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Imagining Men:

Charlotte M. Yonge and Mid-Victorian Masculinities

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Susan K. Walton

M.A. (St. Andrews), M.A. (York)

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An Abstract

This thesis studies some of the writings of Charlotte Yonge as a route into the cultural concepts of masculinity in the mid-nineteenth century. In her many best-selling publications, both fiction and non-fiction, together with her editorial control of *The Monthly Packet*, Yonge provided imaginary constructions of manliness for numerous mid-Victorians. Her complex domestic stories demonstrated versions of appropriate behaviour by men and considered how such constructions of manliness might be engendered within families and communities. An examination of her work in an exact historical context sheds light on the standpoints, anxieties and beliefs of significant sections of Victorian society.

Yonge had many connections with the armed services. The first chapter examines both the transformation within those parts of the army with which Yonge's family was associated and the gradual shift in attitudes to the military in wider society during the 1850s. A consideration of how brothers and sons might be fashioned into soldiers provides the theme of the second chapter. Yonge's early enthusiasm as reflected in *Kenneth; or the Rearguard of the Grand Army* (1850) is contrasted with the doubts apparent in *The Young Stepmother* (1861) set at the time of the Crimean War. The unhappy military experiences of Yonge's brother Julian are used to counterpoint her fictional representations.

Chapter Three explores notions of fatherhood both within the family and the community, with patriarchy viewed in a more inclusive and positive role than its usual

twenty-first century interpretation. *Henrietta's Wish* (1850) and *Hopes and Fears* (1860) are examined in this light. The following chapter is devoted to Yonge's role in the promotion of mission work as a virile, attractive occupation for educated men, a perfect combination of valour without violence, where men must be prepared to sacrifice their lives. Finally, an account of the difficulties of Yonge's relationships with the historian E. A. Freeman is given to illuminate the gendered assumptions interwoven into different categories of history-writing from mid-century. This chapter concludes with a brief assessment of *The Little Duke* (1854).

Susan K. Walton

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Abbreviations

Location of Sources

BL	British Library
BJULH	Brynmor Jones University Library, Hull
H/PRO	Hampshire Public Record Office, Winchester
JRULM	John Rylands University Library, Manchester
KCLO	Keble College Library, Oxford
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
SCLC	Selwyn College Library, Cambridge

Newspapers and Periodicals

<i>ChC</i>	<i>The Churchman's Companion</i>
<i>ChR</i>	<i>The Churchman's Remembrancer</i>
<i>CCC</i>	<i>Colonial Church Chronicle</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>FR</i>	<i>Fortnightly Review</i>
<i>ILN</i>	<i>The Illustrated London News</i>
<i>JCMYF</i>	<i>Journal of the Charlotte M. Yonge Fellowship</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>The Monthly Packet</i>
<i>QR</i>	<i>Quarterly Review</i>
<i>SR</i>	<i>The Saturday Review</i>

Names of individuals

AB-C	Angela Burdett-Coutts
ASB	Anne Sturges Bourne
CMY	Charlotte Mary Yonge
EAF	Edward Augustus Freeman
EC	Edward Coleridge
EPT	Edith Perronet Thompson
JRG	John Richard Green
MD	Marianne Dyson
McM	Alexander Macmillan
WEG	William Ewart Gladstone

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One of the great delights of the work for this dissertation has been the access it has allowed me to a variety of libraries. Lady Margaret Hall Library, Oxford, possesses an almost complete run of Charlotte Yonge's *The Monthly Packet*, and it gave me particular pleasure to spend many happy days reading volumes of her magazine in a place redolent with connections to Yonge herself. As a newcomer to reading original material in archives, I have appreciated the patient assistance given to me by numerous Librarians. In particular my thanks go to the Archivists at Selwyn College, Cambridge; Rhodes House Library, the Bodleian Library, Keble College, St. Hugh's College, Oxford; Hull and Manchester University Libraries; Hampshire Public Record Office, Winchester; St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden; Lambeth Palace Library and the British Library. The sense of privilege I felt from the first - to be allowed to read the private correspondence of these long-dead Victorian people - has never faded.

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Introduction: Charlotte Yonge's 'eventful life'

My aim in this dissertation is to study the writings of Charlotte Yonge as a route into the cultural concepts of masculinity in the mid-nineteenth century - to examine some of her work in an exact historical context in order to understand better the standpoints, anxieties and beliefs of important sections of Victorian society and consider the ways Yonge provided imaginary constructions of manliness for numerous mid-Victorians.

The period of 1845-1875 within which I set the thesis was a time of shifting attitudes, structures, and ideologies. The foundations of the 'Victorian' state and society were being laid, with many features later characterised as archetypal still unresolved. Cultural uncertainties were debated and contested within the greatly enlarged public/private arena of print, which empowered all silent readers, men and women, to participate in the arguments. While all periods of history are times of flux, it is arguable that the early years of Victoria's reign were unstable in remarkable and unaccustomed ways. The struggles to negotiate the social and political consequences of the upheavals brought about by technological change together with rapid urban growth have been thoroughly worked over by legions of scholars. What has been less recognised until recently has been the extent to which the nascent Victorian state was a male construct – that gender saturated the language whereby institutions, disciplines, public/private spaces were shaped. Gendered assumptions about the 'proper' nature of men and women in a modern nation lay at the heart of topics of mainstream historical importance such as the Ten Hours Movement, Chartism, Parliamentary Reform, the workings of liberal economics, the Anti-Slave Trade campaign. Although Victorians paid lip-service to an essentialist notion of gender as innate, they devoted much energy to the consideration of

necessary characteristics of patriotic British men and women; they agonised over the central question of how gender was to be performed, observed, adjusted, learned, commented upon, clothed - a site of perpetual anxiety with clouded and precarious borders.

Charlotte Yonge is a writer whose cultural significance has been somewhat overlooked.¹ Even her biographers have tended to marginalise her impact, viewing her life from a twentieth-century perspective. Georgina Battiscombe's title, 'An Uneventful Life' took at face value a customary phrase, regularly expressed about deceased eminent Victorian men and women. For modern eyes this label implies dullness, a failure to grapple with the mainstream, an opting out of opportunity – even mediocrity.² None of these implications were intended when Christabel Coleridge first described Yonge's life as 'very quiet'; such an expression was a commonplace of Victorian biography, given typically as a mark of respect, coded language for a moral life untainted by scandal which shunned personal publicity. 'Uneventful' was also used to summarize the lives of such diverse but prominent men as Lord Blachford (a barrister, editor of *The Guardian*, a government minister and privy councillor), E. A. Freeman (historian, lecturer, magistrate, Regius Professor of History at Oxford), and Yonge's own close associates, Rev. John

¹ Philip Davis, *The Victorians, 1830-1880* (Oxford, 2002), 121-125, however, gives *Heir of Redclyffe* due consideration as an important representative work, indeed, 'the century's most formidable religious novel' (124). Such acclaim in a general review of the period from a literary historian, marks an important shift in attitudes. Valerie Sanders, *Eve's Renegades. Victorian Anti-Feminist Women Novelists* (Basingstoke, 1996), also examines Yonge's work sympathetically; Barbara Dennis, *Charlotte Yonge, 1823-1901. Novelist of the Oxford Movement. A Literature of Victorian Culture and Society* (Lewiston, 1992) and Alethea Hayter, *Charlotte Yonge* (Plymouth: 1996) provide reappraisals of her life.

² Georgina Battiscombe, *Charlotte Mary Yonge. The Story of an Uneventful Life* (London, 1943): 'The outside world soon forgot her, because, with all her admirable qualities, she was not a great writer, but the villagers knew and remembered her for what she was, a good woman' (165). In *John Keble. A Study in Limitations* (London, 1963), Battiscombe damned Keble with similar faint praise, critical of his devotion to the parish.

Keble and Rev. Charles Dyson.³ It was an expression often employed for the scholarly.⁴ Had Battiscombe understood its original meaning, it would have placed Yonge where she belongs, among the important ‘men of letters’ whose work influenced a larger constituency of readers than that to which she is often assigned.

Simon Skinner’s revisionist analysis of the practical implications of the philosophy of the Oxford Movement has conclusively demonstrated how misguided the common historiographical portrait of the Tractarians has been.⁵ Through a thorough study of the periodical and fictional literature in which foremost members wrote, together with an examination of their extensive engagement in the active promotion of social and political reforms, he has rejected the typical portrait of their other-worldliness and futility in the face of major non-theological issues of the day. Determined to prove that his thesis is true for first-generation Tractarians, Skinner takes his story only up to 1845 – he draws on the novels of W. Gresley and F. E. Paget, but not on those of Elizabeth Sewell or Yonge. For many of his leading figures, however, 1845 (the date of Newman’s secession) ushered in the need for a doubling of their efforts in times of multiple public and private crises. Building on Skinner’s scholarship, I hope to show the central significance of Keble’s enlistment of Charlotte Yonge. Embedded within her novels, her historical fiction, and especially her periodical *The Monthly Packet*, were not just the religious principles of the Oxford Movement but their complex social and political theories. The conservatism of Yonge and her circle was not reactionary in a die-hard

³ Christabel Coleridge, *Charlotte Mary Yonge. Her Life and Letters* (London, 1903), v; R. W. Church (ed.) *Occasional Papers selected from the Guardian, The Times and the Saturday Review, 1846-1890* (London, 1897), 488; *EHR* VII, 1892, 497, ‘Edward Augustus Freeman’ by James Bryce; J. T. Coleridge, *Memoir of the Rev. John Keble, M.A., Late Vicar of Hursley* (1870; Farnborough, 1969), 3 and 41.

⁴ *Quarterly Review*, 195, April 1902, 547, ‘Two Oxford Historians: John Richard Green and S. R. Gardiner’: ‘The life of a scholar, in so far as it concerns the public, is usually uneventful’.

⁵ S. A. Skinner, *Tractarians and the ‘Condition of England’*. *The Social and Political Thought of the Oxford Movement* (Oxford, 2004); his introduction gives a devastating critique of such historiography.

manner, nor was it at ease with the compromises of Peel's brand of liberal-toryism; their sense of the parish as a community was socially inclusive to an unexpected extent and the nuances of their assumptions can best be comprehended through reading Yonge's domestic stories. Such a viewpoint restores Yonge to the status accorded her by her contemporaries, and rebuts all those anachronistic judgments which perceive her involvement with Keble as unhealthily compliant, and her collaboration with her father leading to a lifetime's 'state of emotional adolescence'.⁶

Part of any dismissal of Yonge as a serious contributor to Victorian culture may be due to the mistaken perception that she wrote solely for portions of the population excluded from direct political power – young women and children. Although some of her work was written specifically for children, the bulk of it was addressed to young people from fifteen to twenty-five years of age; this raises pertinent questions about how to define such an age-group. Yonge specified these ages in her introduction to the first issue of *The Monthly Packet*. Addressing her readers as 'young ladies', she added that she thought her periodical would provide 'pleasant reading for boys of the same age' - whom we, surely, would classify as 'young men'? Her books were aimed at a readership on the cusp of full adulthood, at that stage of life when they have some autonomy over crucial life-changing decisions about their roles and responsibilities. They might already have left home: her own father was sixteen when he left Eton to fight in the Peninsular War; in *Heartsease Violet* is sixteen when she marries; Harry in *The Daisy Chain* joins the navy and sets off for Australia as a midshipman aged only twelve. Some of Yonge's earliest

⁶ Charlotte Haldane, preface to *Heir of Redclyffe* (London, 1964); she states that Yonge, a 'typical Victorian spinster', probably had a physical crush for Keble 'sublimated into a spiritual-moral passion', and that 'no life could possibly be duller from a modern point of view'. Battiscombe, *Yonge*: 'she never completely grew up' (27). Feminist literary critics such as Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own from Charlotte Bronte to Doris Lessing* (London, 1982), 56-57, mock Yonge's readiness to remain within her family.

full-length novels were serialised in *The Churchman's Companion*, a periodical aimed at churchmen as well as their wives and families; this is an important reminder of the different reading practices of the nineteenth-century where novels were frequently a shared experience, embracing a complete age range.⁷ References in letters and diaries provide evidence that many men read her major novels, and that this was a normal activity. An excellent example is provided by a comment in 1864 by the Cambridge philosopher Henry Sidgwick to his friend Roden Noel:

There is a new story by the authoress of *The Heir of Redclyffe*, which I have read with all my old enthusiasm. I thought it was quite gone off, as the last two of her books rather bored me, but I can't get *The Trial* out of my head. Did you ever read *Madame Bovary*, a French novel by Flaubert? It is very powerful, and Miss Yonge reminds me of it by force of contrast. It describes how the terrible ennui of mean French rural domestic life drags down the soul of an ambitious woman, whereas Miss Yonge makes one feel how full of interest the narrowest sphere of life is.⁸

The historical/literary studies which initially reconsidered the role of women in the nineteenth century have broadened into a productive study of gender – its characterisation and purpose, its nuances and confusions, its function in the fabrication of the new professional middle classes and in the state machinery. Increasingly, the Victorian anxiety about women's roles appears to have been more to do with the central problem of men in the new urban industrial society, than with women themselves. The wide-ranging study of the male culture of boys' schools, literature, and clubs initiated by Mangan and Walvin has been followed by other detailed examinations of Victorian masculinity: 'From being virtually ignored by scholars, manliness is now firmly established as a key element in the moral discourse of the Victorians'.⁹ The illuminating

⁷ *Churchman's Companion*, Jan. 1849 - Jan. 1850, Vols. V-VII, *Henrietta's Wish* and Vols. VIII-XI, July 1850 - Feb. 1852, *The Two Guardians*.

⁸ A. S. and E. M. S. Sidgwick, *Henry Sidgwick, A Memoir* (London, 1906), 108-109.

⁹ John Tosh in a review of David Alderson, *Mansex Fine. Religion, Manliness and imperialism in nineteenth-century British Culture* (Manchester, 1998), *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 2001, 6.2, 360-363. J.

case-study by historian John Tosh of the family life of E. W. Benson exposed the specific conundrum of the many professional middle class men for whom the domestic sphere was not separate but the base from which they worked.¹⁰ Clearly the simplistic notion of ‘separate spheres’ could not be an appropriate model for the complexities of self-image and duties in such establishments, common for numerous doctors, vicars, schoolmasters, as well as landowning gentry. This has particular resonances when considering the many men in such families in Yonge’s stories, based as they were on men within her own wide circle of families. Masculinity was of central importance for those connected with the Oxford Movement whose followers were frequently portrayed as effeminate - men deficient in manly backbone, with a perceived preference for celibacy taken as evidence of emasculation.

New fruitful understandings about the cultural creation of masculinities through fiction and art have been provided by fine academic scholarship.¹¹ What unites these books (mainly by male academics) is their assumption that manhood is constructed out of the cultural messages to boys and men from other boys and men; that the production of masculinity results from internalising lessons transmitted by fathers, brothers, peer groups - leading male figures. Where literature contributes to these self-images then it is assumed that it will be written by men. Thus the writings of Carlyle, Marryat, Thackeray,

A. Mangan and J. Walvin (eds.), *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, (Manchester, 1987); John Tosh and Michael Roper (eds.), *Manful Assertions. Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London, 1991).

¹⁰ John Tosh, ‘Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class. The Family of Edward White Benson’, in *Manful Assertions*; also *A Man’s Place. Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, 1999); *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2005).

¹¹ Joseph Kestner, *Masculinities in Victorian Painting* (Aldershot, 1995); Donald E. Hall, *Muscular Christianity. Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, 1994), and *Fixing Patriarchy. Feminism and Mid-Victorian Male Novelists* (London, 1996); Graham Dawson, *Social Heroes. British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London, 1994); Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit. The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge, 1985); Andrew Dowling, *Manliness and the Male Novelist in Victorian Literature* (Aldershot, 2001); Herbert Sussman, *Victorian Masculinities. Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art* (Cambridge, 1995).

Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, all come under the spotlight – and rightly so – but I contend that Yonge’s writings are worthy of consideration from this perspective. What is more, boys had to learn how to perform masculinity initially at home, and the weight of the mid-century insistence on women’s roles as mothers/teachers/moral influences gave mothers and sisters significant authority for the moulding of their men. When boys and men went away from their home base, the messages learned from the females of the household were meant to remain within their psyches, ready when necessary to be whispered as prompt-lines should they forget how to play their manly roles. How women perceive manliness – and, indeed, femininity - is therefore central to its construction. Yonge’s best-selling and numerous domestic family stories can be seen as the rehearsal rooms for productions of patriotic English men.

Recent work on masculinities in other disciplines such as sociology and anthropology has underlined the extent to which manhood in most human societies is an unstable and contested state, into which boys need induction. Even when achieved, its existence requires constant monitoring, its maintenance controlled by internal and external constraints.¹² Far from it being an easy acquisition for anyone born with the appropriate chromosomes, masculinity is usually a ‘prize to be won or wrested through struggle’, hedged around with cultural and/or ritualistic sanctions to make it an elusive goal at which to aim; ultimately a ‘precarious or artificial state that boys must win against powerful odds’.¹³ A key supposition, accepted now by most scholars, is that discussion of plural ‘masculinities’ rather than a singular ‘masculinity’ provides a finer appreciation

¹² Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman (eds.), *Theorizing Masculinities* (London, 1994); Ian M Harris, *Messages Men Hear: Constructing Masculinities* (London, 1995); Victor J. Seidler, *Man Enough. Embodying Masculinities* (London, 1997); Stephen M. Whitehead and Frank J. Barrett (eds.), *The Masculinities Reader* (Cambridge, 2001).

¹³ David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making. Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, 1990), 11.

of the nuanced varieties of manhood. This, however, activates additional anxieties as it leads to uncertainties about which combination of characteristics is viewed as acceptable male behaviour at any time, impelling some men constantly to shift their stance. This also raises the notion of an imbalance between public and private identities - maleness as the costume in which to dress up for public appearances. What is particularly interesting about the work of the social anthropologist David Gilmore is that his wide-ranging studies of different types of present-day community across the world, both urban and rural, show that even in more traditional rural and pre-industrial settings, boys need to be trained to be men, and that ridicule is the universal method of discouragement to any male stepping out of line. 'Manhood ideologies force men to shape up on penalty of being robbed of their identity, a threat apparently worse than death' (17). Manhood is not taken to be innate even in those agricultural communities not yet touched by urban work-practices and the anonymity of large populations.

Gilmore's contention about the central role of learning to face danger in the construction of maleness has a special relevance to this dissertation, particularly the first two chapters on military themes. In his examination of aboriginal groups he had been prepared to shift his thinking from earlier assumptions of man-the-hunter/woman-the-gatherer, in line with newer emphases on women's participation and value in the survival of the group. He was nevertheless forced to recognise that ultimately there was a critical difference between the tasks of men and women – that cunning, toughness and autonomy were necessary for those traditional duties which men shouldered away from their home-base, often with a win-or-lose nature. Male responsibilities involve contests and bloodletting; apart from their role as hunters, their primary duty is of defence of the community. Most men, however, do not make good soldiers; they have to be inspired to

fight. This refutes any notion of male aggression as innate. Instead, indoctrination of some sort has always been necessary to turn boys into men and men into soldiers.

Agreeing with the work of Ernestine Friedl, Gilmore suggests that the ultimate test of supreme manhood is for a man to accept that he is expendable.¹⁴

In fulfilling their obligations men stand to lose – a hovering threat which separates them from women and boys. ... This acceptance of expendability constitutes the basis of the manly pose everywhere it is encountered; yet simple acquiescence will not do. To be socially meaningful, the decision for manhood must be characterized by enthusiasm combined with stoic resolve or perhaps "grace". It must show a public demonstration of positive choice, of jubilation even in pain, for it represents a moral commitment to defend the society and its core values against all odds. So manhood is the defeat of a childish narcissism that is not only different from the adult role but antithetical to it (223-4).

On this definition, 'manhood' is perhaps never achieved by a proportion of men in any society - those men who somehow do not 'grow up' sufficiently to make this fundamental shift so that they can respond to the commonplace demand to 'be a man!' It is also a reminder of the many complications for men in modern industrial societies where opportunities for rehearsing expendability are fewer and/or different in nature.

On the other hand, Gilmore is surprised to discover that the ultimate ideal of manhood held in most societies is more androgynous than he had expected - that it included within it qualities of nurturing and self-sacrifice regularly perceived as feminine. These manhood ideologies 'always include a criterion of selfless generosity even to the point of sacrifice. Again and again we find that "real" men are those who give more than they take; they serve others' (229). But this heroic exemplar is surely a familiar specimen from literary and historical stories throughout the ages - the ideal man, the knightly gentleman, the Scarlet Pimpernel, the courageous Captain Oates. Imagining such men appears to be an essential ingredient in learning how to become one. In his essay on

¹⁴ Ernestine Friedl, *Women and Men. An Anthropological View* (N.Y. Holt, 1975).

Lawrence of Arabia, Graham Dawson introduces a discussion on the significance of representations of heroic masculinities by saying: ‘Masculine identities are lived out in the flesh, but fashioned in the imagination’. He postulates the necessity of such an ‘imagined identity’ in the ‘real’ world:

... it organizes a form that a masculine self can assume in the world ... as well as its values and aspirations, its tastes and desires. ... The forms furnished by representations often figure ideal and desirable masculinities, which men strive after in their efforts to make themselves into the man they want to be. ... The history of masculinities must therefore include within its scope the tracing of those many and varied historical imaginings which have given shape, purpose, direction to the lives of men.¹⁵

Although Dawson is writing about the early twentieth century and Gilmore about its last decades, their comments have important insights relevant to the cultural perceptions of, and problems for, masculinity in the earlier decades of Victoria’s reign.

The summons to warfare in the 1850s created new challenges for mid-century men already struggling with the constraints thrust onto them by modernity. In my first chapter, I examine this specific military context and its relevance to Yonge’s books. To employ historical exactitude about the timing of events in the 1850s can illuminate the climate of literary creation. Martial heroes and deeds of valour have never been the exclusive territory of male authors and readers. Charlotte Yonge had a deep respect for the military careers of her father and wider family, and since childhood had thrilled to accounts of actual and legendary battles. She was unusual in transposing this military language and imagery to domestic situations.

¹⁵ Graham Dawson, ‘The Blond Bedouin. Lawrence of Arabia, imperial adventure and the imagining of English-British masculinity’, in Tosh and Roper, *Manful Assertions*, 118-119.

Chapter Two continues this military theme with an analysis of Yonge's relationship with her only brother Julian, and his brief unsatisfactory military career. In contrast to this fraught reality, I look at the specific relationships with brothers/sons who wish to be soldiers in two of Yonge's novels: the early *Kenneth or the Rearguard of the Grand Army* (1850) and the post-Crimean *The Young Stepmother* (serialised 1856-1860). These books reveal some of the problems inherent in the creation of modern Christian men who can show sufficient verve to fight and yet not endanger their gentlemanly integrity. It is a theme she returns to in *The Trial* (serialised 1862-64) - where an innocent man is accused of murder, while in the background Volunteer Rifle Clubs are rehearsing martial tactics - and *The Clever Woman of the Family* (serialised 1864-65), a domestic novel written in the light of the Indian 'Mutiny'.

Mid-century was a time for re-assessing how to define the male citizen in ways other than the military. In Chapter Three my focus is on Father-figures and how Yonge envisages the suitable composition of men-in-authority. Contrary to conventional views, Tractarian paternalistic social policies promoted energetic involvement with communities in towns and countryside; such proactive fathering is demonstrated in all its complexity in Yonge's stories. Scrutiny both of the many significant men in her life whom she admired, together with a consideration of some of her fictional creations in *Henrietta's Wish* (1850) and *Hopes and Fears* (1860), raises important issues at the heart of the contemporary debates.

It was perhaps a sign of Charlotte Yonge's gradual rejection of her earlier obsession with the military that she came to perceive missionary work as the perfect combination of valour without violence, where men were prepared to sacrifice their own

life but never spill the blood even of enemies. Chapter Four addresses her enthusiasm for mission-work and the possibility that her writings helped to transform the perception of such work so that it was considered suitable for the higher ranks of the gentry and middle class rather than a predominantly lower class profession. Apart from a significant sub-text in *The Daisy Chain* (serialised 1853-55), she published in 1873 a substantial biography of her cousin, Coleridge Patteson, a missionary killed in the Melanesian Islands of the Pacific. In this she located her Ideal Man, and through her detailed recreation of his life offered a model whose pattern could be used to mould perfect specimens of manliness.

At least half of Yonge's published work was historical. As well as her many novels set in past eras, she wrote accounts of historical episodes, put together collections of biographical tales, and ensured that *The Monthly Packet* always had a variety of historical essays. At a time when History was a 'new' discipline being defined and shaped as a pseudo-science for professional academics, she was commissioned by E. A. Freeman to write a textbook, a *History of France*, for a series of which he was editor. In Chapter Five an account of the difficulties of her relationship with Freeman illuminates the gendered assumptions interwoven into different categories of history and history-writing from mid-century. This chapter ends with a brief discussion of *The Little Duke*.

The last thirty years have been an exhilarating period for Victorian studies. What had been studied largely as a story of serious constitutional, economic and imperial development, as recorded in institutional archives and in the writings of Great Men (with the occasional Eminent Woman) - indeed a sombre masculine version of the past, of which the Victorians themselves would have approved - has been undressed, handled,

anatomized in a multiplicity of new ways. This has revealed a far more complex, fluid, and colourful society than the term 'Victorian' had come to denote. That this newly revealed body of knowledge has been opened up to inspection is due, to some extent, to the employment of a more interdisciplinary approach. The rigid distinctions between academic disciplines, which the Victorians strove to put into place so as to elevate them into honourable professions suitable for gentlemen, have been assailed. Historians quarry the rich seams of anthropology, sociology, and literature; literary critics draw on the scholarship of historians, psychologists and philosophers. And within the old citadel of History there has been a democratisation of the different varieties of historical study. The traditional pecking order which placed political, diplomatic and constitutional history on a higher plane than social and economic history has gradually been flattened, and grudging doors have been opened for recent arrivals such as gender, cultural and postcolonial studies. The cultural history which has emerged with its emphasis on 'aspects of identity, consciousness and mentality in place of social structure, social organisation, and the economic bases of power', provides an opportunity to interrogate literary texts with the intention of adding to historical understanding.¹⁶ The insights provided by this wealth of perspectives have deepened our understanding of Victorian culture as a whole, giving a richness of colour to its sepia tones.

The practices of scholars working in the interstices of literary and historical studies provide the template for the historically-based methodology of my research. My training began with a traditional historical degree (Medieval and Modern History as an undergraduate), progressed to an interdisciplinary History/English MA, which led

¹⁶ Richard J. Evans, in David Cannadine (ed.), *What is History Now?* (Basingstoke, 2002), 8.

eventually into an English department for the purposes of this Dissertation. Hull University's extensive holdings of nineteenth century periodicals and biographies replete with sizeable extracts of correspondence, formed the basis of my studies. This was supplemented by visits to other libraries and Public Record Offices to read relevant archival collections of letters and as much of the work of Charlotte Yonge herself as possible. In particular I studied *The Monthly Packet*, where Yonge's editorial selection, comments and features provide almost a sense of intimacy with her evolving viewpoints. At all times I strove for historical accuracy for the context of her writings - to position her work within a framework of the specific events which were of concern to her and her circle. The novels I have chosen to examine in detail are not necessarily her best-written, but provide pertinent commentaries for the key topics of each chapter – literary criteria were of little interest for my purposes. It would have been fruitful to scrutinize Yonge's own favourite, *The Pillars of the House* (1873), but its length and complexity would have meant the omission of much else. Similarly it has been impossible to include her best-known *The Heir of Redclyffe* (1853) and *Heartsease* (1854) although their extraordinary popular success indicates that they chimed with central themes of their time.¹⁷ Yonge's imagined heroes both represented and shaped perceptions of men (and women) at mid-century.

¹⁷ *North American Review*, 80, April 1855, 452, on the death of Guy in *The Heir*: 'The soldier, the divine, the seamstress, the lawyer, the grocer-boy, the belle and the hair-dresser peeping over her shoulder, joined in full cry, according to their different modes of lacrymation, over the lowly grave under the chestnut-trees'.

Chapter One: "Happy Warriors"? Military matters and the 1850s

Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
It is the generous Spirit, who, when brought
Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
Upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought:
Whose high endeavours are an inward light
That makes the path before him always bright:
Who, with a natural instinct to discern
What knowledge can perform, is diligent to learn;
Abides by this resolve, and stops not there,
But makes his moral being his prime care...
This is the happy Warrior; this is he
That every Man in arms should wish to be.

From 'Character of the Happy Warrior' by William Wordsworth
(Composed Dec. 1805 / Jan. 1806, published 1807)

Introduction - Battles in the Imagination

'The characteristic act of men at war is not dying, it is killing'. With this opening sentence to her book *An Intimate History of Killing*, Joanna Bourke in 1999 sent shocked ripples through the ranks of military historians.¹ The consternation caused by her arguments was magnified by their astonishment at a woman writing such a book - that women in the late twentieth-century were not only enrolled on active service to fight alongside men, but that they claimed the right to pass judgment on past military campaigns in which they had no role. The columns of *The Daily Telegraph* fizzed with critical comments after an extract was published.² Bourke's contention was that 'the centrality of killing' was usually sidestepped by experts writing about war, as if the role of soldiers was to 'be killed rather than to kill' (2). But in her exhaustive reading of the diaries and letters of twentieth-century combatants, she had been forced to recognise

¹ Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing. Face to Face Killing in Twentieth Century Warfare* (London, 1999), 1.

² Reviews by Antony Beevor, *Daily Telegraph*, May 15 1999, and Noel Malcolm, *Sunday Telegraph*, May 23 1999; Max Hastings, *Daily Telegraph*, Dec. 5 1999, called it the 'silliest book I have read. ... [a] feminist misreading of warfare on an epic scale'.

uncomfortable facets of soldiers' emotional responses to battle. Chief among these was the possibility that for many men there was pleasure gained from fighting in war; that 'for men, combat was the male equivalent of childbirth: it was the initiation into the power of life and death' (14). Military situations can push men to the limits of endurance, buoyed up by male comradeship and laughter. While sport can mimic these experiences, nothing comes near the intensity and exhilaration of the actual challenge. She was surprised by many of her findings: that soldiers recorded their need to visualize in their imaginations the faces of their enemies when technology meant they could no longer glimpse them - 'personalizing the foe could be crucial to the moral and emotional well-being of combatants and formed a buffer against numbing brutality' (7); that those divisions which did not need bayonets, such as the Medical Corps, resisted the order to dispense with them as bayonets had symbolic significance as emblems of combatancy (53).

In *The Pity of War*, Niall Ferguson controversially supports Bourke's hypothesis as applied to the First World War; he takes issue with 'the idea that the war was entirely "piteous" in Wilfred Owen's sense, and the men who fought it pitiable. For most soldiers, to kill and risk being killed was much less intolerable than we generally assume ... Even the most famous war writers provide evidence that murder and death were not the things soldiers disliked about the war. Killing aroused little revulsion and fear of death was suppressed'.³ If he and Bourke are right, then these are uncomfortable truths, difficult to incorporate into notions of modernity and the construction of disciplined male citizenship. How can a mature society which prides itself on having enlightened attitudes about the sanctity of the lives of citizens and even animals, and which prohibited duelling as an acceptable method for gentlemen to resolve disputes, then authorize a section of its

³ Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War* (London, 1998), 446-447.

male citizens to unleash primitive violent urges to kill opponents?⁴ All the more important that, as Ferguson avers, ‘the motifs of holy war and Christian self-sacrifice employed by clergymen on both sides enabled soldiers to rationalize the slaughter they found themselves perpetrating and suffering’. How else could ‘modern’ men justify the barbaric quality of warfare?⁵

My argument will be that the re-introduction of this medievalised discourse, of sanctified violence executed by upright moral men, was a process which occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century, and that Charlotte Yonge’s work was one strand which gave substance to this discourse and its wider dissemination.⁶ The work of both Bourke and Ferguson focuses on the First World War and is part of an extensive body of scholarship devoted to the literature and culture of that war.⁷ But it seems possible to extract some conclusions from their work and reposition them within an earlier period, in order to highlight the beginnings of a narrative of knightly warfare to dovetail with the evolving domestic ethos: soldiers ‘whose master-bias leans/ To homefelt pleasures and to gentle scenes;/ Sweet images! which wheresoe’er he be,/ Are at his heart ... / More brave

⁴ The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded in 1824; Parliament passed a Cruelty to Animals Act as early as 1809; see Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1980), 20-25. By mid-century arguments over the treatment of animals were heated and by no means marginal. This included a debate about fox-hunting, which culminated in 1869 when the historian E. A. Freeman launched an attack on its morality in *Fortnightly Review* and Anthony Trollope leaped to its defence: David C. Itzkowitz, *Peculiar Privilege. A Social History of Foxhunting, 1753-1885* (Sussex, 1977), ch. IX. For duelling: Donna Andrew, ‘The Code of Honour and its Critics - Opposition to Duelling 1700-1850’, *Social History*, 5(3), 1980, 409-434; V. Kiernan, *The Duel in European History. Honour and the Reign of Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1988).

⁵ Daniel Pick, *The War Machine. The Rationalization of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (New Haven, 1993), examines the justifications of war developed by key intellectuals in the nineteenth-century and the creation of the notion of a ‘science’ of war. Von Clausewitz’s classic analysis *On War* was published in 1833.

⁶ Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, 1981), traces its origins to cultural shifts within the upper and middle classes in the early decades, with special emphasis on the influence of Walter Scott’s novels. The full flowering of chivalric themes is perceived as typical of the rampant Imperialism of the later decades; see Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes. British Adventure, Empire and the Imaginings of Masculinities* (London, 1994).

⁷ Most, however, stress the horror and misery of the soldiers’ experiences and the collapse of notions of war as glorious: e.g. Paul Fussell’s *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford, 1975).

for this, that he hath much to love'.⁸ Wordsworth's Happy Warriors, grounded by their attachment to the sacred centres of hearth and home, gave women a central role in moulding and maintaining recruits of calibre. This was a discourse which would gradually permeate Victorian society reaching its apogee in the mass volunteering of 1914, but it was also a discourse at odds with the reality of warfare.

Of particular interest for the purposes of this dissertation are those sections in Bourke where she elucidates how martial combat has a 'before' as well as an 'after'; that it has to be imagined beforehand in order to activate the necessary behaviour, and that this preparation is achieved partly by the internalisation of war stories. Such stories have always formed an integral part of literature and these imaginative zones provide a linguistic structure within which aggressive behaviour can legitimately be fantasized.⁹ Narratives of war can thus sanctify actions which would be deemed savage in civilian life. Almost as an aside, she comments that girls too are entranced by such literature. The American academic, Jean Bethke Elshtain supports this in her use of her own personal story to introduce her examination of how women relate to war and 'the war stories deeded to us'.¹⁰ Joan of Arc had been her role-model when young, unable to identify with the passive roles assigned to women in narratives of war. Later when Elshtain discovered that women were excluded from participation in battle, she found an alternative heroine in Margaret Higgins, a female war photographer for *Life* magazine during the Second World War, a vocation which enabled close witness of battle. Casual questions to groups of women usually confirm the memories of enjoyment had from

⁸ From 'Character of the Happy Warrior' by William Wordsworth.

⁹ Bourke, 16. Germane to my thesis, Ernest Hemingway included some heroic war stories by Yonge in his popular anthology *Men at War* (1942; New York, 1968), published to encourage war-like spirit in Americans at a crucial moment in the Second World War.

¹⁰ Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York, 1987), ch. 1.

'boys' stories' for at least some of those present, and the frequency with which they identified with the male rather than the female characters.¹¹

Recent articles by another academic, Terry Castle, and the author Hilary Mantel give further credence to the confusion engendered by war stories for some women. Castle writes in the wake of the attack on New York's Twin Towers about her embarrassment as a feminist to admit her obsession with the First World War, and of her pilgrimage to the trenches to imagine what her great-uncle had confronted. She anatomizes the stages of her thinking; how can she as a woman comprehend the roles asked of men in war:

If you're a woman ... it's hard to know where to stand with all of this. You regret the appalling absurd waste of life ... You see the savage toll the cult of heroism takes - has always taken - on men and boys. But painful too - at times exorbitantly so, once you become sensitised to it - the near-total exclusion of your own sex from such primal dramas of unflinching physical courage. You feel at a moral deficit. You wonder, perhaps dubiously, if you would be capable of such nobility under the circumstances - of moving forward calmly. ... women have seldom been asked to exert their valour in this direct, theatrical, entirely wasteful and (yet) sublime fashion. Certainly I never have. From early childhood I have searched with little success for a woman who might show me - in some comparable and quite literal way - how to walk towards death.¹²

Although the language is so modern, the sentiments are ones with which Charlotte Yonge would have empathized - she yearned to have been actually present in the war-stories she heard and read, balanced by the shame of her timidity at any loud noise or bloodshed. Instead she channelled her military obsessions and imaginings into her writings, instructing sisters and mothers how to construct brothers and sons who would represent them in battles, actual and metaphorical.

¹¹ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, 2001), 379-381, 'Boys' Stories for Girls', provides further examples.

¹² *London Review of Books*, 'Courage, mon amie' by Terry Castle, April 4 2002, 3-11. Castle mentions without comment the name of the English primary school she attended - 'Sir John Moore's' - a potent reminder of the pervasive residue of war-stories in our personal and national identities.

In a similar vein, Hilary Mantel depicts her identification with a grandfather who fought in Egypt in 1918. Her imaginative play centred round Robin Hood, Knights of the Round Table, and the Wild West. When a boy cousin is given a mini-shooting range, she is enraged by the gift of a dolls tea-set. Growing-up entails a gradual realisation: '[I] carry the dull knowledge inside me, heavy in my chest - that I am never going to be a boy now'.¹³ What she is reluctant to abandon is the possibility of the challenging roles assigned to men. One final anecdotal account of the childhood of a writer provides an extra insight into this gender confusion about war-stories. Lady Longford, herself the biographer of that epitome of military valour the Duke of Wellington, records with pride the bellicose cavortings of one of her sons as he 'stumped round the house at three with a stick chanting, "I want to kill somepin",' while her eldest daughter Antonia aged five wafted as a Fairy Queen. Yet on the previous page Longford had written of Antonia aged three, killing a snake in her sand-pit by severing its head.¹⁴ The former cultural role-models of pugnacious-boy/fay-girl are those to be promoted, whereas the latter was clearly an aberration.

There are two important points being raised here: the significance of the imagination in creating soldiers and providing them with communal sanctions for their deeds; and secondly, the possible role women play through their conceptions and endorsement of manly champions to fight the nation's battles. Both are themes of special interest in relation to the writings of Yonge in the 1850s, a decade when military matters forced themselves onto the public mind. Although none of her work can be labelled as displaced narratives of war in the way of Kingsley's *Westward Ho!*, for example, she

¹³ Hilary Mantel, 'My Life as a Boy. Giving up the Ghost', *LRB*, Jan. 2 2003, 8-13.

¹⁴ Elizabeth Longford, *The Pebbled Shore. Memoirs of Elizabeth Longford* (London, 1986), 156-157.

deals with issues of manly behaviour and heroism in a way which had a direct bearing on the contemporary anxieties about the role of soldiers in the new commercial urban society of early Victorian Britain. In this chapter I want to consider the specific context of her work in the light of the debates current in those years: the build-up to war in the Crimea, and its aftermath in the Volunteer movement of the later 1850s. I will also consider Yonge's own involvement with the military.

In one of the few examinations of the place of war and the army in Victorian Literature, John Peck perceives any lurking enthusiasm for the military in the earlier nineteenth-century as the preserve of a backward-looking minority nurturing their nostalgia for 'an aristomilitary code'.¹⁵ He examines the novels of Charles Lever, a military novelist whose celebration of old-style aristocratic 'high-jinks' was a throw-back in the same way as the 'silver-fork' novelists of the 1830s and 1840s were, though he admits that Lever 'was an outsider to the military code that the [other military novelists] all seemed to share'. My thesis is that those 'others', together with the numerous military memoirs, were more representative and typical, and provided the foundation for the later eruption of attention into military matters in mid-century. Peck however, even for the 1850s, depicts Kingsley as 'an isolated voice', out of the mainstream of Victorian culture. But careful reading of periodicals, memoirs, letters, indicates the existence of a more widespread undercurrent of interest in such matters - especially so long as they were perceived as stories of heroism - ready to burst into a torrent of concern throughout the 1850s. The seed-bed of what Graham Dawson calls the 'pleasure culture of war' was sown in earlier decades and sprang to life in the heroic narratives of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. Contrary to Peck's claim, the transformation of attitudes to soldierly

¹⁵ John Peck, *War, the Army and Victorian Literature* (Basingstoke, 1998), 4.

valour which became the truism of late Victorian imperial venture was already taking place in the first half of the century, whereby the best of British pluckiness, purged of undesirable appetites, was reshaped into an acceptable knightly model suited to modernity.¹⁶

Without this shift, it is possible that Yonge's novels would not have appealed to such a wide audience. Her novels *The Heir of Redclyffe* (1853) and *Heartsease* (1854) were immensely popular not only with the public, but with the soldiers involved in the Crimean War. Yonge's brother Julian was proud to find that nearly all the young men in his regiment, the Rifle Brigade, had a copy of *The Heir* with them on foreign service in Canada and in the Crimea in 1853.¹⁷ Lord Raglan was given *Heartsease* by Admiral Stewart and, famously, it was the last book he read before he died.¹⁸ But also of particular relevance are *Kenneth, or the Rearguard of the Grand Army* (1850), and *The Young Stepmother* (serialised in *The Monthly Packet* 1856-1860) set at the time of the Crimean War. *The Trial* (serialised 1862-64), a sequel to *The Daisy Chain*, supplies an interesting commentary on the Volunteer Movement, while Mrs. Craik's novel *A Life for a Life* (1859) affords an alternative female view-point. Opening as peace is made in September 1856 it weighs up the divergent judgments on men who kill with the blessing of the nation - 'man-slayers' on the authority of the Queen - and those who in a single lapse of control accidentally cause the death of a fellow human being. *The Clever Woman of the Family* (serialised 1864-65 but set in 1858-59) has soldier-heroes, recently

¹⁶ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 3-5, 236-240, 245-248; he calls it 'masculine war-culture', and assumes that it is of interest only to men and boys. Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation. Images of War in British Popular Culture 1850-2000* (London, 2000), ch. 1, notes these undercurrents of popular interest in the military before 1850, and adopts Dawson's phrase.

¹⁷ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 183. The first three chapters are an incomplete Autobiography by Yonge herself, of her life up to the age of fifteen.

¹⁸ Letter from Yonge in Elizabeth Wordsworth, *Glimpses of the Past* (Oxford, 1912), 188.

returned from the Indian Mutiny, learning to reposition themselves within a domestic setting. Although I will not be looking at these novels until the next chapter, it is important to keep them in mind while examining the wider picture.

Attitudes towards the Military at Mid-century

(i) The Great Exhibition 1851

In the decades between the ending of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 and the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854, British society had undergone seismic changes. The prodigious rise in population, the development of innovative machinery powering pioneer industries in new northern centres, the growth of crowded urban areas connected by the recent invention of railways, had all accelerated the commercial advances of the eighteenth-century and transformed the social as well as the physical geography of the land. The 1851 Census recorded more people living in towns than the countryside for the first time in Britain's long history. By comparison with the crises caused by the social unrest and economic hardship of the 'hungry forties', the 1850s can appear to be a plateau of unequalled prosperity and contentment when Britain basked in her apparent technical superiority. An added ingredient to this triumphalist mood was the conviction of their moral advantage over rivals: unlike America and Russia, Britain had abolished slavery within its territories, and in contrast to other European states Great Britain was a unified nation which prided itself on a free press and a representative parliamentary system to guarantee individual rights and respond to public opinion. In this pre-imperial stage, there was even some optimism about the possibility of transferring this same way of life to other parts of the world without the necessity for colonial annexation - though already this was a principle hard to maintain in practice. In the preferred scenario, the female Britannia ruled not just the waves but also potentially the world with a benign, mature

presence, a guardian of fledgling peoples and an exemplar to its neighbours. According to the prophets of Free Trade, the gentle (feminine?) arts of negotiation, compromise and co-operation would achieve prosperity far in excess of that amassed by the more cut-throat (masculine?) habits of the past.

This version of the beneficent workings of Free Trade skimmed over the ruthlessness of unregulated markets and the insecurity of commercial ventures. For one short period in the early 1850s while Britain had the advantage over her competitors and the teething troubles of early industrialism had subsided, it was possible to disregard the habitual skirmishes which took place wherever new trading enterprises established themselves. By the end of the decade, the notion of the 'survival of the fittest', which emerged with the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859, would provide a cogent metaphor for the combative reality of economic competition both nationally and internationally. In truth, characteristics of the British bulldog and of 'John Bull' were to prove more appropriate for the aggressive world of trade, with 'masculine' pugnacity rather than 'feminine' co-operation required; and in the international field, where local resistance to 'free' trade proved stubborn, physical coercion might be necessary to force markets open. But a fundamental plank of the Manchester school of Free Trade was that peace and cooperation would follow the removal of trade barriers. Richard Cobden and John Bright preached of a future where war would be consigned to the feudal past and mankind would unite for the common good.

These same ideas were fundamental to the aims of the Great Exhibition in 1851 and are seen most clearly in Prince Albert's keynote speech at the Mansion House Banquet in March 1850 held to persuade provincial civic leaders to participate in the

Exhibition. In his paean to the theories of Adam Smith, he extolled the golden future for mankind, which would result from Free Trade and 'the great principle of division of labour, which may be called the moving power of civilisation'. For many contemporaries the attraction of Prince Albert's speech was his conviction that these economic laws led not merely to the Wealth of Nations but to a manifestation of Divine Law here on earth. The Queen endorsed such optimistic hopes: 'It is my anxious desire to promote among nations the cultivation of all those arts which are fostered by peace, and which in their turn contribute to maintain the peace of the world'. The conversion of Peel to Free Trade, which had culminated in the Corn Law Crisis of 1845-6, marked the Conservative capitulation to the economic forces of the future.¹⁹ Above all, this demonstrated the triumph of new middle-class metropolitan values over those of the traditions of the aristocracy and landed gentry.²⁰ The aim of the organisers of the Exhibition was to raise the profile of trade and manufacture, and wipe out Napoleon's infamous slur against the 'shop-keepers' of England.

But already there were hints in the Exhibition that the progress of science would not merely change the nature of civilian enterprise but transform warfare with weapons of machine-like precision and lethal capabilities. Situated at the end of the western nave of the Crystal Palace was 'Class 8: Naval and Military engineering'. The exhibits stressed design and were not numerous; they included Wilkinson & Sons' swords as used by the British army though presented as an educational demonstration of the stages of

¹⁹ John R. Davis, *The Great Exhibition* (Stroud, 1999), 66-68.

²⁰ It seems surprising that *The Monthly Packet*, founded in 1851, has no article on the Exhibition apart from an allegory 'The Crystal Palace', II, July 1851, 35-43; this contrasts the insubstantial nature of the 'edifice of beauty' to which an 'immense multitude of nations' throng, with the longer-lasting substance of the Kingdom of God. The Yonges and their circle viewed the triumph of these 'modern' values with anxiety.

production.²¹ The display of Colt pistols in the American section was a more brutal reminder of the consequences of 'modern' weaponry and new trading routes. Attached to this exhibit was a quotation from a Senate Committee Report:

... on the Texan frontier, and on several routes to California, the Indian Tribes are renewing their murderous warfare, and a general Indian war is likely to ensue, unless bodies of mounted men, efficiently equipped for such service, are employed against them ... A few bold men, well skilled in the use of such weapons, can, under such circumstances, encounter and scatter almost any number of savages.²²

And with the benefit of hindsight, we know that those same 'savages' will be most keen to own similar weapons, and that manufacturers would be constantly 'improving' their products; that international trade would result in a proliferation of wars world-wide, and that the armament industries of 'advanced' nations would become a major factor in the maintenance of healthy trade balances through the sale of modern weaponry to 'less developed' nations. Modernity procures cutting-edge technology to deliver ever more powerful and deadly weapons.

The hopes of the many in England in 1850-51 for a peaceful world where armies could be dispensed with were laudable but other-worldly. They were also short-lived. 'The 1850s were warlike. Two of the three major British military endeavours between Waterloo and the Great War, besides two of those "minor" campaigns - in Persia and China - which regularly punctuated the Victorian age, took place then'.²³ Indeed the reference to 'minor' wars is a reminder of how frequent, numerous but overlooked these were; in the 1840s alone there had been the 'opium war' in China (1839-42), the conquest of Sind (1843) and the Sikh territories (1845-46 and 1848-49), the repression of Maori

²¹ Davis, *Great Exhibition*, 149.

²² Davis, *ibid.* 161.

²³ K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846-1886* (Oxford, 1998), 167, the opening words of his chapter on the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny.

rebellion (1843-48), together with campaigns in Canada and the Cape, and episodes such as Rajah Brooke's one-man battle against the pirates of the Sarawak coast.²⁴ Such campaigns were largely over issues of trade and territory and were followed closely in the serious journals with 'real' visual images provided by *The Illustrated London News*.

(ii) The Survival of Military Narratives

Accounts of heroic military feats (such as that of Sir Charles Napier at Sind), together with the stream of Memoirs and fictional retellings of adventures in the Napoleonic Wars ensured that the theme of men performing acts of valour in military situations never completely disappeared from public consciousness - and private fantasy. The role of these many retellings from the Napoleonic Wars (what they called the Great War) tends to be overlooked, although similar in their time to the outflowing of narratives which followed the major wars of the twentieth-century. Key episodes of resilience and achievement were re-played and became embedded into popular historical discourse. Their 'Dunkirk' was Moore's Retreat to Corunna in 1809, a defeat transformed by exemplary heroism into a moment of national pride. Memoirs from this campaign were already being published in 1809, with a steady stream continuing throughout the war years to include the rest of the Peninsular War, a campaign which could be rendered as a story of the chirpy British David against the gigantic might of the French Goliath, and 'one of the most successful campaigns ever fought by a British army'.²⁵ Wellington had to decline giving formal consent to dedications of such works as he was sent 'hundreds, I

²⁴ 'The Question of the Age - Is It Peace?', *Macmillan's*, May 1860, 72-76, lists the frequency of wars 1815-1860, to rebut those who claimed that 'the ancient combative spirit' had passed and that in the 'pacific structure and temper of modern civilization' wars were lessening.

²⁵ Capt. John Kincaid, *Random Shots from a Rifleman* (1835; Staplehurst, 1998), vii, introduction by Ian Fletcher. A continued fascination for this war is evidenced by the many reprints published by military publishers Spellmount, the frequent use of the Peninsular War as a setting for popular novels, and the magazines devoted to recreating the battle-plans and uniforms. Apart from the satisfaction of a war with a 'happy' ending of victory, the attraction appears to be that it was a war of movement, in which individuals had opportunities to display initiative before technological developments changed the face of warfare.

might almost say thousands, of volumes offered to my protection'.²⁶ Sir William Napier's five-volume account, published in 1828-1840, became the authoritative source book, and stimulated yet more personal accounts to be added to the narrative bank, while popular novelists such as James Grant fictionalised his own father's stories in *The Romance of War, or The Highlanders in Spain*.²⁷ A continual dialogue was maintained through print about the details of British tactics and these same debates flowed over into drawing-rooms throughout the shires.²⁸ Charlotte Yonge would see it as her duty to rewrite a crucial episode in the Battle of Waterloo to try to correct a misapprehension, which had entered the popular version of the events of that day.²⁹ More importantly for my thesis about the role of internalized war stories for girls as well as boys, she made a key episode in *Scenes and Characters* hinge on the courageous action of seven-year old Phyllis who threw a powder-horn of gunpowder out of the window in time to prevent a fire in the schoolroom. Phyllis was able to act quickly because she had absorbed the Peninsular War story of a soldier who had prevented the explosion of an arsenal, and imaginatively rehearsed similar life-saving performances.³⁰

One of the first post-war accounts and one of the most successful, was *The Subaltern*, which began its life as a series of occasional articles in *Blackwood's Magazine*

²⁶ G. R. Gleig, *The Subaltern* (1826; Edinburgh, 1872), xxxi; letter quoted in Preface.

²⁷ Reissued in a cheap reprint in 1856, it had sold another 100,000 by 1882: R. D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public* (Chicago, 1957), 385. Such evidence contradicts Peck's comment that Grant 'ploughed on for years with war stories', with its implication that he was beating a dead horse, Peck, 3.

²⁸ C. A. E. Moberly, *Dulce Domum. George Moberly, His Family and Friends by his Daughter* (London, 1911), 153: Annie describes how her father, Headmaster of Winchester College, relished discussing details of the Peninsular War; each time his brother Richard visited, they spent the first half-hour in debate as to the relative greatness of Napoleon's Generals.

²⁹ *Christian Remembrancer*, LIV, 1867, 239-285, in review of a number of publications including her own father's Memoir; also in Yonge's Autobiography, C. Coleridge, 22-25.

³⁰ C. M. Yonge, *Scenes and Characters* (1844; London, 1889), 175-180, 240-248. In a book with only four illustrations, the picture positioned close to her courageous action shows Phyllis, 'Rescuing tadpoles stranded on the broad leaf of a water-lily', demonstrating how she seized opportunities to save life.

in 1825. Based on his own diaries, G. R. Gleig's account gives an authentic experience of 1813-1814, a year's fighting which led to the ousting of the French from Spanish soil; it is also the rite of passage of a boy of sixteen into manhood, the adventures of a young man and his dog, the 'happiest in his life'.³¹ It was immensely influential in propagating both the notion of an ethical war fought to bring freedom, and the honourable soldier behaving with decency and self-imposed discipline. Whereas civilians might imagine that military authority would involve brutality and restriction, Gleig paints a rosy picture of its benign protection over the whole community:

... if, during the progress of active operations, houses and gardens suffered, the loss was made good to the owners by bills upon the English treasury. Hence, though it may be very shocking to witness the death, by violence, of our fellow-creatures, and, sadder still, when the fray is over, to contemplate the wrecks which war has left behind, the day of battle, be it remembered, is not of constant occurrence (xxvii-xxviii).

His claims about the morality of army-life carried special weight; he was ordained in the Church of England after the war, and in 1844 was made Chaplain-General of the Armed Forces. It was largely under his authority that provision was made for soldiers to worship even while they were in the 'field'. Thence the conclusion of the previous quotation:

there are darker griefs in civil life than warfare such as that of which I now speak occasions. For, even in reference to the highest of all concerns, I am not sure whether to a well-constituted mind, the tented field be not as apt a school of piety and true devotion as the crowded capital, or even the quiet village (xxvii-xxix).

³¹ G. R. Gleig, *The Subaltern*, xxxiii. John Sutherland, *Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction* (Harlow, 1988) categorises *The Subaltern* wrongly as 'racy' and a novel - it is neither. The best evidence for this is in Yonge's *The Young Stepmother*, 48, when the stepmother replaces '*The Three Musketeers*, one of the worst and most fascinating of Dumas' romances', with *The Subaltern* for thirteen-year old Gilbert - 'as the daughter of a Peninsular man, she thought nothing so charming'. Gleig's best-selling *Story of the Battle of Waterloo* (1847) was used by Thackeray as his source for *Vanity Fair* serialised 1847-48. Thus Thackeray used an up-to-date version widely recognised as accurate. C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 22: Yonge comments that 'Thackeray's description of Brussels before Waterloo in *Vanity Fair* was declared by those who had seen it to be perfect', words which reveal that she had discussed it with her 'live-in' authority on Waterloo, her father.

The integration of Christianity into the Armed Services was a trend resisted initially by the Duke of Wellington as incompatible with military life, but it became a salient feature of nineteenth-century soldiering.³²

(iii) The State of the Army

The Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny would put under the spotlight issues concerning the organisation, manning and equipment of the armed forces in the new industrial society - and highlight what construction of male citizen was needed by the state to perform these roles. But this was a theme debated with growing concern within the military establishment and the periodical press before the Crimean War. The standard historical version depicts the failures of organisation in that war as evidence of an antiquated system ruled by aristocratic officers who had bought their seniority, eventually forced to buckle to the demands of civilian modernisers - the arrogance and life-style of Lord Cardigan, with its tragic consequences in the needless slaughter of the Light Brigade, taken to be archetypal of the flaws of an entire officer-class. Hew Strachan's important research has given the lie to this account by demonstrating the many ways in which change had already been achieved.³³ Putting his work into a wider context, we can see that the same imperatives, which were pushing other occupations of the gentry and middling classes towards new professional standards of probity and propriety, were affecting the army.

³² Olive Anderson, 'The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', *English Historical Review*, LXXXVI, 1971, 46-72. Also J. R. Watson, 'Soldiers and Saints: the Fighting Man and the Christian Life' in Andrew Bradstock et al., *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke, 2000).

³³ Hew Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy, The Reform of the British Army 1830-54* (Manchester, 1984), pinpoints the far-reaching influence of C. Woodham-Smith's *The Reason Why*, together with the manipulation by some MPs of evidence given to the Commission in 1855, for this distortion.

For the bulk of the population, however, the army was still viewed with little respect and much suspicion. Partly this was a folk-memory of antagonism to the standing-army of the Protectorate; partly it arose from assumptions about the life-style of soldiers: foot-loose and fancy-free, a threat to domestic virtues wherever they roamed, their alluring uniforms, moustaches and flattering words used to bewitch the innocent.³⁴ For the lower classes the common trope pictured 'hung-over' young men waking to find they had been trapped into taking 'the king's shilling', and young women pregnant and abandoned; for the gentry the moral threats were those of gaming, philandering and whatever unimaginables came under the umbrella word 'vice'. Although William Thackeray concluded his two chapters on Military Snobs by claiming there were elements in the Army whom he respected, he gave the overall impression that the typical officer remained closer to his fictional Rawdon Crawley, who 'swears a great deal ... and [has] a *dreadful reputation* among the ladies' than kind, virtuous Captain William Dobbin.³⁵ In July 1853 *The Illustrated London News* commented, 'Soldiers have never been in any high degree popular in the British Isles', whereas the Navy 'are a portion of the national mind'. The writer asserts that the sea throbs within every patriotic citizen, and that British strength and wealth can be ascribed to the navy. But the army is depicted as an alien, superficial skin which on occasion has to be donned:

We endure an army as we do a police, because we consider it to be necessary but take no particular pride or satisfaction in it. At every period of our history we would rather have diminished than increased it, if we could have done so with safety.

³⁴ Many novels support this version of the arrival of the military as an unsettling occurrence, the forbidden 'other' to domestic security; Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* is an obvious example; Donald F. Bittner, 'Jane Austen and her Officers: a Portrayal of the Army in English Literature', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 72, 1994, 76-91; T. Fulford, 'Sighing for a Soldier: Jane Austen and Military Pride and Prejudice', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 57(2), 2002, 153-178.

³⁵ W. M. Thackeray, *Book of Snobs* (1846; London, 1900), chs. IX, X; *Vanity Fair* (Oxford, 1983), serialised 1847-48, reflects contemporary concerns of the 1840s although set in 1811-20. Robin Gilmour, *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel* (London, 1981), credits Thackeray with the key role in assigning which codes of gentlemanly behaviour were appropriate for men of the gentry in the new social conditions of mid-century.

To admire the military is deemed to be foreign to British nature, wary as they are of any 'armed host out to enslave them'.³⁶

In his book on the sporting novelist Surtees, who frequently ridiculed army officers, Norman Gash identifies the strange divergence between the pugnacious nature of the English and their claims to despise the army: 'the English had the singularity of being a martial nation without being a militaristic one ... they did not venerate the army as an institution'.³⁷ This contempt is contrasted to the reverence accorded to the military in France who thus demonstrate their foreign-ness. The *News* sneers at French colonial pretensions and belittles their possession of Algeria as an 'exercise ground or college for soldiers where the art of war may be learned in all its details'.³⁸ Central to these attitudes was a dislike for conscription, which was common throughout the rest of Europe, but viewed as incompatible with British patriotic manhood. This scorn did not solve the problem of recruitment - the need to attract men from all classes to enlist, and not to regard the army as 'the dustbin of the nation'.³⁹ Discussing the representation of military subjects at the Royal Academy in the first half of the nineteenth-century, Joan Hichberger argues that there was a 'pervasive myth about British anti-militarism' - or rather, that their claim to be a pacific people was out of keeping with their actual readiness for a 'good' fight, but that it 'made it impossible for the state to endorse the patronage of overtly propagandist battle paintings in the High Art manner'. This confusion was

³⁶ *Illustrated London News*, XXIII, July 2 1853, 537.

³⁷ Norman Gash, *Robert Surtees and Early Victorian Society* (Oxford, 1993), 34.

³⁸ *ILN*, XXIII, July 2 1853, 537. Anti-French feelings were fuelled by invasion-scares. When in 1853 Britain and France began to cooperate against Russia, many found it hard to convert to pro-French sentiments. During the Crimean war Lord Raglan often referred to the enemy as 'the French'. Soldiers' memoirs from the Crimea qualify a grudging admiration for the efficiency of French military catering and housing with critical asides about their system of conscription and centralised government.

³⁹ Alan Ramsay Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home: the Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regiment, 1859-1899* (London, 1977), 245, gives examples of the shame felt by friends and family of enlisted men.

reflected in their uncertainty about how to depict military events, when the 'French tradition of battle-painting was simultaneously admired, despised and condemned' for its perceived celebration of war.⁴⁰ Hence the most popular war scenes in British art tended to be of heroic death rather than victorious slaughter.

Britain's unique experience in 1848, emerging unscathed from the turmoil of revolutionary disturbances in Europe, had led to much self-congratulation. In 1851 Wellington's army was needed in the preparations for the Great Exhibition, but only to demonstrate the safety of the wondrous glass and iron structure. Developments in France, however, with the overthrow of monarchy in 1848 and success of Louis Napoleon, had revived wider concerns about the state of our national defences. Some of this surfaced in debates both within and without Parliament caused by Palmerston's populist nationalism post-1848: his thundering rhetoric in defence of the use of British gunboats in 1850 to assert the dubious rights of Don Pacifico as a British citizen living in Athens, his welcome to the Hungarian rebel Kossuth, the cold-shouldering of General Haynau in 1851 - his handling of all these incidents had ensured that issues of foreign policy were removed from the secret recesses of Foreign Office diplomacy and placed centre stage in the public arena. This would start to change the way the military forces were perceived, subtly altering the balance from outright antagonism to acceptance - and even to grudging admiration. The extent of the general antipathy towards them in 1847 can be seen in Wellington's reply to Prince Albert's concern about the state of the national defences:

⁴⁰ J. W. M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army. The Military in British Art, 1815-1914* (Manchester, 1988), 1-6. Her argument is supported by Thackeray's critical aside, *Vanity Fair*, 336n, provoked by his dislike of the military paintings at the Royal Academy in 1847. 'The Battle of Meeanee' by Armitage caused outrage by its depiction of battle chaos, its centrepiece a man being bayoneted. Thackeray suggests a better subject: the story in Gleig's *Story of Waterloo* of a Highland soldier billeted on a Belgian family, seen gently rocking the baby's cradle - 'As our painters are bent on military subjects just now, I throw out this as a good subject for the pencil, to illustrate the principle of an honest English war'.

that it was only possible to keep the army at its present strength by keeping it scattered, so as to disguise its size - and this at a time when it had been starved of money and considerably reduced in numbers.⁴¹ Writing to Major General Burgoyne, Wellington expressed his own anxieties about the defencelessness of the nation, and bewailed Parliament's refusal to remedy this situation. Leaked to *the Times* by Burgoyne's wife and daughters, Wellington's letter was instrumental in fuelling the invasion-scare of that year.⁴²

The Re-branding of Military Values 1852-54

(i) Three events which altered popular conceptions of the army

A significant sequence of events was instrumental in forefronting military matters and improving the esteem with which the soldier was viewed. Louis Napoleon's *coup* on December 2 1851, capped exactly a year later by his adoption of the title of Napoleon III, awakened memories of his uncle's imperial ambitions and consternation about the possibility of invasion. This panic let the disquiet about the nation's defences surface from the undercurrents and float in the mainstream of the public gaze. Topics which had been of intense interest to the few - about reform, training, and recruitment for the armed forces - were now debated in the press and wider community. The notion that officers might be upstanding citizens rather than decadent dandies was dallied with. A flood of applications for permits to form Volunteer Corps were made to the government, but were rejected for fear that they would foment tension between classes. It would not be until 1859 that the authorities would countenance a grass-roots movement to form Volunteer Rifle Brigades. Instead, the Militia Act of 1852 gave the Secretary of State for War

⁴¹ H. Strachan, *Reform of the British Army 1830-54*, 164.

⁴² Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History, 1859-1908* (London, 1975), ch. 1; E. M. Spiers, *The Army and Society 1815-1914* (London, 1980), ch. 3.

powers to reorganise these county-based forces for home defence. In a leader on 'The National Defences' in January 1852 *The Illustrated London News* conceded that the alarm bells, which Wellington had tried to ring when he wrote to Sir John Burgoyne in 1847, were at last being heard due to Louis Napoleon. It continued its campaign to raise the public awareness of the need for military reform, scorning critics such as Cobden who had claimed that the panic had been artificially engineered; instead it resurrected the patriotic 'man or nation' ready to go to war rather than 'feel the loss of honour'. It even furnished this manly citizen with martial songs to inspire his new-found virile soul.⁴³

The sinking of the troopship HMS Birkenhead off the coast of South Africa on 26 February 1852 supplied another stepping-stone in the rehabilitation of military virtues.⁴⁴ The story became romanticised in the narration, but nothing could diminish the courage of the soldiers mustered on the deck standing in silent order to await their end while the few lifeboats took women and children (and some men) to safety. When the vessel was about to sink, the ship's captain shouted that all who could swim should jump, but a military officer countermanded this in case they thus swamped and endangered the lifeboats. Only three men jumped. Soon commemorated by Thomas Hemy in a popular painting was the story of Ensign Alexander Russell, aged nineteen, who gave up his place in a lifeboat to a woman's husband seen flailing in the shark-infested sea. All re-tellings stressed the dignity, order and silence of the men as they faced death. The King of

⁴³ *ILN*, XX, March 27 1852: 'Our Swords are sheathed' to be sung 'with martial spirit'; June 19, a song to commemorate Waterloo. *Edinburgh Review*, XCVI, July 1852, 194-231: 'Our Defensive Armament' was written by Yonge's uncle, Lord Seaton, according to G. C. Moore Smith, *Life of John Colborne, Field Marshall Lord Seaton* (London, 1903), 345; the *Wellesley Index*, however, gives Gleig for this article.

⁴⁴ *ILN*, XX, April 10 1852, 287. *Cornhill*, II N.S., Feb. 1897, 'The Wreck of the Birkenhead. An Anniversary Study' by F. Maurice, wishes that 'mothers, schoolmasters and ... painters' would revive its retelling to inspire in the 1890s as it had in the 1850s, similar 'calm ordinary performance of duty' in the face of lethal danger.

Prussia ordered that the story of the Birkenhead should be recounted to his troops so they would know the 'stuff' of the British soldier.

The third event with rippling consequences occurred on September 14, 1852. The Duke of Wellington died. This had a dual effect: "A happy release for the Army" according to one officer, as the aged Duke had acted as a barrier to the 'groundswell of reform, generated by the military press and certain enlightened officers';⁴⁵ for the public at large it was an opportunity to feast on the romance of a true Hero. Every aspect of his remarkable career was examined in the minutest detail. Although much was made of his military skill and courage, it was his character which was stressed. His key qualities selected for special praise were humility, generosity, conscientiousness and honesty - not perhaps the predictable virtues of a soldier. His maxim throughout life was appropriate for a bourgeois Everyman: "He who wishes to have anything done well must do it himself". This was a narrative which fitted with the mid-century: an aristocratic officer who had earned his high rank; with little interest in the trappings of wealth he had slept in his stately home on a simple camp-bed.⁴⁶ Wellington had already achieved a mythic status during his lifetime. Elevated by his role in the defeat of the French in the Spanish Peninsula and at Waterloo, these notable victories were represented as a two-man contest between himself, personifying the Best of British, and Napoleon the upstart foreigner. Now his story was shaped for the new generation of urban middle-class civilian Britons, and in the process it helped to re-brand the military. We only have to look at how Samuel Smiles incorporates the lessons of Wellington's life into his 1859 best-seller *Self-Help* to see the success of this 'make-over'. He pronounces Wellington to be 'a first-rate man of

⁴⁵ H. Strachan, *Reform of the British Army*, 35.

⁴⁶ *ILN* published many special supplements devoted to the Duke's life, and included drawings of this bed.

business'; surprisingly, it was 'because of his possession of a business faculty amounting to genius that the Duke never lost a battle'.⁴⁷

The fascination with Wellington's life and character was given further satisfaction through the superb spectacle of his funeral in late November.⁴⁸ At this grand state occasion, organised on a colossal scale, the army was encouraged to expose itself in its most colourful and impressive fashion. Representatives from every regiment in full panoply, accompanied by military bands, marched with the coffin, thus revealing 'the manly bearing of our brave defenders in every clime'. Crowds thronged to the lying-in-state at Chelsea Hospital and along the route from Horse Guards to St Paul's. The whole country was drawn into the event through church bells simultaneously tolling at three o'clock on the day of the funeral - the first time this had been done. A pull-out diagram on February 26, 1853 in *Illustrated London News* (three months after the funeral) supplemented publication of the order of procession in November 1852; vivid descriptions of the colourful scenes accompanied explanations for the different regiments, their uniforms and plumage.⁴⁹ A significant post-script occurred the following August with the death of the pall-bearer, Sir Charles Napier, of a chill contracted on the day.⁵⁰ His funeral prompted more musings over the characteristics of great soldiers and their valiant self-sacrificial actions on behalf of the nation:

The people, so long as its brains are not bound up with cotton-twist, its heart stuffed with calico, and its eyes blinded by steam, knows its great men by instinct,

⁴⁷ Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help, with Illustrations of Conduct and Perseverance* (1859; London, 1913), 254 and 334. While words such as 're-brand' and 'make-over' are anachronistic, their use seems justifiable to stress that what had changed were perceptions not realities; that the military man was being marketed in a new acceptable guise, re-fashioned for the new times.

⁴⁸ Cornelia D. J. Pearsall, 'Burying the Duke: Victorian Mourning and the Funeral of the Duke of Wellington', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 27(2), 1999, 365-393, refers to the unprecedented character of the funeral, but focuses on 'the bodily remains around which the activity swirled'.

⁴⁹ *ILN*, XXI-XXII, July 1852 to June 1853. Only published since 1841, they used the occasion of Wellington's death to describe Nelson's funeral.

⁵⁰ Another pall-bearer was Charlotte Yonge's uncle, Lord Seaton.

but too often the recognition is made as it beholds their funeral obsequies. ... We do homage to the generous courage, the chivalresque spirit, the grand and simple characteristics of those *fulmina belli*, which have cleft their fiery way through the enemies of our name and nation.⁵¹

The language envisages the soldier as an Archangel with a flaming sword imbued with righteousness. This is a concept which can encompass either gender; women reading such a description could desire this role-model for their men but also inhabit it for their own fantasies.

(ii) The Military Training Camp at Chobham

Capitalizing on the surge of interest in the military, together with concern about British preparedness, Lord Hardinge the new Commander-in-Chief could at last bring to fruition the Prince's suggestion of 1847 - an encampment of about seven thousand soldiers to rehearse battle-plans. For two whole months in the summer of 1853 soldiers practised being 'in the field' near Chobham in Surrey. This was a landmark occasion; it altered perceptions of the military and generated a variety of cultural and media spin-offs, yet it has been strangely overlooked by historians.⁵² The commander given the overall responsibility for the organisation of this difficult unprecedented task was Charlotte Yonge's uncle, Major-General Lord Seaton.⁵³ Chobham was chosen for the setting of this major exercise for its woody, hilly terrain, but also for its access to railway stations: these were vital not only for the transport of troops but for spectators. This was to be a running pageant at which the public was welcome, a public relations exercise as much as

⁵¹ From an account of his funeral at Portsmouth, *ILN*, XXIII, Sept. 17 1853, 229.

