Part 3:
Leader or Role Model? – A Comparative Analysis of Heroism in *Leisure Hour* and *Fraser's Magazine*

5. Comparative Analysis of *Leisure Hour* and *Fraser's Magazine*

It has become clear that *CJ* associated the idea of the heroic with a specific set of values and utilised the idea of an attainable moral heroism as a tool for their intended readership. As a central vehicle for its didactic message, the vocabulary of heroism was prominent in the periodical. In order to establish whether this centrality of heroism in the mediation of a joint identity was a common means in the periodical press of the day, the following section is going to examine the representation of heroism in *Leisure Hour* [1] and *Fraser's Magazine*.[2] Thereby, a clearer picture will emerge as to how the target audience, specific orientation and institutional background of a periodical publication could have influenced the way in which the heroic is – or is not – employed.

The two periodicals had very distinct publishing identities and wanted to cater to specific audiences. While *LH* aimed at a working and lower-middle class readership with a moral and didactic goal grounded in religious faith, *FM* was designed as a political organ for an intellectual readership. These different goals are also mirrored in the publications' representation of the heroic. *FM* displays a very specific concept of heroism modelled after the ideas of Thomas Carlyle – a writer who had been engaged in the periodical in its early decades and with whom it had been infatuated after the phase of his active involvement. In *FM*, heroism, and especially heroic leader figures, can predominantly be observed in the domain of politics and in relation to a glorified past. In *LH*, on the other hand, vocabulary of the heroic is not used in an equally consistent and conceptualised way. Complicated by the religious affiliation of the periodical, its representation of heroism shifts between an unreflected use in relation to established military figures, a utilisation of the identificatory potential of heroes for the readers and open criticism of hero-worship as blasphemous.

5.1 Leisure Hour

Established in 1852, the publication can be seen as part of the second generation of family magazines which not only wanted to provide information, but also entertaining, often illustrated reading matter. *LH* was a publication of the Religious Tract Society[3], a society founded in 1799 to publish Christian reading matter for Sunday schools, which offered a broad range of products from tracts to book ser-

[1] In the following referred to as *LH*.
[2] In the following abbreviated as *FM*.
[3] In the following referred to as RTS.

ies and periodicals by the mid-nineteenth century.[4] With the rapid growth of affordable family magazines around the mid-century, the RTS sought to enter that market and, with a didactic goal in mind, reach a working-class audience with *LH*. Periodicals which published entertainment, especially serialised fiction, were most popular among the readers the RTS wanted to reach with *LH*. The form of the periodical was designed accordingly, which meant that it "adopted a serious Christian tone but avoided overt religiosity".[5] As Doris Lechner notes, the magazine operated "at the boundary between secular and religious reading matter".[6]

Prior to *LH*, the RTS had already published periodicals; generally more appealing to a broader readership in its less specifically religious tone, the periodicals were intended as an addition to the Society's tract publications. In 1824, the RTS had launched the *Child's Companion* and the *Tract Magazine*, which were aimed at children and parents from the working classes. In 1833, the time of the first generation of penny weeklies such as *CJ* or *Penny Magazine*, the *Visitor* entered the market and would finally merge into *LH*. Those early periodicals, as well as *LH* later, were published in an attempt to provide suitable reading matter for the working classes, who were seen as being endangered by the sensational press and its effects. With this distinct institutional evangelical identity,[7] *LH* entered the market place of popular family magazines – a tension which it needed to negotiate. On the one hand, it wanted to appeal to the working classes with a popular format and entertaining genres; on the other hand, it wanted to mediate its religious beliefs to the readers in order to shape their ways of thinking and their identities. As Aileen Fyfe notes, the periodical had to "balance between the requirement for Christian content and the equally strong need to avoid scaring

---

4 For more information on the RTS's general publishing programme see especially Aileen Fyfe: Commerce and Philanthropy. The Religious Tract Society and the Business of Publishing, in: Journal of Victorian Culture 9.2, 2004, pp. 164–188; ead.: Periodicals and Book Series. Complementary Aspects of a Publisher's Mission, in: Louise Henson (ed.): Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media, Aldershot 2004, pp. 71–82; ead.: Science and Salvation. Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain, Chicago 2004 and Dennis Butts / Pat Garrett (eds.): From the Dairyman's Daughter to Worrals of the WAAF. The Religious Tract Society, Cambridge 2006.

5 Geoffrey Cantor et al. (eds.): Introduction, in: Louise Henson (ed.): Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media, Aldershot 2004, p. xxi.

6 Doris Lechner: Histories for the Many. The Victorian Family Magazine and Popular Representations of the Past, Bielefeld 2017, p. 28.

7 The institutional background of the publication also meant that decision processes were very different from those of traditional publishing houses. Aileen Fyfe notes that in "contemporary commercial publishing houses, the chain of command terminated in a very small number of individuals, usually one or two, who were both the owners and managers of the firm. […] The RTS, however, had a rather different organisation at the executive level, and was more similar to the limited liability company, with its shareholders, annual meetings, and board of directors." Fyfe: Commerce, p. 168.

off potential readers".[8] Loyd and Law observe that *LH* was often even printed without the RTS's imprint, so that readers would not associate the periodical with religious tracts.[9]

From the beginning, *LH* included fiction. A serialised narrative, together with an illustration, always appeared on its cover page, a practice that was established from the very first issue in January 1852. Apart from that, *LH* consisted of articles, on average one to six pages long, "on popular science, history, biography, and poetry of uplifting character. Later, there were columns devoted to domestic and moral advice for housewives or servants, and prize competitions in composition or needlework".[10] The weekly was sold for 1d and with its quarto size, the periodical was clearly intended for domestic consumption, which the editor's address in the first issue also emphasised.

The editor's address stressed the relationship in which the editor and his periodical wanted to engage with the readers. Repeatedly, the text declares the desire to win the "reader's friendship" (A Word with Our Readers, *LH*, 1 Jan 1852, 8) and to have "the honour of being introduced to the amenities of his fireside; of talking to him with the easy confidence of a friend, and of being presented, with the advantage of his good opinion, to all who may enjoy the happiness of his friendship" (ibid.). Both the idea of being introduced to the "fireside" and the word "Leisure" in the periodical's title point out clearly that the publication was intended for domestic consumption. The text then actively discusses the idea of leisure and work, clearly differentiating it from idleness.[11] In the praise of improved working hours – which made the consumption of the journal for certain readers possible – the journal distinctly identifies its intended readers as belonging to the working classes, though still remaining inclusive: "we dedicate our pen to the thoughtful of every class. […] From the highest to the lowest, there is no circle from which we desire to exclude ourselves" (ibid., 9). Different from other periodicals such as *CJ* or *FM*, *LH* from the outset presents itself as a publication with a large writing staff. Whereas *CJ* was for many years not only run but also largely written by Robert and William Chambers, and *FM* fashioned itself as being run by a close-knit group of writers, *LH* markets their number of writers as an asset in expertise: "guided by the botanist, we shall break our way through the thick tresses of grass and bramble […]. The entomologists will explain to us the habits of insect life; […] the miner will take us into the labyrinths of labour under ground. […] the manufacturer will conduct us to the loom […]" (ibid.).

---

8 Fyfe: Commerce, p. 105.

9 Graham Law / Amy Loyd: The Leisure Hour, in: Laurel Brake / Marysa Demoor (eds.): Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism, Ghent/London 2009, p. 357.

10 Ibid.

11 "[P]ublic opinion very wisely holds idlers in contempt, and we have no wish to mitigate in the least the retributive ills of their condition. Business is a sacred thing." A Word with Our Readers, *LH*, 1 Jan 1852, 8.

In line with the goal of disseminating the religious message in a more popular package, the periodical's "self-chosen mission" (ibid.) is voiced in a secular tone:

> It will be our aim to bring out from obscurity forgotten truths; to clear away the mists which obscure those views of human life and conduct, which to be recognised require only to be beheld; to point out with a friendly hand the obstacles to social advancement which lie in the bosoms of the people; and stimulate them to the attainment of every virtue which ought to elevate and gladden our English home. (ibid., 8–9)

Thus framing their aims as more widely educational, didactic and philanthropic, the address to the readers tones down the RTS's Christian programme in order to reach a wider audience. However, the working class audience implied in large parts of the text was not the only social segment that consumed the publication. Similar to *CJ*, which was aimed at working class readers and the editors of which had voiced their disappointment in having a large middle-class audience, *LH* was also consumed by the middle classes. Thus, the periodical had to cater to a dual readership: on the one hand, the working class reader who could, as Fyfe argues, have been discouraged by the religious institutional background, and a middle class audience which could have read the publication for that very reason.[12] Thus, the periodical's content will in the following be seen in the context of negotiating two different audiences – the working-class reader who was meant to be evangelised and the already religious middle-class reader whose identity was to be stabilised in the publication.

5.2 Fraser's Magazine

Quite different from *LH*, *FM* was established at a time at which popular periodical entertainment was still in its early stages. The periodical, which was begun in 1830, situated itself in a different segment of the print market and targeted a specific intellectual upper class audience.

Walter Houghton narrates the story of the foundation of *FM* almost like a legend.[13] In 1830, William Maginn, the Irish writer who was to become a leader for the 'Fraserians' of the first years, had long been writing for *Blackwood's*. However, his articles had been rejected more and more often for their candour and boldness so that Maginn was forced to look for other sources of income and an-

[12] One way of catering to the different readerships can be seen in the dual publication format of the periodical, which could be both purchased weekly and in a monthly format. Lechner notes that "[b]ecause of their cheap price, weekly numbers were likely to reach readers with a small income, while monthly publications had a higher reputation" (Lechner: Histories, p. 61) and due to the higher price for a single purchase would thus have been more likely consumed by the middle classes. Cf. also Fyfe: Commerce, p. 178. In 1881, the periodical switched the whole production to monthly publication. Cf. Law / Loyd: Leisure Hour.

[13] Walter Houghton: The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824–1900, vol. 2, Toronto 1972, p. 304.

other way to make his voice heard. Thus, he wanted to create a periodical similar to *Blackwood's*, which would give him the opportunity to print his provocative articles and in the best scenario put *Blackwood's* out of business or at least make them lose as many readers as possible. In pursuit of a business partner, and

> [with] a roll of manuscript under his arm, Maginn and his friend Hugh Fraser, possessor of the required cash, were walking down Regent Street, so the story goes, when they came to the shop of James Fraser the publisher, and Maginn exclaimed "Fraser! Here's a namesake of yours. Let's try him." By great luck the publisher was just then thinking of trying a monthly magazine that would be both popular and scholarly. Since Maginn could promise both requisites, a bargain was soon struck, and a periodical named after Hugh Fraser began publication in February 1830. (ibid.)

Thus, *FM* was intended by Maginn to become "a successful intruder into what was once thought a peculiar preserve [of] *Blackwood*" (A Wind–up for our Seventh Volume, Literary, Political and Anti–Peelish, *FM*, Jun 1833, 750). In the magazine's first phase, from 1830 to 1842, Maginn was the dominant force behind the publication and made it known chiefly for its variety of material. It included "scholarly articles on Homer or Egyptian antiquities, Scottish and Irish stories, ecclesiastical warfare, political tracts, foreign travels, translations from Persian and Hebrew, satiric sketches of contemporaries, essays on German transcendentalism, and literary spoofs".[14] The tone of the magazine under Maginn's leadership was provocative and bold, so that it became the prime "organ […] of progressive thought"[15] of the day and was "at the forefront of monthly miscellanies in the nineteenth century."[16] The magazine's main emphasis, according to the *Wellesley Index,* lay in "politics, religion, and social conditions, in contrast to journals like the *Cornhill* or *Temple Bar*, so largely devoted to literature and literary criticism".[17]

The first issue of the magazine was opened by a "Confession of Faith", in which Maginn characterises the magazine and from the start indirectly states what kind of audience he is looking for: "our political tendencies will be sufficiently apparent to the intelligent from what we have said already; – to the non-intelligent it would be useless to address ourselves" (Our Confession of Faith, *FM*, Feb 1830, 4). The "confession" then goes on to address several topics such as religion, foreign policy, domestic policy and other current fields of interest, but remains quite abstract. Thus, from the very first issue, Maginn wants to en-

---

14 Ibid., p. 305.
15 Ibid., p. 303.
16 Mark W. Turner: Fraser's Magazine, in: Laurel Brake / Marysa Demoor (eds.): Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism, Ghent/London 2009, p. 230.
17 Houghton: Wellesley Index, p. 303. This does, however, not hold true completely, since *FM* printed a large number of reviews and also literary works (for example novels by Thackeray or Carlyle) and one of its most successful series in the early years was "The Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters" which portrayed contemporary figures of the literary field, yet sometimes in a very sarcastic fashion.

courage his readers to think for themselves. Taking a bold stance, the editor calls his journal "fearless and fair" (ibid., 7) and states that "no pains shall be spared to make our Magazine equal, in the ordinary sources of information, to its contemporaries" (ibid.). Yet, he does not simply place it among those "ordinary sources", but claims to also present "extraordinary sources [that will] speak for themselves" (ibid.).

Especially in its early years, what made the magazine "extraordinary" was on the one hand the indeed fearless way in which it dealt with current issues and the people involved and on the other hand the competences expected from the readership. Throughout its runtime, the articles, which were mostly non-fictional essays, were seldom shorter than fifteen pages, frequently from twenty-five to thirty pages long, and thus required the readers to be fully literate, intelligent, well-informed on current topics and able to reflect on them, in order to handle the frequent sarcasm with which topics were treated. The targeting of the magazine at an educated, conservative, intellectual middle and upper class is further emphasized by the fact that, unlike many other magazines, *FM* did not normally include illustrations, but focused solely on text.[18] The intended audience is also reflected in the magazine's price, which, at 2s6d, ranked among the more expensive periodicals. Although the periodical's quarto size meant that it would not fit into a pocket, this does not, as in the case of *CJ* or *LH*, suggest that *FM* was intended for private and domestic consumption only. Given the intended readership, the periodical could have been consumed in the private atmosphere of one's study just as well as in an office or a gentlemen's club.

In the first decade of the magazine, the group that called themselves the 'Fraserians' marketed themselves as a close-knit circle who worked together collaboratively. Thrall argues that many of the articles in the first ten years were written collaboratively, making it impossible to identify one definite author. However, Patrick Leary, in his article "*Fraser's Magazine* and the Literary Life, 1830–1847", points out that half of the staff writing for *FM* had no close bond to the magazine and did not support themselves by writing for *FM*, simply making it one of many magazines they sold their articles to.[19] In their self-fashioning as a group, the periodical established a distinct identity for themselves that would have appealed to a specific male upper-class readership. *FM* soon became known for publishing frank comments on political and literary activities[20] and many of the frequent contributors joined *FM* not primarily out of economic necessity, but out of curiosity and interest. Thus, the magazine attracted many young aspir-

18 The very rare exceptions were occasional portraits accompanying biographical sketches.
19 Cf. Patrick Leary: Fraser's Magazine and the Literary Life 1830–1847, in: Victorian Periodicals Review 27.2, 1994, pp. 113–114.
20 Cf. ibid., p. 105.

ing writers who started their career in *FM*, of whom Carlyle and Thackeray are only the most prominent figures.[21]

In 1847 the magazine was acquired by John William Parker, whose son became its editor. It did, however, take two years until an editorial address, similar to the "Confession of Faith", was published by Parker. In his "A Happy New Year", which opened the first issue of the year 1849, he "say[s] a few words concerning ourselves" (Parker: A Happy New Year, *FM*, Jan 1849, 1) and points out what the new leadership stands for. First of all, he stresses the continuity and refers back to Maginn's "Confession":

> It will be seen from that document [the "Confession of Faith"], that we undertook to bolster up no faction; to pin our faith on no man, nor any set of men; […] Our leanings have been Conservative throughout, we freely allow, they are Conservative still; and we intend that they shall continue so. (ibid., 2)

Parker emphasises their outspokenness and independence in political matters and even credits the magazine with helping "to write [Wellington] out of office" (ibid.).[22] However, Parker also wants to distinguish himself from the magazine's heritage when he states that the "practice of calling hard names and imputing unworthy motives" (ibid., 3) was now dismissed and would not return again under his editorship. The climate of polemics and attempts at active involvement turned into a more "open-minded and tolerant"[23] spirit at the magazine and Parker aimed at enabling "the most free discussion, when the representatives of two different schools of opinion had the fullest opportunity of expressing themselves".[24] Though the main political focus remained conservative along the lines of Carlyle and Disraeli, who had also been contributors to *FM* in the early years, the magazine became more tolerant and a "liberty of opinion, which is the life of knowledge" was adopted.[25] Turner notes that under Parker's editorship, "*Fraser's* relied less on brilliant wit and more on distinguished liberal thinking, with writers such as G.H. Lewes, Charles Kingsley and J.A. Froude",[26] the latter

---

21 For a more detailed account of the early years of the magazine, see Miriam M. H. Thrall: Rebellious Fraser's. Nol Yorke's Magazine in the Days of Maginn, Thackeray, and Carlyle, New York 1934, who provides the only monograph in existence on the topic of *FM*. However, her work is only partially useful for this study, since Thrall concentrates on the years of the magazine's foundation and its early work and her description, though giving much information on the contributors and the socio-cultural context of the 1830s and 1840s, is often tainted by an admiration of Maginn and the group surrounding him.

22 Parker here refers to the fall of the Tory government in November 1830. As a result of his vehement opposition to parliamentary reform, Wellington resigned as prime minister and was succeeded by Earl Grey and a Whig government. The reform plan in question was the Reform Act of 1832, which was the first reform act to enlarge franchise through a reformation of the property qualification and the creation of additional constituencies.

23 Houghton: Wellesley Index, p. 311.

24 Froude on Parker's editorship; quoted ibid.

25 Quoted ibid., p. 312.

26 Turner: Fraser's Magazine, p. 230.

taking over the editorship in 1860. However, the periodical's conservative opinions were clashing more and more with the political and societal developments of the era and the circulation of *FM* continually decreased. It had dropped from approximately 10,000 during the 1830s to 1870s to 500 in 1880, and the October issue of 1882 was to be the last of *FM*.[27]

As the editors' addresses show, the periodical was intended for consumption by conservative intellectual men from the upper and upper-middle classes whom the contributors would have assumed to be able to follow and reflect upon the ideas discussed. The fact that the articles were mostly of essay-length and would have demanded a high degree of concentration confirms that the periodical was aimed at a readership which had enough time to read articles of more than fifteen pages length and had an income which would allow them to spend 2s6d per month on reading material. Given the fact that the circulation had always been low in comparison to other, often cheaper, periodicals and the specific political stance of the journal, one can argue that *FM* sold a very distinct political, cultural and also class identity to its consumers, which did not aim at the most widespread distribution possible but more at the production and stabilisation of a distinct worldview shared by the magazine and readers.

As the short overview of the two periodicals' production background and political and religious orientation has shown, both *LH* and *FM* had specific publication identities and wanted to cater to a specific target audience. While *LH* took a religiously oriented didactic approach to supply information and moral education to families of the working and lower-middle classes, *FM* aimed at a male, conservative, intellectual upper-class readership. These different target audiences and publication backgrounds are also reflected in the usage of the vocabulary of the heroic. In the following sections, the domains established in the analysis of *CJ* – military heroism, heroism of civilisation and everyday heroism – will also be examined in *LH* and *FM*. From this basis, a final comparison between the three periodicals will be drawn, which will allow for broader conclusions about the functionalisation of heroism in the periodical market place of nineteenth-century Britain and the status of heroism within Victorian society.

[27] *Longman's Magazine*, which succeeded *FM* directly under the same proprietor, Charles Longman, radically differed from its predecessor in orientation. It catered to the established family magazine market. With a price of 6d per monthly issue, it was significantly cheaper and "unlike *Fraser's*, was dedicated to a non-partisan political stance and studiously avoided controversy, favouring light, entertaining fiction and informative articles". Marie Alexis Easley: Longman's Magazine, in: Laurel Brake / Marysa Demoor (eds.): Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism, Ghent/London 2009, pp. 378–379. With circulation of 74,000 for its initial issue, the periodical clearly mirrors the demands of the popular print market which *FM* had not met.

5.3 Military Heroism

Christian Pacifism and the Rhetoric of Heroism in Leisure Hour

As a publication firmly rooted in evangelical Christianity, *LH* struggled with the idea of military conflict. Nevertheless, its semantic use of the heroic seems to be deeply rooted in traditional patterns of military achievements. Significantly, the journal does not try to re-interpret this idea of heroism nor build associations with values it deems worth mediating – as could be seen in *CJ* – but heavily relies on established notions of heroism. Thus, while frequently employing the vocabulary of heroism in relation to established historical personnel such as Nelson, Wellington or the mythical King Arthur, the magazine nevertheless renounces war in general. Consequently, almost no positive depictions of *contemporary* military prowess can be found in the periodical (for example during the Crimean Campaign).

Opposition to Wars

In many texts *LH* openly expresses its opposition to war. In 1852, for example, a biographical article on Johann Gottfried Seume, which largely centres on the writer's turbulent and tragic years of being enforcedly drafted to fight in North America and later for the Prussian Army, declares:

> Among the many tales of suffering, more or less intimately connected with the American War of Independence, few are better calculated to inspire the reader with a *horror of war in general*, and more particularly of that *military despotism* which then existed on the continent of Europe, than the history of the subject of our present memoir. (The Adventures of Johann Gottfried Seume, *LH*, 7 Oct 1852, 650, emphases mine)

The narration then follows Seume's desperation during the American Revolutionary War and later in the Prussian army and stresses how much the man who "possessed a mind well stored with the treasures of ancient and modern literature, and exquisitely sensitive feelings that revolted at the very name of injustice" (ibid.) had to suffer under the horror and despotism of violent combat.

