

The Victorian Newsletter

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The Max Nordau Pre-Raphaelite Gallery

Nathan Cervo

WALTER PATER

He was Oxford's most
engaging satyr who,

taking it
in his
hand,

liked to play
with

sensibility. (Your
place

or mine?)

WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI

Prematurely bald,
his scalp the
crystal ball

of his
agnosticism, he lived to
be 90, heir,

if not to the Kingdom
of Heaven,

to

his brother's
aesthetic (and yet

hardly so)

littered remains.

WILLIAM HOLMAN HUNT

Quintessentially English
in his talent

for missing the point
("Who's that knocking at my door?"
said the Fair Young Maiden.
"It's only me, the Light
of the World"),
he

kept Annie Miller before
marrying her

and
gravely went
to his
grave

protesting and
affirming

that he, the
enshriner

(Shriner?)

of the Scapegoat,

was the only

Pre-Raphaelite.

(Posh! He was

not

half the ass
he claimed

to be.)

JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS

His *Ophelia*
proved prophetic
(like an Old Testament
20-20 hindsight)
to the advent
of
Lipton's Vegetable Soup
Mix; and his
Bubbles

sounded the soapy note
of Art confined,
like the *Ophelia* model,

to the bathtub. (Thus
in a milieu
of rustling leaves,
he

raised the English
bathroom
to the status
of
the Sistine Chapel,

St. Jerome's lion
and skull
emanating
cheap perfume.)

Further, let it be said of him
that, a guest,
he locked Ruskin
in Art's
virtuality, and

brushed Effie,

Ruskin's
theretofore intact
wife,

on the side.

JOHN LUCAS TUPPER

What he tuppied, or
whom, remains a
mystery, but

he was an exquisite
draughtsman and
limned

the exposed recesses
of corpses at
Guy's Hospital. To

be sure, some fanciers
of the morbid
prefer H. Vandyke Carter's
illustrations
for

Henry Gray's *Anatomy*,

but, for Tupper,
the subject in art

was, to speak broadly
and metaphorically,

a delicate hernia
maturing
in its net of flesh
and veined

with a constellation
of hemorrhoidal
numinities;

but he was prudent
underneath

and secured
a post
teaching geometry
at Rugby—

no doubt because
he wrote the
right review (another
postmortem practice
he skewed his
hand to)

on the Department Head's
passé book

on the subject
of math.

CHRISTINA ROSSETTI

The Blessed Virgin
Mary to her brother's
Gabriel in the
painting,

she suffered from
scrupulosity

and fears of
damnation. Her poetry
was morbid,
introverted,

concerned with
death

and fruity sex
symbols.
She

evaded the goblin
importunateness

of life by

gobbling great gasps
of

pinings and
fears—

served, one would
imagine,

without cheese.

CHARLES ALGERNON SWINBURNE

Like Derrida,
basically an
imbecile,

he espoused whatever
he supposed

would unsettle
the bourgeoisie.

The dactyl he reversed
to employ
as

suppository; and
a pest was born.

A redhaired

flaming

potpourri, he went
not to Mass

(or to the
Anglican parody)

upon reaching
the acme of

immaturity, but
regularly

to a bordello
to be

bitch-birched.

A mundane ascetic
who had lost
the

erectile properties

of his
childhood faith,

he needed
to be

punished (in

order to be
reminded of) for

being an
aristocrat, though sawed-off,
a runt, in a

vulgar world. (He was, at
full bulb, smarmy, yes; but

the artificial flowers
that this weevil
chose to chew

were always
crinkled

like an undisturbed
prepuce. His

saliva provided
mucus

at one remove. But, where
in hell, amid

all the pink puckering,

was the drool, the
urethral

distillation,

coming

coming

from?

WILLIAM MORRIS

A millionaire, Topsy
preferred working with his
hands on the
treadle, reaming

potency

to the actual ignorance
of wallpaper. The English
genius for

covering things up
prompted him

to invite Dante Gabriel
to stay with his
wife, to share

Jane's burden, while he,
astride a burro,

traversed Iceland,
seeking

where soggy volcanoes
boiled

the Nordic saga.

He got into
his subject, the result
being Romances
inane enough

to appear on public library
walls. The murals
would tickle
a Nazi.

He hankered for
The Middle Ages, like
Miniver Cheevy,
but

knew how to create a fad
to turn a neat
profit.

His public lectures to
working men
made a good deal

of sense.

He was sharp when
he wanted to be,
which was

most of the time.

ELIZABETH SIDDAL

A milliner, artist's model,
introduced by Deverell
to Dante Gabriel,

she took a shine to the
wop (who had not the
sense to simply drop her).

Under his hand she drew
and versified,
until

what could have been
a cosy arrangement

was ruined by marriage.

She sat for Beatrice
who had sat for
Ophelia (catching cold
from long hours
immersed in a tub,—
so earnest was Millais
he did not relight
the candles,—
resorting to laudanum
to ease the
ache);
for Beatrice both
before and after (from memory?)
she died,

after a stillborn daughter,

of a deliberate
overdose
of laudanum.

Her husband buried his
poems with her, later
disinterred them.

She became, as it were,
the corpus of his
canon.

He was hung up on her
until she died. She
grew on and clung
to his

post-Lizzie breakdown.

She possessed him
entirely, the

way any self-respecting
muse would.

DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI

The most poetic
of poets, Rossetti combined
laudanum and alcohol
with spaghetti
and
meatballs and outdid
Pegasus. He outsoared

his own kidneys.

Whatever genius he evinced
was owing,

in the main,
to uremia.

(He was
the Delphic Oracle's brother,
reeling
and kaffing

on the stool marked
"HIS.")

JOHN RUSKIN

He really didn't know
what he was talking
about, so he particularized
and gave the world

an anal fixation
in concrete (aka soapstone,
limestone, here a stone
there a stone
everywhere a stone
except the two
stones that matter).

Mad from the crib,
as all born-rich parasites are,
he peeked to a
future
that made no real demands.

He therefore became
a high-falutin' very tragique
voyeur,

a fancier of
the buried life
of optic nerves: crud
on a spatula.

Papfed the Bible,
he somewhere discovered
the esoteric
baloney
of Freemasonry and

applied its
principles to the evaporation
of the Bible. His lore

introduced him to
Athena, Queen of the Air
and whatnot. He said

some bad things about
snakes, was

an experienced masturbator,
exposed himself
to an audience

who, at first, must
have figured he

was illustrating

a point, strangled a
black cat

that came out from behind
a dresser mirror

and was taken by Ruskin
by the throat

and for the devil, lost
the middle distance
en route from womb
to tomb, and

all in all did much
to champion

Pre-Raphaelitism
on specious grounds, for

the wrong reasons,
as fallacious

as the rest of his
life.

What hydra,
I wonder,
screwed him, crumbling,
out of himself,

like a stone light bulb
out of a fossil?

(The present equally
nutty age

admires him much.)

The family's money
came from
sherry.

("Ah, *ma chérie!*" he
said to his hand.)

EDWARD BURNE-JONES

Not really one, but almost,
he was giltish
by association, having
cohabitated
with Dante Gabriel
on Cheyne Walk. He sort of
hallowed Simeon
Solomon's

hermaphrodites and
fairies

by giving them an abstracted look
which went neither here

nor there. He had

El Greco's
elongation, his one head
to eight or so
body lengths, but
not his murk. Blake's
bounding line
constricted

him

to etch
and design, to acid
and stained glass.

Like Morris, he wanted to
become a parson
in his youth. His *Drowned Merman*,
the water's clarity
and the steeping
humanoid bag,

seems to be a prophecy
concerning Boston Harbor
at the time of
the Tea Party.

OSCAR WILDE

Claimed he was one, and was,
but not Pre-Raphaelite, the
great nancy. His

green carnation
signified that he was
a fleshly Irishman
creaming with
his race's natural love for the
wee-wee people. "Suck on this,
won't you for a while." His

leman (that's a
paramour)

a stable boy, like Oscar
himself unstable, one day,
stooping to sip the fairy cup.

tongue lolling,

Oscar Fingal O'Flahertie Wills

(the lad—he came
a long long way)

added to a stable's
dung. Paradox his forte,

he applied butter
to both sides
of his cucumber sandwich

("The better to slide
with," he drily
observed.)

GEORGE MEREDITH

Mostly, he anticipated Walt Disney's animated forests, but there was something of Kinsey fried with red kidney beans in his *Modern Love*. He had an eye

for the hues and tints of landscapes, but, all in all, he couldn't keep his sense of the sardonic humor in check, and, despite the Pre-Raphaelite takeoff "Juggling Jerry," produced *The Egoist* and the unforgettable still life of the two spermatogenic eggs in *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*. Like Rossetti, he played

with Demeter and Persephone, mother and daughter

à cheval, but wasn't subtle enough to either libido or Plato them. He stuck his finger in the earth

and it came

out
a headless worm.

JANE BURDEN

Her pomegranate no doubt luscious

she had a long neck promissory of a goiter and, in her with her through her retrospective husband's proleptic

prosthesis, "The Defence of Guenevere,"

good head; Rossetti, too, stressed the length of her neck and added to her face the caul of Eleusinian Mysteries (three to a pound).

When Rossetti, who was the sole support of her Welsh soul, died, not having welshed on her needs, she commissioned Corbett-Sanderson to bind a volume of his poems for her. The book, under glass, was exhibited in the British Museum recently—a curio in this age of vibrators and plastic devices (inflatable) holding a limp penis erect.

There is a photograph of Jane as an elderly woman; her eyes seem sucked.

The men in her life were a charade of silhouettes; but she

was at home, for a time, with them, being, I believe, the daughter (if not of a horse dealer) of a man who made his living in the stables, mid horseshit.

The Victorian sibyl, reformed, spoke not from the horse's mouth, but betailed; and her gist

was compromise ventriloquized and called Early Christian (by Rossetti) Pre-Raphaelite by Hunt, who feared that Rome might make a comeback in England's green and pleasant land.

A finger in the dike, Jane, no Virgin Mary, stopped the flood of sense, and for her pains was transformed from woman to oleograph, to an Irish knot gone haywire

in wallpaper design, to oilcloth; to Mnemosyne, Persephone, and all that dead jazz, caulking infinity (that is, hysteria vis-à-vis taste, sales, tea,

and, so my *poopik* tells me,

blague). She was one, in whom—you should believe me—

I could dip my schmuck

like a priest's thumbprint

in chrisms. (Jane baby! look. I'm lying

on my

back.)

Franklin Pierce College

Christina Rossetti's Last Poem: "Sleeping at Last" or "Heaven Overarches"?

Diane D'Amico

In 1896, two years after Christina Rossetti's death, her brother William Michael Rossetti published *New Poems*, a collection of his sister's previously unpublished or uncollected poems. Included in this collection are two that he identified as the very last his sister wrote: "Sleeping at Last" and "Heaven Overarches." The titles are William Michael's; Christina had left both untitled. After each poem, appears the date "circa 1893." "Heaven Overarches" concludes the section William titles "devotional poems" and "Sleeping at Last" concludes the section he titles "general poems." Importantly, in his editorial note to "Sleeping at Last," William also describes it as a "fitting close" to his sister's "poetic performance." Although Dorothy Stuart in 1930 and Margaret Sawtell in 1955 ignore this brotherly preference for "Sleeping at Last" and use "Heaven Overarches" to conclude their biographies of Rossetti, on the whole, Rossetti scholarship has followed William Michael's judgment. For example, in 1963, Lona Mosk Packer concludes her biography of Rossetti by quoting in full "Sleeping at Last," as does Georgina Battiscombe in 1981, and Kathleen Jones in 1991.¹ Other critics as well echo William in their descriptions of this poem. Jerome McGann, for example, refers to the lyric as Rossetti's "famous culminant lyric" (135), and Dolores Rosenblum describes "Sleeping at Last" as the poet's own "valediction" (211). Furthermore, despite Stuart's and Sawtell's efforts to draw attention to "Heaven Overarches," this other last poem has received little if any critical attention. Obviously, William Michael's opinion has had considerable influence on Rossetti scholarship. Yet thus far no close analysis of his preference for "Sleeping at Last" has been done. The purpose of this essay is to offer such an analysis by considering the context in which Rossetti's brother first read these two poems. Such contextualizing suggests that William Michael's judgment was influenced by his own sympathetic and yet troubled response to a beloved sister's breast cancer and a less than sympathetic response to her religious faith. Furthermore, recognizing the role Rossetti's illness and faith played in William Michael's preference for "Sleeping at Last" over "Heaven Overarches" not only sheds light on those scholarly readings that have followed his, but also suggests new possibilities for future interpretation.

Although William Michael places the approximate date of c. 1893 after both "Sleeping at Last" and "Heaven Overarches," in the editorial notes to *New Poems* he clearly indicates that he thinks "Sleeping at Last" should be read as the later of the two. Concerning this lyric of a sleeper lying in her grave he writes:

I regard these verses (the title again is mine) as being the very last that Christina ever wrote; probably late in 1893, or it may be early in 1894. They form a very fitting close to her poetic performance, the longing for rest (even as distinguished from actual bliss in heaven) being most marked throughout the whole course of her writings. I found the lines after her death, and had the gratification of presenting them, along with the childish script of her very first verse "To my Mother," to the MS. Department of the British Museum. (*New Poems* 388)

This preference for regarding "Sleeping at Last" as the final poem is also revealed in his note to "Heaven Overarches": "I found these verses ["Heaven Overarches"] rather roughly written in a little memorandum-book. Their date must, I think, be as late as 1893; except 'Sleeping at Last' they appear to be about the last lines produced by my sister" (*New Poems* 392). William's reason, or at least part of his reason, for this dating of "Sleeping at Last" is indicated in the note, dated 13/2/95, that he wrote on the back of the manuscript. However, again his wording indicates that he is in part guessing: "I found these verses at Christina's house in a millboard case containing some recent memoranda, et. —nothing of old date—the verse must *I think* [emphasis mine] be the last Christina ever wrote—perhaps late in 1893, or early 1894."

Unfortunately, William Michael does not record what else was in the millboard case that held the manuscript of "Sleeping at Last," and so we cannot consider all the evidence that he may have used to date the poem. We have available only the text of the poem itself and this manuscript. Both offer only hints as to date. First, the fact that "Sleeping at Last" is a roundel may indicate that it was written sometime after the publication in 1883 of Algernon Swinburne's *Century of Roundels*. Swinburne dedicated this volume to Rossetti, and she herself began writing roundels following Swinburne's particular variation on the form not long after this date. *Time Flies*, published in 1885, contains several, and numerous roundels are among the poems included in Rossetti's *Face of the Deep*, published in 1892. Second, the fact that the manuscript is a fair copy written in a steady hand provides something of an end date as to composition. Evidence indicates that Rossetti's handwriting seriously deteriorated during the last months of her life. Margaret Sanders describes Rossetti's letter of 15 September 1894 to Frederick Shields as "shaky and rather illegible" (266); similarly, Jan Marsh describes a letter to Edmund McClure dated October 1894 as a "scrawl" (565). Thus the very

promise is ended" to conclude her 1992 biography *Christina Rossetti*, as does Jan Marsh to conclude *Christina Rossetti: a Writer's Life* published in 1994.

precise penmanship of the "Sleeping at Last" manuscript places the composition of the poem at some point before the early autumn months of 1894. However, neither the roundel form nor the handwriting confirms William Michael's more precise date of "late in 1893, or early 1894."

