Notes

Introduction

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7. James Chandler, *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. xvi.
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14. 'The Natural History of German Life', in Rosemary Ashton, ed., *George Eliot: Selected Critical Writings* (Oxford World's Classics, 1992), pp. 260–95 (p. 284).
15. William Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, quoted in John Burrow, 'Images of Time: from Carlylean Vulcanism to Sedimentary Gradualism', in Stefan Collini, Richard Whatmore, and Brian Young, eds., *History, Religion, and Culture: British Intellectual History, 1750–1950* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 198–223 (p. 218).
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17. 'Mr Bright, M. P., on Parliamentary Reform', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 9 October, p. 11.
18. §55, ll. 5–8, in *Tennyson's Poetry*, ed. Robert W. Hill Jr. (London: Norton, 1999), p. 237.
19. 'London. Saturday, November 14, 1857', *The Times*, 14 November 1857, p. 6.
20. Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Character and Conduct* (London: Murray, 1859), p. 314.
21. 'Adam Bede', *Saturday Review*, 26 February, pp. 250–51 (p. 250).
22. [Caroline Norton], 'Adam Bede and Scenes of Clerical Life', *Edinburgh Review*, 110, pp. 223–246 (p. 246).
23. 'Adam Bede', *The Bath Chronicle*, 17 November, p. 6.
24. 'Literature', *Glasgow Herald*, 19 April, p. 4.
25. [John Chapman], 'Adam Bede', *Westminster Review*, 71, pp. 486–512 (p. 486).
26. George Eliot to John Blackwood; 4 January, in *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. Gordon S. Haight, 9 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954–1978), III, p. 3.
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28. Zoe Alker and Christopher Donaldson, 'Digital Heritage', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 23 (2018), pp. 220–21 (p. 220).
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1 How It Begins

1. Ben Wilson, *HeyDay: The 1850s and the Dawn of the Global Age* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2016), p. xvi.
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4. Robert Hanbury, Jr., and Stephen Cave, Honorary Secretaries of the Reformatory and Refuge Union, 'Our Homeless Poor', *Daily News*, 6 January, p. 5.
5. William Driver', 'Homeless Poor', *Daily News*, 15 January, p. 5.
6. Henry Silver's Diary, 'Nights at the Round Table', British Library, Add MS 88937/2/13.
7. 'The Homeless Poor', *Punch*, 22 January, p. 35.
8. *The Times*, 3 January, p. 6.
9. 'Preface', *Beeton's Book of Household Management, edited by Mrs Isabella Beeton*, part 1, November 1859, p. 1.
10. *Punch*, 22 January, p. 47.
11. 'The 2 Great Questions of the Day', *Punch*, 22 January, p. 47.
12. 'Suicide in St James's Park', *Daily News*, 7 January, p. 2.
13. 'The Late Determined Suicide in St James's Park', *Daily Telegraph*, 11 January, p. 7.
14. 'The Late Suicide in St James's Park', *Daily News*, 10 January, p. 2.
15. *The Times*, 1 January, p. 2.
16. 'The Fatal Accident at the Polytechnic Institution', *The Times*, 25 January, p. 8.
17. 'The Catastrophe at the Polytechnic Institution', *The Standard*, 7 January, p. 6.
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19. 'Our Defiance to Tyrwhitt', *Punch*, 22 January, p. 40.
20. 'London, Saturday, Jan. 8', *Daily News*, 8 January, p. 4.
21. 'Reformatories and Places of Refuge', *Daily News*, 10 January, p. 2.
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23. Debate on 'Gallery of National Portraits', 4 March 1856, Hansard, §§ 1774, 1780, 1783.
24. Charles Eastlake quoted in Earl Stanhope, 'Gallery of National Portraits', 4 March 1856, Hansard, §1780.
25. Details of early portraits are accessed on www.npg.org.uk/collections/
26. Robin Francis, 'Introduction', in Tarnya Cooper, ed., *National Portrait Gallery: A Portrait of Britain* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2014), pp. 8–23 (p. 11).
27. 'Fine Arts: The National Portrait Gallery', *Daily News*, 17 January, p. 2.
28. This was won by Isa Craig and was much celebrated in the *English Woman's Journal*, to which Craig was a contributor.
29. Minutes of Trustee meetings, vol. 1, 1857–1866, 25th Meeting, 20 January, p. 82.
30. The Earl of Carnarvon, 'Gallery of National Portraits', 4 March 1856, Hansard, §1787.
31. Alex Rosenberg argues in *How History Gets Things Wrong: The Neuroscience of Our Addiction to Stories* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018) that it is almost universally accepted that learning the history of something – the true story of

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how it came about – is one way to understand it. The problem, according to Rosenberg, is that the 'explanations of narrative history get almost everything wrong, and the consequences are more often than not harmful' (p. 34).
32. 'Mr Bright's Reform Bill', *The Times*, 19 January, p. 9.
33. 'The Moral of the Bradford Speech', *Saturday Review*, 22 January, p. 85.
34. 'The Reform Bill and the Government', *The Times*, 28 January, p. 7.
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36. Derek Beales, 'An International Crisis: The Italian Question', in Philip Appleman, William A. Madden, and Michael Wolff, eds., *1859: Entering an Age of Crisis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959), pp. 181–96 (p. 181).
37. 'France', *The Times*, 4 January, p. 8.
38. 'Italy', *The Times*, 8 January, p. 10.
39. 'The Rumours of War', *Saturday Review*, 1 January, p. 4; 'London, Saturday, January 1, 1859', *The Times*, 1 January, p. 6.
40. 'Italy', *The Times*, 8 January, p. 10.
41. *Illustrated London News*, 15 January, p. 58.
42. Charles C. F. Greville, Esq., *A Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria from 1852–1860*, ed. Henry Reeve (New York: Appleton, 1887), p. 506.
43. Queen Victoria's Journal, 4 and 11 January, www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/home.do. Subsequent references are given in parentheses in the text.
44. Elisabeth Jay, *Mrs Oliphant: A Fiction to Herself. A Literary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 16. In fact, Frank knew that he was dying but hadn't told his wife.
45. *Unprotected Females in Sicily, Calabria, and on the Top of Mount Aetna* (London: Routledge, Warnes, and Routledge, 1859), pp. 12–13.
46. [Margaret Oliphant], 'A Winter Journey', *Blackwoods' Edinburgh Magazine*, 85 (1859), pp. 429–49 (p. 449).
47. Jonathan Farina, 'On David Masson's *British Novelists and Their Styles (1859) and the Establishment of Novels as an Object of Academic Study' BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History, ed. Dino Felluga, Extension of Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*. Accessed 12 October 2022.
48. David Masson, *British Novelists and Their Styles: Being a Critical Sketch of the History of British Prose Fiction* (London: Macmillan, 1859), pp. 221–32.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 253–54.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
51. Edmund Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, 2 vols. (London: Bentley, 1884), II, p. 32; quoted in Ashton, *One Hot Summer*, p. 242.
52. Charley Dickens had allegedly seen his father and Ternan walking together on Hampstead Heath, which may have led to his championing of Thackeray (Ashton, p. 238).
53. George Henry Lewes Journal, 25 January, p. 143. Yale call no. GEN MSS 963. Section VI. George Henry Lewes. Writings. Box 37.

