MAKERS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY CULTURE

VOLUME II

Edited by
Justin Wintle

Makers of Nineteenth Century Culture 1800–1914

THE MAKERS OF CULTURE: A BIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE

VOLUME I
Makers of Modern Culture
Edited by Justin Wintle

VOLUME II
Makers of Nineteenth Century Culture
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Justin Wintle

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In memoriam F. J. W.

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Introduction

The nineteenth century was an astonishing period. America arose, Germany was unified, Africa mapped, and Japan coaxed out of her cocoon. Its revolutions in science, technology, transport, communications and commerce are the very stuff of encyclopedias. It was the Age of the Two Ms – Machines and Mobility. Railways and steamships moved colossal quantities of people, raw materials, crafted and manufactured goods from one corner of the globe to another at unprecedented speeds. Greatly improved printing techniques, especially in graphics, and the electric telegraph galvanized the quality and flow of information. Well before 1900 the ordinary well-to-do were picking up their telephones, and taking photographs. The first computers were built, and the fixed-wing aeroplane envisaged. In politics dynamic new forces were held in uneasy balance: while the huge increase in the level and distribution of material prosperity ensured not just the survival but the consummation of the bourgeois ethic in the West generally, in central Europe the ideologies of socialism were being forged. If liberalism was a characteristic response to both these currents, so too was its cousin, revolutionary nationalism. In the Old World and in South America, in country after country, the traditional forms of government were torn down and replaced with novel democratic and republican institutions. And all the while Britain and France sought to establish world-wide empires. No wonder that Karl Marx, caught up in the march of history at a climactic passage, thought that history was marching somewhere. Like an Old Testament prophet he espied the Promised Land. Yet, in another context, History, as the history of civilizations (a favourite theme among Victorians), paled into insignificance. A dramatic new conception of time itself was demonstrated, first by geology, then biology. A few thousand years of recorded history were as nothing compared to the hundreds of millions of years that it had taken the earth and its organic covering to reach their present form. Ozymandias was but yesterday's man. Evolution was a sobering, even chilling truth. Science, so lately hailed as the great means to all man's aspirations, had become an agent of his discomfort. Darwinism proclaimed the death of God. Religion, beset from within by theological disputes, struggled to retaliate. The century that had opened with Napoleon astride the wreckage of the French Revolution, ended with the search for a secular metaphysic – a search negatively proposed by Schopenhauer, strongly asserted by Nietzsche, and doubtfully accomplished by Freud.

The same century also began with Jane Austen perfecting her art in Hampshire, and closed with Paul Gauguin practising his in Tahiti. On the face of it one can scarcely imagine two more disparate figures: the one

minutely engaged in her native social locale, the other removed into an other-worldly realm of sensual obsession. But there were similarities. Both strove for detachment; both embraced a limited range of subject matter; and in each case the process of image-making was a solution to a psychological isolation. Just how alike, or unalike, they are depends on your cultural point of view; and your cultural point of view will almost certainly find itself rooted in the ideas of the nineteenth century. Between Jane Austen and Gauguin new ground was broken in every field. The reigning spirit of upheaval and dislocation affected every activity. In literature and the arts the Romantic movement, with its sudden emphasis on individualism, heralded an era of irresistible genius; and individual genius continued to supply the needs of each succeeding movement – of Realism, Naturalism, Impressionism and Symbolism. Great novelists emerged everywhere – Tolstoy and Dostoevsky in Russia, Stendhal, Balzac, Zola and Flaubert in France, Scott, Dickens and George Eliot in Britain, Melville and Henry James in America. Chekhov, Ibsen and Strindberg staged a renascence in drama. Ballet became a major art form, and opera shone grandly. Music enjoyed not only an incomparable new repertoire, but new standards of virtuosity in its performance. In mathematics the boundaries fixed by Euclid were transgressed by such figures as Galois, Lobachevsky, Riemann and Cantor. Physics prepared to part company with Newton. Mendeleyev's Periodic Tables set chemistry on a solid footing. With the development of immunology, medicine too became a proper science. And science extended her territory as the humanities courted her rigour. Much philosophy was dominated by positivism; experimental methods were applied to psychology; sociology and anthropology were born.

Of course, there were currents of continuity as well – there always are. Darwin and Marx, by today's evaluation the two giants in the swell, were in a sense embodiments of the Enlightenment: each firmly believed in natural laws discernible to reason.This book is largely designed to help the reader untangle the dialectic between tradition and innovation that underlies the nineteenth-century ferment. Like its predecessor, *Makers of Modern Culture*, it does so by concentrating on the achievements of the period's leading figures; and it offers interpretations rather than an 'authoritative account' – in the view of this editor an impossible or at least unwelcome illusion. It takes 1800 as its starting point, and continues through until 1914. Both dates are as arbitrary as any others that might have been chosen, and both create moderate difficulties in deciding who belongs where (and separate from the greater difficulty of deciding who doesn't belong at all!). At the tail end many important figures who did not produce any important work before 1900, but who did produce important work before *and* after 1914, will be found in *Makers of Modern Culture*; and at the front end some important people (notably Blake, Goya and Schiller) have been omitted to await inclusion in the next volume (covering the eighteenth century) where they equally belong. In either case a double asterisk (**) in the Index signifies that the claims of a

particular culture-maker are not being ignored by the project as a whole.

But the Index is there for more important reasons than to indicate editorial policies of selection and rejection. Readers are strongly urged to consult it when looking up the subject of their immediate interest if they wish to get the fullest use out of this book. There are often many references to a figure other than the entry devoted to him or her. The reader will also find that the Index contains thematic references – e.g. to 'Symbolism' or 'Evolution'. These too are given to promote both the means and an inducement to exploration.

A fuller account of my editorial concerns and procedures, including a working definition of the word 'culture' (in essence 'how we see ourselves'), will be found in the Introduction of *Makers of Modern Culture.* Inevitably, because I have stuck by the same format, *Makers of Nineteenth Century Culture* is preoccupied with the significance of its subjects for us more than with a proper historical reconstruction, although in some obvious cases (for instance, Herbert Spencer) my weighting has been influenced by a figure's prestige within the period itself. But it is as a contemporary interpretive discussion of the nineteenth century that the book is presented; and that it is just that owes much to the continuing commitment to the project of many who contributed to the first volume. To them, as to the newcomers, I am indebted.

Justin Wintle
London 1982

A

1
ACTON, John Emerich Edward Dalberg, Lord
1834–1902

British historian

At the heart of Acton's life and work was commitment to defence of individual conscience. This permeated his attitude not only towards the past but also towards unduly authoritarian behaviour from secular or ecclesiastical bodies in his own age. In pursuing his convictions he exploited the advantages of inherited wealth and influential cosmopolitan connections so that he might take the risks which others often shunned. This was evident, above all, in stormy dealings with his own Catholic Church – an institution which threatened to bear out the truth of his famed dictum, 'Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.'

Acton was born at Naples, to whose kingdom his grandfather had once been premier. His mother was widowed early, and at the age of six he acquired a stepfather who later, as Lord Granville, became British Foreign Secretary. He grew up socially and intellectually at ease among the great Whig families of England and among leading liberal Catholic circles both there and abroad. He attended Oscott College and underwent periods of private tuition in Paris and Edinburgh before embarking, in 1848, upon his most decisive educational experience. This involved spending much of the next decade, in Munich and on wider European travels, as the personal student of Ignaz Döllinger*. From him was obtained a thorough grounding in the rigorous methods of the new German school of historical criticism.

By 1858 Acton was home in England determined to rescue his backward countrymen, Catholic and even Protestant too, from their intellectual insularity. Between 1859 and 1865 he sat as Liberal MP for an Irish constituency, but he felt uneasy within the Commons and contributed little to its proceedings. None the less he held strong views about the way in which democracy and nationalism might be perverted for illiberal purposes, and he won from Gladstone* a personal regard that was reflected through the conferment of a peerage in 1869. During the 1860s Acton's influence was exercised less through parliamentary channels than as an essayist in this the great age of the Victorian intellectual periodical. Most significantly, he collaborated with others like Newman* on liberal Catholic publications, editing the *Rambler* which was soon revamped as the *Home and Foreign Review*.

Acton's efforts at subjecting historical and contemporary issues to the scrutiny of the latest critical scholarship soon brought conflict with Cardinal Wiseman, once his Oscott principal, and with the Vatican itself. The hierarchy contested the liberal Catholic view that such examination could only strengthen the church in the longer term. Rome was in no mood to make concessions about the fact that the 'nephews' of certain earlier popes were really sons, or indeed about still weightier matters. In 1864, when Pius IX crystallized his comprehensive rejection of social and intellectual modernity into the *Syllabus of Errors*, Acton closed his journal before the Vatican could do it for him. Even so, he continued elsewhere his eloquent opposition to the authoritarianism of the Curia and the pope's own obsession with preserving temporal power.

Matters came to a head in 1870, when the new Kingdom of Italy seized most of the papal territory only weeks after the Vatican Council had promulgated the dogma of Infallibility. During the council Acton was in Rome busying himself behind the scenes to stiffen resistance from those prelates who opposed any such proclamation either because it was 'inopportune' or, as he himself believed, because it was still more fundamentally erroneous in its threat to individual conscientious judgment. He made regular reports to Döllinger. Out of them his mentor moulded the *Letters of Quirinus from the Council*, an exposure of the clerical intrigues underpinning the Curia's Victory, which caused instant scandal when published in Germany. Döllinger was excommunicated, in company with his 'Old Catholics'. Although as a layman Acton was less immediately vulnerable, he expected a similar fate. But the blow never came, despite the fact that he remained in some respects still more intransigent than Döllinger. Thus the Englishman was permitted to continue from within the church his battle to purge it of obscurantist authoritarianism, and thus to make it a more effective prop to freedom in spheres both spiritual and secular.

Everything which had gone before seemed but a preparation for that great project of 'a History of Liberty' to which Acton soon turned. What he actually accomplished of it was fragmentary. Though no book came from him, he travelled widely, conversed brilliantly, and consolidated a formidable international

reputation. In 1886 he was among the founders of the *English Historical Review*, and by the end of the decade was an honorary graduand of Oxford and Cambridge. In 1895 he settled at the latter university, where religious intolerance had denied him any student place forty-five years before, as Rosebery's nominee to the Regius Chair of Modern History. The next six years were perhaps his happiest and most influential.

Wide acclaim greeted the famous inaugural lecture on *The Study of History*. Its peroration, proclaiming Acton's belief in the discipline as an instrument of moral arbitration, was to encourage more silliness in others than in himself. Appreciative audiences attended his subsequent courses which provided much material for the collections of his work published posthumously: *Lectures on Modern History* (1906), *The History of Freedom and Other Essays* (1907), *Historical Essays and Studies* (1907), and *Lectures on the French Revolution* (1910). His last scholarly energies were devoted to completing plans for that great collaborative undertaking *The Cambridge Modern History*, an enormous monument to one kind of positivistic learning. In 1901, exhausted and ill, he again went abroad and died in Bavaria the following year. Thus ended what Acton himself called 'the story of a man who started in life believing himself a sincere Catholic and a sincere Liberal; who therefore renounced everything in Catholicism which was not compatible with Liberty and everything in Politics not compatible with Catholicism'.

Michael Biddiss

See: Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Lord Acton: A Study in Conscience and Politics* (1952); David Matthew, *Lord Acton and His Times* (1968); and Hugh MacDougall, *The Acton-Newman Relations* (1962).

2
ADAMS, Henry Brooks 1838–1918

US historian, novelist

'Probably no child, born in the year, held better cards than he,' Adams wrote in his autobiography *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907), meaning that his great-grandfather was second President of the United States and his grandfather the sixth. The pressure of this ancestry was augmented by his father's distinction as a diplomat, one statesman brother and two others who were writers. But Adams rebelled against such family responsibility to succeed as a deadening limitation, preferring what he termed failure, on his own terms. Harvard, as he later records, taught him 'little, and that little ill', and he graduated in 1858 without honours. Studying law in Germany, he discovered that the value of Berlin's serious reception of the arts was to counter Boston, where 'every one thought Beethoven* a bore.' Hearing his music proved to be 'among the marvels of education.' And he interviewed Garibaldi* in Italy. His real education had begun. When his father became Minister to England in 1861, Adams worked as his secretary for seven years – which included the Civil War – and experienced upper-class British culture. His letters to the American press included highly provoking remarks on the probability of war with Britain. Articles in the *North American Review* suggested a career in history, and after a spell freelancing on finance for newspapers he became, under family pressure, Assistant Professor of History at Harvard (1870–7) – hence the well-known passage in Pound's *Cantos*: 'Said Mr Adams, of the education,/Teach? at Harvard?/Teach? It cannot be done./And this from the monument' – i.e. from Henry James*.

For Adams history could be neither the conventional bore of successive royals and politicians, nor the deceptions of academic economics and war studies. *The Education*, 'The Tendency of History' (1894) and 'The Rule of Phase Applied to History' (1908), which drew on the physicist Willard Gibb's theory of change in phase and of change in equilibrium, demonstrate the operation of energies and forces: 'The historian's business is to follow the tracks of energy; to find where it comes from and where it went to; its complex course and shifting channels; its values, equivalents, conversions.' Nevertheless, he edited the *North American Review*, took a PhD at Harvard, and built a sound reputation as a historian on lives of Albert Gallatin (1879) and John Randolph (1882) and a comprehensive *History of the United States of America During the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison* (1885–91). Of his two novels, both of which appeared pseudonymously, *Democracy* (1880) tells an inside story exposing the mechanisms of Washington politics, and *Esther* (1884) concerns a woman painter's realization that freethinking, religion, art and marriage are incompatible in American society.

Adam's sense of the discontinuous and chance actions in history received a severe reinforcement with his sister's death by tetanus contracted from a carriage accident. Then the wife he had married in 1872 committed suicide in 1885 (her father's death and her own melancholy temperament were unavoidably catastrophic), an event unmentioned in the autobiography – the gap exemplifies the gaps in true history. Adams began to travel in the hope of release from anguished memory – to Japan, into continental Asia and to Europe, to Tahiti. The most celebrated work of the President of the American Historical Association had yet to come: *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (1904), *The Education* and *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma* (posthumously published in 1919), works as coolly analytical of human social energies as his novels. His two representative unities of radiating and controlling energy were the thirteenth-century Virgin of Catho-

licism and the great cathedral communities, and the dynamo in the Hall of Dynamos at the Chicago Great Exposition of 1893. In order to free himself from American provinciality and an education that befitted him for the eighteenth century, he had to consider the processes of cultural synthesis rather than singularity, multiplicity and a multiverse rather than separations and a universe, to include – as historians customarily did not – science, technology and the particular force of women, in the configurations of power. Chapter six of the first volume of his *History of the United States* concludes with the peculiar problem of American potentiality:

> Could it transmute its social power into the higher forms of thought? Could it provide for the moral and intellectual needs of mankind? . . . Could it produce, or was it compatible with, the differentiation of a higher variety of the human race? Nothing less than this was necessary for its complete success.

He came to believe, as he wrote to his brother, the historian Brooks Adams, that 'science is to wreck us . . . we are like monkeys monkeying with a loaded shell.' He yearned for a cultural unity which would combine science and metaphysics – 'I am a dilution of Lord Kelvin* and St Thomas Aquinas' – and found himself a 'conservative Christian anarchist'. So he became typical of the majority of American liberal intellectuals of the twentieth century. While he remained sceptical of his own achievement, scorned American political behaviour, and rejected the inevitable destructive purposes of scientists, he retained an optimistic view of the human mind, 'itself the subtlest of all known forces', manifested in history and science.

The Pacific and Asia hardly changed him: 'I was a little bored by the calm of the tropical sea, or perhaps it was the greater calm of Buddha that bored me.' The double image of energy which appealed to his active mind was a woman, in *Esther*, gazing at Niagara. In the *History* he protested against the incompetence of 'five million Americans struggling with the untamed continent', an image of betrayal, relying on fraudulent nationalism as unified energy. His vision was more that of the twentieth century: 'Except as reflected in himself, man has no reason for assuming unity in the universe, or an ultimate substance, or a prime-motor.' Between the order of Chartres and the chaos of Washington he chooses neither, and proceeds to diagnose the major modern issues. For example, in 'Prayer to the Virgin of Chartres', found in a wallet of special papers after his death, he wrote: 'Yet we have Gods, for even our strong nerve/Falters before the Energy we own./Which shall be master? Which of us shall serve?' The poem then moves from the electricity generated by the dynamo to energy radiant from the atom – and still the problem remains: how to control power. In *The Education* Adams writes:

> From cradle to grave this problem of running order through chaos, direction through space, discipline through freedom, unity through multiplicity, has always been, and must always be, the task of education, as it is the moral of religion, philosophy, science, art, politics, and economy.

In his youth American political economy was already backward – 'No one, except Karl Marx* foresaw radical change', and 'the blackmailer alone was the normal product of politics as of business.' The future for young Americans could only be positive in accurate knowledge of the processes of change, which neither Aquinas nor Adam Smith nor Marx explained satisfactorily. There was no coherent curve of meaning encompassing everything and controlling direction, much as he would like to demonstrate: 'If a Unity exists, in which and toward which all energies centre, it must explain and include Duality, Diversity, Infinity and Sex!' But only Whitman* used sex as a force rather than a sentiment: 'American art, like the American language and American education, was as far as possible sexless. Society regarded this victory over sex as its greatest triumph.' Psychology is merely a narcissistic trap, 'the mirror of the mind', and the self itself 'a centre of supersensual chaos'. Adams concludes: 'If science were to go on doubling or quadrupling its complexities every ten years, even mathematicians would soon succumb. An average mind had succumbed in 1850; it could no longer understand the problem in 1900.' The historian therefore has no authority; he cannot teach, only learn. But Adams is certain of the utter necessity of an education to understand energy and power: 'The new American child . . . must be a sort of God compared with any former creation of nature. At the rate of progress since 1800, every American who lived into the 2000s would know how to control unlimited power.' But 'a new social mind would be needed to comprehend it.'

Eric Mottram

Other works include *Historical Essays* (1981). See also Worthington Chauncey Ford (ed.), *Letters of Henry Adams 1858–1891* (1930) and *1892–1918* (1938). See: Ernest Samuels, *The Young Henry Adams* (1948), *Henry Adams: The Middle Years* (1958) and *Henry Adams: The Major Phase* (1964); J. C. Levenson, *The Mind and Art of Henry Adams* (1957).

3
AFGHANI, Jamal Uddeen Al 1838–94

Islamic teacher and writer

An Islamic scholar, philosopher, teacher, orator, linguist, journalist and politician, Jamal Uddeen Al Afghani played a leading role in arousing anti-imperialist consciousness in the Muslim world, then dominated by European powers, and encouraging reformist and constitutional movements within Muslim countries. This brought him into conflict with not only Britain, the foremost imperialist nation of the time, but also the rulers of Egypt, Iran and Turkey.

He was a controversial figure, spartan in habits, and a life-long bachelor. His death was kept a secret for many years; and his national origin and birth-place are still a subject of debate. He claimed to have been born of Sunni parents at Asadabad near Konar, in the district of Kabul, Afghanistan, in 1838. But his critics insisted that his birth-place was Asadabad near Hamadan in western Iran, and that his parents were Shia, a minority sect, and that he lied about his Shia origin so as not to alienate the Sunni majority.

There is however no doubt that he spent his childhood and adolescence in Kabul where he studied Islam as well as philosophy and exact sciences. He left Afghanistan when he was eighteen, and was abroad for five years. He stayed in India for over a year; and after his pilgrimage to Mecca went to Karbala and Najaf in Iraq. On his return to Afghanistan, he helped the ruler, Dost Mohammed Khan, to mount a successful attack on Herat. After Khan's death in 1863, he became involved in the civil war which broke out. His patron lost; and he was expelled from Afghanistan in September 1868. He went to India and Egypt and then Istanbul, where he was well received.

Afghani lectured at such prestigious places in Istanbul as Sultan Ahmed's mosque and Aya Sofia. In one of his lectures he described imparting prophetic teachings as a human craft or skill. This offended the religious establishment, headed by the Shaikh al Islam (Wise Man of Islam), Hasan Fahmi, who was jealous of his scholarship and popularity. Under the circumstances Afghani considered it prudent to leave Istanbul.

He arrived in Cairo in March 1871, and was given an annual allowance of 12,000 Egyptian piastres by the ruler, Khedive Ismail. Besides teaching his disciples theology and philosophy, he urged them to take up journalism, since he regarded the written word as the most effective method of influencing the minds of contemporaries. Among his students were Mohammed Abdu and Said Zaghlul Pasha: the former was to become the grand mufti of Egypt, and the latter a founder of the nationalist Wafd Party. He helped establish a daily newspaper and a monthly journal. He encouraged patriotic resistance to growing British and French interference into Egypt's affairs, attacked Khedive Ismail for his spendthriftness, and proposed a parliamentary system of government.

When, in early 1879, Tawfiq succeeded his father, Khedive Ismail, the British advised him to expel Afghani. He did so. In September, Afghani was deported to Hyderabad, India, and then to Calcutta, and kept under British surveillance. This continued until the simmering nationalist movement in Egypt had burst out as an armed uprising in 1881–2, and had then been crushed by British troops.

In January 1883, Afghani turned up in Paris. Four months later he published an article in the *Journal des Débats* in which he refuted Joseph-Ernest Renan's* arguments, delivered in an earlier lecture, that Islam and science were incompatible. With the help of Indian Muslims living in Paris, he and Mohammed Abdu started a journal, *Al Urwat al Wuthqa* ('The Indissoluble Link'), in March 1884. Because of its opposition to the British policies in such countries as Egypt and India, the journal was banned by the British in their colonies. It ceased publication seven months later.

Following an invitation in 1886 by Nasir Uddeen Shah, the ruler of Iran, Afghani went to live in Tehran. But his popularity there soon disconcerted the shah. The next year he left for Uzbekistan province of tsarist Russia. There he engaged in propaganda against the British in India; and this pleased the tsar. At his urging, the tsar allowed the publication of the *Koran* and other Islamic literature in Russia for the first time.

In 1889, on the way to the Paris World Exhibition, he met the Shah of Iran in Munich. Accepting the shah's invitation, he returned to Tehran. But his stay there was short and unhappy. His plan for reforming the judiciary aroused the shah's suspicion; and he retired to a religious sanctuary near the capital. In early 1891, the shah sent a large force of cavalry to arrest him, and banish him to Khaniqin at the Iranian-Turkish border.

After Afghani had reached Basra, and recovered his health, he attacked the shah for giving tobacco concessions to a British company. His disciple, Mirza Hassan Shirazi, the first clergy of Samarra, decreed that the faithful should stop smoking until the shah had withdrawn his tobacco concession. The shah yielded.

Afghani then travelled to London, and carried out a sustained campaign against the dictatorial rule of the shah, chiefly through *Diyal al Khafikayn* ('Radiance of the Two Hemispheres'), a monthly journal published in Farsi and English. He thus helped to build a reformist movement in Iran under the leadership of the clergy, which was dedicated to the shah's overthrow.

When the Sultan of Turkey invited Afghani to Istanbul, he went. There the sultan gave him a generous monthly allowance and tried to persuade him to cease his propaganda against the shah. He refused and

sought, in vain, to leave. On 11 March 1896 the Shah of Iran was murdered by Mirza Mohammed Reza, a disciple of Afghani. This led to the accusation that Afghani had guided the assassin's hand: a charge he denied in an interview with the Paris-based *Le Temps*. About a year later he died of cancer of the chin, and was buried in Nishantash. In December 1944 his body was removed from there and sent to Ali Abad, a suburb of Kabul, where it has rested since then.

Afghani made four major contributions to Islamic and secular thought and action. He argued that each believer had the right and responsibility to interpret the *Koran* and the *Sunna* ('custom') for himself. He wanted the people to help themselves, and often quoted the Koranic verse which states: 'Verily, Allah does not change the state of a people until they change themselves inwardly.' He urged Muslims to master science as a means of liberating themselves from the domination of Western nations. While he stressed the pan-Islamic concept throughout his life, in his writings and lectures on India he underlined the need for unity between Muslims and Hindus in their struggle against British rule.

As the anti-imperialist movement sharpened in Islamic and non-Islamic colonies, in the wake of the Second World War, interest in Afghani's teachings rose dramatically. The success of the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 reiterated the significance of Afghani and his views.

Dilip Hiro

See: E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905–1909* (1910); Elie Kedourie, *Afghani and Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Action in Modern Islam* (1966); Nikki R. Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din 'al-Afghani'* (1968) and *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din 'al-Afghani': A Political Biography* (1972); A. Albert Kudsi-Zadea, *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din Al Afghani: An Annotated Bibliography* (1970).

4

AGASSIZ, Jean Louis Rodolphe 1807–73

Swiss naturalist

Agassiz was born in Switzerland and had a varied European education, attending universities in Zurich, Heidelberg and Munich, and studying under the foremost European comparative anatomist, Georges Cuvier*, in Paris. He returned to Switzerland as a professor at the College of Neuchâtel in 1832, but continued to travel widely. In 1847 he moved to America to take up a professorship at Harvard University. He remained in this post until his death.

The formative influences on him were contradictory. From his German education he picked up the *Naturphilosophie* of Schelling* and Oken. This led him to see plants and animals as temporal realizations of eternal, divine ideas: in tracing the structure of, and relations between, living things, he wrote, 'the human mind is only translating into human language the Divine thoughts expressed in nature in living realities' (*Essay on Classification*, 1859). The other influence came from Cuvier, who taught him the sober, meticulous, empirical methods of fossil comparative anatomy. These two influences combined in Agassiz's work to produce a characteristic tone: brilliant empirical studies of fossils are set in a cloudy interpretative framework. Both influences, however, together with Agassiz's own firm beliefs, acted in one clear direction: they combined to insist that naturalistic evolution, as proposed by Charles Darwin* in 1859, has not occurred. According to Agassiz, the naturalist does not see material, genetic connections between living things. Rather, the relations between species show 'the omnipresence of the Creator' (*ibid.*). Agassiz became the chief scientific opponent of Darwin's theory in America, attacking it both at the empirical level and at the level of its philosophical and religious implications. Thus, his life ended on a sour note. He had become one of the leading figures on what was, by 1873, the losing side.

But this defeat should not obscure his earlier achievements. His *Recherches sur les poissons fossiles* ('Researches into Fossil Fish', 5 vols, Neuchâtel, 1833–44) followed the methods of his master, Cuvier, and established him as a leading icthyologist (student of fish structure). His descriptive palaeontological work could be detached from its location within his metaphysics and be used independently by naturalists working in other traditions.

Agassiz also contributed to the debate about the possibility of former Ice Ages. The earth was widely believed by geologists to be slowly cooling down. The prospect, therefore, of a time in the recent geological past when conditions in Europe were spectacularly *colder* was difficult to envisage. Consequently, studies of glaciation tended to be rather idiosyncratic. Agassiz made a complex topic more complex by proposing, during the late 1830s, not just that existing glaciers had once been much more extensive, but that perhaps the whole of the northern hemisphere had, fairly recently, been blanketed in ice. Agassiz was well disposed towards the idea of vast ice-sheets, for they gave him a mechanism for the utter extinction of complete floras and faunas, leaving the hemisphere vacant for a complete new range of plants and animals to be created by God. Ice Ages were a guarantee against evolutionary continuity. Agassiz's work on glaciation was brought together in his *Études sur les glaciers* ('Studies on Glaciers', 2 vols, Neuchâtel, 1840).

When he went to America, in 1847, Agassiz's interests shifted somewhat from research towards the po-

pularization of natural history and towards the establishment of a well-endowed university research institute. Under his guidance, and as a consequence of his fund-raising, the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology was founded in 1859. He also entered the debate about human origins, proposing that there were a number of distinct human varieties – or perhaps even species – and that all humans are not descended from common ancestors. The notion that blacks and whites are not genetically related was eagerly taken up by defenders of slavery. Agassiz's research on this topic reflects his own prior commitments as much as his rather scanty anthropological studies.