Similarly, it is now impossible to consider all the clues William Michael used to date "Heaven Overarches"; however, the extant evidence in this case does actually date the poem as being one of the early 1890s. The manuscript of "Heaven Overarches," now held in the Princeton Library collection, is on a small sheet of paper that appears to have been taken out of the little memorandum book that William mentions.² On one side of this sheet is a mixture of brief notes, three of which contain dates: 27 October 1891, 23 November 1891, and 28 December 1891. On the other side, appear the lines that William Michael later titled "Heaven Overarches." They are in pencil with minor revisions in ink and appear on the right side of the page. On the left-hand side is a list of journal titles and book titles. Among these are the following: "Edinburgh Review—Poems" and "Verses SPCK." A review of Rossetti's volume *Poems: New and Enlarged Edition* did appear in the October 1893 issue of the *Edinburgh Review*, and Rossetti's volume *Verses* was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in September of 1893. Such surrounding bits of evidence suggest that William Michael's labeling of "Heaven Overarches" as c. 1893 and therefore one of the very last his sister wrote is perfectly reasonable. Yet, the reason that he would date it as most definitely before "Sleeping at Last" is not immediately clear, especially since the manuscript of "Sleeping at Last" offers none of the obvious references to dates found in the "Heaven Overarches" manuscript. When we focus more closely on the fact that William found "Sleeping at Last" not long after his sister's death (in his diary he gives the date 13 February 1895), possible reasons for his being disposed to see the poem as the very last she wrote become apparent.³ First, although both "Sleeping at Last" and "Heaven Overarches" draw the reader to thoughts of the afterlife, "Sleeping at Last" speaks directly of a woman who has recently died:

Sleeping at last, the troubles and the tumult over,
Sleeping at last, the struggle and horror past,
Cold & white out of sight of friend & of lover
Sleeping at last.

No more a tired heart downcast or overcast,
No more pangs that wring or shifting fears that hover,
Sleeping at last in a dreamless sleep locked fast.

Fast asleep. Singing birds in their leafy cover
Cannot wake her, nor shake her the gusty blast.
Under the purple thyme & the purple clover
Sleeping at last.

(Crump 3:340)

²R. W. Crump also lists a "fair copy" of "Heaven Overarches" as being held in the Bodleian Library collection. However, Steven Tomlinson of the Bodleian Library has informed me that there is no record of this fair copy ever having been a part of the Bodleian collection. Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate its whereabouts and have therefore been unable to

In reading this poem only five weeks after his sister's death, William likely read the "she" of the poem as Christina herself. Furthermore, while the apocalyptic image in "Heaven Overarches" of the night that "wrecks you and me" alludes to human suffering, "Sleeping at Last" makes daily human suffering a major focus. Thus, quite possibly William saw in the lines speaking of "the struggle and horror," and "shifting fears" something of the physical and mental suffering that his sister had endured during the long process of her dying.

As her death certificate indicates Rossetti died on the 29th December 1894 of "scirrhus of the breast." ("Cardiac failure" is also recorded but appears after "scirrhus" as if a secondary cause.) Significantly, beneath "scirrhus of the breast" is written "2 1/2 years operation 25, May 1892." Exactly when Rossetti knew of the cancer is not clear. However, William indicates in his diary entry for 26 May 1892 that she "had had ever since 29 December [1891] some idea of what was in prospect for her." Looking closely at William's response to this surgery reveals how much he perceived his sister's surgery and her slow dying as a "horror."

In his published memoirs, William Michael describes this operation as being of a "very severe kind" and a "truly formidable one" without elaborating (*Poetical Works* lix; *Some Reminiscences* 530). Only in a more private form, a letter to his wife Lucy, written just three days before this operation, does he reveal any details:

For some little while past, say 2 months, she [Christina] has been conscious at times of a certain sensation in the left breast: it has never once amounted to what she would call pain: and a double lump can be felt. She spoke to Stewart [Dr. William Edward Stewart], who has as yet treated the case with medicines, and she referred to cancer: he did not definitely say that such it is, but she understands him to imply it. She is now told that severe pain may shortly be expected unless an operation is performed: so on Wednesday it is to be performed. (I presume the breast, or some large part of it, will be removed. The operator will be Lawson—whom Christina has already seen. . . . Of course she contemplates immediate death as a possibility.

(*Selected Letters* 555)

In another letter to Lucy he indicates that the operation will take place in Christina's home at 2:30 in the afternoon and that the anesthesia used will be ether. He will be present in the house, although not in the room, at the time of the surgery (*Selected Letters* 556). In this letter he simply mentions "that shocking stage" when referring to the surgery itself. William consistently seems to avoid offering any details of Rossetti's surgery. In fact at times, he appears quite intentionally to avoid mentioning it. Even in letters to friends, whether male or female, he avoids even a vague mention to either breast cancer or this surgery. In a letter to Alice Boyd, dated 17 September 1894, he writes as follows:

examine it.

³All quotations from William Michael Rossetti's diary are taken from the manuscript now held in The University of British Columbia Library in the Angeli-Dennis Collection.

¹The most recent biographies of Rossetti do not mention either "Sleeping at Last" or "Heaven Overarches," although the convention of concluding with a poem is still followed. Frances Thomas chooses "My harvest is done, its

"It is too true that she [Christina] is exceedingly ill—in fact she is undoubtedly dying, owing to a malady of the heart and other grave matters" (*Selected Letters* 574). In a letter dated 29 December 1894 to Theodore Watts-Dunton informing him of Christina's death, he again stresses the heart ailment: "Her illness was functional malady of the heart, with dropsy in left arm and hand: there was another matter, painful to dwell upon, which I leave in the background" (*Letters* 575).⁴

Clearly, William was deeply troubled by the nature of this other matter. He was, of course, not unusual in his reluctance to speak of breast cancer. Such reluctance lingered well into the twentieth century. Stanley Weintraub in *The Four Rossettis*, published in 1978, appears to be the first biographer to use the word "mastectomy" when trying to decipher William's vague phrases regarding the operation (262). Previous to Weintraub, scholars were far more comfortable simply echoing William's "formidable" operation. For example, Dorothy Stuart refers only to a "formidable operation" (159). Even Georgina Battscombe in 1981 uses the same phrasing; no mention is made of the possible amputation of the breast (202). Only in the 1990s did Rossetti's biographers begin to state directly that Rossetti underwent a mastectomy, apparently basing that claim on William's letter to Lucy in which he mentions his assumption that the breast will be removed: Frances Thomas uses the word "mastectomy" in her 1992 biography (368), as does Jan Marsh in 1994 (563). Thus far, however, no biographer has offered much information on what this type of surgery meant in 1892. William's comment to his wife that Christina recognized that "immediate death" might result certainly reminds us that surgery in the late nineteenth century was not what it is today.

Although William's diary suggests that he was kept regularly informed by his sister's doctors regarding her health, he offers very few details of this surgery. In fact, the day after her surgery, 26 May 1892, he records the event in very vague terms: "A dreadful complication in Christina's condition came to a crisis yesterday." Importantly, however, in 1881 Dr. George Lawson, Rossetti's surgeon, delivered a paper before the Medical Society of London titled "On the Evil Results which Follow Partial Operations in Cases of Cancer of the Breast." This paper provides some information on the type of operation Rossetti most likely underwent and thus provides us with a sense of what William Michael might have known. In this paper, Lawson recommends not only removal of the breast but the tissue under the arm as well: "If a patient has a scirrhus of the breast, and it is decided that an operation shall be performed for its removal, the whole breast should be excised, and if there be enlarged glands in the axilla, these also should be taken away" (350). He argues that to remove just the tumor is "worse than useless," for such a limited procedure "stimulates the growth of the cancer and hastens the progress of the disease, instead of retarding it" (350). Although Lawson argues strongly for this radical surgery, he indicates that "a pause" of only 5-8 years in the disease's progress might be expected (351).

Based on this paper, it seems quite likely that Rossetti agreed to the surgery not expecting a complete cure, but perhaps hoping for several more years of life. And as William's letter to Lucy suggests, Rossetti must have hoped to avoid severe pain. On the subject of pain, Lawson writes, "in some cases the cancer does not return in the same locality, but years subsequently there is a recurrence in some internal organ, and without suffering the patient dies. . . (350-51). Unfortunately, for Rossetti the operation brought neither the five to eight years of life nor a painless death.

Not quite a year later, on 3 March 1893, William Michael records in his diary: "seems only too certain cancer recurring." While at first it seems Rossetti experienced what she herself referred to as "trifling pain" (*Family Letters* 199), that was not the case by mid 1894. William's diary entry for 24 July 1894 reads: "Called on Christina, whose state is now one of considerable suffering, and I fear rapidly becoming critical." About three weeks later on August 15th he describes a dire situation that seems to distress him greatly: "Went to see Christina. She is now in bed, and I greatly fear will not rise again. Spoke to Stewart, who gives a very gloomy and alarming account of her condition. I don't care to enter in the details." At times the pain is controlled by drugs, for William occasionally records as he does for August 23 that Christina is "comparatively free from pain." And in *Reminiscences*, he mentions that during the last stages of the disease, "opiates, more especially solfanel, were freely administered" (2: 531). These "opiates," however, seem not to have been administered at first or perhaps not in sufficient amounts to control the pain during the autumn months. On 15 September 1894, William writes, "I regret to say that her pain continues on the increase." And on October 6th he writes: "Saw Christina. She confesses now, but only if she is asked about it, to pain that must be called severe, especially in the left shoulder."

A letter William received from one of the Torrington street neighbors strongly suggests that the pain was indeed severe. At the very end of October, Charlotte Stopes wrote to William to complain about "distressing screams" she heard coming from Rossetti's drawing room: "Since my return (to 31 T Sq) on the 17th of Sept. I have been perfectly unable to work, from the distressing screams that sound clear from her drawing room to mine, especially at the hours I have hitherto devoted to writing, between 8 & 11 p. m." (Stopes). A second letter from Stopes, one dated November 4th, indicates that during the last week there had been "no long-continued fits of hysterical screaming" (Stopes). Exactly what occasioned the screams is now impossible to know for certain. As Jan Marsh suggests, it seems most likely that the cries were caused by physical pain, and that their cessation may indicate that William asked Dr. Stewart to increase the dosage of the opiates. However, Marsh also considers the possibility that mental distress played a role as well (566). Several weeks later on December 17th, William Michael describes his sister as "gloomy and distressed." Of course, this "gloom" may have been at least in part a side effect of the drugs being administered. In any case, clearly as William

watched his sister die, he was witness to considerable suffering both physical and mental. Indeed, he has moments when he cannot imagine how she continues to live. On 15 November 1894, he writes in his diary: "Her condition of weakness and prostration is so extreme, and her voice so near to extinction, that I hardly understand how it could be possible for her to live more than a day or two."

Throughout Rossetti's illness from the surgery to her last days, William Michael was involved. As indicated above he was in the house when the surgery was performed: he regularly followed his sister's recovery from that surgery: and later when it was clear she was indeed dying, he faithfully visited her every other day for months before her death. Clearly being a witness to such suffering disturbed him deeply. In fact, his diary note for the day of her death is suggestive of his relief that she was no longer in pain: "My noble, admirable Christina passed away about 7:20 a. m. on Saturday (29). Far better so than that she should continue any longer in suffering of mind or of body." He then describes her actual death: "She gave one sigh, and so, in perfect peace, at last left us for ever [emphasis mine]." In a letter to Theodore Watts-Dunton, he writes similarly of the peace of her last moments: "My dear good Christina died this morning—most peacefully at the last" (*Selected Letters* 575). Years later when William Michael describes first viewing his sister as she lay dead, he reveals his relief that the suffering did not, in a sense, show itself: "Her appearance as she lay lifeless was not so very greatly changed as the long duration and severe nature of her malady might have led one to dread" (*Some Reminiscences* 2: 533). He seems to have found some comfort in her calm appearance in death.

Significantly, "Sleeping at Last" is a poem in which the idea of death is comforting for the speaker, that is, for the one who now imagines the dead woman lying at peace in her grave. Appropriately, the key phrase of this roundel is strongly reminiscent of a lullaby. In fact, "Sleeping at Last" was used by Anna Montague as the title of a slumber song published in 1878. Certain lines of Rossetti's poem might easily be read as the expression of a parent relieved that a sick child is finally sleeping peacefully: "Singing birds in their leafy cover / Cannot wake her, nor shake her the gusty blast." The tone of "Sleeping at Last" is appropriate to one who has recently watched over a loved one's long illness.

William was not actually present at the moment of death, but apparently based his description of his sister's last hours on what was told him by Harriet Read, Rossetti's nurse-companion. Read records her own description of Christina's last day in a letter to Mrs. Hake: "[B]ut I would not wish her back. Poor darling she is at last with her dear Lord and all whom she loved so well, although she said several times in her illness she loved every body and was so fond of her god child Miss Ursula and wishes her well. I am sorry to say she was obliged to be fastened down the same night she died in the morning" (Read). Since Harriet Read told Rose Hake, a family friend, of the need to restrain Christina, it seems likely she conveyed this information to William Michael as well. The fact his diary makes no mention of this fastening down is not surprising since the diary was to be something of a public document: he published sec-

tions of it as an appendix to *The Family Letters of Christina Rossetti*. The image of his sister having to be tied to the bed the night before her death is not an image he wants to offer the public. Rather it is the image depicted in "Sleeping at Last," an image of a woman whose suffering has now ended. William Michael's diary entry recording Rossetti's death offers further insight into why he favored "Sleeping at Last" over "Heaven Overarches," for it reveals something of his questions regarding the Christian belief in an afterlife. While Harriet Read speaks of Christina being with "her dear Lord," William sees her death more in terms of loss: she "left us for ever." Although William did not consider himself to be an atheist, he saw "theism" as an "unfathomable mystery" (*Selected Letters* 235). More specially, Christianity was not a religion he could at all embrace. He wrote to Mackenzie Bell not long after her death of these matters: "Deeply as I have always revered her [Christina's] attitude of soul on religious matters, I don't in the least share her form of belief—not partaking of the Christian faith at all" (*Selected Letters* 578). Not surprisingly, the doctrine of hell was particularly problematic. In *Reminiscences* he writes of hell as "not a wholly comforting prospect," deciding that in comparison to such a possibility the "quiet expectation of extinction" is to be favored (534). Even the joyful side of Christian cosmology, a heaven where all the redeemed would be reunited with those loved on earth, was not something he could easily imagine. While he was willing to entertain the idea of "ghosts" in some form, he considered that the possibility of "personal immortality" was "exceedingly slender" (*Selected Letters* 443).