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2 'The custom of the country'

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2. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, trans. by John Sibree (London: Bohn, 1857), p. 78.
3. John Stuart Mill, 'Vindication of the French Revolution of February 1848' (1849); quoted in Joseph Hamburger, *John Stuart Mill on Liberty and Control* (Princeton University Press, 1999), n. 37, p. 160. The essay originally appeared as a review of '*Letter to the Marquess of Lansdowne, KG, President of the Council, on the late Revolution in France*. By Lord Brougham, FRS, Member of the National Institute (London: Ridgway, 1848)', *Westminster Review*, 51 (1849), pp. 1–47.
4. 'Mr Mill on Political Liberty', *Saturday Review*, pp. 213–14 (p. 213); 'Mill on Liberty', *National Review*, 8 (1859), pp. 393–425 (p. 393).
5. 'Literature', *The Standard*, 17 August, p. 4; 'The Literary Examiner', *Examiner*, 20 August, pp. 4–6.
6. Henry Thomas Buckle, 'Mill on Liberty', *Fraser's Magazine* (May 1859), pp. 509–42 (pp. 527, 529).
7. 'Mr Mill on Liberty', *The Times*, 4 March, p. 11.
8. John Stuart Mill, *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform* (London: Parker, 1859), p. 25.
9. Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (London: Everyman, 1989; 1857), p. 373.
10. Mill to Elizabeth Gaskell, July 1859; Francis E. Mineka and Dwight N. Lindley, eds., *The Later Letters of John Stuart Mill, 1849–1873* (University of Toronto Press; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 28–29.
11. Richard Reeves, *John Stuart Mill: Victorian Firebrand* (London: Atlantic, 2007), p. 272.
12. 'Rome and Turnips', *All the Year Round*, 14 May, pp. 53–58 (p. 53).
13. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 21 May, pp. 73–77 (p. 75).
14. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 14 May, pp. 49–53 (p. 49).
15. John Rignall, 'Dickens and the Catastrophic Continuum of History in *A Tale of Two Cities*', *ELH*, 51:3 (1984), pp. 575–87.
16. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 22 October, pp. 601–05 (p. 604).
17. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 1 October, pp. 529–33 (p. 530).
18. Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, 2 vols. (London: Chapman & Hall, 1885), II, p. 69.
19. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 8 October, pp. 553–57 (p. 555).
20. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 1 October, pp. 337–41 (pp. 340–41).
21. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 25 June, pp. 193–98 (p. 195).
22. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 26 November, pp. 93–95 (p. 95).

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24. George Eliot, *Adam Bede*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1859), I, p. 1.
25. *George Eliot: A Writer's Notebook, 1854–1879, and Uncollected Writings*, ed. Joseph Wiesenfath (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1981), p. xxiii.
26. Molly Youngkin, 'Egyptian Mythology in Eliot's Major Works', in Jean Arnold and Lila Marz Harper, eds., *George Eliot: Interdisciplinary Essays* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 97–115 (p. 100).
27. J. Hillis Miller, *Reading for Our Time*: *Adam Bede and Middlemarch Revisited* (Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 13.
28. John Ruskin, *Notes on Some of the Principal Pictures Exhibited in the Rooms of the Royal Academy. No. V 1859* (London: Smith, Elder, 1859), pp. 15–16.
29. Suzanne Graver, *George Eliot and Community: A Study in Social Theory and Fictional Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 99.
30. George Eliot to William Blackwood, 6 May; quoted in Neil McCaw, *George Eliot and Historiography: Imagining the National Past* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), p. 121.
31. Hansard, House of Commons, 8 March §1508.
32. Quoted in Jim Reilly, *Shadowtime: History and Representation in Hardy, Conrad and George Eliot* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 33.

3 *Adam Bede* and Popular Culture

1. *Tracts for the Times* is a series of ninety publications which appeared between 1833 and 1841 and which made known the ideas of the Oxford Movement, which argued for closer links between the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, first published in *Fraser's Magazine* between 1833 and 1834, argued for the necessity of new thinking and forms of thinking.
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3. Peter Bailey, 'Leisure: Merrie to Modern', in Martin Hewitt, ed., *The Victorian World* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 618–35 (p. 619).
4. Judith Flanders, *Consuming Passions: Leisure and Pleasure in Victorian Britain* (London: Harper Press, 2006), p. 185.
5. 'Adam Bede by George Eliot. In 3 volumes', *John Bull and Britannia*, 12 February 1859, p. 107.
6. 'Literary Notices', *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 26 March, p. 9.
7. 'Adam Bede', *Bath Chronicle*, 17 November, p. 6.
8. 'Literature', *The Era*, 6 March, p. 4.
9. 'The Literary Examiner', *The Examiner*, 13 August 1859, p. 516.
10. [Geraldine Jewsbury], 'New Novels', *The Athenaeum*, 26 February, p. 284.
11. Rosemary Ashton, *George Eliot: A Life* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1996), p. 163.

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12. 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists', in *George Eliot: Selected Critical Writings*, ed. Rosemary Ashton (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 1992), pp. 296–321 (p. 296).
13. Laurel Brake, 'The *Westminster* and Gender at Mid-Century', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 33 (2000), pp. 247–71 (p. 254).
14. W. R. Greg, 'The False Morality of Lady Novelists', *National Review* (15 January), pp. 144–67 (p. 145).
15. Gaye Tuchman with Nina E. Fortin, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 125. See also Masson: 'That so many of our inferior novels now should be love and marriage novels, and nothing more, arises perhaps from the fact, that the novel-reading age in one sex falls generally between the eighteenth and the twenty-fifth year' (p. 296).
16. Mrs Octavius Freire Owen, *Raised to the Peerage*, 3 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1859), I, p. 238.
17. Mrs Charles J. Proby, *The Dennes of Daundelyonn*, 3 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, 1859), II, pp. 257–58.
18. Julia Tilt, *Millicent Neville*, 2 vols. (London: Booth, 1859), II, pp. 229–30.
19. Miss Pardoe, *A Life-Struggle*, 2 vols. (London: Booth, 1859), I, p. 9.
20. See Richard Schoch, *Queen Victoria and the Theatre of Her Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
21. *Satanella, or, The Power of Love: A Romantic Opera in Four Acts*, by Messrs A. Harris and E. Falconer (London: published and sold in the theatre [1858]), n.p.
22. 'The Theatres. Olympic', *Illustrated London News*, 11 December 1858, p. 549.
23. 'Buckingham Palace, 3 February, 1859', *The London Gazette*, 4 February 1859, p. 457.
24. 'The Queen's Speech – The Opening of Parliament', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 6 February 1859, p. 1.
25. 'Literature', *The Standard*, 19 August, p. 4.
26. 'Literature', *The Morning Chronicle*, 3 August, np.
27. The insistence on male investment in the details and spiritual nature of the home is striking, but perhaps not surprising given the prominence of such details in contemporary newspapers: *The Times*' advertising columns are full of adverts for furniture and domestic goods, and G. H. Lewes was just as invested in domestic purchases as Eliot.
28. Geraldine Jewsbury, *Right or Wrong*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett), II, p. 121.
29. [Ann Mozley], 'Adam Bede and Recent Novels', *Bentley's Quarterly Review*, 1:2 (June 1859), pp. 433–72 (p. 462). The other novels reviewed by Mozley were Anthony Trollope's *The Bertrams* (Chapman & Hall), *Creeds. By the author of Morals of Mayfair* (Hurst and Blackett), *Life's Foreshadowings* (Hurst and Blackett), A. J. Barrowcliffe, *Trust for Trust* (Smith and Elder), and Oliné Keese, *The Broad Arrow* (Bentley).

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30. Oliné Keese, *The Broad Arrow: Being the Story of Maida Gwynnham, a 'Lifer' in Van Diemen's Land* (North Ryde and London: Eden, 1988; 1859), p. 136.
31. 'Adam Bede', *The Times*, 12 April, p. 5.
32. In chapter 17 of Adam Bede, Eliot writes: 'he was sourish-tempered, and was for beating down prices with the people as worked for him; and his preaching wouldn't go down well with that sauce. And he wanted to be like my lord judge i' the parish, punishing folks for doing wrong; and he scolded 'em from the pulpit as if he'd been a Ranter, and yet he couldn't abide the Dissenters, and was a deal more set against 'em than Mr. Irwine was' (II, p. 11).
33. 'Adam Bede', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Review*, 85 (April), pp. 490–504 (p. 500).
34. For the latter, see A Temple of British Worthies: The Historic Portrait Busts in the Athenæum (victorianweb.org). I am grateful to Ralph Pite for these references.
35. After congratulating the male novelist – a rare 'man of genius' in a world dominated by female novelists – for his ability to write a work that is 'in keeping with the actual world', the *Economist*'s reviewer stated, 'After a course of the feverish, self-critical, posted-up-to-the-latest-dates novels of the present day, reading "Adam Bede" is like paying a visit from town to the open hill sides, pure air, and broad sunshine of the country which it describes.' The rural setting of the novel blends with the attractiveness of its characters to achieve a harmonious pattern that surprises reviewers into finding those humble characters – including 'farmers and blacksmiths' – sympathetic 'realities' rather than 'mere lay figures on which the authors hang their old shooting-jackets, while they walk round in an evening dress smirking and pointing out how jolly and genial they are with their own old clothes' (*Saturday Review*, p. 250).