⁵² Most standard histories of the period omit it; Hoppen's *Mid-Victorian England*, 176, has a one-line reference. It is more surprising to find it completely overlooked in E. M. Spiers, *Army and Society, 1815-1914*. H. Strachan, *Reform of the British Army 1830-54*, 166-170, has the fullest modern account.

⁵³ Moberly, *Dulce Domum*, 106-107, quotes from a letter by Charlotte Yonge to Alice Moberly about the Camp, which sizzles with her excitement as she matches the report in *The Times* with her own first-hand knowledge. Seaton had been Lieut. Col. of Upper Canada, responsible for crushing the 1838 revolt, then Governor of the Ionian Islands 1843-49. He was elevated to the rank of General in 1854, commander of the forces in Ireland 1855 and Field Marshall in 1860.

a military one modelled on aspects of the Great Exhibition. Indeed the same firm, which had supplied refreshments at the Crystal Palace, was licensed to provide catering for visitors.⁵⁴ Bystanders watched enthralled as ‘sham fights’ were performed before their eyes. *Punch* made much of the fascination of onlookers in the domestic arrangements for the soldiers, nosing into their tents and their cooking-pots on camp-fires. There were frequent official visits led by the Queen, for whom a special Pavilion had been erected where she could host parties. The thrilling effect of seeing large numbers of men performing drill in unison was perhaps a model in keeping with the mid-century admiration of machinery; they had been awed by the mechanics of manufacturing equipment in the Great Exhibition and now they were flabbergasted by the precision of the soldiers, the perfection of their combined movements in their glistening uniforms reminiscent of the workings of brass cogs and metal components of engines. Far from being archaic throwbacks to a pre-industrial age, soldiers could now be perceived as the very embodiment of modern factory-type processes.⁵⁵

Throughout the summer the press covered the activities at Chobham in detail - with jokes in *Punch* and double-page spreads in *Illustrated London News*, as well as more serious articles elsewhere. Those unable to attend could imaginatively share in the events, so vivid were the descriptions of the ‘shining cuirasses of Lifeguards, fluttering pennons of the Lancers, picturesque costumes of the Black Watch, the dancing plumes of the field officers, the tramp of “armed hoofs”, the shrill clarion of the cavalry’, all with a ‘spirit-stirring effect’.⁵⁶ A short farce entitled *The Camp at Chobham* by Mark Lemon

⁵⁴ *ILN*, XXIII, July 2 1853, 527.

⁵⁵ Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 152-153, discusses the attraction of the ‘mechanical regularity’ of the army at drill reinforcing the values of the industrial revolution.

⁵⁶ *ILN*, XXII, June 11 1853, 488.

which ridiculed anti-war groups, was first performed at the Theatre Royal Adelphi in London on June 30th.⁵⁷ A guide book by Thomas MacFarlane gave a complete description of the countryside around Chobham; he also depicted the glamour of the spectators, many of whom were women:

fair equestrians ... a little army of Amazons *en reserve* ... and riding as fearlessly as any of us ... A squadron or two might have been formed of these ladies who would have ridden over any equal number of foreign troops.⁵⁸

The Times made similar comments about the ladies' surprising knowledge: 'Should our brave defenders ever be called upon to protect our honest homes and altars, regiments such as those now at Chobham will not, despite the Peace Society, want Daughters'.⁵⁹

The press coverage repeatedly hinted at the palpable undercurrent of sexual allure - the mesmeric fascination of athletic young men in lustrous bright-coloured uniforms as they advanced in unison towards imaginary danger, their preening performance enhanced by the knowledge that they were scrutinised by cohorts of young women. Rampant masculinity was centre-stage and sanctioned, with excursion trains transporting family groups to gaze in wonder. In 1845 the radical journalist Douglas Jerrold had despairingly described the seductive quality of military spectacle:

When nations ... cut each other's throats ... we must have red-coats and muskets and sabres; but seeing that the duty of their bearers squares neither with our innate good sense, nor our notions of what ought to be - we are fain to gild the matter over - to try to conceal, from ourselves, the butchering nature of the business we are sometimes forced to undertake, and so springs up military spectacle - military finery - military music ... let the steel which cuts glimmer like valued gems; the evolutions which destroy, be graceful as the motions of dancing girls!⁶⁰

⁵⁷ That the Camp was a significant event in the nation's consciousness can be evidenced by performances of this curtain-raiser still happening in Hull in 1856, 1857 and 1858.

⁵⁸ Thomas MacFarlane, *The Camp at Chobham, with Hints on Military Matters for Civilians* (London, 1853), 60. His comments (43) provide an interesting rider to the discussion about English anti-militarism: 'Politicians and philosophers of certain schools tell us that the English people are not a military people, that the English people do not like soldiering. Fudge! there is not a people on the face of the earth fonder of all that relates to, or makes up "the pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war"'.
⁵⁹ Quoted in *Punch*, XXV, July-Dec. 1853, 27.

⁶⁰ Quotation in Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, 151; originally in Douglas Jerrold's *Shilling Magazine*, I, 1845, 40.

Jerrold's *Shilling Magazine* failed to flourish and was not in print by the time of Chobham; by 1852 such damning critiques of military display would be pushed to the margins by a groundswell of popular adulation for the perceived romance of the army.

(iii) The Build-up to War

The field-exercises at Chobham were judged to be a resounding success in spite of the appalling wet summer - in the words of a poem in *Punch*, 'we'll mark that MP for a short-sighted scamp, Who grudges one mil for the Chobhamite Camp'.⁶¹ They certainly created a public opinion more amenable to talk of war, and ready to bring pressure on a reluctant government. By 1853 relations with Russia were at breaking point. The destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope in November caused outrage in British papers, perceived as 'not fair' within the rules of war. *The Illustrated London News* returned to the topic week after week with double page pictures devoted to the battle.⁶² In March 1854 Britain and France declared war against Russia on behalf of Turkey, and much of the dialogue conducted in the press centred on different constructions of the manly nation. Could the commercial, urban nation have anything but a spirit of expediency, compromise, barter, left in its soul? In April 1854 *Blackwood's* queried whether there would be men among the masses prepared to fight? Would the House of Commons, show the qualities needed in such a time of crisis:

It is no longer the same body of educated English gentlemen whose enduring patriotism, throughout the last war, stood firm against the clamours of the mobs of London, Manchester and other large centres of population, and turned a deaf ear to the persuasions of faction within its own walls.

It worried that the capitalists within the Commons would put their own interests above those of the nation; that 'men suspected of being rather more sensitively alive to a rise or

⁶¹ *Punch*, XXV, July-Dec. 1853, 92.

⁶² *ILN*, XXIII-IV, 1853-54. Part of the anxiety provoked by Sinope was the destructive effect of Russian fire-power against wooden ships, when the British were only beginning to re-equip with iron-clad designs.

fall in the prices of funds, stock, railway shares etc., than to any gain or loss of national honour', would fail to vote the finances necessary for war, and would use their influence in the cities to undermine commitment to the use of force.⁶³

Richard Cobden and John Bright's leadership of the Peace Society exemplified this conjunction of advocates of Free Trade with sponsors of peace. This largely Quaker, pacifist group were committed to disarmament and internationalism.⁶⁴ They continued to campaign for peace during the build-up of tensions before the Crimean War. In March 1854 a trio - Joseph Sturge, Henry Pease and Robert Charlton - visited Tsar Nicholas to try to persuade him to end the war against Turkey before it widened into a European conflict. Their stand was attacked by most periodicals - not only right-wing journals such as *Blackwood's* which as early as 1849 published a rearguard assault on the Peace Society and their attack on defence spending, but even those with liberal views which had supported Cobden and Bright in the past.⁶⁵ Criticisms of their conciliatory behaviour were heavily weighted with the language of gender, with accusations of effeminacy for those who were peace-lovers. *Blackwood's* typically labelled them as 'devoid of manhood'.⁶⁶ In *Punch*, Bright's comment in a speech in Edinburgh that he wished the British lion was dead, provoked a cartoon of an alternative British arms with the virile lions replaced by docile rabbits, and the motto 'L.s.d. et mon droit'.⁶⁷ There were indeed women such as the radical Quaker Anne Knight working for peace, but the anxieties caused by charges of effeminacy led men in the Peace Society to resist requests from

⁶³ *Blackwood's*, LXXV, April 1854, 383.

⁶⁴ Paul Laity, *The British Peace Movement 1870-1914* (Oxford, 2001), has a useful introductory chapter examining the pre-1870 period.

⁶⁵ *ILN*, XXIII, Nov. 1853, 382, states that Cobden has good sense on other matters but not on this. In the 1857 elections, both Cobden and Bright lost their seats.

⁶⁶ *Blackwood's*, LXXV, April 1854, 382.

⁶⁷ *Punch*, XXV, July-Dec. 1853, 179.

women to be involved. Auxiliary women's groups called 'Olive Leaf Circles' were reluctantly permitted in the early 1850s, but to Anne Knight's disgust, were relegated to money-raising activities.⁶⁸ In arguments, which mirrored those in the Anti-slavery campaigns, women failed to persuade leading English men to accept their equal participation. Yet in an imaginary conversation about the war on a railway train in *Blackwood's* in November 1854, Irenaeus is a member of the Peace Society 'because he was talked into it by his wife'.⁶⁹ Even though women were excluded from its councils, they were seen as responsible for its influence when unvirile hen-pecked men submitted to their wives.

The periodical press condemned the language of peace, accommodation and diplomacy used by the new government of Lord Aberdeen in December 1853; the pacific stance they had praised in 1851 during the Great Exhibition in a glow of optimism was now reviled as ignoble. They queried whether modern Britons still were 'men' enough - or whether the habits of commercial, urban, life had sapped their energies for noble and unselfish conduct. A common fear was that luxury and wealth, together with a long period of peace, had made the stock quality of Englishmen deteriorate, leaving them without the courage to fight; that the new breed of urban, commercial and industrial men represented an emasculated version of John Bull. By March 1854 *Blackwood's* was relieved that war seemed inevitable:

[it] assures us that we have not degenerated during the long period of peace, ... that the love of Mammon has not so occupied our souls as to render us insensible to the part which we are bound to take, as the freest and most advanced community in Europe.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Helen Rappaport, 'The Origins of Women's Peace Campaigning', *History Today*, 52(3), 2002, 28-30, describes Knight's anger at these sewing circles 'where health and mind equally suffer in the sedentary "stitch, stitch, stitch"'.
⁶⁹ *Blackwood's*, LXXVI, Nov. 1854, 589.
⁷⁰ *Blackwood's*, LXXV, March 1854, 369.

The language often employed terms for internal organs, as if the literal patriotic body was imagined - the heart and pluck resident in a red-blooded Englishman. The nation was visualized as a man, but perhaps a man who was a throwback to a more traditional rustic citizen. Indeed many of these gutsy qualities had been downgraded and strait-jacketed during the preceding years by legislation against 'folk' entertainments of bull-baiting, cock-fighting and the more gentlemanly sport of duelling.⁷¹ Where new industries had developed, workers themselves were moulded like machines, their lives regulated by the clock, their physique enervated by enclosed space; any time for leisure was scarce and frequently seen as problematic.

In *The Illustrated London News* Tsar Nicholas was depicted as Attila about to rampage with his barbaric hordes into the lands of the Turkish Empire, and they called on the government to show determination and guts so that Nicholas would hesitate and draw back.⁷² *Blackwood's* used similar language: 'Those who have not entirely made up their minds to crouch before the Attila of modern days, must now stand forth and manfully struggle for independence and existence'.⁷³ The perceived weakness of the Turkish Empire injected further tacit issues of gender. Although Turkey was our ally, it was described as an inferior. While the famous catch-phrase was of the 'sick man of Europe' the rhetoric suggested female weakness, a flabby and effete invalid who needed valiant protection from the 'brute force' and 'butcheries' of Russia.⁷⁴ It was a common trope to imply that polygamy and bi-sexuality sapped the potency of Turkish soldiers; now their effeminacy necessitated the intervention of stalwart champions. Much was made of Britain's lack of any selfish interest in the outcome of this war; that pure generosity was

⁷¹ Robert Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1973), chs. 6 and 7.

⁷² *ILN*, XXIV, Jan. 1854, 2.

⁷³ *Blackwood's*, LXXVI, July 1854, 100.

⁷⁴ *Blackwood's*, LXXV, April 1854, 382.

motivating righteous manly anger which in turn led to virtuous actions on behalf of the weak, abused Turkish Empire.

(iv) Men's Fashion and the Military 'New Look'

It is probable that Chobham Camp was responsible for a reappraisal of the growing of hair on men's faces, a reminder that by the simple step of non-shaving, modern man could declare his inner masculinity. There seems to be a connection between the belligerence of public opinion and the bristling of manly whiskers. Many references can be found in both the serious and satirical journals: *Punch* ran a series of cartoons over some months, about the epidemic of men growing beards and moustaches.⁷⁵ The gist of these was the fear caused by the sight of hirsute men - that men with beards were wild, possibly republican, unregulated outlaws, likely to demand your money with menaces; that civilisation had tamed these virile characteristics but that now they were breaking through. The bushy, unshaped cartoon-beards confirm this back-to-nature attitude. They suggest that men who wore uniforms already - policemen and ticket collectors for example - were in the forefront of this movement, mimicking the military for whom moustaches were compulsory (though beards were not within the regulations).⁷⁶ Such statements of virile strength were not deemed suitable in all

⁷⁵*Punch*, XXV, July-Dec. 1853 (138, 154, 164, 188, 194), XXVI, Jan.-June 1854 (28, 30, 54, 136, 139, 171); *ILN*, XXIV, Feb. 4 1854, 95; March 11, 219, on 'Beard and Moustache Movement'. N. Gash, *Robert Surtees*, 308, points out that G. F. Muntz was the only bearded M.P. in the 1841-47 Parliament, and that a beard 'stamped a member of the upper classes as either a crank or an artist' in the decade before the Crimean War. A visit to the National Portrait Gallery confirms the 1850s as the watershed between periods of men with and without beards. By the 1860s beards were sported by many men, not only by marginal members of society; the majority of men in group pictures have beards. That a conservative grandee such as Lord Robert Cecil could display an ample beard in a portrait by the society-painter George Richmond in 1861, indicates the seismic shift that had occurred in the previous decade: frontispiece in *Lady G. Cecil, Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury* (London, 1921).

⁷⁶A. R. Skelley, *Victorian Army at Home* (London, 1977), 358: Queen's Regulations for the Army in 1868 specified, 'Moustaches are to be worn and the chin is to be shaved (except by pioneers, who will wear beards)'. As late as 1908 the rule was that no soldier was permitted to shave his upper lip. Roger Fenton's photographs of luxuriantly bearded soldiers posed in the camps before Sebastopol probably encouraged post-war beard-growing; Lord Raglan waived the injunction against beards during the Crimean War.

circumstances: an item in 1854 reported that clerks in the Bank of England had been ordered to shave.⁷⁷ Aside from the satirical take in *Punch*, it was a matter for serious discussion. *The Westminster Review* in July 1854 devoted nineteen pages to a review of three new publications about beards and examined the arguments about beard-growing throughout history. While the writer still views beards with suspicion, such ‘opposition proves unable to stem the rising agitation. Pamphlets accumulate on the question and the curiosity about it has reached that degree of liveliness which authorizes us to pronounce it a movement’.⁷⁸ The re-emergence of profuse facial hair in a period when the construction of the mid-century male citizen was undergoing such scrutiny cannot be accidental. It was as if the clean-shaven, smooth-talking ‘modern’ arts of negotiation and diplomacy were being pushed aside; instead the public called for an older bewhiskered version of John Bull, the archetypal full-blooded Briton with pugnacity and ‘spunk’ who stood up to bullies and barbarians.

Military uniforms were also scrutinised in the press. Discussion of the cut, colour, materials, suitability of the paraphernalia were ruminated over, with *Punch* enjoying the opportunity for humour.⁷⁹ Chobham again made this an issue of lively interest to a wider public than the specialist military press. There were two contrasting schools of thought with a variety of alternative compromises in between. On one side were those for whom the traditional uniforms epitomised the desire for masculinity as spectacle, where men in tight trousers, short jackets, gleaming buttons, and headpieces which added height but not

⁷⁷ *Punch*, XXVI, Jan.-June 1854, 184.

⁷⁸ *Westminster Review*, VI N.S. July 1854, 49-50. C. M. Yonge, *Clever Woman of the Family* (1865; London, 1985), 83, records the sustained disapproval of beards by the older generation with Mrs. Curtis’s judgment on Col. Keith, ‘he is a very good man, I dare say, and quite a gentleman all but his beard’.

⁷⁹ *Punch*, XXV, July-Dec. 1853, 13 on ‘choking in the army’: the stock worn by ranks was made from leather, but those of officers in the Rifle Brigade were of black silk and less restrictive: George Caldwell and Robert Cooper, *Rifle Green in the Crimea* (Leicester, 1994).

vision, could impress in a theatrical display of symbolic splendour. For mid-nineteenth century man, restricted to 'sensible' dull-coloured figure-hiding clothes, the sight of the army's technicolour plumage seems to have evoked envy and yearning. The alternative school of thought on uniforms addressed their practicalities; whether their design hampered the real work of soldiers: their need to march, camp and above all fight. This more utilitarian discussion did not always win support. By April 1855 detailed coverage of the war had changed the mood and *Blackwood's* published a critical analysis of soldiers' uniforms.⁸⁰ It attacked the way each age had dressed the soldier 'like a clown, weighted him like a pack-horse or straitened him like a maniac'; that he had more often been 'dressed picturesquely to please the eye' rather than 'equipped with a fitness for his work'. This is the heart of the argument - that clothes are not a minor consideration but could turn the 'scale of a well-poised battle-field'. Instead of a preening superficial masculinity on display, where appearance can instil courage in the wearer and fear in the opponent, the writer advocates the need for scientific principles to be applied to the creation of practical suiting. This is the voice of modernity, expressing an alternative style for effective soldiering. That it did not instantly win the day tells us a lot about the complex undertones embedded in these different constructions of men-as-soldiers. Contrasting opinions about the traditional red of the uniform epitomised the extremes of the two schools of thought. For the traditionalists red signalled the courage and manliness of the British soldier. As late as 1883, after the shame of the defeat at Majuba Hill, the Commander-in-Chief could still assert:

I should be sorry to see the day when the English army is no longer in red. ... I must say I think the soldier had better be taught not to hide himself, but to go gallantly to the front. In action the man who does that has a much better chance of succeeding than the man who hides himself.⁸¹

⁸⁰ *Blackwood's*, Vol. LXXVII, April 1855, 379-401: 'How to Dress Him?' [Charles Hamley].

⁸¹ A. Skelley, *Victorian Army at Home*, 62: quotation from *Times*, April 3, 1883.



A BIT OF THE CAMP.

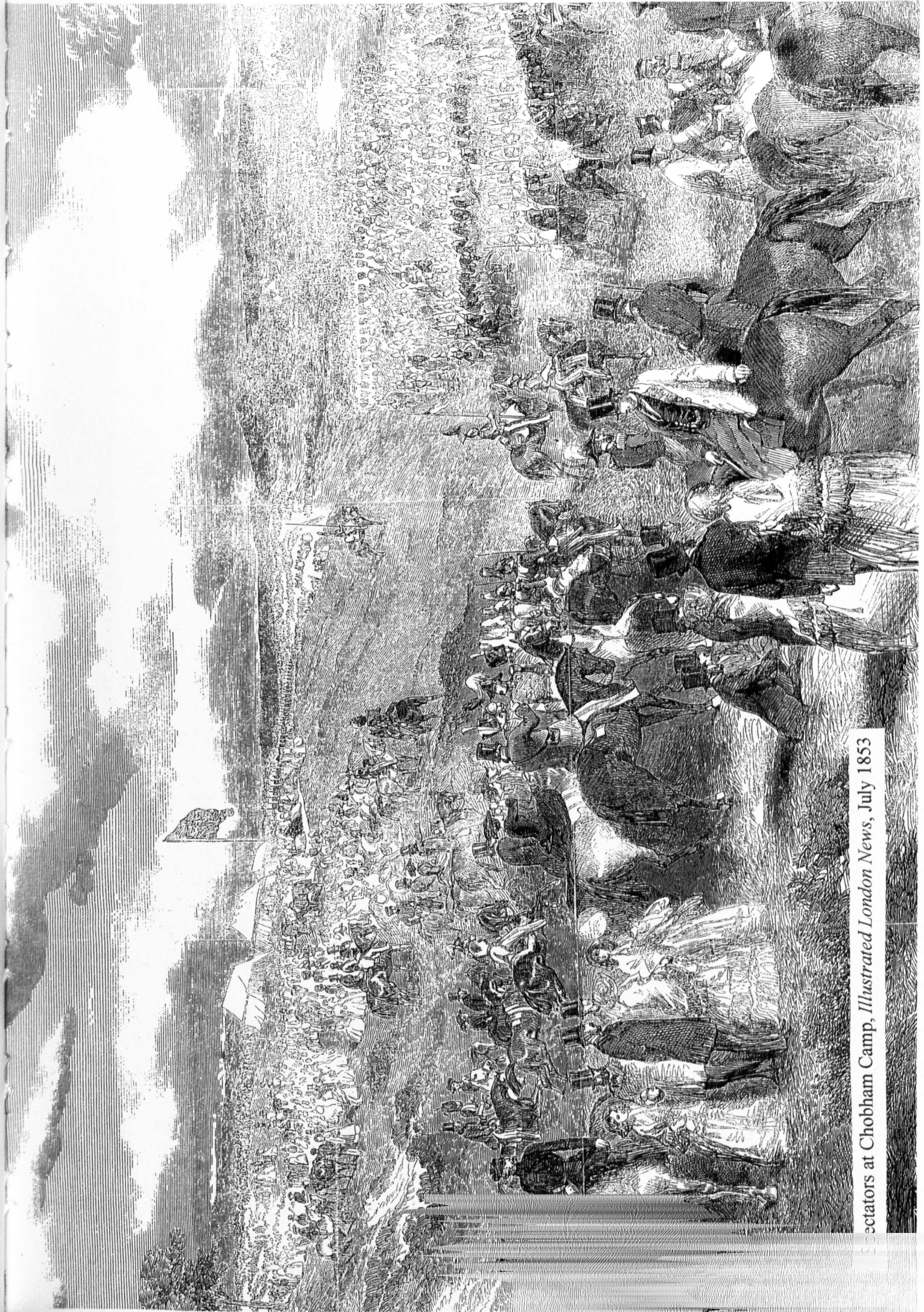
Mrs. Muggins. "WHAT! FOURTEEN ON YE SLEEP UNDER THAT GIG UMBERF'LER OF A THING? GET ALONG WITH YER!"

Cartoon about the Camp at Chobham, *Punch*, July 1853



THE CAMP AT CHOBHAM.—DRAGOONS RETREATING.—(SEE PAGE 527.)

A Sham Battle at Chobham, *Illustrated London News*, July 1853



Spectators at Chobham Camp, Illustrated London News, July 1853



THE BEARD AND MOUSTACHE MOVEMENT.

Railway Guard. "Now, MA'AM, IS THIS YOUR LUGGAGE?"

Old Lady (who concludes she is attacked by Brigands). "OH YES! GENTLEMEN, IT'S MINE. TAKE IT—TAKE ALL I HAVE; BUT SPARE, OH SPARE OUR LIVES!!"

Punch, Vol. XXV, July - Dec. 1853, p. 188



THE POLICE WEAR BEARDS AND MOUSTACHES. PANIC AMONGST THE STREET BOYS.

Punch, Vol. XXVI, Jan. - June 1854, preface.

The Crimean War and After

(i) Debates about War

That these dialogues about foreign policy and the army took place in the wider public forum through the medium of print became a key characteristic of these years. At the same time as Lord John Russell was trying to bring about legislation within Parliament for further reform of the franchise, a wider electorate was already participating in a debate about England's role in Europe and the world. Once war was declared, W. H. Russell's dispatches from the Crimea for *The Times* were read by a public, which assumed that they had a right to consider and comment on military matters.⁸² A whole way of life was at issue - a taking stock of what kind of citizen embodied the nation. And this soul-searching was not confined to the male-only public spaces such as the Reform and Carlton Clubs; print enabled the discussions to spill over into any secluded private space where reading could take place. Ever since the 1790s, Hannah More had set a precedent of how 'conservative' women might partake in issues of national concern if these matters were perceived to be questions of morality. Linda Colley has demonstrated the many ways women were involved in patriotic endeavours during the Napoleonic Wars.⁸³ In the 1850s, periodicals and journals addressed anxieties about foreign policy and defence in terms which could involve women in their roles as wives, sisters, and especially mothers of boys. Women's assigned role for the nation was to feed the minds of the men in their lives, to instil in them the spirit of romance and sacrifice which would send them out into the world to act on behalf of women.

⁸² The significance of Russell's reports is thoroughly covered elsewhere: Alan Hankinson, *Man of Wars, William Howard Russell of The Times* (London, 1982); J. Peck, *War, the Army and Victorian Literature*, 27-40.

⁸³ Linda Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London, 1992), 250-262.

How conservative women could themselves voice these concerns was problematic, however, and particularly when the issues were couched in gendered terms where the protection of the weak demanded the taking up of weapons. Throughout the nineteenth century, the sticking point for those opposed to the full inclusion of women within the political state was the assumed inability of women to bear arms. It had become acceptable for conservative women such as Mrs. Tonna to use military language in her *Christian Lady's Magazine* in the 1830s to instil righteous anger into her readers over issues such as the working conditions of women and children in the factories; the passions created could then be channelled into private acts of charity and the nurturing of public opinion. The vocabulary of battle was regularly employed by those committed to the new religious puritanism. But it was more hazardous to stray into the resolutely male world of foreign policy; here language only carried weight when backed by the implicit willingness to act, to use force, to challenge, to look straight in the eye, to confront, to oppose, to defy - all of which gestures were ruled out for women, and especially as behaviour towards men, and foreign men at that. Any comments must be oblique rather than direct, if they too were to participate in these dialogues about men, war and nationhood. The Crimean War is, however, largely remembered in the popular mind for the contribution of a woman - Florence Nightingale.⁸⁴ Her active response to the accounts of the suffering of the soldiers was symptomatic of the participation of women within these debates. She managed to find a way of redrawing the map of public/private boundaries, and inserted the hallowed circles of home-influence within the war zone. By throwing down the gauntlet, not to the Russian enemy, but to dirt, disease, and suffering, she carved out a special space at the battlefield which women could inhabit with the same

⁸⁴ Anne Summers, *Angels and Citizens. British Women as Military Nurses, 1854-1914* (London, 1988).
Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: the Ideological Work of Gender in Victorian Fiction* (London, 1989), 164-98.

kind of noble sacrifice as was attributed to the soldiers. Although pacifists had been derided as effeminate, it is clear here that Nightingale's type of femininity demanded those 'male' attributes of strength, courage, persistence, as well as fundamental approval for the war-aims of her nation - a patriotic Britannia at the side of battling British knights.

The habit of public involvement in these issues of military organisation and defence continued after peace was made in 1856. In the following year the Indian Mutiny created more soldier-heroes, transformed by their deaths into saintly martyrs.⁸⁵ The fate of the women and children caught up in the events was dwelt on with particular horror; the stories of their courage acted as a reminder that such strength was not the sole preserve of men. Nearer home, nationalist struggles in Italy in 1859-1860 were also followed avidly, with Garibaldi a populist hero especially among women. In a speech to the women of Sicily Garibaldi recognised women's essential role in warfare; listing examples of their vital function in past conflicts, he continued:

I myself ... in denouncing from the Palace of Palermo, ... the humiliating pretensions of their tyrant, heard a groaning repeated by the women who crowded the balconies deep enough to turn an army pale, and the groaning was the death sentence of tyranny. ... Call to arms the inhabitants of this island and shame those who cling to their mothers' or sweethearts' apron-strings ... women, give us your sons, your lovers!⁸⁶

This rhetoric foreshadows those propaganda posters of the twentieth century, of British women sending their menfolk to fight in the Great War; both suggest that women are not pacifiers but rather the *animae* of righteous war. As keepers of morality, their essential role was to inspire their menfolk with the virtuous zeal necessary for bellicosity.

⁸⁵ G. Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, chs. 4 and 5, 'The hero-making and hagiography of Havelock of Lucknow'.

⁸⁶ *ILN*, XXXVII, July-Dec. 1860, 185. Note the pictures of Volunteer English Brigades accompanying Garibaldi's advance.

(ii) The Volunteer Movement

France's involvement in Italy and her annexation of Nice and Savoy roused fears of Napoleon III's imperial pretensions; renewed panic about invasion dominated the press which mounted a campaign demanding the rights of British citizens to form Volunteer Rifle Clubs. As Hugh Cunningham notes, this is a highly significant popular Movement, which hardly features in most accounts.⁸⁷ In May 1859 *The Times* published Tennyson's 'Riflemen Form!' and the new government reluctantly capitulated, motivated probably by their cheapness as a response to the defence-needs. The transformation of public attitudes to soldiering was evidenced by their extraordinary nation-wide popularity. *Macmillan's Magazine* was typical in its interpretation of the Clubs as a very modern, indeed democratic, solution to the problems of national defence:

a free people, every one of whom already has to fight his own battle after his own fashion ... men who know what manhood is ... men who have fought the battle of trade, of navigation, of engineering, of Arctic research, of distant colonization, and a hundred other things that make the Anglo-Saxon the notable worker of the world.⁸⁸

The authorities were taken by surprise at the overwhelming number of civilians who wanted to participate in part-time military training. In June 1860 the Queen reviewed the companies of London Volunteers in Hyde Park, '100,000 busy citizens' turned into 'effective soldiers'. Amongst the 38th Middlesex Company were two artists not normally associated with military heroics: 'Captain Millais marched by the side of Full Private Holman Hunt'.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Alarm was magnified by fear that new developments in steam-ships meant that the Navy could no longer be relied on to defend British shores. H. Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, and Ian F. W. Beckett, *Riflemen Form! A Study of the Rifle Volunteer Movement, 1859-1908* (Aldershot, 1982) give the fullest accounts of this movement.

⁸⁸ *Macmillan's*, I, 1859, 81-82, 84; also *Temple Bar*, I, 1861, 103-113; *Cornhill*, I, 1860, 77-84.

⁸⁹ *ILN*, XXXVI, June 30, 1860, p. 628

Critics implied that the lure of volunteering lay in the fancy uniforms - the parading just another form of amateur theatricals rather than a serious contribution to the nation's defence. Certainly an extraordinary amount of time was spent over Dress Regulations.⁹⁰ Much was made of the notion that the modern rifle was the equivalent of the medieval longbow; that the yeomen of the past were the forefathers of the modern middle classes ready to take time out from their professions to train as marksmen. All around the country Volunteers drilled and marched - and then put on mini-versions of Chobham, inviting the public in to see their Sham Fights. Women played a significant role in these local pageants, which mimicked medieval archery competitions; ladies presented silver bugles, purses and belts as special prizes.⁹¹ This was an activity entered into with enthusiasm by a broad band of the middle class, urban and rural, liberal and conservative, northerners and southerners.⁹² Typical of such events was the Field-day held at Sheriff Hutton near York in September 1860 at which Lady Thompson made a speech to explain why the Volunteers deserved the full backing of other women:

... the wholly defensive character of the movement seemed to her ... specially to claim the active sympathy of those who, unable to defend their country, were most interested in its peace and security.⁹³

To take up arms had become a respectable duty, part of a man's responsibility for his own family and that of the wider family of the Nation. War had become a domestic issue.

⁹⁰ Comments in *ILN*'s extensive coverage of exhibitions of drilling by Rifle Clubs confirm this obsession with appearance, giving praise and criticism of the cut and colour of uniforms. Each Club could choose their own uniform. A double-spread coloured picture *ILN*, XXXV, Oct. 27 1860, appears like a fashion-plate and pinpointed the subtle variations of braiding. Of particular interest are the moustaches, side-burns, and occasional beards of the 'models'.

⁹¹ H. Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 72-73.

⁹² *ILN* carried lists of numerous Rifle Brigade field days, as well as features with accompanying pictures of large-scale events. The breadth of support is substantiated by a full-page picture of Lady Duff Gordon presenting a silver bugle to the Volunteer Rifle Brigade at Esher, XXXV, Sept. 1860, 251. The Duff Gordon households in London and Esher were focal points for radical and artistic intellectuals; as a child Lucie Duff Gordon had lived next door to Jeremy Bentham, played with John Stuart Mill, and it was through this friendship that Mill was introduced to Harriet Taylor.

⁹³ *ILN*, XXXVII, 1860, 271.

Charlotte Yonge's military credentials

Even the good grey Charlotte Yonge has a fiercer side, which astounds her biographers; it is not simply a quirk in her character that she loved the military and preferred above all to talk about military strategy in the Peninsular War.⁹⁴

Some feminist critics find it hard to extend sisterhood to conservative women writers such as Yonge and Craik, or to empathise with their temperaments. To call Yonge 'grey' is a judgement on a notional personality, and tells us more about Showalter than about Yonge. It is true that Yonge was shy in company and that she held conservative values, but 'good' and 'grey' imply a lifeless drab personality which bears little comparison with the lively individual who emerges from her own writings or the accounts of people who knew her. Neither would it be right to call Yonge's interest in the military unconventional or unusual, as this would presuppose that she was peculiar in her fascination with the stories from the wars told to her by her father. It is more probable that this curiosity was shared by thousands of other nineteenth-century girls and women, who revelled in similar accounts of challenge and adventure just as Castle and Mantel inhabited their kinsmen's war-stories in the twentieth-century.⁹⁵ With reading a shared family evening activity, this was even more likely. Men have never had a monopoly of the enjoyment of stories of military adventure, both fictional and 'true'. It is conceivable that what women take from such stories is different from that which men derive from their telling: that their exclusion from military service until recent times has led to an empathy with the emotional rather than the physical challenge experienced. But ultimately such stories focus on the need for moral courage and endurance, to issues of

⁹⁴ Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, 137.

⁹⁵ The Brontës provide an obvious example of a family of girls fixated on imaginary games built around their hero Wellington; far from peculiar to enjoy such pastimes, this locates them in the mainstream. Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (Oxford, 1993), 154*n*, provides evidence from later in the century: she quotes Agnes Blackie on the extensive fan-mail from girls to G. A. Henty.

loyalty and friendship, together with the threat of physical pain, and these are imaginary experiences that women can share.

The autobiography of Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna provides evidence which confirms this notion that Yonge is not unique in her enjoyment of the military, and demonstrates the ways in which warlike metaphors framed a particular kind of Protestant thinking.⁹⁶ Admittedly, Tonna grew up during the Napoleonic Wars, whereas Yonge, born in 1823, grew up in their shadow. But Tonna's admiration for the military seems to have grown more out of her passionate nature and sensibilities than from the specific times in which she lived. The same desire, which inspired her, aged six, to yearn to die as a martyr, evolved into a view of existence as a lifelong struggle against the forces of evil wherever they were to emerge, and especially those of Roman Catholicism. She made little distinction between those using actual munitions and those using spiritual weapons. Unlike Yonge's father who fought real soldiers in the Peninsular War, Tonna's father was a vicar. But she describes him as if he were going into battle as he prepared special Fast-day prayers to say, and then proceeded with 'flowing robes' and 'stately gait' to church, followed by Charlotte Elizabeth and her brother 'following with the best imitation we could accomplish of his measured, almost military step' (48). Tonna, even while she adheres strictly to the notion of male/female spheres, seems to find it difficult to recognise the borderlines which separated them. This is demonstrated in her passage about her brother's military games. At first her role was restricted to:

tacking sundry pieces of silk to an old broomstick, and presenting these colours to the corps, with an oration breathing such loyalty and devotion to the good cause of liberty and Old England, as wrought to the highest pitch the enthusiasm of the regiment.

⁹⁶ Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, *Personal Recollections of Charlotte Elizabeth* (London, 1847). Tonna's dates are 1790-1846.

By the next paragraph, it is clear that she has joined in their war-games; instead of 'those' boys led by her brother, she refers throughout to 'we':

many a time did we withdraw to the shelter of the old hay-stack, where we had hollowed out a little alcove, and hold converse, with breathless anxiety, on the probable future. Sometimes our courage failed, and we explored the grounds in search of secure hiding-places, but the result of these deliberations was always a determination to stand by our mother to the last, and to try if we could not, by some means, ourselves kill Bonaparte (49-50).

The confusion is perpetuated by her belief that it is her mother who would need defending; here she identifies with her fighting-fit brother, ready to participate in the killing, but perceives her mother as a passive victim should French forces invade the Norfolk shores.

Although Tonna claims that her brother's own 'martial fire' led him eventually to enlist, she belatedly regrets her own influence in fuelling his determination. With the benefit of hindsight, and an adult commitment to rigid Evangelicalism, she would have preferred him to take up the spiritual weaponry of the Church. She blames the stories of 'romantic adventure' which she read:

I viewed the matter through the lying medium of romance; glory, fame, a conqueror's wreath or a hero's grave, with all the vain merit of such a sacrifice as I must myself make in sending him to the field - these wrought on me to stifle in my aching bosom the cry of natural affection, and I encouraged the boy in his choice, and helped him to urge on our parents this offering up of their only son, the darling of all our hearts, to the Moloch of war (69).

Here the older version of herself, writing in the 1840s, has transferred her military ardour to the spiritual battles within the community: her crusades were now against Roman Catholicism and the many moral sins of commercial society. What is of interest for my argument is her acknowledgement of the power of narrative on women to use their influence to encourage the men in their life to join the army. Maybe this is a truism, but one that needs pointing out when women of the early nineteenth-century are discussed,

and the discourse of separate spheres can suggest that women were removed from involvement in issues of the public, trapped in small private worlds, acquiescent in passive roles.

It particularly needs stressing for conservative women. Showalter's surprise about Yonge is presumably because Yonge seems to fit so snugly into her dependent status within the family. Showalter belittles Yonge's relationship with her father and with the other men in her life such as Keble:

It would have been an emotional impossibility for Charlotte to rebel against her adored father. ... Mr. Yonge was willing to bestow his approbation and withhold his anger if Charlotte was willing to write didactic fiction and to give away the profits. By doing good and taking no pay she was safely confined in a female and subordinate role within the family and remained dependent upon her father. ... (She) prayed for humility with John Keble, and became fixated at an adolescent level in her relations to her parents. Nonetheless, she could not be entirely squelched.⁹⁷

Representing her in such meek compliant terms, no wonder Showalter was surprised by Yonge's enjoyment of military tactics except as an aspect of immature adulation of her father, or as thwarted yearning for action and autonomy. Showalter deduces that women novelists such as Yonge create male heroes as 'projected egos', pathetic products of women's prescribed domestic roles, and based inevitably on ignorance. Although she is commenting about women writers, she would probably incorporate female readers in her depiction, dreaming of 'how they would act and feel if they were men, and ... of their views on how men *should* act and feel'.⁹⁸ She quotes Yonge's own words of advice to aspiring female writers about the creation of male characters, not to sacrifice their 'womanly nature in the attempt at the world's notion of manly dash'; but this was written

⁹⁷ Showalter, *Literature of Their Own*, 56-57. Showalter's use of Yonge's first name in this section emphasizes her contempt; she ridicules Yonge's behaviour from the standpoint of a twentieth-century feminist. Her choice of the slangy 'squelched' debases her own grudging recognition of Yonge's years of business-like control of her publications.

⁹⁸ Showalter, *ibid.* 136.

by Yonge as an elderly lady when the current fin-de-siècle talk of the 'New Woman' must have challenged her sense of propriety, and therefore should not be employed as a sweeping condemnation of her own creations, especially those of her best period in the 1850s and 1860s.

Charlotte Yonge's interest in military matters grew naturally from her devout commitment to ideas of family and nation and to traditional Tory principles of service. The frequent lip-service to separate spheres, both by contemporaries and by historians, creates a false notion of discrete territories of the public and private; to suggest that domestic portals were screened to filter news from the 'outside' and protect women from the impact of the thrusting realities of the material world. There is also the implication that these hushed havens were the preserves of women, where only certain privileged men were permitted to enter and allow their softer sides to emerge. While the vision may have had considerable appeal, the reality, even in conservative families, was far more complex and varied. Although many men - and indeed many women - wished, in times of rapid change and upheaval, to conjure up the domestic realms as zones void of interference from public anxieties, it was never possible to quarantine them - and this was especially true with the tide of print lapping at doors.

Yonge's seclusion in the Hampshire countryside might seem far removed from the buzz of metropolitan affairs, but this was not a family where current issues in politics and foreign affairs were never mentioned, or where the two children were banished to dreary routines away from adults. Instead of visualising her territory as within a small, restrictive, rural, family unit, it makes more sense to picture her enveloped in a large and vibrant community of families ranging over the counties of Hampshire, Oxfordshire and

Devonshire, with links out across the world. Nor are these families devoid of male presence; for many of the men their homes are also the bases from which they work as doctors, vicars, lawyers, magistrates, schoolmasters, landlords, farmers. Most of them have relations in the armed services, both the navy and the army. Add to this the proximity to the Yonges' house in Otterbourne of the main road from London to Southampton (the A33 of the twenty-first century), along which troops of soldiers marched on their way to embark for overseas engagements, their proximity to Portsmouth (her father was involved in designing plans for its fortifications), the existence of a new barracks for the Rifle Brigade in nearby Winchester - and it becomes possible to envisage Charlotte Yonge's world connected to all the ongoing debates of the times, but particularly those to do with military matters.⁹⁹ The society of which she was part may have been socially exclusive and numerically small compared to those other kinds of typical Victorian communities - those of the northern industrial towns, for example - but it was a network of immense influence in the life of the nation. Charlotte Yonge can be perceived at the heart rather than the peripheries of a significant strand of culture.

William Yonge, the 52nd and the Rifle Brigade

Yonge opens her autobiography with an account of the seventeenth-century ancestors of both her father and mother in Devon.¹⁰⁰ Her description of the family tree gives a sense of it as a massive oak tree, its roots in the nation's history, its branches

⁹⁹ *Dulce Domum*, 105-106, Annie Moberly gives a vivid insight into this unexpected aspect of life in Winchester: 'Military subjects naturally had a great attraction for us, living in a garrison town. From our earliest years we had stood on the railings above the parade ground and watched the soldiers at drill and (thanks to the nursery maids), had attended a large number of soldiers' funerals. Our hearts were stirred to their depths by the strains of the Dead March, the roll of the kettle drums, and the wild sounds of the shots over the grave. The sight of the long procession of soldiers marching with arms reversed affected us greatly; but perhaps the part which produced the worst lump in our throats was the incongruous jig played as they walked back to the barracks'. Yonge's closeness to Winchester and frequent involvement with the Moberly family gives this account an added significance.

¹⁰⁰ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, ch. 1.

providing generations of patriotic subjects ready to accept the responsibilities of their gentry status as well as its privileges. Many younger sons chose to serve in the armed forces. Her account is peppered with references to relations who were naval or army officers. Her own father, William Yonge, left Eton to join the 52nd regiment (the Oxford Light Infantry) and was thrust into the midst of the Peninsular War. The stories of his experiences in the army, from the age of sixteen until he resigned his commission to marry Fanny Bergus aged twenty-seven, moulded his daughter's imagination. It is significant that he was so young - a mere 'teenager' when he had to confront the enemy in battle at Nive, Nivelles, Orthes, and Toulouse; only twenty when he participated in the Battle of Waterloo. Charlotte Yonge saw these years as crucial in the formation of the characters of both young men and women, years when they acquired a degree of independence, the success or failure of their earlier education now put to the test. Ideally, responsible adult mentors might be available, but ultimately the ability to behave well in whatever circumstances challenged young people, lay in their inner strength - their conscience and their soul.¹⁰¹ Most of her major novels were addressed to the problems of these years between childhood and maturity. She incorporated the tone of battle from her father's tales of military adventure into her descriptions of young men and women confronting moral problems.

'The 52nd was unanimously declared one of the most distinguished regiments in the service, and the high tone of many of the officers for all the qualities of true chivalry made it remarkable'.¹⁰² This description of her father's regiment by Charlotte Yonge

¹⁰¹ Suitably, when her father William Yonge joined the 52nd Regiment, it was commanded by his relation, Sir John Colborne; step-brother also to Fanny Bergus, Charlotte was related to Colborne through both sides of the family.

¹⁰² Quotation in Arthur Bryant, *Jackets of Green. A Study of the History, Philosophy and Character of the Rifle Brigade* (London, 1972), 40.

could be interpreted as merely the product of biased filial prejudice. It was, however, also the opinion of Sir William Napier in his *History of the Peninsular War* where he asserted that the Light Division formed by the 52nd together with the 43rd and 95th were 'avowedly the best that England ever had in arms'; its chivalry was generally accepted as a crucial factor in its make-up.¹⁰³ A key part of this Division - the 95th - was the experimental Rifle Brigade, founded on more modern principles of fighting in 1800, and which her brother joined in 1853. The duties laid down for the Rifle Brigade in four lectures by its founder Colonel Coote Manningham in 1803 served as a blueprint both for the operations of the Light Brigade and Division in the Peninsular War. In other words the revolutionary new training methods and expectations laid down for the Rifle Brigade were adopted also by the other regiments such as the 52nd making up the Light Division; they would shape William Yonge's military schooling and he in turn bequeathed the principles to his children Charlotte and Julian in his stories to them.

The fundamental difference about these duties compared to those of traditional regiments was the premise that soldiers needed to take personal responsibility and initiative. Instead of 'a rigid system of unthinking subordination', there was to be 'a rational two-way trust and respect between all ranks - that of a happy family under discipline'. To secure such trust, officers were told to give orders 'in the language of moderation and of regard to the feelings of the individual under his command; abuse, bad language or blows being positively forbid in the Regiment'.¹⁰⁴ The need for 'a corps not of automata acting *en masse* but of alert intelligent adventurous individual marksmen, trained to act in separation to a common purpose', had been provoked by a disastrous

¹⁰³ Bryant, 34. Bryant's enthusiasm for the Brigade matches that of Charlotte Yonge; he uses such lavish praise that it is hard for even an unmilitary-minded reader not to be caught up in the romance of its ethos.

¹⁰⁴ Bryant, 23: a quotation from the *Rifle Brigade Chronicle*, 1897; although from the late century, it chimes with the orders given at the Brigade's inception.

campaign against the French army in 1799.¹⁰⁵ Trained as sharpshooters and provided with improved weaponry (the Baker Rifle rather than the inaccurate 'Brown Bess' musket), their role was to provide forward intelligence and to cover for advancing troops - or, more famously, for those forced into retreat, such as Sir John Moore's at Corunna. Moore himself had been instrumental in creating this new model, and it is fitting that his name should be remembered for a particular type of courage and sacrifice.¹⁰⁶ Coote-Manningham also died as a result of the hardships of the Retreat. Their work was carried on by Brigadier William Stewart and the charismatic Robert Craufurd, the commander of the Light Division when William Yonge joined in 1811. Although the ultimate responsibility for victory in the Peninsula goes to Wellington, the British survival there, after Moore's retreat to Corunna, was largely because of the 'protective reconnaissance screen' provided by the Rifles together with the 52nd and 43rd regiments.

In *Years of Victory*, his historical account of the Napoleonic Wars, Bryant eloquently describes the details of Craufurd's military operations:

By sterner methods engendered by the realities of war, Craufurd systematised Moore's training of common sense and humanism. His rules made it second nature for men to do the right thing. By obeying them, all grew accustomed to looking after themselves in all circumstances. The troops of the Light Division did not give way to fatigue after a long march and drop asleep when they halted, later to awake in the dark, cold, supperless and miserable. Instead, the moment the bugle sounded for them to dismiss, they bustled about securing whatever the neighbourhood could contribute to their night's comfort. Swords, hatchets and bill-hooks were soon busy hacking away at trees and bushes, huts were reared with roofs and walls of broom, pine branches or straw, fires lit and camp kettles set boiling; and presently, when the regulation pound of beef had been fried, tired but happy souls, their feet roasting round the cheerful blaze, would fall on their meal with a will, taking care, however, like good soldiers, not to consume anything that belonged to the morrow's ration.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Bryant, 13.

¹⁰⁶ Yonge's *Autobiography* (C. Coleridge, 19), recounts how Col. Colborne was one of those who buried Moore at dead of night.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted from at length in Bryant, *Jackets of Green*, 54-58.

What is extraordinary about this passage is the way the male hunters turn into the female gatherers; family life for the regiment is recreated around the cosy fire and food. Many of the virtues listed are those expected of mothers as much as of fathers; here officers and men replicate 'home' even in the great outdoors, bereft of female presence. Kinglake in his account of the Crimea builds on these earlier stories of the Rifle Brigade's gentle benevolence; he writes of villagers impressed by their acts of kindness, and of soldiers of the Brigade helping local women with their household work.¹⁰⁸ This is a narrative of soldiery at odds with that other all-male version of snobbery, brute passion and violence - the common trope of dandified officers, feckless about drinking, debts and love-life, quick to inflict severe punishment on men in the ranks - which abound throughout literature. It is also a version of soldiering with which women can empathize and imaginatively participate in.

Two other key transformations in behaviour within these regiments in the Peninsular War were of significance: the buying of supplies instead of commandeering them, and the attempt to control looting (and presumably rape, although this is never spelled out). This 'polite' way of warfare had a practical justification, of course, as they did not want to alienate the local population whose resistance to French occupation they were encouraging. But it became one of the distinctive heroic strands of the story, another thread in the construction of these gentlemen-soldiers, who did not abandon their manners when they doffed their civilian clothes and put on uniforms. Rather than gambling and associated vices, 'the Rifle Brigade were famous for their stage entertainments'; a Rifle Brigadier composed the Eton boating song 'whose lilt and gaiety

¹⁰⁸ Bryant, 129.

so perfectly expresses the spirit of the Rifle Brigade'.¹⁰⁹ These new refined (feminised?) traits for soldiers were pioneered within these special fighting units and altered the perception of soldiering, making it a career nearer to that of the doctor, schoolmaster, vicar - a gentlemanly pursuit suited to advanced British civilisation, with the emphasis on brotherhood, sacrifice, and dying. It comes as a slight shock to be reminded that another key characteristic of the Rifle Brigade was its superior killing power. Unlike other regiments, they were expected to slay with every shot. This fudging over what soldiers really do perhaps provided a way forward in the rebranding of the army in the modern state, but with hindsight we can see its path through the nineteenth-century, leading inexorably to public pressure over issues such as the rescue of General Gordon, and on to the mass enrolment of young men in 1914.

That Charlotte Yonge's father was a member of the founding and victorious band of soldiers was to shape her conception of men throughout her life and it infused all her writing. Although he surrendered his place in the army in order to marry Frances Bargus, William Yonge retained his military creed - it appears to have been at the heart of his identity, his *raison d'être*. Moving in a society of men who made much of distinctions gained at Oxford, and of their subsequent academic, legal and medical careers, he required the continued prestige of his military honours to frame his life. References to him contain an implicit assumption: had he remained in the army he would have gained promotions by merit (rather than purchase), in the manner of their illustrious relative John Colborne/General Lord Seaton; he had forfeited his chance of a distinguished career. Mrs. Bargus had forbidden the marriage so long as he stayed in the army:

¹⁰⁹ Bryant, 151 and 154.

Very strong and devoted must have been the love, for the sacrifice was great of his much-loved profession and his regiment ... I think, too, that his family were vexed that so fine a young man of twenty-seven should throw up his profession.¹¹⁰

It is possible that William Yonge would have found himself 'laid off' anyway, when many officers in the 1820s and 1830s were put on half-pay due to cut-backs in defence spending. The extent of Charlotte Yonge's military knowledge, however, can be taken as evidence that he wanted to relive his military experiences rather than slough off that part of his life.¹¹¹ The family gaze on the outstanding career of the father's cousin and past commander, Lord Seaton, was another thread maintaining their links with military success and modernisation, and with the imaginary alternative career path of her father.

Without indulging in too much amateur psychology, it is difficult not to read the circumstances of William Yonge's death as caused by extreme mental turmoil - possibly about the disjunction between the idealized form of soldiering which he had narrated throughout his life, and the memories of the brutal realities. Aged fifty-eight, he suffered a stroke brought on by hectic preparations to help his son Julian get equipment and uniform to join the Rifle Brigade when it left for the Crimea in February 1854:

His father, recalling his own days of active service, threw himself with great ardour into the needful preparations, and found his experience of great value in those days of ignorance of military matters. But after a week of hustle and bustle, and after the parting with his only son, he was taken suddenly ill with an attack of apoplexy, and died after a few days' illness.

Julian had joined the Rifle Brigade a year earlier and had been on service with them in Canada, but this would be his first experience of war. A few days after he sailed, William

¹¹⁰ C. M. Yonge in C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 34-35.

¹¹¹ William Yonge's name was publicly listed in reports of Wellington's funeral, as an officer still alive who had fought at the Battle of Waterloo: *ILN*, XXI, 1852, 426. The family might remember him as first and foremost a military man, but H. E. C. Stapylton, *Eton School Lists, 1791-1850* (London, 1863), 66, sums his life up as 'Father of the authoress ... a Captain in the Army'.

Yonge died, never to know whether or not Julian would live up to his expectations.¹¹²

After her father's death, Charlotte Yonge continued to act as if she was the Keeper of the Flame of his military record and of his regiment, particularly over the perceived gross injustice of their key role in the clinching moments of victory at Waterloo being ascribed to a Brigade of Guards instead of the 52nd.¹¹³ To the end of her life she rehearsed these scenes repeatedly in her mind; her incomplete chapters of Autobiography which included another retelling, were written in the 1870s to 1890s.

Conclusion

There is more to say on military themes in relation to Charlotte Yonge's notions of manliness, on which I will expand in other chapters. Although Yonge is sometimes believed to be backward-looking, a writer whose gaze was firmly focused on the past, it is possible that the success of *The Heir of Redclyffe* helped to valorize a new kind of soldier suited to the peculiar needs of a more democratic, educated society, and to contribute to the evolution of a public opinion more favourable in its view of the army. Her family's special links with new reformed sections of the army gave her access to the most advanced thinking within military circles. It is not accidental that the Volunteers of the late 1850s modelled themselves on the Rifle Brigade. Everything about the Rifle Brigade was modern: their unusual dark green uniforms which allowed them to merge into the background, their rifles, their tactics, their training, their communication by bugle and whistles, their treatment of the lower ranks. Yet there was also this romantic construction

¹¹² C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 186-187. In *Musings over "The Christian Year"* (Oxford, 1871), xxxi, Yonge enhances the tone of the departure of Julian 'to whom the call of the Crimean War was literally like that in the Gospel, and suffered him not to bury his father'.

¹¹³ As well as recounting this story in her Autobiography, (C. Coleridge, 25), she goes into considerable detail in *ChR*, LIV, 1867, 239-285 in a review of two histories of the 52nd at Waterloo and her father's privately printed memoir of Lord Seaton. The theme also crops up in her fiction, most notably in *Heartsease* where she berates the Guards.

of its medieval connotations with the yeoman longbowmen. Yonge interpreted their ideals in terms of the imagined chivalric past of Scott's *Ivanhoe*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and above all, of the knights in *Sintram*, and transposed them into the moral battles of everyday life. Her convictions about the nobility of soldiering permeated her many historical stories, textbooks, and anthologies such as *The Book of Golden Deeds*, as well as providing significant characters in other novels. Above all, they fired her enthusiasm for mission work; missionaries embodied for her the perfect combination of soldierly courage with abnegation of physical violence.

Just as Showalter expresses surprise about Yonge (as a Victorian woman), having a keen interest in military campaigns, Keble (as a man, though a vicar), was censured by contemporaries for a perceived lack of concern for military events. When *The Spectator* criticised the absence of the Crimean War in Keble's published correspondence, Yonge ascribed it to a mere accident of selection:

He eagerly watched the accounts and delighted in the heroic acts of courage and endurance ... he had a great love and esteem for the soldierly profession ... Then too, war in the allegorical aspect, could not fail to win his imagination, as the type of the Church Militant here on earth, and the Christian chivalry of a true "happy warrior" excited and touched his feeling to a great degree. I think he viewed the old war with France as a holy war, and venerated "the Duke" accordingly ... He thoroughly liked an account of a battle, and had a ready insight into the meaning of details one would have thought out of his line.¹¹⁴

Her words could equally well be applied to herself. The interlocking of worldly and spiritual warfare in this passage was fundamental to her outlook and the stories she wove. How typical that one of her very first novels, *Kenneth or the Rearguard of the Grand Army*, should take the unusual setting of the French retreat from Moscow in 1812, with a

¹¹⁴ Yonge, *Musings*, xxxv.

young brother and his sister in the maelstrom of battle.¹¹⁵ Although she never again adopted a military campaign as her backdrop, she transferred similar moral challenges for her heroes and heroines into a domestic setting. For her, as for her mentor Keble, all good Christians are soldiers.

¹¹⁵ Although published in 1850, she had been working on it (with the strange name of *Shiverydown*), for some time – C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 153.

Chapter Two: Shaping Brothers/Sons into Soldiers

Introduction

Contrary to the idea that war thrills men, expresses innate masculinity, or gives men a fulfilling occupation, all evidence indicates that war is something that societies impose on men, who most often need to be dragged kicking and screaming into it, constantly brainwashed and disciplined once there and rewarded and honored afterwards.

- Joshua Goldstein¹

Joshua Goldstein's monumental examination of the complex relationship between war and gender concludes with the remark that 'the single main lesson of this book for those interested in gender is to pay attention to war'. Indeed he asserts that war is a major cause of gender constructions for 'the war system influences the socialization of children into *all* their gender roles'. He supports David Gilmore's cross-cultural study on the commonality of methods employed to convert boys into soldiers against their 'natural' instincts (264-6) and emphasizes the essential role of women in the 'making of militarized masculinity':

... just as women participate actively in shaming men, and in serving as mirrors for their masculinity, they also participate as mothers in shaping their sons for war. In theory, since they control infant care, women could change gender norms. They could ... train girls to be aggressive and boys to be passive. But in fact mothers ... reward boys for being tough and girls for being nice. They raise warriors. The problem is that although women could subdue the males they raise, they cannot control males raised in other communities (309).

How women should perform this role in a newly industrialized, urban state, where 'captains of industry' were more visible than their military counterparts, was less clear - but of significance in a nation which held the Continental practice of conscription in contempt. It is an underlying theme in a number of the novels of Charlotte Yonge and

¹ Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender. How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge, 2001), 253. He points out: 'the term "real men" refers to the aspects of masculinity that are the least real biologically', 264.

probably reflected the confusions within her own life engendered by her love of the military.

As an unmarried woman, Charlotte Yonge had no personal knowledge of mothering except in all those quasi-maternal roles of teacher, aunt, god-mother, family friend. She was, however, an older sister and in a scenario played out again and again within her novels - as in *The Young Stepmother* - imagined that the bond between siblings was one of mutual affection and sympathy, with a good dose of productive teasing. Lateral sibling relationships have been comparatively overlooked, both in psychology and literature, compared to the focus on vertical parental/child relationships. New research by the psychoanalyst Juliet Mitchell, however, emphasizes the profound psychic significance of the relationship; she foregrounds fierce emotional trauma as the normal effect of the birth of siblings, an ambivalent love/hate occurring naturally with strong passions which some children accommodate only with difficulty, liable to resurface in later life.² Although often the longest relationships of our lives, they are inherently unstable, and lack agreed cultural norms. Valerie Sanders points out, however, that sibling bonds were accorded a peculiar reverence during the nineteenth century; she uses the term 'brother-sister culture' to describe this ethos of veneration.³ If there was this special intensity in Charlotte Yonge's relationship with her brother Julian, it also seems to incorporate some painful sentiments. His rare appearance in accounts of her life implies a deliberate silence, a wary avoidance of a sore wound, a discomfort at alluding to something known at the time to cause distress.

² Juliet Mitchell, *Siblings: Sex and Violence* (Cambridge, 2003).

³ Valerie Sanders, *The Brother-Sister Culture in Nineteenth Century Literature* (Basingstoke, 2002); also Leonore Davidoff, 'Where the Stranger Begins - The Question of Siblings in Historical Analysis' in *Worlds Between. Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (Cambridge, 1995), 206-226.

In this chapter I consider what details we know about Julian Yonge, who joined the famed Rifle Brigade in the autumn of 1851 but resigned his commission in December 1854. With this in mind, two of Charlotte Yonge's novels with major military components will be considered: *Kenneth* written largely in the 1840s and *The Young Stepmother* published in the aftermath of the Crimean War. I will also look briefly at her post-Indian Mutiny representation of soldiers in *Clever Woman of the Family* (1865). Although it is of interest to speculate on the connections between her personal family situation and her writings, its relevance is to provide an extra dimension to the representations of soldierly men which Yonge disseminates through her novels - and the message to women readers about their role in their production. Unable herself to follow in her father's footsteps except in her imagination, she evangelized the honour of military endeavour; but, whereas in the first of these stories Yonge appears secure in her straightforward certitude that there can be nothing more glorious than to fight in battle, in *The Young Stepmother* she oscillates between a pride in all things military and a grudging awareness that it is possible to 'be a man' but not be suited to be a soldier. By the time of *Clever Woman* Yonge appears to have recovered some of her self-assurance; here she confronts typical criticisms of the military and positions her heroic soldiers centre-stage though within a domestic setting. That she saw life as a metaphorical battle further complicated her assumptions, for in that battle she could place women in the firing line.

Julian Yonge

“Well, he was very faithful and very loving, though we are all reserved, and it is another link where our hearts should be”.

- Charlotte Yonge in 1892 on the death of her brother Julian ⁴

‘On the 31st of January 1830 came the greatest event of my life: my only brother was born’.⁵ Thus Charlotte Yonge opens her third chapter of *Autobiography*. Aged six, her preferred role models for her brother are already betrayed by her wish that he should be called Alexander Xenophon. Instead he was christened Julian Bargas, names chosen from each side of the family. There would be no other siblings. It is a natural presumption that Yonge’s portrayals in fiction of the special bond which could exist between a sister and a brother might be based on her relationship with Julian, but after this opening declaration of Julian’s birth as ‘the greatest event’ of her life, neither she nor Christabel Coleridge provide much evidence to support or explain it. In her autobiographical chapters, Yonge describes intense sibling-like relationships with her cousins, especially Jemmy Yonge at Plymouth and John Yonge at Puslinch in far more vivid language than incidents in her life at home with Julian. Her convincing fictional representations of siblings are perhaps based on this vast ‘cousinage’ of Yonges, or the fifteen Moberly children, or the numerous other families with whom she was familiar. It could also have been wishful thinking: an enactment of the close rapport about which she had fantasized before Julian’s birth when she played imaginary families with her many dolls. According to Battiscombe, their mother Fanny said she had ‘two only children’ suggesting that their six year age gap was too wide to bridge with fraternal/sisterly intimacy.⁶

⁴ G. Battiscombe, *Yonge*, 158.

⁵ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 73.

⁶ G. Battiscombe, *Yonge*, 102.

It is hard to discover much about Julian or his place in his sister's life.

Throughout Christabel Coleridge's biography, written soon after Yonge's death, there are surprisingly few references to him. This was partly due to seemly reticence about private life and living people - although Julian himself had died in 1885, his five remaining children needed consideration. But the silences and gaps are suggestive of more than mere respect. The snippets which can be extracted from Coleridge about his life as an adult do not add up to anything comparable to the plaudits for their father or the many other men mentioned - or they skate over what must have been seismic moments in Charlotte's relationship with her brother. A typical example of such skimming is Coleridge's account of the enforced removal of Charlotte and Mrs. Yonge from the family home of Otterbourne House along the road to Elderfield, a few years after Julian's marriage in 1858 to Frances Walter. Although Coleridge credits Charlotte herself with the idea of moving, she indicates the circumstances which had brought about the decision; how uncomfortable they had been made to feel in their own home; that sharing the family home with Julian's wife was a 'difficult' arrangement:

There was not much scope for the newcomer in a house already in full working order, and there must have been much that was perplexing to a girl of nineteen in the bookish talk, and the rather peculiar intellectual atmosphere of that unique circle of friends and relations.

It is clear that Charlotte was initially unprepared for the thought of moving out:

it does not seem to have occurred to any one, and certainly not to Charlotte herself, that a person of so much consequence as she had become, ... required more space, both mental and physical, than she could obtain in a mixed household.⁷

This strangely-worded explanation seems to lay the blame on Charlotte: that her work and personality took up too much room, overlapping into Julian's areas of the house -

⁷ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 199-200. In contrast to the reality of events, note the wishful thinking implicit in the opening page of Yonge's *The Young Stepmother*, serialised in 1856, where a new wife admits to her husband of 'having married your sister as much as yourself' and was now finding it hard that this sister-in-law was to marry, 'for what shall we do without her?'

'mental' is the give-away word here as there was probably ample 'physical' space in such a manor house, even when Julian's children were born. This sentence suggests a period of tense misunderstandings, with Julian protective towards his young wife and standing up to his older sister.

Charlotte would have expected to remain in the large family home, just as their own parents had resided permanently in the grandmother's house from the day of their marriage. Now in her mid-thirties, she perceived her fundamental role in the family to be the 'home daughter'. From Julian's point of view it is possible that his sister's expectations were oppressive, her success a constant reminder of failure, so that he welcomed marriage as an escape into a household structure where he could exercise autonomy and authority. Although Charlotte made a new home for herself and her mother nearby, the wrench must have been considerable.⁸ When Julian put Otterbourne House up for sale in 1884 to move to London, Coleridge recognises the deep hurt inflicted to see the family home no longer in Yonge or Bargas hands: 'Charlotte felt the loss of her childhood home keenly, but she said little on the subject'.⁹ Childhood homes are for many people sacred spaces which become internalised as secret wells of intense feeling, but most people even in the nineteenth-century move away from the actual buildings and location of childhood. Otterbourne and the surrounding parishes, however, remained at the heart of Charlotte Yonge's universe, the bedrock of her existence; and it is possible that there was a disappointment at its centre in the person of her brother.

⁸ The upset to Mrs. Yonge was far more momentous; Julian was asking his mother to move from a house which had been her own home before any Yonge connection.

⁹ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 280.

Another instance where Coleridge makes a significant revelation about the Yonge siblings is in a passage about the newly-created parish of Otterbourne, separated from Hursley in 1875. Charlotte Yonge wanted to donate money to the church - one with special family connections, built to the designs of her father - but 'there occurred the failure of a company in which Mr. Julian Yonge had considerable interest, and serious money losses were in consequence incurred by the family'. Her wealthy friends the Gibbs of Tyntesfield stepped in to provide for Otterbourne Church. Coleridge records Charlotte's view 'that since the interests of the parish did not suffer, she had only rejoiced in being able to devote her earnings to a yet nearer and dearer claim' – a noble assertion and certainly a sentiment which Yonge would have made and tried to feel.¹⁰ It is tempting, however, to scrutinize Yonge's comments on sibling relationships in *Womankind* with particular care, to wonder whether her perceptive insights were based on experience of others' large families or on hurts inflicted closer to home. Written originally as a series of articles for *The Monthly Packet*, the chapter on 'Brothers and Sisters' appeared in August 1875, at the time when Yonge had started to investigate ways to raise capital to help her bankrupt brother by using the copyrights of her books.¹¹ In language startling for its ferocity she castigates the brother for whom a sister will feel intense affection, 'shielding him in his scrapes, and sometimes sacrificing her whole life to him', but who is a 'horse-leech brother, who consumes their savings'. Although she asserts that she is talking of 'maidservants and governesses' the strength of her feeling betrays a more heartfelt emotion, diverted into outrage on behalf of those less fortunate

¹⁰ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 273; G. Battiscombe, *Yonge*, 151.

¹¹ British Library, Macmillan Papers, Ms. 54921/7, CMY to Alexander Macmillan, March 1 1875: she asks about their potential value, hoping to use them as collateral; Ms. 54921/11, CMY to Geo. Craik, Feb. 26 1876: she enquires again. Ms. 54921/12, CMY to Craik, March 17 1876, implies she was disappointed with his reply: 'I thought they must be more valuable to me than to anyone else'. Ms. 54921/26, July 17 1877, is the legal agreement to sell them. Anxieties about money continue; she asks for occasional advances, and seems to be sifting through past articles to see if they could be published in book form.

than herself. Her unexpectedly passionate comments on the transitory nature of some brothers' love also sound as if written from direct experience:

[a sister's love] is set aside for other loves and his sister has to take an inferior place; yes, and acquiesce and sympathize when her heart is sore at sense of neglect, and she is tempted to be most jealous and critical.¹²

The more Julian's career is examined the more it seems to be a record of failure; he took up various professions but was unable to sustain any path he had chosen.¹³ There may have been good reasons for this, but apart from his withdrawal from the Army, they are not referred to. It is possible that he followed in his father's footsteps as a conscientious squire of Otterbourne House, but as yet I have found little evidence for this. In 1861 Mrs. Yonge wrote to Anne Sturges Bourne about plans for a new hospital as a memorial to the much-loved Warden Barter of Winchester College: 'I want Julian to undertake to raise a thousand pounds of promises before Easter'. Charlotte's letter to the same friend enlarges on her mother's comments, saying that the idea of the hospital emerged because 'one of [the Warden's] last letters to Julian was about it'.¹⁴ These comments could suggest that Julian had connections and respect within the neighbourhood, and that he took his commitments to the community seriously. On the other hand Mrs. Yonge's surprisingly peremptory tone might indicate that her son only got involved when shoved into action.

The Eton School Register sums Julian up as, 'Late Rifle Brigade; only son of the late Capt. William Crawley Yonge', but makes no mention of some start he had made in

¹² C. M. Yonge, *Womankind* (1877; London, 1889), 141; 1874-77 serialised in *MP*.

¹³ B. Dennis, *Yonge*, 25, calls Julian a 'less than ideal brother' and agrees on his insubstantial career.

¹⁴ Hampshire Public Record Office, Winchester, Sturges Bourne Papers, Mss. 9M55/F55/5-6, Feb. 19 and 23 1861.

law as a student of the Inner Temple in 1855.¹⁵ This is mentioned in the Oxford lists, which, however, make no reference to his short military career. Instead they cite his matriculation in 1848 at Balliol, his B.A. in 1853, M.A. in 1855 - and then pick out as if the most important aspect of his life, 'brother of Charlotte Mary, author of *The Heir of Redclyffe* etc.'¹⁶ Compared with the brothers in his sister's fictional stories, about whose life-choices there is so much debate, Julian's record seems dubious. We gain a slight glimpse of him through an episode which emerges within Charlotte's busy professional correspondence with Macmillan's. She mentions an account written by her brother of a visit to Huntley and Palmer's biscuit factory and wonders if it might be suitable for his *Magazine*: 'it is really very curious and entertaining'; she sends 'my brother's biscuits, much hoping they may answer the purpose' a few days later. There is no further reference - and no sign of any such article in the *Magazine* - until a polite request five months later: 'If my brother's Ms. about the Reading biscuits ... can be recovered he would be very glad to have it again'.¹⁷ Charlotte Yonge initially used Julian as an intermediary to conduct some of the business-side of her publications with Macmillan; by the time of this correspondence, she dealt with publishers on her own, a go-between for her brother rather than *vice versa*, demonstrating his comparative insignificance.

Comments in Coleridge tantalisingly suggest further enthusiasms but with no explanation. After their mother's death in 1868, Charlotte had her first trip to the Continent, travelling with Julian and his wife to Paris. They were guests of Madame de

¹⁵ H. E. C. Stapylton, *Eton School Lists 1791 to 1850*, 211. M. Mare and A. C. Percival, *Victorian Best-seller. The World of Charlotte M. Yonge* (London, 1947), 191 - that Julian had chambers in Lincoln's Inn in 1856.