William's view that the "longing for rest" rather than the "bliss in heaven" characterized his sister's poetic performance is most likely due in part to his own doubts regarding such "bliss." Although Rossetti does indeed have numerous poems that speak of the rest to be found after death, poems of the "bliss" of heaven are also numerous. An entire section of her last collection *Verses*, a collection of devotional poems, is devoted to telling of such bliss: New Jerusalem and its Citizens. Significantly, when Christina wanted to dedicate *Verses* to her brother, he declined her offer because he did not "share the same beliefs in full" (*Family Letters* 193).

Considering that William was in a sense not fully responsive to his sister's devotional poetry, it is not at all surprising he favored "Sleeping at Last" over "Heaven Overarches." Unlike the speaker of "Sleeping at Last," the speaker of this other last poem directly calls the reader to remember Christ's promise of resurrection of the body and entrance of the redeemed into heaven:

Heaven overarches earth and sea,
Earth-sadness and sea-bitterness;
Heaven overarches you and me:
A little while, and we shall be
(Please God) where there is no more sea
Or barren wilderness.
Heaven overarches you and me
And all earth's gardens and her graves:
Look up with me, until we see
The day break and the shadows flee

⁴The dropsy William refers to in this letter may have been the result of the breast surgery. Lymphedema, a swelling of the arm and hand, sometimes

results after a radical mastectomy.

What tho' tonight wrecks you and me,
If so tomorrow saves?

(Crump 3: 339)

The first stanza calls to mind the Chosen People of God trusting in His promises. The overarching heaven recalls the rainbow of God's promise after the flood (Genesis 9:13), and the landscape of bitter sea and barren wilderness echoes Exodus 15:22-25. (Moses while leading his people through the wilderness first finds only the "bitter waters" to drink until God indicates that he must throw a tree into the waters to make them sweet.) Moreover, the second stanza serves to point to the promise of the New Testament. The fourth line of this stanza is taken directly from Song of Solomon 2:17: "Until the day break, and the shadows flee away, turn my beloved, and be thou like a roe or a young hart upon the mountain of Bethel." The Song of Solomon is traditionally read by many Christians in terms of their belief in the Second Coming of Christ, and thus one can read "day break" as the day of that Second Coming, the day when the sorrows, "shadows," of this world would pass away.

Although William Michael respected his sister's faith, this call to hope in salvation would not have evoked a sympathetic response from him. William's agnosticism also well might have influenced how he interpreted the mental anguish Christina exhibited towards the end of her life. Although he allows for the effects of "opiates," as a possible explanation, he places more emphasis on her religion and what he appears to see as its failure to comfort (*Reminiscences* 2:532). In his 1904 memoir, he creates a disturbing image of the weeks before her death: "the terrors of her religion compassed her about, to the over clouding of its radiance" (*Poetical Works* lix). In *Reminiscences*, he again writes of her "troubles of soul," and he blames the clergyman Charles Gutch for increasing her fears, describing him as "foolish and unfeeling" (2:534). David Kent has convincingly challenged this view of Rossetti's death as one clouded by despair in his recent article "Christina Rossetti's Dying," reminding us that William's own agnosticism and anticlerical views might have "blinkered" his eyes (94). If William in some way blamed either the clergy or Rossetti's Christian faith for some of the distress he saw as she lay dying, all the more reason for him to, in a sense, resist "Heaven Overarches."

Although William Michael was certain both that "Sleeping at Last" was his sister's last poem and a fitting one to be used to bring closure to her "poetic performance," there is a slight sign that he feared that in giving it such prominence he might be misrepresenting her religious faith. In a collection of Rossetti's poems for Macmillan's *Golden Treasury Series*, a collection published in 1904, he includes a brief section titled "The Aspiration after Rest." Not surprisingly he places "Sleeping at Last" in this section. But importantly, he includes the following note: "As a subsidiary to the Devotional Poems come these few pieces in which an aspiration for rest after the turmoil of this mundane life is more marked than the yearning for heavenly bliss. As to these cognate topics, it may be remarked in general that Christina's poems contemplate (in accordance with a dominant form of Christian belief) 'an intermediate state' of perfect rest and

inchoate beatific vision before the day of judgement and the resurrection of the body and sanctification in heaven" (ix). Clearly although he found "Sleeping at Last" to be a more appropriate closing poem for his sister than "Heaven Overarches," he did not want to create the impression that Christina did not believe in the resurrection from the dead.

Indeed, if one reads "Sleeping at Last" within a Christian framework, one sees inferred a divine presence that brings such sleep. For example, the comforting text Wisdom 3:1 comes to mind: "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God and there shall no torment touch them." And the tone of weariness is especially reminiscent of certain of the Psalms. For example, the "struggle & horror" of line three echoes slightly Psalm 55:5 in which the psalmist expresses his fear of death: "Fearfulness and trembling come upon me and horror hath overwhelmed me." The "tired heart downcast or overcast" is a descriptive phrase that might be applied to the voice heard in several of the psalms. For example Psalm 42:5 speaks of the troubled soul: "Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me?" Most significantly, however, the key word "sleep" brings to mind Psalm 127:2: "He giveth his beloved sleep." This biblical text recurs in Christian hymns and poetry. For example, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, a poet Rossetti much admired, uses it as both an epigraph and a refrain in her poem "The Sleep." Rossetti herself had used this biblical text in an earlier poem "When my heart is vexed I will complain," published in 1875. In this poem the line from Psalm 127 is spoken by Jesus:

Peace, peace: I give to my beloved sleep,
Not death but sleep, for love is strong as death:
Take patience; sweet thy sleep shall be,
Yea, thou shalt wake in Paradise with Me.

(Crump 1: 228)

One might argue, therefore, that although resurrection is not mentioned in "Sleeping at Last," it is implied if the poem is read with a Christian context in mind. Furthermore if one reads this poem in the context of other Rossetti poems that focus on the waiting time before resurrection, one might not imagine this sleeping person as entirely without some awareness of the spiritual realm. Elsewhere in Rossetti's poetry on death, she reveals that she was able to represent in one poem two spaces for the dead: the grave with the body lying at rest beneath the earth, and a place above the stars in a twilight world of paradise where the soul might be singing. For example, in "Better So" the person who has died is described as "fast asleep" with a "heart at rest," and yet the speaker states, "angels sing around thy singing soul" (Crump 3:283). In "Let them rejoice in their beds," Rossetti depicts the dead both "underneath the daisies" and "far above the stars" (Crump 2:286).

William's editorial decision, however, to place "Sleeping at Last" in the general section of Rossetti's poems rather than devotional while understandable, since no direct mention is made of a Christian heaven, tends to discourage any reading that might see the grave as merely a part of a larger spiritual landscape. Thus far critics have tended to follow his primarily secular reading of the poem by arguing that the

poem is one about the sorrows of this life and a desire to escape those sorrows. Moreover, critics have also tended to employ the biographical approach suggested by William's linking of the poem with Rossetti's last days. For example, Margaret Sanders suggests that the poem reveals that Rossetti herself as she neared death was "utterly weary" (268). Eleanor Thomas offers a similar reading, seeing in the poem Rossetti's "longing for a culmination which would end not only months of utter weariness and recurrent pain but also years of ill health, of mental conflict, of conscious separation from loved ones" (117). Similarly, the three biographers who use the poem as closure, Lona Mosk Packer, Georgina Battscombe, and Kathleen Jones, also interpret "Sleeping at Last" as an expression of Rossetti's own longing for the rest of death after a painful life. Jones, for example, argues that by the end of Rossetti's life the "external existence of religious ritual, conformity and submission" had "won" and that "Sleeping at Last" is proof that when dying Rossetti viewed death "not as a triumph but as a release" (232-233). As these readings suggest, there is a tendency to read the poem not simply as a fitting close to her months of painful dying but as fitting close to the whole life. Furthermore, the whole life is read as William read her death; in other words, the implication is made that Rossetti's faith somehow failed her.

No critic, as far as I know, has yet even entertained the idea that in "Sleeping at Last" Rossetti is writing about someone else. Yet the speaker of "Sleeping at Last" need not be seen to be writing about her own death. There is a slight tone of detachment that suggests a distance between speaker and the "cold & white" corpse, as if the poem is to be read at the graveside. Indeed, Rossetti's lyric is reminiscent of Shakespeare's "Fear no more the feat of the sun," the song from the grave scene in *Cymbeline*. If William's supposition that the poem might be as late as 1894 is correct, then something of Rossetti's awareness of her own approaching death certainly may be reflected in the subject and tone of the poem. However, it is quite possible that someone else's death actually provided the occasion for writing the poem. For example, William's wife Lucy died in April of 1894 after a long period of illness. Perhaps Lucy was in Rossetti's thoughts as she composed this poem of the sleeper "out of sight of friend & of lover."

Despite the need to consider both "Sleeping at Last" and "Heaven Overarches" for more than the autobiographical impulse, quite likely the use of these lyrics as closing poems for Rossetti's life and/or poetic work will continue. This seems especially likely in the case of "Sleeping at Last." When a selection of Rossetti poems is included in an anthology of British poetry "Sleeping at Last" often appears as the final poem. Such is the case in the most recent edition of the *Norton Anthology of English Literature, Victorian Anthology* edited by Dorothy Mermin and Herbert Tucker, published in 2002, and *The Longman Anthology of British Literature*, published in 2003. On the other hand, "Heaven Overarches" is not even included in these anthologies. Clearly, William Michael's preference for "Sleeping at Last" as the poem to bring closure to his sister's "poetic performance" still influences contemporary scholarship. Perhaps as more attention is drawn to Rossetti's religious poetry, "Heaven Overarches" will begin to appear in the privileged position of last

poem.

In either case, whether "Sleeping at Last" or "Heaven Overarches" is seen as Rossetti's valediction, we need to keep in mind William Michael's role in dating these poems, especially in terms of "Sleeping at Last." Second, if we are going to continue to read either poem biographically, we should use the evidence we do have to place the poems more precisely in terms of the life. For example, if we are connecting these poems to Rossetti's last illness, we should be more specific about that illness and the treatment she had undergone. Although William Michael was vague on this point, there is no need for scholars to follow his reticence. Furthermore, recognizing the ways in which both brotherly grief and religious doubt influenced William's response to these last poems should serve as a caution. For whether we use "Sleeping at Last" or "Heaven Overarches" as closure for Rossetti's life or work, the choice we make will reflect our purposes and perceptions. For example, if we wish to stress a world-weariness heard in many of Rossetti's poems, then "Sleeping at Last" with its image of the sleep of death might seem more appropriate than "Heaven Overarches" with its call to look beyond gardens and graves. However, if we wish to depict Rossetti as an important religious poet for the Victorian Age, then "Heaven Overarches" might appear to be the better choice. In either case, the poem we select may function more as our last statement to Rossetti than her last statement to us.

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"Attached to life again": the "Queer Beauty" of Convalescence in *Bleak House*

Natalie Bell Cole

In Charles Dickens's *Bleak House*, Esther Summerson tells us that, as she convalesces from smallpox, she moves from the position of sick observer to the position of more healthy participant, until, she says, "I became useful to myself, and interested, and attached to life again" (557, ch. 35). Esther's reattachment to life after her illness connects individual health to social health by emphasizing her renewed investment in a social world beyond the self. Scholars such as Helena Michie have written compellingly about Esther's illness and scarring as articulations of her female identity. This essay, however, seeks to explore the meaning of Dickens's insistence on the "superfluous health" of George Rouncewell, as well as his pairings with his disfigured assistant Phil Squod and the stricken Sir Leicester Dedlock. George's physical vigor stands in marked contrast to the parade of sick and damaged bodies in *Bleak House*, and his series of temporary homes—the shooting gallery, the prison, and Chesney Wold—can be seen as versions of the Victorian sickroom space, sites where, in Miriam Bailin's words, "order and stability [are found] not in regained health but in a sustained condition of disability and quarantine" (6). Peter Stallybrass and Allon White have argued that "body-images speak social relations and values with particular force" (10), an idea which my essay investigates, and specifically in conjunction with Bailin's fascinating explanation of how the Victorian sickroom creates "a realm of freedom . . . from the materials of restriction" (27).

The image of the body in realist fiction helps construct identity. According to Lawrence Rothfield, a shift occurs

from the formal realism of the eighteenth-century novelist's often strictly reportorial representation to a nineteenth-century practice of realism called by Lukacs "critical realism" (19). Realist representations of the body change too, as writers provide what Rothfield calls "a consistent medical view of [character], a view which [articulates] . . . the developing life of an embodied self" (12). Also writing about realist nineteenth-century fiction, Miriam Bailin describes the fictional sickroom as the "junction-point between private and public worlds," a space that tries to contain the "fear of physical vulnerability," and which serves as a "privileged site of untroubled intimacy while staying within the moderating decorum of social propriety and realist convention" (8, 13, 22). Bailin further characterizes Dickens's unique use of the sickroom as a place which represented the "anxiety of convergence" of identities which Victorians sought to keep separate and distinct (81-86).

Just as Harold Skimpole "felt he appreciated health the more when somebody else was ill" (593), so we must first consider *Bleak House's* exemplar of the diseased male body, Richard Carstone, who lacks the healthy self-discipline of other males such as John Jarndyce, Alan Woodcourt and George Rouncewell. Richard's physical illness is indeterminate, a consumptive degeneration manifested by bleeding from the mouth, followed by death. For much of the novel he seems to suffer from hypochondriasis, a malady Janet Oppenheim writes was in the nineteenth century "long acknowledged a particularly male variety of functional nervous disorder" (142-43). She further notes that "a particularly

devastating result of hypochondriasis was enfeeblement of the will" (143). We see Richard's mental and physical disorder when Esther visits him at his army barracks. She finds a "great confusion" of personal items "strewn all about the floor" and Richard only half-dressed and looking "as wild as his room" (700). Later Woodcourt describes him as mentally distressed: "One cannot say that it is all anxiety, or all weariness, yet it is both, and like ungrown despair" (707). Richard becomes increasingly "thin and languid, slovenly in his dress, abstracted in his manner," wan, restless, and lacking appetite (926). But while Dickens supplies the reader with physical symptoms by which to recognize Richard's decline, the more important ones are of Richard's loss of will, epitomized by his absolute dependence on the settlement of the Jarndyce case to resolve his own psychological conflicts about work and self-determination. By absence and inversion, Richard's decline delineates the three fundamental elements of Victorian health according to Bruce Haley in his *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*: first, health as a state of "functional and structural wholeness," second, health as a state of "telectricity," and third, health as a state of "vitality" (200). The state of functional and structural wholeness is often defined by the phrase *mens sano in corpore sano*—a phrase that demonstrates the mutuality of the health of mind and body. Richard's obsession with winning the Chancery suit wastes his mind and, correspondingly, his body. He fails to achieve telectricity of health, which is defined as "the ability to act responsibly within his environment," as he refuses to train himself for a profession, squanders Ada's fortune, and estranges himself from Jarndyce. In mentally feeding on the institution of Chancery, he becomes unable to feed himself and his family. The vitality of health refers to "activity, growth, and responsiveness," as well as the ability to "be alive to [one's] environment, and [to change] as it does" (20). Such vitality could have assisted Richard in becoming independent of Chancery, but without it, he quickly becomes a source of income for legal predators like Vholes.