Similarly, but given the political context even more strongly, "The Deadly Art of War" in August 1854 proclaims a firm anti-war stance. Though the article describes and depicts ancient artillery machines (such as arches, rams or catapults) and their use, it wants the reader to understand these remarks as mere historical information, not as a political statement for military action. The opening of the article thus reads:

> In presenting to our readers the following notices of the deadly art of war, we venture to express a hope to the effect that our tendencies and principles are so well known, that there is no necessity for us to assure our readers by many protestations of our aversion to war. We lament its existence; we abhor its horrors. (The Deadly Art of War, *LH*, 10 Aug 1854, 503)

In a very matter-of-fact tone, the article and the other parts in the series published throughout the month of August[28] chronologically describe the building and workings of weapons from ancient times up until the nineteenth century. The last part on 31 August concludes with the description of rockets and their deadly effect. While, as the title of the series suggests, the intellectual effort going into the construction of these works of military "art" are admired, their effect is denounced and the last paragraph of the series then connects to the introductory sentences, stating that

> [n]o humane mind can wish the modern Moloch to have his hecatombs of human sacrifices offered up to him, attended by the wails of the widow and the orphan. But alas, the cure of the evil is difficult to suggest, and he is the best patriot who fervently solicits God to remove the scourge of war from our land. (The Deadly Art of War, *LH*, 31 Aug 1854, 557)

By directing its hope for an end of war – which at this point in time could both be understood in a general way as well as more specifically in relation to the war in the Crimea – to god, the text avoids political opinion regarding the present war and responsibility for concrete action, while still clearly positioning itself against military action in general, detached from the current situation.[29]

Thus, *LH* acknowledged the political situation in the Balkans as "possess[ing] a special interest" (Woolwich Arsenal, *LH*, 3 Aug 1854, 490), yet only alluded to the actual conflict in passing[30] and avoided political opinion. Similar to *CJ*, *LH* resorts to texts about history in order to acknowledge the present situation. Thus,

---

[28] Doris Lechner has identified the article "Woolwich Arsenal" published on 3 August as one associated with the series as well. Though having appeared under a different title, its final paragraph, which tells the reader that "[i]n some future number of our journal we shall resume this subject more fully" (Woolwich Arsenal, *LH*, 3 Aug 1854, 490), clearly connects it to "The Deadly Art of War" appearing in the following issues. For a more detailed analysis of the texts as a series see Lechner: Histories, p. 173–175.

[29] Interestingly, the articles appeared throughout August 1854, a point in the war at which peace – at least politically – was within reach. At the end of July, Russia had withdrawn from the Danubian Principalities and thus withdrawn the immediate cause for war. However, the public in both France and Britain was already sworn in on war by large parts of the popular media, and politicians saw themselves unable to propose peace. Cf. Orlando Figes: Crimea. The Last Crusade, London 2010, p. 192.

[30] This was on the one hand due to the tax on news, which periodicals still had to pay. However, as the example of *FM* will show later, this problem could be avoided by resorting to genres such as travel writing or analysing battle action in hindsight, when it was not current 'news' anymore. On the other hand, the war seemed to have sparked a general interest in Russia and the Baltic region; as Barbara Korte notes, a general rise in reporting on the cultures involved can be observed during the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. Cf.

various articles on the culture and history of Russia and the Crimea can be found during the war.[31] Unlike the depiction in *CJ*, the texts do not, however, create an implicit image of military heroism which the readers could have related to.

When dealing with war theoretically and without the topicality of a specific current (or historical) situation, *LH* states a clear opposition to war throughout its runtime, which is often shown as rooted in Christianity. In 1870, for example, a poem by "Bishop Porteous" not only calls war "the foulest stain and scandal of our nature" (Varieties, *LH*, 24 Sep 1870, 624) but also strongly criticises the hero worship of soldiers: "One murder makes a villain, / Millions a hero!" (ibid.). The poem calls for a return to Christian interests and to the "Great God" who has, so the speaker, not created mankind to rage war against each other but to "knit their souls together / In one soft bond of amity and love" (ibid.). Embedded in a Christian worldview, military acts are thus seen as mere violence, even murder, as directly contradicting the Christian ideals of altruism and mercy and thus not worthy of praise. Although strongly critical, the magazine did nevertheless use the rhetoric of heroism frequently – and unreflectedly – in relation to military figures of the past.

The "Hero of the Peninsula" – Established Military Heroes in Leisure Hour

Texts such as the above, while acknowledging the political reality of the day, took a generally critical stance towards war and rarely employed the vocabulary of the heroic. Nevertheless, many articles can be found in different contexts in which established military figures are called heroic. However, the texts exclusively use

---

Barbara Korte: Krimkrieg und „Indian Mutiny" als Anlass zum Kulturvergleich in viktorianischen Publikumszeitschriften, in: Angelika Epple / Walter Erhart: Die Welt beobachten. Praktiken des Vergleichens, Frankfurt am Main 2016.

31 Examples of this are A Glance at Sebastopol, *LH*, 16 Feb 1854, 104–106; The Baltic, and the Russian Towns on its Coasts, *LH*, 18 May 1854, 311–314; An Anecdote of the Russian Police, *LH*, 18 May 1854, 318; Russian Campaigns in Turkey 1828 and 1829, *LH*, 20 Jun 1854, 455–458; A Russian Aesop, *LH*, 28 Sep 1854, 619–620; Russia under Peter the Great, *LH*, 12 Oct 1854, 650–653; Russia Under Catherine II and Paul, *LH*, 18 Oct 1854, 660–663; Russia under Alexander and Nicholas, *LH*, 26 Oct 1854, 676–679, The Mother of the Czar, *LH*, 21 Dec 1854, 811–813; Prince Michael Woronzoff, *LH*, 28 Dec 1854, 820–823; Early English Intercourse with Russia, *LH*, 18 Jan 1855, 45–46; Visit of Peter the Great to the Prussian Court, *LH*, 8 Feb 1855, 93–95; The Perkin Warbeck of Russian History, *LH*, 22 Mar 1855, 182–183; Sketches of the Crimea, *LH*, Mar–May 1855; A Visit of Sebastopol in the Time of Peace, *LH*, 31 May 1855, 350–351; The Fortress of St. Petersburg, *LH*, 27 Sep 1855, 616–168; or Russia as I Saw it Forty Years Ago, *LH*, 15 Nov 1855, 726–728. Of these texts, which are all set in the past, only "Russia under Catherine II and Paul" and "Russia under Peter the Great" employ the vocabulary of the heroic. Both employ the word hero in its traditional military use as a man who faces an enemy and both times it is used without reflection upon the concept or a closer description of what constitutes their heroism, apart from the military context.

this kind of language in an unreflected manner. Heroism is thus not used as a concept to convey specific values or encourage certain behaviours, but rather as a title awarded to certain publicly (and nationally) agreed upon personalities. In the belief that "Clio constructs the royal youth in history, and tells him of the deeds that have been achieved by great kings and heroes" (Footprints of Frederick the Great, *LH*, 11 Mar 1858, 151), the 'heroes' are almost exclusively military men of the *past*. The two most frequent examples are Wellington and Nelson. After the death of Wellington, a number of articles concerned themselves with "the hero" (The Eighteenth of November, *LH*, 1 Jan 1853, 16). He is described as being one of the "greatest martial heroes" (The Duke's Funeral, *LH*, 9 Dec 1852, 789).[32] By calling him the "hero of the peninsula" (e.g. ibid., 788) or the "hero of a hundred fights" (The Duke of Wellington, *LH*, 4 Nov 1852, 713), the memory of his military achievements and especially his actions in the Napoleonic Wars is evoked. Similarly, Nelson is referred to as a "hero" (e.g. The Funeral of Lord Nelson, *LH*, 25 Nov 1852, 754) who distinguished himself by "his brilliant deeds of arms" (ibid., 753).[33]

While these texts[34] dealing with established national military hero figures[35] do not reflect upon the violent nature of the deeds that earned the men their hero-status, some of them re-interpret their military actions in Christian terms. For example, Wellington is called "the instrument of divine Providence" (The Duke's Funeral, *LH*, 9 Dec 1852, 788) through whom god saved "our beloved country from the evils which then ravaged the continent" (ibid.) or the "apostolic spirit and peculiar call which the Lord alone can give" (One of Nelson's Captains, *LH*, Oct 1899, 59). Another text concludes:

---

[32] *LH* published a detailed report on both Nelson's and Wellington's funeral processions. Interestingly, the article on Nelson's funeral appeared upon the death of Wellington in late 1852. Thus, the two military men were directly connected and the description of Nelson's funeral can be seen as both a preparation as well as a standard for comparison of the subsequent commemoration of Wellington.

[33] Similarly, a description of Napoleon's funeral can be found which describes his final resting place as the "shelter of heroes". Three Visits to the Hotel des Invalides, 1705, 1806, 1840, *LH*, 2 Aug 1854, 484.

[34] Other articles referring to Nelson as a hero include A Few Days in Copenhagen, LH, 30 Jan 1864, 70–74; Books of Remembrance, *LH*, Sep 1884, 553–557; On Board Nelson's Ship, *LH*, Feb 1887, 135–137; or A Parcel of Anecdotes, *LH*, Jul 1899, 595–598. Further articles depicting Wellington as a hero are The Duke of Wellington, *LH*, 4 Nov 1852, 713–718; A Visit to Walmer Castle in November, 1852, *LH*, 10 Feb 1853, 105–107; Thirty Years of the Reign of Victoria, *LH*, 27 Jul 1872, 471–472; Naval Crests and Badges, *LH*, 10 Mar 1877, 152–154; London in the Streets, *LH*, 17 Nov 1877, 725–728; On Autographs, *LH*, Feb 1882, 93–99; Some of the Men of the Great Reform Bill, *LH*, Sep 1883, 554–559 and Nov 1883, 663–668; or The Iron Duke, *LH*, Mar 1900, 405–414.

[35] Other examples of these kinds of texts are Sir Henry Havelock, *LH*, 31 May 1860, 250–252; Arthur and the Round Table, *LH*, 13 Dec 1860, 790–794; A Hundred Years Ago, *LH*, 16 Dec 1865, 795–796; American National Songs, *LH*, 5 Feb 1876, 90–92; The Battle of Waterloo, *LH*, Jun 1890, 531–541; or A Day in Ancient Athens, B.C., 470, *LH*, July 1890, 615–618.

> True patriots and true heroes are often his [god's] instruments in bringing this [the defeat of despots and tyrants] about. Such an instrument in the hand of God we have been in the habit of regarding the Duke of Wellington. […] As such an instrument we would award him the meed of honour which is his due. (The Duke of Wellington, *LH*, 4 Nov 1852, 718)

Thereby, the violent acts, which the peace-oriented *LH* would generally not have encouraged, are re-interpreted as religiously motivated and thus justified as god-given acts of providence.[36]

In a similar Christian vein, the fight of minorities against superior powers is repeatedly portrayed as heroic. Reminiscent of the biblical story of David and Goliath, the journal shows the fight of small, oppressed groups in a positive light, which does not fit their overall claim of pacifism, but suits its self-conception as a religious publication. Significantly, these minorities depicted fighting for their freedom are never shown as professional fighters, but as ordinary people standing up for their own identity. Associated with general developments in British society in favour of ideas such as liberalism and democracy, men such as Garibaldi were celebrated as fighting for freedom and independence.[37] The most prominent example of such a positive depiction of the violent struggle of a small group can be seen in "Andreas Hofer", a biographical text written by the contributor R. Heath upon the occasion of the unveiling of a Hofer monument in Innsbruck in 1894. The "hero both in victory and death" (Heath: Andreas Hofer, *LH*, Feb 1894, 225) is depicted in a lineage of ancient and mythical heroes. He has a "mystical look" about him, the "limbs of a Hercules" and "ate and drank like one of the heroes in the Valhalla" (ibid.). Thus physically equipped, he is shown as a strong leader to the Tyrolese in their "heroic effort" against the Bavarian troops. The "heroic peasants" (ibid.) of Tyrol are established as an independent group who get caught up in the power struggle of other European nations and are forced to fight a battle which is not their own, but that of Austria, and take up arms because their own independence is on the line. Significantly, it is not this political motivation which is stressed and praised in the text, but a religious and class component is emphasised and offered to the reader of *LH* as a possibility for identification. Much like the intended readership of the journal, the courageous acts were "done by the poorer classes; the rich approved, but took no part" (ibid., 226). Thus, not only political, but social injustice is estab-

---

[36] A similar strategy is employed to justify the rare representations of female violent acts. A text about Joan of Arc, for example, reads "simple faith, sublime trust" (Jeanne D'Arc, *LH*, Mar 1893, 343) in her actions and stresses her "martyrdom" (cf. ibid.) rather than her own violent actions. By integrating it into a religious framework, her agency is subdued and explained as coming from "the heart of a woman from her tenderness and her tears" (ibid.). The text favours Joan of Arc's religious affiliation over her nationality. Taking a clear side, the text explains the English to have acted from a place of "hatred and fear" (ibid., 344) sparked by the religious power Joan of Arc displayed.

[37] Cf. also the depiction of Garibaldi in *CJ* in chapter 4.4.

lished as a justification for the Tyrolese violence. Most importantly, however, faith is stressed as the source of the Tyrolese strength. The text shows "priests, who, crucifix in hand, aroused their faith and their courage" (ibid.) and stresses that they "fought alike for God, the Emperor, and our country" (ibid.) with god, significantly, standing at the top of the list.[38] Even the enemy is reported as seeing divine intervention behind the peasants' power: "'That long Beard has an angel near him!'" (ibid.). Although the text describes the fight between the Tyrolese and the Bavarian troops, these violent measures are shown as a disruption to their general nature and, once the fight is over, the group is shown as merciful and just, in line with the emerging idea of a kind and merciful Christian soldier: "The prisoners taken, their lives were held sacred by the Tyrolese. 'Tear them to pieces,' cried Hofer, 'as long as they resist, but the moment they are on their knees, show mercy'" (ibid.). Similarly, the text says that Hofer "would not allow the slightest thing to be taken from the enemy, and had every house in Innsbruck searched to see if anything was there which belonged to the Bavarians" (ibid., 229). Thus, the violent actions of the Tyrolese are depicted as a mere necessity, a disruption to their peaceful and merciful nature which is not presented as a contradiction, but as a means to sustain this very lifestyle. Embedded in a religious worldview, the fighting men are shown as heroic because they are not fighting for their own interest or a grander political scheme, but for the maintenance of their collective identity.

The illustrations which accompany the article stress this very identity and peacefulness.[39] Rather than depicting battle action, a full-page illustration (cf. ibid., 228) shows a print of Franz von Defregger's 1879 painting "Andreas Hofer with His Advisers in the Hofburg at Innsbruck", which shows Hofer and a group of his men in plain clothes that stand out in their simplicity against the magnanimity of the surroundings. Interestingly, the illustration's caption alters the painting's title and reads "Andreas Hofer receiving the Presents of the Emperor of Austria at Innsbruck". This alteration re-interprets the scene depicted. Where the original caption had identified the Austrian politicians as advisers of Hofer's, the

---

38 The faith referred to in the last quotation is interestingly not specified. Andreas Hofer and the Tyrolese fighting with him had been Catholic, however, the text does not refer to the group's religious denomination but utilises their religion in a more general way in order to portray a Christian form of fight for freedom and independence.

39 This study understands periodical illustrations, following Simon Cooke, as "dual texts" (Cooke: Illustrated Periodicals, p. 121) in which image and word form a "dynamic fusion" (ibid., p. 191). For further discussions of text/image relation and Victorian culture see for example Anderson: The Printed Image; Brake / Demooor (eds.): Illustration; Renate Brosch: Victorian Visual Culture, Heidelberg 2008; Goldman: Beyond Decoration; Brian Maidment: Reading Popular Prints, 1790–1870, Basingstoke 2001; Stuart Sillars: Visualisation in Popular Fiction, 1860–1960. Graphic Narratives, Fictional Images, London 1995; Peter W. Sinnema: Dynamics of the Pictured Page. Representing the Nation in the Illustrated London News, Aldershot 1998 or Julia Thomas: Pictorial Victorians. The Inscription of Values in Word and Image, Athens, OH 2004.

new caption changes the power dynamic of the scene and makes the Austrians seek Hofer to reward him with presents, rather than Hofer seeking their help. With the gifts coming from "The Emperor", the caption even inscribes the Emperor's presence into the image. Thereby, the illustration emphasises the otherness of Hofer and the peasants in relation to the more organised political and military parties.

A second, smaller illustration depicts "Hofer's Cottage in Tyrol" (cf. ibid., 230); it shows a cottage within a pastoral setting, meadows beneath the mountains and a river running through the scene. Completely devoid of people, with the cottage as the only sign of civilisation, the image projects the calmness and peacefulness which the Tyrolese were presented as fighting for in the text. Thus, the images can be seen as directing the readers' attention by emphasising certain aspects of the text visually.[40] By visually highlighting the peaceful nature and the otherness of the Tyrolese, other aspects, such as the violence depicted in the verbal representation, are counterbalanced.

Similarly, the article "A Visit to the Marshes of La Vendée" shows how "crowds of labourers and shepherds become, under the impulse of some strong excitement, mighty and heroic armies" (A Visit to the Marshes of La Vendée, *LH*, 7 Jun 1855, 353). The information was mediated in the form of a travel report, a genre which was frequently employed in *LH* to convey historical information to the reader. In a form both entertaining and immersive, its present tense narrative gives the reader the notion of accompanying the narrators on their journey. Just as the "shepherds" and "labourers" are shown only resorting to violent means out of necessity, the description of the present day inhabitants then reassures the reader that a peaceful group of people live there:

> In this district, which witnessed the extinction of five republican armies, he would naturally expect to find a fierce and warlike race, more accustomed to use the sword than the spade; but, on the contrary, he sees a population calm, silent, and peaceful, working as diligently, and apparently with as much apathy of spirit, as their own gigantic oxen. (ibid., 354)

Thus, the violent action is presented as a disruption, which does not change the peasants, but enables them to maintain their "calm, silent, and peaceful" life.

In the depiction of civilian uproar against superior powers,[41] *LH* does not foreground the military component of the presented heroism, but the mercy

---

[40] Cf. Gabriele Rippl: Intermedialität. Text/Bild-Verhältnisse, in: Claudia Benthien / Brigitte Weingart (eds.): Handbuch Literatur und Visuelle Kultur, Berlin/Boston 2014, pp. 139–158, here p. 148. The German original, which uses the example of Charles Dickens, reads: "So lenken etwa die den Romanen von Charles Dickens beigegebenen Bilder die Aufmerksamkeit der Leserinnen und Leser, indem sie die Semantik wichtiger Textpassagen visuell verdichten." Ibid.

[41] Other examples include The Negro Liberator of Hayti, *LH,* 31 Mar 1853, 218–221 which foregrounds the humaneness of François-Dominique Toussaint Louverture in the Haitian Revolution and emphasises the mercy he showed his opponents; The Kingdom of Sardinia

which the fighters showed their enemies. Thereby, the depiction concurs with the growing ideal of a Christian military man who would fight in a way which was as humane and merciful as possible and would avoid unnecessary violence.

The idea of a Christian soldier becomes more frequent in the journal as the century progresses and is most obvious in relation to conflicts in the colonies. In this context, texts can be found which openly support organised military action if conducted in the context of the Christian civilising mission which *LH* as a religiously oriented publication supported.[42] This becomes especially pronounced in the context of the Second Boer War at the turn of the century. In 1890, W. H. Swain remarks in "A March from Johannesburg" that amidst the "heroism of the long-draw-out sieges" (W. H. Swain: A March from Johannesburg, *LH*, May 1890, 631) the best features of humanity have been brought to the fore. This is, in his opinion, not exemplified by mere military success, but in the way in which the soldiers deal with the Boers after the fight. In a tone which clearly infantilises the South African native population, the author praises the fact that the soldiers showed the "vast crowd of simple, childlike, helpless natives" Christian mercy. Similarly, "Varieties", a miscellaneous section which dealt with current topics, quotes an American correspondent in South Africa who had "seen a wounded Boer with his head resting in a British soldier's lap, while another gave him water" (Varieties, *LH*, Jun 1900, 744). The acts of the soldiers are then not seen as acts of killing, as the war-critical poem of 1870 had expressed it, but as "incidents of heroism […], acts of self-forgetfulness and quick self-sacrificing service" (ibid.). Whereas war had been criticised in other contexts, the military actions conducted in the context of a Christian mission are viewed as "a glorious page in English history" (ibid.) and display a "self-forgetful spirit which makes great things possible in both Church and State" (ibid.). The reference to the Church is the most significant in this context, since it is this connection to religious aims which seems to justify the violent actions which are otherwise condemned and turns them into heroic acts. The murderous acts thus become heroic in a war which can be considered Christian.

As this short overview has shown, *LH*, rooted in an ideal of altruism and pacifism, was generally opposed to violent military actions, an opinion which changed, however, if the violent actions could be justified in a religious context

---

and its Sovereign, *LH*, Jan 3 1856, 8–11 which shows the small nation as a "brave, hardy, and independent race" fighting against "overwhelming numbers" (ibid., 11); or Russia under Alexander and Nicholas, *LH*, 26 Oct 1854, 676–679 which praises the "heroic struggle" (ibid., 677) of Polish peasants against Czar Nicholas.

42 As MacKenzie has argued, colonialism was important for a new popularity of the British army and British war efforts in a Christian framework which turned violent acts into "imperial action by a divinely ordained might. […] Church, intellectuals, educationalists and artists were reconciled to war through its role in the extension of Christendom, its moral purpose not only in the life of the state but in producing a new global order." MacKenzie: Popular Imperialism, p. 4.

and if the fighters showed mercy towards their enemies. While the periodical used the vocabulary of the heroic in relation to established military men of the (mythical) past such as King Arthur, Nelson or Wellington in a very unreflected manner, positive assessments through the attribution of heroic status can mostly be found in the narration of unequal fights (in line with the biblical tale of David against Goliath) in which civilians are forced to take up arms in order to defend their peaceful lifestyle, and in relation to colonial conflicts, which could be seen as fights for Christianity. Unlike *CJ*, however, *LH* did not re-interpret the idea of heroism and associated it with ideals they thought worth emulating by their readers, and identification beyond the religious was not encouraged.

