items – handbill and emblem – have a number of compositional elements in common, notably the tripartite construction and the interrelationship of these three elements – motto, picture and text – to establish and reinforce the meaning. Making due allowance for differences in content they possess the same overall form, suggesting
that the emblem book format not only survived into the 19th century in its original form but reappeared in this anti-vaccination handbill.

Moreover, intervention by Death may take on a more active value in the later work. There is a progression to be observed in this: in the early paintings the dead invite the living to join them; in the ensuing emblem books skeletons mostly announce death by their presence or draw the individual to death though in some examples they are much more active; by the nineteenth century skeletons take a leading role in advancing death through poisoning medicines and drink and through, it was alleged, vaccination. In the latter case the use of the lancet, a diminutive of the lance and by extension the sword, arrow and ‘dart’ of former times, reprises the earlier images.

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THE JUXTAPOSITION OF THE DISPOSITION OF INTERIOR SPACES AND SOCIAL STRATA IN THE 18TH CENTURY: AN EXAMINATION OF PRIDE AND PREJUDICE AND MANSFIELD PARK

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Abstract: In Austen’s novels, Pride and Prejudice and Mansfield Park, there are three houses: Pemberley House, Mansfield Park and Sotherton Court. They are regarded as representative of a proprietor’s social status. All the architectural information of domestic spaces offers profound insight into the notion of social relations delineated in the novels. Undoubtedly, the proprietors of these country houses take powerful positions in society. The disposition of domestic spaces is supposed to reveal the proprietors’ social class. Besides, the mode of living in the domestic spaces also examines how the disposition of domestic spaces represents the proprietor’s social strata. As a whole, the disposition of domestic spaces is full of politics.1

The arrangement of space in houses communicates information about the status, opulence, power and interests of the owner and his family. Miles Ogborn argues that geographies of the home can answer the questions of ‘identity and social status, authority and autonomy,’ because house owners give every domestic space special meaning, such as ‘making dining rooms and kitchens fit for polite conversation with visitors’.2 As Simon Varey mentions ‘the disposition of space in eighteenth-century Britain was political, and that in a parallel development the major novelists exploited spatial conceptions in ways that make their novels political as well’.3 Indeed, the disposition of interior spaces that novelists create not only helps us to understand the owner’s political status, but also discloses social status or conditions. As a result, this paper will examine how the disposition of domestic spaces in Pride and Prejudice and Mansfield Park is associated with the political aspect, which usually refers to social circumstances around the house’s inhabitants. Furthermore, the political space cannot be separated from the owner’s authority.

Varey proposes that the analysis of houses and cities can be considered to be ‘microcosms of political structure’ and concludes ‘architectural design embodies a political expression, of the will of designer and patron, and so of the society to which they belong’.4 Domestic spaces take a significant role in the geographies of the home, because they not only reveal the owner’s social position and his or her relationship to power, but also the owner’s true nature. Domestic spaces are supposed to disclose much of the owner’s ideology and authority. Hence, one can learn certain meanings from observation of the domestic space, and every

1 Foremost, my most earnest gratitude must go to Dr. Yasmin Khan, making this intellectual project possible in the first place. Dr. Khan has never failed to be encouraging and critically constructive indeed. I am also heartily indebted to my friends Ty Rallens, Ernesto Oyarbide, Travis Piper, Alexander Goldsmith and Deirdre Duffy who have kindly taken extra time to comment on my writing. Without their ingenious suggestions, this article could not have reached its present form.


4 Ibid., p. 29.
material object placed in the domestic space. As Cynthia Wall points out in ‘A Geography of Georgian Narrative Space’ the worlds in novels are interesting in not only the events of their characters’ lives but also in the spaces they lived and the things that filled those spaces. Consequently, the observation of domestic spaces in the worlds of novels will bring us some details about political aspects. Descriptions of the domestic spaces in the novels may indicate the owner’s status through the design of rooms and the presence of musical instruments and portraits. In other words, through the disposition of the domestic space, one can clearly see whether the owner is wealthy or not. As Cynthia Wall explains, the function of description is to make things, people and spaces visible. However, gradually over the eighteenth century, this status shifts into the particular, the ‘minute circumstances’. The minute circumstances are particular detail of a person, place or the thing. As Wall notes that ‘[the] longer the description, the longer the look; the more detailed the description, the more within sight; the more within sight, the richer and multi-dimensional the sense of space’.

One cannot deny that the more descriptions of the space, the more the reader can realise the disposition of space. Wall explains that ‘when the space is visualized in detail, it stands out for a particular emblematic purpose’. Furthermore, the ampleness of descriptions on the domestic space will help readers to understand the design of interior space that is associated with the relationship of power, because the design of interior space of house will expose the owner’s taste and wealth. To take Mansfield Park as example, the narrator describes Fanny’s inner perception of dimension of domestic space of the house: ‘The grandeur of the house astonished, but could not console her. The rooms were too large for her to move in with ease […].’ Indeed, the scale of interior space of Mansfield Park for Fanny is substantially larger than her own house at Portsmouth.

As Varey argues, architecture became a means of glorifying monarchy and state that continues to show up in the books and buildings, although some Englishmen hoped to articulate their thoughts on Restoration by the architectural treatises, even if their hopes paled quickly. Thus architecture is highly relevant to politics, because some writers attempt to honor their states through the writing of architecture as well as the description of it. Sotherton Court, the Rushworth family’s home in Mansfield Park, is a better example with interior spaces similar to that of Syon House, according to the narrator’s description. Sotherton Court has

[...] a number of rooms, all lofty, and many large, and amply furnished in the taste of fifty years back, with shining floors, solid mahogany, rich damask,
marble, gilding and carving, each handsome in its way. Of pictures there were abundance, and some few good, but the larger part were family portraits […] 14

Moreover, the narrator emphasizes that all the rooms in the house are ‘lofty’ and ‘large,’ and even elaborately decorated. Consequently, its interior space of Sotherton Court is filled with political significance from judging the individual’s status through the building he lives in. A building can reveal one’s social status. After all, a building with lots of exquisite decoration must cost the proprietor a great deal of money, and is indicative of wealth. In short, ‘[t]he modernized version of Vitruvian decorum extends the analogy to a point where a house represents the wealth, class and occupation of its owner,’ Varey proposes; as a result, if a monument stands for the state, a domestic building stands for the private individual. 15

The dining-parlour is well-ornamented and large enough not only to accommodate lots of visitors, but also to make the distinguished guests comfortable to stay and enjoy a variety of views. In addition, the rooms they visit are all ‘lofty’ and ‘handsome’.

The function of every room, the purpose of the domestic space, also takes a significant role in identifying the disposition of interior spaces as a typical example of the proprietor’s social position. The purpose of every room is closely related to the owner’s power. Henry Aldrich put commercial pragmatism in accordance with the owner’s desire to make the spatial design of the building show its purpose. 16 To take Aldrich’s term, if you were the noblemen, your sitting room should be ‘large’ enough for your guest to be comfortable, and your interior decoration has to be ‘ornamented’ in order to make your guest feel the magnificence and the beauty of everything, and then your rooms should be ‘princely’ in order to make your guest live as a distinguished guest. Take the drawing room and dining parlour of Sotherton Court as an example to account for this statement:

In the drawing-room they [the whole party] were met with equal cordiality by the mother, and Miss Bertram had all the distinction with each that she could wish. After the business of arriving was over, it was first necessary to eat, and the doors were thrown open to admit them through one or two intermediate rooms into the appointed dining-parlour, where a collation was prepared with abundance and elegance. 17

The dining-parlour of Sotherton Court is indeed grand and splendid. These visitors are surrounded by exquisite collations there. Furthermore, they are going to have a dinner in the dining-parlour later. Consequently, the function of the dining-parlour is not only a place for dinner, but also a place for sitting and having a chat. In addition, the road to the dining-parlour has to go through one or two intermediate rooms from the drawing room, and the dining-parlour is supposed to be elaborately designed for the purpose of privacy. In effect, every room has a different function for the proprietor and family members. For instance, the library, for Mr. Bennet, is not a library, but a private space that can bring him tranquility and much room to think. As Miller and Schlitt argue that ‘[a] separate room, which is too small to be used for regular activities, or even a large, properly ventilated closet, can become a private room for

14 Jane Austen. *Mansfield Park*. pp. 86-87. One can clearly figure out that the domestic space of Sotherton Court is set up for honoring the Rushworth family’s position in society, particularly the placement of family portraits in the gallery.
16 Qtd. in Varey p. 20.
meditation and reflective problem solving. Indeed, the library of Longbourn is a ‘separated’ room to separate Mr. Bennet from Mrs. Bennet’s constant interruptions and complaints.

Concerning another function of a room, Women’s dressing-rooms may serve as a shelter against intrusions. The dressing room of Longbourn is the best example to account for this argument. After learning of Lydia’s elopement with Wickham, ‘she [Mrs. Bennet] is upstairs, and […] she doesn’t yet leave her dressing-room’. Remarkably, Mrs. Bennet attempts to minimize other family members’ interruptions and considerations. She needs the space for privacy. Tita Chico suggests in Designing Women that the dressing room in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century was regarded as a domestic space for ‘the central paradigm of privacy’ and ‘dismantlement of surveillance’. There is one thing worth noting that once women keep themselves in the dressing room, they can escape other people’s surveillance, above all male surveillance, and think independently. When Sir Thomas asks Fanny to pay a visit to Portsmouth, Lady Bertram obtained it rather from ‘submission’ than ‘conviction’ and she is ‘unbiased by his bewildering statements’. Indeed, Lady Bertram is submissive to Sir Thomas’s ‘bewildering statements’. The reader can regard Sir Thomas’ statements as the male intervention. When Lady Bertram returns to her own dressing room, she thinks in her own way without paying attention to Sir Thomas’s words, and she concludes Fanny doesn’t need to go and Sir Thomas’s request is unjustifiable. The dressing room certainly brings Lady Bertram the space in which she can have her own thoughts and make her own judgment.

Fanny’s East Room was her favourite for self-reflection. ‘The comfort of it [the East Room] in her hours of leisure was extreme. She could go there after anything unpleasant below, and find immediate consolation in some pursuit, or some train of thought at hand’. Besides, the disposition of the East Room can show up Fanny’s position in the Bertram family.

The room [East Room] had then become useless, and for some time was quite deserted, except by Fanny […] its greatest elegancies and ornaments were a faded footstool of Julia’s work, too ill done for the drawing-room, three transparencies, made in a rage for transparencies, for the three lower panes of one window, where Tintern Abbey held its station between a cave in Italy, and a moonlight lake in Cumberland; a collection of family profiles thought unworthy of being anywhere else, over the mantle-piece, and by their side and pinned against the wall, a small sketch of a ship sent four years ago from the Mediterranean by William […].

All the decoration of the East Room is either ‘unworthy of being anywhere else’. Even the East Room is ‘deserted’ and ‘useless’ to the members of family. The arrangement of the East Room shows Fanny’s inferiority to other family members. Every ornamental detail of the room

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19 Consequently, one can see that the function of a library, for a proprietor, is a sitting room for working out problems and seeking his freedom from book reading; however, the purpose of the library, for other members, is only a room in which a number of books accumulate on the bookcase, and these family members can find a book to elevate themselves.
23 Ibid. p. 154.
definitely becomes a significant clue which will guide us to find the implication concerning the issue of identity.

The disposition of space can evoke and reveal the proprietor’s social status. The function of each room and its interior structure are significant elements in analyzing these country houses as the representative of home owner’s identity. Willington points out that ‘Mansfield Park was […] a Palladian house dating from the 1730’s or 1740’s, and was very likely inspired by Godmershame’. Thus, Mark Girouard’s *Life in the English Country House* will help examine the function of each room and its interior structure in Mansfield Park. Although Austen did not clearly describe the domestic space of Mansfield Park, the reader can still get some details from the narration of characters’ perspective on the building. Each room of Mansfield Park has different function, such as billiard room for playing ball, and library for accumulating books, but one or two of them has double purpose, such as drawing room and breakfast-room. Both drawing room and breakfast-room have the function of sitting-room for the family members’ daily activity. Firstly, the Bertram Family and Mrs. Norris are talking about Fanny’s appearance in the drawing room after Fanny returns to her chamber. Secondly, Mr. Bertram was asked to join a card table by Mrs. Norris. Thirdly, ‘[t]hey went together into the breakfast-room, where Edmund prepared her paper, and ruled her lines with all the good will […]’ and Fanny wrote a letter with Edmund there. Fourthly, Fanny and William, her brother, and the Bertram Family had a breakfast in the breakfast room. From these sentences one can see that the drawing room and the breakfast room not only have their formal function, but also have another purpose for family’s and visitor’s use.

As Girouard points out, it is common to make a drawing room both informal and formal in a larger country house, and informal daily life often takes place in other rooms. For instance, ‘[m]any house had a breakfast room or breakfast parlour, used not only for breakfast but also as a morning sitting room’. As a result, in addition to the purpose of each room, the mode of life-style in the domestic space can also reveal the proprietor’s social identity. In the eighteenth century, the mode of life-style in the domestic space is readily examined in terms of Austen’s novels. Besides, this undoubtedly shows Varey’s conclusion that ‘[s]pace has a crucial social function in those novels, just as it has in the architectural theory and practice of the eighteenth century. The major consequence of this for the novel is that it is an expression of the politics of the author’s world’.

As a matter of fact, the mode of living in the dining room and the drawing room is full of a great deal of political atmosphere, such as the space of talking about public matters. The way of life in both rooms can give us some implications of the distinction between male and female. Mark Girouard has mentioned that after dessert, the ladies will leave the gentlemen alone, and withdraw from the dining room to the drawing room; as for the gentlemen, they will talk about political matters in the dining room. Thus, the dining room is considered to be ‘mainly

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27 Ibid. p. 123.
28 Ibid. p. 16.
29 Ibid. p. 288.
31 Simon Varey. *Space and the Eighteenth-Century English Novel*. p. 208. In short, the interior space in the world of the novel is filled with the political environment in the eighteenth century. The living style in the domestic space can also reveal the proprietor’s social class, even an emblem of powerful position.
masculine,’ and the drawing room to be a ‘mainly feminine’ room.\textsuperscript{32} Taking Mr. Bertram’s speaking to Dr. Grant as demonstration: ‘A strange business this in America, Dr. Grant! – What is your opinion? – I always come to you to know what I am to think of public matters’.\textsuperscript{33} Although the narration does not mention the place the talk takes place, through next paragraph of Mrs. Norris asking Mr. Bertram to play cards, the reader can assume that the place should be the drawing room.

The ball-room can also be the representative of political space. As Girouard suggests, balls are not only planned for enjoyment, but also have other purposes, such as ‘planning politics’ or ‘making matches.’ Some parents attempt to introduce their daughters into the social circle for finding the ideal husbands; therefore, ‘[b]alls in the local Assemble Room were a good venue for striking up a first acquaintance […]’.\textsuperscript{34} To take Mansfield Park as demonstration:

[Fanny] found herself the next moment conducted by Mr. Crawford to the top of the room, and standing there to be joined by the rest of the dancers, couple after couple as they were formed […] Young, pretty, and gentle, however, she had no awkwardness that were not as good as graces, and there were few persons present that were not disposed to praise her. She was attractive, she was modest, she was Sir Thomas’s niece, and she was soon said to be admired by Mr. Crawford.\textsuperscript{35}

The ball indeed brings Fanny a chance of attracting an ideal gentleman’s attention. Without a doubt, Sir Thomas is a representative of an ambitious parent who introduces his nephew into the social circle of Mansfield Park, and attempts to achieve the goal of making a match. As a result, the ball-room indeed constructs a domestic space.

Owing to the lack of architectural interior information the reader get from the novels\textsuperscript{36}, one can still collect all the information about the disposition of interior spaces to construct and assume the disposition of domestic spaces in Pemberley House and Sotherton Court. According to Willington, ‘[Pemberley] has been taken to be Elizabethan or Jacobean on account for its having a gallery, a long upstairs room in which it was common to hang pictures’.\textsuperscript{37} However, this kind of argument is just an assumption, because the date of Pemberley is not mentioned. It is out of question that the disposition of domestic spaces conforms to the principle of Elizabethan or Jacobean times, but its salon and dining-parlour is on the ground as one of the principles in the architecture of eighteenth century.

Moreover the gallery of Pemberley House has also many family portraits which represent the whole family’s power as does the gallery of Sotherton Court. The drawing room and the dining room of Sotherton Court are on the ground floor. Furthermore, ‘Sotherton is an old place, and a place of some grandeur […] ’The House was built in Elizabeth’s time, and is a large, regular, brick building – heavy, but respectable looking, and has many good rooms’.\textsuperscript{38} According to the architectural traits of Elizabeth’s time, its main rooms should be on the first floor.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{33} Jane Austen. \textit{Mansfield Park}. p. 122.
\bibitem{35} Jane Austen. \textit{Mansfield Park}. p. 282-283.
\bibitem{38} Jane Austen. \textit{Mansfield Park}. pp. 57-58.
\end{thebibliography}
However, its main rooms are at ground level. The confusing problem will be worked out by Girouard’s investigation. He points out the following:

In Elizabethan times, when the house was built, they [the main rooms] had been up on the first floor in the usually way of the time, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they had been moved down to the parlour floor at ground level. This often happened in Elizabethan and Jacobean houses.  

As a result, the disposition of domestic spaces of Sotherton Court can inform the reader that its interior disposition now follows the architectural principles of the eighteenth century. Moreover, its gallery with lots of family portraits not only honors the Rushworth family, but also symbolizes the whole family’s social position.

By and large, Jane Austen uses description of the spaces or rooms, their sizes and locations, their decoration and furnishing, and their different uses to tell her readers about her characters’ personalities and the ways in which they act in the political sphere. Indeed, the disposition of interior space not only reflects a proprietor’s social status, taste, and nature, but also displays political involvement. Each interior space has its respective representative and meaning. The more the observations on domestic spaces the reader possess, the more information and implication about political issue and the proprietor.

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Abstract: ‘Our Pretty Doctor’ appeared in Punch on August 1870, following Elizabeth Garrett Anderson’s appointment as a visiting physician to the East London Hospital for Children, the first medical posting for a woman in Britain. The New Hospital for Women was opened in 1872 as the first hospital to be entirely staffed by women and provide specialised medical care for women and children, under the supervision of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson. This article intends to examine how the art and architecture of these two artefacts represent the achievements of women in medicine, particularly Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, and captured this niche victory in the wider struggle for gender equality.

At the Second Women’s Rights Convention of 1851 in Worcester, Massachusetts, British advocate Harriet Taylor Mill championed the resolution that, ‘we deny the right of any portion of the species to decide for another what is and what is not their “proper sphere.”’ This resolution went on to confirm that ‘[a] woman, therefore, ought to choose for herself what sphere she will fill, what education she will seek, and what employment she will follow.’ Against the backdrop of the growing women’s suffrage movement, the right to education was one of many individual agendas pursued during the 19th century in Britain that assisted in gradually dismantling the subjection of women. Florence Nightingale believed education ‘represented an alternative for women, to prepare them for new ways of knowing.’ Hence improved education for women would not only liberate the mind, but also allow women to explore new opportunities of employment. Consequently independent schools and colleges (exclusively) for women began to appear in Britain from the mid-19th century, but a persisting restriction of higher education at universities created a barrier to entry for women seeking to enter certain professions that required qualifications. This was especially the case for women intending to study medicine and become doctors.

Traditionally viewed as the caretaker of children and the family, women had a long-standing medicinal role as a caregiver. This role was advanced by the works of Florence Nightingale during the Crimean War, whose book Notes on Nursing: What it is and What it is Not (1859) formalised the practice of nursing as a professional vocation for women. Despite the success of nursing as an industry for women, this was still viewed as an extension of the home role and thus as abetting the continued disparity between the genders. Could a medical degree

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1 Ed. by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. 1 (1848-61), p.826
2 Ibid, p.826
4 Florence Nightingale, Notes on Nursing: What it is, and what it is Not, ed. by David P. Carroll, (Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, 1992), p.21
and qualification as a doctor provide women status on equal terms to male counterparts? This would promote the assertion by Londa Schiebinger that ‘the mind knows no sex’ and would support the pursuit of full emancipation for women.

This motivation for certified recognition paralleled the advent of professionalisation in Britain. Andrew Abbott describes how regulatory bodies were founded in conjunction with legislation to establish minimum standards of practice and the criteria for qualification of members. Then applicants would have to fulfil educational requirements and demonstrate sufficient skill and knowledge to be entered in the registrar of that industry and granted permission to practice. For medicine it was the 1858 Medical Act and the creation of the General Medical Council that would regulate and license doctors in Britain. On the surface, the lack of gender specificity in the Act and clear requirements for qualification implied that all who satisfy these conditions are entitled to registration, regardless of gender. Yet Sophia Jex-Blake describes a tripartite collusion between the law, education system and examination board that served to bar women from acquiring a license. The particulars of these pecuniary and bureaucratic obstacles are too protracted to detail in this article, but in summary the Act required registration with a Government register, which could only be accomplished after acceptance by the specified boards, and that required the completion of specific courses and examinations from recognised public schools – none of which admitted women at that stage in Britain. However, this circular prohibition had a loophole – the Act did recognise degrees obtained at foreign institutions. The opportunity was exploited by 2 women, first Elizabeth Blackwell (in 1859) then Elizabeth Garrett Anderson (in 1870), who were admitted to the UK Medical Register before secondary by-laws were enacted to close the oversight. Subsequently, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson was appointed as a visiting physician to the East London Hospital for Children in 1870, the first medical posting for a woman in Britain. This appointment was a landmark achievement in the pursuit of gender equality, at least on the professional stage, and sparked wide and varied responses. It is the aim of this article to examine how this advancement of women in the medical profession was characterised in both a cartoon from Punch entitled, ‘Our Pretty Doctor’ and the New Hospital for Women.

Punch was a threepenny weekly magazine started in 1841 to produce humorous illustrations with satirical captions on current affairs that would quickly coin the term ‘cartoons’. The very first publication included a manifesto by Mark Lemon entitled, 'The Moral of Punch' that declared the ambitions of this periodical were to ‘expose the fallacy of dreadful law…deal with vulgarity without being vulgar…[and] cultivat[e] good.’ In simpler words, Punch provided commentary on socially sensitive issues of the period, drawing attention (often sensationaly) to the ethics, efficacy and legacy of any controversial initiatives. Naturally this often entailed challenging the Establishment and championing the underdog, which now serves as a helpful social barometer of the past for modern historians to measure what concerns were at the forefront of public debate. This particular cartoon below by George du Maurier appeared in the August 13th 1870 issue. Du Maurier was associated with Punch for over 30 years, where his illustrations were remembered for their ‘polite portrayal of smug upper-class inanities…[and]

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introducing grace and elegance in place of cruder bizarreries." Du Maurier placed greater emphasis on artistic detail, philological accuracy and sympathetic scrutiny than many of his contemporaries. These characteristics are certainly prominent in this satire of the first female doctors.

Layers of exaggerated contrast emphasise the different perspectives through which society was assessing the addressed topic. The immediate impression communicated in this scene is a fabulous role reversal, challenging the prescribed roles of the men and women in the medical profession. Instead of a male doctor interviewing women for nursing positions, the woman takes the role of employer with the men humbly seeking a job at her surgery. While societal norms in 1870 expected men to assume the role of breadwinner and sit in positions of authority, women were beginning to exploit new avenues of entrepreneurship; in 1865 Elizabeth Garrett Anderson had opened her first practice in London. Further study of this cartoon reveals a commentary on class by du Maurier, primarily with the woman’s language appearing grammatically correct and proper next to the contracted and colloquial verbiage of the men (with East London inflections). Second, the elaborate overskirt and bustle portray a woman of high standing, against the dishevelled, unkempt appearance of the men that implies a lower class position, perhaps that of unskilled labourers. The wider context of this class distinction and unemployment draws on the

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13 Spielmann, p. 397
weakening economic conditions across Britain by 1870. Declining agricultural output, undercutting by international competitors, and speculative over-capitalisation mounted further pressure on a population that boomed from 16.7m in 1851 to 41.6m in 1901 with 72% urban migration. This culminated in the first major worldwide economic crisis of the Long Depression from 1873-1878. Thus the cartoon could depict an element of sympathy for the rural labourer by du Maurier, as he posits an enduring question of how Britain would adjust to the rapid growth bloated by the Industrial Revolution.