The novel's paragon of health, George Rouncewell, the proprietor of a shooting gallery where physical training such as weight lifting, fencing, and marksmanship occurs, is characterized repeatedly by his physical strength and masculine vigor. Dickens describes George's morning routine:

Mr. George, having shaved himself before a looking-glass of minute proportions, then marches out, bare-headed and bare-chested, to the Pump, in the little yard, and anon comes back shining with yellow soap, friction, drifting rain, and exceeding cold water. As he rubs himself upon a large jack towel, blowing like a military sort of diver just come up: his crisp hair curling tighter and tighter on his sunburnt temples, the more he rubs it, so that it looks as if it could never be loosened by any less coercive instrument than an iron rake or a curry-comb—as he rubs and puffs, and polishes, and blows, turning his head from side to side, the more conveniently to excoriate his throat, and standing with his body well bent forward to keep the wet from his martial legs—Phil, on his knees lighting a fire, looks round as if it were enough washing for him to see all that done, and sufficient renovation, for one day, to take in the superfluous

health his master throws off. (417-18)

The details of this passage speak to George's "superfluous health": his lack of vanity (the mirror of "minute proportions"); the rigor of his washing ritual, exemplified by cold water, friction and total immersion, and the series of active verbs describing his drying-off process. Finally, his "martial legs" connote his warrior vigor and sexual potency, as does his designation as "Trooper," a soldier who fought on horseback in the cavalry. George's healthy body is an important component of his military character, reiterating how the Victorians ideologically linked the "pursuit of health" with the "pursuit of empire" (Vrettos 125). John Reed discusses how middle-class attitudes towards military men in the Victorian period occurred simultaneously with changing definitions of manliness. Reed writes: "Not only was the more cerebral and domestic side of males becoming more attractive than their athletic and public performance, but the whole question of male sexuality was undergoing revision" (83-89). Reed suggests that military officers in fiction are most often represented as sexually dangerous, but George is not an officer, and furthermore, Dickens unites the professional and the domestic by creating the shooting gallery as a combined workspace and home.

While Mrs. Bagnet might locate in George's restlessness a sexual dangerousness that could have been stabilized by "Joe Pouch's widder," Dickens emphasizes George's vigor, sexual and otherwise, in terms of the nature found in the English countryside. Thus George tells Phil, "There's not a bird's note that I don't know," "Not many an English leaf or berry I couldn't name. Not many a tree I couldn't climb yet, if I was put to it. I was a real country boy, once" (419). George's rootedness in the country and the cult of physical exercise make him the perfect foil for the urban villains Tulkinghorn and Smallweed, whose impenetrable surface and paralytic limbs speak repeatedly of the diseased commodity culture that hoards money and secrets.

George's sun-browned physique offers respite from the darkness of Smallweed's basement dwelling "certain feet below the level of the street" (333) and from Tulkinghorn's cellared wine and secretive nature, and similarly, his shooting gallery becomes a transitional sickroom space for what Bailin calls "personal, moral, and social recuperation" (5), an oddly harmonious space near the Inns of Court. George as shooting-gallery proprietor implicitly "nurses" those who come there by responding sensitively to their needs. In training there to prepare for the army, Richard has an opportunity to achieve health through uniting exercise with his will to serve the nation, not just himself. Gridley and Jo die there, their deaths redeemed by the healing presence of friends, penitence, and, in Jo's case, a shared prayer for spiritual redemption. These two deaths exemplify the use of fictional illness as "a way of accommodating desires which are not legitimated in the society at large" (Bailin 21). These deaths give George, Esther, Jarndyce, Miss Flite, Jo, and Gridley the experience of a surrogate family, and in both cases George harbors fugitives who are not acceptable to the society at large. Readers can relish the irony of Dickens's containing these deaths within a space normally assigned to maintaining health, and the reassuring superfluity of health

and compassion of Jarndyce, Woodcourt, and George is there to counterbalance the fear of physical vulnerability that typifies the sickroom.

When Gridley comes there to die, his sickroom is "partitioned off from the gallery with unpainted wood," where the light "came redly in" from the skylight (403). Its separateness and sunset color mark it as a sickroom space. Although Inspector Bucket violates this sickroom space by surveying Gridley from the skylight, once he enters the sickroom his actions are made congruent with Gridley's needs. Thus Bucket attempts to arouse Gridley and restore his health and spirits by chafing him to make his sickbed a "training" ground for what Bucket calls "another turn at the chancellor" (404-405).

The shooting gallery bears "Phil's mark," a discoloration or smear from Phil Squod's awkward movement along its four walls, but more fundamentally the gallery is marked off as a safe space in which physical health gives way to other definitions of wholeness, serving as a home, workplace, and haven for Phil, whose "queer beauty," singed and scarred as he is, is irrelevant to the useful self he can be—cooking, cleaning guns, serving as a sparring partner, and being a companion to George. Contemporary critics who faulted Dickens for what they called the "nastiness" of "[dwelling] on offensive peculiarities in his characters" and his "cruel consideration of physical defects" (*Dickens: The Critical Heritage* 296, 277) misunderstood Dickens's insistence on the speaking body which asserts both individuality and commonality. In fact, it is Phil's great pleasure to go over with George the circumstances of their meeting and their contrasting wholeness and health: "I was took by surprise, that a person so strong and healthy and bold as you, should stop to speak to such a limping bag of bones as I was" (421-422). In Phil, George recognizes another soldier "in the wars," not military battles, but the everyday struggle to retain a sense of self in the face of social negation. At home and at work with George, Phil exults in his usefulness as a target, his strength and resilience, transforming his "queer beauty" as he calls it, into a proud sense of invulnerability: "They can't spoil my beauty. I'm all right," he says (422).

When Jo comes to the shooting gallery to die, Woodcourt "confides all needful means and instructions" about nursing Jo, to Phil. Previously, George has reminded Phil that he shares an orphan status with Jo, and surely all three share the "vagabonding" that George refers to so often. Dickens portrays the curious reciprocity of patient and nurse as noted by Bailin, with both Phil and George performing a kind of nursing. George does duty by "filling the doorway with his athletic figure, and, from his superfluity of life and strength, seeming to shed down temporary vigour upon Jo, who never fails to speak more robustly in answer to his cheerful words" (732). Continuing to emphasize Phil's pride in being useful despite his burnt and blackened appearance, Dickens describes him:

Phil Squod, with his smoky gunpowder visage, at once acts nurse and works as armourer at his little table in a corner; often looking round and saying with a nod of his green baize cap, and an encouraging elevation of his one eyebrow, 'Hold up, my boy! Hold up!' (732)

Significantly, in Jo's sickroom Phil, George, John Jarndyce, and Alan Woodcourt all participate as "missionaries to the bedside" (Furst 25), a role usually reserved for the Victorian doctor, but one that symbolically joins all four men, despite dramatic differences in class, education, and experience, as spiritually healthy and socially responsible Victorian men.

In the transitional space of the prison cell, which shares some characteristics of the sickroom in allowing for the release of previously repressed emotion, George's mother helps "reattach" him to life by re-establishing their familial ties, something that even his friends the Bagnets had failed to achieve. Even in prison, George looks not like a prisoner but "with his coolness and his soldierly bearing, he looked far more like a prison guard" (793). However, it is in the prison cell, where his friends come to succor him, Esther and Jarndyce bringing moral support and Mrs. Bagnet bringing food, that he confesses to his mother that he is "self-unmade" (845) in contrast to his self-made brother the Iron-master, and therefore unworthy of his family. Here George confronts the difficulties of the dragoon returned to civilian life, and here he receives reassurance that the two identities can be reconciled.

Ultimately, the shooting-gallery is a space of transition for George also, who reunites with his mother and returns to Chesney Wold to serve the stricken Sir Leicester Dedlock, now living in a perpetual sickroom. Indeed, illness in Victorian fiction is explained by Miriam Bailin as "expressive of a general cultural anxiety about change and the loss of fixed forms for which the Victorian sickroom offers its succor" (41). Sir Leicester's stroke and resulting immobility bring him into closer relationship to George, a surrogate son and reminder of his earlier days of marital happiness. Therefore, the sickroom of Chesney Wold allows both of them to enjoy the intimacy of a child-parent relationship as well as the shared meaning of loss (Sir Leicester's dead Lady, George's dead military career and youth).

George's rejection of London and return to the country does not so much serve the feudal ideology of Sir Leicester as reinforce the Victorian definition of health as structural wholeness, telecity and vitality. Further, Chesney Wold becomes what Bailin calls "a kind of provisional or preliminary heaven" (79), a half-way house for Sir Leicester as he waits to reunite with his Lady. George rejoins two families, a biological one and the social family that encompasses master and servants. In locating himself near his mother, he can employ his energy in the service of love rather than commerce, and in locating himself at Chesney Wold, he serves where he is uniquely needed by Sir Leicester, who tells him, "You are like another self to me," signaling George's recuperative power. Phil had earlier described George's kind words as healing and sustaining "like a glass of something hot" (422). Thus, George's physical health combines with a morally purposeful will, achieving structural wholeness, and his former meaningless dispersal of energy, "vagabonding," is no longer a temptation. Telecity of health or the ability to act responsibly within one's environment calls George home. He has sufficient vitality, the ability to "be alive to his environment" and "[to change] as it does" to reunite with his financially successful brother, stipulating that his return not affect the inheritances

and his nieces and nephews. George chooses a life at Chesney Wold where he is, practically speaking, independent from his brother's generous offers of fortune and employment, and he extends his home to Phil.

Phil's self-styled "queer beauty" will not cause him to be ostracized in the retreat of Chesney Wold, and he finally has a direct experience of the pastoral, which before he could only imagine as a mere plot of grass. Thus Chesney Wold becomes a "provisional or preliminary heaven" for characters, in contrast to the surveillance, competition, and violence of the city. Importantly, this life is not merely a replication of George's childhood; rather, it includes work for Phil and visits from the Bagnets, who bring vitality to the slowly dying estate. This sickroom of Sir Leicester suspends his acceptance of Lady Dedlock's symbolic and literal departure as his wife, at least temporarily. It has taken Sir Leicester the severe shock of illness to reaffirm his allegiance to those closest to him. Mrs. Rouncewell is no longer only housekeeper but called "friend," and George becomes Sir Leicester's indispensable companion in lending physical strength to his strong emotional will to wait for, and later, mourn, his Lady. While Sir Leicester is not physically resuscitated, the life force of human love will continue at Chesney Wold through George and his friends.

Dickens, as did many other Victorians, uses the sickroom space for a limited sense of moral recovery at the end of narratives filled with psychological and physical sickness. He delineates consistently "medical view[s] of character" (Rothfield) to reveal a damaged moral health in Victorian society. George Rouncewell, Dickens's paragon of masculine health, performs a self-therapy that leads to social reintegration in a larger community and contributes to the possibility of therapeutic recuperation of other characters, although Dickens does not claim such cures will be immediate or painless. George's presence at Chesney Wold cannot rid it of its "dull repose" nor prevent Sir Leicester's imminent death. Nevertheless, George's suffering as a "redundant" man, a "self-unmade" man as he calls himself, is redeemed, and Dickens's transplantation of the Victorian sickroom into George's Shooting Gallery provides a spot of

health and solace in the diseased legal district of London. Therefore, Dickens's "Trooper," celebrated as both "noble" and a "hearty exemplification of humour" (*Dickens: Critical Heritage* 288, 291) by Victorian critics, lends both moral authority and vitality to *Bleak House*. In a sober novel of infectious suffering, George's character, like his author's words, serves as an important and overlooked curative: "he is deliver[ed] out of [Dickens's] chest as hearty as possible, so that [he] was like a glass of something hot" (422, ch. 26).

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The Adventure of Geography: Women Writers Un-Map and Re-Map Imperialism

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"North, South, East, West—no quarter of the earth has been left unvisited. Discomforts and dangers daunt them not . . . [T]he North Pole is not too cold, nor the Equator too hot, for enterprising men to go and see what is to be seen there. The sea tempts one, dry land another. Science, pleasure, religion and humanity have alike been on their travels, and among them have made the circuit of the globe."

The Boy's Book of Modern Travel and Adventure,
Meredith Johnes, 1859

"'Cartographic culture' encompasses not material map-artifacts but the understanding of the practices of cartography which a society possesses, the forms of representation employed to experience and explore the world, and the means whereby the social order permeates those representations in order to recast and recreate itself."

Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843
Matthew Edney, 1997

Plotting Geographical Fictions

With Victorian children's interest in colonial spheres already piqued by the reading of "boys'" adventure and exploration stories,¹ there arose "the possibility of reading geography as adventure, geographical narratives as adventure narratives" (Phillips 8). The adventure of imperial geography was packaged in children's primers that inculcated geographical fictions of racial, religious, and national superiority. By turning to the writing of such geography primers, Victorian women became deeply invested in the profession and propagation of imperial doctrines, and in the acclimation of British children, particularly British boys, to their central place in the imperial world. Authors of geography primers produced imperially motivated geographic fictions that taught children to see, as Mary Louise Pratt says, with "imperial eyes," with the custodial vision of divinely appointed stewards. For the young imperialists, and to the "popular mind . . . mapmaking continued to be imbued with all of the scientism and empiricism of the Enlightenment understanding of science: the world can be mapped exactly, the world can be *known* . . . the map *is* the world" (Edney 21). In this pedagogy of empire building, plotted in geography primers, women combined imperial writing and cartographic science with the socially acceptable vocation of teaching². Yet this pedagogical *apologia* for their involvement has contributed to a history that glosses, if not marginalizes, their role in the building of empire. The Victorians themselves, according to Graham Dawson's *Soldier Heroes*, believed that their "national epic ha[d] been predominantly a man's story, and masculine prowess the dominant expression of national character" (13). The proliferation of successful female writers delineating what I am calling the "adventure of geography" calls for a renegotiation of this national myth. The perceived split between women travel writers and male geographers has marginalized or silenced the participation of women geographers whose efforts on behalf of empire call for a renegotiation of such statements as, "There was a gender difference between the narratives: geographical (and exploration) narratives were universally the products of male writers, whereas a significant portion of the travel literature was written by and for women" (Edney 66). By "unmapping" (to borrow a phrase from Richard Phillips) the cultural contention that imperial fictions of adventure and geography were thoroughly masculine in their conception and reception, we can arrive at a more integrated understanding of the formulation of Victorian Britain's actual "national epic."

