

WILKIE COLLINS SOCIETY JOURNAL



Wilkie Collins

NEW SERIES

VOLUME 2

1999

WILKIE COLLINS SOCIETY JOURNAL



The *Wilkie Collins Society Journal* is an annual volume, sponsored jointly by the Wilkie Collins Society and the Wilkie Collins Society of North America, and is dedicated to original scholarly essays and reviews of publications relating to Wilkie Collins, his writings, and his culture.

Editors

Lillian Nayder

Graham Law

Advisory Board

Steve Dillon

Steve Farmer

Tamar Heller

Clair Hughes

Philip O'Neill

Catherine Peters

Jenny Bourne Taylor

Ronald R. Thomas

Submissions

The editors invite articles (not more than 6,000 words) or notes (not more than 2,500 words) which should be sent to one of the postal addresses provided below. All manuscripts should follow the *MLA Style Manual*, and be submitted on a standard computer diskette (MS-DOS Format, with Microsoft Word or Word Perfect) plus one paper copy, and should not be under consideration for publication elsewhere. Please note that the e-mail addresses provided should be used for enquiries only, not for submissions.

Submissions and correspondence from North America to:
Lillian Nayder, Department of English, Bates College
Lewiston, ME 04240, USA
E-Mail enquiries: <lnayder@abacus.bates.edu>

Submissions and correspondence from elsewhere to:
Graham Law, School of Law, Waseda University
Nishi-Waseda 1-6-1, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 169-50, Japan
E-Mail enquiries: <glaw@mn.waseda.ac.jp>

Subscriptions

Individuals: Included in membership of The Wilkie Collins Society or The Wilkie Collins Society of North America.

Institutions: \$25 or £15 annually. Enquiries to the editors.

The Wilkie Collins Society

Chairman: Andrew Gasson, 3 Merton House, Belsize Park, London NW3 4EA, UK.

Membership Secretary: Paul Lewis, 47 Hereford Road, Acton, London W3 9JW, UK.

Memberships: Begin in January each year. Annually £8.50 for members in UK and Europe; £12.50 for those elsewhere. Payment in sterling only. Include subscriptions to regular newsletters and the annual *Wilkie Collins Society Journal*.

The Wilkie Collins Society of North America

All Enquiries: Lillian Nayder, Department of English, Bates College, Lewiston, ME 04240, USA.

Memberships: Annually \$20 (\$15 for full-time students). Payment in US dollars only. Include subscriptions to an annual newsletter and the *Wilkie Collins Society Journal*.

WILKIE COLLINS SOCIETY JOURNAL



The Journal is published twice a year, in January and July. It is the only journal devoted to the study of the works of Wilkie Collins. The Journal is published by the Wilkie Collins Society, which is a non-profit organization dedicated to the promotion of the study and appreciation of the works of Wilkie Collins.

Editors

Editor: [Name]
Editorial Board: [List of names]
Editorial Board: [List of names]

Signed Articles, Notes and Reviews Copyright © 1999 by the Authors
Editorial Material Copyright © 1999 by WILKIE COLLINS SOCIETY JOURNAL

Subscriptions

The Journal is published twice a year, in January and July. It is the only journal devoted to the study of the works of Wilkie Collins. The Journal is published by the Wilkie Collins Society, which is a non-profit organization dedicated to the promotion of the study and appreciation of the works of Wilkie Collins.

Membership Secretary: Paul Lewis, 47 Portland Road, Acton, London W3 9LW, UK.
Membership: Begins in January each year. Annually £20 for members in the UK and £25 for those elsewhere. Payment in sterling only. Includes subscription to the Journal.
All enquiries should be sent to the Wilkie Collins Society, 47 Portland Road, Acton, London W3 9LW, UK.
Annual subscription: £20 (UK) for full rate and £15 for students and those in the UK who are under 25 years of age.

WILKIE COLLINS SOCIETY JOURNAL



New Series, Volume 2, 1999

Contents

~Articles~

- The Ruins of Copán in "The Woman in White": Wilkie Collins and John Stephens's "Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan"*
RICHARD COLLINS 5
- Reading Landscape: Wilkie Collins, the Pathetic Fallacy and the Semiotics of the Victorian Wasteland*
SIMON COOKE 18
- Could Lydia Gwilt Have Been Happy?
A New Reading of "Armadale" as Marital Tragedy*
K.A. KALE 32
- Music and Female Power in Sensation Fiction*
PHYLLIS WELIVER 40

~Notes~

- Collins, Count Fosco, and the Concertina*
ALLAN W. ATLAS 56
- 'Belt-and-Braces' Serialization: The Case of "Heart and Science"*
STEVE FARMER & GRAHAM LAW 61

~Reviews~

- The Letters of Wilkie Collins. William Baker & William M. Clarke, editors.*
LYN PYKETT 72
- Wilkie Collins, Ioláni; or, Tahiti as it was. Ira B. Nadel, editor.*
JENNIFER CARNELL 74
- Wilkie Collins, The Moonstone. Steve Farmer, editor.*
ADRIAN J. PINNINGTON 76
- Oxford Reader's Companion to Dickens. Paul Schlicke, editor.*
Oxford Reader's Companion to Trollope. R.C. Terry, editor.
STEVE DILLON 78

Editors' Note

Since the last issue of the *Journal* appeared twelve months ago, a series of Wilkie Collins's hitherto unpublished writings have become widely available for the first time. The author's own adaptation of *The Moonstone* for the stage, privately printed for professional performance in London in autumn 1877, has been published in a new Broadview edition of the novel, accompanied by a fine introductory essay by Steve Farmer. Further, Ira Nadel's long-awaited edition of *Ioláni*, Collins's rejected first novel, the manuscript of which resurfaced unexpectedly in New York in 1991, has at last appeared from Princeton University Press. Last, but by no means least, Macmillan have issued in two volumes a selection--chosen, transcribed and annotated by William Baker and William Clarke--of around five hundred of Collins's meatier letters, the large majority published for the first time. These three publications thus add considerably to our ability to judge as a whole the life and work of this major Victorian literary artist. All are reviewed briefly in this issue, along with the recent *Oxford Companions* to fellow novelists Dickens and Trollope.

This is in addition to original scholarly articles on a range of subjects: from Collins's sources for Marian Halcombe's vision of Central American exploration to his contribution to the symbolism of the Victorian wasteland; from the connotations of Fosco's concertina to the significance of female music in the Sensation Novel, and from the confusing generic characteristics of *Armadale* to the complex serial publication of *Heart and Science*. We hope that readers will agree that the variety and vitality of these contributions bear witness to the thriving state of Collins studies.

Lillian Nayder
Graham Law

~~Articles~~

The Ruins of Copán in *The Woman in White*:
 Wilkie Collins and John Stephens's
*Incidents of Travel in Central America,
 Chiapas, and Yucatan*

Richard Collins

In Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* (serialized in *All the Year Round* 1859-60) Walter Hartright disappears from the English setting to serve as illustrator for an archeological expedition to Honduras. As part of the quest theme in the novel, this journey is no detour. It is a significant absence because, after braving fever, savages and shipwreck, he returns "a changed man" ready to face his future "as a man should" (Collins, 373-4). As Lillian Nayder has suggested, "Hartright's manhood [...] is engendered in an imperial outpost" (1), an important detail in a novel that otherwise does not deal with Collins's usual critique and defense of British imperialism, except to raise the specter of Count Fosco's "reverse imperialism" from Europe. Hartright's reason for going to Honduras shows none of the missionary zeal that Swinburne objected to in Collins, yet it is curious how easily Walter requests and receives a place on the expedition—as though such an adventure was an Englishman's just entitlement. Walter's journey is far too sketchy and too mythically schematic to have its roots in anything but an archetypal rite of passage into manhood. Indeed, it is primarily through Marian Halcombe's imagination that Walter's experience is filtered. Walter himself is notably reticent, saying on his return, "These pages are not the record of my wanderings and my dangers away from home" (373). But the Wanderings of Young Walter would seem to deserve a sequel (and a better title than that), if they had not already been written by John Stephens in his *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*.

While Walter is gone, Marian Halcombe, who got him his job with the expedition, has a vivid daydream about Walter in the forests of Central America. The dream begins:

He appeared to me as one among many other men, none of whose faces I could plainly discern. They were all lying on the steps of an immense ruined temple. Colossal tropical trees—with rank creepers twining endlessly about their trunks,

and hideous stone idols glimmering and grinning at intervals behind the leaves and stalks and branches—surrounded the temple, and shut out the sky, and threw a dismal shadow over the forlorn band of men on the steps. (248)

In the new Oxford World Classics edition (1996), John Sutherland gives credit to Harvey Peter Sucksmith, the editor of the earlier edition (1973), for "plausibly" suggesting the source of Marian's dream-description to be an unsigned article by Henry Morley on the ruins at Copán, published in *Household Words* in 1851 (Sutherland, 682n). As a friend of Dickens, a colleague of Morley, a contributor to the magazine from early 1852, and a member of its staff from 1856, Collins would certainly have known the article, so I do not wish to dispute this as one source for the details of Marian's dream. I would like to suggest, however, that Collins was also familiar with the source from which Morley (who had never been to Central America) so heavily borrowed—today we would say plagiarized—his facts and figures of speech, his information and impressions.

Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan (1841), by the American lawyer, explorer, and travel writer, John Lloyd Stephens (1805-52), was not only an extremely popular and well-written travel narrative, it was also the authoritative statement on archeology in the region well into the twentieth century, enjoying numerous reprints, abridgments, and translations. Today it is credited with initiating interest in the study of native civilizations in the Americas, and is still considered essential reading on the subject of Mayan art and architecture (see Baudez; and Ackerman, Introduction). Stephens had published two other popular books, *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land* (1837) and *Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia, and Poland* (1838), but it is his book on the New World that is justly singled out as his most lively, original and authoritative work.

Indeed, Stephens's authority on the region was recognized in the pages of *Household Words* in an unsigned article by William Weir and W. H. Wills that predates Morley's by almost a year. This refers to the book—somewhat elliptically if not monolithically—as "Stephens's 'Central America'" (Dickens, 65). The reference suggests that even the most casual reader would be familiar with the work. In the same article in which they mention Stephens as a source for their facts, though, Weir and Wills fail to capture his spirit when they describe Central America as a place of "poor and ignorant aboriginals and mixed races, in a state of scarcely demi-civilisation" (Dickens, 3). England's interest in the region was more political and economical than archeological. As the title to the Weir and Wills article, "Short Cuts across the Globe," suggests, the real topic of interest was how to ensure control of what was to become the

Panama Canal. If it could be established early that the indigenous people were incapable of designing, building or maintaining the canal, it would be in the world's best interest for a "civilized" (i.e., European or American) power to take control. Stephens himself, especially in the later editions of his book, devotes quite a bit of space both to the practicalities and to the politics of the canal project, although he falls short of making the imperialist and racialist (if not racist) argument that Morley resorts to: "nothing but Anglo-Saxon energy will ever stir this sluggish pool into life" (521). The contrasts between the blustering superiority of Weir and Wills, or the disgusted superiority of Morley, and the bemused observation of Stephens's descriptions of local customs and conditions is striking. Early in his journey, for example, Stephens visited a tribe of Carib Indians who, he says, without "mingling their blood with that of their conquerors [...] were nevertheless completely civilized" (1:19).

While the *Household Words* colleagues share the tell-tale signs of the journalistic hack—excessive borrowing, overwrought writing, hackneyed and ethnocentric metaphors, reactionary ideology—on almost every point Stephens emerges not only as the better writer, but also as a well-traveled man of some enlightenment on racial matters. On his arrival in Belize, Stephens took the place offered him at table between "two colored gentlemen," noting that "some of my countrymen, perhaps, would have hesitated about taking it, but I did not." During the meal he learns "that the great work of practical racial amalgamation, the subject of so much angry controversy at home, had been going on quietly here for generations; that color was considered a mere matter of taste; and that some of the most respectable inhabitants had black wives and mongrel children, whom they educated with as much care, and made money for with as much zeal, as if their skins were perfectly white. I hardly knew whether to be shocked or amused at this condition of society" (1:6). Aside from the deprecatory "mongrel," Stephens's tone is that of the sophisticated traveler, observant of inequities without the missionary's judgmental zeal for reform.

As a lawyer, Stephens also took pleasure in observing the legal system of Belize, which he commended for its racial equality and its complete absence of "gentlemen of the bar." He notes the presence of mulatto judges and jurors, and records the comment of one judge who was "aware of the feeling which existed in the United States with regard to color, and said that in Belize there was, in political life, no distinction whatever, except on the ground of qualifications and character, and hardly any in social life, even in contracting marriages." The absence of lawyers Stephens treats with humor, warning his "professional brethren" not "to pack their trunks for a descent on the exempt

city" because the system, though "an anomaly in the history of English jurisprudence," happens to be quite "satisfactory" without them, even though "in every other place where the principles of common law govern, the learning of the bench and the ingenuity of the bar are considered necessary to elicit the truth" (1:10-11). Morley, too, mentions the system of justice in Belize, echoing Stephens's description almost point by point, except that while he remarks on the absence of lawyers, he avoids the question of racial integration (517). In *The Woman in White*, of course, the law as conjuror of the truth is at best seen as indifferent, impotent or irrelevant, and at worst as the corrupt "servant of the long purse" (1).

Morley, the armchair traveler, is well aware of his lack of first-hand experience. He even suggests that he has to rely on others' accounts, although his scruples stop short of actually citing his source: "Though most of us like to know as much as travellers can tell us, about the country of the Incas, very few of us care to experience what it now actually is" (516). For his lack of experience, Morley compensates with stylistic excesses. His fictional "we," for example, is a transparent device to establish his authority as our guide, while his use of the present tense is a sort of directorial imperative, instructing us not only in what to see at Copán, but what to feel:

What Titanic wall is that whose image is reflected in the river? By the shrubs and creepers we can climb up to the summit. It looks like the portion of some massive ruin. We have climbed, and we stand spell bound. Step below step, broken by trees, loaded with shrubs, and lost at last in the luxuriance of forest, we see the traces of a theatre of masonry. (518)

Compare Stephens's original on-site description:

The wall was of cut stone, well laid, and in a good state of preservation. We ascended by large stone steps, only some of which were well preserved, and reached a terrace, the form of which it was impossible to make out because of the density of the forest in which it was enveloped. (1:78)

A couple of pages later, Stephens continues his description, which Morley patchwrites into his own summary:

Climbing over the ruined top, we reached a terrace overgrown with trees and, crossing it, descended by stone steps into an area so covered with trees that at first we could not make out its form. When the machete had cleared the way, we saw that it was a square with steps on all the sides almost as perfect as those of a Roman amphitheatre. (1:80)

Note how a "good state of preservation" or a "ruined top" becomes a "massive ruin"; how a figurative "Roman amphitheatre" becomes an actual "theatre"; how a "density" of forest becomes a "luxuriance," and above all how objective description becomes a directive to "stand spell bound."

Morley continues by describing two carved *stele*, or 'idols,' and indulges in several more impressionistic directives (indicated here in italics). He ends with a rhetorical question:

But from a pillar of broken stone below, the fixed stare of an *enormous* sculptured head encounters us. We descend wondering, and stand before an altar richly carved. We seek for more, and find at our first plunge into the forest a *colossal* figure *frowning* down upon us; it is a statue twelve feet high, loaded with *hieroglyphic* and with *grotesque* ornament. The grand face seems to be a portrait—but of whom? (518)

Again, compare Stephens's calmer original:

[...] we came upon a square stone column, about fourteen feet high and three feet on each side, sculptured on all four of the sides, from the base to the top, in very bold relief. On the front side was carved the figure of a man (evidently a portrait) curiously and richly dressed, whose face was solemn, stern, and well fitted to excite terror. The design on the opposite side was unlike anything we had ever seen before; the remaining two sides were covered with hieroglyphics. (1:78)

Note how "fourteen feet high and three feet on each side" is inflated into "colossal," yet reduced to twelve feet high, and how throughout Morley conflates Stephens's meticulously recorded catalogues and measurements with approximations and inaccuracies. Where Morley poses a rhetorical question about "whom" is depicted in the stone "portrait," Stephens only suggests that it is a portrait. More interested in the culture's artisans than in its heroes, a couple of pages later Stephens reports: "When we asked the Indians who had made them [the sculptures], their dull answer was 'Quien sabe?' (Who knows?)" (1:80).

In general, then, Morley appropriates the voice of the "demi-civilized," while Stephens lets the facts and the natives speak for themselves. Describing the scene for the most part without sensationalism, Stephens does suggest that one of the sculptures is "well fitted to excite terror," and in an atmospheric passage tries to capture the spirituality of what he supposes is sacred ground: "One [monument] with its altar before it stood in a grove of trees which grew around it, seemingly to shade and shroud it as a sacred thing; in the solemn stillness of the woods, it seemed a divinity mourning over a fallen people" (1:79). Far from sounding like egregious pathetic fallacies, the personification of nature in this passage precisely characterizes his speculations. Whereas Morley directs us *like* a guide, Stephens modestly follows the real guide who often hacks a way through the foliage: "From our guide we learned that the square column was an 'idol' and the block of stone was an 'altar'" (1:79). As Predmore notes, the meticulous Stephens was not sure that 'idol' and 'altar' were accurate terms and so enclosed them in quotation marks.¹ Morley, however, takes these words as gospel, and as a cue to indulge in ethnocentric metaphor: "The trees meet overhead; it is like a cathedral aisle" (518). Unlike Morley, both Stephens and Marian Halcombe use the more generic "temple."

¹ Predmore comments: "Modern archeologists use the term *stela* rather than *idol*. Stephens enclosed the word *idol* in quotation marks because of his doubts as to the accuracy of the term" (Stephens, 1:79n).

It is clear that Marian's daydream is based on Stephens or Morley, though in a highly abbreviated form. Marian's description of the "immense ruined temple" is essentially only one sentence:

Colossal tropical trees—with rank creepers twining endlessly about their trunks, and hideous stone idols glimmering and grinning at intervals behind leaves and stalks and branches—surrounded the temple, and shut out the sky, and threw a dismal shadow over the forlorn band of men on the steps. (248)

Compare Morley:

The colossal roots of the mahogany trees get sadly in the way. It is almost dark under the dense branches. (518)

And Stephens:

The whole terrace was covered with trees, and even at this height were two gigantic ceibas (kapok trees), over twenty feet in circumference; their half-naked roots extended fifty or a hundred feet around, binding down the ruins and shading them with their wide-spreading branches." (1:80)

It argues for Morley's influence that Collins and Morley describe trees as *colossal*; Stephens uses the word frequently—and more correctly—only in reference to monuments or statues of human figures.

Beyond a source for atmosphere and setting, Stephens's popular travel narrative may also have aided Collins in developing Hartright's character. If Collins was looking for a model of modest heroism for his readers to associate with Hartright's character-forming mission to Central America, he could have done worse than to invoke the memory of Stephens's British illustrator, Frederick Catherwood,² whom Stephens introduces as "an experienced traveler and personal friend, who had passed more than ten years of his life in diligently studying the antiquities of the Old World" (1:3). Catherwood is portrayed by Stephens as something of a quiet hero, whose invaluable contributions to the expedition are not restricted to his famous illustrations to the text, but include acts of bravery and resourcefulness in dangerous situations. If the reader could be encouraged to associate Hartright with Catherwood, then Walter's unnarrated experiences in Central America would be put in a new light of modest heroism and practical ability combined with artistic talent.

If the textual evidence is clear that Collins further abbreviated Morley's plagiarized précis of Stephens's description of the ruins, the rest of Marian

² The similarity of Frederick Catherwood's name to those of Frederick Fairlie and Anne Catherick in the novel may well be only coincidence. Nor would I want to make much of the fact that Stephens and Catherwood set sail for Honduras on a British brig named the *Mary Ann*, even though the *Mary Ann* takes Catherwood to Honduras and Marian sends Hartright there. It may be important, though, that before having Marian find Walter's position, Collins first had Walter asking the lawyer Mr. Gilmore to look for a position among his "large circle of acquaintances," which could have included an American colleague like Stephens. See Sutherland (676n) for a discussion of this revision of the manuscript.

Halcombe's dream suggests that Collins was also acquainted with Stephens's original text. Marian envisions Walter as surviving the three dangers of illness, attack, and shipwreck. Morley, too, envisions a trinity of dangers in Central America to be survived by the traveler, but gives them a comic coloration: "Fleas, fevers, and frijoles [...] go far to quench the spirit of the traveller" (516); this is his brief in favor of armchair travel. So when Marian envisions Walter as surviving illness, attack, and shipwreck, Collins seems to be, if you will, *unparodying* Morley's text, returning it to the original seriousness of Morley's source. Morley, for example, simply mocks the fever obligatory to the travel narrative: "We will get a fever at San Miguel. It's time to have a fever. Every traveller in Central America must have a fever and get well, or die" (520). But it is no joke for Marian who tells Walter in her dream, "Come back to us, before the Pestilence reaches you, and lays you dead like the rest!" even though Walter replies, "The Pestilence which touches the rest, will pass *me*" (248). The travelers in Stephens are not so lucky. Directly after their first visit to the ruins at Copán, Stephens tells how Catherwood is besieged by the hacienda natives for *remedios* for their fevers and rheumatism, and how the illustrator becomes a "medico" by distributing pills and powders and liniments from his medicine chest. The journey ends, however, with Catherwood, his constitution "severely shattered" by fever (2:354), having to be carried from Uxmal to Mérida on the shoulders of the natives. Stephens himself died in New York in 1852 as the result of a fever he contracted in Panama years earlier (Stephens, xv).

The second part of Marian's dream shows Walter still in the forest. "The temple is gone, and the idols were gone—and in their place, the figures of dark, dwarfish men lurked murderously among the trees, with bows in their hands, and arrows fitted to the string." She calls out to him, but he answers, "The arrows that strike the rest will spare *me*" (249). No such adventure takes place in Stephens's book, because it was not the "savages" that Stephens and Catherwood had to fear but the soldiers of the "civilized" governments of the region. All of which suggests that Collins was working from materials other than Stephens or Morley, such as the stuff of adventure tales or, more likely, of contemporary London exhibitions of anthropological curiosities that were described by the newspapers as "strikingly similar to the sculptured figures on Central American monuments" (cited in Altick, 284). Collins may have been drawing on the awe inspired in the public mind by the so-called Aztec Lilliputians, who were on display in Regent Street and the Queen's Concert Rooms, Hanover Square, and summoned to meet the royal family in Buckingham Palace. Called by the *Athenaeum* (9 July 1853), "living wonders," they were thought to have "no other alliance in the species" than to

"the ancient races whose portraitures are found on the antique Sculptured Obelisks and Hieroglyphical Pictures brought from the ruins of Nineveh, Egypt, and Central America" (cited in Altick, 284), a direct reference, it seems, to Catherwood's several accomplishments.

The third part of Marian's dream shows Walter "in a wrecked ship, stranded on a wild, sandy shore." According to formula, Marian calls out to him and he replies, "The Sea which drowns the rest will spare *me*" (249). On their return journey through the Gulf of Mexico, Stephens and Catherwood ran into sharks and whales, oppressive heat and a lack of wind that set them dead in the water, giving them plenty of time to "read through all the books in the mate's library, consisting of some French novels translated into Spanish, and a history of awful shipwrecks" (2:390). When the wind came up and they resumed their journey, they discovered that they were four hundred miles off course and "perfectly lost," but there was no shipwreck outside of their reading (2:394). Stephens and Catherwood were rescued by an American vessel bound for New York; Hartright is rescued by an American vessel bound for Liverpool.

