



Issue 4: Transnationalism in the Long-Nineteenth Century

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Editorial: Transnationalism in Long-Nineteenth Century Literature and Twenty-First Century Heritage

EMMA HILLS
(EDITOR-IN-CHIEF)

'[A] different kind of transnational study is now in order, one where the cultural and economic hegemony of the metropolis is no longer dominant, so that other circuits and relations, long-obscured in the centre-dominated model, become evident.'¹

THE TURN TO transnationalism in critical scholarship is not new.² But in the summer of 2020, in the midst of a global pandemic, after the death of George Floyd, amid calls to decolonise, and in the light of the evermore urgent climate crisis, transnational research and working were given new impetus. Perhaps one of the most compelling recent works which takes a transnational approach is Jessie Reeder's *Forms of Informal Empire* (2020). In her monograph, Reeder goes beyond the European, African, North American and South Asian limits that are so often the boundaries of works on British Imperialism. Instead, she centres her study on Latin America, and the British influence and informal Empire in this region throughout much of the nineteenth century. Further to adjusting her geographical scope, however, Reeder also adapts her textual focus, analysing Spanish texts (including the novels of Vicente Fidel López and the letters of Simón Bolívar) alongside canonical Anglo-centric works, such as those of Anthony Trollope, Anna Letitia Barbauld and H. Rider Haggard. However, Rosina Visram's much earlier 1986 *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: The Story of Indians in Britain 1700-1947* – which 'was the first account of the ordinary people in Britain' – along with the works of Priya Joshi,

¹ Priya Joshi, 'Globalizing Victorian Studies', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 41 (2011), 20-40 (p. 21).

² See: Joshi; Kate Flint, 'Why "Victorian"?: Response', *Victorian Studies*, 47 (2005), 230-39; and Regenia Gagnier, *Literatures of Liberalization: Global Circulation and the Long Nineteenth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

Kate Flint, Regenia Gagnier and countless others demonstrates that the call for transnational nineteenth-century studies is of long-standing duration.³

The articles published here analyse a guidebook, an international library, a transnational composer and a group of pirates, and are complimented by a commissioned thought piece that explores how transnational and decolonial approaches are active in the heritage sector beyond academia. Together, these articles illuminate only a minute sample of the heterogeneous ways in which empires, nations and individuals physically, imaginatively and intellectually interacted across cultures and boundaries throughout the nineteenth century. However, in doing so, they map the interplay of national and individual power struggles inherent in imperial and inter-imperial lives, whether that be through the subversive and frictional intra-European representation of French culture, or the necessity of creating a new nation on Atlantic water in order to live freely. Or, indeed, the struggle between 'systematisation and liberty, conformity and individuality, objectivity and subjectivity' that Helena Drysdale argues characterises both the process of writing, and the finished publication, of George Bowen's 1854 Murray *Handbook for Travellers in Greece*.⁴

With evidence from both the *Handbook* and Bowen's personal journals, Drysdale argues that throughout the publication of the *Handbook*, Murray's stringent requirements for objectivity challenged Bowen's individual creativity and limited his freedom to include more expansive and descriptive passages. Drysdale sees this tension mirrored in the changing mid-century travelling practices which pitted the 'traveller' or 'wayfarer' against the 'supposedly sheep-like tourist': the first free to find their own path, and the second following proscribed routes.⁵ These changing travel practices reflected the globalisation of capitalism and as a result, Drysdale writes, the *Handbook* is a 'product [...] of the interconnected global circulation of people, commodities and ideas'.⁶ Nevertheless, though the product of the tensions between individuality,

³ Rozina Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: The Story of Indians in Britain 1700-1947*, Routledge Revivals (London: Routledge, 2015), half title.

⁴ Helena Drysdale, 'George Bowen and his 1854 Murray *Handbook for Travellers in Greece*', *RRR*, 4 (2022), 10-34 (p. 33).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

objectivity, and commercialisation, it does, she argues, form a record of one white British man's experience of Greece at a particular mid-nineteenth-century moment.

While Drysdale analyses one Murray handbook, Kathy Rees writes of what has been described as 'a series of spiritual Baedekers and Murrays': the Heinemann International Library.⁷ In her article, Rees explores this transnational European collection of translated texts that were distributed throughout the British Empire, 'as is evident in the half-page advertisement in the endpapers, listing booksellers who stocked the volumes in Paris, Nice, Leipzig, Vienna' and many other cities.⁸ Similarly to Drysdale's view of Bowen's *Handbook*, Rees sees this library as 'a cultural, material, and economic object produced by transnational collaboration' that was 'facilitated by technological advances in the production, distribution, and consumption of books'.⁹ Thus, both articles speak to the influence of globalisation and capitalism over book production and reception. They highlight the nineteenth-century growth of transnational literary sources, the increasing reach of printed material and the ideologies it contained, and the knowledge networks they created. Central to Rees' study of this transnational library is the figure of the 'woman reader' of the French novel, and the manipulation of that gendered motif by both male and female authors to 'demonstrate a nation's vulnerability to the influence of the Other, or as an active force interrogating and creatively recreating narratives.'¹⁰ For Rees, these women readers become variously national allegories onto which national fears are projected, or advocates for the agency of the New Woman. Ultimately, she argues that these novels together create a transnational 'counter-culture to [...] nationalist impulse[s] by acts of translation' that transcend geographical, linguistic, and ideological barriers.¹¹

Tensions between nationalism and transnationalism resonate throughout the articles published here, and questions over the sometimes-intangible criteria of nationhood, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are at the heart of the remaining two articles. For Victoria C. Roskams, *Daniel Deronda's* composer Klesmer, is situated

⁷ Edmund Gosse, 'Editor's Note', quoted in Kathy Rees, 'Transnationalism, Translation, and Transgression in the "Heinemann International Library" (1890-97)', *RRR*, 4 (2022), 35-57 (p. 37).

⁸ Rees, p. 37.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 37.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

at the crux of these questions, amid a 'mixture of musical nationalism and transnationalism'.¹² As with Rees, Roskams' article is centred around the place of language in what she calls 'transnational living'.¹³ For, as Roskams notes, music is a transnational language: 'audiences who could not read the works of renowned European authors because of a language barrier, [...] could nonetheless experience the music of Beethoven.'¹⁴ Entering into a substantial body of work on the subject, Roskams sheds new light on the debate over whether Klesmer is a cosmopolitan or a nationalist, by bringing this transnational lens to focus on Klesmer's comparative musicians, other characters' descriptions of him as well as his own, and his final decision to settle in London as a music teacher. More than just a transnational figure, Roskams argues that Klesmer is a character who 'is integral to the globalising processes Eliot exposes'.¹⁵ For Roskams, Klesmer's role as a music teacher – 'a more professionalised post than that of the composer' – points to the fact that 'Jewish people are integrated into British society on capitalist grounds' at the potential risk of 'erasure'.¹⁶ Again, the interplay between capitalism, globalisation and transnationalism (and the effect of each on the individual) resounds throughout Roskams' work, speaking to both Drysdale and Rees.

As Olivia Tjon-A-Meeuw notes when writing of Maxwell Philip's *Emmanuel Appadocca* (and gesturing to Paul Gilroy), 'the formation of modernity was not only a European project but very much involved Africa as part of the Atlantic world, connected through slavery and other economic ties'.¹⁷ Here, Tjon-A-Meeuw moves beyond European transnationalism to analyse 'a proto-nation made up of pirates' that is constructed by a Trinidadian man of African descent and exists in the Caribbean: a 'heterotopia' in the 'atopia' of the ocean.¹⁸ While Rees posits the Heinemann International Library as a 'counter-culture' to nationalist ideals, Tjon-A-Meeuw reads Appadocca's pirate ship as 'an alternative space to the British Empire, as it not only has

¹² Victoria Roskams, 'Between Nationalism, Transnationalism, and Cosmopolitanism in *Daniel Deronda's* Klesmer', *RRR*, 4 (2022), 58-80 (p. 59).

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Olivia Tjon-A-Meeuw, 'An Oceanic Nation of Pirates in *Emmanuel Appadocca or Blighted Life: A Tale of the Boucaniers*', *RRR*, 4 (2022), 81-100 (p. 82).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 90.

a place for the mixed-race Appadocca, but actually allows him to become the leader of this nation.¹⁹ For Tjon-A-Meeuw, what may be central to an idea of transnationalism is not in fact traversing boundaries or negotiating different manifestations of cross-cultural existence, but existing outside the conventional idea of a nation at all: 'far removed from the laws of the land, or, in other words, other political communities'.²⁰ In analysing a novel which 'tries to imagine how a child might respond to' a parent 'enslav[ing] his own child and put[ting] them to work in the fields', Tjon-A-Meeuw speaks to Roskams' and Rees' works that see individuals as allegorical for nations, races and other groups, in this case descendants of slavery as they face the trauma of our shared history.

Together, these articles address some of the key threads of transnational studies within academia: the relationship between nation and transnationalism; between individual and nation; the tensions between globalism, capitalism and transnationalism (and their liberating or effacing consequences); representation and cultural memory; and historiography. But these debates stretch beyond the academic world, as Christo Kefalas shows.

As with each of the previous articles, central to Kefalas' discussion are the uneven power structures and struggles that were, and are still, at the heart of western (particularly British) knowledge production about itself and about the rest of the world. The heritage sector is intricately bound up with the politics of historiography, a space where 'the interplay between heritage, politics, and the tensions presented in the histories communicated to the public, [...] can become a battleground for how power is ideologically exercised.'²¹ Who tells stories, which stories they tell, and how they tell them is a key concern for Kefalas who writes that 'the histories we tell ourselves shape our understanding of the world and our place within it, but every history is a story shaped by us as well'.²² She is acutely aware of the crucial part each of us has to play in the writing, re-writing and effacing of cultural histories and personal and group identities. While Drysdale is concerned with Bowen's *Handbook* as a record of a cultural

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 84.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 89.

²¹ Christo Kefalas, 'Heritage as Contestation and Change: Decolonisation in Practice', *RRR*, 4 (2022), 101-129 (p. 110).

²² Ibid., p. 101.

experience, Kefalas sees the results of such nineteenth-century knowledge production that have become part of a national history which is now beginning to be seriously challenged by programmes of determined decolonial work. 'Even the earliest private collecting through the "cabinet of curiosity" concept within the home was not without political impact', she argues, and the structures and language which have historically been used in collecting practices such as this are still largely the organising principle of many museum collections.²³ As she argues, 'The problems around the catalogue are the entrenched constructs that have been standardised around its use', including 'the imposition of western epistemologies onto global material cultures and traditions.'²⁴ But it is clearly not just the cataloguing of items which causes issue: 'The removal of art and artefacts from colonial territories and peoples functioned as a means of celebrating the prowess of colonising nations.'²⁵ Questions around the future of such colonial objects in UK heritage institutions occupy the second half of Kefalas' piece. Consultation and collaboration with source communities (indigenous as well as communities of colour), repatriation, and exchange are each explored. Thus, Kefalas' piece can perhaps be seen as a corollary to more conventional academic research such as Tjon-A-Meeuw's article, as both confront the traumatic legacy of the British Empire. In fact, Kefalas' piece may be seen as the corollary of each of these works in turn as she draws out the themes of cultural or racial effacement and trauma, historiography, and (trans)national narratives.

The articles in this issue of *Romance, Revolution and Reform* aim to contribute to the ever-developing field of transnational studies at a time when such studies and outlooks appear increasingly more crucial not only to academia, but to our understanding of the world in a far broader sense. Through this issue's combination of interdisciplinary research with a thought piece from an author working in the heritage sector, it is this Editor-in-Chief's hope that this issue can, in a modest way, contribute to Joshi's call for 'a different kind of transnational study'.

²³ Ibid., p. 110.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 114.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 112.

George Bowen and his 1854 Murray Handbook for Travellers in Greece

HELENA DRYSDALE

ABSTRACT: George Bowen's Handbook for Travellers in Greece, published by John Murray in 1854, was the world's first practical guide to Greece. It preserves Victorian travel experiences at a time when guidebooks were beginning to denote the scale of British influence, and opens up an overlooked area of British imperialism. This paper contextualises and scrutinises Bowen's Handbook, highlighting its significance in bridging the bifurcation between picturesque travelogues and supposedly impartial guides; in addressing tensions between systematisation and liberation; and in challenging anti-Greek prejudice. It explores Bowen's mixed identity as defender of Greek liberty and emissary of a burgeoning colonial power, and asks if a critical examination of his writings and life can provide an enriching route into the past.

KEYWORDS: Nineteenth Century Greece; Victorian Travel; George Bowen; John Murray; Handbook; Imperialism; Development of Tourism; Travel Writing



'THE STRUGGLES OF Modern Greece must command the sympathy of all thoughtful minds.'¹ So wrote British traveller, scholar and colonial administrator George Bowen in his *Handbook for Travellers in Greece*, published by John Murray in 1854. Bowen was troubled by Greece's struggles to cast off Ottoman imperialism and take shape as the first new independent state in post-Napoleonic Europe. In the mid-nineteenth century, his *Handbook* was one of the most respected authorities on Greece. Now long forgotten, its value lies in its preservation of travel experiences at a period when the burgeoning guidebook genre was beginning to denote the scale of British influence on the development of tourism and travel writing; on travellers' experience and understanding of abroad; and on the destinations themselves.

¹ *A Handbook for Travellers in Greece* (London: John Murray, 1854), p. 1. Henceforth referred to as the *Handbook*.

Using Bowen's unpublished journals, and correspondence in the John Murray Archive, this paper contextualises and scrutinises Bowen's *Handbook*, highlighting its significance in bridging the bifurcation between picturesque subjective travelogues, and reliable objective guides.² Whereas travel writing is a literature of personal reminiscences and impressions, guidebooks provide advice and information for others. This is a distinction dubbed by Eleanor McNeese the 'Battle of the travel books', which crystallised in the mid-Victorian era as travel writing flourished and guidebooks emerged in their present form.³ McNeese shows that Dickens' *Pictures from Italy* was more influenced by Murray's 1842 and 1843 handbooks to Italy than he admitted; I argue that Bowen's *Handbook* was more personal and subjective than appeared. It functions as a core sample of a particular place at a particular time, but crucially of particular views of that place and time. Today, Bowen's classical quotations without translation, abundant allusions to Byron, and lordly impressions of an objectified Other seem anachronistic and elitist.⁴ Referring to travel writing as an act of translation, travel theorist Caren Kaplan asks: 'Are imperialist travellers' descriptions of cultural differences the ones we want to reproduce in tourist brochures?'⁵ I ask instead if a critical reading of Bowen's *Handbook* can open up an important but overlooked area of Victorian authorship, and help bring a tangled imperial past into focus.

² Most of Bowen's journals are unpublished, except for a section in 1849 published as *Mount Athos, Thessaly, and Epirus: A diary of a Journey from Constantinople to Corfu* (London: Rivington, 1852).

³ Eleanor McNeese, 'Reluctant Source: Murray's Handbooks and Pictures from Italy', *Dickens Quarterly*, 4 (2007), 211-20 (p. 211). McNeese argues that the new guidebook genre freed travel writers from having to combine their personal reactions with prosaic history and practical advice. Previously, Romantic travelogues such as Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (London: John Murray, 1812) included footnotes that advised travellers on how to visit places referenced in the main text.

⁴ For a summary of recently-debated formal issues such as the nature and function of the stereotype, the subjective presence of the author, truth value in narrative writing, inter-cultural 'translation', exoticism, and the role of dominance in the relationship between travel writers and those they represent, see Mary Baine Campbell, 'Travel Writing and its theory', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 261-278.

⁵ Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 1996), p. x.

John Murray's iconic handbooks were the world's first guidebook series. They reflected and facilitated increasingly complex communication systems, and expanded tourism and travel guide publishing, thereby helping to extend the informal and ever-shifting global web of disparate but interdependent spheres of influence and aims that John Darwin calls, 'the British world-system'.⁶ According to Keighren, Withers and Bell, from about 1813 the publisher 'was at the centre of London's official and colonial networks.'⁷ Between the start of the handbook series in 1836 and its sale to Edward Stanford in 1901, Murray published handbooks to almost every European country as well as Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Palestine, Algeria and Tunis, the Mediterranean, India, Japan, and New Zealand.⁸ Murray handbooks were the 'supreme monument to the era between the stage coach and the aeroplane: the age of steam locomotion by land and sea.'⁹ In 1853, travel writer George Hillard noted: 'Murray's Guidebooks now cover nearly the whole of the Continent and constitute one of the great powers of Europe. Since Napoleon no man's empire has been so wide.'¹⁰ The gold lettering on red cloth was as recognisable as a British passport: 'The handbooks were manuals of optimism for the happiest humans of that age: the English gentleman.'¹¹

The handbooks were part of an explosion of travel writing that coincided with Europe's accelerating steam-powered communications, and excitement about

⁶ John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 23.

⁷ Innes Keighren, Charles Withers and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing and Publishing with John Murray, 1773-1859*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 54. This focuses on non-European narratives of exploration rather than guides.

⁸ The sale excluded India and Japan.

⁹ John Gretton, 'Introduction', in William Lister, *A Bibliography of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers* (Norfolk: Dereham Books, 1993), p. xxv.

¹⁰ George Hillard, *Six Months in Italy* (London: John Murray, 1853), p. 353.

¹¹ Edward Mendelson, 'Baedeker's Universe', *Yale Review*, 74 (1985), 386-403. In this review, Mendelson claims that in 1846 Baedeker bettered Murray by introducing the bright red cloth 'that was later imitated by most other guidebook publishers, eventually by Murray himself.' In fact, Murray was there first: all the Murray handbooks were red (except the first edition of Switzerland which was blue) but the vegetable dyes, later replaced by chemical, faded to tan, hence Mendelson's mistake.; Antoni Maćzak, 'Gentlemen's Europe: Nineteenth-Century "Handbooks for Travellers"', *Annali D'Italianistica*, 21 (2003), 347-362 (p. 362).

geographical and intellectual expansion, which included an urge to map and calibrate the world. The Ordnance Survey's activities in mapping the British Isles since 1791 were well-known to the British public, being broadcast 'in enthusiastic detail' in the press.¹² John Murray III's publisher father, John Murray II (1778-1843), was central to this expansionist phenomenon. A founding Fellow of The Royal Geographical Society in 1830, he published a mainly non-fiction list of history, philosophy, science, medical books and travel including, in 1839, Charles Darwin's epic *Voyage of the Beagle*: one of numerous books to stoke interest in science and exploration. His list read 'like a who's who of nineteenth-century travel writing.'¹³

The lack of a useful guidebook inspired the first handbook. As a young man in 1829, John Murray III made his first visit to the Continent, but since little practical information was available for travellers to Northern Europe, he found himself at a loss in Hamburg without such 'friendly aid'. He collected 'all the facts, information, statistics, &c., which an English tourist would be likely to require', and enriched them with information on history, architecture, geology 'and other subjects suited to a traveller's need'.¹⁴ It was published in 1836 as *A Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, and according to Barbara Schaff marked the invention of the modern guidebook.¹⁵ That downplays the influence of the tone, structure and intended audience of *Travels on the Continent* by the redoubtable Mariana Starke, published by John Murray II in numerous editions from 1820. But while Starke offered information and practical advice, her account was essentially a personal travelogue. Murray III pared back the personal. He also added uniformity, attention to detail and accuracy, and, for the first time, systematically synthesised literature with practical verified facts and advice.¹⁶ Hugely

¹² Rachel Hewitt, *Map of a Nation* (London: Granta, 2011), p. 203.

¹³ Bill Bell, 'Authors in an Industrial Economy: the case of John Murray's travel writers', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture 1780-1840*, 21 (2013), 9-29 (p. 9).

¹⁴ John Murray IV, *John Murray III 1808-1892: A Brief Memoir* (London: John Murray, 1919), pp. 40-41.

¹⁵ Barbara Schaff, 'John Murray's Handbooks to Italy: Making Tourism Literary', in *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture*, ed. by Nicola J Watson (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2009), p. 106.

¹⁶ For the relationship between Starke and Murray see Kirsten Banks, *The John Murray Archive, 1820s-1840s: (Re)establishing the House Identity* (Doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2013), pp. 203-216.

successful, it was swiftly followed by *Southern Germany* (1837), *Switzerland* (1838) and *France* (1843).

Murray's timing was brilliant. By the 1840s most major destinations were accessible, but most guidebooks were a 'heterogenous collection of hints to young men on the Grand Tour', while the formerly popular road books were being superseded by the burgeoning railways.¹⁷ The appetite for guidebooks was growing, and, with their handbooks, generations of enterprising Murrays satisfied it. Karl Baedeker of Leipzig was John Murray III's greatest rival, but every place they both covered was described by Murray first.¹⁸ Baedeker did not produce his first *Guide to Greece* until 1889, thirty-five years after Murray published Bowen's *Handbook*. The first Greece guide in Hachette's Guide-Joanne series, precursors of the French Guides Bleus, did not appear until 1891, by which time Murray had published four successive updated editions. Murray's handbook series took off with enthusiastic reviews, large sales, and eminent authors offering their services, including Ruskin on Cumbria and Trollope on Ireland, both of whom were turned down. The *Saturday Review* noted the emergence of Baedeker as a 'capital guide', but 'by no means so pleasant an instructor as his English rival'.¹⁹ Hillard eulogised:

I very rarely found occasion to correct a statement, or to dissent from an opinion. They are compiled with so much taste, learning, and judgement, and have so many well-chosen quotations in prose and verse, that they are not merely useful guides but entertaining companions.²⁰

In 1850 Bowen, an Oxford Classicist and Vice-Chancellor of the Ionian University in Corfu, proposed himself as author of the first *Handbook for Travellers in Greece*.

Banks argues that Starke helped Murray make the distinction between 'authentic' traveller and 'commoditised' tourist.

¹⁷ Gretton, p. ii.

¹⁸ 'The Origin and History of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers', *Murray's Magazine*, 6 November 1889, pp. 623-29.

¹⁹ 'German Literature', *Saturday Review*, 15 August 1857, p. 157.

²⁰ Hillard, p. 353.

Since the mid-seventeenth century, ancient Greece, as opposed to Rome, had been increasingly revered as the bedrock of European civilisation, and during the eighteenth century had become regarded as 'a polestar of nearly blinding brilliance.'²¹ The 'Franks' – western non-Greeks – venerated Greece's ancient culture and claimed it as their own by appropriating it into their cultural baggage and (to Bowen's disgust) physically carting it off: by 1807 the so-called Elgin Marbles were on display in London. However, Greece was considered too uncivilised and dangerous to form part of the Grand Tour. The Hellenic ideal was more appealing than the reality. Byron's travelling companion John Hobhouse noted, 'only a few desperate scholars and artists ventured to trust themselves among the barbarians, to contemplate the ruins of Greece.'²² Winckelmann, who with Goethe arguably did more than anyone to disseminate knowledge of Greek culture throughout Europe, never visited Greece.²³ Nor did Shelley, whose lyric drama *Hellas* (1822) celebrated Europe's debt to Greek civilisation and radicalism. Nonetheless, while the Napoleonic Wars disrupted the Grand Tour, some, like Byron and Hobhouse who still travelled but were prevented from visiting France or Italy, visited Greece instead. In 1809 Hobhouse found Athens swarming with travellers.²⁴ This was interrupted by the 1820s revolution, but when Bowen arrived in 1847 communications, security and medical conditions were improving, and hotels opening. He felt a Greek handbook was required.²⁵

Bowen argued that Murray's current handbook for the East (1845), which covered Greece along with the Ionian Islands, Turkey, Constantinople, Asia Minor and

²¹ David Constantine, *In the Footsteps of the Gods: Travellers to Greece and the quest for the Hellenic Ideal* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011), p. 104. This work was first published as *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

²² John Cam Hobhouse, *A Journey Through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia*, 2 vols (London: James Cawthorn, 1813), I, pp. 301-2. For further discussion of the Greek Grand Tour up to the 1820s, including modes of preparation for the journey and guidebooks, see Helen Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival: British Travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth-Century Greece* (London: Routledge, 1990).

²³ Constantine, pp. 116-127. Constantine speculates that fear of physically confronting the destruction of the Hellenic ideal kept Winckelmann and Goethe away.

²⁴ Hobhouse, I, p. 203.

²⁵ Bowen, p. v.

Malta, was 'a skilfully prepared abstract of the works of the most celebrated travellers,' but because of recent changes in Greece was out of date.²⁶ William Lister shows that it was based on a text by Godfrey Levigne, an Anglo-Irish traveller in the Levant between 1830-33, with the rest written by Henry Headley Parish, a diplomat in Constantinople and Secretary to the British Legation in Athens from 1830-1834. Published by Murray in 1840, it was updated in 1845 by Octavian Blewitt, a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.²⁷ Privately dismissing it in his journal as 'very poor for the East', Bowen assured Murray that he did not wish to criticise 'so useful a compendium', but to repeat what many travellers had requested: that there should be a stand-alone handbook for Greece. He suggested splitting the handbook for the East into two, one covering the Ottoman Empire in Europe and Asia, including Syria, and the other to cover the countries inhabited by the Hellenic race. He offered to write the latter.²⁸

Seventeenth in the series, Bowen's *Handbook* was the world's first accurate practical guidebook devoted solely to Greece. Bowen acknowledged that numerous other writers had described Greece, but this was the first time their works had been 'compared, extracted and compressed into portable shape'.²⁹ While Blewitt's 1845 handbook for the East devoted 228 pages to the 'Hellenic' regions, Bowen's *Handbook* at 460 pages was double the length and far more detailed. He retained c.100 pages of Blewitt, Parish and Levigne's original texts, repeating matter-of-fact advice about practicalities such as passports and health conditions, and descriptions of places he could not visit himself, but added comprehensive introductory essays and painstakingly-researched new routes.

Murray's uniform template gave readers confidence that they knew where to find information no matter what country they were in. Contents were equally systematic. Murray strove to create a rational discourse based not on reminiscences or impressions,

²⁶ Ibid. Bowen was referring to *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Constantinople* (London: John Murray, 1845), henceforth cited as the handbook for the East

²⁷ William Lister, *A Bibliography of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers* (Norfolk: Dereham Books, 1993).

²⁸ National Library of Scotland, John Murray Archive, MS.40136, 20 November 1850. This correspondence will henceforth be cited as GFB to JM with the date.

²⁹ Bowen, p. v.

but on scientific observation. Travellers were encouraged to send updated information for inclusion in future editions, but Murray welcomed personal observations only, and demanded from his authors succinct 'matter-of-fact descriptions of what ought to be seen at each place,' avoiding 'florid descriptions and exaggerated superlatives.'³⁰ Although his handbook authors included an illustrious roster of diplomats, soldiers, clergy and academics, they were known as editors and signified at most by their initials. These were not their guides but the publisher's, their authority underwritten by the renowned Murray institution. Murray himself was not identified as the first handbook editor until 1887, fifty years after publication.³¹

Personal knowledge was welcome; personal opinions were not. Murray complained that Parish's manuscript of the 1840 handbook for the East had 'allusions to Politics, and the Eastern Question [...] that every impartial person must allow to be quite irrelevant in a Guidebook.'³² Murray was concerned that Parish's anti-Russian remarks would exclude the book from sale in Russian-ruled countries, and could even be confiscated and see the owner locked up. Richard Ford, whose flamboyant and witty *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* became the most highly regarded in the series, was furious when Murray, concerned about alienating international buyers, forced him to cut criticisms of the French, the church, and the Spanish aristocracy.³³ Ford moaned that Murray wanted him to be 'mechanical and matter-of-fact [...] and I am an ass for my pains. I have been throwing pearly articles into the trough of a road-book.'³⁴ Ford withdrew the first edition and had to repay his five-hundred-pound fee. Murray eventually published the rewritten book in 1845.³⁵ Augustus Hare, who wrote two handbooks to English counties in the 1860s, complained that his writing for Murray had to be 'as hard, dry and incisive' as his taskmaster. 'No sentiment, no expression of

³⁰ John Murray III, *A Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, (London: John Murray 1836), p. v.

³¹ Murray IV, pp. 40-41.

³² JM III to Parish, 22 December 1839, John Murray Archive, MS.41911.

³³ *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, 2 vols, (London: John Murray, 1845)

³⁴ Ford to Henry Addington, 18 November 1841, quoted in E. W. Gilbert, 'Richard Ford and His "Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain"', *The Geographical Journal*, 3/4 (1945), 144-151 (pp. 178-9).

³⁵ Reviewers deplored Ford's Francophobia, but *Spain* was a huge success, selling 1389 copies in three months. Gretton, p. x.

opinion were ever to be allowed, all description was to be reduced to its barest bones, dusty, dead and colourless [...] utterly unreadable.³⁶ Hare was so frustrated he left to write rival guidebooks of his own.

Bowen's *Handbook* was commissioned in 1851, the 'watershed year' of the Great Exhibition, when free trade globalisation was taking hold in British politics and culture.³⁷ The Victorian era may have been bound by systems, but it was also a liberating time of mental, physical and commercial expansion and adventure. This sets up intriguing tensions between constraint and freedom, which Bowen's *Handbook* addresses. In his history of lines, anthropologist Tim Ingold distinguishes between 'lines of transport' and 'wayfaring lines', the former rigid, repetitive, unimaginative and constraining, the latter meandering dynamic pathways of movement and growth.³⁸ Bowen's journal shows him wayfaring around Greece, with no clear aim other than to engage with 'the country that opens up along his path.'³⁹ By contrast, the *Handbook's* specified routes are lines of transport to prescribed destinations and objects of attention, and transform place into a series of nodes 'in a static network of connectors.'⁴⁰

But how far did Murray's editorial strictures constrain Bowen's individuality? Superficially, Bowen conformed to Murray's protocols. He promised Murray a 'brief but systematic account' that 'adhered strictly to the arrangement and table of contents', and systematised the material 'scattered very often in a very incorrect shape, up and down the old Handbook for the East.'⁴¹ His ambition was not to explore his feelings, or situate himself in relation to the sublime or picturesque, but to give the public 'more correct and accurate information than is to be found in the books – however clever and interesting – of previous travellers.'⁴² Measured impersonality was an aesthetic

³⁶ *The Story of My Life* (London: George Allen, 1896), quoted in Gretton, p. xvii.

³⁷ Paul Young, *Globalisation and the Great Exhibition: The Victorian New World Order* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 193.

³⁸ Tim Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p. 84.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴¹ GFB to JM III, 28 February 1853.

⁴² Bowen, p. 135.

imperative and an ethical ideal. Following an excursion from Athens on 2nd October 1847, Bowen recorded in his journal:

Hence this road ascends - & winding through a number of undulating hills - covered with a natural shrubbery of fragrant pines & myrtles - we about 11 descended on the plain of Marathon, through a most beautiful gorge wh opens at every turn of the ragged path enchanting views of the sea, & opposite mountains of Euboea.⁴³

Cauterising his naturally discursive style, in the *Handbook* this becomes: 'It is possible to go to Marathon and return to Athens in one day, by taking a carriage out to Cephisia, whither horses can be sent on. This is by far the best plan.'⁴⁴

Bowen understood Murray's aim was to acquaint readers with the country, not the editor. In the *Handbook* he quotes 'Demotes', who ridiculed writers on Greece – mostly German princes or noble English marquesses – 'whose books are like Chinese maps, the writer himself representing the Celestial Empire, and the subject some small islands which fill up the rest of the world.'⁴⁵ Demotes concluded: 'These noble authors are unlikely to give any very accurate ideas to their respective countrymen.'⁴⁶ 'Demotes' mocked both their sense of entitlement and the way they placed themselves at the centre, their egos pushing Greece into the periphery and obscuring it for everyone else.

Churnjeet Mahn, one of few scholars to have examined Greek handbooks, argues that Bowen's contribution to Greek guidebooks was not new or distinctive, and depended on his role as 'a respected colonialist whose knowledge as a representative of the British government had lent an authority to the guidebook that was underwritten by his administrative role for the British Empire.'⁴⁷ In fact, although Bowen's *Handbook*

⁴³ Bowen, unpublished journal, 2 October 1847.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 209.

⁴⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 10 October 1843, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Bowen, p. 43.

⁴⁷ Churnjeet Mahn, 'Journeys in the Palimpsest: British Women's Travel to Greece, 1840-1914' (Doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2007), p. 24. Published as *British Women's Travel to Greece, 1840-1914: Travels in the Palimpsest* (London: Ashgate, 2012).

was commissioned while he was the Ionian University's vice-chancellor, it was written after he had resigned that post for an Oxford Fellowship. Additionally, his name lent the *Handbook* no authority because he was not identified as editor until an advertisement appeared in the 1859 *Quarterly Review*, five years after publication, when he was appointed Governor of Queensland. That promotion might have enhanced his authority and increased sales, but the *Handbook* remained anonymous. While Murray's inner circle at the famous Albemarle Street drawing room 'was predicated on class distinctions and members' connections to the fields of literature and politics,' Bowen's authority derived more from his empirical and scholarly research.⁴⁸ As he assured Murray:

I have visited and examined every single site of importance in those countries. In fact, I believe that my travels in these parts have been more extensive than those of any other foreigner – except Colonel Leake. Moreover, I enjoy a great advantage in being personally acquainted with nearly all the natives of distinction both in Greece and in the Ionian Islands; and in being able to speak and write fluently Modern Greek – the only language understood by the vast majority of the population.⁴⁹

His university role gave him access to academics and a library which helped to make him 'thoroughly acquainted with the history – the topography – the language – and the political and moral condition of Modern Greece.'⁵⁰

A closer look shows Murray's schema fracturing under the weight of Bowen's individuality. Although Murray's handbooks were renowned for their research – the word 'Murray' was even used to signify encyclopaedic travel knowledge – Bowen told John Murray III that he intended to combine 'the information of a scholar with the observations of a man of the world'.⁵¹ Both, he said, had written largely on Greece, but

⁴⁸ Banks, p. 218.

⁴⁹ GFB to JM III, 20 November 1850.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ 'Continental notes in July and August', *Dublin University Magazine*, Oct 1859, p. 415; GFB to JM III, 14 March 1851.

with a few honourable exceptions, 'the scholars have not been men of the world, and the men of the world have not been scholars.'⁵² He implied that he was both, making his contribution both new and distinctive.

Bowen also managed to express his personal predilections. He hated, for example, the prevailing anti-Greek prejudice. The overriding sentiment of the classically educated was nostalgia for antiquity and disenchantment with the 'primitive' present. Despite never visiting Athens, Edward Gibbon described the Athenians walking 'with supine indifference among the glorious ruins of antiquity; and such is the debasement of their character, that they are incapable of admiring the genius of their predecessors.'⁵³ The 1845 handbook for the East similarly condemned the Greek 'national character' as the lowest in Europe, claiming that 'vanity is the predominant characteristic and their want of veracity (*Grecia mendax*) is proverbial. They display an uncontrolled propensity to litigation, revenge, and political intrigue, cloaked under the thin veil of patriotic enthusiasm.'⁵⁴ Bowen deleted this xenophobia in his edition, arguing that the Greeks had been 'much misrepresented, partly through ignorance and partly through prejudice.'⁵⁵ Bowen's edition has an unquestionably lordly tone, its assumed superiority reinforced by his perception of the primitive Greek way of life, corruption, oppression of women, and absence of modern infrastructure, but he nevertheless rejected the widespread narrative of degeneration. He accused classical travellers of being

Too ready to look down with cold disdain on the forlorn estate of a people, for whose ancestors they profess even an extravagant veneration; – foreigners resident among them have been too eager to accuse of every meanness and

⁵² GFB to JM III, 14 March 1851.

⁵³ Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols, (London: Strahan & Cadell, 1782, revised 1845), vi, p. 145. Gibbon took his account from (among others) Jacob Spon's *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece et du Levant*, 3 vols, (Lyons, 1678), II, pp. 79-199, and George Wheler's *A Journey into Greece* (London, 1682), pp. 337-414.

⁵⁴ *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Constantinople* (1845), pp. 3-4.

⁵⁵ Bowen, p. 44.

every vice the sons of those fathers who taught Honour and Virtue to the ancient world.⁵⁶

Bowen also, unusually, shifted the focus away from ancient Greece onto modern history, which was 'less familiar to the general reader' but 'indispensable to a right understanding of the present condition of the country and people.'⁵⁷

Bowen was equally unconventional, for a Frank, in seeking to understand the Orthodox Church. Most Europeans overlooked Byzantine culture to focus on the Hellenic ideal and Protestants dismissed Orthodoxy as 'a strange mixture of feasts and fasts; of ringing of bells and muttering jargon.'⁵⁸ They abhorred relic-veneration. The 1840 and 1845 Handbooks for the East described the remains of Corfu's patron saint, St Spyridon, as 'mummy-like' and 'a most disgusting object', and Corfu's annual festival, when the saint was processed through the town, an 'absurd affectation of compliance with the prejudices of the people [...] adopted with a view to conciliate the affections of the natives.'⁵⁹ As son, grandson and brother of Anglican vicars, Bowen might be expected to have shared the disgust. Instead, he deleted it and wrote respectfully that St Spyridon's embalmed body, thought to have wrought miracles, was preserved in a richly ornamented case, and three times a year was carried 'in solemn procession' around the esplanade, followed by the Greek clergy and native authorities.⁶⁰ The 1845 handbook for the East condemned the Greek clergy as coming 'principally from the lowest class, and with few exceptions are ignorant, superstitious and fanatic.'⁶¹ Bowen replaced this with a scholarly chapter on the church, based on his audiences with Patriarchs in Constantinople in 1847 and 1849, and lengthy sojourn on Mount Athos, which few other Europeans had achieved. He assured Murray that his 'minute account'

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 27.