Such an examination of geographic fictions and the women who wrote them must take place within the specific

frame of the masculine imperial project as promulgated through the fictions forwarded by geography primers; the examination must also account for the consolidation of gender identities in colonial cartographic spaces, and must problematize the routine practices of geographers in conscribing such spaces. To historicize the primers,³ we must combine readings of representations of Otherness with readings of maps and mapmakers, as per Matthew Edney and Richard Phillips, who have explored the methodologies of male geography writers. I propose specifically to introduce female geographers into this conversation because a study of their primers offers not only another instance of a site of cartographic colonization, but an opportunity to examine the slippage between women's mapped identities-as colonizers and colonized—within the imperial project.

Women's geographical fictions proposed to "fill in" colonial cultural spaces, like the *zenana*, that remained determinedly "blank" within the system of male cartography. Women's geographies—like Meredith Johnes' *The Boy's Book of Modern Travel and Adventure* (1859); Charlotte Yonge's *Little Lucy's Wonderful Globe* (1878); Annie Wright Marston's *The Children of India* (1884); and *Geography and History Written by a Lady for the Benefit of her own Children* (1790 and reprinted in at least 22 editions through 1859) by a woman identified as "E.R.," of imperial organized cultural characterizations and verbal sketches of the Others who occupy the "blank spaces" on British imperial maps. That women could fill in the knowledge gaps, or blanks, heretofore inaccessible to male geographers, showed that geography was not a closed system, a totalized science, or a thoroughly mapped whole. The work of women geographers nonetheless emphasizes the gaps in a system which contains not only blanks but does not fully represent the Other; women geographers incorporate alternative geographies of racial representation, coding the Others within Christianized or pictorialized systems of cartography. These alternative geographies infer that the Other, as plotted in the masculine cartographic system, resists representation without interpolation or interpretation; representation of these Others requires images, dialogue, and narrative analysis. In challenging the prevalent geographic paradigm's purported ability to totalize "the East," and in performing the functions of imperialism, women geography writers' textual and cartographic acts point to places where colonial and gender identities become unhinged. Within the fictional system that writers like Marston, Johnes, Yonge, and E.R. helped to narrate, these Englishwomen became, to borrow Christopher

Gogwilt's term, "doubly mapped"⁴ in terms of their access to power at home and abroad. The idea of "double mapping" as applied to women geography writers, dovetails with Sara Suleri and Antoinette Burton's studies on British women ethnographers and travelers writing about India and situating themselves in relation to these Others. Burton gestures toward a double mapping of women writers:

The fact that Western women were considered the inferior sex in the superior race meant that there was a lot at stake in feminists' quest to identify themselves and their cause with British nation-imperial enthusiasm, politics, and glory. Primarily it worked to undermine the Victorian construction of woman as Other by identifying her with the Self of nation and empire. (35)

I maintain that British women were operating simultaneously within two contexts, accessing two codes of behavior and two separate power valances. At home they were the Other, but the change in their geographic locus produced a subsequent change in their identities, empowering them with imperial authority in the face of the colonial Other. Women geography writers were not only experiencing double mapping in relation to British men and Others, but they were enacting and reproducing this cartography of power relations within the textual frames of children's geography primers. Using their pedagogical authorization, these women forged a professional identity as players in a geographic, imperial world.

In their "re-mappings" women writers like Marston and Johnes inscribe imperial designations onto the "blank spaces" on geographical maps. In these incursions into colonial spaces and with these textual/cartographic acts about these spaces, they come closer to the "center" of power than they do in England where their gender relegates them to the margins. Women geographers facilitate the masculine geography of imperialism, but they do so by identifying "blanks" like the *zenana*, which men have not been able to "fill in," because male access to such spaces is limited—ironically, because of *their* gender. In *Children of India* Annie Wright Marston meticulously details the conditions of the *zenana* women; by identifying these Other female "sub-versions," she differentiates British women (with all their rights and liberties) from these colonial women, placing British women among the ranks of the colonizers in the imperial space. Within the domestic sphere at home, such women may themselves be colonized, but abroad they occupy a position of power, allied with the strength of the empire.⁵ Thus, while the contributions of women geography writers have been underacknowledged, those very contributions are problematic in that they participate in the imperial project which colonizes abroad and at home.

The Lure of "Blank Spaces"

Maps served burgeoning imperial powers as visual representations of colonized and colonizable spaces. They often depicted the world as a pie to be sliced and served to those who were hungriest for land. In discussing such maps, Benedict Anderson points in *Imagined Communities* to

the practice of the imperial states of coloring their colonies on maps with imperial dyes . . . dyed this way, each colony appeared like a detachable piece of a jigsaw puzzle. As this 'jigsaw effect' became normal, each 'piece' could be wholly detached from its geographic context. . . . Instantly recognizable, everywhere visible, the logo-map penetrated deep into the popular imagination. (qtd. in Gogwilt 8)

Maps illustrated imperial perspectives of the world and were often accompanied by an explicit written conception of colonial geography that positioned the British in superior relation to the colonized peoples. The "blank spaces," in juxtaposition to those already labeled and laid claim to, became increasingly important in the scramble for territory. In this sense, maps were interactive texts on which little empire builders were exhorted to fill in the blank spaces by charting, naming, and laying claim to unprospected territory.

Situated in relation to the known, the blank spaces represent the discoverable, the potential for wilderness, conquest, and liminal adventures. Blank spaces hold fascination because the consumer of this representation can imagine inscribing knowledge on those spaces. Immersion in the "blank spaces" promises not only the thrills of Henty-esque adventure then, but also the potential to contribute to the British colonial narrative, to inscribe on the blank spaces the script of personal experience and adventure. The most notable example of this phenomenon occurs at the twilight of the Victorian period with Joseph Conrad's Marlow's famous reminiscence in *Heart of Darkness*:

. . . when I was a little chap I had a passion for maps. I would look for hours at South America, or Africa, or Australia, and lose myself in all the glories of exploration. At that time there were many blank spaces on the earth, and when I saw one that looked particularly inviting on a map . . . I would put my finger on it and say, "When I grow up I will go there." . . . But there was one yet—the biggest, the most blank, so to speak—that I had a hanker after.

True, by this time it was not a blank space any more. It had got filled since my boyhood with rivers and lakes and names. It had ceased to be a blank space of delightful mystery—a white patch for a boy to dream gloriously over. It had become a place of darkness.

(71)

¹Writers like Ballantyne, Henty, Mayne Reid, and W. H. Kingston prolifically produced fictional accounts of imperial adventure in colonial spaces, thereby bringing remote geographical regions into cultural currency.

²Popular as Christmas or birthday presents, geography primers were also featured in the educational setting as well. They were awarded as prize books for lessons learned and were often published by women working in the service of the Religious Tract Society or the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to aid in missionary work abroad. The aim of such writing was then, not merely informative, but constitutive, in that it endorsed an imperially-organized world view.

³In the fifty years preceding Victoria's ascension, geography primers emerged and experienced an accelerating popularity which would continue until the late nineteenth century. The styles of these primers range from thick reference volumes with italicized key terms like *latitude* and *borders*, to discursive primers featuring lessons, question and answer sessions, or geographic "trips" undertaken by whole families or individual children. These primers tend to promote totalized understandings in their extensive catalogues of all countries and cultures. Seldom, however, do they feature more than one map in the entire book. Imperial geography, it would seem, is a discursive creation.

⁴The term "double mapping" was coined by Christopher Gogwilt in his analysis of the geographically-specific access to power suffered by Joseph Conrad. Gogwilt maintains that within Europe there were divisions of power (eastern and southern Europe being less powerful than western and northern Europe) that were deemphasized once European colonizers entered colonial spaces. Sectional divisions collapsed into the totalizing whole of the imperial project when Europeans like Conrad forayed into colonial spaces. Within the context of Europe itself, however, Conrad was socially and politically mapped within the frame of his Polish ethnicity, and thereby denied access to the power associated with a more "central" Europe. "Power," it seemed, was situationally constructed.

⁵Sara Suleri remarks that the "hidden apprehension of the Anglo-Indian woman's victimization at the hands of the colonial project prevents her from acknowledging the greater victims that surround her, for an ability to look at them, would necessitate an overt confrontation with her own confinement" (94). Burton points out that such women went so far as to use the "debased" situation of Indian women as one of the reasons British women should gain the vote—and subsequently use it to save their suffering sisters from injustices abroad. In their rhetoric, then, these British women writers shared only their gender with the women in the colonial sphere; they did not share the drawbacks of their condition.

Conrad's God's-eye view over Africa surveys the landscape, "discovering" lakes and rivers by naming them and filling in the blank of what was *terra incognita* (to the European) with a text of imposed identifications. The "darkness" does not pre-exist the mapping; the darkness is a consequence of the European imposition of alien text on what is essentially "white" space. Only when the white colonizers move in does the literally "white" space become "dark"; such space is not colored then by the inhabitants, but by the imposition of the geography of imperialism which inscribes its signature over clean and clear wilderness.

The dark inscriptions of imperialism which Conrad read at the end of the century were observed by women geographers as early as 1859; in *The Boys' Book of Modern Travel and Adventure*,⁶ Meredith Johnes records a similar "darkening" of Africa. Writing for the young inheritors of empire, Johnes maintains that

The map of Africa is beginning to present a very different appearance from what it did some few years ago, when we were young folks at our lessons. Then, with the exception of its northern portion, you saw a *great blank, with a sort of border of inhabited country round it*. Congo, Guinea, Caffraria, Abyssinia, Nubia, and some other old-fashioned and familiar names were there; but central Africa was equally unknown, and unnamed. Now, however, the zeal and intelligence of modern travelers are beginning to *trace upon this blank* the names of places, rivers, mountains, and lakes, and to bring home to us accounts of the inhabitants of these hitherto unknown regions, with sketches of the country, widely different from what we had formerly imagined. (178, italics mine)

This geography of the imagination that Johnes alludes to, that which schoolchildren traced at their lessons when Africa was still a blank space, is made manifest as Africa is tamed and "named." By 1912, when Sir Arthur Conan Doyle wrote *The Lost World*, maps had largely come to symbolize the elimination of the romantic blank spaces. Ardent young journalist Edward D. Malone asks his editor for an assignment with "adventure and danger in it" (Doyle 9). His editor replies that "'The big blank spaces in the map are all being filled in, and there's no room for romance anywhere'" (9). Doyle's work is tinged with nostalgia for blank spaces as areas of potentiality—spaces that symbolized the possibility of adventures in imperial writing. In those arenas adventurers could experience the making of their manhood in this act of writing. Though the *terra incognita* of large geographic blanks was quickly being inscribed, adventurers "continued to find settings that were 'imperfectly known to the geographer,' as one writer [1882] put it" (Phillips 58). As Charlotte Perkins Gilman's American heroes note in the 1915 lost utopia adventure *Herland*, "The expedition was up among the thousand tributaries and enormous hinterland of a great river, up where the maps had to be made, savage dialects studied, and all manner of strange flora and fauna expected" (2). These

"islands" existed outside Western mapping schemes, and therefore outside European conceptions of the world.

Imperial Victorian geography was indeed a mass-produced cultural fiction, the "story England told itself as it went to sleep at night," (3) in Martin Green's words. This geography conceived of the world as a map that empire would color by colonizing. As a result, geography primers of the period leave us with a cartographic system requiring both graphic and literal representation and explanation. In delineating the "literature" of maps, Richard Phillips asserts, "maps and other forms of geographical description . . . can be read as cultural texts. Cartography . . . is geographical discourse" (14). Fictional geography, both graphic and literal, maps the globe as an arena for imperial adventures.

Women writers like Meredith Johnes, who wrote books combining the "science" of geography with the adventure of exploration, synthesized these two genres. Johnes' *The Boy's Book of Modern Travel and Adventure* includes geography, travel, and adventure interlaced with her own accounts and descriptions, writings by male geographers and explorers like Lord Dufferin's "Letters from High Latitudes" or Bayard Taylor's "Land of the Saracen." Johnes' invocation of canonical male writers may reference their authority, but it also solidifies her knowledge of their work, and cements her association with them as a fellow purveyor of geographic perspectives. E.R.'s *Geography and History* makes similar use of canonical male writings, underscoring as well the relationship between the fictional geography of adventure tales, and the geographic fictions that arose from this association. E.R. pays tribute to the geographic space put on the map by Defoe's fictional popularization of Alexander Selkirk's adventures. E.R. includes the Juan Fernandez Islands, both in the 1815 and the 1834 editions of her primer. Despite the fact that large tracts of continents remain blank, the Juan Fernandez islands, tiny beads off the coast of Brazil, are represented because Defoe's fictional account of Selkirk's adventures was popular reading among schoolchildren. Richard Phillips asserts that "*Robinson Crusoe* was a map of British imperial geography and a myth of British imperialism" (32). Its inclusion on a map alongside territories designated as New Holland, New Spain, New Britain, and "Negroland," indicates the extent to which geography is a product of imperialist and cultural rhetoric. The island demonstrates how geography is an imperial construction rather than an empirical science. Such geographic homage to the nascent shrine of imperialism becomes significant because *Crusoe's* island has come to loom large as a symbol of how fictional geographies are plotted to support imperial rhetoric and geographic fictions. For women geographers like E.R. and Johnes, mapping the empire meant a re-mapping of their own identities and participations in the imperial project.

"Double Mapping" and the Layering of Imperial Identities

Richard Phillips points out (regarding Jonathan Swift's parodic *Gulliver's Travels*) that some fiction writers tell their

Florida, containing over 90,000 rare volumes from the seventeenth century to present, with special emphasis on the nineteenth century.

tales from "a (critical) perspective close to the 'centre,' others retell it from the margins, material and metaphorical" (153). I contend that some of those "marginal tellers" were the Victorian women writers of geography primers who, when in foreign spaces, were aligned with the "central" power of imperial countries, despite the fact that on their English island, they were again driven to the margins of power. Incursions into colonial spaces complicated British women's knowledge of their own geographic identities. It led to a paradox of "double mapping" that Gogwilt delineates in his discussion of Joseph Conrad's geographical alliances. Gogwilt introduces the idea of a coterminous "West" in relation to a colonized "East," complicated by the stratifications within such a label. Citing Gramsci, Gogwilt states that in strictly geographical terms, "every point on the earth is East and West at the same time," but "because of the historical content that has become attached to the geographical terms, the expressions East and West have finished up indicating specific relations between different cultural complexes" (15). "West" signifies access to European imperial power.⁷ The Victorian period saw the beginnings of a complication of the term "West" which would come, in the twentieth-century, to "refer to a force—technological, economic, political—no longer radiating in any simple way from a discrete geographical and cultural center" (James Clifford qtd. in Gogwilt 68). "West" can be unhinged from strict geographical context. By pushing on the definition of "West" then, we can determine that it expresses a geography of power, and not of place. Apart from the intra-national polarization of Scots and Irishmen from central alignment with the "West," power stratifications within this monolithic "West" extended deep into the bedrock of English fiction: with mill owner and workers (*North and South, Felix Holt*), Catholics and Dissenters and Protestants (*Scenes of Clerical Life*), and women and their husbands (*East Lynne, Middlemarch, Jane Eyre*).