Leadership and Disruptive Potential – Military Heroism in Fraser's Magazine

The coverage of war and its heroes in *FM* is fundamentally different from the depiction in *CJ* and *LH*. Unlike the other two journals, which both seemed to be uncomfortable with dealing with the war and Britain's involvement explicitly, *FM* discusses the war much more directly, as will become apparent in articles published in the context of the Crimean War. Interestingly, for the contributors to the magazine the war was defined much less by battle action than by politics and, unlike *CJ* and *LH*, they rarely discussed the human expense and the individual experience of soldiers in battle. Consequently, most of the articles are written in a very sober and matter-of-fact fashion, individual soldiers and sailors do not feature and the language of heroism is far less frequent than in the two periodicals examined above. The magazine takes much more of an interest in the reasons for Britain entering the war and the political implications than in the situation of the British fighting in the Crimea or the Baltic. In "Turkey and the East of Europe in Relation to England and the West" in 1853, *FM* displays a positive reaction to the fact that the British public was so interested in the events. However, it does not relate this back to the fact that many people might have relatives fighting in the war, a sense of threat to their own living conditions, or straightforward patriotic sentiment. Rather, the article sees the interest as a sign of a general improvement in the education and living standards of the population at large:

> During the period of the discussions on the Reform Bill now twenty years ago or more, it used to be complainingly said by independent liberal members, who took great interest in foreign politics, that it was impossible to excite the English middle and lower classes on the interesting subject of foreign affairs. […] yet a great change has since taken place in English opinion and feeling. (Turkey and the East of Europe in Relation to England and the West, *FM*, May 1853, 562)

This "great change", the text sees in the increased mobility of the "middle and lower classes".[43] As a consequence, "[m]en in a very humble sphere of life have, during the last five years, taken an eager and anxious interest in the struggles of Hungary and Italy, in the politics of France and of Germany, and in the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Turkey" (ibid., 563). This "eager and anxious interest" in the fate of the Ottomans is explained by a very rational fact: "If the Sultan were removed from his seat of Empire to-morrow, or another power installed in Constantinople, that trade which English and Levantine merchants now so prosperously drive would be transferred to other channels – would be loaded with fetters and restrictions" (ibid., 564), which might lead to a Russian domination of global trade. The text thus gives a very logical political reason for Britain supporting the Ottoman troops in their fight against Russia, however it also points out that Britain itself is on a different civilisatory level than Turkey and that the choice between "Ottoman dominion" and the "Russian Czar" is a choice between "two evils" (ibid., 564). Subsequently, the Ottomans are called a "semi-civilized and warlike tribe" (ibid., 563), their culture is however also described as rich and exotic in relation to its natural resources with

> lands flowing with milk and honey, and producing rice, wheat, tobacco, hemp, cotton, silk, and the finest and most luscious fruits. […] It is rich in marbles, alabasters, jaspers, and precious stones; in drugs and medicaments of great value. There are mines of copper and quicksilver; breeds of horses of exceeding value; flocks of buffaloes and sheep […]. (ibid., 564)

In this description, the text implicitly links the existence of the "Turkish system" (ibid.) back to British interests; as Britain does not flow "with milk and honey" and does not possess the same precious natural resources, its trade supremacy is integral for *FM*'s readership to be able to enjoy colonial goods and exotic luxuries in the future.[44]

Different from the previously discussed periodicals, *FM* in this text clearly positions itself in favour of the war in the Crimea for merely political reasons, which do not seem to be influenced by humanitarian thoughts or moral doubts, for: "[s]o long as we desire to retain our Indian empire there is no question con-

---

[43] The article argues that "[i]t is a well ascertained fact, that travellers can now reach Paris in less time than they could reach Calais and Boulogne in 1830, and that the cost of the whole trip is less than the fares taken by the steamboats plying between London and Calais three-and-twenty years ago. As a consequence of this increased communication, for every one Englishman and woman who crossed the Straits to Dover in 1829, there are one hundred who cross it in 1853." Turkey and the East of Europe in Relation to England and the West, *FM*, May 1853, 563. It is highly questionable though that this increase of travel to Europe was in significant part made up by the "lower classes", yet this perception might also depend on the point of view and the "lower classes" defined by the upper class might be something different as defined by the middle or working classes.

[44] This is further stressed by the explanation that "[f]or many years Great Britain, including her possessions of Malta and the Ionian Islands, has driven a larger import and export trade with Turkey than any three of the European powers together." Ibid., 567.

nected with the East or the Echelles du Levant that is not of paramount importance to us" (ibid., 568).

Significantly, then, the vocabulary of heroism in this text is not used in relation to British soldiers or officers fighting against Russia, but denotes Britain's new ally in the war: Louis Napoleon, who is not called by his name, but in reference to the coup d'état of 2 November 1851 as "the hero of December" (ibid., 572 and 573). The text thus depicts the French emperor as a continuing threat to British supremacy despite the fact that the two countries were allied in the current war against Russia. Louis Napoleon's heroism in this context clearly refers to a disruptive quality and can be related to the ideas of men like Carlyle, who had identified heroism as a way of replacing an existing order (which is subjectively perceived as deficient) with a new one (cf. chapter 2.1). Heroism, in this context, is a precarious concept with the power to destabilise existing order and hierarchies. Unlike *CJ* and *LH*, *FM* does not portray the French troops and their commander as an asset in the current war and additional security in the conflict, but as a still unpredictable political enemy. Articles looking into the military past of Britain, such as "Sketches of Campaigning Life" which in 1854 narrated Wellington's advance on Bajados, also remained clear in their definition of France as a threatening power within Europe. Large parts of the article were taken from William Francis Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula* (1836). As a member of the British army during the Peninsular War, Napier's account could be presented as authentic,[45] but also made re-interpretation impossible and firmly situated the French as an opposing force, although allied in the present war. As an introductory note, the text professes its intention as follows:

> At a moment like the present, when all the nations of Europe are once more either engaged in, or on the brink of, hostilities, some sketches and details of personal adventure, exemplifying how matters were managed in the last stupendous war, may not prove unacceptable to the military or general reader. (Sketches of Campaigning Life, *FM*, Aug 1854, 223)

This comment on the account to follow not only gives the "military and general reader" the example of a successful war effort to boost confidence, but also reinforces a political opinion which is critical of France.[46] Subsequently, the

[45] William Francis Napier had not been part of the siege of Bajados himself; he had only arrived after the city had fallen and the casualties among the officers gave him the opportunity to take command of a regiment himself. His historical account was, however, authenticated through the fact that he was given access to correspondence of the French military. John Sweetman notes that "Wellington refused use of his private papers, but gave Napier Joseph Bonaparte's correspondence with Napoleon, senior military figures, and politicians captured at Vitoria, and answered copious questions." John Sweetman: Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick (1785–1860), in: Lawrence Goldman (ed.): Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2008, DOI: 10.1093/ref:odnb/19772.

[46] It is worth noting that the introduction neutrally refers to all European nations being "either engaged in, or on the brink of, hostilities" without qualifying the engagement as a joint one.

French are described as untiring, disciplined and skilled; the English, however, are still shown as superior and more enduring: "the enemy did their utmost, but at length retired" (ibid., 228). Interestingly, this text concerned with past events is the only one to appear during the Crimean War which describes actual battle action. Regarding the Crimean Campaign itself, the texts do not enter the battlefield in a narrative fashion but are kept in a matter-of-fact style, giving lists of equipment, analysing difficulties and expressing political beliefs. Thereby, an unemotional stance towards the war is adopted and a greater distance between the readers and the events created. Where publications like *CJ* had needed the description of soldiers' suffering to create the proximity and emotional involvement necessary for consumers to identify with the represented heroes, *FM* discusses the war as a part of politics and aims at a rational rather than an emotional response from its readership.

FM keeps this distanced style of reporting about the Crimea throughout its coverage. Additionally, it openly criticises other media, especially what it calls "graphic essayists" (Russian Ships and Russian Gunners, *FM*, Jun 1854, 613), which it believes lead their readership to wrong conclusions.[47] This, the text suggests, is often due to the fact that the presumed correspondents are not on site: "we will not, for instance, ask whether certain letters which last summer appeared, headed in showy capitals, 'From our own Correspondent, St. Petersburg,' were written from the Russian capital, or fabricated in London" (ibid., 624). *FM*'s own style of reporting was then decidedly not graphic in terms of wartime action, but very much so in terms of details which presumably should prove that their authors were not fabricating their stories "in London". In order to enable the reader "to arrive at a correct appreciation of the enemy's power of resistance by sea" (ibid., 613), the Russian, and later also the French and British ships, are described in great detail regarding their material, equipment, their speed, etc. In order to achieve a seemingly authentic picture of the situation in Russia, passages of the article are written in the style of travel writing. One sequence, for example, guides the reader on a tour through the docks of St. Petersburg:

> having now arrived in St. Petersburgh – and to steam the distance from Cronstat takes two and a quarter hours – we proceed to notice the building-yards of that capital. […] The New Admiralty is on the left bank of the Neva, two miles above from the bar, and at the end of the well-known English quay. […] Of the two larger ships no notion can be formed by persons whose ideas on the subjects are taken from what may be every day seen at Portsmouth and Plymouth. They are magnificent works […]. (ibid., 614)

[47] The *Daily News* (1846–1912) and *Morning Chronicle* (1770–1862) are excluded from this criticism, since they are said to have been "*comparatively* truthful" (Russian Ships and Russian Gunners, *FM*, Jun 1854, 625) in their reporting.

The Russian ships, in contrast, are described as inferior.[48] Similar to the previous text, heroism is in this context shown as a problematic concept, one which endangers an existing order and is unpredictable. Just like Napoleon was not to be trusted, this text sees the Russian emperor's "heroic dream of ambition and glory" (ibid., 631) as the root of the current military conflict. Heroism in this context is thus not something to aspire to or to be admired, but a danger to Britain's trade supremacy and its place in the world order. Interestingly, *FM*'s opinion on this form of authoritarian heroism is largely dependent on the context. In a situation where the existing order from which Britain benefited is threatened by this kind of heroism, it is denounced, called a mere "cover [for] a vain despot's wounded pride" (ibid.) in the face of his inferiority. In domestic issues related to class questions, however, *FM* often propagated just this form of leadership by heroic figures (cf. chapter 5.6).

Furthermore, the depiction of the Crimean War in *FM* seems to suggest that heroism on the British side was needless. Both the unpredictable form of heroism embodied by Louis Napoleon or the Russian Tsar as a reaction to a hopeless situation or a dangerous risk are never attributed to British soldiers or sailors. The war was rather presented as a necessary political measure achieved with military means and the magazine mostly presents the campaign as one which had already been won by the allied forces from the beginning. In September 1854, "The Garrisons of the Crimea" professes that "we trust and believe that the Allies are about to scour the hills of the Crimea in such effectual fashion that the Osmanli will henceforth be able to smoke his pipe in peace on the slopes of Haider Pasha" (The Garrisons of the Crimea, *FM*, Sep 1854, 356). Giving numbers of the Russian forces, the text is confident that British "superiority in mere numbers, would be, we repeat, immense, and may be added to, if necessary, by reinforcements from England and France, and from the Turkish army of the Danube" (ibid., 361). Although the text asserts that it does not "wish to convey that any of these movements are easy, or devoid of risk" (ibid.), a military victory for the allied forces is presented as a certainty. Having established that the British troops have no real enemy in this war, the vocabulary of the heroic is not ascribed to the British, but to an inferior group opposing Russia, which – unlike the British – runs the risk of being defeated, but nevertheless took up the fight: The Arnaouts, Albanians living in Syria, are attributed the status of heroes for beating back a Russian battery though being "ill-armed" (ibid.). However, the group of fighters is only elevated as such because of their weak position and the unlikeliness of their success. They are heroic for the very fact that their chances of beating the Russians in the specific situation were very slim. Britain, on the

[48] The contributor for example notes that "The first thing which strikes the European visitor to a Russian dockyard is, that the oak, a wood with us inseparable form the idea of maritime supremacy, is sometimes entirely, and always partially, replaced by materials which we should saw into kitchen tables and nursery doors." Ibid., 613.

other hand, does not seem to need such desperate heroism and is, at the close of the Crimean War, presented as a natural leader among the global powers: "setting aside our natural military superiority – which we will assert, without fear of contradiction, to be immense – we have all the advantages conferred on us by the position we have so long occupied as the vanguard of the civilization of the world" (ibid., 366–368). Unlike the Arnaouts, who need heroism in order to enhance their military prowess, Britain is depicted as such a leading power in both military and civil terms that heroism seems to be irrelevant for their success.

None of the texts dealing with the Crimean War refer to British casualties or the effects of the massive expenditure on Britain. The war was presented as political rather than as a military action that involved blood, suffering, living under bad conditions and death. Though the middle classes, the most educated of whom *FM* was targeting, would have been less directly involved in the war, the upper classes, which also made up the magazine's intended audience, would have been affected strongly by the war as most of the high ranks of the military came from this segment of society. In this light, it is interesting that *FM* did not praise or heroise the active involvement of their intended readers, but analysed the war as a de-individualised and to some extent also de-humanised political event.

In other contexts, instances of heroisation of specific military actors can be found. However, *FM* strongly differentiates between the military leaders and the mass of military men. While the latter are often depicted as having become heroes due to the circumstance of war and not due to individual prowess[49] (the labelling of military heroism as situational could also be observed in *CJ*, yet it was utilised in order to differentiate between military heroism and the heroic representation of a moral mindset), the leaders are frequently heroised for their vision and leadership qualities. In reasoning closely reminiscent of the idea of heroism as defined by Carlyle or Emerson, high-ranking prominent military men – mostly from the past – are commemorated. Furthermore, the potential of heroic military leaders to bring about societal change, if necessary by violent means, is stressed through examples such as Napoleon, William of Orange and Julius Caesar.

"Charles James Napier: A Study in Character"[50] by the contributor Shirley can serve as an exemplary article for the representation of military leaders as vision-

[49] For example, "Kaye's History of the Indian Mutiny" says about the "heroic" British soldiers involved: "it happened to men who still walk about the streets, who have not yet reached middle age, and who have nothing after all very particular about them." Kaye's History of the Indian Mutiny, *FM*, Dec 1864, 757. Or "The Naval School on Board the 'Illustrious'" criticises the fact that "[a] seaman of the royal navy was, by courtesy, held to be a hero, though what was to make him such was rarely inquired into". The Naval School on Board the "Illustrious", *FM*, Apr 1855, 455.

[50] The text refers to the army officer and governor in India Sir Charles James Napier (1782–1853), brother of the aforementioned William Francis Napier, not to be mistaken with the

ary heroes and objects of adoration in line with Thomas Carlyle's idea of a messianic hero-leader. Already the opening assertion that with Napier "[a]n authentic hero has been among us" (Shirley: Charles James Napier, *FM*, Feb 1858, 254) awards the British general an extraordinary position. As "one of her [England's] greatest and most strikingly original sons" (ibid.), he is estimated even higher than the widely admired Wellington. In a religiously inspired comparison, Napier is presented as the more timely and energetic of the two: "Not even *the* Duke was greater […]. Wellington – massive and tranquil as a primeval god: Napier – bright and rapid as the lightning of Jove" (ibid.). Since Napier himself had fought under Wellington at Bussaco, the comparison is a very direct one. In public opinion, Napier had often been criticised for his harsh outspokenness[51] and problematic relation to authority. Especially during his time as commander of the British Army in India, Napier frequently criticised the leading figures, expressing

> his conviction of the stupidity and incompetence of the British rulers in India […]. He expressed his views in the margins of his copy of Vincent Eyre's book on the war. Where Eyre wrote of the officers' bravery, Napier wrote "you were all a set of sons of bitches" (copy of V. Eyre, The Military Operations in Cabul, 1843, 227, BL OIOC). Eyre wrote, "It seemed as if we were under the ban of Heaven"; Napier crossed it out, writing, "Nonsense. These matters depend upon particular circumstances". (ibid., 127)[52]

With such wording, Napier alienated many of his contemporaries. Though criticising the authorities and their conduct, Napier nevertheless "argued that the only way to bring order to a disturbed area was through a leader" (ibid., 254). Given the previous observations on heroism in *FM*, it is not surprising then that the periodical, which believed in a heroic leader-figure of the same build, re-evaluated his importance. The text in *FM* re-attributes Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* to Napier:[53] "sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit; / Restless, unfixed in principles and place; In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace; / A fiery soul, which worketh out its way, / […] A daring pilot in extremity […]" (ibid.). This

---

naval officer and politician Sir Charles Napier (1786–1860), a controversial figure who was widely considered "the common man's naval hero". Sweetman: Napier, n.p.

51 Ainslie T. Embree for example notes that Napier was full of criticism for his superiors: "After the battle of Talavera he wrote that Wellington was 'rash and imprudent … his errors seem to be more of inexperience and vanity than want of talent' (Napier, Life, 1.127). […] Napier's diaries and letters are full of complaints about his enemies in England, especially the Duke of York, whom he blamed for his non-promotion." Ibid. In his later career in India, Napier's open rivalry with General Sir James Outram caused much public attention. Ainslie T. Embree: Napier, Sir Charles James (1782–1853), in: Lawrence Goldman (ed.): Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2008, DOI: 10.1093/ref:odnb/19748.

52 Ibid.

53 The re-appropriation of Dryden's text is noteworthy; written as an answer to the religiously based exclusion crisis in the late 1670s, the quoted lines are used to describe the biblical Achitophel, a false advisor to David. In Dryden's work, Achitophel symbolises the Earl of Shaftesbury, who is depicted as one of the negative players in the intrigue. It is thus remarkable how the lines from *Absolom and Achitophel* are re-interpreted in a positive way.

recalls Carlyle's idea that heroic figures are not necessarily stabilisers of society, but through their visionary abilities and energy are able to disrupt existing structures in order to create something new. This fight against existing order is then attributed to Napier's military endeavours: "What better mission for a great captain than to lead his army into the provinces, release one of the fairest portions of the earth from foul misgovernment, and rescue the peaceful population of the great river from the domination of a worthless family of robbers?" (ibid., 257).

Not only this aspect is reminiscent of the contemporary model of a messianic hero and, in the emphasis on Napier's truthfulness and honesty, another feature of this type of hero is met. Thus, the text describes him as "inexorably honest" (ibid., 255), possessing a "stubborn truthfulness" and notes that "to him there was greater necessity to speak the truth out than to most men" (ibid., 256). Even if to his own disadvantage, Napier is shown articulating and defending his beliefs. Even a connection to the divine, which was stressed so persistently by Carlyle, is seen in him by the text, which states that he entertained "sentiments […] as to the relations subsisting between man and the invisible world" (ibid., 261). The combination of these qualities then lead to the assertion that "[b]y nature he was intended for chief command" (ibid., 256).

Furthermore, the text attributes a poetic quality to Napier in both his military work and his writing.[54] About the latter, it notes that his "literary capacity was indeed most remarkable. […] And the style of his writing is symptomatic of the style of his mind – strong, practical, terse, logical, with a dash of the finer sense we call 'genius'" (ibid., 255). A later passage then asserts that even "his military acts are *poetic*" (ibid., 265). The idea of literary and poetic talents again link Napier's heroism to the ideas of Thomas Carlyle, who had drawn direct links between a man's heroic qualities and his abilities to disseminate his ideas through print in his remarks on the "Hero as Man of Letters". Furthermore, the idea of poetic writing, in contrast to mediocre literature, had also been seen as the hero's link to the divine. In line with this presentation of Napier as a Carlylean hero, the text compares him to Mohammed and Napoleon (cf. ibid., 256 and 267), both of whom had been representatives of heroism for Thomas Carlyle.

Articles about military leaders depicted in the vein of the Carlylean messianic hero can be found throughout the runtime of *FM*. Almost always in the form of a biographical sketch or in the framework of a review of a biography,[55] all of the texts present high-ranking military men. As central elements of the men's hero-

[54] It is said that his qualities can be seen "in his letters, journals, despatches; we see it in his conduct of war and government" (Charles Napier: A Study in Character, *FM,* Feb 1858, 255) and thereby connects the spheres of writing and his military and political endeavours.

[55] Many of the texts include a critique of contemporary history writing for which Thomas Carlyle was referenced as the standard which other writers could not measure up to. Interestingly, it was most frequently criticised in a very subjective assessment that contemporary historians were not able to convey the 'truth' about a given period (cf. chapter 5.6 of this

ism, the texts always emphasise their ability to lead, their superior insight into the 'truth' and thus their superiority as individuals over the mass of society. [56]

As the analyses above have shown, the representation of military heroism and war are fundamentally different in the two periodicals. While *FM*, in line with its identity as a political paper intended for the elite, perceived war in political terms rather than in the more humane categories of life, death and suffering, *LH* was clearly opposed to war in general. Therefore, both periodicals abstained from depicting individual heroic acts of common soldiers in current war efforts – though for different reasons. *LH* in their pacifist approach did not seem to want their readers to identify with actions the periodical perceived as violent. *FM* on the other hand omitted depictions of rank-and-file soldiers and limited its veneration to military leaders. Thus, in its depiction of military heroism, the political publication *FM* clearly presented its worldview as one in which the few lead the many, in which it is heroic to lead the troops and come up with the tactics, but not heroic to execute those tactics. *FM* thus designed the military hero in line with Carlyle's thinking as a heroic leader-figure. *LH*, in its lack of heroic attribution to common soldiers, presents a fundamentally different view of the world: in decidedly *not* calling the military men heroic, it becomes obvious that the military profession is one which the periodical wants its readers *not* to enter. Therefore, it did not present any role models of this profession to its readers.

5.4 Heroes of Civilisation

Both *LH* and *FM* construct heroic figures whose achievements and works are praised as enhancing civilisation and society. In *LH* this is mostly played out in the domains of technology, exploration and missionary work, each of which displayed different types of heroes. While engineers in particular are presented to

---

study or Christiane Hadamitzky: The History of a Magazine Is But the Influence of a Great Man? Thomas Carlyle and the Decline of Fraser's Magazine, in: Ronald G. Asch / Michael Butter (eds.): Bewunderer, Verehrer, Zuschauer. Die Helden und ihr Publikum (Helden – Heroisierungen – Heroismen 2), Würzburg 2016, pp. 75–91 which analyses the connection between perceived inadequacy of history writing and the idea of a Carlylean hero in greater detail).