¹⁶ Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, IV (Oxford, 1885). The listing mentions that he was S.C.L. (Scholar of Civil Law) in 1851, more evidence that he was originally considering a legal career. Balliol College Lists summarize him as 'Yonge, J. B. (Army, landowner)'. His B.A. is also recorded in the *Times*, Feb. 17 1853.

¹⁷ BL, McM Papers, CMY to McM, Mss. 54920/101, July 14 1865; /102, July 17 1865; /128, Dec. 23 1865.

Witt, daughter of the historian and politician Francois Guizot. Julian apparently shared a special interest with the aged statesman in *la mecanique*.¹⁸ In letters to Marianne Dyson, Charlotte comments first on how Julian's French was adequate except that 'he does not know the French mechanical terms which he wants particularly', and later that 'Julian discovered a book on the turning lathe, which he has wished to see all his life'.¹⁹ This suggests that Julian bore some resemblance to Maurice Mohun in one of Yonge's earliest novels, *Scenes and Characters*, a younger brother with a passion for mechanics but not very good at Latin and Greek.²⁰ This similarity has tantalising implications for literary guesswork as Yonge later took up the story of the Mohuns in various sequels making it tempting, though unwise, to explore possible parallels between Julian and the adult Maurice, an introverted scientist with a difficult wife.²¹

Occasionally Coleridge seems to mislead the reader on purpose, as in the references to Julian's army service. In the chapter entitled '1853-1854 Success', which concludes with the shock of Mr. Yonge's death brought on by helping his son prepare for active service, Coleridge refers briefly to the dismal failure of Julian's military career:

In the course of the summer, however, a sunstroke brought on an illness which obliged the young officer to return to England, and finally to leave the army. The joy of his return was of course much tempered by anxiety about his health, and disappointment at the check to his career, but his company was manifestly a great joy to his sister, and she frequently quotes his opinions as to her writings and undertakings.²²

¹⁸ This friendship came from his sister's fame as a novelist; Madame de Witt translated some of Yonge's books into French. Guizot's lavish praise for *The Heir* had been the stimulus for a satirical review by Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins, in *Household Words*, Dec. 18 1858; see Harry Stone (ed.), *Charles Dickens' Uncollected Writings from 'Household Words'* (Indiana, 1968), 619-626.

¹⁹ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 243 and 248.

²⁰ *Scenes and Characters* (1847), written when Julian was still at school. Any similarity would be unfortunate: Maurice is one of her least sympathetic characters with a tunnel-vision focused on an insensitive pursuit of his own scientific agenda which blinds him to his moral responsibilities to his sisters.

²¹ *Two Sides of the Shield* (1885), *Beechcroft at Rockstone* (1888), *Long Vacation* (1895), *Modern Broods* (1900)

²² C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 187. The 'Success' of the title refers to the transformation of Charlotte's life through the reception of *The Heir of Redclyffe*.

She fails to back up the hollow-sounding second part of this last sentence in the extracts from letters with which she ends this chapter. The next chapter, interestingly entitled '1854-1862 Mother and Daughter' - as if Julian no longer figures in their lives - also traverses the precarious terrain of the shortened military career. Near the start Coleridge refers to a visit to Norway by Julian for his health soon after his return, and that once his strength was restored, he accompanied Charlotte on social visits in their neighbourhood. Then the account moves on through time to Charlotte's first trip 'abroad' when in September 1857 she and her cousin Anne went to Dublin to be bridesmaids for General Seaton's daughter Jane to an army officer. In the 'Letters' section at the end of this chapter Coleridge disguises the reality of Julian's war record by the (deliberate?) misplacing of extracts. After a letter from Charlotte to Marianne Dyson in June 1854 which includes mention of Julian in the Crimea - that the Rifle Brigade had moved to Varna - Coleridge next places eight pages of letters from Charlotte to her mother in October 1857 recounting the excitement of the wedding in Dublin. A comment about how Julian will laugh when he hears how cheap railway tickets are in Ireland, confirms that Julian was not present at the wedding (awash with military personnel), though by that time he had had three years to recover from his Crimean experiences.

Straight after these extracts from 1857, Coleridge places a letter from Charlotte to Anne Yonge describing Julian's homecoming from the Crimean War. Dated merely December 1, the letter gives the unsuspecting reader the impression that Julian has been away in the army for a long time - indeed that this is still 1857, which would explain his unlikely absence from the Dublin wedding. This sounds like a hero's welcome: 'We can hardly believe the suspense is over at last'. Charlotte describes her brother as:

thin and languid, but his face is not in the least altered, and he has by no means realised Laura's dream that he had come home in big red whiskers. I am sure if he had stayed in that climate it would have been the death of him.

How apt is this last phrase in its modern slight meaning, where it implies failure but not annihilation. For this must have been written on December 1 1854; when Charlotte says that 'these last three weeks have been a terrible strain on all one's senses ... I do think it has been the worst time of all', she meant the three weeks in November 1854 when they were worried not only for his health, but were wrestling with the implications of his withdrawal from his regiment. In the register of the officers of the Rifle Brigade, no mention is made of his presence at any battle in the Crimea; it states only that he retired on November 10 1854 - by which time the battles of Alma, Balaclava, and Inkermann (on November 5th) had been fought and winter was setting in. Whereas Charlotte Yonge was proud to list the campaign badges which her father had gained for each battle at which he had been present, Julian returned home with none.²³

Letters from Anne Sturges Bourne to Marianne Dyson provide a more three-dimensional context for this whole episode, especially her comments when she was staying with the Kebles at Hursley about the household of their mutual friend Charlotte Yonge.²⁴ The Crimean crisis flows as an undercurrent throughout the correspondence while she recounts daily activities and critiques *The Heir*, *The Daisy Chain* (being serialised in *Monthly Packet*) and Charlotte's new unpublished novel *Heartsease*, the characters providing archetypes against which friends are compared. Her excited

²³ Col. Gerald Edmund Boyle, *Rifle Brigade Century 1800-1905. An Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Rifle Brigade* (London, 1905), 182. *Guardian*, IX, July 19 1854, 565, records one notable achievement: Julian Yonge's promotion to 'Second Lieutenant without purchase'. Battiscombe, *Yonge*, 106, seems to have been persuaded of Julian's 'long' army career; she explains his eviction of his mother and sister from Otterbourne House thus: 'Julian's army career had taken him from home so much that Otterbourne had come to be almost exclusively connected with Fanny Yonge and Charlotte'. Boyle lists his army career as Oct. 1851 to Dec. 1854, neither was he 'away' for all that time.

²⁴ H/PRO, SB Corr., ASB to MD, Mss. 9M55/F/27-28, 1853-1855.

depiction of the war ('I think it is rather like an Eastern story - so cruel and determined - there is something wild in fighting under Mt. Ararat')²⁵ becomes more muted at the sight of Charlotte in mourning for her father and 'a little upset by the report of the [?] engagement, with no possibility of letters', with Keble 'very sad and says we have no right to succeed in the war'.²⁶ This mood is intensified by the accounts of the first battles - 'They say our men walked up that awful hill as on parade' - but still interpreted through the veil of fiction, so that her reading of *Heartsease* is fused (confused?) with her imaginative recreation of the battlefield:

... the amendments of Violet are very good. ... It strikes one now that Percy needed some harder work for his fine character - but I suppose dwelling on the heroes of Sebastopol makes everything else tame - it seems the very perfection of courage and obedience and endurance, and yet often in men who have nothing else to command them.²⁷

In the next letter she dwells again on 'these awful battles and the suffering yet to come', and provides an example of the admiration with which soldiers were now viewed: 'We saw a live Crimean officer who came down in the same train and his pale face and shiny moustaches made him unmistakeable on the platform and pretty much we revered him'. As letters from the front began to arrive, to add to the accounts in the press ('We get two papers a day and read them out'), news was shared about the many sons and brothers of friends and acquaintances - 'endurance of the immense hardship of the camp is to me far more than battle courage. Last account of the Markhams was good'.²⁸

²⁵ H/PRO, SB Corr., ASB to MD, Ms. 9M55/F/27/31, Dec. 1853.

²⁶ H/PRO, SB Corr., ASB to MD, Ms. 9M55/F/28/12, 1854: Keble was perturbed that England was fighting Christian Russia on behalf of infidel Turks.

²⁷ H/PRO, Mss. 9M55/F/28/15-16, ASB to MD, Nov. 5 1854 (probably a reference to the Battle of Alma), and Nov. 1854.

²⁸ H/PRO, Mss. 9M55/F/28/17-18, ASB to MD, 29 Nov. and Dec. 1854.

In this context, Anne's letter to Marianne in January 1855 has poignant resonances for the modern reader trying to comprehend the significance of Julian's withdrawal from the war:

C.Y. gives a famous report of Owl [Charles Dyson's wife] - a woman who could outlive all the blue pills she has taken must be as strong as the men who live thro' Sebastopol, w[hich] I dare say poor Julian c'nd. Miss C said as far as I remember that he was blamed for selling out and thought to have acted hastily - w[hich] perhaps she had better not to a stranger - it was at the time of the outcry at L. G. Paget and the cruel remarks on Gen. Bentinck - I think old soldiers who have gone thro' much do not make allowance for the young and in this case if a man c'nd stand the climate any how - he ought hardly to expose himself to Seb'l but he is just the person for whom I suppose it would have been a great thing thro' life to *have gone well thro' it*. ... I saw Miss Nightingale Wed. - her anxiety is very intense for she feels that F's work is more than any woman's strength can stand, and she will devote herself to the very last.²⁹

Anne shows some pity for a man who has not got the physical stamina of either of the women mentioned, and hints at the graver lack of moral backbone. Those everyday humiliating phrases must have been floating in the air - 'rat leaving a sinking ship', 'throwing in the towel', 'chicken-livered', 'yellow-bellied'. Instead of the lion-hearted brother of Charlotte's dreams, Julian returned with his tail between his legs: his failure probably marked him forever. Unlike his father, whose presence at key military events set him up for life as a man to be respected, Julian would want to shield his experience in the army from scrutiny. Yet the ceremonies and memorials for the many men who had performed heroically or sacrificed their lives, must have made this impossible and been

²⁹ H/PRO, ASB to MD, Ms. 9M55/F/28/21. C. Hibbert, *Destruction of Lord Raglan* (Harmondsworth, 1963), 236: after Inkermann Lord George Paget gave up his command of the 4th Light Dragoons and returned home to his 'young and beautiful wife, whom he had married only a few days before coming out'; he believed the position of the Anglo-French army was untenable. Some perceived his action to be ignoble and 'he was greatly snubbed at home'; Hibbert gives Nov. 11 for the date of Paget's resignation. Although Inkermann was a 'victory', it was a particularly vicious battle, with 'many officers openly talked of sending in their papers and going home'; this was the mood when Julian resigned on Nov. 10th. Robert B. Edgerton, *Death or Glory. The Legacy of the Crimean War* (Boulder, 1999), 208, tells of Garnet Wolseley, distinguished commander of many later military expeditions, but a young officer in the Crimea; he viewed those who sold their commissions and returned home as "curs" who "had sneaked aboard ship ... to England on the plea of an extra pain in the stomach". Miss Nightingale must be Florence's sister Parthenope; their personal acquaintance with Florence Nightingale meant they followed her story with intense interest.

constant uncomfortable reminders.³⁰ Few communities were not mourning for lost sons and husbands in the aftermath of the war in 'the East'. Even in the small village of Otterbourne six men had gone to the Crimea. Three of the four privates were killed. The two officers both returned alive: Captain Denzil Chamberlayne, who 'took part in the famous charge at Balaclava and was unhurt though his horse was killed', and Julian B. Yonge, 'though ill-health obliged the latter to return from Varna'. The names of the dead were recorded in the church with an enigmatic inscription suggested by Keble: 'It is good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth'.³¹

While it is possible to feel compassion for this reserved young man, sent to war while still mourning his father and prevented by illness from participation in battle, the gaps and silences in accounts of Charlotte's life imply that she struggled with mixed emotions about having her brother safely home from the Crimea. In September 1855 Anne Sturges Bourne met him, apparently for the first time (perhaps when he had returned from the Norwegian health trip?) and tells Marianne, 'Julian not prepossessing in face or in manner but much to like when you get over that', though she seemed to warm more to his mathematician friend who was visiting.³² Battiscombe adds colour to this lacklustre image with a comment that when Julian came home from the war he wandered round Otterbourne like Lance in *Pillars* - 'wearing a grass hat enfolded in an ample puggery and provided with a natty blue umbrella'.³³ When Elizabeth Wordsworth met Julian later she observed: 'The brother's idea of salutation seemed to be nodding his head

³⁰ New houses were built in Winchester along Clifton Terrace for Crimean officers. The back wall of the Chapel porch of Winchester College became a memorial to the thirteen Wykehamists who had lost their lives, eight of them under the age of twenty-one.

³¹ C. M. Yonge, *John Keble's Parishes. A History of Hursley and Otterbourne* (London, 1898), 131-132.

³² H/PRO, AS-B to MD, Ms. 9M55/F/28/43.

³³ G. Battiscombe, *Yonge*, 89. She gives no indication of how she had knowledge of this detail.

... the family are not demonstrative'.³⁴ Contrast this slightly surly image with his sister's romantic view of Julian's departure for Canada with the Rifle Brigade in 1852:

'Charlotte, when he got his commission, compared it to a young squire obtaining knighthood, and felt it to be a sort of revival of the romance of an older day'.³⁵ Her grief at the loss of 'my father, a Peninsular War and Waterloo soldier [who] was the hero of heroes to both my mother and me' was not likely to be staunched by the questionable record of her brother Julian.³⁶ The brief reference to him in her book on Keble's Parishes in 1898, 'Julian B. Yonge, after long inactivity from broken health, sold his property at Otterbourne to Maj. Robert Scarlett and removed to London where he died a few days later, October 1891', is startling in its apparent lack of emotion.³⁷

In her autobiography Charlotte Yonge describes the excitement of the celebrations in Oxford in 1834 for the installation of the Duke of Wellington as Chancellor. She and Julian were staying at Exeter College with their mother when the Duke visited:

'My mother, in a sudden impulse, led Julian forward, saying, "Will your Grace shake hands with a soldier's little boy?" He kissed Julian and shook hands with me. ... We gloried in the kiss, but the boy himself was desperately shy about it, and if his cousins wanted to tease him it was by asking to "show the place where the Duke bit him"'.³⁸

Only four years old, the family had labelled Julian as a soldier's son who would be expected to follow in the paternal footsteps, but already Julian is finding it a heavy burden of expectation. Meanwhile Charlotte's insignificance as a girl in military terms has been underlined; her mother had not pushed her forward as 'a soldier's daughter' and the privilege of shaking the Duke's hand only happened because she was Julian's sister.

³⁴ B. Dennis, *Yonge*, 25. Wordsworth did not meet Yonge till 1870, so her experience of Julian will have been from the later years.

³⁵ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 168.

³⁶ C. M. Yonge in an article in *Mothers in Council* quoted by E. Romanes, *Yonge*, 16.

³⁷ C. M. Yonge, *John Keble's Parishes*, 149.

³⁸ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 105.

Kenneth; or The Rear-Guard of the Grand Army

The son of a soldier, born in stirring times, loving from earliest childhood to feed his imagination with tales of courage and enterprise, by nature fearless and enthusiastic, he had seen acted before him such intrepid achievements as had been the theme of his most cherished visions.³⁹

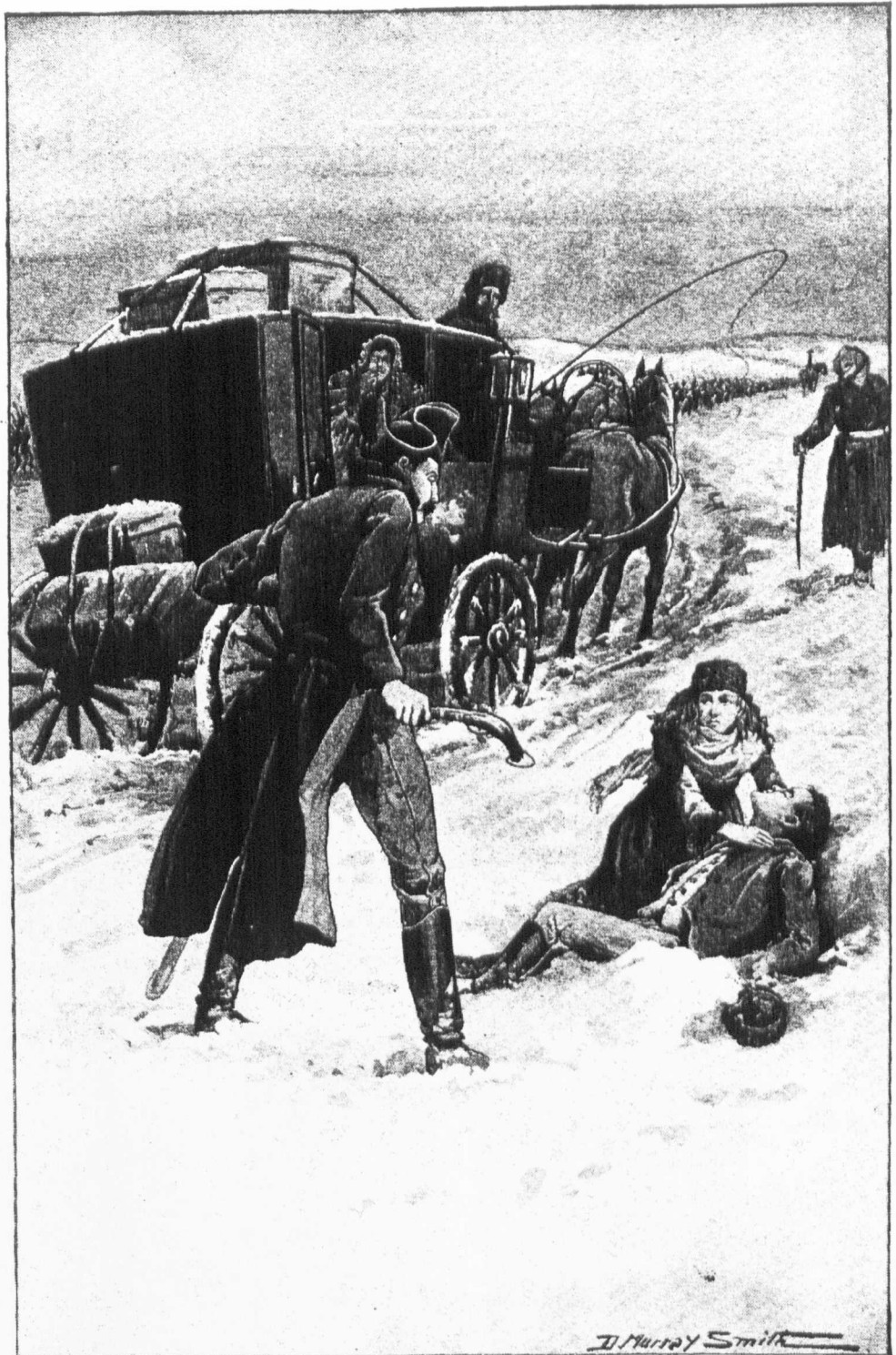
Although *Kenneth* was published in 1850, its genesis was earlier; indeed Yonge gives the impression that it was a precious enterprise over which she toiled throughout the 1840s.⁴⁰ Her most suggestive comments were written in an article years later, where she describes her first imaginary stories as ‘perpetual dreams of romance ... in which somebody was always being wounded in the Peninsular War, and coming home with his arm in a sling’. Reading Sir Archibald Alison’s account of Napoleon’s Retreat from Moscow she ‘romanced’ about a reference to a young child adopted by soldiers when abandoned by its mother.⁴¹ Encouraged by her own mother, she began to write her unusual story of Kenneth and his sister Effie’s participation in the famous events of 1812 and gave it to her father to read each night. But, ‘he could criticise but not compose, and by the time a sentence of the unformed capacity of eighteen was tortured into good English, all the life was gone out of it, and the attempt on ‘Shiverydown’, our pet name for it, was given up’ - for the time being.⁴² Her passionate love for her father and his military past, her empathetic desire to inhabit the stories told to her, her reverence for the tales of Sir Walter Scott and Manzoni, all seem to have instilled in her a determination to persevere with her narrative.

³⁹ Description of Kenneth in Charlotte M. Yonge, *Kenneth; or The Rear-Guard of the Grand Army* (1850; Leipzig, 1860), 154-5.

⁴⁰ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 153n, initialled M.A.M.

⁴¹ Archibald Alison, *History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution in MDCCLXXXIX to the Restoration of the Bourbons in MDCCCXV* (1833-42; Edinburgh, 1855, 9th ed.), X, 50-106.

⁴² ‘Lifelong Friends’, *MP*, Dec. 1894, reprinted in G. Battiscombe et al., *Chaplet*, 181-184.



KENNETH AND EFFIE ARE LEFT IN THE SNOW.

[See p. 9.]

Illustration from *Scenes from Kenneth, or the Rearguard of the Grand Army*
(Edward Arnold, 1899).

Kenneth has remained an oddity within Yonge's oeuvre in both its subject matter and its publishing history. It was issued in a single volume, initially by J. H. Parker rather than Mozley or Masters who published her other early publications; Yonge perhaps believed it would appeal to a wider audience than her family stories - that the same people who read Scott with pleasure would savour the complications of her plot about individual moral choices in a time of political turmoil.⁴³ In 1851 *The Churchman's Companion* called *Kenneth* 'brilliant' and *The Christian Remembrancer* in 1853 said it justly deserved 'the popularity which we believe it has attained', but it was omitted by Macmillan's in any of their comprehensive reprints of her works.⁴⁴ When Tauschnitz reprinted it in 1860 it was listed alongside works such as *Lads and Lasses of Langley* and *The Little Duke*, although it would sit uncomfortably among such books written with younger children in mind. While biographers mention *Kenneth* only in passing, it is notable that Yonge herself included the story of its long gestation in her article of 1894. She clearly remained fond of it, despite its flaws. In a letter to Macmillan in 1897, she broached the possibility that he might consider republishing it, though 'I would add a preface of apology for blunders'. She repeated her request in a further letter adding, 'there must be some merit in it since Mr. E. Arnold wrote to ask permission to make extracts in a Reading Book'.⁴⁵ It appears that Macmillan did not agree to her request, though he did publish the other two early books she asked him to bring back into circulation.⁴⁶ For a modern scholar its interest lies in the transparency of the young Charlotte Yonge's enthusiasms and assumptions as revealed in this ambitious novel.

⁴³ Kathleen Tillotson, *Novels of the Eighteen-Forties* (1954; Oxford, 1983), 24: that single volume novels were often of a special type, either religious or intended to appeal to younger as well as older readers. H.C.G. Matthew (ed.), *Gladstone Diaries*, IV, 574, records that Gladstone read *Kenneth* on Dec. 4 1853.

⁴⁴ *ChC*, IX, 1851, 182. *ChR*, XXVI, 1853, 44.

⁴⁵ BL, Macmillan Letters, CMY to McM, Mss. 555921/ 231, Dec. 17 1897; /251, March 1 1899. *Scenes from Kenneth* (London, 1899). Parker had printed further editions: a fifth in 1869 (including four illustrations), a ninth in 1892; it is unclear whether Yonge was aware of all of these as she tells Macmillan that there were only 'two or three editions'.

⁴⁶ *Henrietta's Wish* and *The Two Guardians*.

Overall, her failure to fashion convincing characters results in scenes which smack of contemporary melodrama - spectacular but neither affective nor effective. With the storm-clouds of historical events threatening throughout, the domestic scenes and dialogue never have the recognisable liveliness we associate with her. The accumulation of historical facts about the events of 1812, the raw agonies of the winter weather and the deprivations suffered, overwhelm the central story of Kenneth Lindesay and his sister Effie and emphasize the fundamental implausibility of their survival on the six-hundred mile march from Moscow to the Baltic.⁴⁷

It is a story hard to categorize. Yonge's knowledge of the Retreat was mediated by the historian Alison, who frequently compares it with campaigns of ancient history.⁴⁸ This perhaps persuaded Yonge that *Kenneth* was an historical novel about a young Scot caught up in past events in distant lands, with some similarities to Scott's *Waverley Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, a point to which I shall return.⁴⁹ Yonge's story, however, was only thirty years previous and therefore within living memory; and it cannot easily be classed with her other historical novels set in medieval or early modern times, especially with its denouement taking place at the time of Waterloo.⁵⁰ To place young people in the midst of actual events was a device being used in the 1840s by Captain Marryat which

⁴⁷ Yonge knew a survivor of the Retreat - the Italian master at Winchester College 'had been to Moscow in the Grand Army, and had there had his skull fractured and been trephined. When in good humour he would show the boys the silver plate on his skull', C. Coleridge, 109. Another source of authentic material may have been Winchester's Headmaster, Moberly, whose family were merchants in Russia and still had relations there. A reading of Jane Strickland, *The Spanish Conscript and his Family. A Tale of Napoleon's campaign in Russia* (London, 1847), underlines Yonge's superior talent even in this less successful of her stories.

⁴⁸ Especially those of Alexander the Great with footnotes of quotations from Roman authors, e.g. X, 66.

⁴⁹ J. S. Bratton, *Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* (London, 1981), 123, pinpoints how in *Waverley*, the hero makes 'his way through the outbreak of a war in which he is not directly involved, but which serves to educate him both in warfare and in the complexities of political and natural justice'.

⁵⁰ Although the Battle at Waterloo is not mentioned, its silent presence resounds when Kenneth makes his final most important moral decision.

was especially successful with male readers.⁵¹ Her later comments on this topic encourage the thought that in *Kenneth* she aimed to write a book that her brother and his friends would want to read - and would imbue in him the characteristics she longed for him to have:

If the boy is not to take himself to 'Jack Sheppard' literature, he must be beguiled by wholesome adventure. ... Boys especially should not have childish tales with weak morality or 'washy' piety, but should have heroism and nobleness kept before their eyes; and learn to despise all that is untruthful or cowardly and to respect womanhood. True manhood needs ... to be impressed on them and books of example (not precept) with heroes, whose sentiments they admire, may always raise their tone.⁵²

Charlotte Yonge desired to be present imaginatively within experiences which would challenge physical and moral fortitude to their extreme limits. In the 1840s she appears to have believed that soldiers had opportunities to display altruism in a way denied to those in more ordinary walks of life, the risk of death providing the ultimate challenge. She has no doubt that it is better to die nobly than to survive by allowing self-interest to 'save one's skin'. She could not risk using the Peninsular War or the Waterloo campaign of which her father had actual experience; nor would it be acceptable for her to recreate depictions of battles. Instead she chose to portray an army in defeat: any fighting which takes place is defensive. Most significantly she follows the fate of the Rearguard under Marshall Ney, who, like Moore at Corunna, took on the dangerous role of covering the vulnerable backs of the fleeing soldiers. Such actions demand initiative, courage, a flare for improvisation, an ability to stay unruffled and self-possessed - an apt word to use in this context as it is the nature of that 'self' that makes the difference, and which is the true subject of this novel. The virtue to be prized above all others, for Yonge, was 'self-

⁵¹ e.g. Captain F. Marryat, *Masterman Ready* (1841) and *The Settlers in Canada* (1844).

⁵² C. M. Yonge, *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (London, 1881), 6. Although this passage is concerned with books to give within the parish, the sentiments are applicable to all boys, and not just those of the lower ranks.

devotion' meaning the giving up of oneself to a cause. This is not a superficial quality which can be drilled into soldiers; it must be inspired through leadership, or, more importantly, sown and nurtured by good women - a key point to which I will return.⁵³

From the first sentences, the setting of Moscow and the date of August 1812 prepare the reader for a major disruption of the opening domestic scene - that the public spectacle of marching soldiers which fourteen-year old Kenneth Lindesay and his sister Effie are watching from the window, will burst upon their private world. Colonel Lindesay is a member of the Russian army, whose father had been a Scottish Jacobite who entered the service of the Tsar after 1745. He is about to join his men at Borodino, which name alerts us that this first scene is also a farewell. To add to the reader's anxiety, it is clear that Mrs. Lindesay lacks moral fibre. In an unfortunate lapse of judgement, their father had married Céleste de Rocheguyon, a French Émigrée whom he had met in St Petersburg. His marriage is portrayed as a burden from which there is no escape for a dutiful man: Céleste is frivolous and selfish - an inadequate mother to her two children. Fortunately, Colonel Lindesay's mother Lady Christian is present at the start of the story to safeguard their welfare, and was responsible for their religious training and for instilling the moral values of their Jacobite forbears. When their refuge outside Moscow is stormed by rampaging French troops, Lady Christian calms the panic of the household, prays, and confronts the looters. Her fortitude is stretched to breaking-point by her daughter-in-law's flirtatious behaviour with the enemy officer Philippe de Rognier who turns out to be an acquaintance from Céleste's past.

⁵³ *Kenneth*, 31. Philippe de Rognier's outward appearance belies his lack of inner mettle: 'He was a tall soldierly figure; but Kenneth ... thought he could detect in his bearing that it was drilling alone that had given him even so much as the air of an officer' - unrooted in virtue, he emerges as a villain.

The shock of these events and grief for her dead son exhaust the elderly Lady Christian. Her death in Chapter IV leaves Kenneth and Effie in the hands of a mother who is not merely weak but wicked. When Chapter V opens with the quotation “One little month” from *Hamlet*, we are prepared for the news that Madame Lindesay is now Madame de Rognier. While Effie, won over with gifts of looted jewellery, has been persuaded that her mother’s motives are to provide a protector for the family, Kenneth echoes Hamlet’s furious disgust at his mother’s unfaithful behaviour: ‘all the thoughts which had so long been swelling and boiling in his mind burst forth in one wild tumult’ (53). Just as Yonge gives Guy in *Heir of Redclyffe* and Louis in *Dynevor Terrace* passionate tempers to quell before they can emerge as men, so Kenneth must learn the truth of his father’s parting words: ‘towards your mother, you must be submissive. ... I know I may have confidence in your personal courage; and I hope you have mental courage to keep a true, honest, loyal heart’ (10). Only the inward strength instilled by Lady Christian into her son and grandson will give Kenneth the ‘mental courage’ for his perilous journey - both his actual expedition through the ravaged landscape of Russia and the metaphorical progress from boyhood to manhood which is the subject of the book.

When the French army are ordered to leave Moscow, the two children and their mother become part of the baggage train of the Retreat. With the carriage weighed down by looted luxuries, Rognier lashes out at the Russian driver for slow progress through the snow. Kenneth remonstrates and Rognier turns his wrath on him, hitting him with the butt of a gun and leaving him senseless in the snow.⁵⁴ Effie, who has jumped out of the carriage to help Kenneth, watches in horror as the carriage drives off without them. Here

⁵⁴ An illustration of this scene is chosen as the frontispiece of the 1899 abridged version of *Kenneth* published by Arnold in the series, *Scenes from Popular Books*.

is the nub of the idea of abandoned children first suggested by Yonge's reading of Alison - except that she makes the orphaned children older so that they can be agents in their own fate. Adopted by Colonel de Villaret and his eighteen-year old nephew Louis de Chateauneuf of the French Rearguard on the orders of Marshall Ney himself, they are guarded from now on by manly soldiers, who reinforce the code of honour already implanted in Kenneth and Effie by Lady Christian.

Reading Alison's account of the Retreat it is easy to see how the youthful Charlotte was stirred by his vivid descriptions. Densely written, based on authoritative sources and personal interviews, they recount the army's ordeals day by day.⁵⁵ This is not a story told with a clear demarcation between a 'good' and 'bad' side: although the French were the 'enemies' of England in 1812 and the Russians our allies, this is irrelevant. Judgements are based on moral grounds - how far individuals and groups maintained honourable standards in the face of the worst material conditions imaginable. Yonge adopts a similar stance which initially makes her tale confusing to the reader who expects guidance about whose 'side' to be on - such thoughts are natural when reading a story set in the midst of war. She closely follows the historical story as told by Alison, so that the parallels are obvious when reading the two side by side, with incidents mentioned by him woven into her narrative.⁵⁶ This technique bears comparison with that used by Mrs. Tonna to extract evidence collected by men about conditions in the factories as the

⁵⁵ Alison went to extraordinary lengths to empathise with the historical events of his account: in the 'great frost of spring 1838' he subjected himself in Glasgow to comparable conditions to those experienced by soldiers in the Russian winter of 1812 - when the thermometer fell to four degrees below zero Fahrenheit, 'he immediately walked out and sat under the old trees in the park, to experience a sensation which he had long figured to himself in imagination, and might never in life feel again' (X, 70n).

⁵⁶ Yonge censors the worst horrors: she includes Alison's comment that 'famished groups threw themselves on the dead bodies of the horses to satisfy the cravings of nature' but not that 'in many instances even the repugnance of our nature at human flesh was overcome by the pangs of hunger', and makes no reference to the loot including, 'many young Russian females, the willing slaves of their seducers, abandoning the country of which they were unworthy' - Alison, X, 70 and 61.

basis for *Helen Fleetwood*.⁵⁷ Like Yonge she made no attempt to disguise her sources because she needed to distance herself from the actuality of viewing such sights. While these imported sections make such stories unconvincing for the modern reader, they enabled conservative women to contribute to issues of public debate, and suggest remedies which were moral rather than legislative. They also awarded to women a significant role in moulding men with sufficient stamina to withstand the most dire challenges.

That Effie was ‘guarded as far as possible ... even from horrible sights’ (97) is a reminder of the strictures of the story, for it would have been impossible for Yonge to write a realistic account of the depths to which people sank during the Retreat, or to allow a young girl like Effie to witness such scenes. The difficulties involved in Yonge’s choice of a military setting for her story are further underlined by her comments about appropriate behaviour for young women which she wrote later in *Womankind*. While recognising that young women participated in all sorts of activities previously denied to them, she expressed her dislike of women who went hunting and stressed her revulsion at their witness of ‘actual’ violence:

walking out with a shooting gentleman, using a gun, ... must involve so much actual sight of pain, terror, and death, that I cannot imagine how any gentle-hearted woman can endure it.

She continues with a condemnation of pigeon-shooting matches, even for men:

a base cowardly sport, devoid of all the exercise and spirit of the chase ... and ladies ought to use all their influence against it, rather than encourage it by looking coolly on at the fluttering agonies of the dying birds.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, *Helen Fleetwood* (London, 1841), published when Yonge was first writing *Kenneth*.

⁵⁸ Yonge, *Womankind*, 103-4. It is hard to unravel Yonge’s true position about hunting; in the next chapter I examine her determination to defend Tractarian manliness with a forceful account of a rat hunt in *Henrietta’s Wish* (1850), where girls and children are present at the flailing of the animals. It is possible that her views had changed by the time she wrote *Womankind*, or that her dislike for pigeon-shooting

Yet as the narrator of *Kenneth* she must herself needs 'see' far worse sights than 'the fluttering agonies' of 'dying birds' in order to bring alive her story, and she placed Effie, a girl of twelve, in the midst of a military campaign notorious for its 'pain, terror, and death'. As a result Effie comes across as a shallow character, strangely blind to her surroundings and the sacrifices being made on her behalf.

This reaches its apogee in the scene chosen as the illustration for the frontispiece: Louis dies in his sleep after giving Effie his last biscuit and ensuring that she should have the benefit of the sparse heat from the fire, with his last words of goodnight to his absent mother. Although a modern reader can remain unmoved by the pathos of this scene, it was commented on approvingly in *The Churchman's Companion* and quoted in full in the review in *The Christian Remembrancer*.⁵⁹ Death for such a young man is perceived as noble and appropriate for a soldier, even though it involved no fighting. When Kenneth later mentions her son's death to Louis's mother, he says, 'I cannot think the death of a brave soldier a subject of - of - remorse', and she replies '... for him I am thankful! ... he obeyed, he suffered, it is over!' (248-9). Yonge makes clear that Louis's self-sacrificial qualities derived from his mother who had nurtured 'his heart [which] was full of the kindly and romantic feelings of a high, and at the same time, a gentle spirit' (89). These passive-sounding qualities represent total chivalry or 'self-devotion' - a readiness to submit on behalf of others: Louis demonstrated generosity and courage in his death, and thus proved his manhood. According to Michèle Cohen men began to exchange

relates to its connection with a 'match' – Elizabeth Wordsworth and Henry Overton, *Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln 1807-1885* (London, 1888), 254, make this distinction about which sports High Church clergy approved and disapproved; sport such as fox-hunting and shooting was acceptable but nothing where betting might take place.

⁵⁹ *ChC*, IX, 1851, 182; *ChR*, XXVI, 1853, 44-6. Tillotson, *Novels of the 1840s*, 47-54: 'the novelist of the eighteen-forties was, then, allowed more licence for sentimental pathos than accords with modern taste'.

eighteenth-century 'politeness' for nineteenth-century chivalric principles because the feminized connotations of politeness meant that it mismatched a truly masculine national character; a different form of mannered unselfishness was required and chivalry 'provided a vocabulary for refashioning the gentleman as masculine, integrating national identity with enlightenment notions of progress and civilization'.⁶⁰

Yonge has imbibed these ideals, but at first, even for soldiers, can only picture such chivalry as submissive – a flaccid absence of aggression. To demonstrate that they also engender courageous action, she inserts Kenneth into Ney's final dramatic rearguard action at Kowna where Ney 'alone, with four men, held his ground against Platoff's whole force' (153). Taking Alison's comment that Ney's troops 'melted away or deserted him' (X, 92), she places Kenneth firmly beside '*le lion rouge*':

I brought him the muskets, and loaded them. I thought it might be the saving of Effie and Leon, if we could defend the gate a little longer; and then how could anyone stand by such a man as that, and not try to help? It was like seeing Leonidas. O, it was worth all we have gone through! It was a thing rather to dream of than to see (153).

The final line seems to be Yonge herself speaking rather than Kenneth who is exhilarated by his actual presence within the experience: 'there was a look of delight, of excitement, of feverish happiness, that shone in his eyes, and smiled on his lip' (149). Written in the years when her brother Julian was away from home at Eton, Yonge's 'romancing' of the Moscow campaign might be presumed to have envisaged her own brother as the leading character Kenneth, with herself as the sister diligently protected. Effie's flat, stereotypical character, however, gives no sense that Yonge had sympathy for her, whereas there is a powerful sense of her excited identification with Kenneth - that she too

⁶⁰ Michèle Cohen, "'Manners' Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830', *Journal of British Studies* 44 (April 2005), 315-329.

was imaginatively standing by Ney's side handing him loaded muskets.⁶¹ Effie's purpose is to provide Kenneth opportunities to act with daring initiative on his sister's behalf; even when separated from her by his participation in the Last Stand at Kowna, he was inspired by the possibility that his action might 'be the saving of Effie and Leon'. Although at fourteen Kenneth is still too young to be a soldier, Yonge gives to him those same qualities she admired in her father's accounts of the Peninsular War.

Alison's descriptions of the deterioration of morale and morality amidst the desperate conditions perhaps empowered Yonge to feel that this was not a war-story, but a 'pilgrim's progress' - a precarious journey of life. With Alison she wanted to ponder why so many men jettisoned decent behaviour:

Those who first got round the fires at night, sternly repelled the succeeding crowds who strove to share in the warmth and saw them with indifference sink down and die in the frigid outer circle', while others 'of a firmer character, resisted the contagion, and preserved, even amid the horrors that surrounded them, the gaiety and serenity of indomitable minds?' (X, 71)

These last words are unexpected and extraordinary ones to choose for soldiers in the midst of such privations, though they remind us of those homely descriptions of Crauford's Rifle Brigade referred to in the last chapter. They describe an internal private world impervious to the harsh external conditions. This is a more complex notion of private/public spheres than their more usual juxtapositioning, and indicates the purpose of including Effie in Yonge's story in spite of her 'little fragile frame':

... she had far less to endure than any of her companions, for she reaped the full benefit of the chivalrous courtesy of the true French gentleman; she was always ... sedulously guarded as far as possible, from danger, hardship, and even from horrible sights. She was handed to her rough pony, helped to her lump of horseflesh, and invited to drink her melted snow and brandy. ... Her little contrivances would sometimes persuade her companions to imagine themselves

⁶¹ H/PRO, Ms. 9M55/F/26/8, April 1851, ASB to MD: she describes visiting Charlotte Yonge and a discussion of her book characters, 'in which she seemed to live'.

comfortable, ... recalling home in the midst of that desolate waste. And indeed her presence was of incalculable benefit to all, since it was that which chiefly served to preserve them from sinking into the selfish, desponding indifferences which characterised so many of the other sufferers (96-97).

Effie's role as an emblem of 'home' exists even though, as her mother's daughter, she is not yet herself secure in strong moral values, and frequently behaves in thoughtless ways throughout the book.⁶² The Breton peasant, Leon, assigned to be Effie's protector, is also reminded by her presence of his mother's 'dread of his learning the vices of the men among whom his lot was cast' - just in time, as 'his good principles had been losing their force' (75).

While the influence of Fouqué's *Sintram* on *The Heir of Redclyffe* has been fully explored, its first major impact was in the 1840s, when Yonge was struggling with *Shiverydown/Kenneth*.⁶³ Eagerly pored over in the circles in which Charlotte Yonge moved, it was of intense interest to her as Fouqué's story was based on Dürer's engraving "The Knight, Death and Satan", which her father had brought back from Paris in 1815.⁶⁴ From her earliest childhood Charlotte had seen this picture on the wall, and had tried to work out the significance of each aspect included in the strange composition. We know that it held a special place for her as she had it above her own desk, taking it with her from Otterbourne House to Elderfield. In her introduction to an edition of *Sintram* in 1896 she explained how Fouqué saw in the picture:

⁶² There has been surprise at the results of current research about the effect of women's presence in fighting-units according to defence expert John Keegan: commanders had believed that to allow women into the front line would reduce the effectiveness of men who would be over-protective to the women when under fire; the experience of the Israeli army is that 'men perform better if they sense that women are nearby, as if to emphasize their masculinity', *Daily Telegraph*, March 20 2003.

⁶³ Introduction to *Heir of Redclyffe* by Barbara Dennis in *World's Classics* (Oxford, 1997), xi-xxv.

⁶⁴ Baron de la Motte Fouqué, *Sintram and His Companions* (London, 1841), publication of a new translation. There had been an earlier translation in 1820 by Julius Hare. See H/PRO, Ms. 9M55/F/18/10, ASB to MD, March 19 1841: 'Mary's Fouqué's are coming from Germany all but *Sintram* who is out of print but eagerly sought after' and F/19/4, Feb.-March 1842: 'Lady Mordaunt is seriously considering the theology of it, and making out all the allegory and sending a long list of meanings than we never thought of or Fouqué either I believe'. See illustration inserted at end of this chapter of the Dürer engraving.

the life-long companions of man, Death and Sin, whom he must defy in order to reach salvation; and out of that contemplation rose his wonderful romance, not exactly an allegory, ... with the sense of the struggle of life, with external temptation and hereditary inclination pervading all.⁶⁵

These words also encapsulate what Yonge attempted in *Kenneth*, taking him through a literal and metaphorical battlefield, with the suitably entitled Lady Christian his 'Verena' of spiritual inspiration. Barbara Dennis credits *The Heir* with being at 'the forefront ... of the chivalric idea gaining ground in the 1850s of woman as the redeemer and inspirer of men', but it is possible to push this earlier into the 1840s when Yonge was already rehearsing the translation of *Sintram* into more contemporary settings.⁶⁶

Another influential debate of the 1840s focused on Heroes. Carlyle's lectures reflected a common mood of intense anxiety, especially among conservatives such as the Yongses and their circle intent on keeping a foothold in the quicksands of their rapidly changing society.⁶⁷ Looking back in 1884 to those earlier years, James Froude used a different metaphor of flux to recreate the perception of insecurity:

... all round us, the intellectual lightships had broken from their moorings. ... The present generation which has grown up in an open spiritual ocean and has learnt to swim for itself will never know what it was to find the lights all drifting, the compasses all awry, and nothing left to steer by but the stars.⁶⁸

For Yonge these 'stars' were the historical heroes she sought out. In a long discussion in her first novel *Abbeychurch*, which has the ring of authenticity, Anne Merton reveals to her cousin Elizabeth Woodbourne how she is making a book of true knights: 'I am searching out all the characters who come up to my notion of perfect chivalry, or rather of

⁶⁵ Fouqué, *Sintram and his Companions and Undine* (London, 1896), xvii.

⁶⁶ B. Dennis (ed.), *Heir*, xxiv.

⁶⁷ Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero Worship, and the Heroic In History* (1840; New York, 1983).

⁶⁸ Quotation in K. Tillotson, *Novels of the Eighteen-Forties*, 125, from J. A. Froude, *Carlyle's Life in London* (1884).

Christian perfection'.⁶⁹ No wonder that Yonge was fascinated by Marshall Ney, whose brilliant career was brought to an end in 1815 by execution for siding with Napoleon when he escaped from Elba. The last half of *Kenneth* is devoted to the evolution of the Lindsays' personalities in the years 1813-14 in France, with Kenneth the protégé of Ney. By 1814 he is about to become an officer in the French army with dreams of glory ahead, when he hears of Ney's treasonable transfer:

His hero, his idol, the bravest of the brave, had failed - failed, - broken his most solemn pledge, betrayed his trust! ... Who can tell half the anguish of ceasing to esteem? ... For some time his whole mind was stunned, almost prostrated, unable to entertain any idea, save that one absorbing, and yet almost incredible, conviction, that his patron was a dishonoured man, a promise-breaker, a traitor; and again and again did every brave deed, every kind action, every noble trait, real or imagined, on which his thoughts had been used to feast, recur to his memory, to make the fall still deeper (215-6).

The flow of the words in this paragraph, the repetition of phrases to portray the physical numbness induced by Ney's betrayal, reveal an intuitive insight into how this young man would react; they contrast with the formulaic words Yonge gives to Effie. Kenneth's ability to see the clay feet of his 'idol' marks his emergence into true manhood. He explains to a reluctant Effie why they must leave France and go to their uncle in England - that it would be wrong to join Napoleon, 'who, after sacrificing millions, and among them our father, to his ambition, is now, in defiance of treaties, coming back to renew the struggle' (239).⁷⁰

Yonge implies that Kenneth has to tussle with the contrasting passions of his French and Scottish heritage when he makes this decision about his hero Ney. As she demonstrated in later novels such as *The Heir* and *Dynevor Terrace*, she had a strong belief in heredity both as a positive and negative legacy. For the modern reader, Yonge's

⁶⁹ C. M. Yonge, *Abbeychurch* (1844; 1872, 2nd ed.), 113.

⁷⁰ Had he not returned it would have placed Kenneth as a French soldier at Waterloo fighting against the English - clearly an impossible option.

least attractive assumptions are about the superiority of an upper class lineage and certain racial characteristics. Although she cannot condemn all French people, she appears to believe that there are certain tendencies within their character which make them susceptible to selfish weakness. In contrast, Kenneth's Jacobite inheritance sustained his decision to walk away from the promise of fame and fortune. In this way Yonge deliberately signposts a connection between the ideas implanted in *Kenneth* and Scott's *Waverley*. When the two Lindesays have remained in France in 1813-14, they introduce *Waverley* to their French hosts:

... all their Jacobite feelings were greatly stirred up by the perusal of "Waverley" which had just found its way to Paris, and which Kenneth used to read aloud to the ladies, ... and to dwell upon very often at other times, when he was left to himself. It brought back to him so many old stories, revived so many old impressions, described so many scenes already known from the narration of one who herself acted in them, that he could never grow weary of turning back to it. Such a reality did his manner of reading and commenting upon give to the characters, that Madame de Villaret was for some time fully convinced that the Baron of Bradwardine had been a personal friend of Lady Christian's (203).

The implicit message here is that reading novels such as *Waverley* can stiffen moral resolve, and also that the conservative values encompassed by the word 'Jacobite' had currency in the new century. Kenneth puts loyalty, family and nation above his own personal desires. Effie's fiancé Eugène, 'with the faults of the day deeply entering his heart' opts for 'fame, glory, the Emperor' (249) and is killed at Waterloo.

In future Charlotte Yonge would keep distinct her historical and domestic fiction, rather than letting them overlap as in *Kenneth*. We have no record of what her brother Julian thought of the book. By the time it was at last published in 1850, he had left Eton and had gone up to Oxford.



'Knight, Death and the Devil, 1513', an engraving by Albrecht Dürer

There are almost no references to the Crimean War in *The Monthly Packet* throughout the war months of 1854 to 1856, and no specific articles on it apart from geographical accounts of Roumelia and the Caverns of Inkermann, to provide landscape for readers into which they could place their absent men-folk.⁷² If mentioned at all it is in unexpected places; for example, that a special day of prayer for the War was held in the mission schools in New Zealand.⁷³ This silence underlines the sensitivities implicit in such topics. In a periodical aimed at young women between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five it was apparently not appropriate to address the contentious issues of the war as scrutinized in other periodicals; even the sanitary problems surrounding the nursing of soldiers exposed by Florence Nightingale are absent. Typical of the oblique nature of any comment is a lauding of the exceptional nature of heroism in battle in an article, ‘Long, long ago’ by Mary Lisle, about the Napoleonic Wars:

Are there any deeds that stir our spirits so deeply as deeds of daring? ... We admire the great statesman, the man of science, the successful writer, but ... we do not feel that human nature is ennobled by them. It is those who triumph over death and danger; those who, at whatever cost of internal struggle show in extremest peril a calm and dauntless front, who unappalled can ride up to the cannon’s mouth at the call of duty; it is for such as these that we reserve the best homage of our hearts, the fervent worship which brings tears of passionate admiration from our eyes, because we feel that all humanity is made glorious by such god-like scorn of death.⁷⁴

With a jolt, that phrase, ‘the cannon’s mouth’, relocated the image for contemporary readers into the frame of Balaclava, even while the language remains reminiscent of legendary rather than actual battle. In stark contrast to this absence of comment, there is an extensive and jubilant description of the official celebrations in London to mark the

⁷¹ C. M. Yonge, *The Young Stepmother, or, A Chronicle of Mistakes* (1861; London, 1889) serialised in *MP* April 1856 – Dec. 1860.

⁷² *MP*, X, July, Aug. and Sept. 1855.

⁷³ *MP*, IX, May 1855, 400. It was hoped the sermons would correct such un-Christian notions recounted of school-girls who had said that ‘we go to church to pray that the Russians may be killed’.

⁷⁴ *MP*, IX, May 1855, 342.

end of war, with just a note of sorrow for ‘the thousands of true-hearted countrymen who can never see the fruits of what their valour has won for us’.⁷⁵ Readers can imaginatively share in peace on the home-front but are shielded from scenes at the battle-front.

The fall of Sebastopol at the end of 1855 had signalled the approaching end of the Crimean War, although the formal peace treaty was not signed until March 1856. In April 1856 the first episode of *The Young Stepmother* appeared in *The Monthly Packet*, and it is possible that Yonge delayed the publication of her new story till it was known that the war was over. Her previous serialised major novel was *The Daisy Chain*; this had been halted in December 1855 at the conclusion of Book One, with the complete version published in book form in 1856 and no further serialisation. We do not know how far the ideas for *The Young Stepmother* were finalised before it was serialized - whether this was a story created largely during the Crimean War. In this extraordinarily fertile period, coming so soon after *The Heir* (1853), *Heartsease* (1854), and *The Daisy Chain* (1853-1856), Yonge published two other major novels, *Dynevor Terrace* (1857), and *Hopes and Fears* (1860). Although it is possible that *The Young Stepmother* was conceived in its entirety during the Crimean War, the extracts appeared throughout the post-war years of 1856-1860, when the Indian ‘Mutiny’, wars in Italy and threats from France reinforced concerns about national security and the nature of military valour. While the major periodicals pored over Parliamentary reports concerning public issues of soldiers’ training, health, and weaponry, Yonge’s novel considered the difficulties of parenting boys so that they emerged from the private domestic spaces as fighting young men. The central story follows the development of Gilbert Kendal from boyhood into manhood and the Battle of Balaclava.

⁷⁵ *MP*, XII, July 1856, 67-80, ‘The Twenty-ninth of May, 1856’.

The customary mid-century rhetoric accorded mothers the ultimate responsibility for a civilised society. An article in *Blackwood's* in October 1854 stated:

He, who, as a child and a boy, loved and revered for all her purity, truth, and goodness, a mother, when he becomes a man will ever do his part in civilising the world. From the first romance of mother's love, groweth every other romance. ... But, if any lack this reverence, ... all his doings tend to selfishness and barbarism.⁷⁶

This 'romance' was also necessary for the formation of patriotic male citizens who would take up arms for their country. It is difficult now to empathise with such sentiments or with the effusive language in which they are expressed - and not to wonder about the logic of the argument if 'he' was replaced with 'she'. Far more persuasive is Charlotte Yonge's appealingly honest examination in *The Young Stepmother* of the practicalities this burden placed on a mother. The subtitle, *A Chronicle of Mistakes*, hints at the complicated process it can be to mother a family. Throughout the story she presents conundrums of conflicting moral duties which a mother must juggle - that it is not clear how to assemble a hierarchy of obligations related to those other important roles of wife-sister-daughter-neighbour; that the fulfilment of one commitment may result in failure to meet others. At the end of the book Albinia Kendal, the young stepmother of the title, looks back on what she perceives as her shortcomings in her achievements with her three stepchildren and own two infants over the seven years of her marriage:

"What visions I had about those three, and what failures have resulted! ... Mischiefs wherever I meant to do best! Why, I even let my own Maurice grow unmanageable while I was nursing poor grandmamma. The voluntary duty choked the natural one".

"And yet", interrupted her brother, "that was no error. ... Nor do I think the boy worse for it. I may venture on saying he *was* intolerable, and it hastened school; but though your rein was loose, you never let it fall." (428)

This can be interpreted as a comforting message: it acknowledges that mothers do their best for their children but in difficult circumstances; they can be forgiven if their sons do

⁷⁶ *Blackwood's*, LXXVI, Oct. 1854, 451, 'Civilisation and the Census' by John Eagles.

not shape up to expectations and do not need to take the full blame if ‘selfishness and barbarism’ rear their ugly heads.

As the story begins, Albinia has married a widower, Edmund Kendal, and acquired responsibility for his three children, a boy and two girls.⁷⁷ Gilbert, the eldest at thirteen, with ‘a weak, shallow character, habits of deception and low ungentlemanly tastes’ nevertheless ‘won her affection’ (54), because she perceives how bereft he is at the deaths of his twin brother and his mother.⁷⁸ Each member of her new family is damaged in some way by their past experiences. Albinia, however, is the daughter of a distinguished Peninsular officer, ‘who had grown up with her brother Maurice and cousin Frederick, [and] was more used to boys than to girls’ (19). Indeed the phrase ‘as a soldier’s daughter’ is used on a number of occasions; Yonge pinpoints this inheritance to underline Albinia’s capacity to face up to her difficulties on the home front. She portrays her as a woman of energy, whom we imagine metaphorically rolling up her sleeves. Unlike John Ruskin’s much-quoted oppositional depiction of ‘active’ man, ‘the doer, the creator’, and passive woman whose intellect is ‘not for invention or creation,’ as the mid-century ideal, Albinia strides about the house and countryside with a healthy vigour, irritated by the small-minded gossips of the community, and alert for opportunities to do good works.⁷⁹ She tells the vicar’s wife, ‘I have been accustomed to think the parish my

⁷⁷ There are significant parallels between Albinia and a real-life stepmother of Yonge’s intimate experience, Selina Heathcote. Sir William Heathcote’s four children were aged between seven and fifteen, when he remarried in 1841, and even his biographer, Awdry, admits that the three boys (one of whom was called Gilbert) were ‘troublesome’ (62). Selina’s character is described in words strangely evocative of Yonge’s fictional creation: ‘She had a freshness that reminded one of an intelligent boy, while she was thoroughly matronly, and of an unusually powerful judgment, with a shrewd commonsense which was little if at all short of genius’ - F. Awdry, *A Country Gentleman of the Nineteenth Century, being a short Memoir of the Right Honourable Sir William Heathcote, Bart. of Hursley 1801-1881* (Winchester, 1906), 83.

⁷⁸ A further four siblings had died in infancy.

⁷⁹ John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies* (1865; Edinburgh, n.d.), 95. Linda H. Peterson, ‘The Feminist Origins of “Of Queens’ Gardens”’, and Dinah Birch, ‘Ruskin’s “Womanly Mind”’ in Dinah Birch and Francis

business, home my leisure' (31). If there are implicit authorial misgivings about some individual actions of Albinia, there is fundamental approval of her desire to guide the men in the Kendal family - her husband Edmund, her stepson Gilbert, and her baby son Maurice - towards her own perception of masculine behaviour.

These three variations of masculinity each present specific problems for her. Edmund Kendal is a recognisable type: a scholarly man who uses his erudition to absent himself, physically and emotionally. Remote to his children, detached from the local community, Yonge exposes his absent-mindedness as a dereliction of duty rather than a loveable sign of extreme intelligence. His brooding presence contaminates the new wife/mother's attempts to create a harmonious domestic space for his grieving children. To allow for such an unexpectedly critical portrayal of the heroine's husband, Yonge explains early on that, while for some Love is blind, for others:

the strongest of affections do not destroy clearness of vision. ... [Albinia's] mind beheld all that came before it in a clear and a humourous light, such as only a disposition overflowing with warm affection and with the energy of kindness, could have prevented from bordering upon censoriousness. She had imagination, but it was not such as to make an illusion of the present or to interfere with her almost satirical good sense (32).

Albinia (and Yonge) recognise that Edmund's version of manliness would be viewed positively in some eminent places such as an Oxford College, but that it is in reality a form of disguised selfishness, for Edmund 'lived within himself' (41). The strength of Yonge's language denotes her ardent feelings about such men and takes the reader by surprise:

He had acquired a competence too soon, and had the great misfortune of property without duties to present themselves obviously. He had nothing to do but to indulge his naturally indolent scholarly tastes ... Always reserved, ... he had

O'Gorman (eds.), *Ruskin and Gender* (Basingstoke, 2002) convincingly rehabilitate Ruskin's intentions when he originally used these words.

lapsed into secluded habits, and learnt to shut himself up in his study and exclude everyone. ... So seldom was anything said worth his attention, that he never listened to what was passing, and had learnt to say 'very well' - 'I'll see about it', without even knowing what was said to him (33).

The pejorative use of 'secluded' and 'exclude' stress his closed mind and secretive ways; his study is not a sacred space which can enrich, but a "well of despond". Ultimately it is his negativity that lies at the root of his son Gilbert's problems. In order to assist Gilbert, Albinia must also remould her husband. So long as Edmund can retreat into his study, locked against intrusions from within the household and shaded by overgrown bushes from without, (and nicknamed 'Bluebeard's closet' by Albinia), it will be impossible to cure Gilbert, or his sisters, of their duplicitous ways.

Albinia's closest relationship even after marriage is with her brother, Maurice Ferrars, the Rector in the neighbouring village - though it was clear 'by one glance at the figure, step and bearing of Mr. Ferrars, perfectly clerical though they were, that he belonged to a military family' (5). He provides the guidance and stability which she initially fails to get from her own husband, and serves to illustrate Yonge's notions of manliness. His profession as a cleric has not obliterated his quick temper, a characteristic which he shares with his sister, but which Yonge describes in such a way as to endorse rather than condemn, especially when employed on behalf of others:

The prompt Ferrars temper could bear it no longer, and Maurice spoke out. "I'll tell you what, Kendal, it is time to attend to your own concerns. If you choose to let your son run to ruin, because you will not exert yourself to remove him from temptation, I shall not stand by to see my sister worn out with making efforts to save him" (82).

Another incident which reveals his 'prompt temper' was when he was returning from a trip to London with Albinia and her husband Edmund. They miss a train connection and are forced to wait some hours. Maurice 'relieved his feelings by heartily rowing all the officials', and took to 'striding up and down the platform, devising cases in which the

delay might be actionable, and vituperating the placability of Mr. Kendal, who ... had set his back to a wall, and was lost to the present world in a book' (286). Although one would expect Yonge to suggest that Maurice's behaviour here is reprehensible, especially for a cleric, the implicit message is critical of Edmund Kendal, whose placid acceptance of the circumstances is perceived as insipid.

This whole scene has the feel of authenticity, right down to the description of the inadequate station 'with an apology for a waiting-room, no bookstall, and nothing to eat but greasy gingerbread and hard apples'. Yonge's point is that the passion that began as anger is channelled into restlessness, and then directs Albinia and her brother towards constructive interaction with the situation. They decide 'to explore the neighbourhood for eatables and church architecture' - without Edmund who is 'far too deep in his book' to be roused. Although the siblings locate only 'a stale loaf of bread, and a hideous church', they return in 'their liveliest mood'. This short, minor episode encapsulates a number of key assumptions about proper masculinity which Yonge proselytises in this novel. As well as a readiness to engage with life, Maurice has a sense of humour - unlike Edmund Kendal. This is further exemplified in a game at a family party at the Ferrars' Rectory, where Maurice in the role of a Showman mischievously tricks each person into revealing their personalities. Albinia quickly recognises the rules and becomes a conspirator, but her husband Edmund can only act as a bemused spectator. We as readers can join in the 'fun', though with a slight sense of guilt at spying on a private game aimed at the exposure of weaknesses of character. We are also party to the family language which makes fun of Algernon Cavendish Dusautoy by secretly calling him 'Polysyllable'. The teasing gets out of hand and later results in an unpleasant rift in the family; but even then, Yonge does not seem to condemn such behaviour. Instead she suggests that a failure to

play games when young results in dysfunctional adults who cannot handle the intricacies of social situations. Gilbert's weak character has been caused partly because he 'has never been hardened and taught reserve by rude boys' (80); games-playing would have achieved this in a useful way.

In her portrait of Albinia's brother, Yonge seems to be describing characteristics of her own father, now enshrined in her memory. She details Maurice's selfless sacrifice of the military career he desired and the way he imposes restrictions on himself. Just as her own father had given up hunting, Maurice 'loved sporting, and even balls, and it had been an effort to renounce them ... [but] self-regulation was so thoroughly established, that restraint was no longer felt' (280).⁸⁰ Above all, Yonge is claiming that the same qualities vital for soldiers are indispensable at the home-front, even when it is situated in amongst the small-scale, provincial, domestic, everyday battles of life. The Reverend Maurice saw himself in 'the charge of his great Captain' (208), fighting in the army of God. This home front is not a separate feminine sphere, but one integrated into the community where men must cooperate actively in the family enterprise. True manliness involves sociability; without a sense of the network of household and community commitments, it is impossible for a man to have that most-prized Yonge virtue of self-devotion - a willingness to put the needs of others above all else.

At the start of the story, it would have seemed impossible that Albinia's stepson, Gilbert, could have matured into a young man who would have the mental or physical strength to become an army officer. At thirteen years of age, unsatisfactory parenting and

⁸⁰ She even gives him her father's passion for architecture, when he helps to transform the Kendals' house - 159.

tragic circumstance have allowed his least pleasant characteristics to gain the upperhand. Frequent backsliding from promises to try harder, together with a quickness to lay blame on others, make him a weak and unattractive young man. Albinia is only ten years his senior, and her actions to help him improve are similar to those of an elder sister rather than a mother. Although she grows fond of him and wins his affection in return, she recognises the truth of her brother's comment that Gilbert 'is very timid, both physically and morally', but as 'the soldier's daughter [she] could not bear to avow it', and she makes excuses for him. The issue of his possible career is frequently discussed, and various false starts taken, all of which come to grief. When 'the eventful year 1854 had begun' Gilbert was twenty and living at home again, without any clear idea about his future.

It is at this point that we as readers eavesdrop on a revealing, intimate conversation between Maurice and his elder brother General William Ferrars, recently returned from Canada, about their sister Albinia and her stepson Gilbert:

"Poor Albinia dotes on him, and has done more for him than ever his father did; but the lad is weak and tender every way, with no stamina, moral or physical, and with just enough property to do him harm. He has been at Oxford and has failed, and now he is in the militia; but what can be expected of a boy in a country town, with nothing to do? I did not like his looks last week, and I don't think his being there always idle, is good for that little manly scamp of Albinia's own." (274)

This hardly sounds a recommendation for officer material, or for the sort of dedicated soldier Yonge admired. It has a truthful ring, however, of a frank exchange between two brothers in a military family - as does their agreement that a commission in the cavalry, alongside their cousin Captain Frederick Ferrars, might be the solution:

"Wanting discipline", said the General. "I have seen a year in a good regiment make an excellent officer of that very stamp of youngster, just wanting a mould to give him substance." (282)

It might have been expected that his record of weak health would make him an unsuitable candidate for the rigours of camp, but physical frailty is discounted as a sign of moral weakness. It will, however, take another incident of lax behaviour, which puts his little brother at risk and provokes a family crisis, before the Kendals decide to act on the Ferrars brothers' advice.

In the same way that Yonge contrasts the versions of masculinity performed by the adults, Edmund Kendal and Maurice Ferrars, she creates a similar dichotomous pair of boys. Albinia's son Maurice, born when Gilbert is fourteen, displays an alternative style of boyishness in keeping with his Ferrars' military inheritance. The first time we are aware that he is no longer a baby, he is discovered lashing his two older sisters with a carriage-whip having 'harnessed [them] tandem-fashion with packthread'. On the next occasion we meet him, he is brandishing a stick as a lance, to challenge his uncle with "You are Bonaparte, I'm the Duke!" Here aged only four, he is irrepressible and adventurous. His naughtiness exasperates but is relished as evidence of his maleness. Yonge gives a convincing portrait of how a small boy like Maurice behaves. She forgives his misdeeds because she recognises the logic in them (such as taking as a challenge the name of an exercise book as 'Indestructible') and thus wins her readers round to her viewpoint. While we are never in any doubt that Gilbert's underhand transgressions deserve punishment, we cannot but be shocked when Algernon Dusautoy thumps young Maurice (323). On the other hand we watch with some surprise the antics of this small boy, and can understand why the topic often recurs of what punishments are appropriate. We can imagine how onlookers not blinded by parental devotion might consider him to be a spoilt child, and that, although Dusautoy's use of force was excessive, Maurice's behaviour had been provocative. Albinia justifies the absence of

restraint by her memories of how her brother Maurice had been dealt with: 'Maurice had no discipline except at school and when William licked him. ... You know he was only eleven years when my father died, and my aunts spoilt us without mitigation' (172). For her, little Maurice's courage and honesty signify that his wrongdoings are marked as mere high spirits, suitable for a child destined for the army, the passion which will enable him to strike down foes in the battlefield - or wrestle with evils nearer home.

There is no expectation that his regiment will go to the Crimea when Gilbert's commission into the 25th Lancers is arranged, but within days he receives his orders to embark 'for the East'. At the news, Albinia's 'soldier-spirit might have swelled with exultation' but she hesitates to look at Gilbert as 'she dreaded the sight of quailing or dismay':

She had done him injustice, and her heart bounded at the sight of the flush on his cheek, the light in his eyes and the expression on his lips, making his face finer and more manly than she had ever seen it; as if the grave necessity, and the awe of the unseen glorious danger, were fixing and elevating his wandering purpose. To have no choice was a blessing to an infirm will, and to be inevitably out of his own power braced him and gave him rest (310-311).⁸¹

She has fulfilled her work as mother/sister to her stepson well; he will do his duty after all. Later on, when Gilbert has distinguished himself at Balaclava by putting his own life in danger to save Frederick Ferrars, Albinia can imagine how his heroism was of a different sort to that of those men born to be soldiers, and perhaps all the more to be admired. Reading the account sent by her brother William, she pictures how Gilbert probably endured the first terrible ride towards the cannons 'because there was no doing otherwise', but that his own 'tender spirit' inspired his assistance to Fred. She contemplates what reserves of courage it would have taken for him to shoot his revolver:

⁸¹ Compare with similar words which describe Kenneth's experience of battle alongside Ney, *Kenneth*, 149.

The General coolly mentioned the two enemies who had fallen by his pistol, and [her son] Maurice shouted about them as if they had been two rabbits, but she knew enough of Gilbert to be sure that what he might do in the exigency of self-defence would shock and sicken him in recollection (323).

Yonge's choice of Balaclava ensured an imaginative landscape already well-known, into which Gilbert could be placed without detailed explanations. Unlike Alma and Inkermann, it was a battle easily visualised, comprehensible to non-military experts, where the courage was breathtaking in its audacity and obedience. The imagery depicted British men brandishing swords against Russian cannons, as if they were not also involved in hand-to-hand fighting. Indeed Yonge's use of the word 'self-defence' gives the false impression that Gilbert did not fight until the retreat.

Throughout the book, Yonge is posing a question about how mothers and sisters should bring up boys, but without total certainty what the answer should be. It is as if, in her heart, she embraces the ebullience of little Maurice and prefers it to Gilbert's wayward behaviour - that in a perfect world all men and boys would be like the adult Maurice and his namesake. With her mind, however, she is aware that in reality the variety of male temperaments makes their nurture more complicated, and at times she castigates Albinia (and herself) for her partialities and prejudices. It is significant that she sets the aforementioned incident where 'Polysyllable' Dusautoy punches little Maurice, on the same page where we read the account of Balaclava, as if to balance the different examples of violence against each other. At Oxford Gilbert had been led astray by Dusautoy, his good intentions undermined, but now Gilbert has redeemed himself by his actions in the Crimea.

Although not seriously wounded, Gilbert's exertions in nursing Frederick and his history of weak health endanger his recovery. His father, stepmother and uncle travel to

Malta in time to comfort - and be comforted - at his death-bed. Mixed with deep grief at his death, Albinia feels some guilt that she and her family were responsible for the pressure put on him to enlist. She had shrunk from the idea that he would work in India as his father had done and as originally planned. She had believed that the only professions 'worthy of man's attention [were] the clerical or military' (82), and had even gone so far as to gloss over that Edmund had worked in a Bank in India: 'aristocratic and military, she had no love for the monied interest, and had so sedulously impressed on her friends that Mr. Kendal had been in the Civil Service' (165). Now she confesses to herself and to her brother Maurice: 'Had I but silenced my foolish pride, he might have been safe in India now' (428). Her brother's response soothes her with kind words, and somewhat lamely concludes:

"... while we are honestly and faithfully doing our best ... our lapses through infirmity will be compensated, both in the training of our own characters and the results upon others."

"If we are indeed faithfully doing our best," repeated Albinia (430).

These are the last words of the book, and the reader remains equivocal about whether Yonge truly believes that Gilbert's spiritual growth in the last months of his life justified his early death. *The Young Stepmother* never gained the popularity of *The Heir* or *The Daisy Chain*, and this unsettling message was possibly not one which contemporary readers in the post-war period wanted. Albinia's assurance has been dented; her experiences have brought into question her very assumptions about 'right' male behaviour.

This ambivalence probably reflected Yonge's own confused feelings about her brother Julian's participation (or non-participation) in the war, and represented an interrogation of her own role in his decision to join the Rifle Brigade. Of the little we know about him, he does not sound as if he bore much resemblance to any of the fighting

Ferrars. Instead it is tempting to imagine that the previously-mentioned conversation between William and Maurice - "I have seen a year in a good regiment make an excellent officer of that very stamp of youngster, just wanting a mould to give him substance" - resembled an actual discussion within her household, taken before it was known that there would be a war. The circumstances of her father's death brought on by the preparations to send Julian 'to the East', together with Julian's early return without seeing battle, assailed Charlotte Yonge's certitude about a life in the army being the pinnacle of achievement for a man. At times in *The Young Stepmother* she sounds humbled by events, temporarily thrown off-track. This might have alienated her contemporaries, but it makes Albinia a more sympathetic character for the modern scholar.