4 Voting Reform and 'The English Character'

1. Robert Saunders, *Democracy and the Vote in British Politics, 1848–1867* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 101.
2. Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 41.
3. *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 6 February, p. 8. Wedgwood was also the grandfather of Charles and Emma Darwin.
4. L. M. E. Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State: Character and Governance in a Liberal Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), p. 25.
5. Angus Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture: 'Habits of Heart & Mind'* (Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 227.
6. To Lord Stanley, 10 February; *Benjamin Disraeli Letters, vol. 7, 1857–1859*, ed. M. G. Wiebe, et al. (University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 330.

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7. Lord John Russell, Hansard, 21 March, §§399–400.
8. 'Punch's Essence of Parliament', *Punch*, 2 April, pp. 132–33 (p. 132).
9. 'Parliamentary Reform', *The Times*, 13 January, p. 12.
10. 'Great Reform Meeting. From our own Reportress', *Punch*, 19 March, p. 117.
11. '*On Dits* of the Month', *The Ladies' Treasury*, 1 April, p. 127.
12. Angus Hawkins, *Parliament, Party and the Art of Politics in Britain, 1855–59* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987), p. 207.
13. Hansard, 21 March, §§ 390–391.
14. Hansard, 22 February, §547.
15. Angus Hawkins, *British Party Politics, 1852–1886* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 22.
16. 'London, Saturday, April 30, 1859', *The Times*, 30 April, p. 9.
17. Edmond Fitzmaurice, *The Life of Granville George Leveson Gower, Second Earl Granville, K.G., 1815–1891*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1906), I, p. 328.
18. This was a popular venue for public lectures (on the War by Mr Stocqueler, every Wednesday and Saturday during June), meetings of charitable committees (such as the Royal Sea-Bathing National Hospital, Patron: The Queen and the Society for the Home-Teaching of the Blind), or dance classes (by Madame Michau Dvais and Mr Louis D'Egville on Mondays and Thursdays at 12). Advertisements in *The Times*, 2 June, p. 5; 3 June, p. 5; 3 June, p. 11; 4 June, p. 5.
19. *The Times*, 4 June, p. 8.
20. Lord Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert, Lord Herbert of Lea, a Memoir*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1906), (II, pp. 158–59).
21. 'House of Commons', *The Times*, 11 June, p. 5.
22. J. B. Conacher, 'Party Politics in the Age of Palmerston', in *1859: Entering an Age of Crisis*, pp. 163–80 (p. 163).
23. Lady Palmerston to Fox, 21 August; *The Letters of Lady Palmerston*, ed. Tresham Laver (London: John Murray, 1957), p. 357, n. 2.
24. 'The Builders' Strike, Meeting of the Masters', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 7 August, p. 3.
25. 'Lord Brougham and the Show Duke', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 30 October, p. 1.
26. 'Social Science Conference', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 16 October, p. 7.
27. 'The Bakers' Short Time Movement', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 2 October, p. 5.
28. David Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture: Perceptions and Introspections in an Age of Change* (London: Fontana, 1998), p. 74.
29. 'Mops and Statutes', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 9 October, p. 6.
30. [Samuel Smiles], 'Strikes', *Quarterly Review*, 106 (October 1859), pp. 485–522 (p. 520).
31. 'Self-Help', *The Critic*, 19 November, pp. 508–09 (p. 509).
32. Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850–1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 101.

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33. The lectures were given to the Leeds Mechanics Institution and Literary Society in 1844.
34. *The Times*, 13 December 1858, p. 6.
35. Lauren Goodlad argues that the Northcote–Trevelyan reforms in fact acted 'to dislodge the middle-class foothold in the Victorian state . . . and [did] so in the interests of an elite class of public school and Oxbridge-educated "gentlemen"' (p. 121).
36. 'Anthony Trollope', *The Times*, 23 May, p. 12.
37. Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit*, new ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 14–15.
38. Anthony Trollope, *The Bertrams*, 3 vols. (London: Chapman & Hall), p. 1.
39. 'Literature, 'The Bertrams', *The Morning Chronicle*, 24 March, p. 3.
40. 'Literature', *Daily News*, 2 April, p. 2.
41. E. W. Atkinson, *Extremes* (London: Chapman & Hall, n.d.), p. 4. Pusey was a leader of the Oxford Movement, best known for trying to revive the practice of confession within the Anglican church. Pusey is described by the same rural speaker as a name 'given to them as 'ud fall down and worship graven images if they dared; and's a deal worse as Catholics' (p. 4). Atkinson adopts a tactic used by other writers too, of giving an anti-Catholic sentiment to a less educated character, sometimes a servant, but doing nothing to counter that view by better-educated characters. Thus is inserted, in a rather underhand way, an insidious prejudice which was rarely fully articulated in fiction.
42. 'Literature', *The Morning Post*, 22 October, p. 3.
43. Jane Austen, *Persuasion* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998; 1818), p. 207.
44. [R. H. Hutton], '*The Bertrams*', *The National Review*, 17 (July), pp. 187–99 (p. 188).
45. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 22 October, pp. 601–05 (p. 604).
46. George Meredith, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, 3 vols. (London: Chapman & Hall), I, pp. 216–17.
47. Anthony Trollope, *An Autobiography*, ed. Michael Sadleir and Frederick Page (Oxford University Press, 1980; 1883), p. 125.
48. 'New Novels', *The Athenaeum*, 9 July, p. 48.
49. '*The Ordeal of Richard Feverel. A History of Father and Son*', *The Examiner*, 9 July, pp. 436–37 (p. 436).
50. To Samuel Lucas, 7 July; *The Letters of George Meredith,* 3 vols., ed. Clarence Lee Cline (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), II, pp. 39–40.
51. In subsequent editions, he would refer to Dickens, and quote George Eliot.
52. '*The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*', *The Saturday Review*, 9 July, pp. 48–49 (p. 49).
53. 'Advice to Youth'. *The Examiner*, 9 July, p. 436.
54. This was written in part to discredit Dr John Rae's account, based on Inuit evidence, that members of the Franklin expedition had turned to cannibalism to try to survive.
55. 'Found lying about the skeleton, nine miles eastward of Cape Herschell, May, 1859: – The tie of black silk handkerchief, fragments of a double-breasted blue cloth waistcoat, with covered silk buttons, and edged with

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braid; a scrap of a coloured cotton shirt, silk-covered buttons of blue, cloth great coat, a small clothes brush, a horn pocket-comb, a leathern pocket-book, which fell to pieces when thawed and dried; it contained 9 or 10 letters, a few leaves apparently blank; a sixpence, date 1831, and a half-sovereign, dated 1844.'