Overall, Agassiz's influence was mixed. His palaeontological work endured. His implacable opposition to Darwin lent scientific prestige to the case of the opponents of evolution. His campaign for the institutionalization of science in America was probably his most enduring activity. His Romantic metaphysics have not been fully explored, but they serve to show that there were competing modes of biological study during the nineteenth century: the triumph of the Darwinian mode should not obliterate the significance of *Naturphilosophie*.

Michael Bartholomew

The standard biography is E. Lurie, *Louis Agassiz: A Life in Science* (1960). A good representative work by Agassiz is L. Agassiz, *Essay on Classification* (1859, repr. edn, E. Lurie, 1962).

ALBERT, Prince Consort: see under VICTORIA and ALBERT

5
ALCOTT, Louisa May 1832–88

US novelist

Louisa May Alcott is remembered for that most seductive of all American girls' classics, *Little Women: Or Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy* (1868–9), the fictional version of her family in New England during the Civil War. But it presents a bowdlerized view of the Alcotts of Concord, Massachusetts, for her transcendentalist father, Bronson Alcott, is almost wholly eliminated though he overshadowed her life. It is impossible to understand the daughter without first confronting that unscrupulous sage and high-minded parasite.

Bronson Alcott was an educational theorist, intent on transmitting the ideas of Pestalozzi and Froebel* to America. Louisa May (the second of his four daughters) was born in Germanstown, Pennsylvania, where he had founded a progressive school. On the school's collapse the family moved to Boston, where further educational failures – and the dissolution of the experimental commune at Fruitlands near Harvard – eventually drove the Alcotts to Concord. The girls, who were educated entirely at home, received extra tuition from their new neighbours, especially from Emerson*, Sophia Hawthorne and Thoreau*.

But the family was now in dire need of finance. Louisa wrote fables and melodramas and poems. She served as a volunteer nurse in Georgetown for three months before contracting typhoid and being sent home. The resulting loss of hair and teeth made her feel old at thirty. She published her letters home from the Union Hotel Hospital as *Hospital Sketches* (1863), which won her an audience in the north. She wrote her first novel, *Moods* (1864), centred on Thoreau, on whom she had had something of a crush. All her fiction was to a large extent autobiographical. But it was with *Little Women* that she achieved runaway sales and immured herself for two more decades within the code of female subservience and self-sacrifice that her novel so successfully promoted.

That was the paradox. She was a headstrong, assertive woman, an abolitionist (like her father), fighting for temperance reform and women's suffrage, editing a children's magazine (*Merry's Museum*, 1867), yet her principal theme was that of feminine self-suppression: 'moral pap for the young', she called it. Her own self-portrait is drawn in 'Jo March', the impetuous boy-girl who deliberately tames herself into a 'little woman', just as she transformed her sisters Anna, Lizzie and May into the dull Meg, the saintly Beth and shallow, complacent Amy. Yet *Little Women* is corroded by guilt and sexual inhibition. Its bottled-up aggression finds outlet in violent self-sacrifice and a desperate desire not to grow up. In Jo's own comic idiom: 'I wish wearing flat-irons on our heads would keep us from growing up. But buds will be roses, and kittens, cats.'

For women must grow up: that is the moral. They must become the cooks and nurses of family life. Little women work; it is the Tom Sawyers who shirk. It is only boys – as *Good Wives* (1871), *Little Men* (1871), and *Jo's Boys* (1886) make abundantly clear – who are free to scribble, to explore, to expound and improvidently evade the responsibilities of daily life. Women are the practical angels who protect male innocents (like father) under their sheltering wings. As a juvenile author, Louisa May Alcott retreated from guilt into permanent adolescence. As 'Aunt Jo' she compiled a *Scrap-Bag* (6 vols, 1872–82) for children. She shared the same birthday with her father and died in Boston within forty-eight hours of his death on the very day he was buried.

Yet her bibliography runs to more than 250 items, including three novels for adults. *Hospital Sketches* remains one of the most vivid mementoes of the Civil War. 'Transcendental Wild Oats', publised in *Silver Pitchers* (1876), is a hilarious account of her father's

'Con-Sociate Family' experiment at Fruitlands. *Work: A Story of Experience* (1873) relates her own early life as housemaid and seamstress in Boston during the 1860s; while her anonymous gothic tales, with their scheming and sexually bewitching heroines (the very obverse of Jo March), have been collected by Madeleine B. Stern in *Behind a Mask: The Unknown Thrillers* (1976).

Harold Beaver

Ednah D. Cheney edited Louisa May Alcott's *Life, Letters and Journals* in 1889. Since then her biography has been written three times: Katherine Anthony, *Louisa May Alcott* (1938); Madeleine B. Stern, *Louisa May Alcott* (1950); and more recently, and most successfully, Martha Saxton, *Louisa May: A Modern Biography of Louisa May Alcott* (1978).

6
ALGER, Horatio, Jr 1832–99

US author

The Rev. Horatio Alger's pride in family was not fully transmitted to his son, Horatio Jr, despite the constant recountings of Algers on the *Mayflower*, marital connections with the Quincys, service in the Continental Army and the reverend's memories of days at Harvard. From his birth in Revere, Massachusetts, Alger was slated to follow in his father's footsteps. And indeed he did graduate from Harvard in 1852 while his proud father watched, having taken time off from his abolitionist activities with Theodore Parker. In August 1853, as planned, the young graduate enrolled in Harvard Divinity School despite an inclination to continue his tentative start as a writer of moral tales and poetry. He soon dropped out to pursue this writing career, returning reluctantly to the divinity school to take his degree in 1860.

In 1863 after a trip to Europe Alger made his first visit to New York City, exploring the streets and taking notes as he had done in London and Paris. All of Alger's biographers agree that he was deadly serious in his ambition to become a chronicler of the new urban life even more realistic than Dickens*; but once he forsook his potential career as a minister and settled in New York to become a writer and chaplain of a Newsboys' Lodging House, these biographers of the creator of the 'American Dream' differ widely: some insisting that he was an industrious, influential, respected humanitarian and novelist, others emphasizing his insecurity caused by a domineering father and hinting at an unusual interest in young boys, while still others talk of love affairs with various women including a married woman who eventually rejected him. It seems that when someone decides to write about Alger they do so to uphold or mock the virtues and ideals which his tales preached. Industry, frugality, and prudence (Franklin's 'way to wealth') are the ideals offered to the poor by Alger and those that admire such preaching find much to admire in Alger's life; those who find such preachings hypocritically pious find much to criticize and speculate about.

Certain facts are clear. He accepted a pastorate at Brewster, Massachusetts, preaching, teaching and writing until 1866, when he left Brewster and the ministry to pursue his literary career. In 1868 the publication of his eighth book, *Ragged Dick: or, Street Life in New York*, established him as a best-selling author of boys' books in the rags to riches format. He became close friends with Charles O'Connor, superintendent of the Newsboys' Lodging House, which led to the close connections with those boys over the years. In 1872 his book, *Phil, the Fiddler*, courageously exposed the Italian padrones who bought boys in Italy, brought them to New York, and sent them out on the streets as musician-beggars. He also spoke publicly on that abuse and suffered threats and retaliation as a result. He won many honours and made millions for his publisher. He died a bachelor in his sister's home on 18 July 1899.

Whether he was a pederast, child molester, frustrated adulterer, lover of cabarets, or a model man of God hardly matters. What does matter is the kind of story Alger dreamed and how America responded to it. No source can agree on just how many books by Alger were sold during his life and after, but estimates range from seventeen million to three hundred million and given the wide circulation of his dime novels and magazine serials as they passed from hand to hand one can be sure that his readers did include a large number of the American population in the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth. And those readers told the Alger success story over and over again: anyone can become rich in the United States if they work hard enough, are moral enough and dream (want) it enough. The Alger myth stressed Individualism, Upward Mobility, and Hard Work, all taking place in the tumultuous world of the Big City. The Goal was Success: wealth, respectability, and virtue. The three were divinely interwoven and could not exist without each other. His publisher A. K. Loring wrote that Alger had portrayed 'the ambitious soul' of the country, 'the spirit of reborn America', 'the turmoil of the city streets . . . above all you can hear the cry of triumph of the oppressed over the oppressor'. While this self-serving, optimistic evaluation may be extravagant, it does strike the great chord of immigrant optimism that provided so much of the cheap labour, 'the turmoil of the city streets', and the rare genuine rags-to-riches story of that time. Alger saw his 'streets of New York' through innocent Harvard-coloured eyes and that was the preferred view. Although Alger's boys work hard and preserve their virtue, it is usually

chance, in the form of a rich benefactor, that brings them reward.

Yet Alger thought he was being realistic. He wanted to show, above all, what his beloved boys of the street must suffer. He knew not only about evil padrones and the day-to-day struggles of the street urchins, but also of the particular crimes that haunted this world as they did that of Dickens. Theft, murder, brutality, child-beating, conmanship, kidnapping and shoplifting are as common in his books as are the lurid characters that make such practices their way of life, and they seem more credible and pervasive than the virtuous rich or even the criticized ideal rich. Alger knew his urban streets; he just dreamed too easily that a child could escape them.

Alger is rarely read now and yet his myth is still invoked by politicians, educators, and many religious leaders. Youth can be 'Adrift in New York', with 'The Odds Against Him', 'Shifting for Himself'; but 'Struggling Upward' if he is 'Brave and Bold', he will 'Strive and Succeed'. The Horatio Alger hero pervaded the American mind for almost a century before it finally died, if it really has. Alger never wrote the big novel for adults that he talked of and his literary style has been chuckled over for decades but he plucked from the American culture around him one of the basic heroes of his time and that is no small accomplishment for any writer.

Charles Gregory

Alger's other books include: *Mark the Match Boy* (1869, Ragged Dick Series); *Rough and Ready; or Life among the New York Newsboys* (1869, Ragged Dick Series); *Paul the Peddlar, or, The Adventures of a Young Street Merchant* (1871, Tattered Tom Series); *Risen from the Ranks; or, Harry Walton's Success* (1874, Luck and Pluck Series); *From Canal Boy to President* (1881); *Helping Himself; or Grant Thornton's Ambition* (1886). See: Herbert R. Mayes, *A Biography Without a Hero* (1928); Frank Gruber, *Horatio Alger, Jr: A Biography and Bibliography* (1961); Ralph Gardner, *Horatio Alger, or The American Hero Era* (1964); John Tebbel, *From Rags to Riches: Horatio Alger, Jr., and The American Dream* (1963); Edwin P. Hoyt, *Horatio's Boys: The Life and Works of Horatio Alger, Jr.* (1974); Malcolm Cowley, 'The Alger Story', *New Republic* (1945).

7

ALKAN, Charles-Valentin 1813–88

French composer and pianist

Among the composers rescued from obscurity by the revival of interest in nineteenth-century Romanticism, Alkan is almost certainly the most valuable discovery. Long dismissed as a writer of mere technical exercises, his music – when performed by a few dedicated artists and circulated in new editions and recordings – has amply confirmed Busoni's judgment that he stands with Liszt*, Chopin*, Schumann* and Brahms* as one of the five greatest piano composers since Beethoven*.

Born into a large and prodigiously musical Parisian Jewish family of Alsatian extraction, Alkan (he took the forename of his father, the piano teacher Alkan Morhange) became a student at the Paris Conservatoire at the age of six, made his public debut at seven (as a violinist), gained the Paris Conservatoire's first prize for piano at the age of ten, and gave his first public piano recital when he was twelve. Until the mid-1840s he was one of the most celebrated piano virtuosi in Paris, and often shared the platform with Liszt, Thalberg, and especially Chopin who, with George Sand*, became a close friend and next-door neighbour. But around the time of Chopin's death Alkan withdrew from public life and devoted himself to composition. Apart from a brief return to the concert stage in the mid-1870s, when he gave several series of recitals remarkable for their technical difficulty and imaginative programming, he remained an apparently misanthropic recluse, a vague legend in his own lifetime. The traditional story of his death – crushed by a bookcase – has recently been impugned, but not disproved.

Alkan is said to have been the only pianist in whose presence even Liszt felt nervous; and Vincent d'Indy*, who heard him play near the end of his life, maintained that he surpassed Liszt in interpretative powers. He was admired for an absolute technical mastery, a striking range of colour, and most of all for a rhythmic discipline which scorned rubato and made him the supreme exponent of the French *style sévère*. All these qualities are demanded by his own music. He wrote a certain amount of orchestral music (mostly lost), some fine chamber works and a great deal for the now obsolete pedal-piano, but his reputation rests securely on his vast output for the piano. Hummel, Cherubini* and Chopin were early influences, and Beethoven and Bach an abiding inspiration, for music which makes most imaginative use of the full range of the keyboard and often poses the performer fearsome rhythmic challenges to be taken at headlong pace in absolutely unyielding tempo (a typical example is the Allegro Barbaro from the 12 Studies in the Major Keys op.35, which inspired Bartók's similarly titled piece).

Alkan also displays striking harmonic individuality (especially in the use of diatonic dissonance) and an occasionally awesome grasp of large-scale structure. It is these features, quite as much as his uncanny skill at suggesting orchestral timbres in purely pianistic terms, which earn him the epithet bestowed by one of his pupils: 'the Berlioz* of the piano'. His originality may easily be grasped by an examination of his *Grande Sonate* (op. 33, 1847), which *begins* with a scherzo, proceeds

to a vast Faustian allegro which includes, among other things, a fugue in nine real parts, and concludes with two completely contrasted slow movements. Meanwhile the key scheme takes the music further and further away from its original D major, and ends it in the remote regions of G sharp minor. Even more impressive are the Symphony for piano and, above all, the huge Concerto for solo piano (undoubtedly one of the greatest piano works of the nineteenth century) – both of which are merely part of the massive set of *12 Études dans les tons mineurs* (op. 39, 1857). Alkan also wrote many smaller pieces which show a surprisingly wide expressive and psychological range, with frequent leanings towards the bizarre, the grotesque and the sardonic. In the course of these he invented the 'cluster' chord seventy years before Henry Cowell, and anticipated some of the characteristic devices and atmospheres of both Mahler* and Sibelius.

Malcolm MacDonald

Other works include: 6 volumes of *Chants* for piano; *Sonatine* (op. 61, 1861); *Marche funèbre et marche triomphale* (op. 26, 1844); *Menuetto alla tedesca* (op. 46, 1857); *2 Capriccii* (op. 50, 1857); *Grande sonate de concert* for cello and piano (op. 47, 1857). See: Ronald Smith, *Alkan: Volume One, The Enigma* (1976); Raymond Lewenthal, editorial notes to *The Piano Music of Alkan* (1964).

8
ANDERSEN, Hans Christian 1805–75

Danish author

There are few nineteenth-century writers about whose character and development we know so much as Hans Christian Andersen's. Not only did he publish several autobiographies and accounts of his long, restless travels throughout Europe, but he also kept a number of diaries and was a prolific letter-writer. Between his private notes and the public presentation of his curriculum vitae as *The Fairy Tale of My Life* (*Mit Livs Eventyr*, 1855, trans. 1951) there exists a tension, a level of contradiction: behind the idealization we discover an earnest social climber sustained by an unshakeable faith in God's providence.

Andersen grew up in the slums of Odense, the only child of a journeyman shoemaker and a washerwoman. In such an environment (he later referred to himself as a 'swamp plant') he was fortunate to be noticed for his talents by several wealthy patrons. At the age of fourteen he moved to Copenhagen, determined to win recognition as a performing or creative artist. When he kept failing, his patrons, in particular Jonas Collins, a director of the Royal Theatre, sponsored his education at grammar school and, for a one-year introductory course, at the university. While still a student he published several collections of poetry, prose and drama. Financially he remained unsecured until 1838, when he was awarded an annual grant from the public purse. But even then he did not change his life-style. He continued a bachelor, staying mainly as a guest in different houses between his travels.

The culture to which Andersen the outsider and underdog strove to belong was the golden age of arts and scholarship in Denmark. This period, generally reckoned to be between the years 1800 and 1864, contained, besides Andersen himself, Søren Kierkegaard* and the sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen. The ideal of education was bourgeois classicist; German idealism supplied the criteria of ethics and aesthetics, and literary criticism derived its judgments from Schelling* and Hegel*. Danish literature itself moved gradually from Romanticism through a Biedermeier (or 'bourgeois Romantic') compromise towards realism. Andersen acknowledged Walter Scott*, E. T. A. Hoffmann* and Heinrich Heine* as his masters, although two Danish writers, Adam Oehlenschläger and Johan Ludvig Heiberg, were an equal influence on him in his formative years.

Andersen's route to the fairy tale, the form upon which his reputation so firmly rests, was indirect and multifarious. Before he chose to become a writer he tried his hand at acting, singing and dancing; and before he came to fairy tales he had already written plays, poetry, novels and travelogues. In the narrative genre he stands as a pioneer in Scandinavian literature, and it was as a novelist that he first became known, particularly after the publication of *The Improvisatore* (*Improvisatoren*, trans. 1845) in 1835. If success in the theatre was restricted to *Mulatten* ('The Mulatto', 1840), as a travel writer he was outstanding. *Skyggebilleder* ('Shadow Pictures', 1838 – cf. Heine's *Reisebilder*), about his first trip to Germany, *En Digters Bazar* ('A Poet's Bazaar', 1842), about a journey to the near orient, and *I Sverrig* ('In Sweden', 1851) are justly regarded by Scandinavians as classics.

A month after *The Improvisatore* Andersen published his first fairy tales in the form of *Eventyr, fortalte for Børn* ('Fairy Tales Told for Children', 1835), a slim volume containing four short texts: 'The Tinderbox', 'Little Claus and Big Claus', 'The Princess on the Pea' – which were reworked from folklore – and 'Little Ida's Flowers', his own creation, like nearly all his later tales. As their fame spread among the young and old, at home and abroad, he kept adding to their number, dropping in 1843 the reference 'for children' and calling them from the 1850s *Eventyr og Historier* ('Fairy Tales and Stories'). By 1872, almost forty years after the series commenced and three years before his death, and when his last collection was published (*Nye Eventyr og Historier* – 'New Fairy Tales and Stories'), their tally had swollen to 156.

It is as a writer, and not just a purveyor, of fairy tales that Andersen is revered. It was common practice in Romantic culture to set down folk tales that had survived orally (*Volksmärchen*) as well as to invent one's own (*Kunstmärchen*). The complex reasons that this was so are perhaps best summarized as a reaction to the Enlightenment, which had set greatest store on the attainment of reason. The Romantics, by contrast, tried to regain what had been lost: man's and mankind's childhood paradise. Andersen was no *poeta doctus*, living forever separated from folklore's naive and popular origins: both his background and his temperament help explain how his talent was so suited to the direction it eventually took. First, he had been born into the social class where folklore was most vigorously preserved, and many of the stories he later adapted he first heard as a child. Second, his inability to 'achieve the common' (Kierkegaard), to learn and follow a profession, to marry and settle down, meant that his childhood mind survived into adulthood to an unusual degree. Finally, his artistic strengths were for narrative, for the fantastic, and for the small-scale; epic discipline and realistic consistency were qualities he found difficult to sustain.

His aptitude for the fairy tale was first exercised in the houses he visited, where he entertained the children of his hosts with stories that were either memorized or improvised. His manner of delivery is described by a contemporary:

> He spoke continually with plenty of phrases that children used, and gestures to match. Even the driest of sentences was given life. He didn't say, 'The children got into the carriage and then drove away', but, 'So they got in the carriage, good-bye Daddy, good-bye Mummy, the whip cracked, snick, snack, and away they went, giddy up!'

In its written form Andersen's story-telling used the same grammar, spontaneity and vivacity. The mythical plots and the magical world of the fairy tale were renewed correspondingly: Andersen individualized and sentimentalized, rationalized and moralized, idyllized and humorized it. Being thus adapted to the Victorian ideology of both parents and children, it also lost its character of the original 'simple form' and gained its unique 'naivistic' sophistication.

'What author,' asked Georg Brandes in 1869, 'has a public like him?' And the same question might be asked today, over a hundred years after his death, when children throughout the world are still brought up reading 'The Little Mermaid', 'The Emperor's New Clothes', 'The Steadfast Tin Soldier', 'The Nightingale', 'The Ugly Duckling', 'The Snow Queen' and 'The Little Match Girl'. To account for his extraordinary popularity it is insufficient to point to his style alone, although in that respect the difference between Andersen and the folklorists proper (e.g. Charles Perrault and the Grimm* brothers) is as strongly marked as in the content of his tales. Indeed, the full force of his style can only be felt by the Danish reader. An immense influence on novelists and short-story writers in Denmark since the days of Naturalism and Impressionism, Andersen's prose is difficult to translate. It is rather the originality and semantic riches of his plots that guarantee his celebrity abroad.

Bernhard Glienke

Andersen's other novels include *O.T.* (1836, trans. 1845) and *Kun en spillemand* (1837, trans. *Only a Fiddler*, 1845). Among the hundreds of English translations of the *Tales*, the best are by Paul Leyssac (1937), Jean Hersholt (1947), R. P. Keigwin (1951–60), Reginald Spink (1960), L. W. Kingsland (1961) and Eric C. Haugaard (1974). See: Frederick J. Marcker, *Hans Christian Andersen and the Romantic Theatre* (1971); Reginald Spink, *Hans Christian Andersen and his World* (1972); Elias Bredsdorff, *Hans Christian Andersen: The Story of His Life and Work 1805–75* (1975); and Bø Gronbech, *Hans Christian Andersen* (1980).

9
ANTHONY, Susan Brownell 1820–1906

US feminist

It was a surprise to no one that the first face of a woman to appear on a coin of US currency was that of Susan B. Anthony (1979). In a republic where all the presidents whose faces have been the ones on the coins have been male, the best-known historical woman was the one who is justly credited more than any other with the gaining of the right to vote for women. The Nineteenth Amendment to the American Constitution giving women the elective franchise was known for years before its passage (1920) as the 'Susan B. Anthony Amendment'. Even when women's history was largely absent from education, every schoolchild was likely to know the name of Susan B. Anthony.

Introduced to the women's rights issue and the leader of its campaign, Elizabeth Cady Stanton*, two years after the historic Seneca Falls convention (1848), the first American women's rights gathering and the occasion when suffrage was first called for publicly by American women, Susan B. Anthony formed with Stanton an active partnership and a friendship that lasted more than fifty years. Stanton was the theorist, logician and stylist of the twosome; Anthony provided determination and single-mindedness. These qualities, together with deep affection for and loyalty to each other, made them ideally complementary collaborators in an important cause.

Anthony had a secure childhood in an upstate New

York family familiar with radical political action. Her mother, Lucy Read Anthony, was the daughter of a Massachusetts legislator. Daniel Anthony, her father, farmer, mill owner, insurance businessman in sequence, was an abolitionist and temperance movement activist whose friends included Frederick Douglass* and William Lloyd Garrison. She was educated in her family's Quaker faith, one of the tenets of which was that women and men are equal before God, and one of their practices was that women were allowed to speak in meetings as readily as men. Out of her years related to her father's cotton mill management, she developed an enduring interest in labour problems. Throughout her childhood, she was given emotional support and education by her parents and included in their abolitionist and temperance efforts.

When her father experienced economic setback in the late 1830s, she went out to teach. It was a matter of considerable import to her that women teachers earned much less money than men. She was involved in the state convention of schoolteachers in New York and caused a stir in 1853 when she asked to speak on the floor of its gathering, itself controversy enough, and then in that speech pointed out that the reason that teachers were paid low wages was that women were in the profession.

Susan B. Anthony tired of teaching and returned home in 1850 to be introduced by a Seneca Falls temperance editor, Amelia Bloomer, to Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Her parents and younger sister, Mary, had attended in 1848 the women's rights convention called by Stanton, Lucretia Mott and the others.

From this beginning the two women forged an alliance that saw them throughout the 1850s organizing women's rights and suffrage associations, giving Lyceum lectures and writing petitions and arguments for newspapers of the movement. They said of their rhetoric that Elizabeth 'forged the thunderbolts' and Susan 'hurled them'. For her tactical leadership Anthony was called by William Henry Channing 'the Napoleon* of the women's rights movement'. It was she who bore the brunt of greatest vilification of the women. Unmarried, plain-looking and intensely serious, she was singled out for ridicule in the press and on public platforms. The women's issues were several, including divorce, child custody and property rights for women, employment, education, household management, health and dress among them, as well as the vote. Their programme was more comprehensive in the early years than the movement's came to be between 1890 and 1920 when the vote became such a singular issue. One proposed solution to the dress question was the Bloomer costume, a tunic top with pantaloons, which Susan B. Anthony wore for a year in the face of horrendous opprobrium, finally being persuaded by Stanton that the ill-effect of the negative attention was worse for their cause than wearing long dresses.

Susan B. Anthony but dimly understood, if at all, female human reproductive questions. She jealously chided her married cohorts, Stanton, Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown, for their 'baby-making' when there was so much work to be done. Once she wrote to Elizabeth, 'Those of you who have the talent to do honor to poor womanhood, have all given yourself over to baby-making; and left poor brainless me to do battle alone.'

Still, her affinities were deep both in particular and in the abstract, and she was open in her receptivity to new people and ideas. Her friendship with Stanton was described as life-long by both of them in the metaphors of marriage. When the Civil War came in 1861, she was willing to subordinate the women's effort into the abolition effort for 'the Negroes' hour', but after the war she was distressed to see the word 'male' put into the American Constitution in the Fourteenth Amendment giving the Negro the vote. Even so, for a time in 1870 she was willing to follow the lead of Victoria Woodhull in taking before Congress the interpretation that the Fourteenth Amendment already granted women the right to vote. However, coming to see the self-aggrandizement at the heart of Woodhull's campaign, Anthony withdrew before the failure of that effort.

After the Civil War, Anthony was a part of the American Equal Rights Association, a group led by Theodore Tilton that increasingly came to sacrifice the women's effort. Following a campaign in Kansas in which the women worked but the Republican leaders did not include woman suffrage, Anthony and Stanton started a woman suffrage newspaper, the *Revolution* (1868). In 1869, they formed the National Woman Suffrage Association. A more conservative American Woman Suffrage Association was begun the same year. For the next twenty years, the organization was the focus for hard, relentless political activity for Anthony. She organized campaigns in states across the country, travelled and made speeches, wrote and circulated petitions. In 1872, she purposefully voted illegally in a presidential election, was found guilty by a United States District Court, refused to pay the fine, but was not even taken to higher court for the violation. Near the end of that decade, she, Stanton and Matilda Joslyn Gage began a *History of Woman Suffrage*, a monumental work chronicling their effort, the first volume of which appeared in 1881, the whole work spanning six volumes, Ida Husted Harper finishing the last two after Anthony's death (1881–1922).

In 1890 the National American Woman Suffrage Association was formed as a merger of the two former associations with Stanton and Anthony continuing in leadership. Their radical positions they held with more conviction than their younger associates. As president of the association in 1896, Anthony found herself defending Stanton's *The Woman's Bible*, a project in reli-

gious interpretation and liberal biblical commentary she had not cared about as passionately as Stanton had but she defended it in the name of religious liberty.

As an active aged woman, Anthony was revered in a way she had not been when young. She received many honours, among them a gift of financial support to write a large three-volume *Life of Susan B. Anthony* with the help of Ida Husted Harper (1898, 1898, 1908). Leader of the American delegation to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Berlin in 1904, she was proclaimed 'Susan B. Anthony of the World'. Protégées of hers, Carrie Chapman Catt and Anna Howard Shaw, became her successors as presidents of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Methodist minister and physician, 'Annie' Howard Shaw, was her personal favourite, and their friendship was the source for Gertrude Stein's opera tribute to Susan B., *The Mother of Us All* (1922).

Attending her last convention in 1906, she left her optimistic thematic message for women: 'Failure is impossible,' she said.

Gayle Graham Yates

See: *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*, ed. Mari Jo and Paul Buhle (1978); Katharine Susan Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era* (1954); Alma Lutz, *Susan B. Anthony: Rebel, Crusader, Humanitarian* (1959); Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (1959).