A displacement and combination of Stephens's metaphors may explain Marian's vision of shipwreck. Stephens, in concluding the description of his first impression of Copán, uses two comparisons to evoke the image of the ruined city: it is like a shipwreck, and it is like the monuments of Egypt. First, it is

a shattered bark in the midst of the ocean, her masts gone, her name effaced, her crew perished, and none to tell whence she came, to whom she belonged, how long on her voyage, or what caused her destruction—her lost people to be traced only by some fancied resemblance in the construction of the vessel, and, perhaps, never to be known at all. (1:81)

But Copán is also like Egypt, where

colossal skeletons of gigantic temples stand in unwatered sands in all the nakedness of desolation; but here an immense forest shrouds the ruins, hiding them from sight, heightening the impression and moral effect, and giving an intensity and almost wildness to the interest. (1:81)

Thus, if Stephens's "shattered bark" is transported, through metaphor, to Egypt's "unwatered sand," Marian's vision of Walter seems to combine the images to see him "in a wrecked ship, stranded on a wild, sandy shore" (249). Given the sensation novelist's interest in tombstones, lost identities, fancied resemblances, impressions, moral effects, intensities and wildness of interest, it is easy to see how Collins could have been charmed by Stephens's evocation of a lost civilization.

In addition to these parallels in Stephens's text, the closing lines of Marian's dream may have a source in Catherwood's drawings: "The darkness closed round the pilgrim at the marble tomb; closed round the veiled woman

from the grave; closed round the dreamer who looked on them. I saw and heard no more" (249). This is clearly a foreshadowing of Hartright's experience on his return, when he visits Laura's grave, only to be confronted with Laura herself when she unveils and looks at him over "her" tombstone (378). In several engravings of monuments, Catherwood includes a human figure, no doubt to provide a sense of proportion. Catherwood's talent was apparently for monuments rather than men: most of those he depicts seem to be natives, their dark skin indicated only by cross-hatching, even though their body types and facial features are European. One or two of these figures, however, lack the native characteristics and appear to be entirely European, although they wear the indigenous loose cotton clothing and high straw hats, almost as roomy as opera top hats. Figure 8, for example, depicts next to a "Gigantic Head at Copán" a light-skinned young man (without cross-hatching), who might be Stephens himself in the native dress of short cotton trousers, open-throated shirt, and a hat that might suggest the tall headgear of the European Pilgrim that Marian mentions, presumably metaphorically.

Marian's dream does not need to be—nor is it meant to be—an accurate representation of the ruins of Copán.³ As a novelist, what Collins needed was a credible model for what Marian *fancied* Hartright might have seen there. The scene filtered through Morley's imagination would be just as serviceable as Stephens's reportage—perhaps even more so. As a journalist and academic, Morley had to visit Copán vicariously through Stephens's text. As a woman, Marian can only "dream" what Walter experiences. Her vivid imagining of the ruins, brief as it is, may show an uncanny sympathy or spiritual connection with Walter, but it may also show an envious identification with Walter's passage into manhood through a three-part ritual of overcoming "The Pestilence that wastes, the Arrow that strikes, the Sea that drowns" and (equally overcome, though back on English soil) "the Grave that closes over Love and Hope" (249). If Marian's facial hair suggests a witch's talent for prophecy that envisions Walter's meeting with "the veiled woman" over a marble tombstone, it also suggests a masculine side to her nature that is impatient with being imprisoned in petticoats and eager for the engendering adventure.

The sensation novel relies for its full effect on the interaction of the

³ Let's assume for a moment that Marian and Walter are historical. She could not have read Morley's 1851 article in *Household Words* when she dreamed of Walter in 1850 (unless her powers of prophecy are more fully developed than we are led to believe). She could, however, have read Stephens's book in one of its many editions between its first publication in 1841 and 1849, when she sent Walter to Honduras, or even 1850, when she dreamed of Walter's adventures. (See "The Chronology of *The Woman in White*," Appendix C, in Sutherland, 662-68.)

reader, who brings his/her experience—both real and imagined, actual and textual—to bear on the novelist's evocations. Just as the reader is asked to flesh out Hartright's sketch of Laura Fairlie with "the first woman who quickened the pulses within you" (42), so the reader familiar with John Stephens's journey to Central America might have been able to add a number of impressions to Marian's dream of the ruins and to Collins's sketch of Hartright's journey to Copán, including perhaps a flattering comparison to Catherwood.

Whether Wilkie Collins based his description of the ruins of Copán on that of Morley or Stephens or both, he manages to avoid the former's purple prose and faux first person voice, even as he captures the latter's interest in lost identities and mystery in Marian's brief, feverish daydream. To understand how Victorian novelists treat colonial and imperial matters, we need to know how well acquainted they were with the texts of such first-hand descriptions of the New World and its ancient civilizations as that of Stephens, and not just their familiarity with such literary circles as that of Dickens and *Household Words*. Such research pays off when we turn to Stephens because his prose is highly readable yet scrupulously accurate, combining the narrative powers of art with the measured observation of a scientist. In calm and objective prose that has allowed Stephens's work to endure, we hear a voice that is for its time remarkably free of prejudice, indicating that Stephens was a man of reason, experience and sophistication.

David Johnson has argued that Stephens "complicates his desire to deromanticize the representation of Mayan ruins" when he tries to "subordinate the tales of the ruins to a scientifically rigorous discussion" (7), substituting the European discourse of scientific description for indigenous legend and ellipsis, thus falling into his "own particular romanticization of a scientific discourse" (15).⁴ Interestingly, the same might be said of Collins's

⁴ Stephens's attempt to "deromanticize" the discourse previously applied to New World ruins and to replace it with that of science seems entirely laudatory. But in Johnson's view, it seems, any attempt by a European to understand Amerindian culture is doomed a priori to Eurocentrism because a hieroglyphic discourse is not accessible to an alphabetical one. When Stephens wants to know the history of the artifacts, he is frustrated by native ignorance; as Johnson puts it, "the site ultimately grounds a critique of Amerindian indifference to the antiquities of their country" (10). Johnson argues that "the role of the native informant and of native knowledge" is devalued by Stephens so that it is "no knowledge at all" (9). But it is not cultural insensitivity that causes Stephens to find the native knowledge lacking when it can tell him *where* a ruin is, but not *what* it is. It hardly seems fair to fault Stephens for the thrill of discovery and the desire to disseminate his findings in language comprehensible to his countrymen. If he finds it easier to translate the unpronounceable Xcocpoop as "casa no. 1," it may be a "discursive strateg[y] of appropriation" used to "familiarize the radically foreign, soothe the European imagination, enabling not only comprehension but cultural exploitation" (17), but Stephens was neither disingenuous nor diabolical in his discourse; he was an explorer and a scientist who used language as a tool for the work in hand. (If that tool can be called "exploitative" by Johnson, it

use of the forensic method in *The Woman in White*, attempting to supersede the romanticism of the Gothic tale of horror with the more familiar horrors of everyday life as seen in the courtrooms and asylums of London. Hartright is the mediator of that transformation, combining the investigative eye of the detective, lawyer, or scientist, with the observing eye of the artist. In this way, Hartright is a combination of the lawyer Stephens and the illustrator Catherwood, as well as the partial alter-ego of Wilkie Collins, the novelist trained in both painting and law.

Hartright, however, must earn his right to interpret. While, as already noted, I think that he zealously overstates Stephens's culpability in what he calls the "devaluation" and "exploitation" of the Amerindian culture, Johnson does make an interesting point when he focuses on the importance of the hieroglyphics as "writing in the dark", in Stephens's metaphorical phrase. Despite his trained eye, Catherwood has difficulty drawing what is in front of him because of the unfamiliarity of the "writing": "The designs were very complicated, and so different from anything Mr. Catherwood had ever seen before as to be perfectly unintelligible" (1:90). And later:

As we feared, the designs were so intricate and complicated, the subjects so entirely new and unintelligible that he was having great difficulty in drawing [...] The idol seemed to defy his art; two monkeys on a tree on one side appeared to be laughing at him, and I felt discouraged and despondent. In fact, I made up my mind with a pang of regret that we must abandon the idea of carrying away any materials for antiquarian speculation, and must be content with having seen them ourselves. (1:92-3)

Like Catherwood, Walter Hartright is unable to interpret the unfamiliar signs of the mystery that is woven by the foreigner Count Fosco until after he has had more exposure and experience in the Central American heart of darkness. The next day, "Mr. Catherwood was much more successful in his drawings; indeed, at the beginning the light fell exactly as he wished, and he mastered the difficulty" (1:93). When Walter returns, "the morning light showed the friendly shore in view," and the next sentence reads: "My pen traces the old letters as my heart goes back to the old love" (374). The familiar light of the English coast and the familiar letters of Laura's name restore Walter's confidence and he is now able to decipher the mystery of the various hidden documents that are the "writing in the dark" that he must interpret and bring

may be because Johnson is appropriating the discourse of a historically specific past to soothe the moral absolutism and universalist confidence of his academic imagination in an act of exploitation of Stephens's cultural text). After all, discourse is all we have. When he realized he could not be another Elgin by physically carrying his finds to New York, and that even Catherwood's drawings might not materialize, Stephens resigned himself to the possibility that his discourse would be all he had to show for his trip. The explorer who shares his findings should not be blamed for the colonial regime that follows him, just as Einstein cannot be blamed for the atom bomb.

to light.

One of the few times Walter mentions his Central American experience is when he is going after "positive evidence, in writing," of Sir Percival's secret at the church (472). His blood is throbbing at "fever heat," and though he has bought a cudgel in case of attack, he is ready and willing to take to his heels, for he "had not wanted for practice since, in the later time of my experience in Central America" (472). This slightly comic note may remind us of the dangers he had to undergo there, or it might invoke Stephens's experiences with hieroglyphics, those "writings in the dark" which Catherwood had such difficulty copying, and which Hartright will copy if he can, but would rather take home the original if possible. ("The copy of the register was sure to be safe in Mr. Wansborough's strong-room. But the position of the original, in the vestry, was, as I had seen with my own eyes, anything but secure", 472). In the building the Indians call Akatzeeb, "signifying the writing in the dark [...] no light enters except from the single doorway, the chamber was so dark that the drawing could with difficulty be copied" (cited in Johnson, 20). Similarly, the vestry which holds all the records of the people of Welmingham Parish Church is lit by a single skylight.

Hartright himself is, in a sense, writing in the dark—or at least reading in the dark—until he returns from Honduras. Only then, after his presumed contact with the undecipherable hieroglyphs which (like Catherwood) he would have had to illustrate, is he able to see Count Fosco's and Sir Percival Glyde's mysteries for what they are: not mysteries at all but puzzles, word games in which the legal and criminal minds excel. In contrast to the unreadable hieroglyphics of the Mayans, these European, or alphabetical mysteries are quite legible. In restoring Laura's identity, Walter brings her back to light, reinscribes her name not on a lying tombstone (literally a hieroglyph, or "sacred carving") but on the registers of law, such as deeds of property. Hartright becomes a reader of the dark writing, as well as a writer who enlightens us about the truth of the woman in white. Rendering the aesthetic surfaces in art is not enough to right wrongs in the realm of ethics. A faithful portrait may capture her character but it does nothing to establish her identity. His journey into darkness and mystery, in other words, ends in light and truth. His rewards, of course, are those of the returned colonialist who has translated his foreign-earned capital (in this case, his new-found resourcefulness and resolve) into real estate, providing his son with a legacy as the "heir of Limmeridge House."

Stephens was a writer with whom the unconventional Collins might well have identified, and his work on Central America is one that Marian

Halcombe, with her futile fantasies of vicarious masculine empowerment (if not engenderment), might credibly have appropriated from her reading into the dream work of paraphrase.

Works Cited

- Ackerman, Karl, ed. *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, by John Lloyd Stephens. Abridged edition. Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993.
- Altick, Richard D. *The Shows of London*. Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Baudez, Claude-François. *Maya Sculpture of Copán: The Iconography*. Norman & London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
- Collins, Wilkie. *The Woman in White*. Edited by Harvey Peter Sucksmith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Dickens, Charles, ed. *The World Here and There: or, Notes of Travellers. From 'Household Words.'* New York: Putnam, 1852.
- Johnson, David E. "'Writing in the Dark': The Political Fictions of American Travel Writing." In *American Literary History* 7:1 (Spring 1995) 1-27.
- [Morley, Henry.] "Our Phantom Ship. Central America." In *Household Words* 2 (22 Feb 1851) 516-22.
- Nayder, Lillian. "Agents of Empire in *The Woman in White*." In *Victorian Newsletter* 83 (1993) 1-7.
- Stephens, John L., Esq. *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*. 2 vols. Illustrated by Frederick Catherwood. Edited by Richard L. Predmore. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1949.
- Sutherland, John, ed. *The Woman in White*, by Wilkie Collins. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- [Weir, William and W. H. Wills.] "Short Cuts across the Globe." In *Household Words* 1 (13 Apr 1850) 65-8. Reprinted in Dickens, 1852.

Reading Landscape: Wilkie Collins, the Pathetic Fallacy, and the Semiotics of the Victorian Wasteland

Simon Cooke

In his assessment of the art of Wilkie Collins, Harry Quilter highlights the way in which the "facts of Nature" are combined with the "emotions of his story" (578). Quilter's comments are astute: for one of Collins's key concerns is the interconnectedness between his landscapes and his characters' states of mind. Indeed Collins regularly exploits the poetic device that, in volume three of *Modern Painters* (1856), Ruskin called the Pathetic Fallacy. Presenting his settings as 'real' places—many of the landscapes being literally based on specific locations—Collins insists on combining emotions with topographies. Collins thus writes his landscapes as tangible places that are also textualizations of inner conditions. As in his treatments of physiognomy and gesture, he develops his settings as a series of "outward signs" (*No Name*, 111),¹ iconic visualizations that exist in two domains and empower the novelist to chart what lies 'within', whilst rooting that information in the phenomenal world. At once intensely 'real' and 'symbolic', Collins's landscapes are concise embodiments, inscriptions of feeling in the very fabric of the material world. In Collins's settings "all things" can thus represent an "aspect of the heart" (*Basil*, 37); nature and human nature are merged, locations become mindscapes, and the forms of the land are simultaneously the "hieroglyphics" of the characters' psychologies (*The Moonstone*, 169).

This fusion of landscape and mind is partly realized in Collins's treatment of the Picturesque. Strongly influenced by the example of his father's art, he recreates the ideal linkages, the connection between sentiment and setting which, according to him, was a main characteristic of the paintings of Collins senior (*Memoirs*, 2:229). As William Collins makes use of the Picturesque as a method of projecting his figures' emotions, so Wilkie manipulates the serenity of the natural world as a means of visualizing his characters' happiness. In *The Two Destinies*, for example, the "grassy banks" and "soft reflections" of Greenwater Broad are the emblems of a swain-like contentment (11). The Picturesque similarly encodes the bucolic contentment

¹ Unless listed otherwise in 'Works Cited', citations from the novels refer to *Wilkie Collins's Novels: A New Edition*, the Library Edition issued by Chatto & Windus from 1889.

of the children of St. Cleer, whose innocence is signalled by the details of unspoilt terrain and "rambling" village (*Rambles Beyond Railways*, 20-1). Modelled on pictures such as *Borrowdale* (1821) and *The Kitten Deceived* (1816), both now housed in the Guildhall Gallery, London, these descriptions represent the "sentimental rusticity" of his father's sensitive style (Wood, 11).

The linkage of mental and material is more typically developed, however, in the writing of Gothic dystopias. Conceived as gardens gone to seed, these grotesqueries subvert the aesthetic and moral certainties of the Picturesque. Described as dense fields of rank vegetation, tangled trees, dank pools, sluggish rivers, barren plains and moorlands, they collectively suggest a type of psychological malaise. Reflecting the emotions of those who stand within them or (on a few occasions) those who own them, they provide a nightmarish equation, a series of diseased visualizations in which the characters' sense of morbidity is encoded in the blight of the land.

So much is clear, although the exact definition of the characters' state of mind is more problematic. Always presented as iconic descriptions, without textual explanations to frame them, Collins's dystopias imply a wide variety of distressing emotions. Walter de la Mare (94) keeps his options open when he interprets the landscapes as the emblems of "rapture . . . suspense . . . fear . . . dread . . . despair or anguish". For Sampson, on the other hand, the overwhelming effect is one of "desolation", "depression" and "horror" (646). Yet others, adopting a variety of approaches, have striven for more precision. Hutter, for instance, in a *tour de force* of Freudian psychoanalysis, has interpreted the Shivering Sand in *The Moonstone* as a dream-representation of "the fear of intercourse" (204). Bernstein has argued for a Gothic interpretation stressing the "manipulation of archetypes" (299), whilst the Blackwater Estate of *The Woman in White* has been linked to the sufferings of Dante's *Inferno* by Caracciolo (390-1).

These readings are useful, although the approaches are largely ahistorical and raise more questions than answers. The emotional content of Collins's dystopias can be better explained, I suggest, by viewing the emblems within those landscapes as signifiers drawn from a range of contemporary semiologies. Engaging in a sort of intertextual game, which eclectically borrows from literature and art, Collins appropriates what in effect are conventionalized notations of blight: ways of showing types of emotional malaise that were commonplace throughout the "wastelands" of mid-Victorian culture (Dahl, 341-7). In the domain of literature his sources include the Gothic landscapes of Ann Radcliffe and Matthew 'Monk' Lewis, whose work he knew well (see Peters, 6 & 32). By looking to the emotionalized landscapes

of Gothic, he found a rich source of emblematic details. He also drew on the elaborate landscapes of Scott, his favourite novelist, and on the contemporary descriptions of Tennyson, the Brontës, Browning and Poe. Other sources can be traced in the painterly wastelands of Danby, whom Collins regarded as a 'poetic' painter, and in the symbolism of flowers.

Familiar with each of these precursors, Collins exploits what is clearly a code or language of suffering. Indeed, the possibility of manipulating this discourse depends upon its legibility to his original readership. By drawing on a pre-existing semiology Collins strongly appeals to the knowledge of his audience; addressing the literate, he could be confident that (as in his manipulation of other sets of codes) his readers' awareness paralleled his own. Yet the notations of the wasteland are no longer understood, and the original significance of Collins's treatments has been lost. In this essay I reconstruct the emotional content of Collins's blighted mindscapes by reconnecting the emblems to their original semiologies. In so doing I demonstrate how the dystopias should be read, their significance as a method of characterization, and their position within the discourse of the Victorian wasteland.

Visualized as a dense conglomeration of "lank weeds" (*The Queen of Hearts*, 139), creepers, ivies and moss, or "tangled trees" (*The Woman in White*, 180), Collins's gross vegetation can be interpreted as a sub-set of the 'language of flowers'. Popular throughout the century, and described in literally dozens of books, this code provides a concise symbolism in which floral emblems are the "ingenious pictures" of states of mind (Phillips, 20). In fact Collins's use of the 'language' is highly systematic, and, although he never possessed any of the works associated with the discourse (see *Library of the Late Wilkie Collins*), his treatments reflect a clear understanding of its semiotics. This point needs to be stressed, for in her recent analysis of the symbolism of flowers, Beverly Seaton has cast doubt on its impact on Victorian writing. According to Seaton (162), there is "little or no direct application . . . to most nineteenth century literature". However, this claim can be refuted (in at least one instance) by examining Collins's usage in detail. In particular, we can decode his vegetation by linking it to the symbolic tables which appear in publications such as Phillips's *Floral Emblems* (1825), Wirst's *Floral Dictionary* (1829), Ingram's *Flora Symbolica* (1887), and the anonymous *Language and Poetry of Flowers* (1889). By reconnecting his emblems to these code-books it is also possible to question Seaton's other claim, that the language of flowers was barely a language at all, but only existed as a "vocabulary list" with no universal notation (Seaton, 2 & 148). On the contrary, the code Collins employs is always consistent. Functioning, like all proper languages, to give expression to a range of connotations, it

materializes a specific set of psychological conditions. Featuring at key moments in the characters' emotional development, Collins's weeds and bushes give iconic but resonant expression to their thoughts and feelings.

In sharp contrast to the sentimental encodings of flowers (Seaton, 16-18), gross vegetation generally acts as a signifier of troubled thoughts. Presented in the form of cankerous plants, it visualizes the metaphorical cankers invading the characters' mental terrains. Stressing the idea of psychological infestation, Collins focuses on plants that trail and climb. Provocatively described as the emblems of "dangerous insinuation" by Phillips (107), these icons are used particularly to convey the cancerous qualities of fear, anxiety, paranoia and obsession. Thus, in *The Woman in White*, Marian's concern for Jonathan is vividly evoked by the "rank creepers" in her dream (242). Ostensibly part of the jungle in which Hartright is supposedly marooned, the creepers provide a graphic sign of her deep (or "insinuating") anxiety. An "untrained ivy" similarly suggests the cankerous quality of Sarah's obsessive guilt in *The Dead Secret* (20). Described as a creeping plant "growing in the fissures of the stonework" (20), it infests the wall as surely as Sarah's sense of wrongdoing clings to the fissures of her mind, and threatens its stability.

Mentally corrupted by unwelcome thoughts, both of these characters are caught in a parasitic embrace. In the terms of one theorist, their mental "parterre" has been choked by a "secret poison" (Phillips, 107 & 187). Moreover, this notion of weeds choking a garden—in effect, of nature destroying itself—is further developed as a means of showing how some characters are entirely consumed by their anxieties. A prime example is Mad Monkton, whose self-absorption is frighteningly revealed in the details of the Italian wood. At once a 'real' place, this setting provides an exemplification of the character's emotional turmoil. As the wood is smothered by "thickets" and "lank weeds" (*The Queen of Hearts*, 139), so Monkton's monomania finally turns in upon itself, and consumes his mind. Cankered by the fear of insanity, he is overcome by the very condition he most fears. Self-destruction is again visualized by the convulsive vegetation in *The Guilty River*. Imaged by the animistic detail of trees "undermining their own lives" (6), this conflict symbolizes the Cur's state of mind as he continues his damaging obsession with Cristel. Like the trees themselves, the Cur is bent on destroying his mental equilibrium, by "undermining" his well-being with a "rank" disorder. Nature wrecking itself in a gross conglomeration of weeds and unchecked growth thus becomes a powerful metaphor for the process of emotional ruination. Always recalling the Darwinian Struggle for Survival, Collins's gardens gone to seed are intense representations of convulsive conditions of mind.

Yet this weedy notation does more than emblemize the cancerous quality of the characters' malaise. Acting as a stable code, it identifies specific details of the characters' anguish and suffering. This process is sometimes a matter of clarification, in which a character's emotion is focused by the careful placing of a single plant. For example, in "Gabriel's Marriage", the hero's state of mind as he returns to the site of the (alleged) murder is visualized by the presence of a bramble. Described as a "tangled nook" (*Complete Shorter Fiction*, 115), this detail signifies remorse (*Language*, 151). In other settings, though, the plants are organized in multiple fields, so giving intricate representations of the characters' state of mind.

In *Hide and Seek*, for example, the plants surrounding Mary's grave are used to catalogue Mat's complex emotions as he contemplates his sister's "damp" resting place.

About this spot the thin grass languished; the mud distilled into tiny water pools; and the brambles, briars and dead leaves lay thickly and foully between a few ragged turf-mounds . . . (364)

Taken as a field of "humble" plants, these emblems initially suggest the brother's despondency (*Language*, 175). More specifically, they visualize varieties of melancholia. The "dead leaves" denote his "sadness" (*Language*, 167); the brambles, as noted above, his "lowliness" and "remorse" (Ingram, 349); and the briars his "solitude" and "thoughtfulness" (Lehner, 112). The graveside is written, in other words, as a rather static evocation of the brother's grief. But Mat's mind is unsettled by far more than melancholy remorse. By using plants which carry implicit as well as conventional connotations, Collins stretches the language of flowers to identify certain types of inner conflict. Most suggestive is the treatment of the grass: described as "thin" and "ragged", this could be read not only as the conventional notation of death and fate (Lehner, 117), but specifically as a signal of "vice" (*Language*, 166). In particular, the grass on Mary's grave can be interpreted as a signifier of Mat's overwhelming sense of his *own* wickedness. It is this realization, combined with a corrosive grief, which creates a moment of mental turmoil, a "dangerous brightness" of self-accusation only relieved by his determination to seek out and settle the score with Mary's seducer (*Hide and Seek*, 366). The weeds in *Hide and Seek* are developed, then, as a means of presenting a concise emotional profile. Placed at a crucial moment in the text, they greatly enrich the understanding of Mat's mind by revealing far more than has otherwise been exposed. Described as "cool" and "collected" (181), Mat gives little away, and it is only through careful scrutiny of the emblematic plants that we gain a primary clue to his feelings.