56. 'Fate of Sir John Franklin's Expedition', *The Times*, 23 September, p. 7.
57. 'London. Saturday, October 1, 1859', *Illustrated London News*, 1 October, p. 316.
58. 'Brunel, died September, 1859. Stephenson, died October 1859', *Punch*, 22 October, p. 169. Stephenson was offered a knighthood but refused it.
59. This was Brunel's third ship, after the Great Western (1837) and the Great Britain (1843).
60. 'The Great Eastern', *The Times*, 9 August, p. 4.
61. Leader, *The Times*, 10 August, p. 8.
62. 'The "Great Eastern"', *Illustrated London News*, 13 August, p. 149.
63. 'The "Great Eastern" Steam-Ship', *Illustrated London News*, 13 August, p. 160.
64. 'The Great Eastern', *The Times*, 29 August, p. 10.
65. 'Isambard Kingdon Brunel', *The Times*, 19 September, p. 7.
66. 'The Great Eastern', *The Times*, 27 September, p. 7.
67. In fact, the Great Eastern would go on to lay submarine telegram cables, in the Atlantic and the Far East.
68. 'Robert Stephenson', *Once A Week*, 29 October, pp. 368–72 (p. 371).
69. 26 May (*The Correspondence of Charles Darwin, volume 7: 1858–1859* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 300). He records that *Adam Bede* was 'excellent' in his reading notebook for 1859 (n. 3, p. 300).
70. 'Adventures of Your Own Correspondents in Search of Solitude', *English Woman's Journal*, September, pp. 35–44 (p. 38).
71. 'Police Intelligence – Yesterday', *Morning Chronicle*, 26 October, p. 8.
72. 'Literature', *Morning Chronicle*, 29 June, p. 6.
73. 'Literature. Adam Bede', *Morning Chronicle*, 28 February.
74. 'Literature', *Glasgow Herald*, 19 April, p. 4.
75. 'Literature', *Era*, 6 March, p. 10.
76. 'Books of the Quarter Suitable for Reading Societies', *National Review*, 8/16, pp. 563–65 (p. 565).
77. 'Saddleworth Mechanics' and Literary Institute. Opening of the New Hall', *Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 18 June.

5 The Theatre of War

1. John Darwin, *The Empire Project; The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1870* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 37, 57.
2. Nathan K. Hensley, *Forms of Empire: The Poetics of Victorian Sovereignty* (Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 12–13.

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3. Linda Colley, *Britons, Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (London: Vintage, 1996), p. 5.
4. 'How the Victoria Cross Was Won', *All the Year Round*, 6 August, pp. 350–55 (pp. 350–51).
5. 'Victoria Cross Pictures', *The Critic*, 23 April, p. 399.
6. 'Heroes of the Victoria Cross. Egyptian Hall', *The Standard*, 25 April, p. 3.
7. 'Victoria Cross Gallery', *Art Journal*, 54 (June), p. 195.
8. 'Town and Country Talk', *The Examiner*, 14 May, p. 315.
9. 'The Armstrong Testimonial', *Punch*, 5 March, p. 97.
10. J. W. Cole, *The Life and Theatrical Times of Charles Kean, FSA: including a summary of the English Stage for the last fifty years, and a detailed account of the management of the Princess's Theatre from 1850–1859*, 2 vols. (London: Bentley, 1859), II, p. 376.
11. *Beeton's Book of Household Management, edited by Mrs Isabella Beeton*, part 1 (November 1859), p. 1.
12. Ellen Clayton, *Notable Women: Stories of Their Lives. Number 1: Florence Nightingale: The Soldier's Friend* (London: Dean, n.d.), p. 5.
13. Florence Nightingale, *Notes on matters affecting the health, efficiency, and hospital administration of the British Army: founded chiefly on the experience of the late war. Presented by Request to the Secretary of State for War* (London: Harrison, 1858). Sidney Herbert, the Minister for War, was engaged in an enquiry into the medical conditions of the army.
14. Harriet Martineau, *England and Her Soldiers* (London: Smith, Elder, 1859), p. vi. The book carries on its title-page a quotation from *Henry V*, iv.3, asserting that 'our hearts are in the trim' despite the soldiers being 'besmirched' by battle (ll. 121, 116).
15. Carl G. Slater, 'The Problem of Purchase Abolition in the British Army, 1856–1863', *Military History Journal*, 4:6 (1979), http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol046cs.html, accessed 21 June 2024.
16. For further details of the workings of the purchase system, see R. E. Scouller, 'Purchase of Commissions and Promotions', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 62:252 (1984), pp. 217–26.
17. Arvel B. Erickson, 'Abolition of Purchase in the British Army', *Military Affairs*, 23: 2 (1959), pp. 65–76 (p. 69). The war in Italy also added to the pressure for reform. After the battle of Magenta, where Austrians were alleged to have suffered 15,000 killed and wounded, and had 5,000 prisoners taken, the *Saturday Review* dissected every step of the Austrian commander, Count Gyulai's, poor decisions. In appointing him, it suggested that the Austrian rulers chose 'wealth and ability' over 'military knowledge and experience' and that the 'inevitable result' of this memorable lesson' should not be lost on the English, who had made similar mistakes. ('The Battle of Magenta', *Saturday Review*, 18 June, pp. 746–47 (p. 747)).
18. Stefanie Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 4.

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19. Erickson, p. 68. The quotation is from Lord Granville, 'Arguments for and against the Purchase System' (1871), War Office Papers.
20. See ch. 2, 'Class Structure and the British Army' in Nick Mansfield, *Soldiers as Workers: Class, Employment, Conflict and the Nineteenth-Century Military* (Liverpool University Press, 2016).
21. To Lucy Martineau, 29 May; *Letters of Harriet Martineau*, p. 176.
22. 'Keep It Dry', *Punch*, 5 March, p. 94.
23. The Queen's private feelings can be seen in her 4 May letter to her eldest daughter, Vicky: 'Here we live in the same anxiety as before, and most desirous of learning that the Austrians have given our former Allies a good licking! How times have changed! … The movements or rather mere inaction of the Austrians drive one crazy! It is distracting.' 4 May; *Dearest Child: Letters between Queen Victoria and the Princess Royal, 1858–1861*, ed. Roger Fulford (London: Evans, 1964), pp. 191–92.
24. 'The Rival Opera Houses', *The Theatrical Journal*, 20 (1859), p. 140.
25. 'The Italian Opera, Drury Lane', *Saturday Review*, 7 May, p. 562.
26. 'Music and the Drama', *The Guardian and The Observer*, 2 May, p. 2.
27. 'Royal Academy', *Athenaeum*, 7 May, p. 618. The Prince of Wales had bought two of Leighton's Italian heads on a trip to Rome in January. See Gail Marshall, 'Puck and the Prince of Wales', in *Shakespeare's Afterlife in the Royal Collection: Dynasty, Ideology, and National Culture*, ed. Sally Barnden, Gordon McMullan, Kate Retford, and Kirsten Tambling (Oxford University Press, 2025), pp. 167–74. The Prince also bought a small statue of Puck by the American sculptor Harriet Hosmer on this trip.
28. Hays intended something slightly different, hoping, in her words, to show: 'two boys, one of the English type, the other an Italian boy of the people. In one I have endeavoured to express the pure happiness of our children; in the other, the obstination [sic] of the oppressed and suffering poor of Italy' (quoted in Ruskin, p. 211).
29. 'Life in Tuscany', *British Quarterly Review*, 30, pp. 181–98 (p. 181).
30. Matthew Arnold, *England and the Italian Question* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts), p. 12.
31. 'The Elections and the War', *Fraser's Magazine*, 59 (1859), pp. 757–62 (p. 761).
32. [W. E. Gladstone], 'Foreign Affairs – War in Italy', *Quarterly Review*, 105, pp. 527–64 (p. 550).
33. J. B. Conacher, 'Party Politics in the Age of Palmerston', in *1859: Entering an Age of Crisis*, pp. 163–80 (p. 175).
34. [Margaret Oliphant], 'A Week in Florence', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 86, pp. 583–607 (p. 600).
35. *The Autobiography of Margaret Oliphant: The Complete Text*, ed. Elisabeth Jay (Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 69.
36. [Margaret Oliphant], 'Felicita. Part One', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 86 (1859), pp. 189–273 (p. 189).
37. [Margaret Oliphant], 'Felicita. Conclusion', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 86 (1859), pp. 276–94 (p. 284).