10
ANTOINE, André 1858–1943

French theatre director, actor and critic

By the second half of the nineteenth century the French theatre had reached its lowest ebb in modern times. As Dumas *fils** said, 'a man without any value as a thinker, moralist, philosopher or writer could be a dramatist of the first rank.' Theatre was a commercial affair, plagued by rapacious management, the star performer system and the most unambitious standards of formula playwriting. If a century later, by 1950, the French theatre had reached a peak which it had not scaled for three hundred years, credit for the first faltering steps out of the mire, and credit too for inspiring a revival of the German and English theatre at the end of the nineteenth century, must go to a young and theatrically inexperienced employee of the Paris Gas Company in the 1880s. André Antoine's career as a director and critic extends well into the present century, but his significance in theatre history, European as much as French, is attributable entirely to his success and notoriety in his earliest theatrical enterprise, the Théâtre Libre, 1887–94.

In a number of important respects Antoine sought to challenge and transform the theatre of his time. His company were essentially amateurs, highly trained and disciplined and in every way discouraged from aping the declamatory mannerisms of the flamboyant stars of the age. Just as he developed in his actors and his own personal performances a style of 'natural' speech delivery incorporating the hesitant rhythms and intonations of contemporary verbal discourse, so too movement and gesture were to be 'real', mimetic, naturalistic. Antoine was here defying the grand manner in which professionals stood up and advanced to the footlights in key speeches (to the extent that singed costumes could be a major expense, he claimed!). Antoine loathed both stagey movement and footlights. What Antoine was creating, on the contrary, was the transparent 'fourth wall' illusion of the Naturalist style, according to which the audience are simply secret observers of re-created scenes from 'real' life. Jibes about the sight of Antoine's back while he was delivering dialogue became a critical commonplace. Antoine's approach to scenic realism was consistent with his acting style. Where possible he tried to get away from painted flats and backdrops by using three-dimensional décors and props. The best example occurred in a double bill of 1888, Fernand Icres's *Les Bouchers* ('The Butchers') and a French version of Verga's* *Cavalleria Rusticana*. In the interests of Sicilian local colour a working fountain was laid on for the latter, but the French imagination retains only a notorious detail of the first play, real sides of meat.

In some seven years the Théâtre Libre performed one hundred or so plays, usually only for a few performances each on a subscription season basis. The vast majority of them were new works by little known French playwrights, often writing in the Naturalist vein associated with Zola* and his disciples in prose fiction. But although Antoine was accused by critics of presenting a drab, deterministic picture of society in the shape of a 'slice of life' (a phrase invented by one of his authors, Jean Jullien), he was not in fact doctrinaire in his aesthetics. His repertory included a fair sprinkling of poetic, religious or farcial works, and it so happens that almost the only one of his French unknowns to have survived is the eminently comic Georges Courteline. Much, perhaps too much, has been made of Antoine's failure to unearth major French talent. But his importance in bringing foreign work to Paris cannot be overstressed: Tolstoy's* *The Power of Darkness*, Ibsen's* *Ghosts* and *Wild Duck*, Strindberg's* *Miss Julie* and Hauptmann's* *The Weavers*; all these were considerably greater dramatic works than the standard fare to which French audiences had been accustomed for thirty years, Augier, Dumas and Sardou*. Cosmopolitanism, anti-commercialism, a spirit of *avant-garde* adventure, transformation of the conventions of acting and design were all developments for which French and European theatre were beginning to

be indebted to Antoine in the last decade of the century.

Ted Freeman

See: A. Antoine, *Mes Souvenirs sur le Théâtre Libre* (1921); S. M. Waxman, *Antoine and the Théâtre Libre* (1926); M. Roussou, *André Antoine* (1956); J. A. Henderson, *The First Avant-garde, 1887–1894* (1971).

11
ARNOLD, Matthew 1822–88

British poet and critic

Matthew Arnold, the eldest son of Thomas Arnold*, was born at Laleham in 1822. He was educated at Winchester and, from 1837, at Rugby. In 1841 he went to Balliol College, Oxford, on an open scholarship, but neglected his work and, like his close friend Clough*, failed to take a first class degree. However, in 1845 he joined Clough as a fellow at Oriel, though he had no intention of teaching. In 1847 he became private secretary to the Marquis of Lansdowne, who later appointed him an Inspector of Schools (1851). This post enabled Arnold to marry Frances Lucy Wightman. Before his marriage Arnold had frequently visited the continent, and in 1848 and 1849 had met at Thun the mysterious 'Marguerite' about whom he wrote the love poems collectively entitled 'Switzerland'. Arnold remained a school inspector for thirty-five years. As a break from his normal duties he was occasionally sent abroad to investigate continental education. These assignments resulted in such books as *The Popular Education of France* (1861), *A French Eton* (1864) and *Schools and Universities on the Continent* (1868). He also wrote a number of official reports, selections of which were published in 1889 and 1908. Although Arnold's work was with elementary schools for the working class, his personal preoccupation was with middle-class education, improvement of which he regarded as a most pressing national priority.

In 1849 Arnold published *The Strayed Reveller, and Other Poems*, which surprised those who knew him as something of a dandy by its vein of stoical melancholy. 'The something that infects the world' ('Resignation') is a theme present in most of the poems, despite their exotic settings in myth or the classical past. *Empedocles on Etna, and Other Poems* (1852) gives further expression to a personal and general malaise, the nineteenth century being characterized as 'this iron time/Of doubts, disputes, distractions, fears' in 'Memorial Verses' (1850) commemorating Wordsworth*. Arnold's feeling that the modern intellect was inimical to man's spiritual and creative needs is most powerfully embodied in 'Empedocles' which follows the Greek philosopher and poet through a crisis of world-weariness culminating in his suicide in the crater of Etna. The volume also includes the 'Marguerite' poems which extrapolate from the lovers' predicament a pessimistic view of the individual's isolation – 'We mortal millions live *alone*' ('To Marguerite – Continued'). In 1853 Arnold brought out *Poems: A New Edition*, notable for the Preface which justified the omission of 'Empedocles' on the grounds that it was morbid. Arnold quoted Schiller – 'All art is dedicated to Joy' – and insisted that poems should be based on 'great actions, calculated powerfully and delightfully to affect what is permanent in the human soul'. In a letter to Clough of 1853 he emphasized that poetry should '*animate* and *ennoble*'. The preface also inveighed against Romantic subjectivity and what Arnold saw as the contemporary fixation with details of imagery and sensuousness of expression at the expense of over-all structure or *Architectonicè*, arising, he thought, from the deleterious influence of the Elizabethans. He wanted poets to revert to classical models and he wrote to Clough 'modern poetry can only subsist by its *contents:* by becoming a complete magister vitae as the poetry of the ancients did'. Arnold tried to live up to his own standards, producing the long poems 'Sohrab and Rustum' (1853) and 'Balder Dead' (1855) in 'the grand style' of the classical epic, and a Greek tragedy, *Merope* (1858), but the strength of his poetry remained in the personal and elegiacal mode of 'The Scholar-Gipsy' (1853), 'Thyrsis' (1866) and 'Dover Beach' (1867). Although Arnold published further collections of poetry in 1855 and 1867, his inspiration was waning and these contained little new apart from occasional poems and memorial verse such as 'Rugby Chapel' (1867) on his father, 'Heine's Grave' (1867) and 'Haworth Churchyard' (1867) on Charlotte Brontë*. 'Obermann Once More' (1867), Arnold's last major poem, shows the earlier melancholy giving way to the more hopeful meliorism of his prose.

In 1857 Arnold was elected Professor of Poetry at Oxford and he held the chair for ten years. His first published lectures were *On Translating Homer* (1861) in which he characterized Homer's distinctive qualities and laid down guidelines for translators, taking exception to Francis Newman's recent version of the *Iliad* because it failed to render Homer's 'nobility'. Another series of lectures resulted in *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1867). In 1865 *Essays in Criticism* (First Series) appeared. In 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time' Arnold says that the task of criticism is to 'make the best ideas prevail' in order to create a proper climate for a literature 'adequate' to the needs of a complex modern society, and to help the individual to an awareness of 'the best that is known and thought in the world'. In 'The Literary Influence of Academies' he castigates the English for their 'intellectual eccentricity' and lack of the critical spirit, while in 'Heinrich Heine' he hails 'a brilliant soldier in the Liberation War of humanity', and also acknowledges Goethe* as

the outstanding critical intelligence of Europe whose 'imperturbable naturalism' was responsible for eroding the last vestiges of medieval Europe. 'Dissolvents of the old European system . . . we must all be,' Arnold declared.

Although criticism was 'disinterested' and above party, class or sectarian interests, Arnold was drawn to comment on social and political affairs. His underlying conviction was that the 'ideas' of the French Revolution were bound to prevail, that the *Zeitgeist* or 'time-spirit' was on the side of democracy as against the old aristocratic order. There was, however, a conservative element in Arnold's politics, and in *Culture and Anarchy* (1867) he warned that personal liberty must be contained by 'a principal of Authority' if anarchy were to be avoided: 'Without order there can be no society, and without society there can be no human perfection.' The state was 'sacred'. The book is most celebrated for Arnold's conception of culture as 'a study of perfection', and for his attack on the Philistinism of the English middle class, which lacked 'sweetness and light'. In contrast to their 'Hebraism', dourly concerned with work and morality, 'money and salvation', Arnold proposed 'Hellenism', the spirit of the Greek Humanism with its ideal of the wholly developed man. His onslaught on Philistinism was also carried out in a series of satirical letters to the *Pall Mall Gazette* (1866–70) which he published as *Friendship's Garland* in 1871.

In the 1870s Arnold turned his attention to religion, producing *St. Paul and Protestantism* (1870), *Literature and Dogma* (1873) and *God and the Bible* (1875). Arnold wanted to preserve Christianity, but saw that its traditional defenders were in fact imperilling its chances of survival. 'Christianity is true; but in general the whole plan for grounding and buttressing it chosen by our theological instructors is false, and, since it is false, it must fail us sooner or later.' Arnold wished to dispense with the miraculous and supernatural elements of religion which science was discrediting, clear away the accretions of dogma and *Aberglaube* ('extra-beliefs'), and return to the essentials of Christianity, the person and example of Jesus. The anthropomorphic deity of popular theology, characterized by Arnold as a 'magnified non-natural man', was to be replaced by 'the eternal not ourselves which makes for righteousness'. Religion for Arnold was *'morality touched by emotion'*, and he was writing in the tradition of Coleridge* and his father by placing the emphasis on the moral validity and 'natural truth' of Christianity. Like his father, he believed in a national church which would embrace Christians of all doctrinal persuasions.

After *Last Essays on Church and Religion* (1877) Arnold returned to social and political commentary and literary criticism in *Mixed Essays* (1879), *Irish Essays* (1882) and *Discourses in America* (1885). His concern in these last years was with 'the humanisation of man in society', and while he saw dangers in American democracy (he visited America to lecture in 1883 and 1886), he remained convinced of the need for greater equality in England. Arnold's later literary criticism, contained in *Essays in Criticism* (Second Series, 1888), attaches great importance to poetry in a scientific world. In 'The study of Poetry' Arnold wrote, 'More and more mankind will discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us.' In the same essay he promulgated his system of judging poetry by 'touchstones' from the classics. Other essays give final assessments of the Romantic poets, of whom Wordsworth and Byron* were 'first and pre-eminent, a glorious pair'.

In 1883 Arnold accepted a Civil List pension of £250 and in 1886 he retired from the inspectorate. He died suddenly of heart failure at Liverpool in 1888.

Throughout his adult life Arnold read widely and his *Note-books* (ed. H. F. Lowry, K. Young and W. H. Dunn, 1952) are filled with quotations from classical, European and English writers. As a young man Arnold had delighted in the novels of George Sand*, and while at Oxford read Carlyle* and Emerson*. Goethe and Sainte-Beuve* helped form his regard for criticism while his political thought was influenced by Burke. Spinoza was an important influence on his religious writing, and he was well read in such contemporary European theologians as Renan* and Strauss*. Writing in 1872 he acknowledged Wordsworth and Cardinal Newman* as formative influences, and another was undoubtedly his father from whom he took both a strong sense of personal morality and his interests in education, religion and society. The contemporary who affected him most was Clough, to whom he wrote in 1853, 'I am for ever linked with you by intellectual bonds – the strongest of all.'

As a critic, Arnold's importance lies in his championing of the critical spirit and his insistence, against English insularity, on the concept of a European culture. Though his critical methods have not survived the various revolutions in literary criticism of this century, his essays express that critical tact and sensitivity towards literature that he sought to inculcate, and even if his evaluations have not necessarily stood the test of time, his criticism will always remain worth reading. His other prose writings shed light on major issues of the nineteenth century and are saved from the polemical excesses of some Victorian 'sages' by Arnold's urbanity and wit. Several of his phrases have passed into the language, and *Culture and Anarchy* is indisputably a prose classic.

As a poet, Arnold ranks below Tennyson* and Browning*. His output was uneven and he was handicapped by his own wilfully imposed poetic and the pressure of his work. He was right, however, when he wrote in 1869, 'my poems represent . . . the main movement of mind of the last quarter of a century', and as

well as this representative quality the canon includes a number of individual poems of the highest standard.

Simon Rae

Works: *The Poems of Matthew Arnold* (2nd edn), ed. Miriam Allott (1979); *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed, R. H. Super (1960–77); *Reports on Elementary Schools 1852–1882*, ed. F. S. Marvin (1908); *Letters of Matthew Arnold, 1848–1888*, ed. G. W. E. Russell (1895); *The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. H. F. Lowry (1932); *Unpublished Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Arnold Whitridge (1923). See: Lionel Trilling, *Matthew Arnold* (1939); Park Honan, *Matthew Arnold: A Life* (1981); on the poetry: C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry, *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold: A Commentary* (1940); A. D. Culler, *Imaginative Reason: The Poetry of Matthew Arnold* (1966); W. A. Madden, *Matthew Arnold: A Study of the Aesthetic Temperament in Victorian England* (1967); see also: E. D. H. Johnson, *The Alien Vision of Victorian Poetry* (1952); on the prose: S. Coulling, *Matthew Arnold and his Critics* (1974); D. J. DeLaura, *Hebrew and Hellene in Victorian England* (1969); John Holloway, *The Victorian Sage* (1953)

12
ARNOLD, Thomas 1795–1842

British educational reformer

Arnold was born at Cowes on the Isle of Wight where his father, who died when Thomas was six, was a collector of customs. In 1807 his mother sent him to school at Winchester, whence he proceeded to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, at the unusually early age of sixteen. The fellows of Corpus, a tiny but influential college, left their pupils much to themselves and to educate one another. In an exceptional generation, which included John Keble, Arnold soon distinguished himself, though somewhat shy and stiff in manner and dogmatic in style of argument. In 1815 he became a fellow of Oriel, in the heady atmosphere of whose common room the Oxford Movement was beginning to ferment. Keble, Renn Hampden and Edward Hawkins were already fellows; over the next ten years they were joined by Hurrell Froude, E. B. Pusey and John Henry Newman*. Arnold engrossed himself in the arcana of the Oxford libraries. He was ordained deacon in 1818. The following year he moved to Laleham, where he lived with his mother, took a few pupils preparing for entry to the universities and worked among the poor of his parish. He married in 1820; the eldest of his nine children, Matthew Arnold*, was born in 1822. After eight years at Laleham he applied, reluctantly, for the headmastership of Rugby. He took up the appointment in 1828.

Arnold had been reluctant to apply for the headmastership of Rugby partly because he feared he would not be empowered to make such changes in the school as he might find necessary. 'My love for any place, or person, or institution,' he wrote a little later, 'is exactly the measure of my desire to reform them.' In supporting Arnold's application Edward Hawkins had written that he would 'change the face of education through the public schools of England'. The Rugby which Arnold took over had grown beyond recognition from the modest grammar school of its sixteenth-century origins. It was still small beside schools such as Eton, Winchester and Westminister: like them it was, in Thomas Bowdler's words, a 'very seat and nursery of vice'. These were worlds of licensed barbarism in which dozens, if not hundreds, of boys lived in common, largely subject to the unpredictable discipline of individuals and factions amongst themselves. At Eton in 1825 one boy killed another in a fight over a seat in the schoolroom. Their education was mainly aimed at achieving a parrot-like familiarity with classical literature.

Arnold arrived at Rugby with a dim view of the young: 'My object will be, if possible, to form Christian men, for Christian boys I can scarcely hope to make.' His first action was to attempt to get to know and understand his pupils. Individuals whom he found to be persistent evil influences were expelled. Thereafter, having established a stern and apparently all-knowing presence in the community, he took the older boys into his confidence and used them as his agents, with a view to awakening some sense of the responsibilities of personal authority. As a teacher Arnold tried to present knowledge as a means of understanding. His curriculum included such novelties as mathematics, European languages and modern history; and while classical languages remained predominant he used the problems of construing them to encourage his charges to think, within limits, for themselves.

These limits were described by Arnold week by week from his pulpit in Rugby chapel. His sermons were usually prepared in a hurry, yet even on paper they are extraordinarily powerful. (Three collections were published, in 1829, 1834 and 1876.) His preaching was both magisterial and perfervid. He would break down and weep openly in front of the whole school at the story of the Passion. He was obsessed with sin, and came to regard his life as a constant battle against sinning boys. '. . . it has all the interest of a great game of chess,' he wrote of his job after two years, 'with living creatures for pawns and pieces, and your adversary, in plain English, the Devil . . . It is quite surprising to see the wickedness of young boys.' Every act in a Christian life, he warned them, was both secular in being done on this earth, and religious in being done in the presence of God. It was his mission to make religious principle the dominant feature of an education and thus of a life. 'What we must look for here,' he

preached, 'is, first, religious and moral principle; secondly, gentlemanly conduct; thirdly, intellectual ability.'

In other words Arnold's theory was that of 'muscular Christianity' (though the phrase was Disraeli's*). 'What is he sent to school for?' asks the hopeful parent, Squire Brown, in Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857), which describes Rugby under Arnold, 'If he'll only turn out a brave, helpful, truth-telling Englishman, and a Christian, that's all I want.' And it appears it was exactly what a great many parents wanted, especially those of the new middle classes. On the models of Arnold, his co-reformers and followers, the existing public schools grew in size throughout the nineteenth century and many new ones were established in imitation of them, including a complete network of Anglican schools on the foundation of Nathaniel Woodard. As training grounds for people, many of whom would spend most of their lives in the service of the British Empire, with Hindus at their feet and Boers across the battlefield, the public schools manifestly succeeded brilliantly. For better or worse the spirit of Dr Arnold ruled most public schools until the early 1960s.

As a religious thinker Arnold parted company with his Tractarian colleagues. Extreme ecclesiasticism did not consort at all with his own view of the essential unity of church and state. His ecclesiastical views were condensed in *Principles of Church Reform* (1833). A stream of controversial writing on church matters gave him a reputation for liberalism dangerous enough to cost him certainly a professorship of divinity and probably a bishopric.

Arnold became a national figure. Many people thought his talents were wasted on mere schoolmastering. He himself wished to be remembered mainly as a historian, especially for his *History of Rome* (1838–45). An opportunity to pursue his ambition came in 1841, when he was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford; but he lived to give only one set of lectures before dying of a heart attack in his forty-seventh year.

Timothy O'Sullivan

See: T. W. Bamford, *Thomas Arnold* (1960); A. P. Stanley, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold* (1844). See also: D. Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* (1961); D. L. Edwards, *Leaders of the Church of England, 1828–1978* (rev. edn 1978); J. Gathorne-Hardy, *The Public School Phenomenon* (1977); A. C. Percival, *Very Superior Men* (1977); Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (1918).

13
AUDUBON, John James 1785–1851

US natural historian and artist

Audubon was born in Santo Domingo, the present Haiti, the illegitimate son of a French sea captain and planter and his Creole mistress who died shortly after his birth. He was taken by his father when aged four to France where he remained until 1803 when, to escape conscription in Napoleon's* army, he was sent to look after his father's interests in Pennsylvania.

For the next twenty years Audubon engaged in a variety of unsuccessful businesses before finally, in 1819, finding himself bankrupt in jail. 'I cannot help thinking Mr Audubon a dishonest man,' wrote the poet John Keats* after his brother had lost all their money in one of Audubon's speculations.

Whether actually dishonest or too interested in the observation and printing of nature to be successful in any business venture is far from clear at this distance. That his untutored pleasures in the drawing of birds could be anything more than a pastime became clear to Audubon when A. Wilson passed through his Louisville store in 1810 seeking subscribers for his pioneer work, *American Ornithology* (1808–14). It was not however until 1820 that he decided to produce his own portfolio of American birds and consequently spent the period 1820–4 travelling through Mississippi and Louisiana seeking further specimens for his intended work.

Finding little encouragement in America he sailed to Britain in 1826 and almost immediately found the craftsmen and entrepreneurs of Edinburgh willing to help. He began at once to produce the enormous 'Double Elephant' size engravings, 39 by 29 ins, for the portfolio. The intention was to sell at regular intervals a set of five plates for 2 guineas to any willing subscribers. In this way, first with W. Lizers of Edinburgh and after 1827 with R. Havell in London, eighty-seven sets of 435 plates were issued between 1826 and 1838. About 200 full sets were published at a price of $1,000. *The Birds of America* was complemented by a companion text *Ornithological Biography* (1831–9). A highly successful compact edition of the two works in seven volumes was issued between 1840 and 1844 in New York.

In 1839 Audubon returned finally to America where he settled down on his 35-acre estate on the Hudson. His last years were spent, in collaboration with his sons, on the three volume *Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America* (1845–8).

The distinctive feature of Audubon's work lay in the dramatic way he posed his birds supposedly against 'their natural avocations'. The accuracy claimed by Audubon for his engravings has since been challenged with some modern ornithologists claiming that virtually all his paintings were inaccurate and that, un-

wittingly, he has endowed his birds with human expressions, attitudes and poses.

Derek Gjertsen

The standard biography remains F. Herrick, *Audubon, The Naturalist* (1938), although there is a more readily available but slighter work, J. Chancellor, *Audubon* (1978). As the *Birds of America* (1827–38) sold for $400,000 when last auctioned in 1977 it can only be examined in the largest of libraries. Selections from it are available in many works, however, such, as D. C. Peattle, *Audubon's America* (1940), while the original paintings have been published in *The Original Water Colour Paintings of J. J. Audubon* (1966). His work is put into perspective in C. Jackson, *The Bird Illustrators* (1975).

14
AUSTEN, Jane 1775–1817

British novelist

The years of Jane Austen's lifetime coincide with a period of sharp historical change – from the 'old' world of Georgian England to the 'new' England of the Regency and the birth of modern Britain. Change, as it was marked in the daily lives of the minor landed gentry of southern England, provided the setting and the material for Jane Austen's special mode of social comedy. The scene is domestic, highly localized and class-bound. The tone is modest, the guise is entertainment. The author described herself as a laborious miniaturist, her chosen subjects '3 or 4 Families in a Country Village'. But this modesty is belied by the intellectual scope of the novels, their engagement with ideas, their largeness of mind. They challenged the prevalent assumption about society as a civilizing force and man's secular fulfilment as an enlightened social being. They provide a searching critique of the fashionable modes of thinking and feeling. They undercut the Regency boast that this period, above all, was triumphantly the Age of Improvement. The social comedy, then, is sardonic and intellectual, enforcing the belief that life is a comedy to those who think. Cobbett* and Coleridge* would have found Jane Austen good company!

In her hands, the novel itself undergoes a transformation. The primitive forms of the eighteenth century are fashioned into a unified and disciplined work of art: the crock becomes a vase – to be admired for its shapeliness, balance and completeness of form. These qualities of style and technique are evident on the small scale – in the diction, the phrasing and the structure of sentences, paragraphs and chapters – and equally in the overall narrative, thematic, ironic and dramatic structures. In this, Jane Austen is acknowledged a supreme artist of the novel. For the ordinary reader, she is also the most accessible and constantly entertaining of great writers, to be enjoyed for the play of wit, the vitality of her characters and the easy entrance to her fictional world. The predicament of women is her overriding concern – their gifts and abilities constrained, their destinies unfree; and in this cause she stands in unpolemical proximity to the polemical Mary Wollstonecraft.

Between Jane Austen's life and art, there is a striking congruity: essentially a private person, she depicts the drama of private lives and never moves beyond the range of her own experience and observation. She came of a large and cultivated clerical family. Her father was rector of the small Hampshire village of Steventon. Amongst the eight children (of whom Jane was the second of two daughters), reading, writing and home-theatricals were household pursuits. Her earliest surviving pieces, composed when she was eleven or twelve, were written to entertain the family. They draw upon family jokes, family situations and the family reading – a tradition of family humour that runs throughout her writing.

Of Jane Austen's emotional life, we know virtually nothing. There survive a number of confused and contradictory stories of possible liaisons and engagements between 1796 and 1802. It seems possible that there was one serious relationship that ended with the man's sudden illness and death. Thus Jane Austen remained single, dedicated to the immediate family, to a growing body of young nephews and nieces and to her own writing. She travelled widely within the family, staying with the Austens and their various branches throughout southern England including London. To this limited extent, she moved in society. But she totally avoided literary circles and succeeded in preserving her anonymity as a writer and her privacy as a person. If the biography reveals a narrowness to her life, a narrowness faithfully reflected in the insularity of the novels, it is a limitation of scene which in no way detracts from the concentration and the critical detachment with which she observed society.

Jane Austen's development can be traced in her childhood works, the juvenilia contained in the notebooks *Volumes the First, Second* and *Third*, covering the period from about 1787 to 1793. In this collection come her minor masterpieces of burlesque satire, *Love and Friendship* and *The History of England*, revealing a precocious sophistication of literary judgment, a precocious maturity of style, a genius essentially critical, tempered by a childish sense of fun. The targets for her wit and literary virtuosity were the weaknesses and absurdities of contemporary writing, in particular the school of sentimental fiction and the Gothic romance. These childhood satires led on to essays in dialogue and little social sketches increasingly realistic; and, in turn, these led on to the three early novels: *Sense and*

Sensibility, begun as 'Elinor & Marianne' about 1795 and eventually published, much revised and rewritten, in 1811; *Pride and Prejudice*, begun as 'First Impressions' in 1796–7 and published, similarly reworked, in 1813; and *Northanger Abbey*, begun as 'Susan' in 1798–9, similarly reworked, in 1817.

The three major novels – *Mansfield Park* (1813), *Emma* (1815) and *Persuasion* (1817) – written between 1811 and 1816, are unmistakably works of Jane Austen's maturity. Her other minor works include verses, prayers, riddles and charades from various periods of her life: *Lady Susan*, a novel-in-letters, written about 1793; a dramatic skit on *Sir Charles Grandison*, from the 1790s; *The Watsons*, a novel abandoned about 1804–5; and a burlesque *Plan of a Novel* written in 1816. Finally, in January 1817, she began *Sanditon*, completing eleven chapters before ill-health forced its abandonment on 18 March. Five months later, to the day, she succumbed to Addison's disease. Something of her capacity for wry detachment – 'negative capability' in a minor key – is to be seen in this last creative effort. *Sanditon* is a fierce satire on health-resorts and invalidism, in a style entirely new. It continues the critique of 'improvement' that runs so strongly through *Northanger Abbey, Mansfield Park, Emma* and *Persuasion*.

Her authorship of the six novels was first made public in December 1817, in the 'Biographical Notice' contributed by her brother Henry Austen to the posthumous edition of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*. By that time, she had won a cultivated following; one admirer was the Prince Regent, who solicited the dedication of *Emma*. The reviewers had at once recognized a new writer of talent; three of the novels were reprinted in her lifetime; and in his review of *Emma* (*Quarterly Review* for March 1816), Sir Walter Scott* hailed this 'nameless author' as a master of 'the modern novel' in the new realist, anti-Romantic tradition. This line was elaborated in a review of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* (*Quarterly Review* for January 1821) by Richard Whately. Together, these two essays provided the foundations for the serious criticism of Jane Austen and they testify to the power of the novels to command serious analysis and discussion.