In this sense, power was geographically organized and women could actually be closer to the imperial "center" when traveling abroad in colonial spaces than within the borders of England where the center was reserved as a patriarchal power space, and women were driven to its margins. They have also been literally marginalized in that their contributions to imperial geography have not been popularly historicized; the recovery of writers like Marston, Johnes, Yonge, and E.R. shows that these women did establish authority over representations of colonial spaces through their authorship and cultural cartography. They could not, however, establish an analogous authority through authorship in English Britain. Women were then "doubly mapped" in that their relation to the geography of power depended on their geographic distance from the imperial center—their power increased as they moved farther away because gender became collapsed into

⁷Eastern Europe was encompassed within this "West," as were Ireland and Scotland; yet even though Ireland was west of England, the Irish could not fully cash in on the cultural capital of the English "West." Though a technical and geographic participant in the "West," Ireland was doubly mapped in that, within the context of the "West," it was less "West" than its eastern neighbor England when it came to access to power. America was even farther west and yet would not be included in the "West" until two world wars had established its power base. And in nineteenth-century America the term "West" had resonance within national borders as a cultural cowboy myth popularized by the 1860s dime novel phenomenon. Such a resonance

the idea of Britishness that was consolidated in opposition to racially Othered colonized peoples. For Antoinette Burton, the ultimate validation of "Britishness" to these women meant winning the vote at home. They recognized that "representation was extended only to those who could be acknowledged as subjects; and where political subjectivity was by definition masculine, subjectivity itself functioned by asserting authority over Others" (19). By equating masculinity with colonial power, women could access this masculinity by wielding colonial-imperial power. The expression of such access was plotted in geography writings.

If imperial "masculinity" is contingent on a geography premised on "white" and "non-white," colonizer and colonized, as Burton and Phillips suggest,⁸ then I maintain that the term "masculinity" can be unhinged from biological maleness, and the double-mapped woman can graph a type of masculinity for herself in the colonial sphere, based on these racial/colonial distinctions. If "whiteness" becomes equivalent to the power associated with masculinity and "Westness" then women could gain agency, and even "masculinity" abroad through their connection to this imperial center.

The most visible embodiment of "double mapping" was Victoria herself. Even though she commanded the military might and imperial agenda of Britain, she remained subject to Albert's husbandry. Colonial women, wherever they are situated geographically, appeal to Victoria's primary mapping as a woman, in order to gain her assistance as the doubly mapped monarch of the empire. In Marston's *Children of India* "a lady" is enjoined by the Maharani of Punnah province to tell "our Queen what we Indian women suffer when we are sick" (171). Marston styles the "sickness" suffered by the Indian women as an intellectual and spiritual infirmity; this charges her mission with political import—more than the physical bodies of the women are endangered. The Queen's compassion as a woman and/or nurse/teacher is targeted, but so is her imperial power to intercede as a monarch. The request is written, placed inside a locket, and passed through a network of Englishwomen until it reaches the Queen who calls the lady to court to hear the whole story. The lady reports the Queen's remarks: "'We should wish it generally known that we sympathise with every effort made to relieve the suffering state of the women of India.' So you see our own Queen is thinking about the poor people in India, and I am sure she would be glad for all the little boys and girls in her country to do what they can to help them" (Marston 172). Aligning her agenda with the center of imperial power, Marston double maps herself as both an agent of imperialism and as an object of domestic imperialism trying to ameliorate the suffering of her Indian counterparts. As a British imperialist Marston maps a geography of power in which race, not gender, is the neces-

hardly dovetailed with conceptions of the "West" being consolidated at mid-century in England.

⁸Phillips introduces geographical contingency into the consolidation of "masculinities" in adventure narratives by maintaining, "Adventures map masculinities, not masculinity . . . the masculinism of adventure is historically and geographically contextual, rather than general.

Adventure stories chart masculinities contextually, in relation to particular constructions of class, race, sexuality and other forms of identity and geography" (45).

⁶All geography primers referenced in this study were identified through archival research in the Ruth Baldwin Collection housed at the University of

sary precondition. Yet within a domestic British social map (as opposed to a colonial geography), her woman-to-woman appeal to the Queen is predicated on the shared gender that renders women objects, not agents, on English soil.

Alternative Cartographies Representation through Christian and Pictorial Schemes

Britain maintained its geography of power relations by contrasting elements of its own island's cultural geography with that of other islands. I say "islands" because the colonized areas were often treated as such metaphorically—as unconnected entities without prior historical context or particular situation. Subsequent cultural, moral, and religious impositions were then rationalized and codified as a type of geographical and colonial stewardship in which Britain would play parent to its "child" colonies, inculcating morality and forms of correct conduct, responding swiftly to any infractions or insurrections. These "children" required guidance as well as discipline to keep them within the lines of Empire.

In furthering the "good of the whole," as defined by English interests, one of the methods used to "develop the capabilities"⁹ of colonial spaces was Christian conversion. Writers like Marston exhorted readers to support missionary work and to re-map the imperial world in a Christian geography. Such an injunction would have been familiar, or well suited, to the talents of British Angels. In *Making a Social Body*, Mary Poovey links women's activities to the province of clergymen and doctors; all are workers on the front lines of poverty, illness, and children's issues. Because women had been "assigned the care of young and ailing bodies by scripture and by tradition, that is, women were able to enter the social domain not only as mothers, but as nurses and educators" (Poovey 16). The religious and educative agenda of geography becomes clear in books written to subsidize and popularize foreign missionary work. Women writers whose books were backed by the Religious Tract Society Christianized their conceptions of geography for their young audiences. Colonized peoples are represented as helplessly, hopelessly "wicked" without the truth and light provided by British governance.

In *Children of India*, Marston catalogs Indian iniquities, explaining how the British government establishes morality and truth. "Years ago" she explains, "before India belonged to England mothers and fathers used to take their little children and throw them into the river to please the gods, and then the crocodiles used to eat them; but now the people are not allowed to do such things" (13-14). Overlooking the obvious Biblical parallel of Abraham and Isaac, Marston's colonialism presupposes a necessity for the policing of personal morality in addition to religion. Brantlinger observes that for most Victorians "the British were inherently, by 'blood,' a conquering, governing, and civilizing 'race'; the 'dark races' whom they conquered were inherently incapable of governing and civilizing themselves" (21). By infantiliz-

ing colonial populations who were "incapable of governing and civilizing themselves" woman writers can give Britain's imperial project a maternal tenor. And just like many "children," colonial populations are depicted as resistant to the discipline of such "tough love." Marston explains the reaction of colonial children (to English children),

many years ago the Hindus were ordered by the English Government not to do it [the suttee] any more . . . How glad the widows must be, you will say, and how they must thank the English people for putting a stop to such a dreadful death. But no; instead of being glad they are very sorry, and instead of being grateful they think it very cruel that they should not be allowed to be burned. (86)

Marston's text echoes the refrain "it's for their own good" by effectively infantilizing the Hindus; infantilization presupposes the existence of a parent, and Marston advocates that the British imperialist fill this role.

The success of her method is evident; after writing *Children of India* (1883), Marston went on to publish *Children of China* (1884) and *Children of Africa* (1885). Marston emphasizes how the sins of the fathers, made manifest in the sequestering of the *zenana* women, harm both these women and the children who, like her British readers, are the future of their country. Only Britain with its billy-club and Bible can ameliorate the fate of these women and children by putting an end to "wicked" practices like the suttee and the juggernaut, and offering subjects the opportunity for spiritual salvation. Marston aligns herself with this imperial power, through these stories about "a lady's" impressions of the Indian *zenana*. This lady is a British ambassador, a missionary into the heart of the Indian darkness, bringing back a message for the Queen borne inside an iconic locket, in a move reminiscent of the adventure trope of messages in bottles, or written artifacts like maps as catalysts/artifacts of adventure quests. . . . English girls do sewing and knitting; but nobody ever taught Hindu girls to sew or knit, or do anything else. Boys and men do all the sewing in many parts of India; isn't that funny?" (Marston 51). By teaching these women to sew, Marston presumes to chip away at geographically dictated gender-specified roles, putting needles and later pens into the hands of women so that they can begin to change their society from within its most enclosed domestic enclave. Marston represents the value of reaching these women before they go into the "prison-house" of marriage: "But if she has had time before she is married to learn to read, she can go on reading by herself in the *zenana*, and then she will be nothing like so miserable as those who have nothing to do but cook and dress their hair" (55). In denigrating the ornamental and domestic pursuits of Indian women, Marston teaches her little readers that women have more important functions than as cooks or decorative objects.

In her visits to the *zenana*, this lady challenges constructions of womanhood, linking its variability to geography: "An English lady once went to visit a *zenana* to

renovation of blood, which commerce, and its companion, colonization, are certain to bring" (qtd. in Brantlinger 25).

read to the people there . . . they were more surprised than ever when she told them she had never been married at all, and did not want to be. . . . [They thought] English people very funny people, if one of their ladies could have no jewels, no husband, no little boys, and yet not be miserable, and think that she was going to heaven" (Marston 76-77). This lady is doubly mapped—in India she is plugged into the totalizing power of "whiteness," one with the colonizers, even though she herself (as a woman) may occupy the margins of power on her home shores. Yet in an imperial space she is aligned with the centralized power of the colonizer. Her access to power and the advantages of her comparative "independence" is contingent on her geographic location. The liminal position of British women in India is reviewed by Sara Suleri in the *Rhetoric of English India*. The *memsahib's* discourse "established lines of continuity between the position of both Anglo-Indian and Indian women and the degrees of subordination they represent, for even when her writing seeks to enclose the Indian into a picturesque repose, the Anglo-Indian is simultaneously mapping out her own enclosure within such an idiom" (Suleri 78). This doubly-mapped woman complicates questions about her own identity when she enters the "blank space" inhabited by Indian women.

Upon the heretofore blank space of the *zenana*, Marston writes cultural geography, mapping the borders and resources of this doubly colonized space. Suleri remarks that "the *zenana* becomes the essential space of Indian femininity and it is only after such a sanctum has been penetrated that the Anglo-Indian can claim to 'know' the Indian" (93). Such totalizing knowledge of Indian culture is denied to male cultural geographers because their gender limits *their* authorization to enter these spaces and establish authority. Thus, the doubly mapped geographer (white imperialist and woman) uses her identity as a point of entry. Marston's access to the "blank space" of the *zenana* as well as her power to inscribe her own observations upon it—fitting it into a geographical rubric of imperialism and the missionary agenda—empowers her by subverting or surpassing the categorical authority of the very geography whose "blank spaces" she fills in. That patriarchal geography breaks down with the inclusion of "blank spaces," as admissions of lack of information. Marston, not in spite of, but because of, her gender, can penetrate these "blank spaces," and write them into the larger cultural conceptions of the geography of India. By becoming a harvester of new knowledge, Marston uses the safety of her socially acceptable role as teacher to reveal what she learned while fulfilling her role as missionary angel, all while inscribing this information upon the masculine imperial map.

In addition to interloping into a masculine province, Marston's geographic writings can also be mined for their subversive potential. Marston attempts to empower the colonial woman. She posits that religion is the province of women; men follow their wives' guidance in religious matters. Furthermore, "the children get all their first ideas of religion from their mothers, and so the missionaries feel that the great thing to do, if the little boys and girls of India are to be Christian boys and girls, is to teach the mothers about

Jesus" (Marston 50). By emphasizing the role of the mother figure in imparting and implanting early knowledge, Marston underlines the importance of concentrating missionary efforts on these women, in order to win over the next generation of colonists. With this move, Marston also increases the importance of the female missionary work within the "blank spaces" that their male counterparts cannot enter. If the conversion and subsequent white-washing of India, can be achieved only by women entering the *zenanas* to broker cultural exchange with Other women, suddenly the *memsahibs'* importance increases.

In addition to the blank spaces like the *zenana* which can be filled only by women, masculine geography—as represented by women to children in primer form—contain disjunctions in which representations fail to reflect, or allow for the possibility of, alternative realities. The Other, in some women's accounts of good British mapmaking, resists reduction to cartographic semioticity. In Charlotte Yonge's *Little Lucy's Wonderful Globe* (1878), the title character contracts "scarlatina" and goes to stay with her old seafaring Uncle Joe. The housekeeper, Mother Bunch, tells Lucy stories and when Lucy lies down to sleep, the geographic information she has internalized comes to life in the room, and she is visited by children of other lands. While speaking to Amina from Turkey, Lucy explains that "'Geography is very nice . . . here are our maps. I will show you where you live. This is Constantinople'" (80). Lucy points out the dot on the map and Amina reacts with resistance and scorn for such a system of representation, "'That Stamboul! The Frank girl is false, Stamboul is a large, large, beautiful place; not a little black speck. I can see it from my lattice. White houses and mosques in the sun'" (81). This map does not address Amina's experience of the world; perhaps Yonge is highlighting the gap between signs and signifiers within a patriarchal scheme of representation. Amina resists being mapped into a world in which British geography does the designating.

The same resistance is acknowledged by Anna Leonowens in her travel record of her experiences in the Siamese court. Her purpose as a teacher was to situate her students to their place in a British-run world. She instructs them in geography and astronomy, commenting that "It was hard for them to see Siam reduced to a mere speck on the great globe, but there was some consolation in the fact that England occupied even a smaller space" (Leonowens 243). By putting her Siamese students in their spatial place, Leonowens grounds her own identity in the British colonial authority emanating from a system that situates Britain at the center of power. In her settlement narrative of the Canadian bush, Susanna Moodie details a similar experience of the Other's encounter with the European mode of spatial representation. Being presented with a map, the Native Americans

recognised every bay and headland in Ontario, and almost screamed with delight when, following the course of the Trent with their fingers, they came to their own lake. How eagerly each pointed out the spot to his fellows; how intently their black heads were bent down, and their dark

⁹Charles Kingsley remarked in an 1856 book review, "people should either develop the capabilities of their own country or make room for those who will develop them. If they accept that duty, they have their reward in the

eyes fixed upon the map! What strange, uncouth exclamations of surprise burst from their lips as they rapidly repeated the Indian names for every lake and river on this wonderful piece of paper. (Moodie 266)

Moodie's visitors recognize "their own" land from the representation of it on the map; they then proceed to reinforce their lingual ownership of it by "rapidly repeat[ing] the Indian names" as though to connect their own scheme of representation to the British one, but not sublimate it. Yonge, Leonowens, and Moodie, like the female adventure writers whom Richard Phillips theorizes about, are "drawn to a space of adventure . . . [but they] challenge that space, attempt to subdue it and transform it . . . unmapping rather than mapping" (20). Marston's delineation of *zenana* life and Yonge's narrative graphing of Others, may then teach "unmapping" by calling for reconsideration of both blank and written spaces. Suleri emphasizes the "violence" of translating the Other into cartographic representation which does not speak to his/her representational discourse: "the story of colonial encounter is in itself a radically decentering narrative that is impelled to realign with violence any static binarism between colonizer and colonized . . . as to what may constitute the marginal or the central" (2). In this engagement between margins and the center, women geography writers negotiate their own identities as well as those of the colonized in the construction of their geographic fictions. Edney quotes Said's similar critique of mapping, calling such a system of cartography "'an act of geographical violence through which virtually every space in the world is explored, charted, and finally brought under control. For the native, the history of his or her colonial servitude is inaugurated by the loss to an outsider of the local place'" (qtd. in Edney 24). Edney then asserts that the imperial system of geography "recreates the empire in its maps, subsuming all individuals and places within the map's totalizing image. Military conquest, geographical conquest, and cultural conquest are functionally equivalent" (24). The registration of the "decentering" of this overambitious cartographic construction is acknowledged in women's geographic systems. Doubly mapped themselves, women mapmakers challenge the ability of the existing system of patriarchal geography to graph the contact experience; yet, as cultural geographers, they participate in the larger national project of empire building.