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38. The paper believed that it might prove difficult to report the war: 'Swift, secret, silent will be the movements of the antagonists', and journalists' access to troops will be circumscribed. The reason for this is the telegraph, which could 'flash' movements, details of retreats, and the state of troops over Europe, and to enemy commanders: 'So the armies on either side are already shrouded in secrecy'. 'London, Saturday, April 30, 1859', *The Times*, 30 April, p. 9.
39. 'State of Trade', 9 May, *The Times*, p. 6.
40. 9 May, *The Times*, p. 6.
41. [W. E. Gladstone], 'Tennyson's Poems', *Quarterly Review*, 106 (October 1859), pp. 454–85 (p. 463).
42. 'Wilts (North)', *The Times*, 4 May, p. 8.
43. [Alfred Tennyson], 'The War', 9 May, *The Times*, p. 10. Christopher Ricks has shown that this poem was in fact a revised version of one written during an earlier invasion scare in 1852 (Christopher Ricks, 'Tennyson's "Rifle Clubs!!!"', *The Review of English Studies*, 15:60 (1964), pp. 401–04).
44. *Elizabeth Barrett Browning Letters*, ed. F. G. Kenyon, 2 vols. (London: Murray, 1897), II, p. 216.
45. Hans Busk, *Rifle Volunteers: How to Organize and Drill Them* (London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1859), p. 1.
46. Michael J. Salevouris, *Riflemen Form: The War Scare of 1859–1860 in England* (New York: Garland, 1982), p. 166.
47. *Rules and List of Members of the South Middlesex Rifle Volunteers* (London: Harrison, 1859), p. 3.
48. In their exclusively masculine formation, the Clubs perhaps also act to counter a trend noted by John Tosh, who argues that at mid-century 'the well-ordered home rose in men's valuation as traditional hierarchies elsewhere buckled under the strain of rapid economic and social change. In short, traditional and novel concerns combined to set a high premium on domestic patriarchy' (John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 61).
49. 'Preface', *Beeton's Book of Household Management, edited by Mrs Isabella Beeton* (London: Beeton, 1861), pp. iii–iv (p. iv). The Preface did not appear in the original part-publication of *Beeton's Book of Household Management, edited by Mrs Isabella Beeton*, which was originally published alongside Samuel Beeton's *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*. The parts were first collected into a single volume in 1861.
50. 'Adelphi Theatre', *The Observer*, 19 June, p. 2.
51. Edward Stirling, *The Rifle Volunteers: Riflemen! Riflemen! Riflemen Form!* (London: Lacy, 1859), p. 12.
52. Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time* (London: faber and faber, 1994), p. 170.
53. Tom Taylor, *The House or the Home* (London: Lacy, n.d.), p. 6.

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54. The cultural signal of the French here is ironically muddied by the play's being based on *Péril en la demeure* by the popular French playwright and novelist, Octave Feuillet. This contradictory mixture of attributions and affiliations mirrors the complexity of Anglo-French relations this year.
55. Lord John Russell, 'Affairs Of Italy. – Count Cavour's Circular. – Question.' HC Deb 08 July 1859 Vol 154 Cc881–7 (884).
56. *Saturday Review*, 2 April 1859, pp. 401–02 (p. 401).
57. *Weekly Dispatch*, 3 April 1859, p. 10.
58. See Richard Schoch's discussion of Charles Kean's relationship with the Society of Antiquaries in his *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage: Performing History in the Theatre of Charles Kean* (Cambridge University Press, 1998).
59. *The Leader*, 2 April 1859, pp. 437–38 (p. 438).
60. *Shakespeare's Play of King Henry the Fifth, Arranged for Representation at the Princess's Theatre, with Historical and Explanatory Notes, by Charles Kean, FSA* (London: Chapman), pp. 85–86. This scene is reproduced as the cover to *Britain in 1859*.
61. Charles Kean, 'Preface', *Henry V* (1859); Project Gutenberg text.
62. Theodosia Trollope, a member of the Anglo-American community in Florence, did not shy away from reporting on the worst atrocities of the war, including those committed by the Papal troops, who fought on Austria's side, in Perugia. She writes of a deed that 'may rank for enormity and foulness with any the world have ever seen, – the sack of Perugia on the 20th by the Papal troops' and describes 'young women suffering death after indignities as horrible as those which our victorious soldiers avenged at Delhi' ('Foreign Correspondence. Florence, June 25', *Athenaeum*, 9 July, pp. 52–53 (p. 52)). The elision of the Papal troops with Indian rebels distances from civilised Europe the large-scale slaughter of children, and ravaging of the city that Trollope recounts from her base in Florence, where its shocked citizens received the news of the Umbrian atrocities.
63. Cole, *The Life and Theatrical Times of Charles Kean*, I, p. 360. In his speech, the Duke of Newcastle mentioned another absentee, the Duke of Cambridge, who had been prevented from attending by duties which involved 'the reorganisation of the British Army' (Cole, II, p. 362).
64. 'Banquet to Mr Charles Kean', *The Times*, 21 July 1859, p. 9.
65. We might note that Kate Lawrence's girl volunteers were well aware of the routine of a drill exercise, because they had all been, in the words of Jane, the maid, 'stoopidnumeries [supernumeraries] at our theatre in the Battle of the Alma' (p. 12), the first significant engagement in the Crimean hostilities of 1854.
66. 'Closing of the Theatre of War', *Punch*, 23 July, p. 42.
67. In fact, the terms of the Treaty were never carried out, though Italy did achieve unification and freedom from Austrian rule the following year.
68. The Swiss businessman, Henry Dunant, witnessed the slaughter of Solferino, which inspired him to advocate for the organisation of official help for wounded soldiers that would become the International Red Cross.

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69. 'Foreign Intelligence. France', *The Times*, 11 July, p. 6. For Italo-philes like Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the news of the peace in Italy was initially devastating:

> It was the blow on the heart about the peace after all that excitement and exultation, that walking on the clouds for weeks and months, and then the sudden stroke and fall, and the impotent rage against all the nations of the earth – selfish, inhuman, wicked – who forced the hand of Napoleon, and truncated his great intentions. Many young men of Florence were confined to their beds by the emotion of the news. As for me, I was struck, couldn't sleep, talked too much, and (the intense heat rendering one more susceptible, perhaps) at last this bad attack came on … Our Italians have behaved magnificently. (July–August; *EBB Letters*, II, pp. 319–20)

70. 'America', *The Times*, 4 October, p. 7.
71. 'American Bobadils', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 2 October, p. 1.
72. 'Military and Naval Intelligence', *The Times*, 11 February, p. 12.
73. 'Military and Naval Intelligence', *The Times*, 10 May, p. 10.
74. 'Military and Naval Intelligence', *The Times*, 23 July, p. 12.
75. 'Editorial', *The Times*, 3 March, p. 8. The article begins, 'Who shall say that the professions we accustom ourselves to call the professions of peace are without their moving accidents?'
76. 'Latest Intelligence. China. Renewal of the War. Repulse of the British Expedition', *The Times*, 12 September, p. 7.
77. Greville, p. 506, screenshot.
78. 'The Peiho Repulse', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 2 October, p. 2.
79. Duncan Bell, 'Victorian Visions of Global Order: An Introduction', in Bell, ed., *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1–25 (p. 10).
80. 'Military and Naval Intelligence', *The Times*, 3 September, p. 7.
81. 'The Soldier's Call', *Punch*, 8 October, p. 149.
82. 'Substitutes for Military Flogging', *Punch*, 24 September, p. 131.
83. Bernard S. Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 165–209 (p. 179).
84. *The Gladstone Diaries, vol. 5, 1855–1860*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), V, 407, 408, 410, 416.
85. Quoted in G. Otto Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper, 1876), II, p. 398. Dickens described the *Idylls* as 'Most gallant and noble … chivalric, imaginative, passionate, admirable'. Like most of his contemporaries, he found 'Guinevere' especially impressive: 'I doubt if any thing were ever done finer than the last' (to Wilkie Collins, 16 August; *Dickens Letters*, p. 107).
86. Clinton Machann, *Masculinity in Four Victorian Epics: A Darwinist Reading* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 59–60.
87. [W. E. Gladstone], 'Tennyson's Poems', *Quarterly Review*, 106 (October 1859), pp. 454–85 (p. 464).