Finally the use of light and tone provides an insight into du Maurier’s objective for this illustration. The woman is presented in almost angelic white with slender features, confronted by darker, rougher men. Beyond the obvious caricature of dirty labourers, the light and dark contrast could intimate enlightenment on the part of the woman and an inherent justice in these new roles, supporting the deconstruction of previous barriers to women at top medical positions. Indeed, one could interpret a nonchalant posture in the doctor and sardonic greeting to her guests – as if this was a moment in which to revel and unapologetically take stock of this significant paradigm shift in the pursuit of female enfranchisement.

In 1866 Elizabeth Garrett Anderson opened St. Mary’s Dispensary for Women and Children, which was renamed the New Hospital for Women and Children in 1872 when Lord Shaftesbury opened a 10-bed ward. The novelty of this medical facility was that it offered specialised care by an entirely female staff for poor women at a penny per consultation. Due to overwhelming demand for inpatient care, the hospital moved to its present site in 1888, where it could accommodate 42 beds. The significance of this building and function it served could never be understated. At a medical level it increased the specialisation of gynaecology by women for women, offering opportunities to students at the London School of Medicine for Women (also co-founded by Elizabeth Garrett Anderson). At the same time it satisfied the ‘widespread desire existing among women for the services of doctors of their own sex.’ For the emancipation of women, this was a tremendous success story of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson’s determination and female free enterprise. As consumers/patients, women now had the choice of female doctors for gender related medical issues. As practitioners of medicine, more women could assume roles of responsibility not available at many other medical institutions.

The first step in relocating premises is to find an appropriate site. The New Hospital for Women was moved to the newly named Euston Road on the fringes of Bloomsbury. Rosemary Ashton describes how Bloomsbury was rapidly becoming the intellectual heart of London from the 1820s, promoting educational progress and offering new opportunities to those below the upper classes. This is in keeping with the motif of the hospital itself. Importantly, though, both architect and founder felt this location would bring a degree of respectability to this new institution. Bloomsbury was also a progressive area of London, where philosophers such as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill worked, both of whom were strong supporters of the suffrage movement. Of equal importance, though, was accessibility for those needing care and this new location provided multiple transport links. Euston Road had become a major arterial route across London with the first horse omnibus in operation from 1829 and the London

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14 Census of England and Wales, 1901, Preliminary report of the population and houses enumerated in England and Wales on 1st April 1901 BPP 1901 XC [Cd.616] 2
15 http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=074-h13e&cid=0#0
17 Jex-Blake, p. 269
19 Ashton, p. 247
Underground starting service from Paddington to Farringdon along this route in 1863.\textsuperscript{20} The proximity to St. Pancras, Euston and Paddington train stations also meant increased ease of access for those coming from further away.

Once the location has been determined, the aesthetic design of a building demonstrates what the founder/architect want the structure to represent. For instance, when a fire in 1834 destroyed nearly all buildings in the Palace of Westminster, the House of Lords committee elected to disregard the popular neo-Classical style of the period and opted for a neo-Gothic design to symbolise conservative values and tradition.\textsuperscript{21} These decisions are a signal of intent for what character the building will embody and the ambition of what it hopes to achieve. Responsibility for the design of this final site of the New Hospital for Women and Children was given to John McKean Brydon, who had gained notoriety for several public buildings in London and Bath. Brydon was educated at the Commercial Academy, before being articled to fellow Scottish architect William Hay in 1856, a prolific exponent of neo-Gothic architecture. This was followed by an apprenticeship in 1860 with David Bryce, another promoter of neo-Gothic designs but also one with a strong passion for Palladian Renaissance work, and Campbell Douglas, who instructed Brydon on the specifics of hospital planning.\textsuperscript{22} Upon moving to London, Brydon took a position with William Eden Nesfield and Richard Norman Shaw, two architects credited with significant contributions to the development of the Queen Anne Revival style.\textsuperscript{23}

Throughout his career Brydon practiced and lectured on the dignity and craft of Classical architecture; encouraging a renewed interest in the work of Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren from the 17\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{24} Brydon termed this a “Wrenaissance” and Gibson notes that it was this style Brydon found most congenial and comfortable stating, ‘no man more justly won his spurs…for taking infinite pains…in Classic and Renaissance fields of labour…[and] appreciated that subtle thing termed style.’\textsuperscript{25} This was certainly evident in Brydon’s notable work around Chelsea, an area receptive to his English Renaissance style.\textsuperscript{26} Figures 2 and 3 below demonstrate how Brydon’s redesign of the Old Vestry Hall (now Chelsea Town Hall) evokes the Palladian style of Jones’ Banqueting House.

\textsuperscript{20} Andrew Emmerson, \textit{The London Underground}, Shire Publications (2010), p. 5
\textsuperscript{21} HL Deb 15 June 1835 vol 28 cc774-9
\textsuperscript{23} J. S. Gibson, ‘The Late John McKean Brydon’, \textit{Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects}, Volume 8 (1901), p. 401
\textsuperscript{24} https://www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/architecture/research/survey-of-london/battersea/documents/49.1._Public_Buildings_chapter.pdf
\textsuperscript{25} Gibson, p. 400
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid, p. 403
In Bath Brydon showcased Gothic Revival and contemporary Baroque styles, which are visible in his design of the Victoria Art Gallery and Roman Baths. Figures 4 and 5 show how the Roman Bath interior draws on the principles of Wren’s design at St. Stephen’s, Walbrook.27

This portfolio of municipal work would certainly justify the appointment of Brydon to design a new site for a hospital. However, when chosen Brydon elected to design the New Hospital for Women and Children in Queen Anne Revival style, which would appear to be a departure from the architecture he promoted and for which he was most renowned.28 Given all the background above, why would Brydon stray from his core design principles and not opt for more traditional architecture? This is especially peculiar when Gibson notes that ‘we would never find Brydon on the side of fashion in styles for the sake of transient appreciation.’29 While Queen Anne style can be found in other public projects, it was mainly adopted for private homes and had a comparatively shorter period in the spotlight. Gothic Revival, which was much more widely respected and celebrated, endured longer as a prevailing choice for major public projects, such as the St. Pancras station façade designed by George Gilbert Scott in 1868.30

Mark Girouard characterises Queen Anne Revival as ‘a kind of architectural cocktail, with a little genuine Queen Anne in it, a little Dutch, a little Flemish, a squeeze of Robert Adam

29 Gibson, p. 401
[and] a generous dash of Wren.\textsuperscript{31} This crucible of architectural disciplines meant it would not be uncommon to find a Classical facade without adhering to the rules of proportion and symmetry, or a Jacobean pitched roof façade with a Japanese plaster cove interior.\textsuperscript{32} The intention was to ‘ignore the grammar of the orders…[or] use them in their least correct form.’\textsuperscript{33} In Britain this style was first adopted for country homes, predominantly of the middle class such as Milton Mill in 1869, before being applied to terraced housing in urban areas, including Upper Berkeley Street, London, in 1873. By 1877 public buildings, such as Kensington Vestry Hall, displayed the characteristic red brick, elongated sash windows and exaggerated chimneystacks.\textsuperscript{34} While supporters embraced the eclectic flair and artistic beauty of Queen Anne architecture, critics decried it as an anachronistic corruption of established styles.\textsuperscript{35}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{new_hospital_for_women_bloomsbury}
\caption{New Hospital for Women, Bloomsbury}
\end{figure}

This brings us back to examine why Brydon would select this style for the New Hospital for Women. There are two indicators that Brydon would consider this project different from his previous endeavours. First, when Brydon collaborated with Henry Clutton on St. Peter’s Hospital in Covent Garden in 1882, they also opted for Queen Anne Style.\textsuperscript{36} Second, Brydon was selected for this project because he had a previous connection to Elizabeth Garrett Anderson – Brydon was mentor to Elizabeth’s sister, Agnes Garrett, who established the first female interior decorator company following Brydon’s tutelage; making this a more personal project for Brydon. This leads one to conclude there are two factors that could have influenced Brydon’s design – function and occasion. The aforementioned instruction Brydon received from Campbell Douglas on contemporary hospital design, and Brydon’s decision to adopt Queen Anne style for two hospital projects, suggest Brydon believed this style most suitable for the function of the building. However, design is as much about representation and image as it is about layout and utility. The sense of occasion on the first all female staffed hospital would not have been lost on Brydon. His mentorship of Agnes Garrett demonstrates a certain sympathy for the subjection of women and a desire to help improve their circumstances; indeed Agnes Garrett’s firm was chosen to design the interior of the New Hospital for Women. As such, it

\textsuperscript{33} Girouard, p. 18
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, p. 38
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid, p. 60
\textsuperscript{36} http://www.coventgardentrust.org.uk/resources/environmentalstudy/buildings-facade/henriettastreet-north/
would be reasonable to suppose that Brydon wanted the building’s design to reflect its achievement. Perhaps Gothic revival would be too parochial and ordinary for what was a watershed moment? In fact Queen Anne Revival shares some similarities with the struggle of these first female doctors. There is a sense of rebellion in both; a declaration that the rules of bygone eras are not gospel and from non-conformity can occasionally emerge great progress.

Looking at the two artefacts together one can begin to appreciate the scale of debate started just from one woman being registered on the UK Medical Register. There is an acknowledgement that the barriers being deconstructed in this field are seminal contributions to the eventual enfranchisement of women. The contrasts of the cartoon and the ostentatious brickwork of the hospital challenge the status quo and require the established order to consider the possibility that men and women can operate on equal terms. This meets with the wider expression of a new positive rights culture in late 19th century Britain and the unstoppable expectation of equality that will drive Britain to embrace pluralism on a broader scale in subsequent decades.
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**‘WE MUST DO THIS WELL IF WE DO IT AT ALL’: REPORTS ON THE FIRST WOMEN’S COLLEGE, GIRTON, CAMBRIDGE**

*Susanna Cerasuolo*

**Abstract:** This article examines two artefacts associated with the founding of the first women’s college, Girton College, Cambridge (1869). The first is a cartoon titled ‘St. Valentine’s Day Girton’ which ran in February 1876 in *Punch*. The second is a selection of archival student progress reports from The Mistresses’ Termly Reports at Girton College, Cambridge (c. 1875-6). The founding of this seminal institution led to much speculation and debate about both the purpose and efficacy of education women at the university level. While *Punch* satirises the Girton Girls, the Mistresses’ Termly Reports reveal that their education was very demanding, as directed by Girton’s leading founder, Emily Davies. Additionally the young women saw the historic significance of their role and embraced the educational challenges presented to them. This article examines the representation and the reality of a Girton education.

During the mid-nineteenth century in Britain, Victorian social reformer Emily Davies believed in the liberating power of education, and she ‘led the battle for the admission of women into universities.’ Her work reforming governess training caused Davies to wonder what education would be available to girls after their time at college, and what future they might be qualified for if they chose not to marry; this inspired Davies with the idea of founding a female college at the university level. She approached Oxbridge to request that local exams be opened to girls, and while Oxford gave a firm ‘no’, Cambridge capitulated, and in 1865 they said yes.

Davies teamed with Victorian reformers Barbara Bodichon and Lady Stanley to work to found the first women’s college in history. They realised that for women to be as fully liberated as men, and for them to be as employable and independent, they needed to be also as well educated. For Davies this meant learning Greek and Latin, and she fixed her sights on Cambridge as the place. Throughout the 1860s, these pioneers worked tirelessly to bring their vision of a college for women into fruition, and the object they had in view was ‘the ennobling, morally, intellectually and physically, of one half of humanity’. After much fundraising and lobbying, in 1869 they successfully opened the first women’s college at Hitchin, 35 miles from Cambridge. Three years later they would relocate to the outskirts of Cambridge, and this would become Girton College.

From the first Davies’ desire was to establish a college of the highest repute. Bodichon wrote to Davies stating clearly, ‘We must do this well if we do it at all. My whole heart is in the idea.’ Such an extraordinary event as the opening of Girton was bound to attract the attention of the London satirical magazine *Punch*, irrespective of the college’s merits. An early article by *Punch* editor Mark Lemon declared that *Punch* ‘was intended to raise a laugh’ and that it would be

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3 Caine, p. 3.
4 ---, p. 65.
6 ---, p. 282.
7 Hirsch, p. 247.
‘outspoken and irreverent in attacking the usual butts of Radicals.’ One such group of radicals was the women’s social reformers, and Constance Rover notes that ‘Punch’s prevailing attitude toward the higher education of women, like that of the general public, continued to be ambivalent.’ Punch did publish tributes to the girls’ successes in university exams, and then in subsequent issues reverted back to wistfully recalling the ‘good old days’ when women were women and men were men, such as even thirty years later in an 1895 issue when the fear of the New Woman is discussed:

…a new fear in my bosom vexes;
Tomorrow there may be no sexes!
Unless, as end to all pother,
Each one in fact becomes the other.

Woman was woman, man was man,
When Adam delved and Eve span
Now he can’t dig and she won’t spin,
Unless ‘tis tales all slang and sin!
(Punch April 27, 1895:203)

While usually focused on amusing its primarily male readership, sometimes Punch simply reports on the academic achievements of Girtonians.

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10 ---, p. 69. Rover notes that ‘In 1890 Cambridge women were so successful that Punch termed it “The Ladies Year”.’
12 Caine, p. 239.
Girton was only in its seventh year when "Punch’s most famous cartoonist,"13 George du Maurier, published a full page cartoon that explores the efficacy, motives and the outcomes of the female pursuit of higher education at Girton. The cartoon heightens the colours of the most essential elements of a public debate, like the New Woman.14 Du Maurier likened his work to that ‘of an artist who has the enviable gift of so exquisitely distorting [people] that the sacrifice of truth is more than compensated by the side-splitting laughter the performance creates."15 Like most "Punch" publications after Lemon’s editorship, R.G.G. Price notes that the treatment of drama was especially deft and lucid. Price states that ‘in many ways its politics were amateurish…The difference in tone is obvious when "Punch" turned to something it really understood, like the stage, and it is noticeable that the literary parodies were more life-like and penetrating than parodies of

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13 Price, p. 93.  
15 ---, p. 94.
political speeches.\textsuperscript{16} In this case the subject of the cartoon is the ‘Girton Girl’ and her Classical education, as exemplified through the use of the play Antigone. This girl was a new sort of social phenomenon, frightening traditional Victorian men and women alike with her newly accessible desire to be as educated as her male counterparts, for what purpose no one yet knew.\textsuperscript{17} Du Maurier, with his characteristically incisive eye for detail, portrays the Girton Girl as a cigarette smoking Fast Woman—a threat to education, men, and marriage, all in one fell swoop.\textsuperscript{18} Price notes how ‘the slightest evidence of feminine migration within the economic or the intellectual worlds roused the bachelor clubman in Punch.’\textsuperscript{19}

In du Maurier’s cartoon, two young ladies at Girton are seen examining a Valentine that one of them has received from an admirer. The posture of the young ladies is telling, particularly the young lady on the left, hereafter referred to as Young Lady 1. Young Lady 1 is sitting on a table with her feet up on a chair in a masculine posture. Her knees are apart and she appears to be very unladylike. This is contrasted with her companion on the right, Young Lady 2, who stands erect with her hands demurely clasped behind her back. Young Lady 1 is smoking—a characteristic sign of a ‘Fast Woman’, that paragon of radicalism and emancipation.\textsuperscript{20} This depiction, however, is unlikely to have been realistic as the girls were held to an incredibly strict standard of conduct. Emily Davies saw great gravity in the task of founding a college of historical importance and she was terrified lest any of the girls misstep. In a letter to Barbara Bodichon she states ‘there is not one as to whom there need be the least fear that she would do anything foolish.’\textsuperscript{21} In fact, at Hitchin College in 1871, the girls decided on their own to perform a Shakespearean play for their Headmistress and Miss Davies; this resulted in a heated debate as Miss Davies thought it completely inappropriate that girls were acting the parts of men.\textsuperscript{22} The young ladies of Girton, too, had to be on their best behavior at all times. Even if they could get hold of cigarettes they were unlikely to have anyplace to smoke them in.\textsuperscript{23}

Both young ladies are presented in fashionable dress, because Punch was always correct in the details of everyday life.\textsuperscript{24} The Girton Girl stereotype was based on the Victorian concept of the ‘Fast Woman’, a woman that Established men could neither understand nor tame, but who presumably would have been attractive to Fast Men, and in this depiction du Maurier has epitomized this Victorian siren in the person of Young Lady 1. She is contrasted with Young Lady 2, who is presented as more proper and traditional, but it is interesting to note that it is radical Young Lady 1 who has received the Valentine. As typical Victorian Valentines were somewhat small and of a handheld size (see figure 2), perhaps this is a statement on which kind of men might be attracted to such a rebellious female, given that the Valentine in du Maurier’s cartoon is egregiously large, perhaps denoting an overcompensating bourgeois social climber, or perhaps implying that normal is not enough for a Girton Girl. In typical Victorian fashion the Valentine is unsigned, but the recipient knows quite well that it is from Gussie (short for

\textsuperscript{16} Price, p. 46.

\textsuperscript{17} Caine, p. 249. Caine notes that ‘the improvements in women’s education and the increasing choice of occupations open to them led to the possibility that middle-class women might choose a career and an independent life rather than marriage and a family.’

\textsuperscript{18} Sally Ledger, The New Woman : Fiction and Feminism at the Fin De Siècle (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press; St. Martin's Press, 1997), p. 96. Ledger discusses how the Girton Girl was particularly maligned by the British press and often depicted as ‘mannish, over-educated, humourless bores.’

\textsuperscript{19} ---, p. 109.

\textsuperscript{20} ---, p. 96.

\textsuperscript{21} Stephen, Emily Davies and Girton College, p. 216

\textsuperscript{22} ---, p. 241.

\textsuperscript{23} ---, p. 242. Stephen discusses the geographical location of the college and the leisure time of the students.

\textsuperscript{24} Price, p. 79.
Augustus), who is from Oxford, which lends her a certain cachet for not only having a beau but in also having one who is from the rival school.

Of greatest interest by far in the cartoon is the text below the image which refers to Sophocles’ tragedy Antigone. While the punctuation and stress marks of the Greek text are painstakingly perfect, indicating both the expectations of the male readership and the editorial standards of Punch, less certain in the cartoon is the young ladies’ literary understanding of the text.

The first line of the Greek is the famous start of the third stasimon (main choral lyric) and translates, ‘Love, invincible in battle;’ the second line lends interesting context to the cartoon: ‘Love, that swoops down on possessions.’25 The first line is optimistic but does refer to love as a battle, which hints at the conflicting sexual forces at play in dealing with emancipated women. The second line could reveal a Victorian male fear of losing wealth if a man lost his heart to one of these new breed of proud Girton Girls, girls who might be jockeying to control more in life than just their own destinies. This is an odd choice of Valentine text from Gus, who could be interpreted as either a Fast Man or Punch’s ‘unsexed man’—the only men who could be attracted to a Fast Woman.26 Both young ladies can understand and declaim the Greek, and Young Lady 1 reads the whole of the strophe as indicated by the ‘&c., &c.’, and Young Lady 2 understands her and replies with a didactic, ‘It’s from the love chorus, you know’—a subtle intimation that perhaps Young Lady 1 does not know at all, which is indicative of Young Lady 2’s education. But what is particularly interesting is that they both use such words as ‘charming’, ‘jolly’ about a passage, taken out of context, from a tragedy. This brands them as callous or superficial or both; perhaps not sarcastic, though.

25 Witt, Richard, email correspondence.
26 Ledger, p. 96.
Similarly, Young Lady 2 refers to the ‘love chorus’ but there really is no love chorus in Antigone. In 1841 Mendelssohn had written incidental music (Op. 55) for the Antigone, in including this chorus and the play was much discussed by Hegel and others, so that YL2’s deliberate use of the German word Liebeschor might denote her cultural awareness and good education.27 Both her posture and her comments set her as a foil for YL1’s cigarette and mannish posture.

The cartoon touches on several Victorian fears of educated women: will they really be learned, as in, are they mentally capable or is this just a waste of time and resources? What sort of men will please them once they are educated, or at least once they fancy themselves so? What will this do to the relations between the sexes, when women are as determined as Antigone? And perhaps most centrally, what will these educated women be fit to do when they leave university? Many of these questions can be answered, not by looking at Punch, but by looking within the workings of Girton College itself. The Mistress’ Termly Reports from the Girton College Archives shed a great deal of light on the quality, depth and breadth of the education these young ladies received. These documents, handwritten chronicles kept by each Headmistress each term, detail the lectures attended by each girl, perhaps in reflection of the Victorian reporting practice derived from the school inspections of Matthew Arnold.28 Girton sought to educate young women to achieve their full intellectual potential in a society where many of them could no longer rely on marriage as an economical survival plan (as women were often ‘superfluous’ in number).29

Nowhere is this made more evident than in the geographical situation of Girton. The founders, Emily Davies, Barbara Bodichon and Lady Stanley, purposely set the college 35 miles away from the centre of Cambridge, so that the women could focus on their studies.30 Emily Davies wrote of how ‘in a College, as is well known, a student has the inestimable advantage of being free from distraction. This great boon—the power of being alone—is perhaps the most precious distinctive feature of college life.’31 This time to study, free from a busy daily routine in town of social calls and dinners, would allow these young women to develop their talents just as young men away at college had always been able to do.32 The founders also wanted the girls to be free from rumours of intrigues and romances. They felt that the founding of Girton was of momentous historical importance,33 that they were setting an enormous precedent in the struggle for women’s sufrage,34 and that ‘the smallest indiscretion on the part of any student would be disastrous.’35 Thus they carefully chose an initial site, Hitchin, which was removed from Cambridge, but after three years when all went well and the girls proved to be very serious, and when arranging for greater tutorial coverage proved increasingly difficult for transport reasons, the founders moved the college to its permanent location at Girton, two miles from Cambridge city centre.36

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27 Witt, Richard, email correspondence.
29 ---, p. 73. In 1851 in England there were 400,000 more women than men, so marrying was not a viable economic survival plan for these women.
30 Hirsch, p. 252.
32 Bradbrook, p. 39. ‘She wanted for her students not only a room of their own, but a room not accessible to callers.’
33 Stephen, Emily Davies and Girton College, p. 151.
34 ---, p. 152.
35 ---, p. 209.
36 Hirsch, p. 252.
In the first year of the college, 18 young ladies took the entrance examination and, after much lobbying of sceptical parents, 37 five took up residence as the first entering class. 38 These five followed a course of study identical to that of their male Cambridge counterparts, 39 with Cambridge faculty traveling by train up to the College at Hitchin to give them private lectures. While the majority of Cambridge men were from the elite classes, these young female scholars came from both upper and middle-class backgrounds. Emily Davies noted in the original college programme that ‘During the last few years...an increasing desire has been manifested by young women of the upper and middle classes to carry on their education beyond the period usually assigned to it.’ 40 Whatever their backgrounds, all of them sought to exercise their mental faculties, as evidenced by the hours spent each week attending lectures—where attendance was taken. The women initially studied Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, which Miss Davies valued above all other subjects as these were the most esteemed at Cambridge. Barbara Stephen notes that ‘all her influence was exerted in favour of Classics and the University course, and in the early years of the College, most of the students entered for the Tripos or Pol...examinations.’ 41 Claire Jones asserts that ‘the combination of mental and physical excellence that success in the Mathematics Tripos was believed to demonstrate, plus its acknowledged connections to elite masculinity, made the discipline a target for campaigner...such as Emily Davies in their strategy to demonstrate women’s intellectual equality with men.’ 42 In her educational ideals, Davies was supported by the author George Eliot who believed in the mission of Girton and donated £50 toward the College’s foundation. 43

Soon after the founding of Girton, subjects such as Chemistry, Logic, Politics, and History were added to the programme and girls were more able to select their own courses of study (see figure 4). The students had the same lectures from the same professors as the Cambridge men (see figure 5), and Miss Davies wrote to Miss Bodichon saying, ‘I do not feel at all humble about our teachers...[they] are all of the first rank, and I do not feel inclined to look lower.’ 44 The women also sat for the same examinations as their Cambridge male counterparts; they prepared and sat for the Tripos and Little Go exams (see figure 6), which most of them regularly passed though it meant grueling hours of study and students noted that Miss Davies was ‘apt to underestimate the drawbacks arising from want of previous preparation’ and any other Tripos than Mathematics and Classics was, to Miss Davies, ‘a soft option.’ 45 In the first year that Girton students sat for the Little-go, all five of them passed in Classics and two passed in Mathematics; the other three passed one term later. 46 By all accounts the girls’ Cambridge education was challenging, as would be expected, but more importantly, they were capable of succeeding in it.