56 Prominent examples include Napoleon (e.g. Principal Campaigns in the Rise of Napoleon, *FM*, Feb–Nov 1848; Military Tableaux; or, Scenes from the Wars of Napoleon, Sketched in the Manner of Callot, *FM*, Apr 1844, 487–495), Wellington (e.g. The Duke of Wellington, *FM*, Oct 1852, 267–273), Henry Lawrence (Henry Lawrence, *FM*, Aug 1872, 251–264), Viscount Combermere (Field-Marshal Viscount Combermere, *FM*, Nov 1866, 564–587), Count Cavour (Count Cavour, *FM*, Feb 1878, 185–199), Frederick the Great (e.g. Carlyle's Frederick the Great, *FM*, Dec 1858, 631–649 and *FM*, May 1864, 539–550. In this specific case, the link to the Carlylean concept of heroism would have been even stronger as it reviewed, very favourably, Carlyle's biography of Frederick the Great). Texts which positively emphasise the socially disruptive quality of heroism include William the Silent: A Study in Character, *FM*, Apr 1860, 463–474; Motley's John Barneveld, *FM*, Aug 1874, 223–245 or Julius Caesar, *FM*, Jul 1867, 1–15 and Froude's Julius Caesar, *FM*, Sep 1879, 315–337.

the readers as possible role models, a greater distance is placed between the audience and the missionaries. Contrary to what one might expect from the didactic periodical, the work of (secular) educators – which was heroised in *CJ* – is not depicted in the language of the heroic in *LH*. Though *FM* occasionally portrays scientists and explorers in the vocabulary of the heroic, the periodical's idea of the heroism of civilisation is played out on a different field: politics. As the following sections will illustrate, the two periodicals in their representation of civilising heroism display fundamentally different concepts that emphasise their different intended readerships and ideas of the individual in relation to the collective.

Science and Technology in Leisure Hour

In the era of scientific and technological progress, *LH*, with its aim not only to entertain but to instruct, provided a large number of articles on popular science and technology. Different from *CJ*, the periodical quite frequently used the vocabulary of the heroic to describe the representatives of those men (for women, once again, do not feature prominently in that domain) whom the journal saw as contributing to the development of civilisation. Whereas military endeavour was perceived as societally destructive, science and technology were shown as means to enhance society and also to disseminate Christianity. This distinction is, for example, voiced in a poem inspired by the death of arctic explorer John Franklin and his crew. The poem states:

> Not on the battle-field they fell, with victory's laurels crowned,
> With trumpet-blast and cannon's roar, and clash of arms around!
> Heroes of higher grade were they – slain in a noble strife;
> Who sacrificed in science's cause – home, country, friends, and life! (Poetry, *LH*, 8 Feb 1855, 95)

This excerpt illustrates the opposition between the military and scientific realm and emphasises the speaker's opinion that military heroics are awarded too much attention.[57] The efforts by Franklin and his crew to explore the world in order to enlarge humankind's knowledge, however, are considered an act of a "higher grade". Though both actions can be seen as selfless and result in death, being metaphorically slain in the name of science is considered the higher form of heroics.

[57] This fits Christine MacLeod's assessment that the depiction of inventors "personified their [the industrial classes'] claim that it was not military prowess that made Great Britain great, but the ingenuity and enterprise of its 'industrious' citizens: the country's strength and global influence rested on the prosperity generated by manufacturing and trade; peaceful competition was a more secure route than war to individual happiness and national supremacy". MacLeod: Invention, p. 1.

In that vein, the periodical praised many men of invention, exploration and industry as heroes in their contribution to society at large. However, the focus, as the following examples will illustrate, lay strongly on the practical fields of engineering and industry and less on the more abstract natural sciences. One can argue that this reflects the periodical's intended readership; with an emphasis on technology, it dealt with products and processes which the working classes would have been familiar with since they were the ones actually working with the newly invented machinery. The journal in the thematic emphasis made an identificatory offer to its readers, who could not only relate to the technology depicted, but also to the general ideas of industriousness and the work ethic represented by the engineers. Thus, the stories of men such as George Stephenson, William Fairbairn or the French Weaver Marie Joseph Jaquard were also stories of personal and moral progress which were intended to spark similar ambitions in the working men among the readership. At the same time, the relatively scarce heroisation of scientists compared to engineers or explorers also reflects the periodical's policy and the regulations that their financial supporters implicitly put on them. Though having toned down their strong religious orientation in order to reach more readers from the working classes, much of the funding for *LH* was coming from strongly religious members of the middle classes[58] who, from the mid-century onwards, were often unsettled by the scientific findings in the wake of Darwinism which contradicted their religious beliefs. Invention and technological development could be framed in a philanthropic and religious narrative and were much closer to the experience of the intended audience of the working classes; the new machinery used in many fields of production made working life easier for many and the work of the individual engineers could be seen as work for the whole of the community. Furthermore, as the following examples will illustrate, the new developments and inventions could be related to the grace of god and did not contradict biblical ideas, while scientific ideas such as the theory of evolution fundamentally challenged religious beliefs.[59]

Engineering and Industry

All of the articles start the narration with the protagonists' childhood and show them as being marked out as extraordinary from their earliest days. In this standard form of hero-narrative, the Frenchman Jacques Fontaine, who would invent a new kind of fabric-making, is depicted as "gifted with a robust constitution and more than ordinary force of character" (Story of a Forgotten Benefactor, *LH*, 27

[58] Fyfe: Commerce, p. 171.
[59] For scholarship on the relation between science and religion in the nineteenth century see chapter 3, Fn. 46.

Sep 1855, 621) from birth. Marie Joseph Jacquard[60] already in his youth showed "his taste for mechanics […] by a number of curious little inventions" (The Lyonese Weaver, *LH*, 5 Feb 1852, 85) and Bernard Palissy, the discoverer of enamel, is shown as superior to his surroundings from childhood onwards:

> […] we picture to ourselves the boy Bernard fingering his father's drugs, and asking puzzling questions concerning them; and failing to elicit satisfactory replies, rambling forth into the wood to think over, or ask again of nature, of whose teachings he was ever a diligent student. (An Artist in Earth, *LH*, 11 Nov 1852, 730)

This narratorial strategy, which was common to nineteenth-century didactic reading material, is pursued in the depiction of George Stephenson, who is the focus of a number of articles in *LH* through the decades. A two-part biographical text published in December 1857 serves as a good example of this. Drawing heavily on Samuel Smiles's *Life of George Stephenson* which had appeared in the same year, the text also turns to Stephenson's childhood. It professes the goal to show Stephenson's life "from the time when he was a poor cow-boy on the fields of Northumberland until he reached one of the highest and most distinguished positions to which honourable labour can attain, we shall see that 'to persevere' in a good cause meant with him, as it may mean with all others, 'to succeed'" (George Stephenson. Part I, *LH*, 17 Dec 1857, 811). Stephenson, who is frequently referred to by his childhood nick-name "Geordie Stevie" (ibid.) in the text, is established as coming from a poor yet pious and industrious family. His development into one of Britain's foremost engineers, foreshadowed in broad strokes in the above excerpt, then emphasises the fact that his humble origin could not hold him back. Similar to the above examples, his talent is already visible in his early self: "in little Geordie Stevie's essays in modellings […], may we trace the birth of that mechanical ingenuity for which the future railway engineer was so eminently distinguished" (ibid., 811–812). The use of the term "mechanical" is worth noting in this context, as it can be seen as a term used to relate the prominent engineer to the everyday life of the intended readers, many of whom

[60] It is worth noting that prominent examples of heroic engineers in *LH* come from the textile industry (such as Fontaine or Jacquard), which was of crucial importance both for British industrialisation as a whole as well as for the formation of the notion of the working class and as a major field of employment for women. As Jenkins notes, "textiles played the major role in initial industrial transition in terms of technique and organization". David T. Jenkins: The Textile Industries, Oxford 1994, p. IX–X. As the major consumer good after food, "the textile industry formed a significant part of manufacturing activity and participated in the expansion of the industrial sector". Ibid., p. XXXIV. However, the industry also had socio-political importance. The Factory Act of 1833, which was enacted in relation to the "desire to improve the health and education of child workers" (Robert Glen: Textile Industry, in: Sally Mitchell (ed.): Victorian Britain, New York/London 1988, p. 794), was first only applied to textile factories; furthermore, the industry was at the forefront of the trade union movement and "many factories became centres of social and cultural events for workers. […] In myriad ways, therefore, the Victorian textile industry provided an important symbol for the new industrial age." Ibid.

would have been manual labourers or mechanics. This connection, even likeness, between engineer and working class man is, in the introduction of the biographical sketch, emphasised even more strongly. Here, the text quotes Stephenson himself speaking to the Leeds Mechanics' Institution in 1847 as a "fellow mechanic" (ibid., 811) and saying: "'I stand among you but as a humble mechanic. I have risen from a lower level than the meanest person here, and all that I have been enabled to accomplish in the course of my life has been done through Perseverance'" (ibid.).[61] Thereby, the text depicts Stephenson as being akin to the workers he addresses yet having progressed through the exertion of perseverance. This virtue is stressed throughout the articles and drawn on as the reason for Stephenson's ultimate success[62] but also implies that the "struggling hero" (George Stephenson. Part II, *LH*, 24 Dec 1857, 829) had to overcome obstacles.[63] Thus, he is shown as working in the local colliery from an early age, accomplishing his goal of becoming an engine-man through "perseverance and industry" (George Stephenson. Part I, *LH*, 17 Dec 1857, 812), which "far from causing him to relax in his habits of industry, only served to stimulate him to fresh exertion" (ibid.). However, not only his professional life is depicted as affected by his discipline, but also his private life: "while too many of his companions were spending their spare time and money in drinking-bouts, gambling, and dog and cock-fighting, Geordie Stevie was busy mastering the next step of his onward progress" (ibid.). In the description of Stephenson's success, his diligence and hard-working nature are emphasised, yet also the fact that he did not work on his railway designs for his own benefit and the want of fame, but first and foremost for the good of his community as he wanted to make the work processes in Killingworth easier. His final success in bringing the steam-locomotive to wide-spread use and setting the subsequent transportation revolution in motion is then dealt with only briefly.

Thus, the text's main emphasis is clearly on the didactic message which could best be illustrated through Stephenson's years before fame: through diligent work, temperance and perseverance, anyone can improve. Its intent to inspire readers of the working classes to similar efforts also surfaces in the frequent connections the text draws to the working reality of the past and the present: his untiring effort to teach himself is called a "weary and laborious task, and one whose

---

61 This is further stressed in the following excerpt: "In his retirement, his thoughts were often with the workers, from whom he had ascended. He was always ready to aid in the formation of a mechanics' institution, or to give advice to individual members of his class." George Stephenson. Part II, *LH*, 24 Dec 1857, 831.

62 This notion, however, contradicts to a certain degree the legend-like build-up of Stephenson's childhood narration which also heavily draws on him being extraordinarily talented.

63 The idea of a frustrating journey towards success of scientists and inventors can be seen in many of the other texts as well. One example is the aforementioned Bernard Palissy, who is shown as being marked by "trails and heroic sufferings" (An Artist in Earth, *LH*, 11 Nov 1852, 732) on his way towards his final discovery.

difficulties a working man of the present days might find it hard to estimate" (ibid., 814). Not only does this stress Stephenson's persevering nature, but also indicates to the reader that the text considers their own working environment less harsh. This notion is then authenticated through Stephenson himself, who "before he died, was able with pleasure to point to the unspeakable advantages which the mechanic of to-day possesses compared with the workman of his youth" (ibid.). Implicitly referring to Mechanics' Institutes and their libraries, but perhaps also to informational tracts published by the RTS, the text, through the example of the "struggling hero" Stephenson, clearly offers the engineer as a role model to its readership. The comparison between ordinary mechanics and Stephenson thus establishes a common identity which could possibly motivate the workers among *LH*'s readership to emulate Stephenson's behaviour, or at least his attitude towards self-improvement and work. The final paragraph of the text illustrates this fittingly, and adds a religious component to the narration, which had thus far been missing from Stephenson's biography:

> We do not promise to all working men who shall husband their resources and apply their power as he did, a similar social elevation, but 'by aiming' – to use a proverbial phrase – 'at a silk gown, they will gain a sleeve of it.' Perseverance and intelligent industry will certainly procure a working man a better status than he previously enjoyed, and will at all events advance him to the front rank of his own class. Now, in the attainment of such an object there is no better help than true piety. The self-denial, temperance, and industry which religion inspires, often become powerful levers and helps to a man's success in this world; for godliness has great gain, having the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come. (George Stephenson. Part II, *LH*, 24 Dec 1857, 831)

These final sentences add a notion of religious devotion to Stephenson's biography,[64] which is not present in Smiles's text, yet seems to be indispensable for its didactic message, which calls for the readers to be industrious, temperate and pious.[65]

---

64 A similar addition can be found in Bertie Orr's "The Requiem of George Stephenson", a poem which appeared in February 1899. The poem is written from the perspective of a steam train that thanks Stephenson who "gave us life and strength, speed and power and fame". The Requiem of George Stephenson, *LH*, Feb 1899, 261. This line is repeated in every stanza with slight alterations thanking the engineer for "patience" and "riches" (ibid.) as well. However, not only Stephenson, the engine's "creator" is praised, but ultimately "our creator's God". Ibid. This reference to god, which appears in every stanza, emphasises that the work conducted by Stephenson, though extraordinary in its own form of 'creation', is ultimately only possible within the framework of god's creation.

65 In a subsequent number of *LH* in May 1858, an article refers back to this text and its source material, Smiles's biography of Stephenson, and distinctly criticises the fact that Smiles does not incorporate religion into his depiction of Stephenson: "[W]e could have wished something more to have been added as to his hopes for the eternal world, and their foundation. He who gains a crown of life, and access to that river of holy pleasures which shall roll on for ever, is, after all, the only truly successful man; all success short of this is failure." Lessons from the Life of George Stephenson, *LH*, 12 May 1858, 301.

The focus on the process of self-improvement, on the character and selfless nature of the work of engineers rather than the final outcome, can be seen in the other articles in *LH* which portray heroes of industry. Many of the texts were unillustrated and those which contained illustrations showed the engineers as established public figures rather than in their early career, which was the focus of the narration of the texts. The Scottish inventor William Fairbairn is, for example, shown in a formal portrait adapted "from a photograph by H.J. Whitlock" (cf. The Late Sir William Fairbairn, *LH*, 28 Apr 1877, 264) and an article about Watt shows the illustration of his monument in Westminster Abbey (cf. Watt and the Steam Engine, *LH*, 30 April 1854, 760). While the texts emphasise the likeness of the men to other manual labourers, the illustration emphasises their public achievements. This disruption of the narrative can however also be seen as giving the readers something to aspire to.

On the whole, the depiction of "the great heroes of modern industry" (The Late Sir William Fairbairn, *LH*, 28 Apr 1877, 262) are shown, as the example of Stephenson has illustrated, as "fellow mechanics", as men who can be compared to the common worker, at least in the way they started out their careers. Thereby, *LH* closely aligns itself with the idea of industrious heroism as brought forth most prominently by Samuel Smiles, and propagates individual self-improvement as a means of contributing to a greater collective. At the same time, *LH* frequently tries to add religious piety as an integral feature to industriousness, a facet which could not be found in Smiles's original considerations. Furthermore, the heroism of science and industry is often constructed directly in contrast to established military heroism as in the following excerpt:

> Whenever it happens that anything worth gaining is to be gained by labour and peril, it is sure to happen also that the man who will perform the labour and dare the peril makes his appearance and enters upon his *mission*. […] there is probably no walk of life which has not produced its heroes and its *martyrs*, who have exercised as much courage and self-devotion in the pursuit of their object as the *soldier* who marches cooly against the cannon of the foe. There is a chivalry with which warfare has nothing to do; it may be a *nobler* and meaner kind, according to the motive which incites it to action and the end it proposes to itself […]. (The Story of the First English Silk-Mill, *LH*, 18 Dec 1856, 806, emphases mine)

The image of soldiers "march[ing] cooly" juxtaposed with the "nobler" kind of heroism of industry implies different qualities. While the soldiers are bound to situational heroism and seem to be facing inevitable death, the industrious heroism presented in the text seems to be less singular, more of a general attitude and future-oriented. Furthermore, the choice of words also roots this form of heroism in religion. Invention and technological developments are called a "mission", the field produces "heroes and […] martyrs".

By adding a religious level, *LH* thus presents the heroism of science and technology as a collective form of heroism, which is rooted in piety and god-givenness ("our creator's god", Orr: The Requiem of George Stephenson, *LH*, Feb

1899, 261). At the same time, the domain offers a potential for identification to the audience and can be read as a didactic means to motivate readers to educate themselves, whether through Mechanics' Institutes (as hinted at in the biographical text about George Stephenson), or independently following the examples of many of the presented industrious heroes. The periodical can thus be seen as locating itself within this realm of self-improvement with the texts and the role models it presents as educating means.

"Great Sacrifices" – the Heroic Explorer in Leisure Hour

While the domain of industry and technology in *LH* can be seen as one representing a form of collective work for society as a whole, the field of exploration displayed individual commitment to the progress of society and mankind. In the depiction of explorers such as John Franklin, who features as the foremost example, it is selflessness and suffering which are emphasised as the central characteristics of heroism. The fact that scientists exploring unknown areas of the globe were putting their own lives at risk in order to gain insight into the world, increase the knowledge of mankind at large and further the spread of civilisation was seen as "generous heroism" (Sir John Franklin's First Journey in the Polar Regions, *LH*, 1 Jan 1852, 11). Texts such as the one about "Franklin's First Journey in the Polar Regions" depicted the physical sacrifices the expedition teams had to make in great detail. One sequence, for example, describes in detail how the group, upon finding a musk-oxen after days of starvation, kills the animal and immediately starts to eat its intestines. The "hero" (ibid., 10) Franklin and his team are shown on a tour "of sufferings" (ibid.) in harsh weather, while the fact that, at that point in time, it was unclear whether or not the members of Franklin's last expedition were still alive elevates their suffering for a greater cause into the realm of spiritual heroism. The text strongly emphasises the expedition team's piety, informing the reader that "the party, previously to leaving London, had been furnished with a small collection of religious books […]" (ibid., 12). Through this reading material, it stresses that "[t]heir faith in Divine Providence had never forsaken them even in the depth of their miseries, and it proved a stimulus to exertion which nothing else could supply" (ibid.). The scientific expedition is thus almost presented as a religious mission and again depicts the belief in god – through providence – as the foundation to scientific endeavours.[66]

[66] Other contributions depicting Franklin and his expedition as heroic are "Sir John Franklin and the Arctic Expeditions", *LH*, 26 Feb 1852; the poem "The Men that Have been Long Dead", which was subtitled "Lines Suggested by the Fate of Sir John Franklin and His Crews" and calls the expedition team "heroes of a higher grade […] slain in a noble strife" (The Men that Have been Long Dead, *LH*, 8 Feb 1855, 95); and "The Late Sir John Franklin" under "Varieties", *LH*, 25 Sep 1875.

The religious facet to exploration is emphasised even more strongly in texts which relate to expeditions in areas that might potentially be missionised. "Heroes of Australian Exploration", published in December 1886, serves as a valuable example for this. Again, the text stresses the "great sacrifices" (Heroes of Australian Exploration, *LH*, Dec 1886, 841) and the introductory paragraph points out that "[t]he records of success are saddened by many episodes of disaster and death" (ibid.). The "heroism and suffering" of the explorers which was conducted to "benefit mankind" (ibid.) is, in its representation in *LH*, mostly linked to the native population, which is depicted as uncivilised, hostile and violent. Among the examples in the text are the explorers Eyre, Leichardt, Bass and Flinders, Burke and Wills, and Kennedy. A clear line is drawn between those who act to "benefit mankind" and those who seek fame and money, such as John McDouall Stuart, whose expedition is prompted by a reward offered by the government of "two thousand pounds to the first person who should cross the continent" (ibid., 844). Stuart is said to have been "soon in the field to earn the money and to secure the fame" (ibid.). Those whose "heroism" the text praises, however, are men like Robert O'Hara Burke and William John Wills, who are described as possessing "dash and energy" but especially "talent and Christian fortitude" (ibid.). Set in a Christian context and contrasted with the representation of the natives as uncivilised, the death of men like Burke and Wills on their expedition almost converts their "heroism and suffering" into a form of martyrdom. The illustrations which accompany this specific article on Australian exploration again counterbalanced the narration. While the text focused on the hardship of the expeditions, the harsh natural conditions, lack of water, starvation and conflicts with the local population, the illustrations do not visualise these scenes.[67] Rather, the images are utilised to spread knowledge gained through the explorations and depict, for example, a "Grass Tree" (cf. ibid., 846) or "Silver-Stemmed Eucalypts" (cf. ibid., 843). Similarly, the monument erected in honour of Burke and Wills in Melbourne, which is depicted on the first page of the article (cf. ibid., 841), creates a tension with the discrediting of fame established in the text.

The representation of explorers in *LH* was firmly rooted in Christian faith and is thus established as a scientific form of mission. By emphasising the sufferings and sacrifices the explorers had to make, which often resulted in death, their heroism is shifted towards the realm of martyrdom. Similar strategies, if more pronounced, become visible in the representation of missionaries and their work.

---

[67] Other publications for working and lower-middle class audiences had a different approach when it came to illustrating heroism visually. For example, *The Workman*, a large broadsheet publication set up and edited by the Methodist reformer and Temperance campaigner Thomas Bywater Smithies, confirmed the verbal representation of heroism visually with large illustrations of heroic acts (such as a miner saving others in a colliery accident). Cf. Christiane Hadamitzky / Barbara Korte: Everyday Heroism for the Victorian Industrial Classes, in: Simon Wendt (ed.): Extraordinary Ordinariness. Everyday Heroism in the United States, Germany, and Britain, 1800–2015, Frankfurt am Main 2016, pp. 53–78.