Conclusion

I do hate soldiers. I always did, from my youth up, till the war in the East startled everybody like a thunder-clap. What a time it was - this time two years ago! How the actual romances of each day, as set down in the newspapers, made my old romances read like mere balderdash: how the present, in its infinite piteousness, its tangible horror, and the awfulness of what they called its "glory", cast the tame past altogether into shade! Who read history then, or novels, or poetry! Why read anything but that fearful "Times"?

In his consideration of how novelists handled the Crimean War, John Peck also credits the accounts in the *Times* with the most significant contribution to the imaginative recreation of the events, and analyses how William Russell interpreted the war for a novel-reading public in novelistic form.⁸³ The presence of soldiery and war in the modern state was lodged in the public mind by their involvement mediated via readings of 'factual' reports and memoirs. When the impact of the War on novels is considered, the two novels usually cited are Dickens' *Little Dorrit* (1857), with the Circumlocution

⁸² From the opening page of Dinah Mulock Craik, *A Life for a Life* (1859; London, n.d.).

⁸³ J. Peck, *War, the Army and Victorian Literature*, ch. 2.

Office as a metaphor for government mismanagement, and Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* (1855).⁸⁴ But the influence was more widespread than this, with new facets refracting light on to issues within the family and society, as in *The Young Stepmother*. Kingsley himself scrutinized such issues within *Two Years Ago* (1857) and sent his hero Tom Thurnall off to the Crimea.

An interesting novel to balance with Yonge's *Young Stepmother* is Mrs. Craik's *A Life for a Life*, set in 1856 just after the War has ended, in which she dismisses the supposed honour of soldiers - 'man-slayers' - and questions how it can be ethical to allow killing in certain circumstances. By the interchange of 'Her Voice' with 'His Voice' in alternating chapters Craik sets up a dialogue both about the nature of the military and the issue of punishment. Her 'hero' is a military surgeon who had killed a man many years ago. As readers we are asked to consider whether his blameless life devoted to healing has served as sufficient retribution. Should he be forgiven? Fearful that the reading public would not accept a hero who had committed manslaughter, she made the killing accidental, but changed this in later editions when reviewers felt that his remorse was excessive for a mere accident. Yonge took up a related theme in *The Trial*, (though here the hero is wrongly accused of a murder), and connects her much-loved May family of *The Daisy Chain* with the formation of the Volunteer Rifle Clubs, thus introducing the contemporary debates about military defence across a well-known domestic threshold.⁸⁵

By the time she wrote *Clever Woman* Yonge seems to be back on firm ground, confident enough to validate military ideology against the carping criticism of those who

⁸⁴ *Little Dorrit* was serialised 1855-57.

⁸⁵ C. M. Yonge, *The Trial* (1864; London: Macmillan's, 1888), serialised in *MP* 1862-4.

imagined any community of soldiers to be typified by 'frivolity and narrowness'.⁸⁶

Rachel Curtis, the 'clever' woman of the title, has such assumptions. She believes soldiers are empty-headed belligerent brutes, who nevertheless charm silly women and therefore need to be avoided or monitored: 'The staff is made up of idle Honourables. ... I don't like wounded heroes, ... people make such a fuss with them that they always get spoilt' (67). She mocks the possibility of 'rational conversation' with such men, and lectures one such 'carpet knight' on the tendency 'to confound pugnacity with heroism' – a soldier is a 'mere fighting animal whose strength or fortune have borne him through some more than ordinary danger'. True heroism only occurred when 'acts of self-devotion [were done] for the good of others'. She then recounts one such deed worthy of the name which happened to have been done by a soldier in the Indian 'Mutiny'; he had died in the act of carrying a shell away from a besieged building full of the sick and wounded (80-82). Over the next chapters the reader cringes on Rachel's behalf, as it becomes obvious that the heroic soldier had not died, but was the self-same young officer to whom Rachel had delivered her lecture. Yonge seems to be interrogating tendencies of her own younger self in order to share with her wide constituency of readers her more mature conclusions on what kind of manly heroism they should be encouraging in their brothers/sons. She nudges their memory and captures their attention by using an episode of heroic behaviour remarkably similar to the Peninsular War fable which had motivated Phyllis in *Scenes and Characters* to save her siblings from an unexploded firework. Like

⁸⁶ C. M. Yonge, *The Clever Woman of the Family* (1865; London, 1985 – page refs. to this edition), 68. It was first serialised, *Churchman's Family Magazine*, Jan. 1864 – April 1865. She was working on *Biographies of Good Women* (1862, 1865) and *Book of Golden Deeds of all Times and all Lands* (1864) so appears to have been much exercised by the nature of heroism for men and women. She reviewed *Cawnpore* by G. O. Trevelyan in *Macmillan's*, XII, July 1865, 267-274; BL, McM Papers, Ms. 54920/88, CMY to McM, May 29 1865, records how deeply she was affected by the book, 'I wish every schoolboy would read the book these holidays. It would pale the excitement of Capt. Mayne Reid'.

Phyllis and Rachel, Yonge had fantasised about gallant suicidal acts of courage; now she prompts Captain Keith to offer her own mature standpoint:

That may be the dream, but, after all, it is the discipline and constant duty that make the soldier, and are far more really valuable than exceptional doings (179).

Alick Keith is the nearest Yonge ever gets to the creation of a genuinely romantic hero, destined to marry the heroine once she has been humbled by a series of gaffes. Laconic, modest, intelligent, he is a worthy soulmate for Rachel who remains clever but less blindly headstrong. Yonge endorses heroic, quiet acts of duty wherever they are undertaken, at the same time as validating military characteristics. These are available and necessary for everyone, men and women, to sustain them in the everyday battlefield of life, sentiments she spelled out in a different context:

Sometime the fight is altogether between the evil and the good warring for the will, but often the bodily powers must take their part in the conflict, as well as the mental ones. And whereas these are outward and visible, ... they have become as it were symbols of the unseen inner conflict common to everyone whether living in external times of peace or war. The characteristics of the Hero ... are the characteristics of every true and right-minded man, woman and child; but there is room in them for infinite variety, and the special form of heroism has had again and again to vary with the period and circumstances which called it into visible action.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ C. M. Yonge, *Book of Worthies* (London, 1869), vi.

Chapter Three - The Fatherland of Parish and Community

Introduction

Manliness ... is a contested territory; it is an ideological battlefield. And what is more, if we look back in time, not only do we see that, at certain points in history, one specific discourse of masculinity has dominated over all of the other alternatives ... but we also find that the efforts to control the meaning of masculinity have played a central role in the struggle for power between various social groups including classes, races, nations, as well as men and women. Patriarchy presents itself as *the* way of seeing the world.

- Nigel Edley and Margaret Wetherell¹

In this chapter I want to consider how a 'popular' writer such as Charlotte Yonge contributed to, reinforced, rehearsed, and reified versions of paternal manliness in her domestic fictions of the 1840s and 1850s. For if manliness was an 'ideological battlefield', the particular role of men as fathers was at the heart of the argument, rebounding onto their position in the family, the neighbourhood, the parish and the wider community. Competing discourses swirled around fatherhood and were rehearsed and debated in print as well as in lived experience.² Such debates had political implications: how to slough off the dead-skin of the past without upsetting the hierarchies of authority which underpinned law and order; how to maintain influence over the lower classes in a rapidly increasing population. In Parliamentary debates on social issues such as the Poor Law, Education, and Factory Reform, the underlying theme was the family, and how to make men take responsibility for their wives and children. Most conservatives believed good fathering was essential for the inculcation of morality, community spirit, even patriotism, a necessary 'antidote to the cold and selfish spirit which is tainting the life-

¹ Nigel Edley and Margaret Wetherell, 'Masculinity, Power and Identity' in Mairtin Mac an Ghail (ed.), *Understanding Masculinities: Social Relations and Cultural Arenas* (Buckingham, 1996), 106.

² 'Theorizing Fatherhood: Poststructuralist Perspectives', ch. 1 in Deborah Lupton and Lesley Barclay, *Constructing Fatherhood. Discourses and Experiences* (London, 1997), has been of particular help in thinking about the themes of this chapter.

blood and freezing the pulses of society',³ and they labelled as 'liberal' any development which threatened their version of 'family values'.⁴

It is in this context that Yonge's novels had a significant role to play: she furnished suggestive versions of how to perform fatherhood both within families and the wider community. She promulgated a pattern of energetic goodness which she based on the remarkable men within her own circle to counteract the withdrawn sterility of the Tractarian man as commonly portrayed. This was not accidental. Although the nuances of the political/religious debates which dominated the late 1840s and early 1850s can sometimes be difficult for us to grasp, the gendered language used by critics of the Tractarians lays bare their central accusation concerning the putative masculinity of Anglo-Catholics, with jibes about celibacy, fasting, non-participation in 'manly' field sports, fastidious interest in vestments - all characteristics bracketed with impotent effeminacy incapable either of fathering offspring or of maintaining healthy paternalist relationships with those in their safekeeping. 'Puseyite' became shorthand for a type of manhood branded as ascetic, effete and un-English.⁵ When Charlotte Yonge was 'asked to help in the revivification' of *The Churchman's Companion*,⁶ a High Church periodical, she made her own subtle contribution with the serialization of *Henrietta's Wish* to an on-going debate in print, which included William Sewell's Tractarian novel *Hawkstone* (1845), and John Newman's fictionalised account of his conversion to Roman

³ *ChC*, V, 1849, 241-2; also 94-100 on the 5th Commandment connecting respect for parents with love for one's country.

⁴ This term which re-surfaced in the late twentieth-century is a reminder of the persistence of political debates which focus on 'poor' parenting as the source of social evils.

⁵ See Thomas Carlyle's scorn in *Past and Present* (London, 1909), 120-121. For modern discussions: David Hilliard, 'Unenglish and unmanly. Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality', *Victorian Studies*, 25. 2, 1982, 181-210; Owen Chadwick, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement. Tractarian Essays* (Cambridge, 1990), and *The Founding of Cuddesdon* (Oxford, 1954); John Shelton Reed, *Glorious Battle. The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism* (Nashville, 1998).

⁶ C. M. Yonge, 'Lifelong Friends', 183 in G. Battiscombe et al., *Chaplet*.

Catholicism, *Loss and Gain* (1848).⁷ Often overlooked in favour of her more fully-formed novels of the 1850s, *Henrietta's Wish* presents a model of benevolent patriarchy not just for family life but as a dynamic social policy.⁸ It can fruitfully be studied as a counterweight to Charles Kingsley's *Yeast*, his story about rural discontent and deprivation in which his hero, Lancelot Smith, trumpeted Kingsley's own brand of red-blooded Christianity compared to that of his Tractarian cousin.⁹ I shall also look at *Hopes and Fears*, written in the late 1850s as an interesting comparison with *Henrietta's Wish* viewed from this perspective.

The Women's Movement of the late twentieth-century and the feminist criticism which emerged from it has weighted the vocabulary of fatherhood and paternalism with issues of exploitation: 'patriarchy' and 'patriarchal attitudes' have become terms of abuse; 'fatherland' has even darker historical connotations. For the purposes of this chapter, I want to divest these words of their undertones, to employ them temporarily in non-judgmental ways. It is not my intention to berate mid-Victorians but to examine their difficulties as they struggled to adapt to a rapidly changing world. As Donald Hall asserts, patriarchy remains a useful term to describe:

[the] reservation of social decision-making by and to men ... who attempted to set and enforce perimeters of domain while often denying or cloaking their power in a

⁷ William Sewall, *Hawkstone: A Tale Of and For England in 184-*, J. H. Newman, *Loss and Gain* (1845, 1848; New York, 1976). For varieties of Victorian religious novels: Robert Lee Wolff, *Gains and Losses. Novels of Faith and Doubt* (New York, 1977). *Churchman's Companion* was founded in 1847 in response to the turmoil occasioned by Newman's secession in 1845, to bolster 'High' Anglican values and encourage its beleaguered supporters. Intended to appeal to the whole family, it had accounts of church-building, biblical commentaries, a children's section, and serialised fiction - a literary companion for the men as well as for the women in his household.

⁸ B. Dennis, *Yonge*, makes no mention of it, nor lists it in her Bibliography.

⁹ *Yeast* was serialised in *Fraser's*, 38, July-Dec. 1848, published in 1851 and issued with a new preface in 1859; all refs. here to reprint (Stroud, 1994). *Henrietta's Wish* was serialised in *MP*, Jan. 1849-May 1850, V-VII, published in 1850; all refs. to reprint (London, 1853). Its lively quality sets it apart from other stories in the magazine; that it was not quite what the editors expected can be gleaned from a comment in a letter from Yonge to Marianne Dyson quoted by Coleridge, *Yonge*, 157: 'Thank you for your encouragement with regard to Henrietta, I assure you I mean to have my own way, and if the *Churchman* finds he has caught a Tartar, he must make the best of it'.

rhetoric of essentialism, of foregone conclusions. Its appearance ... is of seamlessness, of un complication; of course, its reality was one of inherent and thorough confusion.¹⁰

It is this 'inherent and thorough confusion' of patriarchy which is of especial interest when considering some of Yonge's novels of domestic realism, where mid-nineteenth century readers could imaginatively experiment with different performances of men (and women) in families.

An element within this confusion was what kind of work bestowed authoritative masculinity. This had special implications for fathers. While some middle-class families could live off unearned income, removing the need for conventional bread-winners, there was a fresh imperative about how men spent their time. The development of new professions provided respectable male-only careers for growing numbers, but the single largest professional group in mid-century remained that of clergymen.¹¹ The lip-service paid to separate spheres at mid-century had little relevance in any literal sense for those thousands of men for whom their own home remained their work-place - doctors, farmers, teachers, some lawyers, worked from home.¹² These homes were also the base for their numerous roles in the surrounding community. Until the 1888 County Councils Act the governance of all areas outside municipal boroughs remained firmly in the hands of the gentry, appointed to unpaid positions of responsibility by unelected Lord Lieutenants, to serve on numerous committees. The extent to which such an

¹⁰ Donald Hall, *Fixing Patriarchy*, 11.

¹¹ Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society* (Cambridge, 1995), 14. For evolution of the clergy: Brian Heeney, *A Different Kind of Gentleman. Parish Clergy as Professional Men in Early and Mid-Victorian England* (Hamden, 1976); Geoffrey Rowell, *The Vision Glorious. Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism* (Oxford, 1983); Anthony Russell, *The Clerical Profession* (London, 1980). For development of professions: Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body. British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago, 1995).

¹² For the most recent update on his work, see John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2005) and 'Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914', *Journal of British Studies* 44 (April 2005), 330-342.

unrepresentative system worked for the benefit of the majority rather than the few, depended on the variable quality of those in authority. While the problems of the burgeoning Victorian cities grabbed the headlines, country areas were also struggling with the consequences of change and population growth.¹³ For conscientious Anglicans - such as the Yonges and their wide circle of friends - the connection between Church and State was inseparable, and on a local level this meant a total involvement in all aspects of 'fathering' the community.¹⁴ Skinner's important recent book on Tractarian thought confirms the central significance of this ideology to the proactive paternalism whereby their supporters put into practice their political and spiritual beliefs.¹⁵ The personal links between these families and various branches of the Coleridges give particular relevance to the ideas enshrined in S. T. Coleridge's *On the Constitution of Church and State* of a 'clerisy' - defined by Ben Knights as 'the intellectuals as a socially beneficial group' - whose duty was to 'look after the moral and cultural interests of the nation'.¹⁶ Before looking at the two chosen texts I will explore this topic by considering the many Father-figures who peopled Yonge's personal landscape and provided her with models for her books.

A recurrent theme throughout this chapter focuses on conceptions of home, inextricably linked as they are with constructions of gender. Recent work by sociologists interested in explanations for the slowness of change in present-day families to get men

¹³ C. Cook and J. Stevenson, *Handbook of Modern British History 1714-1980* (London, 1983), 96-7: the population of England and Wales grew by 6 million between 1831-61.

¹⁴ G. Rowell, *The Vision Glorious*, 8-10, uses a sermon of Keble's preached in Hursley in 1836 to demonstrate Keble's insistence that faith could not be a mere personal matter but was inexorably linked with the Church as a 'real outward visible body' given authority by its bonds with the Early Fathers.

¹⁵ S. A. Skinner *Tractarians and the 'Condition of England'*, especially ch. 2, 'High Politics: Church and State'; ch. 3: 'Low Politics: The Parish Unit'.

¹⁶ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *On the Constitution of the Church and the State According to the Idea of Each* (1830; London, 1972), quotation by the editor, John Barrell, xix; Ben Knights, *The Idea of the Clerisy in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1978), 1.

involved in the domestic arena, has attributed the feminizing of domesticity to the development of industrial capitalism.¹⁷ The oppositional sites which evolved - work versus 'free' time, production/reproduction, with the home and family assumed to be a non-economic field - placed the male family position symbolically at the doorstep. Men became 'the exterior sort, the helper, the agents of the powers outside':¹⁸

The 'one' of wage labour is *work*, and the one doing it is a *he*. The 'other' is free time, freedom, not as a universal freedom, but as posited by the first, relative to work. And the one making this free time possible, once more, is also positioned very specifically as against the first. Many traits of femininity may be interpreted on this background - woman as the larger ground, the larger ideal being, beyond work, related to ... a superior kind of freedom. So, as industry developed, there was a parallel enhancement of this projected otherness, the Victorians' "moral elevator", a new figure of woman, embracing all that man and capitalism could not be, yet could strive towards.

Connell extrapolates from these comments by Hølter that 'men have a struggle to re-enter the gender institution of the family as full participants'.¹⁹ Why this should be, is connected with the emotionality of the family, the sense that it is a site of affectivity, characteristics increasingly gendered as feminine. The relevance of such work examining modern problems is the light it sheds on mid-nineteenth century gender-construction, still in flux for the conservative men studied here, but imposing specific strains on them as they tried to invigorate and remould what was increasingly a pre-modern form of household-centred paternalism. Resistant to the 'rational' development of the secular state and the logic of free-market economics, they were determined to prove the efficacy

¹⁷ Of special value has been Ø. G. Hølter, 'Family Theory Reconsidered' in T. Borchgrevink and Ø. G. Hølter (eds.), *Labour of Love. Beyond the Self-Evidence of Everyday Life* (Aldershot, 1995), as recommended by R. W. Connell, *The Men and the Boys* (Cambridge, 2000), 21-22. Also: Arthur Brittan, *Masculinity and Power* (Oxford, 1989); Anthony Macmahon, *Taking Care of Men. Sexual Politics in the Public Mind* (Cambridge, 1999); Suzanne E. Hatty, *Masculinities, Violence, and Culture* (Thousand Oaks, 2000); Barbara Hobson (ed.), *Making Men into Fathers. Men, Masculinities and the Social Politics of Fatherhood* (Cambridge, 2002); George, L Mosse, *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York, 1996); Mairtin Mac an Ghail (ed.), *Understanding Masculinities*; H. Brod and M. Kaufman (eds.), *Theorizing Masculinities*; Ian M. Harris, *Messages Men Hear*; V. J. Seidler, *Man Enough*; S. Whitehead and F. J. Barrett (eds.), *The Masculinities Reader*.

¹⁸ Hølter, 117-8.

¹⁹ Hølter, 102, quoted by R. W. Connell, *Men and the Boys*, 21-22.

of an older though updated model, where the sympathetic relationships which held families together were extended into the wider neighbourhood.²⁰

A trope common by mid-century was the idea of a man's home as a bastion, within which he could lay aside the sober carapace of masculinity which shielded his 'true' self from the cruel gaze of the world - James Froude's oft-quoted, 'at home ... we lay aside our mask and drop our tools, and are no longer lawyers, sailors, soldiers, statesmen, clergymen, but only men'.²¹ As a corollary to the notion of separate spheres of masculinity/femininity, the space within is envisaged as colourful, soft, warm, enclosed - indeed womblike - but the outer expanses are dark and threatening. This has little literal substance but remained a potent image, and is best understood with Home as a metaphor for a safe site deep within the personality where subjectivity originates, rather than a specific location.²² Home was frequently used as an alternative name for Heaven underlining its role as a location for spiritual authenticity. In reality men could not relax either in or out of their homes; instead they must exchange one version of manhood for another role - not easy when fatherhood was subject to new interpretations. Indeed, as James Eli Adams points out in *Desert Saints and Dandies*, it was harder for men to maintain their manhood within domesticity where the balms of home might dent their strenuous psychic regime. Exploiting Judith Butler's thesis about the performativity of gender, Adams contends that masculinity is as spectacular as femininity, paraded for an

²⁰ This version of patriarchy allowed women a more significant role; to a certain extent, their position in the community was perceived as complementary to that of the men. While careful to maintain propriety, the real-life and fictional women of Yonge's life often surprise expectations.

²¹ J. A. Froude, *Nemesis of Faith* (London: Chapman, 1849), 103.

²² Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (eds.), *English Masculinities 1660-1800* (London, 1999), 59, for Cohen's argument that the domestic sphere that emerged by the late eighteenth-century was not a private sphere but an 'idealised space for the production of a virtuous and moral nation'.

imagined audience.²³ Mrs. Kingsley accidentally confirms this when writing about her late husband's deportment at home: 'As a friend once remarked, "Where others so often fail - in the family - there he shone"'. She had just referred to some men's moodiness within the home, but Kingsley 'kept all feelings of depression, and those dark hours of wrestling with doubt, disappointment and anxiety, ... within the sanctuary of his own heart, unveiled only to one on earth, and to his Father in Heaven'.²⁴ What Mrs. Kingsley's first comment makes clear is that there was a problem for many men about their expected role within domesticity. Perhaps this is why some men felt that they could relax fully only in such male-only spaces as gentlemen's clubs, where they were allowed to sit slumped in large arm-chairs, with no women to complicate their fragile self-presentations.²⁵

The work of Carolyn Steedman is particularly illuminating here. Her link between the interiority of the self and the hidden depths established in childhood elucidates any discussion of fatherhood and the language used to glorify childish innocence. In this Wordsworthian notion, the invisible but significant self is established in memory, protected from the outside world, but accessible for kindling emotions and the home-affections essential for the maintenance of mental health: 'the child came to represent both the interiorized self and the past history that each individual life

²³ J. Eli Adams, *Desert Saints and Dandies*, 2-10; Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990). Barbara Dennis and David Skilton (eds.), *Reform and Intellectual Debate in Victorian England* (London, 1987), 60, give an extract from *The Contemporary Review* of Aug. 1869 which acknowledges the home to be the most difficult sphere of action for a gentleman: 'There is the familiarity, the sense of undress. ... The gentleman has, therefore, to be on his guard, and to keep a vigilant watch against the creeping over his behaviour of the least slovenliness'.

²⁴ F. E. Kingsley, *Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of his Life* (London, 1908), 190.

²⁵ Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (London, 1986), 215-217, comments on the peculiar silence of the Victorian gentlemen's clubs; interested in the connection between silence and order, he observes that new restraint of public expressivity further muddles the dichotomy of public/private, with silence providing a circle of privacy around an individual in public places. The provision of studies for men as private spaces served a similar purpose to clubs by providing a sacrosanct male space within the domestic arena.

contained'.²⁶ In the biographies of men at this period, including those of Yonge's acquaintances, childhood is depicted as a journey towards a self-discipline which is the fundamental qualification for adulthood. This rigorous self-mastery is essentially identical to what for a woman is called self-denial, and serves to underline the anxieties intertwined with performances of gender and the difficulty of assigning to them rigid essentialist divisions of reason/emotion, knowledge/experience. This gender confusion was particularly germane for Christians: the example of Jesus seemed to emasculate men's physical passions, and to empower women's role outside the home.²⁷ God as The Father complicates the position of men as fathers. When Holman Hunt painted 'The Light of the World' in 1851-53 he used both male and female models for the head of Jesus to capture Christ's composite masculine/feminine traits, leading Millais to write to him that it was 'the most beautiful head I have ever seen of Christ, it is most lovely'.²⁸

In the next section I use memoirs and biographies of men within Yonge's own circle to examine constructions of fatherhood. All the examples are drawn either from men whom she knew personally or were part of a wider circle of High Church Anglicans who shared similar concerns.²⁹ The exception is Charles Kingsley, positioned at this time as an opponent to Tractarians, a Broad Church vicar with dangerous 'socialist' opinions as well as outlandish views on the central role of sexuality. Careful reading, however, uncovers numerous affinities of attitude which Yonge herself admitted later, and this

²⁶ Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations. Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1870-1930* (London, 1995), 13. Also Suzanne Hatty, *Masculinities, Violence, and Culture*, 'Idea of the Self', 9-28.

²⁷ Thomas Hughes, *The Manliness of Christ* (London, 1879) addressed the problem of Jesus's masculinity by elevating moral above physical courage: see Peter Gay, 'The Manliness of Christ' in R. W. Davis and R. J. Helmstadter (eds.), *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society. Essays in Honour of R. K. Webb* (London, 1992).

²⁸ *The Pre-Raphaelites* (Tate Gallery, 1984), 119. It seems appropriate that Holman Hunt's picture was given to Keble College in 1873 for its Chapel.

²⁹ B. Dennis, *Yonge*, ch. 1, provides a comprehensive description of the many men of authority well-known to Charlotte Yonge.

justifies his inclusion.³⁰ In the wider circle, George Lyttelton is of particular relevance both for his political connections and for diverse aspects of his family's lives which provide verification for the authenticity of Yonge's domestic fictions. From a modern viewpoint, accounts of the Lytteltons echo scenes in Yonge's fictions, life representing art or *vice versa*.³¹ From Mary Lyttelton's deathbed farewells to her eleven children, assigning to the care of each of the older boys a younger brother, to the family outings and meals, all are underpinned by an unobtrusive but serious adherence to Christian duties - 'saturated with Church convictions', words used by Lucy Cavendish (née Lyttelton) to describe Yonge's own books. In a tribute to Yonge's immense influence through her books on the lives of countless families, Cavendish admitted that it was difficult for someone like herself, 'cradled ... in the arms of the Oxford Movement', to specify exactly which strands of influence to ascribe to Yonge, but that the '*livingness*' of fictional families like the Mays in *The Daisy Chain* had transformed them into lifelong friends.³² My main focus will be on the men with whom Charlotte Yonge was intimately connected. Above the mantelpiece in her sitting-room, four portraits watched over her as she worked: 'her father in the centre, Lord Seaton, Keble, Sir W. Heathcote'.³³ Only one was ordained, but all conducted their lives in the conviction that their every moment should be in the service of God, a dedication unspoken and private, between their Father and themselves.

³⁰ Lori Miller in 'The (Re-)gendering of High Anglicanism' in Andrew Bradstock (et al.), *Masculinity and Spirituality* and J. Eli Adams in *Desert Saints*, both comment that many attitudes inherent in Anglo-Catholicism were not that different from either 'Muscular' or Evangelical Christianity.

³¹ Sheila Fletcher, *Victorian Girls. Lord Lyttelton's Daughters* (London, 1997), General Sir Neville Lyttelton, *Eighty Years. Soldiering, Politics, Games* (London, 1927), John Bailey (ed.), *Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish* (London, 1927). Gladstone was Lyttelton's brother-in-law.

³² L. Cavendish, 'The Secret of Miss Yonge's Influence', in E. Romanes, *Yonge*, 196-200.

³³ E. Romanes, *Yonge*, 151.

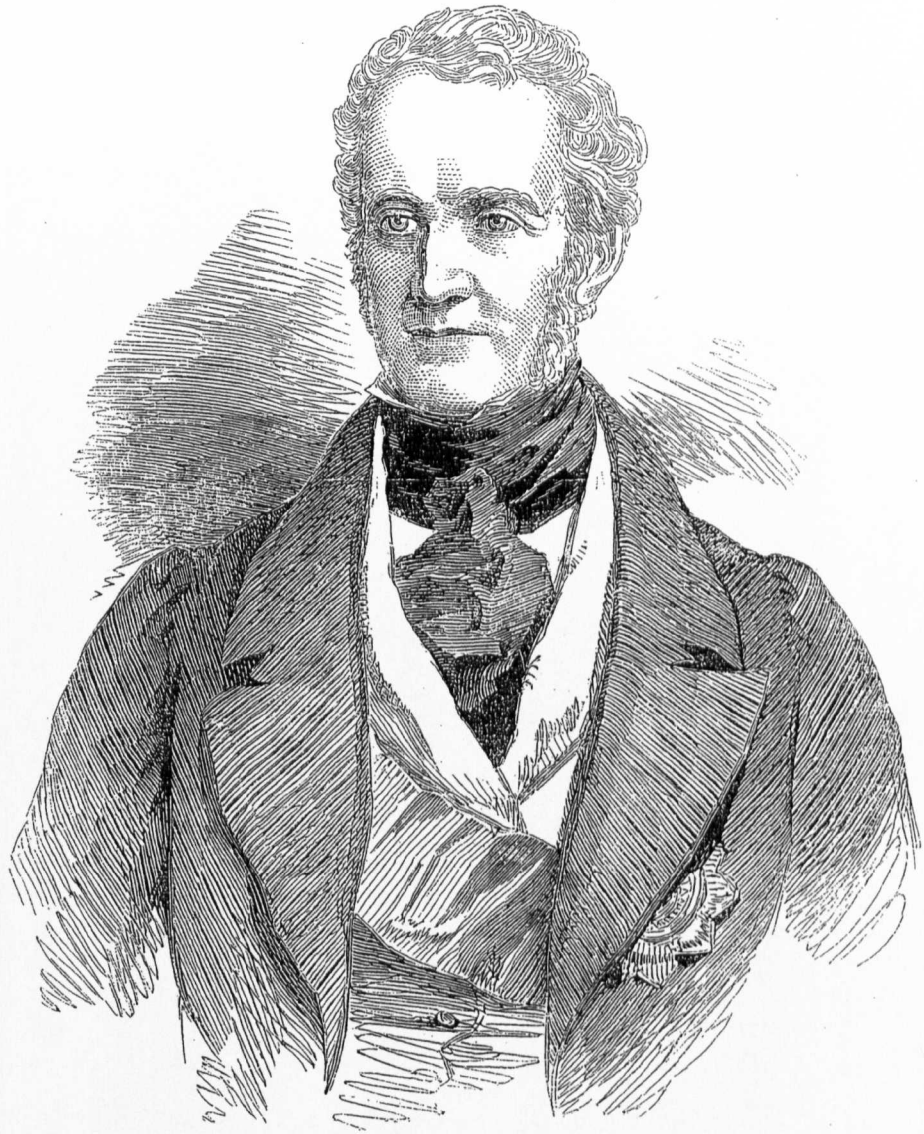


S. Richardson, R.A. del.

Walker & Cochrane, lith. sc.

*William Crawley Yonge
From a portrait in the possession of
Miss Helen Yonge at Eastleigh.*

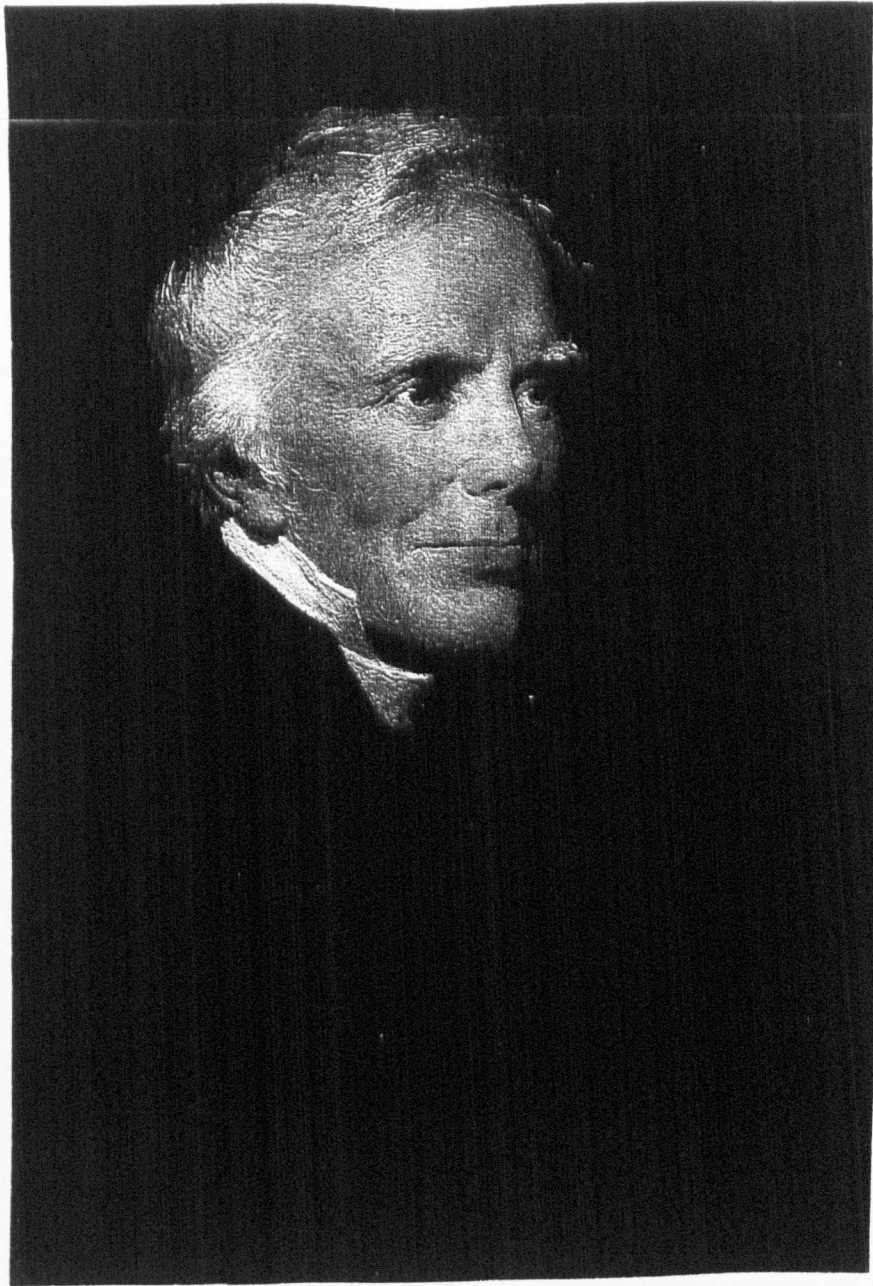
William Crawley Yonge



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD SEATON, G.C.B., COMMANDER OF THE TROOPS ENCAMPED AT CHOBHAM.

Sir John Colborne, Lieutenant-General Lord Seaton

Illustrated London News, July 9 1853



Rev. John Keble



RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HEATHCOTE, BART.
From a painting by Richmond.

Sir William Heathcote
of Hursley Park



William Heathcote

[1873.]

Charlotte Yonge's Personal Father-Figures - 'the self-controlled vivacity of high spiritual existence' ³⁴

[William Yonge] was strenuous, ardent, impulsive, constant, sparing no labour in any cause which he took up. - Roundell Palmer ³⁵

William C. Yonge, beside his goodness and tenderness of heart, often concealed from the many, and in matters of indifference, by a somewhat stern manner, had a fondness for business and knowledge of it, a readiness of apprehension, and decision of character, which Keble was glad to lean on. - J. T. Coleridge

What *they* will do without him, what we and all the neighbours will do, especially what Otterbourn [sic] will do, I am sure I cannot say. There is really no one that I know of in this Parish at all to take his place. - Keble to Rev. Wilson ³⁶

These three portrayals of Charlotte Yonge's father contain within them key ingredients for the construction of the mid-century male, characteristics selected for posthumous praise. William Yonge embodied the confusion of expected masculinities. We catch a glimpse of the inner tensions likely to develop for such men. 'Concealed from the many', masked by 'a somewhat stern manner', his vulnerable 'tenderness of heart' meant that his sympathies could be aroused. Like a tightly-bound spring he would then leap into decisive action; in the best paternalist tradition, he would shoulder burdens - Keble could 'lean on' him for his help in the wider community. The four words used by Roundell Palmer - 'strenuous, ardent, impulsive, constant' - configure a quick-silver temperament, hard-working, motivated not by self-interest but by passion, unable to surrender once fired with commitment to the task in hand. We can surmise, perhaps, that these conflicting characteristics did not make him an easy personality within the household; neither are Palmer's adjectives indubitably masculine.

³⁴ C. A. E. Moberly, *Dulce Domum*, 7.

³⁵ Roundell Palmer, Earl of Selborne, *Memorials* (Edinburgh, 1889), 295; Selborne was M.P. for Plymouth 1847-61, persuaded to stand by James Yonge; later Lord Chancellor under Gladstone.

³⁶ J. T. Coleridge, *Keble*, 382.

With his military profession surrendered, but not a land-owner in his own right, William Yonge's position was uncomfortable - as his daughter herself put it, 'that so fine a young man of twenty-seven should throw up his profession, and settle down on a small estate of his mother-in-law's with nothing to do, except what he made for himself'.³⁷ Hampshire in the 1820s-40s was suffering from the effects of agricultural distress and discontent. In later books such as *The Carbonels* and *Chantry House* Charlotte Yonge described the lawlessness and deprivation which her parents had encountered in those early years.³⁸ Sir William Heathcote's superintendence of his patrimony was at first slow in achieving change.³⁹ The Otterbourne poor were 'a most ungrateful set', but the Yonges wanted to contribute to the district's regeneration.⁴⁰ When in 1836 Heathcote persuaded Keble to accept the living at Hursley, it marked the start of a fruitful union of Church and State in this part of Hampshire to refashion traditional Tory paternalism to the needs of the nineteenth-century - and it provided William Yonge with opportunities to serve their cause. With a rudimentary training in military engineering he embraced church-building as a suitable channel for his energies. This was not the inconsequential hobby of a dilettante but a calling to which he devoted time, energy and money, transforming himself by intensive research into an architect for the new churches at Otterbourne and Ampfield.⁴¹ Determined that his design should have Gothic authenticity,

³⁷ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 34-5; they were well-to-do but not wealthy: 'my father and mother had very little ready money and ... they did spend as much as they possibly could on the many needs of the poor', 60.

³⁸ C. M. Yonge, *Chantry House* (London, 1886): see account of Reform Bill riots in Bristol 1831, ch. 22; *The Carbonels* (London, 1895). F. Awdry, *Heathcote*, 39-43, gives a description of this 'unmanageable parish'; the unrest in 1826 was such that iron shutters were installed at Hursley Park. C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 81: two ringleaders in the agricultural riots were brothers of the Yonges' nursemaid, who was heartbroken when they were sentenced to transportation for life.

³⁹ Paul Thompson, *William Butterfield* (London, 1971), 50, describes how Heathcote on inheriting the Estate, found it diminished by his uncle who had sold or willed away all the property except that which was entailed. Sir William was forced to borrow money to buy back land and furniture. Awdry, *Heathcote*, 31: its wealth had been its oaks but the development of non-wooden ships lowered the value of this asset.

⁴⁰ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 49. This was the warning given to Mrs. Bargas and her daughter Fanny when they first moved there.

⁴¹ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 116. Their annual holidays in Devon with the 'cousinage' were sacrificed for some years, as 'the church-building absorbed his spare means'. Charlotte's first venture into print was to raise

he had stone specially brought from Caen. An intriguing comment in a letter of Newman's about his expertise in velvet, reveals that no detail was too small for his scrutiny.⁴² Coleridge records his business acumen: he 'was acute and intelligent in making his contracts, and vigilant in seeing to their faithful execution'.⁴³

Charlotte herself describes 'thoroughness' as his key characteristic - 'he could not bear to do anything by halves'. This included being a 'good' father, caring for his children when they had measles, as well as overseeing their education.⁴⁴ On the model of the Edgeworths' system of sympathetic parenting the Yonges believed that education was too important to be left to servants.⁴⁵ The Edgeworths' ideas were surprisingly child-centred and 'modern' with recommendations in favour of learning through play (I: 57), arranging the house to suit the interests of the children (I: 202), allowing them to eat with the parents, be in the main rooms, not to expect silence (I: 199-202), and punishments to be avoided by not having unreasonable expectations about a child's abilities (I: 269, 293). Although William Yonge's intentions were admirable, he lacked the patience necessary for teaching. Blaming herself - 'being an innate sloven and full of lazy inaccuracy' - Charlotte exonerates her father who grew 'rather hot and loud' at her failures; neither does she mention how Julian coped with the intensity of his father's strictures.⁴⁶ Some

money for local church-building. Thompson, *Butterfield*, 58-59: architecture was in the early stages of professionalisation. Butterfield was employed by Keble, Heathcote, Winchester College, the Coleridges of Ottery St Mary and other members of their wider circle on numerous commissions, culminating in his design of Keble College, Oxford. Charlotte Yonge herself commissioned him to design a school/chapel for the village of Pitt in 1857. Lady Selina Heathcote (ed.), *Selections from the Hursley Magazine for the Years 1848 and 1849 with Facsimiles of the original Title Pages* (privately printed at Hursley Park, 1861), for evidence of Heathcote's intimacy with members of the Camden Society; the list of contributors to this in-house Journal included its co-founder, Marchioness of Lothian and Frederic Rogers (later Lord Blachford), Editor of *The Guardian*.

⁴² Ian Ker and Thomas Gornall (eds.), *Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman* (Oxford, 1980), VI, 184.

⁴³ J. T. Coleridge, *Keble*, 282.

⁴⁴ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 51 and 76: 'My father had no confidence in the Winchester apothecaries, and doctored us through it himself alone - yes, and nursed too'.

⁴⁵ Maria and R. L. Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, I and II (London, 1801).

⁴⁶ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 75.

involvement in their children's education was expected by men in Yonge's circle, an essential ingredient of fatherhood, related to the need to inculcate self-control.⁴⁷

The catalogue of Heathcote's Library provides an insight into what books on the upbringing of children such families read. An extensive section on education included advice books by Hannah More, Hester Chapone, Dr. Gregory, and Thomas Gisborne together with the more recent *Domestic Duties* (1828) by Mrs. Parkes, but the majority consisted of contemporary pamphlets and government papers concerning schools rather than domestic arrangements. Issues of educational reform - at local level, of the public schools, of the Universities - were at the forefront of all these men's lives, inseparable from their religious beliefs, or their desire to shape the future.⁴⁸ Although they looked to the past for authoritative models, they were not die-hard reactionaries but fervent in maintaining the link between religion and education; training of character was more significant than the acquisition of knowledge. The relative academic mediocrity of heroic men such as Lord Seaton was not glossed over but given as evidence of what moral fibre and hard work can achieve.⁴⁹ Although Heathcote excelled at Oxford, his biographer stresses his moral influence rather than any intellectual achievements.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ N. Lyttelton, *Eighty Years*, 19: his father held periodic exams in general subjects for his twelve children. S. Fletcher, *Lyttelton's Daughters*, 6: the children's workroom was between their mother's and father's rooms - when the parents walked through, they became involved in whatever their children were doing. Gladstone even as Prime Minister found time to take lessons with his children. C. M. Yonge, *The Parents' Power* (Winchester, 1889), 5-6, writes of fathers she knew who, however busy, found time to help with lessons: 'one father, a busy lawyer, spent his breakfast over his little girls' lessons ... another had them daily to his dressing-room ... nothing goes so far as a father's personal teaching'.

⁴⁸ Heathcote sat on the Clarendon Commission 1864; M.P. for Oxford University 1854-66, a constituency he shared with Gladstone for much of this time; also a Privy Councillor. E. Wordsworth, *Christopher Wordsworth*, 489, stresses how her father never "talked down", but expected his children to be as interested as himself in his concerns - to such an extent that one of her brothers remembered 'as a child going to my bedroom ready to cry, because [his father] was so distressed and talked so ominously about University reform'.

⁴⁹ *ChR*, LIV 1867, 242, in review of books about Lord Seaton by C. M. Yonge: he was regarded as 'a backward dull boy' at Winchester, and, like Wellington and Sir Charles Napier, would not have passed, had there been exams for the army.

⁵⁰ F. Awdry, *Heathcote*, 2.



Title page of *The Hursley Magazine* of 1848 reproduced in the privately printed selection issued in 1861 by Lady Selina Heathcote

A recurrent feature of family life for these High Anglicans is the significance of fun, presided over by fathers. Even when these men were consumed by gloom and busy with countless commitments, they seemed to feel it essential to relocate their childlike natures - reignite their 'true' selves - by outings, games, amateur theatricals. One of Sir William Heathcote's sons wrote after his death how unlike his own memories of his father were many of the tributes, which dwelt on his despair. His son remembered him as perpetually cheerful, fond of paper games, acrostics and plays, entering with enthusiasm into their amusements, driving the four-in-hand for picnics in the New Forest. In spite of a time-consuming public life, he made abundant time for his children.⁵¹ To some extent we can share in the playful atmosphere of the Heathcotes' household by reading the selections from the Journal which Lady Selina edited with contributions from friends, neighbours and guests. The tone throughout is light and amusing, with Charades by Sir Frederic Rogers, anagrams by Mrs. Yonge, and wonderfully witty illustrations. Heathcote and Keble were announced on the title page as the 'Patrons of our Society'. When Rev. William Sewell founded Radley College in 1847 for the sons of High Church Anglicans, he wanted an atmosphere 'as in the bosom of one large Christian family', believing that the family was the 'model of all human society'.⁵² This involved timetabling what A. K. Boyd calls 'the Arcadian side - the outings and junketings which were an essential part of Sewell's system of education'.⁵³ These cost money at a time when Radley was on the edge of bankruptcy, the boys were severely undernourished, and - from Boyd's twentieth-century perspective - 'disrupted serious work on a scale

⁵¹ F. Awdry, *Heathcote*, Appendix IV, 211-213. M. R. D. Foot and H. C. G. Matthew (eds.), *Gladstone Diaries*, V, for frequency of visits and letters from Heathcote to Gladstone.

⁵² Lionel James, *A Forgotten Genius. Sewell of St. Columba's and Radley* (London, 1945), 139-141.

⁵³ A. K. Boyd, *Radley College, 1847-1947* (Oxford, 1948), 9. Compared to James's account, Boyd is critical of Sewell, an Old Boy relieved that Radley managed to divest itself of some of the Founder's original notions.

unparalleled in the history of public schools'.⁵⁴ This was not, presumably, a view shared by the Anglo-Catholic families who sent their sons to Radley in its early days.⁵⁵

In describing his own passage to maturity Lord Selborne refers to a crisis when, as a young man in 1845, he 'had not conquered myself, my will, passions and affections'. The implication is not that these feelings were eradicated but that they were embedded deep within himself, to be a pilot-light fuelling his distinguished record of public service.⁵⁶ Evidence of such men's secret feelings was revealed only to intimates, but others might catch a glimpse of the molten metal at their heart, from their eyes. Two decades after his death, it is her father's 'dark, keen' eyes that Charlotte Yonge remembers for their power to control her by inspiring happiness or dread.⁵⁷ Significantly she links this with a line from a hymn, "He keeps me by His eye": God the Father directs our behaviour through the eyes of good fathers. Pusey, in letters to Keble and to Gladstone about the death of his brother Philip, dwelt on the dying man's last 'look', as 'the soul speaks through the eye'.⁵⁸ Writing of her uncle General Seaton, Yonge describes his 'bright, limpid eyes, that seemed to have the capacity of looking *into* and *at* everything at once'. She connected his ability to maintain authority over troops of soldiers to these same eyes so that 'that there was nothing his men would not do for him'. The steadfast manliness of these eyes allows her to describe other aspects of his face in surprisingly different language: 'the soft purity and fairness of skin of a child, and the

⁵⁴ Boyd, 87 and 115.

⁵⁵ Such as Charlotte Yonge's friends, the Gibbs of Tyntesfield; or Mrs. Talbot whose son, Edward became the first Warden of Keble College.

⁵⁶ Roundell Palmer, *Memorials*, 257; he attributes his successful emergence to the influence of Keble and to Fouqué's *Sintram*, the story Charlotte Yonge would update for contemporaries in *Heir of Redclyffe*.

⁵⁷ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 50-51.

⁵⁸ H. P. Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey* (London, 1894), III, 414.

peculiarly gentle mouth'.⁵⁹ Whereas women were meant to lower their eyes, to avert their gaze, the energy of manly authority was realized through the eyes.⁶⁰

At a time when, according to George Mosse, the male body was thought to symbolize society's need for order and progress, with men as conduits of power, and the 'entire male body as an example of virility, strength and courage, expressed through the proper posture and appearance', their eyes could provide an indication of their inner sensitivities.⁶¹ In *Memoirs* edited by their wives both Charles Kingsley and George Ridding have their eyes compared to an eagle's:

George Ridding's face ... was ... aflame with eager life, which played round his well-cut, sensitive mouth and deep-set 'eagle' eyes. The rare droop of the outer corners of his eyes ... increased their dreamy expression while in repose, a striking contrast to their piercing keenness when fired with eager attention.⁶²

All [Kingsley's] strength, physical, mental, and moral, seemed to find expression in his keen grey eyes, which gazed with the look of an eagle, from under massive brows, divided from each other by two deep perpendicular furrows (122).

The intense power of Kingsley's sympathies which radiated from his eyes is vividly indicated by another passage which suggests that men were hiding within themselves an essential femininity:

For with all his man's strength there was a deep vein of *woman* in him, a nervous sensitiveness, an intensity of sympathy, which made him suffer when others

⁵⁹ *ChR*, LIV, 1867, 281-282.

⁶⁰ F. E. Kingsley, *Kingsley*, 122: the power of men's eyes to exert authority over animal instincts even in animals, where Charles Kingsley was able to restrain 'a large savage dog {which} flew at him, straining at its chain', but by 'mere force of eye, voice, gesture, drove it into its kennel ... keeping his eye on the cowed animal as it growled'.

⁶¹ George Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 23. H. Sussman, *Victorian Masculinities*, examines the self-control of Victorian men to prevent the involuntary eruption of their inner life (44) and Carlyle's interpretation of the Tractarians' Doctrine of Reserve as a position of interiority that promoted effeminacy (70).

⁶² Lady Laura Ridding, *George Ridding, Schoolmaster and Bishop* (London, 1908), 17. Ridding was part of the Hursley circle through his marriage to a Moberly daughter and Headmastership at Winchester. Like Kingsley he was an ordained Anglican minister who took his religion very seriously. One pupil remembered the power of his gaze which 'could look right through them, [and] measure their worth' so that 'one no longer appeared to oneself one of a mass, ... but an individual whose thoughts were read and whose character were known', 104.

suffered; a tender, delicate, soothing touch, which gave him power to understand and reach for the heart (121).

This is a particularly revealing comment about a man who championed an outwardly virile version of Anglicanism.

Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen trace the evolution of taciturnity in men by the late eighteenth-century to a tension between being ‘polite’ and ‘manly’. Succinctly, they describe men’s response to the problem of gender as defined by linguistic differences: ‘they simply shut up’.⁶³ Cohen enlarges on this to show that an Englishman’s strong manliness became linked to his monosyllabic language.⁶⁴ How this buttoned-up male persona should behave within the portals of his own home was more complicated and clearly imposed conflicting strains on the men we are considering. Language had to be guarded at all times, checked for vulgarities, unkindnesses, wrong attitudes. Aware of the scrutiny of the eyes of the Father mediated by fathers, the young learned to censor their own speech as a qualification for adulthood. This was true for women too, but they were not expected to achieve the absolute control reserved for true manliness. George Ridding provides an interesting example of such taciturnity, combining ‘extreme reticence ... [which] gave the world an impression of hardness’, but a fluidity of language once he dropped into Greek and Latin, as if here he felt at ease - the equivalence perhaps in linguistic terms of the gentleman’s club.⁶⁵ This was another reason why for many men the company of small children, for whom no sensible language was necessary, seemed attractive. A vicar recalling Archbishop Whately described his benevolent smiles as he

⁶³ T. Hitchcock and M. Cohen (eds.), *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, 21.

⁶⁴ Michèle Cohen, ‘Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England’ in Hitchcock and Cohen, 57.

⁶⁵ Laura Ridding, *George Ridding*, 12 and 45. Ridding’s reticence included acts of extraordinary self-denial such as not telling anyone for years that he had not done as well as expected in part of his Finals because the friend to whom he had lent his lecture notes and books threw them into the fire, 16.

welcomed little children around him and gathered them into his arms. Yet this was a man about whom his daughter had written, using imagery reminiscent of the biblical rending of the curtain in the Temple: 'His feelings were so seldom outwardly manifested that they seemed all the more intense when the veil was for a moment torn down and their depth and strength revealed to others'.⁶⁶

For most of the time men were meant to mask their feelings - William Yonge's 'somewhat stern manner' is replicated time and again in descriptions of these mid-Victorian men. The extent to which such concealment was seen as a constituent of heroic male behaviour is illustrated by an unexpected adjective in a posthumous description of Lord Raglan:

From the opening of the war Lord Raglan was remarked to be the cheerfulest man in his camp. This was a distinction which he retained to the end, but though his countenance was the same his heart was changed, and he only appeared mirthful by a hero's effort.⁶⁷

Coming at the end of a lengthy analysis of his role in the Crimean War up to the moment of his death, this passage leaves the reader in awe of a man who can remain outwardly 'the cheerfulest man' in such circumstances. While Lord Raglan, a military general, is here lauded for his noble restraint against his critics, two portrayals of Keble illustrate the inherent difficulty of connecting silence with masculinity. When John Duke Coleridge wanted to give an insight into the sensitive spirituality of Keble he wrote that he was 'never so great as when quite alone. If anyone whom he distrusts is present, he is like a

⁶⁶ E. Jane Whately, *The Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, late Archbishop of Dublin* (London, 1866), II, 423 and 351.

⁶⁷ *QR*, 101, 1857, p. 200.

flower closing up - so different, shy and silent does he become'.⁶⁸ But another friend offset this delicate image with a more dynamic representation:

... the idea of the meek hermit poet which seems generally to prevail, is not altogether a true one. It is hard to describe the eager youthful energy, the strong indignation and resentment at wrong, especially at anything which threatened to touch the sacred deposit of truth, that mingled with his gentleness and humility. If anything of the sort was said before him, his whole countenance changed, and he looked for a moment as if he would annihilate the speaker.⁶⁹

The imagery depicts a startling intensity to the passions smouldering within Keble. In common parlance, the phrase 'if looks could kill', usually refers slightly to female jealousies, but is here given a manly authority of righteous anger. In an age when heads of steam powered the engines of industrial progress, such men held within themselves the energy necessary to invigorate moral regeneration. The reference here to Keble's status as a poet is important. The publication of *The Christian Year* in 1827 transformed Keble's life, providing finances for church-building and widely broadcasting the seeds of Anglo-Catholicism; but he always claimed that it was a burden.⁷⁰ By placing his poems in the public arena he allowed others to trespass upon his intimate thoughts - in John Taylor Coleridge's words they 'unavoidably paint Keble's own heart' - unlike his sermons which were dull because he did not believe in inciting enthusiasm, the poems spoke directly to secret feelings.⁷¹

It is noticeable in modern books on masculinities, how often the authors comment on the discontent of their interviewees: that the theoretical dominance accorded men in

⁶⁸ E. H. Coleridge, *Life and Correspondence of John Duke, Lord Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice of England* (London, 1904), 116.

⁶⁹ J. T. Coleridge, *Keble*, Appendix, 611.

⁷⁰ He had originally planned that they should be posthumous, but his father wanted to see them published before his own death: J. T. Coleridge, *Keble*, 117.

⁷¹ J. T. Coleridge, *Keble*, 163.

patriarchal societies does not match their lived experience.⁷² Although the components of their discontents might vary, what emerges most clearly from a study of real and fictional men in the 1840s-1860s are the psychic contortions suffered by these patriarchal men. The strains imposed by their superhuman struggles to perform a version of bridled masculinity which harmonized with their spiritual priorities materialize in their letters to men friends, in their diaries, their physical restlessness, and their depressions. That the ideal androgynous manliness involved a suppression of sexuality except within marriage - and even then severely rationed - flows as an undercurrent throughout the memoirs of these men and surfaces in the antagonism between themselves and Kingsley. When George Lyttelton found himself a widower in his forties with twelve children, he apparently viewed the prospect of no sexual outlet daunting, but the choice of a second wife was complicated by his anxiety about any living arrangements for his eight sons with any step-sisters. Although a master of riotous games with his sons, he found it harder to converse with them, particularly about his overriding fear of their 'going to the bad'. Instead he wrote to each son when they turned sixteen about the sin of fornication - that for himself 'it did not even occur ... as a question of *possibility*' and recommended the benefits of 'constant occupation of mind or body'.⁷³ He consulted with Gladstone whose Diaries give further confirmation of the battle being fought against their own propensities. Marriage did not necessarily provide a solution for these men, for whom continence was believed to be invigorating.⁷⁴ Infected by their ethos of sexual restraint, it seems almost improper to query the reasons for Keble's lack of children - whether it resulted from abstinence due to his wife's delicate health or to more natural causes.

⁷² Victor J. Seidler, *Man Enough*, 17-19; Ian Harris, *Messages Man Hear*, ch. 1; N. Edley and M. Wetherell in M. Mac an Ghaill (ed.) *Understanding Masculinities*, 108.

⁷³ S. Fletcher, *Lyttelton's Daughters*, 63-66; he did not send such a letter to his second son, Albert, who later became a vicar, believing he had no need for this advice.

⁷⁴ Claudia Nelson, *Boys will be Girls. The Feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1917* (New Brunswick, 1991), ch. 2, 29-55, examines the effects of these attitudes in mid-century.

Similarly it is impossible to know whether George Moberly's fifteen children gave him added *kudos* in the eyes of his pupils or whether such 'indecent' ideas only occur to a twenty-first century mind. It seems likely that even unmarried women such as Charlotte Yonge were more aware of these matters than is sometimes assumed - at least in so far as 'good' men batted down their animal impulses and that boys needed the outlet of 'clean' fun to assist them through to adulthood. The Edwardian reviewer who wrote a posthumous appreciation of Yonge's work in 1905 went so far as to claim that Yonge 'has a tolerance amounting to comprehension for the young man who sows wild oats'.⁷⁵

The importance of Keble in Charlotte Yonge's life cannot be exaggerated. Some twentieth-century biographers of Keble have found it difficult to comprehend the principles by which he lived, and judge him accordingly. Georgina Battiscombe ridicules his willingness to put the needs of his father and family above those of his own career. She rules that he 'remained abnormally attached to [his] home' and carried 'filial devotion and deference to an almost irritating pitch'.⁷⁶ Owen Chadwick has challenged the 'legend of Keble's laziness' promoted by Faber's dismissive comment that Keble's mind was 'passionately contented with the past', by listing his exhausting daily routine devoted to all aspects of caring for the parish's spiritual and temporal needs.⁷⁷ The priority he gave to family and personal relationships, even his unconventional habits of work whereby he often wrote standing at the mantelpiece as a temporary desk, belied the

⁷⁵ *Edinburgh Review*, 202, Oct. 1905, 358.

⁷⁶ G. Battiscombe, *Keble*, 41. She castigates Yonge too for her readiness to remain at home 'under the despotic if benevolent wing of her parents', judging her by twentieth century standards, 27. Her title refers to the contemporary criticism of J. A. Froude who used to imply that Keble was narrow-minded - see Owen Chadwick, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement. Tractarian Essays* (Cambridge, 1990), 54.

⁷⁷ Geoffrey Faber, *Oxford Apostles. A Character Study of the Oxford Movement* (Harmondsworth, 1954), 95; Chadwick, *Oxford Movement*, 58. When away, Keble expected to be kept informed about the smallest details of parishioners' lives, J. T. Coleridge, *Keble*, 363.

seriousness of his calling.⁷⁸ There was also an issue of gender hidden within such criticisms: that his methods were more appropriate for a woman than for a man who had achieved the second Double First ever awarded at Oxford. Such comments were also made by contemporaries who had embraced the new thrusting metropolitan world of the mid-nineteenth century with its individualistic notions of self-advancement.⁷⁹ For such people, the pastoral and parochial were acquiring a feminized sense of otherness, suitable for rest and recreation in the same way that 'home' was briefly inhabited before returning to the mainstream. To be content with the 'small' affairs of the parish rather than crave the achievement of high office came to be seen as a failure of nerve, as 'womanish', as choosing the soft female spaces over the tough masculine urban arenas.⁸⁰ Witness to this mid-century debate is the evidence of the Oxford Dictionary which gives 1856 for the first usage of 'parochial' in its figurative but slighting definition of 'narrow' or 'provincial'. The same belittlement of Keble was later used to disparage Charlotte Yonge because of her lifelong residence in Otterbourne but this misconstrues their vision of an organic society held together by bonds of mutual responsibilities rooted in familial and communal ties, a concept shared by their wide circle of friends.

⁷⁸ It is notable that fathers in Yonge's fictions are depicted working with their family around them; it is portrayed as a progressive step in *The Young Stepmother* when the father gives up his study to provide a room for the grandmother.

⁷⁹ *Macmillan's*, XIX, 1868-1869, 455-464, 'John Keble': 'there is something inexpressibly touching in the quiet unostentatious humility with which he contented himself with his limited sphere' (456).

⁸⁰ S. Fletcher, *Lyttelton's Daughters* - Lyttelton's brilliance at Cambridge was seen by some as unfulfilled in spite of his heavy involvement in local and county affairs, 31. Later, his suicide was taken as evidence of lifelong mental problems and an explanation for his 'failure' to play a greater part in the life of the nation; but for Lyttelton the last straw which drove him to take his life by throwing himself over an upstairs banister was the loss of his position as Lord Lieutenant of the County of Worcester, which he had held since he was twenty-two, 194-7. See *DNB* for his extensive educational initiatives in Worcestershire, 'the centre of the intellectual life and progress of the county'.

What Keble and these like-minded men were positing was an alternative direction for society. This did not mean that they were not interested in reforms.⁸¹ Their involvement in all aspects of improving their part of Hampshire for all classes of people is impressive. Apart from the renovations and rebuilding on his own lands, Heathcote was instrumental in utilizing permissive Parliamentary legislation in order to push through reforms such as a County Asylum and Gaol.⁸² He was extensively involved in the building of the Hospital at Winchester, corresponding with Florence Nightingale to ensure that modern nursing techniques were followed. That William Butterfield, best known for his Anglo-Catholic churches, was the architect for this was largely due to the Heathcote/Coleridge connection.⁸³ Moberly at Winchester College was also involved in reforming programmes. These were carried on more spectacularly by his successor George Ridding who released one of the masters, F. Morshead, so that he could devote himself to borough politics.⁸⁴ Not only did these men give their time and energies; they gave their money - as much as they could spare. They did not trumpet their generosity, and it only emerges from chance comments.⁸⁵ Apart from their multi-layered

⁸¹ Simon Skinner, "Liberalism and Mammon: Tractarian Reaction in the Age of Reform", *JVC*, 4(1), 1999, 197-227, examines the reforming interests of first generation Tractarians, ideas which he elaborates at length in *Tractarians and the 'Condition of England'*.

⁸² As an example of their work and the inherent attitudes which motivated them, see *Parl. Papers, Crime and Punishment: Police*, VIII, 1853, Report of Select Committee, 18-19, for evidence given by Heathcote as Chairman of Quarter Sessions, of the efficacy of the police in Hampshire - the third of only twenty-two counties that had used the powers of the 1843 Act to institute a police force. Heathcote, when asked about the success of the force from an economic point of view, emphasized the advantage to 'the poorer classes, especially, because they in proportion to their property, are greater sufferers from depredation in a district without police than their wealthier neighbours'. William Yonge's name appears as a member of the Inspection Committee for Weights and Measures and the Committee on County Expenditure, 10. Also *P.P., Select Comm. on Poor Laws*, XVIII Part II, Appendix X, 30, for Hursley Workhouse statistics which record the lowest total cost for the Southampton area, evidence of personal charity dispensed - the numbers were lower than elsewhere in W. Hampshire.

⁸³ This also made the addition of a large chapel to the Hospital a feature of the design - see Thompson, *Butterfield*, 112-116; Butterfield gave £600 of his own money towards the chapel, equivalent to half his annual income.

⁸⁴ L. Ridding, *Ridding*, 130, for the many organisations in Winchester in which Ridding was involved.

⁸⁵ Ridding moved from Winchester to be Bishop of Southwell for twenty years; by his retirement he had earned £68,000 and had spent £69,000 on his diocese - L. Ridding, *Ridding*, 319. E. Wordsworth, *Christopher Wordsworth*, 120-126, 136-145, records her father's extensive generosity in both urban and

involvement in Hampshire, they were also active in numerous national issues, particularly those to do with education. As Tories who were out of sympathy both with many aspects of Peel's new Conservatism and with the political manoeuvrings of Young Englanders such as Disraeli, they tend to be relegated to the footnotes of historical narratives, yet in many unobtrusive ways their influence subtly permeated mid-century culture in much the same way that the socialist principles of the Fabians did in the late nineteenth-century, disseminated through personal contacts, pamphlets, reviews, participation in local and national government - and literature, especially that of Charlotte Yonge. Like the Fabians their influence was not restricted to any one political grouping, as exemplified by the Lyttelton/Gladstone nexus of Tractarian influence.

It seems likely that William Yonge's 'somewhat stern manner' was experienced by his children too. Although Charlotte Yonge adored him, we get little impression that he confided in her. When Elizabeth Wordsworth showed one of her own father's letters to Yonge, it elicited a sad confession: 'Ah, I have nothing of that sort. My letters used to be: "Dear Charlotte, I am coming home tonight at six. Your affectionate, etc."'

Wordsworth also comments on what we might call Charlotte's own 'somewhat stern manner': 'It is a great pity one who is really so loving and loveable should not be able to show it except to the very few who have the chance of getting to know her'.⁸⁶ Yonge's 'shyness' is often mentioned, and assumed to be a typically feminine characteristic. Yet in describing herself as a child Yonge says, 'My nature was eager, excitable and ... passionate. ... I was a great chatterbox at all times'.⁸⁷ In all the accounts of her childhood, we are given the impression of a lively talkative girl very different from the

country parishes; he managed for years without a carriage in a large country parish devoting his income instead to schemes of welfare and rebuilding.

⁸⁶ E. Romanes, *Yonge*, 148-150.

⁸⁷ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 57-58.

adult version. Possibly her reticence was not so much feminine reserve, as a successful realisation of herself as modelled on her father: she had become a 'man' of letters, with her spirited nature schooled in the same way that she expected of her fictional heroes such as Guy in *The Heir*. Unlike them, she would still need to avert her eyes in company, but was empowered through print, like other conservative women writers before her, to scrutinise and comment on significant issues.⁸⁸ In a revealing comment Kitty Moberly remembered Yonge as if she were an honorary man, a father-figure in her own right:

For thirty years Mr. Keble, Miss Yonge and my father, each being in differing degrees, centres of Church teaching and influence, lived in the closest intimacy and friendship. ... Reviews of Miss Yonge's life, and even of Mr. Keble's, speak as though their country lives must have been quiet to dullness, ... to those who at that time were their nearest neighbours, their lives were wonderful examples of the self-controlled vivacity of high spiritual existence.⁸⁹

These unusual final words embody their ideal of expected (male) behaviour. They bear a striking resemblance to the 'volcanic' heart characteristic, according to David Rosen, of Kingsley as a 'Muscular Christian', a similarity I will explore further in the next section devoted to Yonge's book *Henrietta's Wish*.⁹⁰

The Fatherland of *Henrietta's Wish*

'Ay, it is your fatherland, too, Aunt Mary! Is there not something inspiring in the very air? ... And the voices began, 'Domum, Domum, dulce Domum'; even Aunt Mary herself caught the feelings of her young companions, felt herself coming to her own beloved home and parents. ... 'This is the beautiful wood of which I have often told you, Henrietta,' said Mrs. Frederick Langford. 'The wood with glades like cathedral aisles,' said Henrietta.⁹¹

This passage captures the spirit embedded within the superficially simple domestic story of *Henrietta's Wish* - the numinous harmony created where spiritual and

⁸⁸ Yonge frequently acknowledged her debt to Hannah More and later wrote a biography of her. Mrs. Tonna's writings were also of importance but Yonge did not share her brand of Evangelical Anglicanism.

⁸⁹ C. A. E. Moberly, *Dulce Domum*, 4 and 7.

⁹⁰ David Rosen, 'The volcano and the cathedral: muscular Christianity and the origins of primal manliness' in Donald Hall (ed.), *Muscular Christianity*, 17-42.

⁹¹ Charlotte M. Yonge, *Henrietta's Wish* (London, 1853), 40-41.

practical paternalism permeate all channels of existence, with even the woods as hallowed domains. Yonge's story subtly demonstrates what Keble meant when he claimed that if the Church of England failed it would be found in his parish, a vision of patriarchy at work. By peopling her tale with a vibrant extended family whose energies flow out into the community, she illustrates a life far from the dismal, desiccated and abstemious existence popularly assumed to be typical of 'Puseyites'. In *Yeast* Kingsley makes Lancelot express what many believed about Anglo-Catholics, 'Be sure, that as long as you and yours make piety a synonym for unmanliness, you will never convert ... me'. What earthly passions contributed to such manliness were explicit for Kingsley with his stated acceptance that a young man 'had to sow wild oats for himself, and eat the fruit for himself, and the dirt thereof also'.⁹² When Keble's close friend John Duke Coleridge reviewed *Yeast* for *The Guardian* in May 1851 he criticised Kingsley for this view 'that a certain youthful profligacy does no real and permanent harm to the character; perhaps strengthens it for a useful and even religious life; and that the existence of the passions is a proof that they are to be gratified'.⁹³ While Charlotte Yonge could not attack Kingsley directly on such an issue, her rebuttal is implicit within her version of pastoral England as represented in *Henrietta's Wish*. It was her first step into more mainstream publications, and by comparison with her previous books in which the adults were marginal, she places them centre-stage.⁹⁴ Although the full title *Henrietta's Wish; Or, Domineering* indicates that she intended her story to focus on Henrietta's path to moral improvement, this theme is overshadowed by her greater interest in the male characters, especially that embodiment of manly virtue, Uncle Geoffrey - and the difficult path towards such vigorous but contained masculinity for Henrietta's brother, Frederick.

⁹² C. Kingsley, *Yeast*, 20 and 3.

⁹³ E. H. Coleridge, *Life of John Duke, Lord Coleridge*, 213-4.

⁹⁴ Yonge's previous two novels were *Abbeychurch* (1844) and *Scenes and Characters* (1847).

The desired audience of *The Churchman's Companion* included adult men as well as women, 'old and young, rich and poor', of the 'middler and humbler classes ... in drawing-room, or parlour, or cottage, or steamboat and rail'.⁹⁵ Emerging at a period of crisis in the Anglican Church, its place of origin - Exeter - was of significance. Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter was one of the few bishops to give his blessing to Tractarian principles, while the Editor, W. B. Flower, was vicar of Stoke Damerel in Devonport, a town notorious for the controversy caused by Priscilla Sellon's founding in 1848 of an Anglican Sisterhood, the Sisters of Mercy. Acting under Pusey's direction but largely autonomous, the Sisters devoted themselves to charitable and nursing activities among the poor of the dockside town, but were virulently attacked from within and without the Church.⁹⁶ Although Sellon acted with the permission of her father - a sea-captain who entered the fray himself in 1852 with a pamphlet defending his daughter - critics such as Kingsley castigated the new Sisterhoods for seducing daughters from their rightful duties to their families 'casting off the holy discipline of home', 'pampering the poor girl's lust for singularity and self-glorification'.⁹⁷ In April 1849 *Churchman's Companion* opened with Chapter V of *Henrietta's Wish* and also carried an article defending the Devonport Sisters.⁹⁸ Unlike later books such as *Pillars of the House* where she pointedly defends the work of Sisterhoods, Yonge makes no specific reference to the controversy raging at the time; her rebuttal lies in the totality of her picture of Tractarian principles at work.⁹⁹ One of the charges against Sellon and her supporters was that their activities were un-English

⁹⁵ *ChC*, X, 1851; XII, 1852, introductory prefaces.