37 Stephen, Emily Davies and Girton College, p. 211. ‘The schoolmistresses wanted to send their girls, and a good many girls wanted to come, but the College was considered “dangerous” by parents.’

38 ---. p. 215

39 Shiman, p. 21.

40 Stephen, Emily Davies and Girton College, p. 152.

41 ---. p. 199.


43 Stephen, Emily Davies and Girton College, p. 170.

44 ---. p. 207.

45 ---. p. 232.

46 ---. p. 239.
Figure 4: Mistress’ Termly Reports, circa 1875, Girton College Archives, Cambridge. Image courtesy of The Mistress and Fellows, Girton College, Cambridge

Figure 5: Mistress’ Termly Reports, Lent Term 1876, Girton College Archives, Cambridge. Image courtesy of The Mistress and Fellows, Girton College, Cambridge
But just as du Maurier’s career and line of jest could not last forever, neither could the public ignorance to what was really transpiring on the Girton campus. In only the second year of operation, 200 girls sat for the entrance exam and 12 of them took up residence at Hitchin.\(^{47}\) The numbers continued to grow. As the Girton girls studied and passed their exams, they did so to acclaim. In 1880, Charlotte Scott of Girton was bracketed, the lone woman, as the eighth wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos placement list, and in 1888 Girton’s Agenta Ramsay earned a first class placing in the Classical Tripos, when none of the young men sitting for the exam that year placed higher than a second.\(^{48}\) As the women left Cambridge to find careers and make a difference in society (many of the earliest ‘graduates’ went on to be Mistresses of women’s schools and colleges),\(^{49}\) they also furthered the cause of women’s education. Enrollment at Girton increased each year, and in less than ten years the original five students became 30.\(^{50}\) The initial public perception of silly Girton Girls eventually succumbed to the reality that they were serious scholars undergoing a rigorous education. In spite of the academic successes of these early female founders and students, however, women would have to wait nearly 50 years, until 1948, for Cambridge to award them degrees on equal terms with men.\(^{51}\) At a time when men’s education was in need of reform, when all too many undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge neglected their studies in favour of social life, women experienced just the opposite and stepped into a demanding situation with no preparation. Regardless of the struggle required of these

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47 Stephen, Emily Davies and Girton College, p. 246.
48 Rover, p. 69.
49 Bradbrook, p. 48.
50 Stephen, Emily Davies and Girton College, p. 219.
51 Rover, p. 71.
female pioneers in higher education, Emily Davies was inspirational and by all accounts the Girton girls never considered giving up.

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PART 5: SPIRITUALITY AND KNOWLEDGE
PROOF AND POSSESSION: A CONVERSATION ABOUT KNOWLEDGE-MAKING BETWEEN TWO ARTEFACTS FROM THE 1740S
Tyson D. Rallens

Abstract: When considering the intellectual achievements of the past, the means by which knowledge was obtained—or created—deserve specific study apart from the objects of that knowledge. This article uses two artefacts from the 1740s as lenses to examine the methods of knowledge-making in the mid-eighteenth century. The first artefact, an essay by the philosopher Thomas Reid, illustrates the role of mathematical proofs and quantitative reasoning in contemporary moral and natural philosophy. The second artefact, an engraving of the mathematician-astronomer Abraham Sharp by George Vertue, demonstrates the importance of tangible objects of knowledge, even in abstract disciplines like geometry. Together, these artefacts indicate that knowledge-making in the eighteenth century often began with abstract first principles which then had to be grounded in the practical world in order to be accepted by the intellectual community.

METHODS OF MAKING KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge must be obtained (or awakened, depending on one’s metaphysics) by some means. The early modern penchant for collecting and cataloguing, exemplified by the Linnaean system of classification for natural organisms, might betray an expectation that knowledge could be found lying about ready-made for human use. But the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also witnessed attempts, like that of Descartes, to construct new knowledge using processes of the mind and little else. Additionally, the scientific method launched by Francis Bacon produced wave after wave of facts discovered by the powerfully simple means of observation and induction. Yet this variegated sketch barely begins to enumerate the spectrum of methods employed for knowledge acquisition in the early modern period. As Smith and Schmidt write in *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, ‘Knowledge is made abundantly, yet it is also made in abundant ways.’ Smith and Schmidt argue that considering historical means to knowledge can offer more compelling insights than the traditional approach of studying the objects of that knowledge. The distinction lies between what is known and how things come to be known. Furthermore, when the ways in which knowledge was made in the past are overlooked, any understanding of what was known will almost certainly fall into anachronism.

In this context, this paper will investigate how an eighteenth-century English gentleman might have approached the act of knowing by examining two artefacts from the 1740s. These artefacts, an essay by the philosopher Thomas Reid and George Vertue’s engraving of the mathematician Abraham Sharp, are representative examples of the knowledge-making apparatus of their time. By examining these artefacts individually and then in dialogue, we can see that the process of knowing in the mid-eighteenth century depended in a particular way upon logical proofs and tangible evidence. Both the essay and the engraving are concerned with the

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2 *Making Knowledge*, p. 3.
usefulness of mathematics for advancing human knowledge in more practical spheres. While mathematics seems abstract to the twenty-first century mind, these artefacts reveal that in the eighteenth century, mathematical reasoning was nothing if it did not relate as tangibly as possible to the physical world.

**Thomas Reid's Essay on Quantity**

For his scholarly debut in 1748, Thomas Reid published a paper in the Royal Society’s *Philosophical Transactions*, the prototypical academic journal. Reid’s title alone provides great insight into the means of knowledge-making in eighteenth-century Britain. His work is called:

An Essay on Quantity; occasioned by reading a Treatise, in which Simple and Compound Ratio’s [sic] are applied to Virtue and Merit, by the Rev. Mr. Reid; communicated in a Letter from the Rev. Henry Miles D.D. & F.R.S. to Martin Folkes Esq; Pr. R.S.  

This title, according to the standard practice of *Philosophical Transactions* at the time, concatenates in a single sentence a jumble of information that today would be filed in numerous separate bibliographic entries. In addition to the author of the essay (Reid), the title notes the person who provided the copy for publication (Miles). This is because Reid was not a fellow of the Royal Society himself and thus needed Miles to bring his article to the Society’s attention. Sponsorship was normal in 1748 as 25% of all articles published in *Philosophical Transactions* that year were written by non-fellows who had been sponsored by a fellow. Only one-third as many articles were published by non-fellows without this sort of sponsorship. Adrian Johns describes this practice of the seventeenth-century Royal Society as a sequence of four steps: ‘presentation, perusal, registration, and publication.’ The ‘presentation’ portion of this process involved fellows presenting papers by outside authors regularly at society meetings. Part of the mechanism for authenticating scholarly works was to enforce (at least partially) this requirement of sponsorship. As another example of sponsorship, eighteen out of forty-five articles written by Royal Society fellows in 1748 are addressed by the author to an office-holding member of the Society: either the secretary, vice president, or president. Though only a minority of the fellows’ articles stipulate this additional form of authentication, together, fellow-sponsorship and officer-sponsorship apply to slightly more than half of all articles published in 1748. It seems, therefore, that knowledge-making in the mid-eighteenth century, at least in *Philosophical Transactions*, was a cooperative act across hierarchical lines of scholarly authority, in which officers of the Royal Society, fellows, and non-fellows frequently lent their support to writers on the next rung down the ladder.

While Thomas Reid’s article fits the trend of sponsorship for works by non-fellows, another aspect of his title is unique among all the articles published in 1748. Reid is the only non-fellow to call his paper an ‘essay,’ and one of only three ‘essays’ out of sixty-eight articles that

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4 This calculation and the following ones were created through my own analysis of the article titles in the table of contents for *Philosophical Transactions*, volume 45 (1748), accessed on 18-Feb-2014: http://rstl.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/45/485-490.toc

year. Figure 1 below, shows the submissions in the 1748 Philosophical Transactions sorted according to the kind of writing (or genre) which is indicated by each title. The four most common genres, which account for 69% of the articles, appear to focus on empirical, descriptive modes of thought. Eighteen articles claim to be “a letter…concerning” some phenomenon, like a storm or an uncommon disease, observed by the author. Titular genres which claim to be an ‘account’, ‘description’, ‘observations’, or ‘experiment’, likewise record information about events, objects, or processes which the authors have witnessed, whether accidentally or by a carefully contrived experiment. Clearly then, the dominant form of knowledge-making in the Royal Society in 1748 was based on empirical observation of exterior realities, with a Baconian emphasis on sharing new experiences as broadly as possible.

![Genres Indicated in the Titles of Articles Published in Philosophical Transactions in the Year 1748](image)

The essay format, in contrast, goes about knowledge-making in a very different way. As Scott Black explains in his analysis of seventeenth-century Royal Society essays, ‘essays are not a genre in which one reports experiments but rather in which one offers “conjectures” […] and solicits responses and assistance from others.’ Citing Robert Boyle’s ‘Proemial Essay’ of 1661, Black argues that the essay genre functioned as a forum for responsive reading in which gentlemanly scholars recorded their own reading notes and hypotheses for their peers as a

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7 The article titles analyzed to create this chart were obtained from the table of contents for Philosophical Transactions, volume 45 (1748), accessed on 18-Feb-2014: http://rstl.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/45/485-490.toc

8 Black, p. 183.
written dialogue across long distances and lengths of time. Furthermore, an essay was an opportunity for sharing new theoretical knowledge without sufficient, and sometimes without any, experimental proof. Given this background for the term ‘essay’, Reid was undoubtedly signaling to his readers that his article would be a short theoretical treatment unsupported by observation or experiment. Since the piece was ‘occasioned by reading a treatise’ by the proto-utilitarian Francis Hutcheson, Reid’s essay-writing is in a way merely an extension of his own reading. In other words, the article expresses Reid’s musings on Hutcheson, offered up for review and revision by other scholars. This format for reading and ‘discussion’ allowed new theories to spread quickly for consideration within the academic community, while the more tedious work of systematizing a theory and collecting empirical confirmation could be deferred or even abandoned if the theoretical articulation failed to gain traction. In this particular case, Reid’s ideas must have been well-received since he was offered a position at the University of Aberdeen after the Essay was published.

In addition to these insights provided by Reid’s use of the essay form, the content of the essay also sheds light on the processes of knowledge-making in the eighteenth century. The Essay considers which kinds of intellectual matters should and should not be subjected to quantitative reasoning, or more specifically, mathematical calculations. As his title indicates, Reid invented his guidelines for applying arithmetic after encountering Hutcheson’s ‘An Inquiry Concerning Moral Good and Evil,’ in which Hutcheson attempted to develop a calculus for evaluating morality. Hutcheson was the first to articulate the axiom later adopted by the utilitarian movement: ‘that Action is best, which procures the greatest Happiness for the greatest Numbers; and that, worst, which, in like manner, occasions Misery’ (original emphasis). Hutcheson proposes a ‘universal Canon to compute the Morality of any Actions’ which stipulates complex mathematical equations and calculations that purport to yield precise measurements of moral value. Clearly, both Reid and Hutcheson’s work are situated within a broader conversation about the appropriate use of mathematical reason; by the time Reid published his article questioning aspects of his argument, Hutcheson had already been revising his position on moral calculations. The mathematical equations Reid opposed appeared in only the first three editions of the Inquiry, but Hutcheson dropped them from the fourth edition in 1738. Figure 2 and Figure 3 below illustrate the removal of the calculations by comparing Section III, Part XI of the Inquiry from the third edition of 1729 and the fifth edition in 1753 (the fourth edition cannot be reproduced here due to copyright concerns). Hutcheson originally claimed that new moral knowledge could be calculated by observing the right phenomena and following correct logical or mathematical

10 Black, p. 183.
11 Black, p. 186.
15 Hutcheson, Inquiry (1729), digitized by the Google Books Project.
procedures. As we shall see, Thomas Reid responded by drawing a sharp distinction between things which he considered to be appropriate subjects for mathematical calculation, and things which were not.

Reid’s Essay deals with three main topics: 1) the definition of ‘quantity’ and the methods for dealing with it appropriately, 2) whether quantitative reasoning applies to entities like virtue, and 3) an application to the controversy about force between Newton and Leibniz. He argues that anything which has ‘quantity’ has by definition a proportional relationship to one or more of the only three inherently countable and divisible properties: duration, extension, and number. 17

Since moral virtue and other similar concepts have no such relationship, it is impossible to quantify or mathematically compare the moral value of specific actions. Following the traditional form of the essay genre, Reid has so far employed purely theoretical arguments, based on deductive reasoning or appealing to authorities like Aristotle, 18 to develop his definition of quantity and prove that virtue, merit, and so forth do not quantifiable properties. Next, however, Reid lays out a kind of thought-experiment, still not based on empirical facts or data, but nevertheless as practical evidence that his definition of quantity is true and useful. In this final section, he argues that his definition of ‘quantity’ resolves a decades-old controversy between Newton and Leibniz about how to calculate the force of an object in motion. From Reid’s

17 Reid, p. 508.
18 Reid, p. 507.
perspective, this vicious disagreement is merely semantic. The two scientists have posited definitions of force which are both internally consistent, but contrary to one another. Thus, for Reid, new knowledge about the behavior of objects in the physical world could only be obtained by first formulating the theoretical definition of force. This emphasis on definition reveals something surprising about the eighteenth-century view of knowledge-making in the physical sciences, which were not exactly the sort of ‘empirical’ that twenty-first century textbooks might assume:

Till Force then is defined, and by that Definition a Measure of it is assigned, we fight in the dark about a vague Idea, which is not sufficiently determined to be admitted into any mathematical Proposition. And when such a Definition is given, the Controversy will presently be ended.19

For Reid, definition is imperative. Force must be defined specifically enough to give its proportional relationship to one of the three measurable quantities listed above before any mathematical or empirical arguments can be employed in support of that definition. In fact, until the proportion is defined, all we have is a ‘dark and vague idea,’ which raises concerns (not addressed by Reid) about what sorts of practical or experimental knowledge could be ascertained without a definition or with an incorrect definition.

The image of knowledge-making that emerges from Reid’s essay takes a spiral form. First, he defines quantity in the abstract, then he supports his definition with evidence: a thought experiment regarding physical force. Within this latter section, he returns to definition, this time defining the term ‘force,’ which he says must logically precede any mathematical argument about the nature of physical force. For Reid then, cumulative iterations of first stipulating a definition, then testing it in practice or by thought-experiment, lead to new knowledge. As we will see next, my second artefact approaches knowledge-making in away very similar to this virtuous cycle of definition and physical proof employed by Thomas Reid.

GEORGE VERTUE’S ENGRAVING OF ABRAHAM SHARP

As the printed text transformed the written word in the early modern period, so printmaking, such as engraving, brought the ability to produce multiple copies of the same piece of visual media. Previously, works of visual art had to be painted or sculpted individually, usually at great cost. Printmaking extends the possibility of ‘possessing’ an artistic image to the middle and lower classes. Furthermore, the same image can be shared by many owners and locations. One particular image, a depiction of Abraham Sharp produced in 1744 by the prolific engraver George Vertue, exemplifies these broader trends but also particularly addresses the topics of knowledge-making and mathematics. This image (see Figure 4) depicts an oval portrait of a gentleman framed with a Latin inscription and sitting on a shelf with some curious objects, under which lies a shield bearing a family coat of arms. The inscription means ‘Abraham Sharp, illustrious mathematician. Died on the 15th of August in the Year of our Lord 1742, aged 91.’20 Vertue likely based his engraving on a painting which today can be found in the manor house of Bradford, the region where Sharp lived.21 However, Vertue’s composition is novel in several

19 Reid, p. 514.
20 My own translation
21 This painting can be found online at the following link, accessed on 17-Feb-2014, but it unfortunately cannot be reproduced here due to copyright concerns: http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/abraham-sharp-16511742-23612
ways: he places the portrait in an architectural setting (a common feature in Vertue’s work) and he places the sphere and the double-sector outside of the portrait along with other objects, while in the original painting Sharp holds these two objects in his hands. By separating the objects from the portrait and extending them into a three-dimensional space outside of it, the engraving emphasizes that although Sharp is gone, his instruments and the work he performed with them still exist in tangible form.

![Figure 4: Engraving of Abraham Sharp, by George Vertue](image)

This tangibility points to an important kind of knowledge-making in the intellectual life of the eighteenth century. First, the engraving itself is a tangible image, produced cheaply enough to be purchased by many people. Vertue’s friend, Horace Walpole, claimed that the engraver invented the marketing ploy of issuing collections of engravings grouped by theme, such as poets or royal houses, to encourage consumers to purchase the whole set. He even seeded the market by making gifts of complete sets to highly placed individuals, which others would see and then

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22 Museum of the History of Science: http://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/collections/imu-search-page/record-details/?thumbnails=on&irn=10916&TitInventoryNo=79701 (used by permission)
desire for themselves. Thus, the tangible engravings, like collector's cards today, reveal a social desire to ‘possess’ eminent people in printed form, to learn about them and to use them to signify the owner's intellectual or political status. Furthermore, the subject of Vertue’s engraving, Abraham Sharp, directly connected tangible objects with the idea of knowledge-making in his life’s work as a mathematician and astronomer. Professionally, Sharp constructed the most advanced astronomical instruments of the time during his collaboration with the Royal Astronomer, John Flamsteed. This celestial work was a very earthly endeavor, involving casting, cutting, and assembling metal fixtures as large as six feet in length. Sharp was recognized in his own time for pioneering new levels of precision in marking divisions on delicate instruments. Some of Sharp’s instruments appear in Vertue’s engraving, like an armillary sphere which he designed with an unusual ‘apparatus for the exhibition and resolution of spherical triangles’. Thus, the engraving of Abraham Sharp highlights the tangibility of eighteenth-century knowledge-making on multiple levels by treating an intellectual figure as a subject for collectible artwork and by foregrounding the physical creations of a mathematician-astronomer whose mental abilities were highly respected.

**MATHEMATICAL IDEAS AND THE PHYSICAL WORLD: A DIALOGUE**

If Thomas Reid’s Essay and George Vertue’s engraving could engage in a dialogue about how knowledge was made in the eighteenth century, a consensus would emerge around the importance of grounding abstract theory in evidence from the natural world, and of finding ways to reflect new knowledge in tangible objects. Like the intellectuals of many other time periods,

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23 Horace Walpole and George Vertue, ‘The Life of Mr. George Vertue’, in *A catalogue of engravers, who have been born or resided in England; digested by Mr. Horace Walpole from the MSS. of Mr. George Vertue; to which is added An account of the life and works of the latter*, Second Edition (Strawberry-Hill, 1765), p. 7.


26 Cudworth, p. 168.
thinkers of the 1700s were inspired by Euclid’s method of building new knowledge step-by-step from simple beginnings. Thomas Reid emphasized proper definitions as the necessary starting point for developing useful laws of physics, while at the same time showing from the definition of quantity itself that the moral calculations of Hutcheson were invalid. All this relates closely to a small but significant figure Vertue must have intentionally added to the engraving, since it is not present in the original painting. This figure, shown enlarged in Figure 5, comes from Sharp’s book *Geometry Improv’d* (1717) as can be seen in Figure 6.27 The book, mostly tables of logarithms which would have been useful to navigators and other mathematicians, also contains—which might come as a surprise to the modern reader—instructions on how to cut various geometric solids from wooden cubes. The figure illustrated by Vertue is a new polyhedron Sharp discovered himself, which he calls ‘A Solid of Eighteen Bases’.28 It is the first of twelve new shapes which he introduces with the following statement.

> All the Solid Bodies hitherto mentioned being already known, as an Addition to the Geometrical Store I shall subjoin Twelve more; none of which (I presume) have yet been expos’d to publick View, and some of them perhaps being more beautiful and elegant than any of the former.29

Sharp gives detailed instructions for drawing cut lines on a wooden cube, then cutting along various planes to create a physical incarnation of each of the twelve solids which he says were previously unknown to the ‘Publick’. In an age without plastics, three-dimensional computer modeling, or calculators, there must have existed considerable doubt about whether an alleged polyhedron actually existed. We can imagine Sharp handing his friends the little wooden object as a tangible form of evidence to go alongside his proofs and calculations. To be sure, Sharp was ultimately concerned with the abstract concepts themselves, rather than the wood. In his instructions, he calculates each shape’s ideal dimensions out to twenty decimal places, far past the tolerances any woodcutter could have met.30 Even so, we can note that Sharp’s *Geometry*, and also Vertue’s engraving of the eighteen-sided shape, seem to connect the creation of new mathematical knowledge with the ability to manifest those ideas in the physical world. The instructions for the model-builder function in a sense as the mathematical ‘proof’ of Sharp’s claims to have discovered new solid shapes. Just as Reid emphasized proper deductive methods, starting with careful definitions and reasoning incrementally to useful properties of physics, so Sharp gives a geometric description, followed by successive physical steps that will reify the abstract form into its physical manifestation.

In this dialogue between essay and engraving, much more could be said. Certainly both objects highlight a tendency to approach the construction of knowledge as one-way street, beginning in the mind with axioms and definitions but ending in the natural world with some object or ability to exercise power over objects. Reid’s *Essay* contains both the negative and positive species of this format, as he first shows the uselessness of Hutcheson’s invalid moral calculations and then later shows how careful definitions in natural philosophy can lead to highly useful principles of physics. The engraving of Abraham Sharp by George Vertue represents perhaps the earliest attempt by members of the popular culture to ‘possess’ collections of

27 Figure 1 from Sharp’s *Geometry Improv’d*, digitized by the e-rara.ch project: http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-4545, page 141
29 Sharp, p. 73.
intelligent and powerful people by buying posters. Furthermore, Vertue’s choice to foreground the artefacts of Sharp’s intellectual work, namely his instruments and the shape he discovered, reminds us how necessary objects were to establishing the objectivity of abstract mathematical knowledge in the eighteenth century. That Reid chose physical science as the proving ground for his principle of definition, even within the framework of a theoretical ‘essay’, further emphasizes the grounded approach he and his contemporaries took to making knowledge. From these two objects, at least, knowledge-making in the eighteenth century looks like an arrow pointing strictly in one direction: from abstract theory to practical application.
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REMEMBERING THE RAILWAY: LOCATING NOSTALGIA IN WORDSWORTH'S 'SUGGESTED BY THE PROPOSED KENDAL AND WINDERMERE RAILWAY' AND THE CREATION OF THE MUSÉE D'ORSAY

Rachael Curzons

Abstract: Although not immediately apparent, the relationship between a sonnet written by the Poet Laureate at Rydal Mount, England, and a train station designed and built five decades later in Paris, France, delineates the polyvalence of nostalgia. By depicting, via the two artefacts, the shifting nostalgia of a Victorian collective consciousness, this article thus intends to explore interactions with the railway that provoked and evoked emotional reactions. It has been argued that ‘in a little over a generation…[the railway had] introduced a new system of behaviour: not only of travel and communication, but of thought, of feeling, of expectation.’¹ This article explores the way that this ‘new system’ constitutes a dual nostalgic gaze that looks both to the past and to the future.