In the age of British colonial expansion, Christian missionary work played a central role. The idea of religious supremacy provided the colonists and missionaries with a sense of moral authority to conduct their work, turning their commanding and often cruel actions into humane acts of civilising aid. As Anna Johnston shows, the missionary activity was often involved in the first steps of imperial expansion and a "heightened sense of religiosity in Britain at this time ensured that Christianisation was seen as a crucial part of the colonising and civilising projects of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries".[68] Since evangelicals were highly involved in missionary work, it is not surprising that *LH*, as a periodical published by an evangelical society, frequently featured articles on missionary work. As Law and Loyd note, *LH* had a "steady focus on overseas travel, colonial life and foreign mission fields".[69] In the context of this study with its focus on the semantics of the heroic, it is especially striking that the periodical so strongly emphasises these "initial steps of imperial expansion"[70] in its portrayal of missionary heroes. Those missionaries called heroic are less frequently men and women who work on established missions, but predominantly groups of missionaries in new mission fields and during initial – and often hostile – contact with the indigenous population. Thus, *LH* portrays missionary heroes predominantly at the stage of their work at which the potential for narratives of suffering and individual sacrifice was highest.

The missionaries, in significant contrast to the engineers discussed above, are seldom depicted as being similar to the readers, but are often presented in saintly terms. "The Surgeon Missionary", a text about Richard Williams, a missionary in Patagonia, describes its protagonist as showing "indications of the coming man" (The Surgeon Missinary, *LH*, 23 Mar 1854, 186) from an early age onwards. His true piety however, so the text, is only revealed later in life; he becomes a surgeon and "appear[s] to have been decidedly sceptical and undevout" (ibid.). However, Williams is then said to have had visitations both physical and spiritual which, as a form of godly influence, lead to his decision to take up missionary work. Subsequently, the text identifies his activities in the mission in Terra Del Fuego as "Christian heroism" (ibid., 190), which is characterised through "manly piety, unquenchable zeal, victorious faith, serene submission, unfaltering fidelity, and divine repose" (ibid.). Not only is the work of the medical man on his mission described as deeply religious, but it is also marked as a distinctly *male* action. This idea of devout manliness is based on faith in a higher power and acceptance of suffering in which life is beyond individual control, but lies in the

68 Anna Johnston: Missionary Writing and Empire 1800–1860, Cambridge 2003, p. 23.
69 Law / Loyd: Leisure Hour, p. 256.
70 Johnston: Missionary Writing, p. 13.

hand of god.[71] The situation in Argentina is described as hostile, the missionaries have to flee from the natives and constantly be on guard. Yet these hardships are presented as worthwhile, since the men perceive themselves to be performing god's work and believe that the civilising forces of Christianity will succeed in the end: "this region is certainly not more wild and barbarous than our own island was when first visited by Christian missionaries in the days of the Caesars; and had the early disciples reasoned as some do now, this land would never have been visited by the light of sacred and civilizing truth" (ibid., 189). By comparing Patagonia to the pre-Christian era of Britain, the text thus gives proof for the civilising effect of (Christian) religion and creates a connection to the reality of the readers. In depicting Britain as having been civilised – and having maintained this state – through collective piety, the readers themselves are implicitly included in this act of civilisatory maintenance.

As a civilising force, missionary work is then, in direct comparison, characterised as even superior to the work of explorers such as those discussed above; referring to a text published earlier in the year about French arctic explorer Joseph René Bellot, the article notes that "the present work contains the record of heroism and an enthusiasm equally ardent [to that of Bellot], but consecrated to far higher and nobler objects" (ibid., 186). Though both men venture into previously unknown territory, it is the distinct Christian mission which makes Williams's work "higher and nobler". Bellot, whose exploration implies an element of *curiositas* and also denotes a form of adventure spirit, lacks religious motivation as a layer of meaning.

The idea of nobility was also employed in a text about the mission in Terra del Fuego a year earlier. "A Three Months' Captivity among the Giants of Patagonia" refers to the last expedition of General Gardiner in 1850, a former naval officer who later in life became a missionary. Accompanied amongst others by the aforementioned Richard Williams, Gardiner was stranded on an island in the Terra del Fuego archipelago. Due to conflicts with the native population and sparse resources, none of the party survived in the end. The men's actions are then characterised as follows: "[T]here has been in all benevolent minds but one feeling of admiration inspired by the noble heroism, the pure unselfish devotion, the uncomplaining endurance, and the *victorious* faith exhibited by Captain Gardiner and his companions in tribulation" (A Three Months' Captivity among the Giants of Patagonia, *LH*, 26 May 1853, 347). Under "circumstances the most humiliating and awful that can be conceived", Gardiner and his men still showed "steady zeal and Christian bravery" (ibid., 347). The choice of words in both quotes is striking. All of the characteristics are additionally qualified; "heroism", "devotion", "endurance", "faith", "zeal" and "bravery" are not enough on their

[71] The faith in divine providence is a recurring theme in *LH*'s representation of the heroic and can be found in all domains.

own, they are qualified as "noble", "pure", "unselfish", "uncomplaining", "victorious", "steady" and "Christian". The last qualifier is especially pertinent since bravery, especially in the context of a military man like Gardiner (his naval career significantly is not alluded to in the text, but could have been known to the readers), might be associated with violence and self-defence. The qualifier "Christian" however, seems to differentiate the bravery from the more adventurous idea of 'pluck' and turns it into a passive quality in line with the other characteristics, which all seem to imply silent suffering rather than active involvement. Whereas devotion and endurance both indicate a submissive attitude, faith, in contrast, is depicted as very active, it is *victorious*. Especially given the fact that all members of the mission party die, the idea of a victory of the Christian faith is striking. The idea of a victorious death for the idea of Christianity thus places the "noble heroism" of the missionary expedition in the realm of martyrdom.

The missionaries presented in the language of the heroic are almost exclusively well-known male missionaries.[72] In their focus on the early stages of missionary contact with the indigenous population, the texts stress the danger the missionaries place themselves in and the acceptance of their 'fate'. Though this passivity in regard to their own fate does not comply with traditional ideas of manliness, this is presented as a distinctly male Christian heroism in the texts. Throughout the 1850s, 60s and 70s, texts on missionaries in all regions of the world can be found in *LH*. A text about Henry Martin's missionary efforts in India praises his "heroic composure" (Some Traces of Henry Martin, the Missionary, *LH*, 25 Nov 1858, 749) and a strong emphasis is put on him being "alone and unprotected […] in the midst of fanatical and often ferocious heathens" (ibid.). Similarly, texts on Livingstone and his work in Africa stress the "heroic patience he manifested under the suffering and disappointment" (Dr. Livingstone, *LH*, 25 Jun 1868, 480). The strong emphasis on the missionaries' vulnerability and suffering in combination with vocabulary of the heroic then seems to turn the missionaries' very existence into heroism. The fact that they, in spite of this struggling existence, then perform their duty as disseminators of religion adds to their heroicity. One text thus praises "Livingstone's Heroic Spirit of Duty" (Varieties, *LH*, 27 Mar 1875, 208), another celebrates the "Christian labourer['s] […] noble self-devotion and steadfastness of purpose" (Dr. Living-

[72] As Jeffrey Cox shows, most missionary literature in the early nineteenth century focused on male missionaries. Even missionary wives were omitted in the representation of missionary life, although they were much more common than independent female missionaries. An emerging female presence in missionary writing was possible in relation to domestic issues from the middle of the century: "The male missionary hero was a central figure in all of this literature. Missionary wives were largely but not entirely absent from the genre until the mid-century, when they began to develop a niche for themselves in the literature on the Indian household." Jeffrey Cox: The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700, London 2007, 112.

stone, *LH*, 25 Jun 1868, 480).[73] Similarly, Martin is valued for always putting "the objects of his mission" before everything else (Henry Martin, the Missionary, *LH*, 25 Nov 1858, 749).

The subjects of the missionaries' endeavours, the indigenous population of the various countries, only ever feature as stereotypes, as an uncivilised cultural other, which reaffirms the missionaries' heroism. The texts present them as hostile upon first contact, and among the texts about missionary heroes almost none can be found which narrate a development or a growing connection between the missionaries and the native population. In the rare instances in which a development is mentioned, it is never described in detail and the focus remains on the perceived savageness upon contact. Shortly after Fiji had been added to the British Empire in 1874, a text describes British missionary work as follows:

> As in New Zealand, so in this new possession, the dark rule of cannibalism was first broken by the advent of unarmed missionaries preaching the gospel of Christ in its simplicity. The conquest of Fiji from savagery to comparative civilisation will always remain among the most heroic chapters in the history of missions. (Fiji, *LH*, 16 Jan 1875, 39)

Though describing a positive development, the way it is phrased still emphasises the negative state, the "dark rule of cannibalism". Significantly, the missionaries are, again, shown as vulnerable, even more so in a cannibalistic environment, and seem to have broken the "dark rule" by the mere power of the gospel.

The overall focus on male missionaries is even strengthened by a singular exception. "The Missionary's Wife" in 1863 describes the effect that the death of Livingstone's wife had on him. Having established beforehand that Livingstone's "Christian heroism" (The Missionary's Wife, *LH*, 10 Jan 1863, 31) had been tested by many years of suffering and deprivation, the text quotes from one of Livingstone's letters:

> "[…] I must confess that this heavy stroke quite takes the heart out of me. Everything else that has happened only made me more determined to overcome, but with this sad stroke I feel crushed and void of strength. […] I try to bow to the blow as from our Heavenly Father, who orders all things for us. […] I shall do my duty still, but it is with a darkened horizon I set about it […]." (ibid., 32)

It seems that the loss of Livingstone's wife, though lamented in the article as well, is considered an unnecessary suffering put on the missionary whose profession has him suffering already. The text then significantly ends with an appeal to other wives of missionaries:

---

[73] Livingstone has been described as "the supreme example of self-help". MacKenzie, Popular Imperialism, p. 121. The topos of self-improvement, which had been employed so heavily regarding engineers in *LH*, is not utilised in the same extent in relation to Livingstone and other missionaries. Though also stressing the importance of perseverance in his efforts, the Christian element is foregrounded and given as the motivation and foundation of Livingstone's heroism.

> We do not counsel the same perilous devotion to every woman who has a hero for a husband. For the majority, the fireside is not only the fittest, but the most honourable place; and certainly the rough trials of the explorer's life are not those to which a woman should rashly expose herself. (ibid.)

Obviously considering women to be not fit for work in the missionary field, the text reminds female readers that their place should be at the *domestic* fireside in Britain and explicitly discourages the women to join their husbands abroad.[74] This dismissal of female sufficiency for the missionary field is significant in two ways: on the one hand, it does not acknowledge the reality of missionary work, in which women took an active role. As Frank Trentmann notes: "While religion legitimized women's role in the missionary movement, the actual work performed by women and their expanding public roles eventually came to challenge the moral and social boundaries that religious doctrine and institutions sought to uphold."[75] On the other hand, the explicit exclusion of women is remarkable given the fact that the male missionaries themselves have been described in heroic terms through characteristics which at the time were associated with the feminine: submission, suffering, and acceptance of one's fate.

In conclusion, a striking contrast could be observed in the depiction of the different heroes of civilisation in *LH*. The more secular forms of civilisatory progress, such as the lives of engineers, were clearly designed to inspire the readers to emulate the represented behaviour. In stressing the similarities between the everyday lives of men of the working classes and the beginnings of well-known engineers, the periodical created role models for the readers to identify with and imitate. Thus, they were encouraged, in the vein of Samuel Smiles's idea of self-help, to use their individual progress to contribute to the development of society as a whole. The herorization of missionaries' lives, however, refers back to a different idea of heroism, which is established with a greater distance placed between the represented hero and the recipients. The missionaries, often presented as almost martyr-like in their suffering and death, are meant to be praised for their dissemination of Christianity and their work to civilise heathen regions of the world; however, their lives are not used didactically to inspire imitation. Presented as incarnations of the "coming man", the missionaries are clearly shown as different from the readers and thus nearer to the idea of a messianic hero who

---

74 The text does not consider the possibility of a woman independently working as a missionary without a husband. This might, however, be due to the context of the article dealing with a married couple.

75 Frank Trentmann: Paradoxes of Civil Society. New Perspectives on Modern German and British History, New York 2003, p. 215. For further information on the female involvement in missionary work see for example Rhonda Anne Semple: Missionary Women. Gender, Professionalism, and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission, Woodbridge 2003; Cox: Missionary Enterprise (especially chapters 5, 8 and 9); Robert A. Bickers / Rosemary Seton: Missionary Encounters, London 2013 or Rosemary Seton: Western Daughters in Eastern Lands. British Missionary Women in Asia, Santa Barbara 2013.

can shape society and lead others – those others being the 'uncivilised' communities. Though both are presented as catalysts of civilisation, the different types of heroes of civilisation are constructed with a significantly dissimilar distance between hero and community. The missionaries, in their description as saint-like, are distanced from the readership, and this distance is strongly marked in terms of religion. Whereas a religious level had to be added somewhat artificially to the achievements of secular engineers and explorers, the martyr-like missionaries are moved into the higher realm and thus removed as potential identificatory role models for the readers. The focus on the early stages of missionary engagement, the removed foreign setting and the often fatal outcome for the missionaries allowed for a herorization which did not need to be concerned with the integration of the missionaries into the everyday world. Thus, the allocation of hero-status to missionaries fulfilled a decidedly religious didactic function. In the emphasis of the suffering and even death of the missionaries *for Christian civilisation* as a whole, it created a sense of obligation which also reflects on the relation between the represented heroes and the readers. Though for the benefit of the entire religious community, their heroic actions are not imitable ones in the environment of the readers and construct a hierarchical order. The heroic agency is exclusively on the side of the missionaries – though materialising in a passive suffering – while the readership is only present as a recipient.

Explorers in Fraser's Magazine

Considering the dissimilar readership that *FM* was aimed at, it is not surprising that scientists, missionaries and explorers are only rarely heroised on the pages of the magazine. In one of the few examples, Franklin is labelled the "arctic Hero" (Franklin's Fate, and the Voyage of the "Fox", *FM*, Feb 1860, 227), but detailed descriptions of heroic acts on expedition can seldom be found. In the following, I will briefly discuss one of the rare exceptions since it shows a strikingly different depiction of explorers than *LH*. In December 1880, *FM* published a biographical account of Jacques Cartier by Annie Walker under the headline "A Forgotten Hero". While *LH* had focused on the suffering of the explorers and missionaries and the harsh conditions of their mission, *FM* depicts Cartier's travels to Canada in an overwhelmingly positive light. The Frenchman is shown as a bold and confident man whose vision is to explore unknown territories. Having secured financial means for his expedition, he and his crew set out for Canada. While any description of the travels there and the possible hardships the journey might have entailed are omitted, the text describes impressions of the new country and praises the wonders of the Canadian landscape. While the interaction of missionaries with the local population represented in *LH* had always been hostile and dangerous for the religious explorers, Cartier and his men are welcomed by "some Friendly Indians" who even "entrust to him two boys (apparently of

the chief's family) to be taken to France" (Walker: A Forgotten Hero, *FM*, Dec 1880, 776). Everywhere the crew travels, they are greeted with "presents of fruit, maize and fish" or "tremendous uproar of joy" (ibid., 777): "a thousand persons […] were assembled, dancing and singing tumultuously" (ibid., 779). Though the natives are described as inferior, "almost childish *savages*, wild men" (ibid., 777), they are "friendly, hospitable, confiding" (ibid.).

Despite the allusion to a period of "suffering" (ibid., 782) during the winter months caused by the weather, this is only mentioned in passing and the emphasis of the text lies clearly on the successful civilisatory act which Cartier and his men accomplished in establishing "a little stronghold of European power and civilisation in the midst of the primitive region" (ibid., 778). This one example can, of course, not be seen as a representative comparison with the far larger number of texts about explorers and missionaries in *LH*, yet it is nevertheless striking that "A Forgotten Hero" in *FM* portrays a successful act of exploration and Christianisation, while the texts in the evangelical publication published at the same time focus much more strongly on the suffering and sometimes even martyrdom of the explorers and missionaries and never describe a successful civilisation effort in the vocabulary of the heroic.

Civilisation through Politics

Large portions of *FM*'s content were devoted to politics. As the addresses to the readers have already shown, the periodical saw the discussion of political topics as at the centre of its identity. It is not surprising then that the political domain also plays a central role in examining the semantics of heroism in the magazine. However, specific political actors are seldom heroised; most frequently, the heroic is employed as a theoretical concept in line with Thomas Carlyle's thoughts on the subject and many of the texts explicitly evoke Carlyle to support their arguments. Over the decades, the constructive but also destructive potential of Carlylean heroes in politics is debated.

In the discussion of heroism in the political realm, the periodical makes one basic distinction, namely that between practical politics and political philosophy. Political heroes of the magazine's liking are exclusively situated in the latter realm. Thomas Hare, one of the few contributors who published under their names, in an 1860 article-series on political representation shows this distinction and its relation to heroism. In the first article of the series, "Representation in Practice and in Theory", Hare asserts that "[i]n our own days a remarkable difference is to be found between the sentiments and opinions of the literary school of political thought and those of professional politicians" (Hare: Representation in Practice and in Theory, *FM*, Feb 1860, 188). Clearly favouring the "literary school", he further states that:

> It is in literature, poetry, and the other kindred arts, where at least a certain manliness of temper, and liberty to follow truth, prevails or might prevail, that the world's chosen souls do now chiefly take refuge, and attempt what 'worship of beautiful' may still be possible for them; and it is true that this external school have on many subjects adopted views as distinguished by their breadth, as those of the professional politicians are noticeable for their narrowness and technicality. (ibid., 188–189)

Highly reminiscent of Carlyle's *On Heroes*, the "professional politicians" are degraded to mere mechanics dealing with the "technicality", while the "literary school of political thought" possesses a deeper insight into the matters. They "follow truth" and "worship" the beautiful. Evoking the idea of the "Hero as Poet", Hare argues that, in the technicality of political life, the spiritual component has gone missing, the professional politicians do "not go beyond the mechanical" (ibid., 189), they lack ambition and a vision to further society. While Carlyle had depicted the poet as the only one still able to see the divine in the modern world, Hare transfers this to the political stage by calling the representatives of a literary school the true politicians, who can still see and appreciate the "beautiful". In the course of the article, Hare makes this transfer even more obvious when he argues that good politicians are required

> to be sincere. [...] The test of *reality* and *sincerity* of being what they pretend to be, and performing what they are designed to do, may be fairly and instructively applied to the momentous subject of our representative institutions, and to the amendments which they need. In the application of such tests we need the aid of minds that look beneath the surface of things and examine their spirit and tendencies. From the *light which these throw* upon the inquiry, it will appear that so far as the future can be contemplated, our hope lies in adherence far less to the outward and literal form, than to the true spirit of the institution. (ibid., 190, emphases mine)

Hare here clearly employs the rhetoric of Carlyle's own considerations on heroism and describes the politicians which the country needs as sincere, possessing superior insight, a connection to the "true spirit" (ibid.), as bringers of light. He further adds that the politician should understand his work not as a mere profession, but as a divine right and thus should perceive his work not only as practical, but spiritual as well.[76] In his critique of the contemporary political profession, he then directly calls for heroism. The problems, he believes, originate in the fact that practical politicians possess "[n]o vision in the head; heroism, faith, devout insight to discern what is needful, noble courage to do it" (ibid., 191). "Not seeing eyes [can be found] there, but spectacles constitutionally ground, which to the unwary, seem to see" (ibid.). In the following articles of Hare's "Representation" series, he continually draws on Carlyle's concept, citing from *On Heroes* (cf. Hare: Representation in Practice and in Theory, *FM*, Apr 1860,

[76] Again drawing on Carlyle, Hare argues that "[t]he Spiritual everywhere originates the Practical […]. Everywhere the things which have had an existence among men have first of all had to have a truth and within them, and were not semblances but realities". Representation in Practice and in Theory, *FM*, Feb 1860, 189.

527), naming "sincerity the guide" to good politics (ibid., 535) or calling for a hero to unite the political chaos (cf. ibid.). However, Hare also sees that the concept faces problems, since parliament offers "no career [to the] noble hero" (Hare: Representation, Feb 1860, 194). He attributes the source of this problem to the secularisation of society which he, again in the direct words of Carlyle, fears does "not bid very fair to bring nations back to the ways of God" (ibid., 196). And so Hare closes one article by stating that "political as well as religious regeneration must be in the person" (ibid., 204) in order to adequately represent their country: "As he [the statesman] succeeds in his work, so his labours become beneficial to mankind; he develops and cultivates all their highest powers, and 'it is the noble people that make the noble government'" (ibid.).

Thus, one year after the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, Hare argues in opposition to the developing division of secular and spiritual. In his demand for a hero-politician, a revolt against the new, secular and science-oriented way of conducting affairs, but also an attempt to fight the lack of orientation and guidance can be observed. The worldview of many had been shaken by the scientific theories of the mid-nineteenth century. After the realisation that "nature propagates species and is careless about individuals",[77] the disorientation led to many people looking even more desperately for a guiding figure, an individual, a hero who would unite the divided society and show the confused and disoriented people what the 'truth', what 'reality' was.[78]

This spiritual undertone can be observed in many other articles which relate politics and heroism. For example, "Working Men's Clubs and Institutes" in 1865 discusses how the situation of the working classes could be improved through political means. Again referring to Carlyle, the text finally resolves that this can only be achieved through

> *heroic perseverance*, against various forms of social, legal, and political evil. [...] Mr. Carlyle's [...] *prophet soul* will take from it, we trust, some of that comfort which he surely deserves, [...] for bringing about the improved state of affairs which we now invite our readers to perpend and promote, acknowledging, meanwhile, the existence of such improvement with humble thankfulness to the *Author of all Good*. (Working Men's Clubs, *FM*, Mar 1865, 395, emphases mine)

Heroic political acts, so the text argues, can only be achieved if rooted in a spiritual notion of society which needs to be mediated to the mass of society by a prophet-like hero figure. In this case embodied by Carlyle himself, the "prophet soul" is necessary as a political actor. Furthermore, the text positions itself against propagators of self-help such as Samuel Smiles and argues that working men need to be guided by someone more able than themselves.

---

77 Owen Chadwick: The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century, Cambridge 1975, p. 253.

78 In the sense of Schindler et al., this liminal guiding figure acts as a "meaning maker" (Schindler et al.: Admiration, p. 99) for the specific group.