⁵⁸ Frances Maclellan, *Sketches of Corfu* (London: Smith, Elder, 1835), p. 119.

⁵⁹ *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Constantinople*, (London: John Murray, 1840), p. 5.

⁶⁰ Bowen, p. 65.

⁶¹ *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Constantinople*, (1845), p. 4.

was 'rather more accurate' than Robert Curzon's, the only other detailed contemporary commentary, however 'clever and amusing'.⁶²

Forty years later, Bowen was still battling for the Greeks. In 1891 he accused Amy Yule, editor of the 1884 edition, of 'faults of scholarship', and complained that she had cut out 'nearly all that was in favour of the Christians in the Levant', inserting many 'unformulated remarks and petty sneers to their prejudice.'⁶³ Bowen fulminated:

This is an error which has been carefully avoided in the other Handbooks. It is obviously bad taste in a work of this nature, which should be, for many reasons, almost colourless with respect to local politics, to attack violently, and often falsely, the character and conduct of the people of the country described, and who naturally resent such treatment and do all they can to disparage the authority of the assailant.⁶⁴

It was bad taste and bad business. Bowen had revisited Greece the previous year (1890) where he was 'personally acquainted with the leading Greeks of all parties' who had found this edition so offensive to themselves and their country that they were 'shunning' it.⁶⁵ He marked passages to cut or revise. 'I am in want of an occupation just now, and it would be a labour of love on my part to make the *Handbook for Greece* as good as possible.'⁶⁶

Notwithstanding Bowen's professed resistance to politics and personal opinion, he had a predilection for foreign politics that permeated his *Handbook* despite himself. On page one he referred to the 'present state and future destinies of the Levant' as 'that most important question.'⁶⁷ His *Handbook's* very scope was political. The text

⁶² GFB to JM III, 20 November 1850. Curzon's manuscript-buying journey, published by John Murray in 1849 as *A Visit to Monasteries in the Levant*, recounts experiences and observations similar to Bowen's, but Bowen did not share Curzon's collecting instinct or money. In the *Handbook*, Bowen described Mount Athos's ecclesiastical libraries as 'ransacked' by Curzon in 1837, p. 421.

⁶³ GFB to JM IV, 19 May 1891.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Bowen, p. 1.

includes the northerly swathe of Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace and parts of Albania, plus many Aegean islands, which comprise Greece today but were then still Ottoman, which Bowen considered 'Classical and Historical Greece [...] not yet reunited to Christendom.'⁶⁸ The word 'yet' is important here. This was the *Megali Idea*, the Great Idea that preoccupied Greek foreign policy for the next seventy years, of reuniting all Hellenes within future borders in Asia Minor, along the Balkans and the Ionian Sea, with the capital in Constantinople. Bowen included these regions in his *Handbook* because the majority there were Greek in 'those great elements of nationality: blood, religion and language.'⁶⁹ By pointing at nationalist fault lines, Bowen provocatively laid down markers for on-going independence movements.

Bowen's gaze was complicated, however, by Greece's geopolitical division between the newly independent Kingdom and Ottoman and British Empires, and by Britain's mixed identity as defender of Greek liberty and burgeoning imperial power. Bowen was relationally positioned between them: this was his defining dialectic. Although Britain administered and 'protected' the Ionian Islands and wielded indirect power in Greece and Turkey, Greece was neither settler colony nor site of conquest, enslavement or conversion. Instead, Bowen articulated Greece's double identity as a subject of Oriental degeneration and a cradle of Western civilisation. Greece was both despised and revered, East and West, 'them' and 'us', peripheral and central, inferior and superior.

Further tension emerges between Bowen as colonial representative, imposing imperial 'lines of transport' on the Ionians, and his wayfaring private views. He was emblematic of the establishment but also resistant to it. The *Handbook* was written just after the 1850 Don Pacifico affair, when Palmerston as Foreign Secretary blockaded Greek ports because the Greek government refused to compensate a British subject when his Athens house was ransacked. During a famous five-hour speech, Palmerston justified his gunboat diplomacy by assuring every British subject that throughout the world he 'shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. v.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

protect him from injustice and wrong.⁷⁰ As an agent of empire, Bowen represented this triumphalist Victorian outlook, yet he was independent-minded enough to be ambivalent and even opposed to some of its manifestations. In the *Handbook* he noted that Palmerston's policy 'was violently assailed in England,' but that 'debates on the question in both Houses of Parliament will amply repay perusal.'⁷¹ In his private journal he dismissed Palmerston's bellicosity as outrageous.

Bowen was particularly conflicted because while he supported Greek national self-identity, the *Megali Idea* threatened his patriotic sensibilities, and his job. In the *Handbook* he served the imperialist elements of his career by construing the Ionians as politically naive and dependent on Britain to teach them how to govern themselves. He conceded that the Ionians' 'instinct for nationality' had produced a 'vague desire' for union with Greece once the Kingdom had 'become orderly and civilized', but argued that 'enlightened Ionians' were content to enjoy the many practical benefits of British connection.⁷² He portrayed the Ionians as contented beneficiaries of the British civilising mission, which had provided 'thirty years of peace and prosperity' after the systematic 'corruption and tyranny' of Venetian rule.⁷³ In reality, his journals show he was aware of growing political unrest. His *Handbook* descriptions were even culled from *The Ionian Islands under British Protection*, a pamphlet commissioned by the British government to justify its draconian suppression of a Cephalonian riot.⁷⁴

By quoting this anonymous pamphlet, Bowen demonstrated the impartiality required by Murray. As Keighren, Withers and Bell show, Murray authors used scholarly citation to create an appearance of authenticity, and demonstrate erudition and discrimination, which gave them credibility and garnered readers' trust.⁷⁵ However, Bowen's use of citation was a front because he had written the pamphlet himself.⁷⁶ As

⁷⁰ Kenneth Bourne, *The Foreign Policy of Victorian England 1830-1902*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 302.

⁷¹ Bowen, p. 101.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁷⁴ George Bowen, *The Ionian Islands under British Protection* (London: Ridgway, 1851).

⁷⁵ Keighren, Withers and Bell, p. 75.

⁷⁶ Bowen, p. 44.

if to put readers off the scent in case they doubted his objectivity, Bowen even anonymously criticised his anonymous pamphlet in the *Quarterly Review* for having 'drawn too favourable a portrait of the population', and recommended a 'sterner but truer portrait in the *Times* of Sept 17 1849.'⁷⁷ In the *Handbook*, he also appended his name to quotations, or cited himself, writing 'according to Mr Bowen' and relying on the *Handbook's* anonymity to let him get away with it. By recycling material, he saved himself time and effort, and drew attention to and underwrote the authority of his other publications, but he was also indirectly expressing his own opinions, hiding in plain sight.

The resulting *Handbook* is neither the 'hard, dry and incisive' writing Hare resented, nor the egotistical writing Murray feared, but a synthesis of the impersonal on-site recordings of eighteenth-century antiquarianism ('lines of transport'), with early nineteenth-century Romantic and aesthetic Hellenism ('wayfaring'). In her history of the Ordnance Survey, Rachel Hewitt demonstrates that while the Enlightenment celebrated cartography as 'the language of reason and political equality,' the Romantics often resented rationality for 'enslaving the human mind'. Furthermore, she argues that the Romantics viewed maps and guides more as stimulants for the poetic imagination, and as assisting 'a deeply felt love for nature and solitary wandering.'⁷⁸ Bowen's *Handbook* embodied this duality. It was a rational guide to the archetypal home of political liberty and egalitarianism, which was also a place of sublime landscapes and picturesque ruins that had special resonance for the Romantic sensibility. This dialectic of objectivity and subjectivity, of scientific and personal, gave rise to Bowen's mid-century realism, and put him in a unique position to bridge the gap between travel writing and guiding, and to elevate guidebooks to a new literary level.



⁷⁷ 'Ionian Administration', *Quarterly Review*, 91 (1852), 315-352, p. 321. Note that reviewing your own book was not new: Walter Scott, who co-founded the *Quarterly Review* with John Murray in 1809, anonymously reviewed his own *Tales of my Landlord*, and this was his harshest review.

⁷⁸ Hewitt, pp. 147, 145, 203.

Bowen's *Handbook* presents other intriguing tensions between freedom and constraint. It opened up Greece to the newly-travelling middle classes, enabling them to set off in Byron's romantic footsteps, including skeleton tours viable for time-pressed professionals on a budget, rather than the months or even years required for the Grand Tour. Given the 'unavoidable discomforts of travelling in Greece', a *valet-de-place* was still recommended, but travellers were liberated from having to employ expensive Grand Tour-style entourages of servants, because the *Handbook's* practical advice explained how to manage for themselves.⁷⁹ The Grand Tour was essentially educative, but travellers no longer needed to hire expert guides because the *Handbook's* authoritative chapters on Greek art and archaeology, subcontracted by Bowen to an expert antiquarian named Penrose, could inform. The *Times* was even moved to claim that 'by the help of Murray, the veriest Cockney, the greenest schoolboy and the meekest country clergyman may leave his counter, his school or his parsonage, and make his way through all Europe comfortably, cheaply and expeditiously.'⁸⁰ This was an illusion, because Bowen's *Handbook* alone cost 15 shillings, equivalent to an agricultural labourer's weekly wage, but the point was that Murray – and Bowen – were creating space in a new publishing market to reach as wide a readership as possible. They were attempting to meet the needs not only of a pre-industrial society in which wealthy travellers could enjoy long periods of leisurely exploration, but also those of the socially and geographically mobile middle classes who followed routes during time-limited holidays, and abhorred, envied, or aspired to that kind of moneyed leisure. It was Byron made bourgeois. This sets up a further tension between social classes via the democratisation of travel to which it contributed, and the constraining elitism it served. This connects with mimetic fantasies of colonial exploration, and tension between wayfaring aspiration and constraining reality. While the travelogue described what the author had done in the past, the guidebook offered a fantasy of what the reader might do in the future. Travellers might have aspired to the adventures the *Handbook* proposed, but few would have shared Bowen's intellectual intentions or physical bravery and followed all his routes. Bowen knew this, and was keen to direct his

⁷⁹ Bowen, p. 17.

⁸⁰ *Times*, 2 December 1850, cited in Gretton, p. xlvi.

Handbook towards both ‘travellers abroad’ and ‘readers at home’, for whom ‘a full account has [...] been long a desideration.’⁸¹ But like Bulwer Lytton’s popular silver fork novels, the *Handbook* revealed a world about which most people could only dream, giving readers a sense of pressing their faces to the glass.

By accompanying the lure of adventure with instructions on how to achieve it, the *Handbook* may have liberated travellers from human guides, but it curtailed their freedom in other ways. Handbooks never sought to overpower readers with ‘the dogma of critical orthodoxy’; although there were attempts to evolve hierarchies of sights, ‘the tyranny of good taste and received wisdom’ did not dominate.⁸² Nevertheless, they sought to engineer travellers’ experiences by directing them along scripted pathways – lines of transport – pointing out every view and noting every cultural reference in exceptional detail. The pre-planned routes helped travellers to navigate around the countries they visited, but ironically limited their imaginative possibilities and opportunities for discoveries of their own. The journey became ‘no more than an explication of the plot.’⁸³

This signposts tensions between independent traveller and guided tourist, with the tourist narrative defining itself against the former, often ‘with an acute sense of belatedness.’⁸⁴ Many scholars have explored the cultural connotations inherent in distinctions between ‘traveller’ and ‘tourist’: the traveller often characterised as a sensitive wayfarer enjoying authentic experiences off the beaten track, unlike the supposedly sheep-like tourist following prescribed lines of transport, shielded and comforted by familiarity.⁸⁵ Ingold sees the traveller as hunter-gatherer, continually

⁸¹ GFB to JM III, 20 November 1850. Original emphasis; GFB to JM III, 18 April 1853. Original emphasis.

⁸² Jonathan Keates, *The Portable Paradise: Baedeker, Murray and the Victorian Guidebook* (London: Notting Hill Editions, 2011), p. 9.

⁸³ Ingold, p. 15.

⁸⁴ Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 7.

⁸⁵ See *The Norton Book of Travel*, ed. by Paul Fussell (New York and London: Norton, 1987); Susan Bassnett, ‘Introduction’, in *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*, ed. by Jennifer Speake (London: Routledge, 2003); and James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the ways to “Culture” 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). Buzard explores how a democratising and institutionalising tourism gave rise to new formulations about what constitutes

responding to the environment in an intimate coupling of locomotion and perception: 'He watches, listens and feels as he goes, his entire being alert to the countless cues that, at every moment, prompt the slightest adjustments to his bearing.'⁸⁶ For Bowen 'tourist' still meant Grand Tourist, not the denigrated successor. However, he did imply a distinction, identifying his ideal reader – and himself – in the *Handbook's* first sentence: 'A journey in Greece is full of deep and lasting interest for a traveller of every character, except indeed for a mere idler or man of pleasure.'⁸⁷ For educated handbook readers, travel meant self-education and acculturation: work, not pleasure. Murray handbooks were directed at the tourist's corollary, the serious-minded morally superior 'anti-tourist'.⁸⁸ They nevertheless standardised and packaged experiences and knowledge into recipes for mass consumption.

What was Bowen's effect and legacy? His reach was wide. Murray's profits were dented by expenses of paper, printing, binding, map-engraving, authors' fees, and 'entering Stationer's Hall', but a large proportion of those expenses was spent on advertising. By the late 1850s over 100 newspapers, periodicals and trade magazines had carried advertisements for Murray's books, and of Bowen's *Handbook's* expenses, 9% was spent on advertising.⁸⁹ Murray accounts ledgers show a profits spike in 1854, when Bowen's edition was published, and that same year Bowen sold 1942 copies – not insignificant given the fifteen-shilling price tag, worth at least seventy pounds today.⁹⁰ By 1864 his edition was in profit. It was also well reviewed. The *Spectator* praised it as

'authentic' cultural experience. The term 'tourist', coined in the late eighteenth century, took off with Thomas Cook, who from 1841 used the railways to develop packaged tours, and in 1855 organised the first Cook's tour to Europe. The first packaged cruise to Greece was offered in 1833: three weeks aboard the *Francesco Primo* touring Naples, the Ionian Islands, Navarino Bay, then Nauplion to Constantinople.

⁸⁶ Ingold, p. 78.

⁸⁷ Bowen, p. 1.

⁸⁸ Schaff, p. 106.

⁸⁹ John Murray Archive, copies ledgers, MS.42730, p.57 and MS.42731, p.255.

⁹⁰ Conversion calculated using the Measuring Worth purchasing power calculator.

<www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/relativevalue.php> [accessed 26 August 2021].

'one of the best of Murray's well-known series.'⁹¹ Another review praised the *Handbook* for leaving 'a deep and lasting mark on English classical literature.' It continued:

The student at the university, the mature scholar whose delight is still in the 'tale of Troy divine', the traveller in the Levant, and even that all-knowing person the general reader, are all beholden far more than they know to Sir George Bowen's journeyings and researches amongst the scenes and localities enshrined in the immortal literature of Greece. Take up any recent manual of classical geography, school edition of Homer, popular encyclopaedia, gazeteer, or the like works, and the probabilities are at least fifty to one that the descriptions there given of Greek topography and scenery are for the most part taken from his writings, with or without acknowledgement, but generally without.⁹²

Despite Murray's desire for up-to-date accuracy, Bowen's *Handbook* remained the only guidebook to Greece in any language for eighteen years. The 1872 edition, revised by R.G. Watson, a diplomat in Constantinople and Athens, added new routes and updated advice, but repeated the bulk of Bowen's introduction, and included notes Bowen sent in 1859 for an edition commissioned but never completed, owing to his promotion to the Governorship of Queensland and 'armed conflicts on the border between Greece and Turkey.'⁹³ Bowen's voice remained audible for at least twenty-eight years after that. The 1896 Murray *Handbook* retained much of Bowen's text, as did the almost identical 1900 edition, the last in the series before it was sold.⁹⁴

⁹¹ 'Thirty Years of Colonial Government', *Spectator*, 5 July 1890, p. 20.

⁹² 'Sir George Bowen as an author', *Colonist*, 19 November 1874, p. 3. Handbooks were also plundered by novelists for landscape descriptions, or to inspire adventure stories for children, which in turn stimulated further travel. Jonathan Keates shows how the idea and actuality of 'abroad' permeated Victorian fiction, and that Trollope's *Nina Balatka* draws on details from Murray's *Southern Germany* which he took on his travels. See Keates, pp. 85-99.

⁹³ Lister, p. 19.

⁹⁴ Margarita Dritsas examines changes in tone between the 1840 and 1872 editions. The 1872 changes she notes were in fact repeated from Bowen's 1854 edition, published eighteen years earlier. One important change was that the 1872 edition included for the first time a section by a Greek, Professor Roussopoulos. Margarita Dritsas, 'From Travellers Accounts to Travel Books and Guide Books: the formation of a Greek tourism market in the nineteenth century', *Tourismos*, 1 (2006), 29-54 (p. 32).

Thus empirical knowledge of Greece was brought home to British readers, making Bowen what Mary Louise Pratt terms a 'transculturator', his writing a 'key instrument in creating the "domestic subject" of empire.'⁹⁵ In 1854 Murray handbooks were described as exerting 'considerable influence, not only upon the comfort of our English public in its autumnal peregrinations, but also in determining the point of view in which Englishmen regard nations of the Continent.'⁹⁶ Edward Said argues that this was how Orientalist ideas became *idées reçues*, which were anxiously repeated to create a tradition of unquestioned assumptions about the Orient that fed into the perceived power imbalance between East and West.⁹⁷ Bowen's observations on the Ionian Islands were so regularly repeated that they became the accepted British view, transformed into fact. When his Ionian Islands pamphlet was quoted by Colonial Secretary Sir John Pakington in a Parliamentary debate on 5 April 1852, Bowen boasted to Murray that his information had become 'quite the text book of the Colonial Office on the subject.'⁹⁸ As John Darwin notes, 'To an extent we are gradually beginning to notice, the return flows of experience, scientific information and academic talent exerted a powerful influence upon elite culture in Britain.'⁹⁹ According to Pratt,

Empires create in the imperial centre of power an obsessive need to present and re-present its peripheries and its others continually to itself. It becomes dependent on others to know itself. Travel writing [...] is heavily organized in the service of that need.¹⁰⁰

Thus, Bowen helped to systematise and shape perceptions of Other and of self.

Successive editions of Murray's handbooks to Greece also testify to Greece's evolution as a Victorian destination, to which they contributed. Bowen wrote with dry humour in 1854: 'A quarter of a century ago, or even much later, a "Chapter on Inns" in

⁹⁵ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 3.

⁹⁶ *Quarterly Review*, January 1854, p. 45.

⁹⁷ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995).

⁹⁸ GFB to JM, 22 April 1852.

⁹⁹ Darwin, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Greece would have resembled the “Chapter on Snakes” in a certain work on Ireland; and which chapter simply contained the words “There are no snakes in this country.”¹⁰¹ The tent recommended in 1845 in case there was no accommodation, or an epidemic forced the traveller to be ‘independent of the state of the health of the town’, was by 1854 deemed unnecessary, and by 1896 there were (relatively) first class hotels in all major towns.¹⁰² In 1845 there were no direct ships from Britain to Greece; by 1896 ‘large and well-appointed’ Greek and British steamers sailed direct from London and Liverpool.¹⁰³ In 1854 Greek journeys were made almost entirely on horseback; by 1896 carriage roads were few or dilapidated, but there were fifteen railways with three more opening imminently.¹⁰⁴ Although Bowen met some redoubtable female travellers, he fails to mention women travellers in his 1854 edition, but by 1896 ‘ladies in moderately robust health’ would enjoy exploring the Greek interior, provided they were ‘prepared to rough it with cheerfulness and good temper’.¹⁰⁵

Murray’s handbooks were so powerful that they could alter the destinations themselves. One reviewer noted that a rapid increase of English tourists ‘usually coincides with the opening of a new field by the handbooks of Murray.’¹⁰⁶ Arbiters of taste, Handbooks could make or break a hotel or even a town. In 1853 Hillard wrote: ‘From St Petersburg to Seville, from Ostend to Constantinople, there is not an inn-keeper who does not turn pale at the name of Murray.’¹⁰⁷ Innkeepers and tradesmen even resorted to bribery. The 1845 handbook for the East cautioned against imposters posing as handbook contributors to extort money in return for recommendations.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁰² *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Constantinople* (1845), p. xvii; *A Handbook for Travellers in Greece* (1854), p. 5; *A Handbook for Travellers in Greece* (London: John Murray, 1896), p. xxx.

¹⁰³ *A Handbook for Travellers in Greece* (1896), p. xxiii.

¹⁰⁴ Bowen, p. 3; *A Handbook for Travellers in Greece*, (1896), p. xxxiii.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. xxxiv, p. xxxvii.

¹⁰⁶ ‘The *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*’, *Saturday Review*, 30 October 1858, pp. 426-8.

¹⁰⁷ Cited in Lister, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Preface’, in *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Constantinople*, (1845).

However, when Murray's handbook series was sold in 1901, Henry Pullen, a prolific editor, conceded that the handbooks were written for 'a class of travellers which has ceased to exist, and their raison d'être is gone.'¹⁰⁹ Increasingly regarded as outdated and over-literary and historical, Murray's handbooks were superseded by Baedeker's, which seemed less elitist and more contemporary.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, elements of Bowen's approach have survived in some contemporary Greek guidebooks such as Nigel McGilchrist's *Greek Islands* (2010).¹¹¹ Archaeological discoveries, and expanding and increasingly complex tourism and communications, have imposed growing demands on Greek guidebook writers, and many books have consequently become more detailed and sophisticated. While Bowen devoted a single volume to Greece, McGilchrist devotes twenty volumes to the Aegean Islands alone. Nonetheless, like Bowen, McGilchrist is a sympathetic and knowledgeable Oxford classicist with unobtrusive scholarship, and an intended readership of educated, energetic and independent-minded travellers. He relishes the way being in Greece illuminates the ancient stories and relies on trustworthy personal experience which travellers are invited to correct and enhance. As such, McGilchrist can be seen as Bowen's heir.

To conclude, Bowen's *Handbook* was a product and instrument of the interconnected global circulation of people, commodities and ideas – the British world-system – that characterised the Victorian age. It addressed tensions between systematisation and liberty, conformity and individuality, objectivity and subjectivity,

¹⁰⁹ W. Pullen to JM IV, 29 May 1901, John Murray Archive, MS.40987.

¹¹⁰ Gráinne Goodwin and Gordon Johnston, 'Guidebook publishing in the nineteenth century: John Murray's Handbooks for Travellers', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 17 (2012), 43-61. This argues that the handbooks grew up with the Athenaeum members and *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Review*-reading set, but failed to make the transition to the next generation, the British middle and lower middle class 'excursionists', for whom Baedeker with its clearer maps, and other less erudite guidebook series such as Cook's, were more appealing.

¹¹¹ Nigel McGilchrist, *McGilchrist's Greek Islands* (London: Genius Loci, 2010). See also John Freely and Maureen Freely, *Complete Guide to Greece* (Littlehampton: G. Philip, 1974); John Freely, *Strolling Through Athens: Fourteen Unforgettable Walks through Europe's Oldest City*, 2nd edn (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2004); John Freely *The Cyclades: Discovering the Greek Islands of the Aegean* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006); John Freely *The Ionian Islands: Corfu, Cephalonia and Beyond* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008).

and shaped itself into a hybrid text emblematic of both reason and the imagination. In some ways it was a dispassionate endeavour, attempting to translate one culture for another. But by navigating tactfully around Murray's corporate schema, Bowen also conveyed elements of his individuality. By pushing at Murray's formal boundaries, Bowen helped elevate guidebooks to a new level of detail, accuracy and sophistication, and provided a valuable core sample of a country's language, history and culture, which he stamped with his distinctive character. He helped to break literary ground, create space in the market for a new class of traveller, and influence guidebook writing and tourism today.



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Transnationalism, Translation, and Transgression in the 'Heinemann International Library' (1890-97)

KATHY REES

ABSTRACT: The Heinemann International Library was a transnational publishing venture of the 1890s. This 'library' comprised twenty translated novels, representing the cultures of eleven countries, the work of fifteen writers and nineteen translators, and was targeted at English-speaking readers in Britain, Europe, Australia, and India. In the context of Benedict Anderson's theory of the nineteenth-century rise of nationalism, Heinemann's 'library' represents a counter impulse that unites diverse literary cultures and forges new relationships between them. One commonality is the presence of the fictional woman-reader who appears in ten of the HIL novels. In each case, she is depicted reading a French novel, the impropriety of which was a cultural commonplace in Victorian public rhetoric. This figure is constructed either as a passive symbol absorbing the text to demonstrate a nation's vulnerability to the influence of the Other, or as an active force interrogating and creatively recreating narratives. She functions as *mise en abyme* for the actual reader, modelling alternative ways of reading. In this way, Heinemann's 'library' extends the debate not only about attitudes to the French novel, but also about the status and agency of women.

KEYWORDS: Transnationalism; Woman-reader; Translation; Victorian Francophobia; New Woman



INTRODUCTION

To travel in a foreign country is but to touch its surface. Under the guidance of a novelist of genius we penetrate to the secrets of a nation, and talk the very language of its citizens.¹

IN 1890, EDMUND Gosse, editor of the Heinemann International Library (hereafter HIL), invited readers to enter into the 'secrets' of different nations through a newly-launched series which would eventually total twenty translated novels. The process of translation, Gosse enthused, would allow readers to access 'the inner geography of Europe,' and to experience 'the interior life of other countries.'² During the final decade of a century that had witnessed the rise of nationalism and the tightening of national borders across Europe, and at a moment when Francophobic attitudes dominated British public rhetoric, William Heinemann, with Gosse at the helm, initiated a transnational publishing project that promised to dissolve the notion of national language as a shibboleth. In this article, I focus on the fictional figure of the woman-reader, who appears in no fewer than ten of the HIL volumes. As Kate Flint, Jacqueline Pearson, and Catherine Golden have demonstrated, the 'woman-reader' abounded in Anglo-American nineteenth-century novels and paintings.³ My approach differs in its analysis of her figuration within a European rather than a transatlantic context, and explores why, in these ten HIL novels that expound the themes, cultures, and traditions of very different countries, these woman-readers are engaged with specifically French texts.

HEINEMANN'S TRANSNATIONAL VENTURE AND FRANCOFOBIC RHETORIC IN BRITAIN

Since Heinemann's library represents a cultural, material, and economic object produced by transnational collaboration, we might compare it with Paul Jay's evocation of the world's first printed book: 'a marvellously globalized event since the technology

¹ Edmund Gosse, 'Editor's Note'. The lack of pagination was deliberate to allow the insertion of this four-page note either with prefatory material or end pages of the first eight HIL volumes. It was thereafter omitted.

² Ibid.

³ Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993); Jacqueline Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain 1750-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Catherine Golden, *Images of the Woman reader in Victorian British and American Fiction* (Gainesville: Florida University Press, 2003).

was Chinese, the book an Indian Sanskrit treatise, and the translation the work of a half-Turk.⁴ As I have discussed elsewhere, the twenty HIL novels, originating in France, Denmark, Norway, Germany, Poland, Italy, Spain, Austria, The Netherlands, Bulgaria, and Russia, represent the work of fifteen writers.⁵ Although many of the nineteen translators were British, there were also Norwegian, American, Bulgarian, and Polish linguists. William Heinemann was himself a transnational figure, of half-British and half-German Jewish descent. Educated partly in London and partly in Dresden, he developed a strong cosmopolitan outlook and worked in the European book market for a decade before setting up his own publishing house in London in 1889, aged 27. Heinemann's 'library' was retailed in far-flung locations, as is evident in the half-page advertisement in the endpapers, listing booksellers who stocked the volumes in Paris, Nice, Leipzig, Vienna, St Petersburg, Rome, Florence, Turin, Stockholm, Christiania, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Calcutta.⁶ This distribution network may reflect Heinemann's European contacts, generated by his regular presence at the Leipzig bookfair, but also such calculations as the absence of export tariffs within the Empire.⁷ The desire to forge transnational links between cultures and literatures was thus facilitated by technological advances in the production, distribution, and consumption of books.

Heinemann's marketing strategy for his project targeted a middle-class readership. In his Editor's Note, Gosse describes the HIL as 'a series of spiritual Baedekers and Murrays', referring to the well-known nineteenth-century travellers' handbooks widely used by educated middle-income groups.⁸ The low price of the HIL books, retailing at either 3s 6d (cloth-covered) or 2s 6d (paper-covered), is comparable with *Bohn's Libraries* of British and translated texts, published at mid-century, though

⁴ Paul Jay, *Global Matters: The Transnational Turn in Literary Studies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), p. 39.

⁵ Kathy Rees, 'The Heinemann International Library, 1890-7', *Translation and Literature*, 26 (2017), 162-81. For details of titles, authors, translators, and publication dates, please see Appendix to this article, pp. 180-81.

⁶ Oslo was named 'Christiania' until 1925.

⁷ John St John, *William Heinemann: A Century of Publishing, 1890-1990* (London: Heinemann, 1990), p. 77; Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Publishing for a Mass Market, 1836-1916* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 33.

⁸ Gosse, 'Editor's Note'.

these were mostly prose classics rather than novels.⁹ The entrepreneurial Heinemann eschewed the triple-decker novel, the price of which (£1 11s 6d) reflected the cartel between the established publishers and Mudie's Circulating Library. The success of Mudie's had, for decades, encouraged British readers to borrow novels more often than buy them. However, when people did buy, many liked the idea of a personal home library. As E.S. Dallas remarked, 'there is no reason why a man who has purchased Sheridan's dramatic works should next invest his money in *Wheatley on the Common Prayer*; yet Mr Bohn counts upon his doing so, and treats the public as children of habit.'¹⁰ Like Bohn, Heinemann included in the front- and end-matter of his volumes his ambitions and agenda for the HIL, to encourage readers to purchase the complete series.¹¹ Not only was the neat row of matching yellow spines in a reader's bookcase aesthetically pleasing, but the visual and linguistic uniformity also obscured the intrinsic nationalistic character of the constituent volumes.

Jay's comparison of a society that polices its borders 'to protect its cultural identity' with a society that opens itself to 'cross-cultural contact' provides a set of concepts and terms applicable to this analysis of the HIL:

We tend to link agency to cultural autonomy and to measure cultural autonomy in terms of a society's ability to protect its cultural identity from being watered down or erased by alien cultural forms; but every culture is always shaped by other cultures, and agency has more to do with the intelligent and imaginative negotiation of cross-cultural contact than with avoiding such contact. Agency from this point of view is a function of that negotiation, not its victim. And, clearly, agency is variously enabled and circumscribed by gender.¹²

⁹ Henry Bohn (1796-1884) was a successful bookseller of multi-volume sets of standard works and translations.

¹⁰ [Eneas Sweetland Dallas], 'Popular Literature,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 85 (1859), 96-112 (p. 110).

¹¹ Carol O'Sullivan, 'Translation within the margin: the "Libraries" of Henry Bohn', in *Agents of Translation*, ed. by John Milton & Paul Bandia (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009), pp. 107-29 (pp. 110-11).

¹² Jay, p. 3.

The HIL encouraged cross-cultural interaction by making European texts accessible to English speakers at a time when the National Vigilance Association (founded in 1885) was intent on preventing Britain's 'cultural identity from being watered down' by what it called, in its pamphlet *Pernicious Literature* (1889), the 'poison' of French novels.¹³ Juliet Atkinson and others have demonstrated the gap between public Victorian condemnation of French literature, and its private consumption during the period 1830-1870.¹⁴ While the readership of French novels was restricted mainly to middle-class women trained in modern languages (being excluded from the classical education available to their male counterparts), the authorities could turn a blind eye to their circulation. However, when Henry Vizatelly had Emile Zola's novels translated and made them available to the working classes, public anxiety escalated, and the matter was deemed 'a gigantic national danger.'¹⁵

Censure of French novels was intensified by British hostility to the nation that produced them: that antipathy derived from prejudice against French Catholicism as well as fear of her military might and imperial reach. Memories of heightened anxiety over Napoleon's threat to invade Britain between 1798 and 1805 remained potent.¹⁶ France's republican status was also unsettling for a monarchy which dreaded imitative violent insurrection in its own realm. Revolutionary conflicts engendered a reconfiguration of the social order, leading to general fluidity in the cultural categories of class, gender, and sexuality. Exploration of these themes in fiction offended British moral codes.¹⁷ The perceived superiority of French culture, in terms of its elegant fashion, innovative technology, literary creativity, and legendary cuisine was particularly galling when overtly valorised by British citizens. French literature was also blamed for

¹³ *Pernicious Literature: Debate in the House of Commons; Trial and Conviction for Sale of Zola's Novels* (London: National Vigilance Association, 1889), pp. 6, 11.

¹⁴ Juliet Atkinson, *French Novels and the Victorians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); John Rignall, "'One great confederation?": Europe in the Victorian Novel,' in *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. by Francis O'Gorman (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 232-52.

¹⁵ *Pernicious Literature*, p. 5.

¹⁶ Both *The Trumpet-Major* (1880) and *The Dynasts* (1904, 1906, and 1908) by Thomas Hardy revisit this national crisis almost a century after the event.

¹⁷ Novels such as Balzac's *Sarrasine* (1830), the story of a feminised Italian castrato, and Théophile Gautier's *Mademoiselle de Maupin* (1835) which raised the possibility of a love affair between two men or two women, initiated France's reputation for literary immorality early in the century.

its innovation; Britons reacted defensively to each new French 'ism' – realism, naturalism, aestheticism, and impressionism – that crossed the channel during the Victorian period.

Francophobic attitudes reached new heights in parliament and the press during the late 1880s, reinforced by the popular discourse of degeneration that was attributed to the morbid mental pathology of French Decadence. As Samuel Smith MP asserted in the House of Commons, this 'noxious and licentious literature [...] corroded the human character [and] sapped the vitality of the nation.'¹⁸ Approaching the millennium, many Britons felt that their nation and their empire were declining with the century, and moral 'vitality' among the young was considered essential to national recovery. That the lifespan of the HIL (1890-97) is bracketed by two censorship trials against publishers – Henry Vizetelly was imprisoned in 1889 for continuing to market translations of Zola despite his 1888 conviction, and in 1898 George Bedborough went to trial for selling the English edition of Havelock Ellis's *Sexual Inversion* (1897), first published in German in 1896 – reminds us how unfavourable the 1890s were for marketing translated texts.

A prominent figure in the British armoury against alien cultural forms was the vaunted figure of the innocent Young Woman (invariably capitalized) who served as a benchmark to judge the acceptability or inadmissibility of fictional content. Despite protests by George Moore, Thomas Hardy, Henry James and many others, English novels had to be tailored to the moral sensibilities of this fictive Young Woman.¹⁹ The ideology of separate spheres divided men and women according to their allegedly 'natural' attributes, and because men were considered intellectual and analytical, and women emotional, irrational, and impressionable, it followed that certain reading material was deemed unhealthy for the latter. Victorian commentators voiced fears that improper texts, as exemplified by Zola's realist novels, would excite a woman's imagination or expectations beyond what was compatible with daily life, so that she

¹⁸ *Pernicious Literature*, p. 5.

¹⁹ George Moore, *Literature at Nurse, or Circulating Morals* (London: Vizetelly, 1885); Walter Besant and others, 'Candour in English Fiction', *Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature*, 51 (1890), 311-18; Henry James, 'Nana', in *Documents of Modern Literary Realism*, ed. by George Becker (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 236-243.

would ignore her duties and become dangerously sexualized.²⁰ Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson gestures at this in *Det Flager I Byeti ogpaa Havnen* (1884), published in the HIL as *The Heritage of the Kurts* (1892), in which Norwegian schoolgirls are shocked to discover that their friend, Tora Holm, is pregnant: 'You see, she had been in France; she knew a great deal more than we others.'²¹ French culture was a shorthand intimation of transgression.

THE WOMAN-READER AS A SYMBOL OF NATIONAL VULNERABILITY

Benedict Anderson theorises that, during the nineteenth century, the idea of the nation became imaginable. He connects the growth of nationalism with the rise of the novel, arguing that the novel and the newspaper provided countries with the symbolic form they needed in order to be understood by the people. The single print language unified fields of communication, and enfolded readerships into shared experiences, generating the sense of belonging to an 'imagined community' with borders that were 'inherently limited' (finite) and 'sovereign' (authoritative).²² Viewed in relation to the countries represented in the HIL, Anderson helps us to envisage each volume as the linguistic and cultural product of an imagined nation-state. Writers collected and codified the traditions, rituals, and ideologies of a nation that was increasingly being presented as a unified entity. The figure of the woman-reader was an ideologically-weighted cipher by which writers could transmit political warnings or critiques to their fellow-citizens. As I shall show in the following examples, the threat of the foreign Other – characterized in the form of French texts – is a consistent theme of such veiled critiques.