The six novels share a single narrative base in romantic comedy, tracing the experiences of young women on the path to marriage. But each of the novels is distinct in character and quite unromantic. The heroines encounter disillusionment and self-discovery. Their eyes are freshly opened to themselves, to the dreams they must surrender, to the truths and falsities of 'sense' and 'sensibility', of 'pride' and 'prejudice', to the betrayals of 'persuasion', to those 'duties' of family, of class and religion they must hold fast to and those which they must reject, to the compromises necessary to maintain self-respect within a harmonious existence amongst those with whom destiny has placed them. These reconciliations are not easily won. We can detect the author's anger and contempt for a society in which the pressures of social convention and expectation can threaten and destroy the integrity of the human spirit. Certainly, the muted triumphs of Jane Austen's heroines as they sail into marriage are accompanied by a tide of suffering unmitigated by the tones of comedy and by the light dismissive ironies with which, in her final chapters, Jane Austen so curtly ties up the loose ends of her characters' destinies.

One part of Jane Austen's achievement resides in the security of her authorial stance, an ironic poise, which gives the novels a special openness, a freedom and richness of meaning (particularly the three later works). Jane Austen provides space for the reader individually to experience the works, further, and anew, at each successive reading. Alongside this is Jane Austen's genius in the creation of character. Her heroines are credible. They come across as individuals in the possession of minds, with the capacity for thought, for the process of thinking, and a sharp consciousness of themselves and other people. To match them in English literature we have to go back to Shakespeare or forward to George Eliot*. A 'prose Shakespear' she has been called; and not for the heroines alone – Mrs Jennings, Mr Collins, Lady Catherine de Bourgh, Lady Bertram, Mrs Norris, Mr Woodhouse, Mrs Elton and Sir Walter Elliot. Instinct with life, it is indeed the supreme Shakespearian realm of the imagination from which these figures come. Shakespearian too is her supreme gift in mobilizing the play of ideas within the solid flesh of dramatic creation.

Brian Southam

All the works are mentioned above. The standard editions of the novels and all the juvenilia and minor works were edited by R. W. Chapman, Oxford. A later edition of the novels comes in the Oxford English Novels series. The Penguin set has some outstanding critical introductions by Tony Tanner and D. W. Harding. The new Everyman edition has equally valuable introductions by Peter Conrad. The standard biography is Elizabeth Jenkins, *Jane Austen* (1938, reprinted), while Mary Lascelles, *Jane Austen and Her Art* (1939, rev. 1954) provides *the* analytical account of the novelist's work. David Cecil, *A Portrait of Jane Austen* (1979) is *the* book, a perfectly judged life and letters. The *Letters* (1932, enlarged 1952) were edited by R. W. Chapman. The only recent discovery has been *Sir Charles Grandison*, ed. B. C. Southam (1981). See also: *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage*, ed. B. C. Southam (1968).

15
AUSTIN, John 1790–1859

British legal philosopher

Austin was born in London and called to the Bar in 1818. He was married in 1819, and he and his wife, Sarah Taylor, became neighbours of Bentham* and the Mill* family, and were for many years associated with the Benthamite circle. Austin gave up practising law in 1826, when he was appointed to the first Chair of Jurisprudence in the newly founded University of London. *The Province of Jurisprudence Determined* (1832) was an expanded version of Austin's first series of lectures, and was the only substantial work to be published in his lifetime. Austin gave up his chair in 1832, when student interest in his lectures declined, and the rest of his life was not especially distinguished. He served for a time on the Criminal Law Commission, and later became a royal commissioner for Malta. His *Lectures on Jurisprudence, or the Philosophy of Positive Law*, reconstructed from notes by his wife, was published posthumously in 1863.

Austin's work was largely concerned with the nature of law and legal systems, and he may be regarded as the chief spokesman of the school of jurisprudence known as legal positivism. Positivism is best seen as a reaction to the older tradition of natural law theory which maintains that there is an intimate and essential connection between law and morality. On the natural law view, the law derives its normative force from certain fundamental principles of natural justice: the content of the law does and must reflect these underlying moral principles, so that, in the words of Augustine, '*lex iniusta non est lex*' ('an unjust law is no law'). The positivists, by contrast, follow Bentham in maintaining that 'the existence of law is one thing, its merit or demerit is another'. Thus, according to Austin, the 'province of jurisprudence' has to do not with the content of law but with its pedigree: positive law consists merely in the set of rules actually in force in a society, and these rules are to be defined not in terms of what moral principles they may or may not reflect but simply by reference to the mechanism by which they are generated. In the words of Austin's famous definition, law is simply 'the command of the sovereign'. Much of *The Province of Jurisprudence Determined* consists of further analysis and clarification of this definition. A command is an order backed up by sanctions for non-compliance. The sovereign is that person or group of persons towards whom the majority in a society have the habit of obedience.

In recent times Austin's theory has been subject to the most close and searching criticism. If laws simply reflect the arbitrary will of the sovereign, backed by sanctions, then the law-maker becomes simply the 'gunman writ large'. Hence the Austinian model cannot, it seems, explain the universal obligatoriness of law: the fact that the law is binding on those who enact it just as much as on the population at large. Again, how can Austin's view explain the continuity and stability of law – the fact, for example, that the statutes of a given monarch remain in force under his successors? A further disturbing criticism is that Austin's picture seems far too simple to accommodate the diversity and complexity of modern legal systems. Laws do not simply enforce conduct; there are many laws which confer certain powers and responsibilities on people, or which (like the laws of contract or testamentary laws) enable people to do certain things (e.g. undertake obligations, or transfer their property).

Despite these criticisms, the positivist approach to law which Austin developed remains highly influential. For example, the most important modern work on jurisprudence, H. L. A. Hart's *Concept of Law*, although critical of the details of Austin's work, nevertheless takes the Austinian model as the starting point for constructing a more sophisticated and coherent positivist account of the nature of legal systems. Furthermore, Austin's insistence on separating questions of fact from questions of value has provided a powerful impetus for modern jurisprudence; whether it is possible to give a positivistic, value-free account of what law is remains a vexed and crucial issue in current legal theory.

John Cottingham

The best critical account of Austin's theory is to be found in H. L. A. Hart, *The Concept of Law* (1961), II–IV.

B

16
BABBAGE, Charles 1792–1871

British mathematician

It is possible that at some future date a film will be made of the life of Charles Babbage, polymath, tabulator and premature inventor of the computer. If such a film is made, it will dwell, no doubt, on Babbage's early, confident years – years in which our rich and handsome hero introduced continental methods of mathematics to Cambridge, helped to found the Astronomical Society, received its gold medal, became a fellow of the Royal Society (at twenty-three), was elected Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, was received by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was awarded an annual grant of £1,500 for work on his remarkable invention, the 'Difference Engine'. Babbage involved himself in a hundred and one practical and taxing problems, from pin manufacture to cryptanalysis, from lighthouses to statistical linguistics. He actually lived the kind of colourful, multi-sided life sometimes depicted for fictional academics on the silver screen.

The promise of Babbage's early years was not merely bright, it was astonishing. He set himself a series of large and ambitious tasks. He appeared, both to himself (no doubt) and to his contemporaries, to have the capacity to pull them off. Yet the early promise gradually turned to dust. The Difference Engine was never completed. Babbage shamelessly neglected his Lucasian chair. In his later years he became a crotchety, tiresome, disappointed and greatly impoverished man. During the 1860s Babbage must often have ruefully reflected that had he attempted less, he must have achieved more.

Babbage was born on 26 December 1792 in Teignmouth, Devon. His family was not poor, and he was educated at private schools in Alphington and Enfield. He taught himself algebra and calculus, with the aid of books, prior to entering Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1811. But after a personal mathematical preparation of this kind, Cambridge was rather a disappointment. The notation and methods of calculus used were those of Newton, and the superior flexibility and explicitness of the continental, Leibnitzian notation was totally ignored. Babbage, typically, wasted no time in trying to put this right. In 1812 he helped to form – with fellow undergraduates Herschel and Peacock – the Analytical Society, a body whose aim was to introduce Leibnitzian notation into the university. Whereas Newton represented the derivative of a function y, Leibnitz denoted it dy/dx, or sometimes Dy. Babbage described the object of the new society, facetiously, as that of promoting 'the principles of pure *D*-ism in opposition to the *Dot*-age of the university!' The incident shows many sides of Babbage's unique personality: his impatience, his underestimation of the inertia opposing change, his courage in going for a bold solution, his capacity to reduce an issue to a slogan with the object of marshalling support, his scorn for the established wisdom.

Babbage graduated from Peterhouse in 1814, wrote three articles on the calculus of functions, and was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1816. In 1820 he was one of the chief architects of the foundation of the Astronomical Society. And he began to turn his attention to the problem of producing accurate tables for astronomical, navigational and mathematical purposes. The tables in use at the time had been compiled laboriously item by item and contained innumerable errors. It is true that the computation had been done on simple calculating machines, but these machines had to be set up by hand, repetitively, and it was this intervention of the human operator which was responsible for the errors. Babbage realized that it would be possible to use the method of differences to devise a machine which, once set in motion, would compute item after item, basing each new result on the preceeding one. This would effectively eliminate human error and should result in tables of superb accuracy and consistency.

Babbage's case was very powerful: such tables were evidently needed; there seemed no impediment in principle to the construction of a machine of the kind envisaged. British power was at its zenith; this, it was felt, was the kind of lead Britain *should* set – a project which would benefit her people, and also anyone who needed tables of proven accuracy, proven authority.

Babbage's methodology is hard to fault. He had a model of his Difference Engine constructed in 1820–2 and it worked admirably. He issued a volume of logarithms of natural numbers from 1 to 108,000. He drew up impressive plans of the full-size Difference Engine, and even invented a notation for recording the mode of operation of the moving parts. He travelled abroad to learn something of the clockwork and gear-wheel

technology of the continent. He invented new tools for the manufacture of components. He was continually thinking of ways to streamline the design and improve its operation.

Not surprisingly, Babbage's ambitions imposed strain on those around him, and Clement, the engineer in charge of the work on the Difference Engine, rebelled openly in 1828: he even removed the special tools Babbage had designed, so that there was no way in which work could proceed. For fifteen months work on the Difference Engine was at a standstill.

It was during this period of hiatus that Babbage began to wonder whether there was not a still more dazzling goal to be achieved, only slightly beyond the Difference Engine. Instead of building a machine which would automate a *single* table-making task, why not make a machine which would work automatically on *any* arithmetic task? What was needed was a method to instruct the machine, and such a method already existed, in the cards used on the Jacquard loom. There would be two sets of cards: 'variable' cards, containing the numbers on which computation would proceed, and 'operation' cards embodying the sequence of operations required. The machine would print its own answers. Babbage called his new machine the 'Analytical Engine', and for eight years actively worked on it. Finally, in 1842, the government said no to the request for further funds.

Unfortunately the rising sun of the Analytical Engine had distracted Babbage's attention from the Difference Engine, still hopelessly incomplete. A portion of the Difference Engine was put together in 1833, was later shown at the International Exhibition of 1862, and finally moved to the Science Museum, South Kensington, where it may be seen today. The Swedish engineer, Georg Scheutz, after reading an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, built himself a less ambitious version of the Difference Engine, which worked well, and was in use in an observatory for many years.

But Babbage's heart was now in the Analytical Engine. His friend Lady Lovelace wrote programs for it. It was, in effect, a mechanical computer of ambitious power, though Babbage did not take the final step – that of arranging for the machine to modify its own program. Had Babbage done this, he would have realized that a more modest machine of this kind, being recursive, can do many things as effectively as a large machine, albeit more slowly. Altogether Babbage spent thirty-seven years on the Analytical Engine, and by his death it was still far from being a reality.

Babbage's life was a warning to any lesser mortal who might have been tempted to move towards automated calculation. If Babbage, with his incomparable gifts, failed there was only one conclusion to be drawn – the task was beyond nineteenth-century man. It may be noted that a century later, in the 1930s, it proved impossible to construct a really effective electromagnetic computer, in spite of all the advances of the preceding years and the considerable advantages of electrical operation with binary codes. The valve computers of the 1940s and 1950s were perpetually breaking down, and it was only the invention of the transistor, with its negligible current consumption, which created the near-miraculous standards of reliability needed to get a programmable computer to work in a satisfactory way.

Babbage's life was not entirely a failure. He was responsible for the logarithmic tables mentioned above; he made various minor inventions, including signalling 'by occulting solar lights' which was used by the Russians at the Battle of Sevastopol. Lord Rose commented that Babbage's engineering improvements 'more than repaid the sum expended' by the government. He wrote a number of books and numerous articles, none of which, however, became a classic. These are, of course, mere fragments of achievement resulting from a talent of impressive boldness, intelligence and verve, which broke, finally, on a task beyond its strength.

Christopher Ormell

Babbage's works include: *The Ninth Bridgewater Treatise* (1837); *The Exposition of 1851* (1851); *Passages from the Life of a Philosopher* (1864). See: *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 2 (1885); Norman T. Gridgeman, 'Charles Babbage', in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. I (1971).

17
BAER, Karl Ernst von 1792–1876

Estonian biologist

Baer, who was perhaps the most important figure in the creation of modern theoretical and experimental embryology, once said he did not know why he had decided to take a medical degree. Seen in the broadest historical context his achievement was much more than the creation of a narrow scientific discipline. Rather embryology as developed by Baer became the linch-pin that eventually secured together cell theory and Darwinian evolutionary thought and thus virtually guaranteed the successful adoption of the biological conception of man that emerged in the nineteenth century.

Baer, who came from a noble Estonian family, began his career as a medical student, and received his MD from the university of Dorpat in 1814. Soon after this he was fortunate enough to study under one of the greatest teachers of biology in the nineteenth century Ignaz Böllinger. In 1819 Baer became Professor of Anatomy at Königsberg where most of his great embryological work was done. In 1834 he moved to St Petersburg and remained there for the rest of his working life. In Russia his interests expanded to cover an-

thropological, geographical and medical subjects. He travelled a great deal and by the time of his death was one of the most renowned scientific figures in Europe.

Baer's most well-known embryological finding was the demonstration in 1827 of an egg in the mammalian ovary. The male reproductive elements called animacules had been seen microscopically in semen since the seventeenth century and the existence of a corresponding female product was widely presumed. Baer identified the ovum in a bitch belonging to a colleague who generously sacrificed her in the cause of science. Baer named the male products spermatozoa. His discovery demonstrated the unity of the reproductive process in the biological world. In time, improved microscopes and cell theory eventually showed ovum and sperm to be merely special cells in which it was successively established that the nucleus and then the chromosomes were the link between generations.

Baer's other major and related embryological work made clear the nature of development. Two theories of embryonic growth competed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Preformationism posited the mature anatomical and physiological existence of the organism at the beginning of development. Growth then was essentially a process of nutrition. This theory was deeply embedded in eighteenth-century conceptions of the universe as a manifestation of divine wisdom. Organic form was assigned to the First Cause. Development was the manifestation of secondary causes, in other words mechanistic laws. Epigenesis on the other hand postulated that form as well as size develops during gestation: organs do not pre-exist. Baer's *Ueber die Entwickelungsgeschichte der Thiere* ('On the Developmental History of Animals', 1828–37) is the major nineteenth-century statement, both theoretical and factual of epigenetic doctrine.

Baer studied vertebrate development from conception to birth. He described the formation of the various germ layers in the embryo, and followed the process of organ formation by folding and tubulation of these layers. Development, he showed, proceeds from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from the general to the special. In other words a heart is a mammalian heart before it is a monkey, man or rabbit heart. The comparative nature of his studies showed the similarity of development in all vertebrates. Besides this general embryological account, Baer also made specific discoveries. He described the notochord, or primitive spinal column, the neural folds, the precursors of the central nervous system, and the brain vesicles.

Though Baer laid the foundations of modern epigenetic embryology the question still remained what was it that gave overall direction to embryonic development? How did organic form arise? Such a question of course did not trouble preformationists. Baer himself vigorously rejected any mechanistic explanation and postulated an intrinsic 'essence' or 'idea' controlling development. This opinion was widely shared at the time. Later in the century embryologists rejected this view and asserted that physico-chemical laws were sufficient to explain embryogenesis.

It is curious that the richness of Baer's work failed to refute a widely held nineteenth-century biological concept: the belief that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny. In other words that the developing individual repeats its specific evolutionary history. The doctrine had a long history but was most fervently espoused by Ernst Haeckel* in his defence of Darwin*. Baer's account, however, of the general preceding the special, had already invalidated this theory.

In the end of course it was Baer's embryology itself which most closely dovetailed with the evolutionary synthesis. Cell theory explained differentiation and provided continuity between generations, and Mendelian genetics (see Mendel*) later gave an account of stability, change and biparental inheritance. Epigenetic embryology was the key that linked together these diverse elements in creating the modern view of man's place in nature.

C.J. Lawrence

To the non-reader of German, Baer, his works and accounts of them remain inaccessible. His major embryological work mentioned above is untranslated. His account of the mammalian ovum has appeared in English, 'On the Genesis of the Ovum of Mammals and of Man' trans. Charles O'Malley, *Isis*, vol. 47, 1956, pp. 117–53. About Baer: there are no specific works in English but see Jane M. Oppenheimer, *Essays in the History of Embryology and Biology* (1967). The principal German source is L. Stieda, *Karl Ernst von Baer, Eine biographische skizze* (1878, 1886).

18
BAGEHOT, Walter 1826–77

British political writer and economist

Bagehot is often thought of as an editor of the *Economist* who happened to write a couple of books reasonably well-known to the more intellectually pretentious kind of banker or MP. To bankers he is an intellectual, while to intellectuals a banker. This view lingers even after the massive *Economist* edition of the *Collected Works of Walter Bagehot* (1965, edited by Norman St John-Stevas who had earlier written a life and assessment of Bagehot. These show that his stature, depth and originality, not simply scope, had been greatly underestimated. His realism was not simply that of the knowing journalist and friend of statesmen (Gladstone* called him his 'spare Chancellor'): it had a theoretical basis in evolutionary theory which carried forward the methodological individualism of J. S. Mill* into the psycho-

logical and anthropological concerns with group behaviour of the twentieth century. His reputation for 'commonsense', writing like a 'plain, blunt honest man' with no theoretical preconceptions about political and economic institutions, is false: his realism has a theorized sense of historical development behind it. Paradoxically his essays on literature do seem to have a genuine straightforwardness, a kind of knowledgeable simplicity about them, very different from what now appears as the contrived realism of his *The English Constitution* and *Lombard Street* – quite as stylized and selective a realism as, say, Manet's* *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* of the same period.

Walter Bagehot's father was a leading West Country merchant in Somerset and his mother's family were rich, local bankers. He was educated at the local grammar school and in 1842 entered University College in the new University of London, heavily influenced by Benthamite* ideas. After reading for the Bar (but never practising), he went into the family banking business in London, but began writing for leading reviews on both literary and economic topics. In 1857 he became friendly with James Wilson, the founder and owner of the *Economist* which had established new standards of anonymous and seemingly objective reporting and commentary on economic events and institutions, writing for an intelligent but not an intellectual, not necessarily a university-educated, audience. This became Bagehot's audience and his style became that of the *Economist*, shrewd, knowing, businesslike and colloquial, realistic but impersonal. Indeed in 1858 he married Wilson's oldest daughter (just as his parents' families had gone joint stock by marriage) and by 1861 he was editor of the *Economist*, a post he held until his early death.

The English Constitution (1867) is his most famous book, but it is often misread as a simple realistic account of how the constitution actually works. He boldly put a chapter on the Cabinet before one on the Monarchy (though he did not see the growing importance of party). He mocks and exposes as a 'lawyers' fiction' the idea that the British constitution rests on a division of powers; rather it is the Cabinet that pulls it all together. He offers a realistic account of the actual *functions* of the House of Commons, not of their formal powers or rhetorical claims. 'Function' (drawn from Darwinism*) is an important concept to Bagehot, as when in the chapter on the Monarchy he begins by asking why so much attention is given to 'the actions of a retired widow and an unemployed youth', and ends by explaining that the 'dignified' aspects of the constitution (such as the Monarchy) are not merely to be distinguished from 'the efficient' (such as the Cabinet) but are of great importance: 'England could not be governed without them.' Here Bagehot's realism masks a seminal political argument; indeed the book is best read as the most subtle and brilliant of the polemics associated with the 1867 Reform Bill controversy. A confident and knowledgeable ruling class, he implies, has no need to fear the growth of democracy so long as they can manipulate the dignified aspects of the constitution to excite 'deference'. The responsible ruling class must not retreat into their country houses and their clubs or turn reactionary, but they must come out and play popular politics, compete for the vote of the 'man at the back of the Clapham omnibus'. If they do so they will win, since they have so many built-in advantages. This view, implicit in the 1867 edition, was made fully explicit in the introduction to the 1872 edition.

Physics and Politics appeared in 1872, his most theoretical work. He argued three propositions: (1) that the strongest nations prevailed over the others and that 'in certain marked peculiarities the strongest tended to be best'; (2) that within every nation the kind of people who come to the top are those who are most admired, and 'the most attractive, though with exceptions, is what we call the best character'; and (3) he claimed that normally success in either of these competitions could not depend upon force alone, but that there were occasional adverse conditions in which both kinds of predominance, national and that of human types or characters, depended upon force. This was utilitarianism plus popular Darwinism, a Whiggish view of 'the survival of the fittest' and of 'what was fittest to survive', a view that few subsequent high theorists have taken seriously, but have ignored, almost to our peril, its great influence upon and plausibility to men of affairs. Bagehot himself was a decent liberal and had his drawing-room designed by William Morris*; he can hardly be blamed for twentieth-century uses of his theories. But his arguments as to why the specific culture of a skilled ruling elite depends upon parliamentary manipulation, a nationally controlled banking system and (on rare occasions) force, are far from trivial, at worst compelling, at best embarrassing.

His *Lombard Street* (1873) extended his political realism into the economy, unmasking, as it were, the central position of the Bank of England, and arguing that its powers should be even greater to control the other banks and to lend freely and extend credit to maintain the whole system; and also that its own rate of interest could and should be used to regulate external movements of currency. This was a remarkable (and permanently successful) injection of *étatist* views of central monetary control into an otherwise fully *laissez-faire* theory and practice of the market. He died in the middle of a major work on economics of which fragments survive. Generally he had stressed that the money-market economy of capitalism was not just an extension of the barter-economy, but depended on a specific culture and social psychology. The laws of market economics were not universal, but culture-bound – though they were, none the less, the best.

Thus he protested against economic thought proceeding by way (even then) of elaborating abstract theories and models, and he asked it to come to terms with the new anthropological and sociological knowledge in order to offer a realistic account of economic behaviour. These were precepts, however, not examples, such as he had been able to offer in describing what the House of Commons and what Lombard Street really were. Had he lived longer economic theory might have developed in a wholly different way. His political influence certainly, if malign, was immense.

Bernard Crick

See: Alastair Buchan, *The Spare Chancellor: The Life of Walter Bagehot* (1959); Norman St John-Stevas, *Walter Bagehot: A Study of His Life and Thought* (1959); C. H. Sisson, *The Case of Walter Bagehot* (1972).

19

BAKST, Léon Samölivich 1866?–1924

Russian painter and theatre designer

Bakst was born in Grodno, near St Petersburg. (There is, in fact, no certainty that this was in 1866.) He studied at the academies in Moscow and St Petersburg but always found academic standards reactionary and deadening. He was expelled from the St Petersburg Academy for painting the Virgin Mary and Joseph as contemporary Jewish peasants. The artist he admired most as a student was the religious 'Wanderer' painter Neskerov. In the early 1890s he travelled to Paris where he studied under the Finnish painter Edelfelt. Upon his return to Russia he met Benois, Filosofov, Roerich, Serov and other radical artists and became a portrait painter and theatre designer. In 1899 he joined Diaghilev's newly founded Mir Iskusstva (World of Art) group in St Petersburg and from then on until its demise in 1904 contributed to the group's magazine. The group's main aim, under the influence of the diplomat Charles Birlé, was to rejuvenate Russian art and literature by importing the most recent ideas from the rest of Europe, such as the Art Nouveau style practised by Beardsley* and Mackintosh, the Post-Impressionism of Cézanne* and Gauguin* and the Symbolism of Moreau*, Rimbaud* and others. The predominant aesthetic of Mir Iskusstva was Symbolist and Bakst's paintings, like *Terror Antiquus* (1906), reflect the impact of the poetry of Blok and Balmont as well as of painters like Puvis de Chavannes*, and the designer Victor Vasnetsov. Bakst believed, along with Benois and Diaghilev, that the arts should become reintegrated and saw an opportunity for this on the stage. He was particularly impressed by similar attempts in England by Edward Gordon Craig. In 1902 he designed his first sets and costumes for the St Petersburg Theatre. In 1905, having travelled with Serov in Greece, the archaic art of which was a persistent influence on his mature style, he decorated the vestibule of the show of Russian art at the Tauride Palace with sculptures and a trellised water-garden. This exhibition was organized by Diaghilev who was also responsible, in 1906, for the twelve rooms dedicated to Russian art at the Salon d'Automne in Paris. Once again Bakst designed the setting. In 1908 he designed sets and costumes for Fokine. In 1909 he travelled to Paris with Diaghilev's Ballets Russes and designed the costumes for many of the series of ballets performed from then on. This year also saw his first major one-man show of watercolours at the Bernheim Gallery in Paris. Although he often quarrelled with Diaghilev he became the Russian impressario's chief and most celebrated designer. All his work was conducted in full collaboration with the musicians, choreographers and producers and this helps to explain the quite extraordinary overall visual unity which each ballet seems to have. His main designs were for *L'Aprés-midi d'un faune, Schéhérazade, Narcisse, L'Oiseau de feu, Héléne de Sparte,* and *Salomé.* Bakst's work was not confined to the stage alone and he also produced fashion and textile designs for famous houses like Worth and continued to paint portraits and to produce illustrations. His influence upon fashion design and the development of textile design during the twenties and thirties was considerable. He died near Paris.

Bakst was largely responsible during his career for the revival of costume design and theatre sets in Europe. The sources of his art are many and varied and include Indian, Persian and Hellenic period styles as well as the Sezession art of Klimt* and Schiele and Art Nouveau. The key to his work's power lies less in the technical innovation, for which he is rightly revered, than in his acute feeling for the emotional values of colour, texture and movement. He wrote, 'From each setting I discard the entire range of nuances which do not amplify or intensify the hidden sense of the fable.' His figures are never static but seem charged with a concentrated dynamism dictated by their own rhythmic logic. In talking of his use of colour he explained,

> in each colour of the prism there exists a gradation which sometimes expresses frankness and chastity, sometimes sensuality and even bestiality. . . . This can be felt and given over to the public by the effect one makes of the various shadings. That is what I tried to do in *Schéhérazade.* Against a lugubrious green I put a blue full of despair, paradoxical as it may seem.

Such notions of colour show the close proximity of Bakst's ideas to those of his compatriot Kandinsky, one of the fathers of abstract painting.

Richard Humphreys

See: A. Alexandre and Jean Cocteau, *Decorative Art of Léon Bakst* (1913 trans. 1972); Raymond Lister, *The Muscovite Peacock* (1954); Charles Spencer *Bakst* (1977).

20
BAKUNIN, Mikhail Alexandrovich 1814–76

Russian anarchist

Mikhail Bakunin was born on the family estate of Pryamukhino acquired by his grandfather, a state councillor under Catherine the Great. He entered the Imperial Russian artillery academy at the age of fourteen and received his commission in 1833. Two years later he left the army and, at the age of twenty-six, Russia itself. Thus began the extraordinary Odyssey that was to end only with Bakunin's death. Drawn to the most radical of revolutionary ideas yet unable totally to escape the slavophile influences of his youth, he devoted his whole life to the cause of international revolution. Wherever he went, Berlin, Paris, Brussels, London, Italy, he wrote, organized, argued and, indeed, quarrelled for the sake of the revolutionary cause. He took part in the February 1848 Revolution in Paris. The next year found him in Saxony where he was arrested and sentenced to death for his part in the Dresden uprising. The sentence was not carried out. Instead Bakunin was extradited to Austria where he was wanted for his participation in the Czech revolt of 1848. Again he was sentenced to death but instead of carrying out the execution the Austrians commuted the sentence to life imprisonment and promptly deported Bakunin to Russia where he was imprisoned in the Peter and Paul fortress in St Petersburg in accordance with a sentence passed in 1844 when he had disobeyed the tsar's order to return to Russia. From this period there dates the extraordinary confession, written at the demand of Tsar Nicholas I. It is a document of unique interest not only because of what it tells us of the revolutionary events of 1848 and 1849 but for the insights it affords into the character and motivation of its author. Confession it was but scarcely the document of contrition which the tsar requested and required and Bakunin was sent to Tomsk in western Siberia where he lived the relatively unrestricted life of a political exile in imperial Russia. Even in Siberia he became involved with people planning for Siberian independence. In 1861 he escaped via Japan and San Francisco to London and rejoined the mainstream of the revolutionary movement. He joined the First International in 1868 but the mutual detestation between Bakunin and Karl Marx* led to his expulsion in 1872. In the meantime his frenetic activity had culminated in his abortive attempt to start the revolution in Lyons when the Commune took power in Paris in 1871. He returned to Italy in 1874 and died two years later in Berne.