In contrast to the idea of a hero-politician rooted in the spirit of political philosophy, practical politicians are depicted by many contributors in *FM* as decidedly non-heroic if compared to the idea of a visionary hero in the vein of Carlyle. "On the Comparative Stupidity of Politicians" – the title from the outset implies a rather critical view of the political personnel – states that "[t]he great majority of even prominent politicians have just the gifts which make a man conspicuous in a town council or a board of guardians; physical energy, moral persistency, and ideas on a level with those of their fellows" (On the Comparative Stupidity of Politicans, *FM*, Oct 1877, 486). What might have been considered heroic in *CJ*, the idea of being morally persistent and "on a level with those of their fellows", is depicted as decidedly non-heroic in the context of *FM* and interpreted as "second rate" (ibid., 489) mediocrity:

> It is chiefly the second-rate order of minds and characters that betake themselves now to politics in England […]. For this reason, probably, whenever an occasion demands a hero in politics, he has been seldom found in the walks of *professional* statesmanship. The national crisis which asks for a *deliverer*, finds him not among those who have been deteriorated and dwarfed by the *ordinary* work, but in a man who has lived among *nobler ideas* and associations, and cultivated a larger and more liberal nature. (ibid., emphases mine)

Again, this quote illustrates the clear distinction between the "ordinary" and "professional" work of practical politicians and the "nobler" sphere in which the hero-politician seems to be situated. Whereas the former produces only "figure head[s]", it is the latter which can produce a real "leader" (ibid., 486). Proverbial size is also repeatedly used as a marker for political vision. The practical politicians are "dwarfed" or collectively called a "company of dwarfs"[79] (ibid., 486), while the ideal politician is called "great" (ibid., 487).

> The natural and almost necessary *inferiority of politicians* as a class, is compatible with the *unsurpassed intellectual and moral greatness of statesmanship* of the highest class. Men are not wanting in the history of any country, least of all in that of ours, and they have representatives among us now, who have found or made work for themselves to do which taxes the very highest gifts, and in the doing of which the very humblest and most commonplace allies and instruments acquire a sort of transfiguration. Their appearance and exertions mark the high-water point in the national life, an epoch of brief but fruitful work, an *epoch of civil heroism*. Even the men who counted for much when they followed a *great leader*, become mere cyphers when the figure which stood at their head is removed. (ibid., 490, emphases mine)

[79] The idea of being in a company of proverbial dwarfs is then presented as a vicious circle: "In other rods, the finest man is habitually in the presence of its inferiors, whose ideas and impulses are to it what his daily beer was to Mr. Justice Maule, the instrumentality with which he brought himself down to the level of his work." On the Comparative Stupidity of Politicians, *FM*, Oct 1877, 488.

This statement sums up the argument of the text: while practical politicians are "inferior" and "commonplace", it is the "civil heroism" of great statesmen which shapes the history of a country and distinguishes it. A "great leader" can thus only be found in the realm of the great statesmen and not among the humbler ranks of the mass of common society.

However, the "mechanical" way in which practical politicians execute their duty is seen by many as just as necessary as the visionary ideas of the political hero. "Derbyism" in 1854 states that

> we do have a Government composed, not perhaps of heroes, but at least of competent men, versed in the business of state, raised to their present station by ability in their several departments, tolerably free from class interest, and bound, in some tolerable measure, to consider government as duty, not as a prize, and to govern for the good of the whole nation. This is a good deal short of the ideal of Carlyle, and perhaps even of attainable perfection. But it is, at all events, more respectable, and more likely to put down faction, curb selfish interest, and unite us for the common good than anything we have seen. (Derbyism, *FM*, Jan 1854, 126)

The text stresses the very practical qualities, expert knowledge and experience in the operational sequences of politics which contributors like Hare had criticised. This practical politician, though not even "of attainable perfection", does not perceive his work as either spiritual or a calling, but as a rational and practical duty which requires certain skills. Thus, the motivation of the practical politician as described in the article is a very different one from that of the hero-politician depicted above. Whereas the hero is concerned with ideas, the practical politician is concerned with implementable solutions and is much more a common man and part of a collective than an extraordinary individual. This idea of rational sufficiency as opposed to spiritual grandeur is also brought forth in other articles. One contributor for example states that it would be better to have rational, practically oriented politicians at whom "we must not laugh with Mr. Carlyle; [...] they may stand in the way of a rising hero, but they may also stand in the way of a usurping rogue" (Whitelocke's Embassy to Sweden, *FM*, Mar 1855, 351). Pointing to the ability of heroic figures to destabilise existing order, the practically oriented politician might be presented as inflexible or narrow-minded, but is also a stabilising force.

Similar to some of the texts in the context of the Crimean War, heroism and hero-worship in politics were sometimes considered a possibly dangerous tool which could be used in the destabilisation of order. In this way "Is Monarchy an Anachronism?", which discusses the advantages and disadvantages of both monarchy and democracy, states that it is a most difficult thing in practice to choose the fittest public servant on all occasions, and still more difficult for a

> prejudiced and divided community to approve your choice; […]. The leading politicians […] never dream of selecting their wisest and ablest man; all that they hope to do is to find a convenient hero who happens to be popular at the time, or else to pitch upon some respectable Brown, Wilson, or Walker who has no great amount of prejudice

> to encounter, and will cause the least division in their ranks. (Is Monarchy an Anachronism, *FM*, Oct 1875, 411)

The human habit of choosing role models and following them can therefore, so the text, be utilised for one's own profit with no regard to the common good. The hero can, in this political context, be deprived of all of his attributes and characteristics and merely satisfy the needs of people to both identify and look up to someone "who happens to be popular at the time" (ibid.), which seems to be the only unique feature left for the hero. Thus, the fact that hero-worship, as Carlyle puts it "never dies, nor can die", can in the political realm be exploited for the profit of individual parties which choose and style their representatives as heroes whom they assume the voters will admire. Whereas the Carlylean hero makes himself known to others through his distinguishing features and actions, the political hero as described in the article is turned into a 'great man' by others for their purposes, because it is "convenient" (ibid.) for them. However, this does not necessarily mean that the text dismisses the idea of political heroism. The problem with "convenient heroes" does not lie in the nature of the Carlylean heroism so often employed in a political context, but in the danger of people worshipping the wrong kinds of heroes, being guided by popularity rather than by heroic attributes as identified by Carlyle.

Though the necessity of practical politicians for the execution of everyday tasks is shown and their importance for political stability and the danger of 'false heroes' is brought up, the text still propounds that the mass of practical politicians need a leader who possesses "natural superiority" (ibid.) to guide them. Thus, the initial question of whether monarchy or democracy should be implemented is answered in favour of monarchy:

> Whatever be their faults, there are at present none who can undertake this duty so well as those who are born to it – the men whose fathers led our fathers – and, however much they may be distrusted, we shall nowhere find others to command equal confidence. Our much-abused aristocracy […] would, if encouraged in their duty by a *loyal, confiding people*, supply the most successful social reformers. (ibid., 436, emphasis mine)

In returning to the idea of an elite of the few who rule the mass of "a loyal, confiding people", the text in the end also returns to the idea of a heroic leader guiding the masses.

Similarly, ideas of the emancipation of the lower classes are discussed in regard to heroic leadership. While some texts, such as the above-discussed essays on representation by Thomas Hare, acknowledge the growing demand of the lower-middle and working classes to voice their opinion and make a difference politically, *FM* remained clear in its opinion that the few should lead the masses, compliant with the idea of heroic leadership as developed by Carlyle. The fact that the periodical remained firm in its representation of guiding hero-figures can provide an explanation why the journal lost so many readers over the dec-

ades. In a changing political climate, the periodical's strong alliance to elitism had lost touch with its time.

Quoting Mill, Thomas Hare thus believes that democracy does not have to equal universal suffrage and political inclusion: "the best government (need it be said?) must be the government of the wise, and these must always be a few" (Hare: Representation, *FM*, Feb 1860, 195). While acknowledging the need to change the condition of the lower classes, he is nevertheless of the opinion that the change has to be brought about with the intellectual capacity of the upper class. To effect change, he wants "to bring to bear on the condition of the largest class of their fellow men intellectual power of the first order" (ibid., 197). Thereby, the "largest class" is not only put into the position of followers to a minority of leaders, but also discredited in terms of their intellectual potential. "Present Aspects of the Labour Question" in 1873 presents a similar opinion:

> I am aware that any hint about heroism in the higher towards the lower, will expose one to the taunt of hankering after paternal aid; but we submit that although the most advanced and prescient among us cannot tell what precise form future civilisation should assume, yet there is ever a vanguard and a rearguard in human progress. That the strong should help the weak, the enlightened instruct the ignorant, is something loftier than doing what we will with our own, and leaving ignorance and depravity to maxims of self-help. (Present Aspects of the Labour Question, *FM*, May 1873, 603)

While heroism is clearly situated in the realm of the higher classes, with the idea of a "vanguard and a rearguard" this is presented as a natural division which determined a person's place to begin with. Those who are gifted with the heroic qualities of insight and leadership "help the weak" and "instruct the ignorant". Interestingly, this is clearly distanced from the "maxims of self-help", which in this line of thinking can only be considered to be inferior, as a form of the 'weak helping the weak'.

As this overview has shown, *FM* clearly propagated that the progress of civilisation can only be brought about through the leadership of an elite over the mass of the people. This could be perceived on two levels. In the domain of politics, the practical or professional politicians are considered to be this mass of "mechanic" people who can only execute but never envision or inspire truly great politics. For this kind of visionary progress, a leader-figure modelled after the idea of Carlylean hero is considered necessary. In relation to class questions, the political leadership of a social elite is propagated. Though the condition of the lower classes is identified as deficient and worthy of change, the political impulses, so the contributors' opinion, need to come from the upper classes who, in an act of "heroism in the higher towards the lower", guide them towards a better life. Though the periodical acknowledged the achievements of the working classes, self-help, as propagated by Smiles and taken up by publications such as *CJ* and *LH*, is not considered a contribution to society as a whole, but – again

comparable with the work of the professional politicians – considered "thoroughly practical" (Hare: Representation, *FM*, Feb 1860, 197).

5.5 Everyday Heroism in Leisure Hour

Although not as prominent as in *CJ*, everyday heroism also features in *LH*. Acts of lifesaving, by professionals as well as non-professionals, are awarded heroic status in particular. Thereby, a notion of a specific professional heroic identity of certain groups such as miners or lifeboat men emerges. However, the ambiguity towards hero-worship, which had already been visible in the different representations of heroes of civilisation, resurfaces in this domain as well. While acts of selflessness and lifesaving are encouraged and rewarded,[80] the near-celebrity status of figures such as Grace Darling is criticised. Thus, the representation of acts of lifesaving – in the vocabulary of the heroic – does not present itself as a clear-cut picture; on the one hand, risking one's life for others is presented as a heroic model to be emulated by others; on the other hand, the admiration of such deeds is seen as problematic. This can to some extent be explained through the shared features of religious worship and hero worship. Traditional notions of hero-worship, such as those put forward by Carlyle or Emerson, had a strong spiritual connotation which might have seemed blasphemous to *LH* given its evangelical background. This is voiced more strongly in relation to heroism of private life, which will be discussed later in this section.

Saving Lives

As an island nation, the sea, its opportunities but also its dangers, were continuously present in the British public. Fictional and factual tales of deadly peril at sea could commonly be found in adventure tales, but also in literary works for moral instruction[81] and on the pages of periodicals.

"A Few Days at Dover", for example, praises the lifeboat men of the coastal town. Embedded in travel writing, which gave readers information on the Kent-

[80] The reward in some cases is twofold: for one, the representation of acts of lifesaving in the public medium of the periodical can be seen as a public honouring; additionally, the journal often also depicted men and women who had already received a public reward. In the series "The Montyon Prize. Its Heroes and Heroines" between 1889 and 1891, numerous winners of the French Montyon Prize were introduced to the readers. Significantly, this series is the only one which presents prize-winners for civil heroism and no life stories of English awardees of, for example, the Albert Medal, can be found.

[81] The work on hero gift books, jointly conducted with Barbara Korte, has shown a large number of gift and prize books especially for boys in which exemplary (moral) heroism is mediated in the form of sea adventures. The values most frequently mediated to the young readers in this context are courage in the face of danger, the execution of duty and selflessness. Cf. Hadamitzky / Korte (eds): Hero Books.

ish town, its surroundings, its history as well as practical information for travellers, the text praises the "boatmen and their heroic daring in the hour of danger when life is only to be saved at the risk of life" (A Few Days at Dover, *LH*, 19 Aug 1852, 535). The genre and its close ties to tourism implied in the practical information established a relationship to readers' lives. The praise of the lifeboat men's selflessness is thus not only a moral tale, but also an assurance that readers could travel the region safely and would be rescued in case of danger at sea. The property of selflessness, of regarding one's own life less than that of another, is at the heart of this form of heroism. According to the text, this is the "truest heroism of all" because it "dares death to save life" (ibid.). "A Hero in Humble Life" in 1858 presents such an instance of a civilian act of rescue. It tells the story of a boat stranded before the Irish coast which cannot be safely reached from the shore. The townspeople who are watching the accident from the shore remain inactive, but for one fisherman who wants to try and save the stranded passengers. However, the majority of men remain unwilling to help: "It was the struggle of one brave and generous man against the terrors of the multitude" (A Hero in Humble Life, *LH*, 7 Oct 1858, 635). In the end, the exceptional individual wins over the mass and the fisherman succeeds in persuading enough men to get to the boat; he does so by evoking the idea of divine providence: "'tis the will of God to bless us, and to bring us back safe" (ibid.), he tells his peers – and this holds true, the men reach the boat, all passengers are saved and all fishermen return to the shore safely.

The instance of heroic lifesaving presented in this text then fits the definition of everyday heroism John Price gives. In his definition, the "term everyday heroism refers to acts of life-risking bravery, undertaken by otherwise ordinary individuals, largely in the course of their daily lives, and within quotidian surroundings".[82] Price thereby clearly draws a distinction between "acts of life-risking bravery" as shown by professionals and those of "otherwise ordinary individuals". And interestingly, when the "poor Irish fisherman" is subsequently called a hero in the text, this is done in comparison to an established professionalised form of heroism. "[He] was, we fear not to assert, as true a hero as ever shed his blood on a far-famed battle-field" (ibid., 636). Through referring to the established idea of military heroism, which often surfaces in an unreflected manner in *LH*, the fisherman's actions of persuading his peers and risking his life for others seems elevated in comparison. On the one hand, this is founded on the fact that he *voluntarily* comes to the help of the endangered passengers (while a soldier in battle cannot *choose* to risk his life, but is forced by circumstance), on the other hand, the distinction can also be seen in the divine support for the fisherman's deed. His promise that god will "bless" and "bring us back safe" holds true, shows god's support and the reward for trusting in god's providence. Thus, as so

[82] Price: Everyday Heroism, p. 2.

often in *LH*, the act of heroism is also a religious one, since it is the dependence on and faith in god which gives the men the strength to conduct their act of heroism.

However, there are also entire professions which seem to have been predisposed to heroic acts in everyday life. Like *CJ*, *LH* identifies the heroic potential of the mining professions, though it does not heroise miners and their working class ethos to the same extent as *CJ* did. Similar to the examples of lifesaving at sea, these incidents of everyday heroism are compared to 'established' forms of heroism as well as related to religious faith. A note in the "Varieties" section in late 1880, for example, compares the actions of miners during an accident at Seaham Colliery to the fight of the British army in India:

> Colliery Accidents. – Canon Fleming, preaching at York Cathedral after the Seaham disaster, said: Much of England's greatness has been won by the courage of her sons. Last week we heard with pride of the resistless courage of our army in India, which achieved a decisive victory with comparatively small loss. We must not omit from the roll of heroism those brave fellows who won for us so many of our material comforts by the constant risk of their own lives. (Varieties, *LH*, 11 Dec 1880, 779)

Again, the selfless risking of one's life is what earns the miners their place on "the roll of heroism". However, the comparison to military heroism in this instance is not used as a demarcation of 'higher' and 'lower' heroism, but as an additional support of the worthiness of the miners' actions. Since the military struggle in India could be placed in the civilising and Christianising framework[83] of the colonial effort, *LH* did not apply its usual peace-oriented approach. With the dissemination and defence of religion as a motivation, the colonial conflicts were seen in a different light than for example the Crimean War. Therefore, the juxtaposition of the religiously motivated military heroism in India and the heroic risking of their lives of miners is a mutual validation with both forms of heroism being directed at the benefit of the (Christian) collective.

Whereas the link between the miners' heroism and the Christian faith was only given through the juxtaposition in the short note, the text "The Miners of Cornwall" makes this connection more prominently. Presented in the form of travel writing, as are many of the examples in *LH*, the text states: "A glance at the past history of Cornwall, had we time to devote to it, would show us […] the marked religious character of so large a section of the population" (The Miners of Cornwall, *LH*, 9 Feb 1860, 94). It is in this heightened *religious character* that the text sees the potential for heroism: "Among such a people we might be prepared for instances of heroism and self-denial, and many such are on record" (ibid.). With selflessness as the core virtue in the text, information is given on the dangers which the mining profession poses to the health of the workers. The

[83] In its effects, the miners' work can be seen as a form of a civilising act as well, as it results in a heightened "material comfort" for the majority of the population. Varieties, *LH*, 11 Dec 1880, 799.

religious nature of this form of heroic selflessness is stressed by the fact that the text focuses on a minister as its prime example: toiling underground besides his ministerial duties, he is offered an easier position with better pay above ground. However, not regarding his own comfort, the minister declines the offer and suggests one of his co-workers for the job, since his comrade is in weak health and would benefit more from the transfer (cf. ibid.). The mining minister's heroism is thus not founded on a professional identity as a working-class miner, but on altruism and a feeling of responsibility for others based on religious faith.

Though heroic acts such as those noted above are portrayed in a positive – and religiously charged – light, other celebrated instances of lifesaving are criticised in *LH*. In this respect, the periodical displays an ambiguous attitude towards the heroic; on the one hand, the publication utilises its potential to create exemplary role models for the readers to emulate; on the other hand, it often falls back onto a traditional idea of heroism which includes the practice of hero-*worship*. With the evangelical RTS and its mission behind the periodical, the idea of worship of human individuals is treated with suspicion. Therefore, celebrated lifesavers such as Grace Darling, whose public hero status turned her into a celebrity of the day, are exposed as mere constructions. In 1883 an article takes the Fisheries Exhibition at South Kensington as a starting point to re-evaluate the famous incident on the Northumberland coast in 1838. Looking at the boat which Darling and her father had rowed and which is on display in the exhibition, the text recalls the "heroic story, so often told" (Grace Darling, *LH*, Jul 1883, 442). The criticism of heroism which follows is complicated by gender norms. The text for one criticises the fact that Grace Darling's daring actions were idealised in hindsight through the many medial representations, that her "spirit of heroism was nurtured" (ibid., 444) through continuous mediation and re-mediation. In addition, her heroism is diminished by presenting facts about the incident which belittle her involvement with regard to her gender. Quoting from *Grace Darling: Her True Story, from Unpublished Papers in Possession of Her Family* (published in 1880 with Hamilton, Adams & Co), it is stated that

> [m]ost writers have made Grace Darling and her father row back their boat with all the saved nine at once; yet among the many endeavours to *magnify a deed* which has no need of fiction one thing has generally been left unrecorded, which, while it *lessens the work the two* had to accomplish, materially enhances the risk they ran. (ibid., 443, emphases mine)

Though noting that the new information "materially enhances the risk" of Darling and her father, the text stresses the fact that common renditions of the incident "magnify" their actions and "lesse[n] the work" they did. This is emphasised even more strongly in relation to Darling's physical abilities; while it was often stressed how she surpassed her physical limitations *as a female* when rowing to the wrecked ship, the text states that Darling only rowed the first leg of the

way while "there were able *men* to take her place" (ibid., emphasis mine) afterwards.

In presenting the "unpublished papers", the text thus not only tries to uncover the myth around Grace Darling and her act of heroism, but also attempts to show how she, as a woman, would not have been able to do what she was reported to have done. The text authenticated their reading of Darling and her presumed heroism through the fact that the material came from Darling's family and pronounces: "Had the exploit of Grace Darling always been described as rationally as *in the letter of her own father*, perhaps travellers would less often have been surprised by a disposition among the *boatmen of the neighbouring coast* to depreciate it" (ibid., emphases mine). Through the reference to the "boatmen of the neighbouring coast" and the evidence given by Darling's father, the text tries to reinterpret the almost mythical elevation of Darling and her deed to a more human scale and creates an idea of a more modest heroism suitable for women.

The text thus not only reveals a clear-cut idea of the limitations of female agency,[84] but also shows *LH*'s ambiguity towards hero narratives in everyday life. While some instances can be found in which daring acts were framed in the context of religious belief, texts such as the one about Grace Darling display the magazine's unease towards hero-worship and the celebration of actual individuals as more than exemplars.

Private Heroism of Piety

> Hero-Worship. – […] the instinct of man's worship may find a true man worthy the adoration of all, and who reigns over the nations as their God and King. Every other species of man-worship is a robbery of him. It is a worship that belongs of right to the man Christ Jesus alone; the God whose throne is for ever and ever, and whom all the angels of God worship. (Varieties, *LH*, 3 May 1860, 288)

Similar ambiguous tendencies can be observed regarding the domain of everyday heroism in the private realm. On the one hand, vocabulary of the heroic is used to create an appealing image of morally and religiously approved behaviour worthy of emulation; on the other hand, quotes like the one above clearly show a general renunciation of the practice of hero-worship. Thus, *LH*'s conception of heroism in private life displays a tension: while acknowledging the group-binding and motivating power of heroism, the practice of hero-worship which it

[84] On the whole, *LH* portrayed traditional gender boundaries throughout the century, though a small number of exceptions can – as can be expected in a heterogeneous medium like the periodical – be found: The Lady Traveller, *LH*, 29 Jan 1852, 69–72 depicts Ida Pfeiffer's unfearing travels as heroic (cf. ibid., 69); significantly, the article is succeeded by a biographical sketch of the writer Felicia Hemans, whose female sensibility and its effects on her writing are deemed of a "higher heroism" (Felicia Hemans, *LH*, 29 Jan 1852: 73) than the public acts of men. In the succession of the texts, Ida Pfeiffer's more transgressive and active heroism is balanced by the private and morally elevated act of writing of Hemans.

may give rise to clashes with the religious ideal of worshipping only god. *CJ*, which had – for non-religious reasons – also struggled with the idea of hero-worship, had tried to resolve the problem by stripping heroes of their worship. By propagating the virtue of silent and private heroism which seemingly did not require an audience, the secular publication had tried to navigate the issues it had with the idea of worship and public honours. *LH*, however, as could be observed in relation to military heroism as well, did not attempt to re-interpret heroism as a concept and imbue it with its own set of meanings, but uses the vocabulary in ambiguous ways, in some instances as an encouraging didactic tool, in others assessing heroism as inappropriate. In stark contrast to *CJ*, where heroism played a central role in the periodical's mediation of its didactic content, heroism does not seem to feature prominently in *LH*'s didactic concept. Relying more strongly on religious ideas as vehicles of moral education, heroism often features unreflectedly as a term of validation in a religious context or – if reflected – is criticised.