I start with the translation of Ivan Goncharov's *A Common Story*, which appeared mid-way through the HIL project, in 1894. Originally published in Russian as *Obyknovennaya istoriya* in 1847, it is the earliest of all the HIL texts, most of which appeared in their original languages during the 1880s and 1890s.²³ When we first meet Goncharov's woman-reader, the matronly Maria Mihalovna, she is 'buried in the perusal of a French novel,' the choice of verb here underlining her comic but ominous

²⁰ Flint, p. 282.

²¹ Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, *The Heritage of the Kurts*, trans. by Cecil Fairfax (London: Heinemann, 1892), p. 268.

²² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edn, (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 5-6, 44-45.

²³ See Appendix to my article cited in Footnote 5.

engrossment.²⁴ Maria's text is *Les Memoires de Diable* by Frédéric Soulié, a story based on the Faust legend, published as a roman-feuilleton in 1837-38. The feuilleton originated as the magazine section of the nineteenth-century French newspaper, which serialised stories of crime, sexuality, and sensation, generating huge public excitement. In *Les Memoires*, the Devil luxuriates in instances of adultery, prostitution, incest, and murder. It is a work of 'uncompromising brutality' in which any hint of goodness is revealed to be a mask of hypocrisy covering hideous vices.²⁵ When Soulié's romance circulated (in French) in Britain during the 1840s, Elizabeth Barrett Browning (hereafter EBB) discussed its gruesome contents in a letter to Mary Russell Mitford, making a chiasmic jest about its contents: it 'begins with a violation & a murder, & ends consistently with a murder & a violation [...] The smell of all this sulphur has scarcely passed out of my nostrils!'²⁶ Browning and Mitford revelled in their 'naughty' reading of 'naughty books' by Soulié and the like, knowing how deeply ingrained was British disapproval of French writing.²⁷

Maria reads uncritically – she is a naive provincial woman who blandly accepts Soulié's atrocities: 'Then cook came up; I talked to him for an hour; then I read a little of *Memoires de Diable* ... ah! What a pleasant author Sully is! How agreeably he writes! [...] I never noticed how the morning slipped away.'²⁸ The consumption of Soulié makes her crave more. As Thomas Carlyle declared, 'every bad book begets an appetite for reading a worse one,' and Maria later voices her intention to read Honoré de Balzac's *La Peau de Chagrin* (1831), another novel about human vice and greed.²⁹ Goncharov is critiquing Russian Gallomania, which had diffused across the country via the Russian

²⁴ Ivan Goncharov, *A Common Story*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Heinemann, 1893), p. 88.

²⁵ Harold March, *Frédéric Soulié: Novelist and Dramatist of the Romantic Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), p. 173.

²⁶ EBB to M.R. Mitford, 27 Nov. 1842, (letter 1063), *The Brownings Correspondence: An Online Edition* <<http://browningscorrespondence.com>> [accessed 15 May 2021]. Simon Avery notes that it is increasingly common in critical work on Elizabeth Barrett Browning to abbreviate her name to EBB, to accommodate her family name, Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, and her married name, Elizabeth Barrett Browning (*Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (Tavistock: Northcote, 2011), p. xiv).

²⁷ EBB to M.R. Mitford, 21 Nov. 1842, (letter 1057).

²⁸ Goncharov, p. 90. First ellipsis as original.

²⁹ Carlyle quoted in Frederick Harrison, *Carlyle and the London Library* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1907), p. 67; Goncharov, p. 110.

aristocracy since the 1750s. When Napoleon invaded Russia in 1812, the Europeanized nobility had more in common with the invading troops than with their own peasantry. To British readers, Maria would have presented as an idle woman whose indulgence in the superstitious and sensational caused her to neglect her domestic duty. She does not even have the prudence to conceal her reading matter from her daughter, neighbour, or servant. By contrast, more knowing and artful British characters like Thackeray's Becky Sharp in *Vanity Fair* (1847-48) or Trollope's Lizzie Eustace in *The Eustace Diamonds* (1871) are quick to hide their French novels from public view.³⁰ 'Naughty' books should not be read blatantly.

The shameless display of reading crude and bawdy French novels is a theme in *Żyd: obrazy współczesne* (1866) by Józef Kraszewski, published by Heinemann as *The Jew* in 1893. Against the background of the 1863 Polish Insurrection against Russian rule, Kraszewski depicts the scheming of the impoverished Jewish Polish Madame Wtorkowska (née Weinberg). She is intent upon securing a rich husband for her daughter, Emusia, from among the Russian officers then occupying Warsaw. Pandering to the Russian partiality for French culture, Madame Wtorkowska reads Paul de Kock, and displays French romances in the reception room 'to show acquaintance with current literature.'³¹ She is indifferent to Emusia's reading choices 'provided that the book was written in French, in an elegant style.'³² The calculating Emusia lounges at a window, the classic threshold between private and public space, shamelessly engaged in a Féval novel, thereby signalling her availability to the highest bidder.³³ Again, EBB's playful comments convey standard British attitudes to these French writers: Féval is only 'a little indecent' but de Kock is 'intolerably coarse' and 'very *nasty* – he splashed the dirt about him, like a child in a gutter.'³⁴ In imitation of a Féval heroine, Emusia is 'a *bacchante* [reveller]' dressing 'in black lace, light and *négligée* [abandoned]' and her 'toilet was so *décolleté* [revealing]'.³⁵ These French words, conspicuous in the source

³⁰ Anthony Trollope, *The Eustace Diamonds* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 121; William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 767.

³¹ Józef Kraszewski, *The Jew*, trans. by Linda da Kowalewska (London: Heinemann, 1893), pp. 352, 233.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 209.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

³⁴ EBB to Isa Blagden, mid-March 1857, (letter 3975); EBB to M.R. Mitford, 13 March 1844 (letter 1567); EBB to M.R. Mitford, 29 March 1844 (letter 1585). Emphasis original.

³⁵ Kraszewski, pp. 243, 215, 233.

text within the Polish print not simply by their italicisation but by their orthographic distinctness, were transferred verbatim into the English translation, thereby retaining their suggestive connotations. There is a strong sense of showiness here. First, the conspicuous placement of French books to impress Russian visitors; second, Emusia's tableau of her reading self at the window; and third, Kraszewski's insertion of italicised words that stand out within the Polish Lechitic print. Performance underlines the tactic of the Wtorkowska women-readers: they make a show of their Francophilia in order to forge lucrative connections with Russian military-men. French novels are sensual invitations to the enemy Other.

According to Anne O'Neil-Henry, Paul de Kock's work spread across Europe as 'a sort of Bourdieusian marker of poor taste.'³⁶ In *El Maestrante* (1893), translated as *The Grandee* (1894), the Spanish writer, Armando Valdés, mocks the chaste pretensions of the Countess of Onis by claiming that, 'the account of the first night of her marriage, whether true or false, was worthy of figuring in a novel of Paul de Kock.'³⁷ The institution of marriage is, by De Kock's name, reduced to lascivious farce. Valdés despairs of the Parisian seduction of the Spanish upper middle classes, and in *La Espuma* (1890), published as *Froth* (1891) in the HIL, he caricatures the over-consumption of French novels by an aristocratic woman-reader, Marquesa de Ujo, who:

Uttered, or to be exact, she exhaled a series of exclamations over a new French novel: 'What exquisite scenes! What a sweet book! When she says, "Come in if you choose; you can dishonour my body but not my soul." And the duel, when she receives the bullet that was to have killed her husband! How beautiful it is!'³⁸

For the Marquesa, the most prominent textual features relate to the body and its ephemeral sensations of pleasure and pain in sex and death. Her taste is so jaded by formulaic sensational French plots that she can specify neither writer nor title. Valdés's clear critique of the corrupting influence of French novels as a threat to national identity translates easily, confirming British prejudices.

³⁶ Anne O'Neil-Henry, 'Paul de Kock and the Marketplace of Culture,' *French Forum*, 39 (2014), 97-112 (p. 97).

³⁷ Armando Valdés, *The Grandee*, trans. by Rachel Chalice (London: Heinemann, 1894), pp. 64-65.

³⁸ Armando Valdés, *Froth*, trans. by Clara Bell (London: Heinemann, 1891), p. 245.

Many Spanish writers felt that their identity had been, to use Jay's words, 'erased by alien cultural forms'.³⁹ In particular, they resented the long-standing French hegemony over Spanish art-forms. The so-called 'Anteneo debates' of the 1870s expressed 'a violent, visceral reaction against French literature as a noxious influence and as a purveyor of immorality.'⁴⁰ Spanish literary distinctiveness had been virtually eclipsed by French interests. Many of the commercial publishing houses prioritised the marketing and dissemination of French, rather than native, novels, and most Spanish authors were concerned with translation or imitation rather than with new writing. Valdés's fellow-writer Juan Valera believed that 'after two centuries of servitude and submission, whose reward has only been to be continually called barbarians and ignoramuses, it is high time that we shook off the intellectual yoke under which the French have us. And I want to do something towards this.'⁴¹

To promulgate anti-French feeling, Valera uses the eponymous woman-reader of his *Dona Luz* (1879), which was included in the HIL in 1893. Dona Luz is a desultory reader:

Reclining languidly in her easy chair, she was reading two books alternately. They were the works of Calderón and of Alfred de Musset. She was comparing the manner in which those two authors had put in dramatic action the saying, "There is no trifling with love" - *Ou ne badine pas avec l'amour*.⁴²

Leaning back suggestively, Dona Luz explores ideas about love through two plays, one Spanish and one French. She is comparing *Love is no Trifling Matter* (1635) by Pedro Calderón de la Barca, a playwright of the seventeenth-century Golden Age, with *No*

³⁹ Jay, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Gifford Davis, 'The Spanish Debate over Idealism and Realism before the Impact of Zola's Naturalism', *PMLA*, 84 (1969), 1649-56 (p. 1649).

⁴¹ Valera to Menéndez Pelaya, quoted by Alda Blanco, 'Gender and National Identity: The Novel in Nineteenth Century Spanish Literary History', in *Culture and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Spain*, ed. by Lou Charonon-Deutsch and Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), pp. 120-36 (p. 123).

⁴² Juan Valera, *Dona Luz*, trans. by Mary Serrano (London: Heinemann, 1893), p. 55.

Trifling with Love (1834) by the French dramatist Alfred de Musset.⁴³ Spanish readers of the 1880s would have recognized the implications of juxtaposing the two titles, and certainly, Dona Luz's progress in life and love will be determined by whether she follows the Spanish or the French model. Valera's opposition of two national characters is a common political strategy. As Linda Colley argues, Britain adopted the same tactic, defining itself against France as the Other.⁴⁴ Labelling the French as Catholic, effeminate, superficial, and immoral allowed the British to identify themselves as Protestant, manly, genuine, and principled.

Akin to assumptions made about the benchmark Young Woman, Dona Luz is depicted as highly susceptible to what she reads. As an orphan, she embodies the isolated figure, unsupported and unsupervised. She has no guidance beyond books on the question of marriage. Calderón's play concerns an eccentric courting couple who must modify their attitudes and behaviour in order to find harmony: his moral precept is clearly expressed. De Musset's play about a doomed betrothal prioritises the dramatic effect over the moral message, leaving the audience to retrieve the play's meaning unaided, promoting confusion and uncertainty. Rather than being alert to Calderón's sound wisdom, Dona Luz's languid reading posture suggests her vulnerability to seduction by de Musset. Inevitably, the danger suggested by the allusions is subsequently enacted in the plot. Choosing between two suitors, Dona Luz is distracted from the sincerity of the honourable priest (whose principles reflect a Calderón-directed ethic) by the flamboyance of a duplicitous nobleman (who behaves like a de Musset character). Heartbreak and misery soon follow. For Spanish readers, Dona Luz's fate is a warning against continued thralldom to French culture, while for British readers, the perils associated with unrestricted access to French texts reinforce rhetoric about its regulation.

Solitary and unsupervised reading has similarly negative consequences in Jens Peter Jacobsen's *Niels Lyhne* (1880), a Danish novel published in the HIL as *Siren Voices* (1896). Jacobsen's woman-reader, Bartoline Blid, is depicted staring into space: 'her thoughts were far away, further than the clouds at which she gazed', while her hands

⁴³ Alfred de Musset, 'No Trifling with Love' in *Comedies by Alfred de Musset*, trans. by Stephen Gwynn (London: Walter Scott, 1891), pp. 111-173; Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Love is no Laughing Matter* (*No hay burlas con el amor*), trans. by Don Cruickshank and Sean Page (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1986).

⁴⁴ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 2003).

'toyed with the small thick book upon her lap. It was Rousseau's *Héloïse*.'⁴⁵ Notorious in its day, Rousseau's *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) was black-listed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, for its sympathetic depiction of an adulteress.⁴⁶ Atkinson observes that the effect of characters reading *Héloïse* 'implies a physical seduction', and Atkinson illustrates this by reference to Caroline Grey's depiction of the eponymous heroine of *Sybil Lennard: A Novel* (1846) whose 'languid dreaminess of eye and abstracted look' results from her reading *Héloïse*.⁴⁷ Bartoline is similarly characterised in a vague reverie. Her solitary reading triggers impossible dreams and, as she becomes gradually unable to distinguish between romance and reality, she fails in her roles as daughter, wife, and mother.

Rousseau's *Héloïse* comprises two distinct parts: the first half charts, by illicit erotic dialogue, the growing passion between 'Julie', or 'the new Heloise', and her lover Saint-Preux, while the second depicts Julie's dutiful marriage to Wolmar and their highly-regulated life in the Swiss village of Clarens. The reader's belief in Julie's conversion to virtue is, however, shattered by her deathbed acknowledgement that her love for Saint-Preux had never died. The life of Jacobsen's Bartoline follows a similar trajectory. In Denmark she exists on dreams, but having gone to Clarens to experience 'Julie's paradise,' Bartoline's heart becomes 'filled with the same unsatisfied longing' and she dies.⁴⁸ In her discussion on contemporary responses to *Héloïse*, Jacqueline Pearson suggests that 'if novels have damaging effects on immature individuals, they have analogous effects on societies. In cultures without firm moral values, like *ancient regime* and revolutionary France, novels develop a "pernicious sentimentality" which contributes to the collapse of society'.⁴⁹ For Danish readers, Bartoline's gradual psychological detachment from the community and her identification with the Other would have registered as a betrayal of the ideology of 'det danske folk' ('the Danish

⁴⁵ Jens P. Jacobsen, *Siren Voices*, trans. by Ethel Robertson (London: Heinemann, 1896), p. 110.

⁴⁶ The *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* was a list of books which Catholics were forbidden to read. It was initiated in 1564 by Pope Pius IV, and remained in operation until 1966. New authors and works were continually added to the Index: Rousseau's *Héloïse* would have been included because it contained 'lascivious material.' See Max Lenard, 'On the Origin, Development and Demise of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*,' *Journal of Access Services*, 3:4 (2006), 51-63 (pp. 54-56).

⁴⁷ Atkinson, p. 200.

⁴⁸ Jacobsen pp. 117, 119.

⁴⁹ Pearson, p. 209.

people'), a concept which played a crucial role in nineteenth-century ethnic nationalism in Denmark.⁵⁰ By this parallel, the restrictive measures supposedly protecting the British young woman are shown to be arguably beneficial for society as a whole.

As Jay comments, societies work hard to protect their own cultural identity from being watered down: like *fin de siècle* Britain, many countries sought cultural autonomy, and French fiction provided a powerfully resonating motif to warn against the threat of the Other. Tora Holm's sexual 'fall' is attributed to French influence (Bjørnson). Maria Mihalovna's passive absorption of French grotesquery critiques Russia's indiscriminate devotion to French literature (Goncharov). The Wtorkowska mother and daughter's ostentatious reading of Féval and De Kock signals their ingratiation with the occupying Russian forces (Kraszewski). The Marquesa de Ujo's inanities and Dona Luz's seduction by de Musset highlight the distraction from Spanish tradition caused by cultural vassalage to French forms (Valdés and Valera). Bartoline's Rousseau-inspired dreams foster her disengagement from Danish ethnic nationalism (Jacobsen). Despite the disparate geographical and cultural settings, and the particular historical and political circumstances of the originating texts, there are three common denominators between them: first, a disapproval of French fiction; second, a construction of the woman-reader as a cautionary vehicle; and third, the fact that all the novelists are male. Although their approach could be read as a patriotic defence of their 'imagined community', Jay would argue that the prevention of cross-cultural influence is impossible, and that a negotiation of its influence is preferable to avoidance. By including two female writers in the HIL, Gosse and Heinemann provide an alternative model for interrogating French fiction and reinscribing its contents to produce new narratives, an approach that empowers and enables the woman-reader.

ENABLING THE WOMAN-READER

The agency of the woman-reader changes dramatically in the work of Matilde Serao and Gemma Ferruggia, both Italian. The political role ascribed to their women-readers is not related to a nation-state grievance but concerns the widespread oppression of women – a transnational cause. They are active readers who use allusions to French texts to communicate universal themes and to challenge patriarchal codes. Serao and

⁵⁰ *Building the Nation: N.F.S. Grundtvig and Danish National Identity*, ed. by John Hall, Ove Korsgaard and Ove Pedersen (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), pp. 43, 214.

Ferruggia go against the grain of contemporary Italian women's writing. In conventional post-Risorgimento fiction, the heroine was 'a wife who sacrificed herself for her husband, and a mother who consecrated her offspring to the motherland.'⁵¹ Although Italy was developing into a modern nation-state, the dominant ideology of separate spheres kept women away from the public and political arena, channelling them into domesticity to be undertaken with modesty, submission, and sacrifice. This was especially the case for aristocratic women, whose lives and voices were limited by religious education, arranged marriages, and prescribed social roles. Serao suggests that in such restricted circumstances, reading offers an opportunity and access to texts from other cultures, especially France, that is empowering for women. The Italian women-readers within these works actively apply their interpretation of texts to events in the plot, rather than being ciphers or pawns within an author's propagandist design. Serao's *Fantasia* (1883), published by Heinemann as *Fantasy* in 1890, is a novel where the destiny of the main characters is determined by how well they can read literary allusions. It centres on two young women, Caterina Spaccapietra and Lucia Altimare, whose friendship develops during their schooldays in an aristocratic convent. They swear an oath 'never to do ill to the other, or willingly cause her sorrow, or ever, ever betray her.'⁵² After their respective arranged marriages, this vow of eternal sisterhood is dramatically overturned by its instigator, Lucia, when she seduces Caterina's husband, Andrea Lieti, thereby deceiving both Caterina and her own husband. Lucia is a woman of many roles, poses, and personae, mostly drawn from literary sources. In her apartment she communes with a whole battery of transnational artefacts: the book *The Imitation of Christ* (1418-27) by the German-Dutch cleric Thomas à Kempis; an album bearing a quotation by the British poet, Byron; lines from the Italian poets Giacomo Leopardi and Arrigo Boito; a photograph of the Hungarian poet Petröfi Sandor; and a terracotta sculpture of Mephistopheles and Marguerite in the German tradition of Dr Faustus.⁵³ Lucia consumes and combines allusions, quotations, and fragments to forge a constantly shifting persona.

⁵¹ Rinaldina Russell, 'Introduction', in *Italian Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*, ed. by Rinaldina Russell (London: Greenwood, 1994), pp. xv-xxxi (p. xxiii).

⁵² Serao, *Fantasy*, trans. by Henry Harland and Paul Sylvester (London: Heinemann, 1890), p. 36.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-64, 79.

Lucia's strongest connections are with French texts. From early on, she is associated with *La Dame aux Camélias* (1848), a novel that its author Alexandre Dumas *filis*, later adapted into a play. It relates the story of a Parisian courtesan, Marguerite Gautier, who famously signalled her availability to her clients by wearing white camellias for twenty-five days of the month and red ones for the other five days. For British readers, this play had strong resonances, since the play was banned in 1853, remaining under official interdiction for over twenty years.⁵⁴ When EBB enthused over her attendance at the play of *La Dame* in Paris in 1852, she prefaced her anecdote with 'Guess what enormity I have committed lately!'⁵⁵ In *Fantasy*, there is a *sotto voce* schoolgirl discussion about this proscribed book: 'I know of a marriage that never came off,' said one of the girls, 'because the fiancée let out that she had read *La Dame aux Camélias*.'⁵⁶ This furtive exchange is abruptly terminated by Lucia's appearance, a conjuncture which triggers thereafter an association between Lucia and the notorious Marguerite Gautier. Lucia refashions her body so that it becomes increasingly closer to the texture and colours of camellias: her skin attains 'a waxen pallor' and she is invariably 'white-robed', with a mouth that was 'like a red rose' or 'an open pomegranate flower, a brightness of coral'.⁵⁷ Lucia's first dance with Caterina's husband, Andrea, takes place in a room transformed into a garden of camellias where the flowers display an 'insolent waxen beauty, white or red, perfumeless [sic], icily voluptuous'.⁵⁸ Serao intimates Lucia's self-fabrication out of textual fragments. Lucia does not simply imitate Dumas's heroine: she becomes Marguerite Gautier.

Having enticed Andrea away from Caterina, Lucia transforms herself into another 'Marguerite,' this one being Goethe's creation, appropriated by French playwright Michel Carré in *Faust and Marguerite* (1850), and popularised by Charles Gounod's operatic version in 1859. The reader is prepared for Lucia's second alter ego by an earlier episode where, gazing at her terracotta sculpture of Mephistopheles and Marguerite, Lucia craves the excitement of transgression, undergoing a struggle

⁵⁴ John R. Stephens, *The Censorship of English Drama, 1824-1901* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 82.

⁵⁵ EBB to Anna Brownell Jameson, 12 April 1852, (letter 3033).

⁵⁶ Serao, *Fantasy*, p. 18.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 'pallor', pp. 66, 198; 'white-robed', pp. 96, 117, 129, 162; 'red mouth', pp. 90, 199.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48. In Dumas's novel, Marguerite Gautier's preference for camellias is on account of their lack of scent. Perfume troubles Marguerite's consumptive lungs.

between a 'desire of sin' and a 'vague fear of punishment'.⁵⁹ Just as Lucia is now passionately desired both by Caterina's husband and her own, so the operatic Marguerite has two suitors: Faust, the aging scholar transformed by Mephistopheles into a handsome gentleman, and Siebel, a young man who woos her with flowers. To assist Faust's suit, Mephistopheles makes Siebel's bouquets wither at his touch, and it is by allusion to this withering that Lucia taunts Andrea: 'like Siebel, you are accursed of Mephistopheles. Siebel could not touch a flower without its fading and dying. You have kissed me, and I am fading and dying. There are no more flowers for Margaret'.⁶⁰ Lucia's closing declaration in the third person accentuates her adoption of the persona. Andrea, not a reader, feels hopelessly demeaned by Lucia's sphere of reference. Ironically, it is by the exploitation of male-authored textual fragments that Lucia empowers herself and inflicts pain.

Lucia disconcerts Andrea by her continual meta-narrative about their affair, proclaiming that their 'position is to be found in *Madame Bovary*', and that they are merely 'performers in a bourgeois drama'.⁶¹ Lucia identifies so fully with Emma Bovary that she adopts the latter's mystical religious behaviour. Just as Bovary would gaze for a long time at an image of 'poor Jesus falling beneath His cross' and starve herself to 'mortify the flesh,' so Lucia also dreams of 'dying in the ecstasy of the Cross'.⁶² Lucia, however, goes further than Bovary, and recreates herself as the crucified Christ: she bruises herself so that 'four red marks disfigured [her] palm' like stigmata, and she repeats a prayer for 'Hyssop and vinegar, hyssop and vinegar'.⁶³ Lucia's earlier meditation upon Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* prefigures this moment. She has forged her new narrative from these fragments, and by enacting the pains of the crucifixion – the stigmata and the thirst – she claims gospel-derived power. Unlike Flaubert, who colludes with the bourgeois social contract and kills off Emma Bovary as a moral exemplar, Serao gives Lucia an existence beyond the final page of *Fantasy*, consigning her future to the reader's imagination.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 63.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 230.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 229.

⁶² Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary*, trans. by Alan Russell (London: Penguin, 1967), p. 48; Serao, *Fantasy*, p. 59.

⁶³ Serao, *Fantasy*, pp. 100, 228. For 'stigmata' see John 20:27, and for 'vinegar and hyssop' see John 19:28-30.

The appointment of translators for *Fantasy* and the second of Serao's novels, *Addio Amore!* (1887), published as *Farewell Love!* (HIL, 1894), discloses an anomaly arising from separate spheres education. In 1889, when the American, Henry Harland, arrived in London with a letter of introduction to Gosse from his influential godfather, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Gosse appointed Harland as translator of *Fantasy*.⁶⁴ Having had a traditional classical education in 'ancient languages', Harland's Italian was unequal to Serao's idiom, and Gosse had to recruit a co-translator, Paul Sylvester, to complete the task.⁶⁵ Harland may also have felt demotivated by having a woman's novel to translate, an arrangement regarded as unfitting for men. When, four years later, Gosse sought a translator for *Addio Amore!* he employed Harland's wife, Aline, and the book was regarded as having been 'well and readably made'.⁶⁶ This example of the Harlands illustrates the 'whimsical' situation outlined by Emily Davies in 1866, that although 'young men [...] have to conduct foreign correspondence, and travel about all over the world, they are taught the dead languages', while middle-class women who 'rarely see a foreigner [...] are taught modern languages'.⁶⁷ This arrangement makes the regulation of translated works in order to protect the sensibilities of the default Young Woman especially spurious, since 'she' may possess more skills to access the original than her male counterpart. Of the ten books under discussion here, eight were translated by female linguists. Although this seems to reflect the traditionally invisible and inferior status of the female translator, lamented by George Eliot in 1855, the HIL demonstrates a slight shift in her status by the 1890s.⁶⁸ Women like Mary Serrano, an Irish-American authority on Spanish literature who translated Juan Valera's *Dona Luz* (1893), and Helen Zimmern, the German-British editor of *The Italian Gazette* who translated Gemma Ferruggia's *Women's Folly* (1895), accommodated translation work within broader literary careers.

Whether Serao's work was read in translation or in the original, it made 'some stir in this country [England]'.⁶⁹ Walter Butterworth observed in 1893 that of all Serao's

⁶⁴ Karl Beckson, *Henry Harland: His Life and Work* (London: Eighteen Nineties Society, 1978), p. 17.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 17.

⁶⁶ 'Literature', *Glasgow Herald*, 22 February 1894, p. 9.

⁶⁷ Emily Davies, *Higher Education of Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 132.

⁶⁸ George Eliot, 'Translations and Translators', *Leader*, 6 (1855), 1014-15, in *George Eliot Archive* <<https://georgeeliotarchive.org/items/show/95>> [accessed 7 July 2021].

⁶⁹ 'Literature', *Glasgow Herald*, p. 9.

works, '*Fantasy* ... by its dabbling with illicit passion and betrayal of marriage vows, is most calculated to offend the susceptibilities of John Bull and his wife'.⁷⁰ However, commentators on *Farewell Love!* were even more critical, specifically raising the issue of the Young Woman benchmark by claiming that Serao did 'not write for the *jeune fille*', and asserting that 'no Englishwoman could behave quite like Anna'.⁷¹

As in *Fantasy*, the lives of Serao's characters in *Farewell Love!* are shaped by the French texts they read. Anna Acquaviva turns to the poetry of Charles Baudelaire when she discovers that her husband, Cesare Dias, is unfaithful. Dias is reading Benjamin Constant's *Adolphe* (1816) and manifests the same indecisive, selfish, and cynical behaviour of its protagonist. Just as in that text, Adolphe's mistress, Ellénore, collapses in fatal despair when she discovers that her lover plans to abandon her, so Anna is driven to suicide after witnessing Dias's betrayal. Anna stage-manages her suicide so that she dies whilst consuming French poetry, literally breaking her heart by shooting herself with Dias's revolver. She persuades her former suitor, the infatuated Luigi Caracciolo, to read aloud Baudelaire's 'Harmonie du Soir,' a four-stanza poem about the heart's journey from earthly turbulence to spiritual rest.⁷² Caracciolo is almost half-way through his recitation when Anna pulls the trigger.⁷³ The Catholic similes in Baudelaire's poem, '*encensoir* [incense]', '*reposoir* [altar]', and '*ostensoir* [monstrance: vessel that carries the eucharistic host]' are arranged in order of increasing significance, but Anna kills herself before she reaches the final word, '*ostensoir*'. Anna's experience of treachery means that she can no longer trust male-authored texts, and so she takes her own life before she can be persuaded by the vision of the monstrance, the symbol of victory over fear and death.

Male readers in *Farewell Love!* are devitalised by their reading. Caracciolo is a puppet, reading at Anna's direction and his voice is suddenly silenced by her act of suicide. He is emasculated by being turned into what Catherine Golden calls an 'interrupted reader', that is, one obliged to halt an activity to attend to others' needs –

⁷⁰ Walter Butterworth, 'Matilde Serao,' *Manchester Quarterly*, 12 (1893), 96-107, (p. 102).

⁷¹ 'Five New Novels,' *The Standard*, 19 April 1894, p. 2.

⁷² Charles Baudelaire, 'Harmonie du Soir' *Les Fleurs du Mal* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), p. 81-2. In 1857, the collection was partially censored and Baudelaire, his publisher, and his printer were prosecuted for indecency.

⁷³ Serao, *Farewell Love!*, trans. by Aline Harland (London: Heinemann, 1894), p. 280.

traditionally the female role.⁷⁴ Dias lacks originality: his character is mirrored in the figure of Constant's Adolphe. Ironically, the texts associated with these reading males direct the focus back to the woman: Constant evokes Ellénore's tragedy, which prefigures Anna's fate, while Baudelaire's meditation on the heart highlights the irony of Carracciolo's failure to win Anna's metaphorical heart or to protect her literal one. The allusions to French texts provide commentaries on, and insights into, male and female behaviour. They also exhibit the arbitrary and constructed nature of ascribed gender differences by creating reading-men who are passive and feminised.

The shift of gender from male to female authorship signals an entirely new conception of the woman-reader's authority and agency. Having pushed the limits of public tolerance with Serao's novels, Heinemann then published Gemma Ferruggia's *Follie Muliebri* (1893) as *Woman's Folly* (HIL 1895), which exposed the double standard in sexual relationships. 'The New Woman has not', Gosse writes in the introduction, 'in any country, expressed herself with more daring, and I think she never will'.⁷⁵ Gosse's admiration for such 'daring' is suggested also by his comments in *Questions at Issue* (1893), in which he urges British novelists to 'contrive to enlarge their borders' and not shy away from controversy.⁷⁶ He claims that since the public has now 'eaten of the apple of knowledge' in the form of the New Woman novel, it will no longer countenance 'the Madonna heroine and the god-like hero'.⁷⁷ Madonna heroines, created to satisfy the Young Woman benchmark, had no place in the world of the New Woman.

The backlash was not slow in coming: *Woman's Folly* was condemned as reflecting 'the spread of morbid hysteria through the female fiction of Europe'.⁷⁸ Ferruggia's protagonist, Caterina Soave, differs from her counterparts discussed above in that she is emphatically not a woman-reader until she shoots her philandering husband ('in the back of his neck, where traitors are shot') and is tried for murder.⁷⁹ Writing to her legal counsellor and psychiatrist, Caterina explains:

⁷⁴ Golden, p. 11.

⁷⁵ Edmund Gosse, 'Introduction,' in Gemma Ferruggia, *Women's Folly*, trans. by Helen Zimmern (London: Heinemann, 1895), pp. v-ix (p. v).

⁷⁶ Gosse, 'The Tyranny of the Novel', in *Questions at Issue* (London: Heinemann, 1893), pp. 3-31 (p. 31).

⁷⁷ Gosse, 'The Limits of Realism in Fiction', in *Questions at Issue*, pp. 137-54 (p. 153).

⁷⁸ 'Novels', *Manchester Guardian*, 4 August 1896, p. 7.

⁷⁹ Ferruggia, p. 88.

I set myself to overcome my dislike to reading [...] and have eagerly read everything that has been produced in that new species of literature which may be called the apotheosis of crime [...] I read Lombroso; I read *La Fille Elisa* by Goncourt, and Giovanni Episcopo and *L'Innocente* by Gabriele D'Annunzio; also many Russian books, great and impressive as the steppes, the dull romances of English literature, and the coarse French romances.⁸⁰

Although Caterina Soave, like Serao's Lucia, crosses national boundaries in her reading, she denies any male authority the right to explain her behaviour. Resistant not only to French writing (she affords Goncourt's novel her particular scorn), but to all of these male-authored books, Caterina insists that her homicide was a deliberate act of 'justice' not a passionate act of 'sensual jealousy'.⁸¹

This is not Caterina's first rejection of French literature. In an analeptic scene that occurred before her arranged marriage, she is courted by a young artist, Wilfred Heyse, who reads to her from Victor Hugo's *Les Chants du Crépuscule* (*Twilight Songs*, 1835).⁸² Reaching the verse, 'Oh! n'insulter pas jamais une femme qui tombe! | Qui sait sous quell fardeau le pauvre âme succombe [Oh! Never insult a woman who falls! | Who knows under what burden the poor soul succumbs!]', the disdainful Caterina 'closed the book indignantly,' and by the same gesture dismissed her suitor.⁸³ Caterina, with her unequivocal vision of the world, rejects Hugo's 'crépuscule' or half-light of nebulous uncertainty and liminality. Like Serao's Caracciolo in *Farewell Love!*, Heyse reads verbatim, unable to anticipate his listener's response. Also, like Caracciolo, Heyse's recitation is interrupted, and he is prevented from ever resuming his reading. Passive male reading is subjected to female audit. Serao and Ferruggia have inverted the Young Woman benchmark. Women are now the active and analytical readers, empowered not only to fragment and fracture male authorship at will, but also to impose limits on what and when men are permitted to read.

Heroines of the European New Woman novel are often readers who, like Serao and Ferruggia's protagonists, interpret, analyse, and dissect books rather than passively accepting them. Sarah Grand exemplifies this in *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), when the

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 4, 5.

⁸² Victor Hugo, 'Verse XIV', *Les Chants du Crépuscule* (Paris: Hetzel, 1835), p. 105.

⁸³ Ferruggia, p. 33.

philandering Colonel Colquhoun gives his wife, Evadne, books by Zola, Alphonse Daudet, and George Sand in the hope that they will trigger in her, erotic feelings for him. It is a measure of Colquhoun's belief in the influence of French novels that he thinks them sufficiently powerful to manipulate his wife. Evadne, however, reading from a feminist perspective, sees only '*the awful, needless suffering!*' that they describe.⁸⁴ As Kate Flint points out, New Women novels encouraged readers to develop 'an interrogative manner of reading, not just developing one's rational powers in relation to the printed word, but in relation to society more widely'.⁸⁵

CONCLUSION

Benedict Anderson presents the nineteenth century as the time when the nation-state became thinkable and identifies the novel as one of the forms that allowed people to imagine their country with finite borders. The HIL represents a counter-culture to that nationalist impulse by acts of translation which enabled the 'penetration to the secrets of a nation'.⁸⁶ By translation, one 'imagined community' is made legible to a different 'imagined community'. The separate linguistic and visual identities of the books that comprise the HIL are dissolved by its creation as a uniform set of yellow-covered texts. The disparate texts, brought together onto one bookshelf, are coerced into new relationships with each other. Readers make connections between books, between authors, and between nation-states that would not have been visible before the creation of the HIL.

Nationalism promotes the desire to protect a country's cultural identity from being, as Jay refers to it, 'watered down or erased'.⁸⁷ This defensive impulse is recognisable in the conception of the woman-reader of French texts by HIL male authors. Fear of French military power, resentment of the French nation's innovative literature and cultural influence, and disapproval of French moral laxity fostered the emergence of the French novel as an emblem of corruption. Nationalist fervour and patriotism encouraged Bjørnson, Goncharov, Kraszewski, Valdés, Valera, and Jacobsen to construct the woman-reader of French texts as a negative paradigm of engagement

⁸⁴ Sarah Grand, *The Heavenly Twins* (New York: Cassell, 1893), pp. 176, 220. Emphasis original.

⁸⁵ Flint, p. 296.

⁸⁶ Gosse, 'Editor's Note'.

⁸⁷ Jay, p. 3.

with the Other. Women, already figured as vulnerable by separate spheres ideology, provided these writers with a ready vehicle to symbolise the susceptibility of the nation-state to external threat. However, as Jay contends, 'every culture is always shaped by other cultures, and agency has more to do with the intelligent and imaginative negotiation of cross-cultural contact than with avoiding such contact'.⁸⁸ This is what is recognized and demonstrated by the Italian New Woman writers, Serao and Ferruggia, who show that by reading with intelligence, energy, and determination, and by interrogating and not simply absorbing the Other, a text's ideas can be creatively reemployed or reinterpreted. Empowerment and agency can be achieved by transnational interaction.