Nostalgia’s etymological provenance begins with the Ancient Greek word, ‘nostos’ meaning to return home. The term was coined, from nostos and the suffix -logia, in 1668 by Johannes Hofer to give a name to the diagnosis of ‘homesickness’.² It appears to then function as a medical diagnosis, particularly in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and it is retrospectively described by Albrecht Erlemeyer in his 1892 Dictionary of Psychological Medicine as, ‘the abnormally exaggerated longing for his home of a man who lives away from it, whether it be that relatives or friends who were left behind, or the peculiarity of the home as regards landscape or climate, are

the object of his longing\textsuperscript{3}. Towards the end of the nineteenth century nostalgia does however, become a more abstract concept denoting an emotional memory of or longing for one’s own experiences or time period, rather than a specific place or person that is akin to home for the suffering subject.\textsuperscript{4} This article will attempt to explore this variety of meaning, via the mechanisation of the Victorian period, by considering the relationship between the two seemingly unrelated artefacts: Wordsworth’s sonnet, ‘Suggested by the Proposed Kendal and Windermere Railway’ (1844) and the space that was the Gare d’Orsay (begun in 1898, completed in 1900) which became, in 1986, the Musée d’Orsay.

Set against the backdrop of the second period of ‘railway mania’ in Great Britain, William Wordsworth sent an angry response, provoked by the proposed branch line at Kendal and Windermere, to the ‘Morning Post’, to be published on 16\textsuperscript{th} October 1844. This ‘mania’ was a rapid expansion during the mid-1840s that saw approximately 9000 route miles built and huge, often speculative and frenzied, investment in railway securities.\textsuperscript{5} In order to justify the building of new lines and expanding of existing routes, railway companies argued for the utility of the railway. Unlike the exploratory sonnet ‘Steamboats, Viaducts, and Railways’ (c. 1833), which somewhat embraced the sublimity of the technological advancements that were visible across the British landscape, Wordsworth’s response to the potential railway that would run through, and perhaps more importantly to, his beloved Lake District, demonstrates an incensed and impulsive reaction. The sonnet of 1844 invokes a nostalgic reverence for the power of nature, calling upon these forces to ‘protest against the wrong.’\textsuperscript{6} As Wordsworth’s work often illustrates, the act of recollection is irrevocably connected with place; often it is the imagination’s invocation of landscape, such as that surrounding Tintern in Monmouthshire,\textsuperscript{7} which acts to replenish creativity when surrounded by the ‘din of towns and cities’.\textsuperscript{8} ‘Suggested by…’ demonstrates a kind of homesickness for the Lake District of the early-nineteenth century, unmarred by the so-called ‘random’ acts of railway companies and consumer-focused development. Wordsworth’s nostalgia exhibits an idealisation of this place, and by extension this period.\textsuperscript{9} Within ‘Suggested by…’ we see his nostalgia transcend the notion of longing for a specific place, as it becomes a reconstruction of a narrative past that is remembered via the locations, but which epitomises an aesthetic remembering of idyllic rural life.

The mind’s reconfiguration of the past in order to produce meaning is demonstrated by Wordsworth’s idealised ‘bright Scene’ of youthful folly, creating an account of his life that

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\item Albrecht Erlenmeyer, ‘Nostalgia’, in D. Hack Tuke, Ed., \emph{A dictionary of psychological medicine, giving the definition, etymology and synonyms of the terms used in medical psychology, with the symptoms, treatment, and pathology of insanity, and the Law of lunacy in Great Britain and Ireland} (Philadelphia: P. Blakiston, Son & Co., 1892) p. 858
\item See the Oxford English Dictionary Online’s two definitions. The first definition describes the concept to be an, ‘Acute longing for familiar surroundings, esp. regarded as a medical condition; homesickness.’ Whilst the second definition, first recorded in 1900 is of: ‘Sentimental longing for or regretful memory of a period of the past, esp. one in an individual’s own lifetime; (also) sentimental imagining or evocation of a period of the past.’ (http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/128472?redirectedFrom=nostalgia#eid, accessed 18\textsuperscript{th} January 2014)
\item Jack Simmons and Gordon Biddle Eds., \emph{The Oxford Companion to British Railway History from 1603 to the 1990s} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 311
\item See ‘Lines Composed a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey, On Revisiting the Banks of the Wye During a Tour. July 13, 1798’ (written and published 1798) in Bartleby.com <http://www.bartleby.com/145/ww138.html> [accessed 18\textsuperscript{th} January 2014]
\item Ibid, Li. 25-6
\item Wordsworth, William, ‘On the Projected Kendal and Windermere Railway’, \emph{The Wordsworth Book of Sonnets} ed. by Linda Marsh ( Ware: Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 1995) p. 174 Li. 8
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connects the past, present and future.¹⁰ This version of nostalgia, it is suggested by Nicholas Dames, is a kind of forgetting, that when applied to Wordsworth’s verse demonstrates the rapidity of nostalgia’s growing force as it acts to reshape memory or experience.¹¹ Dames argues that nineteenth-century nostalgia is a ‘struggling to transform the chaos of personal recollection into what is useful, meaningful, able to be applied to the future’.¹² Wordsworth’s accusation of ‘rash assault’ reveals his own hasty attempt to organise his past in order to preserve his future, his reaction accelerated akin to the speed of expansion, and the literal speed experienced by railway passengers.¹³ In an attempt to address this increased pace of change, a kind of universal nostalgia is invoked by the poet, as he attempts to reunite his idealised past with a collective Romantic consciousness in order to challenge the proceeding alterations that are swiftly restructuring his anticipated future.

Wordsworth’s nostalgia for his adopted home of Grasmere, approximately thirty miles south of his birthplace of Cockermouth, manifests initially as a determined conservation and preservation of place. His anger towards the ‘rash assault’ of the railway mimics the physicality of the attack; the railway tracks literally cut through the ‘paternal fields’ of the Lakes. The lack of security for the location that represents many ‘Schemes of retirement’, is bemoaned throughout the sonnet, but the nostalgia is not simply for place. It can be traced as a yearning for a ‘greater simplicity’, kindled by the rustic and pastoral ‘because in that condition the passions of men are incorporated with the beautiful and permanent forms of nature.’¹⁴ These words, from the Preface to the 1800 edition of Lyrical Ballads, suggest the necessity of close access to his rural idyll for all who are to be enlightened by imagination. He reviles in the same essay those poets who have attempted to ‘separate themselves from the sympathies of men’.¹⁵ This is an attitude that the Wordsworth of 1844 does not display. Despite mimicking the sentiments of the Romantic movement and particularly referring back to the opening line of another of his sonnets, ‘The world is too much with us’, the angry voice of ‘Suggested by…’, written by a seventy-four year old Wordsworth, does not comply with his manifesto of poetry as ‘emotion recollected in tranquility’. His rallying cry for the natural world to make use of their ‘torrents’ and ‘protest’, is a desperate one that invokes nature as ‘pure’ and the tourists and train travellers as ‘rapturous’ in their consumption of the landscape. The materialistic and utilitarian railway companies are facilitating the pillage of his home, and his reaction looks forcefully backwards with a lens shadowed by the fear of progress. He has no reverence for the previously observed ‘triumphs’ of the railway, and with the progressing mechanisation of the landscape, he attempts to reclaim his old revolutionary loyalties to the natural world.¹⁶

The sixth line of the sonnet, in the version of the poem that was printed in the 1844 newspaper and pamphlet that followed (and which is therefore the published version widely available today), reads, ‘And must he too the ruthless change bemoan’, the adverb ‘too’ exposing

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¹¹ Nicholas Dames, Amnesiac Selves: Nostalgia, Forgetting and British Fiction (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001)
¹² Ibid, p. 3-4
¹⁵ Ibid, p. 2
Wordsworth’s assumption to speak for all who object to the ‘abuse’ of the railway and lament the changes that the ‘ruthless’ companies are able to implement. He paints the protestors as victims of a callous and violent enemy who will stop at nothing to fulfill their intentions. However, in the version sent to William Gladstone three days later (see Fig. 1), Wordsworth alters the line to ‘And must he too his old delights disown’. He takes a softer and more diplomatic approach, appealing perhaps to Gladstone’s sympathy and, as he states in the accompanying letter, ‘taste and feeling’. Wordsworth admits his nostalgic leaning in this alteration, his association of the ‘old’ with ‘delights’; reverentially identifying the Lakes as one of the ‘temples of Nature’ that should be left untouched by those who are not culturally literate enough to worship. His judgement is biased however, and the universal ‘he’ who ‘bemoans’ seems to represent a local and minority, appeal. When based on a lack of utility, Wordsworth’s argument has strength, however he belies his own cause when he complains of the increasing number of tourists expected to make use of the railway, therefore precluding his assertion that the railway companies have a ‘a false utilitarian lure’ for the branch expansion. Despite his objections, the Kendal and Windermere railway was built, and Wordsworth himself died in 1850. By the end of the century, opposition and expansion in Britain had slowed and discussions had now turned to the buildings of stations in metropoles. Most cities were, in the early nineteenth century, ringed by termini yet, ‘As the cities extended outwards… …so the railways penetrated further into their central business districts.’ This took place in Britain throughout the 1840s and the building of Gare d’Orsay is an example of this phenomenon in Paris.

Towards the fin de siècle, Victor Laloux was chosen to build the Gare d’Orsay and accompanying hotel in central Paris, coinciding with the preparation for the Exposition Universelle that was scheduled to take place in 1900. This station would bring passengers from southwestern France into central Paris, opposite the Louvre and to the centre of the city’s cultural activities. Similarly to the Kendal and Windermere railway, the Gare d’Orsay has the potential to facilitate the cultural development of railway passengers, creating an experience that

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20 William Wordsworth, a letter to Gladstone to accompany the sonnet (1844) in London, British Library, ‘GLADSTONE PAPERS. Vols. I-CCLXVI. Special correspondence of W. E. Gladstone’ Add MS 44362 f.278


23 It is noted in the North Wales Chronicle, 21 December 1850 that between 1846-1850 Henry R. Marcus, the ‘father of cheap trips’ based in the north west of England took 100,000 people on railway excursions. Although not precisely indicative of how many tourists used the Kendal and Windermere branch, it is possible to extract an indication of the popularity of tourism in the period. Study of the Kendal Mercury suggests that once open the branch was carrying roughly 5000 passengers in the last week of July every year between 1848 and 1850. How many of these are passengers are tourists would be speculation, but given the number drops by roughly 3000 passengers per week in the month of November it could be argued that a large proportion of these Summer travellers were tourists.

‘Interesting to Tourists’, North Wales Chronicle, 21 December 1850, p. 3

when recollected is inseparable from the progress of the transport that increases access to ‘high’ culture. Despite its lack of success as a railway station, the decision to build Gare d’Orsay on the site chosen, and in the Beaux-Arts style, indicates a grand ambition. The Gare at once looks back to an idealised classical style, preserving this form of architecture to disguise the industrial, mechanised railway, whilst also looking forwards to the twentieth century through its status as the first electrified station in the world. Its intrinsic connection with the nineteenth world fair reinforces this dual gaze; the aim of the fair was to celebrate the century gone by and to look purposefully forward to the development of the next. The building of the Gare suggests an inherent nostalgic reaction to the railway itself, as the experiences of the railway and its associated spaces had become an entrenched part of nineteenth-century life, offering a stimulus to the recollection of the past and present, home and away.

Anticipating Linda M. Austin’s theory that nostalgia transitions from a diagnostic term to an aesthetic concept in the nineteenth century, Édouard Détaille’s nostalgic reaction to the Gare d’Orsay in 1900 states that it ‘is superb and has the air of a palace of Beaux-Arts while the Palace of Beaux-Arts resembles a station.’ This reaction to the building displays Détaille’s nostalgia for the expected architecture of a train station. The Palace of Beaux-Arts is constructed in the Beaux-Arts style, as is the Gare, but the industrial roof of glass and steel establish the building’s modernity whilst the evidence of the Gare d’Orsay’s industrial purpose is hidden behind a neo-classical façade. As a Salon painter, Détaille denounced the technologically innovative design of the Palace, suggesting instead that the traditional architecture of d’Orsay was better suited to the purpose of displaying high art. Contrasting with Wordsworth’s denunciation of the railway for its quintessentially industrial qualities; those of force and progress, Détaille begs the space of the railway to display its industrial origin. Détaille’s nostalgia is for the very industrial markers that Wordsworth rails against, and his reverence for the building, created by Laloux, demonstrates the ‘aesthetic concept’ described by Austin. A beautiful building should hold ‘beautiful’ art, and an industrial building should be purposed with ‘industrial’ tasks such as the conveyance of passengers and goods on trains; design reflecting purpose. The nostalgia Détaille feels for the experience of the train station, and the art gallery, is demonstrated by his desire for them to denote their purposes in design and construction. The exterior of the Gare d’Orsay conforms to the architecture that surrounds it, in order to assimilate an industrial building into the centre of Paris, whilst the Palace is a forward-looking institution. This status is confirmed in the twentieth century by the Palace’s exhibition of the second controversial Salon d’Automne in 1904.

Feelings of nostalgia, by the end of the nineteenth century, had become intrinsically linked with the desire to interact with a remembered experience, and the expectations of the railway experience were fundamental to the changing of this process of remembering. The nostalgia located in both Wordsworth’s sonnet, and the Gare d’Orsay, is that of stimulated recollection. For Wordsworth the place he remembers connects him with a yearned for period, whilst d’Orsay acts to contravene the expectations of those who have grown to understand and remember the industrial experience. As Wolfgang Schivelbusch notes, the railway passenger became the ‘object of industrial process’ who literally and metaphorically looked back to the idyll of the rural as it

25 Soon after its building, in 1939, the platforms were declared too short for the new longer trains and it was relegated to serve suburban trains only; Gare St Lazare was reinstated as the primary terminus for southwestern railway services.

26 Quotation taken from Andrea Kupfer Schneider, Creating the Musée d’Orsay: The Politics of Culture in France (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998) p. 10 Schneider’s translation was checked by the author of this article for accuracy, before using verbatim.

27 Ibid, p. 1

28 An exhibition of innovative twentieth-century painting, that mainly fell outside of the remit of the Salon.
passed by and as it was replaced by the railway as the focal site of nostalgia for the modern individual.

The concurrency of the old and the new, as visually perceived in the Palace of Beaux-Arts and present but veiled in the Gare d’Orsay, is a distinct feature of modernity and encompasses the nostalgic dual gaze. From the train carriage, ‘visual perception [is] diminished by velocity’, and nostalgia as ‘an organizing force in the imagination and memory’ is able to resolve this loss of vision as it acts to govern the understanding of this rapid journey forward in time, place and experience. The station acts as a ‘gateway’ to modernity, and the use of the Beaux-Arts style in building the Gare d’Orsay acts to mediate the anxiety of loss, caused by technological innovation, that is overt in Wordsworth’s sonnet. Architecturally, the station is two buildings, fused together by a common purpose. The juxtaposition of the traditionally built front façade that greeted the passengers paired with the train departure point, forged in industrial glass and steel, reinforces the station’s in-between status. Not entirely hand-crafted or industrialised; urban or rural; exit-point or destination, the station itself offers a mediated point at which nostalgia for either the pastoral locations of Wordsworth, or the light-filled glass and steel structures that were an expression of the industrial process, can be both felt and expressed. As electric lighting became more widely available, by the end of the nineteenth century, these ferro-vitreous roofs became unnecessary, and were often hidden by exaggerated frontage as seen in the Gare d’Orsay. Nostalgia’s polyvalence in the nineteenth century reflects the need for a reaction that is able to locate a period in time, rather than simply a place. The accelerated speed with which one can reach physical places, and pass them by, causes the world to take on an almost virtual reality, and making distinctions between one place and the next is reliant upon the signage found on the platform. As George Gissing describes upon his return to London from the Lake District, ‘it is the platform of the Terminus that seems alone real, and all behind it ‘mere dream’.”

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LIVING IN ITS SHADOW: WORCESTER CATHEDRAL AND ELLEN WOOD’S THE CHANNINGS

Candice Pearson

Abstract: This article explores the architecture and history of Worcester Cathedral and the novel it inspired, Ellen Wood’s The Channings (1862). The cathedral’s primary function and its sphere of influence altered dramatically over the centuries and in The Channings we see how economically and culturally dependent upon the cathedral are its nearby inhabitants; we also see how they often overlook the cathedral’s spiritual purpose. While the cathedral and its congregation evidently stimulated Wood to write the novel; the novel in return conclusively affects the reader’s perception of the cathedral.

‘O that these walls could speak’ entreated Henry Lord Bishop of Worcester in his sermon preached at the opening of his newly refurbished cathedral in 1874.1 Through fiction, in her 1862 novel The Channings, Ellen Wood answered this very plea.2 The Channings’ cathedral is called Hestonleigh, but it is easily identifiable as Worcester Cathedral which was situated just metres away from Wood’s childhood home and would have dominated the view from her home’s windows. As her son wrote: ‘Doubtless before she could even speak, her large wondering eyes would trace with earnest gravity the solemn Cathedral outlines.’3 In The Channings Wood explores the cathedral congregation’s thoughts, as well as their daily customs and interactions, and we see how dependent the characters of Hestonleigh are upon the cathedral which dominates their lives physically, economically, culturally, and spiritually. In this essay I will examine the impact of the cathedral on the fictional lives of the inhabitants of a cathedral town, while also examining the real life building that inspired The Channings. For the purposes of this essay I will concentrate on the aspects of the cathedral that feature most prominently in The Channings, particularly the cloisters.

The Channings is a simple study of a Christian determination, focusing on a middle-class family (the Channings) and their neighbours, whose lives revolve around the cathedral and its school. While many of Wood’s other novels feature episodes of serious depravity, the crime at the centre of The Channings is a petty theft and the melodrama comes in the form of a prank ghost in the cloisters. Despite its comparatively pedestrian plot, The Channings still sold 140,000 copies by 1895.4 Founded in 680, Worcester Cathedral has an incredibly rich architectural history, having been developed in four major phases over four centuries. After its foundation, the Cathedral underwent its first architectural transformation in 983 when it was rebuilt with an additional monastery by Saint Oswald, whose remains are still in the cathedral. Miracles were said to happen at the site of Oswald’s death and Bede recounted one incident which particularly chimes with The Channings. Bede wrote of a paralysed girl who made a pilgrimage to Oswald’s place of death, returning home able to walk.5 We see a similar miracle occur in The Channings,

2 Henry Lord Bishop of Worcester. 3
3 Charles William Wood, Memorials of Mrs Henry Wood (London: Bentley, 1894). 4
5 Bede and others, Ecclesiastical History of the English People (London: Penguin, 1990), 158-159
when the disabled Mr Channing is cured by a visit to the Continental springs and he says with certainty: ‘God has cured me.’

Returning to the cathedral, it was Saint Wulstan in 1084 who rebuilt the cathedral as we would recognise it today. In Anglo-Saxon times Worcester was one of the country’s most important monastic cathedrals, which continued through into later Middle Ages when its Benedictine monks were at the forefront of academia. The walls of the cathedral were a constant presence and an everyday reminder to the monks (and to the moral thrust of Wood’s novel) of God’s purpose for life, encapsulated in the motto of the Benedictine monks ‘Laborare est orare’; ‘to work is to pray’. This aphorism is embodied in The Channings by the Channing family who, after a change in circumstance, see work as not only necessary but as a divine duty. Both the cathedral and the novel are structures within which the virtue of a God fearing life can be promulgated and demonstrated and the stone walls of the cathedral provide a physical and moral framework for real people and the novel’s characters. ‘Laborare est orare’ is also the title of a painting by John Rogers Herbert, which was first exhibited in the same year The Channings was published. The painting is of a warm harvest landscape. The artist painted himself in the extreme foreground of the painting; interesting because Wood is a similarly dominant presence in her novels. The back of the painting carried an inscription of ‘The Parable of the Sower’ from Luke. In this parable, the seeds that fall on fertile soil flourish, while the seeds that land among the thorns or on stony ground fail. This reminds us of the (flourishing) Channing and the (failing) Yorke children from Wood’s novel. In their calm, disciplined, honest and devout household the Channing children thrive; while in their chaotic, lazy, fiery and faithless household the Yorke children fail.

The novel throws the Channing and the Yorke families together via their connection at the King’s Cathedral School; a real school that was founded after Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries and, under the Cathedral Statutes of 1542, created the King’s Schools to replace the former almonry (monastic charity) schools. This royal charter was detailed in the novel by Wood, who knew the King’s School Worcester and its traditions well as her brothers had been scholars there. Her son described how she would watch ‘the College boys tearing through the gateway of Edgar Tower’, would listen to their footsteps clattering through the cloisters as they rushed to and from school; and thus even in infancy she began to study unconsciously the character of that complex creature, the schoolboy. Edgar Tower is all that now remains of Worcester’s Norman castle. It is now known as Edgar Tower as it once displayed a statue of Edgar, who was crowned King by Oswald in 978. In The Channings, Edgar Tower’s gatekeeper, Old Jenkins (or Jack Ketch as he is known to the boys), is central to the plot as an unsympathetic caricature who would ideally keep the boys locked out, reminding us of the Tower’s original purpose as part of the city fortress.

One purpose of the King’s Schools was to educate the poor but intelligent local boys who would not otherwise be able to afford the tuition needed to gain a place at Oxford University. The competition to win the school scholarship to Oxford is detailed throughout the

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7 John Rogers Herbert, Laborare Est Orare, 1862, T01455, Tate <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/herbert-laborare-est-orare-t01455>.
9 Edgar Tower was known as St Mary’s Gate
10 Charles William Wood. 4
11 OVS and Archive http://www.ksw.org.uk/old-vigornians/history-of-the-school/edgar-tower (22/02/14)
12 Jack Ketch was an infamous executioner employed by Charles II.
novel, showing how dependent each boy’s fate is upon the cathedral. Without the scholarship, Tom Channing and his rival Gerald Yorke would not be able to go to university for ‘want of funds at home’. It is not just the school boys who are economically dependent upon the cathedral. Many of the novel’s characters rely on the church for their income, including Arthur Channing who is employed as the Cathedral organist even when the town turns against him as a suspected thief. Arthur inwardly struggles with the false accusations, but when he plays the organ he is feels connected to God: ‘the boy’s whole heart went up with the words [of the psalm]’. Henry Lord Bishop’s sermon echoed this sentiment, showing it as a universal theme: ‘How many broken hearts have been bound up here by the ministrations of heavenly grace, when earthly powers have failed them!.. How many grudges against our neighbour given up!’ Later, when Arthur is exonerated, his faith is notably reflected in an anthem he plays: ‘The Lord delivereth the souls of his servants: and all they that put their trust in him shall not be destitute.’ This sentiment ‘told upon Arthur’s heart, sending it up in thank fullness to the Giver of all good’. The cathedral architecture contributes to this sense of a connection with the heavens as when you look skywards the cathedral seems to rise from nowhere and soar into the clouds.