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88. J. M. Ludlow, 'Moral Aspects of Mr. Tennyson's "Idylls of the King"', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1 (1859), 63–72 (pp. 70, 68).
89. In a speech to the Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa, Gladstone argued that David Livingstone demonstrated 'that simplicity inseparable from true grandeur, that breadth and force, that superiority to all worldly calls and enjoyments, that rapid and keen intelligence, that power of governing men, and that delight in governing them for their own good – he has every sign upon him of a great man.' He went on:

> [Livingstone c]orresponds in every particular to that great name which the admiration of all ages has consecrated – he is a hero. (Cheers.) Your own great poet – the great poet of this age – Alfred Tennyson (cheers) – in his *Idylls of the King*, a work which has taken its place in the deathless literature of the world, has carried us back to a period of heroic manners, heroic deeds, and heroic characters; but if the power which he possesses could have gone beyond what it has effected, could have gone beyond the almost living men whom it has portrayed, and could actually have evoked them from the tomb, not one among them, though the ideal of human nature, would have failed to recognize Dr. Livingstone as a brother, and to acknowledge him as his most worthy companion. (Cheers.) ('The Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa', *The Times*, 2 November, p. 7.)

90. Letters of John Ruskin, *The Letters of John Ruskin, 1827–1869, Ruskin Library*, vol. 36 (London: Allen, 1909), p. 320.

6 Lifting the Veil on Fraud and Forgery

1. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 30 April, pp. 1–5 (p. 4).
2. Census figures for London were 1,573,210 (1821), 1,878,229 (1831), 2,207,653 (1841), 2,651,939 (1851), 3,188,485 (1861). The city's population rose by over half a million in the 1850s, and assuming a consistent rate of growth, would have been just over 3 million in 1859. www.demographia.com/dm-lon31.htm, accessed 19 July 2024.
3. Sara Malton, *Forgery in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture: Fictions of Finance from Dickens to Wilde* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 4.
4. David Morier Evans, *Facts, Failures, and Frauds: Revelations, Financial, Mercantile, Criminal* (London: Groombridge, 1859), p. 5.
5. Details of cases are taken from 'Central Criminal Court', *Daily News*, 5 January, p. 6.
6. Isobel Armstrong, 'The Microscope: Mediations of the Sub-visible World', in Roger Luckhurst and Josephine McDonagh, eds., *Transactions and Encounters: Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 30–54 (p. 30).
7. Bernard Lightman, 'The Microscopic World', *Victorian Review* 36 (2010), pp. 46–49 (p. 48).
8. Philip Henry Gosse, *Evenings at the Microscope; or, Research among the minuter organs and forms of animal life* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1859), p. i.

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9. The results of Lewes's experiments were presented at the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Aberdeen in September.
10. These experiments put the Leweses' servant problems in a different light: in addition to complaining that their servant had destroyed 'all the preparations I have made lately' (10 April), Lewes records on 4 April that:

> This morning at breakfast Caroline, our servant announced to me that the frog which was in the plate had nearly jumped out, & had frightened her. I assured her that its head was cut off. 'No indeed, sir' she said 'I assure you its quite lively, come & see, please sir'.

They might have seemed lucky to keep any servants under the circumstances. It is extraordinary to think of these often macabre experiments being carried out in the scientist's home, and in the midst of daily life, as this entry for 23 April shows: 'Began the dissection of a cat, mother of the kitten of yesterday. I went into town. Bought a saw. Called on Mrs Nutt.'

11. [G. H. Lewes], 'Evenings at the Microscope', *Saturday Review*, 7 May, pp. 570–71 (p. 571).
12. 'Punch's Essence of Parliament', *Punch*, 9 July, p. 19.
13. Fellow signatories included Carlyle, Dickens, Froude, Macaulay, and John Forster.
14. A minutely detailed account of the Payne Collier forgery controversy can be found in Arthur Freeman and Janet Ing Freeman, *John Payne Collier: Scholarship and Forgery in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). Unless otherwise cited, details of the case are taken from this account.
15. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, 'Shakespearian Discovery', *The Times*, 2 July, p. 12.
16. 'Shakespearian Discovery', *The Times*, 7 July, p. 9.
17. 'Shakespearian Discovery', *The Times*, 16 July, p. 5.
18. 'Literature', *Athenaeum*, 20 August, pp. 233–35 (p. 234).
19. Emily Tennyson writes that she was receiving:

> Daily letters from A [in London]. He cannot return before Monday because Mr Watts is too ill to finish his second portrait which every one pronounces better than the first good as that is considered. He returns looking well & cheerful & he brings Nimuë [Vivien] with him … He has seen a great many people in town. He dines with Mr Chapman at his club, is introduced to Mr Tom Hughes [author of *Tom Brown's Holidays*] who delights him, sees Mr Ruskin for the first time. He reads his 'Guinevere' to the Duke and Duchess of Argyll at Argyll Lodge. Reads *Idylls* at Little Holland House and to many others. He reads one or both *Idylls* to the Somerses & all at Little Holland House, to Mr Venables, Mr Hughes, Mr Woolner, Mr Patmore, Charles Weld, Mrs Norton and Mr Norton (her son). He sees Mr Palgrave, Mr Barrett, the Proctors, Lady Ripon. He dines with Mr Owen, meets Mr Farre.

2 April; *Lady Tennyson's Journal*, ed. James O. Hoge (Charlottesville: University Press Virginia, 1981), p. 132.

20. Amy Woolner, *Thomas Woolner, R.A. Sculptor and Poet: His Life in Letters* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1917), p. 172.

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21. Yolanda Foote, 'Stainton, Henry Tibbats (1822–1892)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26222, accessed 7 May 2017.
22. 5 December 1879; *Letters*, IX, 279. Quoted in Adam Abraham, *Plagiarizing the Victorian Novel: Imitation, Parody, Aftertext* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 138.
23. Edmund Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences* (London: Bentley, 1884), p. 167; quoted in *Dickens Letters*. That Dickens was supportive of, and respected, Eliot's anonymity is suggested by this item in the 7 May number of *All the Year Round*: one of the paragraphs in the 'Wanted' column in the 'Occasional Register' read: 'By the Reverend Gentleman who took upon himself to write to The Times, proclaiming (quite erroneously) a certain living person to be the author of a certain anonymous work of genius, Any Excuse, be it ever so small, for that impertinence' (p. 35).
24. In response to Eliot's letter, 'Sayings and Doings' in *The Critic* protested against the practice of anonymity in any sphere of writing apart from the journalistic, and is clearly unmoved by the suggestion that it is discourteous not to respect someone's right to anonymity. On the contrary, they suggest that it is neither expedient nor proper to do so ('Sayings and Doings', *The Critic*, 23 April, p. 387).
25. As was their wont, the Blackwoods recognised this unexpected success with a cheque for £400, in addition to their contractual arrangements with Eliot. Lewes modestly forebore to mention that his 'Physiology of Common Life has sold 7000 a number already' and that 'he has had pleasant letters from people thanking him for it. Such things, even when mitigated by dyspepsia, make life worth living' (GE to Sara Hennell, 21 May; *Letters*, III, 71).
26. GE Journal, 20 June; quoted in Rosemarie Bodenheimer, *The Real Life of Mary Ann Evans: George Eliot, Her Letters and Fiction* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 140.
27. 'Weekly Gossip', *Athenaeum*, 11 June, pp. 779–80 (p. 780). Its next contribution to the discussion appears on 18 June when the *Athenaeum* derides the intervention of Mr E. Nicholas, a student at the University of London, who claims to be 'the only male relative Mr Liggins has in England' ('Weekly Gossip', pp. 811–12 (p. 811)). In the column adjacent to its dismissal of Nicholas is a heated letter from the Rev. Jephson countering a 'suspicion' of plagiarism that he'd been asked to answer by Mr John Brent in the previous week's paper. Jephson makes a spirited rebuttal of the change of 'literary larceny', but the letter itself is evidence of the topicality of questions of literary fraud, and the seriousness with which it is being taken at the time.
28. 'Weekly Gossip', *The Athenaeum*, 2 July, p. 20; quoted in *Letters*, p. 109, n. 1.
29. Sean O'Toole, *Habit in the English Novel, 1850–1900: Lived Environments, Practices of the Self* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 91.
30. 'The Lifted Veil', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 86 (1859), pp. 24–48 (p. 35).