Since HIL subscribers accessed different cultures by the literary imagination, the figure of the woman-reader functions as *mise en abyme*, alerting them to the perils and possibilities, the costs and gains of literary engagement. She offered alternative ways of approaching the French novel: it could either be defensively closed down or creatively opened up to produce new narratives. As the century approached its end, HIL readers could look back to the passive Young Woman benchmark or forward to the active and empowered New Woman, and decide for themselves which model was appropriate for the new century. Between 1890 and 1897, Heinemann and Gosse offered the public a taste of 'the apple of knowledge' and extended the debate not only about attitudes to the French novel, but also about the status and agency of women across many cultures.⁸⁹



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⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

⁸⁹ Gosse, *Questions*, p. 153.

Between Nationalism, Transnationalism, and Cosmopolitanism in *Daniel Deronda's* Klesmer

VICTORIA C. ROSKAMS

ABSTRACT: The composer Julius Klesmer in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, 'a felicitous mix of the German, the Slave, and the Semite', and a self-confessed 'Wandering Jew', embraces a mode of transnational living and working that challenges the English narrowness of Gwendolen Harleth at the same time as it complicates the novel's overall journey towards proto-Zionism through Mordecai and Daniel. In this paper, I show how central the figure of the composer is to the novel's negotiation of nationalism, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism. The novel's musical allusions, especially comparisons to specific historical composers, strengthen Klesmer's identity as, simultaneously, a representative of an array of Jewish musical talent and a proponent of cosmopolitanism which transcends national and racial boundaries. Moreover, Klesmer provides an intersectional counterpoint to the female Jewish musicians in the novel, exposing the allowances of the Zionist project – which I also consider in tandem with Eliot's essay 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!'.

KEYWORDS: George Eliot; Cosmopolitanism; Music History; Composers; Wagnerism; Judaism



COMPOSERS, EVEN BEFORE the advent of recorded music at the end of the nineteenth century, might be the most transnational of artists. Across nineteenth-century Europe, writers of music travelled to conduct and perform. Even when they could not travel somewhere, their music could. Audiences who could not read the works of renowned European authors because of a language barrier, or who could not travel to the galleries of Paris and Florence to view paintings and sculptures, could nonetheless experience the music of Beethoven. It was Beethoven's music, primarily, which prompted writers to talk about music as the ideal form for promoting universal humanism, traversing

geopolitical and linguistic boundaries. It was the 'universal language'.¹ Yet paradoxically, Arthur Symons wrote that Beethoven's music 'becomes a universal language, and it does so without ceasing to speak German'.² From mid-century, claims that musical compositions could communicate national identity as recognisably as verbal languages gathered momentum, loosely constituting what is now termed musical nationalism. It is into this mixture of musical nationalism and transnationalism that George Eliot places her composer, Julius Klesmer, in *Daniel Deronda*, a novel concerned with the universal, communication, and difference.

Klesmer, 'a felicitous combination of the German, the Slave, and the Semite', and a self-confessed 'Wandering Jew', embraces a mode of transnational living and working that challenges Gwendolen Harleth's English narrowness at the same time as it complicates the novel's overall journey towards proto-Zionism through Mordecai and Daniel.³ While the nascent nationalism of the novel's other Jewish characters is mediated through Italian music and the fervour of the Risorgimento's precedent for socio-political unification, Klesmer's music – especially his original compositions – occupies a more ambiguous position. As a figure of mediation between racial identification and cosmopolitan indeterminacy, the composer is, I will conclude, most representative of the tensions of modernity as Eliot saw them in 1876, as she surveyed the globalising impulses of both culture and capitalism, and the expansionist imperialism of European countries in the name of nationalism. Through this admittedly marginal figure, Eliot encourages reflection on the problems of nationalism and cosmopolitanism more prominently embodied in the novel's protagonists.

In taking Klesmer as my focus for thinking about this negotiation in *Daniel Deronda*, I engage with and expand upon existing critical debates. Much has been written about the novel's exposition of cosmopolitanism and nationalism, yielding seemingly opposite interpretations as to its affirmation of a universal humanism or a narrowly defined particularism. Most have acknowledged that if Eliot condones

¹ For some instances, see Joseph Bennett, 'English Music in 1884', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 25 (1884), 324-326 (p. 324); H.R. Haweis, *Music and Morals* (New York: Harper, 1912), p. 105; George Bernard Shaw, *The Perfect Wagnerite* (Champaign, Ill: Project Gutenberg, 1998), p. 4.

² Arthur Symons, *Studies in Seven Arts* (London: A. Constable, 1907), p. 220.

³ George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, ed. by Graham Handley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 41, 224.

cosmopolitanism, it is not without awareness of its complexities.⁴ Particularly through Daniel's encounters with Gwendolen and Mirah, Eliot articulates a cosmopolitanism which does not merely assume commonalities between self and other, but is mindful of, and accepting towards, difference. By retaining this notion of difference, moreover, Eliot achieves a balance between cosmopolitanism and her support for Jewish separatism in Daniel's discovery of his heritage and eventual Zionist mission. This interpretation is drawn from Daniel's stated ethos of maintaining 'the balance of separateness and communication', whereby he will discard the traditional exclusivism of his Jewish ancestors, but give precedence to the Jewish community in all his doings.⁵ Amanda Anderson therefore wrote, in her influential 2001 work, *The Powers of Distance*, that *Daniel Deronda* 'ruminates powerfully on the relation between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, promoting an ideal of Jewish nationalism informed by cosmopolitan aspiration'.⁶ Thomas Albrecht has extended Anderson's argument (and applied to the novel that of Kwame Anthony Appiah in *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*, 2006), suggesting that cosmopolitanism in *Daniel Deronda* accommodates both 'a universal obligation to all human beings regardless of citizenship or kinship' and 'a particular obligation to one's fellow citizens, neighbours, or kinfolk'.⁷ Cosmopolitanism and nationalism need not be oppositional, since the latter demands 'cultivated partiality', which eschews the generalising tendencies of cosmopolitanism but retains its emphasis on 'dialogue, reason, and self-critique'.⁸

Aleksandar Stević, on the other hand, has argued that Eliot's endorsement of nationalism has been misinterpreted. He considers that critics have wished to 'dissociate the great Victorian moralist that was George Eliot from the charge of slipping into [a] narrow nationalist worldview' and have accordingly adapted her definition of

⁴ This is, for example, Sophie Gilmartin's assessment in the section on 'nationalism' in the *Oxford Reader's Companion to George Eliot*, ed. by John Rignall, *The Complete Works of George Eliot*, 36 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xxxiv, pp. 291-292; and in the dedicated articles and monographs discussed below.

⁵ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 672.

⁶ Amanda Anderson, *The Powers of Distance: Cosmopolitanism and the Cultivation of Detachment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), p. 119.

⁷ Thomas Albrecht, "'The Balance of Separateness and Communication": Cosmopolitan Ethics in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*', *ELH*, 79 (2012), 389-416 (p. 389).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

cosmopolitanism in counterintuitive and – as his title signals – ‘convenient’ ways.⁹ Stević urges reading the novel alongside Eliot’s last published work, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such* (1879), particularly the essay ‘The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!’ (which I similarly consider vital to understanding Eliot’s concerns in her final novel, although we must be attentive to her assumption of a character, Theophrastus Such, whose voice and opinions are not necessarily contiguous with the author’s). For Stević, ‘The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!’ elucidates Eliot’s conviction, also palpable in *Daniel Deronda*, that national identity should remain unaltered by encounters with the other. Ultimately, I find Stević’s summation of cosmopolitanism’s lasting difficulties to be representative of Eliot’s own perspective in this novel:

While we continue to be drawn to cosmopolitanism as an ideological project invested in overcoming tribal loyalties and in celebrating the encounter with the other, we are also resistant to its universalizing logic which we often see as complicit with the hegemonic tendencies variously present in the intellectual legacy of the European Enlightenment and in contemporary global capitalism.¹⁰

However, there is a further position to which existing criticism has not given great attention, due to its predominating focus on central characters such as Daniel and Gwendolen: that of *transnationalism*. While I do not argue that Eliot presents transnationalism as an idealised alternative to either nationalism or cosmopolitanism, such a mode of living is made patent in the novel, primarily through Klesmer. In the following, I show how the novel’s musical allusions, especially comparisons to specific historical composers, position Klesmer as, simultaneously, an exemplary Jewish musician; a spokesman for German cultural superiority; and a proponent of cosmopolitanism which transcends national and racial boundaries. I distinguish between the *transnationalism* by which other characters, and at times Eliot’s narration, perceive him (the ‘trans’ prefix suggesting movement across national boundaries), and the *cosmopolitanism* by which he identifies himself in his speech and music (a universalist stance that effaces national boundaries).

⁹ Aleksandar Stević, ‘Convenient Cosmopolitanism: *Daniel Deronda*, Nationalism, and the Critics’, *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 45 (2017), 593-614 (p. 593).

¹⁰ Ibid.

Transnationalism is less rooted in an ideology than nationalism or cosmopolitanism, having neither term's implications of a firm foundation for identity, but instead connoting an ever-changing state of being. It accommodates multiple identities, whether assumed willingly by the individual or imposed upon them by others in specific contexts. It is produced, in this novel, by assimilation and racial mixing, as well as the globalist nature of modern industry (in Klesmer's case, the music industry). What the wealth of existing critical debate about *Daniel Deronda's* cosmopolitanism has made clear, more than anything, is that Eliot could not resolve the conflicts of 'universalizing logic', 'cultivated partiality', and 'cosmopolitan aspiration', especially in a novel validating the proto-Zionist claims of diasporic Jews.¹¹ Transnationalism appears not as a resolution of this conflict, but a likely alternative. As I argue, Klesmer's significance as a counterexample to Daniel's separatism depends importantly on the resonances of certain musical allusions, as well as the transnational potentialities of music in general.

This focus on Klesmer and his associated musical context is not new. Delia da Sousa Correa has focused comprehensively on his character in her chapter in John Rignall's *George Eliot and Europe* (1997), then continuing this discussion in her own *George Eliot, Music and Victorian Culture* (2003), where she covers his 'role as a critic of bourgeois British culture'; his various national connotations and connections to historical composers; the significance of his political zeal and composers' social status in this period; and his Hoffmannesque qualities.¹² He has received attention in studies by Beryl Gray, Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, and Ruth A. Solie, as well as shorter pieces by Allan Arkush and Gordon S. Haight.¹³ Recently, da Sousa Correa has heralded the productive

¹¹ Stević, p. 593; Albrecht, p. 395; Anderson, p. 119.

¹² Delia da Sousa Correa, 'George Eliot and the Germanic "Musical Magus"', in *George Eliot and Europe*, ed. by John Rignall (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 98-112; Delia da Sousa Correa, *George Eliot, Music and Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 131-39.

¹³ Beryl Gray, *George Eliot and Music* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989); Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs, Subversive Songs: Music as Social Discourse in the Victorian Novel* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2002); Ruth A. Solie, "'Tadpole Pleasures": *Daniel Deronda* as Music Historiography', in *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations*, ed. by Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) (pp. 153-86); Allan Arkush, 'Relativizing Nationalism: The Role of Klesmer in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*', *Jewish Social Studies*, 3 (1997), 61-73; Gordon S. Haight considers Klesmer's possible real-life prototypes in 'George Eliot's Klesmer', in *George Eliot's*

approach of considering the novel's music through the lens of cosmopolitan studies in her chapter for the *Edinburgh Companion to Literature and Music* on, 'George Eliot, Schubert, and the Cosmopolitan Music of *Daniel Deronda*' (2020). Accordingly, this article builds on an already rich tradition of study of Eliot's musical allusions, especially in this most musical novel, as well as engaging the perhaps even richer debate as to the novel's endorsement of nationalism or cosmopolitanism. As da Sousa Correa's chapter makes clear, the study of nineteenth-century music history necessitates an approach which is mindful of transnational and cosmopolitan possibilities. By implementing this music-historical understanding, I contend, we can situate Klesmer as an intermediary between the novel's national and cosmopolitan attitudes. Klesmer is perceived as alternately transnational and cosmopolitan in his identity, and, as a composer, connotes the shifting metaphorical identification of music as particularised and universal. My reading emphasises Klesmer's importance (when contrasted with characters who are similarly Jewish and musical, but also female), for gauging the limitations of nationalism and cosmopolitanism for women, as well as highlighting Klesmer as representative of the complex ramifications of transnational and cosmopolitan livelihoods in the modern world. In contrast to existing readings of Klesmer, I assert that he does remain in England at the end of the novel, and that this remaining has wider implications for our understanding of the novel's separatism.¹⁴ Rather than 'mov[ing] toward a conclusion in which alien races are removed from England', as in Susan Meyer's reading, I contend that the novel actively questions the terms on which Jewish people were accommodated in England, by way of contrast to the Zionist conclusion.¹⁵ What has not been previously emphasised is that Klesmer's

Originals and Contemporaries: Essays in Victorian Literary History and Biography, ed. by Hugh Witemeyer (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 68-77.

¹⁴ Several critics have interpreted Hans Meyrick's comment, in a letter to Daniel, that 'the Klesmers on the eve of departure have behaved magnificently' (p. 601), as indicating Klesmer and Catherine leave Britain for good. da Sousa Correa notes his 'magician-like appearances in and disappearances from the text', suggesting his fate is uncertain (*Victorian Culture*, p. 180). Given the appellatory associations of his name (*klezmer* refers in Yiddish to itinerant musicians), and a prior reference (p. 564) to his house in Grosvenor Place, I have interpreted this 'departure' as merely temporary.

¹⁵ Susan Meyer, *Imperialism at Home: Race and Victorian Women's Fiction* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 195.

ambiguities are contiguous with the very ambiguities critics continue to identify in the novel.

Early in *Daniel Deronda*, a musical scene takes place which hints at the wide horizons the novel will later pursue. Nineteenth-century England was infamously perceived, within and without its borders, as a 'Land Without Music' which failed to produce world-class composers and musicians.¹⁶ Instead of fostering native talent, it had a reputation as the ideal place for foreign musicians to make a fortune: earlier in the century, because English patrons were keen to display their wealth through employing musicians, and later in the century, because English cities were home to ever-expanding audiences and ever more performance venues. *Daniel Deronda* exemplifies the former instance: the Arrowpoints of Quetcham employ Klesmer under the assumption that 'to have a first-rate musician in your house is a privilege of wealth'.¹⁷ Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote of England's foreign musicians as 'showy commodities, which they buy at great price for pride', and this suggestion of philistinism is extended in Eliot's novel in the scene in which Klesmer critiques a performance by Gwendolen Harleth.¹⁸

The composer deems Gwendolen's Bellini aria 'a form of melody which expresses a puerile state of culture – a dandling, canting, seesaw kind of stuff – the passion and thought of people without any breadth of horizon'.¹⁹ Ostensibly a comment on the Italian culture that breeds such music, this criticism by association addresses the limitations of British tastes. Moreover, the comment calls upon Gwendolen to broaden her own horizons. Klesmer's piano-playing imbues her with the 'sense of the universal' lacking in her own music:

¹⁶ The phrase 'Land Without Music' was coined by Oskar Schmitz in a 1914 travelogue, *Das Land ohne Musik*, but the concept was prevalent in music journalism and music historiographies in the late nineteenth century; see Bennett Zon, 'Music History', in *Evolution and Victorian Musical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 226-59. See also Jürgen Schaarwächter, 'Chasing a Myth and a Legend: "The British Musical Renaissance" in a "Land without Music"', *The Musical Times*, 149 (2008), 53-60.

¹⁷ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 220.

¹⁸ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *English Traits* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1856), p. 251, n1.

¹⁹ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 43.

In spite of her wounded egoism, [she] had fullness of nature enough to feel the power of this playing, and it gradually turned her inward sob of mortification into an excitement which lifted her for the moment into a desperate indifference about her own doings.²⁰

From his first appearance in the novel, Klesmer connotes universality. Like the 'universal language' he uses when he plays music, he encourages a broad outlook not limited by nationality. Repeatedly, he is associated with largeness of space and an all-encompassing humanism: his 'personality, especially his way of glancing around him, immediately suggest[s] vast areas and a multitudinous audience'.²¹ His outlook will later be problematised when set against the narrower, yet fulfilling, potentialities of Jewish nationalism. The 'breadth of horizon' encouraged by Klesmer not only traverses national boundaries (transnational) but nullifies them (cosmopolitan), and I will later explore how Eliot shows that diasporic Jews may be disadvantaged by this tendency.

Klesmer's 'role as a critic of bourgeois British culture' is predicated on his specifically representing German musical culture.²² As Symons wrote, classical music was dualistically considered both universal and discernibly German. The critical and aesthetic lexicon around music was honed in Germany in the early decades of the nineteenth century, notably in the work of E.T.A Hoffmann (whose fictional composer Johannes Kreisler influenced the characterisation not only of Klesmer, but of several nineteenth-century composers both real and fictional), and innovated in the journalism of Robert Schumann and Richard Wagner.²³ These composer-authors were both associated with the New German School, which advocated *Zukunftsmusik* or the Music of the Future, and fuelled a 'controversy between the declamatory and melodic schools of music', as Eliot herself wrote in an 1855 article, 'Liszt, Wagner, and Weimar'.²⁴ These 'schools' were represented on the whole by, respectively, German and Italian music. As Eliot's terms imply, Italian music was denigrated for over-reliance on beguiling *bel canto* melodies and spectacle, while German music – especially the Music of the Future

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., p. 450.

²² da Sousa Correa, *Victorian Culture*, p. 131.

²³ See R. Murray Schafer, *E.T.A. Hoffmann and Music* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019).

²⁴ George Eliot, 'Liszt, Wagner, and Weimar', in *Selected Critical Writings*, ed. by Rosemary Ashton, *The Complete Works of George Eliot*, 36 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), xvii, p. 85.

spearheaded by Wagner – was said to be based on firmer aesthetic ideals, prizing harmonic, rhythmic, structural, and formal innovation. Rather than mere spectacle for spectacle's sake, Wagner aimed for a synthesis of words, music, and staging, or *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art).²⁵

This controversy finds its way into *Daniel Deronda's* drawing-room scene. Klesmer's criticism of Bellini, as mentioned, addresses the limitations of Italian operatic conventions, at a time in which the preference for pure melody was being reassessed through an evolutionist lens as indicative of a lower stage of civilization.²⁶ In associating the Bellini aria with a 'puerile state of culture', Klesmer signals his allegiance to the New German School, progressivism, and Wagnerism, an allegiance Eliot reinforces through her description of his playing. His music suggests Wagner both in length – 'a four-handed piece on two pianos which convinced the company in general that it was long' – and unintelligibility: 'an extensive commentary on some melodic ideas not too grossly evident'.²⁷ The 'melodic idea', rather than melody pure and simple, recalls the more theoretical emphasis of Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*. The narratorial voice espouses the bias of Klesmer – or more generally the New German School – by terming his melodic ideas 'not *too grossly* evident', in clear contrast to the 'canting' obviousness of Gwendolen's Italian melodies.²⁸ Klesmer's disciplining of Gwendolen in this scene marks the imposition of a recognisable Germanness, as the narrator interjects, referring to the Franco-Prussian war of 1871: 'Was there ever so unexpected an assertion of superiority? at least before the late Teutonic conquests?'²⁹ Klesmer is the novel's prime representative of the German culture in which Eliot and G.H. Lewes had been immersed during their visit of 1854, during which they notably met another proponent of the New German School – Franz Liszt, then employed as Kapellmeister in Weimar.³⁰

²⁵ For more on Wagner's aesthetic theories, see James Treadwell, 'The Urge to Communicate: The Prose Writings as Theory and Practice', in *The Cambridge Companion to Wagner*, ed. by Thomas S. Grey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 177-91.

²⁶ See Solie, pp. 153-86.

²⁷ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, pp. 41, 43.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43 (my emphasis).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³⁰ See Gerlinde Röder-Bolton, *George Eliot in Germany, 1854-55: 'Cherished Memories'* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

Yet at the same time, the scene reveals Klesmer's transnationalism in the eyes of the gathered English characters, who freely adjust their perception of his nationality based on their feeling towards him. Though we are told that 'his English had little foreignness except its fluency', when he disparages Gwendolen's song choice, he 'suddenly speak[s] in an odious German fashion with staccato endings, quite unobservable in him before, and apparently depending on a change of mood'.³¹ Eliot's omniscient but shifting narration allows that the 'change of mood' may in fact come from Gwendolen herself: for her, Klesmer assumes 'odious' Germanness when criticising her on musical grounds. To be musically superior, then, is to be German. Yet later, Klesmer clashes with Mr Bult who, with his 'general solidity and suffusive pinkness of a healthy Briton' and 'strong opinions concerning the districts of the Niger', metonymically represents national imperial values. Subsequently, Klesmer 'suddenly mak[es] a mysterious wind-like rush backwards and forwards on the piano', of which 'Mr Bult felt this buffoonery rather offensive and Polish'.³² Now, Eliot's shifting narrative consciousness identifies Klesmer's musical otherness as Polish (though Bult cannot be too sure whether he is 'a Pole, or a Czech, or something of that fermenting sort').³³ Moreover, when Bult labels him a 'Panslavist', Klesmer smilingly asserts that he is in fact 'the Wandering Jew', countering attempts to discern his national allegiance by referring instead to this mythological figure of liminality (further discussed below).³⁴ Klesmer's transnational identifications, like his 'wind-like' movements at the piano, throw into relief the 'general solidity' of Britishness. As Andrew Thompson describes, 'the English, with their increasingly insular discourse and the prejudices, misconceptions and arrogance to which this gives rise, are repeatedly exposed and condemned for their separateness without communication'.³⁵ Both Klesmer's intimidating Germanness and his mutable transnationalism, then, expose English cultural shortcomings. His musicality analogises his ability to move between national identities: in both instances cited here, his chastising of Gwendolen and his argument with Bult, his transnationalism occurs in

³¹ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, pp. 41-42.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 224.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

³⁵ Andrew Thompson, *George Eliot and Italy: Literary, Cultural and Political Influences from Dante to the Risorgimento* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 182.

conjunction with a display of musical ability. By this logic, therefore, British musical inferiority bespeaks the nation's staid insularity.

As critics have pointed out, Eliot was not as sympathetic to Wagnerism as was her fictional composer, and there is some irony in the depiction of his music whose melodies are 'not too grossly evident'. In 'Liszt, Wagner, and Weimar', although Eliot provides one of the earliest English-language defences of Wagner, she also expresses ambivalence towards *Zukunftsmusik*, continuing to prefer melody even if it is 'only a transitory phase of music', representative of 'tadpole pleasures' or a lower evolutionary stage than that attained in German music.³⁶ Her partner Lewes, too, later wrote: 'the Music of the future is not for us – Schubert, Beethoven, Mozart, Gluck, or even Verdi – but not Wagner – is what we are made to respond to'.³⁷ *Daniel Deronda's* music on the whole balances progressive German music against ostensibly conservative, even atavistic, Italian music; two poles represented in this early scene by Klesmer and Gwendolen.

Yet as the novel continues, Eliot reassesses this perception of Italian music and applies it incisively to the Jewish narrative. Through Mirah's performances of Rossini, as well as Schubert, Beethoven, and the fictional composer Leo (who sets music to Leopardi's 'O patria mia'), Eliot suggests the significance of both Germany and Italy to her narrative. Both, after all, were countries which had unified not long before the publication of *Daniel Deronda*, though Italy's quest for unification was generally viewed more positively in Britain than Germany's.³⁸ Critics have suggested that Risorgimento revolutionaries such as Giuseppe Mazzini inspired the characterization of Deronda, who aims to unify a Jewish nation.³⁹ 'Mirah and Daniel's singing', writes Thompson,

Of settings of Italian texts is part of a more sustained association of Jewish characters with Italy and its culture, in what amounts to a deliberate and carefully

³⁶ Solie, pp. 164-65 and da Sousa Correa, *Victorian Culture*, p. 134; Eliot, 'Liszt, Wagner, and Weimar', p. 87.

³⁷ Quoted in Introduction to 'Armgart', in *The Complete Shorter Poetry of George Eliot, Volume 1*, ed. by Antonie Gerard van den Broek, *The Complete Works of George Eliot*, 36 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005), xxxv, p. 89.

³⁸ As Thompson discusses, Eliot's creation of the Viennese Leo, who sets texts by Leopardi, synthesises German and Italian revolutionary associations; see Thompson, p. 169.

³⁹ Thompson, p. 173; Solie, p. 179.

calculated hermeneutic strategy whereby the Jewish part of the novel is often mediated through Italian cultural references.⁴⁰

Through Italian culture, more familiar to Christian English readers than Jewish culture, the reader is brought to an understanding of the 'Jewish yearning for a national identity' which motivates Mordecai, Mirah, and Daniel.⁴¹ Thompson remarks that even Klesmer is at one point identified with Italy, wearing 'a Florentine *berretta*' which calls to mind Leonardo da Vinci.⁴²

Italian art and music provide a continual point of reference for Jewish characters, who are, by the novel's end, imagined as emulating the triumphs of Italian revolutionary nationalism. When Daniel visits the synagogue in Frankfurt, the chanted liturgy becomes a 'coherent strain' through comparison to 'the effect of an Allegri's *Miserere* or a Palestrina's *Magnificat*.'⁴³ As Beryl Gray observes, music here 'indicate[s] the kinship (and thus the possibility of future reconciliation) between Hebrew and Christian', by the use of 'the more accessible compositions' of these Renaissance composers.⁴⁴ Through Italian culture, specifically the Risorgimento, Eliot imagines a 'moral humanist, though essentially depoliticized, vision of the possibility of a Jewish nationalism', which she is careful to distinguish from 'the aggressive nationalism and arrogant imperialism which [she] saw emerging in Britain and Europe in the 1870s'.⁴⁵ Two very different nationalisms thus coexist in *Daniel Deronda*: expansionist British nationalism, with its insularity, philistinism, and violence; and Jewish nationalism, validated by a shared history and culture.⁴⁶ Eliot's composer exposes the accommodations and limitations of both

⁴⁰ Thompson, p. 171.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 92.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 339.

⁴⁴ Beryl Gray, 'Music', in *Oxford Reader's Companion to George Eliot*, ed. by John Rignall, *The Complete Works of George Eliot*, 36 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xxxiv, p. 284.

⁴⁵ Thompson, p. 181.

⁴⁶ The relationship between Gwendolen and Grandcourt has been compellingly read as a microcosmic representation of British colonialist violence; see Kathleen R. Slauch-Sanford, 'The Other Woman: Lydia Glasher and the Disruption of English Racial Identity in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*', *Studies in the Novel*, 41 (2009), 401-17.

nationalisms: like music, he fluctuates multivalently between national, transnational, and cosmopolitan meaning.

Eliot's introduction of Klesmer as 'a *felicitous* combination of the German, the Sclav, and the Semite' suggests that the composer comfortably identifies with multiple national and racial identities at once.⁴⁷ For all that the English characters associate him with Germany, his own statements, his music, and moreover the real composers with whom he is compared, encourage a more cosmopolitan view. Considering Klesmer from a music-historical angle clarifies Eliot's assessment that Klesmer's personality suggests 'vast areas and a multitudinous audience', after which she notes: 'we all of us carry on our thinking in some habitual *locus* where there is a presence of other souls, and those who take in a larger sweep than their neighbours are apt to seem mightily vain and affected'.⁴⁸ This ambivalent assessment of a cosmopolitan worldview – one which discards local allegiances in favour of the 'multitudinous audience' of mankind as a whole – is extended in the novel's musical allusions which have a similarly broad scope. Even to be Wagnerian is not necessarily to be strictly German. Although the composer dubbed himself the 'most German of all [...] the German spirit', the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, *Zukunftsmusik*, and the composer's distinctive aesthetic had a pan-European reach, as Alex Ross explores in *Wagnerism: Art and Politics in the Shadow of Music* (with chapters on French, Celtic, and Russian Wagnerites).⁴⁹ Likewise, Klesmer's music accommodates a range of (inter)national interpretations. The title of his fantasia, *Freudvoll, Leidvoll, Gedankenvoll*, refers to words by Goethe, most famously set by Beethoven in his *Egmont*, Op. 84 – a consummately German combination. Yet the words were also set by three other composers, to all of whom Klesmer is compared within and without the novel: Schubert, Liszt (Klesmer is "not yet a Liszt"), and Rubinstein (to whom Lewes referred in his diary by the name 'Klesmer').⁵⁰ Alongside the

⁴⁷ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 43 (my emphasis).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 450.

⁴⁹ Richard Wagner, *Das braune Buch: Tagebuchaufzeichnungen 1865 bis 1882*, ed. by J. Bergfeld (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 1975), p. 86; Alex Ross, *Wagnerism: Art and Politics in the Shadow of Music* (London: 4th Estate, 2020).

⁵⁰ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 220; For an exploration of Schubert's inclusion in the cosmopolitan milieu of Eliot's London, see Delia da Sousa Correa, 'George Eliot, Schubert, and the Cosmopolitan Music of *Daniel Deronda*', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Literature and Music*, ed. by da Sousa Correa (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 437-46; for Rubinstein as Klesmer, see *The George*

Germanness conveyed in the fantasia's title, Liszt and Rubinstein suggest a rootless cosmopolitanism which the latter identified with his Jewishness: 'To the Jews I am a Christian. To the Christians – a Jew. To the Russians I am a German, and to the Germans – a Russian'.⁵¹ Such pluralistic identification, resulting seemingly in nullification, suggests why Lewes saw Rubinstein as a real-life Klesmer, and indicates the inspiration behind Klesmer's (partially) tongue-in-cheek description of himself as 'the Wandering Jew'. This frequently pejorative appellation draws together the itinerant lifestyle of the musician with the national homelessness of nineteenth-century Jewish people.

Although itinerancy is akin to vagrancy in the eyes of the novel's English characters – Mrs Arrowpoint suspiciously terms Klesmer 'a gypsy, a Jew, a mere bubble of the earth' – as David Conway points out, not everyone viewed the touring lifestyle negatively, especially within the Jewish community.⁵² The nineteenth century marked the first time that Jewish musicians could fully participate in Western music, with the decline of aristocratic and clerical patronage and rise of a more democratic market. Within this market, the time-honoured 'need of the Jewish trader to travel widely, and to accommodate himself amongst the different societies he encountered', put Jewish musicians at an advantage.⁵³ Klesmer's self-appellation as 'the Wandering Jew' not only registers his awareness of the challenge his identity poses to the British characters, but could be considered a reclamation of the term in defence of a mode of living which eschews place-based identification. Eliot registers this by later mentioning Klesmer's home 'on the outskirts of Bohemia' – referring to the region then under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian empire – before referring additionally to the 'figurative Bohemia'.⁵⁴ In this period, the idea of a 'figurative Bohemia' drew together disparate transnational

Eliot Letters, ed. by Gordon S. Haight, 9 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954–78), ix, pp. 176–77.

⁵¹ Anton Rubinstein, *Gedankenkorb*; quoted in James Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 15; For Liszt's more consciously assumed cosmopolitanism – or, by my definition here, transnationalism – see Joanne Cormac, 'Liszt, Language, and Identity', *19th-Century Music*, 36 (2013), pp. 231–47.

⁵² Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 229; David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 35.

⁵³ Conway, p. 35.

⁵⁴ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 450.

identities, particularly the 'gypsy' and 'Jew' labels given Klesmer by Mrs Arrowpoint.⁵⁵ Eliot's reference to Bohemia as both a geographic location and a mode of living reveals Klesmer's position at the intersection of national and transnational identities. Like its near-synonym 'cosmopolitan', the term 'Bohemian' might be considered inimical to the aims of nationalism, as it allows geographical and – contradictorily – metaphorical definitions to coexist, at the potential expense of the former.

One of the century's most prominent Jewish composers, Felix Mendelssohn, considered music the best form for surmounting the conflicts of his Jewish ethnicity and Protestant faith, as well as his German nationality and English sensibilities. Mendelssohn is perhaps, within existing scholarship, an under-acknowledged inspiration for Klesmer, who is generally discussed as a 'Lisztian-Wagnerian composer', although da Sousa Correa notes that Mendelssohn provides a model for Klesmer's 'stature as a musician and noble being'.⁵⁶ Catherine Arrowpoint defends Klesmer by claiming that he 'will rank with Schubert and Mendelssohn'.⁵⁷ Prior to this, describing the development of Catherine and Klesmer's relationship, the narrator calls him:

One whom nature seemed to have first made generously and then to have added music as a dominant power using all the abundant rest, and, as in Mendelssohn, finding expression for itself not only in the highest finish of execution, but in that fervour of creative work and theoretic belief which pierces the whole future of a life with the light of congruous, devoted purpose.⁵⁸

These allusions grant Klesmer validity through the treasured mid-Victorian values of 'work', 'belief', and 'purpose', and presage his end in the novel: devoting himself mainly to teaching, he becomes a 'patron and prince' who inhabits 'one of the large houses in Grosvenor Place'.⁵⁹ Yet Klesmer is not Anglicised. Rather, music permits him, like Mendelssohn, to hold a universalist position that pays little heed to geopolitical and linguistic distinctions. Mendelssohn's statement of music's unifying power, in contrast

⁵⁵ See *On Bohemia: The Code of the Self-Exiled*, ed. by César Graña and Marigay Graña (Milton: Taylor & Francis, 2017).

⁵⁶ Ross, p. 264; da Sousa Correa, 'Cosmopolitan Music', p. 455, n3.

⁵⁷ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 224.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 564.

to the divisive nature of language, captures Klesmer's ethos: 'Only melody can say the same thing, can arouse the same feelings in one person as in another, a feeling which may not be expressed, however, by the same words'.⁶⁰ Eliot's interest in Mendelssohn some five years before the composition of *Daniel Deronda* is documented. Reading his letters, she and Lewes identified 'an eminently pure, refined nature'.⁶¹ Beyond the distinctly Protestant work ethic and morality imputed to him in Victorian England, the letters revealed Mendelssohn's aesthetic credo to Eliot, one which chimed with her own belief that the best music 'stirs all one's devout emotions, blends everything into harmony – makes one feel part of one whole [yet] loving the sense of a separate self'.⁶²

Against a contextual background of burgeoning proto-Zionism soon to be fronted by Theodor Herzl, Klesmer's assimilatory ending provides an ambiguous alternative to Daniel and Mordecai's separatism. As Catherine says, Klesmer 'has cosmopolitan ideas' and 'looks forward to a fusion of races'.⁶³ Notably, these ideas recur, contentiously, in the discussion between the Jewish characters at the Hand and Banner. Within and without the Jewish community, cosmopolitanism was considered by many, whether positively or negatively, the default position of Jewish people. Fichte and Hegel, among others, had written earlier in the century about German Jews as alien to the nation because of essential ethnic and religious difference. Across Europe, for Hegel, the Jew 'always was and remained a foreigner'.⁶⁴ Wagner's resumption of this idea in 'Das Judentum in der Musik' in 1850 was infamous. As a composer for whom 'the connexion with [one's] natural soil, with the genuine spirit of the Folk' was essential to creating art, Wagner attacked German-Jewish composers for their cosmopolitan

⁶⁰ Letter of 15 October 1842, in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Briefe*, ed. by Rudolf Elvers, 4 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984), II, pp. 337-38.

⁶¹ *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. by Gordon S. Haight, 9 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954), v: 1869-1873, p. 107.

⁶² Journal entry, 14 April 1858, in Gordon S. Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 256; see also Colin Eatock, *Mendelssohn and Victorian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

⁶³ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 224.

⁶⁴ G.W.F. Hegel, *Early Theological Writings*, trans. by T. M. Knox (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948), p. 186.

music which failed to evince Germanness.⁶⁵ Despite the different standpoints of Wagner and Eliot, ultimately the Hand and Banner scene in *Daniel Deronda* establishes a similar mistrust towards Jewish cosmopolitanism, with Mordecai's conviction that 'the effect of our separateness will not be completed and have its highest transformation unless our race takes on again the character of a nationality'.⁶⁶ The uniquely communicative powers of music are discarded in favour of the oratorical nature of Mordecai's Zionism. He makes several lengthy speeches, and his tutelage of Daniel in Hebrew indicates that language, not music, will be the organising principle of Jewish nationalism.

Yet the very presence of Klesmer, who not only states an opposing view but literally embodies transnational principles as a touring musician, challenges the Zionist project and, moreover, constitutes Eliot's acknowledgement of the globalising realities of modernity. Reading the essay 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!' alongside the novel, we find Eliot's cantankerous speaker, Theophrastus Such, advocating a recognition of difference over an all-effacing sameness. Lamenting Anglo-Jews' 'separateness which is made their reproach' and their 'cosmopolitan indifference equivalent to cynicism', Theophrastus urges that they should attain 'the consciousness of having a native country', 'that sense of special belonging which is the root of human virtues', by founding their own nation-state.⁶⁷ For Theophrastus, native consciousness cannot survive assimilation, conversion, or interracial marriage, as he suggests in alarmingly xenophobic terms: 'it is a calamity to the English, as to any other great historic people, to undergo a premature fusion with immigrants of alien blood'.⁶⁸ Theophrastus particularly desires 'to keep our rich and harmonious English undefiled by foreign accent'.⁶⁹ As in Herder before him, language is the founding element of the nation.