In the novel, the boys use the cathedral building as a playground, for example we see a boy ‘trying to accomplish the difficult feat of standing on his head on the open mullioned window-frame, thereby running the danger of coming to grief amongst the gravestones and grass of the College burial-yard’. Though Henry Lord Bishop said: ‘What an inestimable advantage it is to our people, that we have such buildings, set apart for such purposes… How elevating should be our use of such buildings! How suggestive they are of holy things!’ it is mainly the Channing family who reminds us the cathedral is a spiritual place. God’s influence on the building is a notion that Henry Lord Bishop felt was shared by all who contributed to its fabric: ‘Holy men of old delighted to plan the fashion of the building and to execute the work with the most perfect skill that could be put in use, with self-denying absolute devotion of all the means that they could furnish, and with a single eye to the glory of the Great Being in whose service they felt it the greatest privilege to minister […] No outlay of treasures was deemed too great; no devotion of time and thought and labour too engrossing, if only they could make the house of God worthy of the honour of His acceptance of it, and worthy as a monument of the piety of those who built it.’

Henry Lord Bishop rhetorically asked: ‘Who can regard without reverence the place, where the honour of our heavenly Father has long dwelt?’, though Wood details the exploits of the pupils who show the cathedral little respect. The cloisters in particular are described as ‘that famous playground of the college school’ and the boys fiercely defend it as their play space ‘since the school was founded’. A cloister is an enclosed court that is attached to a monastic church and consists of a roofed ambulatory, often south of the nave and west of the transept. It surrounds open garden-like space, which is known as a garth, a ‘lovely name brought by the

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14 Mrs Henry Wood. 51
15 Mrs Henry Wood. 73
16 Henry Lord Bishop of Worcester. 6-7
17 Mrs Henry Wood. 444
18 Mrs Henry Wood. 208
19 Henry Lord Bishop of Worcester. 7
20 For example, when being bullied by an older boy, the youngest Channing, Charley, says: ‘I am in God’s presence […] and I will not tell a lie’ Mrs Henry Wood. 10
21 Henry Lord Bishop of Worcester. 9
22 Henry Lord Bishop of Worcester. 6
23 Mrs Henry Wood. 46 + 107
Vikings to England and in English monasteries never displaced by the Norman-French garden. The cloister served as a way of communication between different buildings (for example the chapter house and refectory) and was often equipped with small study areas, seats, and a washing area, allowing the monks ablutions before entering the refectory. The location meant the north walkway received enough light to make it a suitable place for the monks to use for reading and writing. Michael Craze said: 'Although the Cloisters at Worcester cover only a third of an acre and an athletic novice or monk would have had to run fourteen laps to the mile, yet their history stretches a thousand years back to King Edgar.'

The boys however regularly fight in the cloisters, the sound of which Wood describes as ‘according as little with their sacred character, as with the fair beauty of a summer’s afternoon’. This shows how traditions are taken forward, including the generational riot of choristers, within the unchanging solid stone frame of the cathedral. Wood uses an ‘arena’ metaphor to describe the usage of the cloisters and the Dean says: ‘If the cloisters are to be turned into a bear-garden, I shall certainly order them to be closed to the boys.’ The college boys were not the first to misuse the cloisters however. During the Civil War, Parliamentary Dragoons housed troops and their horses in the cloisters. In his 1723 Survey of Worcestershire, Habington said the Battle of Worcester left the cloisters strewn with corpses. The Civil War saw the destruction of the medieval windows (seven in each walk), which were initially reconstructed without glass in 1762-9 and the glass was not replaced until 1866. In his 1781 diaries of his travels around England, John Byng said the cloisters ‘look better than at most places. There is a total want of stain’d glass, so necessary for church grandeur to cast a dim religious light’. Perhaps the lack of glass (and therefore perhaps assumed lack of splendour) contributes to the boys’ misuse of the cloisters.

Wood found the cloisters particularly inspiring: ‘the quiet cloisters she crowded with dream people, and at night she watched the outlines of the cathedral steeped in the moonlight, she would fancy the dark and solemn aisles peopled with all the ghosts of those who reposed there and belonged to the historic past’. As a girl, Wood would walk through the cloisters and marvel at the contrast of the ‘solitary cloisters’ compared to ‘when the College boys, released form school, would invade the sacred precincts and make them echo with their noise’. This is noted in The Channings, when Wood says the cloisters are like ‘a large lake on the approach of a sudden storm […] its unnatural stillness, death-like and ominous; its undercurrent of anger not yet apparent on the surface; and then the breaking forth of fury when the storm has come’. Charley Channing meets the worst fate in the cloisters when the boys plan to trap him with a ‘ghost’ they have created. When trapped, Charley imagines the ‘monks of bygone ages’ and he

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26 Michael Craze. 37
27 Mrs Henry Wood. 206
28 Mrs Henry Wood. 210 + 215
http://worcestercathedral.co.uk/index.php?pr=The_Civil_War
31 Engel. 31
32 John Byng, The Tarranton Diaries, Containing the Tours Through England and Wales … between the Years 1781 and 1794, ed. by C. Bruyn Andrews (London, 1934), i. p45: 2.7.1781
33 Charles William Wood. 5
34 Charles William Wood. 6
35 Mrs Henry Wood. 155
pictures the monks emerging at midnight to celebrate the Office of Vigils.\textsuperscript{36} This is one of Wood’s personal reveries from when she illicitly visited a monastery and at ‘the witching hour’ imagined ‘the ghosts of all the dead-and-gone monks’\textsuperscript{37} When Charley is in the cloisters there is little light as the cloisters are surrounded by the taller cathedral buildings: ‘the dim cloisters were before him; he was standing at the corner formed by east and south quadrangles, and the pale burial ground in their midst, with its damp grass and its gravestones, looked cold and lonely in the moonlight’\textsuperscript{38}

The cloister survives today in its medieval format: a single-storey on the south side of the cathedral, in the angle between the nave and the south-west transept. Parts of the east and west walks of the cloister remain from Norman times, and there was a Late Gothic renovation of the cloister at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. The east cloister walk is longer than the others (the south walk makes a five degree deviation towards the south-east from the straight). The asymmetrical layout of the cloisters might suggest that an earlier building had existed in that position, perhaps the first Anglo-Saxon cathedral St Peter’s, built by Bishop Oswald.\textsuperscript{39} Each cloister has nine bays and transverse arches, which are decorated with tracery, though they differ slightly suggesting at the order in which they were built (Craze suggested west, east, south, north\textsuperscript{40}). The vaulting used is ‘lierne’\textsuperscript{41}; the Middle English word derived from the French for ‘clematis’. This vaulting uses tertiary ribs to connect ribs from the vaulting shafts and the ridge ribs that ran through the bosses. In Worcester Cathedral, the bosses are made from a light coloured limestone, rather than the soft red sandstone of the vaults which highlights the bosses and draws the attention to the octagonal tracery. Many of the bosses are decorated with leaves, echoing the garth foliage.

When Charley does not return home on the ‘cloister’ evening, we see the cathedral and surrounding buildings take on a different personality: ‘cold, shadowy it all lay’.\textsuperscript{42} By day, the cathedral looks warm with the ‘red stone’ used in local building.\textsuperscript{43} Most of Worcester Cathedral is built of sandstone, though there is some light grey limestone and, in the east arm, some Purbeck marble. The sandstone was quarried from upriver local sources, namely Holt, Ombersley and Hardley, and was mostly dark red (though some graduated to a yellow shade) and makes the cathedral seem very warm by day. As Wood’s contemporary John Ruskin said: ‘the best tints are always those of natural stones’.\textsuperscript{44} The sandstone used was also transported by river, though from Highley, near Bridgnorth, and the limestone from the Cotswold Hills.\textsuperscript{45} The lesser used limestone was significantly more expensive as it was not connected by the River Severn network. Tufa, a very porous and lightweight rock, was also used internally for the vaults in the cathedral, and this was taken from a nearby quarry on the banks of the River Teme.\textsuperscript{46} Echoing the thoughts of Ruskin, Henry Lord Bishop described the cathedral as: ‘a monument in the fabric, not only of the piety of our fathers, who sought to honour the Lord with their substance and to provide an

\begin{thebibliography}{46}
\bibitem{36} Julie Kerr, \textit{Life in the Medieval Cloister} (London; New York: Continuum, 2009). 56
\bibitem{37} Charles William Wood. 33
\bibitem{38} Mrs Henry Wood. 290
\bibitem{39} Engel. 30
\bibitem{40} Michael Craze. 42
\bibitem{41} ‘Ribbed vault with some ribs not running from one of the main springing-points, but from rib to rib, usually joined to them at bosses.’ Cuvelley and Sambrook.
\bibitem{42} Mrs Henry Wood. 301
\bibitem{43} Mrs Henry Wood. 6 + 111
\bibitem{44} John Ruskin and J. G Links, \textit{The Stones of Venice} (New York: Da Capo Press, 2003). 103
\bibitem{45} Engel. 27
\bibitem{46} Engel. 27
\end{thebibliography}
habitation for the dwelling of His honour, but of architectural skill and ingenuity also, bearing witness, by its beauty of structure and proportions, to the accomplished taste and talent of the architect who planned it.  

*The Channings* opens with the sound of the ‘sweet bells’ from the cathedral, reminding the readers that the cathedral would aurally, as well as architecturally, dominate the town. Wood’s first ‘remembered sounds were the sweet College bells ringing for service’. The chiming cathedral clock tower also keeps time for the townspeople; a functional reality of the period but also a motif used by Wood to indicate plot developments. The first time we count the ‘chimed quarters of the cathedral’ is the day money is stolen from Mr Galloway’s office. The first bell notes that the usually dependable employee Jenkins is absent; the next bell signifies Galloway’s exit (when the money is stolen); the next announces the arrival of the postman with evidence ‘confirming’ Arthur Channing’s guilt; and the next bell draws our attention to Galloway’s other employee, Roland (the real thief). The bell tower that Wood would have known is the Gothic crossing tower that was completed in 1374. Prior to that, there was a free standing octagonal bell tower which equalled the height of the cathedral. These freestanding towers were reasonably common in the middle ages, though there is no corroborated date on when the belfry was constructed (Green dates it to either the reign of King John Lackland or his son Henry III). The belfry was devastated during the Civil War and it is thought that lead from the roof was melted down for ammunition. The aforementioned organ was also deliberately destroyed by the Earl of Essex’s men when they took Worcester in 1642.

When she moved away from Worcester, Wood longed for the town and her ‘beloved Cathedral, with all its ties, social, ecclesiastical, and religious; the associations, romantic and real, within its precincts’. *The Channings* shows the reader how influential architecture is to our everyday lives and even in this brief history of the cathedral we see how the role of a building can change dramatically over the years, even if its foundations (literal and cultural) appear to have altered little. The cathedral architecture has a function which is to praise God, and to provide a framework within which the Christian life can be lived and its value promoted. *The Channings* likewise provides a framework within which Christian lives are lived and the value of such lives are promoted. The form of the cathedral defines the lives of those that live within its precincts. Wood’s own life was obviously hugely affected by the considerable presence of the cathedral and that she wrote a novel centred around the cathedral precincts with its congregation as the characters shows how pervasive she felt the cathedral’s influence to be. Wood obviously felt the Cathedral was like a book; its very fabric recanting a narrative that stretches back a millennium. Since its publication, her book has shaped our appreciation of the Cathedral building as after reading *The Channings* it impossible to walk through the cathedral and its precincts without picturing Wood’s characters going about their daily lives; an impressive feat given the cathedral’s own narrative which includes some of the country’s most revered saints, not to mention royalty.

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47 Henry Lord Bishop of Worcester. 4
48 Mrs Henry Wood. 1
49 Charles William Wood. 6
50 Mrs Henry Wood. 89 + 94
51 Mrs Henry Wood. 149 + 355
52 Engel.
54 Engel. 18
56 Charles William Wood. 18
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THE CREATOR AND THE CREATED IN VICTORIAN SOCIETY:
EXPLORING THE IMPORTANCE OF A PERCEPTION OF MORAL
CONSISTENCY BETWEEN THE TWO

Virginia Henley

Abstract: This is a reflection on connections between a passage taken from the novel, *Jude the Obscure*, by Thomas Hardy (1895), and a section of a stained glass window in the parish church of All Saints, Middleton Cheney, Northamptonshire, designed by Simeon Solomon (completed in 1865). Contemporary critical opinion on the matter of whether the aesthetic qualities of a created object may be distinguished from the moral position of the creator suggests that the two are inextricably linked. The artefacts examined below address this point from the perspective of both fiction and reality.

Society…practises a social tyranny more formidable than many kinds of political oppression, since…it leaves fewer means of escape, penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself.2

When *Jude the Obscure*, a novel of ‘anti-marriage doctrines’, was published in 1895, controversy and widespread moral outrage swiftly followed: Hardy (then aged 55) was so affected and exasperated by the criticism his latest novel had provoked, that it became his last (though he lived to the age of 87), turning instead to poetry. As John Sutherland writes, ‘After publishing it, [Hardy] seems to have given up fiction as a bad job’.4

When the ‘brilliantly precocious’ artist, Simeon Solomon (1840-1905), was arrested in February 1873, aged 32, in a London public lavatory, and charged with indecent exposure and attempting to commit sodomy,6 it led to the immediate demise of his hitherto thriving career, and a rapid slide into relative obscurity. As Colin Cruise writes, ‘disgrace, infamy and poverty replaced respectability, fame and financial security’.7 Solomon lived during his final years, intermittently, in St Giles’s Workhouse, London, as a ‘broken-down artist’, until he collapsed and died aged 55, reportedly ‘from bronchitis and alcoholism’.8

These two instances highlight both the power of public opinion - or ‘society’ - in the late 19th century, radically to affect a man’s career, and the ‘centrality of religion in Victorian life and thought’:9 signalling that any apparent attempt to challenge accepted moral boundaries was futile.

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1 Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure* (London: Wordsworth Editions Ltd, 2000). (Subsequent references within the text to ‘Jude’ are to this edition.)
3 See, for example, A. N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (London: Hutchinson, 2002), p.432.
5 Christopher Wood, *The Pre-Raphaelites* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson Ltd., 1981), p133. (Subsequent references within the text to ‘Wood’ are to this edition.)
6 See, for example, Colin Cruise, *Love Revealed: Simeon Solomon and the Pre-Raphaelites* (London: Merrell Publishers Limited, 2005), p.9. (Subsequent references within the text to ‘Cruise’ are to this edition.)
7 Cruise, p.9.
8 Cruise, p.185. ‘May 1905: Solomon collapses in the street in High Holborn and is taken back to St Giles’s Workhouse, suffering (as the coroner’s court was told at the subsequent inquest) ‘from bronchitis and alcoholism’.
9 Colin Matthew, *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.196. (Subsequent references within the text to ‘Colin Matthew’ are to this edition.)
Yet what is remarkable and ironic about *Jude* (epitomised in the excerpt in the Appendix to this essay) and the work of Simeon Solomon (exemplified in the East window at All Saints, Middleton Cheney), is that both Jude and Solomon had been tangibly directing their talents to *maintaining* the religious fabric of their times.

The adverse reactions to *Jude* seem driven by a sense that this novel challenged religious, as well as moral, boundaries, which is made clear in the language used by its critics. Harry Thurstan Pick, writing in *The Bookman* (New York) in 1896, describes *Jude* as purveying ‘dirt, drivel and damnation’.¹⁰ As D. H. Lawrence observes (in connection with the characters of Hardy’s novels) ‘if one wrote everything they gave rise to it would fill the Judgment Book’;¹¹ Walsham How, Bishop of Wakefield, was so appalled by its contents that, according to Hardy, he burned a copy in disgust.¹² Arguably, as Rosemarie Morgan suggests, Hardy’s clear intentions with *Jude* were to be subversive, and ‘less to do with recalling pastoral idylls of the Golden Age than with calling attention to the sexual codes and practices of the Victorian Age’.¹³ Perhaps his purpose was less direct than this, being more interested in creating an ‘impression’ than an ‘argument’.¹⁴

Hardy himself indicates, in his ‘Author’s Preface’, that his book is an attempt to deal ‘with the fret and fever, derision and disaster, that may press in the wake of the strongest passion known to humanity…a deadly war waged with old Apostolic desperation between flesh and spirit’.¹⁵ The author, thereby, deliberately foregrounds the theme of religion as it impacts upon Jude’s deepest sense of self and resulting behaviour, and so, in creating *Jude*, Hardy contributes to a wider understanding of the effect of a fluctuating spirituality and its inextricable links to one’s demonstrable sense of morality. More than this, he highlights the seemingly overwhelming challenge of being accepted by ‘society’ that faced couples in the late 19th century, seeking to live outside the constraints of legal marriage.¹⁶ Whatever the nature of Hardy’s precise intentions - Ensor describes them as ‘stark pessimism’ - *Jude* itself could be regarded as multi-faceted, and even ‘post-heroic and post-Christian … a Job figure whose patience and suffering brings no final reward’,¹⁷ conveying the impression that he is somehow caught in an attempt to live a moral life, but in the absence of any benign, divine presence.

The excerpt I have chosen is set in the time when Jude lives with Sue, unmarried to each other and separated from their previous partners, struggling to survive on a paltry income. The passage seems to emphasise Jude’s now curiously humble acceptance of his impoverished situation: ‘We’ll get nice lodgings, wherever we go. I shall be moving about probably – getting a job here and a job there’.¹⁸ Given the passion with which he earlier expressed his ambitions:

¹⁰ See Introduction to Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure* (London: Wordsworth Editions Ltd, 2000), p.v. (Subsequent references within the text to ‘Jude’ are to this edition.)
¹³ Rosemarie Morgan, *Women and Sexuality in the Novels of Thomas Hardy* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.110. (Subsequent references within the text to ‘Morgan’ are to this edition.)
¹⁴ This suggestion is made in the Introduction to J. B. Bullen, *Thomas Hardy: The World of His Novels* (London: Frances Lincoln Limited, 2013), p.10. (Subsequent references within the text to ‘Bullen’, are to this edition.)
¹⁵ Author’s Preface in *Jude*.
¹⁷ Introduction to *Jude*, p.xvi.
¹⁸ *Jude*, p.263.
It had been the yearning of his heart to find something to anchor on, to cling to – for some place which he could call admirable … “[Christminster] is a city of light”, he said to himself….It is what you may call a castle, manned by scholarship and religion,\textsuperscript{19}

the change is striking. And yet it seems clear that his deeply felt connection with religion, or at least the sense of being at ease with it - notwithstanding the unconventionality of his faith - continues, as he readily undertakes a commission to re-letter the Ten Commandments ‘in a little church they’ve been restoring lately in the country near here’.\textsuperscript{20}

Simeon Solomon was similarly involved in the restoration of country churches, although his skills were considerably more advanced than those of Jude. Solomon was a leading painter of the Pre-Raphaelite group of artists. Christopher Wood writes that the work of Solomon, with its ‘classical and aesthetic elements, combined with his own personal interest in Jewish history and ritual’ illustrates perfectly how complex Pre-Raphaelitism had become.\textsuperscript{21} Cruise notes Solomon’s considerable influence, describing him as ‘central to two thematic strands in nineteenth century British painting: the emergence of Jewish art and the tentative development of an openly ‘gay’ imagery’.\textsuperscript{22} Clearly, Solomon was extremely highly-regarded amongst his peers and, despite the unconventionality of his lifestyle in an age in which ‘the containment of sexuality within legal matrimony became the key-stones of social stability and moral progress’\textsuperscript{23} (exemplified also by the overriding themes of Jude), Solomon enjoyed support and patronage – at least for so long as he remained discreet about his sexuality. However, his career never recovered after his arrest and his swift and ‘tragic’\textsuperscript{24} demise in 1873, which is in manifest contrast to the continued enormous popularity of other members of the Pre-Raphaelite movement. And so, in spite of Solomon’s highly significant contribution to the body of Pre-Raphaelite work, he remains, even today, a marginalised figure.

Eight years prior to his arrest, Solomon had been working in a village church near Banbury – All Saints, Middleton Cheney, Northamptonshire, which dates back to the 14\textsuperscript{th} century. In 1864-5, major renovation work was being undertaken by the Gothic revivalist, George Gilbert Scott, and various other prominent Pre-Raphaelites were involved, including William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones, Ford Madox Brown, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, through the firm Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company.\textsuperscript{25} Pevsner writes, what makes Middleton Cheney a place of unforgettable enjoyment is the stained glass by the William Morris firm. It is so beautiful and so important that it deserves a detailed record. It was put in during the incumbency of W. C. Buckley, a personal friend of Burne-Jones. The E. window was designed in 1864 and fitted in 1865 as a memorial to William Croome, who died that year. In it, below the small figures in the tracery lights, a frieze of the white-robed twelve Tribes of the

\textsuperscript{19} Jude, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{20} Jude, p.263.
\textsuperscript{21} Wood, p.95.
\textsuperscript{22} Cruise, p.9.
\textsuperscript{24} Tragedy is a word which frequently appears in reference to Solomon, see for example, Cruise, p.9.
\textsuperscript{25} Founded as Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company in 1861 by the socialist artist and designer William Morris along with Ford Madox Brown, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Peter Paul Marshall, Philip Webb, Charles James Faulkner, and Edward Burne-Jones. The company initially concentrated on ecclesiastical decoration including stained glass, and architectural carving from premises in London’s Red Lion Square, but moved to Queens Square, Bloomsbury in 1865.
Apocalypse and then, again below, Adam, Noah, David, Isaiah, St Peter, St Paul, St Augustine and St Catherine, and below once more, Abraham, Moses, Eve, the Virgin, the Magdalene, St John, St Alban and St Agnes. The Censing Angels, the Seraph, St Peter, St Augustine, St Catherine, Eve, the Virgin, the Magdalene, and St Agnes are by Morris, the four beasts and the twelve banners by Philip Webb, the Adoration of the Lamb and St Alban by Burne-Jones, St Paul and St John by Ford Madox Brown, the twelve Tribes, David, Isaiah, Abraham and Moses by Simeon Solomon.  

Solomon’s artistic contribution to Middleton Cheney portrays an image of the twelve tribes of Israel (the traditional divisions of the ancient Jewish people), together with David,  

Isaiah, Abraham and Moses: each image conveying separate Biblical themes through the numerous symbols used to adorn the stained glass whilst embodying the message of God’s everlasting covenant with the nation of Israel.\footnote{Richard Taylor, \textit{How to Read a Church} (London: Random House, 2003) provides detailed explanations of many of the symbols used in the Middleton Cheney window.} It is surely significant to note that Solomon was involved in the portrayal of these Old Testament figures, rather than those from the New Testament. Brought up in an artistic Jewish family, it seems likely that Solomon was choosing to use his skills to underline his own heritage, notwithstanding that he did so within a Christian place of worship. Solomon’s motives are a matter for speculation – perhaps the aesthetic nature of his task was sufficient to divert him from the significance of the precise location; perhaps he was so in awe of Gabriel Rossetti (see below) and his fellow Pre-Raphaelites that he was only too delighted to be involved in any of their projects; or perhaps his agenda was altogether more subversive. Whatever the truth of his position, the stained glass window remains today to form the inspiring backdrop for generations of worshippers as they receive communion.

Jude Fawley, meanwhile, is content to repair the Ten Commandments so that all worshippers may see them more clearly, seemingly without ever questioning whether the words that he is working physically to illuminate, he would wish intellectually to expound. As he examines the extent of the work required, he perceives that ‘a portion, crumbled by damp, required renewal; and when this had been done, and the whole cleansed, he began to renew the lettering’.\footnote{\textit{Jude}, At Aldbrickham and elsewhere, ch. 6, p.264.} It is possible to construe in these words an allusion to Jude’s own belief – partly crumbling and yet with an underlying basis still intact, in need of spiritual cleansing and renewal, though Jude himself appears to make no conscious connection. However, given the religious themes which firmly underpin the narrative, the heavily symbolic nature of his task for the reader seems indisputable.