⁹⁶ Thomas Jay Williams, *Priscilla Lydia Sellon. The Restorer after Three Centuries of the Religious Life in the English Church* (London, 1965), ch. V, 'Warfare 1849', describes the attacks on the Sisterhood in press and law-courts, happening coincidentally with the publication of *Henrietta's Wish*.

⁹⁷ C. Kingsley, *Yeast*, 92-3. His views were influenced by fears created by his fiancée's desire to enter a Sisterhood and his long engagement.

⁹⁸ *ChC*, V, 243-248.

⁹⁹ G. Battiscombe, *Yonge*, 128-129 and Susan Mumm, *Stolen Daughters, Virgin Mothers. Anglican Sisterhoods in Victorian Britain* (London, 1999), 75. Yonge considered entering the Sisterhood at Wantage after the death of her mother in 1868, but became an associate member.

and un-Protestant, but Yonge depicts the realisation of Tractarian principles in a rural community which epitomised traditional 'English' values, steeped in age-old patterns of customary constraints - including the prime obligation of filial duties. The gist of her defence of Sisterhoods as revealed in later works is that such establishments are outposts of family life, bringing the nurturing qualities of 'home' to those in need.¹⁰⁰

The structure of the book betrays Yonge's relative inexperience and the pressures of serialization, but it is an attractive work, full of the realistic lively dialogue which became the hallmark of her domestic stories. It tells of a widowed mother, Mary Langford, returning with her sixteen-year-old twins Frederick and Henrietta to the family patrimony of Knight Sutton, which she had left years before after the death of her husband in a riding accident. Sent back from India at the age of eight, she too had grown up in this ancestral home of her husband's family. It has remained the source of her affections, the foundation of her humanity - 'all her attachments are there' - qualities which, we are quickly led to understand, could not be nurtured by residence in her mother's house at Rocksand, its very name a warning of its transient seaside population where 'there is nothing but the sea to be attached to ... Nobody can take root without some local interest, and as to acquaintance, the people are always changing' (4). Now that her mother has died, she has little reason to remain, for, according to Henrietta, Rocksand 'has nothing homelike about it', with 'no opportunity of doing anything for the poor people, no clergyman who will put one into the way of being useful' (7). 'Home' does not signify a house but people, and sixteen years in Rocksand could not create the web of relationships which sustain a community. Mrs. Frederick Langford (as she is

¹⁰⁰ As well as setting up schools and nursing the sick in epidemics, Sellon worked especially to help the unmarried women about to emigrate.

normally described)¹⁰¹ is motivated to leave by a belief that the atmosphere of the ‘fatherland’ of Knight Sutton would imbue her children with the moral vigour which their rootless life at Rocksand could never furnish - and would provide Frederick with the experience of the rough and tumble of family life necessary to turn him into a man.

Above all, Yonge’s message is that Frederick needs to have men around him - that families need fathers who in turn connect with forefathers. Boarding school can provide some training in manly behaviour but cannot substitute for the lessons learned within the intimacy of an extended family, where the complexities of kinship demand a variety of appropriate behaviours. Patriarchy as depicted by Yonge is not a rigid system of authoritarian rule, but a web of reciprocal relationships dependent on age as well as gender, on education as well as class. She attempts to demonstrate that it is beneficial to every member, and that ultimately they are all equally subservient to the Father who rules their lives. The domineering condemned in the title is shown to be unacceptable in any circumstance, not just when exercised by girls. When Yonge provides in *Uncle Geoffrey* a pattern on which Frederick and her readers can model themselves, she stresses his capacity to perform a great many different roles - as a son as well as a father, as a younger brother as well as an uncle, as a learned adult comfortable with young children, as a metropolitan lawyer who can converse fluently on farming matters. Her version of patriarchal man involves an unexpected flexibility and responsiveness, an intuitive sensitivity to the emotional needs of those around him.

¹⁰¹ The primacy of the men is emphasized by usually naming adult women with their husbands’ names: e.g. Aunt Geoffrey and Aunt Roger.

Although we do not meet Uncle Geoffrey in person until Chapter IV (readers of the serial would have had to wait from January until March), our appetite has been whetted first by brief comments and then by a narrative of his early life. What we learn about him is intriguing; it is hard to fit the jigsaw of his personality together. Although husband to Beatrice St Leger, father to one daughter (another Beatrice but usually called Queen Bee), and employed as an eminent barrister in London with a reputation earned by hard work, he is nevertheless prepared to do his mother's bidding and go 'home just as he used from school ... he is just as much the home pet' (10). He had emerged from Oxford with a double first, but is also 'excellent at giggling and making giggle' (17), and as a nurse at the deathbed of his friend Frank. His professional success has given him wealth 'but still they live in a very quiet way, considering Aunt Geoffrey's connections and the fortune he has made' (22), and unobtrusively pay a nephew's school fees and for his father's schemes of improvements on the estate. If readers have received the impression that he might be somewhat artless, this is countered by the revelation of his talent as a hard bargainer when he negotiates for property on behalf of his sister-in-law.

When we are at last introduced to Uncle Geoffrey in person at his London home, he is given little prominence; Yonge gives no description here of his appearance or of his surroundings. Thus another ingredient can be added to his diverse portrait - that he does not demand attention in company or expect a household to revolve around his needs. He maintains this unassuming role while chaperoning the family group to Knight Sutton, but we are made aware of his constant care to protect his sister-in-law on a journey likely to awaken tumultuous memories, 'instantly perceiving the state of things' when she feared that her son Frederick might be injured in a riding accident as his father had been, and finding an excuse to 'take the reins' (39). It is not till the next chapter that the reader is

given a chance to get to know Uncle Geoffrey more intimately. Here we share in Henrietta's astonishment at the demands made on him, and of his willingness to give equal weight to each one: his mother's request to mend a lock on a tea-chest, an inquiry from a worker about his son's job on the railway, a riot of young nephews with their puppies, a discussion with his father and brother about agricultural machinery. Henrietta starts to list them (51-54). By the end of a week she has noted seventy-nine different requests for his attention:

The most noted of these employments were the looking over a new Act of Parliament with the county member, the curing grandmamma's old gander of a mysterious lameness, the managing of an emigration of a whole family to New Zealand, the guessing a riddle supposed "to have no answer", and the mending of some extraordinary spring that was broken in Uncle Roger's new drill (140).

According to Ethel Romanes, Geoffrey was based on Yonge's father, but it seems more likely that he is a composite of the men she knew.¹⁰² We catch glimpses which recall lawyers such as Sir John Coleridge and Roundell Palmer, the double first of Keble, the estate-paternalism of Heathcote, the fathers of large families such as Moberly and her own Yonge uncles in Devon. Our knowledge of her real-life models gives Henrietta's list a special interest, as it reveals more fully the lives of these self-deprecating men.

The language used to describe the appearance of the fictional Geoffrey also resembles that used about Yonge's non-fictional father-figures, with eyes which transmit intimate feelings and 'merriment' which kept him in touch with his inner child:

... though mental labour had thinned and grizzled Uncle Geoffrey's hair, paled his cheek, and traced lines of thought on his broad high brow, it had not quenched the light that beamed in his eyes, nor subdued the joyous merriment that often played over his countenance, according with the slender active figure that might have belonged to a mere boy (53).

¹⁰² E. Romanes, *Yonge*, 43.

He displays this boyishness on a visit to his brother Roger's household when he is greeted by a 'rush forward of little boys ... holding him fast by his legs and arms' until he 'drew from his capacious pocket a beautiful red ball which he sent bounding over their heads, and dancing far away with all the urchins in pursuit' (62). This playful quality serves a more serious purpose than a mere ability to charm young relations. According to Geoffrey's sister-in-law, 'he would never have been eminent, scarcely have had daily bread, if he had not worked fearfully hard, so hard that without the buoyant school-boy spirit, which can turn from the hardest toil like a child to play, his health could not have stood up' (21) - a comment which helps to explain the determination of such families to timetable in jaunts and jollities.

'Fred felt himself open to that most galling accusation of want of manliness, on account of his ignorance of country sports' (35). This was one of the stated reasons why his mother decided to move back to Knight Sutton. Although some Anglo-Catholics had given up country sports, Yonge provides a riposte to Kingsley's opening chapters of *Yeast*, in which he links British manliness with fox-hunting, and Tractarians with a mean-spirited desire to crush such traditional activities.¹⁰³ She shows that it was possible to combine religious seriousness with a relish for customary country pastimes, and writes approvingly of Fred's first 'adventures' on the farm, when he 'had been introduced to the whole livestock, ... [and] assisted at the killing of a stoat, ... and been supremely happy' (72). Later, the enthusiasm engendered by a rat hunt provides a lively contrast to Kingsley's treatment of a fox-hunt. Whereas Kingsley uses the occasion to link red-blooded country sports with a justification for young men's sexual experimentation,

¹⁰³ C. Kingsley, *Yeast*, 1-20. William Yonge was an 'eager sportsman and fisherman' but 'had given up both shooting and fishing except on his holidays in Devonshire, because he thought they wasted time' - C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 52.

Yonge pictures a pastoral event in which the whole family could participate. The girls become spectators - ““Oh the glory of a rat hunt!” cried Beatrice’. Meanwhile with the dogs ‘standing in attitudes of ecstatic expectation’, the boys were:

rushing about with their huge sticks, and coming down ... with thundering blows, the labourers with their white shirt sleeves and pitchforks pulling down the straw, Uncle Roger with a portentous-looking club in the thick of the fight. On the ladder, cheering them on, stood grandpa, holding little Tom in his arms, and at the bottom, armed with small sticks, were Charlie and Arthur ... making quite as much noise as all those who were doing real execution, thumping unmercifully at every unfortunate dead mouse or rat that was thrown out, and charging fiercely at the pigs, ducks, and geese that now and then came up to inspect the proceedings (159-160).

When Beatrice expresses sadness that her father is away on business, Henrietta wonders whether Uncle Geoffrey would have enjoyed a rat hunt. Beatrice’s answer puts both Henrietta and Charles Kingsley in their places:

“My dear, don’t you know that it is a part of the privilege of a free-born Englishman to delight in hunting ‘rats and mice and such small deer’ as much or more than the grand *chasse*? I have not the smallest doubt that all the old cavaliers were fine old farm-loving fellows, who liked a rat hunt. ... That is what townspeople can never understand, ... that hunting-spirit of mankind. I hate above all things to hear it cried down, and the nonsense that is talked about it” (160-161).

Yonge appears determined to tackle this ‘nonsense’ head on. Her appeal to history here is heightened by her whole description which envisages the scene as if it was a genre painting of a traditional pastoral scene. It is possible that the Editor of *The Churchman’s Companion* did not share her zeal: the only time *Henrietta’s Wish* was not placed as the opening article was in September 1849 when Chapter XI included the rat hunt. Although Kingsley addressed Tractarians as if they represented the ‘other’ to his own brand of Anglicanism, Yonge’s writings reveal many similarities between his attitudes and her own. She herself recognised this in later years and made amends for her ‘old feelings of censure’ in an article in *The Monthly Packet*, in which she acknowledges his deep faith,

exemplary pastoral work, and the power of some of his fiction, perceiving his faults to lie in his impetuous nature.¹⁰⁴

A series of events set in motion by another type of entertainment, charades, provide the focal point of the story. Although the end result is a riding accident for Frederick which in turn leads to the death of his mother, worn out by nursing her son, Yonge's purpose is not to condemn play-acting, but to illustrate the consequences of disobedience. The upheavals occasioned by amateur dramatics supply ample opportunities for surreptitious wilfulness. When young Beatrice first plans the charades, readers are uncertain how her schemes will be greeted by the adults. We recognise a scenario used by Jane Austen in *Mansfield Park* to illustrate the pitfalls of young people's dramatic experimentation in the absence of patriarchal approval and the mayhem it inflicts on a household. We find ourselves anxiously watching for Uncle Geoffrey's reaction - he has become our 'external conscience' (121) also. His enjoyment, however, is such that he encourages further more ambitious entertainments, even though the grandmother is exasperated by the untidy confusion. Not only does he lend them his barrister's wig so that they can incorporate a scene from *The Merchant of Venice*, but he offers to play Shylock in it. Of especial interest is his willingness to allow them to rehearse in his study while he works in their midst:

He minded their chattering, spouting and laughing, no more than if they had been so many little sparrows twittering on the eaves, but pursued the even tenor of his writing uninterruptedly, even while she fitted on his head a yellow pointed cap. (139)

This is not a world where men, women, children, or servants inhabit segregated areas or time-zones; even when 'proper' work is being attended to.

¹⁰⁴ *MP*, Sept. 1891, 283-289: Yonge is reviewing Mrs. Kingsley's book about her late husband. That Charles Kingsley warmed to Yonge's work is evidenced by his enthusiastic letter to John Parker in 1855 about *Heartsease*, the most 'delightful and wholesome novel I have ever read', C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 348.

Another message implicit in this story concerns the dynamic role women play in such traditional patriarchal households, co-partners in the communal enterprise. This view of society asserted the value of relationships above individualism, a position frequently deemed suitable for adoption by women rather than men, but embraced here by all members of the family. Geoffrey's close relationship with his wife can cope with her absence when she fulfils an obligation to care for a relative, because they are both allowed to have strong characters rooted in home life. His daughter Beatrice has the same intimate confidentiality with him as with her mother. Indeed there is considerable interdependence in all the relationships, rather than any gendered polarity assigning activity to men and passivity to women. These are men and women who like each other. The only wilting woman is Mary Langford, and her delicacy can be construed as evidence of the strain resulting from widowhood. Grandmother Langford rules the roost at Knight Sutton in much the same way that William Yonge's mother-in-law, Mrs. Bargus, did at Otterbourne, an authority for whom they all show respect. Some of her attitudes are shown to be out-of-date, as when she fails to appreciate advances in medicine, but this enables Charlotte Yonge to emphasize that Geoffrey is not a throwback to some previous age, but responsive to progressive theories where appropriate, the desired pattern of modern man.

A final characteristic to note about the father-figures presented in *Henrietta's Wish* is their astute handling of the young, so as to guide rather than impose authority, facilitated by close involvement in their lives. A key episode illustrates this when Frederick disobeys his mother's injunction not to skate on the pond until his Uncle has tested the ice. Geoffrey, delayed by answering urgent letters, arrives but 'without taking the slightest notice of Frederick by word or look ... proceeded to join the other boys ...

instructing them ... in all the mysteries of the skating art, which they could scarcely enjoy more than he seemed to do'. Instead of making a 'scene' he relies on Frederick's conscience and his 'fear of Geoffrey's eye' (121). The girls are enlisted as auxiliaries in the campaign to 'lead him to think that obedience is better than what he fancies manliness' (68), and are themselves on the receiving end of Uncle Geoffrey's shepherding. On a larger scale this was the system Sewell operated at Radley College, with his prefects as extra eyes, his sermons to instil guilt, and his 'junketings' as opportunities for bonding. He claimed that such a system would eliminate the need for corporal punishment. Although the reality did not match his ideal, it gives us insight into the thinking of these Anglo-Catholic families. Such an approach had wider political implications. As Tories they were opposed to democracy and wanted to demonstrate how a rejuvenated system which maintained the privilege of the property could create an ordered society by winning the cooperation of the governed, making them complicit in their powerlessness. They hoped to strengthen the vertical lines of authority in a paternalist world by instilling a sense of reciprocal obligation into the poorer classes. For themselves their superior position in society was viewed as an onerous responsibility rather than a pleasure, a task that made men look longingly at the carefree lives of children. This is a justifiable connection to make with *Henrietta's Wish* for the tiny clues Yonge gives the reader that these men's authority lapped over the boundaries of Knight Sutton into the wider environs - the Deputy Lieutenant's uniform borrowed from the grandfather for their play-acting (122), Uncle Geoffrey's consultation with the County M.P. (140), young Beatrice's revelation that her father might become an MP himself (41). Yonge is depicting an alternative vision of active paternalism to counteract the bleak images of rural discontent in Kingsley's *Yeast*. While it is not my purpose here to provide a critique of patriarchy, it is clear that its survival lay in its subtle ability to

persuade all those contained within its structure to cooperate in its maintenance. The deference of the lower classes, the acceptance of inferiority by women, become self-imposed rather than enforced, endorsed by the familial language of patriarchal politics, especially when, as here, it is accorded divine authority.

When J. D. Coleridge reviewed Yonge's books in *Christian Remembrancer* in 1853, he praised her characters as recognisable 'living and moving men and women, ... we should know any one of them in the street, and should never for a moment mistake one of them for another'.¹⁰⁵ From a close friend to Heathcote and a regular visitor to Hursley Park, we can take his comment as proof that Yonge's fictional characters were not mere figments of her imagination but versions of the people she knew. The knowledge that Uncle Geoffrey was based (mainly) on Charlotte Yonge's own father has a special poignancy. When Geoffrey has to leave Knight Sutton temporarily to return to London, Henrietta says, 'I do not know what we should have done without him' and Frederick adds dolefully, 'I do not know what we shall do now' (224). With a dreadful prescience, Yonge uses almost the exact words which Keble would express five years later after the sudden death of his friend William Yonge: 'What *they* will do without him, what we and all the neighbours will do, ... I am sure I cannot say'.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ *ChR*, XXVI, July 1853, 35.

¹⁰⁶ J. T. Coleridge, *Keble*, 382.

Ten years later - the uncertain world of *Hopes and Fears*

Honor had grown up among those who fed on Fouqué, took their theology from the *British Critic*, and their taste from Pugin; and moulded their opinions and practice from the past. Lucilla and Phoebe were essentially of the new generation, that of Kingsley, Tennyson and Ruskin, and the *Saturday Review*. Chivalry had given way to common sense, romance to realism, respect for antiquity to pitying patronage, the past to the future.¹⁰⁷

Charlotte Yonge wrote *Hopes and Fears* to be serialised in a recently-founded periodical *The Constitutional Press* whose aim was to rally and reunite Conservatives.

Lord Derby's second government of February 1858 to March 1859 had been defeated and an election called for April, when the first issue launched a rousing appeal:

Conservatism is now arrived at an epoch in its fortunes. Either it must be swamped by an incursion of democratic adventurers with whom no institution is sacred, and the history of the past but an old almanac, or it must march victorious along the path of steady progressive amelioration of every social and political anomaly.¹⁰⁸

The hoped-for new dawn failed to materialize: Lord Palmerston formed a government, and the *Constitutional Press* did not survive. Readers of Yonge's story, which opened the June 1859 issue, had to wait for its publication as a book to find out how it ended. It is possible that her connection with Sir William Heathcote had led to a request for a story for the paper. Amy de Gruchy points out both that Yonge was extremely busy as editor and writer for *The Monthly Packet* (the continuing serialization of *The Young Stepmother*, as well as numerous articles), and that the views expressed in *The Constitutional Press* were of a die-hard Toryism which differed fundamentally from her own - and as expressed in *Hopes and Fears*.¹⁰⁹ All of which perhaps made the demise of the magazine

¹⁰⁷ Charlotte M. Yonge, *Hopes and Fears or Scenes from the Life of a Spinster* (1860; London, 1888), 484; serialised in *The Constitutional Press, A Review of Politics, Literature, the Church, the Drama and Fine Arts*, June 1859-July 1860.

¹⁰⁸ *Constitutional Press*, I, April-Sept, 1859.

¹⁰⁹ Typical of their obscurantist attitude is their retention of printing 's' in the old style. Amy de Gruchy, 'The Rise and Fall of the *Constitutional Press* 1858-60', *The Historian*, 58, 1998, 26-28 and 'Hopes and Fears', *JCMYF*, 1999, 1-16.

less of a disappointment, especially once J. H. Parker had agreed to bring it out quickly in book-form.

In the ten years since *Henrietta's Wish* had also been written to 'revivify' a periodical, much had changed both in Charlotte Yonge's own life and in the life of the nation. The sudden death of her father, her brother's failure in the Crimean War, the dip in popularity of her novels after the dizzy success of *Heir of Redclyffe*, her own spinster-state, the deteriorating health of her mother and the Kebles, all dented the sunny certainty which radiates through *Henrietta's Wish*. In the political arena, the Conservative party had become ever more fractured, and leading figures such as Gladstone were in the process of making rapprochements with the new Liberal Party, while the realities of war as exposed in the Crimea and India had muddied notions of 'clean' fighting. The population was larger by two million even though almost two and half million people had emigrated from British ports, and this increased the pressure for improved sanitary arrangements and housing.¹¹⁰ Although the religious census of 1851 had underlined the tenuous hold of the Established Church, some of the energy which had powered the reforming zeal of the Oxford Movement was diverted into superficial issues of vestments and music. When High Church politicians such as Gladstone failed to prevent the 1857 Matrimonial Causes Act, Keble and his friends despaired of this further 'meddling' of the State in what were religious not civil issues; Sir John Coleridge regretted the 'fatally strong temptation which its open doors must offer to conjugal infidelity'.¹¹¹ The mood of the times, as well as that of Yonge herself, is mirrored by the doubts emanating from *Hopes and Fears* about how families and society can preserve valuable aspects of the past

¹¹⁰ Cook & Stevenson, *Handbook*, 97, 101. These were the years when her friends in Winchester were heavily involved in the building of the new County Hospital.

¹¹¹ The Act set up a Divorce Court. Keble had a lengthy correspondence with Gladstone about it and published a pamphlet on this "Bill for legalising Adultery", J. T. Coleridge, *Keble*, 432-3.

while at the same time accommodating change. If, as De Gruchy asserts, the theme of the novel is progress, then Yonge appears less certain how to achieve the desired advance; this makes it an intriguing second text to examine in the context of this chapter.

We know from a letter written to Marianne Dyson that Charlotte Yonge was already working on *Hopes and Fears* in the early 1850s. The preoccupation of the two friends with *bilds* or suitable characters for hero-worship had featured in their letters discussing Guy and Philip for *The Heir*, and continued in 1853 in connection with a story about Dorothea (later Honora), the central character of *Hopes and Fears*.¹¹² In their private language they made a distinction between ‘popes’ who demand worship and *bilds* who deserve admiration but whose modesty and self-devotion mean that they never think of themselves as significant. This brought them to another issue: how not to fall into the trap of idolizing *bilds*. The fine line between hero-worship and idolatry is of central interest to Yonge, leading her to state that she was ‘very much afraid of live Bilds’ and to urge that ‘pope-making be treated ... as silly, melancholy, or wrong’. She concludes:

I really do not know how far a woman’s strength of sense and discrimination goes, and have no certainty of not going off headlong into something very foolish, fancying it right. I don’t think I could while I have papa to steady me, but I don’t hold that as worship, first because he is my father, and second because I don’t think he is my pope.

Here she betrays her confusion over her feelings for her (still alive) father. She has just said she does not trust live *bilds* but then realises that her father is one, so she excludes him on two quickly invented grounds with that interesting uncertainty in the final phrase. We sense a blurring of a distinction between her idea of a hero and a father-figure. Above all, we gather that fathers keep their children grounded. This is a sentiment which

¹¹² C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 189-190.

will be present in *Hopes and Fears* in a poignantly negative sense, where the problems are created by the absence of fathers.

Charlotte Yonge adopted some ambitious strategies in *Hopes and Fears* which give it a different and more adult quality than her previous family chronicles. Knowledge of Yonge's own spinsterhood and the book's full title tempts the modern reader to surmise that a central theme will involve critique of her own journey through life - her missed opportunities and failures of judgement. While there may be an element of truth in this, it is a mistake to conflate the character of Honora Charlecote with that of Charlotte Yonge, and to assume that all Honora's faults are Yonge's own. Barbara Dennis comments that Yonge 'is presenting for the first time a full-length and sympathetic study of a character who does not speak with the authorial voice', and 'who has made a mess of her life'. Unlike Yonge, Honora 'has no imagination and little tact, her ideals are shown to be destructively reactionary and her attitudes inflexible'.¹¹³ Some of Honora's wrong turnings have been caused by her failure to discern what traits are admirable in a man. Blinded by the superficial but weak glamour of Owen Sandbrook's surrender of 'unbounded luxury for the sake of the heathen - choosing a wigwam instead of a West End palace' (3), she initially overlooks the sterling nature of her cousin Humfrey Charlecote. One would expect Yonge to be lauding Owen's choice of missionary work, but she suggests that it can be chosen for the wrong romantic reasons, and that 'mission' work at home provides as great a challenge. Owen turns out to be inadequate and unfaithful; he marries wealthy Miss Charteris, a general's daughter, and returns to a living in her family's gift. Belatedly, Honora realises that real romance lies in the everyday: 'from her broken idol wanderer she turned to worship her steadfast worker

¹¹³ Barbara Dennis, "The Two Voices of Charlotte Yonge", *Durham Univ. Journal*, LXV.2, 1973, 186.

at home' (54). It is too late to marry Humfrey who has been told that an aneurism will soon end his life, but time enough for an understanding between them to be established. Honora's position will be as if she was Humfrey's widow; tutored by him to husband the estate, she inherits Hiltonbury Holt on his death.

Although this death occurs on page 57, leaving another five hundred pages for the story to develop, Humfrey Charlecote is the good 'father' of this story, the ruling paternal presence throughout the novel, even though he leaves no children of his own. Honora's mistakes occur when she strays from the path laid down for her by Humfrey. Against her tendency to cling to the antique, he has tried to instil a readiness to embrace beneficial change. Her attitudes are exposed early on when, walking around the estate with Humfrey, she bewails the wild flowers lost to field-drainage (6), the lattice windows of a cottage replaced by modern sash-cord panes (7), trees cut down - in 'slaughter' to use her emotive language (11). Humfrey is both a moderniser and a traditionalist on the model of Uncle Geoffrey - and Sir William Heathcote - with a household which throbs with activity radiating into the community:

And open house it was, with a dinner-table ever expanding for chance guests ... Every one who wanted a holiday was free of the Holt; young sportsmen tried their inexperienced guns under the squire's patient eye; and mammas disposed of their children for weeks together, to enjoy the run of the house and garden, and rides according to age, on pony, donkey, or Mr. Charlecote. No festivity in the neighbourhood was complete without his sunshiny presence; he was wanted wherever there was any family event; and he was godfather, guardian, friend and advisor of all. ... As a magistrate, he was equally indispensable in county government and a charity must be undeserving indeed that had not Humfrey Charlecote, Esq., on the committee. In his own parish he was beneficent monarch; on his own estate a mighty farmer, owning that his relaxation and delight were his turnips, his bullocks and machines; and so content with them, and with his guests, that Honora ... decid[ed] that to have monopolised him would have been an injury to the public (13-14).

Such a father-figure need have no wife or children, apparently, to fulfil his familial role successfully. Yonge gives celibacy a wholesome and creative image; Humfrey's strong physique and abundant generosity husbands the neighbourhood, undistracted by commitments which his own offspring would have demanded. Honora will be a pale substitute as guardian of Hiltonbury, barred by her sex from many of his roles, dependent on the services of Humfrey's retainers. When he issues abundant caveats with his instructions for his 'goodly heritage', she realises that he is 'doubtful of her discretion and management'; this is confirmed by his cavalier recommendation that 'the best thing for the place - ay, and for you and everyone, would be for you to marry' (53). As a woman, she will be a stop-gap until a suitable male can step into Humfrey's shoes, an attitude with which Yonge seems to concur: women can be effective individuals but only within the compass of a male-dominated network. Fifteen years later, with no suitable heir-apparent yet in sight, and despite Honora's best efforts for Humfrey's patrimony, the parish of Hiltonbury 'was in danger of losing its reputation as a pattern parish' and she is having altercations with the old bailiff, Brooks, who 'had no idea of obeying her, when he thought he knew best' (343).

The main story follows the progress of two pairs of siblings over a period of twenty years: the orphaned Owen and Lucilla Sandbrook brought up by Honora at Hiltonbury, and Robert and Phoebe Fulmort, middle children of a family of seven who live nearby at Beauchamp. The Charteris family, cousins of the Sandbrooks, provide a seductive alternative household at Castle Blanch. Yonge uses a broad canvas on which to paint her characters, with Honora's own ancestral home in the City of London and the Fulmorts' distillery in Whittingtonia, a slum district of the East End, as contrasting metropolitan nerve centres - alternative 'fatherlands' in need of supervision. These well-

to-do families combine both 'new' money (the Fulmorts) and 'old' landed wealth, but all need to find ways of staying afloat in the commercial world of mid-century. Yonge questions the roles of men and women within families and society at a time when science, rationalism, expediency, and individualism were increasingly the dominant principles set against the communitarian values of tradition.¹¹⁴ Her fundamental message is that good stewardship is essential to ensure the prosperity of landed property as well as business, that the expansive paternalism of *Henrietta's Wish* can survive in harness both with commercial 'high' farming and the production of commodities - even of gin. The challenge is to pursue policies which benefit an entire working force and do not jeopardize the morals of producers or consumers - but such schemes need men who combine leadership with morality. Yonge investigates the production of people - what kind of family engenders men of the calibre of Humfrey Charlecote, imperative for the health of the nation - but appears uncertain about the solution to the problem she sets herself.

None of the main families in *Hopes and Fears* has the right kind of father - or mother, for Yonge is also pondering (as she is simultaneously in *the Young Stepmother*) what input women in families have. Although by the end of this long novel Owen and Lucilla have found some sort of stability, it is only after a sequence of serious misdemeanours which wreak havoc to their prospects. It is unclear whom Yonge blames for this: their early life with their father or their later period with Honora. References to their father's misguided care after the death of their mother provide an interesting insight into expected paternal behaviour. He is castigated for his concern for his children - 'the

¹¹⁴ Lucy Sullivan, "Against Individualism", *JCMYF*, 2003, 26-34, examines how Yonge's novels explore the conflicts of the doctrine of individualism with social and familial obligations - that 'abilities, though individual, must be exercised within the social fabric, and not as a lone enterprise', 31.

children's perpetually hanging onto him, sleeping in his room, and so forth' (27) - the implication is that his excessive involvement has spoiled them. Honora is his choice to bring them up, in preference to his wife's family. Both children reject her influence once they reach young adulthood, preferring the atmosphere of Castle Blanch with their Charteris cousins, a society family devoted to pleasure without responsibility, who work on Lucilla's 'spirit of enterprise' (122) - usually a phrase used about successful commerce and implying that flirtatious Lucilla was encouraged to view herself as a commodity. It is at Castle Blanch that they both take fatal steps away from respectability: Lucilla acts provocatively and travels unchaperoned to Ireland with her wild cousin Horatia; Owen gets into debt, secretly marries the village schoolmistress and fathers a child. Even if Honora lacks the requisite skill - and gender - to supervise an estate satisfactorily, she might have been expected to be an adequate substitute mother. Humfrey had advised her against it and we are given the impression that women need men, even in the upbringing of children - though not limp men such as Owen and Lucilla's father.

Yonge's message can also be interpreted as a warning to those women who are not grounded by men, to rejuvenate their ideas. The often-quoted passage from *Hopes and Fears* which I have used to introduce this section, is an authorial musing over a previous conversation between Lucilla and Phoebe. A chastened Lucilla, returned to Hiltonbury after some years as a governess, explains to Phoebe why, even now, her best efforts to get on with Honora flounder. What she calls Honora's '*fluffiness*' infuriates her:

Were you never in an inward rage when she would say she would not *let* some fact be true, for the sake of some mythical, romantic figment? ... the last generation was that of medievalism, ecclesiology, chivalry, symbolism. ... Married women have worked out of it. It is the middle-aged maids that monopolize it. Ours is that of common sense' (478-479).

Unlike Honora, Yonge herself can perceive the danger of closing one's eyes to the way the world was changing, even if she does not welcome it. Unmarried women have a duty to keep up with the times, to face outward into the 'real' world, or they will have nothing to contribute. She does not give these words to Lucilla to discredit them, for she depicts the wayward Lucilla sympathetically: headstrong but honest, with a charming candour as well as a steely resolve when she extricates her brother Owen from the damage he has caused.

Honora has more influence with the other siblings, Robert and Phoebe Fulmort. Resident on the neighbouring grand estate of Beauchamp, with their father immersed in his City distillery and a loving but largely neglectful mother, the young Robert had found a pleasant place of refuge under the wing of Humfrey Charlecote.¹¹⁵ Humfrey's continuing influence is nurtured by Honora, so that the grown Robert opts out of the family business, to establish a religious community in Whittingtonia to counteract the harm spawned by his father's gin-palaces.¹¹⁶ Robert tells Phoebe that their father cannot object 'after the way he has brought me up, and what we have been taught all our lives about liberty of the individual, absence of control, and the like jargon' (102). Because the book has such a long time-scale we are shown the evolution of this project over years, through to the reluctant recognition by his elder brother Mervyn, that it is compatible with sound commerce. Robert's work in the City becomes the urban equivalent of Humfrey's rural superintendence, a correspondence celebrated when Mervyn proves his reformed character by inviting Robert's city children to the County Horticultural Show, which was 'the great gaiety of the year' originated by Humfrey 'for the benefit of the poor as well as

¹¹⁵ Barbara Dunlap, *JCMYF*, 1997, 10-16, examines the many similarities between *Hopes and Fears* and Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*.

¹¹⁶ Robert later says, 'I have often thought ... you were a good spirit sent to my rescue by Mr. Charlecote' (564) strangely making Honora rather than the dead Humfrey into an immaterial presence.

the rich' and held 'under the trees of a fragment of old Forest, which still survived'
(264).¹¹⁷

Although Phoebe Fulmort had been too young to know Humfrey, she fashions her ideal man from what she can glean about him:

[She] erected Humfrey Charlecote's image into a species of judge, laying before this vision of a wise man all her perplexities. ... Strangely enough, the question, "What would Mr. Charlecote have thought?" often aided her to cast the balance. Though it was still Phoebe who decided, it was Phoebe drawn out of herself, and strengthened by her mask. With vivid interest, such as for a living man would have amounted to love, she seized and hoarded each particle of intelligence that she could gain respecting the object of her admiration (248-249).

Phoebe is the heroine of the book, a young woman who, like her invisible mentor - her *Bild* - can combine customary duties with a modern independence of mind. Her crowning achievement is her influence with her elder brother, Honora's 'bête noire John Mervyn Fulmort' (430), a young man with every vice, reformed by his sister's trust in his innate virtue. Mervyn is an unlikely but believable creation of Yonge's, who distances herself from Honora's unbending condemnation.¹¹⁸ Surprisingly, Yonge makes us trust in Phoebe's fondness for her brother, forgive him his weaknesses, and rejoice when the strait-laced vicar's daughter, Cecily Raymond, agrees to marry him after all.

Phoebe binds her family together and thus makes them useful members of the community, with a reclaimed Mervyn transmuted into a respectable father-figure both in London's East End and on the estate at Beauchamp. Her modernity rather than Honora's passion for the past is made desirable; it also enables her, not Honora, to recognise

¹¹⁷ Later readers will know that Robert had truly 'fathered' Whittingtonia which features in *Pillars of the House* (1873), when Clement Underwood is trained there as a curate.

¹¹⁸ Yonge also judges Honora's attitude towards young Owen as harsh when she was 'unable to realize the temptations of young manhood' (274).

characteristics reminiscent of her *bild* Humfrey Charlecote in Humfrey Randalf - a young Canadian engineer - whom she agrees to marry without consultation with her family:

He is my wise man, he is the real Humfrey Charlecote! His is the very nature I always thought some one must still have ... considerate and solid, tender and true - such as one can lean upon! I know why he has the steadfast eyes that I liked so much the first evening (514).

Honora grudgingly accepts that this distant relation should inherit Hiltonbury, and shudders at Mervyn Fulmort's comment that he was just the man 'to get your people out of their Old World ways. A young man like that, used to farming, and with steam and mechanics at his fingers' ends, will make us all look about us' (565). Yonge does not elucidate how young Humfrey has developed his 'sterling character' (501) apart from her belief in genetic inheritance. He has had an inadequate father who 'knowing nothing about farming, less of Canada, and least of all speculation, got a grant of land, where he speculated only to lose, and got transferred to this forlorn tract, only to shiver with ague and die of swamp-fever' (493). Neither had his life in Canada allowed for a public school education believed to build characters in boys from inadequate families. Yonge recognises the need for such men but is less certain about how they are to be produced.

Yonge rooted the fatherland of *Henrietta's Wish* in the 'wood with glades like cathedral aisles'; in *Hopes and Fears* she uses the pine-forest at Hiltonbury as her symbolic base, a 'woodland palace ... roofed in by aspiring beam-like arms' (9-10), 'the tall fir-trees ... the landmark of the country' (384). We find Honora there near the start of the story when Humfrey Charlecote proposes to her beside a majestic tree; but her thoughts are in another forest in Canada with Owen Sandbrook, and she rejects him, 'grasping the shadow instead of the substance' as she acknowledged thirty years later. When she has assigned the 'goodly heritage' to young Humfrey she stands under the same tree 'a pinaster, of lengthy foliage and ponderous cones' to sense whether the spirit

of the dead Humfrey approves of her action. For a moment she thinks she sees him, but then realises it is her successor; he and Phoebe have come to the forest to look for her. Her fear that the young man might turn 'those firs into railway sleepers' evaporates as she looks at his 'open, steadfast, kindly face' and hears him say, 'I shall always feel most at home in the smell of pine-trees' (566). Unlike Castle Blanch, sold to the business-millionaire Henry Calthorp to pay for Charles Charteris's gambling debts, Hiltonbury Holt would live on; its strong-rooted pines would continue to stand as a beacon in the surrounding countryside, a signal that this fatherland was safe again in the steady hands of a male Charlecote.

Conclusion

An article in *Saturday Review* drew attention to a new feature of *Hopes and Fears*: that it is 'pervaded with a melancholy ... She feels she is intellectually isolated. ... that the world has not gone as she wished'.¹¹⁹ Even though it recognises that 'she herself has changed with the current of the times' her confused state of mind is mirrored by the book's shapelessness.¹²⁰ This is hardly surprising considering that Yonge was writing at a time when the publication in November 1859 of *Origin of Species* and, three months later, *Essays and Reviews* by liberal theologians, was sending shock-waves reverberating through the periodical press. It was also symptomatic of the mood among conservatives, bewildered by their apparent marginalisation, perplexed by how to stay afloat without sacrificing their principles. Whereas it had seemed in the 1840s and '50s that there were a number of possible directions in which society and politics could move, the relentless flood of liberalism had engulfed most of these by the 1860s. In some ways Yonge in

¹¹⁹ *SR*, X, 1860, 593-594.

¹²⁰ See also *Edinburgh Review*, 202, 1905, 376: 'the book is almost without form at every point' - and this in a largely appreciative review.

Hopes and Fears advocated swimming with the tide rather than sinking altogether, but (to continue the metaphor) she is only 'dog-paddling' on the edges, unwilling and unable to break into a manly 'crawl'.

From a personal point of view Yonge was aware that her fictional writings were no longer viewed as literature that men too would read; she would continue to be known as the 'author of the *Heir of Redclyffe*' because none of her subsequent books appealed to such a wide audience.¹²¹ She perhaps felt that she was being pushed out of the male portals temporarily opened to her in the 1850s. This sense of being elbowed out of spheres of influence was reinforced by events nearer home. Although the move from Otterbourne House to Elderfield, forced upon her mother and herself by her brother Julian, did not occur till 1862, it seems possible it was being mooted - and resisted. When Mervyn Fulmort wants to shunt his widowed mother off to live permanently in a seaside resort - one 'of those places where she could see people from the windows, and have plenty of twaddling old dowager society' because he does not want to 'spend my life as a steward' of the family house - Phoebe exclaims with heartfelt horror, 'Mervyn! It is her home! It is her own! ... You have all the power and consequence here, and are fully master of all; why should not poor mamma live in her own house?' (329-330). Beaumarsh had been Mrs. Fulmort's family home just as Otterbourne had been Mrs. Yonge's, and we can surely hear Charlotte's anguish on behalf of her mother. Contrast this with the Langfords' extended family at Knight Sutton and with Yonge's views on the shifting populace of seaside resorts in *Henrietta's Wish*. We know that such a dereliction of duty would not have occurred to Geoffrey Langford - or to Humphrey Charlecote - and

¹²¹ De Gruchy, 'Hopes and Fears', 1-2, cites the correspondence about *Hopes and Fears* between Yonge and the publisher J. H. Parker as evidence that Yonge felt her popularity was declining.

we can presume that Charlotte Yonge bitterly resented her brother's ejection of her mother and herself from the family home, unable to comprehend Mervyn's (and Julian's?) plea, 'Can't you see that I might want the house to myself?' (330)¹²²

¹²² It is intriguing to speculate whether Yonge included this scene because her brother did/did not read her books; or perhaps she believed her sister-in-law would read it and be influenced?

Chapter Four - Missionary Men as Christian Knights

You must be aware that you are through your books stamping your mind on many people.
Letter from Bishop Patteson to Charlotte Yonge, All Saints Day, 1866¹

Introduction

Summaries of Charlotte Yonge's life often refer to her donations of money towards the Melanesian missionary work of Bishops Selwyn and Patteson. When juxtaposed with the story that her family had permitted her early publications on condition that she did not use the money thus earned for herself, the superficial impression created is of a submissive daughter in thrall both to her family and to hazy idealistic dreams of converting South Seas peoples to Christianity: she is made to appear complicit with patriarchy and with imperialism. While there are elements of truth in this impression, the reality is far more complex and interesting. My previous chapters have tried to address the first of these impressions by a demonstration of her active agency within a flexible, complex, and positive (if patriarchal) framework of powerful families, promulgating an alternative way forward for mid-Victorian society. In this chapter I examine the central significance of her endorsement of missionary work to show that her advocacy was integral to the overall philosophy of her circle, closely allied to their vigorous promotion of the refashioned Tory paternalism previously discussed: mission work at home and abroad was a necessary extension of a father's duties to the wider community. Of particular importance to the theme of this thesis was her promotion of a vigorous attractive manly model of Missionary, an archetype she wanted her readers to emulate, support, construct within strong family networks. The language of the Church Militant could combine Yonge's admiration for military valour with an absence of violence, an army within which women could enlist as a respectable baggage train.

¹ Charlotte M. Yonge, *The Life of John Coleridge Patteson, Missionary Bishop of the Melanesian Islands* (London, 1873), II, 142.

Whereas soldiers have to be able to kill, missionaries must 'turn the other cheek' whatever the vicious provocation, and be prepared to sacrifice their own lives but never spill the blood of enemies. Yonge's early admiration for the military was diverted into a reverence for missionaries as 'soldiers of Christ'.

Barbara Dennis has identified Yonge as the first novelist to give a sympathetic portrait of missionary work; Yonge's devout protagonists could be treated with respect rather than as figures of fun.² I disagree, however, with Dennis's statement that, because advocacy of mission work was long-standing in the families with whom Yonge was acquainted, the innovatory nature of her contribution has been exaggerated. I contend that this downplays the originality of Yonge's role in interweaving missionary themes into the everyday consciousness of her many readers outside these intimate circles. If we ignore for the moment the specific novels, articles and biographies which she wrote on missionary themes, and her many stories into which she inserted overseas mission work as a glorious endeavour to which all her main characters are committed, it is arguable that her most significant contribution to a change in attitude towards missionaries was her best-selling novel *Heir of Redclyffe* (1853) - in spite of there being no actual mention of mission work within the story. This connection was created through the donation of her profits from the book to the Melanesian mission linking forever her modern version of a knightly hero with the real life quests of the Missionary Bishops in the South Seas; the many subsequent editions of *The Heir* kept this positive image alive in people's minds.

² B. Dennis, *Yonge*, ch. IV, is devoted to missionary themes in Yonge's work. Obvious fictional examples of less sympathetic portrayals of missionaries are in *Jane Eyre*, *Bleak House* and *Framley Parsonage*.

In the present context of post-colonial criticism, the role of missionaries as imperial agents together with the collaborative responsibility of advocates such as Yonge is a minefield difficult to traverse.³ In a world more sensitive to the parallel rights of cultural diversity, Victorian encroachments into ‘untrodden’ lands, which they justified by their faith in progress and beneficial exchange, are hard to defend. While the standpoints expressed by all the leading people in the story of Yonge’s involvement in missionary work - Bishops Selwyn and Patteson, Edward Coleridge, Keble, Lady Martin, the Abrahams, and many others - constantly surprise expectations with their certainty about the innate moral equality of indigenous peoples, they remain attitudes steeped in a particular kind of condescension typical of their time.⁴ Also, as Nicholas Thomas points out, their premise of such a shared humanity is essential for missionary strategies, for if savages are quintessentially savage then the project of conversion is hopeless.⁵ Even when it is possible to demonstrate some laudable differences between the enterprises which Yonge supported and other missionary establishments, the incontrovertible fact remains that they are embroiled in cultural change whereby they ‘sought to transform

³ Of particular help in this journey: Catherine Hall (ed.), *Cultures of empire. A Reader. Colonizers in Britain and the empire in nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Manchester, 2000); Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture. Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Oxford, 1994); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992); Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness. Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York, 1996); Clare Midgley (ed.), *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester, 1998); Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire. A Geography of Adventure* (London, 1997); Philippa Levine (ed.), *Gender and Empire* (Oxford, 2004).

⁴ *The Net Cast in Many Waters*, a missionary magazine edited by Anne Mackenzie, who returned to England in 1865 after the death of her brother the Missionary Bishop of Central Africa, provides excellent examples of the attitudes held by Yonge and her circle: ‘God has made the bodies of the black people in every respect like those of the white – the coloured and the uncoloured (or, as Rajah Brooke used to distinguish them, the coloured and the discoloured) are alike’, *The Net*, I, 1866, 76. In a discussion of attitudes to mission work, she ascribes the usual view of it as ‘hopeless’ to ‘traders and travellers’ who ‘enrich themselves by bartering European goods for valuable native produce, or that they may gain a name for exploring new countries’ and who ‘tend to sneer’, while colonists look on native people as ‘beasts of burden ... they seem to forget these men have souls for whom Christ died’, *The Net*, I, 1866, 117-118. Charlotte Yonge lived near Mackenzie in Hampshire, wrote about the Melanesian Mission for *The Net*, was named as the contact for donations and recommended the magazine in *MP*.

⁵ N. Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture*, 128.

indigenous communities into imperial archetypes of civility and modernity'.⁶ Yonge's writing can perhaps be seen as part of what Mary Louise Pratt when discussing travel-writing, has called 'anti-conquest' - 'strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony'. Instead of 'the seeing-man' - 'he whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess' - Yonge was, at long-distance, the 'seeing-woman' while she designed her version of colonial and missionary development, complicit in England's imperial project. Although this can be labelled 'benign' imperialism and a component of the Western desire to label, classify, and contain 'a new field of visibility' (another telling phrase from Pratt) of the natural world, the reality involved intrusive, exploitative behaviour.⁷ All of this makes it difficult to write this chapter without continual explanations and apologies for Yonge. Throughout this thesis, however, my concern has been to probe and comprehend the viewpoints of my mid-Victorians in a strictly historical context, rather than to vilify or defend and this will be my purpose here. Moreover, although the topic appears to be involved with the colonial periphery, my focal point is the imaginary empire created in the minds of those back home in the 'Mother Country', its impact on their identities and ambitions and on the construction of gender. One of the extraordinary aspects of Yonge's considerable influence in raising interest in foreign missionaries is her location within the countryside of Hampshire and Devon, with sparse experience of any kind of travel. Her own knowledge was entirely second-hand, derived from books, letters, and other people's accounts, and this may account for her facility in blending such a potent romantic fantasy from the tales she read and heard.

⁶ Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, 13.

⁷ M. L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7 and 29.

It is important to distinguish between the different Mission Societies and their distinct cultures, aims, and methods. Most major scholarly books which examine missionary work focus on the Non-conformist or Low Church societies such as the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the London Missionary Society (LMS), responsible for the main thrust of missionary work especially in the earlier nineteenth century, with close ties to the evangelism of the Anti-Slavery Movement.⁸ Their populist meetings at Exeter Hall, their tracts and penny magazines, were the mainstay of the missionary movement, but were frowned on by higher church Anglicans for their perceived appeal to superficial emotions. These methods were deemed to be on the level of the popular press, likely to appeal to the under-educated, and the equivalent of building on sand rather than firm foundations. Although in *Pioneers and Founders* (1871), Yonge praised the ventures of individual missionaries sent out by these societies, she shared the disapproving attitude of her mentors within the Anglican Church to some of their work and especially to their propaganda.⁹ In *The Monthly Packet* of November 1859 she advised her readers to support the SPG (the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts) when giving to missions: it was set up by the Church of England with converts embraced by the English Church, guided by the Prayer Book and ruled over by Bishops. The SPG's agenda was to extend the embrace not just of Christianity but of the Church of England as the true Apostolic Catholic Church, treading in the footsteps of the first missionaries of the early Church. They desired the establishment of parishes and dioceses world-wide for

⁸ For example, Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects. Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge, 2002); Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford, Ca., 1999); Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge, 2003).

⁹ C. M. Yonge, *Pioneers and Founders, or Recent Workers in the Mission Field* (London, 1871), 222: she describes the 'vulgarily sensational appeals', and the 'almost universal indifference of the upper classes to missionary labour'.

emigrants as well as for heathen - 'every emigrant, neglected and godless, oppressing and despising the native population, is a stumbling-block in the way of the spread of the gospel'.¹⁰ Such an ambitious programme necessitated major funding and suitable recruits, but was regarded by many Anglican parishes as unworthy of their interest or support. The crux of the SPG's problem was how to enlist adherents without using the tactics of the other missionary societies: I will show that Charlotte Yonge's endorsement throughout her many writings, both fictional and factual, would play a pivotal role in helping to raise the profile of SPG missionary work.¹¹

The doubts, divisions, and debates about missionaries were fuelled by pessimism about the 'home heathen' as revealed in the first census of church attendance in 1851, and the poor 'success' rate of foreign missions. The philanthropic energy devoted to the anti-slavery movement had been replaced with public indifference, dwindling membership, and shrinking funds, apparently justified by the new 'science' of ethnology where separate races and a hierarchy of development stressed the inferiority of others, and the possible pointlessness of attempting to 'civilize' them.¹² Already the ideas of the later *Origin of Species* had infiltrated attitudes and implied that biological determinism led to racial conflict; leading intellectuals like Carlyle could express doubts on the wisdom of

¹⁰ *MP*, XVIII, 1859, 457-458; C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG: an Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1900* (London, 1901).

¹¹ C. M. Yonge, *Musings over the "Christian Year"*, xl: 'The young will hardly believe how ... any real active interest in missions to the heathen seemed to be confined to the Evangelical party; and the tone of semi-dissent, coupled with unrefinement, in which the reports of their doings were given, rendered them distasteful to and distrusted by many. No one seemed to have thought of popular interest in the work among the orthodox'.

¹² Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London, 1971), preface and ch. 1; Andrew Porter, "'Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 1997, XXV (3), 367-391, 'Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1780-1914', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 1992, XX (3), 370-390 and "'Commerce and Christianity": The Rise and Fall of a Nineteenth-Century Missionary Slogan', *Historical Journal* 28, 1985, 597-621.

ending black slavery.¹³ Typical representations of those who devoted time to raising money for missionaries mocked their failure to see deprivation on their own doorstep, and made jokes at the expense of missionaries ‘martyred’ and eaten by South Sea cannibals. Shortage of finance was a recurrent lament in SPG Reports and periodicals: ‘Have they who hold two-thirds of all our Church livings no feelings for their emigrant countrymen in lands where there is neither Church nor Minister?’¹⁴ Even the special celebrations for the Jubilee Year of 1851 were ignored by the majority of parishes. Their difficulties were made worse in 1856 with the withdrawal of the Queen’s Letter which had authorized triennial church collections for Missions; the SPG had assumed these were permanent and based their plans accordingly.¹⁵ In 1856 only 37% of Anglican churches contributed money to the SPG; this rose to 45% by 1861, but over half ignored appeals to hold annual missionary sermons and collections.¹⁶ Anxiety about finance alternated with alarm about shortage of candidates for overseas work.¹⁷ In contrast to the humble men with practical skills sent by the CMS and LMS, the SPG desired men with University degrees, but few of these opted for the tribulations of overseas missions.

When we look at the supporters of overseas mission work from their own perspective, we perceive that they validated it as a rescue operation, a charitable attempt to protect native peoples from the contamination of diseases carried in the bodies and minds of disreputable traders and settlers, with which ‘modernity’ was already

¹³ ‘Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question’, *Fraser’s* XL, 1849, 670-679. Catherine Hall, ‘Competing Masculinities: Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill and the case of Governor Eyre’, in *White, Male and Middle Class. Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge, 1992), examines the end-result of such attitudes.

¹⁴ *Colonial Church Chronicle*, V, April 1852, 372.

¹⁵ *Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the Year 1857* (London, 1857), xxv-xxix.

¹⁶ *Mission Field*, VII, Sept. 1862, 214.

¹⁷ *CCC*, V, Jun. 1852, 451: ‘While the Church of England for a whole year seeks in vain for one single missionary to China, the Romish agent at Hong Kong negotiates for a contract with a steam navigation company to carry to China 100 priests within the year’.

threatening them.¹⁸ This was particularly true for those antipodean lands with which Yonge was mainly involved, which, unlike the Americas and the West Indies, were only recently 'discovered'. From the first footfall of Captain Cook on their beaches, the islands of the South Pacific had 'provided anchorage for many western fantasies'.¹⁹ Such sites of desire provided confused and ambivalent imagery and conflicting models of native life: of pre-lapsarian innocence into which western intruders released snakes of depravity; of savages mired in the brutal customs of cannibalism, infanticide and widow-murder; of primitive people who lacked culture - or alternatively had a distinct, complex world of signs and meanings. Reading about Cook's journeys had been the spark which initiated LMS missions to the South Seas, and, as Rod Edmond suggests, the autobiographical accounts written by the missionaries William Ellis and John Williams were part of the process by which imperialism sought to redefine itself in civilising and reciprocal terms.²⁰ Williams' murder on the island of Erromango ensured that his narrative would always be read as a legend leading to a particular saintly fate.

For the SPG, a further incentive for sending clerics to the Antipodes was the desire to save the natives from flawed versions of Christianity: from Dissenting and Low Church Protestantism as well as from the Roman Catholic missionaries who had followed

¹⁸ Rev. Henry Rowley (ed.), *Speeches on Missions by Rt. Rev. Samuel Wilberforce* (London, 1874), 20: Wilberforce describes the lives of emigrants at the 'ravelled external edge of the web of civilized life removed from those things which here retain men ... in decency in living'. Patricia Grimshaw, 'Faith, Missionary Life and the Family' in P. Levine (ed.), *Gender and Empire*, 264, stresses that supporters for missions believed the gift of Christianity would compensate for the disruption to the customary lives of indigenous peoples - a 'moral legitimization of the acquisition of Empire'.

¹⁹ Rod Edmond, *Representing the Pacific. Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge, 1997), 143; I am indebted to chs. 4 and 5, and to A. Johnston, *Missionary Writings*, ch. 6, 'Polynesian Missions and the European Imaginary' from whom I borrow the suggestive phrase 'site of desire', 115. Also Johnston's chapter, 'Antipodean heathens: the London Missionary Society in Polynesia and Australia 1880-50', in Lynette Russell (ed.), *Colonial Frontiers. Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies*, (Manchester, 2001), 71: she expands on these desires within the British imagination: 'desire for the heroic fame of discovery, desire for what appeared to be an Edenic state of nature and desire for the economic and strategic power which possession of the region promised; and desire for the social and sexual utopianism which typified European fantasies about the area and its people'.

²⁰ Edmond, *Representing the Pacific*, ch. 4.

on the heels of French encroachments into the Pacific. With the choice of Selwyn in 1841 to be Bishop of New Zealand - a young ex-Etonian captain of cricket, graduate of St John's College who had rowed for Cambridge in the first-ever Boat Race, a High Church reforming Anglican - the Church establishment wanted to reclaim mastery of the enterprise by sending a missionary-explorer who had the potential to impose a structure which could control and contain the anarchic elements which modernity had released into the 'gardens of Eden' of the South Seas.²¹ The success of his venture would depend partly on the presentation of his efforts in such a way as to capture the imagination of the British public, to persuade them of the nobility and value of his work - to use modern terminology, it would be necessary to 'market' his story. While conversion of the heathen was the rationale of his work, conversion of home public opinion was the concomitant essential ingredient of his project, a task better done by stealth than by outright preaching. Yonge's writings would help to infiltrate an understanding of his work into readers' minds, and connect it with glorious endeavours of knightly heroes.

Yonge's endorsement of mission work flowed throughout all aspects of her writing and cannot be comprehensively examined within the confines of one chapter. My analysis therefore concentrates on the specific contexts within which she worked to spread the seeds of support for the missionary work of the SPG as distinct from the other missionary societies, always conscious of the likely prejudices of her readers. She was not 'jumping on a band-wagon' but helping to generate an awareness among a home audience resistant to the value of overseas missionaries. To achieve this she wove narratives about missionary endeavours into all kinds of her publications, both factual and

²¹ H. W. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D., Bishop of New Zealand 1841-1869, Bishop of Lichfield 1867-1878* (London, 1879); John H. Evans, *Churchman Militant. George Augustus Selwyn Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield* (London, 1964).

fictional, acting as a channel through which SPG organizers could trickle information. In the next section I utilize my research into the exertions of the little-known Edward Coleridge to examine the likely circumstances in which Charlotte Yonge's financial and creative skills were enlisted for the cause.²² The subsequent section examines Yonge's twenty-year involvement in promoting the work of the Melanesian Mission from her first financial donation of the profits of *The Heir* to the writing of Patteson's biography. Throughout this time she used her editorship of *The Monthly Packet* to inculcate positive opinions about missionaries in such a way that her readers could identify and empathize with their work – and envisage it as appropriate work for the sons and brothers of their families. She also provided a prism through which the gradual modifications in Patteson's thinking about mission-work could be reflected; this made her a highly suitable choice as his biographer after his violent death. Finally I look briefly at the significance of her incorporation of missionary themes into her fiction, highlighting the way she guided her readers to a more sober understanding which echoed her own deeper comprehension of the problems involved.

²² Throughout my research for this chapter I was reminded by current charity campaigns of the difficulties faced by those trying to raise, maintain and exploit the interest of the public in a variety of 'good' causes.

The Eton Connection

A power may go forth from a school like this, which may be felt in the uttermost parts of the earth. ... From this place may go forth the messengers of salvation, trained in this school of buoyant freedom and energetic idleness, to endure hardships as “good soldiers of Christ”. Within these walls there is power and spirit, and hereditary wealth, enough to evangelize the world.

Bishop Selwyn in a Sermon in Eton Chapel, June 4th 1854 ²³

It was from the first understood that Eton, with the wealth that her children enjoyed in such large measure, should furnish ‘nerves and sinews’ to the war which her son [Selwyn] was about to wage with the forces of the darkness of heathenism, thus turning the minds of the boys to something beyond either their studies or their sports.

Charlotte Yonge ²⁴

Charlotte Yonge grew up surrounded by family and friends who were fervent supporters of the SPG. The multi-layered relationships spreading out from generations of the Coleridge family, their links with the Yonges of Devon, Keble’s interest in the early Church and his friendship with Southey, all contributed to an atmosphere in which mission work was assumed to be an essential ingredient in religious life, not an added extra which could be occasionally picked up or discarded. Their proximity to the major ports of the south coast in both of their home locations, Southampton and Plymouth, gave them an awareness of the flow of emigrants embarking on new lives abroad, and they were involved in the organisation and support of societies devoted to the spiritual and material needs of the voyagers. Scanning the lists of donations published by the SPG in its Annual Reports we can note all the familiar names of Yonge connections and the considerable sums raised in their areas of the South-West compared with other regions of England.²⁵

²³ Rt. Rev. Bishop of New Zealand, *Sermon Preached in Eton Chapel, June 4th 1854* (Eton, 1854), 10-11.

²⁴ C. M. Yonge, *Patteson*, I, 17.

²⁵ e.g. *SPG Report of 1843*: Sir William Heathcote gives £50, Warden Barter and Moberly of Winchester College each give £2 2s, as does W. C. Yonge Esq. in Otterbourne and Rev. John Yonge at Newton Ferrers in Devon; Dr. Yonge at Plymouth gives £1 1s. Other familiar names are Dysons, Aclands, Talbots and Riddings.

Two schemes of colonization in New Zealand were of particular interest to this group: the establishment of the province of Canterbury by a community of farming families from Devon, and the New Zealand Association of Edward Gibbon Wakefield set up to encourage a better class of emigrants.²⁶ Lord Lyttelton, another member of the wider circle of connections, was on the committee of this, as well as the SPG, and gave regular talks to encourage emigration; his viewpoint was typical among his associates who viewed emigration as a viable strategy to promote in the face of rural poverty and overpopulation. Both ventures wanted to ensure that emigrants came also from higher classes and not just from the failures of society; the SPG believed that if there were to be miniature replicas of English society in New Zealand, then the Established Church must be represented from the start to provide the heart of such communities. Southey's articles in defence of overseas missions in *The Quarterly Review* from the first year of its publication, remind us of the continuing link between Enlightenment and Romantic notions of 'natural' society and the conceptions of innate humanity clung onto by this group in the face of the newer mid-century discourse of racial hierarchy.²⁷ The frequent occurrence of members of the Coleridge family in the support of mission work, also highlights the resonances of S. T. Coleridge's vision of a 'clerisy' devoted to the moral and cultural interests of the nation, already referred to in the last chapter. For the SPG and its supporters, the spiritual health of the nation could not be separated from what was happening to its branches around the world; that 'the Church at Home' would be regenerated by 'the Church abroad'.²⁸ The two were inextricable because, 'Christianity is

²⁶ Colonization was talked about as superior to emigration; emigrants were often destitute, desperate to escape from a society in which they had failed; colonists were better classed people who made a rational decision to settle overseas: CCC, V 1852, 33-34, report of Lecture by Lord John Manners.

²⁷ *QR*, I, 1809, 193-226; also XXXII, 1825, 1-42.

²⁸ Keble College Library Oxford, Keble Papers Ms. 132, Edward Coleridge to John Keble, Dec. 18, 1851.

distinctively a Missionary faith, and that just in proportion as it does its Missionary work, will it do successfully its home work'.²⁹

In trying to unravel the intricacies of the personalities and occasions which led to Charlotte Yonge's more visible role in the SPG campaigns, especially her connection with the Melanesian Mission, it became apparent that the lynchpin of the group was Edward Coleridge.³⁰ He was the youngest brother of Keble's close friend John Taylor Coleridge, tutored at Eton by Charles Yonge and at Oxford by Keble's brother Tom, teacher and housemaster at Eton College, intimate friend of George Selwyn, uncle (and housemaster) to John Coleridge Patteson, husband of Mary Keate daughter of the Headmaster of Eton. In some senses he seems to have been an unassuming man, happy to continue in life and family position as a youngest son, in awe of the activities of others more prominent in public life; on the other hand he was prepared to use any influence he had acquired as surrogate parent to generations of sons of significant men to beg and chivvy for financial and political backing for SPG projects. A handwritten fragment of autobiography penned near the end of his life, consists mainly of roll calls of boys in his House at Eton accompanied by one-line summaries of their achievements, with many names instantly recognisable as later politicians.³¹ He admits that one of the great pleasures of his time at Eton was the friendship developed with many 'remarkable

²⁹ *Mission Field*, XVI, 1871, 310.

³⁰ Lord Coleridge, *Story of a Devonshire House* (London, 1905), 83-88. He has no entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* unlike his more famous relatives. Scholars of Romanticism meet him briefly in the final years of his uncle Samuel Taylor Coleridge, a 'favourite nephew' according to Rosemary Ashton, *Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Oxford, 1996). E. H. Coleridge claimed that S. T. Coleridge's posthumous *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit* was based on letters written to Edward; although this is now rejected as implausible, Samuel Taylor's letters to Edward exude a warmth which denote a relationship based on more than polite kinship. Edward seems to have provided the elderly poet with intellectual and personal sympathy, and to have been responsive to his uncle's philosophic thoughts on religion and the state. Edward and his brother Henry represented the Coleridge family at Samuel Taylor's funeral in 1834.

³¹ B.L., *Autobiography of the Rev. Edward Coleridge, 1800-1883*, Ms. 47555. While most of the summaries register notable achievements - 'Goldwin Smith. A perfect scholar' - others record less happy careers - 'Hugh Smith Baillie - in the Horse Guards. A Gambler'.

people' - the parents of his pupils - and he lists Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Gladstone, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Carnarvon and many others, including Charlotte Yonge's illustrious relation Lord Seaton. It is worth quoting in full the passage where he remembers names of Churchmen he has known, in order to give a complete picture of his web of influence and to support my thesis about his likely role in the enlistment and exploitation of the type of publicity which Charlotte Yonge could provide for the cause:

I may also add that my connection first with that remarkable man, Bishop Broughton of Australia, and then with the foundation of the Missionary College of St. Augustine at Canterbury, brought me into frequent communication with a great many distinguished Prelates and Laymen; amongst whom I may mention Archbishop Howley, Bishop Phillpotts, Lonsdale, Davison, Joshua Watson, Sir J. Richardson, Sidney Herbert and a host of Colonial Bishops and eminent Clergymen such as Dr. Pusey, John Keble, E. H. Manning, Dr. Routh, J. H. Newman &c with all of whom I had frequent correspondence.³²

Looking back on his life, he remains inordinately proud of being known to men of consequence. The brief summary of his life for his children omits so much but not this list. Even when he turns finally to his 'greatest and most enduring friendship ... with George Augustus Selwyn', he feels the need to include the portfolio of Selwyn's appointments, which must already have been well-known to his family.

Selwyn was nine years younger than Coleridge and their friendship did not occur until their early adult life at Eton, whereas Selwyn's lifelong friendship with Gladstone began while both were schoolboys there. Coleridge's letters to Gladstone provide fascinating insights into his methods of persuasion. When Gladstone was given his first major post as Minister of Trade, Coleridge wrote to say that Lord Lyttelton had mentioned that he would be in want of a private secretary and suggests two of his ex-

³² BL, Autobiography of EC, Ms. 47555/13.

pupils; by the next letter it is clear that Gladstone has taken up his suggestion of Stafford Northcote.³³ A few years later, he begins an appeal for money for Selwyn:

Do not hate me, as an incorrigible Mendicant and Pickpocket, untill (sic) I use the qualities which constitute that character for my own advantage. At present I come before you with my most audacious look because I know the love you bear him for whom I am ready to be thought Bold, and I cannot doubt your good will to help him in his present difficulty according to your power.³⁴

When Gladstone was promoted to be Colonial Secretary in 1845, Coleridge registers ‘the great joy I felt, in common with all well-wishers to the English Church’, and adds ‘I must do my best to find you a Private Secretary among my outlying children’. To a list of possible ex-pupils, he inserts a sharp reminder, ‘on the 1st of January I am liable to the Bp of NZ for two thousand pounds so you will oblige me by paying your 100£ to the account of St. John’s College Auckland’.³⁵ The appeal which strikes a modern reader as most audacious was appended to congratulations to Gladstone on the birth of a daughter: ‘Would it not be nice to commemorate her birthday by the endowment of a studentship in the Bishop of Colombo’s new College?’³⁶ These letters provide a sample of the many begging letters which Edward Coleridge wrote to a vast number of people with whom he had some sort of connection. Sometimes these took the form of a circular, copied out with the help of boys in his House; one in 1843 aimed to raise money for the planned Missionary College of St. Augustine’s at Canterbury, sent with a covering letter of recommendation from Archbishop Howley.³⁷

³³ BL, Gladstone Papers Vol. LII, Mss. 44137/ 230-232, EC to WEG, n.d. and July 1 [1842].

³⁴ BL, Mss. 44137/ 238-240, EC to WEG [Apr. 27 1845].

³⁵ BL, Mss. 44137/250-253, EC to WEG, Christmas Day 1845.

³⁶ BL, Ms. 44137/291, EC to WEG, Aug. 28 [1849]. The baby girl, Helen, later became Vice-Principal of Newnham.

³⁷ KCLO, Keble Papers, has a copy to Keble identical to one sent to Gladstone, BL, Ms. 44137/233. C. M. Yonge, *Patteson*, I, 18: ‘Edward Coleridge was always deeply interested in missions, and had done his best to spread the like feeling, often employing the willing services of his pupils in copying letters from Australia, Newfoundland &c’. He also used the Eton printer E. P. Williams to make pamphlets of selected letters for a wider circulation, e.g. *Extracts from New Zealand Letters during the Years 1851-52* (1853).

Coleridge's phrase for his ex-pupils, 'outlying children', is significant. Talking of grown men, he remained proud that he and his wife had run his House in Eton as an extended family, where 'no such Vermin as a Matron or a Housekeeper was ever known to crawl about'. He had cherished a 'mutual confidence between my Pupils and myself. ... My reward has been the success and love of my Pupils which I value much more than money or position'.³⁸ The ethos of the family as the basis of society was the foundation of their thinking and would also provide the template for their colonial enterprises, many of which were modelled directly on the methods used by reforming Eton masters like Coleridge, the first to introduce family prayers into his House. Eton, where he lived as boy and master for seventy years of his life, furnished Coleridge and his circle of associates with the archetype for turning 'uncivilised' boys into responsible adult men. Such an idea was elucidated by Selwyn with a vivid oceanic metaphor:

I have often thought how the office of a missionary needs these qualities which enable the Headmaster of a public school to coerce the troubled waves of that "boy sea" which is so essentially barbarian in all its impulses and appetites. Without that patience and forbearance which I experienced from you when I was among the most impudent savages of your division, I might now have been one of those wandering and restless spirits, ... cast off by some early impatience of control into a life without purpose, spent in continual and random motion.³⁹

Parents, teachers and missionaries were all involved in a similar project, apparently - to tame and channel the wild, 'natural' and elemental urges of children, pupils, natives. It is undeniable that this type of language, as of parents/children, is both demeaning and condescending when used for colonial relationships, but it is also vital to understand how such terms functioned and the contemporary philosophical sentiments which they represented.⁴⁰

³⁸ BL, Mss. 47555/12-13, Autobiography of EC.

³⁹ Tucker, *Selwyn*, I, 297-298, quotes this letter from Selwyn to Dr. Keate, Aug. 1849. E. H. Coleridge, *Life of John Duke, Lord Coleridge*, 31, emphasizes the role Eton played in training generations of Coleridges.

⁴⁰ P. Grimshaw, 'Faith, Missionary Life and Family' in P. Levine (ed.), *Gender and Empire* has an illuminating discussion of the damaging effects of missionaries' lack of 'qualms about asserting for non-

We gain a flavour of Edward Coleridge's tactics to gain the support of someone outside his immediate Etonian circles from his correspondence with Angela Burdett-Coutts.⁴¹ Our knowledge of the end result - her generous endowment in 1847 of the two colonial archbishoprics at Adelaide and Cape Town, and a lifelong involvement in SPG concerns - makes the reading of his earliest tentative letters especially interesting. Known as 'the richest heiress in England', she was a magnet for begging letters; appeals to her would need to be handled with great delicacy. Although by the early 1840s she was involved in a number of philanthropic religious projects within England, there was no certainty that she would want to donate money to overseas mission work.⁴² It seems that Coleridge was invigorated by the appointment of his brother-in-law in 1845 to the see of Colombo, to ascertain if he could attract Angela Burdett-Coutts into his web of sponsors. Capitalizing on an earlier meeting, his first letter in January 1846 is couched in careful words of familial concern for his relation who 'has left all he loved and valued in this world ... for the sake of Christ, and is, I am quite sure, ready to die in the holy cause'. He ends with a guileless, 'I know not whether the numerous demands ... which are made upon you, leave you the means. You will, I doubt not, do what you can'.⁴³ His plea is successful and whets her appetite for the romance of helping overseas Anglican parishes.