As Stević suggests, undergirding this essay is the Herderian principle that 'it is perhaps useful to familiarize oneself with [...] others, but it is equally important to keep

⁶⁵ Richard Wagner, 'Judaism in Music' in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, trans. by William Ashton Ellis, 8 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1894), III: *The Theatre*, pp. 79-100 (p. 89).

⁶⁶ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 496.

⁶⁷ George Eliot, 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!', in *Impressions of Theophrastus Such, The Complete Works of George Eliot*, 36 vols (London: Pickering, 1994), XI, pp. 143-165 (pp. 155-56).

⁶⁸ Eliot, 'Modern Hep!', p. 158.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*; see Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, 'Language Philosophy as Language Ideology: John Locke and Johann Gottfried Herder', in *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, ed. by Paul V. Kroskrity (Oxford: James Currey, 2000), p. 182.

them at bay so as not to disturb what Herder calls “the centre of gravity” that every nation finds within itself.⁷⁰ Rather than solely understanding this in the context of British national identity, however, it is important to remember that Theophrastus is also here writing about Jewish people, long denied a ‘centre of gravity’ due to their diasporic existence. Klesmer’s belief in the ‘fusion of races’, his marriage to Catherine, and his music constitute, for Theophrastus and Mordecai alike, a dilution of Jewish racial identity as much as a threat to British identity. Although Eliot distances herself from ‘The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!’ through the use of a speaker (Theophrastus), its separatist invective can be identified in *Daniel Deronda*. Both urge the preservation of Jewishness in the face of cosmopolitanism: the idea of transcending one’s nationality was only an appealing, and realistic, prospect for those whose nationality was already well assured. For those communities which existed at the boundaries of nation and race, cosmopolitanism was more likely to lead to erasure.

However, the Zionist ending of *Daniel Deronda* and the rhetoric of ‘The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!’ should be considered merely speculative. Klesmer is a portentous character. The ‘fusion of races’ he anticipates, as well as the global capitalism he represents as a professional musician, are admitted in the novel and essay to be inevitable. Pash’s prediction, at the Hand and Banner, that ‘with us in Europe the sentiment of nationality is destined to die out’, is not entirely allayed by the renewed faith placed in Jewish nationality by the novel’s ending.⁷¹ Nor is Gideon’s opinion that ‘there’s no reason now why we shouldn’t melt gradually into the populations we live among. That’s the order of the day in point of progress’, dispelled.⁷² Klesmer, who represents musical progress, also represents this projected national progress. Meyer writes that the novel ‘symbolically enacts racial and nationalistic separation, sending the Jews, who are the novel’s “dark race”, out of England into Palestine’, yet this fails to take account of both Klesmer and the first Cohen family encountered by Daniel.⁷³ This is not to suggest, equally, that either example proves the viability of ‘separateness and communication’ for Jews in Britain. The Cohen family is steeped in mercantilism, while Klesmer settles as a music teacher, a more professionalised post than that of the

⁷⁰ Stević, ‘Convenient Cosmopolitanism’, p. 598.

⁷¹ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 488.

⁷² Ibid., p. 489.

⁷³ Meyer, p. 195.

composer. Last seen recommending Mirah to a 'charitable morning concert in a *wealthy* house', living in Belgravia, and sending Daniel and Mirah 'a perfect watch' as a wedding gift (the Cohen family also deals in watch repairs), Klesmer's remaining in Britain at the end of the novel suggests that the coexistence of Jews and non-Jews can only be fostered under the auspices of global capital.⁷⁴ There is even a prophetic suggestion of this in the detail, earlier in the novel, of 'Klesmer's outburst on the lack of idealism in English politics, which left all mutuality between distant races to be determined simply by the need of a market'.⁷⁵ Cannily predicting the eventual means of his settlement in Britain, the composer is a casualty of the onset of capitalist cosmopolitanism, summed up in Gideon's maxim, 'A man's country is where he's well off'.⁷⁶ As such, Eliot's novel – the only one of her novels set in her present – bears affinities with Trollope's *The Way We Live Now* (which she was reading during the composition of *Daniel Deronda*): its tracing of developments in contemporary Britain is as important as its gesturing towards a Zionist future.⁷⁷

As well as exposing the shortcomings of assimilation under capitalist cosmopolitanism, Klesmer's positioning as a male Jewish composer conversely reveals limitations within nationalist separatism. The 'supra-national' position Klesmer occupies as a composer makes him, for Allan Arkush,

Neither a direct threat to the novel's Jewish nationalism nor a minor deviation from it but an ideal against which it may ultimately be measured. Klesmer's 'supra-nationalism' is, for George Eliot, an attainable ideal, one that can be reached even today by exceptional individuals.⁷⁸

It is worth exploring who may be counted among these 'exceptional individuals'. Nearly all the novel's musicians are Jewish, yet at the same time music represents their means of breaking away from strictly racialised separatism: so why is Mirah's ending

⁷⁴ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, pp. 685, 753 (my emphasis).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 489.

⁷⁷ Eliot read *The Way We Live Now* in monthly instalments from February 1874; see Michael Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion: "The Jewish Question" & English National Identity* (London: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 234-35.

⁷⁸ Arkush, pp. 62-63.

circumscribed by her race – as she accompanies Daniel to the East and gives up her singing – while Daniel’s mother Alcharisi ends as ‘a dreamed visitant from some region of departed mortals’, whose embrace of cosmopolitanism has led to alienation?⁷⁹ Firstly, Eliot acknowledges that race and gender intersect in constricting ways. Klesmer’s ability to ‘rise above national divisions without sinking beneath humanity’ owes not simply to his being, in Arkush’s estimation, a ‘rare individual’, but also male.⁸⁰ As Anderson writes, ‘femininity in its ideal form enacts and transmits the affective bounds of the community, from the level of the family to that of the nation’, so that Mirah and Alcharisi embody, respectively, the successful and unsuccessful fulfilment of familial, national, and racial ties through their performance of gender.⁸¹ Anderson reads Alcharisi as ‘a hypermodern subject’ who ‘aligns herself with the transnational force of art and seeks to divorce herself entirely from the stifling confinement of a tradition-bound cultural heritage’, and it is only her gender that distinguishes her from Klesmer in this sense.⁸² In fact, Alcharisi’s loss of her singing voice means that, by the time we encounter her, she has lost her alignment with the ‘transnational force of art’ and is defined instead by a more static, effacing cosmopolitanism. The more transnational Mirah, who has travelled extensively prior to the novel’s narrative, first meets Daniel by a river, and switches with ease between Italian and German music, is – despite all this movement – always indubitably identified with Jewishness. Alcharisi is encountered in just one location – Genoa – away from the bustling merchant city, endlessly trying to act a role which evades her, and defined by ‘suppressed’ speech and gestures.⁸³ This indicates – as ‘The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!’ would later confirm – Eliot’s much darker view of cosmopolitanism, but neither a transnational nor cosmopolitan lifestyle ultimately coexists with musicianship for the novel’s female Jewish characters. Klesmer’s fulfilment of *both* transnational and cosmopolitan identities is a marker of his privilege as a male composer rather than a female performer.

Allusions to the real context of the fictional Klesmer’s music-making further validate his pluralism. As I noted in exploring the national resonances of his music,

⁷⁹ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 621.

⁸⁰ Arkush, p. 68.

⁸¹ Anderson, p. 139.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40.

⁸³ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 646.

Klesmer is – somewhat ironically, given Wagner’s anti-Semitism, as Solie points out – associated with Wagnerism: ‘By adding a Semitic strain to Klesmer’s mix, [Eliot] claims modernist musical practice for Jewish composers’.⁸⁴ This modernist musical practice was, as I have noted, both pan-European and nationally specific, depending on the intent of the composer. It suited nationalist composers such as Smetana and Dvořák at the same time as inspiring the work of Liszt and Mahler, more usually associated with cosmopolitanism.⁸⁵ Unlike Mirah, whose performances always express her racial and familial belonging, Klesmer – especially in *Freudvoll, Leidvoll, Gedankenvoll* – invokes nationalism but avoids committing himself to its overall project. Moreover, Klesmer’s performances are instrumental rather than vocal. In Alcharisi, who ‘acted as well as [she] sang’, with her ‘low melodious voice’, we encounter a corruption of the musical vocality often celebrated by Eliot.⁸⁶ Alcharisi is an erstwhile opera singer whose remaining musicality is now solely concentrated on acting and spectacle, far removed from Dorothea Brooke’s truly communicative ‘voice of deep-souled womanhood’ in *Middlemarch*.⁸⁷ Deronda perceives a ‘subtle movement in her eyes and closed lips which is like the suppressed continuation of speech’, and both interviews with her son are characterised by ‘confessional coloratura’ or a compulsive need to speak, but a failure to communicate.⁸⁸ Mirah and Alcharisi, as women and singers, contend with the suspicion of mere performativity commonly attributed to Jewish musicians, while Klesmer’s music-making is permitted through its avoidance of spectacle and alignment with *Zukunftsmusik*. The ‘homogeneous cosmopolitan ideal’ represented by Klesmer not only ‘complements the more specifically Jewish identities in the novel’, as da Sousa Correa suggests, but forces a reassessment of the accommodations and limitations

⁸⁴ Solie, p. 169.

⁸⁵ See Marta Ottlová, Milan Pospíšil and John Tyrrell, ‘Bedřich Smetana’, *Grove Music Online*, <<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-3000000151>> [accessed 16 March 2021]; John Clapham, *Dvořák* (New York: Norton, 1979), p. 17.

⁸⁶ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, pp. 583-84.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*; George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, in *The Complete Works of George Eliot*, ed. by David Carroll, 36 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), vi, p. 579.

⁸⁸ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 583; Rosemarie Bodenheimer, *The Real Life of Mary Ann Evans: George Eliot, Her Letters, and Fiction* (London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 185.

inherent in both cosmopolitan ideals and specifically Jewish identities.⁸⁹ Through a mapping of Jewish musicality oriented around Klesmer (Mirah, like him, claims her Jewish identity, while Alcharisi, like him, claims a cosmopolitan identity) Eliot encourages reflection on the place of women in nationalist and cosmopolitan ideologies.

Ultimately, Klesmer is a focal point for understanding *Daniel Deronda* as Eliot's own version of *The Way We Live Now*. Although it has frequently been read as a visionary novel, *Daniel Deronda* is rooted in its contemporary context, addressing, like Trollope's novel, the twin threats to the modern state: capitalism and cosmopolitanism. Despite the ostensible success Klesmer makes of a cosmopolitan lifestyle, juxtaposing him with the novel's other characters reveals Eliot's concerns about uninhibited adoption of cosmopolitanism. It is Klesmer who first encourages Gwendolen to discover a 'sense of the universal', and a scene between Gwendolen and Daniel at the novel's end indicates the shortcomings of this worldview. After learning that Daniel is a Jew, Gwendolen responds, 'What difference need that have made?', Daniel points out, 'emphatically', 'It has made a great difference to me that I have known it'.⁹⁰ Gwendolen's newly acquired universalism now threateningly effaces the Jewish identity Daniel has discovered. In miniature, this scene dramatizes the interaction of Jewish nationalism and cosmopolitanism in the late nineteenth century. Eliot perceives that the growing trend towards cosmopolitanism will most endanger communities whose identities have been continually under threat of absorption or erasure. Into this dynamic, Eliot inserts a further concern that the accommodation of Jews in Britain is underscored by mercantilism rather than culture, even for those ostensibly elevated above commercial concerns, such as composers.

As a figure who profits through his art and is thus enabled to move from country to country, and communicating in a 'universal language', the composer is integral to the globalising processes Eliot exposes, and connotes their imminency. Allusions to real composers in relation to Klesmer have a distinct focus on futurity: he '*will* rank with Schubert and Mendelssohn', and is '*not yet* a Liszt'.⁹¹ As da Sousa Correa demonstrates, composers are 'those whose destiny it is to shape the future', a future with, as these

⁸⁹ da Sousa Correa, *Victorian Culture*, p. 171.

⁹⁰ Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 746.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 224, 220 (my emphasis).

specific composers connote, a distinctly cosmopolitan flavour.⁹² In this future, Jewish people are integrated into British society on capitalist grounds, while the place of women in both nationalist and cosmopolitan ideologies is highly circumscribed. Klesmer's difficulty as a character rests on his resistance to incorporation within a distinct ideology, wavering between transnational identifications and seeming endorsement of cosmopolitanism.⁹³ The composer is crucially representative of the ideologically uncertain future (national, racial, cultural, economic) that Eliot's novel anticipates. A successfully transnational figure who encourages universalist thinking and advocates for the propagation of culture, yet also one whose success is predicated on masculinist, nationalist, and capitalist norms, Klesmer represents *Daniel Deronda's* idealism and its concessions to reality. On one hand, Klesmer's is an aspirational model of relationality, balancing identification and transcendence. On the other, he reveals the complex intersections of different nationalisms and nebulous definitions of cosmopolitanism, and his dualism bespeaks Eliot's ultimate inability to resolve these issues – a struggle to which the continued critical debate testifies.



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⁹² da Sousa Correa, 'Cosmopolitan Music', pp. 442.

⁹³ Klesmer has been read as morally ambiguous by, e.g., da Sousa Correa (*Victorian Culture*, p. 178).

An Oceanic Nation of Pirates in *Emmanuel Appadocca or Blighted Life: A Tale of the Boucaneers*

OLIVIA TJON-A-MEEUW

ABSTRACT: In *Emmanuel Appadocca or Blighted Life: A Tale of the Boucaneers* (1854), sometimes called the first novel of the Anglophone Caribbean, Maxwell Philip has his eponymous protagonist revenge himself on the world as a pirate in the transnational space of the Caribbean. The pirate forms not only a crew but a nation that functions as a challenge to the British Empire. The novel thus subverts the traditional accusation of pirates as men without a nation. As captain of this ship-nation, Appadocca is no longer excluded because of his race. In analysing this relatively little-known novel, I investigate how his nation can exist because it is limited to a ship, a heterotopic space. It moves within the atopia of the ocean, an untameable space that takes up a central role in the British imaginary precisely because it is outside the power of the Empire. The question remains whether such an oceanic nation can ever be stable.

KEYWORDS: Caribbean; Piracy; Nation; Empire; Heterotopia; Atopia; Emmanuel Appadocca; Maxwell Philip



IN THE PREFACE to his novel *Emmanuel Appadocca or Blighted Life: A Tale of the Boucaneers* (1854), Maxwell Philip rhapsodizes about his native island of Trinidad. He describes its 'green woods, smiling sky, beautiful flowers and romantic gulf' and expresses his wish that one day he might be buried there with a view of the ocean.¹ Why the location of his burial place cannot be taken for granted becomes clear when looking at the place in which Philip is writing this preface: Elm Court, Temple, in London. This is where he, the son of a renowned Creole family, was taking the bar, an undertaking for which he had to cross the Atlantic. In addition to England and Trinidad, the author also invokes the United States when explaining what prompted him to write

¹ Maxwell Philip, 'Preface', in *Emmanuel Appadocca or Blighted Life: A Tale of the Boucaneers*, ed. by Selwyn R. Cudjoe (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), p. 6 (p. 6).

his only novel, namely 'the cruel manner in which the slave holders of America deal with their slave-children'.² He goes on to lament the fact that any parent would enslave his own child and put them to work in the fields. His novel, he explains, tries to imagine how a child might respond to such a treatment. While slavery had been abolished in the British West Indies for good in 1838 with the end of the apprenticeship system, the United States still allowed the practice as of 1854. By specifically invoking slavery, the text gains a particular inflection that allows us to read it as a work of what Paul Gilroy calls the black Atlantic. This concept highlights that the formation of modernity was not only a European project but very much involved Africa as part of the Atlantic world, connected through slavery and other economic ties. Gilroy adds that 'the black Atlantic can be defined, on one level, through this desire to transcend both the structures of the nation state and the constraints of ethnicity and national particularity'.³ Hence, the Atlantic world is understood as a transnational space. In the preface, the novel is explicitly situated in that transnational space. Authors like Gesa Mackenthun discuss the novel within a more broadly speaking American context; her aim is to break with the continental and nationalist focus of American literary studies by also reading texts from the wider Americas. Mackenthun's reading of *Emmanuel Appadocca* is intended to 'situate the United States within the larger context of the slave-based Atlantic economy' and to understand the novel as a text that '[looks] back to the unfulfilled promise of the *Declaration of Independence* just as [it looks] forward to the building race tensions of the antebellum period'.⁴ In essence, she makes connections similar to those made by Philip in his preface. By contrast, I will focus instead on the relation between the Caribbean and Britain, which, while it was slowly turning its imperial eye elsewhere, still had considerable interests in the West Indies in the 1850s.

Before giving a clearer outline of my argument, it is necessary to give a short summary of this relatively little-known text. The novel tells the story of the eponymous Emmanuel Appadocca, who attempts to overcome the limits set to him as a result of his race and the colonial order. Described as a '[q]uadron', that is to say of one quarter African descent, the young Trinidadian goes to Europe to study philosophy, hoping to

² Ibid., p. 6.

³ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993), p. 19.

⁴ Gesa Mackenthun, *Fictions of the Black Atlantic in American Foundational Literature* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 85.

become a professor and enrich humankind's understanding of the world.⁵ When his mother dies, he not only loses his financial support but also learns that his father James Wilmington is not dead as he had previously assumed. Instead, the wealthy planter had deserted his mother after their affair. Enraged, Appadocca nonetheless decides to apply to his father for help but he never receives an answer. On the point of starvation, he returns to the Caribbean, turning his back on society and vowing revenge on his father. He gathers a pirate crew around himself, hunting for his father on his Black Schooner. In the process, he becomes a feared captain in the Caribbean. He ultimately catches his father and prosecutes him for neglect under the laws of his ship-nation, sentencing him to death. In the pursuit of his revenge, he has cause to battle with representatives of the British Empire. It is my claim that in the process of this resistance to imperial power, he and his crew are more than a momentary coalition of disgruntled sailors: in the transnational space of the Caribbean, Appadocca creates his own proto-nation on his ship. Following Benedict Anderson, the nation is understood as 'an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'.⁶ Anthony D. Smith argues that

[A] political community [...] implies at least some common institutions and a single code of rights and duties for all the members of the community. It also suggests a definite social space, a fairly well demarcated and bounded territory, with which the members identify and to which they feel they belong.⁷

A ship is just such a bounded territory and – ideally – the mariners identify with their crew. To what extent this holds true for Appadocca's nation will be explored shortly. As for the purpose of this nation, it functions as an alternative space to the British Empire, as it not only has a place for the mixed-race Appadocca, but actually allows him to become the leader of this nation. This subversion is possible because of the space in which he moves: the ocean.

⁵ Philip, p. 23.

⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 2006), p. 6.

⁷ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 9.

By positing a counter-imaginary to that of the British Empire, Philip follows a path similar to that taken by white Creoles earlier in the century. They were trying to defend themselves against the negative stereotypes about not quite white Creoles circulating in the metropolitan centre. This group, Candace Ward writes, had chosen the novel to make their pro-slavery arguments, as they felt they could not achieve their aims by adding to the already prolific non-fiction discussion on slavery.⁸ By turning to the novel they hoped to counter what they deemed the political fictions of their opponents; they claimed a superior authority due to their residence in the Caribbean, Ward explains:

These attempts, of course, were not simply exercises in literary form, but represented creole novelists' contributions to a wider epistemological project to overturn 'old', that is, metropolitan or European, presuppositions about white creole degeneracy and art to validate, in their place, white creole ways of knowing predicated on experience of life in the Caribbean colonies.⁹

By writing the preface, Philip makes clear that he has similar intentions, but this time on behalf of the mixed-race Creoles, again based on the claim of authenticity invoked through his Trinidadian heritage. Instead of defending slavery, he imagines an alternative Caribbean society which has proto-national shape. It makes sense that he would turn to a nautical adventure story to do so, as 'the maritime adventure [was becoming] an expression of the national character'.¹⁰ This is not unexpected, considering that much of Britain's imperial power was built on naval power, especially in the Caribbean.¹¹ The authors of nautical adventure stories, Sara H. Ficke argues, not

⁸ Candace Ward, *Crossing the Line: Early Creole Novels and Anglophone Caribbean Culture in the Age of Emancipation* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017), pp. 14-15.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁰ John Peck, *Maritime Fiction: Sailors and the Sea in British and American Novels, 1719-1917* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 5.

¹¹ It was only in 1797 that Britain sent a fleet to capture Trinidad, at that time controlled by Spain, with whom Britain was at war. The defender of the island was the Spanish Vice Admiral Don Sebastian Ruiz de Apadoca, who sank his ships rather than have them fall into the hands of the enemy. The name of the protagonist of the novel seems to be taken from that figure, strengthening his transnational and nautical stature. William Cain, in Maxwell Philip, *Emmanuel Appadocca or Blighted Life: A Tale of the Boucaniers*, ed. by Selwyn R. Cudjoe (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), p. 3 (footnote).

only mirrored back what already existed but in fact created new ideas of nationality.¹² She goes on to explain that after the abolition of slavery, Britain had to contend with a newly mobile black population. Both black and white authors worked through this expansion of freedom by featuring transatlantic black sailors and black pirates in their stories, using the contrast to the white sailors to construct a white masculine national identity.¹³ This was possible because by the 1830s, the sailor had transformed from a rogue into a solid citizen.¹⁴ Britain now conceived the hierarchy on the ship as well as the strategic and commercial function of maritime activity as an extension as well as a defence of social and political order. Consequently, it also had to reckon with the presence of those of African descent in that order.

However, it is important to stress that racial anxiety was built into the Anglophone Atlantic novel from the very start. As Laura Doyle writes, this is the inheritance of the

Whig narrative of English history [in which] the nation's ruptures and revolutions were explained as the effects of a uniquely Saxonist legacy of freedom; and in complex, implicit ways, the English-language novel from *Oroonoko* to *Quicksand* has taken up this racial legacy.¹⁵

Doyle calls such texts liberty narratives. As indicated in the quote above, this liberty narrative is one that is originally Anglo-Saxon, and as such, freedom is seen as the purview of whiteness.¹⁶ The Atlantic crossing which plays a central part in these liberty narratives is ultimately a racialized movement of liberty. For writers of African descent, the crossing of the Atlantic is more complicated than that, as it is initially not one of freedom but one of enslavement through the Middle Passage. Yet, after attaining liberty, this could change, as people like Olaudah Equiano found freedom in their travels

¹² Sara H. Ficke, 'Pirates and Patriots: Citizenship, Race, and the Transatlantic Adventure Novel', in *Transatlantic Literary Exchanges 1790-1870: Gender, Race, and Nation*, ed. by Kevin Hutchings and Julia M. Wright (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 115–29 (p. 117).

¹³ Ficke, p. 115.

¹⁴ Peck, p. 51.

¹⁵ Laura Anne Doyle, *Freedom's Empire: Race and the Rise of the Novel in Atlantic Modernity, 1640-1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), p. 2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

and wrote about their experiences.¹⁷ For Doyle, 'most structurally, we can see how a racialized pattern of narrative [...] inflect[s] language, sort[s] persons, and creat[es] divergent bodily and social experiences through a racialized liberty discourse'.¹⁸ In order to be able to claim freedom for themselves, the African-Atlantic writers need to do so under the sign of race; they contribute to the racial order of the Atlantic in order to position themselves on the side of modernity.¹⁹ *Emmanuel Appadocca* is such a liberty narrative from a writer of African descent, but the liberty espoused is not all encompassing.

Philip, whose novel is a claim for equality, clearly writes within this racialised Atlantic system. Yet, in spite of this claim for equality, there are not only racist but outright racist tendencies in the novel. They are most notable in Jack Jimmy, a black servant, who is frequently made the object of ridicule by the pirates as well as the narrator: 'If the appearance of the little man was calculated to raise laughter when he was crouching, it was much more so when he was standing up; and really there was something in him peculiarly comical'.²⁰ His supposed comical nature is explicitly connected to his supposed racial nature, as the comments on his ridiculousness are followed by a lengthy description of the man, which includes the following: 'his long bony jaws projected to an extraordinary length in front'.²¹ Phrenologists considered a protruding jaw as one of the signs of inhibited racial development.²² Additionally, Jack Jimmy is compared to an ape 'in his crouching position, where it was difficult to distinguish him from the ideal of a rolled up ouranoutan [*sic*]', an image which is typically used to indicate that those of African descent are supposedly closer to animals than to humans.²³ Other black characters are described in similarly racialised terms, as per the logic of the Anglophone Atlantic novel described by Doyle. It becomes evident that even within a text that is making a claim for equality, this equality is dependent on

¹⁷ Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Slavery and the Politics of Place: Representing the Colonial Caribbean, 1770-1833* (Cambridge: University Press, 2014), p. 13

¹⁸ Doyle, p. 5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6

²⁰ Philip, p. 30.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Cornel West, 'A Genealogy of Modern Racism', in *Race Critical Theories*, ed. by David Theo Goldberg and Philomena Essed (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), pp. 90-112 (p. 101).

²³ Philip, p. 29.

being as close as possible to the white ideal. This also holds true for the protagonist. Appadocca is described as a quadroon, yet his pale skin is emphasised several times.²⁴ When talking about his family, or more precisely his mother, he indicates that his mother's ancestors had enjoyed a high station, presumably talking about the white part of his ancestry.²⁵ Appadocca frequently emphasises the white half of his family rather than the black half. The text goes beyond racialising its characters, to set up a racist hierarchy.

Yet, Appadocca does not simply disregard the African part of his heritage. For instance, he quite literally speaks with the voice of his mixed-race mother; his father who has never met him, recognises him because he sounds like her.²⁶ Appadocca also makes clear that he does not consider Europe to be the only or even the greatest source of knowledge: 'It was [...] among a race, which is now despised and oppressed, [that] speculation took wing, and the mind burst forth, and, scorning things of earth, scaled the heavens, read the stars, and elaborated systems of philosophy, religion and government'.²⁷ He posits Africa as a forerunner in terms of knowledge production, while other regions lay in darkness. His attitude towards his black and white heritage is ambiguous, as he feels attraction and rejection towards both. Nonetheless, there are hints that he is not simply trapped in between, but rather manages to forge his own identity by seeing the black Atlantic *avant la lettre*. His transnational embrace of both African and European values in order to forge a new identity makes him Caribbean, or as he puts it: 'I am an animal, – sub-kingdom, vertebrate, genus homo, and species, – "tropical American"; naturalists lay my habitat all over the world, and declare me omnivorous'.²⁸ He confidently claims that his habitat is all over the world, presumably, because he is free to roam the oceans with his ship. Yet it is the ship in itself that is more than a vaguely defined habitat – it is his nation.

Ships are ideal spaces to conduct political dissent, Gilroy argues, as they join the different points in the Atlantic world.²⁹ It is this space which allows Appadocca to, at

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 91-92, 209.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 99.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 41.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 116.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 122.

²⁹ Gilroy, pp. 16-17.

least partially, subvert the racialised order the British Empire has created in the Caribbean by leading his own quasi-nation. This nation is both different from, and yet similar to the British Empire: it is a heterotopia. Michel Foucault defines heterotopias as 'real places [...] which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted'.³⁰ Alexandra Ganser reads the *Black Schooner* as a heterotopia of deviation, which both mirrors and inverts colonial relations, making it a heterotopia of crisis in terms of legitimacy of the colonial order.³¹ This is supported by the conditions of entry for the heterotopia: only those who are deviant from society can become members of the crew. Those who are part of the colonial order are either set free (as with the captured priest and Agnes, or the fisher who is coerced into temporarily working for the pirates) or they are sent out to sea to die, as is the case with Appadocca's father, who is put on a barrel with some biscuits so he might perish slowly as Appadocca almost did when he refused to support him. It is only through luck that he does not die. Either way, as there is space for them in colonial society, there is no space for them on the ship.

I also read the *Black Schooner* as a heterotopic space of compensation, giving Appadocca the possibility to do what he cannot do on land, and in particular in Europe; namely be both a man of knowledge and a leader. This compensatory function of the ship is made even more explicit in the décor of Appadocca's cabin.

It was richly though peculiarly decorated: the sides [...] were made of the richest and most exquisitely polished mahogany, upon which were elaborately carved landscapes, in which nature was represented principally in her most terrible aspect, – with volcanoes belching forth their liquid fires; cataracts eating away in their angry mood the rugged granite, over whose uneven brows they were foamingly precipitated; inhospitable mountains frowning on the solitary waves below, that unheedingly lashed their base; chasms that yawned as terrific as the

³⁰ Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', trans. by Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, 16 (1986), 22–27 (p. 24).

³¹ Alexandra Ganser, 'The Pirate Ship as a Black Atlantic Heterotopia: Michel Maxwell Philip's Emmanuel Appadocca', in *Contact Spaces of American Culture: Globalizing Local Phenomena*, ed. by Petra Eckhard, Klaus Rieser, and Silvia Schultersmandl, *American Studies in Austria*, 12 (Vienna: LitVerlag, 2012), pp. 51–76 (p. 55).

cataclysm that might be supposed to have formed them, and other subjects which blended the magnificent with the terribly sublime.³²

The cabin also contains recreations of the celestial spheres as well as 'paleozoic creatures' that function as bookshelves.³³ There is also a magnificent telescope in the room. In effect, Appadocca has recreated land on his ship. The difference is that this time he is in control of it, and he can follow his scholarly pursuits, which became impossible in Europe. His replica is made up of jewels and precious metals, which he gained through his piracy.³⁴ His decoration makes literal his attempt at creating his own nation through a life of piracy, though it can only be achieved on a ship. It is also interesting to note that the sublime nature of this tableau contrasts greatly with the description of nature at other points in the novel. For example, describing the Bocas, islands near the northern passage from the Gulf of Paria between Trinidad and Venezuela, the narrator writes: 'those islands seem balancing over a crystal surface, that shines and sends forth a thousand undulating reflections under the pure and clear rays of an undarkened tropical sun'.³⁵ While the actual natural world is picturesque, the fake land is sublime. Perhaps it shows Appadocca's mixed feelings towards land, but it might also enhance his status, for it takes more to master the sublime than it does to master the picturesque.

What allows the ship to function as a heterotopia is its placement on the ocean, far removed from the laws of the land, or, in other words, other political communities. This becomes apparent during the trial that Appadocca holds for his father once he has captured him from another ship. He accuses Willmington of having broken the laws of nature, according to which he is responsible for his offspring, in Appadocca's reasoning. Willmington explains that people are not punished in society for what he did.³⁶ Indeed, it was not unusual for plantation owners to have their children enslaved, as mentioned in the preface, let alone to abandon them. So it is the racist colonial social order which makes it impossible for Appadocca to find a place in London. Willmington goes on

³² Philip, p. 22.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

defending himself by saying that according to the laws of the land, no man may conduct a trial on his own behalf in the way in which Appadocca is doing by making himself judge, jury and executioner.³⁷ However, Appadocca makes it very clear that the laws of the land do not apply on his ship:

'Look up there, man,' said the captain, as he pointed to the black flag that was floating gracefully from the half lowered gaff, 'while that flies there, there is no law on board this schooner save mine and great Nature's. Look around you, on the right and on the left, you see those who know no other laws but these two, and who are ready to enforce them. Look still farther around, you see but a waste of water, with no tribunals at hand, in which complaints may be heard, or by which grievances may be redressed. Place no hope, therefore on "the laws of the land".'³⁸

Clearly, this suggests the presence of a type of law-making institution on the ship. In making this claim, Appadocca refuses to acknowledge that ships were not only what Lauren Benton calls 'islands of law', but also 'representatives of municipal legal authorities – vectors of law thrusting into ocean space'.³⁹ He does not represent any (other) nation's interests, insisting on his sovereignty.

Historically speaking, Benton explains, 'ships and their captains moved as delegated legal authorities along intersecting paths, extending corridors of control, in turn weakly or strongly associated with jurisdiction, into an interimperial sea space that could not be owned but could be dominated'.⁴⁰ While this leads Markus Rediker to call the ocean a commons, I have a less utopian understanding of this space, instead reading the ocean as an atopia, as described by Siobhan Carroll.⁴¹ During the nineteenth century, spaces like the oceans or poles were depicted either as empty or

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 112.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 161.

⁴¹ Marcus Rediker, *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), p. 25; Siobhan Carroll, *An Empire of Air and Water: Uncolonizable Space in the British Imagination, 1750-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015)

as resistant to representation.⁴² They were both central to the British Empire but also a challenge to imperial power, as they were by their very nature almost impossible to cultivate and hence to bring under imperial control. Atopias are “real” natural regions falling within the theoretical scope of contemporary human mobility, which, because of their intangibility, inhospitability, or inaccessibility, cannot be converted into the locations of affective habitation known as “place”.⁴³ There is no possibility of these spaces eventually becoming inhabited, they are forever outside the purview of the Empire. Hence, the ocean ‘could [...] offer an escape from the framework of the nation’.⁴⁴ Literature was one of the means, Carroll explains, by which mastery of the ocean was nonetheless attempted.⁴⁵

Emmanuel Appadocca is one such attempt at mastery of the ocean, not by a British author but by a Caribbean one. In the text, Appadocca is initially clearly presented as a master of the ocean. For instance, he knows exactly how and when to leave his position in order to hunt the ship on which his father is sailing. He has also constructed a complex machinery of mirrors with which he can see beyond the horizon, enabling him to see his enemies while they cannot see him. He is overcoming the limits of human nature and those of conventional technology by improving on the standard looking glasses. His supreme knowledge is demonstrated once again when he predicts the arrival of a hurricane through calculations based on his understanding of the skies. The mastery of seafaring extends beyond Appadocca. The attitude of his first officer Lorenzo is described thus: ‘he whose daily life was a continuous challenge to man, to the powers that ruled the earth, and to the controlless element itself which he had made his home’.⁴⁶ The element might be out of human control, yet Lorenzo shows himself to be adept at navigating it.

Once Appadocca has been caught by the British on land, Lorenzo tries to free his captain by using his considerable navigational skills.⁴⁷ The Black Schooner keeps evading a pursuing British man-of-war because it is much faster and more

⁴² Carroll, p. 6.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 74.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁶ Philip, pp. 81-82.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 142-145.

manoeuvrable than the latter. Not only that, but the crew keeps taunting the pursuer by disguising the ship itself. The pirates camouflage their vessel as various ship-types and pass by the British ship again and again; the British always realise too late that they have just come across the pirates once more. At one point, the Black Schooner also hoists the Mexican flag, making clear how easily national affiliations can be changed and feigned on the ocean. The only one who sees through the disguise is an old seadog; his great experience has made him able to read ships. Finally, the Black Schooner even pretends to be an English wreck in order to lure in the British. Once an officer has gone aboard, the ship reveals itself and sails away: 'The metamorphosis was so sudden, that the schooner had already begun to move before the boatmen comprehended the change'.⁴⁸ Through what seems the ultimate failure at mastering the sea, namely shipwreck, the pirates actually once again demonstrate their superior skills.

It is the pirates who are masters of the ocean rather than the British man-of-war, as one might expect in a nautical adventure story. This underlines the challenge the novel is making to the British national identity, which, as outlined above, was greatly linked to power at sea. The man-of-war is in the Caribbean to fight the enemies of the Empire, as one of its officers explains.⁴⁹ It is a big war ship that should be able to eliminate all those who would dare trouble British interests in the region. Yet, while the officer specifically says that pirates are not amongst the enemies it is here to fight, ultimately, the only action the ship sees is against Appadocca and his crew.⁵⁰ Other empires are invoked only when it comes to trade. In St. Thomas, at that time under the rule of Denmark, ships from all over the world are at anchor in order to trade.⁵¹ Additionally, the European powers support each other in policing the ocean, as can be seen when Appadocca is arrested there by 'a British officer, who was accompanied by an officer in the Danish civil uniform, that probably represented the local government in sanctioning the forcible capture of a British subject, by British authorities on Danish ground'.⁵² Any skirmish with another European empire would ultimately only lead to a

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 149-150.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 123.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 86.

⁵² Ibid., p. 91.

shift but not an upheaval of imperial order. The only enemies are pirates and that is because they challenge the imperial order as such.