With such a life it is hardly surprising that Bakunin's ideas were never expressed in a single systematic work. But the mass of occasional and semi-occasional pieces which he composed throughout his life exerted a formative influence on the development of the anarchist wing of the revolutionary movement. In Italy and Spain in particular an anarchism based largely on Bakunin's principles became a potent political force. Elsewhere Marxist and other varieties of non-anarchist socialism proved more powerful but even where this was so Bakunin's criticism of the despotic potential in the project of a socialist state provided a disturbing critique from within the revolutionary ranks. 'Government by science and men of science,' he wrote, 'even if they style themselves positivists, the disciples of Auguste Comte*, or even the disciples of the doctrinaire school of German Communism, cannot fail to be impotent, ridiculous, inhuman, cruel, oppressive, exploiting and pernicious.' Bakunin envisaged a regenerated humanity that would arise after the necessary purgation of revolutionary terror, a humanity whose life would find natural expression in the development of cooperative communities which would have no need of the repressive apparatus of state power. The possibility of this leap into post-revolutionary existence is, on the whole, taken for granted in Bakunin's writings. What he provided was a theory of political action rather than an investigation of the possibilities of universal anarchy. His negative arguments, against Marx and Mazzini* especially, are unmatched by any convincing positive defence of his own position. His anarchism is, in the last analysis, an affair of the heart, based in revulsion against every actual or potential limitation on the expresion of human life. That is the strength of his work as well as its weakness. It explains Bakunin's continuing appeal as much as the frustration of his hopes.

David J. Levy

Two anthologies provide useful selections of Bakunin's voluminous writings: *Bakunin: Selected Writings* ed. Arthur Lehning (1973); *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin* ed. G. P. Maximoff (1953). See also E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937).

21
BALAKIREV, Mily Alexeyevich 1837–1910

Russian composer

Balakirev's early years were spent in Nizhny-Novgorod and then Kazan, where he studied mathematics at the university. His musical education profited from his contact with the household of A. D. Ulybyshev (1794–

1858), the author of books on Mozart and Beethoven*. Having gained some practical experience of music, he made some reputation as a pianist and composer. In 1855 he moved to St Petersburg, where he met Glinka*, who formed a very favourable impression of his talent; this respect was repaid later when Balakirev was primarily responsible for editing Glinka's works for publication. Towards the end of the 1850s he played the 'Emperor' to the tsar and saw some of his songs in print. Between 1855 and 1862 he made the acquaintance of the most important members of what became known as the Balakirev circle: Cui (1835–1918), a military engineer, Mussorgsky*, a soldier and later a civil servant, Rimsky-Korsakov*, who served in the navy, and Borodin*, a medical chemist. Balakirev's enthusiasm for the greater experience of music drew these amateurs to him 'as if by magnetism', and he inspired them with his own ideals and not infrequently compelled them to comply with his prescriptions in their own compositions.

Russian composition in the 1860s is generally considered to have been polarized round, on the one hand, the conservatoires and their directors, the Rubinshteyn brothers, and, on the other, the Balakirev circle. Whereas the former aspired to give professional musicians a conventional training to internationally accepted standards, the latter were passionately committed to writing Russian music, drawing on the native folk and church music; in the former group conservative, rather old-fashioned views predominated, while the others were interested in the newer music of Berlioz* and Liszt*; whereas the first group was mainly foreign in origin and cosmopolitan in outlook, the second was aggressively nationalist; the first stressed rules and traditions, the second inventiveness and originality. This view is really too static, and does not allow for interaction between the two groups; the polarization does not take account of the position of Tchaikovsky* and Serov, who had some sympathies with each side. Nevertheless, this picture is of some help in explaining the intense rivalries of the 1860s.

V. V. Stasov, who first met Balakirev in 1856, was an important influence on his nationalist outlook, and became the most active propagandist for the circle. It was Stasov who in 1867 referred to the existence of a significant school of Russian composers, using the words 'a mighty handful' *(moguchaya kuchka)*. Though not in fact originally applied to the composers who in the West became known as 'the Five' (i.e., Balakirev, Borodin, Cui, Mussorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakov), it is now generally taken to refer to them. Stimulated by Stasov's great interest in all aspects of Russian history and art, Balakirev's group were firmly committed to the use of Russian subjects for operas and programme music, to the incorporation in art music of the rich resources of native music, and to the working-out of suitable structures for such music. While both Stasov and Balakirev suggested subjects, devised scenarios and wrote programmes for compositions by the others, it was Balakirev's tastes in the technical field which gave the group's music a degree of homogeneity. He had strong opinions on where in a symphony folksong could be used and how it should be used; his penchants for certain harmonic devices, key schemes and even particular keys are reflected in the works of the others. As was inevitable, there came a time when the other composers were no longer prepared to tolerate Balakirev's fussy, often rude interference in their work, but he exerted a most powerful influence on their first works, and his ideas coloured their entire *oeuvre*.

Balakirev's role was accomplished more through these contacts than through institutions; he did, however, hold a number of important appointments. He was a prime mover in the establishment in 1862 of the Free (i.e., 'without charge') School of Music, whose assistant director he was until 1868. This rival to the conservatoire in St Petersburg gave more attention to vocal music and church music, encouraged students from a wider social range, and came to be known for the more adventurous programmes of its (mainly) orchestral concerts. From 1868 to 1874, and from 1881 until his death Balakirev was director of the school. From 1867–9 he was Anton Rubinstein's successor as conductor of the orchestral concerts of the Russian Musical Society. From 1883 until 1894 he was musical director of the Imperial Court Chapel. He underwent several crises, however, and was not a consistently prominent figure in the musical world. Cui opined that his career could have been more glittering had Balakirev been of less independent character and more ready to cultivate important people.

His ideas were tried out in a series of works, many of which he completed or revised up to 1905. Thus, others' works embodying Balakirev's principles appeared before his own. The First Symphonies of Rimsky-Korsakov and Borodin, and the Second Symphony of Tchaikovsky were all completed and performed before his own First Symphony (1864–6 and 1893–7, performed 1898). Some of his shorter orchestral works are based on a number of national folksongs. His greatest symphonic poem, *Tamara* (1867–82), is centred on a poem by Lermontov*. It is a magnificently evocative piece, describing how Tamara seduces passing men before tossing them into the roaring current of the river Terek. Its depiction of the wild dark forces of nature is typically Romantic, and its water-imagery and voluptuous oriental music reveal a strong affinity with *Schéhérazade* (1888).

Piano music is the other major area of Balakirev's output. *Islamey* (1869, revised 1902) and the Sonata in B flat minor stand out from a considerable number of mazurkas, nocturnes, scherzos, waltzes, etc. *Islamey*, an 'oriental fantasy', exploits folk material from the Caucasus, and is typical of the musical audacity, relentless

rhythms and brilliant colours of Russian 'oriental' music; it is a virtuoso work of the first order, and Balakirev's best-known composition. The four-movement Sonata uses material from 1855 to 1857, but assumed its definitive form between 1900 and 1905; there is no real stylistic disparity despite the long span of work. It is the only major work in this genre from this generation.

Balakirev is given much more credit for his role as mentor than as a composer. He is known only for a handful of works, when there are others which deserve greater familiarity. Quite apart from their intrinsic interest, we could then see just how much the compositions of Borodin and Rimsky-Korsakov especially are indebted to his.

Stuart Campbell

Other works: incidental music to Shakespeare's tragedy *King Lear* (1858–61 and 1902–5); Overture on the themes of Three Russian Songs (first version 1858, second version 1881); Second Overture on Russian Themes (also known as *Musical Picture 1000 Years,* 1863–4, second version, as symphonic poem *Rus',* 1884); Overture on Czech Themes (first version 1867, second version as *In Bohemia,* 1905); Piano Concerto in E flat major (1861–2, 1906–9, completed by S. M. Lyapunov); two collections of Russian folksongs, published 1866 and 1898. See: E. Garden, *Balakirev: A Critical Study of his Life and Music* (1967); G. Abraham, *Studies in Russian Music* (1933), *On Russian Music* (1939); V. Stasov, *Selected Essays on Music* (trans. 1968).

22
BALZAC, Honoré de 1799–1850

French novelist

More than is even the case with the other great French Romantics, of whom he is an exact contemporary, Balzac the writer repays some familiarity with Balzac the man. An appreciation of what his world is all about begins with the very details of his name. He was born in Tours into a family of modest origins, whose name, Balssa, had been changed to the more illustrious-sounding Bal*z*ac; Honoré in turn appropriated the noble particle *de* at the age of about thirty when he was beginning to attract attention as a writer. He soon shook off his provincial origins (although provincial milieux were to play a not inconsiderable part in his fiction), and shook off too the career for which his parents intended him, the law. Throughout the whole of the 1820s he eked out a precarious existence in Paris, writing hack, derivative fiction *à la* Scott*, Radcliffe, Fenimore Cooper* under pseudonyms. He failed to establish himself at the same time as printer and publisher, running up crippling debts in the process. These and even more hare-brained ventures (e. g. reclaiming Roman silver mines in Sardinia, cultivating pineapples commercially) were to be a prominent feature of his life and his fiction, and are not untypical of the restless, entrepreneurial spirit of the age. When after 1830 Balzac finally did establish himself in the fashionable Parisian eye as a result of his first successes, *The Physiology of Marriage (Physiologie du mariage,* 1829), *The Chouans (Les Chouans,* 1829) and *The Wild Ass's Skin (La Peau de chagrin,* 1831), he attracted too the attention of the caricaturist. The legendary Balzac was born: a man of colossal energy, eager to cut a figure as a wit and dandy in defiance of his short, fat figure; capable of prodigious bouts of creative labour but revising his works many times at the (ruinously expensive) proof stage; an intellectual butterfly, albeit a corpulent one, who read widely but hastily, familiarizing himself with all the main scientific and philosophic currents of the age, including many dubious ones: mesmerism, illuminism, the phrenology of Gall and the physiognomy of Lavater. Not the least feature of his caricatural image was the attraction he held for his women readers. When he died in 1850, an exhausted and burnt out writer, he had in fact only just married the Polish widow, Countess de Hanska, who had been an admirer of his work at first anonymously and by correspondence throughout the whole of his mature career.

In roughly twenty years of feverish activity Balzac wrote ninety-one novels and stories, painting a detailed picture of the middle and upper classes of France in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although wide, the panorama is not complete, for the peasantry and growing proletariat/artisan class are merely shadowy figures glimpsed occasionally in a corner of the canvas. But this did not diminish the enthusiasm of Engels* – 'I have learned more from Balzac than from all the works of the historians, economists and professional statisticians of the period taken together' – any more than of George Lukács in this century. A number of characteristics of the age are of some importance for an understanding of Balzac's work. First, and in this respect Balzac is himself very representative, the Napoleonic period, Restoration and July Monarchy together constituted an era in which personal dynamism, energy, indeed the most self-centred individualism, were at a premium. Not long after his death in 1821, Napoleon Bonaparte* acquired a mythic stature as the embodiment of these supposed national characteristics, and Balzac, like Stendhal* and Hugo* in varying degrees, occasionally worshipped at the shrine. Second, the July Monarchy in particular was the period when the industrial revolution fully got under way in France, and with it triumphed the spirit of *laissez-faire* capitalism. In fact long before Guizot coined what has been taken to be the slogan of the age, *'Enrichissez-vous!',* unscrupulous entrepreneurs had made fortunes as early

as the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods out of hoarding, commodity speculation and shady state contracts. Two of Balzac's most famous characters, Goriot and Grandet, enriched themselves in precisely this way. A new middle class was thus coming into being which controlled land, property, political power and, increasingly towards the end of Balzac's life, mining, manufacturing and capital. With wealth came social aggrandizement and at the top of the scale a title and ministerial status. A concomitant was a previously unknown degree of class-consciousness: the newly indebted peasantry (Balzac's *Les Paysans,* 1844) *vis-à-vis* the new bourgeois landlords *vis-à-vis* the new aristocracy *vis-à-vis* the old émigré nobility.

This then, the period 1795–1845, is the age to which Balzac aspired to be the secretary in his prose fiction (and also a handful of largely unsuccessful plays). The vast majority of his novels and stories are set in contemporary or near-contemporary France, and the enormous gallery of characters – Fernand Lotte in his *Dictionnaire biographique* has nearly 2,500 named entries – is based on a wide range of professions and occupations, human types and sub-groups of social classes. Many of his best-known novels, *Cousin Bette (La Cousine Bette,* 1846), *Old Goriot (Le Père Goriot,* 1834), *A Harlot High and Low* (the current Penguin translation of *Splendeurs et misères des courtesanes,* 1838–47) and *Cousin Pons (Le Cousin Pons,* 1847) are set mainly or entirely in Paris. Others, such as *The Black Sheep (La Rabouilleuse,* 1842) or the immense *Lost Illusions (Illusions perdues,* 1837–43), are set both in Paris and the provinces, and derive much of their power from the contrast between both settings, one of the author's major themes throughout his work. Issoudun and Angoulême respectively are the two towns in these novels, and could be joined by a long list of others which are used similarly as a powerful, brooding backdrop to the human dramas in the foreground.

The sociological value of Balzac's fiction is without parallel in literary history before Zola*. His most ambitious work, *Lost Illusions,* is at least of minor interest for its picture of the economic realities of printing and petty journalism in the provinces. But it is of even greater value for its major theme, the important new developments in intellectual life in the capital and the way in which they too are subordinated to financial considerations. With varying degrees of deliberateness Balzac points to the cynical commercialization of cultural life – journalism, publishing, bookselling, book-reviewing, and the byzantine ramifications of the theatre industry – which were one of the dimensions of that masterpiece that most impressed Marx* and have subsequently been expanded upon by Lukács. Whether or not, as in this case, it is a question of the 'recuperation' (to use a modern Gallicism) of culture by capitalism, or, as in less ambitious but not necessarily less compelling works, a matter of good men falling among whores and lawyers, Balzac's greatest novels are a penetrating indictment of the moral standards of his times. The message seems to be that 'honesty serves no purpose . . . corruption is the general rule . . . there are no principles, just events, etc.' These, the sentiments of perhaps Balzac's most powerful character creation, the cynical Vautrin in *Old Goriot,* are echoed by other characters, and borne out time and time again in other novels. The author's imagination was at its most fertile in creating his enormous cast of opportunists who populate his world and in some of the more striking cases recur from novel to novel – one of his proudest innovations. Between the extremes of social climbers like Rastignac and Chardon – the latter eventually ennobled as de Rubempré – on the one hand, and homicidal criminals such as Vautrin and Philippe Bridau on the other, there is a huge middle ground of crooked financiers, lawyers, landowners, politicians and journalists. Baron Nucingen, du Tillet, Roguin, Fraisier, Finot, Esther van Gobseck, Valérie Marneffe ('a Machiavelli in skirts'), Gaudissart ('the Napoleon of the boulevard theatre'), these are just a few of the hundreds of characters who are committed to the hilt in the struggle to monopolize money, sex, power, ideology and culture.

In the last two examples Balzac uses one of his favourite rhetorical devices, antonomasia, to persuade us of the epic stature of his characters; elsewhere he harnesses Lady Macbeth, Dido and Don Juan in the same way. One of the most famous examples is Goriot himself, *'le christ de la paternité',* and that novel also makes use of another awesome precedent to heighten the emotional impact on the reader of seeing Goriot ruthlessly exploited by his daughters Delphine and Anastasie. 'All is true,' urges the author in English, borrowing from Shakespeare. The fate of King Lear can be witnessed any day in the seemingly banal world of bourgeois Paris; the novel has supplanted the theatre as the major cultural medium, and modern themes have supplanted ancient ones. Witnessed, that is, by any reader willing to enter into complicity with Balzac, to heed his chivvying, authorial directions, respond to his powerful, morally preempting presence, creating analogies and maxims, typologies and social categories on every page that he wrote. Prendergast has effectively demonstrated the failure of Émile Benveniste to find a page of Balzac which contains *histoire* and no *discours.* Balzac's writing is, like Benveniste's unfortunate example taken from *Gambara,* 'impregnated with the discursive mode'.

Balzac's aspiration was more grandiose than just to be the social historian of contemporary France, for the universal resonance of the title he gave to the whole corpus of his work, *The Human Comedy, (La Comédie humaine)* is inescapable. Balzac was not a man to blush at appropriating the analogy of Dante's *Divine Comedy* any more than at claiming to do with the pen what

Napoleon did with the sword. His scientific and sociological pretensions were similarly grand. In keeping with the growing positivist spirit of the age, the 1840's, Balzac grouped his novels as 'Studies' under major headings: 'Analytical', 'Philosophic and Manners', and subdivided the latter into 'Scenes of Private Life, Provincial, Parisian, Military Life', etc. In the manner of Linnaeus, Cuvier*, Lamarck*, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire he sought to categorize and typify human beings, the clerk, the petty landlord, the Paris student, the southerner, etc. 'Society makes of man, according to the environment in which he functions as many different species as exist in zoology,' he tells us in the 'Avant-Propos de la Comédie Humaine' (1842), and in his manipulation of plot, character, event, milieu and theme we often detect anticipation of both Taine* and Zola. Yet sometimes he could get it wrong. The monumental seductress Lady Arabella Dudley of *Le Lys dans la vallée* is the way she is because she is, first, a woman and thus either an *ange* or a *démon* (sometimes Balzac was no subtler than Victor Hugo), secondly an *English*woman, hence either a tight-lipped puritan or a nymphomaniac, and, best of all, a native of 'Lancashire, where women die of love'.

Much of the time the conscious scientific framework of *The Human Comedy* and the determinist implications of the 'Avant-Propos' are irrelevant to an appreciation of the individual parts or even frankly at variance with the moral and aesthetic strategies to which Balzac frequently resorted when hard-pressed. He borrowed freely from a store-house of Romantic stereotypes when it suited him, and indeed the whole Romantic vogue of the occult and the fantastic *à la* Hoffmann* persisted fitfully into the 'realist' vein of his mature work. Balzac is an uneven writer, and his vices have been dwelt upon often enough: sentimentality and bad taste, artistic ineptitude, not to mention hypocrisy (deploring the opportunists in whom he lived out his most lurid social fantasies). But if an artist has the right to be judged by the peaks of his achievement rather than the troughs, Balzac must still be credited with having achieved a major advance for the novel in his time. He took it where it had never been before, and his impression on European fiction was indelible. At his best he is every bit the visionary that Baudelaire* considered him to be, more attuned to the spirit of his age than any contemporary, just as Baudelaire in turn and Flaubert* were to be in the next generation.

Ted Freeman

The best collected edition of *La Comédie humaine* in French is the Pléiade, Paris, 11 vols. Critical editions of the leading novels are also published by Classiques Garnier, Paris, and by British academic publishers (French text with notes and introduction in English), e.g. *Le Colonel Chabert* and *Gobseck*, ed. A. G. Lehmann (1955); *Eugénie Grandet*, ed. H. J. Hunt (1967); *Le Père Goriot*, ed. Charles Gould (1967). In English translation the collected works were published by Dent, 1895–8 (almost complete, but leaving out a few minor, *risqué* titles), and Caxton, 1895–1900. The best current list (1980s) is kept by Penguin. For Balzac's correspondence see the edition by R. Pierrot, Garnier, 5 vols, 1960–9, and *Lettres à Mme Hanska*, ed. Pierrot, Paris (Delta), 4 vols, 1967–9. See also: *L'Année Balzacienne*, annually from 1960; H. J. Hunt, *Honoré de Balzac: a Biography* (1957) and *Balzac's 'Comédie Humaine'* (1964); F. Lotte, *Dictionnaire biographique des personnages fictifs de la Comédie humaine* (2 vols, 1952 and 1956); S. Rogers, *Balzac and the Novel* (1953); Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination* (1976); G. Lukàcs, *Studies in European Realism* (trans. 1950); C. Prendergast, *Balzac, Fiction and Melodrama* (1978); D. F. McCormick, *Honoré de Balzac* (1979); M. Kanes, *Balzac's Comedy of Words* (1975).

23
BARNUM, Phineas Taylor 1810–91

US showman, publicist and author

To call P. T. Barnum the first great 'showman' is to neglect an essential part of his greatness, for Barnum was among the first to understand the nature of advertising his product not only by posters but by manipulating the existing media and word of mouth. In many ways he was the Founding Father of Madison Avenue. The small village of Bethel, Connecticut, where he was born, would hardly seem a fertile place for such talents. And yet biographers and critics have stressed the atmosphere of practical jokes and exaggerated rhetoric in which Barnum grew up. Although Barnum attended grammar school for at least six years, his first major 'lesson' for his future came from his grandfather Phineas Taylor, who gave him a property called Ivy Island when the child was four, telling him that this fabulous property would make him wealthy when he came of age. At ten he visited this 'property' and discovered it to be 'an almost inaccessible, worthless bit of barren land, and while I stood deploring my sudden downfall, a huge black snake (one of my tenants) approached me with upraised head.' Memories of this hoax combined with experiences working in a country store where he learned 'that sharp trades, tricks, dishonesty, and deception are by no means confined to the city' were the most important schooling Barnum had in his formative years.

Barnum's first adult venture was a newspaper, the *Herald of Freedom*, first published on 19 October 1831, whose critics labelled it 'Masonic and anti-priestcraft'. More formidable opponents brought three suits of libel against him, the third landing him in jail for accusing

a local deacon of 'usury'. The anti-clerical stance of this tabloid would continue to be one of the major forces directing Barnum throughout his life in the rather grimly puritan days of the first half of the nineteenth century. Barnum, more than any other single man, made public entertainments popular and respectable in an age that frowned on the masses enjoying anything other than religion. In his own defence Barnum once said 'This is a trading world and men, women and children need something to satisfy their gayer, lighter moods and hours, and he who ministers to this want is in a business established by the Author of our nature.'

In 1835 Barnum began his show business career in New York city with the exhibition of an old Negro woman whom he claimed to be George Washington's 161-year-old former nurse, thus shrewdly cloaking his entertainment in the acceptable colours of science and patriotism, somewhat tarnished by later revelations that she was a fake.

Barnum continued to tour and exhibit until 1841 when he bought the American Museum in Manhattan and turned this curious old warehouse with its waxworks, freaks, animals and a lecturing 'professor' into one of the most famous entertainment places in the country. He doubled the museum space and added transient attractions such as educated dogs, 'industrious fleas, automatons, ventriloquists, living statuary . . . the first English Punch & Judy in this country, Italian Fantoccini, mechanical figures . . . dissolving views, American Indians who enacted their warlike and religious ceremonies on the stage . . .' In doing all this Barnum began to change the very nature of entertainment in America and in the process accumulated his first fortune grossing over $300,000 in the first three years.

This fortune and reputation were greatly enhanced by the tours Barnum made in the early 1840s with Charles S. Stratton, the 25 inch midget known professionally as General Tom Thumb. The general did monologues and historical and mythic roles playing everything from Cupid to Napoleon*. With Tom Thumb as his vehicle Barnum fulfilled a longtime ambition to tour England and Europe, exhibiting the advertising shrewdness that made him both rich and notorious. He let Tom perform for three nights in London and then stalled until he received the coveted invitation to Buckingham Palace for an audience with Queen Victoria* which was quickly followed by a second to see the three-year-old Prince of Wales. Barnum exploited all this quickly and broadly and soon the midget was known in the press as the 'Pet of the Palace'. Barnum snowballed this first royal audience into others on the continent and returned to the United States with an even more valuable human property, one that is estimated at selling about twenty million of the eighty-two million admission tickets sold by Barnum in his career.

Despite his success with the museum, General Tom Thumb, the famous 'Siamese twins', Chang and Eng, and other attractions, Barnum still sought to 'place himself before the world in a new light' by elevating public taste. And so without ever having heard her sing, he booked Jenny Lind, 'The Swedish Nightingale', for an American tour of 150 concerts which would earn the then astounding figure of over $700,000. No foreign artist had been so fully accepted, praised, and paid for by the American public, thus climaxing the exhibition phase of Barnum's career.

After two publicized 'retirements' in 1855 and 1868, Barnum returned to show business in 1871 to demonstrate once more his place as the premier promoter of the century. He became partners with William Cameron Coup and Dan Castello to build a travelling circus with such innovations as travel by rail, Ben Lusbie who could sell six thousand tickets in one hour, a half-ton seal, and the permanent base of P. T. Barnum's Great Roman Hippodrome in New York City. Eventually, Barnum bought out his partners and travelled as 'Barnum's own Greatest Show on Earth', slowly increasing the size until the overheads were $3,000 a day. In 1881 he merged with Allied Shows Circus owned by James E. Cooper, James L. Hutchinson and James Anthony Bailey. Thus was the *three-ring* circus born on 18 March 1881, establishing new definitions of extravagance for an age-old form. In 1882 the new partners bought 'Jumbo', a twelve-foot tall, six and a half ton elephant, from the London Zoological Gardens. Jumbo quickly became one of Barnum's biggest successes and was often presented in tandem with General Tom Thumb. Barnum is often credited with 'inventing' the circus, an institution that has existed for perhaps thousands of years. What he really did – with the help of shrewd partners like Coup and Bailey – was truly American: through money, size and advertising he simply created 'the greatest show on earth'.

During his various retirements Barnum wrote two books which reveal both his character and his interests. His frequently revised autobiography first came out in 1855 and in 1865 he published *Humbugs of the World*. The latter attacks spiritualists, quacks, swindlers, ghosts and certain religious cultists, while the former outlines 'Forty Busy Years' of providing 'Healthful entertainment to the American people'.

P. T. Barnum was that typical nineteenth-century American success, the sincere charlatan: a man who believe that all his tricks, deceptions, braggadocio, and sheer size were in the best interests of the public. He brought entertainment on a vast public scale to a nation that in his youth had shunned it. He made public spectacle and pleasure not only acceptable, but necessary and profitable.

Charles Gregory

See: *How I Made Millions: Or the Secret of Success* (1884, the last rewrite of his autobiography); *Why I Am a Universalist* (1895). About Barnum: M. R. Werner, *Barnum* (1927); Constance Rourke, *Trumpets of Jubilee* (1927); Irving Wallace, *The Fabulous Showman* (1959); Neil Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum* (1973); Joel Benton, *Life of Honorable Phineas T. Barnum* (1891); Alice Curtis Desmond, *Barnum Presents: General Tom Thumb* (1954).

24
BARRÈS, Auguste-Maurice 1862–1923

French novelist, essayist and politician

Born in Charmes-sur-Moselle in Lorraine and educated at the *lycée* in Nancy, Barrès effectively combined the roles of writer and public figure until his death in 1923. In the early 1880s he embarked on a literary career in Paris, rejecting with equal vehemence the Naturalism of Émile Zola* and the Parnassianism of Leconte de Lisle. At this time his intellectual masters were Taine* and Renan*, whom he pillaged very selectively, and Schopenhauer* who taught him the limits of intellectual analysis.

By the late 1880s his literary and political vocation was on a firm footing. Inspired by the Panama scandal and by the cause of General Boulanger, he entered politics as parliamentary member for Nancy and was later to represent a variety of constituencies, serving the Les Halles district of Paris between 1906 and 1923.

It was his literary development that had led him to political commitment. An early Symbolist, he produced *The Cult of the Self* (*Le Culte du moi*, 1888–91), a three-novel cycle in which, following Stendhal*, Byron* and Napoleon I*, he glorified energy and developed his theory of individualism. In showing the individual personality as the only tangible reality and the need for a free person to cultivate his own instincts, Barrès indicates how the alienated self, after a prolonged period of withdrawal, needs to develop conscious links with society outside.