If heroism can be found as a validating term for private moral excellence, it is thus often integrated in a religious rhetoric and supported by a religious motivation. For example, "Self-Possession in Moments of Peril" in 1853 connects the idea of heroism with the belief in divine providence. The text narrates short episodes in which believing men and women were saved due to their unbroken faith. Emphasising an example of female heroism, the text states that "[r]arely has there been a more striking instance of heroism, calmness, and presence of mind, *inspired and sustained by Christian faith*, than in the conduct of a peasant's wife in the Peak of Derbyshire" (Self-Possession in Moments of Peril, *LH*, 16 Jun 1853, 395, emphasis mine); this "conduct" of a farmer's wife, who is home alone and victim of a burglary, is described as follows:

> At the first view of him [the burglar], as she afterwards said, she felt ready to drop; but being naturally courageous, and of a deeply religious disposition, she soon recovered sufficient self-possession to suppress the cry which was rising to her lips, to walk with apparent firmness to a chair which stood on one side of the fire-place, and seat herself in it. The marauder immediately seated himself in another chair […]. Her courage was almost spent; […] she put up a prayer to the Almighty for protection and threw herself on his providence […]. (ibid.)

Subsequently, the woman continues to "sit calmly, calling earnestly upon God" (ibid.) while the man draws a knife from his pocket. However, her calmness and her trust in god seem to have got to the burglar who simply gets up and escapes, leaving the home and the woman unharmed. The woman's heroism is constituted by two things: firstly, by suppressing the 'feminine' impulse "to drop" and "cry" and secondly by her unbroken faith in god, despite the immediate threat the burglar poses. The second feature is, however, the decisive one, since it is her religious faith which enables her to maintain her physical strength. In accordance with the article's headline, it is precisely "self-possession" which makes the

woman heroic in the eyes of the text. Enabled by god, not doing what would be expected of a woman in this kind of situation is then the woman's heroic act – or rather non-act.

Similarly, a number of other texts construct private heroism of everyday life as a concept rooted in piety, examples of which can be used as role models and guides. "Bible Lessons for Everyday Life" asserts that "[a] nation, a whole nation, is raised and blessed by its heroes and saints. They give it a character by their own virtue, and largely help their fellows to be better than they would have been without their example and influence" (Bible Lessons for Everyday Life, *LH*, 25 Sep 1880, 614). The juxtaposition of "heroes and saints" in relation with "everyday life" in the article's title seems to construct heroism as an everyday – yet not a secular – form of sainthood. Clearly identifying the potential of these figures as role models, heroes are put to didactic use in the formation of a national identity and community. Their accomplishment lies in the influence they exert on their community, of which they seem to be ordinary members, as the phrase "help their fellows" suggests. However, this influence is, in the closing of the article, again appropriated in religious terms: "Take the knowledge and performance of His will as the *real motive* of our lives; for thus, and thus only, can we realise the true ends and aims of life. Then life rises out of the dull plains of *selfishness*, rises to its *true meaning* and purpose" (ibid. 615, emphases mine). Heroes' "true meaning" and "real motive" is then founded on their faith in god, and the communal act of helping "their fellows" is not based on a humanist moral ideal of selflessness, but on a religious belief in altruism.

The idea of altruism and the exertion of positive influence in everyday life are also exemplified in the poem "Heroines", which appeared in *LH* in 1887. The poem praises the everyday life of working-class women, its "heroines" being those "who work from dawn to starlight / that their children may be fed, / rendering up their very life-blood / For the scanty daily bread" (Heroines, *LH*, Aug 1887, 524). The women's effort is clearly directed at the wellbeing of others: "There are some who lie and suffer / All their lives in weary pain, / Yet to these the sad and friendless / Never come for cheer in vain. / Some who help the struggling workers, / Working with them through the day, / Holding up the Hands that falter, / Guiding feet too apt to stray" (ibid.). Toiling hard and suffering themselves, the "heroines" are shown to still have time for others whose lives they influence positively.[85] However, the heroines receive no immediate validation for their acts of altruism. Their reward is otherworldly and their heroism motivated religiously, as the last stanza suggests: "Many whom we pass unnoticed, / Angels watch with wondering eyes; / Some we have despised, forgot-

[85] The poem not only evokes the women's families as beneficiaries of their kindness, but in its mentioning of the workers with feet "too apt to stray" (Heroines, *LH*, Aug 1887, 524) also hints at the temperance movement, in which female influence was often considered crucial for those prone to drink.

ten, / Shine like stars in Paradise. / For our heroines live among us, / In our city, at our gate, / None have told them they are noble, / They can suffer still – and *wait!*" (ibid.).[86]

The above examples of heroism in the private life of the everyday have shown a high degree of self-forgetfulness and suffering in their protagonists.[87] Through the juxtaposition with saints and the promise of remuneration in the afterlife, this idea of silent suffering is strengthened even further and the religious motivation emphasised. A note in the "Varieties" section summarises this idea of private heroism to the point where it states that even a hero is nothing if he tries to rely on himself instead of on god: "Nothing but faith in the one perfect sacrifice of Christ will enable men to draw near to God" (Varieties, *LH*, 27 Sep 1860, 624). Trying to follow this idea of Christ, the "true hero" can only be "the man who conquers himself" (A True Hero, *LH*, Jun 1881, 364).

This attempt to follow Christ can then also be seen as the point which complicates *LH*'s attitude towards heroism in ordinary people in everyday life. Though in a religious context Christ is *the* exemplar to aspire to and follow, any tendency to see a likeness in a common man and Christ can only be seen as blasphemous, since Jesus, as a part of the holy trinity, would have been considered a part of god. A belief in Christ, who had been the ideal which Thomas Carlyle had in mind when conceptualising his messiah-like hero, thus makes any human heroics of that kind virtually impossible for a believer. This belief then turns admiration of heroes into a form of idolatry. Coming back to the initial quote about "Hero Worship", the precarious position of the hero between role model and presumptuous figure in a religious context becomes evident. While admiring and aspiring to a hero as a role model was not problematic in a secular context, it becomes problematic in a religious setting:

> [W]e dislike hero worship. We deem it a sad misapplication of an inherent disposition of the mind, imparted for the most solemnly important of purposes. […] But the sentiment thus active, and expatiating in false directions, has a true direction in which to expatiate, and a worthy object on which to fix. […] It is a worship that belongs of right to the man Christ Jesus alone; the God whose throne is for ever and ever, and whom all the angels of God worship. (Varieties, *LH*, 3 May 1860, 228)

Thus, it has become apparent that in its didactic mission *LH* relies much more strongly on religious rhetoric, which is only in some instances accompanied by

---

[86] A similar poem was published two years earlier for male heroes. Under the title "A True Hero", "true" male heroism is distinguished from established forms of heroics ("never braving special danger / Nor wearing laurel crown", A True Hero, *LH*, Jun 1881, 364). Similarly, remuneration beyond "glory" (ibid.) is promised to the hero who "conquers himself". Ibid.

[87] Other examples of selfless private heroism in *LH* include "Heroes in Humble Rank", published as Varieties, *LH*, 12 Jul 1855, 448; Introductory Lessons on Morals: Second Series. Chapter VII: Easier and Harder Duties, *LH*, 1 Nov 1855, 694–696; The Floods in France, *LH*, 29 Jan 1876, 68–72; The Power of "Good Spirits", *LH*, May 1880, 335–336 or The Story of the English Shires. Durham II, *LH*, Oct 1885, 666–672.

vocabulary of the heroic. In these cases, heroism identifies selfless behaviour worthy of emulation, yet it is not utilised widely as an identificatory offer for the everyday lives of the readers. If reflected upon, as in the example above, the idea of heroism and the hero-worship it entailed for the periodical is criticised on the grounds of religious propriety.

5.6 *"In these Unheroic Days"* – Fraser's Magazine *and Its Engagement with a Heroic Past*

As could be seen above, *LH* shows inconsistencies and tensions in its use of the vocabulary of the heroic and the heroic does not seem to have played a decisive role in the periodical's (didactic) publishing agenda. In *FM*, on the other hand, a very specific concept of heroism is presented throughout its runtime. The periodical – in correspondence with its distinct political and conservative identity – puts forth a concept of heroism which is modelled after Thomas Carlyle's ideas. Thus, *FM* uses the idea of heroism as a vehicle for a worldview in which knowledge, expertise and reputation are in the hands of a few who use their heroic agency to lead the mass of society. The notion of a hero as a role model or the concept of everyday or private heroism rarely surfaces in the periodical and the idea is mocked in the few instances in which it does.[88] However, the worldview which the magazine evoked no longer represented contemporary societal realities. The class for which *FM* was writing – upper-class, male, intellectual conservatives – might still have been in the fore in Parliament, but had had to accept that they could not act as a leading class which the rest of the country would follow anymore. The middle classes had been growing in importance politically and through their increasing power on the consumer market. It is no wonder then that *FM*'s references to heroism are increasingly directed at a (mythical)

[88] For example, the satirical text "A Week in Bed" ridicules the idea of the didactic use of heroism. The article gives instruction on what to do if one had to stay in bed for a week (for example due to a broken leg) and comments: "It would be a step, gained, surely, to acquire the habit of reflecting every night before we go to sleep on something noble, and loving, and good – on some rare instance of heroism – some glorious effort of self-sacrifice – some great example, superior to, yet in perfect sympathy with the ordinary tape of mankind. Such thought, repeated night after night, and persisted in, would gradually raise the mind into a purer atmosphere, would gather at length into an ideal which we might strive to imitate, though to its perfection we could never hope to attain. […] A week in bed, you see, makes you ponder over many things which escape you in the hurry and turmoil of every-day work. […] It probably originates many good resolutions, some of which are to be ignored, some broken, and some altogether forgotten." A Week in Bed, *FM*, Mar 1864, 334. Mockingly, the text depicts role-model heroism – a "glorious effort of self-sacrifice […] yet in perfect sympathy with the ordinary tape of mankind" – as a waste of effort which is "altogether forgotten" soon after. Furthermore, the text at its outset already reveals its upper-class audience, since the very idea of fantasising about what one might do with an idle week in bed would not have been a major concern of an audience dependent on their daily work efforts.

past. In accordance with Carlyle's belief that the nineteenth century was an unheroic age, the periodical often referred to past ages as "heroic" in contrast to the present day.

As an expression of the scepticism towards the heroic potential of the present, a large number of articles can be found throughout the last decades of the periodical which lament an often unspecified mythical heroic past from the perspective of an unheroic present. Once again, *FM* is in agreement with Thomas Carlyle in this respect, who had professed that contemporary society (along with the eighteenth century) was a hostile environment for heroes. A further connection to *On Heroes* can be found in that fact that most of the articles evoke the idea of a heroic past in relation to epic literature or myths. This links heroism with important aspects of Carlyle's concept: the idea of literary mediation as a crucial tool of heroic agency and the idea of a supernatural entity which resonates in the vision of ancient myths.

This is voiced clearly in "Some Notices of Shakspearian Drama" which speaks about the times of Shakespeare and Homer as follows:

> [I]t was the fortune of the Englishman as well as of the Greek to put forth his inspirations in an *heroic age*, when every 'form of many-coloured life' lay open to observation – when superstition was rife – when *fables were accepted* by the multitudes as *realities*, and received by the few as things they were neither *free to believe* nor to be declared impossible […]. (Some Notices of Shakspearian Drama, *FM*, Jun 1842, 645, emphases mine)

Both the early modern period and Greek antiquity are thus presented as a more favourable environment for the heroic; this is explained by the higher degree of superstition and freedom "to believe". It is this heightened spiritual freedom in the "heroic age" which enabled the two writers to produce their extraordinary literary works. In an implicit comparison, the present day of the article is constructed as a time with more clear-cut boundaries, a clearer notion of what is possible and impossible. Thus, the text reflects Carlyle's argument that the eighteenth century, and especially the "sceptics" (*OH* 153) of the Enlightenment, had introduced a thinking which was too rational and pragmatic to allow for the poetic and spiritual freedom which heroism needed. This striking similarity to Carlyle's line of argumentation makes sense in its temporal closeness to the lectures and publication of *On Heroes* (1840 and 1841) and the personal connection between the periodical and the thinker; however, the same line of argument can be found in many other texts throughout the decades up until the final issues of *FM*.

This idea of a heroic past is often related to Greek antiquity with texts evoking the idea of "ancient and heroic times" (Hare: Representation, *FM*, Feb 1860, 203) or longing for "the bright heroic days when Perseus wooed Andromeda"

(Thalatta! Thalatta!, *FM*, Apr 1862, 427).[89] Referencing Greek mythology, Celtic epics or the writers of romanticism, all of the articles which refer back to a past heroic age do so with reference to literary tradition. Whether "The Teutonic and the Celtic Epic" which sees the last traces of a "heroic age in Ireland" in the country's epic tradition (The Teutonic and the Celtic Epic, *FM*, Mar 1874, 336) or an autobiographical text about Arthur Hugh Clough which identifies his inspiration "in the heroic days" (Arthur Hugh Clough, *FM*, Apr 1862, 536) of Plutarch – true poetic art seems only possible in referring back to a heroic past. At a time of perceived loss of meaning and spirituality, one article finds hope in the fact that "[s]till, there is the heroic past whereof to sing" (Poems by Matthew Arnold, *FM*, Feb 1854, 141).[90] Great art in the vein of the "Hero as Poet", as many of the articles argue, is only possible when going back to a heroic past for inspiration.[91]

History Writing and the Historian as Messianic Hero

FM not only discusses the idea of a heroic past in relation to poetic literary production. Establishing the past as an important reference point for meaning making and identity formation, the mediation of the past is also at the centre of many articles in the periodical and historians, as mediators, are heroised. As a text concerned with the "heroic ag[es]" of English history notes: "Few things are more difficult than to compose an epitome of history, and few are more useful" (Revolutions in English History, *FM*, Apr 1860, 485). As mediators between the highly regarded past and the present day, *FM* frequently discusses the state of history writing in Britain. In the context of heroism, historians are considered of grave importance since they are the ones who not only shape their audience's view on history in general, but select history's heroes. It is those heroes who, after Carlyle, determine history and thus, the historians who construct them are

---

89 Other texts which compare the Homeric age as a heroic time to the present include: Notes on the National Drama of Spain, *FM*, Sep 1859, 324; Homer and the Homeric Age, *FM*, Jan 1859, 50 (in this text, the connection to Carlyle's *On Heroes* is drawn explicitly by connecting Homeric antiquity to Muhammad's times as "heroic ag[es]", ibid.); Matthew Arnold's "Merope", *FM*, Jun 1858, 698; or The Principle of the Grecian Mythology, or, How the Greeks Made Their Gods, *FM*, Jan 1854, 79.

90 It is worth noting that this statement appears in a text about Matthew Arnold, who, in his considerations about art and culture, though trying to do away with class distinctions, was still struggling to reconcile the elitist realm of art and the reality of mass culture.

91 Other examples for this argumentation with the use of phrases such as "heroic past" or "heroic times" include Heinrich Heine, *FM*, Nov 1866, 588–609 (which evokes German romanticists such as Heine, Tieck or Schlegel as desperately trying to "resuscitate" the heroic past for their own unheroic present [cf. ibid., 588]); A. H. A. Hamilton: Quarter Sessions under Queen Elizabeth, *FM*, Jun 1876, 733–746; The Past and Future of the High Church Party, *FM*, Feb 1878, 240–249; Annie Walker: A Forgotten Hero, *FM*, Dec 1880, 755–783 or English Satire in the Nineteenth Century, *FM*, Dec 1881, 753–761.

crucial. In the texts discussed in the following, it is mostly the subjects of historians' works that are called "heroes". Interestingly though, through attribution of Carlylean terms, most of the texts additionally identify a second type of hero: the historians themselves in a quasi-supernatural form of engagement with the heroic past.[92] Similar to the previously discussed notion of a lost heroic past, most texts about history writing in *FM* are united by a feeling of insufficiency and inadequacy and the demand which unites all articles on historiography is a demand for truth.[93] The emphasis on the truthfulness of the 'perfect' historian's account reoccurs in all articles dealing with contemporary history writing and is turned into *the* key characteristic. Nevertheless, it is never specified what the standard for the truthfulness of a historical account is and how a 'true' historian could be recognised. The term is simply used as an abstract concept which distinguishes the 'good' from the 'bad'. Unanimously, the texts agree that it is this truthfulness that constitutes the ideal historian and that it is this quality which accounts for their writing showing the 'real past'. The contributor Shirley contrasts an incompetent and a good historian and states:

> [A good historian] is an infinitely truer student of life, an infinitely more reliable observer of the past. […] the one paints with inimitable grace the face; the other, though in a somewhat rough way, dissects the heart. The one is superficially accurate and picturesque, the other is true to the core. The one stops outside, and, microscope in hand, examines with immense attention the coat: the other pierces into the life. (Shirley: The Sphinx, *FM*, Jul 1861, 68–69)

While the mediocre historian will only look at the "outside", the ideal historian will "pierce into" life. While the one account is "accurate", yet only "superficially", the other one is "true to the core" and "dissects the heart". It seems not only to be a question of getting the facts right, but good historians' abilities apparently lie in their relation to the past, or even in their relationship to the past. Thus, the ideal historian seems to stand in direct contact to the time he describes and therefore, following the argument of Leopold von Ranke, able to paint a picture of how "things actually were".[94]

Here the connection to Carlyle and his considerations on heroism can be found, as the ability of seeing, knowing and conveying the truth to others was

---

92 The following considerations draw on my findings published in Hadamitzky: Decline, which offers a closer reading of much of the material presented in the following.

93 Of course, there are also reviews of history books to be found which show contemporary historical works in a favourable light, but nevertheless they always include points of criticism and whenever history writing is discussed in general, on a theoretical level, discontent is the driving force. The only exceptions are reviews of history books written by James Froude and Arthur Helps, both of whom were writing for *FM*, Froude even being its editor between 1860 and 1874. Notably, however, their books are not dealt with theoretically and are not used as an example for a general standard or design an ideal.

94 Leopold von Ranke: Sämmtliche Werke, Vol. 33, Leipzig 1885, p. 7, translation mine. The German original reads: "wie es eigentlich gewesen".

one of the key characteristics of a Carlylean hero. This central argument of Carlyle, as well as the attributes of 'his' heroes, are taken up and used by the contributors to describe their ideal historian: the model historian is "truthful" (Carlyle's Frederick the Great, *FM*, Dec 1858, 631), he possesses "marvellous insight" (Thoughts on Modern English Literature, *FM*, Jul 1859, 97), is "a seer" (Shirley: The Sphinx, *FM*, Jul 1861, 67), in short a "genius" (Carlyle's Frederick the Great, *FM*, Dec 1858, 631). Not only are the keywords for the description of the hero utilised for the description of the ideal historian in *FM*, but the correlation of their function also becomes obvious: while the Carlylean hero acts as a "bringer back of men to reality" (*OH* 119) for the present time, the historian performs the same function for the past.

Carlyle himself also features in the articles on history writing and it is not surprising that many of the contributors not only fashion their ideal historian after the Carlylean hero, but also give him a name: Thomas Carlyle. The connection to Carlyle's works and views is thus established by making him the prime example and representative of an ideal historian. By bringing up Carlyle again and again as *the* ideal historian and describing him with the categories of his own work, his lectures on heroism are indirectly evoked. Carlyle's views are thus, in connection to contemporary history writing, reaffirmed twice, on the one hand by designing the ideal historian as the Carlylean hero, on the other by turning Carlyle himself into a hero of his own kind.

Furthermore, this offers a glimpse at what the contributors would expect their audience to know. It can be presumed that the audience was assumed to understand the reference to Carlyle's *On Heroes*, thereby strongly emphasising its cultural significance.[95] The demand for the hero-historian can thus be seen as a revolt against the new, secular, science-oriented, and increasingly democratised way of conducting affairs which developed in the second half of the nineteenth century. Though the Chartists' efforts in the 1840s did not result in an effective change, the idea of granting political rights to members of all classes of society continued to circulate in public discussion and led to a parliament reform in 1867. The Second Reform Act extended the right to vote to all householders, as well as lodgers who paid rent of £10 a year or more. Although this change would only have affected middle-class men, it led to a change in public perception and continuing political demands from the working classes. After almost two more decades, in 1884, the Third Reform Act finally granted a near universal franchise – to men. It is into this climate of political change and the increasing voice of the middle and working classes that the articles discussed above fell. Apart from

[95] Interestingly, the commercial aspect of history writing is not dealt with in any of the articles. Though Carlyle himself points to this issue when speaking about the "Man of Letters" as a hero, the contributors to *FM* do not reflect upon the mechanisms of the print market in which both the authors of history books as well as the periodical writers themselves are involved.

this opposition, the articles can also be read as an attempt to fight the lack of orientation after Darwin – by placing modern society in a longer historical narrative. The disorientation caused by the scientific developments led in some parts of society to a growing demand for a guiding figure, an individual, a hero who would unite the divided society and show the confused and disoriented people what *truth*, what *reality* really was. Similarly, the magazine in general had lost touch with the demands of the readers: having started out in the 1830s as a periodical which was designed *against* other competitors on the market, this 'being other than'-mentality was at the heart of the magazine's self-conception.