So, while Appadocca is described as a British subject in the passage quoted above, pirates, going back to Roman antiquity, had been considered *hostis humanis generis*, that is to say, enemies of all mankind. That makes them stand outside of any national affiliation. By the mid-nineteenth century, the golden age of piracy in the Caribbean – the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century – had long been over. The subtitle of the novel 'A Tale of the Boucaneers' makes reference to that time. Ganser states that, 'in fact, the buccaneers were Protestant hunters-settlers in the seventeenth century Caribbean on Tortuga and Hispaniola, who became anti-Spanish pirates when the Spanish colonists tried to drive them from their islands'.⁵³ The French term '*boucaniers*' is derived from the Arawak '*bukan*' which describes wooden crates for smoking meat, which is a technique the exiles learned from the natives.⁵⁴ This origin shows again the transnational scope of the Atlantic world, as well as the anti-imperial stance associated with the buccaneers. The term buccaneer had become a generic appellation for pirates by the 1800s. Ganser argues that Philip uses the term because it evokes notions of revenge and also avoids the stereotypes associated with pirates by the 1850s. Additionally, she claims it

Draws a parallel conflict between a colonial empire and its subalterns: first with regard to the predominantly poor settlers driven to piracy and to native peoples on the verge of genocide in the seventeenth century, and second, regarding disenfranchised African Americans in the nineteenth.⁵⁵

The term is thus chosen with care to indicate not only the subaltern position vis-à-vis an empire, but also the resistance to it. Appadocca's crew is made up of men who either chose to break with 'human society' or were rejected as a result of a conflict within a fledgling nation-state.⁵⁶ Specifically, a number of them are French aristocrats, who were

⁵³ Ganser, "The Pirate Ship", pp. 66-67.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 66-67.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Philip, pp. 43-44.

exiled in the wake of the French Revolution and fled to Saint Domingue.⁵⁷ Another's exile began in an earlier conflict: the chief officer Lorenzo reveals his identity at the end of the novel. His name is St. James Carmonte and his family had fought for 'the Prince', which probably refers to Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Stuart pretender to the British throne.⁵⁸ Lorenzo's family was forced to move around Europe, ending up in France, from where they were eventually expelled during the Revolution. Thus, the pirates are exiles who have come together on the Black Schooner to 'revenge [themselves] on the world'.⁵⁹

The novel complicates the trope of piracy by accusing the European powers of the very same practice. Appadocca pours scorn on European colonialism, as it is driven by commerce and usually aimed at those who have done nothing to deserve it, declaring the entire system to be piratical: 'the whole of the civilized world turns, exists, and grows enormous on the licensed system of robbing and thieving'.⁶⁰ He does not consider his own actions to be wrong, because what he steals is ultimately based on the stolen labour of slaves and hence never belonged to the planters or merchants in the first place.⁶¹ By this logic, the British and their ilk become the enemies of all of mankind, rather than the pirates. Piracy no longer happens in and against nations but is perpetuated by them.⁶² Hence, Philip does not follow the notion of pirates as men without a nation. On the ship, Appadocca's crew forms a new type of nation that stands in contrast to the British empire, both in terms of who may be part of that nation, and its having its own set of rules as a quasi nation-state.⁶³ As mentioned above, a nation is a political community. To reiterate Smith's definition of such a community, it

⁵⁷ As Christopher Taylor points out, the island is never called Haiti, though there are hints that the novel is set post-revolution. Christopher Taylor, *Empire of Neglect: The West Indies in the Wake of British Liberalism*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), p. 135.

⁵⁸ Philip, p. 247.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 113.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 115.

⁶² Though the difference between pirates and privateers who operated with a letter of marque, authorizing them to seize ships in the name of their sovereign, is not at all clear cut.

⁶³ Ficke, p. 125.

Implies at least some common institutions and a single code of rights and duties for all the members of the community. It also suggests a definite social space, a fairly well demarcated and bounded territory, with which the members identify and to which they feel they belong.⁶⁴

As I will demonstrate, all of this holds true for the community forged on Appadocca's ship.

As outcasts, who at times specifically rejected the strict rules on navy or merchant ships, pirates had to form their own society on their ships, creating a code of rights and duties typical of a nation. Or as Appadocca puts it: 'there is no law on board this schooner save mine'.⁶⁵ In his seminal book *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age*, Rediker describes the organisation of pirate crews. Each crew drew up articles which included the hierarchy on the ship and the rules for the distribution of plunder and other resources. The captain retained his role by the grace of the crew who elected him. He was in charge when a prize was to be seized or when they were on the run. Otherwise, he had to bow to the majority. Pirates would sleep all over the ship; the captain did not have a cabin unto himself. Moreover, Rediker notes, 'The determined reorganization of space and privilege aboard the ship was crucial to the remaking of maritime social relations'.⁶⁶ However, as Appadocca's boast indicates, the crew on the Black Schooner is not entirely organised in this quasi-democratic manner. Appadocca was once elected as captain, as he claims, because of his superior character.⁶⁷ The democratic impulse is thus tempered by the idea of natural aristocracy that is typical of many Enlightenment thinkers.⁶⁸ Now, in keeping with an aristocratic model – his men call him 'excellency' – Appadocca's rule on the ship is absolute: 'I require but one thing – obedience. Death is the penalty of the least breach of discipline'.⁶⁹ This will to power is absolute and not only during battle. Yet, the narrator seems to indicate that this brutality is necessary, 'that the chain which was so variously formed, could be preserved

⁶⁴ Smith, p. 9.

⁶⁵ Philip, p. 65.

⁶⁶ Rediker, pp. 64-65.

⁶⁷ Philip, p. 110.

⁶⁸ Paul A. Gilje, 'The Enlightenment at Sea in the Atlantic World', in *The Atlantic Enlightenment*, ed. by Susan Manning and Francis D. Cogliano (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), pp. 165-78 (p. 165).

⁶⁹ Philip, p. 25; *Ibid.*, p. 49.

only by a careful protection of each particular link'.⁷⁰ Because the crew members come from all over the world, only discipline can hold them together. Their unusual discipline also marks them out as proper gentlemen in spite of their status as pirates. The Enlightenment brought with it also a reform of manners; proper behaviour could be learned by anyone through education and personal discipline.⁷¹ Of course, many of them had been aristocrats in their former lives, supporters of the status quo rather than change. Appadocca's counter-nation remains classist. Together with the racial attitudes towards black people explored earlier, this indicates that Appadocca's nation is far from utopian.

Yet, there is a social security system in place; protecting 'each particular link' also means setting up a system that allocates funds to those injured, just as the historical pirates did.⁷² This is part of the system of rights that members of a nation enjoy. After the capture of a prize ship, there is a long scene in which the crew members receive their pay-out according to the injuries sustained.⁷³ In this strictly homosocial space, there is also a system of inheritance, in which each crew member can designate a friend, who receives his share of the prize should the crew member die. This quasi-legal system is not supported through bloodlines but through choice. It thus functions as an alternative to the familial bonds which were broken by Wilmington, and which Appadocca holds sacred. Yet, within his own space he is capable of envisaging an alternative system.

This inheritance system based on will rather than biology is a mirror to the contrast between the nation on the ship and the British nation. In the words of Smith, this is the contrast between a civic – based on will – and an ethnic – based on common ancestry – nation.⁷⁴ A civic nation, according to this model, is based on territory and formed through mass culture and politics. The ethnic model is based on birth and native culture. In reality, these two types of nationhood generally overlap. Until the 1820s and 1830s, Ficke explains, Britain was predominantly defined by a civic ideal.⁷⁵ This began

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 74.

⁷¹ Gilje, p. 166.

⁷² Rediker, p. 73.

⁷³ Philip, pp. 46-48.

⁷⁴ Smith, pp. 11-13.

⁷⁵ Ficke, p. 118.

to change as there was an increasing discussion about an extension of political rights, which entailed the question of who the people of the nation were. Race, Patrick Wolfe argues, was used to restrict the expanding political rights to a specific group in spite of the Enlightenment claim to universality.⁷⁶ The Black Schooner does not use this category to restrict membership – though gender conceivably is used this way – thus it follows the ideal of a civic nation. It is based entirely on the territory of the ship and common politics, if you will: a hatred of the rest of the world. It is the only space in which a mixed-race man like Appadocca cannot only be a member but actually become the head of a nation of men who ‘simultaneously act[ed] as if they were but the individual members of only one single body moved but by one spirit’; or in other words, like Hobbes’ Leviathan.⁷⁷ They identify entirely with their nation.

Ultimately, however, Appadocca’s nation cannot survive. Atopias by their very nature cannot be conquered even within the imagination.⁷⁸ As an alternative, the pirate is presented with the possibility of a home on land, but he chooses to return to the ocean instead. After he escapes from the British man-of-war, Appadocca manages to swim to the coast of Venezuela where he is found by Llaneros, the herders inhabiting the steppe, who bring him to a ranch on the grassland. There, he is nursed back to health by the beautiful Feliciano, who implores him to give up piracy for her and to remain on the ranch. In *Empire of Neglect*, Christopher Taylor argues that texts like *Emmanuel Appadocca* are a reaction to a feeling of neglect by the Empire on the part of West Indians in the wake of economic liberalization. He argues that, ‘[t]he Americas emerged as an alternative horizon of political belonging that promised West Indians (and especially black West Indians) forms of political legibility and social care denied them in the liberalized empire’.⁷⁹ Thus, as Feliciano asks Appadocca to renounce his nation, she offers him a space in an independent Venezuela. He explains that while he might be able to return her feelings, he is bound to his vow of revenge against his father and there is no room for sentiment in a life such as his.⁸⁰ Taylor reads this decision

⁷⁶ Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016), pp. 8-9.

⁷⁷ Philip, p. 193; Alexandra Ganser, *Crisis and Legitimacy in Atlantic American Narratives of Piracy: 1678-1865* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), p. 196.

⁷⁸ Carroll, p. 7.

⁷⁹ Taylor, p. 8.

⁸⁰ Philip, p. 181.

as stemming from a melancholic attachment to abandonment figured in his relationship with his father.⁸¹ I would argue instead that Appadocca's mission to punish his father is about bringing order back to a world of disorder, that is to say, to make it a world in which family ties are not torn asunder by the racialised logic of the Atlantic world. He wants the universalist promise of the Enlightenment without the limitations of race.⁸² That is why he cannot give up his mission of revenge.

Additionally, Appadocca is greatly attached to the ocean, apparent in his admiration of it as he returns to the Atlantic: 'Appadocca felt his sensibility deeply moved by the view which opened before him. The great Atlantic rolled heavily below [...] Appadocca could not refuse to his hear the pleasure of admiring such a scene'.⁸³ He knows that he can only be who he is on the ocean. Lorenzo, on the other hand, is able to return to the land. As previously explained, the first officer is the scion of a European family. After Appadocca's death, he inherits the title of captain. Going to search for help inland on Trinidad he comes across a plantation belonging to the father of Agnes, with whom he had previously fallen in love when she was a captive on the Black Schooner. He wants to marry her, but her father refuses.⁸⁴ Yet, as soon as he reveals his identity, the father agrees to the marriage as his family fought alongside Lorenzo's. Lorenzo stays on the plantation. He can do this because he is an exile, but white like others in power: the colonial order has a place of importance for him, even if it is at the periphery rather than within the metropolitan centre.

When the illusion of mastery over the atopic space of the ocean is revealed, it comes in the form of a typically Caribbean weather phenomenon: the hurricane. As discussed above, the fact that Appadocca knows the hurricane is coming is an indication of his mastery, but the hurricane brutally exposes its limits. Against his better knowledge, Appadocca is forced to leave the Gulf of Paria and sail into the open ocean as he is pursued by the British man-of-war after having kidnapped his father a second time, this time from Trinidad. For a while, it seems like the ship might brave the storm thanks to its captain: 'On – on she went, as if actuated by the bold spirit of the man

⁸¹ Taylor, p. 143.

⁸² This also showcases how the ethnic and the civic ideal of the nation are very rarely completely separate, but usually overlap in some form.

⁸³ Philip, p. 185.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 247-248.

who commanded her, she sought to penetrate the very bosom of the hurricane'.⁸⁵ The storm seems almost sublime, and Appadocca 'seem[s] to take pleasure in the terrible convulsions of nature'.⁸⁶ However, unlike the sublime image of nature in his cabin, actual sublime nature is beyond his control. Ultimately, the ship is dashed on the rocks before Trinidad and sinks. Some of the pirates, including Appadocca and Lorenzo, manage to save themselves. Willmington, however, is trapped on the ship and drowns. In that moment, Appadocca has attained his goal of revenging himself against his father but simultaneously loses his nation. Yet, he once again chooses the ocean rather than land. He tells Lorenzo to use his buried treasure to build an orphanage and give the rest to his men. In a letter to his friend Charles, he had explained the future he wanted for his men:

I shall lead the men [...] to some remote spot on the fertile and vast continent that lies on our right, and build them a city in which they may live happily, quietly, and far removed from the world, whose sympathy they cannot hope, and care not, to possess.⁸⁷

He had also indicated that he would not be part of that city. Instead, in the wake of the hurricane, Appadocca jumps into the water, committing suicide. He knows there is no room for him on land to be who he wants to be, not only part of a nation but a leader of that nation. His defiance has not fundamentally shaken the colonial order. Once his ship is gone, so is his possibility to have a nation outside the purview of the British Empire. It is unclear whether the British man-of-war survived the storm, but either way, there are always more British ships to attempt to rule the waves.

Emmanuel Appadoca is thus a novel that writes back to the metropolitan centre with the aim of imagining a new order. This order takes the form of a proto-nation made up of pirates. Pirates are the ideal figures for this counter-imaginary because they stand outside society, challenging its structure. The ships on which they move function as heterotopic spaces, on an ocean that may be dominated by empires but ultimately cannot be mastered due to its atopic nature. By presenting a nation in which the mixed-

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 239.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 236.

race Appadocca is not only a fully-fledged member but actually a leader, Philip partially challenges the racialised Atlantic order, while reiterating it in other ways. Yet even within literature, the ocean remains untameable, and the type of nation imagined is ultimately unsustainable.



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Thought Piece: Heritage as Contestation and Change: Decolonisation in Practice

CHRISTO KEFALAS

KEYWORDS: Museum Practice; Decolonisation; Collecting and Classification Systems; Perspective; Authorised Heritage Discourse; Repatriation/Restitution; Anti-racism



HERITAGE AS A WAY OF SEEING AND INTERPRETING THE WORLD

The histories we tell ourselves shape our understanding of the world and our place within it, but every history is a story shaped by us as well. In a lecture by writer Arundhati Roy (given in Santa Fe, New Mexico in 2002, one year on from the September 11th attacks in the United States) she stated there is no work of fiction or non-fiction that has not been shaped by the personal ideologies and circumstances of one's life¹ Personal understandings of the world are also relevant to conversations about how power is positioned and negotiated in society. Roy's works of fiction have grappled with power and social dynamics within the cultures and traditions of India. Her books have protagonists who resist social restrictions and conformity based on their individual ways of perceiving the world. Roy explicitly references John Berger's writing in the foreword of *The God of Small Things* (1997) – 'Never again will a single story be told as though it's the only one' – and then proceeds to convey a simple story with great complexity by providing an array of perspectives with evocative texture.²

Longform prose delivered through a literary channel has the distinct advantage that readers can consume complex stories, while learning and processing information in ways that are shaped by their personal consciousness. In 1972, John Berger presented the BBC television series *Ways of Seeing* and later produced a book of the same name. The series was made in response to documentary series *Civilisation: a personal view by*

¹ Arundhati Roy, *Come September* (Lentic Performing Arts Center, 29 September 2002).

² Arundhati Roy, *The God of Small Things* (London: Flamingo, 1997), epigraph.

Kenneth Clark in 1969, and it questioned the standards of western aesthetics to highlight the underlying politics of art. *Ways of Seeing* challenged assumptions around a reliance on vision as the only way of knowing. It also outlined ways art is employed as a subjective understanding of ourselves within history, our place in the world, and how we are situated in landscapes.³

Art, history, heritage – these are all words we use to express elements of the human experience that have value to us. There are reciprocal properties between art, history, and heritage that draw on the subjectivity of experience and emotional affect, where our personal identities integrate with wider national politics. As Berger explains:

The experience of art, which at first was the experience of ritual, was set apart from the rest of life – precisely in order to be able to exercise power over it. Later the preserve of art became a social one. It entered the culture of the ruling class, whilst physically it was set apart and isolated in their palaces and houses. During all this history the authority of art was inseparable from the particular authority of the preserve.⁴

Art continues to accumulate powerful connections at heritage sites when re-examined through a lens of post-colonialism: when we seek to understand a wider range of cultural and historical perspectives.

Global perspectives and global identities have a renewed meaning in today's heritage landscape. As a museum professional, woman of colour, and transplant from the United States, there are inherent privileges as well as burdens in my working career. One of the acute privileges has been my awareness that working in heritage can engender greater understanding of the world through historic reflections on archaeology, anthropology, and art. Working in the heritage sector demands a constant reflection on how we translate information to the public and an awareness that practice must reflect a changing society. One of the acute burdens has been working in a sector that feels quite traditional. Diversification of the workforce as well as decolonisation of heritage practice has been part of the sector's consciousness for many years. Despite this awareness, I find it bewildering how often I find myself making a case for

³ John Berger, and others, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 11.

⁴ Berger and others, p. 32.

decolonisation needing to become embedded in institutional thinking. Established museum practice has been examined in consideration of increased social global awareness throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The rationale for that prolonged critique is that the need for decolonisation is pervasive throughout many aspects of heritage, from the language we use to the histories we portray – and this is a task without a definitive point of success. Our current social and political climate has brought even further challenges and contestations of history to the surface, with government parties intervening into heritage narratives and social activists asserting their rights to recalibrate the marginalisation and absence of their community histories.

Decolonisation demands those working in the field recognise the requirement of engaging in ways that respond to the needs of Indigenous communities, but also extends to the institutionalisation of colonial norms and inequalities that affect communities of colour. It is critical to note that decolonisation means understanding where privilege and power comes from to actively shift those advantages towards individuals and communities who have been marginalised and excluded.

Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang have persuasively argued that the specific effects of colonialism on Indigenous communities demands a focused approach on reparative justice that addresses Indigenous needs.⁵ While I agree about the genesis and need for an Indigenous cultural focus, my specific decolonisation approach is through a lens of reparative justice regarding colonial extractions of art and artefacts mapped onto wider issues of historic representation. These issues must extend to the peoples whose migration or forced subjugation was a part of the colonial expansion project. There are many group identities who find themselves historically underrepresented in our heritage spaces, and their voices must also find representational light through continuous social justice efforts.

Broadly speaking, the heritage sector seeks to communicate stories under the banner of the preservation of history. Preservation and conservation are often used interchangeably, but there are important differences. According to the public body Historic England, preservation has a legal definition that means ‘to do no harm’, but the organisation also recognises this is only one part of preserving heritage, which is defined as ‘[a]ll inherited resources which people value for reasons beyond mere

⁵ Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, ‘Decolonization is not a metaphor’, *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1 (2012), 1-40.

utility'.⁶ Supporting a values-based idea of heritage necessitates applying nuance to the word 'conservation', as it allows for ideas that embrace enhancement and recognises that heritage acts as 'a social dynamic reference point and positive instrument for growth and change'.⁷

Conservation, of course, is also a western-derived practice and set of principles that is not without critique. In an anthropological exploration of conservation practices, the authors of *Sensible Objects* (2006) have pointed out key issues around who has the authority to touch, fumigate, or freeze objects, in recognition that these practices of preservation are inadequate to accommodate ways of knowing and interacting with objects from different cultural perspectives.⁸ This challenge has also been acknowledged through the International Council of Monuments and Sites policies.

The idea that museums, archives, archaeology sites, libraries, historic buildings, country houses, or other related professionals (connected to heritage through academia and governmental bodies) can communicate historic truths based on the evidence of a preserved past, has been challenged and continues to be contested. Critiques of history presentation as heritage have centred around the nation-building paradigm, where heritage institutions put forward an abridged, simplified, and singular historic narrative, with at least implicit connections to wider political objectives of that time.⁹ Historians have also drawn attention to an idealised false consciousness connected to history as a strategy for coping with loss and change within the heritage industry.

⁶ *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* (Historic England, 2008) <<https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/conservation-principles-sustainable-management-historic-environment/conservationprinciplespoliciesandguidanceapril08web/>> [accessed 20 July 2021] (p. 71).

⁷ Historic England, p. 15; 'International Cultural Tourism Charter: Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance' (ICOMOS, 1999), <https://www.icomos.org/charters/tourism_e.pdf> [accessed 20 July 2021] (p. 1).

⁸ Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden, and Ruth B. Phillips, *Sensible objects: colonialism, museums, and material culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2006), p. 20.

⁹ See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991) and Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26 (1989), 7-24.

In Patrick Wright's book *On Living in an Old Country* (1985), the author explored the issues around the exponential increase in museums that were being established around the United Kingdom. Wright focused on the 'timelessness' and reappropriation of history through heritage displays, as well as ways institutions reinforce these ideas as national consciousness.¹⁰ The context of Wright's writing is crucial to understand. The role of increased transnational migration, deindustrialisation, and global economic change in the UK during the 1980s informed Wright's ideas about ways that the heritage industry yielded to the politics of a Conservative government in its presentation of a 'national heritage'.¹¹ This presentation was an extraction of historic narratives where sanctioned events and sites could be '[a]bstracted and redeployed, [such that] history seems to be purged of political tension; it becomes a unifying spectacle, the settling of all disputes'.¹²

A few years later historian Robert Hewison wrote *The Heritage Industry* (1987), which also connected the sudden increase in new museums in the UK to the issues of transnationalism and globalisation. He directed his critique towards the idea that many new museums were reinforcing a national narrative, or put differently, one narrative of events that equated to a singular historic point of view. This singular historic perspective was often fuelled by ahistorical nostalgia as an impulse that has become important to the preservation framework.¹³ But this heritage-endorsed nostalgia also became more pronounced in the context of the social instability and perceptions of social decline in 1980s UK.¹⁴ Hewison further commented on the subjectivity of our relationship with the past:

What matters is not the past, but our relationship with it. As individuals, our security and identity depend largely on the knowledge we have of our personal and family history; the language and customs which govern our social lives rely for their meaning on a continuity between past and present.¹⁵

¹⁰ Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 74.

¹¹ Wright, pp. 37-44.

¹² Wright, p. 65.

¹³ Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a climate of decline* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 25.

¹⁴ Hewison, pp. 45-46.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

Discussions of nostalgia in relation to history are as relevant today as they were then. If the past is a key part of our individual as well as collective identities, then sites, buildings, artefacts, and art become vehicles for how we communicate our anxieties about change onto the social and political landscape of the present. Our historic sensibilities of the past are certainly not based in a static reality or truth, but instead based on our own personal extractions of history that helps us interpret the world around us.

As a museum professional, I am very aware of the incredible amount of rigorous research that goes into the information presented to audiences. Explorations of community perspectives have been a normal staple of the process and practice that my colleagues and I have engaged in for many years. And yet, there is still more that we can do to counter passively-received notions of history.

Using the United States where I grew up as a pertinent example, the Confederate flag has continuously been used as a symbol of a separate southern heritage based on an adulterated version of history. In Clint Smith's article 'Why Confederate Lies Live On', he explored how some US southerners continue to deny that the American Civil War was fought by the Confederacy to ensure the continuation of slavery.¹⁶ Therefore, people continue to display the Confederate flag as a proud symbol of their heritage as rebellious freedom fighters, while refuting its blatant connections to racism. Denying slavery as the *casus belli* of the American Civil War is called the 'Lost Cause' mythology. This perspective on history took hold in southern states in the late 1860s, in a climate of post-abolition uncertainty with highly nostalgic sentiments of loss being projected onto a notion that states' rights and freedom were the reason for the war instead of the uncomfortable truth – white supremacy.¹⁷ While travelling around the plantations, cemeteries, memorials, and museums in the US, Smith encountered individuals who

¹⁶ Clint Smith, 'Why Confederate Lies Live On', *The Atlantic*, 10 May 2021, <<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2021/06/confederate-lost-cause-myth/618711/>> [accessed 10 June 2021].

¹⁷ For direct quotes from Confederacy officials about why their states were engaging in the American Civil War, and a discussion on the consequences of accepting nostalgic informed symbols in heritage see Ta-Nehisi Coates, 'What This Cruel War Was Over: The meaning of the Confederate flag is best discerned in the words of those who bore it', *The Atlantic*, 23 June 2015, <<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/06/what-this-cruel-war-was-over/396482/>> [accessed 22 June 2021].

thought of history and the era of chattel slavery as a 'family history, history as eulogy, in which loyalty takes precedence over truth'.¹⁸ The boundaries between history and heritage are often collapsed, but the harm possible through the nostalgic mythology and forgetting of the dark and violent aspects of the past, means it is incumbent on the heritage sector to present both the subjectivity of history, and also to highlight discourses of power.

Archaeologist Laurajane Smith coined the term the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) in *Uses of Heritage* (2006). Smith defines heritage as the processes by which meaning is negotiated and created, but also confirms that archaeology has been dominated by western interpretations of history, materiality, and meaning.¹⁹ By situating the existence of the AHD within nineteenth- and twentieth-century archaeological debates over what should and should not be preserved, Smith draws out a material focus where monumental, old, and aesthetically pleasing outweighs the intangible elements of heritage. The materiality of the past is assumed to be unchanged, and its preservation is important for its ability to re-affirm national identity.²⁰ At the heart of Smith's exploration is the awareness that while the AHD is not the only heritage discourse, it is the dominant one connected to 'national heritage', which in turn has been connected to identity-making. It is also relevant to recognise the role that heritage professionals and experts have in supporting the AHD, which has often constrained, undermined, and silenced community understandings of heritage. The Eurocentric bias of the AHD distorts ways social and cultural groups are perceived and represented and continues to be contested.

CONTEMPORARY POLITICS OF DECOLONISATION AND ANTI-RACISM

Working with and managing the contestations of history has real significance for how to work in the heritage sector. The current socio-political environment has an unfortunate resonance with assertions that we have been reciting for the last forty years. In the 1980s, Wright commented on how heritage legislation was regulating the industry, while Hewison drew direct parallels to ways monetary power was wielded

¹⁸ C. Smith, (para. 9 of 83).

¹⁹ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 4.

²⁰ L. Smith, p. 18.

through UK Conservative government heritage legislation like the National Heritage Bill, which enabled direct influence on the sector.²¹ In the UK we are experiencing real party-political governmental interference in narratives of history that run counter to the AHD, with yet unknown effects on the sector's ability to explore and present contested histories.

The social and political Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement was projected into international prominence in 2020, and spurred on a renewed era of critical examination for the heritage sector. BLM has been in existence since 2013 as a platform to surface issues of racially motivated violence and oppression of Black people, but also to affirm their positive contributions to society. The movement started in the United States in response to the acquittal of the police officer who shot unarmed Black teenager Trayvon Martin. In May 2020, the movement gained strength after George Floyd was killed by a police officer in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The additional catalyst of communities experiencing the effects of a global pandemic, while the world was locked into various levels of confinement or restriction, meant that significant injustices were witnessed pervasively through media outlets with acute focus. International protests were organised in opposition to police brutality, but also wider issues such as systemic institutionalised racism.

In relation to the heritage sector or those involved in public history, protestors targeted symbols of national identity such as public statues and monuments. The statue of slave trader and philanthropist Edward Colston, which stood as a contested monument for many years in Bristol, was notoriously thrown into the river during a BLM city protest. The statue of Scottish slave trader and merchant Robert Milligan was removed from outside of the Museum of London Docklands following consultation with the local community. Traditional stories of historic figures across the UK were questioned openly, disrupting key narratives around the AHD for figures like Churchill.

The prominence of BLM protests created a focussed awareness about how historic narratives ignored larger issues such as the effects of colonialism and imperialism on communities of colour. Some institutions immediately made statements that they will become actively anti-racist. Anti-racism is a practice centred around honest self-reflection to consciously take action to change the unconscious ways white supremacy has crept into our ideologies, institutions, and policies today. Much like

²¹ Wright; Hewison, p. 118.

decolonialising practice, breaking down presupposed ideals must be supported by methodologies and actions. Anti-racism acts as an approach in support of wider decolonisation practice. As protestors asserted their rights to political representation and their stake in heritage by physically altering the symbols of the nation, party-politics intervened.

In September 2020, the Culture Secretary wrote a letter to the DCMS and museum bodies arguing that the government does not support publicly funded bodies removing historic objects and contested heritage, urging re-interpretation and an expectation that 'Arm's Length Bodies' approach to issues of contested heritage [...] be consistent with the Government's position'.²² The letter proceeds to outline a mandate that publicly funded institutions 'act impartially' and insinuated that government funding could be withheld without compliance.²³ The implications of this kind of direct interference into the role of historic presentation in the sector supports notions that heritage is deeply shaped by current socio-politics, but also that choices institutions make in the presentation of history have strong political ramifications.

In 2020, protestors who declared that monuments to national history excluded their perspectives raised valid concerns around the impact of art on society. When we do not explicitly name racism as one of the justifications for colonialism, nor acknowledge its lasting impacts, we ignore an entire part of British society who feel misrepresented through heritage. Naming and challenging racism is emotive work, but necessary for understanding how history impacts on the people affected by racist ideologies and policies embedded in society today. A refreshed look at public statuary that commemorates events of domination or individuals who supported racist ideologies, highlights how we have been lulled into a sense of false consciousness that ignores the unacceptable events of the past and the impact they had on individuals who have been written out of history. Claims that acknowledging these inequalities is akin to 're-writing history' is an attempt to maintain the status quo, and ignores the

²² Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport and Oliver Dowden, 'Letter from Culture Secretary on HM Government position on contested heritage', 28 September 2020, <<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/letter-from-culture-secretary-on-hm-government-position-on-contested-heritage>> [accessed 11 October 2020] (para. 4 of 7).

²³ Ibid.

reality that conservation of history, places, or objects must embrace enhancement and change by being intellectually and communally re-assessed.

CATEGORISING AND ORDERING THE WORLD- COLLECTIONS AND CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS

Until now I have been writing generally about the interplay between heritage, politics, and the tensions presented in the histories communicated to the public, which can become a battleground for how power is ideologically exercised. But it feels timely to make a slight departure and look back at how museums, as a specific subset of the heritage sector, have been inherently political since their formation. Even the earliest private collecting through the 'cabinet of curiosity' concept within the home was not without political impact. Europeans collecting 'curiosities' either at auction, by the individuals they funded, or through their own pursuits, became imprinted onto the European knowledge landscape through displays shown in their palaces and homes.²⁴ The spectacle of the cabinet related to elite private collections of mainly men, who sought out ways of representing their wealth, status, taste, and influence in an increasingly expanding world.²⁵

As a way of understanding the known and unknown world, collectors were drawing the viewers' attention to their ability to 'dominate many environments'.²⁶ While early displays were intended as a microcosm of the universe distilled into the cabinet with little scientific aim, the practice of collecting and ambitions were altered as various methodologies developed.²⁷ The eighteenth-century intellectual movement of the Enlightenment, highlighting reason and scientific method, would soon see its application in the organisation reflected in cabinets. Collections also began to include the art and artefacts from cultures in areas of colonial expansion and exploitation

²⁴ See *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. by Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

²⁵ Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 11-33.

²⁶ Nicholas Thomas, *The Return of Curiosity: What Museums are Good For in the 21st Century* (London: Reaktion, 2016), p. 11.

²⁷ MacGregor, p. 11; Alessandro Tosi, 'Wunderkammer vs. Museum? Natural History Collecting During the Renaissance', in *From Public to Private: Natural History Collections and Museums*, ed. by Marco Beretta (Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications, 2005), pp. 41-58 (p. 47).

projects. There was an explicit connection between famed affluent cabinets of collectors and their access to wealth connected to global expansion. The eighteenth-century cabinets of Dutch merchantmen, for example, benefited from the Netherlands' domination of sea trading routes to Southeast Asia and access to a wealth of Asian arts.²⁸

The connection between collecting, knowledge, and social prestige applied even earlier. In *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, Arthur MacGregor gives a cogent example of Dutch artist Rembrandt's cabinet of *naturalia*, ethnographic objects, and antiquities being formed as a conscious effort to show his intellectual prowess in addition to his known artistry.²⁹ Many private collections served as the basis for encyclopaedic museums such as the Prado in Madrid or the Uffizi Galleries in Florence. Physician Hans Sloane's private collection became the basis for the British Museum in London opening in 1753 and ushering in the time of the museum as an institution of civic learning.

In the nineteenth century, learned societies in Britain began to focus on ethnology as a new field of interest, and in the US, this was reflected in the focus on archaeological methodologies. Both emergent fields had an impact on the collection and display methods that would allow the practice of museum anthropology to come into its own.³⁰ Other emergent scientific methods such as the Linnaeus taxonomy created a hierarchical classification system for application to zoological and botanical species, but he also applied a division of species to humans. Previous natural philosophies and collecting ideologies shifted towards more concrete orderings of the world. Private cabinets of curiosity influenced by a collector's taste or flair for theatricality fell out of fashion and gave way to a standardised system of categorisation. The museum became a place where newly established scholarly fields focused on the examination of distant societies through art and artefacts, which created standardised hierarchies of value that applied across arts as well as the descriptions of cultures and people.

²⁸ MacGregor, p. 32.

²⁹ MacGregor, p. 67.

³⁰ G.W. Stocking Jr., 'Essays on Museums and Material Culture', in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. by G.W. Stocking (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 3-14 (p. 7).

The Ethnological Society of London promoted collecting ethnographic material to understand the evolution of man through technology, but they were also interested in tracing 'racial difference' and its place within human history.³¹ Some society members, such as Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, adopted a typological organisation of his collection under an evolutionary banner as a 'tool for the study of the material culture of present exotic peoples'.³² Pitt Rivers' system established a hierarchy between the arts of civilized and uncivilized cultures. While this historic classification system still exists within the display of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, it has been critiqued and addressed in many ways over the years partially in response to the display's historic connections to the now de-bunked 'race science' that served as a partial impetus for collection.³³

The removal of art and artefacts from colonial territories and peoples functioned as a means of celebrating the prowess of colonising nations.³⁴ But it also served internalised western narratives that claimed that 'salvaging' the art and artefacts of these countries supported a civilizing mission. The hierarchy used by museums to classify and order the world via collections was supported by ideological constructions like racial difference, which reinforced the rationalisation of a hierarchy amongst people.³⁵ This was the same ideology which had long-informed a state sanctioned

³¹ William Ryan Chapman, 'Arranging Ethnology: A.H.L.F. Pitt Rivers and the Typological Tradition', in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. by G.W. Stocking (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) pp. 15-48 (pp. 20-22).

³² Chapman, p. 26.

³³ While 'race' continues to have real impacts socially and politically, 'scientific racism' was supported by various theories, including studies of skull size. Physician and anthropologist Samuel Morton collected skulls from around the world and attributed the larger skull sizes of 'Caucasians' to greater intellect, inculcating a hierarchical basis that positioned white people at the top of a racial hierarchy. This theory also justified existing and future colonial domination and dislocation of Indigenous communities, as well as the continued enslavement of African populations in the 1830s and 1840s. Genetic research has revealed all humans are closely interrelated and have categorically established that 'race' is a construction with no scientific basis. See Dan Hicks, *The British Museums: the Benin Bronzes, colonial violence and cultural restitution*, (London: Pluto Press, 2020).

³⁴ L. Smith, p. 18.

³⁵ In the edited volume, *The Dead and their Possessions*, Cressida Fforde explains how the collection of human remains from Indigenous Australian communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was used as evidence, much like the material heritage collected from source communities, of the 'primitive'

narrative of history – that colonialism was good for the colonised. Anthropologist Aaron Glass summarised the variety of colonial collecting objectives as follows:

Ethnographers may have collected the possessions of the “vanishing races” as a means for preservation and study under salvage paradigms, missionaries and government administrators often removed objects as part of the larger colonial project of conversion and assimilation. Both scientists and politicians agreed that the proper place for Native objects (and Indians, metaphorically) was metropolitan museums, while missionaries often maintained private collections and exhibits as pedagogical tools in the eradication of heathenism. Government legislation supported the wholesale removal of cultural property by attempting to suppress practices in Canada (with the 1884 Federal Indian Act prohibiting the potlatch) and the US (with the outlawing of religious practices such as the Sun Dance).³⁶

From an anthropological perspective, a museum collection has been theorised as a functioning embodiment of ‘hierarchies of value, exclusions, [and] rule-governed territories of the self’.³⁷ We often take these values for granted without questioning the social constructs connected to our understanding of art.³⁸ Much of what is present within the museum have often been things that have been removed or ‘vanished’ from society, e.g., extinct species or colonized Indigenous community objects. Acknowledging ways in which the museum acts as a vehicle for outdated notions of presence and absence in society comes part of the way towards the decolonial agenda,

nature of ‘lower races’. She goes on to explain how Darwinism took up an argument that the biological and natural differences that could be observed through Indigenous Australian human remains provided the “hard” evidence’ that European governance was necessary, and this ideology helped ‘relieve imperial power of moral responsibility for the decimation of indigenous populations’. See Cressida Fforde, ‘Collection, Repatriation and Identity’, in *The Dead and their Possessions*, ed. by Cressida Fforde, Jane Hubert and Paul Turnbull (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 25-46 (pp. 29-30).

³⁶ Aaron Glass, ‘Return to Sender’, *Journal of Material Culture*, 9 (2004), 115-139 (p. 124). The word ‘Indian’ can be used as a legal identifier of ethnicity in Canada and can be a self-ascribed identity by mainland USA communities. It is used as part of the original quoted text above.

³⁷ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (London: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 218.

³⁸ Berger and others.

while examining the systems and language of classification imparted on these collections is also critical.