Coleridge's long letter of March 1846 in response to her request that he should tell her more, bubbles with his enthusiasm. Although he claims that to do justice to the

Western peoples the virtues of their own ideal gender arrangements, with the Christian family as that crucible' (270); 'they sought control of indigenous adults ... as if they were children in need of tutelage' (272). Catharine J. Vaughn-Pow, 'A One-Way Ticket? Emigration and the Colonies in the Work of Charlotte M. Yonge', in Rita S. Kanidis (ed.), *Essays on Victorian Women's Emigration and the Unauthorized Imperial Experience* (New York, 1998), 253, criticizes Yonge as editor of *MP* for the language of articles which treat natives as 'children, aliens and pets, all of which ... require controlling, taming and civilizing'.

⁴¹ Lambeth Palace Library, Burdett-Coutts Papers, Mss. 1384-1386.

⁴² Edna Healey, *Lady Unknown. The Life of Angela Burdett-Coutts* (London, 1978), ch. 2 on 1837-1846.

⁴³ LPL, Mss. 1384/1-2, EC to AB-C, Jan. 26 1846.

subject he needs to visit her, he prepares the ground with six pages of detailed exposition on 'the past and present state of our Missions in Foreign Parts'; these give the modern reader privileged access to his thinking and to his *modus operandi*:

When I have told you as much as you desire to hear from me on this subject generally, then I will undertake from time to time to send you ... such letters as I am frequently receiving from the Bishop of Australia, Tasmania, N. Z., Newfoundland, Columbo, and other friends in the Colonies, so that you may be able to feel not only an interest of a vague and general kind in the whole of our Missionary efforts abroad, but know pretty well, what is the condition of each Church in each settlement. I can assure you that by the aid of Books, Letters, Prints &c, and above all, actual friendship with those abroad, I am able almost to live as much in the Antipodes as in England, and in thought and Prayer to hold Communion with members of some Colonial Church in every successive hour. Thus I look in Christ's Church as one great girdle encircling the whole Earth - each congregation a link in the chain - and the links unlimited in number.⁴⁴

Without ever travelling abroad, Coleridge and all those whom he inspired with his fervour, could share in the great imperial adventure of establishing mirror-images of English parishes around the globe, in the belief that Britain's moral destiny would thus be fulfilled. His final thought-provoking words tell of donations which have financed buildings: 'More Colleges and more Bishops are the grand desiderata. ... I much desire to impress this on you ... and on all, who are willing to spend on God what God has given them'. By the next letter Coleridge has become her confidential 'guide and advisor', a skilful go-between, planting a variety of ideas of 'great and holy works' on which she might like to use her money while emphatic that any decision is hers and hers alone: 'you must not turn to the right hand or the left from any kindly attention to my wishes, but do what you judge most proper'.⁴⁵ He couples these assurances with a canny practicality about budgets, interest rates, investments and long-distance postal services. Less than a week later he 'went with a heart full of joy and thankfulness to Lambeth and there laid your noble offering to the Colonial Church at the Archbishop's feet' - her

⁴⁴ LPL, Mss. 1384/5-6, EC to AB-C, March 21 1846.

⁴⁵ LPL, Mss. 1384/22-25, EC to AB-C, April 30 1846.

magnificent agreement to use her wealth, 'that treasure which the Almighty has not placed in your hands in vain', to endow two Colonial Bishoprics.⁴⁶ It had taken Coleridge just over three months to achieve this coup.

The hierarchy of the Church of England held themselves aloof from missionary enterprise in the earlier years of the century, even when their own Evangelicals in the CMS were trying to stir up enthusiasm for the cause. Their change of heart came in 1841 with the establishment of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund at a time when interest in missions was waning; their connection with the doomed Niger expedition of that year further diminished respect. The elevation of Selwyn in 1841 to be bishop of the newly-created diocese of New Zealand at the young age of thirty-two initiated the special relationship between the Coleridge/Yonge milieu and the romance of Selwyn's and then Patteson's missionary adventures in the South Seas. Knowledge of New Zealand was at that time scanty, and had not yet established itself in the public consciousness. In her old age, Sarah Selwyn reminisced about how hard it was to find out anything about the place to which they were going except 'that it seemed as far off as it well could be'. When her husband preached at Exeter Cathedral just before their departure it was 'to the surprise of most of the Exeter Congregation who knew very little about the young Bishop and nothing about the country he was going to; there were few who did in 1841'.⁴⁷ By the time Selwyn died in 1878 much was known about New Zealand, and his and Patteson's fame had made familiar the role of the Church there, yet the language used in his obituary

⁴⁶ LPL, Ms. 1384/33, EC to AB-C, May 6 1846.

⁴⁷ J. H. Evans, *Churchman Militant*, 23, quotation from Sarah Selwyn's unpublished *Reminiscences*. For surprising information about Coleridge's role in her marriage see Selwyn College Library Cambridge, Selwyn Papers, Ms. 17.19b, Sarah Selwyn to EC, May 27 1850, where she unmasks his match-making skills: she comments on his success in engineering that Charles Abraham, an Etonian master about to sail for New Zealand, has proposed to Sarah's own cousin, Caroline Palmer, and remembers that Edward had masterminded her own betrothal, 'for which I am ever obliged to you, especially as George would not have married me without it. I think that your efforts may prove equally fortunate in this instance when you certainly brought together a happy pair'.

in *The Times* reveals the simplistic imagery still employed, with the mention of cannibalism to titillate interest:

By a happy venture he was chosen to found a see at the Antipodes at the early age of thirty-four [sic], and when the people he had to convert were still fresh, so to speak, from banquets on the flesh of their murdered fellow-men.⁴⁸

This encapsulates the problem of the representation of their work: how to arrest and maintain the attention of the public in order to gain their assistance, but without an excessive sensationalist appeal to the prurient.

Selwyn collected an assortment of accessories for his new life as a missionary bishop, such as a waterproof belt so that he could swim across rivers pushing his clothes in front of him. He took a tent as a portable church to carry with him on Visitations but he also had ambitious designs for a Cathedral commissioned from the Camden Society (of which he was a patron). These betray the Eurocentric vision with which he began his episcopal role with plans for real-size models of Norman columns, mouldings and window arches which ‘it would be easy for the natives to imitate in the stone of their own country’.⁴⁹ The symbolic value of such architecture lay in its resonances of English continuity, to provide a moral beacon for emigrants, but also a potent imagery for the imaginations of the home audience of missionary tales.⁵⁰ The accounts of Selwyn’s farewells to congregations, friends and family became part of his legend: the dinner for forty select guests at Eton hosted by Edward Coleridge, the fretful time awaiting embarkation at Plymouth made easier by Dr. John Yonge and other ‘Eton brethren’

⁴⁸ Tucker, *Selwyn*, 67.

⁴⁹ J. H. Evans, *Churchman Militant*, 26-27: quotation from Camden Society Report. Wood proved to be a more practical material for the ‘Selwyn churches’.

⁵⁰ Ian Baucom, *Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, 1999), 70, discusses the significance of the use in colonial locales of architectural forms and spaces which mimic those ‘at home’ – as ‘allegories of the home culture in the presence of which the identities of the English would be stabilized and the identities of the ... subjects of the empire would be re-formed’.

sitting round the tea table with him, the final waving off - Edward Coleridge the last to leave the ship.⁵¹ Linked with the subsequent narrative of Patteson, an Elisha to Selwyn's Elijah, such accounts sometimes include the scene of Selwyn's departing request to Coleridge Patteson's mother:

“Lady Patteson, will you give me Coley?” She started, but did not say no; and when, independently of this her son told her that it was his greatest wish to go with the Bishop, she replied that if he kept that wish when he grew up he should have her blessing and consent.⁵²

Her son was only fourteen at this time, and she died the following year, but this cameo bestowed maternal benediction on his decision in 1854 to go to New Zealand, and became embedded in his fable - that of the making of a saint.

Charlotte Yonge was eighteen when Selwyn's party sailed away and I have found no record of how she responded to the Bishop's farewell tour inserted into the framing of her life story, though his friendship and intimacy with Yonges, Coleridges and Kebles means that she will have heard manifold tales, even if she was not present at a farewell sermon or party. Her brother Julian started at Eton soon afterwards in the house of his uncle Charles Yonge, who had also been tutor to Selwyn, and this refreshed the existing multiple connections. Later, there will be the key scenes of Bishop Selwyn's home visit of 1854, which become part of the essential mythology of her life story. Everything we know about her imaginative and ardent nature as a girl makes it likely that the seeds of her lifelong commitment to mission work in the South Seas will have been planted by the hazardous quest on which the Bishop had embarked in 1841. As a child of four Yonge

⁵¹ SCLC, Selwyn Papers, Ms. E. 4 j, contains EC's emotionally-loaded accounts of these events of 1841: Selwyn's Consecration; his visit to Oxford where Coleridge 'was the happy instrument of uniting in bonds of indissoluble friendship the holiest of my own University with the chosen man of Cambridge and the glory and delight of Eton'; and finally the farewell dinner at Eton described on his behalf by his brother John Taylor Coleridge. See also Tucker, *Selwyn*, 78-92.

⁵² Yonge, *Patteson*, I, 19.

had discovered she could read while looking at *Robinson Crusoe*.⁵³ Now the sheer romance of this attractive, tall, intelligent, athletic young man, who gave up a promising career at 'home' to respond to the needs of emigrant and heathen peoples on the other side of the world, would appeal to a young woman steeped in tales of adventure - of Scott, of Southey, of *Morte d'Arthur*, of Old and New Testament stories, of the Crusades, of European History. In 1843 the new edition of Fouqué's *Sintram* was added to this rich brew of fables and developed its inspirational hold on the minds of Yonge and her associates. This was especially so for Yonge because of her familiarity with her father's copy of the Dürer print, 'The Knight, Death and the Devil' on which the story is based and which hung in her study throughout her life, symbolic of the battle every Christian must fight.⁵⁴ Selwyn's quest to the 'dark' places of the earth paralleled that of the medieval Knight's stern resolve to defeat the malign embodiments of evil, and he was also venturing into barbarian lands just as the early Christian Fathers had done when they brought Christianity to Britain.⁵⁵

Our twenty-first century knowledge of far-flung parts of the globe makes it well-nigh impossible to comprehend the mental distance between the known and unknown worlds of the nineteenth-century, more akin to space travel – or the extraordinary imaginative voyages which transport us when reading legends and myths. It seemed natural to Yonge's way of thinking to merge the fantastic with the factual, and in this way

⁵³ G. Battiscombe, *Yonge*, 28.

⁵⁴ Typically, in Yonge's last published novel *The Making of a Missionary* (London, 1900), her young hero is inspired to become a missionary in China partly by reading Walter Scott's 'Marmion', as had Leonard in *the Trial*.

⁵⁵ A typical example of the way her mind worked is seen in an article Yonge wrote later about the Melanesian Mission, where she compares the tactics devised to carry Christianity to new areas of the Pacific by other converted islanders to events long ago in Europe: 'It was found 1200 years ago that Roman gentlemen, bred up in all the civilization of the old empire, could not do half so much with our wild English ancestors as could the Irish, who, though Christian, were used to lead as rough lives as the people among whom they went' - *The Net*, III, 1868, 83.

she incorporated her reverence for those who undertook foreign mission work into her complex imaginings. In *The Castle Builders* she inserts a conversation between Emmeline and Lord Herbert Somerville about his castle-building (day-dreaming) games with his sister when they were young. He describes how their adventures as Knights of St John mutated:

“Another vision, a missionary one, for being Bishop of a desert island. ... Not quite to teach the coral worms, but we were to have a picked race of amiable savages and admirable settlers, besides which Annie stipulated that there should be no volcano”.

This then shifts to a different scenario:

“a living in some very miserable town where one would have to be almost a missionary; Annie, of course, would live with me, we were to have no more comforts than the poor themselves, and to devote everything to them, doing immense good, winning every one, carrying out every perfect scheme, feeling and seeing our success”.⁵⁶

Such imaginings were, perhaps, familiar ingredients in the dream-worlds of other Victorian youths. Their inherent flaw was that they were frequently portrayed - as here - as childish fantasies, but the SPG needed adults to revere and empathize with the work of missionaries. Only then would they harvest both money and men for their projects. To address this problem Edward Coleridge, as he had explained to Lady Burdett-Coutts, devised his scheme of sympathetic connections through shared correspondence from ‘friends in the Colonies’ together with ‘the aid of Books, Letters, Prints &c, and above all, actual friendship with those abroad’; like him, other adults could then ‘live as much in the Antipodes as in England, and in thought and Prayer hold Communion with members of some Colonial Church in every successive hour’.⁵⁷ Coleridge’s proactive search for ways to influence adult sensibilities is wonderfully captured by his postscript to a letter to Keble: ‘I wish you would try your hand on some Poem, connected with the New Z.

⁵⁶ *MP*, IV, March 1853, 283, in *The Castle Builders* by C. M. Yonge, serialised at the same time as *The Heir of Redclyffe* was beginning its life as a best-selling novel.

⁵⁷ LPL, Mss. 1384/5-6, EC to AB-C, March 21 1846.

Church. The Bishop's Church at Sea in the Undine of 22 tons in the midst of the Pacific in a thunderstorm'.⁵⁸ Like a modern advertising man, he can envisage the potency of such a storyline shaped by the best-selling author of *The Christian Year*.⁵⁹

Charles Kingsley in *Alton Locke* also describes a young person's 'fairylane ... [of] Pacific coral islands and volcanoes, ... graceful savages with paint and feathers' in which his hero 'preached small sermons as I lay in bed at night to Tahitians and New Zealanders'. But Kingsley then disperses such visions with a coruscating description of a 'real' missionary: a 'squat, red-faced, pig-eyed, low-browed man ... sensuality, conceit and cunning marked on every feature', who 'talked of the natives not as St. Paul might of his converts, but as a planter might of his slaves'. Although Kingsley makes clear that this repellent man is a Baptist and that Anglican missionaries are of a higher calibre, such criticisms tended to smear the entire group: missionaries who 'go abroad ... simply because they are men of such inferior powers and attainments that if they stayed in England they would starve'.⁶⁰ Part of this disdain was class snobbery; both missionaries and their supporters were popularly perceived as second-rate people, drawn largely from the under-educated, gullible and 'religiously excitable'.⁶¹ Professor Sedgwick acknowledged these prejudices in a lecture in Cambridge in 1858, designed to recruit the 'best' men to missionary service in Africa:

⁵⁸ KCLO, Keble Mss.132, EC to Keble, Dec. 13 1852.

⁵⁹ Neil Gunson, *Messengers of Grace. Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860* (Melbourne, 1978), 116-118: John Williams of Erromango with his boat 'Messenger of Peace' had initiated the emblematic use of the missionary ship to raise support back 'home'; EC was quick to appreciate the value of the iconography. See also A. Johnston, *Missionary Writing*, 122, on the symbolic capital represented by mission ships; Ebenezer Prout, *Missionary Ships Connected with the London Missionary Society* (London, 1865). Anne Mackenzie exploited similar metaphorical associations by calling her missionary magazine *The Net*, with an illustration of a small ship battling at sea for her cover.

⁶⁰ Charles Kingsley, *Alton Locke. Tailor and Poet. An Autobiography* (1850; London, 1895), 12-13.

⁶¹ CCC, V, 1852, 450. C. P. Williams, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31(3), 1980, 301-315, "'Not quite Gentlemen", an examination of 'Middle Class' Protestant Missionaries from Britain 1850-1900'.

We are often told that the missionary office is now undertaken by ignorant, unlettered, uncommissioned men; who have been heating their imaginations among crude prophetic visions, and pillowing their souls on empty dreams. ... They write as if every man must be a brain-heated fanatic who stands up on a public platform to plead for his fellow creatures in distant lands; and as if every woman, who goes to listen to him and desires to help him, must needs be a simple dreamer, a slattern, a sorry housewife, and a bad mother.⁶²

It was essential that the SPG disrupt such judgments and substitute respect for their own superior enterprises and men. When Bishop Selwyn - a 'real' missionary with 'star' quality - announced unexpectedly in 1853 that he planned a brief visit home to England in the following year, this supplied a spectacular opportunity to exploit the glamour of his actual presence to win new disciples to overseas mission work and invigorate those already converted. Selwyn alerted his friends in England that this was a business-trip. He told Gladstone, now Chancellor of the Exchequer, that his arrival would occur when 'you open your second budget. My budget will be as follows', and then listed his far-reaching aims.⁶³ An exhausting timetable of public meetings and sermons was organised, with Edward Coleridge acting as his quasi-agent to screen the Bishop from irrelevant demands on his time while ensuring the maximum publicity.

We have no proof that Coleridge was directly responsible for the brilliance of the idea to connect the best-selling success of *The Heir of Redclyffe* with the work of the SPG, but our knowledge of him and his methods makes some sort of connection likely.⁶⁴ Charlotte Yonge's own account pinpoints the birth of the idea to a conversation between her mother and Mrs. Keble:

My mother had always been eagerly interested in the mission, and when, on the day of my father's funeral, *something brought before her the request for the*

⁶² Rev. William Monk (ed.), *Dr. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures with a prefatory letter by Rev. Professor Sedgwick* (Cambridge, 1858), lxxix-lxxxii.

⁶³ BL, Mss. 44299/146-7, Selwyn to WEG, July 20 1853.

⁶⁴ Another link in the complex relationships between EC and the Keble/Yonge contingent was their shared friendship with the Dysons.

vessel, [my italics] she said to Mrs. Keble how much she should like to see the sum raised by contributions from those who liked *The Heir of Redclyffe*, then in its first flush of success.⁶⁵

William Yonge had died on February 26th 1854; his funeral coincided with Selwyn's voyage home when his close friends were already working on his list of desired outcomes from the visit. A letter from Selwyn to Coleridge written on this journey conveys his urgency:

Volumes of writing and years of talking may be found at last to have been thrown away unless the hand is always ready at a moment to drive a nail and fix a transient thought of some well-disposed man, who, for want of that, would ... carry off his benevolent intention to [another] gaping mouth.⁶⁶

One of Selwyn's stated aims was to raise money to finance a new ship so that his scheme to take the gospel to Melanesia could be realized. With this first donation towards the purchase of *The Southern Cross*, Charlotte Yonge's life-story became permanently entwined with that of Selwyn, Patteson and Melanesia. Her gifts of money would be of significant material value. Her more substantial contribution, however, was to reposition the missionary story within functioning, attractive families, such as she described in *The Daisy Chain* and its sequels, strongly embedded in English soil but stretching their branches across the world.

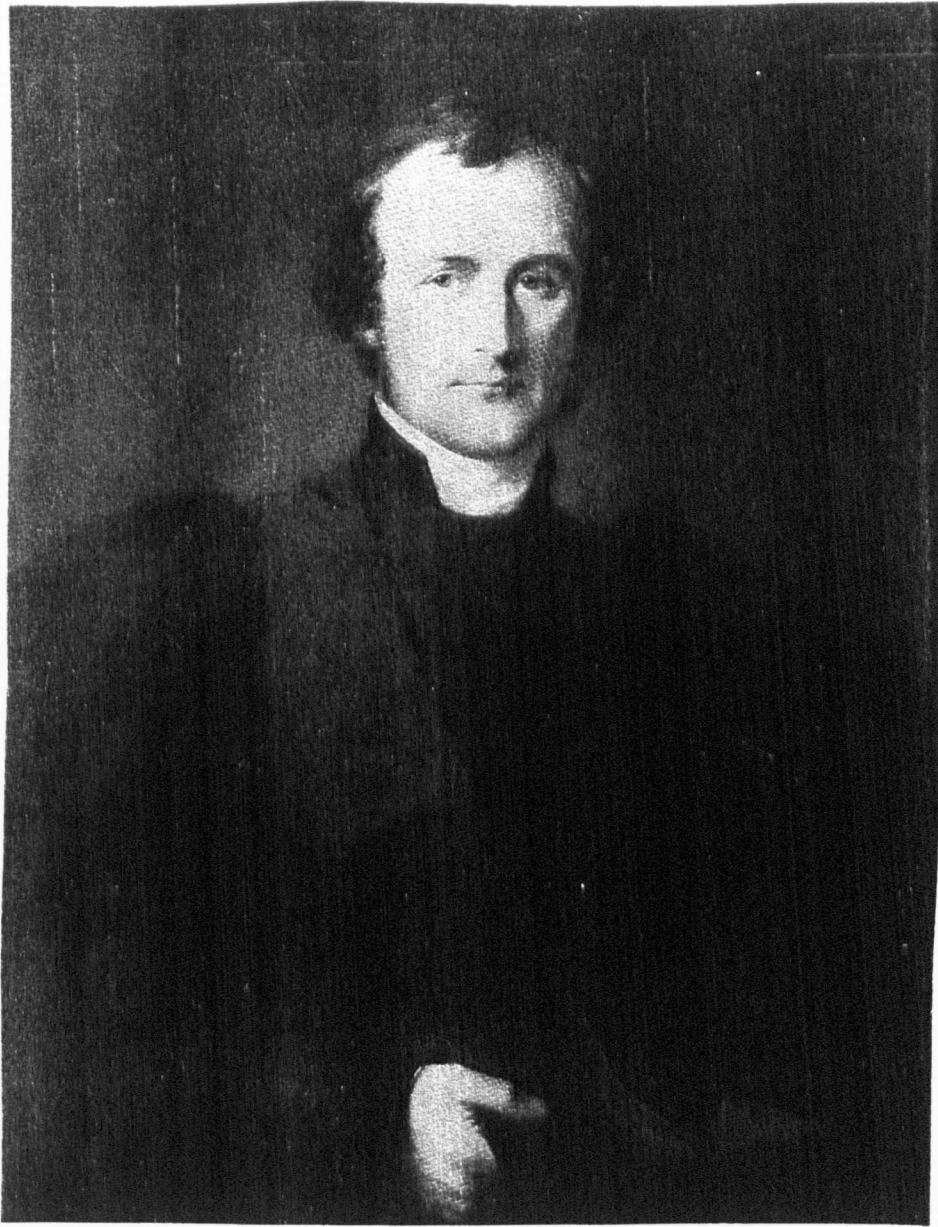
⁶⁵ Yonge, *Patteson*, I, 113-4n. I have attempted to find a listing of people who attended the funeral, but without success. I am grateful to the staff at the Winchester Local Studies Library for their help in searching both national and Hampshire-based newspapers.

⁶⁶ Tucker, *Selwyn*, II, 24, Selwyn to EC, May 2 1854: written later than the events described here and referring to his need to return quickly to New Zealand to keep control and prevent largesse given to Dissenters rather than Anglicans; but this passage gives a vivid impression of Selwyn's language used to urge Coleridge on in his work within England, hectoring him to 'seize the moment' in order to reap a financial harvest.



REV. EDWARD COLERIDGE,
LOWER MASTER AND FELLOW OF ETON COLLEGE.
By Mrs. Carpenter.

Rev. Edward Coleridge



GEORGE AUGUSTUS SELWYN
Only Bishop of New Zealand, fiftieth Bishop of Lichfield

George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand

The significance of Charlotte Yonge's contribution to Mission Work in the South Pacific

But all this time you have not heard how I had three walks between College and St. John's house arm-in-arm with the Bishop! Don't you call that preferment? ... The Bishop spoke about the money, saying it was so much he almost scrupled at it, ... it ended in his saying, "I suppose I am joint heir with the heir of Redclyffe".

Charlotte Yonge in a letter to Marianne Dyson, June 9, 1854 ⁶⁷

In the eyes of his supporters back home, Selwyn had achieved miracles in New Zealand. In the fable of his twelve years as Bishop he emerged as a hero with superhuman physical and intellectual capabilities; for his episcopal visitations he had walked hundreds of miles, swum across swollen rivers, navigated his own boat along uncharted coasts, preached to Maori congregations in their own languages, intervened in violent disputes, defended the rights of native peoples against incomers.⁶⁸ Like a soldier on a campaign, he had accepted his call to duty and would allow no hardship to stand in the way of achievement. The 'key and pivot' of his project was his establishment of St. John's College near Auckland soon after his arrival in 1842.⁶⁹ Modelled on Eton and Oxbridge with ex-Etonians on the staff, it revived early Church traditions where a monastery or cathedral supplied a refuge, hospital, school, training for Holy Orders, and had an order of labour, both manual and cerebral, shared by all the inhabitants. Selwyn insisted that every member had to choose one active employment (e.g. gardening, farming) and one sedentary trade (carpentry, printing, weaving) alongside their other duties. These quasi-monastic rules reflected both inadequate funding and a vision of a distinctive kind of religious community whose seeds would be broadcast throughout the infant settler

⁶⁷ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 206-9.

⁶⁸ This is not the place for a more nuanced examination of the strengths and weaknesses of Selwyn's diocesan rule or of his policies. See J. H. Evans, *Churchman Militant*, chs. 2, 4, 5; Warren E. Limbrick (ed.), *Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand 1841-1868* (Palmerston North, 1983); Geoffrey Rowell, *The Vision Glorious. Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism* (Oxford, 1983), ch. 8; Alan Davidson and Peter J. Linehan, *Transplanted Christianity. Documents Illustrating Aspects of New Zealand Church History* (Palmerston North, 1982); Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*; David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen. A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942* (St. Lucia, Queensland, 1978), ch. 1.

⁶⁹ The phrase is his own - see Mrs. G. Herbert Curteis, *In Memoriam. A Sketch of the Life of the Right Reverend George Augustus Selwyn* (Newcastle, 1878), 17.

society, and would provide the next generation of home-grown clergy. Although it remained central to his diocesan plans, not all parts of the system were successful: his expectation of racial equality between native Maoris and the sons of settlers was locally disliked and resisted. He wrote to Edward Coleridge, 'As the English scholars fall off, from the dislike of the parents for our mixed system, the native youths flow in ... and now the great Polynesian fountain begins to pour in its supplies'.⁷⁰ This latter was the start of the scheme which Patteson would later take over, of collecting boys from Pacific islands to come back to St John's for a period of months before returning to their families, carrying with them, it was hoped, the seeds of Christian civilization. There had been condemnation expressed both in New Zealand and England of these evangelizing journeys in the Pacific; critics charged Selwyn with neglect of his main duties and the misinterpretation of his official instructions. Selwyn was not universally admired, and his visit in 1854 would not necessarily be one of triumph.⁷¹ He would need careful 'marketing' if he were to receive a favourable press and gain some of the items on his 'shopping list'.

It is no wonder that Selwyn's exploits had been avidly followed in the Yonge/Keble/Heathcote households at Otterbourne and Hursley. They knew the details through the circulated letters printed as pamphlets by Edward Coleridge as well as

⁷⁰ J. H. Evans, *Churchman Militant*, 112, ch. 6 on St. John's College. K. N. Booth, 'The Founding of St. John's College' in W. E. Limbrick (ed.), *Bishop Selwyn*, paints a bleak picture of inadequate staff, pupils, funding and of Selwyn's bad temper, together with the scandal which led in 1853 to the closing of parts of the College: the revelation of homosexuality among some of the English and Maori students. The only reference to this in Tucker's *Selwyn*, II, 25 is Selwyn's own comment in a letter to EC, May 1854: 'We have had a season of unexampled sorrow, ... a special visit of Satan, and I should mock the sorrow of our penitents and those who mourn with them, if I were to seem to return in triumph from a successful work'.

⁷¹ R. M. Ross, 'Evolution of the Melanesian Bishopric', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 16: 2, 1982, 122-145, provides a persuasive analysis of the extent of Pacific territory under Selwyn's aegis and whether its size was really due to a mistake of the Colonial Office; Selwyn's self-righteous claims that he was merely doing his duty when he sailed to Melanesia masked his desire from the start to inaugurate Christian missions further afield.

accounts in the publications connected with the SPG.⁷² They were particularly thrilled by the tales of Selwyn's intrepid journeys by sea, when he navigated himself through storms and coral reefs to visit distant islands, first-footing beaches armed with nothing but his Bible. From 1847 to 1851 Selwyn sailed about twenty thousand miles around the Pacific in the romantically named *Undine*, paid for by subscribers in England.⁷³ The image of the little ship venturing into unknown waters to spread the Gospel was one of particular potency, easier to envisage than other more alien settings. The need to publicize the events of their lives so as to keep the attention of the public and loosen their purse-strings was tiresome to missionary clerics who resented time given to writing accounts of their activities which could be better spent on actual good works. The *SPG Annual Reports* often refer to the failure of missionaries to send home news:

The want of such information has long been felt as one of the greatest obstacles to the extended support which the Society is seeking at home. Sympathy which was ready to be secured has been neglected and lost.

In the same issue it had stated bluntly that they had had only one letter from Bishop Selwyn that year and 'in the dearth of direct information' they have had to 'rely on some details procured through other channels'.⁷⁴

Wives who could help to shoulder this burden of relating stories were useful 'other channels': the letters from Sarah Selwyn, Caroline Abraham and Mary Martin, wife of Sir William the first Chief Justice of New Zealand, were shared among friends

⁷² KCLO, Keble Mss. 132, EC to Keble, Oct. 4 1845, 'May be I shall look in on you at Christmas with some New Zealand letters and a deal of talk about St Augustine's'. *The Annual Reports, Gospel Missionary, Church in the Colonies and Missions to the Heathen* were official publications; periodicals favourable to the SPG were *Churchman's Companion* and *Colonial Church Chronicle*.

⁷³ CCC, V, July-Jun. 1851-52, 239-40.

⁷⁴ *SPG Annual Report 1853*, xxxv and lxxxi.

and then disseminated in print.⁷⁵ Their informal style and choice of small-scale topics about schooling and family life created depictions easily visualized by English readers. Instead of relying on shock and disgust prompted by accounts of alien customs and cannibalism, as some missionary societies did, these stories stressed the shared humanity of ‘savages’ with the inhabitants of any English community.⁷⁶ This made them appropriate for Charlotte Yonge to include in *The Monthly Packet*, where they could give substance to the ethos of sacrifice and good works which permeated her periodical. ‘St. Stephen’s Native Girls’ School’ in January 1853 was the first major article about New Zealand Yonge published, followed by ‘The Wedding’ in February and ‘The War Dance’ in August.⁷⁷ These detailed narratives depict both the strange and the familiar aspects of life on the other side of the world: that the girls’ curriculum includes Anglo-Saxon conversions to Christianity, Peter the Great of Russia and Aesop’s Fables; Geography was popular, especially of the polar regions, and they liked singing Mendelssohn’s choruses. In the second article readers were reminded of superficial dissimilarities between their lives and those of the girls at St Stephen’s with the father of the bride covered in tattoos - but roast beef and plum pudding at the wedding feast. This account ends with an appeal for money so that more girls could attend the school. The follow-up in August 1853 took a more urgent stance; ‘The War Dance’ describes how the Bishop and Sir William prevented hostilities between two tribes; its message was that although

⁷⁵ BL, Mss. 39954, Papers of Sir William Martin, includes letters from Lady Martin to Sir Richard and Lady Owen giving domestic details of their life. Her husband had been at St. John’s College, Cambridge with Selwyn and worked closely with him in New Zealand.

⁷⁶ Yonge, *Patteson*, I, 73-76: an example of the prevalent use of ‘savage’ to describe wild, unregulated behaviour of the lower classes within England comes appositely in a letter from Patteson, also in 1853, where he describes a tussle with a ‘wretched pair’ in his Somerset parish over the schooling of their three year old, already ‘not fit to come into the company of little Christians’.

⁷⁷ *MP*, V, Jan.-June 1853, 73-77, 150-156. Although the articles bear no attribution, they are strikingly similar to stories in Lady Martin’s *Our Maoris* (London, 1884). Yonge’s interest in the region is evidenced by her inclusion in the very first issue of *MP*, Jan. 1851, of ‘Wild Scholars’, an extract from Frederick Walpole’s *Four Years in the Pacific 1844-1848*.

the natives' character was capable of improvement, without the help and guidance of a Christian education, 'they are like wayward children'.⁷⁸

Yonge's interest in missionaries in the widest sense had been demonstrated in *The Monthly Packet* from its start in 1851, with her articles on 'Missions in the 4th Century', the earliest 'Cameos' on the Church in Northumbria and pre-medieval Christian history, and the notions of sacrifice and religious devotion throughout time, which infused her 'Conversations on the Catechism'. Her ability to pluck examples from an eclectic mix of literature, history, poetry, biblical stories, and anecdotal events in order to discuss right behaviour is seen most vividly in regular features in the 1850s such as the 'Conversations' between Miss Ormesdon and three god-daughters. In 'Conversation on Baptism' Miss Ormesdon calls the baptism of an adult man 'like turning his back on darkness and going into light' - a recurrent concept which figured also in language about the conversion of heathens. Audrey glosses her godmother's comment: 'manfully to fight under the Christ's banner against sin, the world and the flesh', and Miss Ormesdon develops this with a reference to Raphael's picture of St. Michael overthrowing Satan. The discussion moves on to heathens, then *Paradise Lost*, and Helen introduces *The Combatants* 'where the angels bear away the champion from beside the banner he has defended and his chains drop off!' After Miss O's assertion that 'if we are not the soldiers of the Church Militant, we are slaves of Satan ... We can each keep our own post, which is the thing our Captain requires of us', they consider *Thalaba* by Southey.⁷⁹ Other 'Conversations' roam from historical incidents to fictional episodes (especially from Scott) to early Church history. What strikes the modern reader is that the examples

⁷⁸ *MP*, VI, Aug. 1853, 158-160.

⁷⁹ *MP*, I, Mar. 1851, 129-139. Edward Monro, *The Combatants: an Allegory* (London, 1848).

are all made to feel contemporaneous, all equally vivid and relevant to the mundane day-to-day task of living a Christian life.⁸⁰ They bestow a glamour on moral behaviour, an invisible backdrop of heroism and colour to the quiet enactment of everyday Christianity, a battle in which women can participate while continuing to live quietly as dutiful daughters, wives, and mothers. Indeed it was a message of equal importance for the men in their lives, only some of whom, like Selwyn, would be prominent.

The success of *Heir of Redclyffe* (1853) gave Yonge the possibility of distributing financial largesse; the choice of a donation towards the new mission-ship filled her with excitement. In an exultant letter to Marianne Dyson about Bishop Selwyn's visit to Winchester in June 1854, she describes the unobtrusive handing over of her gift to Bishop Selwyn in the garden by the two-year-old Maggie Moberly, Yonge herself remaining in the background.⁸¹ Her worshipping reverence for the Bishop, together with her shyness, meant that she both shrank from meeting him and yet yearned to come within the circle of his presence. Introduced by Dr. Moberly, Selwyn used talk of Eton as a suitable topic to put her at her ease, but her surprising comment about this first thrilling meeting - 'he was as kind to me as if I had been Wabisana' [a Melanesian convert] - reminds us that her notion of him was entirely shaped by her homage of him as a Missionary Adventurer – as a character in her imaginative life. Years later, when she was asked to write the biography of her cousin Bishop Patteson after his murder in 1871 in Melanesia, she told his sister Frances that she was grateful that she had only met Patteson on two occasions:

⁸⁰ *MP*, VII N.S. 1869, 561: Frances Wilbraham mentions a walk to Hursley with Charlotte Yonge through fields of red clover; Yonge says these give 'an idea of what the Nile looked like when its waters were turned to blood' - an unusual comment to make when walking in the Hampshire countryside.

⁸¹ C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 206-209.

... so he has always seemed to me like the saintliness one believes in and gives thanks for. I don't mean that knowing him more intimately at home would have made this less, ... but it would have been more mixed up with common life.⁸²

Whatever we think of this hero-worship of missionaries - her desire to distance them from 'common life' and elevate them into Christian knights on holy quests - the significance of her romantic vision lies in the infectious transmission of her attitudes into all of her work. Just as the fictional Guy Morville in *The Heir of Redclyffe* is an exemplar of knightly virtue, a *Sintram* transposed into the nineteenth-century, Yonge perceived the real Bishops Selwyn and Patteson to be the living embodiments of Dürer's Knight ready to do battle with Death and Satan.

Bishop Selwyn's visit in 1854 was a milestone in Charlotte Yonge's life; for her cousin John Coleridge Patteson it was an even more significant landmark. His 'yearnings for the forefront of the battle were not quenched' by his work as a rural parish priest; 'excited by the actual presence of a hero of the Church Militant, who had so long been the object of deep silent enthusiasm', he was easy prey for the Bishop's recruitment drive. Our knowledge of him comes to us shaped by Yonge's biography, written in the shadow of his early death, twenty years after the famous events at Winchester.⁸³ During that time Yonge had been constantly involved in the nurturing of missionary interest and had become a recognized channel for its wider propagation. Although she never lost her reverence for the dedication and difficulties of mission life, her understanding of the complexities of the circumstances and characters had deepened and this is reflected in the biography, and prevents it from becoming a mere hagiography. It is as if she has imaginatively accompanied her cousin in his travails through to her own wiser middle-

⁸² C. Coleridge, *Yonge*, 268.

⁸³ C. M. Yonge, *Patteson*, I, 91; the words are Yonge's not quotations from Patteson.

age. We can sense her identification with Patteson's desire in 1854 to launch himself on his adventure - that his sacrifice of a successful career in England demonstrated the obedience of a soldier to a holy cause. The message to be extracted from the scenes where Patteson dedicates his life to missionary work are two-fold: that the volunteer must show a readiness to go wherever he is sent, but also that parents must be prepared to relinquish their children - this was their 'crown of sacrifice' (I: 92-93). Selwyn's inclusion of the need 'to procure good men' in his stated aims for his home visit makes us wary of this narrative; a jaundiced modern eye detects the machinations of the Eton clan, who had been grooming Patteson from boyhood to be a suitable candidate to work with Selwyn. Patteson's unpompous character, his excellence at cricket, his facility with languages and above all his deep love for Eton were key qualifications. Clearly there is an element of truth here: he was a 'marked man' in the sights of Selwyn and his Uncle Edward. On the other hand, reading Selwyn's stirring sermons to undergraduates at Cambridge we can participate in the seductive allure of the call to arms, which had renewed Patteson's boyish but heartfelt dreams. Preaching in the early months of the Crimean War, Selwyn deliberately used the military ethos of the time to summon 'men who, when the laws ... at home no longer bind them, can be outlaws without being rebels; men who can stand alone'.⁸⁴ In March 1855 Edward Coleridge bade a final farewell to his nephew 'Coley' Patteson on board the ship which would carry him to the other side of the world.

Had Selwyn and Coleridge been able to read Patteson's previous letters to his sisters where he agonized over the minutiae of parochial work, they might have wondered

⁸⁴ George Augustus Selwyn, *The Work of Christ in the World. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, 1854* (Cambridge, 1855), 49-50.

whether his personality was too introspective and self-obsessed for the loneliness of mission work (I: 76-77). Yonge's biography later mulls over this evidence of her cousin's youthful self-absorbed preoccupations; she comments, 'in a certain stage of piety there is much of self, and Coley was evidently in that stage' (I: 69). In an interesting passage she questions his decision to become a missionary: 'In the face of all this grief, the parting till death, the work broken off, the life cut short mid-way, the profusion of needs at home for able ministers, is it to be regretted that Coleridge Patteson devoted himself to the more remote fields abroad?' Her answer is that he would have found the family living at Alvington 'too small to afford full scope for his powers', but neither would he have been suited to a parish in a large town because 'he could deal with individuals better than with masses' (I: 99-100).⁸⁵ The choice of Yonge as biographer by Patteson's sisters did not initially meet with universal approval, but the completed volumes display her empathetic appreciation of his struggles and his achievements. Her interjections between the letters provide a sophisticated critique of the man and of his mission. She revered him but recognized in him difficult traits with which she could identify, possibly because they were ones that she shared.⁸⁶

Yonge's financial endowment of *The Southern Cross* in 1854 was followed by the donation of the considerable and continuing profits from *The Daisy Chain*; these provided most of the buildings for Patteson's base for his Melanesian scholars at Kohimarama near Auckland and later at Norfolk Island.⁸⁷ Her imaginative investment in his enterprise was

⁸⁵ These sentences are strikingly similar to her comments on Leonard Ward's suitability for overseas mission work in *The Trial* (1864) – see last section of this chapter.

⁸⁶ *QR*, XXXVII, 1874, 458-492: Gladstone's favourable review of Yonge's, *Patteson*, in which he wishes she had inserted more rather than less of her own comments.

⁸⁷ D. Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, provides a sympathetic modern analysis of the work of the Mission; also John Gutch, *Martyr of the Islands. The Life and Death of John Coleridge Patteson* (London, 1971); Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*. Julia Courtney, 'Charlotte Mary Yonge: a novelist and her readers',

as extensive: she incorporated accounts of Patteson's work into *The Monthly Packet* extracted from letters to herself and his family.⁸⁸ Her readers became familiar with the everyday and the exceptional as it happened in Patteson's life, carefully edited to protect his sense of privacy but without descending to the sensationalist accounts he himself deprecated.⁸⁹ Patteson complained about the falsity of the versions of his life as served up in some of the mission periodicals:

Did you happen to see a ridiculous engraving on one of the S.P.G. sheets some years ago supposed to be me taking two Ambrym boys to the boat? ... If Ambrym boys really looked like those two little fellows, and if the boat with bland-looking white men could quietly be pulled to the beach, and if I, in a respectable dress could go to and from the boat and the shore, why the third stage of Mission work has been reached already! I don't suppose you can picture to yourselves the real state of things (II: 165).

His naming of the College at Kohimarama as St. Andrew's after the church at Cocks Moor in *The Daisy Chain* linked the fictional with factual reality. The most notable example of this type of association is an account entitled '*The Little Duke in New Zealand or the Maori Chief's Son - A True Story of the Years 1854-1856*'.⁹⁰ This tale tells of tribal enmity brought to an end by a murdered Chief's nine year old son who forswears revenge. No explanation is given for the reference to *The Little Duke* in the title; it is assumed that the community of readers will make the connection between the fictional-but-true events from tenth century Europe and contemporary Maori history. Those with

unpublished PhD. thesis, Univ. of London, 1990, includes a chapter on Patteson's work; I am also grateful for permission to use her unpublished paper given at a conference on 'The Victorians and Race' at Leicester Univ., 1994: 'An Etonian in Melanesia: Race, Climate and Culture in the Letters and Writings of John Coleridge Patteson (1827-1871) and his Circle'.

⁸⁸ SCLC, Selwyn Mss., 7.48.e, Selwyn to EC, Aug. 26 1858, 'Coley's letters "in extenso" seem to find their way into the "Monthly Packet" which is quite lawful considering the deep interest which our good friend the authoress takes in the Melanesian Mission'.

⁸⁹ *MP*, XIV, July-Dec. 1857, 96-103, 'Visit to Norfolk Island'; 553-557 and 655-662, 'Notes on a Voyage amongst the Pacific Islands by the Bishop of New Zealand's Missionary Chaplain'; Yonge, *Patteson*, II, 173-174, JCP.'s Journal to his family: 'in these introductory visits scarcely anything is done or said that resembles Mission work as invented in stories, and described by the very vivid imagination, of sensational writers'.

⁹⁰ *MP*, XIII, May 1857, 552-554; its author, 'C. J. A.' was Charles John Abraham, ex-Eton master, later Bishop of Wellington.

no special interest in missionaries would still find the story thought-provoking. By putting it within this kind of timescale, it rebuffs the carping criticisms of those who complain of the inefficacy and slowness of missionary work. Rather than counting numbers of conversions, Yonge's periodical encourages her readers to understand that such work involves long-term and fundamental reform of customary practices.⁹¹

This matched Patteson's own emphasis on gradual conversion through spiritual understanding rather than any formal compliance with the externals of religion. At odds with our stereotypes of Victorian missionaries, he even found the adoption of clothing by natives irrelevant and unnecessary compared with any small steps towards the 'vital living truth of a spiritual religion' (II: 246-248). He wrote to Yonge in 1867 that:

there is almost harm done by trying to make these islanders into English people. ... They are to be Melanesian, not English Christians. We are so far removed from them in matters not at all necessarily connected with Christianity, that unless we can denationalise ourselves and eliminate all that belongs to us as English, and not as Christians, we cannot be to them what a well-instructed fellow-countryman can be (II: 187).

The more he became absorbed in his work with the Melanesians, the more he felt exasperated with the pressure to translate what he did into the mission-stories which the public at home wanted to hear. This problem was astutely explained by one of Patteson's co-workers:

My objection to Mission reports has always been that readers want to hear of "progress", and the writers are thus tempted to write of it. ... People expect too much. ... We have the precious seed to sow, and must sow it when and where we can, but we must not always be looking out to reap what we have sown. ...

⁹¹ Yonge's comprehension of the magnitude of the task in hand made her stoical when Patteson decided in 1866 to leave Kohimarama in New Zealand, with its solid stone structures largely paid for by Yonge's donations, to move a thousand miles away to Norfolk Island. She began to collect money for new buildings; these were named after St Barnabas and she did not allow regret at this change of name which ended the *Daisy Chain* connection. Yonge, *Patteson*, II, 191, JCP to Selwyn: 'the people ... call the place St. Barnabas; and as this suits the Eton feeling also, and you and the others never liked St. Andrew's, don't you think we may adopt the new name? Miss Yonge won't mind, I'm sure'. Yonge's footnote records her agreement with this sentiment.

Because missionary work looks like a failure, it does not follow that it is (II: 288).⁹²

Yet public exposure was essential to maintain the flow of money into the SPG. Patteson ploughed his personal funds into his work, and ideally preferred to have no publicity.

Yonge sympathized with such attitudes but her experience as a writer and editor meant that she also understood the mechanics of the marketplace, the competing demands for the public's money, and the need to combat what present-day charities call 'compassion fatigue'. Her access to Patteson's extensive correspondence with his intimate family and friends made her the perfect channel for filtering news of the Melanesian Mission to a wider audience; she shaped his narrative and broadcast it in subtle ways.

The strains of Patteson's unusual life left him physically and mentally weakened. By 1870 he was critically ill, but he rejected the appeal from the New Zealand bishops that he should take extended leave and return to England.⁹³ Even if, as he promised his family, he avoided 'the more risky and adventurous part of the work in the islands', it was likely that he did not have long to live (II: 291). His death in any circumstances would have been greatly mourned but not by the worldwide numbers affected by his murder on the island of Nukapu on September 20th 1871. As the news spread it gathered a momentum of emotional and shocked responses; this was especially so because his killing was believed to be in revenge for the kidnapping of native men by rogue traders to be used as slave-labour on the plantations of Queensland and Fiji.⁹⁴ The grief of those in

⁹² Comments by Joseph Atkin, who later died of his wounds inflicted at Nukapu where Patteson was killed.

⁹³ Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, 60-63, suggests that Patteson was dismayed by the distance between the ideal and the reality of his settlement on Norfolk Island; that his isolation there made him 'taciturn' and 'peevish'.

⁹⁴ His death was mentioned in the Queen's Speech in February 1872 with a pledge of legislation aimed at preventing the slave-labour. David Hilliard, 'The Making of an Anglican Martyr: Bishop John Coleridge Patteson of Melanesia', in Diana Wood (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrologies* (Oxford, 1993), describes the torrent of angry editorials, sermons and meetings in Australia and New Zealand where those opposed to the unregulated labour trade wanted to use the death to gain legislation.

the SPG was, perhaps inevitably, tinged with a note of exultation that the Anglican Church had acquired a martyr. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Salisbury, reminded Convocation that ‘the blood of the martyr is the seed of the Church’ and the SPG’s *Journal* asserted its pride at this ‘honour’.⁹⁵ Charlotte Yonge’s response is more muted. As someone who had spent the previous two decades mentally accompanying Patteson on his journeys and who had shared in some of his deepest thoughts about the role of the Church, she was more aware of the heroism of his life than of his death. In his last letter to her he had written:

You can’t think what a treat your letters are. You see, Mr. Codrington is the only one of my age, and (so to say) education here, and so to commune with one who thinks much on these matters, which of course have the deepest interest for me, is very pleasant and useful (II: 333).

He had recently read Yonge’s *Pupils of St. John the Divine*; his younger companion Joseph Atkin, also fatally wounded at Nukapu, finished her historical novel *The Chaplet of Pearls* on this fatal last voyage. Patteson had trusted Yonge to represent his work during his lifetime; this perhaps influenced his sisters’ decision to give Yonge the awesome responsibility of his biography.⁹⁶

What I have tried to demonstrate in this chapter is the complexity and multiplicity of the links between Yonge and the work of the missionaries of the South Pacific: that what might at first appear to be a naive and charming admiration of an inexperienced authoress for adventurer-heroes, was instead an intricate and knowledgeable relationship which enabled her to percolate information and opinions on mission work into the homes even of those who did not subscribe to missionary periodicals and collections. Her

⁹⁵ H. Rowley (ed.), *Speeches on Missions*, 325. *SPG Journal*, Jan. 1871. A. Ross, *New Zealand. Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1964), 86: Patteson’s death caused more than forty men to volunteer for service in the Melanesian Mission.

⁹⁶ Yonge had first written an appreciation of Patteson for *The Literary Churchman*, which was published with additions as *In Memoriam Bishop Patteson* (London, 1872).

representations, especially of Patteson's endeavours, stressed these men's humanity, courage and humility - characteristics with which readers of many religious affiliations could identify. There is no space here to examine the interest she also took in forefronting mission work in South Africa and elsewhere.⁹⁷ The frequent suggestions in *The Monthly Packet* about Home Missions emphasized that interest in overseas missions did not preclude involvement in problems nearer home. A series of articles about mission work in the East End of London described projects similar in style to what Patteson was doing in Melanesia, where local people were trained to provide help and advice as a prelude to Christian teaching.⁹⁸ Yonge's campaign to raise sufficient money to provide church bells to be sent to Auckland, so that settlers could have a 'flood of home associations ... peculiarly calculated to raise pure and holy aspirations in the breast of the wanderer', reminded readers that SPG solicitude for emigrants was a key feature of their mission work.⁹⁹ Perhaps of most importance in infiltrating thoughts of missionary men into a wider community were her novels. Our knowledge of human nature makes it likely that many subscribers to *The Monthly Packet* loved best the chance to read Yonge's serialized novels before they were published in book form; even if they never found time to read all the serious articles in any month, they would certainly have devoured the next episode of a Yonge story.

⁹⁷ *New Ground* (serialised *MY* Jan. 1863 - Nov. 1866, published in 1868), her only novel which focuses on actual missionary work abroad, is set in South Africa.

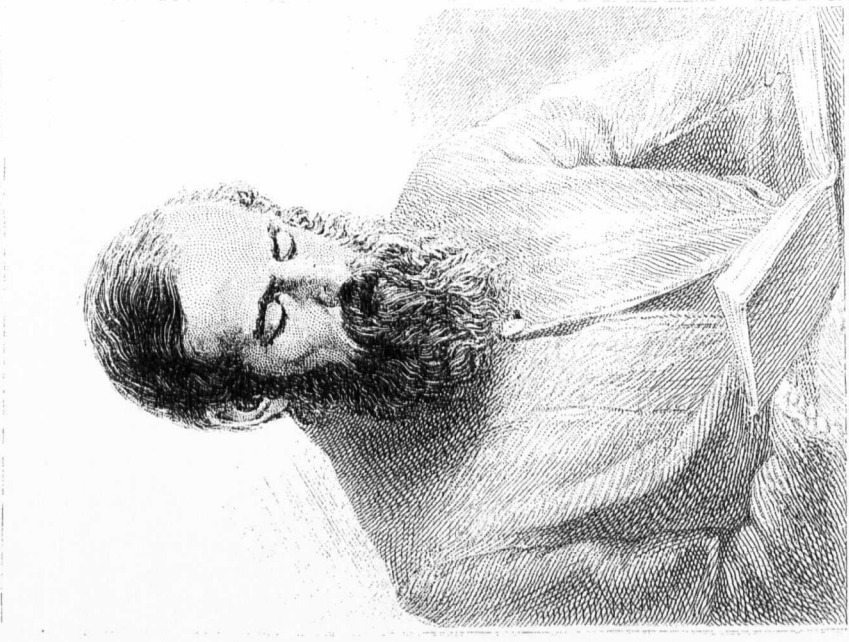
⁹⁸ *MP*, XXIII, March 1862, 264-268, 'Women's Work in London', the first of many articles on the East End.

⁹⁹ *MP*, XV, 1858, 539. *MP*, XXIV, 1862, 224, announced that £800 had been collected and 'the eight bells by Mr. Warner in the south transept at the International Exhibition No. 6538 are to be sent out soon' - another example of Yonge's understanding of the whole 'marketing' process of how to enlist and involve supporters.



In your effort. delightful son
J. Patterson

Engraved by J.H. Jeems from a sketch by George Pickmond, F.R.S.



In your loving letter
J. Patterson

Engraved by C.H. Jeems from a Photograph

Missionary heroes in Yonge's fiction

During the first voyage made that year to return our Melanesian party, I think Mr. Patteson was feeling much out of sorts. ... He spoke of himself as lazy, and I confess I used to wonder somewhat how it was that he retired so completely into the cabin, and did apparently so little in the way of study. He read the *Heir of Redclyffe* ... in that voyage.
Rev. Benjamin T. Dudley on Bishop Patteson in 1856¹⁰⁰

In this final section I consider Yonge's fictional portrayal of missionary men in *The Daisy Chain* and its sequel *The Trial*, and the dynamics of family life in these tales which can result in the production of such heroic men. Instead of missionaries emerging from dysfunctional social circumstances, solitary men who plough lonely furrows far from home, she asserts that only strong familial nurturing can breed the resilient and honourable characters which these Christian knights need to survive so far from home. What is more, their physical distance is overcome by the maintenance of a web of community, locating their work abroad within the warm imaginative embrace of those at home – the Mother Country made actual. The internalization of moral strength is learned within the buffeting which family life provides and although in the last resort each individual has to wrestle with his/her own demons, success is more likely in those secure within a domestic framework. Mothers and sisters are as important in the creation of strong men as fathers and brothers, and the ideal heroic personality is fuelled by an amalgam of 'feminine' sensitivity combined with 'masculine' physical courage and practical adventuring. Such a stance rebuffed attitudes such as those expressed in the *Quarterly Review*:

the notion of good people now-a-days, as to what Christian ministers should be, requires them to be women rather than men; and as the result ... the effeminate take to this office, and the men pass it by ... Its ministry must include men who shall be, as in the olden time, men of action, men of might.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Yonge, *Patteson*, I: 198.

¹⁰¹ *QR*, XIX, 1854, 465, on Census of religious worship of 1851; although the comment is not about missionary clerics, it epitomises the general view of those in holy orders, including missionaries.

Overseas mission work was portrayed by Yonge as the zenith of achievement, a peak only a few special men would be able to climb. At a time when Livingstone's missionary-adventure in Africa was creating one version of the lowly-born non-Anglican crusader who amalgamated trading targets with Christian conversion, Yonge represented an alternative trajectory in line more with the forefathers of the Christian Church.¹⁰²

Part I of *The Daisy Chain* was serialized in *The Monthly Packet* (July 1853 - Dec. 1855) during the significant period when Yonge first became personally involved in major donations to the New Zealand Mission. It is notable that the bulk of missionary-related episodes occur in the latter sections, written probably in the excitement of Yonge's personal involvement in the events surrounding Selwyn's visit to England; it is possible that Norman's future career as a missionary in the Antipodes was not fully-formed in her mind when Yonge began her saga. This much-loved chronicle of the May family was published in book form, complete with Part II, in 1856. It still remains the novel which Yonge-lovers tend to cite as their favourite; it is likely, though, that many modern readers regard the missionary episodes with least sympathy, as risible aberrations peculiar to Yonge's circle, not to be taken too seriously. This detracts from their significance for her contemporaries, which I want to centre-stage. The first readers of *The Daisy Chain*, both in its serialised and book form, were reading it in the context of a succession of articles which described the work of Selwyn, Patteson and all the mission staff of New Zealand.¹⁰³ The character of Norman is of particular interest, as it reflects Yonge's views at that time - not refined by years of involvement and experience, as in her

¹⁰² C. M. Yonge, *Pioneers and Founders*, 297: Yonge viewed Livingstone to be more of an explorer than a missionary.

¹⁰³ *MP*, IX, May 1855, 396-400, 'The Maori Deacon'; XII, Dec. 1856, 508-512, 'New Zealand. A Christening'; XIV, July 1857, 96-103, 'Norfolk Island in 1857', 553-557 and 655-662, 'Notes of a voyage amongst the Pacific Islands by the Bishop of New Zealand's Missionary Chaplain'; as well as articles for 1853-54 previously referred to.

biography of the real missionary Patteson. Academically the cleverest of the five May sons, with a career at Oxford ahead of him, Norman dedicates his life to go to the South Seas. This vocation is not feasible until a younger brother, Tom, agrees to inherit the mantle of his father's local role as doctor - he too has to make a sacrifice to allow his brother to be a missionary:

Tom gave a great sigh. "No" he said, "if I must, I must; ... I only hate ... the being tied down to a country place like that, while you go out thousands of miles off to these savages".¹⁰⁴

Tom is often used to express common but faulty attitudes about these 'savages' whom he also refers to as 'black villains', which Yonge then contradicts. She suggests that only less educated people continue to have such mistaken ideas about native peoples as cannibals.¹⁰⁵ In her account of the treatment of the British sailors marooned on a Pacific island - the younger Harry May and Margaret's fiancé Alan Ernescliff - she focuses on the innate nobility of some natives as compared with the wickedness of other immigrant Westerners. Harry tells of a native islander converted to Christianity by his summer stays at the mission station in New Zealand, now named David:

'You must not think of him like a savage, for he is my friend, and a far more perfect gentleman than I ever saw any one, but you, papa, holding the command over his people so easily and courteously' (535).

Yonge's simple use of the phrase 'Harry's Black Prince' (536) cleverly conflates the image of the noble 'savage' with that of the medieval royal warrior, bestowing dignity on his character. Harry's account of his rescue and care at the hands of native islanders would have reminded many readers of the story which Selwyn had told at meetings

¹⁰⁴ C. M. Yonge, *The Daisy Chain or Aspirations. A Family Chronicle* (London: 1988), 549; page references are to this edition. Shirley Foster and Judy Simons, *What Katy Read. Feminist Re-readings of Classic Stories for Girls* (Basingstoke, 1995), 61-84, provide a sympathetic modern evaluation.

¹⁰⁵ Talia Schaffer, 'Taming the Tropics: Charlotte Yonge Takes on Melanesia', *Victorian Studies*, 47.2, 2005, 205-214, suggests in a footnote (213-4) that such comments reflect Yonge's own feelings, but I do not agree.

around the country in 1854. Most would have recognised the story of Umao, a boy who had nursed a sickly and bad-tempered English sailor abandoned on the island of Erromango, a place-name which resonated for contemporaries as the site where the missionary John Williams had been murdered. Selwyn's 'true-life tale' recounted his 'rescue' of Umao in 1851, carrying him in the missionary ship to St. John's College where he became a receptive resident; in 1853 on a journey to remove him from the cold of the New Zealand winter, Umao had sickened and died in the Bishop's arms. Selwyn used this narrative repeatedly as a parable to move hearts with the idea of the innate kindness of the native child, to underline his message:

there is not a single child in the Pacific Islands ... that in a few years could not be trained to exhibit all the graces of a Christian life. A kindly spirit prevails ... in spite, too, of the barbarism sometimes practised there by English seamen.¹⁰⁶

By linking the factual Umao with the rescue of the much-loved fictional sailor son, Harry, Yonge relocates the 'primitive' Christian boy into the heart of an English family. Elsewhere the missionary tale would be included in adventure stories such as R. M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island*, but positioned firmly in the imaginative fantasy-world of the South Seas, far distant from the drawing-rooms of family life.¹⁰⁷ For many readers of *The Daisy Chain*, Harry would have seemed more 'real' than Umao/David. Yonge's incorporation of the story into Harry's escapades seems to merge fiction and fact – yet is really transposing one form of fiction into another, for so much of the missionary story as purveyed to 'home' audiences was a narrative shaped to a particular end. Yonge's strategy resembles that used earlier by other women writers to bring the problems of the factories into the homes of conservative Anglican families: Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna in *Helen Fleetwood* and Frances Trollope in *Michael Armstrong*, utilized barely-disguised

¹⁰⁶ CCC, VIII, Dec. 1854, 217, report of Address given at Bath. The same story crops up in many of his speeches. Yonge gives a brief account of Umao, *Patteson*, I: 112.

¹⁰⁷ R. M. Ballantyne, *The Coral Island* (1857; London, 1953).

extracts from Parliamentary Reports in their fictional accounts of factory conditions so as to touch the hearts of those readers for whom such sites were as ‘foreign’ as travellers’ accounts of far-distant lives.¹⁰⁸

The central story of *The Daisy Chain* follows Ethel’s determination to provide a new church for the deprived population nearby at Cocksmoor. The ceremony to lay the foundation stone for this church is made the occasion for an SPG meeting - ‘as Cocksmoor is provided for, why not give the benefit to the missions, in their crying need’ (588) – an underlining of the notion that home and overseas mission work were inter-related rather than an either/or. Norman will go overseas to pursue missionary work while Ethel continues her mission work at home among the ‘savages’ of Cocksmoor.¹⁰⁹ The occasion gives Norman the chance to give an impassioned Address about the ‘lovely isles’ where ‘inhabitants of noble promise [were] withering for lack of knowledge’ (595). This strange phrase depicts them as thirsty plant-victims in a Garden of Eden shrivelling away unless some altruistic bearer of wisdom comes to refresh them. His rhetoric resembles that of Selwyn in his sermons which resonated with rural metaphors of seed-sowing and harvests. Norman’s lecture enchants his audience ‘as to a strain of sweet music’; then ‘when they were wrought up to the highest pitch, by an appeal that touched them all home; [knowing] that the universal brotherhood was drawn closest in circles

¹⁰⁸ Mrs. Tonna, *Helen Fleetwood* (1841), previously serialised 1839-40 in her *Christian Lady’s Magazine*; she tackled sweated labour in *The Wrongs of Women*, I - IV (London, 1843); Frances Trollope, *The Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong, The Factory Boy* (London, 1840). Sophie Hamilton, ‘Images of Femininity in the Royal Commissions of the 1830’s and 1840’s,’ in Eileen Yeo (ed.), *Radical Femininity. Women’s Self-representation in the Public Sphere* (Manchester, 1998), reveals how the narrative of female exploitation presented in Parliamentary Blue Books resulted from a selective use of ‘facts’, muddying the borders between actuality and fiction even before writers such as Tonna, Trollope and Dickens raided them for their novels.

¹⁰⁹ T. Schaffer, ‘Taming the Tropics’, develops a similar idea, linking the ‘wild space’ of Cocksmoor with Norman’s Pacific parish in her thought-provoking examination of *The Daisy Chain* from the unusual perspective of horticultural handiwork; she stresses the connection by emphasizing the Irish/uncivilized background of Ethel’s key pupil.

nearer home'. He explains his own intended departure as the payment of a debt of gratitude to the islanders for the safe return of his brother Harry. Dr. May is moved to tears, while Ethel – so often the mouthpiece for Yonge's own feelings and experiences – expresses the emotions which Charlotte herself had probably felt while listening to Selwyn: she 'sat like one enchanted, forgetting who spoke, forgetting all save the islanders' (595).

Tom, of course, resents his brother's plans and voices the inadmissible:

'why should he go and set his heart on those black savages? ... They are all niggers together. ... I cannot think why Norman should care for them more than his own brothers and sisters. All I know is that if I were my father, I would never give my consent' (598).

Yonge never advocates disobedience to parental wishes, even when they are unreasonable; she was well aware, however, that the stumbling-block which often prevented both her male and female readers from acts of 'self-devotion' was the wish of parents to keep their adult children nearby. In real life, Dr. May might well have refused to let Norman go; she makes her fictional paterfamilias an exemplar in the mould of Judge John Patteson, giving his blessing to Norman in spite of the possibility that he might never see him again. Unlike Coley Patteson, however, Yonge marries off Norman before his departure to the heiress Meta Rivers who has already shown herself to be well-read in Australasian literature (543). Yonge here uses her knowledge of the significant roles of Sarah Selwyn and Caroline Abraham in New Zealand, where they provided not only companionship for their husbands, but were actively involved in establishing schools and hospitals. Yonge/Ethel justifies the couple's suitability when she silences the doubts expressed by Aunt Arnott, newly returned from years of colonial life: 'Meta is a concentration of spirit and energy, [and] delights in practical matters ... Between them

they will make a noble missionary' (627). She thus underlines the key role women can play in missionary work both at home - like Ethel - and abroad.

For a modern reader, however, both Norman and Meta remain unsuitable candidates to be missionaries: Norman is introverted and uncommunicative, Meta is petite and delicate; it is hard to believe that they would cope with the lonely hardship of such a life.¹¹⁰ Yonge's developing knowledge about the realities of Patteson's life possibly led her to the same conclusion. At the start of *The Trial* she updates readers about their years in New Zealand.¹¹¹ The shock for any reader who has imagined Norman May sailing among the South Sea islands bringing Christianity to the heathen *à la* Selwyn and Patteson is the disclosure that 'Norman's powers were not thought of the description calculated for regular mission work'.¹¹² Instead he and Meta:

had received the charge of persons as much in need of them as unreclaimed savages, but to whom there was less apparent glory in ministering. A wide-spread district of very colonial colonists, and the charge of a college for their uncultivated sons, was quite as troublesome as the most ardent self-devotion could desire (4-5).

Yonge recognizes that this news will be a profound disappointment, that however valuable this work, his family at home - and her readers - will find it harder to accept their absence on the other side of the world. She gives to Flora, Norman's elder sister, the script which must have been unspoken in many people's minds: 'Norman need not have gone so far ... to obtain an under-bred English congregation'. Even the saintly Dr. May 'sighed once or twice at having relinquished his favourite son to what was dull and distasteful' (5).

¹¹⁰ Descriptions of Sarah Selwyn suggest that Yonge used her as a template for a dainty woman's ability to cope in New Zealand.

¹¹¹ C. M. Yonge, *The Trial: More Links to the Daisy Chain* (Stroud, 1996), page references to this edition; serialised in *MP*, Jan. 1862 - April 1864, published as book, 1864.

¹¹² On the last but one page of the *The Daisy Chain*, 666, Ethel wondered 'where Norman might be looking at the sun dipping into the Western sea' before her final thoughts about her own achievement in helping to get the church at Cocks Moor built.

Later in the book, Yonge stresses the importance of this more mundane work by introducing a real-life example of Norman's handiwork, sent home with Norman and Meta's young son: 'His escort was a specimen of the work Norman had done; not actual mission-work but preparation and inspiring those who went forth on the actual task' (324). Yonge had already portrayed Honora's infatuation with the would-be missionary Owen Sandbrook in *Hopes and Fears* (1860) as a mistake which blinded her to his romantic ineptitude. This shift probably reflects her deeper knowledge, especially of Patteson's work, and his conviction that indigenous Christian converts were the best way to spread Christian teaching. In 1862 Patteson, now a Bishop, described in a letter to his cousin Derwent Coleridge the kind of men best suited to missionary work:

Earnest, bright, cheerful fellows, without that notion of "making sacrifices" etc., ... would be invaluable. You know the kind of men, who have got rid of the conventional notion that more self-denial is needed for a missionary than for a sailor or soldier. ... A fellow with ... plenty of enterprise and some enthusiasm, who makes the best of everything, and above all does not think himself better than other people because he is engaged in Mission work. ... A man who takes the sentimental view of coral islands and cocoa nuts of course is worse than useless; ... and a man who thinks any kind of work "beneath a gentleman" will simply be in the way, and be rather uncomfortable at seeing the Bishop do what he thinks is degrading to do himself.¹¹³

While still wanting to inspire the giving of money and men, Yonge responded to the need to play down the more romantic notions of mission work and perhaps realized that Norman's intense sensitivity would not be the best characteristic for missionary life. She was careful, however, not to endorse the notion that Norman and Meta's lives were in any sense a failure. In *The Trial* their letters home are shared around and inspire new missionary fervour, especially in Averil and Leonard Ward. Averil comes to 'regard mission-work as the highest ambition' (70) and Ethel imbues Leonard with a longing to

¹¹³ Yonge, *Patteson*, II, 21-22. Derwent Coleridge was Principal of St. Mark's Training College, Chelsea; Patteson's comments were aimed at Coleridge providing suitable candidates.

answer the missionary call. She thinks that 'he is cut out for such work ... [as he] is too full of physical energy and enterprise to take readily to sober parochial life. His ardour is a gallant thing, and his home ties not binding' (51). This would-be missionary has an ebullience more like that of Harry May than of Norman, and his headstrong behaviour results in his abandoning the possibility of a University education. He has to survive the tribulations of imprisonment on a false charge for murder before his character is honed to the maturity necessary for missionary work. Experience of prison provides him with the practical skill of shoe-making, a useful asset in line with Patteson's desired qualifications for new men sent from England.¹¹⁴ His earlier boyish enthusiasm - which had declared New Zealand to be 'too tame and too settled' compared to the 'painted visages and marvellous head-dresses' of Fiji, and fancied fortune-hunting in the goldfields (134) - needs transformation into a sober understanding of the missionary's role.

An older and more mature Ethel confides in Harry her hopes for Leonard - that he might fulfil his desire to go to Melanesia as a missionary - but then adds, 'if it were not nonsense to build upon people's generous visions at seventeen' (87). We hear Yonge's own vacillation here between her younger quixotic notions and her wiser awareness of the qualities more suited to the travails of missionary life. Later in *The Pillars of the House* she would decree that Clement Underwood, the character most similar to Norman May, should remain a clergyman at home as he could not 'rough it as a missionary'.¹¹⁵ But her devotion to the cause remained and infiltrated all aspects of her diverse publications.

When years later in *The Long Vacation* she brought the missionary Leonard and Norman,

¹¹⁴ *The Trial*, 374 - the last paragraph of the book tells how he is faring as a missionary: 'Leonard's shoe-making is not his foremost office in the mission, where he finds that fulness of hopeful gladness which experience shows is literally often vouchsafed to those who have given up home, land and friends, for the Gospel's sake'.

¹¹⁵ C. M. Yonge, *The Pillars of the House* (1873; London, 1896), I, 210.

now a Colonial Bishop, back to England on a visit, she stresses their achievements. Yonge uses the very same phrase she had written forty years before in *The Daisy Chain* to describe the magnetic effect of Norman's rhetoric: he pleaded 'the cause of missions with his wonderful eloquence, ... [and] his father sat listening to him, *as to a strain of sweet music* long out of reach' [my italics].¹¹⁶ She thus wonderfully jogs the memory of her readers, many of whom will - like Yonge - have spent a lifetime in a multiplicity of schemes to support mission work at home and abroad. It is notable that Julia Bush's key women in female imperialist associations at the end of the century - Edith Lyttelton, Maud Selborne, Meriel Talbot, Laura Ridding - were from the next generation of Yonge's circle.¹¹⁷ We know they were brought up reading *The Monthly Packet* and her novels, and it is tempting to ascribe at least some of their fervour to the influence of Yonge's missionary messages which permeated her works.

Guy Morville in *The Heir of Redclyffe* had the perfect qualities to have become a missionary - courage, passion, an ability to play games, humility, a sensitivity to suffering, practical nursing ability and eventually a readiness to lay down his life for his pompous cousin Philip Morville. Although *The Heir* is atypical of Yonge's novels in having no specific missionary connection within the story, its association with such projects came not just from her donation of its profits to *The Southern Cross*, but from the nature of Guy's character. Even if she provided her later missionary men with more practical talents than those of Norman May, they all resembled Guy Morville, incarnations of Yonge's ideal knightly men who battled with the forces of evil wherever

¹¹⁶ C. M. Yonge, *The Long Vacation* (London, 1895), 344.