Jude’s employment as a stone mason, often involved in church business, is initially suggestive of a solid, practical, conventional man, belying his underlying spiritual uncertainty. Ironically, when Jude first meets Sue, she works in a ‘church-fitting’ shop and paints illumined texts, though her faith is far more volatile than Jude’s. Hardy draws attention to the incongruity of the situation in which the two now find themselves, when Sue observes in a moment of rare light-heartedness,

\begin{quote}
It is droll, […] that we two, of all people, with our queer history, should happen to be here painting the Ten Commandments! […] And with her hand over her eyes she laughed […] till she was quite weak.\footnote{\textit{Jude}, At Aldbrickham and elsewhere, ch. 6, p.267.}
\end{quote}

But Hardy, perhaps aware of the potentially subversive implications of portraying an apparent atheist (‘Cathedral?...I think I’d rather sit in the railway station. That’s the centre of town life now. The Cathedral has had its day!’\footnote{\textit{Jude}, At Melchester, ch. 1, p.116.}) delighting in her task of restoring such sacred words, quickly diverts his characters from this work, as Jude shortly loses his commission. The illegitimacy of their relationship renders their inclusion in such a project impossible, or at least socially undesirable. Regarded as potentially scandalous, it is feared that ‘decent people’\footnote{\textit{Jude}, At Aldbrickham and elsewhere, ch. 6, p.266.} would be offended to think of such a couple being so employed. Consequently, just as Jude is unable to complete his task of renewing the lettering, so his own faith continues to crumble. The sub-text
implies that Jude and Sue are living in a time of religious renewal (in very tangible terms -
restoring a parish church), and indeed historically the Victorian age was a time of innumerable
ecclesiastical renovation projects – but it is a renewal in which they cannot play a part. When the
apparent nature of their intimacy is revealed, Jude and Sue are asked to leave, as the contractor
says, ‘to avoid all unpleasantness’.³⁴ Jude’s skills as a craftsman cannot, in Hardy’s portrayal, be
severed from his morality: evidently, the creator and what he creates (or in other words, the
craftsman and his craft) are (at least in this fictional narrative), in the mind of Victorian society,
intrinsically linked.

Wood argues that Gabriel Rossetti was a corrupting influence on the young Solomon
encouraging him to ‘explore the forbidden subjects of homosexuality and lesbianism, both of
which feature, more or less overtly, in his work’.³⁵ Wood draws particular attention to Solomon’s
_Sappho and Erinna at Mytilene_ (which depicts Sappho embracing her fellow poet Erinna in a
garden on the island of Lesbos), which is dated 1864 – notably the same year in which Solomon
was designing the stained glass for Middleton Cheney. On close examination of the East
window, one of the figures, although apparently masculine, bears striking resemblance to Fanny
Cornforth, Rossetti’s mistress at the time. The blurring of boundaries between the genders seems
unmistakeable, opening to speculation the question of how Solomon may have related to his task
on a personal level.

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³⁴ _Jude, At Aldbrickham and elsewhere_, ch. 6, p.267.
³⁵ Wood, p.133.
There is a further significant link between the fictional narrative of Jude and the reality of Gilbert Scott’s architectural projects. George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878) was prolific in his architectural career, producing many iconic buildings such as the Midland Grand Hotel at St Pancras station, in addition to his work on countless village churches, including Middleton Cheney. He also undertook significant work on buildings in Oxford. The ecclesiastical architecture of Hardy’s ‘Christminster’, widely accepted to be Oxford, is frequently referred to within the novel as having a profound effect on Jude: ‘ever since his first…vision of Christminster…Jude had meditated much’. Gilbert Scott’s projects in Oxford include the Martyrs’ Memorial (the very first place where Jude and Sue arrange to meet is ‘at the cross in the pavement which marked the spot of the Martyrdoms’ and Gilbert Scott was commissioned to build ‘the memorial proper around the corner in St Giles’), the Radcliffe Infirmary, Exeter.

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36 See generally Bullen, chapter 6.
37 Jude, At Marygreen, ch. 4, p. 23.
38 Jude, At Christminster, ch. 4, p. 85.
39 Bullen, p. 192.
College Chapel and Christ Church. Hardy must surely have expected Jude to have seen the architectural work of George Gilbert Scott amongst the many buildings which so inspired him even from boyhood, ‘Whenever he could get away from the confines of the hamlet for an hour or two…he would steal off to..the hill and strain his eyes persistently; sometimes to be rewarded by the sight of a dome or spire, at other times by a little smoke, which in his estimate had some of the mysticism of incense’.\textsuperscript{40} As Bullen writes, Christminster for Jude ‘persists as an illusive alternative to the prosaic utilitarianism of daily life’.\textsuperscript{41} Perhaps Solomon too was pursuing such an ‘illusive alternative’ when engaged with his work at Middleton Cheney.

John Stuart Mill championed freedom for the individual, objecting to what he called the ‘tyranny of the majority’\textsuperscript{42} and, as Bullen argues, throughout his life he ‘strongly supported the idea that men and women should exercise rational control over their lives’.\textsuperscript{43} Arguably, both Jude Fawley and Simeon Solomon, despite their considerable respective talents and intellect are unable to exercise this ‘rational control’, highlighting the seemingly insurmountable challenge facing each of them in attempting to bridge the gap between the created object and its creator. Certainly, both Jude and Solomon are ultimately thwarted from pursuing their aesthetic ideals, by the pressures of the society in which they exist, because of the manner in which they lead their personal lives. Hardy wrote that the ‘grimy’ fictional features of \textit{Jude} ‘go to show the contrast between the ideal life a man wished to lead, & the squalid life he was fated to lead’.\textsuperscript{44} The reality of Solomon’s arrest does the same.

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\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Jude}, At Marygreen, ch. 3, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{41} Bullen, p.187.


\textsuperscript{43} Bullen, p.190.

\textsuperscript{44} Bullen, p.204.


**APPENDIX**

**EXCERPT FROM JUDE THE OBSCURE, PART V, CHAPTER VI**

There was a knock at the door, and Jude answered it. Sue could hear the conversation:

"Is Mr. Fawley at home? ... Biles and Willis the building contractors sent me to know if you'll undertake the relettering of the Ten Commandments in a little church they've been restoring lately in the country near here."

Jude reflected, and said he could undertake it.

"It is not a very artistic job," continued the messenger. "The clergyman is a very old-fashioned chap, and he has refused to let anything more be done to the church than cleaning and repairing."

"Excellent old man!" said Sue to herself, who was sentimentally opposed to the horrors of over-restoration.

"The Ten Commandments are fixed to the east end," the messenger went on, "and they want doing up with the rest of the wall there, since he won't have them carted off as old materials belonging to the contractor, in the usual way of the trade."

A bargain as to terms was struck, and Jude came indoors. "There, you see," he said cheerfully. "One more job yet, at any rate, and you can help in it - at least you can try. We shall have all the church to ourselves, as the rest of the work is finished."

Next day Jude went out to the church, which was only two miles off. He found that what the contractor's clerk had said was true. The tables of the Jewish law towered sternly over the utensils of Christian grace, as the chief ornament of the chancel end, in the fine dry style of the last century. And as their framework was
constructed of ornamental plaster they could not be taken down for repair. A portion, crumbled by damp, required renewal; and when this had been done, and the whole cleansed, he began to renew the lettering. On the second morning Sue came to see what assistance she could render, and also because they liked to be together.

The silence and emptiness of the building gave her confidence, and, standing on a safe low platform erected by Jude, which she was nevertheless timid at mounting, she began painting in the letters of the first Table while he set about mending a portion of the second. She was quite pleased at her powers; she had acquired them in the days she painted illumined texts for the church-fitting shop at Christminster. Nobody seemed likely to disturb them; and the pleasant twitter of birds, and rustle of October leafage, came in through an open window, and mingled with their talk.

They were not, however, to be left thus snug and peaceful for long. About half-past twelve there came footsteps on the gravel without. The old vicar and his churchwarden entered, and, coming up to see what was being done, seemed surprised to discover that a young woman was assisting. They passed on into an aisle, at which time the door again opened, and another figure entered - a small one, that of little Time, who was crying. Sue had told him where he might find her between school-hours, if he wished. She came down from her perch, and said, "What's the matter, my dear?"

"I couldn't stay to eat my dinner in school, because they said - " He described how some boys had taunted him about his nominal mother, and Sue, grieved, expressed her indignation to Jude aloft. The child went into the churchyard, and Sue returned to her work. Meanwhile the door had opened again, and there shuffled in with a business-like air the white-aproned woman who cleaned the church. Sue recognized her as one who had friends in Spring Street, whom she visited. The church-cleaner looked at Sue, gaped, and lifted her hands; she had evidently recognised Jude's companion as the latter had recognized her. Next came two ladies, and after talking to the charwoman they also moved forward, and as Sue stood reaching upward, watched her hand tracing the letters, and critically regarded her person in relief against the white wall, till she grew so nervous that she trembled visibly.

They went back to where the others were standing, talking in undertones: and one said - Sue could not hear which - "She's his wife, I suppose?"

"Some say Yes: some say No," was the reply from the charwoman.

"Not? Then she ought to be, or somebody's - that's very clear!"

"They've only been married a very few weeks, whether or no."

"A strange pair to be painting the Two Tables! I wonder Biles and Willis could think of such a thing as hiring those!"

The churchwarden supposed that Biles and Willis knew of nothing wrong, and then the other, who had been talking to the old woman, explained what she meant by calling them strange people.
The probable drift of the subdued conversation which followed was made plain by the churchwarden breaking into an anecdote, in a voice that everybody in the church could hear, though obviously suggested by the present situation:

"Well, now, it is a curious thing, but my grandfather told me a strange tale of a most immoral case that happened at the painting of the Commandments in a church out by Gaymead - which is quite within a walk of this one. In them days Commandments were mostly done in gilt letters on a black ground, and that's how they were out where I say, before the owld church was rebuilded. It must have been somewhere about a hundred years ago that them Commandments wanted doing up just as ours do here, and they had to get men from Aldbrickham to do 'em. Now they wished to get the job finished by a particular Sunday, so the men had to work late Saturday night, against their will, for overtime was not paid then as 'tis now. There was no true religion in the country at that date, neither among pa'sons, clerks, nor people, and to keep the men up to their work the vicar had to let 'em have plenty of drink during the afternoon. As evening drawed on they sent for some more themselves; rum, by all account. It got later and later, and they got more and more fuddled, till at last they went a putting their rum-bottle and rummers upon the Communion table, and drawed up a trestle or two, and sate round comfortable and poured out again right hearty bumpers. No sooner had they tossed off their glasses than, so the story goes they fell down senseless, one and all. How long they bode so they didn't know, but when they came to themselves there was a terrible thunderstorm a-raging, and they seemed to see in the gloom a dark figure with very thin legs and a curious voot, a-standing on the ladder, and finishing their work. When it got daylight they could see that the work was really finished, and couldn't at all mind finishing it themselves. They went home, and the next thing they heard was that a great scandal had been caused in the church that Sunday morning, for when the people came and service began, all saw that the Ten Commandments wez painted with the 'Nots' left out. Decent people wouldn't attend service there for a long time, and the Bishop had to be sent for to re-consecrate the church. That's the tradition as I used to hear it as a child. You must take it for what it is wo'th, but this case today has reminded me o't, as I say."

The visitors gave one more glance, as if to see whether Jude and Sue had left the Nots out likewise, and then severally left the church, even the old woman at last. Sue and Jude, who had not stopped working, sent back the child to school, and remained without speaking; till, looking at her narrowly, he found she had been crying silently.

"Never mind, comrade!" he said. "I know what it is!"

"I can't bear that they, and everybody, should think people wicked because they may have chosen to live their own way! It is really these opinions that make the best intentioned people reckless, and actually become immoral!"

"Never be cast down! It was only a funny story."

"Ah, but we suggested it! I am afraid I have done you mischief, Jude, instead of helping you by coming!"
To have suggested such a story was certainly not very exhilarating, in a serious view of their position. However, in a few minutes Sue seemed to see that their position this morning had a ludicrous side, and wiping her eyes she laughed.

"It is droll, after all," she said, "that we two, of all people, with our queer history, should happen to be here painting the Ten Commandments! You a reprobate, and I - in my condition... Oh dear!" ... And with her hand over her eyes she laughed again silently and intermittently, till she was quite weak.

"That's better," said Jude gaily. "Now we are right again, aren't we, little girl!"

"Oh, but it is serious, all the same!" she sighed as she took up the brush and righted herself. "But do you see they don't think we are married? They won't believe it! It is extraordinary!"

"I don't care whether they think so or not," said Jude. "I shan't take any more trouble to make them."

They sat down to lunch - which they had brought with them not to hinder time - and having eaten it were about to set to work anew when a man entered the church, and Jude recognised in him the contractor Willis. He beckoned to Jude, and spoke to him apart.

"Here - I've just had a complaint about this," he said, with rather breathless awkwardness. "I don't wish to go into the matter - as of course I didn't know what was going on - but I am afraid I must ask you and her to leave off, and let somebody else finish this! It is best, to avoid all unpleasantness. I'll pay you for the week, all the same."

Jude was too independent to make any fuss; and the contractor paid him, and left. Jude picked up his tools, and Sue cleansed her brush. Then their eyes met.

"How could we be so simple as to suppose we might do this!" said she, dropping to her tragic note. "Of course we ought not - I ought not - to have come!"

"I had no idea that anybody was going to intrude into such a lonely place and see us!" Jude returned. "Well, it can't be helped, dear; and of course I wouldn't wish to injure Willis's trade-connection by staying." They sat down passively for a few minutes, proceeded out of the church, and overtaking the boy pursued their thoughtful way to Aldbrickham.
THE MARKS OF MONITORY MEMORY: AN ANALYSIS OF THE SHEPHEARD BUSS REBUS IN LIGHT OF THE MORAL AGENDA OF CLAUDE PARADIN’S HEROICALL DEVICES

J. R. Rallens

Abstract: A preoccupation with virtue was embodied in many literary and aesthetic forms in early modern England, including the popular genre of emblem books. This paper will suggest that a moralizing emblem book, 'The Heroicall Devices of M. Claudius Paradin,' provides key insight into aspects of an obscure embroidery known as The Shepheard Buss (c.1570-1600), which borrows many of its images from Paradin's work. In context of the early modern connection of memory and virtue and Paradin's stated goal of cultivating virtue through memorable emblems, this paper suggests that the Shepheard Buss might be better understood in part as a monitory memorialization of Early Modern virtue.

In a dimly lit corner of the British Galleries in London’s Victoria and Albert Museum, there hangs a blackwork embroidery of a sad shepherd surrounded by bits of verse, emblems, plants, animals, and other miscellany (Figure 1). Titled ‘The Shepheard Buss’ (buß means ‘kiss’), the piece consists of 44.5 by 38 inches of white silk embroidered with black thread. The embroidery’s absence of color might leave an underwhelming first impression were it not for the intense images that pierce the cloth with connotations of death, suffering, loss, and entanglement. Like a more famous piece of art, the Shepheard Buss contains powerful emotions that cry out to be understood. What is this embroidery and what was it made for? What might this piece of art communicate? What meanings are intertwined within the intricate threads?

Figure 1: The Shepheard Buss in entirety. Photo provided by Dr. Catherine Oakes on 1.31.13 by email.
Unfortunately the museum’s information about the *Shepheard Buss*—including display labels, website, archives, and personal knowledge of curators and archivists—is very limited. The embroidery’s gallery note merely states that it depicts ‘an Elizabethan shepherd mourning his lost lover.’ In a similar vein, the *Buss’s* collection record contains more speculation than information: the embroidery is thought to be ‘characteristic Elizabethan blackwork,’ possibly a cupboard cloth or wall hanging, possibly ‘a very personal piece, since the sorrows of the ’shepherd are emphasised repeatedly in numerous forms of words, rebuses (images representing words) and emblems,’ seems to depict mourning and romantic loss, and was probably created between 1570 and 1600. This unhelpful description concludes with the apology that ‘the subject has never been satisfactorily explained.’

Many facts of this description are shaky at best: for instance, this piece is hardly ‘characteristic Elizabethan blackwork’ and its dependence on Paradin dates it after 1591 at the earliest. It is also somewhat doubtful that the *Buss* is primarily meant to be a depiction of romantic loss: while it is true that many of the emblems have mournful connotations and two emblems do have connotations of romantic love (Cupid and the pierced heart), as shall be seen, most of the emblems have far stronger connotations of melancholy and morality (or even piety) than romantic or sexual love. Outside the museum’s information, very little can be found about the *Shepherd Buss*; it has received almost no scholarly attention other than being mentioned by a handful of articles in relationship to other artifacts or arguments. Even combing the Internet reveals little; there are no clues as to what exactly the *Shepheard Buss* is, let alone what it might be about.

This void of information about who embroidered the *Buss*, what it is, its intended use, its subject, and its potential meanings make it difficult to find a starting place for deeper analysis of the shepherd and the images and words which surround him—all of which are clearly meant to be read symbolically rather than literally. The shepherd himself is no help with the interpretive problem because shepherds in late medieval and early modern England were symbolism’s blank canvases, standing in for undercover poets, astronomers, lovers, political figures, and clergymen—to name but a few. The only thing that can be accurately assumed is that the shepherd in the embroidery is most likely not an actual shepherd but some other figure in ‘disguise.’ In the midst of all this uncertainty, one possible key to the enigma of this embroidery is Claude Paradin’s emblem book titled ‘Heroicall Devices,’ the one verifiably traceable source for some of the elements in the *Shepheard Buss*. This paper will examine the embroidery’s rebus in light of its connections with Paradin.

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1 Clare Browne, ‘Shepherd Buss’, 20 February 2014. In her email, Clare Browne, the present curator of the embroidery notes that the Archives contains no additional information other than the fact that the *Buss* was purchased for 50 pounds from two women in 1953 and that the original curator and conservator has since retired from the museum.

2 Browne.


7 The date when ‘Heroical Devices’ was translated into English.


9 Bear.

Claude Paradin’s emblem book is most likely the source of all but four emblems in the embroidery. Many emblems in the *Buss* are so exactly Paradin’s that it seems certain that the embroiderer had access to *The Heroicall Devices*. In his opening letter to Theodot of Marze, Paradin explicitly states that the mission of his emblems is ‘to stir up diverse men to the apprehension and love of virtue’.

Emblems, he continues, are able to cultivate virtue because they provide ‘an express pattern and image of virtue,’ thus engraving in his readers a ‘perpetual memory’ of these images when just the principle or idea of virtue would easily ‘decay or be forgotten.’

Somehow, Paradin believes, his book will nurture virtue in the person who studies it; this book, almost like an icon, sacred text, or relic, will have a transforming moral effect on the person using it. ‘The profit and commodity that is reaped from [these emblems] is not to be held in little regard or estimation, foresmash as by the use of them vexations both of body and mind (which are otherwise intolerable) are easily mollified and assuaged.’

Paradin is not unique in his belief that emblems exert powerful moral influence on the readers of emblem books. Many authors of emblem books and devotional literature such as Jan Van der Noot, Henry Hawkins, John Brinsley, Daniel Featley, Hugh Plat, and the author of *Ashrea* (to name but a few) share Paradin’s belief that the purpose of emblems is—at least in part—to cultivate virtue. Emblem writers also seem to share the understanding that emblems impart virtue by means of the memory, a faculty which was generally thought to be an essential component of morality since the early middle ages. As Paradin writes in his opening letter, it is because emblems are ‘an express pattern and image of virtue’ that they ‘hereby continued a perpetual memory of the same.’

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12 Paradin, p. 2.
13 Paradin, p. 2.
15 Henry Hawkins, *Partheneia Sacra. Or The Mysterious and Delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenes; Symbolically Set Forth and Enriched with Pious Designs and Emblemes for the Entertainment of Douen Souls; Contriued Al to the Honour of the Incomparable Virgin Marie Mother of God; for the Pleasure and Devotion Especially of the Parthenian Sodalitie of Her Immaculate Conception*. (Rouen: Printed by John Cousturier, 1633).
16 John Brinsley, *Two Treatises. I. Three Sacred Emblems ... ii. Tears for Jerusalem, or, The Compassionate Lamentation of a Tender-hearted Saviour over a Rebellious and Obdurate People.* (Lond, 1656); John Brinsley, *The Mystical Brassen Serpent: With the Magnetical Vertue Thereof. Or, Christ Exalted Upon the Cross, with the Blessed End and Fruit of That His Exaltation ...: In Two Treatises ...: Whereunto Is Added a Treatise of the Saints Joint-membership ...* (London Printed by Thomas Maxey for Ralph Smith, Printed for Ralph Smith, 1653).
23 Paradin, p. 2.
his readers stands in a millennia-long tradition that was preoccupied with virtue and the relationship between memory and virtue.24

Through examining a host of traditions and texts that use emblems for the purpose of internalizing and memorizing moral, ethical, or pious concepts, Mary Carruthers,25 Frances Yates,26 William Engel,27 and to some degree Rosemary Freeman28 have shown that, on the whole, early modern art and literature leaned heavily upon emblematic images—via the power of memory—to reveal deep moral truths hidden within the subject matter and internalized through the reader’s meditation upon the emblem.29 This type of memory was considered to have a certain transformative power by which virtue was not only understood but embodied by the person viewing the mnemonic image. Engel names this transformative type of remembering ‘monitory memory,’ remembering the past in order to be ‘admonished’ about the future, which would necessarily impact actions and decisions in the present.30 ‘Monitory memory’ is perhaps best exemplified by the momento mori, a token (usually in the form of a skull) kept or worn to daily remind the owner of his own future death as an admonition to live virtuously in the present.31 Remembering, training, and stocking (with mnemonic images like emblems) a copious and skilled memory was seen as inherently foundational to being a virtuous person.32

The fact that the Buss borrows heavily from Paradin’s emblem book, which is so explicitly an instance of ‘monitory memory’—furnishing mnemonic images for admonition—may be a doorway into a better understanding of the Shepheard Buss. In all, eleven of the Buss’s twenty emblematic images seem to be copied fairly directly from Paradin: the tortured hand (see Figures 2 and 3), lure, harp, star, sun, wheel, and rose (from the rebus) as well as the four larger emblems inside the rebus. Additionally, the urn, cup, cross, siren, Cupid and death are likely derived at least in part from Paradin. Of the three emblematic images that cannot be definitely traced back to Paradin (the heart, lute, and bones) the heart and bones seem to be the embroiderer’s inventions, designed, as we shall see particularly for their roles in the rebus, leaving only the lute with a source originating in another source (most likely Alciato).33

26 Yates.
28 Freeman.
30 Engel, _Mapping Mortality_, p. 20.
31 Engel, _Mapping Mortality_, p. 20.
32 Mary J. (Mary Jean) Carruthers, _The Book of Memory_, p. 141.
Since most of the Buss’s emblems come from Paradin, it is no surprise that most also bear strong characteristics of ‘monitory memory’ in keeping with Paradin’s stated goal of providing memorable images to cultivate virtue. Like traditional examples of the *momento mori*, most of the Buss’s emblems have characteristics both of warning and of memory. Firstly, the Buss’s rebus contains a real *momento mori* in the middle of the top row (Figure 4). Directly above the shepherd—looking down over his right and left shoulder—are the ‘bones’ and ‘death’ emblems. The ‘bones’ emblem is made of three bones, reminiscent of the common *momento mori* figure minus the skull (which is found on the figure of death, the next emblem in line). A connection seems intended between ‘bones,’ the figure of ‘death,’ and the rebus’s first emblem, ‘Cupid,’ which parallels ‘death’ from the other side of the urn—a little visual inclusio that infuses a spirit of *momento mori* into the whole rebus. ‘Death’ is the second to last emblem of the rebus when read from beginning to end (see Figure 1), but also precedes ‘Cupid’ (the first emblem of the rebus when read in order), separated from the love-god only by the urn. The rebus begins, uncharacteristically, in the upper right hand corner rather than the left corner, deepening the connection between love and death and reinforcing the mythical blending of the two by hinting that death flows into love as love leads ultimately to death. This mingling of love and death is reinforced by the myth behind the emblems According to the legend, Cupid and death are traveling together, fall asleep, and upon awakening inadvertently pick up arrows belonging to the other. In keeping with this story, in the Buss both Cupid and death carry one arrow (in opposite hands) in addition to their weapon of choice (a bow for Cupid and a spade for death), reinforcing the warning that Cupid and death can deliver the same blow. This blow seems to have met its mark in the hand (see Figure 2) and the heart, both of which are pierced with arrows similar to the ones carried by ‘love’ and ‘death.’ The heart seems to be an invention of the embroiderer’s which is tellingly shot through with two arrows, presumably the one from ‘Cupid’ and the other from ‘death.’ The hand (Figure 2) is an exact replicate of a Paradin emblem (Figure

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34 http://cebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?EeboId=99854716&ACTION=ByID&SOURCE=pgimages&cfg&ID=V20154&FILE=&SEARCHSCREEN=param%28SEARCHSCREEN%29&VID=20154&PAGENO=87&ZOOM=100&VIEWPORT=&CENTREPOS=&GOTOPAGENO=&ZOOMLIST=100&ZOOMTEXTBOX=&SEARCHCONFIG=param%28SEARCHCONFIG%29&DISPLAY=param%28DISPLAY%29

35 The ‘bones’ emblem cannot be traced to an emblem book and thus seems to be the embroiderers’ own creation, tailored for this spot on the rebus in connection with the death emblem; the top two diagonal bones of the emblem are slanted with the same lines as Death’s spade and arrow.