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31. Yizhi Xiao, 'Lost in Magnification: Nineteenth-Century Microscopy and The Lifted Veil', *George Eliot-George Henry Lewes Studies*, 69 (2017), pp. 68–88 (p. 73).
32. See, for example, Kate Flint, 'Blood, Bodies, and The Lifted Veil', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 51:4 (1997), pp. 455–73; Jane Wood, *Passion and Pathology in Victorian Fiction* (Oxford University Press, 2001); Meegan Kennedy, '"A True Prophet"? Victorian Sensory Physiology and George Eliot's "The Lifted Veil"', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 71:3 (2016), pp. 369–403.
33. Rebecca Stern, *Home Economics: Domestic Fraud in Victorian England* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2008), p. 9.
34. *The Works of George Eliot. Silas Marner, The Lifted Veil, Brother Jacob* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1878), p. 276.
35. It is then entirely appropriate that this term, rather than the more ubiquitous 'society', was chosen by Mr A. F. Cross, the founder of the George Eliot Fellowship, in 1930.
36. Mary Braddon, *Lady Audley's Secret* (London: Virago, 1985; 1862), p. 375.
37. 'The Woman in White', *All the Year Round*, 14 July 1860, pp. 313–19 (p. 315).
38. Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Natural Selection; or, the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (London: Murray, 1859), p. 6.

7 November: Originality, Adaptation, and Custom

1. Sales figures are taken from Adrian Desmond and James Moore, *Darwin* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992), p. 477.
2. Sylvia Nickerson, 'Darwin's Publisher: John Murray III at the Intersection of Science and Religion', in Bernard Lightman, ed., *Rethinking History, Science, and Religion: An Exploration of Conflict and the Complexity Principle* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019), pp. 110–28 (p. 111).
3. Accounts of Darwin's response to Wallace may be found in Desmond and Moore, and Ashton, *One Hot Summer*.
4. 18 June 1858, p. 107; quoted in Ashton, *One Hot Summer*, p. 151, which gives a detailed account of the ways in which the work of both men was managed and received in the summer of 1858.
5. 'On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection', *The Examiner*, 3 December, pp. 772–73 (p. 773).
6. 'On the Origin of Species', *Athenaeum*, 19 November, pp. 659–60 (p. 659).
7. [Robert Chambers], Charles Darwin on the origin of species. *Chambers's Journal*, 11, pp. 388–91 (p. 390).
8. 'Foreign Intelligence', *The Times*, 26 December, p. 8.
9. 'Darwin on the Origin of Species', *The Times*, 26 December, p. 8. The severe storms of the end of the year were attributed to the impact of a solar flare of

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unprecedented magnitude witnessed on 1 September by Richard Carrington in Surrey and Richard Hodgson in Waltham Forest. It has since become known as the Carrington Event. The two men presented their accounts of what they had seen to a meeting of the Royal Astronomical Society on 11 November. The impact of the flare played havoc with global weather and with telegram systems.

10. Thanks to the research of Suzanne Simard and others, we now know that trees are in fact mutually supportive organisms, with underground systems of roots and fungi that share resources (*Finding the Mother Tree* (London: Allen Lane, 2021)).
11. 'Puseyism in S George's', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 6 November, p. 5.
12. In October, the tensions brewing in the church of St George's in the East (in Tower Hamlets) had come to a head, and police had to attend services forcibly to remove members of the congregation who objected noisily and violently to what they saw as the incumbent's Romish persuasions and practices. The Bishop of London closed the church for a while after 'a prolonged series of disturbances and ribaldries have been perpetrated in that church by outrageous mobs of persons who made certain Puseyite follies an excuse for showing contempt and hatred for religion and its minsters', by mobbing the minister and attacking choristers ('Notes of the Week', *Illustrated London News*, 1 October, p. 317). A London magistrate likened the uproar to the 'Gordon riots of 1780, and said those times must not be revived in 1859, and that mob law must be put down, and could not be tolerated in this country' ('Police Intelligence. Thames', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 9 October, p. 4).
13. Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species*, 2nd ed. (London: Murray, 1860), p. 482.
14. Martin Hewitt, *The Reception of Darwinian Evolution in Britain, 1859–1909* (Oxford University Press, 2024), esp. pp. 40–87. See also Peter J. Bowler, *The Non-Darwinian Revolution: Reinterpreting a Historical Myth* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).
15. Adam Phillips, *Darwin's Worms* (London: faber and faber, 1999), p. 13.
16. Peter Dear, 'Darwin and Deep Time: Temporal Scales and the Naturalists's Imagination', *History of Science*, 54 (2016), pp. 3–18 (p. 6).
17. Gillian Beer, 'Systems, and Extravagance: Darwin, Meredith, Tennyson', in Valerie Purton, ed., *Darwin, Tennyson and Their Readers: Explorations in Victorian Literature and Science* (London: Anthem Press, 2013), pp. 135–52 (pp. 139, 139–40).
18. Professor Huxley, F.R.S., 'Time and Lie: Mr Darwin's "Origin of Species"', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1 (1859), pp. 142–48 (pp. 143–44).
19. Philip Davis, *The Victorians* (Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 62.
20. Trish Ferguson, *Victorian Time: Technologies, Standardizations, Catastrophes* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013), pp. 1, 6.
21. 'How much of the acclimatisation of species to any peculiar climate is due to mere habit, and how much to the natural selection of varieties having

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different innate constitutions, and how much to means combined, is a very obscure question. That habit or custom has some influence I must believe, both from analogy, and from the incessant advice given in agricultural works, even in the ancient Encyclopaedias of China, to be very cautious in transposing animals from one district to another; for it is not likely that man should have succeeded in selecting so many breeds and sub-breeds with constitutions specially fitted for their own districts: the result must, I think, be due to habit. On the other hand, I can see no reason to doubt that natural selection will continually tend to preserve those individuals which are born with constitutions best adapted to their native countries' (Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Natural Selection; or, the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (London: Murray, 1859), pp. 141–42).

22. Darwin would, however, look at custom in *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871; 2nd ed. 1874). In the first edition, it is seen merely as a simple inherited practice, but in the second edition that understanding is supplemented by the suggestions that it might also be the senseless vestige of a former practice, or as one of the vehicles of 'a high standard of excellence, inculcated by the ablest and best men, embodied in the laws, customs and traditions of the nation, and enforced by public opinion' (London: Murray, 1874), p. 143.
23. In an otherwise rather cautious letter from Whitwell Elwin to John Murray discussing whether *On the Origin* should be published, he writes enthusiastically, 'Every body is interested in pigeons' (3 May, p. 290). In a letter to Charles Lyell, Darwin writes that the reason why he likes the term 'natural selection' 'is that it is constantly used in all works on Breeding' (30 March, p. 273).
24. In November, the *English Woman's Journal* published an article on the 'Governess Question' for those parents whose daughters might need to follow that route, and another on 'The Market for Educated Female Labour', which was read in Bradford (1 November, pp. 163–69, and 145–51).
25. 'Chapter 4. Introduction to Cookery', *Beeton's Book of Household Management, edited by Mrs Isabella Beeton*, pp. 39–46 (p. 39).
26. 'Chapter 6. Fruit and Vegetable Soups', *Beeton's Book of Household Management, edited by Mrs Isabella Beeton*, December, pp. 55–85 (p. 80).
27. Jane Welsh Carlyle reflects ruefully on such strictures and her husband's insistence that 'one should conform to the customs of the people one lives among' (JWC to Mary Carlyle Austin, 7 February, p. 23).
28. Barton R. Friedman, *Fabricating History: English Writers and the French Revolution* (Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 151, 153.
29. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 30 April, pp. 1–5 (p. 1).
30. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 26 November, pp. 93–95 (p. 93).
31. Emily Allen and Dino Franco Felluga, *Novel-Poetry: The Shape of the Real and the Problem of Form* (Oxford University Press, 2024), ch. 2, 'Charles Dickens and the Novel-Verse', accessed 24 August 2024.