In *The Children of India*, Marston addresses the inadequacy of geographic representations, effectively undermining the system from within. She includes a map of India with a map of England inset beside it. The breadth of the former contrasts with the diminution of the other. Marston begins,

India is a very large country. I expect you think England is very big. . . but England is quite a tiny place compared with India . . . Yet very nearly all this great country belongs to England, and is ruled over by our own Queen; and that is one reason why English children ought to know all about it, and about the people who live there.

(11)

Though India commands the larger expanse of physical geography, England rules India through imperial power, thus showing that geography requires interpretation: it must be "read" through "unmapping" its meanings.

The interpretation or "unmapping" of geographic texts is accomplished in the intersections of the latitude and longitude of imperialism and Christianity. If the breadth of a country does not necessarily correlate to its "greatness," then maps for children require accompanying geographical fictions that embroider a cultural "caption-ography" onto the maps. In depicting Europe, E.R. explains the map with the supplementary information that though Europe is "the least of the four parts of the earth; but is at this time the most respectable, for the politeness of its manners, its institutions, its learning, and laws. [Asia is remarkable because there] our Saviour was born, and wrought in the mystery of redemption" (4, 1815). Lest children mistakenly place Asia at the center of their geographic fictions, E.R. later observes that the inhabitants "are of a tawny or olive complexion, go almost naked, use poisoned arrows, and are superstitious and gross idolaters" (139, 1815). Implicit in her mapping is the call to conversion. As part of this supplement, Marston offers a mission of stewardship to her readers: children must learn about India out of an imperial Christian obligation. In fulfilling this obligation, Marston suggests that these "poor Hindus" will respond best to an imagistic geography of England. To further this alternative geography, she urges the construction of scrapbooks showing pictorial representations of English life. Marston depicts the Indian women as pictorially starved for representations of Britain: "for they know so little, that once when an English lady took a picture book to a *zenana*, one of them found a picture of a tree and wanted to know what that thing was, for though she was a grown-up lady she had never in her life seen a tree" (160). Marston represents this lack of knowledge as a type of intellectual poverty and suggests the remedy of scrapbooks as an RX which British children can effect. She further explains that

The ladies in India, as well as the little girls, are very fond of pictures, especially English pictures. They like to know how English people dress, and what their houses and churches and towns and carriages are like, and what they do all day Another very good way of making scrap-books is to get some old stiff post-cards, nine or twelve of them, as you like, cover each separately with glazed lining, and then sew them together by the edges of the lining, so that they will fold up like the screens for photographs or folding books of views that you have often seen, and then put little pictures all over, and ribbon strings to tie the screen up with, making the two outside cards look as much like covers as you can. (Marston 182)

Styling the Indian fascination with England as a quaint curiosity that it is her moral duty to satisfy, Marston's book—while containing similar information about Indian dress, homes, churches, and towns for *British children*—situates itself on cultural high ground.

By stressing the importance of pictorial representation, Marston suggests an alternative cartography that relies on images and discourse. In other words, as Suleri offers, "the colonial picturesque is in itself a discourse of dressing and adornment, a mode of perceiving racial bodies as though they were pictures before the act of representation" (108). These "racial bodies" try to assume the geographically located power of the colonizers by donning the clothing linked to that space. In *The Boy's Book of Modern Travel and Adventure* Johnes recounts, "Some of the drollest things that travelers tell us of these various savages, are about their notions of European dress. Most of them eagerly desire this, for they see how vastly superior to themselves the white men are" (191). With this observation they "doubtless fancy" that the manipulation of the signifiers of European-ness will transfer them to the powerful side of the colonial equation. They are registering the existence and the potency of an imagistic geography absent from mapping schemes.

Doubly mapped women geographers then conform to Donald Hall's comment in his introduction to *Muscular Christianity*, that "certain groups of men have shaped the truth to ensure their own freedom (as well as argue for, comment upon, resist, and/or deny that of others) by referring back to, making use of, and extrapolating from the male body or more precisely, diverse and often competing versions of the male body" (6). E.R.'s "geography" of such "versioned" bodies essentializes entire nationalities in terms of bodily habits, subsequently placing these bodies (with their imperfections carefully labeled) between the covers of a textbook meant to instruct children in their conception of the world. Marston, Johnes, and Yonge used geography and colonial peoples as a means to bolster their own identities, freedoms, and access to power, as Burton suggests that female travel writers did in relation to Indian women in *zenana* settings. Yet, these women who wrote geography texts were not writing only to inform or to entertain, but to *instruct*, and here lies the key difference: they were actively engaged in the transmission of imperial fictions, couched as empirical science, to young empire builders.

Pictography, paired with graphic and discursive geographies, proves to be an effective teacher. The most concise pictographic depiction of relations between colonizers and colonized comes from Marston. She takes imagistic geography skin deep, organizing the identity of the colonizer not only by clothing, but by physical reactions to climate. After describing the Indian climate as "very unhealthy for Europeans" (15), Marston places the Indian on the working end of a mechanistic relationship designed to increase the comfort of British bodies:

Another thing the English people have in their rooms in the hot weather is a very large fan, called a punkah. It is a light frame of wood covered with calico, with a short curtain fastened to it; the frame is hung from the ceiling by ropes, another rope is passed through the wall to a servant outside, who pulls it backwards and forwards, and so makes a little air in the room. They keep on doing this all day and all night. I believe some of the men are so clever, that they can go to sleep and yet not stop pulling; but sometimes they do stop, and then, even if the English

people are asleep, they feel the heat directly, and wake up. (15)

By situating the Indians as literal extensions of machines designed to augment the comfort of the British people, Marston organizes a relationship of geographic subjugation based on bodily responses to climate, offering an image which depicts the labor and the leisure involved in the relation of colonizer to colonized.

In addition to providing the latitudes and longitudes of countries, E.R.'s *Geography and History* also offers similar pictorial characterizations of entire nations in relation to the British "center." The French are "ceremonious, active, and inconstant; extremely given to talking, especially the females . . . complete masters of the art of dissimulation, and very contentious. . . they feed mostly on boiled or liquid meats, and are very curious in their sauces" (58, 1815). Her depictions of the Spanish prepares English schoolboys to meet them on the field of battle, "The Spaniards are grave, politic, and cunning; make good foot-soldiers; are loyal to their kind . . . but they are thought mistrustful, idle, and prone to revenge" (64, 1815). By essentializing nations and demarcating them according to their departures from the English ideal (grounded at the center), E.R. graphs a world in which British citizens become the measuring sticks for perfection. She establishes that

The general character of the English is, between the gravity of the Germans and the liveliness of the French: they are solid and persevering, and have a natural inclination for arts and arms. They have a thorough sense of liberty, which inspires them with courage; and one matchless for valour A well-educated Englishman is the most accomplished gentleman in the world, and understands arts and sciences the best, (23, 1815)

Such a geography organizes the world and the agendas of the countries which comprise it, only in relation to Britain. Cartography like this is probably responsible for consolidating the Victorian belief in British supremacy which Patrick Brantlinger articulates, "For most Victorians, whether they lived early or late in the queen's reign, the British were inherently, by 'blood,' a conquering, governing, and civilizing 'race'; the 'dark races' whom they conquered were inherently incapable of governing and civilizing themselves" (21). Placing Britain—and England especially and essentially—at the center of such a world, E.R. privileges the place of British children, and fosters the mental outlook that would bloom in the subsequent Victorian era, as Brantlinger outlines.

These alternative imagistic cartographies support Gog-wilt's assertion that "in the image of the map of Africa [in *The Heart of Darkness*] covered over by the colors of European empires . . . [there was] a scramble for the representation of imperialism" (67). The map itself loses its significance; the preponderance of color as claimant becomes the most crucial signifier. Geographic representation, or "mapping the empire" became the synecdoche of power: the possession of a colony or native body was closely followed by the representation of the possession. To study a

geographical system is then to study a narrative discourse of violent imperial fiction-making. For women geography writers representing such violence from within their double mappings, this meant a negotiation of identity contingent on geographic location. They could challenge the existing system of representative geographics, but they still had to give a hearty cheer for the imperial goals. Women's primers and the pedagogical settings in which they were showcased were indeed what Richards labels "'mints for the turning out of empire-builders'" (106). As overseers in these mints, geography writers like Marston, Johnes, Yonge, and E.R. were in a position to stamp imperial agendas onto the newly-minted minds of British children before sending them into circulation in the wide world.

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Books Received

Argyle, Gisela. *Germany as Model and Monster: Allusions in English Fiction 1830s-1930s*. Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's UP, 2002. Pp. x + 257. \$70.00 Can. & US. "[T]he novelists in this study adopt a cosmopolitan vantage point from which to contemplate both the question of the good life and the art of fiction. For their fictional experiments with the good life, they allude to examples of German social, cultural, and political life for standards of comparison, either for emulation or as deterrent. The majority of the authors combine their 'criticism of life' with an experimentation in novel-writing modelled on German practices. These authors expand, in Henry James's words about *Daniel Deronda*, 'what one may do in a novel' and, because of the persuasive power of fiction, also what one may do in life. By enlisting the reader's knowingness, the allusions create a sense of exclusive right-thinking, of group identity, which aids their transformative effect.

To stress the strategic, heuristic quality of such German allusions, it is important to note that the principal German figures whom the English novelists recruited as authorities for their criticism of domestic conventions in life and literature—Goethe, Heine, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche—were themselves avowed cosmopolitans, *Weltbürger* (citizens of the world), aiming at *Weltliteratur* in Goethe's terms, and outspoken critics of German life and letters, as well as admirers of aspects of England" ([3]-4).

Blaisdell, Bob, sel. and ed. *The Wit and Wisdom of Anthony Trollope*. Pickering, UK: Blackthorn P, 2003. Pp. iv + 114. £6-99 (paper), \$10.00 (paper). Quotations from all of Trollope on the following subjects: "Family and Friends," "Love," "Manners," "Marriage," "Men," "Reading," "Religion," "Sorrow and Death," "Travel," "Virtues and Vices," "Women," "Work and Money," "Writing." Includes illustrations and a bibliography.

Carroll, Alicia. *Dark Smiles: Race and Desire in George Eliot*. Athens: Ohio UP, 2003. Pp. xvii + 179. \$39.95. "The questions I will explore in this study . . . challenge many of our postcolonial assumptions about the imperialist agenda of the Victorian novel. In her consistent narrative attraction to the ethnic or racial other, [Eliot], the novelist of the Midlands, questions not just stereotypes of white innocence and dark desire but also the stereotypes of the British novelist as a wholeheartedly committed participant in the national project of empire. Eliot's Others reveal just how conflicted such participation can be. If the emphasis of much recent work is to argue for or against the novelist as an agent of empire, my goal is not to rehabilitate Eliot as a resistor to that project, for I agree that '[b]y contemporary standards, all Victorians would stand accused.' Rather, I want to begin to unfold the multiple

discourses and epistemologies Eliot constructs within her representations of the desirous English self and the racial or ethnic other" (xvi).

Clapp-Itmyre, Alisa. *Angelic Airs, Subversive Songs: Music as Social Discourse in the Victorian Novel*. Athens: Ohio UP, 2002. Pp. xxvii + 226. \$49.95. "Making a crucial break from other music-literature studies, I examine Victorian literature in light of cultural ideologies of music. My study positions music of the nineteenth century as a charged site of cultural struggle insofar as it is promoted as both a transcendent corrective to social ills and a subversive cause for those ills. . . I argue that music educators, intellectual writers, and social reformers of the period constructed music's unparalleled, other-worldly etherealism. Then, paradoxically, they promoted music (such as spiritual and domestic music) as a *practical* corrective to foster patriotism, morality, spirituality, and domestic tranquility: musical aesthetics becomes political.

The construction of music as influential and political, however, was complicated in three basic ways. First, even the most innocuous song *texts* immediately imposed political ideologies upon the music: more blatant texts, such as protest songs, unabashedly promoted political agendas. Second, even non-textual music faltered when the *music* itself generated "inappropriate" emotions in the auditors—emotions of rapture, of sensuality—quite apart from the spiritual lyrics . . . Finally, because public music was experienced solely through live performances, with performers being *viewed* by auditors throughout the nineteenth century, "artificial," display and "immoral" sensuality also threatened music's "sublimity." This triangular paradigm of text, music, and spectacle of music performance forms the cornerstone of my theoretical approach" (xvii).

Faulkenburg, Marilyn Thomas. *Victorian Conscience: F. W. Robertson*. Studies in Nineteenth-Century British Literature 19. Pieterlen, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2003. Pp. xvii + 316. \$67.95. "The more I researched, the more I realized what an exceptional Victorian Robertson was, exceptional not because he invented or discovered anything, not because he was an outstanding statesman or entrepreneur, but because he lived and preached values that were democratic at a time when it was the norm for an upper class Englishman to believe that he was racially superior and deserving of privilege based on title and class alone. Much of what his era considered radical or even heresy on his part is now embedded in our social fabric. . . In an era governed by social distinctions based solely on rank, title, and wealth, he preached equal opportunity, and universal education as a way to achieve it (2).