The same could be said for all the characters whose inner lives are

registered in this weedy lexicon. Configured as fields of rank excess—which according to Hayter reflects the author's dendrophobia (264)—Collins's plant-life is a hallucinatory but finally transparent text. By engaging with this primeval expanse it is possible to trace the characters' most primitive and distressing emotions.

Negative states of mind are more generally implied by the image of the rotting and bottomless pool. Various described as a stagnant mere (*Two Destinies*, 287), a pool in mud (*No Name*, 243), a hole in a cliff-face (*Basil*, 248), a marshy lake (*The Woman in White*, 180), and a quicksand (*The Moonstone*, 22-5), this emblem is richly evocative and offers a number of interpretations. As noted earlier, sexual readings have been attempted by Hutter (204-5), although the pool more generally connotes a condition of horror. Collins appears to have had a personal (and almost pathological) loathing of all things associated with "ooze" (see *Basil*, 248), and his treatment of this image is always infused with revulsion and dread. According to Hayter (266), whose comments on the Shivering Sand have a general application, they always suggest "feelings of menacing calm, of decay, of the dead-alive, of being sucked down". They equally imply mind-expanding terror—the fear of looking into the face of some unknown (or unknowable) reality or truth. It is precisely the unnerving contemplation of the "spirit of terror" that Franklin confronts when he reaches for the clue in the Shivering Sand (*The Moonstone*, 300).

More than this, Collins's pools can be interpreted as the emblems of despair. As in the treatment of plants, he manipulates a well-established sign, a betokening of dismay commonplace throughout the period. Configured as a symbolic currency, its sources lie in a number of literary and painterly texts, all familiar to the author. A primary influence was the image of the abyss, the dismal hole which regularly appears in Gothic fiction and occupies a particular prominence, as a sign of transcendent despair and suffering, in Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1797) and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), and Lewis's *The Monk* (1796). Collins would also have been aware (see *Library*, 5) of the dark pool in Scott's *Old Mortality* (1816), and the quicksand in *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819). Moreover, he is almost certain to have been familiar with the desolate pools of his contemporaries. These would notably include the "lurid tarn" in Poe's 'The Fall of the House of Usher' (1840), the "dark fen" in Tennyson's 'Mariana' (1830), and the black and menacing pond in Danby's painting of *Disappointed Love* (1821, Victoria and Albert Museum; see Adams, 25). These texts provided Collins with a powerful type, an all-embracing morass of "dead waters" (*Basil*, 132) which always encode the darkest recesses of dismay. Writing what in effect is a Romantic Pool of

Despair, Collins uses the pond as a terrible icon, a visualization of the characters' utter dismay as they contemplate a moment of climactic change and trauma.

Thus, when Magdalen decides to marry her dim-witted cousin Noel in *No Name*, her despondency is revealed in the apparently naturalistic details of "gleaming water-pools" turning suddenly to "pools of blood". Configured as part of a "marsh" on the beach adjacent to Slaughden, these emblems vividly suggest the loss of optimism, the overwhelming of "gleaming" prospects with a glutinous despair (*No Name*, 242-3). Walter's dismay, when he thinks he has lost his beloved Laura, is similarly conveyed by the depressing details of "a pool of water, stagnating around an island of draggled weeds". "Sodden" with depression, the pond provides a visual concomitant of his "groaning" state of mind (*The Woman in White*, 99-100).

But the most horrifying pools are those that visualize their characters' emotions, and swallow their bodies. Acting as both site and symbol, these suffocating spaces are voids of despair: physical exemplifications of mind and soul in which the personae are quite literally consumed by the "depths of depression". In *Basil*, Mannion's despair is signified by his absorption in a cliff-hole; transformed into a Frankenstein's monster who pursues his tormentor, if not to the ends of the world then at least to the ends of England, his underlying hopelessness is finally shown when he falls into the "yawning mouth" of "running ooze" (248). The same fate befalls Rosanna Spearman, who, on committing suicide in the Shivering Sand, is suffocated by the "dreadful deeps" of an overpowering depression (*The Moonstone*, 25).

Epitomized by the Shivering Sand, Collins's death-holes are images of despair taken to an absolute extreme. Although derived from specific precedents—there being a clear relationship, as Hayter has pointed out (266), between Collins's murderous holes and the quicksands in Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*—he moves this motif into new realms of grotesquerie. Indeed, Collins's signs resonate with a sense of Biblical hopelessness. As well as constituting holes in the mind, Collins's ponds and pits further suggest the "yawning" jaws of hell (*Basil*, 245). This is a point the author provocatively implies in *Rambles Beyond Railways* (76), when, in describing the Devil's Throat on the Lizard, he remarks on the aptness of its name as a place of "ghastly imagery", a place on earth where "Dante's terrible 'Vision'" is "realized". Imagining his characters as lost souls in a hell of despair, he consigns them to the "ooze" and "formless masses" of perpetual dismay (*Basil*, 248 & 132). In death, as in life, his suffering personae are condemned to a fate of inescapable (and thoroughly Sensational) extremes.

Less complex in its implications is the emblem of the barren plain or moorland. Usually described as a "dreary" tract (*Armada*, 255), empty beach, arid scrub, or other "monotonous" space (*No Name*, 243), the endless waste always denotes loneliness and isolation. To some extent this reflects a personal association, although the image is again explicable as part of a literary semiology.

Collins's source on this occasion was primarily a poetic one. Drawing, it can be argued, on the work of Browning and Tennyson, he would have seen numerous examples of "glooming flats" in the latter's 'Mariana' in which the equation of loneliness and plain is clearly shown. As the *Library of the Late Wilkie Collins* proves (6), he certainly possessed a copy of Tennyson's *Locksley Hall* (1842), and may have noted the poem's connecting of isolation and moorland. He would also have been aware of the emotionalized landscape in the same poet's *Morte d'Arthur* (1842), and especially of the interconnectedness of the characters' solitude, as the old order fades, and the surrounding "waste land". Another influence is suggested by Browning's "'Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came'" from *Men and Women* (1855). We cannot be sure of Collins's knowledge of this poem, although it does provide another example of the interrelatedness of loneliness and the "grey plain". Nor can we be certain of Collins's familiarity with Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847), although here again there is a clear connection between loneliness and the drab open spaces of the moor.

It is clear, however, that physical and psychological isolation is used in Collins's texts much as it is in those of his contemporaries. As in the psychovoids of Browning and Tennyson, Collins places his loneliest characters in barren spaces: an agoraphobic device which focuses their state of mind by projecting it outwards, as if they were standing on a vast empty stage. Mapping their isolation of mind in terms of a physical concomitant, Collins makes his characters as insignificant as possible. Open spaces are typically used to reveal the isolation of Magdalen, as she contemplates the shingle emptiness around Slaughden (*No Name*, 243); Sarah's loneliness, as she tramps over Dartmoor in *The Dead Secret* (147); and Anne Catherick's, as she casts around for help on the moonlit expanse of Hampstead Heath (*The Woman in White*, 14-16).

Especially revealing is the beach surrounding the Shivering Sand in *The Moonstone*. Described by Cuff and Betteredge as a "lonesome" (22) place without "a scrap of cover" (119), this setting provides more evidence of the emotional void engulfing Rosanna Spearman. Surrounded by a wilderness visited by no-one but herself, Rosanna's condition is as "desolate" (119), as lonely and sterile, as the landscape itself. Just as the beach is avoided by the

"very birds" (22), so Rosanna is locked into a world of utter isolation, given a "wide berth" (22) and, with the kindly exceptions of Penelope and Betteredge, ignored by everyone.

The terrain around the Sand is in this sense another visualization of emotional disorder. Written as a nightmare text, the description vividly evokes the "unwholesome" and "unquiet" (25). By fusing the mental and material, it epitomizes the author's treatment of the land as a means of defining his characters' psychological and emotional "intensities" (Fowler, 296). With its linkage of quicksand and beach—or loneliness and despair—it also typifies the combination of signifiers to encode a compound condition. In the case of *The Moonstone*, the multiple approach helps to explain a particular orientation of mind, a set of conditions in which the character despairs not only because (in her eyes) she is jilted, but because she is lonely in the first place. Yet other land/mindscape are more complex. Uniting the principal motifs of pool, plain and rank vegetation, they provide multifaceted schemes, dense encodings of information. Figuring as elaborate tableaux, they visualize and make accessible important truths about the author's most secretive and challenging characters.

One of the most intricate texts is formed by the land/mindscape of Blackwater Estate in *The Woman in White*. Described in Pre-Raphaelite detail by Marian Halcombe, this topography is a complicated portrait of mind.

I found myself standing suddenly on the margin of a vast open space, and looking down on Blackwater Lake . . . The ground, shelving away from me, was all sand, with a few little heathy hillocks to break the monotony of it in certain places. The lake itself had evidently once flowed to the spot on which I stood . . . I saw its still stagnant waters . . . separated into pools and ponds, by twining reeds and rushes and little knolls of earth. On the farther bank the trees rose thickly again, and shut out the view, and cast their black shadows on the sluggish water. As I walked down to the lake, I saw that the ground on the farther side was damp and marshy, overgrown with rank grass and dismal willows. The water . . . looked black and poisonous opposite to me, and the rank overhanging thickets and tangled trees...
(*The Woman in White*, 180)

The question, however, is whose psychology is being revealed? Hayter argues for Blackwater being an "allegory" of Marian's "prospects" (265): a logical interpretation, given that it is Marian who overlooks and describes the landscape. However, Blackwater is better interpreted (in a calculated distortion of the Pathetic Fallacy) as a representation of the mind of its owner, Sir Percival Glyde. Marian, it can argued, is simply the means of describing its grotesqueries; entering Glyde's emotional terrain (as Fosco enters hers when he completes her diary), she catalogues what is clearly a psychotic condition. Interpreted in the terms already defined, Blackwater is a grisly map, a physical transcript of its owner's emotional disorders.

Overgrown and weedy, the vegetation reads as another representation of obsession and paranoia. Configured as a dense assemblage of "rank grass" and

"twining reeds and rushes", the plants imply that Glyde (like Monkton) is self-consumed and ill at ease. As his woodlands are "planted far too thickly" (*The Woman in White*, 179), and close in on themselves in a claustrophobic struggle to survive, so Glyde's state of mind is overloaded with troubles, obsessive, congested, jungle-like. The precise nature of those troubles is specified, moreover, by the designation of the plants. As noted before, "rank grass" denotes wickedness (*Language*, 166), and in this context implies a mental habit of evil thoughts. He is equally prone to melancholy, symbolized by the conventional treatment of the "dismal willows" (Phillips, 210), and ill humour, here materialized by the despoliation of the "complaisant" reed (*Language*, 166).

Consumed with these anxious combinations of unspecified wickedness, inner congestion and sadness, Glyde's mental state is indeed "overgrown". At the same time his mind is absorbed by loneliness, as shown by the details of the Estate's openness. Imaged, when viewed from a prospect, as a "vast open space", the "monotony" of view exemplifies his isolation. As Marian remarks (in a moment of emotional identification), the Estate is infused with the "dreary impressions of solitude". Underpinning all this, however, is the emblem of the pool: a roll-call of despair embracing the "stagnant waters" of the lake—itself significantly called Blackwater—a muddy series of "ponds", "damp and marshy" ground and "spongy banks". Threatening to swallow the whole estate—and metaphorically the mind of its owner—the pools at Blackwater highlight hopelessness as the primary constituent in Glyde's emotional composition.

Blackwater can be interpreted, then, as a personal hell in which Glyde is revealed as a suffering soul as well as a villain. Entering the Estate through the eyes of Marian, we penetrate a soul tormented by loneliness, agitation, sadness and despair. Described by Caracciolo as a Dantean monster who occupies an Inferno-like hell (390-1), he is also, on the basis of what is shown in his mindscape, a rather sad neurotic. Indicating what is otherwise concealed behind the character's smooth—or gliding—exterior, Blackwater provides vital information which predicts how he will subsequently behave. If we interpret him as lonely, despairing and self-obsessed, we should not be surprised when he undertakes his criminal conspiracy to eliminate his wife. For the attentive reader of landscape, all such clues are plainly inscribed.

Considering Collins's novels more generally, other complexities are suggested by the elaborate descriptions of the Broads in *Armadale*. These landscapes have a primary role in the unfolding of the narrative; infused, as Quilter remarks, with an "underlying sense of mystery" (579), they act as the

ominous setting for the realization of the Dream. More to the point, they visualize several of the characters' emotions—rather than those of a single individual—as they change and develop. Locked into a mysterious landscape, the members of the party who visit the Broads reveal their inner feelings partly through the exercise of dialogue, but mainly in the semiotics of pool, plant and wasteland.

In the first instance plant-symbolism uncharacteristically denotes a positive outlook. As they begin to enjoy their adventure in the wilds the characters' contentment is signalled by banks of reeds, the conventional sign of complaisance and docility (*Language*, 166). Registered within *Armadale's* naturalistic surface, but signifying what lies 'within', the reeds provide materializations of their "placid" state of mind (237). This situation includes the "thoughtless" lovemaking of Allan and Miss Milroy (237), the dreamy speculations of the Major, and the "dormant amiability" (241) of the group as a whole. Surrounded by the emblems of harmony and well being, the revellers are united in a "friendly fusion" (241) of mutual pleasure. Yet this "enchantment" (240) is purely superficial. From the very beginning of their trip, Collins insists on the characters' incompatibility and potential for ill feeling. What is more, he manipulates the language of plants to predict that an emotional conflict, a clash of negative thoughts, will arise. Particular stress is laid on the small but telling detail of a "little weedy lane" (236), which marks their entry to the Broad. Existing as a canker within the "green grazing fields" (236) of their minds, the weed prefigures the impending affect of discordant thoughts and inner conflicts.

This process quickly unfolds in the period after the onset of Pentecost's illness, when the characters collapse into bad feeling and mutual antagonism. The dominant emotion, in recognition of lack of mutuality, is one of loneliness and isolation—and this Collins powerfully conveys through the symbol of the flat and dreary waste. No longer Picturesque, the landscape of reeds is reconfigured as a "lonesome" void (247), a watery waste charting the existential emptiness of the mind. In the words of Neelie Milroy, whose comments indicate her feelings of estrangement from Allan, it becomes "the most lonely, dreary, hideous place I ever saw" (253). Based on a 'real' place—the Hurle Mere being a version of the Horsey Mere in Norfolk (Clarke, xi)—the Broad becomes a chilling image of separateness, fear and the isolating effects of mutual antagonism.

Worse than this, it signifies Allan's growing dismay and depression, here typically symbolized by the "unfathomed depths of slime and water" (247). Possessed by "something" he does not understand (248), Allan is

uncertain as to why his thoughts of Midwinter give rise to such negative thoughts. Like the waters oozing under the peat, Allan's mind—itsself a sort of "labyrinth" (236)—is undermined by a sense of foreboding. What Allan senses, of course, is not the discomfiture of Midwinter (whom he supposes to be working too hard) but the forthcoming fulfilment of the Dream. When Midwinter arrives at the Hurl Mere he too partakes of the sense of desolation. But the most telling set of waters is that within the Vision itself. Described as a "broad lonely pool" (257), with Lydia standing on its banks, the Mere provides the definitive image of the despair of Allan and Midwinter. Looking at the pool, they are forced to look, at the moment when the Dream comes true, into the blackened tarn of their own dismay.

That moment represents the point of greatest intensity. Arranged in sequential tableaux, the descriptions of the Broads lead inevitably from the characters' primary happiness to the moment of emotional trauma. Nevertheless, all of these emotions are encoded in the author's initial descriptions of the Broad. Visualized as a landscape of "startling anomalies" (236), with strange contradictions between land and sea, wheat-field and rush, the Broad is also a challenging mindscape, a jostling combination of harmony and despair, loneliness and a growing sense of inner conflict. Evoking a particular passage of feeling, its emotional range locates it at the very heart of the novel's complicated skein of emotions.

* * * * *

The Norfolk Broads, and all of Collins's corrupted gardens, might thus be viewed as revelatory texts. Assembled from pre-existing semiologies, they embody a type of "corrupted pastoralism" (Bornstein, 164) in which the blight of the land is a precise indication of the characters' states of mind. Conceived, in the words of Hayter (266), as a "hidden country of symbols", they can nevertheless be interpreted as legible texts, providing one knows the taxonomies from which the author constructs them. Used to give vital information, Collins's settings are dense with significance, and should always be read with care. As Quilter remarks, Collins "feels what every great landscape painter has always felt . . . that the interest of landscape . . . depends [on] the associations with which it is connected . . . and the emotions [it] wishes to excite" (580).

It can be argued, in short, that Collins cleverly exploits the Pathetic Fallacy, the traditions of the Victorian wasteland, and the older traditions of Gothic (see Punter, 223-8) and romance. Borrowing from Scott, Browning, Tennyson and the rest, he turns the emblems of blight to his own Sensational purposes. Writing his own version of established materials, he creates visual

tropes of great intensity and depth. In developing his own formulations of the wasteland he also makes a significant contribution to the on-going tradition of blight. Acting as a link between Gothic and his own time, Collins's hypnotic mindscapes highlight the importance of the wasteland as a key constituent in the charting of the aberrant and strange, and were themselves influential. Imitated by writers as diverse as Arthur Conan Doyle, Richard Jefferies, H. Rider Haggard and Thomas Hardy, his settings are quoted in a variety of contexts. For instance, there is surely a connection between the Grimpen Mire in Conan Doyle's *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902) and the Shivering Sand (Waugh, 365). Jefferies' apocalyptic imagery of watery scum and decay in *After London* (1885) must also bear a relationship to Collins's pools of despair. The deserts in Rider Haggard's *She* (1887) and the desolate moor in Mrs Henry [Ellen] Wood's *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* (1863) are likewise related to Collins's dead open spaces, as is the blank expanse of Egdon Heath in Hardy's *The Return of the Native* (1878).

All of these analogies, and especially the relationship between Collins and Hardy, need to be analysed further, and deserve a study in their own right. What we can say, finally, is that Collins develops a provocative materialization of what Dahl describes as the characteristically Victorian emphasis on "melancholy moods" (Dahl, 341). Offering a paradigm of blight and the symbolism of emotional ruin, he helps to define the territories of anguish and despair.

Works Cited

- Adams, Eric. *Francis Danby: Varieties of Poetic Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.
- Bernstein, Stephen. "Reading Blackwater Park: Gothicism, Narrative and Ideology in *The Woman in White*." In *Studies in the Novel* 25 (Fall 1993) 291-305.
- Bornstein, George. "Miscultivated Field and Corrupted Garden: Imagery in *Hard Times*." In *Nineteenth Century Fiction* 26 (1971-72) 158-70.
- Caracciolo, Peter. "Wilkie Collins's 'Divine Comedy': The Use of Dante in *The Woman in White*." In *Nineteenth Century Fiction* 25 (1971) 383-404.
- Clarke, William. *The Secret Life of Wilkie Collins*. London: Allen, 1988.
- Collins, Wilkie. *The Complete Shorter Fiction*. Ed. Julian Thompson. London: Robinson, 1995.
- _____. *Hide and Seek*. 1854; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- _____. *Memoirs of the Life of William Collins*. 2 vols. London: Longman, 1848.
- _____. *Rambles Beyond Railways*. 1851; London: Mott, 1982.
- _____. *The Guilty River*. 1886; Stroud: Sutton, 1991.
- _____. *Wilkie Collins's Novels: A New Edition*. 29 vols. London: Chatto & Windus, 1889-1908.
- Dahl, Curtis. "The Victorian Wasteland." In *College English* 16 (Mar 1955) 341-7.

- De la Mare, Walter. "The Early Novels of Wilkie Collins." In *The Eighteen Sixties*, ed. J. Drinkwater, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932, 51-101.
- Fowler, Alastair. *A History of English Literature*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.
- Hayter, Aletha. *Opium and the Romantic Imagination*. London: Faber, 1968.
- Hutter, Albert D. "Dreams, Transformations and Literature: The Implications of Detective Fiction." In *Victorian Studies* 19 (1975) 181-209.
- Ingram, John. *The Language of Flowers; or, Flora Symbolica*. London: Warne, 1887.
- Lehner, Ernst & Johanna. *Folklore and Symbolism of Flowers, Plants and Trees*. New York: Tudor, 1960.
- The Language and Poetry of Flowers*. London: Marcus Ward, 1889.
- Library of the Late Wilkie Collins*. London: Puttick & Simpson, 1890.
- Peters, Catherine. *The King of Inventors: A Life of Wilkie Collins*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1991.
- Phillips, Henry. *Floral Emblems*. London: Saunders & Otley, 1825.
- Punter, David. *The Literature of Terror*. London: Longman, 1980.
- Quilter, Harry. "The Last Survivor: An Essay in Rehabilitation." In *Contemporary Review* 53 (Apr 1888) 572-93.
- Sampson, George. *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Seaton, Beverly. *The Language of Flowers: A History*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995.
- Waugh, Arthur. "Wilkie Collins and His Mantle." In *The Academy and Literature* 62 (1902) 364-5.
- Wood, Christopher. *Paradise Lost*. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1988.

Could Lydia Gwilt Have Been Happy? A New Reading of *Armadale* as Marital Tragedy

K.A. Kale

Much of Wilkie Collins's *Armadale* is taken up by Ozias Midwinter's internal debate about whether the dream in the novel has a natural or a supernatural origin, and by Lydia Gwilt's plots to acquire Allan Armadale's fortune. At first sight the marriage between Gwilt and Midwinter appears to be subordinate to these two themes, but it proves potentially one of the best marriages represented in Collins's fiction. I argue that as far as the fate of Gwilt and Midwinter is concerned, the origin of the dream is irrelevant, and that the tragic end to the novel is brought about by their own personality flaws. Thus the book is a marital tragedy rather than the melodrama that it at first sight appears to be.

My view can be contrasted with that of Peter Thoms, who argues that "for Gwilt, imprisoned as she is by circumstances, love is just another trap" (131), and that "Gwilt fails both because of circumstances and because the weaknesses in her character triumph too often" (132). In my reading, the "circumstances" which lead to the plots against Armadale's life are not the "formative influences" (130) in Gwilt's early life, but rather Midwinter's obsession with Armadale's dream; and love is not so much a trap as an alternative end which she unwisely renounces. Thoms also says that "*Armadale* describes not only the successful quest of Midwinter but also the failed journey of Gwilt" (127) and that "[i]n his quest Midwinter has . . . emerged from isolation to reunite with Allan" (123). While I agree that Gwilt fails in the book, I also argue that Midwinter's outcome can only be defined as triumphant under the male value system which celebrates vocational success and male friendship; in intellectual as opposed to conventional terms, he is far less isolated during the successful phases of his relationship with Gwilt than he is while his friendship with the unreflective Armadale is at its strongest.