Classification is not immutable and categorisation systems are important to challenge. Using any catalogue inventory as a way of ordering and keeping track of things, especially when collections may be extraordinarily large, does serve a useful purpose. The problems around the catalogue are the entrenched constructs that have been standardised around its use – a demand for a single source of authoritative terminologies, conformities of description, distanced and non-emotional language to enforce a tone of authority, and the imposition of western epistemologies onto global material cultures and traditions. Additionally, when material culture has been treated as evidence for distant cultures, as in the case of ethnology and archaeology collections, it becomes clear why the language we use in the present must be updated.

Some of the most easily recognised issues in the catalogue are the outdated and offensive terminologies present in descriptions of collections. I can recall more instances than I would like to where I learned historic and offensive racial slurs by reading the terms in an object description within digitised catalogue databases. Addressing the colonial hangovers of outdated descriptions of collections is something that I am working to address in my current role at the National Trust. We have created a set of guidelines to help us look for key terms, names of battles, place names, and issues of visual and written representation that require honest acknowledgement. Correcting outdated event names such as replacing 'The Indian Mutiny' with the 'Great Rebellion of 1857' because of its bias towards a Eurocentric victor's perspective is somewhat straightforward to tackle, but we must document any language we remove to prevent the erasure of institutional histories.

Instances where ethnic group names have been re-claimed and changed demand cultural competence or a continuous awareness of current events. The colonial inheritance of the museum catalogue has typically relied on the established borders of the nation-state as a means of providing collection origin attributions. We are becoming ever more aware of the cultural specificity needed to describe collections in a meaningful way and to stop essentialising geographical diversity. This has demanded internal advocacy at times so we can add new terms and re-classify objects to regions that may not have officially recognised status like Tibet, or other origin communities within larger nation-state boundaries.

Other colonial biases can be more nuanced and difficult to address. A critical element of the collections we are trying to address at the National Trust are the paintings, family portraits, and prints that visually depict people of different racial backgrounds and present challenges around how they are described (or are not) in the catalogue. We have family portraits of historic owners at our places, which depict individuals with their Black attendants who may be real or fictional. Sometimes the attendants have been described with derogatory language in the catalogue which we are addressing, but sometimes they have not been mentioned at all when all other elements of a painting such as the pets, room setting, and background were described in the catalogue. Even the possessive grammar used to describe Black attendants often indicates a tone of ownership or coercion, when we do not know if the person was enslaved, or if they held one of the many integrated roles of service within a British household demanding a recognition of their agency. Working with prints and paintings in this focused way has been an eye-opening experience. The work has enabled a rich ground for exploring the ways language encodes the stereotypes and racial hierarchies that underpinned early collecting practices. But it has also been personally painful to think through how much inherent bias needs to be undone to truly make a difference.

The publication of knowledge on a database also requires interrogation. It may not be appropriate to share collections because information around items may be culturally regulated and restricted for particular members of that community. The idea of purposefully withholding knowledge goes against the ideals of the museum as a place for civic learning, and instead demands we accept a different way of reconciling our responsibilities towards history through the context of decolonial practice. The entanglements of colonialism within the ordering of knowledge via collections, provides a useful focal point for how decolonisation efforts need to permeate all elements of museum practice.

RE-CLAIMING NATIONAL AND CULTURAL SYMBOLS

Issues such as the colonial acquisition history of objects, and most importantly, the experiences of colonialism itself became aspects of heritage that demanded attention, largely through the social justice efforts of Indigenous communities and wider communities of colour. The 1980s and 1990s saw a steady increase in communities

across the Americas, Oceania, and Africa publicly acknowledging their stake in representations of their identity and seeking out greater control over the care of their art and artefacts.³⁹ The 'othering' and misrepresentation that had occurred for so long in the museum was addressed through protests over sovereignty issues and the struggles to autonomously define cultural identity in connection to the need for greater control and access to the museum as a knowledge resource.

For example, touring exhibition *Te Māori* (1984-1987) became a widespread vehicle for prioritising Māori perspectives on *taonga Māori* (cultural objects). It provided an international platform that incited a greater focus on the New Zealand government's responsibilities to Māori community rights and sovereignty in relation to land and resources. The issue of control continues to be important for Indigenous cultures finding ways to connect to their cultural heritage by making claims for access to the lost cultural knowledge in museums today. Laurajane Smith describes this work as 'representational politics', where an Indigenous identity carries political weight through assertion of a dissonant identity with opposing values to western ideologies.⁴⁰

It can be said that Indigenous groups feel a different responsibility to objects than western standards implement, and so this can be the first base for understanding how heterogeneous values in the art world can coalesce, but there are limitations. An overemphasis on individuals being defined by their connection to material culture as a central feature of their world perspective and identity is also problematic. There is the potential to confound the material culture/identity connection between Indigenous groups as a marker of unchanging identities one must adhere to in order to be considered 'traditional' or 'authentic'.⁴¹ The meanings and connections that are significant to collections transform and shift with changing socio-political scenarios, changes in location, and like communities, the power of collections are continuously realigned and reshaped.

Of critical importance to the decolonisation discourse today has been the way collecting histories and ownership is often contested by groups who want control or

³⁹ See Ivan Karp, 'Culture and Representation', in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and politics of museum display*, ed. by Ivan Karp (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), pp. 11-24.

⁴⁰ L. Smith, p. 295-296.

⁴¹ See Clifford; Richard Handler, 'Who Owns the Past?', in *The Politics of Culture*, ed. by Brett William (London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), pp. 63-74.

the return of their cultural heritage. The accumulated past experiences of colonialism such as disenfranchisement and dispossession from symbols, cultural practices, and land, are critical for framing museum repatriation and restitution claims today. Repatriation, as the return of cultural patrimony from heritage institutions to an identified owner or collective of people, and restitution, as the return of cultural patrimony taken by theft or illegal means to a nation or government, are active ways that a holding institution can engage with the complex histories of objects and power. After the dispossession of land and home, losses of art and artefacts further alienated communities from their cultural knowledge, familial connections, and identities. Especially in relation to efforts to repatriate the remains of ancestors, returns can act as a healing process that bridges community losses of memory and enables new cultural meanings.

The idea that art or artefacts could be owned by a collective group is an ideology with origins in Europe. In 1815, when European monarchs called for the return of their art and artefacts after the French Revolution of 1789 and the Napoleonic wars, an alliance of anti-French officials spurred on by ideals of traditional identities for their emergent nationalisms, confirmed the importance of physically having their plundered art and artefacts returned by requesting the restitution of their 'cultural property' from France.⁴² At that time, the idea of cultural patrimony and group ownership regarding the rights of western European countries was respected, but all other parts of the world were fair game for the imperial extraction of cultural patrimony.⁴³

From Australia and New Zealand to North America, the academic and museological framing of repatriation has been in terms of ownership over property. What is missing has been an acknowledged understanding that the debate itself is framed in western ideologies that are a product of colonialism. The dominant terminology that determines what is important and at stake for museums, such as authenticity, ownership, and preservation are juxtaposed against Indigenous interests in autonomous histories, rights, informed control, and better access to collections. This poses the debate in terms of a fierce divide between the parties involved. Arguments

⁴² Elazar Barkan, 'Amending Historical Injustices: The Restitution of Cultural Property', in *Claiming the Stones/Naming the Bones: Cultural Property and the Negotiation of National and Ethnic Identity*, ed. by Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002), pp. 16-50 (p. 18).

⁴³ Barkan, p. 19.

over repatriation using this framework leave little room for finding a workable middle ground. Karen J. Warren suggests that the dispute can be thought of as the need for appropriate guardians over non-renewable resources.⁴⁴ The notion of collaborative goals is also important as Indigenous communities have been left out of decisions and information processes since the inception of the museum. What many groups want and have emphatically demanded has been an acknowledgement of their wishes and respect for their authority and cultural knowledge, alongside substantive action to restore their resources.

HERITAGE RETURNS IN PRACTICE

In 2017, the National Trust UK received a request for the return of Hinemihi the Māori meeting house from Clandon Park in Surrey, England to New Zealand. For Ngāti Hinemihi, Hinemihi was a powerful woman who lived in the sixteenth century. She is not a legend but a real ancestor who Ngāti Hinemihi count among one of their most powerful matriarchs. In 1880, the Ngāti Hinemihi community were living in Te Wairoa, New Zealand, and their chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha commissioned Hinemihi, the meeting house which became the embodiment of her spirit, and therefore brought her to life when the house was completed. There is far too much to say about the life of Hinemihi in New Zealand, her time in England, and the continuous connection she has had with her ancestral community during her 129 years in the UK so far, so I will stick to the key points of relevance to this piece.⁴⁵

Supporting Hinemihi's return process was one of my first projects at the National Trust. When Heritage New Zealand made the request to return Hinemihi on behalf of the Tūhourangi Tribal Authority, they offered to broker the creation of replacement Māori meeting house carvings as part of an exchange with Clandon Park. Clandon had been devastated by a fire in 2015 that saw the loss of the mansion and many of its collections. The site was going through a process of assessment and conservation

⁴⁴ Karen J. Warren, 'A philosophical perspective on the ethics and resolution of cultural property issues', in *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?*, ed. by Phyllis Mauch Messenger (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), pp. 1-26.

⁴⁵ See Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 49-75.

renewal. To take the exchange proposal seriously and to adhere to the western legal systems that codify Hinemihi's significance and value, we commissioned a team of international heritage consultants to help assess the impact an exchange would have for her various communities in the UK and in New Zealand.

On a heritage and cultural register, one of the key significant attributes of Hinemihi was her ongoing use and repair at Clandon with the significant guidance of Māori and Pacific Islander communities over time. We also surveyed wider communities of interest around the potential impacts of an exchange, and most were in support of the idea. This led the National Trust to agree (in-principle) to the exchange of carvings in late 2019. The key elements that contributed to getting approval for this process have all been well-positioned within the sphere of decolonisation work, such as the idea that conservation is the management of continuous change and, therefore, a renewed meeting house at Clandon supports the continuous evolution and journey of Hinemihi. For me personally, it was always clear that Indigenous approaches to renewal, alongside collaboration and community consultation must be weighted more significantly in decision making because what makes collections meaningful are the people and stories around them. This is also relevant to taking reparative actions as a form of honest redress. It would have felt wrong to make a future decision about Hinemihi, a living meeting house of international importance, without taking Māori perspectives into serious account.

The proposal of creating new carvings at Clandon Park while returning Hinemihi to her origin community also presented a great middle ground that addressed the aspects of loss within a western sense of ownership, which the heritage industry has been regulated to minimise. The details of Hinemihi's return and what might come back to the UK are still relevant issues that are being actively defined, which keeps her return status as 'in-principle' until future plans are finalised.

The idea of exchange over repatriation is certainly not easy to replicate when groups want their cultural property or ancestors to return. Hinemihi also represents the special prowess and experience Māori communities have in translating between world views.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, for many holding collections, a common fear is that once one

⁴⁶ In New Zealand, Māori communities have long been involved in the negotiation of their cultural heritage, with the repatriation of their lands through the Waitangi Tribunal hearings underscoring this history. This process of negotiation continued with the national museum Te Papa Tongarewa

thing is repatriated, the rest of the objects will have to be repatriated. Though this 'floodgate myth' has yet to be an aspect sought by Indigenous groups, the continuation of this fear speaks to the nature of museum identity and established practices where preservation equates to anxiety over loss.⁴⁷

Under Euroamerican law, there is nothing legally binding an institution to return items if the ownership of objects has been established from authorized donor or purchase circumstances. A key legal exception is the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). NAGPRA is a United States Federal Law enacted from 1990, where US government agencies and institutions must return sacred items of cultural patrimony and human remains to descendants culturally affiliated with Native American and Native Hawaiian communities. This means that Native American collections have received government mandated and increased attention in some museums in the US. The implementation of NAGPRA demanded a systematic review of what exists, and a shift from classifying collections by nation-state boundaries to the level of federally recognised tribal groupings. This became necessary for the legal repatriation compliance needed to notify groups about the location of their collections.

Control over misappropriated human remains is one of the most evocative issues within repatriation discourse. Skulls, skeletal remains, mummified body parts, and heads taken for anatomical analysis in museums has been equated to the deliberate process of cultural destruction in places like Australia and North America.⁴⁸ But these issues are relevant for any marginalised group whose ancestral remains were collected without permission as part of early comparative studies of man. The Herero and Nama populations of Namibia have struggled to have the remains of their direct ancestors repatriated from Germany for many years. In what was considered the first twentieth-century genocide, soldiers massacred thousands of Indigenous Herero and Nama in response to revolts against German land seizures between 1904-1908. The remains of

spearheading a programme to return Māori human remains home from collections abroad. Some Māori groups, having now satisfied their quest to reconcile lost connections with the land and ancestral human remains, have moved on to claims for significant *taonga Māori* (cultural objects) to help strengthen community identities.

⁴⁷ Laura Peers, 'Repatriation – a gain for science?', *Anthropology Today*, 20 (2004), 3-4.

⁴⁸ Jane Hubert and Cressida Fforde, 'Introduction: the reburial issue in the twenty-first century', in *The Dead and their Possessions Repatriation in Principle, Policy and Practice*, ed. by Cressida Fforde, Jane Hubert, Paul Turnbull (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 1-16 (p. 2).

the massacred were taken to German universities, hospitals, and museums, and were subjected to racial experimentation to support theories of white superiority.⁴⁹ In 2018, the third repatriation of these remains to Namibia from Germany occurred, with the possibility that more unknown remains still exist in the country.

In 1995, The Griqua National Conference (GNC) began to petition for the return of the remains of their Khoikhoi ancestor Saartjie Baartman, or Sara, from Paris. Baartman had been exhibited nude at the Musee de l'Homme as the 'Hottentot Venus', where audiences would pay to see and touch her body. The exact date of her death is not known but thought to have been in 1815 or 1816. Her remains stayed in Paris until the South African government's negotiations with France enabled her return for reburial in 2002.⁵⁰ Mansell Upham, as the Griqua representative at the UN's Working Group of Indigenous Populations in 1996, emphasised that the GNC were frustrated by the process of return for Baartman's remains, and their endeavour was entangled in a conscious effort to attain:

Recognition of aboriginality; representation at all levels of government; traditional leadership-status; the restitution of flagrantly violated treaties; the return of all GRIQUA land usurped by colonial powers but now inherited illegally by the nation-state of South Africa and; compensation for untold suffering, genocide and ethnocide inflicted on the GRIQUA and their KHOISAN ancestors as culturally, linguistically, socially, economically and politically deprived, disempowered and almost decimated aboriginal, autochthonous and indigenous people of southern Africa.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Vilho Amukwaya Shigwedha, 'The return of Herero and Nama bones from Germany: the victims' struggle for recognition and recurring genocide memories in Namibia', in *Human Remains in Society Book Subtitle: Curation and Exhibition in the Aftermath of Genocide and Mass-violence*, ed. by Jean-Marc Dreyfus and Élisabeth Anstett (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 197-219.

⁵⁰ Karen Harvey, 'Baartman, Sara', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/73573>> [accessed 9 August 2021].

⁵¹ Mansell Upham, 'Review of Developments Pertaining to the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous People', United Nations Working Group of Indigenous Populations, 14th session, July 1996 <<http://cendoc.docip.org/collect/cendocdo/index/assoc/HASH0130/189c5f2e.dir/960307.pdf>> [accessed 11 June 2021] (para. 8 of 17).

The national politics of South Africa determined that Griqua communities were not Indigenous but instead 'Coloureds', which removed them from governmental decision making around their cultural heritage.⁵² Griqua communities have continued to position their identity within an international Indigenous rights framework, in opposition to the idea that their racial identification is correctly aligned within the politics of a post-apartheid South Africa.

Political recognition of identity as a way to take up state resources and control historic narratives is inextricably linked with aspects of decolonisation through heritage. The current politico-legal landscape imprints special rights and considerations for communities based on indigeneity as an identity of alterity and difference from colonising nations. But this framework means that some aspects of British colonial expansion and imperialism fall into the cracks of identity politics and globalisation.

Country-based restitution claims that sit outside of Indigenous rights issues, such as Ethiopia's request for the return of royal and religious art from Maqdala by the British army in 1867, continue to find little traction in the UK.⁵³ That is partly about the legal restrictions around collections held in national repositories, but there is also a lack of recognition that an Indigenous model of alterity as the antithesis of western identity does not work for conversations about colonial spoilation for collections taken through military looting and plunder campaigns across the Africa and Asia.⁵⁴ Despite this lack of attention to collections taken by force in museums, as early as 1871 Parliamentary discussions about military prize payment for the removal of Tewodros II's crown and chalice from Maqdala questioned the relevance and need for their extraction. Prime

⁵² In South Africa, 'Coloured' was used by the apartheid government to define one of four main racial groups (the others being 'black', 'white' and 'Indian'). Like the other terms, it artificially grouped people of diverse heritage, in this case African, European and Asian. The term still exists but is heavily contested and left to individuals to self-define.

⁵³ In 1862 Emperor Tewodros II of Ethiopia asked the British government for an alliance and assistance in gaining weapons. After his request went unanswered, he ordered the capture of a group of Europeans, including the British consul. In response, the British mounted an attack on the Emperor's fortress at Maqdala in 1868, resulting in the Emperor committing suicide, the capture of his son and wife, and the looting of royal and treasures by the British from the fortress for sale back to Great Britain. The Ethiopian government has made an official request for the return of the Maqdala treasures from the UK and the request is currently open.

⁵⁴ Hicks, p. 24.

Minister Gladstone acknowledged the importance of these 'sacred and imposing symbols' to the Abyssinians, and it was emphasized that Lord Napier, who led the punitive mission, thought the items 'ought to be held in deposit till they could be returned to Abyssinia'.⁵⁵

Repatriation discussions within the heritage sector have traditionally been over-reliant on indigeneity as a framework for understanding and acquiescing to group rights to representation or ownership. This has been a necessary framework, especially in terms of recognition in the UK which sits outside of the settler nations where these issues are present within one's own backyard. Museums have increasingly acknowledged the need for practices that include the voices of wider non-white audiences and marginalised communities whose collections have traditionally been on display, but whose voices have historically been silenced. If we can agree that the museum plays a role in cultural governance and reinforcing national histories, then the marked absence of histories of the enslaved and their descendants, or many other communities of colour underrepresented within heritage narratives, implicitly denies their significance to a country's national story.⁵⁶

The US and the UK have the integrated populations of Black, Asian, and people of colour whose migration, forced or elected, became part of a system of imperial power as well as of the history of these nations. Our indigeneity has been subsumed as we were made citizens of new nation-states. The arguments of authentic and separate cultural identities are no longer afforded to us as our histories, and any injustices that accompanied our integration into the nation, have become an ignored fallout of colonialism and historic slavery. The absence of our perspectives from the AHD in heritage has created an institutionalised invisibility despite the presence of relevant collections in holding institutions.

Repatriation issues are subsets of the larger picture of control sought over language; education; historic narratives; the return of lands for Indigenous communities; as well as the reparations debate for injustices of historic slavery in the US and the Caribbean; or colonial sanctioned genocide and loss of life in places like

⁵⁵ *Hansard*, vol. 207, 30 June 1871 <<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1871/jun/30/motion-for-an-address>> [accessed 29 July 2021].

⁵⁶ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 21; L. Smith 2006, p. 197.

Namibia.⁵⁷ The ability to control symbolic or hereditary heritage continues to be an important part of political negotiations of legitimacy.⁵⁸ Colonialism and racism are intertwined, and there is still so much work to do to redress historic injustices.

KEY PRACTICES OF DECOLONISATION AND ANTI-RACISM, IN SUMMARY

The absence of Black community representation in heritage has long been critiqued through contemporary art and social activism. The prominence of the Black Lives Matter movement in the UK rightly focused on the public monuments and art of the nation. We have been celebrating the intrinsic value of public statuary for so long, that we have ignored the violent histories connected to the figures represented and events commemorated. As sanctioned monuments to national history, we have also forgotten to question the intentionality behind the creation of the public statuary that surrounds us. Neglecting to question the rationale behind symbols and the histories we tell distances us from the people affected by colonisation – whether through time, physical distance, or the clouded nostalgia of a sanitised history – and this distancing has real consequences.

The statue of Tory statesman Henry Dundas was erected in Edinburgh between 1821 and 1823 in a post-Union era of British history when commemorative statues were created to promote cultural nationalism.⁵⁹ Even at the time of the monument's construction, Dundas was an unpopular figure who introduced 'gradual' instead of 'immediate' abolition to William Wilberforce's 1792 motion to abolish slavery and was impeached for the misuse of naval funds. Dundas' movement of gradual abolition was not a humanitarian effort, nor did it acknowledge the people affected by slavery as equals deserving their freedom. Instead, the abolition position was mainly concerned with economic prosperity and trade for Britain. Continued over-simplification and sanitisation of the abolition narrative allays the direct responsibility of the British nation

⁵⁷ In June 2021, Germany officially apologised and pledged €1.1 billion to Namibia in reparations for the colonial genocide in Namibia.

⁵⁸ L. Smith, p. 295.

⁵⁹ Clarisse Godard Desmarest, 'The Melville Monument and the Shaping of the Scottish Metropolis', *Architectural History*, 61 (2018), 105-130 (p. 105, p. 125).

in the slave trade, and very infrequently looks at the prolonged consequences on the lives of enslaved individuals.

Heritage organisations with a focus on caring for places and collections have begun to consult with the full diversity of people and communities they claim to represent. This consultation practice with key audiences is often glossed as community engagement work or collaboration, but it is important to recognise that the groups are often communities of colour because we have historically not included their perspectives or personal understandings of collections' significance. Decolonising practice means more than sourcing valuable information about lived experience from volunteer community groups. It requires sharing power and inviting communities to speak for themselves through diverse interpretation, revealing how multiple perspectives can co-exist. It is also vital that people providing the expertise and generosity of their knowledge are remunerated. We cannot fall into another exploitative situation by failing to acknowledge the power and impact behind harvesting the intellectual and emotional labour of communities of colour.

Also related to the legacies of racism is the continued lack of diversity that affects the heritage workforce and the makeup of our audiences. But diversification is not the same as decolonisation. Diversification is about understanding the requirement for diverse perspectives and opinions in the workplace so that no one must stand as the lone spokesperson for their identity, which inevitably leads to emotional exhaustion.

The heritage sector has been aware of the call for decolonisation for so many years, that even the idea of writing an article about decolonisation seemed redundant. However, I would say two key things have been illuminated to me through writing this piece. All work to communicate history is inherently partial, subject to the biases of those involved in the process of writing it, presenting it, or remembering it. No presentation of history will be free of contestation. But accepting the inevitable contestation is partly about how the heritage machine works. Negotiating between views, consensus building, and managing change is a taxing commitment that must be mediated as an understanding of the changing world around us.

I have also come to realise that the repercussions of colonialism are so widespread and deep that it is easy to lose sight of what needs to be addressed. Decolonisation is a practice without a finale. A refreshed demand for greater representation and for organisations to become anti-racist raises the bar of expectation

that requires those in the field to challenge their personal experiences, education, and perceptions, particularly around racism. Anti-racism does not displace the need for decolonial practices. It is an important call to action as a focused way of understanding that racism is a socially constructed inequality that has been reinforced by colonialism, and it not solely the product of colonialism. This means that negotiating representations of identity through heritage has value for affecting the normative ways of thinking about whose history is communicated and examining the power dynamics that have inhibited more inclusive perspectives. History and heritage will continue to be contested. In order to move beyond traditional historic narratives, it becomes incumbent on heritage institutions to recognise the value of the diverse groups and communities who challenge us. This effort will help us re-inscribe marginalised histories and awareness into our heritage practice.



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Review: Andrew Ginger, *Instead of Modernity: The Western Canon and the Incorporation of the Hispanic (c.1850-75)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020) 302pp. ISBN-978-1-5261-4784-4, £85.00.

DANIEL JENKIN-SMITH

IN HIS *TALES of the Alhambra* (1832), Washington Irving portrays Spain as a fantastical landscape of barren plains and treacherous mountains, with an isolated population of herdsmen and muleteers for whom even 'the most petty journey is undertaken with the preparation of a warlike enterprise.'

¹ To escort him through this exotic setting, Irving hires a suitably rustic guide: 'a faithful, cheery, kind-hearted creature, full of saws and proverbs as that miracle of squires the renowned Sancho himself, whose name we bestowed upon him'.² Nineteenth-century Spain is, in Irving's eyes, a Quixotic world: a medieval throwback on the fringes of European, and indeed American, modernity.

This kind of sensibility is not exclusive to Irving, but rather permeated conceptions of the Spanish-speaking world throughout the nineteenth century and thereafter, Andrew Ginger writes in the introduction to *Instead of Modernity*. Even today, Ginger continues, critics and historians frame Northern Europe and the United States as the home of cultural modernity – its ostensible wellspring being the 'Parisian patriarchy' of Charles Baudelaire, Gustave Flaubert, and Édouard Manet.³ All of the heavyweights of modern criticism, Walter Benjamin, Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and so on, he writes, frame this trio as having fundamentally broken with the past – as having turned 'all experiences of being human [into] constructs of representations, accumulations of signs without any secure, fixed meaning'.⁴ But through this reading, he continues,

¹ Washington Irving, *Tales from the Alhambra* (Granada, Spain: Miguel Sanchez, 2007), p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³ Andrew Ginger, *Instead of Modernity: The Western Canon and the Incorporation of the Hispanic (c.1850-75)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

these critics ended up producing a 'narrow and exclusionary' conception of modernity.⁵

It is against this grain that Ginger begins *Instead of Modernity*, which is driven by two chief aims. First, to refigure Hispanic culture as a *subject* of nineteenth-century cultural discourse (rather than simply its object), and second, to demonstrate that reintegrating the Hispanic offers a far broader and more all-encompassing conceptualisation of modernity itself. Ginger approaches these aims virtually simultaneously, as suggested by the ambiguous meaning of his book's title. Redressing a perception of the Hispanic world in terms of simple alterity (as existing 'instead of modernity'), Ginger also contests his critical predecessors on their home turf, employing the material of the mid-nineteenth-century cultural moment itself to showcase a new cultural terminology, one to be used 'instead of "modernity"'. As Ginger states in the introduction, 'the notion of a new cultural era founded on a radical set of principles flounders as we incorporate diverse, compelling visions of culture from the mid-century into the core narrative'.⁶

Seeking to rectify simplistic conceptions of temporal rupture, the alternative Ginger finds is rather one of 'energetic commonality, stretching out across place and time'.⁷ Indeed, 'energetic commonality' is also embedded in the character of the book, with Ginger writing on the first page that *Instead of Modernity* approaches its subject 'in an open and flexible spirit, not foreclosing on narrow distinctions between sameness, similarity and commonality, but rather exploring possibilities for realising intimate connections through all these variously'.⁸ Accordingly, following the introduction, the book's four main chapters are to be considered 'more akin to the evocation of four moods and practices than they are to four arguments in the manner of academic critique'.⁹ Recalling comparable presentations by the likes of Caroline Levine in *Forms* (2015), and Maurice S. Lee in *Overwhelmed* (2019), rather than each chapter building upon the previous one,

⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

⁸ Ibid., p. 1.

⁹ Ibid., p. 23.

they together function as parallel categories for understanding the various cultural relationships that typify 'energetic commonality'.

The first of these 'moods' is 'Meeting', which Ginger employs to evoke various forms of cultural, aesthetic, or personal convergence. The second, 'Departure', refers to differentiation that tends toward parallelism or comparison. 'Sacrifice' implies instances of violence, or processes that lead to death, but also therefore fragmentation, dissemination, and, ultimately, new convergences. And finally, 'Repose' – what Ginger subheads with 'forms of shared distraction' – comes to suggest the free-floating and ephemeral interconnection of motifs and ideas.¹⁰ These 'moods' in part function as different critical models for the configuration of artworks and ideas, but it soon becomes apparent in practice that they also share a number of what Ludwig Wittgenstein (a key thinker in Ginger's presentation) famously called 'family resemblances.'¹¹ That is, works, figures, and themes covered in one chapter recur in new configurations in the others, and Ginger employs these interconnections between chapters to weave together a kaleidoscopic totality (or, rather, 'commonality') that, altogether, reproduces his new vision of the mid-nineteenth-century cultural moment.

Indeed, given this premise, a better impression of *Instead of Modernity* is perhaps to be gained from gauging the sheer range of allusions and connections made between its pages than from trying to grasp its overarching form. Baudelaire, Flaubert, and Manet are very quickly engulfed by a multitude of Hispanic writers and visual artists: ranging from the familiar (Benito Perez Galdós, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, and Francisco Goya), to the more obscure – including Argentinian novelist, Juana Manuela Gorriti, Puerto Rican poet, Eugenio María de Hostos, and Mexican painter, Hermenegildo Bustos (whose 1874 *Still Life with Frog, Watermelon, and Scorpion*, very nicely reproduced along with other artworks covered in the book, is a highlight). But Ginger's extra-Hispanic readings are not exclusive to the 'Parisian patriarchy'. Rather, a whole slew of mid-century Transatlantic writers and artists – including Walt Whitman, Friedrich Nietzsche, Rosa Bonheur, Julia Margaret Cameron, and Charles Darwin – find themselves in

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 205.

¹¹ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. by G.E.M. Anscombe, 3rd edn (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), pp. 31-32.

all manner of unlikely conjunctions with their Hispanic coevals: Estanislao del Campo, Marià Fortuny, Matilde Diez, José Martínez Sánchez and so on. James McNeill Whistler paints the bombardment of Valparaiso, gauchos misremember the Faust myth; theoretical physics, engineering, brain surgery, *taxidermy* even, also crop up in the book – not to mention all of the many ancient and contemporary concepts and figures that Ginger employs to give critical shape to his primary sources' convergence (thereby further defetishising the cultural autonomy of the mid-century moment).

This superabundance of different allusions and conjunctions serves an important purpose – to model the 'energetic commonality' described in Ginger's introductory chapter – and the resulting synthesis regularly produces startling and provocative insights which will no doubt enter the critical arsenal of comparative literature. By way of a reading of del Campo's satire of transcultural confusion, *Fausto* (1866), Ginger argues that mannerism, thanks to its focus on the *parts* of its subject of portrayal over the full sum, serves to bring artistic representation around to its ostensible opposite, abstraction – a dynamic that in turn indicates the counterintuitive analogues to be found between commonality and difference more broadly. When comparing the performances of the actor, Diez, her photographic portrayal by Juan Laurent, and Martínez Sánchez's photographs of buildings and landmarks, Ginger employs geometry as a descriptive language that exhibits its own temporality and creative character, and which allows for allusions between different labour processes, landforms, and aesthetics in turn. Finally, by way of Lewis Carroll and Julia Margaret Cameron we read that Marxian capital is less a socio-economic process than a 'living allegory', the imposition of a 'vast, global, *sui generis* poetic epic, evincing a violent poetics.'¹² Indeed, I often felt that Ginger could have slowed down with these readings – there are probably enough ideas here for several books – but, of course, the effect of their quick succession and unlikely conjunction serves to illustrate the overall 'energetic commonality' conceit.

In its promise to unearth the forgotten Hispanosphere in modern culture, the book initially appears related to that particular brand of postcolonial criticism, arguably beginning with Edward Said's 'Jane Austen and Empire' (1993), that

¹² Ginger, p. 187.

highlights the obscured international relationships that underpin the art of the metropole. With particular regard to the Hispanic, this school encompasses the likes of David Howarth's *The Invention of Spain* (2008), or Jessie Reeder's *The Forms of Informal Empire* (2020). However, it should by now be apparent that *Instead of Modernity* very quickly shifts toward a more abstract tenor: one by which the Transatlantic culture of the mid-century figures more as a vehicle for the book's body of hypothesised cultural relationships than as a flashpoint of socio-historical and aesthetic coalescence.

It is in this same vein that *Instead of Modernity* contrasts most with a work with which it otherwise compares well: Marshall Berman's *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air* (1982). Despite Ginger's repudiation of the kind of historical rupture suggested in Berman's book, he writes approvingly of his predecessor's global perspective (Berman's neglect of the Hispanic notwithstanding). In this light, 'energetic commonality' can certainly be construed as a wide-ranging and ambitious reconceptualisation of 'modernity' as the cultural phenomenon explored by Berman; but the content of Ginger's book, and the synthesis that this content comes to model, is ultimately less preoccupied with the cumulative socio-economic process of (uneven) *modernisation* that Berman takes care to differentiate from cultural modernity proper. Boggling down Ginger's network of cultural relationships in such material factors would no doubt undermine the sense of energy that his succession of readings gives – and, after all, *Instead of Modernity* is primarily a work of cultural theory – but I would be interested to see a further study that situated 'energetic commonality' in the emergent world economy of which it appears to have been a product. Despite these reservations, *Instead of Modernity* certainly performs an important service by reincorporating the Hispanosphere into modern culture, and by upending simplistic understandings of modernity in turn. The world it portrays is certainly Quixotic, but in the manner stressed by Borges's 'Pierre Menard': as something more fragmentary, more subtle, more incongruous than previously imagined – and 'infinitely richer' for it.¹³



¹³ Jorge Luis Borges, 'Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*', *Fictions*, trans. by Andrew Hurley (London: Penguin, 2000), pp. 33-44 (p. 40).

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Review: Zoë Thomas, *Women Art Workers and the Arts and Crafts Movement* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020) 268pp. ISBN 978-1-5261-4043-2, £80.00.

CÁTIA RODRIGUES

BEFORE ANTHEA CALLEN'S pioneering work, *Angel in the Studio: Women and the Arts and Crafts Movement* (1979), most scholarship on the Arts and Crafts movement centred on William Morris as the leading figure of what was considered a male-dominated movement.

¹ Since Callen's study, more attention has been paid to women's participation in the Arts and Crafts movement, but the tendency has been to focus on the contributions of individual women or on specific crafts.² In *Women Art Workers*, Zoë Thomas builds on a recent critical trend of considering nineteenth-century women and their artistic and literary practices within context – that is, not as isolated, marginalised figures, but as part of collectives and partnerships that contributed to their experiences.³ Through outstanding archival research of personal and professional accounts, and meticulous engagement with previous critical studies of the subject, Thomas examines the Arts and Crafts movement from the perspective of the collective of female artists who helped to bring the

¹ Anthea Callen, *Angel in the Studio: Women and the Arts and Crafts Movement, 1870-1914* (London: Astragal, 1979). See also Fine Art Society, *The Arts and Crafts Movement: Artists, Craftsmen & Designers, 1890-1930* (London: Fine Art Society, 1973), and Holbrook Jackson, *William Morris & the Arts & Crafts* (Berkeley Heights: Oriole Press, 1934).

² For examples of studies which follow this tendency, see Cheryl Buckley, *Potters and Paintresses: Women Designers in the Pottery Industry, 1870-1955* (London: Women's Press, 1990); Pauline Rose, *Working Against the Grain: Women Sculptors in Britain c.1885-1950* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002); Anna Mason, *May Morris: Arts and Crafts Designer* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2017).

³ Zoë Thomas, *Women Art Workers and the Arts and Crafts Movement* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020). See Alison Chapman, *Networking the Nation: British and American Women's Poetry and Italy, 1840-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Lucy Ella Rose, *Suffragist Artists in Partnership: Gender, Word and Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

movement into the public eye. Thomas's mode of inquiry follows a unique path by centring its discussion on the buildings and spaces where these gendered networks formed, thus exploring new views of the women as artistic professionals, of their crafts as entrepreneurial products, and of their practices as evidence of their individual and collective ambitions.

Through *Women Art Workers'* distinctive structure, Thomas invites the reader to navigate through the buildings, spaces, and events that shaped the lives and careers of most of the women involved in the Arts and Crafts movement between 1880 and 1920. The journey begins in chapter one with the places where women convened as a professional, artistic network: 'Clubhouses and Guild Halls'. Adopting a chronological approach from the first, male-exclusive societies, such as the Art Workers' Guild created in 1884, to mixed-gender and female-led clubs, Thomas offers a detailed account of the challenges and successes of women attempting to enter and become equal partners within these halls. These challenges and successes, she points out, lead to the formation of the 'revolutionary' Women's Guild of Arts in 1907.⁴ Thomas deconstructs the perception that, due to the women's lack of interest, Arts and Crafts was a 'male' movement, by demonstrating that women were equally invested in becoming part of the public domain through their artistic work.⁵

In the second chapter, the focus moves to exhibition spaces outside of the clubhouses as Thomas explores how these spaces relate to the women's professional, political, social, and artistic agendas.⁶ This chapter re-emphasises the women's desire to become and be seen as part of the public domain, by focusing on how they used their work to engage with the community, leading to the Englishwoman Exhibition of Arts and Handicrafts in 1911. The discussion, however, is not limited to women's participation in exhibitions. Thomas also addresses their involvement in organising committees and their inclusion in the press response to such exhibitions, offering a thorough account of how the women's works were used to formalise their professional goals.

⁴ Thomas, p. 33.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 33-4.

⁶ Ibid., p. 66.