36 Alciati, p. 164.
3), with the one exception being that its fingernails are pierced with feathered arrows, like the ones from ‘love’ and ‘death,’ rather than the nails or staves originally shown in Paradin.\textsuperscript{38} Like death’s arrows which spread to other emblems in the rebus, the monitory tone of \textit{momento mori} pierces the rebus which encompasses the whole embroidery.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure4}
\caption{The fourth, final, top row of the rebus including the emblems ‘rose,’ ‘bones,’ ‘death,’ ‘urn,’ and ‘Cupid.’}
\end{figure}

In addition to being pierced with the arrows of death, the hand contains other characteristics of monitory memory. As an image of horrific torture, it is definitely ‘monitory’: Paradin’s gloss links the emblem to the story of women who were tortured to death for being raped—a terrible memory and warning indeed.\textsuperscript{39} The hand is also one of the most fundamental symbols of memory arts.\textsuperscript{40} Hands were well-known and convenient mnemonic devices in which the palm and five fingers were used as separate stations in locational memory systems.\textsuperscript{41} Possibly in part because of their importance as monitory and mnemonic symbols, a high number of hands (ten total) are present in the embroidery and all are engaged in very intense activities, whether clutching dangerous objects or pointing sharply, as the shepherd’s left hand is doing.

The \textit{momento mori} tone is continued in many other emblems in the rebus. ‘Fortune’s wheel’ is a symbol commonly associated with both fate and memory.\textsuperscript{42} In particular the wheel (‘rota’) was a universal organizing principle of memory arts; our modern term ‘rote memory’ derives from this metaphor.\textsuperscript{43} Paradin’s gloss of this emblem is monitory as well, warning that it is ‘very hard’ to achieve ‘riches and desired happiness.’\textsuperscript{44} Likewise the mermaid-woman encapsulates one of the most monitory tales of classical mythology, Homer’s tale of Odysseus and the sirens. The siren is one of the most recognizable symbols of danger and warning wherever it appears in literature and arts. Even today the word ‘siren’ means the blaring noise that warns of impending danger. Similarly, the ‘lure’ is well known, like the hand, as a metaphor for memory.\textsuperscript{45} The lure is also monitory; Paradin’s motto warns that ‘the world delighteth us with vain hope,’ and the gloss explains that ‘the sweet baits of worldly things, if they be seen afar off, do promise great things to men and lift them up to a wonderful hope, but if they be considered near hand thou shalt find they are but mere vanities and deceits . . . .’\textsuperscript{46} This is definitely a

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{38} Paradin, p. 55.
\bibitem{39} Paradin, p. 125.
\bibitem{40} Engel, \textit{Mapping Mortality}, pp. 33–36.
\bibitem{41} Engel, \textit{Mapping Mortality}, pp. 33–36.
\bibitem{42} Freeman, p. 332.
\bibitem{43} Mary J. (Mary Jean) Carruthers, \textit{The Book of Memory}, p. 324.
\bibitem{44} Paradin, p. 205.
\bibitem{45} Mary J. (Mary Jean) Carruthers, \textit{The Book of Memory}, p. 78.
\bibitem{46} Paradin, p. 195.
\end{thebibliography}
moral—perhaps even a religious—admonition. The lure and the siren alike are warnings of something that seems attractive but is actually a death-snare. Likewise both emblems rely on—and perpetuate—the viewer’s memory of the narrative mnemonic lore that infuses the images with their meaning.

Paradin’s glosses help show that the religious connotations intensify in the warnings of the cross, chalice, star, and sun emblems on the left side of the rebus (see Figure 1). In its early modern context, the chalice would have obvious Eucharistic connotations, which include themes of admonition, impending death, and memory (‘do this in remembrance of me’), making the chalice another momento mori of sorts. The cross emblem (Figure 5) is linked to an identical emblem in Paradin emblem (Figure 6) that adds a gigantic ring encircling the cross. This emblem is titled ‘the pledges of her remembrance’ and glossed as ‘concerning the cross of our savior Christ the redeemer of the world and the mystery of his body and blood,’ which gives the cross, like the chalice, a sacramental and specifically Eucharistic connotation with all the accompanying associations of monitory memory. Like the chalice and cross, Paradin’s book contains variations of the ‘star,’ both accompanied with pious warnings regarding pointing someone away from the wrong path and toward the right one. The sun in Paradin is likewise linked to God and glossed as a warning to stay on the right path.

The rebus’s last remaining emblem, the rose, is the first emblem on the final (and, counterintuitively, the top) row of the rebus. The rose was another common emblem in early

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47 Paradin, p. 253.
48 Paradin, p. 11.
49 Paradin, p. 258.
50 Paradin, p. 199.
modern England, typically associated with goodness, virtue, and morality, and sometimes associated with English politics or romance as well.\textsuperscript{52} This rose (Figure 7) is almost the exact mirror of the Paradin rose emblem (Figure 8) including the precise curve of the thorny stem. The one significant difference between the Buss’s rose and the two in Paradin is that the Buss’s rose lacks a beetle invading its center. Like the other emblems, Paradin’s rose is accompanied with a warning; the beetle represents the lover of the vices of ‘carnal pleasure’ who will flourish in ‘horse dung’ but who will be destroyed in the midst of the rose of ‘virtue.’\textsuperscript{53} Paradin uses this emblem to contrast vice and virtue and warn that the fruit of vice is death. Why the meticulous embroiderer of the Buss chose to stitch an insect-free rose is unclear, especially given the prevalence of the beetle-infested rose emblem even in other emblem books beyond Paradin. Perhaps the ‘cross’ of suffering experienced earlier in the rebus has ‘blasted’ the vice from this rose. Perhaps in context of the rebus’s top row, which is thoroughly dominated by death, the beetle of vice has already destroyed in the process of sanctification inspired by remembering death, which is exactly the work of a \textit{momento mori}. Perhaps, if this is the case, the beetle-free rose provides a glimmer of hope that growth in virtue is possible through heeding the warnings of memory. It is significant that the unspoiled rose occupies the upper left hand corner spot of the rebus—the place where the story would begin if it were following the typical pattern of reading in English. Perhaps the embroiderer merely forgot to include the beetle or left it off at a whim (unlikely suppositions given that the rose’s center has been so carefully finished), or perhaps this rose symbolizes more hope than is apparent at first glance.

\textbf{Figure 7:} The ‘rose’ from The Shepheard Buss. Photograph by author, February 2014. London.

\textbf{Figure 8:} The ‘rose’ from Paradin. Photograph by author, February 2014.

As we have seen, the images of the rebus are dominated by themes of moral admonition and features of memory. This is just as Paradin says emblems should be in order to impart critical moral truths to their viewers via mnemonic narrative images. Not only do the individual emblems—like ‘death,’ the ‘lure,’ and the ‘siren,’ function as individual warnings, but the rebus as a whole (Figure 1) tells a cautionary tale: ‘False [CUPID] with misfortvnes [WHEEL] hath wonned [HAND] and [HEART]. Who [SIREN]-like did [LURE] me with [LUTE] and charmed [HARP]. The [CHALICE] of care and sorrowes [CROSS] do clips mi [STAR] and [SUN]. My [ROSE] is blasted and my [BONES] lo [DEATH] inters in [URN].’ The form and narrative content of the rebus make use of traditional memorization techniques in order to (like the emblems) maximize the memorability of the rebus’s message. The rebus as a form was originally invented for the specific purpose of engraving things in the memory by substituting certain

\textsuperscript{52} Gostelow, p. 27.

\textsuperscript{53} Paradin, p. 274.
images for words or ideas.\textsuperscript{54} This particular rebus has connotations of monitory memory embedded in its grammar and syntax as well as in its images. The word ‘lo,’ (see Figure 4) for example, is significantly unnecessary, especially given that the entire narrative must unfold in the space of three short sentences. ‘Lo,’ is a monitory interjection, a warning to ‘look out,’ with connotations of ‘beware,’ or ‘behold’\textsuperscript{55} and it is especially appropriate here in between ‘bones’ and ‘death,’ the emblems which bear the strongest direct similarity to a stereotypical \textit{memento mori}.

In addition to the theme of monition, the rebus’s grammar emphasizes the theme of memory as well. The first sentence describes an event in past (perfect) tense—something that remains now only in the embroiderers’ memory to be reified emblematically in the embroidery: ‘False cupids with misfortune’s wheel hath wounded [present-perfect] hand and heart, who siren-like \textit{did} [past-perfect] lure with lute and charmed harp.’ After the harp in the bottom left hand corner, the tense changes to present, shifting further into future-present tense by the last line: ‘The chalice of care and sorrow’s cross \textit{do} [simple-present] clips my star and sun; my rose \textit{is blasted} [simple-present] and my bones \textit{lo death} [future-present] in an urn.’ As the rebus wraps around the shepherd, it moves grammatically from memory of something that has happened in the past to the present impact of that past by an impending death (‘\textit{lo!’}—i.e. ‘look out for it’) that is presently about to inter ‘my bones’ in an urn. This final sentence can thus be read as yet another \textit{momento mori}. In fact, because the parallelism between death and Cupid extends the themes from this top row through the rest of the rebus, the whole narrative can be read as a \textit{momento mori}.

The suggestion that the rebus is likely an instance of ‘monitory memory’—a \textit{momento mori} stitched large—is supported by many elements of monition and memory that mark the rest of the embroidery. Like an individual emblem, the \textit{Buss} has a Latin motto: ‘mihi et musis’ (\textit{for me and the muses}) which invokes the tradition of memory as the mother of the muses. This same motto can be found in Burton’s \textit{Anatomy of Melancholy}.\textsuperscript{56} In Burton, a shepherd (which closely resembles the shepherd of the \textit{Buss} in both dress and posture) is chosen to depict one kind of melancholy addressed in Burton’s comprehensive tome.\textsuperscript{57} This connection with Burton, the shepherd’s archetypically melancholic pose, and the embroidery’s overall tone of grief, warning, and loss strongly characterizes the embroidery as melancholic, and melancholy, as Engel has shown, is yet another trademark of monitory memory.\textsuperscript{58} Similarly, the four larger emblems (all from Paradin) just inside the rebus are all admonitions to follow God and seek virtue or warnings of the death and suffering that result from following ‘all kinds of fleshly lusts.’\textsuperscript{59} These four emblems serve as warning signs intended to motivate the viewer to carefully consider the moral path and to remember it through the powerful mnemonic properties of these emblematic images.

Reading the \textit{Shepherd Buss} in light of Paradin’s goals for his emblem book suggests a starting place for decoding the identity, purpose, and meaning of the \textit{Buss}. In context of Paradin, it seems the \textit{Buss} was shaped in part by the agenda of monitory memory, and that like other early

\textsuperscript{54} Mary J. (Mary Jean) Carruthers, \textit{The Book of Memory}, p. 160.
\textsuperscript{57} Burton, frontispiece.
\textsuperscript{58} Engel, \textit{Mapping Mortality}, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{59} Paradin, p. 288.
modern *momento mori* artifacts, it invoked the memory of death to inspire virtue in the present. Perhaps it was intended itself in part as a *momento mori*, designed to cultivate virtue or piety in its viewers through mnemonic narrative images. Even if nothing else is certain, the Bass’s application of Paradin’s emblems illustrates how the practices of connecting virtue and memory reached even to the most obscure corners of the art and aesthetics of early modern England.

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Abstract: Throughout his writings, John Henry Newman (1801-1890) was especially occupied by the relationship between reason and faith. Issues of faith and reason were especially pressing in Newman’s Victorian context. This article will consider how this particular relationship is treated in Newman’s sermons and poetry and what his representation and treatment of reason and faith means for his thought and theology in general.

Widely considered one of the greatest English literary stylists and prose writers of the nineteenth century, much of John Henry Newman’s (1801-1890) work and writings focus on the relationship between reason and faith.

The nineteenth century saw the relationship between science and Christianity become increasingly conflicted, as the geological and paleontological discoveries of the time shook the foundations of religious faith and resulted in growing religious controversy, something that would affect religious belief for the rest of the nineteenth century. Thus issues of faith and reason were especially pressing in Newman’s time and Newman himself was in no way ignorant of or oblivious to these. As he experienced the developments that would result in a widespread loss of belief, move the humanities into the periphery, the progress of science and great societal shifts throughout Europe, he was extremely conscious of the fact that these shifts and changes stemmed from a deep intellectual crisis.

This article aims to explore the way Newman’s view of the relationship between reason and faith is expressed in two different mediums: Newman’s sermons and his poetry. In both his sermons and his poetry, Newman presents knowledge as something dynamic and living, and which can perhaps be linked to Biblical representations of wisdom and knowledge, which aid him in his discussion of the relationship between reason and faith.

REASON AND FAITH IN JOHN HENRY NEWMAN’S OXFORD UNIVERSITY SERMONS

Newman had first hand experience of these discussions of science and religion, being surrounded by academics, intellectuals and scientists at Oxford. In his 15 sermons preached before the University of Oxford congregation between 1829-1843, Newman especially entered into dialogue with the changing relationship between science and religion, reason and faith. In his university sermons, as well as many other works, Newman defends internal, personal faith under siege from scientific reasoning’s newfound superior standing in society. James David Earnest and Gerard Tracey write that: “there is nothing drily theoretical about these sermons, because each one issues from keenly felt problems of faith and reason”.

The earlier sermons show how the relationship between faith and reason would be an enduring concern for Newman. The very first of these 15 sermons considers the troubled

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relationship found between learning and Christianity. Whereas, in the rest of the sermons, Newman defends the faith of the simple, he attempts to defend the faith of the learned in Sermon I. He discusses whether it is possible for educated, intellectual people, and especially scientists, to be Christians or whether the Christian faith impedes intellectual and scientific pursuits. As Earnest and Tracey point out, this sermon demonstrates that Newman was sensitive to the fact that “the modern ‘religion of science’ would necessitate a new Christian apologetics” very early on in his career.

In Sermon I, Newman quite accurately predicted that “as the principles of science are, in process of time, more fully developed, and become more independent of the religious system, there is much danger lest the philosophical school should be found to separate from the Christian Church, and at length disown the parent to whom it has been so greatly indebted”. Here Newman foresees how the growing conflict between Christianity and science would result in a loss of faith because Christians would not be properly prepared nor equipped to confront the questions posed by science in a way that would satisfy their own minds. These sermons can then perhaps be considered more prophetic than polemic. “Newman was predicting the direction from which future attacks on Christianity would come and trying to prepare a generation of young clerics for the battles they would one day have to fight”.

Basil Mitchell points out that Newman’s thought and his sermons are of a strongly dialectical nature as his focus always depends on whom he is arguing with. Often, and especially in the 15 University Sermons, Newman’s opponent is Whately and other Oriel men who advocated a Lockean view of reason. However, at times: “[Newman] is facing the other way and confronting those who think of faith as a basic commitment which is independent of reason, either because we enjoy a kind of direct awareness of God or because we can rely unquestioningly on scripture or some other religious authority”.

In Sermon 13, Newman makes his views of the relationship between reason and faith especially clear. Newman meditates on the faith of Peter and exemplifies frequent instances where faith and reason seem at odds in the actions and life of Peter: “If ever Faith forgot self, and was occupied with its Great Object, it was the faith of Peter. If in any one Faith appears in contrast with what we commonly understand by Reason, and with Evidence, it so appears in the instance of Peter. When he reasoned, it was at times when Faith was lacking”. Newman muses that reason and faith are strongly contrasted in the life of Peter, and yet Peter tells us to carefully exercise our reason “an exercise both upon Faith […] and upon the Object of [Faith]”. Sermon 13 takes its starting point from 1 Peter 3:15, which Newman quotes: “But sanctify the Lord God in our hearts: and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear”.

According to Jamieson, Faussett, and Brown’s Bible Commentary, a “reason” could also mean a reasonable account. This particular verse refutes Rome’s dogma, “I believe it, because the Church believes it”. Credulity is believing without evidence; faith is believing on evidence. There is no repose for reason itself but in faith. This verse does not impose an obligation to bring

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3 Ibid., xxix
5 Earnest & Tracey p. xxvii
forward learned proof and logical defense of revelation. But as believers deny themselves, crucify the world, and brave persecution, they must be buoyed up by some strong “hope”; men of the world, having no such hope themselves, are moved by curiosity to ask the secret of this hope: the believer must be ready to give an experimental account “how this hope arose in him, what it contains, and on what it rests”.

Newman defines reason as the faculty of gaining knowledge without direct sense perception. Newman states that all men reason and that reasoning is nothing but gaining truth from former truth: Reasoning is a “living spontaneous energy within us, not an art”. It is important to distinguish between two processes - the “original process of reasoning” and “the process of investigating our reasonings”. The important point here is that “all men have a reason, but not all men can give a reason”. Newman denotes these distinct processes reasoning or arguing; conscious or unconscious reasoning or Implicit Reason and Explicit Reason. To the latter, he explains, belong the words, science, method, development, analysis, criticism, proof, system, principles, rules. Importantly, Faith, which Newman considers a reasonable process, is not necessarily founded on these processes that form the explicit form of reasoning. In fact, Newman is in doubt of faith being compatible with these processes in any way.

Rupert points out that when it comes to the personal relationship to God “we reason through a converging mode of thought implicit in our Image of God that, on reflection, we can also make consciously explicit”. Newman himself argues for this type of convergent reason and views it as being “foundational to the scientific or theoretical reasoning of theology whose abstractions are only partially capable of making it explicit”. Newman importantly warns us against a one-sided and non-convergent view of reason, which is under attack from the increasingly dominant view that the only true form of reason is that which is represented by science and is based on sense perception.

In fact, Newman’s understanding of knowledge seems deeply rooted in Biblical representations of knowledge and wisdom. He writes in his sermon on Wisdom, as Contrasted with Faith and with Bigotry: “It is not the mere addition to our knowledge which is the enlargement, but[…] the movement onwards, of that moral centre[…] a connected view[…] the knowledge, not only of things, but of their mutual relations. It is organized, and therefore living knowledge”.

Comparing this to the Biblical logos, there are many similarities to be drawn. Here logos, or wisdom is similarly represented as a living, dynamic, creating and holistic force which “was with God and […] was God”. Similarly the Old Testament wisdom literature portrays knowledge, or wisdom, in a personified form. It does seem, however, that Newman warns against an overemphasis of either reason or faith. In Sermon 13 he writes:

Nothing would be more theoretical and unreal that to suppose that true Faith cannot exist except when moulded upon a Creed, and based upon Evidence; yet

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9 Newman 2006 p. 177.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., p. 178.
12 Rupert, p. 34
13 Ibid.
14 Newman 2006, p. 195
15 *The Holy Bible*, John 1:1
nothing would indicate a more shallow philosophy than to say that it ought carefully to be disjoined from dogmatic and argumentative statements. To assert the latter is to discard the science of theology from the service of religion; to assert the former, is to maintain that every child, every peasant, must be a theologian. Faith cannot exist without grounds or without an object; but it does not follow that all who have faith should recognize, and be able to state what they believe, and why. Nor, on the other hand, because it is not identical with its grounds, and its objects, does it therefore cease to be true Faith, on its recognizing them [...] True Faith, then, admits, but does not require, the exercise of what is commonly understood by Reason.\footnote{Newman 2006, p. xciii.}

As shall be made clearer in the analysis of Newman’s poetry, faith brings with it the realisation that our reason is flawed and inadequate, due to mankind’s fallen state.

**Reason and Faith John Henry Newman’s Poetry**


It is possible to liken Newman’s attitude to and view of poetry to his concept of implicit reason: Gregory Goodwin writes that Newman makes reference to “‘an unscientific reasoning’ found in “rude as well as... gifted minds’” and compares “this form of reasoning to poetry’s “spontaneous outpouring of thought’”.\footnote{Gregory H. Goodwin: ”Keble and Newman: Tractarian Aesthetics and the Romantic Tradition, *Victorian Studies* Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 475-494, 1987 p. 481.} However, Newman did not believe there was reason to divide poetical and theological ways of thinking as these could be considered such different approaches that could not possibly be confused, and “Newman […] would never have thought that poetry however high it aimed could partake of the same supernatural guarantee - unless of course it was religious poetry”.\footnote{Goodwin p. 481.}

Much of Newman’s poetry has a distinctively religious character. In a sense, the sermon and the poem are quite similar forms of writing, as both can find expression through the spoken word. In the poem, *A Thanksgiving*, Newman expresses his gratefulness to God:

> For blessings given, ere dawning sense  
> Could seek or scan Thy grace [...]  
> Blessings, when reason’s awful power  
> Gave thought a bolder range"

The poem ends with the stanza:

> Deny me wealth; far, far remove  
> the lure of power or name; Hope thrives in straits in weakness love,  
> And faith in this world’s shame.
Here criticism is leveled at the over-emphasis of reason and Newman especially highlights the hope found in faith. Furthermore, the first two lines emphasise that God’s blessings were given to mankind before man had “sense” to seek out God’s grace.

It is important to note that Newman’s criticism is not of reason in itself, but rather its inflated role and its positioning above other “habits of mind”. The power of reason alludes to the fact that man places faith in his own abilities and intellect, however, true hope is found in the acknowledgement of our weakness and shame, and the proper attitude is humility.

We see this further elaborated and also see the distinction outlined between implicit and explicit reason, as defined in Sermon 13, in the poem *The Elements*. In *The Elements* Newman’s criticism of physical and natural scientific reasoning’s superior standing can in particular be traced. The important thing is not whether man’s reason and faith are compatible, but rather than man recognise his fallen state:

Thus God has will’d
That man, when fully skill’d
Still gropes in twilight dim;
Encompass’d all his hours
By fearfullest powers
Inflexible to him.
That so he may discern
His feebleness,
And e’en for earth’s success
To Him in wisdom turn
Who holds for us the keys of either home,
Earth and the world to come.