In her introduction to the World's Classics edition of *Armadale*, Catherine Peters refers to Midwinter's "desire for the emotional satisfactions of friendship and sexual love" (xvii) and to Gwilt's "strong physical and mental attraction to another intelligent outsider" (xix). She also notes that "[w]hile presenting the surface of a sensational novel, *Armadale* suggests the existence of a subtext . . ." (xii). I intend to show in detail how Collins

indicates the possibility of a hypothetical alternative ending to the book which does indeed constitute such a subtext. In the course of my argument, I shall also show how Collins's clumsiness in yoking together the two major textual elements of Armadale's dream and the Gwilt/Midwinter marriage was forced upon him by his need to follow generic conventions. Given the emphasis in the book on the debate between free will and determinism, in what follows I shall adopt the assumption that the characters had full psychological autonomy in their fictional world (except insofar as they were constrained to fulfil the dream).

Armadale's dream, as transcribed by Midwinter, contains three visions. The first is the appearance of "the Shadow of a Woman". The second involves the shadow of a man stretching out its arm towards a statue, which breaks. The third involves the shadow of a woman giving the shadow of a man a glass of liquid, the man giving the glass to Armadale, and Armadale's fainting when he puts it to his lips (Collins *Armadale*, 141-2). It is worth noting that the dream is not reported directly by the narrator; instead, the reader is given Midwinter's account, which the easygoing Armadale assents to as being an accurate representation (141). It is also significant that in one way Midwinter's attitude towards the dream is overly rationalistic—he insists on writing a detailed account of it, and asking Armadale to sign it—and in another, overly emotional—he persists in believing it to have a supernatural origin (143).

There are three different interpretations of the dream given in the text at this point. Armadale's interpretation of the dream is "warning be hanged—it's all indigestion!" (140). His attitude towards it is to request that Midwinter "leave off thinking about the dream", hand over "that trumpery bit of paper", and "have done with it" (152). I do not argue that his interpretation is correct (indeed, the question of which is the correct interpretation is an issue which is not settled by the text), but his advice to Midwinter, which is not followed, turns out by chance to have been good advice, as I shall show below.

The second interpretation is given by Mr Hawbury the doctor, who peremptorily dismisses Armadale's explanation as simplistic: "The sight of your face is quite enough . . . I certify, on the spot, that you never had such a thing as an indigestion in your life" (140). He asserts that "[a] Dream is the reproduction, in the sleeping state of the brain, of images and impressions produced on it in the waking state" (144), and laboriously traces each element of the dream back to an incident in Armadale's waking life (144-50). Mr Hawbury's explanation is what is referred to in the book (including the Appendix) as the natural explanation.

The third interpretation of the dream is Midwinter's (140, 143, 151). He believes that the three visions of the dream will be fulfilled, and that, as Mr

Hawbury puts it, "this dream is a warning, supernaturally addressed to Mr Armadale" (143) and that "these fulfilments of the dream will mark the progress of certain coming events, in which Mr Armadale's happiness, or Mr Armadale's safety, will be dangerously involved" (151).

There is a further, fourth reading of the dream, which is not suggested in the text, and which would be obvious if we were to take the chapter in which it is presented out of the context of the book: that it symbolizes male friendship being supplanted by female friendship. Armadale explains (in the presence of Midwinter) that the taste of brandy makes him faint (149), so that a reader who was not influenced by the knowledge that these events were being encountered in the context of a Collins sensation novel would not naturally think of poison. I speculate that Armadale's dream, and Midwinter's superstitious belief in it, represent male fear of marriage: that is to say, that vague fears about a union with the opposite sex have taken on the concrete form of a fantasy in which first of all the two friends quarrel, and then the female partner of one tries to harm the other.¹ Note that the characters in the book are led by the context in which the dream appears to overlook the possibility of this fourth interpretation: this context colours their emotional response. In the paragraphs below, I shall look more closely at the precise function of the dream in the novel.²

Much of the tension in *Armadale* is caused by the conflicting expectations arising from the narrative. The reader expects the three visions of the dream to be fulfilled, and anticipates that the third vision represents Armadale's death. But he or she also expects the conventional happy ending of fiction, in which the heroes survive and the villain is punished. Swinburne, in his 1889 comments on the book, reprinted in Page's collection, suggested that:

The prologue or prelude is so full of interest and promise that the expectations of its readers may have been unduly stimulated; but the sequel, astonishingly ingenious and inventive as it is, is scarcely perhaps in perfect keeping with the anticipations thus ingeniously aroused. (258)

The reason for this is that the prologue appears to herald a pure melodrama, whereas, in order to satisfy the conflicting expectations which have been set up

¹ Although my explanation for the origin of the dream, like all my arguments in this essay, rely only upon an examination of the text, and not on extraneous historical or biographical facts, it is interesting to note, purely as an aside, that Collins himself never married.

² Jenny Bourne Taylor's book includes material on the Victorian theory of dreams; as stated above, however, this historical background is not necessary to my argument. Catherine Peters (xxi-xxii) states that Collins "hints at the possibility of yet another, unexpressed meaning to the dream, which hovers between the other two" (i.e. the doctor's "rational" explanation and the "prophetic" one) and that the terms he uses for the three people in it ("the dreamer, the Shadow of a Man, and the Shadow of a Woman") "embody a startling anticipation of Jung's theories of 'the shadow'". Although my explanation could be called psychoanalytic, in the sense that it postulates a surface manifestation of hidden fears, it has been presented without reference to any specific psychoanalytic theory.

in the mind of the reader, Collins has the third vision of the dream fulfilled innocuously. Gwilt attempts to poison Armadale, but disguises the taste of the poison by using brandy, in ignorance of his allergy to it, and the brandy causes Armadale to faint (562-3), and thus, as I argue below, yokes the melodrama (which may or may not have been predestined) to a tragedy which has its roots in all too human character.

Gwilt comes to marry Midwinter after a sequence of events which originate in her plot to marry Armadale for his fortune. Thus, although her original motives were immoral, they fortuitously led her into a situation of potential happiness, as I argue below. (Perhaps Collins is here offering a comment on morality: what determines Gwilt's fate is not whether her motivations can be labelled as moral or immoral, but rather whether at any given stage she is acting in her own interests in acting on these motivations. Also, the distinction between the origin of Gwilt's motivations and the wisdom or otherwise of acting upon these motivations, parallels the distinction between the origin of Armadale's dream and the wisdom or otherwise of interpreting the dream as a forewarning of danger. I shall return to this theme of the relationship between emotion and reason at the end of the essay.)

A character-type which recurs throughout Collins's work is that of the intellectual character who (for whatever reason) does not fit in to his or her social milieu. Examples outside *Armadale* include Magdalen Vanstone in *No Name* who tries to regain her family fortune by unconventional means (as discussed by O'Neill, 158-63), Mannion in *Basil* who is the son of a man who has been hung for forgery (228-9), and Ezra Jennings in *The Moonstone*. Such characters do not in general find marital partners who share the isolation from society caused by their situations or attitudes. Gwilt and Midwinter form an exception to this general rule. Indeed, it is difficult to think of a more appropriate partner for Gwilt (from anywhere in literature) than Midwinter, or of a more appropriate partner for Midwinter than Gwilt. Additionally, their marriage is unusual by the standards of most Victorian fiction, both in that it is a marriage of intellectuals, and in that it is a relationship between an older woman—Gwilt is thirty-five (162)—and a much younger man—Midwinter is only twenty-one (76).³ More typical marriages in Collins's fiction include that between Magdalen Vanstone and Captain Kirke,⁴ between Walter Hartright and Laura Glyde in *The Woman in White*, and between the

³ Collins did sketch the beginnings of a relationship between an older woman and a younger man elsewhere—Mellicent and Amelius in *The Fallen Leaves*—but he did not develop this as he does with Gwilt and Midwinter.

⁴ Melynda Huskey points out that Kirke's love for her "is based entirely on Magdalen's appearance" (9).

unintellectual Armadale and Neelie Milroy, anticipated at the end of the novel (676). Indeed, one of the functions of Neelie Milroy in the book is to highlight the emotionally and intellectually unsatisfying nature of the conventional marriage in the Victorian novel, in contrast to that of the Gwilt/Midwinter partnership.⁵

Gwilt writes of her relationship to Midwinter in her diary:

"How happy I was in the first days that followed our marriage . . . Only two months have passed, and that time is a bygone time already! I try to think of anything I might have said or done wrongly, on my side—of anything he might have said or done wrongly, on his—and I can remember nothing unworthy of my husband, nothing unworthy of myself. I cannot even lay my finger on the day when the cloud first rose between us . . . It is only at night . . . that I know how hopelessly I am losing the love he once felt for me." (545)

She wonders whether there is an "unutterable Something left by the horror of my past life, which clings invisibly to me still?" (546). However, this possibility can be discounted. The only sustainable explanation for Midwinter's unhappiness which has been presented to the reader is his superstitious belief in the dream as a harbinger of evil. We are told later on, that, on an occasion when Midwinter is asleep, he has lying under his hand his Narrative of Armadale's Dream (554). We are also told that his dedication to his work is not the only cause of his neglect of Gwilt:

"Midwinter's all-important letter to the newspaper was despatched by the post last night. I was foolish enough to suppose that I might be honoured by having some of his spare attention bestowed on me to-day. Nothing of the sort!" (550)

Interpreting the dream as Midwinter does—as an indication of preordained doom—makes the continued desire of Gwilt for Armadale's fortune appear a foregone conclusion. However, a close look at the text shows that this interpretation is incorrect. Collins indicates that, had he abandoned his superstition at this stage, Midwinter would have induced Gwilt to abandon her plot against Armadale's life on account of the happiness of her marriage. (As discussed below, the ambiguity in the third vision of the dream allows scope for this alternative reading.) We are told again in Gwilt's diary:

"Supposing I was not the altered woman I am—I only say, supposing—how would the Grand Risk that I once thought of running, look now? . . . the first of those three steps which were once to lead me, through Armadale's life, to the fortune and station of Armadale's widow. No matter how innocent my intentions on my wedding day—and they *were* innocent—this is one of the unalterable results of the marriage. Well, having taken the first step . . . supposing I meant to take the second step, which I don't—how would present circumstances stand towards me? Would they warn me to draw back, I wonder? or would they encourage me to go on?" (548)

The circumstances, as it turned out, encouraged her to go on.

At this point, it is necessary to take account of two different hypotheses.

⁵ The contrasts between the Gwilt/Midwinter, the Armadale/Midwinter, and the Armadale/Neelie Milroy relationships probably deserve a fuller analysis than I have given here, but for the purposes of my argument that the book is a marital tragedy, it is sufficient to note the quality of the first of these.

Firstly, even if we assume for the sake of argument that Midwinter was correct in his belief that the dream had a supernatural origin, and that the visions within it would have been fulfilled regardless of the actions of the characters, a close look at the text shows that he was incorrect in his further belief that the dream was necessarily a prediction of doom to Armadale. Collins makes the third and final vision ambiguous. It could have been fulfilled by Gwilt's handing to Armadale at some stage of her married life a glass containing brandy (the taste of which, as mentioned earlier, causes him to faint), but not poison. (This third vision, as described earlier, involved Armadale's fainting upon putting a glass of liquid to his lips; nothing within the dream implied that the glass contained poison, although this was implicitly assumed by Midwinter.) This would have represented an innocuous closure to the book. Secondly, if we assume that the dream did not have a supernatural origin, (and that the three visions were therefore not fated to be realized), then the fulfilment of the first two was merely coincidental. In this case, the alternative reading of events suggested by Collins is straightforward: again, as indicated above, had Midwinter abandoned his superstition upon marrying Gwilt, she would have abandoned her plot against Armadale, and thus the third and final vision would not have been fulfilled.

Thus I have shown that, whether or not the dream had a supernatural origin, in either case Gwilt's attempted poisoning of Armadale (which in the text represents the fulfilment of the third vision of the dream) was brought about first of all by Midwinter's irrational belief in the dream (and not, as might originally appear, directly by the dream itself), and secondly by Gwilt's irrational persistence in her plots against Armadale. (I call her persistence irrational because her marriage to Midwinter gives her a potential source of satisfaction independent of Armadale's fortune.)

Even at this stage, after the first attempt on Armadale's life, the eventual suicide of Gwilt could have been avoided. She plots to have Armadale murdered at sea (567-70). As she writes in her diary:

The one danger to dread was the danger of Midwinter's resolution, or rather of Midwinter's fatalism, giving way at the last moment. If he allowed himself to be persuaded into accompanying Armadale on the cruise, Manuel's exasperation against me would hesitate at nothing . . . he would be capable of exposing my whole past life to Midwinter before the vessel left the port. (573)

Again Collins suggests the possibility of an alternative chain of events: Gwilt's diary suggests that had Midwinter abandoned his superstition even at this late stage, at worst Gwilt's marriage would have broken up—the train of events leading to her suicide would not have occurred. Even after Armadale sailed, Gwilt's tragedy could have been avoided. She writes once more in her diary:

if he had persisted in his first resolution to accompany me to England, rather than allow me to travel alone, I firmly believe that I should have turned my back on

temptation for the second time, and have lulled myself to rest once more in the old dream of living out my life happy and harmless in my husband's love. (578)

As suggested in the diary, Midwinter once again had an opportunity to prevent the tragic ending of the novel. Armadale might or might not have been killed at sea, but Gwilt's marriage to Midwinter would have continued. Once the fulfilment of the three visions of the dream has been completed, it should be apparent even to someone who believes that the dream foreshadowed future events that this dream can now have nothing more to say about the future. However, Midwinter's fatalism persists even though the dream is now superannuated. In the Epilogue, after Gwilt's suicide, Midwinter says to Armadale:

I have learnt to view the purpose of the dream with a new mind. I once believed that it was sent to rouse your distrust of the friendless man whom you have taken as a brother to your heart. I now *know* that it came to you as a timely warning to take him closer still. Does this help to satisfy you that I, too, am standing hopefully on the brink of a new life, and that while we live, brother, your life and mine will never be divided again? (677)

Armadale's closing words in the Epilogue are:

Everybody says, Midwinter, you have a great career before you—and I believe that everybody is right. Who knows what great things may happen before you and I are many years older? (677)

Thus Midwinter's career prospects, like his friendship with Armadale, are celebrated at the expense of his potentially fulfilling marriage with Gwilt.

I have demonstrated that although the first part of *Armadale* (by which I mean the events preceding Gwilt's marriage to Midwinter) is, as is commonly recognized, a melodrama concerned with external conflicts, the second is a tragedy concerned with internal ones. The main conflict, which is responsible for the tragic end, being that in which Midwinter's superstition conquers his reason. Subsidiary conflicts are those of love against ambition: Gwilt's love for Midwinter against her ambition for the possession of Armadale's fortune, and Midwinter's love for Gwilt against his ambition connected with his career as a journalist.

I have also shown that the main theme of *Armadale* is that of male friendship considered as an alternative to a satisfying marriage (as opposed to the conventional marriage of Victorian fiction as exemplified by Armadale and Neelie Milroy). However, there is also another significant theme: that of how reason can be corrupted by emotion. Midwinter believes that, when Armadale has his dream, it is a supernatural indication that he may bring harm to his friend. He then continues to believe this even when the three visions of the dream have been fulfilled and the dream can therefore, even if his conjecture about its supernatural origin is accurate, have nothing more to say about the future. Finally, at the end of the book, he indulges in an elaborate post hoc fitting of circumstances to theory and concludes that the dream was in fact a

warning that his friendship with Armadale should be reinforced. Mr Hawbury also indulges in a post hoc fitting of circumstances to theory when he argues that the dream had a rational explanation (143-50)—a reading which is not sanctioned by the text. Armadale himself argues that the best course of action would be to forget the dream, but this sound advice (which, as I have explained above, would have saved Midwinter's marriage had he followed it) originates not from any kind of reasoned argument but rather from the flippancy of his character and his intellectual laziness. Finally, Gwilt is propelled by her mercenary desire for Armadale's fortune into what could have been a fulfilling marriage with Midwinter, but chooses to indulge her desire even when it is no longer in her own interests to do so.

I conclude by quoting Pedgift Senior's admonition to Armadale against Gwilt, which I take out of context as a comment on the interpretation of Collins's texts in general, and *Armadale* in particular:

You and my son are young men; and I don't deny that the circumstances, on the surface, appear to justify the interpretation which, as young men, you have placed on them. I am an old man—I know that circumstances are not always to be taken as they appear on the surface . . . (367)

Works Cited

- Collins, Wilkie. *Armadale*. Ed. John Sutherland. London: Penguin, 1995.
- _____. *Basil*. London: Constable, 1980.
- _____. *The Fallen Leaves*. Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1997.
- _____. *The Moonstone*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- _____. *No Name*. Ed. Virginia Blain. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- _____. *The Woman in White*. Ed. H.P. Sucksmith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Huskey, Melynda. 'No Name: Embodying the Sensation Heroine.' In *Victorian Newsletter* (Fall 1992) 5-13.
- O'Neill, Philip. *Wilkie Collins: Women, Property and Propriety*. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- Peters, Catherine. Introduction to *Armadale*, by Wilkie Collins. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Swinburne, A.C. 'Wilkie Collins.' In *Fortnightly Review* NS 275 (1 Nov 1889) 589-99. Reprinted in *Wilkie Collins: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Norman Page, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.
- Taylor, Jenny Bourne. *In the Secret Theatre of Home: Wilkie Collins, Sensation Narrative, and Nineteenth-century Psychology*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Thoms, Peter. *The Windings of the Labyrinth: Quest and Structure in the Major Novels of Wilkie Collins*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992.

Music and Female Power in Sensation Fiction

Phyllis Weliver

Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* (1860) and Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862) are two sensation novels that connect the power and identity of their heroines to music.¹ Sensation fiction—the best-selling thrillers of the 1860s—reveals masquerade in the home where it is least expected, and depicts crisis as a series of unexpected changes and shocks. Fictional observers and Victorian readers alike were startled when characters or situations were revealed to be other than they seemed, and this provided the "sensation." Because unravelling the mystery in these novels meant looking beneath the surface and reassigning meaning to recognizable types, sensation fiction challenged "the premises of judgement" and startled "early-Victorian sensibilities", in Nicholas Rance's words (2-3; see also Taylor, Heller, and Cvetkovich). As Rance comments on the first appearance of the woman in white in Collins's novel, Victorian moral attitudes assume that a woman discovered alone after midnight on the high road must be guilty of something (2). However, this woman is not "wild," "immodest," impatient or extravagant, and the protagonist is further perplexed because he cannot determine her social rank (Collins, 48). As all the visual, vocal, and behavioural signs are confused, he is slow to respond, not knowing what attitude to take. Her identity and its strange signposting are thus the initial mysteries of the first sensation novel, *The Woman in White*.

Issues of gender construction are particularly relevant to sensation novels, which also probe how Victorian ideals of passive womanhood were polished and formed by attendant accomplishments like musical skill. Social fears were unveiled as the potential dark side of angelic traits was explored. Suddenly, passive did not necessarily mean powerless, and accomplishments might be more than adornments, becoming a means of surprise attack through sensuous pleasure. Music's presence in these novels was almost guaranteed since it was considered the ideal lady's accomplishment, heralding refinement in the performer and attracting suitors. Sensation fiction frequently explores

¹ This research has been partially funded by the Overseas Research Students Award Scheme, administered by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom.

the problems that ensued when husbands discovered that their wives were not as angelic as they seemed during courtship, couching this sense of betrayal in terms that raised readers' hackles as everyday homes were destroyed by bigamy, adultery, and murder.

Music in Victorian England

To best understand fictional representations of female musicians, it is necessary first to examine how music was situated in mid-Victorian England in terms of gender and class.² Music occupied a contradictory position, as it was considered an emasculating or debasing activity for men of the aspiring middle classes and nobility to practice, but also an appropriate activity for women, working-class men, foreigners or professional "artist-musicians."³ Though there is no doubt that professional and domestic music-making were then important parts of daily life, musicologists have disagreed over whether nineteenth-century England could be fairly stigmatized as *Das Land ohne Musik*, the land without music (see Temperley, ed., *The Lost Chord*, Banfield, and Hyde). The phrase (which derives from the title of a 1914 book on Britain by Oscar A.H. Schmitz which itself has little to do with music) expresses the belief that first-rate music has not been produced by English composers, but it is also noteworthy that many Victorians did not themselves consider the English to be musical. Recognizing the prevalence of this idea, choral conductor Henry Leslie rejects it in his article, "Music in England": "To say that England is not a musical nation is absurd" (250). If England is not in practice *Das Land ohne Musik*, then the term must be an ideological construct, or a way that most Englishmen chose to see themselves. After all, prominent Victorian men like Gladstone, Tennyson, Charles Lamb, and the Archbishop of Canterbury all declared with pride that they knew nothing of music (Banfield, 12; Auerbach, 30). The English were musical and not musical, depending on the speaker, and therefore *Das Land ohne Musik* is a concept laden with gender- and class-based significance, since many women, factory workers, and artist-musicians were regularly practising, teaching, and performing music.

One way of understanding conflicting notions of Victorian music-making is by considering music's link with the rise of the middle class. While both genders attended public concerts, women's domestic music-making was a

² For scholarship on music and Victorian fiction, see Auerbach, Beer, Byerly, Gray, and Temperley, ed., *The Lost Chord*.

³ Following Nancy B. Reich ("Women", 125), I define "artist-musicians" as "a category which includes actors, artists, artisans, dancers, writers, and practitioners of allied professions. They had in common an artistic output and a low economic level. Above all, they depended on their work for a livelihood."

means by which the family enacted their class placement and aspirations at home. As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall observe, "consciousness of class always takes a gendered form." (13). Sexual division of labour within families was part of middle-class identity, as was dividing the world into public and private spheres, again along gendered lines. For instance, unlike middle-class men whose social power in mid-nineteenth-century Britain derived from property ownership, business success, and membership in public bodies (whether philanthropic, professional, or cultural), women were judged by personal behaviour (including modesty and table manners), appearance (dress and cleanliness), language (see Davidoff and Hall, 397-416) and accomplishments such as musical skill.

Women's accomplishments had class significance because they were a form of cultural capital existing within the home. By cultural capital, I mean Pierre Bourdieu's definition of how tastes in art "function as markers of 'class.'" In other words, "[a] work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded" (Bourdieu, 2). Possession of this code (the cultural capital), and the ability to decipher meaning in a work of art, occurs through a lengthy process of accumulation and education, as family members, the society within which they exist, and educational institutions impart a sense of value and appreciation for certain types of music, literature, or painting, and as the beholder comes into repeated contact with these types. Having economic capital, then, does not necessarily imply possessing cultural capital, nor is the reverse true. Rather, an appreciation of certain types of music as beautiful can place the listener within a grouping or class of those who share the same tastes, and therefore class placement can be signified by appreciation of specific types of cultural production, as much as by possessing money. In Bourdieu's words, "Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier" (6).

That is not to say that ownership does not play a part in cultural capital, but a piano seen in a house only becomes cultural capital as the viewer realizes what it means in a wider context (on the most simple level, that the family can afford a piano). Similarly, certain knowledge was required to appreciate that drawing-room performances displayed the existence of money enough to buy lessons, sheet music, and even leisure time, since women who could afford to practice probably did not have to work either inside or outside the home, except for management tasks such as organizing servants and menus. When ladies performed for select gatherings of peers after dinner, they therefore visibly and audibly demonstrated the family's respectable social standing and financial well-being to those who shared the same cultural capital.