His views concerning the spiritual and moral decline of Third Republic France were vigorously expressed in the novel cycle beginning with *The Uprooted Generation* (*Les Déracinés*, 1897), and known under the generic title *The Novel of National Energy* (*Le Roman de l'énergie nationale*). Abandoning subjective realism he moved much closer to the scientific realism of Bourget and the documentary style of Hugo* and Zola. The stress in these novels is always on the rottenness of cosmopolitan political and financial society and the imperative for the young of France to remain rooted in traditional, provincial values, symbolized in 'land and dead ancestors' (*'la terre et les morts'*).

It was during the writing of these novels that Barrès played his most crucial political role as the leading advocate of French nationalism during the years of the Dreyfus Affair. As an active journalist and pamphleteer, his patriotism and his traditionalism were fused in a definition of national solidarity which defended church, army and provincial identity against the enemies of the French nation – Liberals, German influence and Jews. Eschewing the virulent anti-Semitism of Drumont and other reactionary figures he nevertheless waged unremitting war on the foreigner within who consciously or unconsciously destroyed the traditional values of France.

Never a member of the Action Française Barrès concentrated in the years before the outbreak of war on alerting French opinion to the German problem in a series of sentimental provincial novels describing the tribulations of a young Alsatian faced with the choice of serving in the German army or escaping to unoccupied France or the heroism of a young girl from Metz who responds to her national duty by refusing to marry an attractive German schoolteacher. During the war he attempted to rally Frenchmen of all creeds to the national cause and in the latter part of his life toyed with the notion of permanent Franco-German concord.

Complex in both artistic and intellectual terms Barrès was in effect a serious-minded dilettante. His literary credo was a curious mixture of Symbolism, Realism, Romanticism and Classicism. Beside the didacticism of his political writings must be set the idiosyncratic poetic meditations on religious and artistic themes and his expressive exploitation of landscape and exotic imagery.

His intellectual roots were equally heterogeneous. Weaned on Schopenhauerian idealism which he combined with aspects of the historical relativism of Taine and Renan, he looked also to contemporary associationist psychology for arguments against what he saw as the prevailing influence of Kant and his universalist ethics. Thus, acutely aware of what he saw as the political and moral decline of France since 1870, he diagnosed the 'dissociation' and 'decerebration' of his country and advanced the need to reassemble and reintegrate the scattered elements of national consciousness by renewed personal contact with ancestral and environmental factors. At the same time, his very stress on emotional and instinctual perceptions preserved him from the strait-jacket of mindless ideology, just as in his traditionalism he stopped short of the doctrinaire 'integral nationalism' of Maurras and the Action Française.

Indeed, his enthusiasm for a saviour-figure like Boulanger in the 1880s and his campaigns as a National Socialist in the 1890s stem from his belief in a plebiscitary dictatorship in the republican tradition. And among contemporary politicians he admired not only the populist poet, Déroulède, the Provençal separatist, Mistral, and the doyen of the new right, Maurras,

but also the Socialist leader, Jean Jaurès, whose pre-war pacifism he nevertheless denounced as pan-Germanism.

Likewise, despite his life-long defence of the Catholic Church, he maintained his spiritual independence to the last. He possessed a deep religious sense and was convinced of the spiritual and social mission of the Catholic Church in France: for all that, however, he distinguished himself from the militancy of a Claudel or a Bourget in his admiration for one of their *bêtes noires*, Ernest Renan.

Barrès was master and guide of his generation but his influence on the twentieth century was scattered and not restricted to Mauriac and other Catholic writers. It can be detected also in the writings of Gide and Camus and, more surprisingly perhaps, in the patriotic poetry of Aragon during the Second World War. In addition, his ideas have been taken up by advocates of right-wing regionalism in France, as well as by the Welsh nationalist writer, Saunders Lewis. Finally, many aspects of his political thinking find an echo in the constitution of the French Fifth Republic framed by Debré for de Gaulle in 1958.

Christopher Bettinson

Barrès's complete works, including the fourteen volumes of personal writings (*Mes Cahiers*), were published by the Librairie Plon in Paris (14 vols, 1929–57). See: Z. Sternhell, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français* (1972); P. Ouston, *The Imagination of Maurice Barrès* (1974); C. S. Doty, *From Cultural Rebellion to Counter-revolution: The Politics of Maurice Barrès* (1976).

25
BARRY, Sir Charles 1795–1860

British architect

Known as one of the leading architects of the Gothic Revival, Charles Barry was actually a pioneer of the Victorian neo-Renaissance. He introduced the 'palazzo' form into England at a time when British architecture was dominated by a Neoclassical style whose chief exponent was Sir John Soane*. Like many British architects, Barry's background afforded little advantage either by birth or by education. His mother died when he was three and his father, a London parliamentary stationer, when he was ten. In 1810 he was apprenticed to a firm of architects and surveyors in Lambeth, and it was there that he acquired the basis of his later command of the technical aspects of building. A modest legacy from his father's estate enabled Barry to embark upon a European tour in 1817. His funds were augmented in Rome where he managed to sell some sketches of the buildings he had studied, and he continued his journey (as an artist-companion) to Greece, Egypt, and what is now Syria and Turkey. On his return in 1820 he married and set up in private practice. Of his four sons, two (E. M. and Charles junior) became successful architects (cf. the Scott* family architectural dynasty), one (John Woolfe) an engineer, and one (Alfred) Bishop of Sydney, principal of King's College, London and his father's eventual biographer.

Barry's early work includes several loosely Gothic churches and the Grecian design of the Royal Institution of Fine Arts in Manchester, but his first major building was the Travellers' Club in Pall Mall (1829–31). Several features distinguished this signal evocation of the palazzo spirit. Symmetrically organized around a central court (later covered), the club is, in its elevation, handled as essentially a flat surface, with columns and pilasters used only to frame the window openings. The top of the elevation is capped by a projecting cornice, and the corners emphasized by tall chimney stacks. Bolder still is the larger edifice next door, the Reform Club (1838), resembling the Cinquecento Palazzo Farnese. As well as the mirrors which are used inventively to create a play of spatial illusion around the covered central courtyard and stairs, the Reform Club is notable especially for its intricate and highly sophisticated servicing system. What Barry learnt in this regard he applied on behalf of a wholly different cause in 1841, when he was architect for Josiah Jebb's Pentonville Model Prison, an environment so thoroughly serviced (cf. Jeremy Bentham*) as to annihilate all but the most extreme changes in external conditions.

Barry continued to develop his conception of the Renaissance idiom under the Earl of Sutherland's patronage through such projects as Bridgewater House (1847–50) and the mansion at Clivedon (1851), and the Halifax Town Hall (1859–62), completed by his son E. M. Barry. But the building for which he is justly famous is the New Palace of Westminster (1835–67). The competition brief specified a Gothic design, and to a degree Barry complied. In its asymmetrical skyline and in almost every detail of its ornamentation the New Palace of Westminster is rightly cited as a neo-Gothic masterpiece. But in the symmetry of its multi-courted ground-plan (cunningly incorporating the old Westminster Hall and subtly changing its axis) and in the massing of its volumes, it simultaneously embodies strong classical elements.

To assist him Barry hired A. W. N. Pugin*. Officially Pugin's responsibility was to supervise the wood-carving, but in fact his contribution to the uniquely recognizable Houses of Parliament embraced so many aspects of their design (including the massing of Big Ben and much of the detail of the interior) that it is proper to speak of a collaboration between the two architects. Pugin's son even went so far as to claim, after Pugin's death in 1852, that the overall design was

his father's and not Barry's inspiration. That this filial distortion of what was actually the case gained public credence may be interpreted as a curious homage to Barry's versatility. Pugin became the acknowledged master of Gothicism, and therefore it was assumed that a creation that looked as splendidly Gothic as the Houses of Parliament must have been essentially his. Thus from its beginning, and as befitted its future role as the symbol of democracy, the New Palace of Westminster was deceptive in its appearance, and in the best political traditions, the government of the day wrangled with Barry about his fees, refusing to pay him, beating him down, and constantly asking him for 'favour designs' in a remarkably unscrupulous way. He died, seven years before its completion, an embittered and exhausted man. Even so, the palace has managed to remain functional in spite of a vast increase in its usage, probably reinforcing the two-party form of British democracy by the layout of its two chambers.

Ranulph Glanville

See: A. Barry, *Memoir of the Life and Works of the late Sir Charles Barry, Architect* (1867); R. Dixon and S. Multhesius, *Victorian Architecture* (1978).

26
BAUDELAIRE, Charles Pierre 1821–67

French poet

Throughout his life Baudelaire maintained an intense and often anguished relation with his mother, a woman of some taste but little understanding. As a child of seven he felt deprived of her affections when in the year following his father's death she took as her second husband Colonel Aupick, a decent if unimaginative man who partly fuelled the adolescent Baudelaire's postures of revolt against conventional morality. Judging from the poet's letters, his stepfather nevertheless seems to have stood as a symbol of his deeper desire to achieve moral worth. The family background goes some way to explaining two fundamental tensions that are expressed in his poetry: his need for woman's love set against scorn for uncomprehending female superficiality; and his deep-rooted need for personal piety and worth, coupled with an uncompromising awareness of the 'worm' at the heart of virtue. His feeling of dispossession was exacerbated when to cure him of his profligate habits as a dandy in the *Bohème*, the management of his inheritance was removed from his control and entrusted to a lawyer friend of the family, Ancelle. Lumbered by debts, kept constantly short of money, unfavoured by the patronage of established men of letters, dogged by sequences of misfortunes that seem so diabolically schemed as to suggest complicity (see Sartre's study, below), Baudelaire's life is a story of frustrations, humiliations and procrastinations. In 1841 his parents sent him on a voyage to India, in the hope of weaning him from what they judged to be his depraved Parisian life. He got only as far as Mauritius, returning to Paris in 1842. The journey proved fruitful, however, from the creative point of view, since it stocked his mind with the exotic imagery on which his poetry was to draw. Otherwise Baudelaire barely stirred from Paris during the twenty-eight years (1836–64) that he lived there continuously. He interested himself briefly in Republican politics and played a minor part in the 1848 Revolution. But he was by temperament too aristocratic and too 'metaphysical' in his conception of evil to sustain a commitment to the prevailing liberal doctrines of human perfectibility.

By mid-century Baudelaire had earned himself a reputation as an art critic and as the author of a number of essays including, as one of his most striking pieces, a non-psychological interpretation of laughter in its relation to original sin. He also produced remarkably good French translations of some of the works of Poe*, with whose ideas on the creative imagination he had felt an immediate affinity. Despite some success in placing his poems with prestigious journals, Baudelaire's reputation was by 1855 still that of an eccentric vampire of legendary lubricity (mostly his own invention) attempting to shock his way to public recognition. The same lack of understanding greeted the publication, in 1857, of the volume of poetry on which his fame rests, *Les Fleurs de mal*. He was put on trial for obscenity in the same year, fined and forced to publish an expurgated version of his collection. The ban – on six offending poems – was not lifted until 1949, though publishers contrived to incorporate them in most post-1857 editions. A second edition containing fresh poems, but not the banned ones, appeared in 1861. This being the last edition which Baudelaire was able to supervise personally, it is generally considered to be the most trustworthy guide to his intentions with regard to the thematic groupings and sequences which, he believed, would best convey the 'architecture' of the whole collection: a synopsis of human destiny in its progress through the stations of illusory salvation. The first posthumous edition, again substantially enriched, came out in 1868 (*Les Nouvelles Fleurs de mal*).

The originality of Baudelaire's achievement does not lie in any novelty of theme, versification, or even supporting theories of art. The focus on everyday life, the satanical, the macabre, the exotic and erotic, the suffering of the artist, his role as intercessor between the human and the divine, the thirst for the absolute were all part of the stock-in-trade of the contemporary Romanticism. In versification he tends to work his own variations within traditional forms of euphony, particularly the alexandrine, which gives even his lesser poems a stately dignity. His special sound effects tend

to come from assonances and alliterations within the line rather than from innovations in rhyme or rhythm.

As regards his theories of art, though, if they were 'in the air' at the time they had not before been fixated by an intelligence comparable to Baudelaire's in keenness and imaginative scope. He saw clearly what the contemporary Art For Art's Sake movement failed to understand – that technique is not its own end but the servant of vision. Against the Realist aesthetics he maintained that beauty is a spiritual product of the imagination and not a property of some aspects of the world ('nothing of what is satisfies me'; 'the beautiful is always the effect of art'). Against the Parnassians, who had turned from the ugliness of modern civilization to seek consolation in the emotional and philosophical abstractions of Classicism, he maintained that beauty, although admittedly not of the world, must be wrought from it by a process of imaginative alchemy ('God gave me mud and I made gold of it'). In contrast to the Romantic poets, he believed that if nature can be made to appear beautiful it is as the result of the poet infusing it with his personal vision and not of his having made perfectly manifest God's presence in it. Baudelaire is one of the first poets consciously and philosophically to centre the poetic universe on man. In this he is an early 'modern'.

His preoccupation with evil is best understood in the light of his conviction that poetic vision is personal in its origin and bizarre in its effects: 'The beautiful is always bizarre.' Independently of both his belief in original sin as in the essential evil of the universe, and of the extent and nature of any private perversities, the *aesthetic* value which evil held for Baudelaire lay in the effects of strangeness and surprise that it would yield if it could be subjected to an imaginative transmutation. The presence of goodness, moreover, as what is found strange or surprising given its origin in evil, is indispensable to the dialectic of Baudelaire's alchemy. We find, accordingly, that the 'gold' of the poetry is suffused with a warm radiance. It has a moral or redemptive quality that is inseparable from its beauty and quite distinct from the didacticism against which he often protested.

In his concept of the poet as visionary or seer Baudelaire had been anticipated by Hugo*, and there was nothing particularly new about the idea that what the poet was gifted to 'see' and interpret for the rest of mankind was the latently visible system of universe analogy or *correspondances* placed by God in nature. On the subject of correspondences Baudelaire's thinking is at its least cogent. For one thing, his theoretical writings lump together the Fourierist* doctrine of terrestrial or 'horizontal' correspondences, such as are perceived in synaesthetic experience, with the 'vertical' or transcendental correspondences linking heaven with earth and deriving from a more ancient Platonic-Augustinian tradition. Furthermore, it is hard to reconcile his aversion to nature with his adherence to either doctrine of analogy: for must nature not compel love and reverence if it is the repository of divinely appointed analogies? Finally, Baudelaire states that the interrelations between symbols (objects as terms of analogic relations), being providentially ordained, are 'mathematically exact'. But if this is the case, poetic vision loses the personal and creative character which he praises elsewhere, becoming a contemplative faculty for the revelation of a pre-ordained world-system. This 'objective' conception of analogy is not, however, carried over into his poetic practice, where we find the same sensory datum playing shifting and variable symbolic roles in response to changing mood, sometimes passing into its opposite. Images of flux and mobility, for example, are consubstantial now with spiritual decay, now with the fluid patternings of creation. Sensations of lulling and swaying render sometimes the hypnotic fascination of evil, sometimes the gentle swell of nascent creativity. The impression of deep tension combined with fluidity which much of the poetry gives depends in part on this deliberate play with polyvalent analogy.

Yet in the sphere of correspondence theory Baudelaire had an original and powerfully influential insight which survives the contradictions mentioned: that the poet's gift for apprehending analogies, a gift assisted in Baudelaire's case by a lifelong addiction to hashish, could and should be embodied in the literary devices of metaphor, simile, allegory, etc., which are thereby promoted from decorative effects to epistemological instruments for perfecting his analogic intuitions and transcribing them into a public medium. Baudelaire believed that the precision and intersubjective value of a metaphor had their explanation in the fact that, being 'drawn from the inexhaustible storehouse of universal analogy', it captures the mathematical exactness of a pre-existent analogic relation. But he could have justified the literary use of metaphor by pointing, less metaphysically, to the reality of synaesthetic experience. This would not, however, have been a perfect solution either, for while synaesthesia allows for subjective variations it leaves obscure the intersubjective value of successful poetic metaphors, the speculative explanation of which constitutes the attractiveness of the 'objective' theory.

From the technical viewpoint Baudelaire's originality undoubtedly rests on his suggestive use of language and of familiar, trivial objects to conjure up subtleties of feeling and thought. He excels in the art of suggesting the infinite through the finite, particularly the ugly. He regarded poetic language as an 'evocative bewitchment', magical in its effects, though as scientific as mathematics or music in the precision of the handling through which these are achieved: 'There is no chance in art . . . the imagination is the most scientific of the faculties.' Suggestion differs from description in that

what it evokes leaves 'an absence to be completed by the imagination of the listener'. Here again technique is at the service of a personal vision of beauty, as possessing 'some slightly indeterminate quality ... leaving room for conjecture.' Baudelaire is a master of the aspect of the art of suggestion which calls for a delicate striking of the balance between an over-exact use of terms that would stultify reverie and, at the other extreme, an insufficiency of definition such as would leave the reader's imagination unstimulated and inert.

The 'new shiver' which Hugo credited Baudelaire with having brought to French poetry arises from the distinctive tonality that accrues to beauty when it is extracted from ugliness. The distillations of memory, filtered through imagination, succeed in salvaging from the thwarted aspiration to perfection a value that is limited inasmuch as impregnated with the failure on which it feeds, while yet being absolute in its suggestion of mystery and invitation to renewed spiritual voyages. One lovely species of this 'flower' arises from the granting of absolute value to what is known to be in one sense illusory: it is recognized that the mysteries of a mistress's eyes are unbacked by corresponding qualities of heart and mind; they are empty – but 'emptier and deeper than even you, O Heavens'. The pit of hell is an inverted vision of the vault of heaven.

The influence of Baudelaire cannot be overstated. He is the most important forerunner of Symbolism (Mallarmé*), which adopted in an even more self-conscious and thoroughgoing style his notions of poetry as verbal sorcery with a strong emphasis on word-music, of the analogic value of objects and their indeterminacy as symbols, of the role of imprecision and of precision, as well as of that of the reader as active participant in the production of the poem.

Roger McLure

Baudelaire's complete *oeuvre* is collected in the Bibliothèque de la Pléiade edition (1961). His prose writings include: *La Fanfarlo* (a thinly disguised autobiographical novel); *Paradis artificiels*; *De L'essence du rire et généralement du comique dans les arts plastiques*; *L'Oeuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix*; *Salon de 1846*; *Salon de 1859*; *Journaux intimes*. His *Sur la Belgique* is a vituperation against what he sees as Belgian pusillanimity. There is an English edition of most of the poems of *Les Fleurs du Mal* in the original French, but with good plain prose translations and an introduction: F. Scarfe, *Baudelaire* (1962). The standard English biography is by E. Starkie, *Baudelaire* (1957). The best introduction to understanding Baudelaire's poetry is A. Fairlie, *Baudelaire* (1960). Other critical studies in English include: W. F. Leaky, *Baudelaire and Nature* (1969); P. Quennell, *Baudelaire and the Symbolists* (1954). Among studies in French are: J. Prévost, *Baudelaire* (1953); M. A. Ruff, *L'Esprit du mal et l'esthetique baudelairienne* (1955); J. Pommier, *La Mystique de Baudelaire* (1964); J. Lonke, *Baudelaire et la musique* (1975). Sartre's existential-psychoanalytical study of Baudelaire the man (*Baudelaire*, 1947) is brilliant but not conclusive.

27
BAUER, Bruno 1809–82

German biblical critic and philosopher

Born in 1809 at Eisenberg in Saxony, Bauer studied at the University of Berlin in its Hegelian* heyday, and became in his early days a conservative, 'right-wing' Hegelian. He progressively identified himself with the radical, 'left-wing' group in the Hegelian party. His academic career began in 1834 as a lecturer (*Privatdozent*) at Berlin, and he was promoted to an *ausserordentlicher* professorship at Bonn five years later. His earliest teaching and work (on the interrelationship of the four Gospels) generated intense academic and ecclesiastical controversy, on the grounds of which he was deprived in 1842 of his chair by the Prussian government, although it was unclear whether a majority of the Prussian theological faculties supported his deprivation. Bauer spent the remainder of his career in scholarly retirement, writing on the ideological and political history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in literary vituperation directed against the Christian academic and ecclesiastical establishment of Germany. He died in Berlin in 1882.

It is enlightening to compare and contrast the life and work of Bauer with those of D. F. Strauss*, of whom he was a near contemporary. Although it is singularly difficult to summarize Bauer's complicated and technical writings, it simplifies the matter if we follow modern scholarship in distinguishing between an 'early' and a 'later' Bauer (or Bauer I and Bauer II) in interpreting his work. We deal with the former of these in the first instance. Bauer's intense interest in Gospel criticism was evoked by his earliest research on the Johannine Gospel (published in 1840 as his *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte des Johannes*). He seizes upon the intensely allegorical, metaphorical, parabolic and analogical character of the work (which in his day had long been recognized). This he unambiguously describes as *Kunst*, which, while it may be correctly translated as 'art', carries in Bauer's usage the connotation of something 'ingenuous' or 'over-clever'. But there can be no doubt for Bauer that the description 'art' implies that the Fourth Gospel is emphatically *ahistorical*, that no part of it is to be regarded as anything but theological and esoteric fantasy. But what then of the relationship, Bauer asked, between the Fourth Gospel and the synoptics (Matthew, Mark and Luke)? Bauer adopted the position which was being vigorously and

plausibly argued in his day, that the earliest 'historical' Gospel was Mark, and in his notorious second work (*Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker*, 1841–2) developed and elaborated the unpopular thesis that Luke and Matthew are but expansions, elaborations and embellishments of the Second Gospel which do not contain any trace of historical material independent of or additional to that which is allegedly to be found in Mark. To be more precise, in Bauer's judgment the earlier theological expansion of Mark is Luke, which in turn functioned as the sole basis for the later literary document Matthew. Bauer was swift to realize the momentous significance of what he was saying: considered as a historical phenomenon (originating in history with the historical Jesus) the Christian religion rested, not upon the New Testament, nor upon the four Gospels, but solely and exclusively upon the very slender document, the Gospel of Mark. (This explains incidentally the extremity, not to say the savagery, of the treatment meted out to Bauer by the German establishment in 1842.)

Bauer next and predictably turned his attention to Mark, and, to the furious indignation of the establishment, proceeded radically to dehistoricize it also. It is to do Bauer no injustice whatever to summarize his conclusion on Mark by saying that the Marcan Gospel is the invention of a single author! For example, Bauer treated with extreme scepticism the received notion in theological circles that prior to the historical appearance of Jesus there existed in Jewish circles a strong, widespread expectation of the appearance of the Messiah, witnessed to in extra-Marcan circles. Undoubtedly, Bauer with incisive originality analysed the difficulties involved in making sense of those passages in which the Messiahship is a subject of discussion between Jesus and his disciples, and the entire discussion of the Messianic office of Jesus leads him to the conclusion that Messiahship was attributed to Jesus at a very late date by the Christian community, whatever that was, and whenever it may be said to have come into existence. It is important to note that at this stage Bauer is neither saying nor implying that there never was some actual flesh-and-blood Jesus of whom the religious community predicated so much. The sheer facticity of a historical Jesus is not at this stage called in question.

It is quite otherwise when we turn to consider the 'later' Bauer (Bauer II). It can no longer be seriously doubted that the later Bauer, with his bitterness and contempt and loathing for the 'theologians' and the 'apologists', was created by the treatment handed to him by the Christian establishment, which seemed to him to be a repetition of that treatment meted out to Strauss by Tübingen seven years earlier. Bauer II strives hard to understand the various episodes of Jesus's life as reflections of the experience of the early Christian community: therefore, the temptations project upon a screen the struggles of the earliest Christians with the flesh and the devil. He strives to the point of genius to derive some of the more obscure Gospel sayings of Jesus from the experience of the later community. Whatever posterity's judgment upon Bauer was, it can no longer be denied that later biblical criticism was to benefit immeasurably from the brilliant and honest manner in which he focused attention on very real difficulties in the Marcan historical narratives as they stand – whether these concern Jesus's puzzling mission of the Twelve, certain rather obscure sayings attributed to Jesus, parables whose point is no longer clear, the order in which the Gospel materials have been arranged, the incompatibility of publicly performed material miracles with a supposedly secret Messiahship, the difficulties with which the final journey of Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem bristles, the mysterious circumstances of the Last Supper, the irresoluble problems involved in constructing a coherent account of the resurrection appearances, which had so troubled the biblical critics of the Enlightenment. The difficulties, problems, contradictions and incompatibilities are just so numerous and excruciating that all attempts to deal with them rationally must fall to the ground, and all significant talk of a 'real' historical Jesus behind or beyond them must now be abandoned as having no meaning whatever. Bauer's meaning, as a Hegelian, seems to have been that religion has to do essentially with various episodes or movements (e.g., the reconciliation of the human with the divine) in the life of man; in the Marcan Gospel what apparently happened is that such dynamic movement has been frozen or solidified, entangled with materialistic miraculous events, and predicated of one individual (Jesus) rather than of humanity as such. Religion, according to Hegelianism, moves in the realm of 'ideas', and in the Gospels these ideas have been represented in a worldly, quasi-historical biographical form which has most seriously obscured and distorted them. The point of Gospel criticism is to disentangle the eternal ideas or enduring truths from the essentially inadequate and dangerous form in which they have become clothed.

It is no easy task to state in brief form modernity's assessment of Bauer's work. It is unquestionably true, as Albert Schweitzer complained so long ago, that the condemnation directed at Bauer II has tended to overshadow the valuable and original contribution of Bauer I to the ongoing progress of synoptic criticism in the nineteenth century. Within the history of that discipline the work of Bauer I still deserves honourable mention. Yet it is not difficult to explain the occurrence of the vehement and absolute condemnation of Bauer II within theological circles. In the case of Bauer II, as in the case of Strauss, it is reasonable to suggest that in the last analysis Bauer approached the Gospel materials with a fully-fledged, *a priori*, Hegelian philo-

sophical scheme which predetermined for him their character and meaning. Moreover, as in the case of Strauss, the account of Gospel and Christian origins given by Bauer II simply leaves behind far too many unanswered, not to say unanswerable, questions which historians and theologians simply cannot discard. In the last analysis, Bauer II could not satisfactorily answer the question *why* the Gospels (whose central figure is a historical character) saw the light of day at that point in world history when they did in the absence of a factual historical figure which is their principal concern. Even if it were conceded that in the last analysis the author of Mark was the sole chronicler of Jesus, Bauer II's work does not satisfactorily illumine the relation between his literary achievement and the experience of that Christian community who exalted him as Lord and went to the farthest corners of the known world in order to preach his 'name'. These criticisms are uncannily similar to those directed towards the work of Strauss. Bauer II's reputation was not helped by various inconsistencies and errors in his work. For example, his defence of the existence of an earlier written record (*Ur-Markus*) which may have been used by the author of the Second Gospel is hardly consistent with his view that the latter is the sole originator of the Jesus-story who did not depend on earlier historical tradition. Moreover, his *a priori* insistence upon the lateness of the New Testament records led him eventually to date the synoptic writings in the second, third or fourth decades and the Pauline epistles in the sixth or seventh decades of the second century, which has been conclusively falsified by more modern research. And these datings involved him in giving a preposterous account of the Jesus-story as a fantasy based upon the life of the Roman moralist Seneca. On these grounds, Bauer is best remembered for his early and original contributions to biblical criticism and to the history of modern Europe.

James Richmond

Other works include: *Christus und die Cäsaren: Der Ursprung des Christentums aus dem römischen Griechentum* (1877). See: Karl Löwith, *From Hegel to Nietzsche: The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Thought* (1965); Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1954); F. Lichtenberger, *History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century* (1889); F. Copleston, S. J., *A History of Philosophy*, vol. VII (1963).