¹¹⁷ Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (London, 2000). Yonge was directly involved in one of the organizations Bush examines, the Girls Friendly Society based in Winchester. See Mary Heath-Stubbs, *Friendship's Highway Being the History of the Girls' Friendly Society, 1875-1933* (London, 1935); S. Fletcher, *Lord Lyttelton's Daughters*.

they found them, but who retained sufficient recognisable human frailties to attract fondness and sympathy. The quotation at the start of this section suggests that when Patteson read *The Heir* on board the mission ship in the South Pacific, he too was deeply affected by it, distracted from his other duties by Yonge's narrative. Writing to Edward Coleridge in 1859, he muses over how best to deal with his father's recent death:

I often think that this is well brought out in *The Heir of Redclyffe* - the loss of "the bright outside", the life and energy and vigour, and all the companionable and sociable qualities, contrasted with the power of thinking oneself into the inner spiritual relations that exist between the worlds visible and invisible.¹¹⁸

Patteson was an archetypal Yonge-hero but unlike the make-believe Guy Morville, Norman May and Leonard Ward he existed in the real world, though one located geographically half a globe's distance from her life in Hampshire. When he told her, 'you are through your books stamping your mind on many people', he included himself within the worldwide orbit of her influence: situated in the Pacific he too was shaped by her narrative models, wanting to incorporate aspects of their characters into his own subjective construction.¹¹⁹ We are left with a mirroring confusion between the fictional and the factual worlds of Charlotte Yonge's imagination.

¹¹⁸ Yonge, *Patteson*, I, 275.

¹¹⁹ See previous quotation, p. 221 of this thesis. Barbara Sichermann, 'Reading and Ambition: M. Carey Thomas and Female Heroism', *American Quarterly*, 45(1), 1993, 73-103, examines how reading can spur heroic action and cites the example of Agnes Hamilton whose efforts to found a church for the poor of Fort Wayne were modelled on Ethel's church-building in *The Daisy Chain*.

**Chapter Five - History and Story: the complexities of Yonge's involvement in
historical writing**

Women and the Discipline of History

The walls were hung with Elizabeth's own works, for the most part more useful than ornamental. There were genealogical and chronological charts of Kings and Kaisers, comparisons of historical characters, tables of Christian names and their derivations, botanical lists, maps, and drawings - all in such confusion, that once, when Helen attempted to find the Pope contemporary with Edward the First, she asked Elizabeth why she had written the Pope down as Leo Nonus Cardinal, on which she was informed, ... that the word in question was the name of a flower, Leonurus Cardiaca, ... and that Pope Martin the Fourth was to be found on the other side of the Kings of France and Spain, and the portrait of Charles the First.¹

Here in her first novel *Abbeychurch*, published in 1844 when she was only twenty-one, we are given a rare insight into the obsessive interests which will govern Charlotte Yonge's life. Although she wrote these words about the room of a fictional heroine Elizabeth Woodbourne, there are tell-tale indications (such as the tables of Christian names), which mean that we can be almost certain that the description matched her own room. Republished only once many years later at the insistence of admirers, *Abbeychurch* is now a rarity, which she herself described as a 'first crude attempt'.² Her embarrassment was perhaps intensified by the extent to which the book contained such autobiographical nuggets. Another example is Elizabeth's habit of mentally absenting herself in company which bored her, by transposing the situation into the past; this corresponds exactly to the account which Ann Moberly gave of the first occasion when William Yonge took the twelve-year-old Charlotte to meet the Moberly family - in both fiction and actuality Elizabeth/Charlotte 'had sent back the whole party to the times of Elizabeth, and fancied what they might be saying about the Spanish Armada'.³

¹ C. M. Yonge, *Abbeychurch: or Self Control and Self Conceit* (London, 1844), 22-23. It was her first novel in English; *Le Château de Melville* had been published in 1838.

² Yonge, *Abbeychurch*, preface to 2nd edition (London, 1872), i.

³ Yonge, *Abbeychurch*, 9; C. A. E. Moberly, *Dulce Domum*, 60.

Yonge apologises in the preface to the 1872 edition of *Abbeychurch* for the historical preoccupations of her characters, as she was now ‘somewhat ashamed of the exuberant outpouring of historical allusions, which, however, were perfectly natural among the set of girls from whom my experience was taken’. Certainly, the impression the reader gains of Elizabeth is of a young woman who discharges her duties so that she can then indulge in her chief passion for history. She announces to her cousin Anne, ‘I have read to the old woman, and crammed the children, and given old Mrs. Clayton a catalogue raisonnée of all the company’ (130), and so can launch into a discussion in which she contrasts Walter Scott’s fictions with historical facts, and is determined to penetrate the layers of romance to discover historical truth. Anne queries how Elizabeth’s love of Scott’s stories could lead to a love of history. Elizabeth’s reply - ‘They teach us to realize and understand the people whom we find in history’ (133) - encapsulates what became a major theme of Yonge’s writing life, her desire to excite a thirst for historical knowledge and to breathe life into past people - ‘I cannot bear dry facts, such as that Charles the Fifth beat Francis the First, at Pavia, in a war for the duchy of Milan, and nothing more told about them’ (135). It would be Yonge’s ability to flesh out portraits of historical people which would lead to the popularity of such stories as *The Little Duke* and *The Chaplet of Pearls*, and of the vast numbers of history textbooks for which she was responsible.⁴ Yet, even among Yonge devotees, there is a tendency to dismiss this side of her work and treat it as an embarrassment. Battiscombe typically declared that Yonge’s historical novels - ‘a mixture of piety and historical research’ - are peopled by embodiments of nineteenth century heroes, Tractarians clothed in medieval armour.⁵ Few

⁴ There are more than thirty historical novels, as well as numerous short stories. Her main series of textbooks were *Landmarks of History*, 3 Vols., 1852-57, *Cameos from English History*, 9 vols., 1868-99, *Aunt Charlotte’s Stories of History*, 6 Vols., 1873-77, *English History Reading Books*, 5 Vols., 1881-1885, *Westminster Historical Reading Books*, 6 Vols., 1891-92.

⁵ G. Battiscombe, *Yonge*, 130-131.

modern critics have attempted to rehabilitate her reputation as a convincing writer on historical themes.⁶ In the landmark book *A Chaplet for Charlotte Yonge* by members of the Charlotte M. Yonge Society, Alice Lucy-Fairfax ended her essay 'The Other Miss Yonge' with the comment that 'one does not, without reason to do so, re-read [the historical novels]. One is ... inclined to feel they, if anything, mar Miss Yonge's reputation'. She admits somewhat grudgingly, however, that the enormous number and range of Yonge's historical works do give her 'as strong a claim to be remembered as an interpreter of history as of her own century'.⁷

It is this claim which I aim to examine in this chapter - Yonge's contribution to the writing of history viewed in the context of the development of History as a discipline in England in the mid-nineteenth century. Although the majority of her historical books were published in the last quarter of her life, I will concentrate on 1844 to 1879 - between the publication of *Abbeychurch* and the *History of France* textbook in the Freeman's series - as it is a key period not only for Yonge, but for the contest between different definitions of history-writing. It seems possible that the tendency to view Yonge's historical abilities as insignificant is itself the result of the gendered parameters laid down for history. The almost complete disregard for the success and widespread adoption of her many textbooks, in accounts of her life, overlooks the significance of her influence in

⁶ The most appreciative modern analysis is A. Hayter, *Charlotte Yonge*, 38-47; also Stella Waring, 'A Passion for History. A Very Personal Portrait of Charlotte Mary Yonge's Historical Novels', *JCMYF*, 4, 1999, 17-28. Some individual works have been the subject of research: Maria Poggi Johnson, 'The king, the priest and the Armorer: the Victorian historical fantasy of the Via Media', *Clio*, 28: 4, 1999, 388-413 examines *The Armourer's Prentices*; Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots. Romance and Nation* (London, 1998) - *Unknown to History*; Claudia Nelson, *Boys will be Girls* (New Brunswick, 1991) - *The Caged Lion*; Rosemary Mitchell, *Picturing the Past. English History in Text and Image, 1830-70* (Oxford, 2000), 248-259, includes a discussion of *The Prince and Page* and *The Lances of Lymwood*.

⁷ G. Battiscombe et al., *Chaplet*, 97.

moulding the views of tens of thousands of the nation's young people.⁸ Add to this the frequency with which 'proper' historians mention the seed sown by her historical fiction in their own and others' lives, and it becomes clear that her influence was pervasive and remarkable.⁹ As a conservative woman who did not strain to broach the boundaries erected around different types of historical enterprise deemed suitable for male 'scholars' or women 'scribblers', Yonge made no claims for herself as a historian. She did not have access to the university education deemed essential for membership of the 'club', nor the time or opportunities for dedicated research. On the other hand the ready availability of the libraries at Winchester College and Hursley Park allowed her to read printed sources and to keep abreast with important new works; comments in her letters and books are evidence of her scrupulous attention to historical detail.¹⁰ Although her detractors accuse her of viewing history through a Victorian lens, she strove for accuracy and for an understanding of the 'otherness' of erstwhile times - to inhabit the past as it really was. Living in an area steeped in reminders of previous periods, she longed to know how people had experienced the events about which she read.¹¹ Her special interest in military campaigns meant that she did not skim over the grim realities of life as it was lived;

⁸ My copy of *English History Reading Book Part IV* (London, n.d.) is stamped 'City of Hull Education Committee 1903', which suggests that it was adopted for the city's schools. Published by The National Society it would be the usual choice for the Society's schools.

⁹ C. V. Wedgwood, *Velvet Studies* (London, 1946), 8; Sir Charles Oman, *Memories of Victorian Oxford* (London, 1941), 21-22; C. H. Firth, *Historical Novels*, Historical Association Leaflet, No. 51, 1922; Helen Cam, *Historical Novels*, Historical Association Pamphlet, No. 48, 1961. A more recent example of Yonge's ability to implant a love of history which led to a lifetime's career was given to me at a conference in Oxford in 2003 by the historian José Harris, whose early dislike of history was transformed when her teacher at a primary school in Hull in the 1950s lent her *The Little Duke*.

¹⁰ James Darling, *Catalogue of Books in the Library of Sir William Heathcote* (1834; London: 1865), records the extensive section devoted to History, with standard works (Palgrave, Sharon Turner, Hallam, Tytler, J. A. Froude) and pamphlets of the Camden Society, 1838-1842. BL McM Mss., 54920/55, Nov. 21 1864, CMY to McM, on her research for *Dove in the Eagle's Nest*, 'I have hunted at the Bodleian but only found how little there was to be had' and Mss. 54920/61, Dec. 23 1864 where she thanks Macmillan for 'getting her out of the way books'.

¹¹ As well as Winchester, connected with key episodes in the nation's history, there were more local links: King's Lane from Otterbourne to Hursley was so-called from the tradition that William Rufus's body was carried there from the New Forest for burial at Winchester, Merdon Castle was significant in the civil wars of Stephen and Matilda and Richard Cromwell had lived in Hursley Park.

indeed Alethea Hayter suggests that Yonge's 'lack of qualms about envisaging or describing violent events', might have made her a 'brilliant and thorough military historian'.¹² Yonge remained, however, within the prescribed spaces allowed to women writing history - children's books, novels, textbooks, memoirs.¹³

Yonge's one foray into serious historical research was *The History of Christian Names* of 1863 where her impressive research shows that she had the makings of a historian, had she lived in a different century. Hayter calls it a 'pioneering work' and quotes a later expert who said it has 'remained the standard work on the subject in English, and practically the whole substance of later books have been based on it'.¹⁴ It is particularly germane to this chapter that it was reviewed in the *Saturday Review* probably by the historian, Edward Augustus Freeman, his style recognisable from the use of some of his 'hobbyhorses'.¹⁵ Freeman's determination to be accorded a place within the new boundaries of scientific history necessitated his use of belittling and feminizing rhetoric to distance himself from 'popular' writers such as Yonge. Although he praises the book, he belittles the possibility that a woman could take on such a study other than superficially; now the topic deserved 'to be thoroughly sifted and scientifically dealt with by some scholar of the first order. But Miss Yonge has made an excellent beginning. It is very seldom that we meet with an essentially popular work so well done'. 'Popular' is not the word which springs to mind when trying to read this long, densely detailed book.

¹² Hayter, *Yonge*, 44.

¹³ Anne Lawrence, 'Women historians and documentary research: Lucy Aiken, Agnes Strickland, Mary Anne Everett Green and Lucy Toulmin Smith', 125-141 in Joyce Bellamy, Anne Lawrence, & Gill Perry (eds.), *Women, scholarship and criticism. Gender and Knowledge, c. 1790-1900* (Manchester, 2000), 128: 'Those women who wished to pursue serious historical studies had to service male historians in prestigious university posts by supplying them with the materials for writing "academic" history or had to write "popular" history or children's books'.

¹⁴ C. M. Yonge, *History of Christian Names* (1863; London, 1884). Hayter, *Yonge*, 45. The quotation, given by Hayter, is from E. C. Withycombe, introduction to *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Names* (Oxford, 1945), iii.

¹⁵ *SR*, XVI, July 11 1863, 58-60 - before their acquaintanceship had begun.

For the overall theme of this chapter, it is worthwhile to examine Freeman's gendered criticism is revealed in its full panoply:

It would hardly be fair to subject a book written under such circumstances to the same sort of criticism as if it were the production of some grave scholar who had passed all his days in libraries. ... Strictly original research, indeed, she for the most part disclaims; but we think we can detect a little more of it than she professes, and, at any rate, it is clear that she has everywhere tried to keep up with the latest advances of knowledge and to make use of the newest lights. ... And we do not think the worse of the book because it is full of thoughts, sayings and turns of expression which never could have proceeded from a male scholar.

He is correct in his reference to Yonge's disclaimer. She opens her book with an apology for undertaking it at all; she had internalised the notion that as a woman she had not the expertise to tackle the subject, and was wary of the brickbats which might be thrown at her for making the attempt.

During the nineteenth century numerous areas of knowledge were 'staked out' and occupied as masculine preserves, but perhaps none was more successfully colonized than History.¹⁶ Defined and policed as a 'manly' discipline, a 'science' based on verifiable facts, the muse of History was tethered by professional male historians who tried to reserve it for their own exclusive use. This process was brilliantly exposed in Bonnie Smith's important book of 1998, *The Gender of History*, in which she demonstrated a tradition of imaging the historian's work in gendered ways.¹⁷ With the authoritative stance of male historians grounded on the devaluation of practices labelled as 'feminine' - i.e. unreliable, superficial, trivial - this led to the typical image of the professional male

¹⁶ Eileen Janes Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science. Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London, 1996), Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body. British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago, 1995) and *History of the Modern Fact. Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago, 1998) examine aspects of this process in areas other than history.

¹⁷ Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History. Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge MA, 1998): 'Truth was where women were not - some invisible and free territory purged of error by historical work, purged of superficial, trivial and extraneous detail; and thus purged, through a variety of procedures, of femininity', 150.

historian as an unproblematic expert, what Judith Newton describes in relation to a similar process within journalism as a 'construction of disembodied masculinity'.¹⁸ Such gendering was accentuated by the elevation of certain categories of history - the political and diplomatic story of the 'public' past - above those concerned with the everyday and 'private' past, a hierarchy which also assumed that the higher branches would be out of the reach of women. Smith points out that, just as in other sciences:

procedures, professional behavior, and scholarly practices have been definitional, ... never more so than in the creation of professionals in the field of history', and she goes on to posit her hypothesis that such professionalism is 'a relationship dependent on discredited voices and devalued narratives'.¹⁹

I want to forefront Yonge as an example of these 'discredited voices and devalued narratives' - to amplify Smith's thesis, and to suggest that this was a process which not only denigrated the work of women as historians but removed History (with a capital H), from the public sphere where it could be shared by the non-specialist general reader, into the elitist private world of professional academia. Both these aspects underline how far more confused the notions of public/private domains were than any simplistic concept of 'separate spheres' can provide. The closer we scan the reality of history-writing in the nineteenth-century, the more we apprehend that it is peopled by women as well as men. Joan Thirsk has mined the rich seams of an 1925 essay by E. Beresford Chancellor in which he looks back on the many women writers of history of the previous century to ponder on their disappearance.²⁰ While some of these women worked independently,

¹⁸ Judith Newton, 'Engendering history for the middle class. Sex and political economy in the *Edinburgh Review*' in Linda Shires (ed.), *Rewriting the Victorians - Theory, History and the Politics of Gender* (New York, 1992), 13.

¹⁹ B. Smith, *Gender of History*, 10.

²⁰ Joan Thirsk, 'The History Women', in Mary O'Dowd and Sabine Wichert (eds.), *Chattel, Servant or Citizen. Women's Status in Church, State and Society* (Belfast, 1995), 1-11. Chancellor's essay is in *Literary Diversions* (London, 1925). Chancellor himself wrote the kind of 'Lives of ...' books categorised as suitable for women writers which might explain his readiness to consider this topic.

there were countless others who skivvied on behalf of male historians, who as Smith indicates, enlisted:

mothers, wives, children, sisters-in-law, cousins, and other female relatives to do the work of researching, filing, editing and even writing. ... These works by the singular male professional as the most credible narrator of the past, and the attendant erasure of contributions by their women relatives and women amateurs, are another part of the gendering of historical science.²¹

In other words history-writing was frequently a family enterprise, with the site of production situated within the bosom of the home. John Tosh has underlined the complexity of masculinities performed by those Victorian professional men for whom the home remained their base of employment, and it seems clear that until the wider development of university History departments provided niches for them to inhabit, many male historians were stranded within their own domestic portals.²²

Thirsk has formulated a law to describe the process whereby women tend to be excluded and/or invisible in areas or skills claimed by men for their own exclusive use.

‘Thirsk’s Law’ states that:

whenever new openings have appeared on the English scene, whether in crafts or trade, and, in the modern world in new academic endeavours, or in the setting up of new organisations in the cultural world, women have usually been prominent

²¹ B. Smith, *Gender of History*, 10.

²² J. Tosh, *A Man’s Place*. For a full account of the development of the discipline of History and its emergence as an academic subject: Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional. Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge, 1986); Rosemary Jann, ‘From Amateur to Professional: The Case of the Oxbridge Historians’, *Journal of British Studies*, 22(2), 1983, 122-147 and *The Art and Science of Victorian History* (Columbus, 1985); Doris S. Goldstein, ‘The organisational development of the British Historical Profession 1884-1921’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, LV (131), 1982, 180-193; J. W. Burrow, *A Liberal Descent. Victorian Historians and the English Past* (Cambridge, 1981); T. W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England* (London, 1982); Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists. Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850-1930* (Oxford, 1991); Peter R. H. Slee, *Learning and a Liberal Education. The Study of Modern History in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester, 1800-1914* (Manchester, 1986); G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (1913; London, 1952); John Kenyon, *The History Men. The Historical Profession in England since the Renaissance* (London, 1983); Deborah Wormell, *Sir John Seeley and the Uses of History* (Cambridge, 1980). In none are women given a role. Wormell gives a telling example of Seeley using his sister to transcribe manuscripts in the British Museum and Public Record Office and that he expected her to exercise her own judgement over the selection and summary of the material (99).

alongside the men. ... Then when the formal structure hardens, the direction, and the style as well, always falls under the control of men.²³

Her starting-point had been exasperation with Kenyon's *The History Men* for its Whiggish narrative of the emergence of history with an all-male cast. As an economic and social historian, Thirsk is very aware of the way different categories of history are denigrated or elevated along gendered lines, with studies of the domestic accorded a lower rank in the hierarchy than those of the political public world.

That Memoirs figured largely as the type of history written by women, can be seen both as a result of women's exclusion from public political participation and a cause of their marginalisation, such accounts being dismissed as extensions of hearsay and gossip rather than contributions to serious knowledge. Rohan Maitzen calls this the 'no-man's land between politics and romance'.²⁴ In her illuminating examination of 'this feminine preserve' of historical biographies, Maitzen suggests that these works act as 'supplements to the historical meta-narratives in which both women and women's sphere are either invisible or marginal, and they vigorously assert a feminine presence in history, while at the same time relying on a theoretical model that negates the disruptive potential of this revisionist practice.'²⁵ By using the work of Patricia Spacks on the role of 'serious gossip' in fostering a sense of community and creating an 'alternative discourse', Maitzen

²³ Thirsk, 'The History Women', 2.

²⁴ Rohan Maitzen, "'This Feminine Preserve': Historical biographies by Victorian Women', *Victorian Studies*, 38(3), 1994, 373; see also *Gender, Genre and Victorian History Writing* (New York, 1998); Alison Booth, 'The lessons of the Medusa: Anna Jameson and collective biographies of women', *Victorian Studies*, 42:2, 1999-2000, 257-288 and *How to make it as a woman. Collective biographies from Victoria to the Present* (Chicago, 2004); D. R. Woolf, "A Feminine Past? Gender, Genre, and Historical Knowledge in England, 1500-1800", *American Historical Review*, 102(3), 1997, 645-679; Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Gender and Genre: Women as Historical Writers 1400-1800', in Patricia H. Labalme (ed.), *Beyond their Sex. Learned Women of the European Past* (New York, 1980), 153-182; Miriam Elizabeth Burstein, 'From Good Looks to Good thoughts: Popular Women's History and the Invention of Modernity, ca. 1830-1870', *Modern Philology*, 97(1), 1999, 46-75 and *Narrating Women's History in Britain, 1770-1902* (Ashgate, 2004); Mary Spongberg, *Writing Women's History since the Renaissance* (Basingstoke, 2002); Rosemary Mitchell, *Picturing the Past. English History in Text and Image, 1830-70* (Oxford, 2000).

²⁵ Maitzen, "'This Feminine Preserve'", 372.

explores the significance of such histories both for historiography and for women's sense of their own history.²⁶ By the end of the century the slur given to these histories is evidenced by the language used by Augustus Jessopp in an article on 'Women as historians' to describe the almost physical pleasure he derived as a boy from historical memoirs written by Elizabeth Benger: 'Do boys read in the greedy, guzzling way some of us used to read them? Sandwiching Miss Benger's volumes between mouthfuls of Scott and Capt. Marryat, I read all the Benger books'.²⁷ Clearly this furtive delight was an indulgence which must be laid aside for boys to become men. Jessopp's comments help us understand how problematic for a writer such as Charlotte Yonge were the spaces reserved for women historians. She was reluctant to be associated with the host of memoir-writers, but her sense of propriety and her lack of a University education made it difficult to claim membership of mainstream historical writing when it came to be dominated by (in Jessopp's phrase) the 'apostolic succession ... of Freeman and the Bishop of Oxford'.²⁸ This was further complicated by the actual gender of those involved in history-writing not neatly harmonizing with the new masculine/feminine parameters laid down for 'proper' History and 'popular' history.²⁹

Yonge's uncertainty about the position of her own history-writing can be exemplified by her attitude to the best known of the women historians, the Strickland sisters.³⁰ Modern historians who want to retrieve a history of women, highlight their work for their determination to base their work on original sources, agreeing with their

²⁶ Quoted in Maitzen, "Feminine Preserve", 375; Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Gossip* (Chicago, 1986), 46.

²⁷ *Literature*, IV, 1899, 41.

²⁸ *Literature*, IV, 1899, 67. The Bishop was Stubbs.

²⁹ M. Burstein, *Narrating Women's History*, 99, emphasizes that such authors were by no means all female, even while this type of picturesque writing was increasingly labelled as feminine.

³⁰ Anne Lawrence, 'Women historians', 128-132, provides a useful analysis of the type of historical research Strickland undertook.

younger sister Jane that, 'it is as documentary historians that the sister authors derive their chief value'.³¹ Although the Stricklands had problems in gaining access to Public Records, they prided themselves on their original research and this became a recurrent theme of each book. Their language, however, smacks at times of sensational journalism, combining thrills with name-dropping.³² They reiterate their aim to remain safely within 'womanly' private spheres, writing always from a female point of view; Jane Strickland stresses when she praises Agnes's account of Katharine Howard:

Pathos indeed was Agnes Strickland's *forte*. What she felt herself she unconsciously excited in her readers ... only a woman's pitying hand could have attracted sympathy towards an erring sister so overwhelmed with obloquy and shame.

- rather than historical objectivity based on the sources, she employed imaginative female empathy.³³ Jane's comment that, 'we must ... remember that Agnes was really more of a woman than an author ... [and she was] fond of needlework', underlines the Stricklands' ambivalent attitude to their own success.³⁴

In *The Monthly Packet* Yonge welcomed books by Agnes Strickland but seems exasperated by their style and inclusion of extraneous material:

We are only inclined to regret that she has not made the work nearly half its present length, by sparing us some of Elizabeth's coquetries with the Duke of Anjou; of the innumerable journeys of Mary Beatrice to Chillon; of the gambades

³¹ Jane Margaret Strickland, *Life of Agnes Strickland* (Edinburgh, 1887), viii. Although Agnes's histories were published in her sole name, she wrote them with her older sister Elizabeth, who was more scholarly but chose to remain in the background. R. Mitchell, *Picturing the Past*, 151, detects the beginnings of a 'critique of traditional national narratives' in their handling of royal history.

³² Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest; with Anecdotes of their Courts, now first published from Official Records and other Authentic Documents, Private as well as Public*, I-XII (London, 1841-1848): to ferret out unpublished documents about James II they had braved 'the Secret Archives of France; papers that are guarded with such extreme jealousy from the curiosity of foreigners, that nothing less than the powerful influence of M. Guizot himself could have procured access to these collections', IX, vii.

³³ J. Strickland, *Life*, 50. She gives a useful list of which sections were written by each sister.

³⁴ J. Strickland, *Life*, 40. Agnes enjoyed being lionized by fashionable society but became the butt of jokes; a cruel review of *The Bachelor Kings* in *The Spectator* (1861), hinted that she tried constantly to catch a husband (*Life*, 270-1). John Sutherland suggests that Anthony Trollope's *Lady Carbury*, authoress of *Criminal Queens* in *The Way We Live Now* (1875; Oxford, 1982), is based on Agnes Strickland.

of Mary Tudor's escorts, or of poor Margaret Douglas's complaints. ... With a great respect for the whole book, we never knew one that would be so much improved by being abridged, and we wish this was done, that what is really valuable might be more generally accessible.³⁵

She reinforced this message by her criticism of Mrs. Everett Green's *Lives of the Princesses* which 'too much resembled Miss Strickland in wordiness and in publishing much that had never appeared before chiefly because it was not worth knowing'.³⁶

Although the Stricklands were treated with slightly more respect by reviewers than some of their fellow-writers of *Lives*, their brand of picturesque history was dismissed as lightweight literature.³⁷ Although careful to remain within the categories of history-writing deemed suitable for women, Yonge's position was complicated by her early awareness of the new directives for reputable historical accounts. A comparison between her first foray into text-book writing in 1848 - the unillustrated *Kings of England* - and popular primers such as those by Mrs. Markham, Lady Calcott and Mrs. S. C. Hall already demonstrates the gulf between her approach and that commonly favoured by women writing history for the young. Yonge justifies her concentration on factual outlines with 'less attempt than is usual in such works to gather together numerous anecdotes' and explains the absence of descriptions of 'manners, costumes &c':

since these may best be learnt from the numerous prints within reach of everyone, and they are more suited to amuse the playhours of an intelligent child, and form a supplement to historical studies, than be regarded as a part of history itself.³⁸

Through her long editorship of the *Monthly Packet*, Yonge had a platform from which she could direct her readers through the maze of contemporary literature. She took

³⁵ *MP*, III, Jan. 1852, 76. *Blackwood's*, LXXVIII, Oct. 1855, 437-451, 'Modern Light Literature - History' by Mrs. Oliphant: any praise is tempered by a sense that history is demeaned by their work.

³⁶ *MP*, VIII, Oct. 1854, 320.

³⁷ For one of numerous examples see *SR*, III, Jan. 3 1857, 'Kemble's State Papers', 13-14 where the reviewer's high praise for this book 'which is not in the least amusing. There is no scandal in it, no good stories', the work of a 'learned, laborious, and conscientious man' is contrasted to the 'weary atmosphere of amusing writing and puerile morality which pervades the light literature of modern history'.

³⁸ C. M. Yonge, *The Kings of England: A History for Young Children* (London, 1848), v-vi. When first published no author was given; the 6th edition, 1859, gave 'By the author of *The Heir of Redclyffe*'.

a special interest in historical writings; expressing her views in a forthright manner, she guided her audience towards 'good' history and 'bad' history. From the first, she endorsed the study of history as a discipline of mind, and urged her readers not to fritter opportunities to pursue it as otherwise they might become 'one of the dull, prosy, more house-keeping, frivolous women ... *These studies ought to answer to the collegiate training which fits a man for active life*' (my italics).³⁹ It never seemed to occur to her that a Magazine directed mainly at young women should confine itself to aspects of 'women's history'. J. A. Froude's declamation many years later in 1892 at his Inaugural Lecture at Oxford, that 'the object of history is to discover and make visible illustrious men, and pay them ungrudging honour' epitomised what had been Yonge's viewpoint throughout her life.⁴⁰ Her own serious interests led her to assume that her readers needed to be well versed in the major events of their national history and to discover how to read critically:

In studying history it is generally advisable to read two books at once - a careful comparison of them not only impressing the subject more deeply on the mind, but being also very serviceable in correcting the inaccuracies and partial statements of which almost every historian is guilty; for example the introduction to Robertson's *Charles V* should never be read without Maitland's *Dark Ages*.⁴¹

While Yonge in her own historical writing would believe that the careful use of anecdote could enhance an understanding of the past, she wanted to distance this traditional (non-gendered?) type of history-telling from the more gossipy (feminized?) style of the Stricklands.

A salient difference between Yonge and women writers such as the Stricklands was their motivation in writing. The Stricklands needed to earn money and chose the

³⁹ *MP*, II, Dec. 1851, 478-479.

⁴⁰ Quoted by H. A. L. Fisher in 'Modern Historians and their Methods', *Fortnightly Review*, LVI, N. S. 1894, 805.

⁴¹ *MP*, II, Sept. 1851, 244.

field of historical memoirs as one with potentially marketable titles, at a time when 'light' historical reading was viewed as a useful way to tempt the reading public (especially women) away from novel-reading.⁴² Yonge's stimulus came from a desire to educate and inform, together with a belief that a study of history could shape character and strengthen religious principles; her close connection with Keble and the Tractarians impelled her to disseminate a particular Anglo-Catholic slant on the national story. Her preface to the first issue of *The Monthly Packet* pronounced her manifesto:

This Magazine is meant to be ... a companion in times of recreation, which may show you examples, both good and evil, of historical persons. ... I propose to give series of scenes from history, dwelling on the more interesting periods and characters. ... A few tales which, though of course imaginary, may serve to show you the manners and ways of thinking of past times, will be introduced from time to time.⁴³

For Yonge, as for the circle of men with whom she was acquainted, the value of history was its reinforcement of morality - its study provided backbone, not mere entertainment, and was particularly important at a time when they believed that rapid change and political upheavals were shaking the foundations of society.⁴⁴ As in new states where a knowledge of the nation's past (in the particular version which chimes with their political principles) is of central importance, Yonge wanted to imbue a sense of tradition into her readers and through them the next generation.

History's role in the nation was to be at the heart of the debates about its nature which were a recurrent feature throughout the periodical press during the second half of

⁴² According to Jane (*Life*, 23-24) they were plagued by begging letters from people who assumed they had made a fortune, but bad legal agreements meant they did not make much money from *Queens*.

⁴³ *MP*, I, Jan. 1851, ii. The first three articles in her Magazine were by herself, all on topics close to her heart: it opened with her first-ever 'Cameo from English History' on the founding of the Church in Northumbria; this was followed by a 'Conversation on the Catechism' looking at the Christian Name, and the first episode of *The Little Duke*.

⁴⁴ The causes of the Victorians' urge for history are examined in A. Dwight Culler, *Victorian Mirror of History* (New Haven, 1985); Alice Chandler, *A Dream of Order. The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (London, 1971); M. Girouard, *Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, 1981).

the century.⁴⁵ Rosemary Mitchell has nominated three broad stages for the development of ‘historical consciousness’ in the nineteenth-century - the philosophical, the picturesque and the scientific. She states that, from about 1850, the picturesque style of history-writing which was primarily literary with its ‘rather antiquarian style of historical reconstruction, as an empathetic and subjective experience’, was challenged by the scientific mode, more concerned with physical evidence and objectivity.⁴⁶ A jostling for pre-eminence between these different constructions of the nation’s past occurred throughout the second half of the century with the use of feminizing rhetoric to relegate the picturesque to an inferior, not just a different, category of writing. When historians such as Seeley and Freeman were laying down new principles for a robust History, theoretically purged of non-scientific myth and legend, founded on scrupulous archival research, the reaction came from educated men who were dismayed by the commandeering of history as a specialist form of academic study.⁴⁷ Rosemary Jann describes how:

the status of the “literary” historian rested on assumptions called into question by the evolving spirit of occupational professionalism. ... For the historian as man of letters, a network of values connected the separate facts of history and gave them meaning. Knowledge of the “truth” about the past depended more on insight and identification than on analysis and criticism. The historian’s authority rested on his effectiveness as a moral teacher; his first priority was to shape history to attract and instruct a wide general audience.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ The introduction of an examination school in history in the 1850s and the publication of Charles Kingsley’s Inaugural Lecture as Regius Professor of History at Cambridge in 1860, ‘The Limits of Exact Science as applied to History’ were two early issues which provoked debate: for Kingsley see, *Westminster Review*, XIX N. S., 1861, 305-336, and *Cornhill*, III, 1861, 666-680.

⁴⁶ R. Mitchell, *Picturing the Past*, 17-18.

⁴⁷ E.g. - E. A. Freeman, ‘The Mythical and Romantic Elements in Early English History’, *FR*, IV, 1866, 641-668; Professor Seeley, *Macmillan’s*, XL, 1879, 289-299, 369-378, 449-458, XLI, 23-32, ‘History and Politics’. Seeley recognised the conflict between those who thought history should be ‘accessible and readable’ and those who wanted ‘the exactness of a science’ but condemned the former to a ‘department of *belles lettres*’ where ‘falsehood’ reigned over ‘prosaic truth’ (289-291). David Amigoni, *Victorian Biography. Intellectuals and the Ordering of Discourse* (New York, 1990), ch. 4, examines Seeley’s pivotal role in the creation of the discipline of history.

⁴⁸ Jann, ‘Amateur to Professional’, 126. Carol T Christ in “‘The Hero as Man of Letters’”; Masculinity and Victorian Nonfiction Prose’ in Thais E. Morgan (ed.), *Victorian Sages and Cultural Discourse. Renegotiating Gender and Power* (New Brunswick, 1990), examines the tendency of ‘men of letters’ to

This seems to exemplify Yonge's role - that she too was a 'historian as man of letters' but at a time when this role was being attacked. The gendering of the debate between that of 'hard' scientific factual history and 'soft' narrative picturesque history threatened to leave large numbers of educated men adrift in feminine spaces; but it also made it very difficult for women such as Yonge to know what literary territory they could inhabit.

Edward Augustus Freeman and Charlotte Mary Yonge

To illuminate the complications caused by the commandeering of history-writing as a specialist skill whose arcane secrets could only be truly understood by a university-educated (and therefore male) élite, I focus on the tangled relationship in the 1870s between the historian Edward Augustus Freeman and Charlotte Yonge. In 1874 Freeman commissioned Yonge to write a textbook for a series of which he was General Editor. An analysis of the events leading up to this contract together with the fraught years of its fulfilment not only throws a spotlight onto the dusty particulars of their relationship but also onto the procedures whereby men such as Freeman appropriated history-writing for themselves. Two other significant friendships, as revealed through his correspondence, provide an important subtext to what took place between Freeman and Yonge: that with Edith Perronet Thompson who wrote *The History of England* for his series and with the younger historian John Richard Green.⁴⁹ In different ways, he regarded both as his

exclude women from their terrain, so that 'Sage writing' was seen as 'a strenuously masculine endeavour' (30).

⁴⁹ Brynmor Jones University Library, Hull: Freeman's letters to Edith Thompson, 1869-1892, Mss. DX/9; Amanda Capern, 'Anatomy of a Friendship: E. A. Freeman and Edith Thompson', in *Paragon Review* 6, 1997, 25-30, discusses the special relationship which this long run of letters reveals. John Rylands University Library, Manchester: NRA 25956, Freeman Papers; see *Bulletin of JRULM*, 72:2, 1990, 27-71, for details of holding which includes letters from C. M. Yonge, J. R. Green, W. Stubbs. BL, Macmillan archive, letters from E. A. Freeman (Add. Mss. 554049-53), J. R. Green (Add. Mss. 55058), C. M. Yonge (Add. Mss. 54920-21). W. R. W. Stephens, *Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman* (London, 1895) and Leslie Stephen (ed.), *Letters of John Richard Green* (London, 1901) are important sources, but the letters quoted often omit the parts which refer to the series of textbooks. Anthony Brundage, *The People's*

protégés, steering each towards the kind of historical work which he believed they should be achieving. That Freeman ultimately fell out with Green over his style, subject-matter - and the popularity of *A Short History of the English People* - provides an extra dimension to his attempts to shape the work of Yonge and Thompson. The complexity of his relationships with all three exposes the snares in the path for those like Freeman who wanted to fashion History into a specific professional and 'manly' form and his need to justify his own membership by denigrating as false (i.e. feminine) a vast swathe of history-writing.

Although Freeman established his scholarly credentials through the publication of a *History of Federal Government* in 1863, followed by a multi-volumed *History of the Norman Conquest*, he was fundamentally a gentleman-scholar with a passionate interest in architecture and historical studies. In accounts of the development of History in the nineteenth century, he is commonly grouped with William Stubbs and J. R. Green; as a trio they are assigned a significant role in the development of a more 'scientific' academic form of the discipline. Yet for most of his life, Freeman matched perfectly Tosh's problematic 'professional' outsider: he was a historian because he called himself one. Apart from a brief Fellowship at Oxford after he graduated with a second class degree - at a time when no School of History existed, except within the all-encompassing Classical Studies - he had no official position until, at the tail-end of his career in 1884, he was appointed to the Regius Professorship of History at Oxford.⁵⁰ Jann describes how the authority of the Oxbridge professional historians depended upon 'their convincing the

Historian. John Richard Green and the Writing of History in Victorian England (Westport, Conn., 1994) includes much new material particularly on Green's early life.

⁵⁰ He held other positions typical for a country gentleman, such as magistrate and member of the board of a lunatic asylum; he was also given a number of honorary degrees including an LL.B from Cambridge in 1874, was appointed as a university examiner and in 1881 sat on the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts.

public that serious history was an undertaking only trained scholars could conduct and whose merits only they could determine'.⁵¹ This was the image of himself which Freeman propagated, but it did not synchronize with the reality of his dislike of libraries and his dependence on the women of his extended family to delve, annotate and research on his behalf. Ensclosed in his large country house in Somerset, with an irascible, self-centred disposition prone to prejudices and petty dislikes, Freeman's true nature and working practices belied his representation of the need for history to be an objective, cool-headed science. His passion for gossip, story, hear-say is evidenced in his extensive correspondence: Freeman was a prolific letter writer, with a witty conversational style.⁵² Through his lengthy missives full of erudite commentary and scurrilous chit-chat, he promoted an inflated image of himself at the same time as keeping in touch with a community of friends whom he regaled with the details of his work and summoned visits. Like a spider at the centre of a massive web, he expected them to keep track of his activities and obsessions, even when he travelled.⁵³

Freeman betrayed an anxious neediness to belong within the ranks of the 'scientific' historians, to claim membership of its rigorous manly guild by blackballing

⁵¹ Jann, "From Amateur to Professional", 129.

⁵² James Bryce, 'Edward Augustus Freeman', *EHR*, VII, 1892, 508, pays tribute in his obituary to Freeman's 'enormous correspondence ... which forms - for his letters were so racy that his friends were apt to preserve them - the fullest record of his life'. One of the intriguing aspects of Freeman is that, apart from three years at a preparatory school and his time at Oxford, he remained throughout his life within a domestic orbit run by women. Orphaned when only three, he and an elder sister were brought up by his grandmother. At his own request he was not sent as planned to Shrewsbury but lived as a private pupil in the household of the antiquarian Rev. Gutch until he went to Oxford. At twenty-one, while still an undergraduate, he got engaged to Eleanor Gutch and three years later gave up his fellowship to marry her. It is strangely apt that the irreverent portrait which Lytton Strachey drew of Freeman's demise pictured him, scurrying away with a bevy of women from the ferocious attacks on his historical credibility by Horace Round: 'At last, silent and purple, he gathered his female attendants about him, and left England for an infuriated holiday. There was an ominous pause; and then the fell news reached Brighton. The professor had gone pop in Spain' - Lytton Strachey, *Biographical Essays* (London, 1948), 261.

⁵³ The modern meaning of 'web' comes to mind when writing about Freeman; a web-page, updated daily, would have perfectly suited his need to keep himself and his activities at the forefront of his friends' minds. He frequently wrote a number of letters at the same time on various tables in his study; the same stories turn up in identical form in different letters.

certain others as unworthy, although in reality both his methods and his verbose style positioned him at least astride those invisible barriers between ‘picturesque’ and ‘scientific’ history-writing. He conducted his campaign to define the difference between a true professional historian and all others with pretensions to write about the past - the amateurs, antiquarians, belle-lettrists, dabblers - by a bombardment of articles in periodicals. In particular he used the columns of *The Saturday Review*, for whom he wrote over seven hundred pieces in the 1860s, to dissect books, pontificate and pass judgement in scathing language on what was or was not ‘History’. Although contributors’ names were not published in the *Saturday Review* it is relatively easy to pick Freeman’s out by their style and recurrent vocabulary (such as ‘blunder’ and ‘anecdote-monger’), and his letters make it clear that he was keen for people to recognise which articles were his.⁵⁴ He simultaneously wrote named articles for other periodicals, ensured that lectures he gave to provincial archaeological meetings or Literary Societies were reprinted for a national readership and involved himself in contemporary political campaigns. His letters are peppered with references to all his published pronouncements, and he expected his friends and acquaintances to keep track of them and the ripples they caused. The special nature of the *Saturday Review*, noted for its astringent reviews and written in a tone typical of assured intellectuals keen to deflate the pretensions of the less well-educated, suited Freeman’s talent for ridicule. The contributors were university men, many of them experts in their fields, who believed that ‘they alone by virtue of their intellectuality had the objectivity necessary for a disinterested view of the nation’s culture’.⁵⁵ Bevington uses a telling phrase to describe their opinions as those of ‘the best

⁵⁴ Merle Mowbray Bevington, *The Saturday Review 1855-1868. Representative Educated Opinion in Victorian England* (1941; New York, 1966), lists contributors and their articles where known.

⁵⁵ Bevington, 52; see 26 for Leslie Stephen’s comment: ‘as memoirs are published it becomes always more evident that anyone who never wrote for the *Saturday Review* was no-one’ - quotation originally from Maitland’s *Life of Leslie Stephen* (161). The nicknames for the *Review* - ‘Reviler’, ‘Snarler’, ‘Slasher’,

informed conversational circles of the time, sharpened into literary form'⁵⁶ - as if the *Saturday Review* enabled readers to eavesdrop on the dialogue of *literati* at choice dinner parties. Fittingly, the editor reinforced the homogeneity of his reviewers with an annual dinner for 'regular staff', together with anyone who had contributed an article during the last year - ladies excluded - and a select few friends of the chief writers'.⁵⁷

The full venom of Freeman's scorn was directed onto men who wrote 'History Made Easy' as he called it, a field which should be left to women writers - about whom he was kinder (in a patronizing way) but dismissive. His use of feminizing derision to criticize is symptomatic: he mocked Dr. Doran, author of *Lives of the Queens of the House of Hanover*, for 'scandalous poaching on the preserves of his literary sisters. A male author, dealing with these matters, rather suggests the idea of a man-milliner, among so many maidens and matrons of the pen'.⁵⁸ Most famously Freeman launched a vendetta against James Anthony Froude and his best-selling twelve-volume *History of England from the fall of Wolsey to the death of Elizabeth*. He never lost an opportunity to take a swipe at Froude in *Saturday Review*. He might find something praiseworthy in whatever book he was reviewing *not* by Froude, so as to introduce a dig at what 'a brilliant paradox-monger Mr. Froude [is ... he] almost seems to have taken up history as a sort of joke'; accuse him of moral failings - 'that curious density which besets Mr. Froude whenever he gets within the range of the Ten Commandments' - and then sweep both

'Butcher' - give clear evidence of its perceived role. James Grant, *The Saturday Review: its origins and progress: its contributors and character, with Illustrations of the Mode in which it is conducted* (London, 1873) criticised its savagery and claimed that its writers were all failures in other professions.

⁵⁶ Bevington, 53.

⁵⁷ Bevington, 37 - the exclusion of women underlined that the paper was a man's club in which a few women were allowed to participate by writing articles, but never allowed into the inner circle.

⁵⁸ 'The Art of History-Making', *SR*, I, 1855, 52-54; III, 1857, 183-184 on *Mary Stuart* by Agnes Strickland - 'a mistaken spirit of antiquarian research ... her work is not in any sense, history'.

would-be historians away with a curt, 'neither of them can write history because neither of them has the necessary historical sense'.⁵⁹

Although we might imagine that such verbal jousting would be anathema to Charlotte Yonge, references in her letters suggest that she enjoyed reading the *Saturday Review* and that she was not put out by their reviews of her own books.⁶⁰ Writing to Macmillan about an appreciation of Mrs. Gaskell in his magazine, she commented, 'but I do not agree to the acute feelings of authoresses as to criticism - and I have known some pretty sharp critiques on others besides myself that have not done much harm to their feelings'.⁶¹ Although Yonge was shy in public, she relished the repartee, word games and social debate she experienced within the Yonge and Moberly families - and, more significantly, at Hursley Park. A glance at the *Hursley Magazine* of 1848 - their in-house 'periodical' replete with quizzes, cartoons, witty articles, and in-jokes - is a reminder of the stimulating circle to which Yonge belonged, linked to the same social network which was responsible for the *Saturday Review*.⁶² Contributors included Sir Frederic Rogers (later Lord Blachford), the Marquess of Lothian (co-founder of the Camden Society), members of the Mackarness and Newbolt families - as well as Heathcotes and Yongs. Although these activities took place in the 'private' environs of a country house rather

⁵⁹ *SR*, XIII, Mar 29 1862, 363, 'Haigh's Anglo-Saxon England and Anglo-Saxon Sagas'. In 'A Few Words on Mr. Freeman', *Nineteenth Century*, V, April 1879, 618-637, Froude eventually defended himself against Freeman's vicious criticism; he used the occasion of some signed articles in *Contemporary Review* ('Mr. Froude's *Life and Times of Thomas Becket*' by E. A. Freeman, XXXIII, 1878), to refer bitterly to the wounds inflicted by the *SR* articles, widely attributed to Freeman but to which he had been unable to reply because they were anonymous. In 'Last Words on Mr. Froude', *Contemporary Review*, XXXV, May 1879, 214-236, Freeman attempted to vindicate himself, but it was widely felt that his pursuit of Froude had gone beyond what was acceptable.

⁶⁰ JRULM, Ms. FA/1/7/835, April 21 1871, CMY to EAF, 'I have been catching it from the *Saturday* (more than I have done for years!)'.

⁶¹ BL, Ms. 54920/122, Dec. 8 1865, CMY to McM.

⁶² S. Heathcote (ed.), *Selections from Hursley Magazine*. Yonge had personal connections with a number of leading men connected with *SR*, also to *The Guardian* newspaper, about which Freeman consulted Yonge as being privy to inside knowledge: JRULM, Ms. FA/1/7/834, May 10 1873, CMY to EAF.

than the 'public' spaces of sociability in the metropolis, the nature of the guest-list made the setting one which necessitated considerable strength of character. The Tractarians' Oxford background is assumed to bracket them merely to a sombre, pious set typified by Pusey's asceticism, but it also connected them with a livelier iconoclastic group scattered throughout the cultural agencies of their time.

While I am not suggesting that Yonge deserves to be considered as a historian on a par with Freeman, it is reasonable, however, to underline their substantial similarities. Apart from their initial friendship based on a shared passion for architecture and philology, other parallels are striking: they were the same age, had private incomes supplemented through their work as professional writers, pursued this work from their private houses in the countryside, were active members of the rural gentry, and were both used to wielding a certain amount of authority. Her long editorship of *The Monthly Packet* gave her a power and field of influence comparable to that held by him through his reviews. Indeed her domain overlapped with his own in that his daughters and their friends not only read *The Monthly Packet* but contributed to it; comments in his letters reveal a knowledge of its contents, including Yonge's serialised novels, which hint that he also read it.⁶³ My argument is that any difficulties Yonge was to have with Freeman stemmed not from an inability on her part to deal with the cut and thrust of the literary marketplace, but from his interpretation of how history was to be defined, and that it resembled his disagreements with the historian Green.

⁶³ BJULH, Ms. DX/9/4, EAF to EPT, Dec. 1869, 'I see you are in *The Monthly Packet* - Why did you not tell me before? But I protest against your calling yourself Evelyn Tod'. JRLUM, Ms. FA/1/7/842b, CMY to EAF, Aug. 30 n.d. (but other evidence proves it to be 1872) - her reference to 'complicated pedigrees' is likely to be in answer to a comment of his about *Pillars of the House* serialised at that time in *MP*.

E. A. Freeman's Historical Course for Schools

From mid-century, the prodigious expansion of educational provision for the offspring of the middle classes led to a corresponding effort by publishers to provide suitable books. Rosemary Mitchell has illuminated our understanding about the evolution of history textbooks: that they reflected both the wider educational changes and the specific contests tugging history-writing in different directions.⁶⁴ She indicates how the popular woman-authored text-books common earlier in the century envisaged a domestic setting not only for their consumption but also for their production, with the narrator as 'a sort of historical Mother Goose'.⁶⁵ The relocation of education from homes into institutions would necessitate a different type of history primer. Mitchell sees the years 1850-70 as a key transitional period for such textbooks, with publishers competing to provide suitable works to meet both the demands of educational establishments and the changing shape of history. Her general comments dovetail with my examination here of the arguments and clashing personalities which resulted from Freeman's editorship of a series of textbooks in the early 1870s. Text-books were potential money-makers; the publisher Macmillan was keen that Freeman should turn his hand to some sort of general history: 'Why should our school books that pay, not be done by men who *know* what they are talking about'.⁶⁶ These comments both flattered Freeman's sense of his distinctive qualities and dangled before him the temptation of commercial success. Such work, however, needed to be handled with care, when he had striven for twenty years to position himself on the Olympian heights of 'scientific' History. Thus he abandoned the publication of *Old English History for Children* in 1865 when he hoped to be considered

⁶⁴ R. Mitchell, *Picturing the Past*, ch. 3. Valerie Chancellor, *History for their Masters. Opinion in the English History Text-book: 1800-1914* (Bath, 1970), remains useful for its analysis of Victorian school histories.

⁶⁵ R. Mitchell, *Picturing the Past*, 59; she examines the text-books of Mrs. Markham and Lady Calcott.

⁶⁶ JRLUM, Ms. FA1/7/495, Macmillan to EAF, Mar. 23 1863.

for a Professorship at Cambridge, lest it let 'an adversary ... take advantage of it to make a child's book my measure'.⁶⁷ He did not resurrect it until 1869 by which time the first volumes of his *History of the Norman Conquest* had been launched into the public arena. In a letter to Macmillan, he then rationalized its publication by emphasizing the unique qualities which he brought to the venture:

I think you will catch the object of the book, namely to give children accurate and scientific views of history from the very first; to teach them to call things by their right names, to distinguish history from legend, to know what the sources of history are and to distinguish the different values of different writers.⁶⁸

Implicit in these comments is a critique of the calibre of existing books. Freeman justifies his intervention as a necessary corrective whereby he can set proper standards, and discipline the myths perpetuated by the non-historians who currently wrote and taught history.

The commercial success of this venture, together with its excuse of 'scientific' history for future citizens, meant that Freeman was receptive to Macmillan's suggestion in 1870, that he should oversee a whole series of History textbooks. Freeman prepared the ground in a pompous article, which included a review of Charlotte Yonge's *Parallel History of France and England*. With the hierarchical language which he employed to distance history from History he detected that the 'labours of real historical scholars' were having some influence:

The effect is infinitesimally small ... [but] even the cram books are not quite what they would have been had the greater books never been written. Here and there a fact or a view of a controverted point does, after working its way through many

⁶⁷ BL, Ms. 55049/42, EAF to McM, Dec. 4 1865. E. A. Freeman, *Old English History for Children* (London, 1869), reissued in 1870 as *Old English History for Younger Students* as boys at Marlborough 'snigger at the babyish title' – BL, Ms. 55049/136, EAF to McM, Apr. 15 1870.

⁶⁸ BL, Mss. 55049/39-41, EAF to McM, Dec. 1 1865.

strata, dribble down. ... Yet ... no really good school-books, ... will be had till writers of the highest class condescend to write or at the very least inspire them.⁶⁹

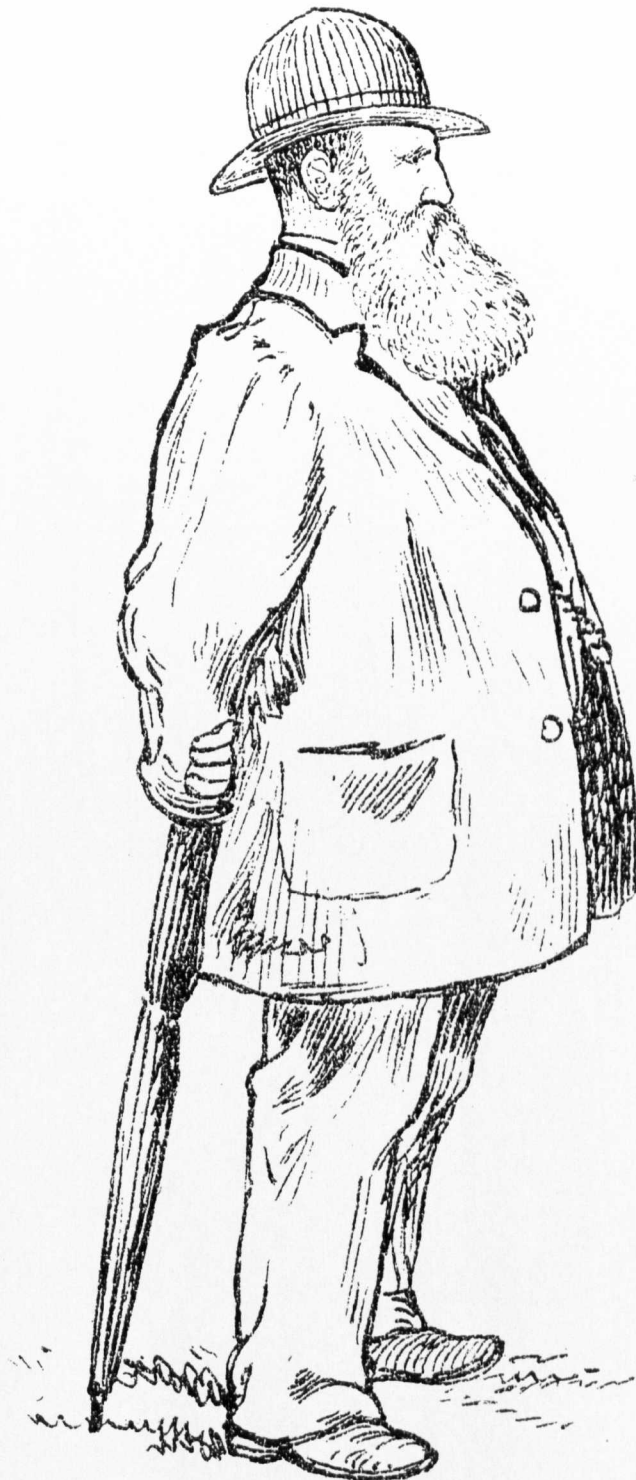
Freeman himself would write a *General Sketch of European History* and commission others to write histories of individual European nations. Through his editorship he would ensure that his rendition of history-writing would prevail and give the series a uniform approach even when severally authored. This, however, made the choice of such authors problematic: established male historians might find such a submissive position untenable - as it indeed turned out. One alternative was to pick young men of promise, whom he could influence. Another was to use various women within his wider family circle who were more likely to obey the strictures of such an eminent Editor as himself - in his own words to Macmillan, 'If you have any definite scheme about little books, I have no doubt that I could set two or three pair of hands to work, and be Duke or Bishop ... over them myself'.⁷⁰ By June of that year his younger historian friend, J. R. Green, changed the simile to a far more suggestive one, when he wrote to Freeman:

I am glad you are going to create a new school of manual writers. Who your pupils are I know not, but Macmillan says they are ladies, which presents you in a novel and fascinating light, "the Pasha of History surrounded with his historic harem!"⁷¹

⁶⁹ SR, XXXI, Feb. 25 1871, 247-248, 'Recent School Histories'; Freeman's 'signature' vocabulary and telltale attacks on 'French' spelling provide evidence of his authorship. He does praise Yonge's book and apologises for putting 'her name in the company for which for the nonce it appears'.

⁷⁰ BL, Ms 55049/132, EAF to McM, Feb. 18 1870.

⁷¹ L. Stephen, *Green*, 254, JRG to EAF, June 1870.



The Historian of the Norman Conquest
Usk Castle - Monmouthshire
W.G. Smith del Aug. 18. 1876.



*Yours sincerely
C M Yonge*

Charlotte M. Yonge in 1867

Charlotte Yonge and the 'historic harem'

At this early stage the ladies in question were a friend of his daughters, Miss MacArthur, to write the history of Scotland, his eldest daughter Margaret who had chosen Greece, and Edith Perronet Thompson, a relation of his wife, who agreed to 'take' England. These three, all in their early twenties, were unmarried and had already provided help to Freeman with his own books; in a sense they were his personal research students, and although it is easy from our standpoint to ridicule aspects of their relationship with him, it was a situation which had reciprocal benefits. For the clever young women denied university educations, it provided sponsorship which enabled them to meet eminent thinkers, and to have their intellectual pretensions taken seriously; for Freeman, who in spite of all his rhetoric about authentic sources hated working in libraries, the arrangement supplied minions grateful for the privilege of visits to the British Museum and the Bodleian at his behest. It suited him to have writers whose work he could direct and manipulate in a way which would be more complicated with male authors. His extensive correspondence with Edith Thompson, held in the archives of Hull University, provides an insight into the affectionate, quasi-paternal relationship he had with her, and the thrill it offered to become a part of his historical family enterprise: 'I hope you noticed my review of certain Chronological Tables where towards the end I worked in some ideas of yours, which I take to be fair, now you are part of "we"'.⁷² He reported to Macmillan in December 1870, that Miss Thompson had 'set to work manfully, and did a great piece while she was here' - 'manfully' because he would ensure that she ploughed his narrow furrow of scientific history.⁷³

⁷² BJL, Ms. DX/9/13, EAF to EPT, Sept. 12 1869.

⁷³ BL, Mss. 55049/169-170, EAF to McM, Dec. 4 1870. Amanda Capern, 'Anatomy of a Friendship' gives a fuller account of the significance of the friendship for Edith Thompson and her subsequent career.

Initially, Charlotte Yonge was not one of his writers for the series, though she and Freeman were in occasional correspondence with each other when the series was initiated.⁷⁴ It seems likely that their first contact resulted from an extraordinary compliment Freeman paid her in a footnote in the first volume of *The Norman Conquest*:

The original authority ... for these stories is of course, Dudo, with the metrical chroniclers, who mainly follow him, Benôit sometimes adding details of his own. The English reader will find all he can want in Sir Francis Palgrave. I cannot help also mentioning Miss Yonge's tale of the "Little Duke", where the whole legend is very pleasantly told, though with too great a leaning to the Norman side.⁷⁵

Such a public blessing prompted her to write to him.⁷⁶ Macmillan as their publisher fostered a social network between his authors. Further letters suggest that a friendly working relationship developed between Freeman and Yonge, founded on their shared interests; their very similarities perhaps deterred Freeman from the thought of asking Yonge to write a textbook for his series. She would be an uncomfortable member of his harem, unable to kowtow sufficiently. But the main stumbling-block must have been his unwillingness to employ a writer famous for her ability to tell a good story, an exponent of the kind of legendary, romantic, feminised, historical narrative which he wanted to control.

Encouraged by Macmillan who was on the look-out for new stories for his *Magazine*, Yonge in the 1860s had branched into a new type of historical fiction aimed at an older age range than her earlier such tales. She had admitted to Macmillan that 'since

⁷⁴ Freeman asked Macmillan for her address in the same letter in which he first talked of setting 'two or three pair of hands to work' (BL, Ms. 55049/132, EAF to McM, Feb. 18 1870, 'Can you give me Miss Yonge's address, which I once had but have forgotten'), so it is possible that he was considering her as a potential author for one of the 'little books'.

⁷⁵ E. A. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I (London, 1867), 206-207.

⁷⁶ JRLUM, Ms. FA/1/7/831, CMY to EAF, March 13 1867; it is the only letter where she addresses him as 'Sir'; it has the sound of a tentative introduction.

The Little Duke's time, I have lost faith in my own knowledge of ancient customs',⁷⁷ but when she tentatively gave him an outline for *The Dove in the Eagle's Nest*, he urged her on and tracked down any books she needed to unearth the background. She remained anxious about the correctness of her facts, but her letters to Macmillan indicate the depth of her research and the originality of the sources she used.⁷⁸ Even before *The Dove* was complete, she had sent him the first third of *The Chaplet of Pearls*, a historical story set in 16th century France, as another possible serial for his *Magazine*. His positive response elicited her comment: 'I thought there was so much of a set against historical romance just now that it was hardly safe to send one forth ... However the *Dove* may be a pioneer'. Hayter posits 'that her subconscious was given a more free rein in her historical romances than in her other novels';⁷⁹ if so, Macmillan's encouragement, just when the popularity of the 'sensation' novel presented a new challenge to her family chronicles, empowered her to imagine a different kind of sensationalism - the drama of courageous behaviour in situations of moral and physical danger.⁸⁰ In January 1866 Yonge told Macmillan that *The Chaplet of Pearls* was coming on slowly because it was 'play-work - and winter is the time for what is rather tougher'.⁸¹ For Macmillan, her fame as a novelist was an asset rather than a barrier to Yonge's participation in writing history textbooks, a useful selling-point. It was at his request that the *Cameos from English History* began to

⁷⁷ BL, Ms. 54920/50, CMY to McM, Oct. 24 1864. She moved to Macmillan as her publisher in 1863, and it marks a new stage in her writing career; rather than waiting for completed scripts, he was proactive, suggesting marketable possibilities beneficial for his publishing house as well as for Yonge.

⁷⁸ BL, Mss. 54920/103-6, CMY to McM, Aug. 2 1865: 'I do not know if the British Museum has a copy of *Theurdank* ... but if you should be at Oxford there is a beauty in the Bodleian, a much better one than that which I have here'. She was studying woodcuts contemporary to the story of *The Dove*. She was concurrently writing a historical story for younger people for *MP: The Prince and the Page* about the sons of Simon de Montfort.

⁷⁹ Hayter, *Yonge*, 42.

⁸⁰ In her preface to *Chaplet*, vii-viii, Yonge makes the connection specific between her historical novels and the fashion for sensation: she describes exciting incidents from 'days when such things were not infrequent, and did not imply exceptional wickedness or misfortune in those engaged in them'. *Clever Woman of the Family*, serialised 1864-1865, was her most recent contemporary novel.

⁸¹ BL, Ms. 54920/133, CMY to McM, Jan. 6 1866.

be published in book form in 1868, sold as 'By the Author of the 'Heir of Redclyffe'. He had previously sounded her out about writing textbooks. Her answer, perhaps, remained at the back of his mind, ready as a solution some years later when Freeman urgently needed an author for a history of France:

Do you mean such a history of England and France which would suit very young children who need the King's name, character, an event and a few anecdotes such as they can remember? I could easily do this for France.⁸²

'Anecdotal' history, however, was anathema to Freeman even for children.

'The "facts" are there, and the "dates" are there, but the history isn't' - J. R. Green's verdict on Freeman's introductory text-book, *A General Sketch of European History*⁸³

It was not till July 1874 that Freeman asked Charlotte Yonge to write the History of France for his series. By her acceptance she rescued him from a tricky situation after a succession of broken contracts. Freeman's problems derived mainly from a fundamental disagreement with his friend the historian J. R. Green, who came to believe that the straitjacket of scientific political history which Freeman had laid down for the 'little books' embodied a bloodless version of the past. Green first expressed this opinion when he was asked to comment in 1871 on the completed manuscript of Edith Thompson's *England* which he slated as 'terribly dry', and blamed Freeman. He said the dullness:

will set every child against a study so absolutely without human interest. ... I think a clever girl like this would do better if you left her alone, and didn't keep her nose down to the political grindstone. ... I showed your little things to Bryce ... He said ... that these little things must be done by big people.⁸⁴

Writing to Edith Thompson, Freeman refers to this last comment: 'It never came into my head to ask such swells. He has caught me another damsel, Mary Arnold by name ... to do the history of Spain'.⁸⁵ It also apparently never came into to his head that it was

⁸² BL, Ms. 54920/153, CMY to McM, April 19 (1866?).

⁸³ L. Stephen, *Green*, 303, JRG to EAF, 27 June 1871.

⁸⁴ L. Stephen, *Green*, 304-5, JRG to EAF, June 27 1871.

⁸⁵ BJULH, Ms. DX/9/31, EAF to EPT, Oct. 6 1871.

tactless constantly to refer to the textbooks - such as the one Thompson was writing - as 'little' books, or that 'damsel' demoted her too to the helpless passivity of a fly to a spider. A comment in an earlier letter to her was typical, 'I am glad you get on with less-than-little book. I have been so busy with Vol. IV of big book writing ... that I have had no time lately for my share of it'. It seems that Edith had suggested a young man she knew to be a possible co-author as Freeman added:

2 or 3 of the out-of-the-way things are still open but we were rather looking for *special* people to do them. Moreover I doubt the wisdom of an undergraduate beginning such things. ... Still tell me who your youth is, ... and I can ask somebody about him.⁸⁶

Although Green had been critical of the stultified account of English history by Edith Thompson, and blamed Freeman's excessive control, he too used the metaphorical language of the stable when he recommended Mary Arnold to Macmillan: 'I think her just the sort of person who ought to be got into harness at once'.⁸⁷ Freeman was still banking on more young women to do his books and Mary Arnold, grand-daughter of the famous Thomas, seemed a promising acquisition for Freeman's 'harem'. By December of 1871 she had taken *France* rather than *Spain*, but was failing to answer Freeman's letters and he feared that she did not know enough to take it on.⁸⁸ Freeman writes as if her work will in reality be that either of her father or of her uncle Matthew and uses the most derogatory of his variations of 'little' when commenting on this to Green - the 'little, wee wee wee bookikies'. On April 6th 1872 Mary Arnold married T. Humphry Ward and it seems likely that a letter dated April 26th from her husband to Macmillan is also from that year. In it he asks that his wife should be 'relieved of the French History

⁸⁶ BJULH, Ms. DX/9/26, EAF to EPT, Feb. 19 1871. While textbooks are of a lower calibre than histories based on original research, the sub-text of Freeman's language implies that only a special male genius could hope to ascend the higher slopes of historical writing.

⁸⁷ BL, Ms. 55058/18, JRG to McM, Nov. 3 1871.

⁸⁸ JRULM, Ms. FA1/8/7, EAF to JRG, Dec. 18 1871.

... She found the required work so much more than she had anticipated'.⁸⁹ This left Freeman without an author for *France* at a time when he was struggling to find authors for other European countries. Ill health had forced Margaret Freeman to give up *Greece* and Freeman explained to Macmillan why he found the idea of employing men a problem:

the other writers must be people who can knock under to me, people whom I can decently ask to knock under to me. Now I can't ask this of a man ... if he differ from me on any point, he has as good a right to his opinion as he has to mine.⁹⁰

Who should take *France* remained a problem until Green himself in late 1872 offered to write it, motivated by his need for an income when ill health had forced his resignation from an East End parish. Green, however, was writing what became the best-selling *Short History of the English People*, so that a year later he had still not started 'little France'. It weighed on his mind though, with a growing realisation that it was impossible for him to write within Freeman's framework. As he explained later to Macmillan, 'I could as soon write a book like Miss Thompson's *England* as I could write a Treatise on Trigonometry. I have my own ideas on the proper way of treating historical subjects, and can treat them in no other fashion'.⁹¹ Green's 'own ideas' rejected Freeman's famous 'History is past politics' and instead embraced a past which contained the cultural and economic life-blood of the nation. He had told Macmillan that Thompson's *England* would be improved by:

above all the insertion from time to time of really characteristic *stories*. ... I think from what E. A. F. says these faults are owing more to his editing than to Miss

⁸⁹ BL, Ms. 54928/3, T. Humphry Ward to McM, April 26 n.d.: the content makes 1872 the likely date although a cataloguer has pencilled in '1880?'

⁹⁰ BL, Ms. 55050/6, EAF to McM, Jan. 6 1872. Freeman later told Thompson, 'I must confess I have not read little Germany. I trusted wholly to A. W. Ward' - thus avoiding disagreements with a male author whom he regarded to be of a parallel eminence as himself - BJULH, Ms. DX9/49, EAF to EPT, July 4 1874.

⁹¹ BL, Mss. 55058/29-32, JRG to McM, Sept. 19 1873.

Thompson ... [She has] cut down precisely the 'pretty things' she should have let stand.⁹²

In his *Short History* Green was writing history in a style which could welcome in the general reader, even those without a university education. While Freeman's liberal politics led him into vigorous campaigns on behalf of Greeks and Bulgarians, Green's were fuelled by a democratic inclusiveness born from his social work in London's East End. Freeman's response to some proofs of the *Short History* was only lukewarm: 'Your way of doing it is quite new, and which I do not above half understand. ... It will find readers and admirers of some kind'.⁹³

Freeman was flabbergasted to receive an angry letter from Green in September 1873 in which he withdrew from writing *France*. Although Freeman claimed he had not pestered Green for the French book, most of his letters included anxious comments such as 'I hope you are getting on with the English People both for their own sake and because they are in this case the road to France'.⁹⁴ As Green had volunteered to write the book, Freeman was aggrieved by his decision to pull out:

I did not ask you to do any of the wee books because I thought you would not be ... so submissive as I think the writers in the series ought to be. ... I let you have exactly your own way, and you turn round on me in this fashion.⁹⁵

⁹² BL, Ms. 55058/19, JRG to McM, May 12 1872. JRLUM, Ms. FA1/8/12, EAF to JRG, Oct. 6 1872, 'Edith has somehow found room for some stories - I suppose to please you'.

⁹³ JRLUM, Ms. FA1/8/18, EAF to JRG, Sept. 18 1873. J. R. Green, *Short History of the English People* (London, 1874): 'I have striven throughout that it should never sink into a "drum and trumpet history"'. His most radical innovation was to abandon divisions of time according to reigns: 'constitutional progress has been the result of social development. ... throughout I have drawn greater attention to the religious, intellectual and industrial progress of the nation than has so far ... ever been done'. Freeman was particularly critical of this method of organisation and of the material he included at the expense of details of political events. See A. Brundage, *People's Historian*, 107, for George Eliot's letter to Macmillan, Dec. 10 1874, written with the express purpose of praising Green for 'giving a vivid sense of the national past to a mass of readers who would hardly get it from other sources'.

⁹⁴ JRLUM, Ms. FA1/8/15, EAF to JRG, March 16 1873. For his health, Green had spent the winter in Italy; this added an extra element to the difficulties of communication about the books.