In Victorian England music-making could be deemed tasteful depending

on who played (gender, class, nationality), what they played (instrument and repertoire), and where they played (public or private). The performers who were most unambiguously appreciated in middle- and upper-class domestic settings were unmarried daughters. Because many lady musicians abandoned music-making after marrying, it seems that amateur music was largely used to secure a good marriage. This was recognized by Krebs in 1893:

One great reason why so many women utterly neglect music after they are married, or after they have finally given up all hope of ever marrying, is that, with them, music has simply been a means to an end, and that end—to shine in society—having been accomplished, or its attainment being despaired of, music is laid aside like a worn-out garment. (85)

The most important tasks for Victorian women were to marry suitably and happily, and to raise a family, and Krebs demonstrates that music was used to attract husbands even at the end of the century. Parlour performances presented potential suitors with the opportunity to watch a young lady's graceful and beautiful actions, to read the signs of her class suitability (her knowledge of how to behave socially), and/or to note her father's social status, which allowed her enough leisure to practice music. After marriage, music lost its purpose for these women, and household and mothering duties took precedence. Wives' musical performances might make others suspect that household tasks were being neglected, particularly in the second half of the century when there was widespread worry that middle-class women had forsaken the art of housekeeping (Branca, 22-3).⁴ This is not to suggest that all wives abandoned music, but rather that the emphasis in social settings was placed on eligible daughters' performances, and that for a wife to play and sing could convey messages beyond those relating to her family's place on the class ladder.

The type of music played by prosperous daughters further illuminates domestic music's meaning to respectable society. Serving social ends, music was an ornamental skill. Consumers wanted to play pieces that sounded more like concert hall repertoire than music hall tunes, but which did not require professional technique. Favourite pieces like "The Battle of Prague," opera medleys, or a set of dances, were all pleasing and had the virtue of sounding less serious than a sonata (Temperley "Ballroom", 121).

What happened when music itself became the focus, rather than merely a signifier, conscious or unconscious, of domestic refinement? When daughters played rigorous works by Beethoven or Mendelssohn, these members of a prosperous middle-class family appeared to be in danger of displaying

⁴ See William Kitchiner's *Housekeeper's Oracle* (1829) and Alexis Soyer's *The Modern Housewife or Ménagère* (1850) for contrasts between learning keyboard instruments and housekeeping (cited in Burgan, 61-62).

attributes of a lower class. Focusing on music for its own sake certainly brought censure within mid-century novels. For instance, in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's sensation novel, *Aurora Floyd* (1863), Aurora's guest, Mrs. Lofthouse, is mistaken for a governess by the footman because "she plays too well for a real lady" (234). Indeed, the key signatures of her "sonatas in C flat" (242) and preludes in six flats themselves border on the ridiculous:

Mrs. Lofthouse was rather a brilliant pianist, and was never happier than when interpreting Thalberg and Benedict. . . . Mrs. Lofthouse was seated at Aurora's piano, in the first agonies of a prelude in six flats; a prelude which demanded such extraordinary uses of the left hand across the right, and the right over the left, and such exercise of the thumbs in all sorts of positions,—in which, according to all orthodox theories of the pre-Thalberg-ite school, no pianist's thumbs should ever be used . . . (231)⁵

Mrs. Lofthouse's "brilliant" skill is called an agony. Rather than reassigning meaning to her virtuosity and therefore giving it new cultural currency by narrating the scene with dignity and respect, the narrator emphasizes the mistaken assumptions about her class status and ridicules the performer. The unflattering representation simultaneously reasserts existing cultural capital, and potentially discourages girls from emulating this particular type of display. In other words, ridicule serves as a potent control against a woman's exertion for reasons other than advantageously demonstrating the social position of her family.

Given music's position in mid-Victorian middle- and upper-class domestic settings, how does sensation fiction use music to create a (false) expectation through social signposting? Mrs. Henry Wood's *East Lynne* (1861) contains an excellent example when, before Isabel is married or even courted, her style of music-making helps to label her as an exemplary lady. When Archibald Carlyle visits Isabel's father, encountering his future wife for only the second time, there is no suggestion that she will become adulterous:

The conversation of the earl and Mr. Carlyle had been of the eager bustling world, of money getting and money spending, . . . and that sacred chant broke in upon them with strange contrast, soothing the ear, but reproving the heart.

"It is Isabel," explained the earl. "Her singing carries a singular charm with it; and I think that charm lies in her subdued, quiet style: I hate squalling display. Her playing is the same. Are you fond of music?"

"I have been reproached by scientific performers with having neither ear nor taste for what they call good music," smiled Mr. Carlyle; "but I like *that*."

"The instrument is placed against the wall, and the partition is thin," remarked the earl. "Isabel little thinks she is entertaining us, as well as herself." (48)

Victorian women ideally provided a refuge for their husbands, fathers, and brothers from the outside world of business, and Isabel's voice, piano

⁵ Some nineteenth-century pianists like Sigismund Thalberg (1812-1871) aimed at showmanship and became successful display pianists, but were often considered second-rank composers.

technique, and religious repertoire are themselves this haven, indicating her candidacy for the position of the "good wife" since she soothes away commercial concerns effortlessly. Moreover, her playing suggests her "true" personality since she is unaware of being overheard, and therefore shows a natural inclination to play morally-upright music. Indeed, Archibald only thinks of her music as "sweet" and "delightful"; he does not believe himself bewitched. Rather, it is her father who refers to Isabel's musical "charm." Musical performance helps to create sensation by sensually charming Archibald without his awareness, making him judge Isabel as exemplary because of cultural associations or meaning given to her type of playing and singing. Her ensuing adultery shocks because Isabel is not portrayed to Archibald, the reader, or herself as a powerful siren who knowingly enchants.

The Woman in White and Lady Audley's Secret

With this description of sensation fiction and amateur music-making in mind, let us turn to two novels that connect the power and identity of their heroines to music. While critics have highlighted the parallels between *The Woman in White* and *Lady Audley's Secret* (Showalter "Family", 112; Pykett, 55), the role of music has been overlooked even though both texts depict fear of domestic, amateur music, and end in ways that validate this anxiety. Collins's novel establishes a strong marriage partly by extinguishing music as one of the heroine's pursuits, while *Lady Audley's Secret* focuses on an unworkable marriage where the musical wife wields dangerous, seductive power. Placing these representations in their cultural context, we can see that societal concerns were amplified in fictional portrayals of musicians, and that Victorian theories of identity formation inform fictional portraits of women's domestic music-making.

In Collins's text, music helps to promote true love by enabling the characters to circumvent social hierarchy, thereby allowing a drawing master, Walter Hartright, to marry an aristocratic heiress, Laura Fairlie. This occurs as Laura plays music that evokes Victorian courtship rituals and displays of cultural capital, while simultaneously suggesting her strong personality through a virtuosity that violates class norms. Of course, other elements in the text also reveal the unsuitability of Laura's seemingly advantageous first marriage to Sir Percival Glyde as opposed to her socially undesirable union with Walter, but music proves especially important in this regard. Transmitting disparate cultural messages through drawing-room entertainments, Laura's musical performance initially helps to break class barriers, making a cross-class marriage possible. Music is then later forgotten,

partly because when Walter provides for Laura within a working-class setting, earning money is more important than displaying amateur musical skill.

The text's use of music is also informed by Victorian notions of identity, or the formation of a strong and unified "self." *The Woman in White* is allegedly written to reinstate Laura's rightful inheritance and class identity after Sir Percival wrongfully declares her to be dead. It is no coincidence that Walter and Laura only unite once the heiress is estranged from her class and community, and has at the same time lost her music and her sense of identity. The pivotal questions are these: why does Laura lose her memory and why does Walter need to re-member it? After all, her sense of identity is initially stronger than Walter's, as the connection between her powerful sense of self and music-making reveals.

As discussed earlier, many women like Laura abandoned musical performance after marriage, a fact which was particularly unfortunate given that music was uniquely linked to identity formation according to Victorian mental science. For instance, William Hamilton (1788-1856), Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Edinburgh University from 1836, thought identity was partially formed through performative actions, like playing the piano. Learning to play keyboard instruments was frequently used as an example in associationist psychology, which proposed that the mind stored simple ideas derived from sense or introspection that were then linked in chains to form complex ideas. Association of ideas explained how human identity held together over time. As an example, Hamilton cites learning to play the harpsichord:

The first step is to move his fingers, from key to key, with a slow motion, looking at the notes, and exerting an express act of volition in every motion. By degrees, the motions cling to one another, and to the impressions of the notes, in the way of *association*, so often mentioned; the acts of volition growing less and less express all the time, till, at last, they become evanescent and imperceptible. For an expert performer will play from notes, or ideas laid up in the memory, and at the same time carry on a quite different train of thoughts in his mind; or even hold a conversation with another. (Hamilton, 356)

With the unconscious and habitual actions involved in musical training thus tied to identity and memory, to stop practising could disconnect the performer from part of him or herself. This is precisely what Laura experiences when she develops partial amnesia. In effect, a doorway to her associative self is closed, a process that the text treats as necessary for a peaceful marriage.

Collins's novel is constructed as a collection of testimonies written by several characters, which replaces Laura's faulty memory and identity as it reconstructs events. The connection between memory and identity is viable because nineteenth-century theories of consciousness stress memories as essential to defining the self. For instance, respected Victorian physiologist,

William B. Carpenter (1813-85), wrote in *Principles of Mental Physiology* that personal identity is created by recognizing memory as a distinct mental state from present consciousness. Yet the past is also connected to the present, and this allows the feeling of identity to be carried from moment to moment (Carpenter, 455). Collins's novel records memories dealing with the Hartrights' marriage since it begins with Walter accepting work where he meets Laura, and ends with their child's birth in the penultimate paragraph. The novel therefore makes the Hartrights' "marriage identity," and this becomes the substance of Laura's identity.

Yet despite Laura's loss of memory, from the beginning it seems that Walter, not Laura, needs to capture memories. This is hidden within the text. In narrating musical events, Walter constructs Laura as the passive female ideal. The first time Laura plays is at Walter's request, but she repeats the melodies later that evening:

As the last sentence fell from the reader's lips, Miss Fairlie passed us on the terrace once more. She was softly singing to herself one of the melodies which she had been playing earlier in the evening. Miss Halcombe waited till she had passed out of sight again, and then went on with the letter . . . (83)

Although Walter requested the original performance, Laura chose the repertoire and decides to repeat it. By interrupting the primary action, Laura also subtly undercuts Walter's linear narration and his attempts to discover the woman in white's identity, proving that Laura has more power to direct the story than Walter admits.

There is a difference between events (the story or plot) and how they are told (the narration). Although the plot depicts Laura as having a frail memory after traumatic events, Walter's narration early in the novel reveals the instability of his own identity. For instance, Walter experiences a new self upon leaving familiar London:

. . . I seemed to burst into a new life and a new set of thoughts the moment I looked at it [the view]. A confused sensation of having suddenly lost my familiarity with the past, without acquiring any additional clearness of idea in reference to the present or the future, took possession of my mind. (57)

Lacking associations with the landscape, Walter floats outside past, present and future. Without time and memory, new possibilities of identity can occur, and he falls in love soon after. Writing then helps him to redefine and stabilize his own identity, as well as Laura's.

Walter also works to reconstruct memory because, by the time he collects the narratives of *The Woman in White*, he has married Laura and erased moments need resurrecting. The text is a re-membered history of their mutual identity, stabilized and set in concrete, verbal terms instead of floating free in memories that are as easily lost as traces in sand, strains of music, or

traumatized psyches like Laura's. Walter establishes himself as the dominant partner, and he only allows Laura to echo his musical requests and warn him that his feelings are inappropriate. He takes complete responsibility for the emotions aroused, and this is written in terms of lost memory:

All memory of the past, all thought of the future, all sense of the falseness and hopelessness of my own position, lay hushed within me into deceitful rest. Lulled by the Syren-song that my own heart sung to me, with eyes shut to all sight, and ears closed to all sound of danger, I drifted nearer and nearer to the fatal rocks. The warning that aroused me at last, and startled me into sudden, self-accusing consciousness of my own weakness, . . . came silently from *her*. (90)

When Walter loses his sense of time, he also loses his identity and forgets the class difference between himself and Laura. It seems that he enters an unconscious life since that state is contrasted with sudden "consciousness" of the inappropriateness of his feelings. In unconsciousness, love appears and is nurtured by his heart's seductive "Syren-song." Woken to the consciousness of the impossibility of union, the memory of events creating that possibility fades. For instance, Walter can no longer discern where trysts occurred: "Wind and wave had long since smoothed out the trace of her . . . the place in which we two had idled away the sunny hours was as lost to me as if I had never known it . . ." (140-1). Their love is as transitory as wind, water, and music. Sensitive to landscape, Walter secures places with paint on paper. By writing their story, he similarly captures the memories, making them permanent and assuring that he and they will not reenter a state of lost identity.

Because Laura does not contribute her own text or testimony to *The Woman in White*, it seems that she does not participate in (re)creating her identity. The reason for this, writes Walter, is her faulty memory. Therefore, he provides her lost identity by collecting verbal testimonies, which he claims the right to do because she has been cast out by "Rank and Power" (435). Despite Walter's construction of events, however, Laura is active before her amnesia. For instance, while sketching excursions and the ensuing musical evenings encourage intimacy, the text focuses on Laura's art as the lovers' language. Theirs is a forbidden, hidden courtship, alive with the genius of Mozart. Laura does play for Percival, but she chooses:

new music of the dexterous, tuneless, florid kind. The lovely old melodies of Mozart, which poor Hartright was so fond of, she has never played since he left. The book is no longer in the music-stand. She took the volume away herself, so that nobody might find it out and ask her to play from it. (187)

Within the semi-public Victorian courtship, Laura creates privacy by her choice of repertoire, causing Mozart to remain sacred to her memory of Walter. Moreover, Laura's repertoire of "dexterous" new music, in addition to her ability to play Mozart, suggests that her musical skill surpasses that of most

young ladies.⁶ Therefore, she demonstrates an interest in music beyond the display of cultural capital, while also suggesting an adroitness in manipulating how she uses music: she chooses tuneful melodies, even if they are technically demanding, for a courtship that she encourages with Walter, but the new "tuneless" music for a dutiful courtship with Percival. This dexterous music had accumulated little cultural capital at the time, causing William Pole to complain in *Macmillian's Magazine* (1861) about

the wretched and unworthy style of music which is now so much in vogue for this instrument at boarding-schools and other places where they learn to play. We allude to . . . torturing scraps of airs into a wild, harum-scarum filigree of notes, scattered about the instrument in a manner so utterly unmeaning as only to excite ridicule or disgust, instead of pleasure . . . (Pole, 455)

Laura does not encourage Percival's courtship as she did Walter's, and this is figured in music and its placement as cultural capital. It is this ability, under the surface, to manipulate courtship relations with men which is represented as dangerous in the heroines of many sensation novels, as I will discuss later in relation to Braddon's *Lady Audley*.

Far from having an unstable identity, Laura indicates that she is attuned to multiple layers of reality by communicating her own complicated feelings while participating in socially-approved conduct. For example, the evening before Walter leaves Limmeridge, Laura's piano playing masks conversation between the lovers, and then it is the actual forbidden language, becoming the very happiness they cannot have. Laura whispers, "Don't speak of tomorrow. . . . Let the music speak to us of tonight, in a happier language than ours" (145). Yet while she tries to express happiness, she fails as she strikes wrong notes. Laura's musical skill and interpretation not only reveal her feelings, but also connect her to her sense of identity—of what she would like to be real as well as what is real:

She played unintermittingly—played as if the music was her only refuge from herself. Sometimes her fingers touched the notes with a lingering fondness—a soft, plaintive, dying tenderness, unutterably beautiful and mournful to hear; sometimes they faltered and failed her . . . (146)

Laura may play to forget, but the act of playing is simultaneously one of remembrance since it is intimately connected with Walter and courtship. Obviously, Laura's identity is initially flexible and strong, able to negotiate multiple levels of memory, feeling, and association.

Given the link between Laura's sense of self, music, and constructions of class, it is significant that when she loses her memory she also loses her music and her class identity. It seems that if he had encouraged her to play piano after her traumatic experience in the asylum, Walter might have helped Laura

⁶ Although Mozart did write some pieces for beginners, most of his pieces would be too difficult for Victorian ladies.

to remember for herself. Instead, he recommends drawing, an activity that Laura practised in the past but which is not linked to Victorian theories of identity formation. Rather, by encouraging Laura to practice his art and to believe that she is contributing wages to the household through it, Walter becomes the drawing master again and establishes himself as master within a respectable, artist-class household where demonstrations of leisured, domestic accomplishments like music-making are not needed. He gives Laura the role of a working-class wife, although even this should not preclude music-making, since music for the masses was encouraged in Victorian England (Leslie; Ehrlich, 94; Newsome; & Rainbow). Yet there is a contradiction in the text because, although Laura believes that she is contributing to the household's earnings through her artistic efforts, Walter does not actually sell her drawings. Therefore, besides establishing himself as a working-class artisan (engraving for periodicals now instead of aspiring to painting) he simultaneously sets up the household as middle class, where the wife's leisure is a marker of that class. Laura's contribution to the household economy is contained within the house, making her wage-earning status invisible to outsiders. Moreover, Laura is deceived as to her actual role because Walter is not selling her amateur drawings. Therefore, the class of the household is firmly established as middle or upper class, making her cessation of music even more inexplicable in terms of a household's class identity, except if her musical skill itself, and its role in establishing her own identity and sense of class placement, is interpreted as threatening to Walter.

The periphery can be a powerful space, even as Laura's centrality and power are masked. She may not write her own words, but Laura is the text's focal point, just as the novel's other musician, the evil Count Fosco, only seems marginal. For example, Marian and Laura stumble upon Fosco histrionically singing "Largo al factotum":

He was singing Figaro's famous song in the Barber of Seville, with that crisply fluent vocalisation which is never heard from any other than an Italian throat, accompanying himself on the concertina, which he played with ecstatic throwings-up of his arms, and graceful twistings and turnings of his head, like a fat St Cecilia masquerading in male attire. 'Figaro quà! Figaro là! Figaro sù! Figaro giù!' sang the Count, jauntily tossing up the concertina at arm's length, and bowing to us, on one side of the instrument, with the airy grace and elegance of Figaro himself at twenty years of age. (250)

In an opera filled with masquerade, Figaro manipulates events in exchange for cash, as does Collins's villain. Interrupting the main action, Fosco's performance takes control of Marian's linear narration and recalls the scene in which Laura interrupted Walter's investigation of Anne's identity by singing. The Count's personality is deepened by comparison with Figaro's egotism, cleverness, and genius at disguise, so that the role becomes another identity,

both masking and defining Fosco as he sings. Fosco, like the aria's text, is everywhere, hidden and visible, where he is least and most expected: "Figaro here, Figaro there, Figaro up, Figaro down." In a book in which appearances are deceptive, it is telling that the masterful Fosco appears as if on the edge, and it is significant that Fosco and Laura are the two musicians of the novel, both of whom Walter masters as he also masters his own sense of identity.

The threat of hidden female power is implicit in Collins's narrative, which successfully suppresses Laura's power before it erupts, and explicit in *Lady Audley's Secret*, in which Robert Audley discovers Lucy Audley's secrets and hidden identity. Braddon's text unveils the danger of subversive wives, using the metaphor of the siren. Beneath the singing seraph may lurk a fishy monster, sometimes unknown to the angel herself. Wives like Lucy are presented in sensation fiction as both the female ideal and its opposite. The danger these women pose lies in their ability to deceive. Just as the narrator suggests that calm, beautiful locales may be the settings of unimaginable crimes, violence, and secrecy, the innocent, childishly beautiful Lucy hides a destructive temperament. Only Robert sees the secret threat hidden beneath her sensual appearance and accomplishments, envisioning Lucy in his sleep as "a pale, starry face looking out of the silvery foam, . . . transformed into a mermaid, beckoning his uncle to destruction" (246).

Playing piano is part of Lucy's conscious masquerade as an upper-class woman, but even more it symbolizes her power: her continuing sense of identity and individual motivation. Music is one of the few aspects of Lucy's life that remains constant in the face of poverty and wealth, marriage and desertion. It provides her income when she teaches, and becomes an opulent adornment after she marries Sir Michael Audley. Through music's continual presence, Lucy demonstrates an unchanging, if hidden, sense of self. Significantly, although she excuses her arson, bigamy, and murderous intentions by calling herself mad, a term which would indicate socially abnormal or unacceptable behaviour in 1862 (Showalter *Female*, 29), a physician of insanity instead pronounces her "dangerous" and acknowledges Lucy's rational reactions to desperate situations (Braddon *Lady Audley*, 379). The doctor's diagnosis is supported by Lucy's enchanting accomplishments, which reveal such complete awareness of community standards and upper-class cultural capital that she successfully masquerades as an angelic lady. However, music also indicates or encourages internal power as it did in Collins's novel. The difference between the texts is that Laura's music and sense of identity falter during her marriages whereas Lucy's only grows to frightening, uncontrollable proportions.

Any woman in sensation fiction may be angel or siren, and the thrill comes from the difficulty of distinguishing between them. For instance, proficient musicality marks the allure of both seraphs and fiends, and so Robert can no more vanquish Clara's image than Sir Michael can rid himself of Lucy's. Clara is the truly angelic sister of Robert's friend, George Talboys, but she spins spells as well as any siren when Robert hears her play the village church organ:

He stopped and listened to the slow harmonies of a dreamy melody that sounded like an extempore composition of an accomplished player. . . .

He lingered at the gate, not caring to break the lazy spell woven about him by the monotonous melancholy of the organist's performance. . . .

"I'll have a look at this new organist," he thought, "who can afford to bury his talents at Audley, and play Mendelssohn's finest fugues for a stipend of sixteen pounds a-year." (255-6)

Clara, playing without knowledge of her future husband's presence, enchants Robert by sound alone. He is not influenced by physical beauty, personality, or even gender. However, Clara's choice of instrument is problematic since organ was the only instrument which became less acceptable for women to play during the nineteenth century (Hyde, 32-4). Mid-Victorian female organists might exhibit signs of sexual transgression and danger. Clara chooses Mendelssohn instead of the simplified pieces normally played by amateur ladies, demonstrates accomplished improvisation, and plays fugues.⁷ These skills seem more like *Clara Wieck* who, before her marriage to *Robert Schumann* in 1840, included an improvisation or an original composition in every recital, as was customary for professional performers, and which required advanced theoretical training (Reich "Clara", 266). Therefore, *Clara Talboys's* repertoire, instrument, and improvisation combine to form an impression of a professional, male musician, and justify *Robert Audley's* mistaken reference to "his talents." Proficient female musicality is unexpected in *Lady Audley's Secret*, and it has interesting implications. Besides loosely linking Braddon's characters with the contemporaneous Schumanns, interpreting Clara's musicality as masculine supports Lynda Hart's thesis concerning Robert's homoerotic bond to George, whom Clara physically resembles (34-5). Regardless of Robert's sexual orientation, however, extraordinary female musicality in Braddon's text reveals hidden depth and power in Clara and Lucy. An unexpected comparison between the two is even suggested because Lucy also plays Mendelssohn (4). As angels and sirens mirror each other's repertoire and skill, the text emphasizes that bewitchment is as much the angel's effect as the siren's tool. Yet beneath the surface of

⁷ My thanks to Sophie Fuller for the suggestion that playing a fugue, an intellectual form of composition which Victorians deemed unsuitable for women, is part of Clara's gender ambiguity.

accomplished refinement, their polarity remains, since Lucy merely impersonates the feminine ideal, while Clara embodies it (Pykett, 55).