The articles discussed above serve as examples of this: by maintaining the format of long, political, conservative, and essentially elitist essays, the magazine set itself against contemporary society and tried to evoke a worldview which did not correlate with the public's predominant perception of the world anymore. The publication's high point in circulation numbers had been 8,000 copies in the 1840s, a success at the time but a number that could not stand up to those of popular magazines whose circulation numbers were often between 100,000 and 500,000 copies. *FM* clung to the idea of elitist specialised content at a high price for an exclusive readership, while other journals provided substantiated information as well as entertainment at cheap prices and, importantly, recognised the middle classes as a target group with both monetary as well as societal and political potential. Interestingly, this more democratised and egalitarian view of society also resulted in a different representation of the heroic in other periodicals of the time (which can be called 'popular' due to their high circulation numbers). In publications such as *LH*, *CJ* or other family magazines such as *All the Year Round*, heroism is not only something to be admired by the middle and working classes, but also something they can achieve themselves. Just as the middle classes in society seem to have taken up a portion of the upper classes' dominance, the concept of the Carlylean hero has been replaced by a more 'common' hero who serves as a role model and inspiration for others rather than a messiah.

FM, then, came to experience the regulatory power of their audience – they stopped consuming the periodical. Thus, the magazine was down to a run of 500 copies in 1880 and was finally discontinued in 1882. It had become too intellectual, theoretical and backwards-looking and, interestingly, the very last issue of the magazine programmatically contains almost only articles which look back at the past: texts about the history of agricultural terms, of the art of biography writing, or English philology. All of those state clearly that the past should be favoured over the present and the essay on English philology, which opens the last number, closes with the statement that the work of a real "Man of Letters" has its retribution beyond "mention in a price-list and market value" (English: Its Ancestors Its Progeny, *FM*, Oct 1882, 457). Thus, until its very last issue, the periodical shows a partiality for the past over the present, which is also evident in its depiction of heroism. At a time when the democratic movement was gain-

ing momentum and the mass was gaining more and more power politically but especially as consumers, *FM* still predominantly stuck to the belief that the majority should be guided by a heroic leader figure.

6. Three Periodicals – Three Heroic Profiles

The analysis of the three periodicals confirms that fundamentally different configurations of heroism could exist side by side in their representation on the Victorian print market. Depending on a periodical's orientation and intended readership, different qualities of heroism were highlighted and perpetuated through repetition over the decades, which also reveals distinctive functionalisations of the heroic for their intended audiences. Particularly in the cases of *CJ* and *FM*, the vocabulary of heroism was – given the polylithic nature of periodicals as a medium – used surprisingly consistently and resulted in the emergence of distinct heroic profiles in the analysis of the material.

The idea of heroism that materialised in *FM* was closely linked to the works of Thomas Carlyle. A writer who had contributed to the magazine's distinct identity as a medium of controversial political thought, his idea of a messianic leader for the mass of the people reoccurs throughout the periodical's existence until 1882. With a strong focus on the political realm, the magazine called for charismatic heroes with strong individual agency and leadership abilities. In the vein of Carlyle's *On Heroes*, hero figures in *FM* were often established as 'seers'.

Although this superior vision was not always related to the spiritual realm, as it had been in Carlyle's considerations, heroes' deeper insight clearly marked them as 'other' than the average man and constituted a transgression of social boundaries. As extraordinary figures, heroes in *FM* were seen as part of an intellectual elite which was defined against the majority of the population. This was also in line with the intended readership of the periodical, which was directed at an exclusively male and formally educated audience. Thus, the opposition of the intellectual and the 'mechanical' worker is emphasised in all domains of heroism. This became most apparent in the depiction of heroic historians, whose almost supernatural connection to their field of study was contrasted with the uninspired mediation of facts which the periodical perceived as more mechanical. In the field of politics, which the periodical propounded to be the most important field for social and civilisatory advancement, it praised politicians whose actions were inspired by philosophical thought, while dismissing so-called 'practical politicians' for their pragmatism and lack of higher inspiration. Regarding militarism, which *FM* mainly discussed in terms of politics, only high-ranking military officials – as the decision-makers who linked the military to the political realm – were heroised. In this heroisation, the periodical praised first and foremost their individual agency that also included the possibility of overstepping rules and conventions in order to succeed in the pursuit of a political goal. Although *FM* occasionally referred to contemporary (political or military) figures as heroes, its notion of heroism was predominantly situated in the past. In line with Carlyle's diagnosis that the nineteenth century was a hostile environment

for heroism, the periodical often referred to the mythical past of Greek or Celtic mythology or the early modern period. The text thus referenced points in history at which the hegemony of the elite had not been yet challenged and the rule of the few over the masses was still undisputed.

Directed at an intellectual, conservative, male audience, the usage of the semantics of heroism in *FM* can clearly be read as an attempt to stabilise the identity of the periodical's consumers as a social elite. Although the periodical – like *CJ* and, to a lesser extent, *LH* – emphasised the likeness of its heroic figures to its audience, this audience and the worldview which its heroes symbolised were fundamentally different. In its depiction of heroism, *FM* presented a worldview which was strongly opposed to democratisation and the enlargement of the franchise, which would have meant extending political power to the lower classes. At a time when the social power of the middle and lower classes was also growing steadily due to the emergence of mass consumerism, the idea of social hegemony which *FM* disseminated was increasingly marginalised. The periodical had to be discontinued in 1882 and was succeeded in the same year, under the same editorship, by *Longman's Magazine,* a fundamentally different publication, which was adapted to the tastes of the middle classes. This shows that the periodical had not been able to adapt to the requirements of the consumer market and that its heroes, and the worldview which they symbolised, were not compatible with contemporary society. Having established that heroism can function as an indicator for social questions and collective needs, the discontinuation of *FM* can be read as a negative measure in that it reveals a need that no longer persists.

In contrast to the distinct heroic profile which emerged for *FM*, *LH* displayed a more complicated attitude towards the heroic. This can be related to the periodical's production background and the religious orientation it entailed. The publication's aim to mediate Christian values to its readership made the depiction of heroes more multi-layered in different contexts. In this regard, the treatment of the military is particularly indicative. On the one hand, the military was, when discussed explicitly, not regarded as a possible field of heroic conduct, since it implied violence, which could not be reconciled with Christian values. Especially in the 1850s and 1860s, *LH* took a strong anti-war stance, emphasising the losses military actions entailed. The act of killing on the battlefield was explicitly referred to as murder. On the other hand, as conflicts in colonial regions turned violent, the periodical changed its attitude towards military heroics and, justified as a Christianising mission, heroised the form of 'muscular Christianity' in the context of imperialism. With a focus on self-sacrifice, *LH* displayed a reassignment of moral value to militarism. What had been so strongly criticised in relation to the Crimean War could later be understood as an "imperial action by a divinely ordained might. […] Thus the soldierly became the instrument of a

moral purpose in the world."[1] The depiction of military heroes in a colonial context served the dissemination of Christian values such as selflessness or altruism, but did not invite the readers to imitate the heroes' behaviour. Although these abstract values could have served as a means of identification for the readers, the heroes were not presented as role models.

A different strategy can be found in relation to the industrial field, in which the periodical located a number of heroic role models for the readers to emulate. At a time of rapid scientific and technological progress, *LH* emphasised the importance of industrial and mechanical work as a heroic deed. Omitting the field of science, the new findings of which continued to be precarious for a religious publication, the periodical acknowledged contemporary developments in the field of technology. In close alignment with the narrative strategies of Samuel Smiles, the periodical presented the biographies of well-known men of industry, such as George Stephenson, and emphasised their likeness to the readers' lives. In assigning hero-status to the famous engineers, not only in their achievements but especially in their enduring work at the beginning of their careers, the vocabulary of heroism was utilised to validate the audience's lives as well. Additionally, the biographies of engineers and explorers were given a layer of religious meaning, in order to inspire both persevering work ethos and piety. As representatives of the advancement of civilisation, these heroic figures were thus implicitly disseminators of religious belief.

Although *LH* on the whole stressed the likeness between its readership and the represented heroes, for example in the fields of industry and exploration or in the representation of pious everyday life, the idea of heroes as exemplars could not be found consistently in the periodical. This can also be traced back to the periodical's religious orientation, which resulted in a struggle with the general idea of hero worship. Since worship could, in a religious sense, only ever apply to god, the idea of worshipping heroes was discussed in *LH* with great unease and often evaluated as idolatry. This can also serve as an explanation for the periodical's inconsistent use of the term. Hero status was attributed quite unreflectedly to acts deemed noteworthy in regard to industry, exploration or lifesaving. In these cases, the term marks behaviour and values which the readers could closely relate to and were encouraged to emulate. However, if the acts themselves were within the realm of religion, such as stories about missionaries, this form of exemplary heroism became precarious in its intersection with divine power. Therefore, heroes of Christianity – in contrast to 'mere' heroes with a Christian motivation – were often presented as unattainable saintly figures with a greater distance to the audience. In their suffering to the Christian community, their heroic acts created a sense of (Christian) obligation and a clear hierarchical struc-

[1] MacKenzie: Popular Imperialism, p. 4.

ture. On the whole, however, heroism, as a potentially problematic concept in a religious context, did not seem to be central in the didactic mission of *LH*.

Whereas both *FM* and *CJ* – due to their specific editorial situation – presented a very consistent image of the heroic throughout the period under examination, *LH* did not. This is partially due to the fact that periodical literature is in itself not monolithic and the large number of contributors can result in competing and opposing usages of a term such as 'heroism' surfacing on the pages of the same publication over time. However, the fact that specific domains, such as the field of industry and the realm of missionary work, were referring to different conceptualisations of the heroic and domains such as science were lacking heroic attributions can clearly be traced back to the periodical's evangelical background.

As the periodical with the strongest editorial leadership out of the three, *CJ* displayed the most coherent heroic profile. Unlike *LH*, which intended to reach a similar readership, *CJ* – as a secular publication – showed surprisingly little disruption in its representation of heroism and heroic acts. With courage, selflessness and perseverance at its core, the majority of texts about heroism in the publication evoked a heroic imaginary built on moral conduct rather than individual agency. The vocabulary of heroism was an integral part of the implementation of the periodical's didactic goal for the working and lower-middle classes. This intended readership was also reflected in the heroic personnel, which came almost exclusively from the lower ranks of society. With a communal focus, the periodical presented examples of selfless heroism in dangerous situations as well as in everyday life. Since heroism was predominantly shown as something which required neither extraordinary physical strength nor formal education or exceptional intellect, it became accessible to all for identification. Therefore, it could be, and was, applied to almost every domain of life from the work of miners to medical work or the normality of domestic life. These representations of the heroic were united in their orientation towards the wellbeing of something larger than the individual, representing the central value of heroism in *CJ*: selflessness. Significantly, the domain of science and industry was rarely described in the vocabulary of the heroic, emphasising how heroism was utilised as a tool in the *moral* education of the readers. Articles about scientific and technological developments, on the other hand, were often written in a very sober style and focused on factual instruction. This divide between moral education, factual instruction and pure entertainment also emerged in the analysis of other Chambers publications which showed that the vocabulary of the heroic was most frequently employed in reference to middle- and working-class personnel in texts with a moral didactic goal and intended for private consumption. Depiction of heroic leaders and well-known figures, which is almost completely missing from *CJ*, was predominantly used in texts which aimed only at amusement and entertainment.

The periodical clearly reacted to the contemporary political and social realities. This becomes most pronounced in times of war: While *CJ* generally took a

peace-oriented stance, it subdued this message in times of war. In order to support public morale but nevertheless maintain its middle-class values, it employed transferral strategies in the depiction of military heroics. Depictions of heroic military men became more frequent as the century progressed and the periodical focused on rank-and-file soldiers rather than military leaders and decidedly did not portray their violent actions, but focused on their moral (patriotic and domestic) motivation. Hamilton argues regarding the public perception of the Victorian military that "[i]t was more and more the outward man, the active rather than the contemplative hero who seemed necessary in an increasingly troubled world."[2] This does not hold true for the depiction in *CJ*, which displayed a turn *away* from the active and military hero, and often specifically regarded this type of heroism as inferior to moral heroics as it was believed to be more situational. This could also be seen in the depiction of heroic everyday life. The heroisation of working-class communities, domestic women or acts of lifesaving on the one hand acknowledged the democratisation processes in late Victorian Britain and the growing public recognition for 'common' heroes through institutions like the Royal Humane Society and the Albert Medal. On the other hand, however, these acts of validation in the medium of the periodical also acted as a re-enforcement of hegemonic social structures. In the heroisation of the current status quo and particularly the selfless behaviour of the working classes for the whole of society, *CJ* encouraged the readers not to attempt social change.

Thus, *CJ* offered a very clear-cut idea of heroism on the pages of the periodical which was seldom disrupted and which emphasised the likeness and proximity between its readership and the represented heroes. This was further stressed through instances of precarious heroicity, for example in the figure of the 'hero of romance', which was considered dangerous for the very fact that such a great distance lay between the object of adoration and the adorer. The status-difference implied in the idea of adoration was, in these texts, clearly gendered female. *CJ*'s heroic imaginary was based on the assumption that heroic recognition could be realised as a *private* act. This reveals the central problem of the notion of heroism which the periodical offered: in its meta-heroic reflections, the publications demanded an *unmediated* form of private heroism, while at the same time mediating this idea in a public and commercial product. With the focus on fictional characters, the periodical tried to circumvent contributing to public celebrity of attested human beings and tell the stories of 'unsung heroes'. However, this can only be described as an unsatisfying strategy for a problem which remained unsolved.

However, in the analysis of the different heroic profiles, similarities could be perceived as well: All periodicals struggled with the representation of heroic

[2] C. I. Hamilton: Naval Hagiography and the Victorian Hero, The Historical Journal 23.2, 1980, p. 397.

women. Clearly displaying the contemporary idea of separate spheres for men and women, female heroes, as Edwards notes, were "an emblem of patriarchal instability and insecurity".[3] *CJ* and *LH* tried to solve this problem by transferring female heroism to the domestic and private sphere, thereby subduing women's agency and reinforcing patriarchal structures. Active female heroism was only ever displayed in foreign contexts. A spatial removal from the world of the readers seemed to ensure that emulation was not considered by the female audience and thus allowed for a larger degree of transgressivity in the heroic characters. On the whole, all three periodicals placed their heroism predominantly within Britain or assigned it to Britons in colonial contexts. Instances of other ethnicities showing heroic behaviour were so rare in all three periodicals that they could be seen as singular exceptions.[4] Also, more disruptive and violent forms of heroism were occasionally transferred to foreign figures, thereby distancing the readership from this type of heroics.[5] In this respect, heroism in the periodicals also embodied a specific *national* identity, which could be detected in particular in times of national insecurity such as the Crimean War or the Boer War at the turn of the century.

Similarly, the different periodicals displayed specific genres which they deemed most appropriate for the discussion and representation of the heroic. While *FM* dealt with heroism predominantly in (political) essays, *LH* often used short essays, tales or travel writing, which more often than not referred to actual human beings. *CJ* on the other hand played out most of its discussions of heroism in fictional texts with fictional characters, in order to prevent public hero-worship. While the texts which invited the readers to emulate the protagonists' behaviour were mostly fictional narratives, more abstract meta-reflections of heroism were discussed in essays and drew on history and contemporary culture for examples. It seems that fictional texts were better suited for a functionalisation of the heroic as a guiding role-model, while factual genres were better suited to attempts to define and discuss heroism more generally. Texts which reflect on heroism on a theoretical level appeared in all three periodicals. Thus, the publications pointed to the fact that heroism and hero-worship was not something which Victorian culture practiced naïvely, but something that was publicly debated. While *FM* discussed the way in which singular leaders could be established in contemporary society and deliberated over the disruptive potential, which such figures could entail, both *CJ* and *LH* displayed an unease to blindly

[3] Edwards: Psyche, p. 4.

[4] Cf. e.g. The Negro Liberator of Hayti, *LH*, 31 Mar 1853, 218–221; A Long Swim, *CJ*, 17 Nov 1866, 721–724; or Poccahontas, *LH*, 9–30 Sept 1852.

[5] These instances of disruptive heroic energy are also among the few examples of negative heroism. On the whole, few articles could be found in which counter-heroes were constructed. Similarly, demonisation, de-heroisation or ridicule is seldom used in the representation of heroism. This again stresses the fact that heroism was utilised as an affirmative concept to stabilise identities.

follow heroes. Thus, a growing tendency to doubt grand public gestures and question celebrity could be observed.

Hero and Collective

The three periodicals not only represent different strands of thinking about heroes and heroism, but also illustrate different ways of relating to heroes and different ideas of collective and individual. The hero figures which *FM* disseminated possessed strong individual agency and were presented as charismatic and highly autonomous. Thus, they embodied an 'other' in relation to the mass of society, which could not be integrated into ordinary classifications. In their autonomy, they also incorporated a potential for social disruption and connoted power.[6] This form of heroism constituted a large distance between heroes and the community that related to them in adoration. While the exceptional intellectuals and politicians in *FM* might have served as a means of identification for the social elite the periodical was addressing, this form of heroism clearly valued the individual over the mass and showed the collective their limitations through the transgression of a singular individual. In agreement with Zink's considerations of adoration, this form of relating to an extraordinary hero figure was a strong manifestation of power.

In contrast to this, the other conception of heroism substituted distance with proximity. Heroism was here often depicted as communal, as directed at a common good which was greater than the individual. With a stress on the likeness between hero and collective and the focus on abstract virtues and motivation rather than heroic deeds and agency, it seemed to be a more socially integrative form of heroics which could be applied to almost everyone in the readership of the periodicals. Heroes thus functioned as a projection screen and presented on a larger scale the "heroic totality"[7] of features which were already present in the audience. By breaking heroism down to features which were deemed significant, the audience was enabled to emulate these features through their act of admiration. In this more immediate relation, heroes were, as Andrew Flescher describes it, turned into "exemplars of good human living".[8] In the didactic emphasis on the identificatory potential of heroes, they were differentiated from other figures such as the saint or the genius. While saints, as the analysis of *LH*

---

[6] Cf. Veronika Zink: Von der Verehrung. Eine kultursoziologische Untersuchung, Frankfurt am Main 2014.

[7] Cubitt: Heroic Reputations, p. 6.

[8] Andrew M. Flescher: Heroes, Saints, and Ordinary Morality, Georgetown 2003, p. 110. While this assessment is productive in the analysis of heroism, Flescher's study as a whole is problematic in that it tries to define heroes and saints in an essentialist way and gives the reader instructions on how to relate to what the text supposes are 'real' heroes. Thereby, the book aligns itself with texts – such as the periodicals discussed in this study – that implement power structures rather than uncover them.

has shown, were too far removed from the audience's lives to act as role models for everyday life, the genius lacked the moral component and attainability. As a figure which was strongly based on talent, inspiration and intellectual superiority, the genius could not fulfil the communal function that the hero effected. The hero thus is one option from a wider spectrum of related figures, which could be chosen consciously for specific cultural or ideological reasons and would imply different cultural or ideological meaning. Thus, *CJ*'s choice to position the hero at the centre of its didactic message is just as revealing as *LH*'s decision to emphasise saints in their aim to provide religious education. In the construction of heroes as part of the collective, an attempt to symbolically validate 'the mass' and especially the lower ranks could be detected. However, while this created an identity of an 'acknowledged collective' it did not effect change within society. The power which the act of herorization connoted was merely symbolic and did not lead to an actual empowerment of the collective, but only to a private sense of appreciation.

It has become apparent that both conceptualisations of heroism were instrumentalised to (re-)enforce power: the form of heroism relying on distance between individual and collective revealed social boundaries through the heroes' liminality. In the representation of heroism as located within the community, a demarcation was made from outside, a boundary was drawn around the socially acceptable behaviour through the continuous repetition of the norms. Thus, though the relationship between the represented heroes and their audience was fundamentally different, both ways of relating perpetuated the social hegemony of the upper and increasingly established middle classes.

Victorian Periodicals and the Heroic

All in all, this study has shown that the periodical was an effective medium for the dissemination of ideas and is a rich source for the popular understanding of the heroic in Victorian society. As an ambiguous term which had no one definition, hero-status could be assigned to a broad range of figures and adapted to different worldviews and ideologies. Thus, the different periodicals could represent a form of heroism that was beneficial to the respective producers' vision of society and social order. In the act of continuous consumption of a periodical, the readers agreed upon a common identity with the editors and contributors which was also reflected in the depiction of heroism. While the discontinuation of *FM* could be seen as an indication of a decreasing relevance of elitist ideas of transgressive hero-leaders, the existence of the periodical up unto 1882 and the continued reference to Carlyle in other print publications also showed that different forms of heroism existed side by side in the Victorian public sphere.

When George Levine asserts that the Victorians related to heroism with a "quality of desperation"[9] and produced "at best, problematic heroes",[10] this study cannot affirm this regarding the periodical market. On the contrary, the growing dominance of heroes as role models in periodicals and other print products created a flood of distinctly *unproblematic* heroes. In their likeness to the reader, these heroes did not, as Ruskin's call for Grand Style had demanded, present "human character and form in their utmost, or heroic, strength and beauty",[11] but praised normality, favoured ordinariness over nobility. Though the heroisation of role-model figures could be complicated by other interests such as religion, the 'ordinary hero' possessed no disruptive potential and was thus socially unproblematic. This form of heroism was adaptable to a wider range of social groups and more gender-inclusive (the fallacy of including women into the heroic sphere has been elaborated on above). However, it was only egalitarian on the surface. In its public validation of existing social norms and structures, it took rather than gave agency to the underprivileged and stabilised existing power.

[9] George L. Levine: "Not Like My Lancelot". The Disappearing Victorian Hero, in: Sara M. Putzell / David C. Leonard (eds.): Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Heroism. Essays from the 1981 Conference of the Southeastern Nineteenth-Century Studies Association, Madrid 1982, p. 48.

[10] Ibid., p. 50.

[11] Ruskin: Modern Painters, p. 15.