⁹⁵ JRLUM, Ms. FA1/8/18, EAF to JRG, Sept. 21 1873. Also BL, Ms. 55050/155, EAF to McM, Sept. 19 1873, 'Johnny writes in very bad spirits about his own health and also in a queer tantrum about little France. ... Then without my saying a word about it, he writes to say that he had better give it up because if he does

Green confided in Macmillan that his decision had been caused by correspondence with Freeman about the proofs of another book in the series, William Hunt's *History of Italy*, where Freeman 'was quite resolved to cut out everything I pleaded for his leaving in'.⁹⁶ The following month Freeman pleaded with Green to change his mind about *France*: 'It is throwing us utterly back to look out for somebody now'.⁹⁷ Green remained adamant and told Freeman:

you want hacks for your divisions and rather secretaries than authors - people ... who will simply write *your* little histories for *you* ... I am glad that Miss T's England has sold so well. Harwood insisted on my reviewing it the other day; so, against the grain I did it. I think it was just but the book so fairly beat one with its level dullness.⁹⁸

The wounds inflicted by this review would contribute to a rift between Freeman and Green which widened over the years.⁹⁹

The problem of whom Freeman could get to write *France* remained unsettled. The possibility of Charlotte Yonge arose at some time in the first half of 1874 but it is difficult to be exact as to the timing. In May, Freeman told Edith Thompson that 'Miss Yonge hopes to be here in the course of August; so if you can come then it would be pleasant', which might indicate that he had already mooted it to her.¹⁰⁰ Writing to Macmillan in early July, however, Freeman talks of the need to 'find out what is finally to

it at all, he must do it in his own way and not mine. ... I suppose it is one of his unaccountable whims which may have passed away by this time'.

⁹⁶ BL, Ms. 55058/30, JRG to McM, Sept. 19 1873.

⁹⁷ JRLUM, Ms. FA1/8/19, EAF to JRG, Oct. 10 1873.

⁹⁸ JRLUM, Ms. FA1/7/279, JRG to EAF, Nov. 12 1873; Harwood was Editor of *SR*.

⁹⁹ A. Brundage, *People's Historian*, 153-156. From 1875 till his death in 1883 Green did not visit Freeman at Somerleaze in spite of frequent invitations. Freeman mentioned the review, among other dissatisfactions, in his obituary of Green in 1883; Brundage calls this a 'petulant, mean-spirited obituary from the pen of Green's supposedly closest friend'. It caused a bitter correspondence with his widow, Alice Stopford Green, who never forgave him; after Freeman's death she refused his biographer the use of his many letters to Green. As a result, in the two-volume *Life of Freeman* by W. R. W. Stephens, 'there is not a single letter from Freeman to Green, even though it is likely that he wrote more letters to Green than anyone else' (Brundage, 156).

¹⁰⁰ BJULH, Ms. DX/9//47, EAF to EPT, May 10 1874.

be done about little Greece and little France, whether either of them is really to be done at home'. He mentions his daughter Florence and whether she might write one, 'but she would have to do a great deal of reading first'.¹⁰¹ Then on July 29th he told Macmillan that he had 'written to Miss Yonge about little France and here is her answer. So you may set that down as settled'.¹⁰² It is likely that Macmillan pushed Freeman into what must have seemed to the publisher, the obvious solution. Yonge was not only an experienced writer, with considerable practice of writing history for the young, but she worked to deadlines and Macmillan had already published a basic French History by her; he was also aware of the commercial value of her name.¹⁰³ Macmillan was impatient with the delay, when current political events in France gave such a history a contemporary relevance, and with the impetus of educational reforms providing the potential of a wider market.

Yonge set to work and wanted to polish off the 'little' book over the winter, but Freeman found fault with everything which she sent him. Already by October she was apologising and rewriting: 'I hope there will be something better worth having by the time you return'.¹⁰⁴ These early letters retain the familiarity of their previous correspondence, and although contrite, bear the tone of one professional writing to another; she expresses opinions and includes social news. She was used to discussing her work-in-progress, and tried to keep to his specifications: 'I am not sure that it does not read rather childishly ... too anecdotal and not wise enough'.¹⁰⁵ After January 1875 there is a long gap in the Freeman archive at Manchester of letters from Yonge until October

¹⁰¹ BL, Ms. 55050/174, EAF to McM, July 3 1874.

¹⁰² BL, Ms 55050/181, EAF to McM, July 29 1874.

¹⁰³ C. M. Yonge, *A Parallel History of France and England* (London, 1871), which Freeman reviewed favourably, SR, XXXI, 1871, 247-8.

¹⁰⁴ JRLUM, Ms. FA/1/7/836, CMY to EAF, Oct. 7 1874; Freeman was about to go on holiday to Europe.

¹⁰⁵ JRLUM, Ms. FA/1/7/837, CMY to EAF, Jan. 27 1875.

1887. It is only possible to trace the evolution of 'little France' and their deteriorating relationship from letters between Yonge and Macmillan, and from comments which Freeman makes to other people. Freeman had had similar problems with his male writers, when they failed to comply with his pared-down version of history, but he never complained with the same exasperation about them as he did about Yonge. In letters to friends he took to calling her demeaningly 'Aunt Charlotte', and told stories of her 'blunders'.¹⁰⁶ To ensure that they were not included by Freeman's biographer, Edith Thompson applied a red pencil through such criticisms in his letters:

Miss Yonge is giving me endless trouble about France. She has got half bewelshed and can't take in about Karlings, but there never was anybody - save Burrows - more saint-like in taking snubs.¹⁰⁷

I am working this 'Aunt Charlotte's little France'. She gives me more trouble than all the rest of you put together.

I am driven wild with little France. Each of Aunt Charlotte's sentences needs to be broken into 1000 pieces, and she has the oddest notions.¹⁰⁸

It is difficult to state categorically what were the real reasons for Freeman's resistance to Yonge's work on the textbook. It seems likely that he never overcame his initial reluctance to employ her, aware that she would be harder to constrain than the younger members of his 'harem' – or the inexperienced William Hunt. Yonge declared herself to be compliant and attempted to meet his strictures; she appreciated the need to rein in any tendency to embroider her historical account with customary 'tales'; she knew that this textbook was aimed at older, school-based pupils, for whom her 'Aunt Charlotte'

¹⁰⁶ It is true that she used this name for some of her history books for very young children - *Aunt Charlotte's Stories of English History for the Little Ones* (London, 1873) was the first of the series, with *French History* in 1874. Freeman's private use of this name underlined his view that such 'baby' history was all that she was capable of.

¹⁰⁷ BJULH, Ms. DX/9/53, EAF to EPT, Feb. 23 1875; 'bewelshed' merely referred to his insistence that all names should be anglicised - 'Louis' should be spelt 'Lewis'. Montagu Burrows, Chichele Professor of Modern History at Oxford, had been a naval commander, and was a constant butt of Freeman's ridicule in his letters, referring to him as 'Captain-I-beg-your-pardon-Professor'.

¹⁰⁸ BJULH, Ms. DX/9/62, EAF to EPT, Oct. 1 1876 and Ms. DX/9/67, July 29 1877.

persona was inappropriate. Yonge tried to rewrite *France* as Freeman asked and assumed the faults all lay with herself:

I am very sorry to have been so stupid and to have given you so much trouble and I fear Mr. Macmillan so much expense. I suppose I am fitter to dwell on character than sum up political history. ... It is a wholesome moral I am sure for I believe I said if I knew anything it was France.¹⁰⁹

This brief and poignant letter, completely different in tone from their earlier correspondence, is the only one from Yonge to Freeman surviving from this period; that it is in the Macmillan archive suggests that communications over the book were no longer conducted on a personal level but via the publishers.

Yonge's observation about 'character' and 'political history' pinpoints the site of their conflict. Just a month after that apologetic letter from Yonge, Freeman was moaning again to George Craik at Macmillan's:

she does so contrive to leave out all things of importance, and to put in all things of no importance. I must put in the former, and as it is her book not mine, I don't want to strike out the latter more than I can help.¹¹⁰

Here again we have the nub of the problem: the key disagreement centred, as it did in Green's disputes with Freeman, on what constituted 'things of importance' in historical accounts. Both Yonge and Green wanted to retain a narrative style which reflected their own passionate interest in the people of history, which in turn would inspire their pupil-readers; Freeman wanted to impose a more rigid factual framework. His letter to Craik continues with further condemnation of Yonge's work, ascribing its faults to her failure to follow his instructions:

I had no notion, until I began this thorough examination, of its exceeding and unspeakable badness, and it is largely because she would not take the trouble of doing like her yokefellows reading my gen. sketch and working on the lines.

¹⁰⁹ BL, Ms. 54921/34, CMY to EAF, Oct. 22 1877.

¹¹⁰ BL, Ms. 55051/117, EAF to George Craik, Nov. 7 1877.

Unlike her 'yokefellows' she had slipped her traces; her long experience of successful teaching and writing made it impossible for her to fulfil Freeman's demands for a version of the past which was merely a dissection of the political process rather than one fleshed out with people and stories.

Freeman's criticism scarred Yonge and damaged her self-esteem in much the same way as he had undermined that of Edith Thompson; unlike Thompson (and MacArthur) she, however, could not be incorporated into his household so that he could oversee her re-writing according to his diktat.¹¹¹ At the start, she had felt herself to be the one with superior knowledge of writing history for the young. A letter to Freeman in 1872 (before she was involved in his enterprise) appears to be in response to his inquiries about the calibre of current textbooks and she assumes a shared attitude to the low standards of such books - '[it] looks as if it was written 30 or 40 years ago with all the old misapprehensions unhesitatingly given'.¹¹² Throughout these years Yonge had continued her busy professional writing life, and references to the French history tend to be appended to letters to Macmillan concerning other projects - 'As a matter of curiosity is Mr. Freeman still mending up that other unfortunate history?'.¹¹³ We get additional glimpses of the rippling humiliations which resulted from the whole affair from two incidents connected with Mrs. Humphry Ward, née Mary Arnold, who had withdrawn from writing *France*. That Mrs. Ward included in her memoirs Freeman's tittle-tattle

¹¹¹ BJULH, Ms. DX/9/53, EAF to EPT, Feb. 21 1875: Freeman says 'Charlotte of France' speaks of herself in former times, as 'when I was steady'; this suggests a woman whose self-assurance has been dented by the event.

¹¹² JRLUM, Ms. FA/1/7/833, CMY to EAF, Sept. 11 1872.

¹¹³ BL, Ms. 54921/77, CMY to McM, Jan. 1 1877. Although Thompson's *England* was a commercial success, she too used the phrase 'unfortunate history' about her own book. She had found the criticism of 'experts' distressing and was mortified to have her mistakes pointed out. This experience was probably responsible for her preference for the important but more low-profile work she did for James Murray on the *Oxford English Dictionary*. See Amanda Capern's account of her life in the revised *D. N. B.* for details of Thompson's later career.

about Yonge (though anonymous, it is easily recognisable), suggests that she was also keen on sharing it at the time, and that it empowered her to be destructive in her assessment of Yonge's other work.¹¹⁴ Ward was responsible for a review of *The Story of the Christians and Moors in Spain* in which she attacked Yonge's ignorance of recent research about Spanish history.¹¹⁵ Though Yonge was usually resilient to criticism, she told Macmillan she felt 'annihilated ... I should have exerted myself more to catch the present level of knowledge ... I wish this book had been at my own expense'. It is possible that Yonge's rejection in 1869 of a story for *The Monthly Packet* had rankled, a memory Yonge herself connected with the incident: 'If Mrs. Ward was once Miss Mary Arnold, it is like the old champion getting a fall from the young one, for I think she once was one of the Gosling Society'.¹¹⁶

During these years when Yonge was writing and rewriting her *History of France*, Freeman piled up his complaints to Macmillan: 'Artistically it is far too long, and it would be if it were only 50 pages',¹¹⁷ 'it is so wretchedly done ... I shall be thoroughly ashamed to see my name as Editor of such stuff ... and I should think all the others will be ashamed of their yokefellow'.¹¹⁸ Yonge's *History of France* was at last published in

¹¹⁴ Mrs. Humphry Ward, *A Writer's Recollections, 1856-1900* (London, 1919), 148-9.

¹¹⁵ C.M. Yonge, *Story of the Christians and Moors in Spain* (London, 1878); *Academy*, XIV, Nov. 16 1878, 463-464. Laura Fasick, 'The Ambivalence of Influence: the case of Mary Ward and Charlotte Yonge', in *English Literature in Transition*, 1994, 37(2), 141-154, examines Ward's determination to distance herself from Yonge in spite of an initial intense admiration of her: 'to enter "high culture" [she must] renounce female models, influences, values' (141).

¹¹⁶ BL, Ms. 54921/71, CMY to McM, Nov. 20 1878. John Sutherland, *Mrs. Humphry Ward* (Oxford: 1990), 38-39, for reasons Yonge gave for its rejection. The Gosling Society, 1859-74, consisted of some young women who wrote essays in response to monthly questions set by Yonge; her aim was to stretch their minds and give them practice in writing; a number of them went on to become writers of some reputation - see C. Coleridge, Yonge, 201-3. G. Battiscombe, *Yonge*, 107-111. From comments in Yonge's letters to Freeman, it seems that Florence Freeman participated in a similar scheme of 'Spider Subjects' which Yonge ran in *MP*.

¹¹⁷ BL, Ms. 55051/58, EAF to McM, Nov. 12 1876.

¹¹⁸ BL, Mss. 55051/111-2, EAF to McM, Aug. 20 1877.

1879 - five years after her initial agreement.¹¹⁹ That Freeman would claim credit for himself if it earned praise, emerges from his comment to Edith Thompson:

You will have seen Petty France - I am most curious to see what the critics will say about it, whether they will find out how much is Aunt Charlotte and how much is her editor. I think you will know pretty well.¹²⁰

The critic in the *Saturday Review* easily identified Yonge's contribution because it was 'notorious that France ... is not among the nations upon which the great historian of the Norman Conquest looks with a favourable eye'. He/she welcomes Yonge's success at softening Freeman's 'editorial sternness' - that she had prevented the book:

from becoming one long indictment against the Parisian monarchy, ... the fitting task of an author who has already done so much, both as a writer of school-books and of romances, to make French history familiar to the young. ... Miss Yonge's history combines the merits of being at once an accurate account of the growth of the French kingdom and an interesting and lively narrative.¹²¹

This review betrays an insider's knowledge of Freeman's methods and attributes the best characteristics of the book to Yonge's particular flair for embedding factual information within graphic language.

That the book's good qualities belonged to Yonge's writing rather than any 'ghosting' by Freeman was attested by an extraordinary chance incident. J. R. Green had also asked Yonge to write a French History for his own series of Primers. This invitation in itself was a validation for Yonge from a now-famous historian; she was the only woman among a stellar list of 'experts' whom he commissioned.¹²² Green was

¹¹⁹ BL, Ms. 54921/89, April 24 1879: Yonge signed Macmillan's copyright agreement. The date for Yonge's *France* as given in bibliographies is usually wrong. C. Coleridge, *Yonge* gives '1872, reissued in 1879'; *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* gives 1872, as does Battiscombe et al., *Chaplet*.

¹²⁰ BJULH, Ms. DX/9/77, EAF to EPT, May 18 1879. Freeman also comments that he had seen her article on 'the Primer and the other thing', a reference to her appreciative review of Yonge's Primer, *France* (in Green's series) in *SR*, XLVII, March 29 1879, 411.

¹²¹ *SR*, 48, July 12 1879, 59-60; it is probable that the reviewer was Edith Thompson whose pro-French views during the Franco-Prussian War had infuriated Freeman.

¹²² Prof. Jebb on Greek Literature, Gladstone on Homer, Creighton on Rome - and Freeman on Europe - were some of the others. I have found no clue to Green's use of Yonge - whether the initiative came from

accidentally sent some of the proofs of her book for Freeman. He could not resist looking at these - after all, this was the book from which he had withdrawn and about which Freeman had continued to make such a fuss. When Green returned them to Macmillan, he added a comment of immense restraint but inordinate interest for the historian:

I send ... some proofs of Miss Yonge's book in the Freeman series, which have reached me - I suppose - by some mistake. ... If you know nothing of these please send them back to E.A.F. But glancing over them I don't see that he is doing more in correction than I often do in the Primers, so that talk about "rewriting" was a bit overstrained.¹²³

The popularity of the *Short History* had given Green a special authority when writing to Macmillan; this, together with their very warm friendship, creates a tone of intimate understanding in their correspondence and comments like this suggest an on-going conversation about Freeman's abrasive, demanding personality.¹²⁴

Freeman had found the success of Green's *Short History* unsettling; although he still talked of Green as his protégé, he no longer had much influence over him. Freeman had expected Green to write a 'big' book about the Angevins, a sequel to his own volumes on the *Norman Conquest*, which could position Green securely in the higher reaches of the discipline of History forming a triumvirate with Freeman and Stubbs. Green's *Stray Studies*, a book of essays which included lighter non-historical pieces from *The Saturday Review*, evoked a stream of abuse from Freeman as, 'nauseous, ... seems to have come from the lowest depths of the *Daily Telegraph* ... when you write as a scholar

him or from Macmillan. Julian Yonge's bankruptcy in 1875 led to the need for Charlotte Yonge to raise large sums of money; it is possible that Macmillan encouraged Green to offer her a Primer to provide a lucrative income. Even so, Green would not have agreed if he did not respect Yonge's history writing. That Yonge was dealing with the repercussions of her brother's financial troubles at this time, cannot but deepen one's sense of sympathy for her treatment at the hands of Freeman.

¹²³ BL, Mss. 55058/168-9, JRG to McM, n.d. BL, Ms. 54921/48, Mar. 7 1878, contract between McM and CMY for the Primer, *France*.

¹²⁴ When Macmillan heard early in 1883 that Green's health was deteriorating, he and wife went to Mentone in the south of France, where the Greens were staying for the winter, and remained there till Green died. Freeman never seemed to recognize the gravity of Green's delicate health and the financial difficulties which it posed for a man without a private income.

well and good, when you write as an east-end-of-London parson well and good, but the pseudo-fashionable-style ... is below you, below a man a tenth part of your power'.¹²⁵

Green parried that the particular essay on which Freeman poured most venom was 'the most perfect literary thing I have ever done, and as I have no sort of sympathy with the feeling which puts social essays below historical volumes ... I told Macmillan he must publish this book for *my* reading, and not for the world's'.¹²⁶ It was Green's regard for narrative skill which made him admire Yonge's history-telling. He included extracts from her *Cameos* in his *Readings from English History*, where her accounts of Thomas Becket, Richard II on Crusade and the battle of Crécy sit alongside those of distinguished (male) historians such as Gibbon, Palgrave, Stubbs - and Freeman on the Battle of Hastings. In his preface Green provides a damning critique of Freeman's 'scientific' textbooks and an endorsement for Yonge's more 'anecdotal' history-telling:

The teaching of English History is spreading fast through our schools; but it can hardly be said as yet to have become a popular subject... In fact ... a large proportion of boys and girls turn from it as "hard", "dry" and "uninteresting". In their zeal to cram as many facts as possible into their pages, the writers of most history textbooks have been driven to shut out from their narratives all that gives life and colour to the story of man.¹²⁷

'Life and colour' were the ingredients for which Yonge's history books were noted. The history-telling which both Green and Yonge championed in their different ways was rooted in an older tradition, a custom not of gender but of generation, where elders and parents, 'wise' men and women passed on knowledge and brought it alive through vivid examples. Green's sympathy for the story of the English people and for their towns helped to refashion this tradition into what would become 'Social History'. Yonge's imaginative engagement was with the political and military events of nations and her

¹²⁵ JRLUM, Ms. FA1/8/582, EAF to JRG, March 26 1876.

¹²⁶ L. Stephen, *Green*, 429.

¹²⁷ John Richard Green (ed.), *Readings From English History*, I (London, 1879). Throughout the three volumes, Yonge is the only woman in the anthology; Vol. II includes further extracts from Yonge's *Cameos*.

advice to the readers of *The Monthly Packet* emphasized the seriousness with which she viewed the need for women to master such details.

Neither Green nor Yonge can be easily slotted into masculine/feminine paths of history, and in truth, neither can Freeman: his books were criticized for reasons similar to Yonge's about the Stricklands - his 'prolixity', 'his inability to sift and select facts', 'everything which he had carefully investigated seemed to him of immense importance'.¹²⁸ Earlier in the century Macaulay had aimed at writing history in such a way as to compete with the popularity of novels.¹²⁹ By mid-century, Freeman felt the need to signal that he did not reside in those slippery, androgynous, borderline regions where history and fiction overlapped.¹³⁰ This compulsion was all the more strong for someone like Freeman with close connections with antiquarians (his father-in-law), amateur ecclesiologists and archaeological societies.¹³¹ Freeman remained for the most part outside the established institutions, but not for want of banging at the doors. He had nudged his friends to put forward his name whenever a professorship had become vacant; he had been a candidate for Parliament in 1857, 1858, and 1868 without success. To add to his perception of being stranded on the fringe of public affairs, disagreement with the editorial policy on the Eastern Question led him in 1878 to sever a twenty year association with *The Saturday Review*, which distanced him from that congenial

¹²⁸ David Patrick, *Chambers' Cyclopaedia of English Literature* (London: W. & R. Chambers, 1903), III, 626, with reference to *The Norman Conquest* Vols. I-VI. An Obituary in *The Athenaeum*, March 19, 1892, 374, judged Freeman to be 'hardly an historian of the first rank, and certainly not a writer of the highest class'.

¹²⁹ Mark Phillips, 'Macaulay, Scott and the Literary Challenge to Historiography', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 50(1), 1989, 117-134, shows how Macaulay wedded an eighteenth-century 'exemplar theory of history' to a new Romantic emphasis on the use of the imagination to evoke the past.

¹³⁰ P. Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 30: the need of 'real' historians 'to dissociate themselves from the amateur world of antiquarian interests hints at their relative insecurities'.

¹³¹ Freeman's first publications were on Church restoration (another shared interest with Yonge), architecture, and his lectures to Archaeological meetings. He too loved reading Scott, especially the poems, and published *Poems: Legendary and Historical* in 1850.

fraternity.¹³² It is probable that all these factors made him particularly reluctant to have his name associated with Yonge. Her experience, age and influence meant that she could not be piloted like the original members of his 'harem'; for Freeman, her reputation as a novelist and a children's writer were disadvantages which threatened to jeopardise the whole project and his own position as an academic historian. His irritation and abuse tell us more about his own state of mind than about the quality of Yonge's work on this particular textbook. The episode as a whole allows us an extraordinary close-up of the workings of the 'procedures, professional behavior, and scholarly practices' - and language - whereby Freeman attempted to authenticate his own right to be called a historian by advertising Yonge's unworthiness.

¹³² W. R. W. Stephens, *Freeman*, 146: this entailed the loss of a regular income of c. £500 p.a. The *bonhomie* of *SR* had changed from its early days, but comments in Freeman's letters suggest that he felt divorced from a circle of influential people. He made much play of having left 'two heiresses', namely Margaret MacArthur and Edith Thompson, both of whom he had introduced as reviewers: BJLUH, Ms. DX/9/76, EAF to EPT, April 20 1879. It is probably relevant that this long affair of *History of France* coincided with periods of difficulty in the personal lives of both Freeman and Yonge.



John Richard Green



Hills & Saunders, Oxford, Photo.

Walker & Boutall, Ph. Sc.

Edward Freeman

Edward Augustus Freeman

The Little Duke: an example of Charlotte Yonge's historical fiction

Viewing history as a literary artefact recognises the importance of narrative explanation in our lives as well as in the study of the past and it ought to liberate historians as we try to narrate the disruptive discontinuity and chaos of the past for and in the present. ... Because today we doubt ... empiricist notions of certainty, veracity and a socially and morally independent standpoint, there is no more history in the traditional realist sense, there are only possible narrative representations in, and of, the past, and none can claim to know the past as it actually was.

Alan Munslow in *Deconstructing History* ¹³³

Postmodern historiography has challenged the idea of History as a discrete discipline separate from other forms of literature. The heightened emotions with which empiricists have argued for the scientific credentials of history against those who have dared to deconstruct its pre-eminent position at the pinnacle of the Humanities, are reminiscent of those similar passions displayed by the Victorian men who laid the foundation stones of its edifice. But the onslaught against their island of empiricism comes from waves of theorists making their sequestered position increasingly in danger of submersion. What is more, the many variations of history - economic, social, cultural, with newer diversifications such as gender and ethnicity - claim parity with the political and diplomatic modes of examining the past, and interdisciplinarity breaks the barriers erected in the nineteenth century between the mini-empires of academic territories. Hayden White's thesis that 'history is literary artefact, ... as much invented as found' posits that the divisions between 'literature' and 'history' are illusory.¹³⁴ What seemed like solid walls turn out instead to be mere stage curtains which are opaque until a spotlight reveals their flimsiness. Although Empiricists (such as Freeman believed himself to be) hold that 'historical explanation will emerge in a naturalistic fashion from the archival raw data, its meaning offered as interpretation in the form of a story related explicitly, impersonally, transparently, and without resort to any of the devices used by

¹³³ Alan Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (London, 1997), 13 and 16.

¹³⁴ The words are those of Munslow, 9, in explication of Hayden White's ideas.

writers of literary narratives, viz., imagery or figurative language',¹³⁵ this fails sufficiently to acknowledge the imaginative leap and intuitive guesswork which the historian interposes between the facts and their interpretation.¹³⁶

To conclude this chapter about Charlotte Yonge and history-writing I touch on her skills as a writer of historical fiction. Although these opening paragraphs might seem a somewhat weighty introduction to a brief examination of Yonge's *The Little Duke*, they serve to remind us of the wider parameters which 'history' is now allowed, embracing a diversity of historical narratives as a route to an understanding of the past. I have already referred to the role of Yonge in inspiring a love of history in future historians. The book most frequently mentioned with special affection is *The Little Duke*. Unlike most historical novels written in the nineteenth century, it has remained in print, is read for itself and republished for modern young people.¹³⁷ This makes it an appropriate choice here, although her lengthier works for adults such as *The Chaplet of Pearls* (1868) would repay analysis were there more space. Neither is this the place to grapple with significant issues concerning the genre of historical fiction. Instead I want to consider two questions in relation to *The Little Duke*: its value as a historical representation and reasons for its success as a story.

¹³⁵ A. Munslow, 10.

¹³⁶ Even Freeman acknowledges times when his ideas were prompted by historical fiction: *Norman Conquest*, II, 476n: 'I may perhaps have been somewhat influenced by the part which Hakon plays in Lord Lytton's romance'.

¹³⁷ C. M. Yonge, *The Little Duke* (London: 1901); references to this edition. It was the first serialised story in *MP*, Jan.-Oct. 1851. Published by J. H. Parker in 1854, and Bernard Tauchnitz of Leipzig in 1860, Macmillan acquired the rights in 1864 and oversaw nineteen reprintings during Yonge's lifetime, with a new edition in 1891 which incorporated endnotes to refer readers to historical sources. In 1910 J. M. Dent included it in *Everyman's Library* with many subsequent reprints; there were illustrated editions from other publishers in the twentieth century. Most recently, it was newly published in 2001 as a paperback by Jane Nissen Books. This brief publishing history omits editions published in America. Graham Greene, in his memoir, *A Sort of Life* (London, 1971), 49-53, credited the profound influence of early books for his life-choices: 'early reading has more influence on conduct than any religious teaching', and cites *The Little Duke* as a favourite book. He remembered it when stationed in war-time W. Africa. While there he wrote *The Ministry of Fear* (1943; London, 1971) and when this was reissued in 1971, Greene inserted quotations from *The Little Duke* as chapter headings.

The Little Duke is an appealing fiction about the childhood of Richard the Fearless, Duke of Normandy in the years 942 to 996, based on historical events. Near the start of the story, when Richard is only eight years old, his father William Longsword is treacherously murdered by Count Arnulf of Flanders and Richard inherits the Dukedom. The jealousies and ambitions of King Louis IV of France and other feudal barons mean that the boy-ruler and his lands are at risk. It had been Richard's grandfather Rollo who had seized part of northern France for himself and his Northmen, converted to Christianity and laid the foundations of good government, but the Minority of Richard would perhaps give the French their chance to push the 'pirates' out. Richard is forced to leave Normandy and live at the French court, but he is smuggled out by his squire Osmond de Centeville when his life is in danger. The machinations of the French King are outwitted by Richard's Norman Barons and with the military help of Harald Bluetooth of Denmark, the dukedom and its lands are secured. Over the timescale of the book, Richard becomes a young man in whom the characteristics which will label him 'The Fearless' are firmly rooted; he learns to master his passions and, above all, to show mercy even ultimately towards Count Arnulf, the murderer of his father.

All of this is historically true in its main outlines as recounted by Chroniclers. Indeed much of the history is legendary and therefore peculiarly suited to a fictional treatment. What Yonge does so effectively is take the historical events and weave them into a plausible narrative. Thus she sets up a train of incidents before the famous story of Richard's escape from the French court wrapped in a bale of hay, which make it possible for Osmond to be walking through the castle carrying such an unlikely bundle. An invented scenario of a previous fight between their Norman grooms and some of Arnulf's retainers which had led to the grooms' deaths, gives Osmond an excuse for his personal

care for his horses, as well as emphasizing the danger he and the Duke are in if they do not flee. Yonge's retelling of this episode is that on which Freeman had complimented her in his footnote in *The Norman Conquest*. As the same tale of an escape from enemies in a bale of hay, many years earlier, was also told of Richard's captor Louis IV, its factual accuracy is dubious. Its function is to dramatise the dangerous situation in which Richard and Osmond found themselves and use an apocryphal story with which her young readers can easily empathise. Although the use of anecdotes is frequently dismissed as 'bad' history, their power is to encapsulate, to arrest the attention, to embody a nugget of historical truth. By embedding an anecdotal episode within a convincing narrative, Yonge fosters sound historical conjecturing.

Yonge prefaced *Stray Pearls*, a later historical story for adults, with a defensive declaration about the writing of historical fiction:

Formerly the Muse of the historical romance was an independent and arbitrary personage, who could compress time, resuscitate the dead, give mighty deeds to imaginary heroes ... and make the most stubborn facts subservient to her purpose. ... But critics have lashed her out of these erratic ways, and she is now become the meek handmaid of Clio, creeping obediently in the track of the greater Muse, and never venturing on more than colouring and working up the grand outlines that her mistress has left undefined.¹³⁸

With a slight tone of impatience, she took to listing what authorities she consulted, 'because I have so often been asked'.¹³⁹ When Macmillan published a new edition of *The Little Duke* in 1891 she added endnotes to sanction key points of her story. These reveal that her main source had been *L'Histoire des Ducs de Normandie*; published in 1840 this was a transcription of archival documents which retained the medieval French of the

¹³⁸ C. M. Yonge, *Stray Pearls* (London, 1884), v.

¹³⁹ C. M. Yonge, *The Armourer's Prentices* (London, 1884), ix.

original.¹⁴⁰ Its use by Yonge supports the idea that from the first she had undertaken serious research when writing historical fiction even for children. This is further demonstrated by an examination of editions of *The Monthly Packet* in which *The Little Duke* was serialised in 1851, where Yonge concurrently gives non-fictional accounts of the same period in her ‘Cameos From English History’. In July the readers of Chapter VII of *The Little Duke*, in which the malevolent French Queen Gerberge threatened to kill Richard, are provided with a ‘Cameo’ of Richard’s grandfather, Rollo the Ganger and his invasion of North France. This was followed in August by the exciting escape back to Normandy of Chapter VIII but no ‘Cameo’, whereas September’s edition opened with a ‘Cameo’ devoted to Richard the Fearless and no extract from the novel. Yonge apologises that the ‘Cameo’ was ‘longer than expected ... to contrast with *The Little Duke* - how far founded on fact’.¹⁴¹

In the introduction to the Everyman edition, Eugene Mason assures readers that Yonge knew ‘all about the story of Richard’ from historical sources but that she ‘brushed and tidied up her characters a little’.¹⁴² This seems a fair verdict: Yonge’s account of Richard’s parents and guardians glosses over the unwholesome characteristics which Sir Francis Palgrave would give in his *History of Normandy*. Palgrave prefaces his chapter on Richard’s father William Longsword with a choleric deliberation on hagiology in order to justify his own more rounded portrait which acknowledges William’s feet of

¹⁴⁰ F. Michel, *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d’Angleterre, d’après deux Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi* (Paris, 1840; New York, 1965). Yonge left her quotations untranslated from this early French. She also refers to the rhymed Chronicle of Normandy.

¹⁴¹ *MP*, II, Sept. 1851, 165-175 - the issue in which she gave the previously quoted guidance to study history by reading two versions for comparison.

¹⁴² Yonge, *Little Duke* (London, 1910), xvii-xviii.

clay.¹⁴³ Yonge, however, needs William to be a saint-like exemplar of Christian fortitude, whose memory will guide Richard from childhood to adulthood, a version which tallies with legends of William's desire to be a monk, and the hair-shirt found at his death under his fine clothes. The early numbers of *The Monthly Packet* are shot through with Yonge's fervent belief that worldly history is a manifestation of the battle between the forces of good and evil. Her educational purpose in *The Little Duke* is to inspire the young with a desire to act with similar courage even in apparently impossible circumstances. To read the instalments in the context of the original periodical provides a very different experience, with each chapter embodying principles enunciated elsewhere in the Magazine. Yonge used her 'Conversations on the Catechism' in March - an imaginary conversation, bristling with military imagery, between two girls and their godmother Miss Ormesdon - to depict 'history ever since the Christian era ... [as] a battlefield', with 'modern history ... the account of how the battle has gone'. Aflame with new faith the girls resolve 'to fight our own battle with sin and temptation ... [which] may do more good to the cause than if we were the most powerful distinguished men in the forefront of the battle'. Yonge/Miss Ormesdon concludes this call to arms with a digression on the 'common greeting', 'Well, dame, how d'ye fight it out?', as an epitome on how they should conduct their lives - 'in our sympathies, our tastes, our employments, refer everything to that one battle'.¹⁴⁴ Given the strength of her religious feelings, it is extraordinary that Yonge does not allow her didactic aim to distort the story of *The Little Duke*.

¹⁴³ Sir Francis Palgrave, *History of Normandy and England*, I and II (London, 1851 and 1857). Yonge's story was serialised in 1851, and the bulk of Palgrave's account of Richard the Fearless comes in Vol. II. When she published the *Cameos* in book form in 1868 she amended the section on Richard's parents in line with Palgrave's account, acknowledging that William never married Richard's mother and sent her away so as to engineer a useful alliance by marriage with a French noble family: *From Rollo to Edward II*, 12.

¹⁴⁴ *MP*, I, Mar. 1851, 129-142.

The historical details which Yonge conveys with precision are those of the wider context: the contrast between Normandy and the French provinces, and also within different parts of Normandy - between the area around Bayeux where the spoken language remained that of their native Scandinavia and worship of the Norse gods continued, and that of Rouen where French was used and Christianity was adhered to.¹⁴⁵ She creates thereby a sense of the story taking place at a particular historical crux: that the future shape of that part of Europe will be determined by the actions of individuals and that, had Richard not acted as he did with courage and discipline, subsequent history would have been very different. Her story exemplifies Palgrave's comment that Richard's reign 'corresponds with the transition era equally of French history and of Norman history'.¹⁴⁶ Richard, brought up at Bayeux, among Northmen who retained strong links with their ancestry, is credited with melding the Scandinavian and French elements during his reign into the distinctive amalgam which would be Normandy, at the same time as assisting in the succession of an improved line of kings to the French throne. Yonge is scrupulous in conveying these complications of language, appearance, and religion; she portrays Richard as a living embodiment of the fusion of Norse and French traits. From a hot-headed eight-year old Viking (his first words are, 'I hit him! I hit him!' - he is returning from a deer hunt) who longs to carry a dagger, and whose overriding emotion at the death of his father is for revenge, he is transformed into a French-speaking young man, of chivalric spirit, committed to Christian principles. This adult version is well attested in the Chronicles; Yonge fills in the blanks of Richard's unrecorded early life so as to explain the metamorphosis. She credits the traditional Sagas told to him by Fru Astrida, Osmond's grandmother, for the inspiration of courage, and the influence of

¹⁴⁵ Yonge's reveals her interest in language, pointing out that this was 'Langué-d'oui, a language between German and Latin, which was the beginning of French'.

¹⁴⁶ Palgrave, *History of Normandy*, I, 105 - published in 1851, the same year as the serialisation of *The Little Duke*, but not in time for Yonge to have incorporated his account into her story.

Christianity as learned from his father and teacher-priest for the taming of his temper.¹⁴⁷

When Richard befriends Carloman, the weakly younger son of the French King, he boosts his moral strength by passing on Astrida's stories (128), and when Richard and Osmond fear most for their lives they help 'each other out in repeating some of the Sagas' (135).

The enduring popularity of *The Little Duke* is due mainly to Yonge's skilful interweaving of historical legend into likely scenarios, the subtle concealment (for the most part) of her didactic purpose in an exciting story, and her straightforward language, unloaded with imaginary archaic phrases.¹⁴⁸ Above all, its success is due to the qualities of her boy-hero. Female readers would have recognised characteristics of their brothers, sons, pupils; male readers could identify with a boy bored with lessons, who yawned through important meetings, was easily deceived by the French King's flattery, felt passionately about animals, made mistakes, fantasised about performing deeds as brave as those in folk tales. Richard is a believable boy who reacts and responds in ways that ring true.¹⁴⁹ One typical example is the episode (56-57) where Richard makes friends with ten-year-old Alberic; together on the castle tower, 'they threw the pebbles and bits of mortar down that they might hear them fall, and tried which could stand nearest to the edge of the battlement without being giddy'. A comparison with *Kenneth* suggests a further reason for the superior quality of *The Little Duke*. Although writing again of a period dominated by warfare, Yonge does not attempt to place Richard in battle scenes.

¹⁴⁷ Astrida's reply to Richard's longing for serpents to slay: 'there be dragons of wrong here and everywhere, quite as venomous as any in my Sagas' (7), chimes with the comments already mentioned of Miss Ormesdon in 'Conversations on the Catechism' (*M.P.* I, No. 3, Mar. 1851, 129-139), and provides a good example of the inter-relatedness of Yonge's own contributions to her Magazine.

¹⁴⁸ Compare her opening sentence, 'On a bright autumn day, as long ago as the year 943, there was a great bustle in the Castle of Bayeux in Normandy' with those of Bulwer Lytton's *Harold, or the Last of the English Kings* (1848), 'Merry was the month of May in the year of our Lord 1052. Few were the boys, and few the lasses, who overslept themselves on the first of that buxom month'.

¹⁴⁹ C. M. Yonge, *Books to Lend*, 55: '[Historical] stories are of great assistance in making it evident that the actors in history are not mere names with dates attached, ... but that they have been flesh and blood beings like ourselves'.

Instead she adopts the ancient device of the Messenger Speech with Osmond returning triumphant to recount the Norman victory over Louis IV's soldiers (174-178). Later she merely summarizes that 'Richard's life, from fourteen to five or six-and-twenty, had been one long war in defence of his country' (209). Where she does include direct description of conflict, it is on a small scale which readers could connect with their existing knowledge, such as where Osmond and two Normans guard a spiral staircase, a situation which every school-child would recognise as manageable (80).

Off and on throughout the book Richard muses on his future name: will he be known as Richard of the Sharp Axe or perhaps the Bold Spirit (7). Later when he becomes embroiled in a fight to prevent the blinding of a hawk, he cheers himself by wondering if 'Richard of the Scarred Cheek' will be his title (123). This is a clever device appealing to childish curiosity provoked by the colourful names of pre-Conquest rulers; it also serves as a reminder that each person's character is of their own making. The reader knows already what the young Richard does not - that he will be awarded a more impressive name than any of his own musings. In the brief concluding chapter Yonge leaps to the end of Richard's life and announces that 'his gallant deeds had well earned him the title of "Richard the Fearless" ... for there was but one thing he feared, and that was, to do wrong' (209). Expressed in this simple way, it neither grates nor limits the book to an audience of Victorian High Church Anglicans. *The Little Duke* has the ingredients of a folk tale - the hero, aided by loyal companions, outwits a wicked Queen and her minions and Good triumphs over Evil – while simultaneously the reader gains an understanding of the fluid, complicated politics of tenth-century Northern France, and therefore insight into those Normans who invaded England in 1066.

Conclusion

My aim in this chapter has been to rescue the reputation of Charlotte Yonge's historical abilities and to place her work in the wider context of the development of the discipline of History. Yonge's historical novels were the main way in which she reached out to boys and young men, who might admit to *The Little Duke*, *The Lances of Lynwood*, *The Prince and the Page* as favourite books even when they kept secret an enthusiasm for *The Daisy Chain* and *the Trial* shared with their sisters. Those aimed at adults were also popular: Lucy Cavendish (née Lyttelton) chose *The Chaplet of Pearls* about the Massacre of St. Bartholemew, as the best of all Yonge's novels - this from a woman widowed by the infamous Phoenix Park Murders of 1882.¹⁵⁰ What I hope to have demonstrated is that the dismissal of this side of her work has to some extent resulted from gendered attitudes to history-writing which downgraded narrative history. In the heady new world of postmodern historiography where 'there are only possible narrative representations in, and of, the past, and none can claim to know the past as it actually was',¹⁵¹ it makes no sense to segregate this branch of her work from the rest; it has perhaps been her most influential cultural contribution.

¹⁵⁰ L. Cavendish in E. Romanes, *Yonge*, 200.

¹⁵¹ Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, 16.

Conclusion

The historian, before he begins to write history, is the product of history. ... It is not merely the events which are in flux. The historian himself is in flux.

E. H. Carr in *What is History?*

A great deal of the history that scholars are producing now was completely unthinkable or literally unimaginable when Carr set out to describe and define the subject forty years ago.

David Cannadine in *What is History Now?*¹

In a recent update of his work on ‘modern’ masculinities as they evolved in the nineteenth-century, John Tosh defined their key features as a ‘declining investment in physical violence’, ‘an increasing self-consciousness about occupation’ and ‘the value placed on the domestic sphere’.² In this dissertation I have tried to examine the complications which resulted from such modifications in the lived experience of men, influenced as they inevitably were by imaginary conceptions and role models. I suggest that Charlotte Yonge’s many writings provide an arena where we can witness contested versions of masculinities being considered and rehearsed; that women’s input into shaping boys and men is as significant as that by men themselves. Within Yonge’s works we can reflect on the practicalities of Tosh’s key features: the difficulties which ensued when trying to reconcile a ‘declining investment in physical violence’ with the need to produce soldiers and empire builders; the confusions which ‘an increasing self-consciousness about occupation’ inserted into domestic life when the home served as the hub of private and public enterprises; the stresses and conflicts within men’s psyches created by the ‘value placed on the domestic sphere’.

¹ E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (London, 1964), 40 and 42; David Cannadine (ed.), *What is History Now?* (Basingstoke, 2002), xi.

² John Tosh, ‘Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914’, *Journal of British Studies* 44 (April 2005), 330-342. The existence of his article in a mainstream historical journal in an issue devoted mainly to recent research into masculinity, underlines a new attention to its relevance for historical studies. Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard in ‘What have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950’, *JBS* 44, 2005, 274-280, introduce a further five articles.

I have also wanted to help restore Yonge to the significant and influential position she occupied in the eyes of her contemporaries. Yonge wrote on behalf of important sections of society; swimming against the tide of Tosh's 'entrepreneurial, individualistic masculinity', they wanted to keep afloat revitalized versions of manly citizens buoyed up by communitarian values, who could become essential performers in their all-inclusive social vision. Such men could only be produced in families whose kin combined together to create fully-rounded, responsible members of society. As I suggest in Chapter Three, her writings can perhaps be credited with a pervasive non-party influence similar to that which H.G. Wells would later provide for the Fabians, percolating into layers of society which had little interest in High Church principles or the minutiae of their policies. Yonge's large fictional families are recognisably human; they make mistakes, show false pride, quarrel, tease and banter, as well as displaying fortitude and unselfishness; they are sometimes short of money; they often have moral dilemmas. Like modern soap-operas, they supplied their readers with imaginary families with whom they could empathize, their own behaviour affected by the mental experience of sharing in the lives of Yonge's creations.

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Vol. CXVIII, July 1875, pp. 82-90: review of J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People* [J. A. Grant].

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Vol. XXXVII, April 1863, pp. 485-487: review of E. A. Freeman's *History of Federal Government*.

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Vol. LV, April 1872, pp. 530-533: review of E. A. Freeman, *The Norman Conquest*, Vol. IV.

Vol. LX, July 1874, p. 232: review of books in E. A. Freeman's *Historical Course for Schools* – Miss MacArthur's *Scotland*, W. Hunt's *Italy* and J. Sime's *Germany*.

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Vol. LXIX, Jan. 1879, pp. 185-186: review of C. M. Yonge's *Story of the Christians and Moors in Spain*.

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Vol. XXVI, July-Dec. 1853, pp. 33-63: review of all C. M. Yonge's published books [John Duke Coleridge].

Vol. XXVII, Jan. 1854, p. 294: review of *Landmarks of History*.

Vol. LIV, July-Dec. 1867, pp. 239-285: Art. I - Review of books about General Lord Seaton [C. M. Yonge].

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Vols. XII (1852), XIII, XIV (1853), XV, XVI (1854)

Vol. V, 1849, pp. 94-100: 'On the Fifth Commandment'; pp. 157-162, 208-212: 'The Character of a Christian'.

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Vol. XLIII, May 1883, pp. 732-746: 'John Richard Green. In Memoriam' by H. R. Haweis.

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Vol. I, Jan. 1860, pp. 77-84: 'Our Volunteers' [John Burgoyne].

Vol. III, June 1861, pp. 666-680: 'The Study of History' [J. Fitzjames Stephen].

Vol. II N.S., Feb. 1897, pp. 147-161: 'Wreck of the Birkenhead: Anniversary Study' by F. Maurice; March 1897, pp. 305-320: 'Picturesqueness in History' by Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London.

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Vol. XCVI, July 1852, pp. 194-231: 'Our Defensive Armament' [Sir John Colborne according to his biographer, G. C. Moore Smith, but *Wellington Index* suggests G. R. Gleig].

Vol. XCVII, Jan. 1853, pp. 41-88: 'Jervais' *History of Corfu and the Ionian Islands*' [Sir John Colborne].

Vol. XCVIII, July 1853, pp. 405-424: 'Our National Defences'.

Vol. CI, Jan. 1855, pp. 261-290: on conduct of the war in the Crimea.

Vol. CIX, April 1859, pp. 486-513: review by E. A. Freeman of F. Palgrave's *History of Normandy and of England*.

Vol. CCII, Oct. 1905, pp. 357-377: Art. IV – 'The Novels of Miss Yonge'.

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Vol. VII, 1892, pp. 497-509: 'Edward Augustus Freeman' by James Bryce.

Vol. IX, April 1894, pp. 1-41, 'Battle of Hastings' by T. A. Archer; pp 41-76: Battle of Hastings by Kate Norgate; pp. 209-260: 'Mr. Freeman and the Battle of Hastings' by J. H. Round; July, pp. 602-611: Letters from T. A. Archer and Kate Norgate continuing their defence of Freeman from J. H. Round's attacks.

Vol. X, July 1895, pp. 50-514: Obituary of J. A. Seeley by J. R. Tanner.

Vol. XVI, July 1901, pp. 417-426: Obituary of W. Stubbs by F. W. Maitland.

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Vol. XXXII, April 15 1902, pp. 146-147: 'Charlotte Mary Yonge: Aug. 11th 1823 - March 24th 1901', an Obituary.

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Vol. LVI N.S., Dec. 1894, pp. 803-816: 'Modern Historians and their Methods' by H. A. L. Fisher.

Vol. LXIX N.S., May 1901, pp. 852-858: 'Charlotte Mary Yonge' by Ed. H. Cooper.

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Vol. XXXVII, April 1848, pp. 467-474: 'Why should we fear the Romish priests?' by Charles Kingsley.

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Vols. I - V, 1851-1855.

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Vol. VI, May 7 1851, p. 331: review of Charles Kingsley's *Yeast*.

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Vol. IX, Jan. 1864, pp. 211-224: 'Froude's *History of England*, Vols. VII and VIII' reviewed by Charles Kingsley.

Vol. XII, July 1865, pp. 267-274: G. O. Trevelyan's *Cawnpore* reviewed by C. M. Yonge.

Vol. XIX, Feb. 1869, pp. 455-464: 'John Keble', review of J. T. Coleridge's *Memoir*, signed 'A. P. S.' [A. P. Stanley].

Vol. XX, June 1869, pp. 132-134: 'A Visit to Keble' by Archdeacon Allen; July, Aug. and Sept., pp. 229-237, 302-310 and 448-456: 'Children's Literature of the Last Century' by Charlotte M. Yonge.

Vol. XXI, April 1870, pp. 438-444: 'The Teaching of Politics' - Inaugural Lecture at Cambridge of J. R. Seeley.

Vol. XXI, Mar. and April 1870, pp. 415-431, 509-526, and Vol. XXII, May 1870, pp. 31-46: 'The Origins of the English Nation' - Three Lectures given in Kingston upon Hull by Edward. A. Freeman, Esq.

Vol. XXII, July 1870, pp. 211-228: 'The Alleged Permanence of Roman Civilization in England' by E. A Freeman, D.C.L.

Vol. XXIV, Aug. 1871, pp. 280-286: 'A Diplomat on the Fall of the First Empire' by Charlotte M. Yonge; Sept. 1871, pp. 376-383: 'Edward Denison – In Memoriam' by John Richard Green; Oct. 1871, pp. 443-451: 'The Early History of Oxford' by J. R. Green; Oct. 1871, pp. 471-486: 'The Poem of Le Cid' by Mary Arnold.

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Vol. XLV, Nov. 1881, pp. 43-55: 'A Historical Society' by Professor Seeley.

Vol. XLVII, Nov. 1882, pp. 67-80: 'On History Again' by Professor Seeley.

Vol. LVII, Nov. 1887, pp. 41-49: 'The Historical Novel'.

Vol. LVII, Dec. 1887, pp. 81-85: Obituary of Mrs. Craik [Margaret Oliphant].

Vol. LXVII, Dec. 1892, pp. 91-98: 'Our Young Historians' by Mark Reid.

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Vol. V, April 1879, pp. 618-637: 'A Few Words on Mr. Freeman' by J. A. Froude.

Vol. XX, July and Oct. 1886, pp. 108-117 and 515-529: 'What the Working Classes Read' and 'What Girls Read' by Edward G. Salmon.

Vol. XLIV, Sept. 1898, pp. 373-385: 'The Historical Method of J. A. Froude' by Frederic Harrison.

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Vol. 80, April 1855, pp. 439-459: review of C. M. Yonge's *Heir of Redclyffe* and *Heartsease*.

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Vol. XXI, Aug. 1854, pp. 399-424: 'Children's Books' [I. Gregory].

Vol. XXIV, Nov. 1855, pp. 140-182: 'Home Reformation and Christian Union' [W. E. Rawstorne].

Vol. XXV, Aug. 1856, pp. 314-348: 'Christian Missions' [W. E. Rawstorne].

Vol. XXVI, Nov. 1856, pp. 209-227: review of *The Daisy Chain* together with *Loss and Gain* and *Perversion* [W. Y. Sellar].

Vol. XXVIII, May 1858, pp. 515-528: review of Col. John Jacob's *Rifle Practice* [P. E. Dove].

Penny Post

Vol. V, 1855, pp. 71-72: review of *The Castle Builders*.

Vol. VI, 1856, p. 18: review of *Lances of Lynwood*.

Vol. VIII, 1858, p. 92: review of *Landmarks of History*.

Punch

Vols. XVIII – XXXIX, 1850-1860.

Quarterly Review [attributions as indicated in *The Wellesley Index*]

Vol. I, Feb. 1809, pp. 193-226: 'Missionary Societies' [R. Southey].

Vol. XXXI, April 1825, pp. 52-65: 'A Cruise in New Zealand' [John Barrow].

Vol. XXXII, June 1825, pp. 1-42: 'Church of England Missions' [R. Southey]; pp. 211-232: 'Sacred Poetry' [John Keble].

Vol. XXXV, Mar. 1827, pp. 419-445: 'Sandwich Islanders'; pp. 445-481: 'Bishop Heber in India' [J. J. Blunt].

Vol. XCIV, Dec. 1853, pp. 80-122: 'Missions of Polynesia' [Herman Merivale].

Vol. XCV, June 1854, pp. 165-206: 'Christianity in Melanesia and New Zealand' [Herman Merivale]; pp. 207-249: a review of *Lives of the Queens of England* [E. A. Freeman].

Vol. XCVII, Sept. 1855, pp. 335-350: 'School Sermons' [W. J. Conybeare].

Vol. CI, Jan. 1857, pp. 168-202: 'Lord Raglan'; pp. 202-242: '*Life of Sir Charles Napier*' [both by Whitwell Elwin].

Vol. CVI, Oct. 1859: 'New Zealand - its Progress and Resources' [J. H. Tremenheere].

Vol. CXXXVII, Oct. 1874, pp. 458-492: review of *Life of John Coleridge Patteson, Missionary Bishop of the Melanesian Islands* by Charlotte M. Yonge [W. E. Gladstone].

Vol. CXXLI, April 1876, pp. 285-322: review of J. R. Green, *Short History of the English People* [J. S. Brewer].

Vol. 195, April 1902, pp. 532-566: 'Two Oxford Historians: John Richard Green, S. R. Gardiner' by Frederick York Powell and Charles Firth.

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[Attributions where given are from Merle Mowbray Bevington, *The Saturday Review, 1855-1868*, Appendix, or Peter McNiven's list of proof copies amongst Freeman's Papers in Manchester. Later attributions are based on references in letters; those with a question mark signify my suggestions, especially for articles by E. A. Freeman, based both on his style and/or references in letters].

Vol. I Nov. 17 1855, pp. 52-54: 'The Art of History Making' (on Dr. Doran), [E. A. Freeman].

Nov. 24 1855, pp. 68-69: review of W. H. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Philip II of Spain*.

Dec. 1 1855, p. 86: 'English Past and Present' [William Bodham Donne].

Dec. 8 1855, pp. 102-103: review of *Lances of Lynwood* [Mrs. Bennett].

Dec. 15 1855, pp. 116-117: review of Henry Liddell, *History of Rome* [W. B. Donne].

Dec. 22 1855, pp. 137-139: 'Sir Archibald Alison' [James Fitzjames Stephen].

Dec. 29 1855, Jan. 5 and Jan. 12 1856, pp. 156-157, 173-174, 191-192: 'Macaulay's *History of England*' [George Stovin Venables].

Feb. 2 1856, p. 261: review of Charles Kingsley, *The Heroes*.

March 15 1856, pp. 396-397: review of Dr. Doran, 'Knights and their Days' [E. A. Freeman?].

March 22 1856, pp. 416-418: review of *The Daisy Chain* [Thomas Collett Sandars].

April 26 1856, p. 520: J. Froude, *History of England* [T. C. Sandars].

Vol. II May 3 1856, p. 17: J. Froude, *History of England* (cont.) [T. C. Sandars].

Vol. III Jan. 3 1857, pp. 13-14: Kemble's State Papers [T. C. Sandars]; p. 14: review of *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England* [G. S. Venables].

Jan. 10, 1857, pp. 37-38: 'Dr. Doran Again' [E. A. Freeman].

Jan. 17 1857 p. 50, 'The New Romance of History' [William Scott]; p. 57: *Encyclopaedia Britannica* [E. A. Freeman].

Jan. 31 1857, pp. 100-102: on Railroad Bookselling [J. F. Stephen].

Feb. 7 1857, pp. 123-12: on *Quarterly Review* about Lord Raglan; pp. 156-157: 'Letters from Canterbury, N.Z.'

- Feb. 21 1857, pp. 176-177: review of Charles Kingsley, *Two Years Ago*; pp. 183-184: review of Agnes Strickland, *Mary Stuart* [Charles Henry Pearson].
- Feb. 28 1857, pp. 201-202: F. Palgrave, *History of Normandy* [E. A. Freeman].
- April 18 1857, pp. 357-358: review of *Dynevor Terrace*.
- May 2 1857, pp. 408-409: Alison, *History of Europe* [J. F. Stephen].
- May 23 1857, pp. 479-480: *Lives of Lord Chancellors*, Vol. III [G. S. Venables].
- Vol. IV July 11 1857, pp. 38-40: Buckle, *History of Civilisation* [T. C. Sandars].
- Oct 3rd 1857, pp. 313-314: review of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* [Charles Kingsley].
- Vol. V Feb. 27 1858, pp. 213-214: 'The Romance of History'.
- March 20 1858, pp. 294-295: Froude, *History of England*, Vols. III and IV [T. C. Sandars].
- March 27 1858, pp. 317-319: review of Alison's *History of Europe* [J. F. Stephen]; pp. 322-24: review of J. Houston Browne, *Lives of the Prime Ministers* [E. A. Freeman?].
- April 10 1858, pp. 374-375: review of Emma Willsher Atkinson, *Memoirs of the Queens of Prussia*.
- June 5 1858, pp. 590-591; review of H. R. Luard (ed.) *Lives of Edward the Confessor* [E. A. Freeman?].
- June 19 1858, p. 633: on retirement of Mr. Justice Coleridge.
- Vol. VI July 24 1858, pp. 86-87: Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* [E. A. Freeman].
- Sept. 4 1858, pp. 235-236: 'Chronicles and memorials of G.B. and Ireland' [E. A. Freeman].
- Sept. 11 1858, pp. 251-252: 'Historical Romance'.
- Vol. VII March 12 1859, pp. 305-307: 'Sir Edward Lytton's novels'.
- March 12 1859, pp. 312-313: review of J. D. Edgar, *Wars of the Roses*.
- March 19 1859, pp. 344-345: 'Works of King Alfred'.
- June 11 1859, pp. 723-724: Knight's *History of England* [E. A. Freeman?].
- June 18 1859, pp. 755-756: Alison's *History of Europe*, Vol. IX [J. F. Stephen].
- Vol. X Nov. 10 1860, pp. 593-594: review of C. M. Yonge, *Hopes and Fears*.
- Vol. XI June 29 1861, pp. 664-665: 'Current History' [E. A. Freeman].
- Vol. XIII March 29 1862, pp. 363: Haigh's *Anglo-Saxon England and Anglo-Saxon Sagas* [E. A. Freeman].
- May 31 1862, pp. 626-627: *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* arranged by J. S. Brewer [E. A. Freeman].
- Vol. XVI July 11 1863, pp. 58-60: 'Miss Yonge's *History of Christian Names*' [E. A. Freeman?].
- Vol. XVII Jan. 2 1864, p. 10: 'The Personal Theory of History' [E. A. Freeman].

Jan. 16 1864, pp. 80-81; Jan. 23, pp. 115-117; Jan. 30, pp. 142-144: 'Froude's Reign of Elizabeth' [E. A. Freeman].

Jan. 16 and Jan. 23 1864, pp. 75-76 and 102-103: 'The Shakespeare Memorial' [E. A. Freeman].

March 5 1864, pp. 281-282: 'Elizabeth and Leicester'; pp. 290-291: 'Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne'.

April 2 1864, pp. 405-406: 'Historical Mistakes'.

April 9 1864, pp. 446-448: 'Mr. Kingsley's *Roman and Teuton*' [E. A. Freeman].

June 18 1864, pp. 745-746: 'Historical Parallels' [E. A. Freeman].

Vol. XX July 22 1865, p. 103-104: 'The Teaching of History' [E. A. Freeman].

Vol. XXI Jan. 20 1866, pp. 80-81: Thynne on Chaucer [E. A. Freeman].

May 19 1866, pp. 594-595: Charles Kingsley's *Hereward* [E. A. Freeman].

May 26 1866, pp. 633-634: review of C. M. Yonge, *Dove in the Eagle's Nest*.

Vol. XXIII March 2 1867, pp. 278-279: 'Stubbs' Inaugural Lecture' [J. R. Green – the first he wrote for *SR*].

April 13 and 27 1867, pp. 469-471, pp. 532-533: Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest*, Vol. I [J. R. Green].

May 11 1867, pp. 601-2: review of Froude's *Short Studies* [E. A. Freeman].

June 22 1867, pp. 792-793: 'Professor Kingsley on the "Ancien Regime"' [E. A. Freeman].

Aug. 10 1867, pp. 184-185: 'The Archaeological Institute at Kingston-upon-Hull' [E. A. Freeman].

Vol. XXV March 21 1868, pp. 389-390: Mission Life.

March 28 1868, pp. 420-422: Mommsen's 'History of Rome' [E. A. Freeman].

April 11 1868, pp. 478-479: 'Immoral History'.

May 30 1868, pp. 725-727: Pearson's *History of England* [J. R. Green].

Aug. 29 1868, pp. 296-297: review of Yonge's *Cameos of English History*.

Vol. XXVI Aug. 15, 22, and 29, 1868, pp. 232-233, 267-268, 299-301: review of Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, Vol. II. [J. R. Green].

Vol. XXVII Jan. 16 1869, pp. 74-75: 'The Cambridge Scheme of Examination for Women'.

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March 13 1869, pp. 355-356: 'Perry's Guide to Scottish History'.

March 20 1869, pp. 389-391: 'Coleridge's Memoir of Keble'.

May 29 and June 12 1869, pp. 715-716 and 780-781: review of Sir Edward Creasy's *History of England*.

Aug. 14 1869, pp. 226-227: review of Prof. James E. Thorold Rogers, *Historical Gleanings*.

Sept. 4 1869, pp. 322-324: review of E. A. Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, Vol. III [Edith Perronet Thompson?].

Nov. 29 1869, pp. 678-679: review of E. A. Freeman's *Old English History for Children* [J. R. Green].

Dec. 4 1869, pp. 728-729: 'School Histories'.

Vol. XXXI Jan. 7 1871, pp. 23-24: review of J. R. Seeley, *Lectures and Essays*.

Jan. 14 1871, pp. 62-63: 'Calendar of State Papers'.

Feb. 4 1871, pp. 146-148: 'Stubbs' Select Charters'.

Feb. 25 1871, pp. 247-248: 'Recent School Histories' [E. A. Freeman?].

June 24, 1871, pp. 796-798: 'Mr. Grote as a Historian' [E. A. Freeman].

Vol. XXXII July 15 1871, pp. 90-91: 'Mrs. Trevelyan's Historical Lectures'.

July 22 1871, pp. 119-120: 'Froude's Short Studies – Second Series'.

Aug. 5th 1871, pp. 180-182: review of *Life and Adventures of Count Beugnot, Minister of State under Napoleon I* edited and translated by C. M. Yonge.

Aug. 26 1871, pp. 279-280: 'A Batch of Small School-Books' [E. A. Freeman?].

Sept, 2 1871, pp. 299-300: 'Opinions and Blunders' [E. A. Freeman]; pp. 315-316, and p. 350 'Correction': 'Miss Yonge's Journal of Miss Beatrix Graham'.

Oct. 7 1871, pp. 457-458: 'Evenings at Home'.

Nov. 18 1871, pp. 657-658: 'Miss Yonge's Cameos from English History, Second Series'.

Dec. 16 1871, pp. 784-785: 'A Class-Book History of England'.

Vol. XXXIII Jan. 13 1872, pp. 53-54: review of E. A. Freeman, *Historical Essays*.

Jan. 27 1872, pp. 127-128: 'Two Historical Fictions'.

Feb. 3 and 10 1872, pp. 151-152 and 186-187: review of E. A. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, Vol. IV.

March 9 1872, pp. 309-310: 'History for the Young', including a review of *Historical Selections* by C. M. Yonge and E. M. Sewell.

April 20 1872, pp. 503-505: review of Guizot's *History of France*; 'History Made to Order' [E. A. Freeman].

May 4 1872, pp. 573-575: review of E. A. Freeman. *The Growth of the English Constitution*.

Vol. XXXIV July 20 1872, pp. 85-86: 'Miss Strickland's Last Stuart Princesses'.

Sept. 21 1872, pp. 376-378: 'More School Histories'.

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Vol. XXXVI Aug. 30 1873, pp. 268-270: 'Archaeological Excursions'.

Sept. 27 1873, pp. 415-416: review of C. M. Yonge, *Pillars of the House*.

Oct. 4 1873, pp. 442-443: 'Two School Histories of Rome'; pp. 447-448: review of *Three Centuries of Modern History* by Charles Duke Yonge, Regius Professor of Modern History and English Literature, Queen's College, Belfast.

Nov. 1 1873, pp. 573-574: review of Edith Thompson's, *History of England*, part of Freeman's *Historical Course for Schools* [J. R. Green].

Dec. 13 1873, p. 767: review of *Aunt Charlotte's Stories of English History for Little Ones*.

Dec. 27 1873, pp. 818-819: review of C. M. Yonge, *Life of Bishop Patteson*.

Vol. XXXVII Jan. 17 1874, pp. 88-89: review of Anna Wilkes, *Ireland: Ur of the Chaldees*.

Jan. 24 1874, pp. 118-119: 'English Surnames'; pp. 120-121: 'Specific Primers'.

Feb. 4 1874, pp. 177-178: 'Tenth Century Architecture'.

Feb. 14 1874, pp. 206-207: obituary of M. Michelet; pp. 216-217: review of Miss MacArthur's *History of Scotland*, part of Freeman's *Historical Course for Schools*.

April 25 1874, pp. 532-534: review of William Hepworth Dixon, *History of Two Queens* [E. A. Freeman?].

May 16 1874, pp. 634-635: 'Historical Compendiums'.

June 13th 1874, pp. 741-743: 'Archdeacon Phillpotts on Peril of Idolatry'.

Vol. XXXVIII July 25, 1874, pp. 113-114: "Bloody Gardiner"; pp. 125-126: review of Mrs. Bray, *Joan of Arc and the Times of Charles VII*.

Aug. 1 1874, pp. 151-153: review of Prof. Montagu Burrows, *Worthies of All Souls* [E. A. Freeman?]; pp. 157-158: review of Mrs. Cooper's *Life of Strafford*.

Aug. 15 1874, pp. 219-220: review of E. A. Freeman's *Comparative Politics*.

Aug. 22 1874, pp. 249-250: review of William Hunt's *History of Italy*, part of Freeman's *Historical Course for Schools*.

Vol. XXXIX Jan. 9 1875, pp. 51-52: review of J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People* [Edith Thompson].

Jan. 23 1875, p. 122: review of L. Schmitz's *History of Greece for Junior Classes*.

Feb. 27 1875, p. 291: 'Dawe's Landmarks of History'.

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June 5 1875, p. 726: review of A. M. Curteis, *History of the Roman Empire*.

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March 11 and 25 1876, pp. 337-338 and 404-405: Stubbs' *Constitutional Charters*, Vol. II [E. A. Freeman?].

March 25 1876, pp. 395-396: 'Missionary Zeal according to Modern Lights'.

April 1 1876, pp. 437-438: 'Bright's *English History for Public Schools*'.

April 8 1876, pp. 463-465: F. W. Wyon's *Reign of Queen Anne*.

April 15 1876, pp. 495-496: Charles Duke Yonge's *Life of Marie Antoinette*.

April 22 1876, pp. 526-527: review of *Life of Charles Richard Sumner, Bishop of Winchester*.

May 6 1876, pp. 591-592: 'Miss Yonge's *Stories of Greek History*'.

June 17 1876, pp. 782-783: review of the Primer, *History of Europe*, by E. A. Freeman in series edited by J. R. Green.

Vol. XLIV Dec. 15 and 29 1877, pp. 745-746, 812-814: review of J. R. Green's *History of the English People*.

Vol. XLVII Jan. 18 and June 7 1879, pp. 92-93 and 718-719: 'New School Books'.

March 29 1879, p. 411: review of 'Miss Yonge's *Primer of French History*' in the series edited by J. R. Green [Edith P. Thompson?].

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Vol. LXXIII March 19 1892, p. 324: Obituary of E. A. Freeman.

The Spectator

Vol. 68, March 25 1892, p. 429: Obituary of E. A. Freeman.

The Times

Jan. 5 1854, p. 9: Review of *The Heir of Redclyffe*.

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Vol. I, 1872, pp. 9-33: 'The Study of History' by Professor De Vericour.

Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review [attributions as indicated in *The Wellesley Index*]

Vol. LVI, Oct. 1851, pp. 1-23: 'Western Africa'.

Vol. II N.S., July 1852, pp. 129-141: 'The Lady Novelists'.

Vol. VI N.S., July 1854, pp. 48-67: 'The Beard' [James Hannay with last four paragraphs by John Chapman]; Oct. 1854, pp. 381-419: 'Rajah Brooke' [Harriet Martineau].

Vol. VII N.S., Jan. 1855, pp. 284-285: review of *Heartsease* [Jane Sinnett].

Vol. X N.S., July 1856, pp. 1-51: 'Christian Missions: their Principle and Practice' [Harriet Martineau]; pp. 442-461: 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists' [George Eliot].

Vol. XIX N.S., April 1861, pp. 305-336: 'Mr. Kingsley on the Study of History' [E. S. Beesley].

The Works of Charlotte Mary Yonge

The works read for the purpose of this dissertation are listed here, in the order in which they were published, rather than alphabetically; the publisher and original date of publication are bracketed after the title, followed by the edition used for this thesis, if of a later date. Place of publication is London except where stated.

Abbeychurch; or Self-Control and Self-Conceit (James Burns, 1844); Macmillan, 2nd edition, 1872.

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Henrietta's Wish, or Domineering; A Tale (Joseph Masters, 1850); Joseph Masters 1853, 2nd edition.

Kenneth; or the Rearguard of the Grand Army (J. H. Parker, 1850); Leipzig: Bernhard Tauschnitz, 1860.

The Two Guardians; or Home in this World (Jos. Masters, 1852); Macmillan, 1899.

The Heir of Redclyffe (J. H. Parker, 1853); J. M. Dent, 1924, intro. by Alice Meynell; Gerald Duckworth, 1964, intro. by Charlotte Haldane; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, intro. by Barbara Dennis.

Landmarks of History II. The Middle Ages from the Reign of Charlemagne to that of Charles V (John and Charles Mozley, 1853).

The Little Duke, or, Richard the Fearless (J. H. Parker, 1854); Macmillan, 1901; J. M. Dent, 1938, reprint of 1910 edition, intro. by Eugene Mason.

Castle Builders: or The Deferred Confirmation (J. H. Parker, 1854).

Heartsease, or The Brother's Wife (J. H. Parker, 1854); Macmillan, 1902.

Lances of Lynwood (J. H. Parker, 1855); Macmillan, 1882; J. M. Dent, 1925, intro. by Lucy Crump.

The Daisy Chain or Aspirations. A Family Chronicle (J. H. Parker, 1856); Macmillan, 1906; Virago, 1988, intro. by Barbara Dennis, afterword by Georgina Battiscombe.

Leonard the Lion-heart (J. & C. Mozley, 1856); reprinted in *Village Children*, Gillian Avery (ed.), Victor Gollanz, 1967.

Dynevor Terrace, or the Clue of Life (J. H. Parker, 1857); Macmillan, 1888.

Hopes and Fears, or Scenes from the Life of a Spinster (J. H. Parker, 1860); Macmillan, 1888.

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Biographies of Good Women (J. & C. Mozley, 1862).

History of Christian Names (J. H. Parker, 1863); Macmillan, revised edition, 1884.

The Trial: More Links of the Daisy Chain (Macmillan, 1864); Macmillan, 1887; Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996, foreword by Alethea Hayter.

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The Prince and the Page (Macmillan, 1865); Macmillan, 1893.

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Cameos from English History: From Rollo to Edward II (Macmillan, 1868); Macmillan 1874.

The Chaplet of Pearls, or The White and the Black Ribaumont (Macmillan, 1868); Macmillan, 1920.

Historical Selections. Series of Readings on English and European History (Macmillan, 1868), edited by Charlotte M. Yonge with Elizabeth Missing Sewell.

Book of Worthies, Gathered from the Old Histories and Now Written Anew (Macmillan, 1869).

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Pioneers and Founders, or Recent Works in the Mission Field (Macmillan, 1871).

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Life of John Coleridge Patteson, Missionary Bishop of the Melanesian Islands (Macmillan, 1873); Macmillan, 1888.

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Cameos from English History: The Wars of the Roses (Macmillan, 1876); Macmillan 1886.

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