The following chapters take us back into the buildings where the women's works were produced. In chapter three, Thomas demonstrates the relevance of homes and studios for women's artistic careers by considering domesticity and marriage as a plausible artistic route. By reinforcing the role of the home in terms of women's access to art, Thomas argues that homes provided a unique space for creativity and professional development.⁷ While acknowledging the disparate household experiences of married and unmarried, middle and upper-class women, she demonstrates that domestic partnerships contributed to the idea of the home as a workspace.⁸

Chapter four continues the focus on workspaces, turning our attention to businesses and workshops. Thomas explains how women adopted the practice of the stereotypically masculine 'medieval workshop', thereby revealing their ability to surpass gendered spatial norms.⁹ Another distinctive element in this chapter is the incorporation of the entrepreneurial dimension of Arts and Crafts from the women's perspective – not as consumers, but as designers, makers, and sellers.¹⁰ Whilst this challenges the idea of entrepreneurship as a separate category from artistic professionalism, it also demonstrates how a deeper understanding of artistic entrepreneurship can broaden our perspectives of the women workers' path to professionalisation.¹¹

In chapter five we follow the women as they continue to navigate the public sphere through the movement's involvement with the events of the early twentieth century, such as World War One, and the campaign for women's suffrage. Thomas demonstrates that the women's participation in the public sphere was by no means limited to the occupation of public buildings. Instead, she highlights the strong connection between social and political affairs and Arts and Crafts in this period, thereby reaffirming the position of the women art workers as active contributors to both the public expansion of the movement and to public needs. For instance, following the increasing demand of metal production during the

⁷ Ibid., p. 109.

⁸ Ibid., p. 129.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 156-7.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 151.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 176.

WWI period, E. C. Woodward's metalwork business became the first oxyacetylene workshop for women in 1915, where Woodward trained over a hundred women welders in one year.¹² The adaptation of an Arts and Crafts studio to meet the industrial demands of the war period contributed to the perception of the crafting process as a professional, public service, and of women as crucial actors within the industry.

One limitation of this otherwise comprehensive study is the minimal assessment of how the women's final products, and the materials used to produce them, contributed to the expansion of the collective and its recognition as a professional group. This omission of artistic analysis is, nonetheless, what distinguishes *Women Art Workers* from other studies within the field.¹³ In order to more comprehensively address the public and professional aims of the women's involvement, Thomas justly focuses on the spaces the women occupied rather than the art itself. This is not to say that the women's crafts are completely neglected, as evidenced by the various illustrations incorporated into the discussion. Highlights include the handmade map reflecting the Rope family's artistic and geographic network through the studios they owned across London, and the suffrage protest banners which are illustrative of the connection between the women's works and political matters.¹⁴

Women Art Workers demonstrates how feminist revisionism can recover neglected figures whilst considering the broader context of their experiences. While acknowledging the importance of singular, prominent art workers, Thomas demonstrates that the achievements of the Arts and Crafts movement were also due to a collective of lesser-known figures. Additionally, her concern with broadening our sense of artistic professionalism leads to an expansion of the crafts explored from those more popularly associated with the movement, such as textiles and illustration, to lesser-studied practices, such as woodworking and goldsmithing. The consideration of diverse figures and practices extends to include

¹² Ibid., p. 201.

¹³ For more analysis of the artworks produced, see *Women Artists and the Decorative Arts, 1880-1935: The Gender of Ornament*, ed. by Bridget Elliott and Janice Helland (Farnham: Ashgate, 2002); Imogen Hart, *Arts and Crafts Objects* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

¹⁴ Thomas, p. 137; pp. 185-8.

references to women workers outside England who were involved with the Arts and Crafts movement. While further work is required in reviewing potential ramifications of the movement outside Britain, this is a step forward in unveiling the transnational networks formed within this artistic phenomenon. Thomas's mode of rethinking the movement has set a new trend that will inspire students, teachers, and researchers alike.



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Review: Clare Walker Gore, *Plotting Disability in the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 208pp. ISBN 978-147-445-5015, £80.00.

HANNAH BURY

IN HER RECENT monograph, Clare Walker Gore proposes that disabled characters in Victorian fiction perform important 'work', and are therefore active, rather than passive, in their narrative roles. Rather than simply focusing on their physical appearance as a marker of non-normative embodiment, Walker Gore highlights the various functions that disabled characters have within nineteenth-century literature. This study explores how depictions of disability go beyond plot, characterisation, and metaphor, in order to demonstrate the 'socially constructed and therefore changeable nature of disability as an identity and an experience'.¹ In doing so, it challenges the viewpoint that disability is fixed in its literary representation. Contributing to a rapidly growing area of study, the book examines disability across four chapters using Victorian novels by canonical authors such as Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins, and George Eliot, but also lesser-known authors including Dinah Mulock Craik and Charlotte Yonge. Walker Gore primarily discusses how disability can be interrogated through formal features of text, but also shows an indebtedness to broader contextual understandings, making visible 'the connection between disability as a social identity and disability as incapacity in novelistic characterisation'.²

Structured in this way, *Plotting Disability* builds on the work of other literary disability scholars, including Lennard Davis and Martha Stoddard Holmes, who have 'provided a critical framework within which it is possible to write about disability'.³ This framework concerns how disability as a social identity can be represented through characters in literature. However, Walker Gore departs from previous scholarship because she reads fictional depictions of disability not as

¹ Clare Walker Gore, *Plotting Disability in the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), p. 9.

² Ibid., p. 2.

³ Ibid., p. 6.

'positive representations to be praised and negative ones to be condemned', but 'as historical artefacts that are also aesthetic works', and aims 'above all to demonstrate the value of attending to disability for literary criticism'.⁴ This discussion of disability is grounded in the concept of 'narrative work', which refers to the ability to 'work' in an economically productive sense.⁵ Walker Gore takes advantage of the slippage between 'disabled' and 'dis/abled' throughout, arguing that disabled characters in Victorian novels are 'marked by physical difference that defines them in the social world'.⁶ Disabled characters are still powerful despite their marginalisation, as they compensate for a lack of able-bodied 'work' by performing other important roles, such as narrative 'work'. The term 'plotting' thus refers to a way of 'charting the positioning of disabled characters' in a narrative.⁷ Through analysis of the individual roles of disabled characters, this study makes clear how their positioning 'has shaped the critical reception of nineteenth-century novels in hitherto unacknowledged ways'.⁸

In the first chapter, on the work of Charles Dickens, Walker Gore posits that marginalised, minor characters are used to represent disability: 'We know upon meeting a minor character in Dickens that they *are* minor because their bodies betray them as such'.⁹ The chapter argues that minor characters operate on two levels. First, they are highlighted through 'normalcy', a term first defined by Lennard Davis to show the ubiquity of disability by juxtaposing it with the 'normal'. Second, marginalised characters resist normalcy: they 'pull our attention *away* from the ostensible centres of Dickens's novels, and in doing so, disrupt the social and moral agenda their main plot-lines serve'.¹⁰ In asserting that non-normative bodies critique their marginalisation, Walker Gore attributes greater agency to disabled characters in comparison to earlier critics who focus on the pity and

⁴ Ibid., pp. 6, 13.

⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 2-3.

⁷ Ibid., p. 4.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 23-4.

ridicule directed towards characters within novels.¹¹ It is also pleasing to see a move away from Tiny Tim as a repeatedly analysed disabled character. While this chapter is ambitious in scope – containing readings of five texts in total in an effort to deliver ‘a degree of critical nuance’ – the quality of the analysis is not compromised.¹² The interpretation of Little Nell in *The Old Curiosity Shop* is a memorable highlight, in which Walker Gore interrogates the cultural spectacle of the ‘freak’ and the freak show, a nineteenth-century phenomenon popularised by P. T. Barnum.¹³

Chapter two compares the ‘correspondingly liminal state’ of disabled characters in the work of Wilkie Collins to that of Dickens, outlining how Collins uses the sensationalist plot to ‘destabilise the categories by which we read bodies’.¹⁴ The discussion of the intersections between gender and disability is a strength of the chapter, particularly in the analysis of Collins’s *Poor Miss Finch*. In this case, disability is central rather than marginal. Lucilla, who has a visual impairment, is not excluded from the marriage plot, but rather participates in it despite her disability. It is also in this chapter that Walker Gore brings together two main themes of her study: ‘disability’ and ‘plotting’, as she explores how disabled characters are used to unravel mystery at the level of the sensationalist plot and have the agency to ‘work’ within an ableist society.

Walker Gore turns her attention to the domestic fiction of Charlotte Yonge and Dinah Mulock Craik in chapter three, examining three novels by each writer respectively. She argues that disability motivates their marriage plots, which allows for disabled characters ‘to take centre-stage’.¹⁵ The chapter is a welcome addition because it illuminates the work of Yonge and Craik as largely forgotten women writers, and makes visible the intersections between disability and gender by focusing on feminine roles such as marriage and motherhood. Craik and Yonge’s

¹¹ See for example Stanley Wainapel, ‘Dickens and Disability’, *Disability and Rehabilitation*, 18 (1996), 629-632 and Ann Dowker, ‘The Treatment of Disability in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Children’s Literature’, *Disability Studies Quarterly*, 24 (2004).

¹² Walker Gore, p. 6.

¹³ For a recent discussion on the nineteenth-century freak show, see Helen Davies, *Neo-Victorian Freakery: The Cultural Afterlife of the Victorian Freak Show* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

¹⁴ Walker Gore, pp. 14, 77.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

disabled female characters are central to marriage plots as they are able to 'set the terms on which marriage relates to the formation of the family'.¹⁶ Walker Gore explores the connections between nineteenth-century gender and disability in more detail in a recently published chapter in *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Disability*.¹⁷

The final chapter examines a critical turn in the 'plotting' of disability through a comparative study of George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* and *Daniel Deronda*, and Henry James's *The Portrait of a Lady* and *The Wings of the Dove*. Walker Gore shows how late-nineteenth-century writers departed from realist narrative plots, as represented by Eliot, in order to respond to modernist themes of decline during the *fin de siècle*. In particular, the chapter identifies a key difference between Eliot and James in terms of their literary representation. While Eliot's depictions develop 'crucial moral qualities of sympathy and selflessness' in relation to disabled characters, James presents a 'grimmer reworking' of Eliot's sentimental approach.¹⁸ According to Walker Gore, James delivers a 'damning verdict', using disabled characters to represent hopelessness and to show how disability is 'unfit for purpose in the modern world'.¹⁹ One strength of this chapter is the way in which the analyses are contextualised; the links back to previous chapters achieve a macro 'plotting' of disability, despite their extensive variation in terms of author, topic, and genre. Further, Walker Gore's linguistic choices must be praised here, as her discussion of disability in this chapter refers back to the 'ability' to perform labour that she foregrounds in the introduction. For instance, *The Mill on the Floss's* Philip Wakeham is a character who in many ways remains marginal to the marriage plot. However, Walker Gore uses 'work'-orientated metaphors to describe his narrative position in relation to the character of Maggie; he is not 'a tool in her moral development' or 'a cog in the machine of her story' but a meaningful character that produces narrative 'work' in his own right.²⁰ This

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 162.

¹⁷ See "'Of wonderful use to everyone": Disability and the Marriage Plot in the Nineteenth-Century Novel', in *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Disability*, ed. by Alice Hall (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 120-31.

¹⁸ Walker Gore, *Plotting Disability in the Nineteenth-Century Novel*, pp. 16, 17.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 181.

is an implicit, yet effective, mode of writing that both reinforces her central connection between disability and dis/ability and the way that these differences are 'plotted'.

At the end of her study, Walker Gore asserts the continued relevance of her chosen texts: 'The disabled characters of the Victorian novel have gone on working [...] well into our own time'.²¹ Rejecting a 'hierarchical reading practice' in which fictional characters are treated as though they are real people, Walker Gore offers a more nuanced approach. Although it would have been pleasing to see some consideration of intellectual disability, an area that is largely overlooked in the field, this book will broaden the scope of future work on this subject.²² Above all, it reinforces the importance of formal questions relating to characterisation and plot in analysing representations of disability. Her investigation thus offers a well-rounded study of disability in Victorian literature, supporting efforts within the field to 'permanently change the academic conversation to include disability'.²³



BIOGRAPHY: Hannah Bury is a second-year PhD student at the University of Salford. Her interdisciplinary doctoral project analyses intersectional representations of femininity, madness, and disability in Nineteenth-Century children's literature and Disney film adaptation. Hannah has recently published an article in a special issue of *Brontë Studies*, and she has a book chapter forthcoming in the edited collection entitled *Gender and Female Villains in Twenty-First Century Fairy Tale Narratives* (Bingley: Emerald Publishing, 2022).

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²¹ Ibid., p. 235.

²² Scholars including Mark Osteen in *Autism and Representation* (London: Routledge, 2008) and Alice Hall in *Literature and Disability* (2016) call for broader representations on intellectual disability. However, Lennard Davis's forthcoming *The Disability Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 2022) will include a section of essays that focuses on this specific subject.

²³ Walker Gore, p. 13.

Review: Jennifer Beauvais, *Domesticated Bachelors and Femininity in Victorian Novels* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2020), 198pp. ISBN 978-0-7864-6036-6, \$49.95.

TRACY HAYES

IN THIS ENTERTAINING monograph, Jennifer Beauvais promises a re-evaluation of nineteenth-century masculinity, the concept of separate spheres, and gender performativity. Beauvais demonstrates how the domesticated bachelor achieves freedom by creating a domestic space that does not require a female presence: he reconfigures the private sphere through feminine discourse while maintaining a masculine image in public through his status as a man-about-town. The chosen texts for re-evaluation include Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya*, Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*, Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret*, George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, and Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, each of which provide excellent opportunities for interrogating nineteenth-century constructions of gender. In the tradition of John Tosh, Beauvais asks if the nature of the gentleman is natural or learned, and observes that living both inside and outside of social circles provides the bachelor figure with a unique perspective on society and social mores.¹ However, her unique contribution to the field is to identify such discursive categories as the 'gentleman actress', an original articulation of Victorian masculinity unexplored before this publication.

Beauvais's first chapter is entitled 'Male Models', and discusses 'performance and transformation' in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* and Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya*.² Beauvais notes that the doubling of the female self onto male characters is common throughout both *Zofloya* and *Wuthering Heights*.

¹ See John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), and *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005).

² Jennifer Beauvais, *Domesticated Bachelors and Femininity in Victorian Novels* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2020), p. 19.

Catherine Earnshaw's demonic double is Heathcliff, Victoria's is Zofloya. Beauvais observes that both female characters marry feminised men, but that the 'female demon cannot contain herself within the domestic realm and is unable to maintain her performance'. Therefore, both Victoria and Catherine return to their 'true natures' with the aid of their 'demonic doubles'.³ It is surprising that there is no mention of Angela Wright's seminal *Gothic Fiction* (2007), as Beauvais makes a point of separating the Male Gothic from the Female Gothic. Wright points out that to 'argue for a continuous "Female Gothic" tradition [...] is over-simplified in its neglect of different literary discourses and different contexts'.⁴ Beauvais's approach, restricting texts to the classification of 'male' or 'female' Gothic, seems somewhat reductive in light of Wright's study, as it ignores the 'multiplicity of possibilities in exploring gender in the Gothic'.⁵

'Between the Spheres' (Chapter Two) investigates the 'dual natures' of Robert and Louis Moore in Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*. Beauvais argues that there is gender confusion among the characters throughout the novel due to women such as Shirley proposing 'masculine' perspectives on marriage. Additionally, Beauvais notes, Shirley engages with the public sphere while characters such as the three curates at the beginning of the novel are feminised through 'their participation in feminine discourse'.⁶ The position of these curates in society situates them as inhabiting the public sphere, yet as Beauvais observes, Brontë presents them as 'the unproductive, uninvited and rowdy visitors to the private sphere of the parlour'.⁷ She comments that these parlour-based activities are 'deemed non-active, futile, and without purpose or end-product, qualities that are in opposition to the concept of Victorian masculinity'.⁸ Beauvais links these activities with the well-known figure of the Victorian old maid – 'redundant, useless and parasitical'.⁹ A less convincing idea proposed by Beauvais in this chapter is

³ Ibid., p. 37.

⁴ Angela Wright, *Gothic Fiction: A Reader's Guide to Essential Criticism* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 129.

⁵ Ibid., p. 129.

⁶ Beauvais, p. 38.

⁷ Ibid., p. 39.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., p. 50.

that of the 'performance' of bourgeois masculinity by working class men. She relates how 'the working-man's tendency to over-perform in his role as middle-class man suggests a dangerous tendency to become a spectacle', and that performance and spectacle belong to the feminine.¹⁰ This statement would benefit from further elucidation.

In Chapter Three, 'The Domesticated Gentleman in *Lady Audley's Secret*', Beauvais notes that Robert Audley is 'an effeminate bachelor and struggling detective' in the mode of Wilkie Collins' heroines. However, curiously, she goes on to claim that Braddon is credited with founding the sensation genre despite Collins's *The Woman in White* being published three years earlier in 1859. Beauvais makes the superb point that Robert's refusal to conform to certain examples of manhood such as 'the aristocrat, the military man, or the sportsman, results in his alienation from the male community', and that aside from his 'intimate friendship with George, Robert is unable to perform his way into male circles, and eventually he no longer wishes to do so'.¹¹ She also notes how Robert's 'childlike inability to imagine himself or George married reveals a naïve effeminacy that lacks sexual prowess' - a factor all too obvious in Robert's dealings with the *femme fatale* Lucy Audley.¹² Another notable observation by Beauvais is that while Lucy's inherited insanity has been analysed in great depth, investigation into Robert's mental state, which is also brought into question during the novel, is lacking. This contribution illustrates the importance of including both masculinity and femininity when discussing social conventions of gender, for they cannot be treated exclusively of each other. While Beauvais's claim about the dandy, with reference to Robert Audley, is that it is an outdated model of masculinity at this time, sporting 'turned-down collars, French novels, laziness, and eccentric behaviour', she might also have considered how during this time both Charles Dickens and Benjamin Disraeli had each cultivated the figure of the dandy, and though perhaps eccentric, they were far from lazy.¹³

¹⁰ Beauvais, pp. 51-52.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 72.

¹² Ibid., pp. 72, 82.

¹³ Ibid., p. 72.

'Domesticated Theatricality' (Chapter Four) deals with Daniel Deronda's racial otherness, and what Beauvais terms 'the gentleman actress'.¹⁴ Daniel, Grandcourt and Klesmer all 'perform' in the capacity of 'gentleman actresses', a performance which links them with effeminacy. Beauvais claims that the male as 'spectacle or dandy' enters mid-Victorian literature specifically in *Daniel Deronda*, and that the use of 'the physical body as an artistic canvas is usually associated with the feminine', revealing 'a unique amalgamation of the actress and the gentleman'.¹⁵ Beauvais claims that 'Deronda positions himself in a variety of female roles as an act of sympathy', in effect becoming those females, means he is 'the quintessential actress even surpassing the female performers themselves'.¹⁶ An alternative reading could mean that Deronda is in fact imposing the very gender conventions he is seemingly seeking to liberate both Gwendolyn and Mirah from.

The final two chapters of Beauvais' monograph are by far the strongest. 'Men Gone Wild' makes interesting links between the figure of the author and the figure of the prostitute, as both sell pleasure to a consumer construed as non-selective and passive. In Beauvais's analysis, 'the delicate balance between the public and private spheres' is a path trodden by both parties. Beauvais also points out that the absence of female characters in *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* emphasises the fluidity and mutability of the version of masculinity represented by male professionals who are all bachelors.¹⁷ What Beauvais perceives as Hyde's adaptability and his adeptness at performance are central tenets of this thesis as a whole. It must be remembered that any performance of gender by an individual is what grants that individual freedom of movement between the public and the private, with the adoption of both the masculine and the feminine allowing for the negotiation of a presence that is at once both attractive and repulsive, disrupting societal conventions in the pursuit of uninhibited pleasure. This is also evident in Wilde's treatise on aestheticism through the character of Dorian Gray which Beauvais discusses in chapter six. According to Beauvais Dorian represents the 'dandy in decline', a Victorian

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 93.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 94.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 123.

gentleman bachelor who is 'expected to follow his senses and indulge in pleasure', and she points out that Dorian's corruption and 'dark desires' have no place in the public sphere, they can only be 'played out in private', to the point where he 'can no longer distinguish life from art'.¹⁸ Beauvais notes that Lord Henry, too, is aware of 'the constant theatricality of life' and the 'roles that people play', and makes the salient point that Dorian in the figure of the dandy 'functions as commodity while rejecting conformity', for he is both spectator and performer, living 'inside and outside' the separate spheres.¹⁹

The bibliography does not list any publication later than 2008, leaving over a decade of publications on masculinities unaddressed, such as Todd Reeser's *Masculinities in Theory* (2010) and Stefan Horlacher (ed.) *Constructions of Masculinity in British Literature From the Middle-Ages to the Present* (2011). However, through her identification of such unique articulations of masculinity as 'the male actress', and pointing to the fact that a lack of female characters in a novel can emphasise the fluidity and mutability of masculinities as experienced throughout the nineteenth century, Jennifer Beauvais has made an original contribution to the study of gender performativity. Her demonstration of Dorian Gray as Dandy, both spectator and performer, provides a particularly fruitful avenue for further research. Beauvais's book is a useful addition to masculinity studies, an area of research that is in need of expansion.



BIOGRAPHY: Tracy Hayes received her PhD in 2017 with a thesis investigating masculinity in the novels of Thomas Hardy. She is the Secretary and Website/Social Media Director for the Thomas Hardy Society and regularly organizes conferences and study days. Having presented papers on Hardy, M.R. James and Edgar Allan Poe at numerous conferences throughout the UK, Dr Hayes has also published in various journals including the DNHAS, Palgrave Communications, RRR, Merry Meet, Victorian Popular Fiction Association and Short Fiction Studies. Her current research centres around representations of Gothic masculinity in the short stories of Poe, Hardy and M.R. James.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 159-160.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 158, 167.

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Review: Sally Bushell, *Reading and Mapping Fiction: Spatialising the Literary Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020) 336pp. ISBN 978-1-108-48745-0, £75.00.

SOPHIE WELSH

WITHIN THE FIELD of space and place studies, recent critical attention has turned towards the relations between literature and geography, and the historical transformation of literary and cartographic practices.¹ The long-nineteenth century has tended to be the era which has received the most critical attention within this scholarly field, due to the rapid development of the novel as a literary form and the acceleration of cartographic practices within this period.² In her 2020 monograph, *Reading and Mapping Fiction: Spatialising the Literary Text*, Sally Bushell introduces a methodology for discussing the development of the fictional map within its specific cartographic context across this period. Bushell's work builds, in particular, on the methodological approaches of Robert Tally, Emmanuelle Peraldo and Anders Engberg-Pedersen, opening up new ways of reading fictional maps and of mapping fictions.³

Bushell begins with what she claims is a 'simple question': 'to what extent do we map as we read?', immediately followed by a more complex one: 'How essential a part of the experience of a literary work is the way in which we spatialise,

¹ Robert T. Tally Jr., 'Series Editor's Preface,' in *Literary Cartographies: Spatiality, Representation, and Narrative*, ed. by Robert T. Tally Jr. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. ix-x.

² See, for example: Sarah Wylie, *Mapping with Words: Anglo-Canadian Literary Cartographies, 1789-1916* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018); Helena Michie and Ronald R. Thomas, *Nineteenth-Century Geographies: The Transformation of Space from the Victorian Age to the American Century* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003); Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1998); Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1997).

³ Sally Bushell, *Reading and Mapping Fiction: Spatialising the Literary Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 3. See also: Emmanuelle Peraldo, *Literature and Geography: The Writing of Space throughout History* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016); Anders Engberg-Pedersen, *Literature and Cartography: Theories, Histories, Genres* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2017).

and visualise the place and space of the fictional world?' Bushell sets out to comprehensively answer these questions, examining the relationship between map and text as 'part of the totality of meaning for the literary work'.⁴ Bushell takes the emergence of the fictional map that appeared alongside various texts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries — including adventure and spy fiction, detective novels, children's literature, and fantasy works — to interrogate the centrality of space to our experience of literature in the twenty-first century. The focus is tightly centred on representations of imaginary place and space, on an author's mapping of that imaginative space as an integral part of composition, and on the reader's own integration of map and text.

Bushell's work opens with a discussion of critical theory through the progression of such elusive terms as literary geography, literary cartography, geocriticism, and critical literary mapping. Previous studies have tended to skip this step, and instead prioritise the literary context. Franco Moretti's *Atlas of the European Novel*, for example, begins, after a brief introduction on its genesis, by mapping the estates of Jane Austen's novels, and its critical discussions are interspersed throughout the monograph in six 'Theoretical Interludes'.⁵ Bushell instead prioritises a theoretical interrogation, dedicating the first chapter to tracing the critical developments in the study of fictional maps since the post-war period. In doing so, Bushell opens up the rhetorical questioning of the study, once again moving from the deceptively simple (what is a map?) to the more complicated ('How do we address a juxtaposed visual-verbal relationship within a predominantly verbal form?').⁶ Considering that this is a field that has struggled to be united under a singular umbrella term, Bushell does an adept job of articulating the distinctions, for instance, between the studies of literary geography and literary cartography. The goal of her study is not to offer a new definition, but to select the most useful definitions from those already established and apply them throughout her own analyses.

The most original contribution to the field of critical literary mapping comes in the second chapter, in which Bushell situates the development of the fictional

⁴ Bushell, p. 1; *Ibid.*

⁵ Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1998), p. 11.

⁶ Bushell, p. 36.

map from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries alongside major turning points in the history of cartography. Bushell highlights what nineteenth-century fictional maps owed to pre-existing examples in a 'lineage for fictional maps', and establishes the study's methodology of reading such maps alongside the developments of cartography in each historical moment.⁷ In an innovative move, Bushell illuminates the extent to which authors drew on real-world cartographic processes in the composition of their fictional spaces and maps, asserting that fictional maps are 'subject to the same shifts in process and practice in the world' as real-world maps.⁸ This dual application of literary and cartographic histories makes for a captivating and persuasive interpretation of the development of the nineteenth-century map across genres in the chapters that follow. This is facilitated by a dissection of the development of cartography at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in particular an acceleration of precision in the mapping of nation and Empire.

In the central four chapters, Bushell puts her methodology into practice. Chapter three offers a detailed reading of the maps in Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*; chapter four considers the emergence of detective fiction in relation to real-world crimes and how mapping within newspapers influenced fictional representations; chapter five examines the spatial dimensions of children's fiction and how the explicit presence of the map in many canonical texts signals the prominence of space and place for the genre; and chapter six asserts the significance of the map for fantasy literature in the process of creative composition. The literary-cartographic analysis within these chapters interrogates the historical context of the respective maps and fictional works to be found within each emergent and evolving genre, such that a scholar interested in any one of these genres would find new ways of reading these texts. Bushell places an emphasis on imaginative space as an integral part of the composition of these new forms of literature and cogently draws together conceptions of space within each temporal moment.

One critique of Bushell's work up to this point is that, as a study which purportedly examines the emergence of the map in the nineteenth century, it

⁷ Ibid., p. 56.

⁸ Ibid., p. 44.

ignores the predominant genre of the mid-Victorian period, the realist novel, until the seventh chapter of the monograph. The reason presumably lies in the fact that it is easier to analyse something which is present, than it is to analyse a general absence. As Bushell herself concedes, 'maps occur so frequently in *popular* genres but extremely infrequently in *canonical* texts, especially the realist novel'.⁹ The penultimate chapter is thus spent in addressing two central questions. First, what can the absence of fictional maps tell us about the realist genre? And, 'where such maps *do* occur [in realist fiction], how do they function?'.¹⁰ Bushell focuses on the writer and the reader of fictional maps to reach her conclusion: fictional maps are internalised by the writer in the process of composition and by the reader in the process of consumption, and these processes occur even when fictional maps are absent.

Bushell offers both pragmatic and theoretical reasons for the absence of maps in realist literature. First, the cost and impracticality of reproducing maps in serial publications meant that publishers and editors were unlikely to desire fictional maps to accompany realist novels. Second, the theoretical reasons relate to the artistic perception of fictional maps in the nineteenth century, in particular the concerns around the 'inability of visual representation to adequately correspond to the richness and depth of the verbal (and thus the danger of *reduction*)', and an 'anxiety about the effect of visual representation alongside the verbal on the internal mental actions of the *reader*'.¹¹ Bushell expertly refutes these concerns, arguing that fictional maps do not reduce or interfere with a reader's perception of a literary text; rather they aid and enhance the reader's internal cartography.

Having examined the reasons for the absence of maps in most realist texts, she then turns to two realist authors who did include fictional maps in their works: Anthony Trollope and Thomas Hardy. Trollope and Hardy's continual return to the same fictional regions, Barchester and Wessex respectively, necessitated fictional maps that enabled readers to piece together the geographical intertextuality across each author's oeuvre. Bushell considers the presence of the map in texts

⁹ Ibid., p. 239, emphases in original.

¹⁰ Ibid., emphasis in original.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 245, emphases in original.

which are fundamentally interested in spatial frameworks and convincingly argues that these writers offer, through their maps, an enriched experience of fictional landscapes that would not be possible through text alone.

Throughout this study, Bushell takes the marginal (in this case, the map) and makes it central, expanding our understanding of what a literary work should be considered to be. One of the major achievements of this approach is the way that Bushell cuts across genres and situates the fictional map within its historical context. The final chapter also moves beyond a sole theoretical focus on spatial studies and would appeal to any scholar interested in the Digital Humanities. As this subject is introduced in the very final section of the last chapter, there is not enough space for Bushell to fully integrate her discussion of digital literary cartography into the rest of the study's methodology, but she nevertheless lays the theoretical groundwork for future digital scholarship. As such, this monograph offers an innovative method for understanding the literature and maps of the long-nineteenth century, original ways of reading the century's new and dominant genres, an explanation of what happens to us when we encounter maps in novels as readers, and a guide to the possibilities of future digital humanities projects.



BIOGRAPHY: Sophie Welsh is the recipient of a Collaborative Doctoral Award from the South West and Wales Doctoral Training Partnership (AHRC) in collaboration with Dorset Museum and Dorset History Centre. Her PhD project examines cultures of cartography in the works of the novelist and poet Thomas Hardy, investigating the ways in which historic and contemporary forms of mapping informed the way Hardy wrote about and constructed his fictional landscapes. Sophie is a Postgraduate Representative for the Centre for Victorian Studies at the University of Exeter and a Research & Editorial Assistant for COVE (the Collaborative Organization for Virtual Education).

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Issue 5 Call for Submissions



Call for Submissions:

Radical Thinking in the Long Nineteenth Century

To be radical is to be 'characterized by independence of or departure from what is usual or traditional; progressive, unorthodox, or innovative in outlook, conception, design' (OED n.7).

The long nineteenth century is often characterised in terms of reform – as an era defined by Abolition, Factory Acts, and the growth of democracy. Nevertheless, we might consider reform efforts to be the tip of the iceberg, as the period saw a wealth of radical thinkers, makers, and activists – from Mary Wollstonecraft to William Morris – looking outside of, or beyond, social, political and cultural norms in all areas of life. Following the work of Leela Gandhi in *Affective Communities* (2006), this issue is interested not only in those who garnered large followings, or made a measurable impact on society with their ideas and attitudes. Of equal interest here are those whose ideas were characterised by what Gandhi calls 'immaturity', whose sparks of radicalism are not always recognised in overarching narratives of progress.

Faced with crises, social problems, and a rapidly modernising world, what radical ideas and solutions were proposed in the nineteenth century? To what extent do these ideas speak to our own times? Victorian Studies, too, is undergoing a moment of major change as long-standing conventions are unsettled and challenged. This issue of *Romance, Revolution and Reform* is thus also keen to showcase radical approaches to the period, as well as papers which challenge dominant readings of figures and events.

Papers of between 4,000 and 8,000 words are invited on the broad theme of radical thinking in (or about) the long nineteenth century (1789-1914). We welcome papers from disciplines across the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences and from scholars at any stage in their academic careers.

Topics may include, but are not limited to:

- Radical connections across class, national, racial, or religious boundaries
- Transgression from social norms around gender and/or sexuality
- Non-traditional configurations of household and family
- Unorthodox ways of living; new communities
- Radical affects; feeling differently
- Innovations in modes of expression, aesthetics, genre
- Progressive movements and campaigns; (proto)feminism, anti-Imperialism
- Radical Liberalism; Socialism; Anarchism Utopias; future imaginaries
- Radical afterlives of nineteenth-century ideas or works
- Environmentalism; approaching the natural world differently
- Innovations in language, communication, publishing practices
- New perspectives on radical figures
- Radical scholarly approaches to the long nineteenth century

The closing date for submissions is Sunday 24th April 2022
To submit a paper, please email rrr@soton.ac.uk

Afterword

EMMA HILLS, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

WHEN, IN AUGUST 2020, I wrote the call for submissions for *Romance, Revolution and Reform's* 'Transnationalism in the Long-Nineteenth Century' conference, I will be the first to admit that I had high hopes for what would come not only from that conference, but from this issue too. I am delighted to say that all my hopes have been more than realised in the publication of this fantastic issue which you are reading now.

January's conference brought together a myriad of scholars and participants from across the world, including from India, France, Denmark, Norway, Italy, Saudi Arabia, Russia, Bangladesh, Algeria, Iraq, Indonesia, Canada and the USA. Additionally, Professor Corinne Fowler gave a fascinating, and very pertinent keynote speech; and delegates drew new cross-continental connections between their research and so created new networks. The aim of that conference was not only to showcase excellent transnational research, but to facilitate transnational working in determined defiance of a global Coronavirus pandemic which had isolated us from each other. I believe we succeeded.

This issue builds on that aim. As well as publishing our usual cohort of reviews and scholarly articles, it was paramount that we continued the thread that began with our alt-ac keynote speech in January. To this end, we also commissioned a thought piece from Christo Kefalas (Global and Inclusive Histories Curator for the National Trust) which explores and details the application of transnational research – such as the excellent examples here – beyond academia. As a result, within this issue's virtual pages, we are delighted to have published high-quality, eloquent, fascinating articles, which bring together a range of disciplines, approaches, source materials, and authors. For this outstanding achievement, all of our authors should receive many congratulations. So, to Helena Drysdale, Christo Kefalas, Kathy Rees, Victoria C. Roskams, Olivia Tjon-A-Meeuw, Daniel Jenkin-Smith, Cátia Rodrigues, Hannah Bury, Tracy Hayes, and Sophie Welsh, thank you for all your excellent work, your patience, and your commitment to creating such a wonderful issue, and, most importantly, many congratulations!

But it is, of course, not only the authors' work which makes the publication of this issue possible. Throughout the publication of every issue, our dedicated and diligent editorial board assist our senior editorial team by reading, reviewing and copy-

editing our articles. To all of the board members past and present who have had a hand in editing this issue: Aude Campmas, Megen De Bruin-Molé, Aaron Eames, Trish Ferguson, Roger Hansford, Johanna Harrison, Katie Holdway, Francesco Izzo, Will Kitchen, Olivia Krauze, Clare Merivale, Beth Mills, Nikita Mujumdar, Anisha Netto, Cleo O'Callaghan Yeoman, Chris Prior, Michelle Reynolds, Ellen Smith, Claudia Sterbini, Zack White, Fern Pullan and Stephen Edwards, thank you. This issue absolutely would not have been possible without you. Once again, in the face of the pandemic, you have ensured that this Journal remains a high-quality PGR-Led, Open Access publication, and most importantly, a friendly and supportive space for authors from all stages in their academic careers to publish their work.

The publication of this issue also marks the end of my tenure as Editor-in-Chief, a role which I have greatly enjoyed and which I will remember extremely fondly. But it also marks the end of the tenure of our founding Lead Academic Editor, Emeritus Professor Mary Hammond. Since the inauguration of the journal and throughout its life since, Mary's belief in our Journal, her wisdom, and her advice have been completely invaluable. Mary has helped and supported the editorial team day-in and day-out, whenever was needed and this journal simply wouldn't exist without her. From everyone on the board, thank you. I would also like to personally thank Mary for always supporting and encouraging me in this venture. From suggesting I apply to join the board, to encouraging me to become Editor-in-Chief, to accommodating this mad but wonderful creature during the rest of my thesis, thank you.

With Mary and I outgoing, we mark a new era in the life of the journal. So, I am delighted to welcome Gemma Holgate as the next Editor-in-Chief with Dr Chris Prior stepping into the role of Lead Academic Editor, and Olivia Krauze as new Deputy Editor. Chris and Olivia, you have both always been dedicated members of the editorial board, and I wish you the very best in your new roles: there is no one better suited to fill them than you.

Before I close, I have a two more people to thank, without whom this issue would not have been published. Firstly, I would like to thank my predecessor Katie Holdway. Katie is a great friend and was a fantastic Editor-in-Chief and mentor. It is because of her hard work and labour both in issue 3, and (with Zack White) since the inauguration of the Journal, that I have been able to achieve my aims with this issue. Thank you, Katie, for your unending patience.

Lastly, and most importantly, I want to thank Gemma. Gemma has been an outstanding Deputy Editor who has worked unceasingly not only to produce the excellent reviews in this issue, but to find peer reviewers, organise the 'Radical Roundtables Event', and generally provide daily advice and support whenever it was needed. Gemma, you will be an absolutely fantastic Editor-in-Chief and I cannot wait to see what new heights the Journal will reach under your tenure. Good luck!

13th December 2021