Coming in

The Victorian Newsletter

Robert D. Butterworth, The Professional in the Victorian Novel: (1) *Agnes Grey*"

Robert D. Butterworth, The Professional in the Victorian Novel: (2) *New Grub Street*

Karen Kurt Teal, "'Dismissing all that rowdy lot': Trollope's Grudge against Disraeli"

- Glen, Heather, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Brontës*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. Pp. xvi + 251. \$60.00 (cloth), \$22.00 (paper). Contents: Juliet Barker, "The Haworth Context"; Carol Bock, "'Our Plays': The Brontë Juvenilia"; Angela Leighton, "The Poetry"; Stevie Davis, "'Three distinct and unconnected tales': *The Professor*, *Agnes Grey* and *Wuthering Heights*"; Jill Matus, "'Strong family likeness': *Jane Eyre* and *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*"; Heather Glen, "*Shirley* and *Villette*"; Rick Rylance, "'Getting on': Ideology, Personality, and the Brontë Characters"; Kate Flint, "Women Writers, Women's Issues"; John Maynard, "The Brontës and Religion"; Patsy Stoneman, "The Brontë Myth."
- Hulme, Peter and Tim Youngs, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003. Pp. x + 343. \$65.00 (cloth), \$23.00 (paper). Contents: Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, "Introduction"; William H. Sherman, "Stirrings and Searchings (1500-1720)"; James Buzard, "The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)"; Roy Bridges, "Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720-1914)"; Helen Carr, "Modernism and Travel (1880-1940)"; Peter Hulme, "Traveling to Write (1940-2000)"; Billie Melman, "The Middle East / Arabia: 'The Cradle of Islam'"; Neil L. Whitehead "South America / Amazonia: The Forest of Marvels"; Rod Edmond, "The Pacific / Tahiti: Queen of the South Sea Isles"; Tim Youngs, "Africa / The Congo: the Politics of Darkness"; Glenn Hooper, "The Isle / Ireland: The Wilder Shore"; Kate Teltcher, "India / Calcutta: City of Palaces and Dreadful Night"; Bruce Greenfield, "The West / California: Site of the Future"; Susan Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender"; Joan Pau Rubies, "Travel Writing and Ethnography"; Mary Baine Campbell, "Travel Writing and Its Theory."
- Kooistra, Lorraine Janzen. *Christina Rossetti and Illustration: A Publishing History*. Athens: Ohio UP, 2003. Pp. xvi + 332. \$55.00. "Students of Victorian publishing history . . . have focused almost exclusively on the fields of fiction, serial publication, and periodicals. With the exception of an interest in the production of anthologies in the period, scant attention has been paid to the genre of poetry, and even less to the production of Victorian illustrated poetry. While this is less true of studies in twentieth-century publishing, the important connections between Victorian publishing practices and twentieth-century developments in the production of illustrated poetry have yet to be made. Taking Christina Rossetti as a case study, this book seeks to establish those links and explore their complexities by mapping the genealogy of her publications from their genesis in her lifetime through their ongoing reproductive life after her death" (2).
- Krueger, Christine L., ed. *Functions of Victorian Culture at the Present Time*. Athens: Ohio UP, 2003. Pp. xx + 195. \$44.95 (cloth), \$19.95 (paper). Contents: Simon Joyce, "The Victorians in the Rearview Mirror"; Ronald R. Thomas, "The Legacy of Victorian Spectacle: The Map of Time and the Architecture of Empty Space"; Miriam Bailin, "The New Victorians"; Ellen Bayuk Rosenman, "More Stories about Clothing and Furniture: Realism and Bad Commodities"; Jesse Matz, "Wilde Americana"; Sharon Aronofsky Weltman, "Victorians on Broadway at the Present Time: John Ruskin's Life on Stage"; Kate Lonsdale, "Rounding Up the Usual Suspect: Echoing Jack the Ripper"; Christine Krueger, "Legal Uses of Victorian Fiction: Infant Felons to Juvenile Delinquents"; Florence Boos, "'Nurs'd up amongst the scenes I have describ'd': Poetic Resonances in the Poetry of Working-Class Women"; David Barndollar and Susan Schorn, "Revisiting the Serial Format of Dickens's Novels; or, *Little Dorrit* Goes a Long Way"; Sue Lonoff, "Disseminating Victorian Culture in the Postmillennial Classroom."
- Lamonica, Drew. *"We Are Three Sisters": Self and Family in the Writings of the Brontës*. Columbia and London: U of Missouri P, Pp. x + 260. \$37.50. "Biographers have widely recognized the significance of the family relationship to the formation of the Brontë sisters as mid-Victorian writers, and various literary critics have viewed the family as a precondition and motive for their writing. Yet the family was not simply an essential context for the Brontës's writing processes—the family is an essential element of content in the texts themselves. The Brontës were a writing family who wrote about families. Within the ever-expanding corpus of Brontë literary scholarship, this connection is, I believe, both strikingly obvious and commonly overlooked. *We Are Three Sisters* examines the role of families in the Brontës' fictions of personal development, exploring the ways in which these fictions consider the family as a 'defining community' for selfhood. The Brontë sisters share an interest in the familial influences on self-development and self-understanding, and I trace this interest throughout the children's writing, or juvenilia as they are collectively called, and the published novels" (1).
- Lawrence, Iain. *Lord of the Nutcracker Men*. New York: Delacorte P, 2001. Pp. 213. \$15.95; \$23.95 Canada. (Ages 10 up) A fictional story of a boy in 1914 who has soldiers his father carved that he begins to fear.
- Logan, Deborah Anna. *The Hour and the Woman: Harriet Martineau's "Somewhat Remarkable" Life*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois UP, 2002. Pp. 332. \$42.00. "By viewing Martineau as one of the Victorian era's primary cultural influences, my design is to shed light on the life and work of a writer oddly neglected by literary and social history. The 'Hour' of Victorian history is defined by social reform, and its premier woman reformist writer is Harriet Martineau. Martineau's work reads like a *Who's Who* of Victorian people and issues, yet most of her books remain out of print. Although a contemporary of regularly anthologized nonfiction prose writers like Matthew Arnold, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Carlyle, and John Ruskin, she is today regarded as a comparatively obscure figure despite her commanding presence among people of Victorian letters during her life. This book seeks to contribute to recent scholarly interest in a writer who modestly dubbed herself more of a 'popularizer' than an inventive genius but who, from the 1832 to the 1867 Reform Bills, was at the forefront of the period's social and political debates" ([3]-4).
- Miller, David Lee. *Dreams of the Burning Child: Sacrificial Sons and the Father's Witness*. Ithaca & London: Cornell UP, 2003. Pp. xii + 239. £23.50, \$35.00. "The motif of filial sacrifice is the most striking feature shared by the canonical texts of English literature, along with their classical and biblical antecedents. Why is this so? Why do Western patriarchies so persistently imagine sacrificing their sons?"
- This question cannot be answered in the abstract, solved, like an equation, with the right theoretical proof. It is historical, although framed so broadly as to be almost unanswerable in purely historical terms. While postmodern literary and cultural studies are increasingly political, their historicism tends to be local, remaining notably skeptical of 'master narratives' that sweep across material differences in language, custom, economic organization, family structure, and institutional context. What can be the object of a study that crosses millennia? My answers are speculative but I take the question seriously. The cultural breadth and historical insistence of the motif are precisely what have to be accounted for. To ask about its recurrence in spite of so much change is a way of asking about its power. What could enable this cultural fantasy and the ensemble of practices that support it to reproduce and mutate like a virus? Why does it haunt the most intimate spaces of personal subjectivity even as it invades the most public spaces of Western culture—the book, the altar, the museum, the theater? What has the sacrificial son meant to the melancholy patriarchs of the past, and to what extent does this fantasy still determine their meaning for us today?
- In this book I address such questions by describing what must surely be Western culture's oddest couple, the deified father and the sacrificial son" ([1]).
- Pite, Ralph. *Hardy's Geography: Wessex and the Regional Novel*. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002. Pp. xvi + 246. "Hardy's locations still tend to be understood . . . within either a realist or anti-realist [sense]. The difficulty lies in describing exactly how Hardy and his locations are linked together—how they interact with one another. This is what the following chapters attempt to address, in Hardy particularly and more generally, too, as a theoretical question for literary studies. It is an unusual project because, broadly speaking, Hardy criticism has in recent years set aside the question of his depiction of Wessex and concentrated instead on other issues: his portrayal of women, his subversiveness, the innovativeness of his narrative forms, his relation to Victorian popular fiction and to Victorian scholarship. Among other things, this work has revealed that Hardy was not a straightforwardly realist novelist and by no means a simple historian of his time and place. It has also shown his preoccupation with contemporary issues—a preoccupation which makes it difficult to see him as the creator of a self-contained, fictional world. Other approaches to Hardy have, in other words, brought out qualities which cast doubt on received accounts of Hardy's Wessex and it is partly in the light of them that I am attempting to characterize that 'partly real, partly dream-country'—one which is recognizably the West of England and, at the same time, a transformation of that real place into something different" (3).
- Roberts, Caroline. *The Woman and the Hour: Harriet Martineau and Victorian Ideologies*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2002. Pp. 253. \$50.00, £32.00. "Harriet Martineau was one of the nineteenth century's most prolific writers, whose articles for the *Daily News* alone number in excess of one thousand, and her isolation of five texts, singular for their anticipated ruin of her name and career, provides a useful focus. This study examines these five texts, exceptional in Martineau's literary output for their highly controversial status: her *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1832-4), *Society in America* (1837), *Letters on Mesmerism* (1844), *Eastern Life, Past and Present* (1848), and *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development* (1851). It also examines Martineau's two published novels, *Deerbrook* (1839) and *The Hour and the Man: A Historical Romance* (1841), which, although excluded from her list of her most inflammatory work, were also highly provocative for their unusual choice of hero—a middle-class apothecary in *Deerbrook* and, in *The Hour and the Man*, Toussaint L'Ouverture, the black hero of the revolution (1791) in St Domingo (Haiti)" ([3]).
- Robinson, Solveig C., ed. *A Serious Occupation: Literary Criticism: Victorian Women Writers*. Orchard Park, NY: Broadview P, 2003. Pp. xiii + 307. \$19.95 (paper), (Can.) \$26.95 (paper), (UK) £13.99 (paper). Contents: "Introduction"; Anna Jameson, "Characters of Intellect: Portia" (1832); Harriet Martineau, "Achievements of the Genius of Scott" (1832); Elizabeth Rigby Eastlake, "Review of *Vanity Fair* and *Jane Eyre*" (1848); Eliza Cook, "People Who Do Not Like Poetry" (1849); Charlotte Brontë, "Editor's Preface to the New Edition of *Wuthering Heights*" (1850); George Eliot, "Silly Novels by Lady Novelists" (1856); Dinah Mulock Craik, "To Novelists—and a Novelist" (1861); Janet Hamilton, "The Uses and

Pleasures of Poetry for the Working Classes" (1863); Geraldine Jewsbury, "Review of *Cometh Up as a Flower*" (1867); Margaret Oliphant, "Novels" (1867); Mary Elizabeth Braddon, "A Remonstrance" (1867); Anne Mozley, "On Fiction as an Education" (1870); Elizabeth Julia Hasell, "Browning's Poems" (1870); Anne Thackeray Ritchie, "Jane Austen" (1871); Mary Augusta (Mrs. Humphrey) Ward, "Style and Miss Austen" (1884); Helen Blackburn, "Women's Books—A Possible Library" (1889); Eliza Lynn Linton, "Literature: Then and Now" (1890); Alice Meynell, "Christina Rossetti" (1895).

Shaker, Bonnie James. *Coloring Locals: Racial Formation in Kate Chopin's Youth's Companion Stories*. Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 2003. Pp. xv + 158. \$32.95. "Contrary to the fiction for which she is best known, Chopin's *Companion* tales frequently embrace orthodox notions of femininity and, notably, masculinity as well. Although an uncomplicated explanation for this phenomenon is that Chopin wrote her fiction with an eye toward the periodical's sense of propriety—which she did—she was not simply forsaking her feminist politics for editorial acceptance. With few exceptions, Chopin's endorsement of conventional gender norms in her *Companion* stories, 1891-1902, operates in the service of a critical agenda beyond her feminism, one that has yet to be identified as such, and one that can help us appreciate nuances of identity construction previously misunderstood or overlooked in the body of her work" ([xi]).

Slater, Michael. *Douglas Jerrold 1803-1857*. London: Duckworth, 2002. Pp. xii + 340. \$35.00. 31 Illustrations. Jerrold's "gravestone . . . fell victim to the local Council's 'nature park' conversion scheme for this magnificent Victorian cemetery, a scheme intended to enable visitors to 'relax in tranquil surroundings' unimpeded by the dead. Fortunately, there has been a change of policy in recent years and there are now plans to restore Jerrold's tomb as a number of others have been that were also removed. A comparable restoration of Jerrold to the fame that he enjoyed at the time of his death is hardly possible, but it is surely now time that we should try to recover from the obscurity of specialist academic studies and learned footnotes this dynamic little figure who was so much at the centre of popular culture and of journalistic and theatrical life in the London of William IV and the first two decades of Victoria's reign. Apart from the intrinsic cultural-historical interest of Jerrold's career in itself, such a work of recuperation should help us to understand something of the feelings of personal and national loss that were so widespread in England on that lovely June

day [of Jerrold's funeral] in 1857" (5).

White, Norman. *Hopkins in Ireland*. Dublin: University College Dublin P, 2002. Pp. xviii + 217. \$59.95 (cloth), \$24.95 (paper). "This book is not a conventional biography; it does not aim to be an accurate account of Hopkins' doings in Ireland. The important things that happened to him in Ireland were mental; and so *Hopkins in Ireland* is an account, an exploration of the poems he wrote in Ireland largely as a form of psychological biography, working outwards from his most intimate creations. We have often been told that we should not read poems as biography, but we usually do, and I am not sure it is wrong when the poems draw so deeply on the life and mental states of the author as do Hopkins's.

If the outer details of Hopkins's life are needed, the reader is invited to consult my *Hopkins: A Literary Biography* (Oxford 1992). But in the present study, the poems are the biography. The events of the life (the world without) are used as context to this world within" (x).

Worth, George J. *Macmillan's Magazine 1859-1907: "No Flippancy or Abuse Allowed"*. Nineteenth Century Series. Aldershot Hants & Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003. Pp. xvi + 186. \$79.95. "I do not claim to have arrived at any definitive answers to the five questions that have determined the structure of this book: . . . 'First, where did *Macmillan's* come from, in 1859 of all years—not sooner, not later? Second, exactly how did Alexander Macmillan, the head of Macmillan and Co. and the *Magazine's* guiding spirit during its formative years, put his distinctive stamp on its editorial philosophy and its contents? Third, to what extent did *Macmillan's* during that same period reflect the broad range of concerns associated with the Christian Socialist movement in general and Frederick Denison Maurice, its acknowledged leader, in particular? Fourth, how did the *Magazine* and its parent firm deal with authors and juggle their periodical work and the related books they often produced? (In addressing that complicated question, I thought it best to concentrate on one writer, Margaret Oliphant, unique but also in a number of ways representative, whose association with both the *Magazine* and the publishing house endured for more than four busy decades.) Finally, what accounted for the palpable decline in the quality and fiscal health of *Macmillan's* during the last 25 years of its life and, ultimately, for its death? Each of the five chapters of this book treats one of these questions in some depth. There are of course important interrelationships among them; none of the chapters, therefore, can satisfactorily stand by itself. (xi).

Victorian Group News

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