The coexistence of seraph and demon within a woman reflected contemporary fears. During the last half of the century, gender ideals and traditional female roles were questioned, and sensation fiction suggests that a woman's use of music reveals how she positions herself. Does she intentionally enchant like Lucy, or is she unknowingly overheard, like innocent Clara? What if the woman is deserted by her husband and is subsequently subjected to emotional trauma and poverty, like Lucy? Is she justified in deliberately charming her way into a luxurious marriage? Or what if an angel does not intend evil, but is still powerful through music? Although Laura is not a siren, her music dies and a harmonious marriage results, but the price is dependency upon Walter for her identity. How different from *Armadale* (1866), another novel by Collins, where villainess Lydia Gwilt writes that the only man she cares for is Beethoven, a composer whose music requires hours of dedicated practice. In mid-nineteenth through early twentieth-century British fiction, Beethoven's music figures repeatedly in the repertoire of independent or rebellious women, from Lucy Audley to Lucy Honeychurch in *A Room with a View* (1908). Sensation novels make musical virtuosity a symbol of an alternate reality where women satisfy themselves. Novels use this depiction of music to different purposes: musical entertainments help to circumvent restrictions against a cross-class marriage in *The Woman in White*, while Robert Audley, in pitting himself against a dangerous siren, engages in purposeful activity and thereby discovers his own place within the existing social structure while unveiling Lucy's hidden identity. Although music assists and reveals strong female personalities, they are nonetheless defeated by men in these sensation novels. Singing mermaids do not succeed in drowning their ensnared husbands, but rather die or are banished, and angels in fiction, like young women in reality, frequently relinquish music upon marriage. The women who survive are those who adapt or submit after the nature of their power has been probed, and after their representation has been unmasked to reveal their true nature as siren, angel or both.

Works Cited

- Auerbach, Emily. *Maestros, Dilettantes, and Philistines: The Musician in the Victorian Novel*. New York: Lang, 1989.
- Banfield, Stephen. "The Artist and Society." In Temperley, ed. *The Romantic Age*, 11-28.
- Beer, Gillian. *George Eliot*. Brighton: Harvester, 1986.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. 1979; London: Routledge, 1984.
- Braddon, Mary Elizabeth. *Aurora Floyd*. 1863; London: Virago, 1984.
- _____. *Lady Audley's Secret*, ed. David Skilton. 1862; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Branca, Patricia. *Silent Sisterhood: Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home*. London: Croom Helm, 1975.
- Burgan, Mary. "Heroines at the Piano: Women and Music in Nineteenth-Century Fiction." In *Victorian Studies* 30:1 (Jan 1986) 51-76.
- Byerly, Alison. *Realism, Representation and the Arts in Nineteenth-Century Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Carpenter, William B. *Principles of Mental Physiology*. London: King, 1874.
- Collins, Wilkie. *The Woman in White*. Ed. Julian Symons. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974.
- Cvetkovich, Ann. *Mixed Feelings: Feminism, Mass Culture and Victorian Sensationalism*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*. London: Hutchinson, 1987.
- Ehrlich, Cyril. *The Piano: A History*. London: Dent, 1976.
- Gray, Beryl. *George Eliot and Music*. London: MacMillan, 1989.
- Hamilton, William. *Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic*. Ed. H.L. Mansel and John Veitch. Vol. 1. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1859.
- Hart, Lynda. *Fatal Women: Lesbian Sexuality and the Mark of Aggression*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Heller, Tamar. *Dead Secrets: Wilkie Collins and the Female Gothic*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1992.
- Hyde, Derek. *New-Found Voices: Women in Nineteenth-Century English Music*. Whitstable, Kent: Tritone, 1984.
- Leslie, Henry. "Music in England." In *Macmillan's Magazine* 26:153 (Jul 1872) 245-53.
- Newsome, Roy. *Brass Roots: A Hundred Years of Brass Bands and their Music, 1836-1936*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.
- Pole, William. "The London Musical Season." In *Macmillan's Magazine* 4:24 (Oct 1861) 449-55.

- Pykett, Lyn. *The Sensation Novel: From "The Woman in White" to "The Moonstone"*. Plymouth: Northcote, 1994.
- Rainbow, Bernarr. "Music in Education." In Temperley, ed. *The Romantic Age*, 29-45.
- Rance, Nicholas. *Wilkie Collins and Other Sensation Novelists: Walking the Moral Hospital*. Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1991.
- Reich, Nancy B. "Clara Schumann." In *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986, 249-81.
- _____. "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class." In *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, 125-46.
- Schmitz, Oscar A.H. *Das Land ohne Musik*. Munich: G. Müller, 1914.
- Showalter, Elaine. "Family Secrets and Domestic Subversion: Rebellion in the Novels of the 1860s." In *The Victorian Family: Structure and Stresses*, ed. Anthony S. Wohl, London: Croom Helm, 1978, 101-16.
- _____. *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980*. 1985; London: Virago, 1998.
- Taylor, Jenny Bourne. *In the Secret Theatre of Home: Wilkie Collins, Sensation Narrative, and Nineteenth-Century Psychology*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Temperley, Nicholas. "Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music." In Temperley, ed. *The Romantic Age*, 109-34.
- Temperley, Nicholas, ed. *The Romantic Age: 1800-1914*. Vol. 5 of *Athlone History of Music in Britain*, gen. ed. Ian Spink. London: Athlone, 1981.
- _____. *The Lost Chord: Essays on Victorian Music*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Wood, Mrs. Henry. *East Lynne*. 1861; London: Bentley, 1888.

~~Notes~~

Collins, Count Fosco, and the Concertina

Allan W. Atlas

When Margaret Oliphant reviewed *The Woman in White* in 1862, she described Count Fosco partly in terms of what she perceived to be his Italianate character:

No villain of the century, so far as we are aware, comes within a hundred miles of him: he is more real, more genuine, more *Italian* even, in his fatness and size, in his love of pets and pastry, than the whole array of conventional Italian villains, elegant and subtle, whom we are accustomed to meet in literature. (Oliphant, 113)

And nudged along by the likes of both his name and his "organ-boy" dexterity (Collins *Woman*, 243), mid-Victorian readers would no doubt have recognized the Count as Italian to the core.¹

Yet there is one respect in which Fosco could hardly be more *un-Italian*: he plays the concertina.

As we passed an open space among the trees in front of the house, there was Count Fosco. . . He was singing Figaro's famous song in the Barber of Seville, with that crisply fluent vocalisation which is never heard from any other than an Italian throat, accompanying himself on the concertina, which he played with ecstatic throwings-up of his arms, and graceful twistings and turnings of his head, like a fat St Cecilia masquerading in male attire. 'Figaro quà! Figaro là! Figaro sù! Figaro giù!' sang the Count, jauntily tossing up the concertina at arms' length, and bowing to us, on one side of the instrument, with an airy grace and elegance of Figaro himself at twenty years of age. (Collins *Woman*, 250)

And given that Fosco is singing and playing Rossini (the famous "Largo al factotum" from Act 1 of the opera), he must surely be playing that type of concertina known as the "English" concertina (hereafter, "English"), a designation that, by 1860 (and still today), refers not only to the instrument's place of origin—it was developed by the physicist Sir Charles Wheatstone (1802-75) during the late 1820s—but also to the musical system according to which it works.² For among the members of the concertina family, it was only

¹ On the ethnic implications of "organ-boy," see Grant, and Kurata. I am grateful to Phyllis Weliver for having called these articles to my attention.

² In addition to the "English," there were (and still are) two other generic types of concertina: the "Duett," also developed by Wheatstone and thus native to England; and the variously named "Anglo," "Anglo-German," or "Anglo-Continental," a British adaptation of the German *Konzertina*. Each of the three types operates according to different musical principles and each—until around the end of the nineteenth century—was associated with different repertoires and social milieux. On the various types of concertina and their repertoires and reception, see Atlas *The Wheatstone*, *passim*; for brief accounts, see Pilling, and Atlas "Concertina."

the "English" that made inroads into the art-music tradition and found a home in both London's leading concert halls and the drawing rooms (or in Fosco's case, on the grassy lawns) of the upper- (titled nobility included) and middle-classes.³ There it gained the attention of such respected mid-Victorian composers as John Barnett, Julius Benedict, George Alexander Macfarren, and Bernhard Molique, as well as a number of lesser lights—usually concertinists themselves—who composed original works and turned out transcriptions by the handful for the instrument.⁴

What, then, was un-Italian about Fosco's playing the instrument? Simply put, it was that the "English" was British to the core, virtually ignored (and to a large extent even unknown) on the Continent, particularly in Italy; and it would, therefore, have been a rather unlikely instrument for Fosco to have taken up, much less mastered, even though he had already spent some time in England prior to the opening of the novel (*Collins Woman*, 245).

Collins, I believe, must have known all this, for he seems to have been familiar with the instrument: 1) his description of Fosco playing with "ecstatic throwings-up of the arms" describes accurately a mannerism of many a concertinist;⁵ 2) he faithfully portrays another facet of the concertina in *Armada*, where, on his "roaring" concertina, the junior Augustus Pedgift entertains Miss Milroy and friends with popular tunes of the day as they enjoy an outing aboard a picnic boat;⁶ and 3) Collins, as I have speculated elsewhere,

³ Collins was perfectly realistic in having Fosco play outdoors (as he would be again with Augustus Pedgift, Jr., in *Armada*, see note 6), since the concertina's portability was part of the sales pitch of its manufacturers and devotees; see Cawdell, 13: ". . . the concertina may be played in any position, standing, sitting, walking, kneeling, or even lying down. If confined to the house by a sprained ankle, you may play whilst reclining on a sofa. . . and when you are convalescent, you may take your instrument into the fields where the Piano can never be."

⁴ Collins was realistic once again in having Fosco perform Rossini, since his operas—along with those of Donizetti, Bellini, and Meyerbeer—were a favorite source for those who ground out transcriptions for everything from unaccompanied "English" to the "remarkable" arrangement (as *The Musical Times* called it in 1851) by the virtuoso George Case of the Overture to *William Tell* for an ensemble of twelve concertinas. (Never published, the arrangement is, unfortunately, now lost.) Oddly, however, there is no known transcription of the "Largo al factotum," and Collins probably used it simply because it was so well known. On the repertory for the "English," which, by 1860, numbered hundreds of pieces, including concertos with orchestra, see Atlas *The Wheatstone*, 58-72.

⁵ That Collins took note of what was a widespread habit is evident from the various published tutors that tried to squelch it; thus George Case, 62, admonishes the player as follows: ". . . a continual swaying of the body, (however much it has a tendency to preserve the time) causes an unpleasant sensation in the spectator, and is consequently a habit which should never be indulged in."

⁶ See Collins *Armada*, ed. Sutherland, 251; the Dover edition, 231, contains an illustration of Pedgift playing the concertina, its caption reading "Music on the Water." The description of Pedgift's concertina as "roaring" may be a slap at the inexpensive, mass-produced "Anglo" concertina, which, having arrived in Britain from Germany around the middle of the century, quickly became a favorite instrument among street musicians. It was the "Anglo" that later incited the wrath of George Bernard Shaw, who otherwise had nothing but praise for the

may have owned and played an "English" himself (Atlas, *The Wheatstone*, 4 & 14n).

This last assertion calls for documentation, and I should, therefore, spell out the evidence, flimsy and circumstantial though it is. On 18 May 1860—thus while *The Woman in White* was being serialized in Dickens's *All the Year Round*—a "Mr. Collins" purchased an "English" from Wheatstone & Co. (the leading manufacturer of concertinas). Nine months later, on 18 February 1861, the same firm sold a similar instrument to a "Mr. Dickens."⁷ Now, while neither name (particularly Collins) is rare, and while neither would arouse much speculation by itself, their appearance together within nine months of one another is enticing, and we must at least consider the possibility that Messrs. Collins and Dickens were the famous writers, especially since they often partook of things together (both literary and otherwise), and Dickens, as we know, was an avid accordionist and might, therefore, following Collins's lead, have been drawn to the accordion's smaller "cousin."⁸

To return to the main question: given his seeming familiarity with the "English," why did Collins place so thoroughly British an instrument in Fosco's Italian—and thus unlikely—hands? I believe that Collins had a specific model in mind for Fosco as concertina-player and that he fashioned the count's talents in this respect after the foremost "English" virtuoso of the time: Giulio Regondi (1822/23?-72), who, ironically—but significantly for Collins and his readers (see below)—was also a native Italian.⁹ But there the Italian connection

"English"; see Laurence, ed., 1:86, 118-19, 222, 439, 575-76, 605.

⁷ The sales are recorded, with no further indication of the buyers' identity, in one of the dozen extant ledgers of the Wheatstone firm. When I examined these in 1993, they were housed at the Concertina Museum, Belper, Derbyshire, with the ledger that records the transactions in question bearing the signature CM C 1053. Since then, the entire collection of the Concertina Museum—instruments, ledgers, and other archival material—has been acquired by The Horniman Museum, London, where the ledgers await cataloguing.

⁸ On Dickens and the accordion, see Ruff, and Lightwood, 1-2. Admittedly, there is one piece of evidence that may speak against the identifications. In 1885, another Charles Dickens—unrelated to the writer's family, so far as I know—married the pianist and teacher (at the Guildhall School of Music) Linda Scates, whose father, Joseph Scates, was a publisher and concertina manufacturer. Perhaps this is the "Mr. Dickens" to whom the 1861 sales record refers, and perhaps—to hazard a sentimental speculation—it was this Mr. Dickens and the Scates family's mutual fondness for concertinas that kindled the romance.

⁹ Although the literature on Regondi contains occasional references to him as having been born in Switzerland, these probably arose from an error in the nineteenth-century in which Genova was altered to Geneva (perhaps through nothing more than a typographical error). And even should the error eventually be shown to have gone in the other direction, there can be no doubt that "Signor" Regondi, as he was usually called, was thought of as being Italian. The most thorough account of Regondi's career is that of Rogers; see also the recent biographical discoveries reported by Tom Lawrence in "The Guitar", 121-69 and App. III, and "Giulio Regondi"; for a brief summary (that antedates Lawrence's findings), see Atlas *The Wheatstone*, 48-54. Regondi also composed and arranged extensively for the "English"; and some of his music for the instrument can be heard on *The Great Regondi: Original*

shared with Fosco ends. For by 1860, Regondi, unlike Fosco, was neither a recent immigrant nor just an occasional visitor to England. Rather, he had arrived there in 1831 as an eight-year-old child prodigy on the guitar, and except for a number of sojourns in nearby Ireland and two short tours through Central Europe (Leipzig, Vienna, and Prague) in 1840 and 1846-47, he never left his adopted home. Thus it was a thoroughly "anglicized" Regondi who became a fixture (as performer and teacher) in London's musical life, his career reaching an apex of sorts in the 1850s, from which time on he could hardly have escaped the notice of anyone with even the slightest interest in the concertina, the culturally aware Collins included (see Atlas "Wilkie Collins"). One review of his playing may stand for many:

Signor Regondi has now brought his execution on the concertina to such perfection that it is probably impossible to go beyond him. He has attained such wonderful dexterity, his command over his instrument is so great, that it seems a mere plaything in his hands. But therein does not lie his greatest merit . . . That which raises Signor Regondi above other performers, is the sentiment and expression by which he assimilates his instrument to the human voice, and sings in a manner to rival the effects of the greatest singers. The cantabile passages remind us, by their breadth of tone and feeling, of Rubini, or Paganini or Ernst in similar passages on the violin.¹⁰

Thus while those of Collins's mid-Victorian readers who were acquainted with the "English" would have known that it was an entirely home-grown instrument, it was with the Italian Regondi that the instrument had, to a certain extent, become synonymous, and it was with him that they would have immediately associated it.

In all, I would suggest that Collins placed the "English" in Fosco's foreign hands in order to cash in on the name-recognition of its single, but famous Italian connection: Giulio Regondi, who may therefore stand as the model for "Count Fosco, concertinist." And to some extent there is a parallel between the two, for just as Fosco outwitted his British hosts at almost every turn, it was Regondi who showed the English what the "English" could do.

Compositions by the 19th Century's Unparalleled Guitarist & Concertinist, The Giulio Regondi Guild, with Douglas Rogers playing the "English." Bridge Records, BCD 9039 (1993) and 9055 (1994).

¹⁰ Unsigned review in *The Musical World*. For further reviews, see Rogers, and Lawrence "Giulio Regondi". Giovanni Battista Rubini (1794-1854) was one of the great tenors of the period, and was extremely popular in London from 1831 to 1843 (he retired in 1845). The violinist Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst (1814-1865) was sometimes considered Paganini's successor; he too was popular in London, and settled there in 1855. On Rubini and Ernst, see *The New Grove*, 16:295-96 and 6:238, respectively.

Works Cited

- Atlas, Allan W. "Concertina." In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Revised Edition, ed. John Tyrell and Stanley Sadie, London: Macmillan, Forthcoming.
- _____. *The Wheatstone English Concertina in Victorian England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- _____. "Wilkie Collins on Music and Musicians." In *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124:1 (1999) 99-114.
- Case, George. *Instructions for Performing on the Concertina*. London: Wheatstone, 1848.
- Cawdell, William. *A Short Account of the English Concertina: Its Uses and Capabilities, Facility of Acquirement, and other Advantages*. London: Cawdell, 1865.
- Collins, Wilkie. *Armadale*. Ed. John Sutherland. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995.
- _____. *Armadale*. New York: Dover, 1977.
- _____. *The Woman in White*. Ed. Julian Symons. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974.
- Grant, Judith. "Italians with White Mice in *Middlemarch* and *Little Dorrit*." In *English Language Notes* 16 (1979) 232-4.
- Kurata, Marilyn J. "Italians with White Mice Again: *Middlemarch* and *The Woman in White*." In *English Language Notes* 22 (1985) 46.
- Laurence, Dan H., ed. *Shaw's Music*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1981.
- Lawrence, Tom. "Giulio Regondi and the Concertina in Ireland." In *Concertina World: International Concertina Association Newsletter* 411 (Jul 1998) 21-5.
- _____. "The Guitar in Ireland, 1745-1861." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University College, Dublin, 1998.
- Lightwood, James T. *Charles Dickens and Music*. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1912.
- Oliphant, Margaret. Review of *The Women in White* by Wilkie Collins. In *Blackwood's Magazine* 91 (May 1862) 565-74. Reprinted in *Wilkie Collins: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Norman Page, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.
- Pilling, Julius. "Concertina." In *The New Oxford Companion to Music*, Vol. 1, ed. Denis Arnold, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, 459-62.
- Rogers, Douglas. "Giulio Regondi: Guitarist, Concertinist, or Melophonist? A Reconnaissance." In *Guitar Review* 91 (Fall 1992) 1-9; 92 (Winter 1993) 14-21; and 97 (Spring 1994) 11-17.
- Ruff, Lillian M. "How Musical was Charles Dickens?" In *The Dickensian* 68 (1972) 32-33.
- The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. Stanley Sadie. London: Macmillan, 1980.
- Unsigned. Review of Concert by Giulio Regondi. In *The Musical World* 29 (24 Jun 1854) 423.

"Belt-and-Braces" Serialization: The Case of *Heart and Science*

Steve Farmer
and
Graham Law

By "belt-and-braces" serialization is meant the publication of a novel in instalments simultaneously in both a metropolitan periodical distributed nationwide and in a syndicate of provincial journals with complementary regional circulations. Since the metropolitan periodicals in question were often monthly literary magazines, while the provincial journals were generally weekly miscellaneous newspapers, this frequently involved division of the same work into both monthly and weekly instalments. For practical reasons, despite the gradual reduction in the length of the average triple-decker novel during the second half of the nineteenth century, the weekly part remained consistently shorter than the monthly (Phillips, 86). The typical serial instalment found in a monthly miscellany was down to not much more than ten thousand words by the 1880s, but this would still have overrun the space available in a weekly journal. While there are isolated earlier examples of the initial publication of Victorian fiction simultaneously in 'fat' monthly and 'thin' weekly numbers, such as Ainsworth's *Jack Sheppard* in the late 1830s or Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities* ten years later, the belt-and-braces approach itself was not possible until after the rise of the syndicate system in the mid 1870s.¹

Through this system, the provincial weekly press, which had begun to feature local or reprinted fiction from the mid 1850s with the gradual repeal of the 'taxes on knowledge', was enabled for a brief period to compete successfully with metropolitan periodicals and offer substantial sums to established authors for serial rights to original fiction. Beginning in 1873, Tillotsons Fiction Bureau in Bolton was the first and most successful operator, but there were quickly several competitors in the field, including Leaders in Sheffield. As shown in detail elsewhere (Law Forthcoming), the rise of the provincial syndicates is itself best

¹ See the analysis of Dickens's use of weekly and monthly instalments in the two articles by Fielding, and in Coolidge, who introduces the terms 'fat' and 'thin' instalments. Ainsworth's *Jack Sheppard* was serialized in the monthly *Bentley's Miscellany*, Jan 1839-Feb 1840, and in 15 independent weekly numbers from the same publisher during 1840; Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities* appeared in 1859 in 31 weekly parts in *All the Year Round*, 30 Apr-26 Nov, and in 7 independent monthly numbers, Jun-Dec, from Chapman & Hall.

understood as a transitional phase between two distinct stages in the periodical publication of new fiction, in both of which the market is dominated by metropolitan publishers. The first, typical of the mid-nineteenth century, is monthly serialization in more expensive, low circulation formats (either independent numbers or literary magazines, both generally sold at a shilling or more) produced as petty commodities for the bourgeois market by London book publishers. The second, characteristic of the end of the century, is weekly serialization in cheaper, high circulation formats (either news miscellanies or news magazines, often sold for as little as a penny) produced as commodities for the mass market by London newspaper proprietors. Belt-and-braces serializations then can be seen as reflecting fine adjustments in the balance of power between the provincial and metropolitan press within that phase of transition.

As suggested in Table 1 and confirmed by the archives at New York and Chapel Hill, most of the belt-and-braces serializations that have been traced were arranged by A.P. Watt, the pioneering professional literary agent.² Watt's role gradually evolved from that of advertising agent in the mid-1870s, through that of negotiator of fiction serial rights for both publishers and authors from the end of that decade, until by the mid-1890s he could claim wide-ranging literary influence throughout the English-speaking world (Law Forthcoming, Ch.4). Nearly all the examples of belt-and-braces serializations noted before 1885 involve monthly metropolitan appearances, and many feature the young publishing house of Chatto and Windus and their shilling literary miscellany *Belgravia*. In addition to employing Watt to sell on the serial rights to works already published in volume, Chatto and Windus seem to have allowed or even encouraged their authors to serialize their new works simultaneously in *Belgravia* and with the syndicates.³ The reasons for Chatto's policy must have been mainly financial. By 1880, like that of many of the other shilling monthlies founded in the 1860s, the print-run of *Belgravia* was below 10,000 and falling steadily (Edwards, 2), thus severely limiting the remuneration that could be offered to authors for serial rights. Granting freedom to publish simultaneously in country journals must have considerably enhanced the attractiveness of Chatto's offers to well-known authors. For such writers, many of whom, like Collins himself, found the idea of appearing in cheap provincial newspapers rather demeaning, it was reassuring to have a respectable

² Table 1 is not intended to represent a comprehensive listing of belt-and-braces serializations. We are aware of a handful of other cases where documentation is incomplete, and there are doubtless many other examples that have not yet come to our attention.

³ In addition to the cases noted in Table 1, on 11 Nov 1880, Watt wrote to William Black offering £1200 for a new novel to appear from Chatto & Windus in 1882 in both *Belgravia* and in three volumes, but allowing freedom for simultaneous serialization in country papers (ALS, Letterbook 3:126, BERG); Black seems to have refused the offer, however.

metropolitan periodical participating in the venture. Nevertheless, the role of the metropolitan monthlies in these early arrangements can properly be described as defensive with regard to the provincial press.