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32. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *All the Year Round*, 6 August, pp. 337–41 (p. 338).
33. Freidman writes, 'That Carton vests his survival in the memory of the Darnays and their offspring limits the extent to which Christian eschatology serves Dickens as an ordering principle' (p. 150), but that eschatology itself rests in the injunction to remember.
34. Gillian Beer writes of 'that use of the prophetic present which leaves no space between us and the future and poises us on the edge of the unknown' (*Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (London: Ark, 1985; 1983), p. 48), and which is shared by Dickens, Darwin, and Carlyle. But the future in *A Tale of Two Cities* is not unknown, has been enabled by Carton's death, and is in fact being lived in the present of 1859, so it is in a manner secured.
35. *All the Year Round*, 26 November, p. 95.
36. Françoise Metzler, *Hot Property: The Stakes and Claims of Literary Originality* (University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 5.
37. [Margaret Oliphant], 'Sensation Novels', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 91 (1862), pp. 564–84 (pp. 566, 565).
38. From Henry James's 1865 review of M. E. Braddon's *Aurora Floyd*; quoted in Lyn Pykett, *The Sensation Novel: from* The Woman in White *to* The Moonstone (Plymouth: Northcote House, 1994), p. 6.
39. This expansive understanding of sensation informs Jenny Bourne Taylor's readings of Collins in *In the Secret Theatre of Home: Wilkie Collins, Sensation Narrative, and Nineteenth-Century Psychology* (London: Routledge, 1988).
40. 'The Woman in White', *All the Year Round*, 26 November, pp. 95–104 (p. 101).
41. 'The Woman in White', *All the Year Round*, 10 December, pp. 141–47 (p. 144).
42. 'Ode. Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood', ll. 199–206; *The Poems of William Wordsworth: Collected Reading Texts from The Cornell Wordsworth Series*, ed. Jared Curtis, 3 vols. (Humanities-Ebooks, LLP: Penrith, 2009), I, p. 718.
43. *The River Duddon: A Series of Sonnets,* Sonnet 4, ll., pp. 1–2; *The Poems of William Wordsworth*, III, p. 350.
44. 'The Woman in White', *All the Year Round*, 17 December, pp. 165–70 (p. 167).
45. David Rowland, *A Manual of the English Constitution; with a Review of its Rise, Growth, and Present State* (London: John Murray), pp. 499, 546.
46. John S. Wilkins, 'Darwin', in Aviezer Tucker, ed., *A Companion to the Philosophy of History and Historiography* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), pp. 404–15 (p. 412).
47. Darwin writes, 'Nor let it be thought that some great deviation of structure would be necessary to catch the fancier's eye: he perceives extremely small differences, and it is in human nature to value any novelty, however slight, in one's own possession.'
48. Robert Macfarlane, *Original Copy: Plagiarism and Originality in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 59.

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49. *Daily News*, 22 December, p. 5; quoted in N. John Hall, *Trollope: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 196.
50. To Samuel Lucas, 28 December; *Meredith Letters*, p. 49.
51. '*The Cornhill Magazine*', *The Examiner*, 24 December, pp. 820–21 (p. 820).
52. See Kathryn Hughes, *The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs Beeton* (London: Fourth Estate, 2005).
53. See Talia Schaffer, *Novel Craft: Victorian Domestic Handicraft and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Oxford University Press, 2011).
54. Elisabeth Jay, *British Writers and Paris, 1830–1875* (Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 275.
55. 'The Theatres', *Saturday Review*, 10 December, pp. 706–07 (p. 706).
56. 'Public Amusements. The Dead Heart', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 20 November, p. 8.
57. 'Adelphi Theatre', *The Morning Chronicle*, 11 November, p. 3.
58. John Coleman, 'The Truth about "The Dead Heart" and "A Tale of Two Cities"', *New Review* (November 1889), pp. 542–51 (p. 546).
59. 'The Theatres', *Saturday Review*, 10 December, pp. 706–07 (p. 706). A full-blown row about plagiarism erupted in 1860, when Dickens' novel was adapted for the stage.
60. Michael Slater, *Charles Dickens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 474.
61. For a very helpful account of the intersection between scientific and cultural uses of adaptation, see Kamilla Elliott, 'The Adaptation of Adaptation: A Dialogue between the Arts and Sciences', in Pascal Nicklas and Oliver Lindner, eds., *Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation: Literature, Film, and the Arts* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 145–61.
62. 'Theatres', *The Theatrical Journal*, 20 (November), pp. 370–71 (pp. 370–71).
63. Andrew Halliday, *Romeo and Juliet Travestie; or, The Cup of Cold Poison. A Burlesque in One Act*, in Stanley Wells, ed. and intro., *Nineteenth-Century Shakespeare Burlesques*, 5 vols. (London: Diploma, 1977), III, pp. 205–57 (p. 216).
64. Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 31; quoted in Elliott, p. 149.
65. Daniel Pollack-Pelzner argues that Shakespeare adaptations fundamentally move Shakespeare away from 'private novelistic consciousness towards collaborative performance', and 'turn the internal debate of the canonical literary self into the public dispute of populist entertainment' ('Shakespeare Burlesque and the Performing Self', *Victorian Studies*, 54 (2012), pp. 401–09 (pp. 401, 407)).

8 Conclusion: 1859 and 'the mother tongue of our imagination'

1. *The Times*, 31 December 1859, pp. 6–7 (p. 6).
2. *The Times*, 31 December 1859, pp. 6–7 (p. 7).

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3. 'Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-Nine', *The Daily News*, 31 December, pp. 4–5 (p. 4).
4. 'Financial Reform Wanted for Ladies', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 11 December, p. 6.
5. Berg Coll MSS Eliot G, New York Public Library, Berg Collection.
6. Eliot praised the *Englishwoman's Journal*'s proselytising on this topic to Barbara Bodichon, writing that it '*must* be doing good substantially – stimulating woman to useful work, and rousing people generally to some consideration of women's needs. A few mistakes, and rather a feeble presentation of useful matter, will not neutralise the good that lies in a great aim and an honest effort; and I heartily wish all connected with the Journal "God speed"' (5 December; *Letters*, III, pp. 225–26).
7. Florence Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing: What It Is, and What It Is Not*, which adapts for a domestic setting the rules that she developed first in the Crimea, might have been written by Mrs Glegg in its tone of meticulous confidence in a single right way of doing things. Nightingale is as strict about dress as Mrs Glegg, utterly condemning the crinoline as 'this absurd and hideous custom', the 'fidget' of which, along with 'the rattling of keys, the creaking of stays and of shoes, will do a patient more harm than all the medicines in the world will do him good' (*Notes on Nursing: What It Is, and What It Is Not* (London: Harrison, n.d.), p. 68). Nightingale also insists on women's centrality to public health, on a mistress' responsibility for ensuring the health of her family and the cleanliness of her home, and in this insistence, as well as in her own example of someone employing skills of scientific observation and analysis, we see the claim that women's energies can and should be used to better and broader ends than those open to the Dodson sisters.
8. Eliot wrote of Darwin's work that 'the Development theory and all other explanations of processes by which things came to be, produce a feeble impression compared with the mystery that lies under the processes' (to Barbara Bodichon; *Letters*, III, p. 227). The 'mystery' is not specified and could have several referents, but Eliot's emphasis on mystery reflects a response concerned not just with empirical evidence but with its affective import for 'human life', the capacity to be beguiled by the mystery, as well as to wish to navigate the emotional resonances and repercussions of survival and extinction which are extraneous to Darwin's analysis.
9. I know a bank where the wild thyme blows:

> Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows,
> Quite over-canopied with luscious woodbine,
> With sweet musk-roses, and with eglantine. (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II.i.257–60)

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10. Eliot makes a similar point when she quietly references Lewes's work on digestion in the first volume of *The Physiology of Common Life* in her image of Tom's discomfort with Stelling's teaching being 'as uncomfortable for [him] as if he had been plied with cheese in order to remedy a gastric complaint' (I, p. 260), and his research on the relationship between sensory responses and memory:

> There is no better reason for preferring this elderberry bush than that it stirs an early memory; that it is no novelty in my life, speaking to me merely through my present sensibilities to form and color, but the long companion of my existence, that wove itself into my joys when joys were vivid. (I, p. 284)

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