Thus God’s wisdom surpasses all human attempts at knowledge, and our endeavours, whether they be scientific, philosophic or theological, should rather be in aid of us understanding our own shortcoming and recognising that all we have is from God, and given to us through grace, not through our understanding, our ability to reason or the strength or weakness of our faith.

In Newman’s discussion of scientists’ and philosophers’ view of Christianity, he focuses on this particular aspect: “Such men often regard Christianity as a slavish system, which is prejudicial to the freedom of thought, the aspirations of genius, and the speculations of enterprise; an unnatural system, which sets out with supposing that the human mind is out of order”\(^20\). However, for Newman these claims are the product of intellectual pride. For him Christianity does not strangle or hamper research or restrict progress: “we have no reason to suppose that [God] forbids lawful knowledge of any kind...”\(^21\) Rather the fall of man is a dogmatic fact and the entire Christian belief system is contingent on this particular doctrine, as it was for this reason Christ died on the cross. In many of Newman works, we are continually reminded of the Fall and the consequences of the Fall. As Earnest and Tracey point out: “Newman concedes that humility, which he regards as indispensable to successful scientific research, can be achieved merely by experiencing error and failure”\(^22\). However, according to Newman, without the Christian perspective, this humility will never reach a similar level of

\(^{21}\) Ibid., p. 17.
\(^{22}\) Earnest & Tracey, p. xxxvi
profoundness: “The philosopher confesses himself to be imperfect; the Christian confesses himself to be sinful and corrupt”\textsuperscript{23}.

In the end, one might therefore argue that reason and faith, although important faculties endowed to humans by God, are both inferior to the grace of God. Newman himself explains:

The merit of faith is due to the fact that it is an act of free will done with the aid of grace, and not the mere admission of conclusions whose logical necessity prevents the intellect from dissenting. Faith is the gift of God and not a mere act of our own, which are free to exert when we will. It is quite distinct from an exercise of reason, though it follows upon it[…] The absolute and perfect certitude of divine faith does not rest on reasoning or human motives, but solely on the fact that God, the Eternal Truth, who cannot deceive nor be deceived has spoken\textsuperscript{24}.

Faith rests on the authority and the grace of God and not on arguments, which are only the steps towards faith and gaining deeper knowledge of God.

Goodwin also makes this point clear: “Literature is not a science, Newman tells us. Rather, literature is an account of human history not as religion would have it, but as humanity is without religion’s illuminating aid. Newman allows that literature may be tinctured by a religious spirit and gives as his example Hebrew literature as in the Old Testament”\textsuperscript{25}. However, in Newman’s view, the Bible is more than literature as it “certainly is simply theological, and has a character imprinted on it which is above nature”. Ordinary and worldly literature can then be considered an expression of the loss of innocence and fall of man, as man is “sure to sin and his literature will be an expression of his sin, and this whether it be heathen or Christian”\textsuperscript{26}. Newman demonstrates the double-sidedness of man’s artistic creations as reflecting man as a dual creature both fallen and created in God’s image. Thus literature “will have the beauty and the fierceness, the sweetness and the rankness of the natural man”\textsuperscript{27}.

Just as science and reason cannot replace religion, literature is no substitute either. Science and literature can both be viewed as forms of human knowledge. As Goodwin notes Newman argued that

knowledge, […] whether discovered and expressed by literature or science is no substitute for religion. Science proceeds by deductions and literature by conclusions and inferences, but neither has the power to display directly the concrete realities of supernatural religion. All human forms of knowledge are founded upon doubt, a fact that Newman believed was observable in the very nature of language, where every affirmation suggests its own negation: “To say that a thing must be is to admit that it may not be”. Religious knowledge does not admit of doubt because its foundations are not merely in language, but in the testimony of “facts and events, by history” It is not “a deduction from what we

\textsuperscript{23} Newman 2006, p. 22.


\textsuperscript{25} Goodwin p. 488.


\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., p. 237.
know”; it has “ever been synonomous with revelation” To attempt to build a religion upon inference - on science, literature or art - is to invite skepticism.

When approaching the issue of faith and reason, it often seems to be presented as an issue of an irreconcilable dichotomy. However, as we see in Newman's work, faith and reason are not necessarily opposites, nor necessarily in conflict with one another.

The above quote underlines an interesting perspective on the relationship between reason and faith. Whereas human knowledge is based on doubt, faith can be seen as the opposite of doubt. To some extent this relates to Newman’s remark that reason can be considered a “critical” rather than “creative” faculty. Faith on the other hand is more than believing based on evidence or conclusions reached through formal logic reasoning.

The relationship between faith and reason is thus, in Newman’s view, not a one to one relationship. Although these two categories are often opposed to each other as level, in Newman’s terminology, habits of mind, a simple comparison is not possible. It is not a question of one of them being better or more important than the other. They reflect different things about humankind and man’s relationship to God. There is thus no inherent divide between faith and reason. Both reflect us as creatures made in God’s own image, however, only faith, and the revelation we gain through faith, truly instills in us an understanding of our fallen nature, the fallibility of our own reason, and the sovereignty of God’s wisdom.

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28 Goodwin p. 492.


Abstract: In 1851 the painter William Dyce (1806-1864) unveiled his painting Religion: The Vision of Sir Galahad and his Company in the Queen's Robing Room in the new House of Lords. The painting depicts the conflation of two scenes from Le Morte D'Arthur by Sir Thomas Malory (1405-1471). Arthurian Romance had not yet achieved the popularity it would gain in the latter half of the nineteenth century and contained thematic material disturbing to many Victorians. The fact that the story of the Holy Grail is heavily influenced by medieval Catholic piety proved particularly contentious for Dyce's primarily protestant audience. This article compares portions of Malory's text on the quest for the Holy Grail with the evolution of Dyce's painting and demonstrates how Dyce worked to revise a medieval text for a nineteenth-century audience.

The years 1816-1817 witnessed the publication of three new editions of Sir Thomas Malory’s Le Morte D'Arthur, the first printings of the text since 1634. English romanticism, and particularly some early poetic efforts of Sir Walter Scott, tilled the soil into which the first seeds of an Arthurian revival were planted, but it would be decades before the Arthurian epic gained cultural dominance. A series of drawings proposed for the Queen’s Robing Room in the new houses of Parliament were a major influence on the broader acceptance of the epic in society at large. Prince Albert, chair of the fine arts commission responsible for selecting art that reflected the history and literature of England, sought an English epic that might define his new home as much as the Nibelungenlied influenced the mythic character of his native Germany. A conversation with the Scottish painter William Dyce, who was working on a commission for the prince in the summer of 1847, led to the creation of King Arthur as the Victorian national epic. Christine Poulson speculates that neither Dyce nor the Prince had actually read Sir Thomas Malory. Had either party been well versed in Malory's work they would have realized the incompatibilities with nineteenth-century morality. Dyce quickly discovered these incompatibilities and wrote to the prince that Malory’s text, ‘turns on incidents which, if they are not undesirable for representation under any circumstances, are at least scarcely appropriate in such an apartment.’ L.P. Hartley famously observed, “The past is a foreign country; they do things differently there.” Malory’s ‘foreign country’ contained religious miracles and adulterous affairs, behaviours and occurrences not acceptable in protestant Britain. Dyce became the ambassador of the dark ages to the Victorian world, translating Malory’s difficult concepts. This article examines William Dyce’s painting Religion: The Vision of Sir Galahad and his Company as an adaptation of Le Morte D'Arthur, specifically the Quest for the Holy Grail, and how that painting interpreted medieval Catholic piety as a nineteenth-century protestant allegory.

3 Muriel Whitaker, p. 179 quoted.
This story begins in Rome. In his early twenties, William Dyce made several visits to Italy and studied the masters of the Italian Renaissance and of the nineteenth century self-proclaimed inheritors of the tradition, the German Nazarene artists living in Rome.\(^5\) Returning to Scotland, Dyce longed to promulgate the moral and aesthetic clarity of sixteenth-century art in Britain, but Britain was interested in neither Madonnas nor other devotional images. Writing in the early 1840s on the subject of religious art, Dyce said,

> can it be shewn that any writer of eminence in the English Church ever objected to crosses, crucifixes, pictures, etc. as things evil in themselves. On the contrary, do not later divines defend the use of them on the ground that the danger of worshipping them being gone, the things were not only harmless in themselves, but desirable on account of their help to piety and devotion.\(^6\)

As Emma Winter notes, the mid-nineteenth century was a time of great anxiety surrounding the relationship between art and religion. Dyce’s artistic heroes, Michelangelo, Raphael, and Perugino painted dogma under the guidance of the Roman Catholic Church. The Protestant Church of England had no artistic equivalent.\(^7\) A High-Church Scottish Episcopalian, Dyce was intimate with many leaders of the Oxford Movement responsible for the liturgical and theological revolution producing much of the religious anxiety around Catholicism in England at the time. In particular, his friendship with John Henry (later Cardinal) Newman and E.B. Pusey placed him in the centre of a raging debate around the introduction of Roman Catholic practice into the Church of England.\(^8\) Particularly contentious was the question of whether or not the Real Presence of Jesus existed in the consecrated elements of Holy Communion, and if this Real Presence constituted the Roman Catholic belief in Transubstantiation – the physical transformation of bread and wine into the literal body and blood of Jesus. A particular event in 1843 underscored just how damaging this topic could be to one’s career and reputation.

As English fears of a papal takeover\(^9\) spread in response to the controversy over ritualism, the Reverend Edward Pusey gave a sermon in May of 1843 as part of his role as Canon to Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford. Dubbed the *Doctor Mysticus* of the Oxford Movement by Swedish church historian Brilioth,\(^10\) Pusey believed the purpose of worship and sacrament was a total fusion into the nature of God. As the polemics surrounding the nature of ecclesial practice demanded an either/or approach, it was inevitable that the kind of academic density and mystical piety found in Pusey’s text aroused suspicion. Though careful to avoid defining what happens during consecration in the Eucharist, Pusey still implies an intrinsic transformation in the elements independent of the virtue or piety of the recipient. Quoting from a fourth century saint Pusey states,

> That which is in the Cup,’ S. Chrysostome paraphrases, ‘is that which flowed from His side, and of that do we partake.’ How should we approach His Sacred Side, and remain leprous still? Touching with our very lips that cleansing Blood,

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6 Caroline Babington, ed., p. 39 quoted.


8 Caroline Babington, ed., p. 39.

9 Emma L. Winter, p. 325.

how may we not, with the Ancient Church, confess, ‘Lo, this hath touched my lips, and shall take away mine iniquities and cleanse my sins?’

The words ‘touching with our very lips that cleansing Blood’ were suggestive enough of transubstantiation to prompt a secret group of clerics and Oxford heads of house to call upon the Vice-Chancellor of the University, accusing Pusey of being ‘an unsafe teacher of the youths committed to his academical care.’ The Vice-Chancellor issued a notice suspending Pusey from preaching in Oxford for two years (fig. 1).

Fig. 1 The Latin notice of Suspension to E.B. Pusey. Signed by the Vice-Chancellor June 2, 1843
Picture by author from Pusey House Archives

Dyce monitored closely the punishment of his friend. Concerned as to his role in the liturgical renewal movement in the church, he also experienced a great deal of anxiety regarding the increasing intolerance for ritualistic or aesthetic forms of piety. In addition to art, Dyce also collaborated with Thomas Helmore on Gregorian Chant settings of The Book of Common Prayer.

Said collaboration brought unwanted scrutiny upon Dyce, and in the summer of 1847 (the same summer in which he first proposed the Arthurian project), while working for Prince Albert, Dyce received a letter from a friend saying, ‘I have heard two or three times that ‘a publisher and an Academician’ had gone over to Rome. I have been asked by one or two ‘were you gone?’ I said I knew you were gone as far as Osborne but I did not think further.’

As Dyce scoured Malory’s text for a suitable representation of religion in the story of the Grail, he encountered numerous passages such as the following:

the bysshop made sembelaunte as thoughe he wolde have gone to the sakeryng of a masse, and than he toke an obley which was made in lyknesse of brede. And at the lyftyng up there cam a vigoure in lyknesse of a chylde, and the vysayge was as rede and as bright os ony fyre, and smote hymselff into the brede, that all they saw hit that the brede was formed of a fleyshely man. And than he put hit into the holy vessell agayne, and than he ded that longed to a preste to do masse.\(^\text{15}\)

In this scene, Sirs Galahad, Perceval and Bors learn of the location of the Holy Grail from no less than St. Joseph of Arimathea. The imagery of a child fusing into bread was not mere literary invention on the part of Malory. Contemporary descriptions abound of visions of the Christ Child in the wafer given as a reward to the faithful or sceptics shown a child being cut and turned into the Eucharist as punishment abound. Several churches became sites of pilgrimages.

for a host transformed into a bleeding image of Christ, (fig. 2)\textsuperscript{16} and stories and images about Pope Gregory seeing the wounded Christ physically present on the altar at the mass circulated widely (figs. 3 and 4). Such a piety could not be represented in the religious climate of the 1850s. Thus, to represent religion, Dyce selected a more general image; the setting forth of the round table knights in search of the grail. Dyce justified his choice by noting the scene displays faith without depicting, "the particular adventures of the St. Greal, which, regarded either as Arthurian myths or as Christian allegories, appeared to me to involve matters of religious and antiquarian controversy, which had better be avoided."\textsuperscript{17}


\textsuperscript{17} Muriel Whitaker, p. 180.
In this tableau Arthur sorrowfully watches the break-up of his chivalric community while Lancelot kneels in front of Guinevere and kisses her hand. Dyce combines several elements of Malory’s account of this moment while editing out the most overt adulterous undertones. Malory described the scene thus:

Then after the service was done the king would wit how many had undertake the quest of the Holy Grail; and to account them he prayed them all. Then found they by the tale an hundred and fifty, and all were knights of the Table round. And then they put on their helms and departed, and recommended them all wholly unto the queen; and there was weeping and great sorrow. Then the queen departed into her chamber and held her that no man should perceive her great sorrows. When Sir Launcelot missed the queen he went till her chamber, and when she saw him she cried aloud, ‘O Launcelot, Launcelot, ye have betrayed me and put me to the death, for to leave thus my lord.’ ‘Ah, madam, I pray you be not displeased, for I shall come again as soon as I may with my worship.’ ‘Alas,’ said she, ‘that ever I saw you; but he that suffered death upon the cross for all mankind be unto you good conduct and safety, and all the whole fellowship.’ Right so departed Sir Launcelot, and found his fellowship that abode his coming.’

Dyce eliminates Lancelot secret audience with the queen, instead depicting the whole company departing at once. This first sketch was rejected on the grounds it was too sad, but in probability, it was also rejected because it implied Guinevere’s infidelity. The adultery of an ancient queen was not fit viewing matter for the current queen.
Unsuccessful with his first proposal, Dyce returned to his original desire of producing English art with a religious theme in the style of the old masters. At the time he was working on sketches for *Religion*, Dyce was simultaneously sketching *The Trinity* (fig. 5). The composition of this drawing emphasizes the primary or so-called ‘Domenical’ (from the Lord) sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion. The scene might be a historic baptism, a favoured subject of Dyce, or might simply emphasize the mystical connection between the sacraments on earth and their heavenly provenance. The eye is drawn upwards to Christ enthroned, surrounded by a company of saints. The dove of the Holy Spirit descends from Jesus onto the altar and the corresponding baptismal font. Of relevance to this particular paper is the striking resemblance *The Trinity* has to Raphael’s painting the *Disputa*, found in the Vatican Palace (fig. 6). The *Disputa* depicts Christ, enthroned in celestial majesty, surrounded by angels and a company of Old and New Testament figures. The Dove in a perfect circular halo corresponds visually with the monstrance containing the sacramental host on the altar below. Heaven and earth, Christ and the Sacrament, are unified. Surrounding the altar are other important figures of the church witnessing a discussion (disputation) concerning the truth of the miracle of transubstantiation conducted by fathers of the Church. The painting is magisterial and didactic. The viewer is not to question, but to receive. In *The Trinity*, Dyce retains the visual composition of the *Disputa*, but eliminates the monstrance, replacing it with a simpler chalice implying the presence of the Spirit in the sacrament but not the more contentious doctrine of transubstantiation. He is exploring how Anglican art can still be mystical. This is, in some ways, the visual correspondence to Pusey’s exegetical invitation to touch the Blood with one’s very lips.
Fig 6 Raphael 'Disputa' 1509 Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura copyright 2006 SCALA courtesy of ArtStor

Fig. 7 William Dyce RA HRSA 'The Vision of Sir Galahad and his Company' Sketch c. 1850 Image by kind permission: Aberdeen Art Gallery & Museums Collections
If one compares *The Trinity* and the *Disputa* with the first sketch of *Religion* (fig. 7), one sees the similarity immediately. For the painting Dyce selected two different portions of the Grail quest and conflated them into one scene. The central action focuses on Galahad receiving a mystical vision of the Holy Grail described near the conclusion of the quest narrative. Galahad arises early and discovers a man in bishop’s clothing ‘that had aboute hym a grete feliship of angels, as hit had bene Jesu Cryste hymselff. And than he arose and began a masse of oure Lady.’\(^{18}\) Upon the conclusion of the mass the man, revealed to be the son of Joseph of Arimathea, turns to Galahad and says,

‘Com forthe, the servaunte of Jesu Cryste, and thou shalt se that thou hast much desired to se.’ And than he began to tremble right harde whan the dedly fleysh began to beholde the spirituall thynges. Than he hyld up his hondis towarde hevyn and seyde, ‘Lorde, I thanke The, for now I se that that hath be my desire many a day. Now, my Blyssed Lorde, I wold nat lyve in this wrecchid worlde no lenger, if hit might plese The, Lorde.’\(^{19}\)

As Malory does not describe precisely what it is that Galahad sees in his apotheosis, Dyce was forced to confront the problem of how to represent this particular mystical vision. Thus the vision and surrounding details derive from an earlier portion of the Grail narrative. Galahad, Perceval, Bors, and Perceval’s sister are riding through the woods following a white hart being pursued by four lions. The animals enter a small hermitage where a priest is just beginning mass. At the moment of the Sanctus when, according to the liturgy, the heavens are made open, a transformation occurs. The hart disappears and is replaced by Jesus enthroned on the altar. The four lions metamorphose into representations of the four evangelists in ‘the fourme of a man, and another to the fourme of a lyon, and the thirde to an egle, and the fourth was changed to an oxe.’ Following these transformations, the visionary beings departed through the glass window without breaking it. A voice proclaims, ‘In such maner entred the Sonne of God into the wombe of Maydyn Mary, whos virginité ne was perished, ne hutre.’\(^{20}\)

In the painting Dyce utilizes the same composition as seen in *The Trinity* and in the *Disputa*. Christ, floating on clouds, sits above an altar surrounded by a company of saints. The dramatic reduction of the supporting cast is perhaps the most noticeable difference among the paintings. Whereas Raphael overwhms the viewer with vast numbers in heaven and on earth, emphasizing the incontrovertible teachings of the church, Dyce creates a more intimate scene. The piety is more personal. Only the knights and the sister of Perceval stand before the altar. Galahad, stunned, kneels in devotion apart from the others. A bishop and two acolytes stand to the side of the altar. One acolyte holds a censer, ready to swing the moment the singing the Sanctus commences. As in Malory, the heavenly company is now only the four evangelists. Gone are the numerous saints who suggest Catholic superstition and mythology. The Evangelists, in contrast, are *historical* and *scriptural*. This combination is much more pleasing to the Protestant eye. The chalice and the monstrance are replaced by the grail ~ situated not in the centre, but to the side. While in Raphael's work the monstrance forms a horizontal axis with Jesus, Dyce’s placement of the Grail creates a diagonal axis connecting Galahad to Jesus. The suggestion is less transcendent than Raphael, yet subtly implies the power of a personal experience with the Holy. While the other figures in the painting are astonished, Galahad experiences a unique and deeper ecstasy.

\(^{18}\) Sir Thomas Malory, Eugène Vinaver ed., p. 606.
\(^{19}\) Sir Thomas Malory, Eugène Vinaver ed., p. 607.
Anxious to please the very Protestant queen, while also creating English Christian art worthy of the Renaissance but free of Roman Catholic doctrine, Dyce exercised even more restraint in the final version of the painting (fig. 7). As he felt the Arthurian myths were best understood as a kind of proto-Pilgrim’s Progress, Galahad becomes like Christian of Bunyan’s tale, in search of the Celestial City. No longer kneeling in wonder, lost in a mystic reverie, Galahad stands and contemplates the miracle. This image might very well prompt the Protestant viewer to recall John Wesley’s famous moment of inner conversion on May 24, 1738 about which he wrote, ‘I felt my heart strangely warm’d. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for Salvation: and an assurance was given me.’ In this version, Galahad becomes more accessible, more like the viewer. The painting differs in other subtle ways. The grail is now removed from the altar and instead is in the hands of the priest, thus eliminating any possible connotation of its mediating power. The censer now rests discreetly on the ground, obviating any ritualistic use. As Debra Mancoff points out, the scene is thoroughly reworked for a Protestant audience. The grail is a symbol pointing to Christ but cannot encompass Christ. The humanity of the four evangelists is emphasized as the animal representations are reduced and the halos are merely suggestive. Christ is less radiant, less celestial than in the Raphael. Although there are delicate wounds in the hands, there is no side wound. This is a Christ triumphant. It is also a distant Christ. In Malory, Jesus appears in the chalice and then approaches the knights with the sacrament. He is miraculously immediate. In Religion, Jesus floats serenely for contemplation, but not for connection. Marcia Pointon writes, ‘The fresco is charged with dramatic force but, in sacrificing the proximity of Christ…Dyce lost an equally important element. The intimacy of the occasion is what is remarkable in the textual version.’

21 Caroline Babington, ed., p. 41.
22 John Wesley, An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley’s Journal from February 1, 1737-8. To His Return from Germany., British Library Electronic Resource (London: W. Strahan, 1740), p. 34.
24 Marcia R. Pointon, p. 117.
Dyce died in the midst of completing the frescoes in 1864. Years behind schedule, the work grew onerous and depressing. He despaired at constantly trying to force Malory’s text into a nineteenth-century domestic frame. Like many a successful ambassador before and after him, he is more recognized by his fruits than by his actions. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, upon seeing the proposed sketches for frescoes, enthusiastically embraced Dyce’s Arthurian vision. When Tennyson finally turned to the completion of his *Idylls of the King*, it was the Pre-Raphaelites who provided the illustrations for the work that made Arthur known throughout late nineteenth-century Britain.\(^{25}\) Galahad, no longer a symbol of unattainable purity, became a model for the young Englishman clamouring for glory in the far-flung reaches of the empire. It was also Galahad who memorialized these young men’s tragic deaths. For over sixty years the Royal Navy has maintained the name Galahad for one of its ships.\(^{26}\) Following his death, there was a public viewing of Dyce’s frescoes. The reviews were appreciative, with no hint of the controversy Dyce so assiduously avoided.\(^{27}\) In 1847, when he proposed Malory to the prince, William Dyce simply wanted to create a unique style of English moral and religious art. Instead, his work played a vital role in presenting Victorian Britain its defining myth: King Arthur, *rex quondam, rexque futurus*.\(^{28}\)

\(^{25}\) Muriel Whitaker, p. 208.

\(^{26}\) Royal Air Force <www.raf.mod.uk>.

\(^{27}\) Christine Poulson, p. 45.

\(^{28}\) Sir Thomas Malory, Eugène Vinaver ed. translation ‘once and future king’ - inscribed on Arthur’s tomb.
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