Most of the examples of belt-and-braces serializations traced after 1885 feature weekly metropolitan serialization, many in the successful illustrated newspapers, the *Illustrated London News* and the *Graphic*. Here the role of the London proprietors is more aggressive. Though these illustrated papers were relatively expensive at sixpence and aimed at a 'class' rather than a 'mass' audience (a pairing popularized by Gladstone in 1886 in a newspaper article), by the mid 1880s both were probably selling above two hundred thousand copies for ordinary issues and could reach over half a million on special occasions. Payments to authors were correspondingly generous. Though Hardy received only £550 for the British serial rights to *Tess* from the *Graphic*, rather more than twice that amount was paid by the same journal in other cases (Law Forthcoming, Ch. 4). So to help defray these costs, the metropolitan journals were often happy to sell subsidiary serial rights on to a small number of other local journals. But as Alexander Sinclair, editor of the *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, pointed out (184), overlapping circulations were a serious disadvantage in this type of arrangement, because the *Illustrated London News* and *Graphic* circulated 'far and wide'. Indeed by the mid-1890s, the market strength of the major metropolitan journals was such that both they and Watt could begin to think about disregarding the provincial outlets altogether.

Wilkie Collins's *Heart and Science* was thus by no means the only or even the first late Victorian novel to receive the belt-and-braces treatment. Nevertheless, when Collins asked Watt to represent him in December 1881, he clearly became the still little-known agent's most prestigious client author. *Heart and Science* was also a work with which the novelist wished to strike a blow for the anti-vivisectionist cause and on which he placed great hopes for the revival of his fading literary reputation (Peters, 399-404). It is then not surprising that Watt put a good deal of effort into the serial arrangements for Collins's latest novel, and came up with what must rank as his most comprehensive and complex syndicate. Both Watt and Collins were presumably satisfied with the outcome, as the experiment was repeated for the author's next novel *I Say No*'. These two Collins novels probably represent the best documented of all the belt-and-braces serializations. In what follows, we have made extensive use of those records to describe in some detail both the specific arrangements made with regard to *Heart and Science*, and the resulting variations between its different serial editions.

Table 1: Some "Belt-and-Braces" Serializations

Work in Volume	Metropolitan Serialization(s)	Provincial Serialization(s) Traced	Agent(s)
James Payn <i>A Confidential Agent</i> (Chatto & Windus, '80)	<i>Belgravia</i> (Jan-Dec '80)	<i>Sheffield W. Independent</i> (from Jan '80)	?
William Black <i>Sunrise</i> (Sampson Low, '81)	Monthly parts, Sampson Low, Apr '80-Jun '81	<i>Sheffield W. Independent</i> (from Mar '80)	A.P. Watt (?)
Walter Besant <i>All Sorts and Conditions of Men</i> (Chatto & Windus, '82)	<i>Belgravia</i> (Jan-Dec '82)	<i>Birmingham W. Post, Leicester Chronicle, Sheffield W. Telegraph, Glasgow W. Mail</i> (as 'All Sorts of Men'), <i>Liverpool W. Post</i> (Jan-Aug '82)	James Rice
Wilkie Collins <i>Heart and Science</i> (Chatto & Windus, '83)	<i>Belgravia</i> (Aug '82-Jun '83) <i>England</i> (22 Jul '82-17 Feb '83, omitting 6 Jan)	<i>Manchester W. Times</i> (22 Jul '82-13 Jan '83), <i>Nottinghamshire Guardian</i> (28 Jul '82-26 Jan '83), <i>Aberdeen W. Journal, Bristol Observer, Cardiff W. Times, Liverpool W. Post, Scottish Reformer</i> (22 Jul '82-27 Jan '83), <i>W. Irish Times</i> (22 Jul '82-3 Feb '83)	A.P. Watt
Wilkie Collins <i>'I Say No'</i> (Chatto & Windus, '84)	<i>London Society</i> (Jan-Dec '84) <i>People</i> (16 Dec '83-13 Jul '84)	<i>Cardiff W. Times, Glasgow W. Herald, Leicester Chronicle, Newcastle W. Chronicle</i> (15 Dec '83-12 Jul '84), <i>Belfast W. News</i> (15 Dec '83-19 Jul '84)	A.P. Watt
Robert Buchanan <i>Master of the Mine</i> (Bentley, '85)	<i>Illustrated London News</i> (Jul-Dec '85)	(<i>Aberdeen W. Free Press, Leeds Express, Scottish Reformer</i> (later '85))	A.P. Watt
James Payn <i>The Heir of the Ages</i> (Smith, Elder, '86)	<i>Illustrated London News</i> (Jan-Jun '86)	<i>Birmingham W. Post, Glasgow W. Herald</i> (early '86)	A.P. Watt
Walter Besant <i>The World went very well then</i> (Chatto & Windus, '87)	<i>Illustrated London News</i> (Jul-Dec '86)	<i>Sheffield W. Telegraph, Glasgow W. Herald</i> , (Jul-Dec '86)	A.P. Watt
Emile Zola <i>Germinal</i> (tr. Vandam) (Vizetelly, '85)	<i>People</i> (Nov '84-May '85)	<i>Sheffield W. Telegraph</i> (Nov '84-May '85)	A.P. Watt (?)
R.E. Francillon <i>King or Knave?</i> (Chatto & Windus, '88)	<i>People</i> (Mar-Sep '86)	<i>Sheffield W. Telegraph</i> (mid '86)	A.P. Watt
Robert Buchanan <i>The Moment After</i> (Heinemann, '90)	<i>People</i> (early '87)	<i>Sheffield W. Telegraph</i> (early '87)	A.P. Watt
Margaret Oliphant <i>The Heir Presumptive and the Heir Apparent</i> (Macmillan, '92)	<i>London Society</i> (Jan-Dec '91)	<i>Birmingham W. Post, Newcastle W. Chronicle, Yorkshire W. Post, Hereford Times, Newport & Market Drayton Advertiser</i> (Oct '90-Apr '91)	A.P. Watt/ Tillotsons
Thomas Hardy <i>Tess of the D'Urbervilles</i> (Osgood, McIlvaine, '91)	<i>Graphic</i> (Jul-Dec '91)	As 'A Daughter of the D'Urbervilles': <i>Nottinghamshire Guardian, Birmingham W. Post</i> (Jul-Dec '91)	A.P. Watt
William Black <i>Wolfenbug</i> (Sampson Low, '92)	<i>Graphic</i> (Jul-Dec '92)	<i>Nottinghamshire Guardian</i> (later '92)	A.P. Watt/ Tillotsons
S.R. Crockett <i>The Grey Man</i> (T. Fisher Unwin, '96)	<i>Graphic</i> (Jan-Jun '96)	<i>Newcastle W. Chronicle</i> (early '96)	A.P. Watt
Walter Besant <i>No Other Way</i> (Chatto & Windus, '02)	<i>The Lady's Realm</i> (Nov '01-Oct '02)	<i>Sheffield W. Telegraph</i> (Dec '01-May '02)	A.P. Watt

Arrangements

Collins had already completed arrangements for the monthly serialization of *Heart and Science* in *Belgravia* before he contacted Watt, presumably on Andrew Chatto's advice or at least with his consent. Collins's two previous novels, *Jezebel's Daughter* and *The Black Robe*, had already been syndicated in the provincial weeklies alone, respectively by Tillotsons and Leaders. Although Collins did not wish either of these agencies to act for him on this occasion, he wanted Watt to operate in much the same way that they had done, setting out the conditions in great detail in a two-page memorandum entitled 'Notes for Consideration' (Enclosure, 5 Dec 1881, PEMBROKE). Watt began to write batches of letters approaching over forty different journals from all over the United Kingdom between December 1881 and June 1882 (Letterbook 2, BERG). The initial approaches all took virtually the same form, among other things assuring editors (rather dishonestly, given the cause it advocated) that the new novel would not concern 'painful social subjects' (e.g. ALS to *Liverpool Daily Post*, 2 Mar 1882, Letterbook 2:420, BERG). Several editors did not even bother to reply, while there were many objections and rejections. But as soon as these came in, Watt was willing to renegotiate or to fire off a proposal to another journal in the same catchment area. Since serialization was due to commence as early as July, several proprietors requested more precise information about the story for publicity purposes (Collins Acc., BERG). When Collins heard, he was incensed and wrote immediately to Watt enclosing a letter threatening to break off negotiations, which he wanted copied and sent around to these 'curious savages' (8 Feb 1882, Collins Letters, 2:442). Watt seems to have solved the problem diplomatically, and by the spring had firm acceptances from nine British weeklies. As Table 1 shows, in addition to journals in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the English North, West and Midlands, Watt arranged for *Heart and Science* to appear in the new London Tory weekly *England*, through its owner, populist Conservative M.P. Ellis Bartlett.⁴ The proprietors in Bristol, Nottingham and Aberdeen passed the novel on to companion publications so that the novel also appeared simultaneously in the *Bath Observer*, *Nottinghamshire Evening Post*, and *Moray and Nairn Weekly Journal*. Watt also arranged for the novel to appear in New York, though Collins himself took care of the arrangements for publication in Australia and Canada.

⁴ The arrangements Watt eventually made probably overdid the degree of overlap in circulations viable in the serial market, not only in featuring a second metropolitan periodical, but in including provincial papers serving neighbouring communities, like the *Manchester Weekly Times* and *Liverpool Weekly Post*, or the *Bristol Observer* and the *Cardiff Weekly Times*. Certainly Watt found it rather more difficult to find country papers willing to take Collins's next novel, *I Say No*' (see Table 1)

Chatto and Windus paid Collins £600 for a seven year lease on the volume rights (Weedon, 181), and £1 per printed page for the appearance in *Belgravia*, in eleven monthly instalments totalling £308 (ALSs from Collins to Chatto, 23 Aug 1882-3 Jul 1883, PARRISH). With the British newspapers Watt negotiated sums which varied according to their circulations, from £30 by the Welsh journal to £100 by the London and Manchester papers, in all totalling £565, of which Watt took a commission of ten per cent (Law 'Wilkie', 265n22). The *Liverpool Weekly Post* agreed to set up the novel in type first and provide proofs for the other journals, probably in return for a small reduction in price (ALS to Watt, 13 May 1882, Collins Acc., BERG). However, when Collins, who seems to have started writing in mid-May, received the first set of proofs at the beginning of June, he was disgusted by the poor quality of the paper and the minute size of the print. He immediately asked *Belgravia* to 'rescue [him] from the Provincial press' and Andrew Chatto seems to have been happy to comply (ALS to Chatto, 5 Jun 1882, PARRISH). However, Collins continued to write and send the novel off to Chatto's printers in weekly portions. He seems to have hit a few blocks towards the end of the year and only completed the final chapters in the middle of December, that is, less than a month before their first appearance in print. The instalments were set up in type promptly and Collins equally quickly corrected the proofs, probably with secretarial assistance--around a dozen sets, each with hand-written corrections, were required for all the different periodicals in Britain and overseas. There was neither the time nor the inclination for proofs to be sent back to the author when the instalments were once more set up in type by all the different syndicate members.⁵

Collins composed the novel in twenty-eight weekly parts and most of the newspapers published them as received, but the rest doubled up or sub-divided the final four instalments in different ways, probably to facilitate arrangements for their next serial. With the exception of the *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, which then came out on a Friday, all the subscribing British papers began to issue the novel on Saturday 22 July. The *Manchester Weekly Times* serialization was completed in only twenty-six weeks on 13 January 1882 and thus technically became the first serial edition, while *England* ended more than a month later on 17 February. Though the monthly serial appearance in *Belgravia* began at around the same time as that in the newspapers, it ran for eleven months and was thus only completed in the June 1883 issue, that is, more than a month after the novel had appeared in volume form in mid April.

⁵ Stereotype plates were not distributed as they often were by established syndicators like Tillotsons: the *Belgravia* text was produced in octavo leaves rather than the broadsheet columns required by the newspapers.

Table 2: Part, Volume & Chapter Divisions in the Three Versions

WEEKLY SERIAL <i>Manchester Weekly Times</i>			MONTHLY SERIAL <i>Belgravia</i>			TRIPLE-DECKER <i>Chatto & Windus, Apr 1883</i>				
Pt	Date	Chapter	Pt	Vol:pp/Date	Chapter	Vol	pp	Chapter		
1	22 Jul 1882	1	1	48:175-99 Aug 1882	1	I	1-3	1		
		2			2		4-19	2		
		3			3		20-38	3		
		4			4		39-44	4		
2	29 Jul 1882	5			5		45-63	5		
		6			6		64-74	6		
3	5 Aug 1882	7			2		48:312-33 Sep 1882	7	75-87	7
		8						8	88-108	8
4	12 Aug 1882	9						9	109-120	9
		10						10	121-136	10
5	19 Aug 1882	11	3	48:438-65 Oct 1882				11	137-151	11
		12						12	152-166	12
6	26 Aug 1882	13						13	167-180	13
		14						14	181-201	14
7	2 Sep 1882	15						15	202-218	15
		16						16	219-231	16
8	9 Sep 1882	17			4		49:54-80 Nov 1882	17	232-250	17
		18						18	251-257	18
9	16 Sep 1882	19						19	258-277	19
		20a						20	278-294	20
10	23 Sep 1882	20b	21	5		49:168-93 Dec 1882		II	1-17	21
		21	22						18-26	22
11	30 Sep 1882	22	23						27-36	23
		23	24						37-48	24
12	7 Oct 1882	24	25						49-61	25
		25	26						62-77	26
13	14 Oct 1882	26	27		78-102		27			
		27	28		103-115		28			
14	21 Oct 1882	28	6		49:312-41 Jan 1883		29		116-131	29
		29					30		132-137	30
15	28 Oct 1882	30		31		138-147	31			
		31		32		148-160	32			
16	4 Nov 1882	32		33		161-177	33			
		33		34		178-191	34			
17	11 Nov 1882	34		7		49:443-74 Feb 1883	35		192-199	35
		35					36		200-223	36
18	18 Nov 1882	36					37		224-244	37
		37					38		245-255	38
19	25 Nov 1882	38	8		50:39-69 Mar 1883		39		256-265	39
		39					40		266-283	40
20	2 Dec 1882	40					41	284-293	41	
		41					42	1-9	42	
21	9 Dec 1882	42					43	10-21	43	
		43					44	22-41	44	
22	16 Dec 1882	44		9		50:160-92 Apr 1883	45	42-53	45	
		45					46	54-73	46	
23	23 Dec 1882	46					47	74-87	47	
		47					48	88-105	48	
24	30 Dec 1882	48	49		106-118		49			
		49	50		119-137		50			
25	6 Jan 1883	50	10		50:298-330 May 1883		51	138-148	51	
		51					52	149-154	52	
26	13 Jan 1883	52					53	155-168	53	
		53					54	169-182	54	
54	55	56a		55		183-199	55			
				56		56	200-218	56		
56b	57	11		50:489-508 Jun 1883		57	219-227	57		
						58	58	228-233	58	
59	60					59	59	234-244	59	
						60	60	245-255	60	
61	62		61		61	256-268	61			
			62		62	269-292	62			
62	63		63		63	293-302	63			

Variations

A detailed analysis of all the different British serial versions being impractical if not impossible, we have carried out a collation of the texts of *Heart and Science* as it appeared in the *Manchester Weekly Times*, the monthly *Belgravia*, and the three-volume edition from Chatto and Windus. The first stage of this research was carried out in connexion with the preparation of an edition of the novel for Broadview Press, Canada (Farmer). With the omission of minor variations in punctuation etc, the results are contained in a fifty-page document which is available over the Internet as a 'Portable Document Format' file, or in hard copy from the authors.⁶ The document reveals around a hundred variations between the two serial versions, the large majority of which consist of small verbal details, but nearly seven hundred differences between both serial versions and the book edition, many of which represent significant revisions, deletions or additions. (There are also a handful of cases where the weekly and book versions agree with each other but not with the monthly version, or where all three versions vary.)

The bulk of the variations between the weekly and monthly serial versions seem explicable as uncorrected slips by the compositors in Manchester. Most of these result in acceptable readings in the newspaper (eg 'as he said to himself' for 'as he said of himself'), though quite a few produce ungrammaticality ('trembling to his embrace'), and a handful nonsense ('in bewilderness' or 'some indifference of opinion'). A small number of more complex variations not explicable in this way seem likely to be due either to errors in copying out the corrections on the *Belgravia* proofs sent to Manchester, or to later revisions by the author for the monthly version alone. There is even occasional evidence of compositors or editors pursuing their own agendas. Two out of the six occurrences of 'damn' in Collins's manuscript were amended at Manchester (to 'confound' and 'd—'), while *Belgravia* seems to have frowned on the author's accusative uses of 'who' and replaced most with 'whom'. The *Belgravia* version seems to insert commas rather more frequently than in the manuscript, the *Weekly Times* one rather less. Nevertheless, these textual variations obviously represent significantly less important differences between the weekly and monthly serials than the pattern of breaks demanded by 'thin' and 'fat' instalments. All but two of the weekly instalments (Pts. 9 & 10) exhibit what can reasonably be described as 'climax-and-curtain' endings. With the exception of Pt. 3, all the monthly instalments reveal the same feature, though here each tends to be composed of two or three distinct 'scenes'. In letters to Chatto (4 & 25 Jul, PARRISH) Collins shows that reasons of space alone forced him to end monthly Pt. 3 in mid-scene, and weekly Pt. 9 in mid-chapter. The apparent splitting

⁶ URL: <<http://faculty.web.waseda.ac.jp/glaw/wcsj/b&bcoll.pdf>>. Postal address: G. Law, School of Law, Waseda University, Nishi-Waseda 1-6-1, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 169-50, Japan.

of Ch. 56 in the Manchester version over two weekly instalments is in fact an illusion created by an error in the proofs released by *Belgravia*, where two consecutive chapters were numbered 56. Most of the newspapers simply reproduced the error, the *Liverpool Weekly Post* corrected it, resulting in a full complement of sixty-three chapters, while the *Manchester Weekly Times* alone indicated that Ch. 56 was 'continued' in its issue of 13 January 1882. Collins himself only spotted the slip just before monthly Pt. 10 in *Belgravia* went to press in May (letter to Chatto & Windus, May 1883, PARRISH).

In general Collins spent little time revising the text of his last novels between the serial and volume editions (Law 'Wilkie', 253). *The Evil Genius* and *The Legacy of Cain*, for example, gain little more than chapter headings in volume, as there were no changes even in the chapter breaks. *Heart and Science* was the only novel of the 1880s for which he wrote a Preface, and there he stated that the work had been 'subjected to careful revision . . . in its present form of publication'. This is undoubtedly true, as we have seen. Letters to Chatto show that these extensive revisions were carried out between early January and mid-March 1883, volume by volume, on the proofs of the triple-decker edition set from the *Belgravia* version (PARRISH). The nature of the revisions seems to reflect the desire to polish to its best a work by which the author set great store, as well as the fear of errors and infelicities due to the speed at which the novel had originally been written and set up in type. Changes in breaks and divisions are again important. *Belgravia* Ch. 41 was split into two distinct chapters which end Vol. II and begin Vol. III in the triple-decker, while *Belgravia* Chs. 55 and 56 were there also combined into a single unit. Both of these changes were accompanied by significant textual revisions. Interesting minor changes include those affecting nomenclature: in the triple-decker version, the cat 'Snooks' loses her name and much of her prominence; the independent lady's maid 'Jane' is Frenchified as 'Marceline'; the medical adviser Mr. Null receives his negative name much earlier on; and the hero Doctor Ovid Vere is promoted to Mr. Ovid Vere, surgeon, above the vivisector Doctor Benjulia. The biggest changes include: a lengthy inserted passage that adds complexity to the character of the monomaniac scientist Mrs Gallilee, by allowing her an internal life and memories of her youth; a series of revisions to render more consistent the character of the governess Miss Minerva, who began the serial as an unmitigated villain but underwent conversion less than half way through; and a general toning down of the immediacy of the description of cruelty to animals, perhaps in part to keep a promise made to Frances Power Cobbe, the anti-vivisectionist who had sent Collins pamphlets on the subject (Farmer, App. D). But there are also many substantial changes which can be characterised simply as deletions to trim the fat and additions to sharpen the focus.

To what extent these arrangements and alterations are typical of belt-and-braces serialization is difficult to judge. The only other case which has received detailed attention is that of Hardy's *Tess*, though even there the serialization pattern itself, and the role of A.P. Watt, seem not to have been clearly recognized.⁷ Perhaps a comparison with what happened with *Heart and Science* might shed light on some of the remaining mysteries regarding the differing serial versions of Hardy's most famous work. Of course, *Tess* appeared nearly a decade later, when the role of the metropolitan journal was much more aggressive, and the issue of "candour" regarding sexual matters was to the fore. But in their different ways these two examples of the belt-and-braces approach both help to confirm the determining influence of material conditions in the contemporary publishing industry on the form of the Victorian novel. Or as Hardy himself put it, in his contribution to the 1890 symposium on 'Candour in Fiction' (15): 'Even imagination is the slave of stolid circumstance; and the unending flow of inventiveness which finds expression in the literature of Fiction is no exception to the general law.'

⁷ See Grindle & Gatrell, General Introduction. Though the relevant Watt Letterbooks are lacking at the BERG (vols 20-24, Dec 1889-Feb 1891), Hardy's letter to Watt of 2 Sep 1891 (Hardy *Letters*, 1:243) shows that the agent was definitely representing the author around this time. Moreover, four letters from the end of Jan 1891 in a file at the WILSON (10.7) prove conclusively that, acting on behalf of the *Graphic*, Watt arranged for *Tess* to be published in the *Birmingham Weekly Post* for £75 and the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* for £40, the agent as usual taking 10% commission on the sums negotiated. Like Besant's *The World went very well then*, Black's *Wolfenburgh*, and Crockett's *The Grey Man*, *Tess* was also serialized simultaneously in Australia in the *Sydney Mail*, under the title 'A Daughter of the D'Urbervilles' as in the provincial papers. The appearance of *Tess* in the *Birmingham Weekly Post* (4 Jul to 26 Dec as in the *Graphic* and *Guardian*), which does not appear to have been previously recorded, was discovered by John Stock Clarke (personal communication). This was in the course of his research for *Margaret Oliphant (1828-1897): A Bibliography*, which is the source for the serialization details concerning *The Heir Presumptive* and *the Heir Apparent* recorded in Table 1. Grateful acknowledgement is made both to John Stock Clarke and to Simon Gatrell for their helpful comments on an earlier manuscript version of this article.

Works Cited

1. Unpublished Materials

BERG = A.P. Watt Archive, Berg Collection, New York Public Library, New York City.

PARRISH = Morriss L. Parrish Collection, Princeton University Library, New Jersey.

PEMBROKE = Letters from Wilkie Collins to A.P. Watt, 1881-89 (LCII 2840-2), Pembroke College Library, University of Cambridge.

WILSON = A.P. Watt Collection (#11036), General and Literary Manuscripts, Wilson Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

2. Published Materials

Clarke, John Stock. *Margaret Oliphant (1828-1897): A Bibliography*. (Victorian Fiction Research Guides 11). St Lucia, Queensland: Victorian Fiction Research Unit, University of Queensland, 1986.

[Collins, Wilkie.] *The Letters of Wilkie Collins*. Ed. William Baker & William M. Clarke. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1999.

Coolidge, Archibald Cary. *Charles Dickens as Serial Novelist*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1967.

Edwards, P.D., I.G. Sibley, & Margaret Versteeg. *Indexes to Fiction in 'Belgravia' (1867-1899)*. (Victorian Fiction Research Guides 14). St Lucia, Queensland: Victorian Fiction Research Unit, University of Queensland, 1990.

Farmer, Steve, ed. *Heart and Science: A Story of the Present Time*, by Wilkie Collins. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1996.

Fielding, K.J. 'The Monthly Serialization of Dickens's Novels.' In *Dickensian* 54:1 (Jan 1958) 4-11.

Fielding, K.J. 'The Weekly Serialization of Dickens's Novels.' In *Dickensian* 54:3 (Sep 1958) 134-41.

Gladstone, William. Article. In *Pall Mall Gazette* (3 May 1886) 11-12.

Grindle, Juliet, & Simon Gatrell, eds. *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, by Thomas Hardy. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.