28
BAUR, Ferdinand Christian 1792–1860

German Protestant New Testament critic and historian of Christian origins

Born in Cannstadt in 1792 the son of a Würtemberg pastor, F. C. Baur was educated in Blaubeuren theological seminary and in the university at Tübingen. He began his career as a theological tutor at Blaubeuren (1817–26), and from 1826 until his death was Professor of Historical Theology at Tübingen. He was the founder and leader of the so-called 'Tübingen School' of historical scholarship, whose other members are generally reckoned to be Schwegler, Zeller, Hilgenfeld, Köstlin, Volkmar, Holsten and, for a short period, Albrecht Ritschl*. A German academic of immense stamina and prolific capability (a colleague of his has recorded that for most of his professional life he rose daily, summer and winter, at four o'clock in order to begin his academic labours), Baur occupies an extremely important position in the development of modern critical research into the history of primitive and early Christianity and the dating of its principal documents.

Although it is almost impossible to summarize in a brief space a lifetime's scholarship like Baur's, it is beyond argument that his most significant and lasting contribution centres around his so-called 'conflict' theory of the origins of Christianity, the ancient church, and the New Testament canon. In giving his account of the evolution of the Christian religion, Baur plotted in great detail the so-called 'preparation for Christianity' in both Judaism and classical antiquity. He paid attention to the political and geographical universalism of the Roman Empire, Graeco-Roman philosophy with its interest in 'natural theology'; he carefully analysed Judaism in the immediately pre-Christian period, paying particular attention to the way in which it had been broadened and spiritualized by Greek influences from the Hellenism of Alexandria, directing it in a more universalist (as contrasted with nationalist or particularist) direction. It was into this milieu that Jesus came. Of central importance in understanding his mission is his teaching (with particular reference to the Sermon on the Mount), with its uniquely unprecedented emphasis on character and the heart, which represents almost an attack on the legalistic ethics of his Jewish contemporaries. A clash between Jesus and these becomes inevitable through Jesus's claim to universal Messiahship, which is incompatible with the narrow, materialist, almost ethnic concept of Messiahship entertained by the Jewish nation, a clash which results in Jesus's formal rejection and judicial execution. So-called 'original' Christianity begins then within an almost exclusively Jewish context – with the original twelve disciples preaching to their Jewish contemporaries Jesus's resurrection from the dead and his imminent second advent in judgment, which would bring reconciliation between him and the Jewish nation which had rejected him. This stage in the evolution of Christianity is the so-called 'Petrinist' one whose main characters are the original twelve (especially Peter, James and John), and whose principal documentary monument is the Gospel of Matthew.

The second stage in the process begins with the appearance and conversion of Paul, who understood himself as the 'Apostle to the Gentiles': that is, as the missionary of Christianity to the entire 'world' (as contrasted with 'Israel'), an understanding which at once produces conflict, disagreement and contradiction, between Paul and the 'Judaizing party'. This stage is known as the 'Paulinist' or 'Universalist' stage (marked by a breach with the Mosaic Torah, temple-worship and the necessity for cultic circumcision), whose principal literary monuments are Romans, I and II Corinthians (the genuinely Pauline authorship of Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, I and II Thessalonians being rejected by Baur). Open and irreversible conflict was avoided by an agreement that the two parties should operate separately (Acts 15, etc.) and not overtly competitively, despite the opposition to Paul by the 'Judaizers' in Galatia.

The third and final stage of the process can only be understood in the light of Baur's contention that the principal task facing the subapostolic church was that of a mutual 'reconciliation' (*Aufheben*) of the two factions, in which their differences could be 'softened', 'superseded', 'neutralized' and 'overcome'. This is the 'mediating' or 'reconciling' stage of the process, whose literary monuments are thus described by Baur: the Gospel of Luke and Acts (the latter edited by a disciple of Paul, in order to give an idealistic appearance to primitive Christianity); the epistles to the Colossians, the Ephesians and of James, the former two of which are edited by a Paulinist, in contrast to Hebrews, an attempt at mediation by a number of the Judaizing party from an 'Alexandrine' point of view; in the much later Johannine gospel the intra-ecclesiastical struggle is left far behind, and is replaced by an account of Christianity within the framework of a cosmic conflict between God and evil, light and darkness. This third mediating stage is expressed in the old-Catholic (*altkatholisch*) Church of the second century which was to become the research-subject of A. Ritschl, which was obliged or forced (note the element of *necessity*) to develop in response to 'opposing' elements from without – namely, the two early heresies of Gnosticism (derived from Greek speculative notions), and Montanism (ecstatic and prophetic in form, incompatible with classical Christianity in its world-renouncing and rigid asceticism). The second-century church's response to those was twofold: a juridically defined historic episcopate regarded as being successive with and representative of 'the Apostles', able to apply 'original' Christianity in a rapidly changing world; and, second, ecclesiastical dogma, framed in the terminology and concepts of Greek speculative theology, which enabled the church to combat the heretics with their own intellectual weapons. But Baur's account of the emergence of the episcopate was gravely at variance with that given by the Roman Catholic Church, and this, together with the fact that he gave a quite naturalistic account of the emergence of the papacy (that Peter was ever in Rome was dismissed as a pious but unhistorical legend, the choice of Rome as the headquarters of the ancient church being explained in terms of Rome's vast politico-geographical importance), brought him into conflict with his gifted Catholic colleague at Tübingen, Johann Adam Möhler (1796–1838), author of the notable *Symbolik* of 1832 (trans. 1843). As for ecclesiastical dogma, this reached its highest peak in the definition of Christ's person (over against a range of christological heresies) as *homousios* ('of one substance') with the Father at the Council of Nicaea in AD 325.

Even this briefest of sketches should make it clear how wide-ranging and important the researches of Baur were for the nineteenth century. The most difficult and vexatious problem is that of the relation between the thought of Baur and the threefold dialectical movement of Hegelianism. The similarity between the two is obvious, with special reference to the element of logical necessity involved in both; and that Baur had read and admired Hegel* is beyond doubt. But it is a scandal of modern 'textbook history' that Baur has been portrayed as an unyielding and mechanical 'Hegelian', insensitively and unreflectively forcing or imposing the Hegelian scheme on to his historical sources! It is greatly to the credit of much modern research that it has given us a different picture: that Baur reached his main historical conclusions (including his datings of, e.g., the New Testament books) independently of his 'Hegelianism', although it is beyond dispute that he was not unaware *a posteriori* of the similarity between the historical 'movement' reached by his researches and that which lies at the core of the Hegelian view of the historical process. Naturally, Baur's work evoked tremendous controversy both within and without Germany. But much more modern New Testament research (including, naturally, research into the so-called 'Synoptic' problem) saw the light of day in response to and sometimes in disagreement with Baur's published work. His work supplied an impetus also towards renewed research into Christian origins, the evolution of the episcopate and the papacy, the character of the creeds, the nature of early church dogma, and the history of the early heresies. It is agreeable that the recognition of the inestimably important contribution that he made to nineteenth-century historical criticism is today replacing those textbook caricatures and stereotypes which for generations obscured his name and denied to his work the place it deserves in the development of nineteenth-century theological research.

James Richmond

Works: *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. K. Scholder (1963 and following). Translation: *On the Writing of Church History*, ed. Peter C. Hodgson (1968). See: Otto Pfleiderer, *The Development of Theology in Germany Since*

Kant (1890); F. Lichtenberger, *History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century* (1889); Edward Caldwell Moore, *An Outline of the History of Christian Thought Since Kant* (1912); Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. I, 1799–1870 (1972); Peter C. Hodgson, *The Formation of Historical Theology: A Study of Ferdinand Christian Baur* (1966); Horton Harris, *The Tübingen School* (1975).

29
BEARDSLEY, Aubrey Vincent 1872–98

British illustrator and writer

Aubrey Beardsley was born in Brighton. From an early age he had tubercular tendencies and his work was often interrupted by severe attacks of haemorrhaging. As a child he was a precocious draughtsman and pianist. After attending Brighton Grammar School he took a job with a surveyor and then with the Guardian Life Assurance Company in London. He wrote verse and drama and drew in the evenings. In 1891 he introduced himself to the famous painter Burne-Jones*, who was impressed by his work and who helped and encouraged Beardsley in his career as an illustrator. Beardsley began to study in particular the drawings of Mantegna, Dürer and Botticelli. He was also greatly impressed by the 'Peacock Room' Whistler* had designed for the shipping magnate Frederick Leyland; the American artist had made especially elegant and original use of the Japanese style. Beardsley attended some evening classes at Westminster School of Art in 1892 – the only training he received. During this early period he met and was influenced by Puvis de Chavannes*, became interested in Japanese prints and Greek vase decoration, became a 'Wagnerite' and was acquainted with Oscar Wilde*.

In 1892 he received his first commission from the publisher John Dent to provide a large number of line-block illustrations to an edition of Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*. These showed the strong impact of Walter Crane, William Morris* and Burne-Jones and yet, in their extraordinary eclectic and complex effects, reveal Beardsley's own powerful and individual artistic personality. In 1893 he illustrated Wilde's *Salome*, published in 1894 by The Bodley Head, which by its form and contents shocked critics and public. *The Times* reported the edition as:

> fantastic and grotesque, unintelligible for the most part, and, so far as they are intelligible, repulsive. They would seem to represent the manners of Judaea as conceived by a French décadent. The whole thing must be a joke, and it seems to us a very poor joke!

Hostility is often very accurate, at least in its empirical descriptions. In the same year Beardsley founded the *Yellow Book* with Henry Harland, and acted as art editor. In 1895 he was dismissed from the magazine by its publisher John Lane, having been implicated in the Wilde trial, and replied by founding the *Savoy* with Leonard Smithers in 1896. His other major works include illustrations to *The Lysistrata of Aristophanes* (1896), *The Rape of the Lock* (1896), and *Ben Jonson His Volpone* (1898). In 1897 Beardsley became a Catholic convert under the influence of his benefactor André Raffalovich. He died in Menton in the South of France, after chills and haemorrhaging, in 1898 at the age of twenty-five.

During his lifetime Beardsley's drawings, his friends and his habits made him a spectacular and scandalous figure. His art transforms the romanticism of artists like Morris and Burne-Jones into a bitter and erotic fantasy. He achieved this technically by using a fine steel pen and dense black ink, with which he virtually scraped his designs into the cartridge paper. He rarely sketched preliminary studies but rather drew directly with pencil and then went over this with pen and sable brush. Most of his work was executed for photo-mechanical line-block processes. His style of dramatic black and white contrasts and an extremely fine and sinuous line varied from his early complex arts-and-crafts effects, to a classical but personal art nouveau in *Salome* and finally, in *The Rape of the Lock*, to a novel reinterpretation of rococo profusion. This movement shows how far Beardsley naturally veered between extreme minimalism and a profound *horror vacui*. A disturbed but free sexuality informs almost all Beardsley's best work, even when the imagery is not explicitly erotic, and his imagery and style accurately represent the attempt by an *avant-garde* in English art and letters to wholly undermine Victorian morality and aesthetics. Not until Wyndham Lewis was England again to find such an ideologically subversive artist. Beardsley illustrated his own erotic prose story, *Under the Hill*, published posthumously, and this shows him to have had an original literary talent. The critic Roger Fry prophesied Beardsley's future fame as 'the Fra Angelico of Satanism'. His influence, however, was less in matters of immorality than in the visual arts and, significantly, in literature. Artists like Léon Bakst*, Toulouse-Lautrec*, Paul Klee and Picasso can be counted, along with Englishmen like Laurence Housman, Arthur Rackham and Eric Gill, as those directly influenced by his linear and asymmetric art. His influence has also extended to descriptive passages in the works of writers who include D. H. Lawrence, Ronald Firbank and William Faulkner. His purely formal powers as an illustrator, or perhaps interpreter, of literary texts seems to have provoked a response in many different spheres of creativity. This is the greatest testimony to his genius.

Richard Humphreys

See: Robert Ross, *Aubrey Beardsley* (1909); Brian Reade, *Aubrey Beardsley* (1967); Bridgit Brophy, *Aubrey Beardsley* (1976); Stanley Weintraub, *Aubrey Beardsley, Imp of the Perverse* (1976); Simon Wilson, *Beardsley* (1983).

30
BÉCQUER, Gustavo Adolfo 1836–70

Spanish poet

With the posthumous publication of Bécquer's *Rimas* (1871; sixth and latest trans. D. A. Altolé, *Symphony of Love*, 1974) Spanish lyric poetry turned a corner. Bécquer, born in Seville, the son of a painter, drew his inspiration from the popular poetry of Andalusia and from the example of German Lieder which had just begun to be translated. Before this, however, he had made a reputation as a writer of poetic prose. Between 1858 and 1863 he published most of his twenty-two *leyendas* (fanciful short stories). These reveal his special ability to deflect the reader's interest from the real to the fantastic by deft manipulation of details. While some of the *leyendas* are merely anecdotic and others now seem dated by their overtly religious and moral content, the best of them (trans. J. R. Carey, *The Inn of the Cats and Other Stories*, 3rd edn, 1946; C. F. and K. L. Bates, *Romantic Legends of Spain*, 1971) combine humour, pathos and irony with charming elements of fantasy. Also Bécquer created in them a unique type of Spanish lyrical prose based on the incorporation of semi-poetic rhythms and diction, emphasis on sensations rather than ideas or feelings, a colourful and pictorial approach and audacious use of figurative language.

In his literary essays and introductions Bécquer tried to analyse the creative act. Realizing that it stemmed from below the threshold of consciousness, he perceived (in contrast to his Spanish contemporaries) that poetry was born, not out of ideas, but out of a mysterious stirring in the depths of the mind. In tune with this conviction he turned away from the prevailing pattern of poetry of statement and moved towards poetry of subtle suggestion and the exploration of sensations, intuitions and non-rational experience. In this way he broke entirely new ground for Spanish poetry, and revealed to younger poets a whole range of fresh possibilities. At the same time he introduced into the Spanish lyric a new tone of quiet intimacy in contrast to the often shrill or portentous sound of much Romantic and Post-Romantic verse.

We do not know enough about Bécquer's emotional life to be able to relate the *Rimas* to it. However, we can discern a group of poems expressing the hopeful, ascendant phase of love and a second group dominated by disillusionment and bitterness. Thus a major theme of the *Rimas* is that of the joys and sorrows of the lover. Finally there is a group of lyrics concerned with the ultimate destiny of man and related themes, such as death, immortality and religious faith. This last group is of importance as linking Bécquer with the Romantic legacy of spiritual unrest.

Bécquer's best poems are those in which, in order to convey new sensations and states of mind, he developed a new arsenal of expressive effects based chiefly on visual and auditive imagery, with a tendency away from the concrete towards the evanescent, the imprecise and the nebulous. But Bécquer's poetic technique has hitherto resisted analysis: as when an Impressionist painting is put beside earlier nineteenth-century pictures, we recognize the difference instinctively. The imprint of Bécquer's work is strong on that of Spain's finest woman poet, Rosaliá Castro. Rubén Darió who is regarded as the father of modern poetry in Spanish, began by imitating Bécquer. By 1904 one of the two poets of the Generation of 1898, Machado, could call him 'the first innovator' and twenty years later the other, Unamuno, was still under his influence. Frequent re-editions of the *Rimas* attest the fact that his popularity with the general reader in Spain and Latin America is undiminished.

D. L. Shaw

See: his *Obras* (1962) and E. L. King, *Gustava Adolfo Bécquer, From Painter to Poet* (Mexico City, 1953).

31
BEETHOVEN, Ludwig van 1770–1827

German composer

The eldest of three children, Ludwig van Beethoven received his earliest musical training from his father, a music teacher and singer at the electoral court in Bonn. This instruction was supplemented by friends and relatives until about 1780, when the court organist Christian Gottlob Neefe became the boy's piano and composition teacher. At Neefe's urging, Beethoven visited Vienna in 1787, hoping to have composition lessons from Mozart; but his mother's illness hastened him back to Bonn after only a few weeks, and he was never to see Mozart again. In Bonn, Beethoven quickly established himself as a competent musician, deputizing for Neefe whenever he was away. As he reached manhood and became a court musician in his own right, he composed an important *Cantata on the Death of Joseph II* early in 1790 and a second cantata, for the election of Leopold as the new emperor, later the same year. In 1792 Haydn, returning from his first visit to London, stopped over in Bonn, where he met Beethoven and saw some of this music. As a result of this meeting Beethoven left Bonn late in 1792 for Vienna where,

apart from occasional travel, he was to spend the rest of his life.

Beethoven lost no time winning a reputation as a pianist and teacher among the Viennese aristocracy. His recognition as a composer came more slowly, but by the end of the 1790s a number of works bearing his individual stamp had become popular, including the 'Pathétique' Sonata (1798–9). In 1800 he completed his first set of string quartets (op. 18) and mounted a successful concert which included the first performance of his First Symphony. But although he was triumphing as a performer and composer, he was also becoming aware of a condition that was to afflict him for the rest of his life: deafness. Though it did not surface immediately as an insuperable professional and social handicap, Beethoven's coming to terms with his increasing deafness, expressed to close friends in touching letters in 1801 and 1802, created a turning point in his life. From then on he became less concerned with his outward appearance, more bad-tempered in the company of friends and admirers, and – eventually – more reclusive. Artistically, he was spurred on to hitherto unimaginable achievements. The 'Eroica' Symphony (1803–4), rightly described as a great watershed of musical composition, was the first result of Beethoven's new determination, and it was followed in the next five years by three more symphonies, two piano concertos and a violin concerto, the three 'Rasumovsky' string quartets (op. 59, 1806), the opera *Leonore* (1805, revised in 1806 and – as *Fidelio* – again in 1814), and numerous other masterpieces of symphonic, chamber and piano music. He continued to receive substantial (albeit at times irregular) financial support from the Viennese nobility. In the later years one of his most faithful pupil-friends and generous supporters, the young Archduke Rudolph, was made the dedicatee of several of Beethoven's greatest works, including the last two piano concertos, a piano trio, three of the last seven piano sonatas, and the monumental *Missa Solemnis* (1819–23), which was composed for the occasion of Rudolph's installation as Archbishop of Olmütz (now Olomouc).

Towards the end of his career Beethoven relied increasingly on the income received from the publication of his music. For a time he was reduced to making arrangments of folksongs of various nationalities for small chamber ensemble. The ageing composer suffered from near-total deafness, poor health, occasional periods of acute illness and more frequent ones of deep depression. His only sustained passion for another human being was for his nephew Karl, of whom he was initially made joint guardian after his brother's death in 1815 and eventually won (in an extended court case) sole custody. But the relationship, which has been interpreted as the outcome of Beethoven's failure at a love relationship with a woman, was never a completely happy one; and Karl's attempted suicide in 1826 probably helped hasten Beethoven's own end the following year.

When Beethoven was born, the current musical language – what is now called the 'Classical style' – was reaching its first maturity in the early symphonies and string quartets of Haydn. By the time Beethoven was a grown man, ready to embark on a professional career in the Austrian capital, Haydn had elevated the Classical style to serve the highest musical art, and Mozart (whose career barely spans Beethoven's childhood and adolescence) had assimilated Haydn's style and those of contemporary composers elsewhere in Europe to create some of the most sublime musical creations of all time. Thus Beethoven, though his formal training was modest, had the advantage of a fully developed musical language before him and many excellent models to emulate. In the earliest works the influence of Mozart can be clearly seen in specific compositions. Many works from the 1790s are in the same key and for the same instruments, as well as having the same overall movement structure as mature pieces by Mozart. The results of this emulation are mixed. The String Trio op. 3 and the Quintet for piano and wind op. 16 fall short of their respective models (Mozart's K.563 and K.452). Yet the 'Pathétique' Sonata, thematically and emotionally patterned after Mozart's big Fantasia and Sonata in C minor of 1785–6 (K.475 and K.457), is a high-point in Beethoven's early development. And the A major quartet from op. 18 at times approaches, at times exceeds, Mozart's K.464 in range of expression and compositional technique. But Beethoven was also conscious of Haydn's achievements, to the extent that, in the best of his early music, he is often able to combine Haydn's special ability to develop themes and motifs with Mozart's elegant formal proportions, ravishing melodic power and sensuous chromaticism. Beethoven's total absorption of his Classical inheritance culminates in the op. 18 quartets (especially no. 1, in F), in the First and Second Symphonies, and in many of the first fifteen piano sonatas.

The turn towards what is commonly referred to as the 'middle period' occurred some time between 1801 and 1803, when the composer became aware of the handicap his deafness was creating. In the second of the piano sonatas op. 31, in D minor and commonly known as the 'Tempest', Beethoven worked out an unusual solution to the problem of integrating a slow introduction into the traditional sonata structure. In the 'Kreutzer' Sonata for violin and piano, he successfully combined compositional integrity with a high degree of technical difficulty for the violinist and the pianist. (This virtuoso element becomes increasingly prominent in his later style.)

But the first fully ripened fruit of Beethoven's new artistic growth is undoubtedly the 'Eroica' Symphony. Here the scale and dimensions of classical instrumental

composition are about doubled. This expansion results from an internal growth in all four movements. Even the traditionally slender minuet or scherzo movement, which preserved the eighteenth-century convention of incorporating dance music into serious instrumental composition, is expanded here: the third movement of the 'Eroica' begins in the home key of E flat, but the first actual theme we hear (i.e. a hummable tune, for the oboe) is in a different key; the resolution of this conflict, between the home key and another tonality, requires a greater expansion than 'normal' classical proportions could have predicted.

It is the first movement of the 'Eroica', however, that has most attracted the attention of musical analysts. The very opening bars seem to forecast a much bigger structure than anything that had been conceived before. The theme, which – atypically – is begun as a bass line (by the cellos) and completed as a melodic line (by the violins), contains the seeds of many of the melodic and harmonic developments which are played out in the course of the movement. And the very point at which cello and violin strands intersect highlights the crucial notes about which these developments unfold.

From the 'Eroica' on, Beethoven explored new possibilities for the wind and percussion instruments of the orchestra. In the 'Eroica' he was content to add just one new instrument to the ensemble – the third horn. But the effects of this addition are far-reaching. For not only is the sound of the horn trio exploited for its own sake (in the middle section of the scherzo), Beethoven also uses the horns to extend his musical structure. In the first movement he makes the second horn seem to enter a few bars too early with the reprise of the first theme; moments later the first horn enters, but now in the 'wrong' key.

In the Fifth Symphony (1807–8) Beethoven achieved large-scale unity not only from the pervasive employment of the famous four-note motif but also by using the brass in a special way: instead of pitching the horns and trumpets (and the timpani) in the same key as each of the individual movements, as would have been customary in the late eighteenth century, he keeps these instruments in the key of C throughout so that this tonality can be referred to at any time during the symphony. (The most striking outbursts of C occur in the slow movement, whose home key is the remote A flat.) Beethoven's later ideas on instrumentation led him eventually to use the timpani in a thematic (or motivic) role, first in the scherzo of the Seventh Symphony, then in the finale of the Eighth and the scherzo of the Ninth; in the latter two movements the timpani are tuned unprecendentedly an octave apart.

One other example of Beethoven's middle-period orchestration deserves special mention. In the Sixth Symphony, the 'Pastoral' (1808), he scores the first two movements and part of the third for small orchestra: woodwind, two horns, strings. In the middle of the third movement the trumpets are added; then during the fourth movement (subtitled 'Thunderstorm') the timpani, piccolo and trombones are brought in. Towards the end of this movement these extra instruments drop out – roughly in the order in which they were introduced – but the trumpets and trombones are brought back once more for the final movement, a 'Hymn of Thanksgiving'. This gradual building up of orchestral forces, followed by a partial dismantling, not only reinforces the external programme of the symphony but helps to show its musical architecture as being based on a single dynamic curve.

The modification of classical proportions in music, which can be seen on a large scale in the 'Pastoral' Symphony, was abandoned for a time, and Beethoven's next two symphonies, the Seventh and Eighth (1811–12), show a clear return to 'tried and true' classical formats. Yet it was a matter he returned to consistently from about 1815 onwards, albeit mainly in works for chamber or solo forces. One way he sought to bring unity to multi-movement work was to quote the opening theme of a piece just before the final movement: examples of this are found in the Piano Sonata op. 101 and the Sonata in C for cello and piano op. 102, no.1 (both completed in 1816); a further development of this idea occurs in the Ninth Symphony, whose finale contains a catalogue of themes from previous movements. Another method of unifying a large structure was to have the end of a movement resolve on to – or seem to melt into – the beginning of the next movement. The late piano sonatas opp. 109–11 (1820–2) and the song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte* (1815–16) are rich sources of this procedure. Beethoven also composed some long movements which can be subdivided into smaller parts that seem to be movements – not yet fully formed – in themselves. The Ninth Symphony finale, though held together by the tune of the *Ode to Joy*, contains such a scherzo (for tenor solo, accompanied by Turkish wind band) and slow movement (based on a particular stanza of Schiller's poem). A similar plan unfolds in the *Grosse Fuge* op. 133, which was originally the finale of another string quartet.

In all these 'new' forms Beethoven was striving after a balance of mood. This is something which could be achieved in the eighteenth century by composing a set of contrasting and complementary works and publishing them together as a single opus, each work being in a different key and one of them being in a minor key. This balance among keys, often only remotely related to one another, and between minor and major is something which Beethoven sought to achieve within the limits of a single work; success came in the late quartets.

The last five string quartets, written between 1824 and 1826, represent a culmination of Beethoven's art in the terms discussed above. Problems of large-scale

structure dominate the three central works: op. 132 in A minor, op. 130 in B flat (originally ending with the *Grosse Fuge*) and op. 131 in C sharp minor. In each of these, Beethoven proposed still more radical solutions to the problems he had faced in the Ninth Symphony and the late chamber and solo instrumental works: the concept of 'movement', tonality in the large, thematic unification, even the meaning – verbal or philosophical – of musical utterances. We find some superficial resemblances to op. 132 in Mendelssohn's* early A minor string quartet (op. 13), and Richard Wagner* was more deeply affected by these works, especially op. 131. But one must look much further ahead – to the symphonies of Mahler*, and to the music of Bartók, Schoenberg and other twentieth-century masters – to observe a truly profound influence of these works.

It was perhaps to be expected that Beethoven's achievements in his last five years were not entirely understood by the next generation of musicians. For them the message of revolution, freedom and universal brotherhood was easier to grasp than the musical problems in his works, and the solutions which they offered. Such thinking about the composer prevailed in the nineteenth century, and has persisted up to our own time: commentators continue to search for, or invent, 'programmes' and other metaphors for his evidently abstract musical structures. To some extent Beethoven himself paved the way for this romanticized view, either by giving descriptive names like *sonate pathétique*, *sinfonia eroica* and *quartetto serioso* to compositions which are thoroughly classicial in design, or by attaching verbal mottoes like '*Lebewohl*' or '*Muss es sein? – Es muss sein!*' to simple musical motifs. He may even be held responsible – indirectly – for the fact that discussions of the Ninth Symphony usually centre round the choral finale, with its famous Schiller text (the finale is, in effect, a multi-movement cantata for solo voices, chorus, and large orchestra including special 'Turkish' contingent), in preference to the first three movements, which are probably more innovatory in harmony, in orchestration and even in form.

It should also be emphasized that, despite Beethoven's example, there was considerable change in the techniques of composition during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Though Beethoven himself remained faithful to the 'sonata principle', many younger composers, including Schubert*, Mendelssohn, Schumann* and Chopin*, were beginning to favour smaller forms of expression in which the creation of themes, rather than their development, was regarded as the chief process of composition. And when these composers did write in sonata form, they tended to emphasize its sectional aspect (e.g. the contrast between first and second subjects) as much as its dramatic power. Moreover, both Schubert and Schumann took some of Beethoven's less characteristic works as models for composition, especially some of the modest but gently exploratory works of *c.* 1809–16. It was with the piano sonatas and cello sonatas from these years, and with the song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte*, that Beethoven touched these composers deeply and thereby exerted a genuinely musical influence on the Romantics.

In one major field of composition, that of opera, Beethoven did not break new musical ground. True, the score of *Fidelio*, which cost him much effort (three versions survive, the first two being called *Leonore*), is rich in profound musical utterances, and the sentiments expressed in the libretto are in perfect harmony with Romantic idealism. Yet the models for the overall design of *Fidelio* are, clearly, the mature comic operas of Mozart, which must remain the focal point for the study of classical opera.

One aspect of Beethoven's musical achievement has not ceased to fascinate scholars and laymen alike for more than a century: the record of his labours which has been preserved in the sketchbooks. In these manuscripts it is possible to trace the genesis of most of the composer's masterpieces, to observe the development of some ideas and the suppression of others. The sketches offer a kind of musical biography of the composer, one which runs parallel to the events of his life and furnishes evidence concerning the chronology of his works and insight into his development as a creative artist. Whether or not the sketches can offer analytical insight into individual works has been a matter of debate. Gustav Nottebohm, the nineteenth-century pioneer of Beethoven scholarship, used the sketches chiefly as an aid to determining chronology and resolving textual problems, yet he could not conceal his fascination with Beethoven's compositional process. Heinrich Schenker, in his critical editions of the late sonatas (1913–21), frequently transcribed and commented on the sketches as a way of amplifying his analyses. More recently the relationships between Beethoven's compositional process and contemporary analytical procedures have been defined more scientifically; and it has even been shown that, to a limited extent, the stages in the genesis of a Beethoven work are in reciprocal relation with the layers resulting from a Schenkerian analysis of that work. But criticism of this stance has been expressed with equal eloquence.

William Drabkin

The standard biography of Beethoven was written by A. W. Thayer in the nineteenth century, and was revised critically for the first time by Elliot Forbes as *Thayer's Life of Beethoven* (1964). The most up-to-date, informed and enlightening biography is Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (1977). There is no reliable German edition of the letters; the best edition, in English translation, is by Emily Anderson (1961). Critical: D. F. Tovey, *Beethoven* (1944), *Essays in Musical Analysis*, i–ii (1935) and *Companion to the Beethoven Pianoforte Sonatas* (1931); Walter Riezler,

Beethoven (1938); Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (1967); Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style* (1971). Schenker's analyses of the Ninth (1912), Fifth (1925) and Third (1930) Symphonies offer some of the most penetrating insights into musical structure ever recorded.

32

BEETON, Samuel Orchart 1831–77

British editor and publisher

BEETON, Isabella Mary Mayson 1836–65

British journalist

Illustrated magazines and special interest publications intended for a mass market were a creation of the nineteenth century, and in England no one was more influential in their development than Samuel Beeton. Women's and juvenile magazines of today are still modelled on the Beeton prototypes which were at once the first and best of their sort, and the part-work and branded reference book industries that he pioneered are flourishing. Yet, while Samuel Beeton is not remembered, his wife Isabella Beeton is: and mainly for the cooking recipes that she did not originate.

Born in London and apprenticed there in the printing and paper trade, Samuel Beeton was well placed to respond to the needs of the larger reading public that emerged in mid-nineteenth-century Britain as a result of increased levels of literacy. What this public wanted was material that was cheap, entertaining and 'improving', consonant with the general belief in self-help, self-improvement, diligence and industry prevalent at the time. In 1852, at the age of twenty-one, Beeton launched the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*. Beeton's intention, as set out in the preface to the first issue, was to provide a periodical which should 'tend to the improvement of the intellect', a radical notion in that pre-feminist era. The tone of the publication was challenging and stimulating, the object being to encourage independence and to teach the reader to think for herself. For a monthly cost of 2d women were presented with a wide range of articles which, in addition to the predictable items on cookery, gardening, and child care, included more original features such as problem pages, medical articles, coloured fashion plates and free needlework and dressmaking patterns – items that remain a mainstay of women's magazines to this day. The *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* also carried serializations of quality fiction, for example Hawthorne's* *Scarlet Letter*.

In 1855, Beeton launched the *Boy's Own Magazine*, the first magazine for boys. Here his aim was to 'produce pleasure and convey instruction', and through its deliberately brisk adult style it heralded a general trend in children's literature away from cloying sentimentality on the one hand and parental exhortation on the other. As well as adventure stories, *Boy's Own* featured essays on sporting subjects, on nature, on travel and on biography.

Acting as editor and publisher Beeton was to launch seven magazines in all, the other five being the *Boy's Own Journal* (1856), the *Boy's Penny Magazine* (1860), *Beeton's Christmas Annual* (1860), *The Queen* (1861) and *The Young Englishwoman*, (1864) the first magazine for girls.

In 1856 Beeton married Isabella Mary Mayson, who had grown up literally beneath the grandstand at Epsom race-course, where her stepfather was Clerk of the Course. Her education had been completed at Heidelberg, to a high standard unusual for Englishwomen at the time, and within a few months of her marriage she was writing on fashion and domestic subjects for the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*.

Reference books and encyclopedias were becoming one of the mainstays of the popular publishing trade and in the early 1860s Beeton began work on a series of special interest, female and juvenile reference publications that would ultimately amount to more than a hundred titles covering such diverse subjects as cookery, religion, gardening, natural history, letter writing, the stock market and public speaking. Some of these works were volumes complete in themselves, others were introduced as related part-works which were finally reissued as one comprehensive volume. By far the most successful of these part-works was Beeton's *Book of Household Management*, conceived by Sam and compiled by Isabella, first issued in volume form in 1861.

The *Book of Household Management* was the first genuinely comprehensive digest of all matters domestic, a work which remains unrivalled for accuracy and scope. Although the cookery chapters were largely composed of recipes gathered from a variety of contemporary sources, Isabella devised a style of cookery writing notable for clarity, simplicity of preparation and emphasis on economy and nutrition that has set the standard for cookery books ever since. Among the other subjects dealt with in the *Book of Household Management* were the duties of the mistress of the household, etiquette, the arrangement of dinner parties, child and infant care, meticulous descriptions of the duties of household servants and even the buying and selling of houses. Today the *Book of Household Management* provides historians with a unique social document whose range and detail permit an accurate reconstruction of the life of the time. In a contemporary context, it was notable for its appeal to all classes of society. On the one hand it was an invaluable social guide for the *nouveaux riches*, but for the poorer classes to whom domestic service provided the only opportunity for advancement, the *Book of Household Management* purposely

set out to provide, in its description of household duties, sufficient information to assist the reader to embark on a career in service. Also, in an era of industrial innovation that saw the introduction of canned foods, packet soups, roller-milled flour, gas cookers and refrigeration, the homely and economical strictures contained in the cookery section – spiced with Isabella's catchphrases 'clear as you go' and 'a place for everything' – enabled women of all classes to make the best of the new inventions.

Isabella Beeton was typical of the women for whom her husband published his magazines – a woman of feminine aspect but independent mind, who believed that education and a career could only enhance and enrich her traditional role as wife and mother. She died in 1865, at the age of twenty-nine, of puerperal fever following the birth of her fourth child, the first two having died in infancy. A year later Beeton was obliged to work as a salaried employee of a rival firm, after losing his assets in a banking collapse. He continued to produce a stream of reference books, but never recovered from his bereavement and financial reversals. In his last years he turned to publishing radical attacks on the establishment, arguing for such controversial measures as the abdication of Queen Victoria* in favour of the Prince of Wales. He died of tuberculosis at the age of forty-six.

Kaori O'Connor

See: Nancy Spain, *Mrs Beeton and her Husband* (1948); H. Montgomery Hyde, *Mr and Mrs Beeton* (1951); Sarah Freeman, *Isabella and Sam* (1977).

33
BELL, Alexander Graham 1847–1922

Scots/US inventor

Bell immortalized the words 'Watson, please come here – I want you' as the first telephonic cry for help. His grandfather had studied sound engineering and his father researched speech and the teaching of deaf children in Edinburgh, where Alexander was born. The family, decimated by tuberculosis, moved to Canada in 1870, and Bell went to America in 1871. Two years later he became Professor of Vocal Physiology at Boston University. Falling in love with a deaf student concentrated his researches.

Out of work to improve the telegraph and rethink some of Helmholtz's* ideas on hearing and sound production and Joseph Henry's electromagnetic experiments and achievements in the transmission of a steady current over long distances, Bell sought to convert sound-wave vibrations into electric current and back again. The immortal words were uttered on impulse to his assistant after an accident with some battery acid. Watson, on another floor, heard them coming from one of Bell's instruments. Bell patented the telephone in 1876, commercialized it, married and became an American citizen. Edison* added a more efficient mouthpiece to the instrument, and at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition the Emperor of Brazil publicized it by dropping it when it talked. Queen Victoria* helped by buying one. Bell later developed Edison's phonograph, invented a metal locator to hunt down the assassin's bullet in President Garfield (the mattress springs interfered with its success on this occasion), founded *Science*, a major journal, in 1883, supported the unfortunate Samuel Langley's airplane experiments, and looked into air-conditioning. In 1915 he said the immortal words again, opening the first transcontinental telephone. It surely could not have been from lack of imagination. And Bell kept faith in another respect: his interest in the problems of the deaf, which may be said to have inspired his revolution in communications, continued into old age. The money earned from his 'Graphophone', the first successful attempt to record sound, was used to fund the American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf, renamed in 1956 The Alexander Graham Bell Association for the Deaf.

Eric Mottram

See *The Dispositions of Alexander Graham Bell* (1908); Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Wires and New Waves* (1936); R. U. Bruce, *Alexander Graham Bell and the Conquest of Solitude* (1973).

34
BELLINI, Vincenzo 1801–35

Italian composer

'Bellini is, it is true, poor in orchestration and harmony . . . but rich in feeling and in his own, individual melancholy! Even in his least known operas, . . . there are long, long, long melodies which no one had done before him.' The assessment, made by Giuseppe Verdi* in 1898, would be endorsed by many today: Bellini is a composer restricted in technical range but, particularly in melodic invention, of considerable originality and power. His masterpiece, *Norma*, remains in the repertory of the world's major opera houses, while most of his other operas enjoy occasional revivals or gramophone recordings.

Bellini came from a family with strong musical traditions. Born in the Sicilian town of Catania, his precocious musical ability was fostered by his grandfather (himself a composer), and showed itself mostly in religious compositions. A decisive move occurred in 1819 when Bellini enrolled at the Naples Conservatoire. From 1822 he took lessons there with the famous Nea-

politan composer Zingarelli and in 1825 graduated with an opera entitled *Adelson e Salvini*. This was sufficiently successful to stimulate commissions for two further operas, one for Naples, *Bianca e Fernando* (1827), and one for La Scala, Milan, *Il pirata* (1827).

By the time of *Il pirata* the essentials of Bellini's mature style are all present. Early influences – inevitably Rossini*, but also Mozart and the popular idiom of southern Italy – have been assimilated, synthesized within Bellini's primary means of musico-dramatic communication: his richly individual melodic style. Typically moving in the compound metres of Sicilian folk music, with far less vocal ornamentation than Rossini, the melodic lines often seem directly inspired by the words which underpin them. In this respect it is significant that *Il pirata* also marks the beginning of Bellini's long collaboration with the librettist Felice Romani, whose poised Neoclassicism seems perfectly matched by the composer's delicately balanced vocal writing.

From 1827 until the final two years of his life, Bellini made Milan the centre of his activities. In spite of their mixed initial receptions, his next three operas, *La straniera* (1829), *Zaira* (1829) and *I Capuleti ed i Montecchi* (1830), served to consolidate his already considerable reputation within Italy. During the 1830s and early 1840s, Bellini was second only to Donizetti* in popularity, and this position was all the more remarkable in being based on so few works. The unprecedented fees he demanded became a standard for aspiring composers.

In 1831 Bellini produced two operas for Milan which many consider to be his greatest achievements. The first, *La sonnambula*, is unique in his mature output; rather than a tragic work, it is an *opera semiseria*, a rustic tale of unashamed sentimentality. *Norma*, on the other hand, shows the composer at his most dramatically varied; the heroine's opening aria, 'Casta diva', remains an unsurpassed model of classically balanced vocal lyricism, while the final act generates more dramatic power than the composer had previously attempted. Two years later came *Beatrice di Tenda*, a failure at its first performance but soon one of the most popular repertoire pieces in nineteenth-century Italy.

In 1833 Bellini moved to Paris, meeting Chopin*, Heine*, Rossini and others. His last opera, *I puritani*, was produced there in 1835. By this stage he had broken with Romani, and many consider this final opera flawed by Count Carlo Pepoli's rather clumsy libretto. Others, however, are by no means as dismissive, seeing in this last work an attempt to experiment with a completely novel musico-dramatic structure, one devoid of conflicts, with the atmosphere tending towards fable rather than melodrama. In the light of this new departure, Bellini's death from dysentery in September 1835 becomes all the more tragically premature.

Bellini's reputation and popularity, which sank to a low point in the early years of our present century, has in the past thirty years increased quite substantially. True, in an operatic career which spanned barely ten years, we are unlikely to find the stylistic developments so prominent in Donizetti or Verdi; nor would many make claims for the composer's powers of musical characterization or rhythmic invention; but his *'melodie lunghe, lunghe, lunghe'* continued to exert a powerful influence on composers as disparate as Berlioz*, Chopin, Verdi and Wagner*. As musicologists become increasingly aware of historical continuities within the nineteenth century, Bellini may well assume even greater significance.

Roger Parker

All Bellini's operas have been mentioned above (*Il fu ed il sara*, 1832, is almost certainly an unauthorized pasticcio). He also composed a number of religious works (mostly before 1825) and occasional vocal and instrumental pieces. The major collection of letters is L. Cambi, *Vincenzo Bellini: epistolario* (1943). See: L. Orrey, *Bellini* (1969), and H. Weinstock, *Vincenzo Bellini: His Life and his Operas* (1971). The most thoroughgoing critical study is F. Lippmann, 'Vincenzo Bellini und die italienische Opera seria seiner Zeit' in *Analecta Musicologica*, vol. 6, 1969.

35
BENTHAM, Jeremy 1748–1832

British philosopher and reformer

The modern edition of Bentham's works is planned in thirty-two volumes, many drawn from unpublished manuscripts; indeed some of his most influential works had not even been published in his lifetime, such a reviser, such an improver, such a perfectionist he was. His disciples were often moved nearly to despair by his failure to publish major works on which he had toiled off and on for twenty or thirty years, although they had read the manuscripts and made use of them in legal or political argument or schemes for reform. John Bowring partly remedied the situation by publishing between 1838 and 1843 eleven volumes of *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, giving his already great influence a second wave of power. But Bentham had published enough and advised enough in his lifetime permanently to change the way we think of public law.

His father was a prosperous and ambitious London attorney. He wanted his son to be a great man, perhaps Lord Chancellor and a member of the peerage. Certainly Jeremy was an infant prodigy, reading fluently and tackling history at three and writing in Latin by five. Nor were music and literature neglected, for the social graces were needed for social advance. At seven

he went to Westminster School and at thirteen to Queen's College, Oxford, as the two most fashionable and most orthodox institutions of the day. Graduating at sixteen, he returned to London to read for the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, though in the winter of 1763 he returned to Oxford to hear Blackstone's lectures on the laws of England. But the state of the law and the discipline of law both equally appalled young Bentham. Most of the Common Law appeared to him as incoherent and inconsistent nonsense, both lacking in principle and malign and uncertain in effect. He began to look to the French and Italian Enlightenment to find universal principles, initially to understand how laws in general relate to human society, and, finally to demonstrate how the whole structure of law might be rationally reformed and objective and benign criteria for legislation established according to the 'felicific calculus', the balance of pleasure and pain, 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number': in a word, 'utilitarianism'.

This enterprise, through all its intricacies and exaggerations, became Bentham's entire life work and his achievement. For when all the mocking is done about the over-precision of some of his definitions and criteria, about the impracticality of some of his schemes for reform, about his hopes to measure different kinds of pleasure and pain, and when all scepticism has been considered about whether his ideas directly influenced the course of nineteenth-century legal and administrative reform, it can hardly be denied that he was responsible for one of the great conceptual shifts in distinctively modern thinking: the move from perceiving legislation and judicial decisions as the necessary embodiments of the traditions and history of a community into thinking of them as rational instruments of change to increase public well-being.

He began work on a vast critique of Blackstone, not simply to show the incoherence of the argument from tradition and precedent, but – typical of Bentham's method – to show case by case that Blackstone's own argument did not work even on his own grounds. Small wonder that the scale of the work got out of hand and seemed endless, but he did publish in 1776 (what Leslie Stephen* was to call that '*annum mirabilis*' of publishing) a digression called *A Fragment on Government*. This attacked Blackstone's constitutional views, especially his doctrine of 'the sovereignty of Parliament', that an unchallengeable and legally uncontrollable sovereignty was everywhere necessary and that in England it resided in parliament. Thus, if parliament made an error or committed an evil, there was simply no remedy if law and order were to be maintained (the 'sovereignty of Parliament' was indeed the keystone of the ideology of the governing class, linking both Whig and Tory). Bentham mocked: did Blackstone think that the Swiss in their Federal cantons 'know not government' because they 'knew not the blessing of sovereignty'? Characteristic of Bentham were swift oscillations from pages of excruciatingly pedantic definitions and criticisms of other definitions into paragraphs of biting colloquiality. (Only in his *Book of Fallacies*, 1824, a taxonomy of the arguments reactionaries invoke against reform, did these two contrary qualities come together with an almost Swiftian vigour.) The *Fragment on Government* brought him to the attention of Lord Shelburne, an aristocratic reformer and *salonier*. Shelburne introduced Bentham to the leading parliamentary and legal reformers of the day. From that time on Bentham's influence lay as much in the advice he gave and the projects they hatched together in discussion as in his published writings. He was mentor, so long as he was active, to two great generations of reformers, those of the 1780s and of the 1820s. But his work always came first: he apologized to Talleyrand that he must ask him to dinner rather than see him in the day 'for I cannot abridge my working hours'.

His most famous and influential work was the *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789). It began: 'Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, *pain* and *pleasure*', from which premise he famously argued that 'the Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number' should be the object of legislation. It is easy to pick holes in this, particularly on ideal or perverse assumptions about what minorities might view as happiness; but it is still hard to think of anything better as a *general* principle for the mind of every legislator, the broadest possible test to be applied to the codification, amendment, retention or formulation of legislation. Most legislation in Bentham's day was nakedly and simply passed or preserved in the interests of the landowning class: almost any general principles applied to law would be emancipatory.

Certainly Bentham could over-elaborate and believed that correct definitions and the unambiguous use of words, even if it meant inventing new words, could settle argument and even allow exact and measurable comparisons of legislative pleasure and pain. His major works had to be torn from his desk, edited and often toned down or simplified by loyal disciples. The young John Stuart Mill* edited five volumes of his *Rationale of Judicial Evidence* (1825), probably the largest empirical study with the clearest theoretical perspective that had ever been made of what comes to count as 'evidence' in law. Through Lord Shelburne's circle he met a young Swiss reformer, Etienne Dumont, who began to translate into French and simplify many of Bentham's works, beginning with an early version of his *Constitutional Code* and ending thirty-seven years later in 1829 with *De l'organisation judiciaire et de la codification*, often working from manuscripts not published in English until after Bentham's death (and sometimes Dumont's improved versions were translated back into English). From Dumont's French ver-

sions were taken the Spanish at the very time of the break-up of the Spanish South American Empire, so Hispanic liberals and liberators took up Bentham's principles: even in his lifetime he had a world-wide fame and correspondence and knew that Spanish authors called him *El legislador del mundo.*

An early trip to Russia in 1779 did not persuade the Empress Catherine to adopt a reformed constitution (as his host had hoped). Almost from then on his influence radiated out from his study in a small house near the Palace of Westminster where he lived comfortably but simply on a small family legacy. He worked on his famous 'panopticon' scheme for a model prison for over twenty years, which began life as a plan for cooperative settlements for the unemployed. If this can be thought emblematic of the rationalistic folly of Bentham, the tale of its indirect influence over subsequent prison reform is, if complex, impressive and even at the time parliament compensated him for his efforts. He wasted much time on an attempt to promote a Thames Police Bill in the 1790s, which was really the thin end of a wedge for comprehensive local government reform: it came to next to nothing, but its principles were taken up by Sir Robert Peel in the 1829 Metropolitan Police Act. Sometimes his thought was literally far ahead of his time. In *The Principles of Morals and Legislation* he had said that the Greatest Happiness Principle implied four subordinate aims of government: subsistence, abundance, security and equality; and these in turn implied, he was quite explicit: free education, guaranteed employment, minimum wages, sickness benefits and old-age insurance, thus virtually the whole programme of the modern welfare state of industrial societies.

His influence on legal and administrative reform has been disputed. That contemporaries of intelligence and influence counted themselves his friends or disciples is obvious: Shelburne and Romilly in the older generation, the Mills, Austin*, Grote, Bowring, Dumont, Roebuck, Fonblanque, Bingham, Burdett, Graham, Eyton Tooke and Lord Brougham in the early nineteenth century. Edwin Chadwick took the details of the New Poor Law of 1834 from the unfinished *Constitutional Code* and of the Act of 1836 establishing a proper census of vital statistics for the first time. Parkes and Place drafted the Municipal Reform Bill of 1835 from the *Code*. And the reorganization of government departments, reform of the land laws, the parcel post, national secondary education, the modern police force and the establishing of a civil service based on competitive examination have all been laid at Bentham's door. But historians of the Cambridge school have doubted the claim that ideas and arguments could have such effects, suggesting instead that 'reforms' take place because of the perceived needs of government itself responding to social change. This may, indeed, explain why and when reforms take place, better than Millite myths that reason eventually wins the day; but the *form* many of these changes took, when the need for change at all was conceded, owed much to Bentham. Such historians also return to his texts and damningly ask whether there is a single example of any of his elaborate schemes ever being put into practice as he would have wished (even the founding of London University). The answer is obvious but the point is not made. The question is, rather, would certain things have taken the form they did if Bentham had not written and had not had his active disciples? All ideas are tempered by practice, all paper projects fail in their detail but many change the whole climate of expectations. None of Bentham's disciples who entered government or administration were hundred per cent devotees, but all achieved something on his lines. Bentham's status has been diminished by using the *reductio ad absurdum*: look at the 'panopticon' scheme and where is it? But a less polemical history of ideas (on both sides) would carefully explore degrees of commitment among a great teacher's followers and degrees of influence by them in practical affairs. Nothing happened as Bentham intended, but much of our contemporary landscape in government, law and education would be unimaginable without him.

Bernard Crick

See: *Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham* (from 1968). Charles W. Everett, *Jeremy Bentham* (1969), contains useful selections as well as commentary and a brief life. See also: Mary P. Mack, *Jeremy Bentham* (1962); Elie Halévy, *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism* (1901–4); Leslie Stephen, *The English Utilitarians* (1900).

36
BERLIOZ, Louis-Hector 1803–69

French composer

Hector Berlioz was the son of a country doctor from La Côte-St-André, between Lyon and Grenoble. He came to Paris at the age of seventeen to attend medical school and made it his home for the rest of his life. He showed early enthusiasm and aptitude for music, greatly magnified by his encounter with Parisian music, especially opera, and he soon gave up medicine for the less certain career of music; he earned his living at first by singing in a theatre chorus and by giving guitar lessons, later by writing criticism, an occupation which he sustained intensively for over thirty years despite his distaste for it, and by conducting.

His teachers in Paris were Lesueur and Reicha, both individualists from whom he learned much, although his obsessive admiration for Gluck and Spontini, later for Weber* and Beethoven*, provided the greatest

stimulus to composition. He entered the Paris Conservatoire in 1826 and won its coveted Prix de Rome in 1830, the year in which his first masterpiece, the *Symphonie fantastique*, was composed and first performed. It placed him firmly in the forefront of the French Romantics, the group of writers and artists with whom Berlioz shared some social intimacy and a considerable range of tastes, especially for Shakespeare, Goethe* and the new favourites of Romantic fashion: Byron*, Scott*, Cooper* and Moore.

There followed a period of nearly two years in Italy, not productive in terms of writing music (he greatly disliked the Italian music that he heard) but useful for the maturing of his style. He returned to Paris in 1832 and in the following year he married Harriet Smithson, the Shakespearian actress who had captivated all Paris in 1827 and had already been the subject of the *Symphonie fantastique*. His compositions flowed steadily; he gave numerous concerts and wrote prolifically for the press. He received two government commissions but secured no permanent position in Paris. In 1842 he began a series of concert tours to Belgium, Germany and Austria, and for the next twenty years was frequently abroad, travelling many times to Germany, five times to London and twice to Russia. *La damnation de Faust* was composed on one such tour in 1845–6. He gradually became disillusioned and embittered about Paris, preferring to give concerts abroad, and frustrated by the general decline of taste in the later part of his life. Once the *élan* of Romanticism in the 1830s had passed he was subjected to increasing indifference and hostility. The failure of *Benvenuto Cellini* at the Opéra in 1838 discouraged him deeply, so did a similar failure of *La damnation de Faust* in 1846, and it was only with great reluctance that he embarked on *Les Troyens* in 1856, a large-scale Virgilian opera of which only a part was performed in his lifetime. His last years passed in deepening despair, especially after the death of his only son in 1867, and he died in 1869. His *Memoirs*, compiled over a long period, were published in 1870.

Berlioz was no pianist and his facility on flute and guitar was his only instrumental skill. Yet he studied orchestral technique closely and developed an orchestral style of outstanding versatility and brilliance. He published a treatise on the subject in 1844. He was also prominent as a conductor (on which he also wrote a treatise) and he strongly influenced the later course of orchestral development in the hands of Liszt* and Wagner*; Liszt was for a long period one of his closest friends. He wrote many songs with piano accompaniment, and the better ones were later orchestrated. Six settings of Gautier*, published under the title *Les nuits d'été* in 1841, illustrate to perfection his sensitive response to poetic feeling and his personal adaptation of formal procedures for expressive ends. Nearly all his music is orchestral, and he chooses combinations of instruments and voices to serve the needs of each subject, since none of his music is abstract or without some indication of its poetic content. Much of it relates to his favourite literature or to personal experience. The *Symphonie fantastique* and its sequel *Lélio* (1831) sprang from two love affairs, with copious reference to other passions, particularly Shakespeare, who provided the source for a dramatic overture on *The Tempest* (1830), another overture on *King Lear* (1831), various short pieces for *Hamlet* (1844), the dramatic symphony *Roméo et Juliette* (1839) and the comic opera *Béatrice et Bénédict* (1860–2), based on *Much Ado About Nothing*. Goethe generated the *Eight Scenes from Faust* (1829) and its fuller working as *La Damnation de Faust* (1846), a large-scale concert work with chorus and soloists. From Scott came the overtures *Waverley* (1827) and *Rob Roy* (1831); Byron – and his own experience in Italy – inspired *Harold en Italie* (1834).

The *Grande symphonie funèbre et triomphale* (1840) is a ceremonial piece for large military band, relating to the stirring outdoor music of the French Revolution. That same tradition lies behind his choral works for large forces on sacred texts, notably the *Grande messe des morts* (*Requiem*) of 1837 and the *Te deum* of 1849. A choral work of a quite different kind, though still on a sacred subject, is the trilogy *L'enfance du Christ* (1850–4) which treats the story of the Holy Family's flight from Herod in a devotional yet dramatic manner, as a concert work. Although Berlioz strove most of his life to write operas, it was not in his artistic nature to devote himself wholly to a single genre, as Verdi* and Wagner more nearly did. He preferred the mixed genre, with heterogeneous elements overlapping: symphony and concerto in *Harold en Italie*, symphony and opera in *Roméo et Juliette*, song and declamation in *Lélio*. In *Benvenuto Cellini* (1836) comic and serious opera intermingle, for Cellini, the sculptor-hero, is an artist as well as a swashbuckler. The pope, in this opera, is treated in comic style, and despite revision and revival in later years, its mixed nature never disarmed criticism. In *Les Troyens* (1856–8), his greatest work and the culmination of all strands in his earlier music, there are moments of symphonic utterance amid the familiar outlines of romantic grand opera, with its heroics, its ballets and its big choral ensembles. What distinguishes it from the genre is its epic span, in both time and space, its intensity of expression and its classical serenity, qualities which Berlioz was proud to interfuse.

Although his early music was revolutionary in almost every aspect, he soon ceased to take an active interest in contemporary composers and his idolization of Gluck drew all his thoughts back to the past. He believed that music was a highly refined art fit only for cultivated minds, and he deplored the easy facility of many composers whose trivial style won them fortune and respectability. He hated the commercialization of music and the vanity of singers, and he felt that the