Hardy, Thomas. Contribution to Symposium on 'Candour in English Fiction.' In *New Review* 2:1 (Jan 1890) 15-21.

[Hardy, Thomas.] *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy*. Ed. Richard Little Purdy & Michael Millgate. 7 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978-88.

Law, Graham. 'Wilkie in the Weeklies: The Serialization and Syndication of Collins's Late Novels.' In *Victorian Periodicals Review* 30:3 (Fall 1997) 244-69.

Law, Graham. *Novels in Newspapers: Fiction Serialization and Syndication in the Victorian Press*. London: Macmillan, Forthcoming.

Peters, Catherine. *The King of Inventors: A Life of Wilkie Collins*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1991.

Phillips, Walter C. *Dickens, Reade, and Collins: Sensation Novelists*. 1919; New York: Russell & Russell, 1962.

Sinclair, Alexander. *Fifty Years of Newspaper Life, 1845-1895*. Glasgow: privately printed, [1895].

Weedon, Alexis. 'Watch This Space: Wilkie Collins and New Strategies in Victorian Publishing in the 1890s.' In Ruth Robbins & Julian Wolfreys, eds, *Victorian Identities: Social and Cultural Formations in Nineteenth-Century Literature*, London: Macmillan, 1996, 163-83.

~~Reviews~~

The Letters of Wilkie Collins. William Baker and William M. Clarke, editors. London: Macmillan, 1999. Vol. 1 pp. xli + 268 (ISBN 0-333-674666-9). Vol. 2 pp. xiii + 269-616 (ISBN 0-333-73246-4).

Wilkie Collins is one of the few 'major Victorian creative personalities' (to use the rather infelicitous phrasing of the editors of this collection), whose letters have hitherto remained uncollected and unpublished. Sadly, many of the letters which might have proved most interesting for the biographer, the literary historian, or the merely prurient, will remain uncollected because they have disappeared or been destroyed. Thus this volume adds nothing to our knowledge of Collins's correspondence with Dickens; a correspondence which no doubt would have thrown a great deal of interesting light on their collaborations, the London literary scene of the 1850s and 1860s, and the life of the English flaneur in mid-nineteenth-century Paris. Another significant absence from these volumes, as the editors readily confess, is any trace of Collins's correspondence with his mistresses Caroline Graves and Martha Rudd, and other members of his 'morganatic family' as he refers to them in one letter. However, while much has disappeared much remains, indeed much more than the economics of modern publishing will permit to be reproduced here. Baker and Clarke have traced more than 2,000 items of Collins's correspondence in institutional and private holdings, and they produce transcriptions of 591 of the most 'important', letters, 127 in summarised form (pressure of space again), as 'the foundation for any outline of his life and any judgement of the kind of man he was.'

What kind of man do these volumes reveal? Who was Wilkie Collins? The young Collins was a great advocate of the new Republic of letters who saw the disappearance of the 'Great Man' (1:61) and democratisation of letters as a levelling up, and who put his faith in 'King Public' as a 'good King for Literature and Art' (1:79), and a ready ally for *The Leader* in its campaign for law reform. He was a man extremely preoccupied with money matters. The first volume (especially those sections covering the years in which Collins was trying to establish himself as a writer) contains numerous requests to his mother for money and just as many letters to his friend Charles Ward making complicated arrangements for the transfer of money from one account to another or one place to another. Later on, prompted it would seem by the deaths of Dickens and of his brother Charles, this man whose fiction often turned on complicated plots built around wills and inheritance busied himself setting his own complex affairs in order, regularly updating his will to ensure that his irregular dependants would be taken care of. Collins was also greatly interested in the monetary aspects of the fiction industry, ever anxious about his own contracts (and increasingly tenacious about gaining the best terms) and extremely interested in the details of other writers' deals with publishers and the profits

they obtained from them. Like Dickens Collins was a great champion of one of the main causes of the professional writer, a reform of the Copyright Law, and there are several forthright statements of his views about the iniquities of intellectual property theft by newspaper editors, adapters of novels for the stage, and the American and European publishers of pirated editions. These letters reveal a man who took the profession of literature very seriously. Later in life he dealt assiduously, and occasionally illuminatingly, with queries about his own writing practice, and offered advice to fellow writers. (A particularly interesting letter to Charles Reade (2:340) offers detailed professional advice about possible revisions to the latter's dramatic adaptation of his novel *Put Yourself in His Place*). He was also alert to changes in the publishing industry, deploring the 'present idiotic system of publication in 3 Vols.' (2:353), and remarking to George Smith in 1871 that 'a very few years more will see a revolution in the publishing trade for which most of the publishers are unprepared' (2:349).

Like the letters of so many Victorian writers (George Eliot's spring to mind) Collins's correspondence is full of references to his bodily (mal)functions. Collins had more cause than most for this preoccupation, and some of these letters are painful reading. The editors make some attempt to unravel the mysteries of Collins's illnesses by investigating his Pharmacopoeia, but the precise causes of his numerous ailments remain a matter of speculation. Given his own physical decline it is unsurprising that Collins should have been so interested in degeneration; what is surprising is the extraordinary vigour and energy of many of the letters of his declining years. Other surprises include his curious, playful correspondence with the eleven year-old Nannie Wynne (whom he addressed as 'Mrs Wilkie') which only came to light in 1988, and in which he enacts a fantasy of marriage. It is also intriguing to see this erstwhile boon companion of Dickens proffer his entertainingly Scrooge-like views on 'the season of Cant and Christmas' (2:409).

The editors reproduce this diverse correspondence chronologically, and divide it into ten sections, each of which corresponds to an important stage in Collins's life (an exception to chronology is made in the case of the Nannie Wynne letters which appear in a small section of their own). Each section is prefaced by a brief introduction summarising its contents and referring to Collins's current fictional projects. Baker and Clarke have struggled manfully, but not always successfully with Collins's difficult handwriting; most readers will want to offer more plausible readings of odd words here and there. A more serious deficiency is the extremely light touch adopted in the provision of explanatory annotation on some of the addressees and on events, persons, places, and books mentioned by Collins. This is a missed opportunity. However, despite these cavils these handsomely produced volumes will be a necessary addition to any self-respecting nineteenth-century library collection.

Lyn Pykett

University of Wales Aberystwyth

Wilkie Collins, *Ioláni; or, Tahíti as it was. A Romance*. Edited and Introduced by Ira B. Nadel. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999. pp. xliii + 205. (ISBN 0-691-01571-6).

The publication of *Ioláni* has been eagerly awaited by Collins scholars and enthusiasts since the re-emergence of the manuscript in New York in 1991, when it was sold by the bookseller Glen Horowitz to an anonymous buyer. That discovery alone, a lost first novel by one of the major literary figures of the nineteenth century, is a romance in itself, coinciding with the continued revival of interest in Collins's life and work. Admirers of Wilkie Collins are fortunate that the generosity of the new owner has allowed swift publication, as many private collectors would have been tempted to keep the purchase to themselves, fearing publication might damage the future market value of the manuscript.

Most authors' first novels are rejected by publishers, and are usually never seen by anyone again. Certainly *Ioláni* can only have been read by a handful of people in Collins's lifetime. Because the author later became famous, in the words of the dust-wrapper blurb, "the novel casts new light on Collins's development as a writer and on the creation of his later masterpieces." It is from this perspective, inevitably, that this novel will be read and studied.

Collins wrote his first novel at the age of twenty, while working for a tea merchant, Antrobus and Company, and it is easy to imagine his thoughts faraway in Tahiti, rather than on the duller reality of the commercial day. A career as a writer offered the hope of escape from a job for which he knew he was entirely unsuited. His choice of subject, Tahiti before the arrival of Europeans, provided an opportunity to create an exotic blend of history, paganism and dramatic situations. An historical subject probably seemed to offer the best likelihood of acceptance by a publisher, since historical novels were at that time popular with both critics and public, and almost every author of note turned their hand to the genre. Despite its author's youth, *Ioláni* shows Collins was already scrupulous in his research, paying careful attention to recent works on the setting and its history. Once the novel was written, Collins was confident enough of its merit to ask his parents to advance him some money on account to pay for a trip to Paris.

The title character, Ioláni, is a villainous priest, with a seductive influence which proves irresistible to island maidens. In accordance with tradition, the first-born child of his relationship with Idía is to be sacrificed soon after birth, and it is the birth of this child which precipitates events. Idía flees with her baby and young friend, Aimáta, and Ioláni pursues them relentlessly. Much of the interest lies in Collins's depiction of these two intrepid women, and it is likely they will be seen as the first of a long line of resourceful heroines. The young Collins also displays his appreciation of female beauty, taking a voyeuristic pleasure in describing his younger heroine's sleeping form and disarrayed clothing (15). Collins is convincing in the depiction of his villain and in Idía's continuing obsession with the priest, dwelling on her attraction to the priest even

while hating him. The novel also offers an early example of one of the grotesque characters he was to later employ, in the mysterious outcast wild man, another of Ioláni's victims.

Although there is plenty of action, the novel is at times slow moving, partly because there is so little dialogue. There is in fact none until the twenty-second page, and what there is consists of what Robert Louis Stevenson was to call 'tushery', studded with "thees" and "thous". *Ioláni* thus has more in common with Gothic novels and the historical novels of Walter Scott and Edward Bulwer Lytton than the fiction which was to earn Collins lasting fame. Its strengths are the descriptions of landscape and Tahitian life, and the atmosphere created through weather and painterly scenery is written with real verve. Collins dedicates passages to the life and history of Tahiti, but it is not as overburdened with factual details as his first published novel, *Antonina* (1850), where a whole chapter is devoted to the history of the walls of Rome. There are some strong resemblances to *Antonina* with its battle scenes, and the women characters are forerunners to the Goth women of the later novel. The theme of religious extremism is developed further in *Antonina* with the pagan priest Ulpus and his equally fanatical Christian brother Numerian.

The manuscript of *Ioláni* was rejected by Longmans and Chapman and Hall in 1845, and Collins later suggested the lurid nature of some of the scenes contributed to their lack of enthusiasm. This reason seems unlikely, as historical novels of earlier Victorian years were frequently allowed an excess not permitted in fiction with a contemporary setting; for example Charles Kingsley's *Hypatia* (1853) contained the notorious scene of the naked heroine torn limb from limb by a group of rampaging monks, and *Antonina* is violent on occasion and contains the Gothic touch of a corpse presiding over a banquet held by starving nobles. When the latter was published, Collins was hailed as the natural successor to Bulwer Lytton and he rarely pleased the critics so unanimously again. Although popular at the time, *Antonina* has few admirers today, but, like *Ioláni*, it is entertaining in parts and carefully researched.

If *Ioláni* been published in the 1840s it would have made exotic reading, with its sorcerers and description of wrestlers (121), and would surely have proved popular with the reading public of the time. The book is divided into three books for narrative purposes, but it would not have been long enough to be published as a three volume novel, and its relative shortness may have deterred publishers. Had Collins chosen later in his career to resubmit the manuscript, it is quite likely a publisher would have looked more favourably upon it, if only to capitalize on his fame. As it was, Collins thought enough of the setting to use it again for a short story, "The Captain's Last Love" (1877).

Ira B. Nadel is to be congratulated on his informative introduction, providing the history of the manuscript after Collins gave it to the theatrical impresario Augustin Daly, exhaustively mapping the probable sources for the novel, pin-pointing the origins of the names of characters, adding detailed information about the manuscript, and compiling a list of variants and deletions.

The explanatory notes, however, are rather sporadic and erratic: for example, the occurrence of 'wend' on page 89 is explicated, surely unnecessarily, though an early occurrence on page 10 passes unremarked. As a book it is handsomely produced, with attractive layout, a facsimile from the manuscript, and appropriate dust-wrapper illustration. For a hardback it is very reasonably priced.

For those hoping for a lost classic, a mystery on a par with Collins's best work, there will, inevitably, be some disappointment. Judged next to them, the style is dry and it is a fairly tough read. *Ioláni* is the first novel of a very young man, and none the worse for that, but its chief interest lies in the many hints of the author he became. As such it is a wonderful opportunity to chart his development as an author, and it is an addition no admirer of Wilkie Collins will wish to be without.

Jennifer Carnell
The Sensation Press

Wilkie Collins, *The Moonstone*. Steve Farmer, editor. (Broadview Literary Texts Series.) Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1999. pp. 719 (ISBN 1-55111-243-4).

Of the twenty-five novels which Collins produced, over an exceptionally long and creative literary career, only two can be said to have really made it into the canon (or at least, which amounts to much the same thing, into undergraduate reading lists.) These two are, of course, *The Woman in White* (1860) and *The Moonstone* (1868). The most popular of his novels in his lifetime, they have remained the works by Collins which anyone with any interest in the Victorian novel has read. *The Moonstone*, in particular, ever since the poet Swinburne declared it to be the best of Collins's novels, has received a great deal of critical attention, although it was perhaps the introduction to the novel written by another poet, T.S.Eliot, which first made it academically fashionable. Thus, for Collins scholars and enthusiasts, who have put so much effort in recent years into editing and promoting his less well-known novels, the announcement of yet another edition of *The Moonstone*, when so many are already available, is likely to provoke a reaction of discouragement than pleasure. In the case of this new edition by Steve Farmer, however, such a reaction would be completely misplaced. Here is a book which anyone with an interest in either Collins or Victorian literature in general will want to buy.

The chief reason for this is Broadview's exceptionally generous editorial policy in its series of Literary Texts, and the very good use that Steve Farmer has made of this generosity. In this edition, for a very reasonable price, we are given not only a beautifully printed and error-free annotated text of the novel, but also a full introduction and over 150 pages of appendices. These appendices

include excerpts from early reviews of the novel, newspaper accounts of two sensational crimes which almost certainly contributed to its plot, an article by Collins addressing (albeit in a very indirect fashion) the issue of the Indian Mutiny, letters by Collins concerning the composition and publication of the novel, and, last but by no means least, the complete text of the stage adaptation of the novel which Collins made in 1877, together with reviews of the original performances. This is the first time that Collins's dramatic adaptation of the novel has been reprinted and this text alone is well worth the price of the book.

The text of *The Moonstone* is neither an especially difficult nor a problematic one, and, on the whole, Steve Farmer's annotation is correspondingly light. The notes tend either to be literary in nature, as when parallels in other novels by Collins are pointed out, or designed to explicate the social and historical background to the novel. This works very well in some cases, as when, for example, the precise duties of the various kinds of servant who feature in the story are explained, but at other times the notes struck me as somewhat tangential to the narrative. There were also a few points at which I felt that words or phrases in the text should have been explained but were not. The Introduction, in keeping with this approach, very skilfully combines an introduction to the major themes and literary features of the novel with a sketch of its critical fortunes up to the present. It is a relaxed and generous account, which manages to explain sympathetically the enormous range of critical responses that the book has evoked, from Dorothy Sayers' celebration of it as the founding Detective Story to those Freudian, feminist and post-colonial readings which have proved so modish an approach to Victorian fiction over the past decade. Farmer, indeed, imputes his own generous attitude to Collins himself, suggesting that the author would have been 'amused and pleased' by such a variety of 'explanations'. One wonders whether this would indeed have been the case, although Collins surely would have been delighted, at least, to find his work taken as seriously as he himself took it. At any rate, the word 'amused' here seems ambiguous, and one assumes from it that Farmer himself is underwhelmed by at least some of the critical essays he has waded through.

The editor's interest in the context and the sources of the novel is also very evident in the choice of material for the appendices, but—and here is the great advantage of Broadview's policy—the fact that we have the material before us allows us to draw our own conclusions as to its relevance to the texts. Post-colonial critics have recently made great play with the Indian dimension to the novel, suggesting that the Moonstone itself symbolises British fear and guilt over her imperial adventures. The reprinting of Collins's 'A Sermon for Sepoys', written at Dickens' request in 1858, certainly allows us to see just how temperate and measured his response to the Indian Mutiny was, compared to the horrified reactions of Dickens and others. But it also allows us to form our own view of Collins's attitude to British imperialism, and, to this reader at least, his fable conveys a much more ambiguous and nuanced attitude than post-colonial readings would suggest.

As I have said, however, the biggest plus of this edition is the reprinting of the complete text of Collins's stage adaptation. The text is taken from an edition which Collins had privately printed for his own use, and its reprinting allows us again to form our own judgement about the relationship between the author's famous passion for the stage and his novelistic craft. Collins himself saw the drama and the novel as 'twin-sisters' and during his life wrote some 15 plays, six of which were adaptations of his own novels. It was indeed this love of the stage which first brought Collins and Dickens together, and thus ironically helped assure Collins's success as a novelist. Farmer's expansive introduction to the play, based on much research, provides an excellent introduction to Victorian theatre as well as to Collins's own involvement with it. What is most striking when one reads the play is just how ruthlessly Collins revises the novel, squeezing the action into 24 hours, cutting out most of the suspense and omitting some of the most interesting characters. Even those characters which remain are to a great extent simplified. At the same time, some important characteristics of Collins's literary genius are clearly brought out—the extremely tight construction of the plot, the creation of moments of sensational drama and the complete control of pace. Yet one cannot help but feel, whether because of Collins's own particular genius or because of the constraints which the theatre-going audience of the time imposed upon dramatists, that his talents are shown in a much better light in the novel itself. And indeed the play itself was not nearly so successful as Collins and others had hoped.

Opinions about this will certainly vary from reader to reader. What is undoubtedly the case, however, is that anyone interested in Wilkie Collins will want to own a copy of this excellent edition.

Adrian J. Pinnington
Waseda University

Oxford Reader's Companion to Dickens. Paul Schlicke, editor. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. pp. xxiii + 654. (ISBN 0-19-866213-0).

Oxford Reader's Companion to Trollope. R.C. Terry, editor. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. pp. xxiv + 621. (ISBN 0-19-866210-6).

There are vast companies of "companions" in the world, on everything from China to Puccini, from Ayn Rand to Wagner's Ring. "Companions," indeed, constitute a genre with some antiquity; the earliest reference in the *Oxford English Dictionary* gives *Barnaby Googe*, 1577. These companions ask us to follow, vade-mecum, and may as well be called guidebooks or handbooks. But "companion" still sounds a good deal more amiable, and thus both the Cambridge and Oxford university presses, among many others, have continued to produce a mountain of such guides. For fans of Trollope and Dickens, and for readers of Victorian literature in general, it must be said that these two most

recent companions are both boon (adj. convivial), and a boon (n. blessing).

Obvious kin, the two volumes look similar in outward appearance and inward format: with slight variations, both contain a section called "How to use this book," a list of editors and contributors, a bibliography, family trees, a chronology, and maps; what Terry calls a "Thematic Overview" is named a "Classified Contents List" by Schlicke—either way you have a preliminary, organized set of topics before you dive into the encyclopedia proper. In each volume you will find plenty of beautifully reproduced photographs and illustrations, though not so many, unsurprisingly, as in the related, but differently focused, Oxford handbook by Andrew Gasson, *Wilkie Collins: An Illustrated Guide* (1998, reviewed in the last issue of *WCSJ*). The Dickens volume has an index; the Trollope does not.

Differences between volumes have much to do with the particularities of each respective author. For Dickens, there are exceedingly helpful articles on his proliferation, through abridgement, theatrical dramatization, plagiarism, continuation, and adaptation into both television and film (Grahame Smith begins his entry on "film" by invoking Eisenstein's fundamental essay, "Dickens, Griffith, and the Film Today"). Trollope, in a sense, proliferates inwardly rather than outwardly, and so in his companion there is a new novel every few pages (it seems), along with brief descriptions of many of his innumerable characters. Editor Schlicke has ensured a certain uniformity in the entries for Dickens's novels, as he has written them all himself. Each of these entries is organized into "Inception and Composition," "Contract, Text, and Publication History," "Illustrations," "Sources and Context," "Plot, Character, and Theme," and "Reception." Trollope's novels, in contrast, are described by different hands, and without the boilerplate sub-divisions, yet we still get much of the same information. Momentarily, one might imagine that some bit of bias and boosterism ("I'm writing about a very important novel") leads five different critics to help us consider that their Trollope book might be exceedingly good ("Since the 1960s, critics have recognized *The Way We Live Now* as Trollope's most impressive achievement" (581); "James Kincaid has spoken of [*The Prime Minister*] as 'Trollope's most important novel'" (446); "Bradford Booth said, 'If [*Framley Parsonage*] is not his best book, it is the most characteristic, the most Trollopien of all his stories'" (211); "Today, despite continuing widespread disagreement about which novels represent Trollope at his best, many readers rank *The Duke's Children* very high among his 47 novels" (169); "Trollope's friends considered [*Orley Farm*] his best book" (410). Yet even Paul Schlicke, who is writing all of these entries himself, calls *Pickwick* Dickens's "best-loved novel" (444), *Little Dorrit* "one of his greatest works" (335), and perhaps unnecessarily says that *David Copperfield* is "considered by many to be his masterpiece" (144), while *Bleak House* is "widely held to be his masterpiece" (46). But there's not really any problem with these celebrations, since it is all true, and no one doubts that both Trollope and Dickens wrote several really wonderful books.

These companions are packed with superbly readable and useful entries on multifarious topics related to these authors, although not on every topic imaginable. For instance, you can use the other volume to imagine a topic that, in Paradise, you might eventually like to see. The Trollope contains entries on "anthologies," bibliographies," "comedy [in Trollope's work]," "courtship", and "race and racism," none of which appear in the Dickens. In the Dickens we find entries on "advertising in and of Dickens's work," "death and funerals," and "readership: literacy and the reading public," that do not have counterparts in the Trollope volume. Indeed, though there are ever so many entries here, over 600+ pages of Oxford's Trollope, one turns to *The Penguin Companion to Trollope* (by Richard Mullen with James Munson, 1996) to find many more brand new and seemingly basic topics. In the entry on Charles Dickens, for example, Mullen notes that Trollope often refers to Dickens's characters, giving a list, and that civil servant Trollope revenged himself on Dickens's attack on "The Circumlocution Office" in *Little Dorrit* in large part through *The Three Clerks*. *The Oxford Reader's Companion to Trollope's* entry on Dickens is pretty thorough, but misses all this. I would recommend, in fact, that if one were in the mood to be guided through Trollope, one should probably set oneself behind both the recent Trollope companions, Oxford and Penguin.

There is plenty of high-quality work in these volumes, but some articles stand out even above the rest. Robert Patten writes on illustration in Dickens, and his overview of "illustrators and book illustration," along with his entries on illustrators such as Hablot Knight Browne ("Phiz"), George Cruikshank, and Robert Seymour, are masterpieces within the genre. In the Trollope volume, James Kincaid's pieces on Trollope's working habits, *Is He Popenjoy?*, "heroes and heroines of Trollope," and "comedy in Trollope" are all an absolute delight to read. Kincaid probably has other entries, but it is very difficult to tell; there is no index in either volume that lists all the entries written by any given contributor (so to find more Kincaid you just have to page through looking beneath articles for "JRK").

All in all, these are reader's companions in the truest sense, full of readerly company, and a pleasure to have about. Still, they are not quite up to that masterpiece (I think we all agree), that meticulous compendium, that dryly writ and widely read companion above all Victorian companions John Sutherland's one-man tour through everything, *The Stanford Companion to Victorian Fiction* (1989)!

Steve Dillon
Bates College

Announcements

Tennessee Studies in Literature is soliciting previously unpublished essays for a forthcoming volume

Reality's Dark Light: The Transgressive Wilkie Collins

reflecting new methodological and theoretical approaches to Collins's fiction. No restrictions on length. Proposals (750-1000 words) must be submitted by February 1, 2000. Inquiries and proposals should be addressed to the editors:

Maria K. Bachman and Don Richard Cox

Department of English

University of Tennessee

Knoxville

TN 37996-0430

USA

E-mail: <bachman@utk.edu> or <dcox@utk.edu>